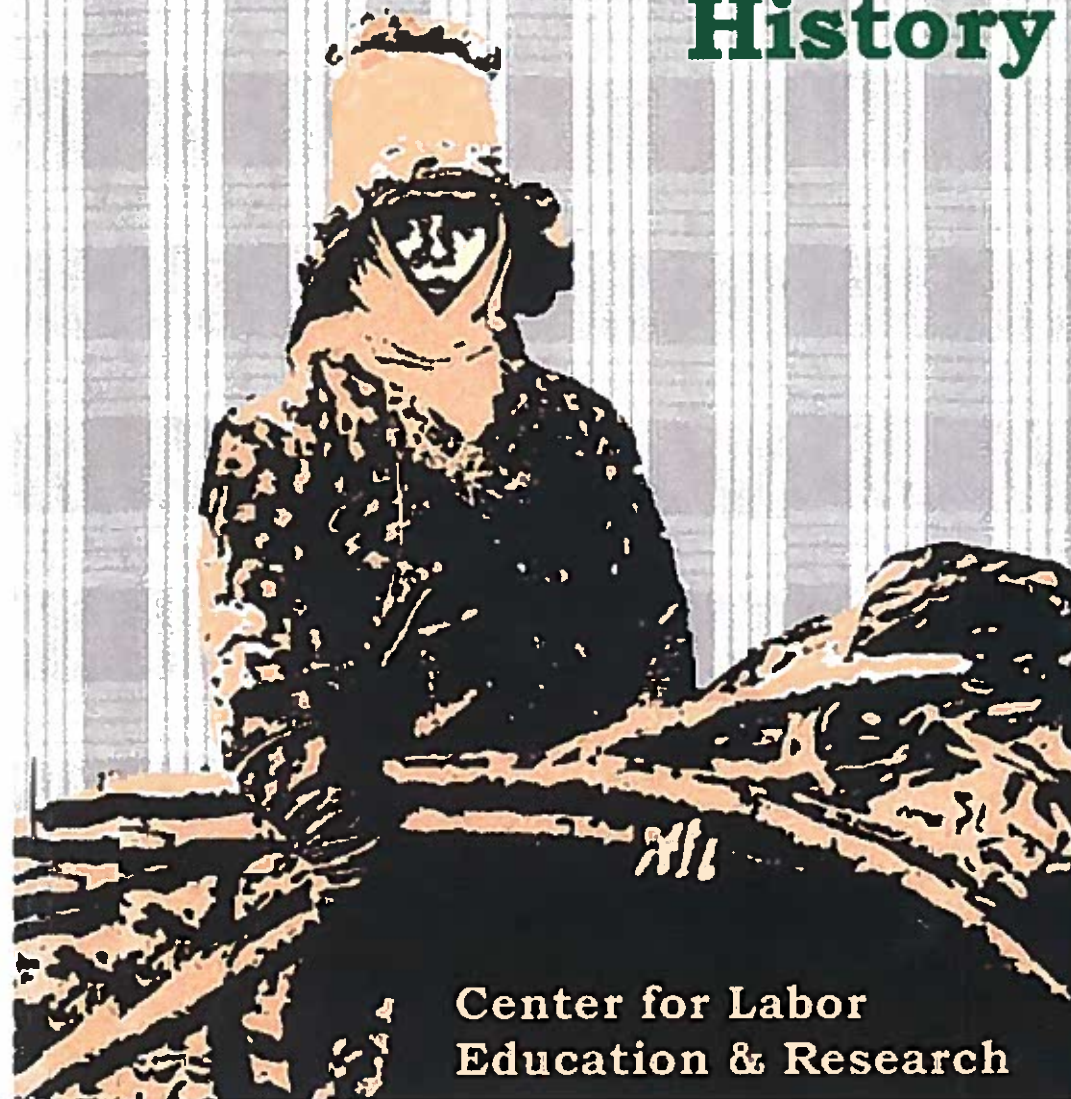




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CLEAR Guide to Hawai'i Labor History



Center for Labor
Education & Research

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The Center for Labor Education and Research was established in 1976 by State Law, HRS 304A-1601 (Act 202). Now part of the University of Hawai'i - West O'ahu, the Center is designed to provide labor education, research and labor-related programs to workers, their organizations and the general public through a variety of methods including classroom instruction, seminars, workshops, publications, the internet and other public media. By statute, the Center is guided and advised a Labor Education and Advisory Council, appointed by the President of the University.

CLEAR is staffed by Director, Dr. William Puette, a labor arbitrator and consultant; Labor Education Specialist, Dr. Leslie Lopez former president of LaborFest Hawai'i; Labor Economist, Dr. Lawrence W. Boyd; and Chris Conybeare, Attorney and Producer of *Rice & Roses*.

CLEAR operates with program fees, endowment income from the Art Rutledge Endowment in Labor Studies, and an allocation from the University of Hawai'i to accomplish its legislative mandate to provide educational programs on a non-profit basis to workers and their organizations. The Center teaches and maintains a great deal of information on-line (<https://westoahu.hawaii.edu/clear>) and publishes a variety of books, handbooks, pamphlets, and, when funds are available, CLEAR produces the public television program, *Rice & Roses*.

Other publications of the Center include individualized workshop packets designed to accompany the Center's classes, such as the CLEAR programs on Labor History, Workers' Compensation, Grievance Handling, Labor Law, Collective Bargaining, Preventing Sexual Harassment, Conflict Resolution and Leadership Skills. Like its research projects, the Center's seminars and educational programs are all designed to be of practical use to workers. As much as possible, CLEAR faculty will individualize and tailor its classes to fit the special needs and schedules of the labor organizations requesting them.

To complement each of these primary activities of the Center, CLEAR also maintains a Hawai'i labor history archive, a labor-relations research library and a Video Collection.

All of the basic programs and publications produced at CLEAR are available to workers and their unions at the lowest possible cost on an "as available" basis.

C.L.E.A.R. Guide to Hawai'i Labor History



William J. Puette, Ph.D.
University of Hawai'i - West O'ahu
Center for Labor Education & Research

Kapolei, Hawai'i
2018 Edition

Hawaiian Labor Unions Facts & Fallacies

1. Which of these groups was the largest plantation labor force brought to Hawai'i?
 - a) Chinese b) Japanese
 - c) Koreans d) Portuguese
 - e) Filipino f) *Haole*
2. Which of these corporations were known as the the "Big Five"?
 - a) Dillingham b) Bishop Estate
 - c) Hackfeld d) Dole Pineapple
 - e) Hawaiian Dredging
3. The plantation owners treated their workers with respect and provided for their needs
 - a) True b) False
4. What is a "luna"?
 - a) The Hawaiian word for the moon.
 - b) A plantation overseer.
 - c) A crazy person.
 - d) The leader of the union.
5. Hawai'i's diverse plantation labor force was intended by the owners and government authorities to eventually integrate into the local Hawaiian society.
 - a) True b) False
6. The Chinese who came to Hawai'i were not as troublesome as other ethnic groups. They did not strike or get involved in labor organizing.
 - a) True b) False
7. Labor Organizing began in the City of Honolulu and then spread to rural O'ahu and finally to the neighbor islands.
 - a) True b) False
8. The union movement was brought to Hawai'i by *haole* union organizers.
 - a) True b) False
9. What is the ILWU?
 - a) A Korean herbal tea?
 - b) Industrial Lathe Workers Union
 - c) International Longshore & Warehouse Union
10. Hawai'i's major union in the 1940s and 1950s was run by Communists.
 - a) True b) False
11. In comparison to other States, the Percentage of workers in Unions in Hawai'i is
 - a) low b) average c) high
12. What percentage of workers are represented by unions in Hawai'i?
 - a) 16% b) 22% c) 32% d) 53%
13. Hawai'i is a Right-to-Work State.
 - a) True b) False
14. The Hawaii State AFL-CIO is the largest union in the Hawai'i.
 - a) True b) False
15. All unions have the right to strike.
 - a) True b) False
16. The right of State & County workers to be represented by labor unions is protected by Federal Law.
 - a) True b) False

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The Labor History of Hawai'i

In ancient Hawai'i the *maka'ainana* or common people worked the land, farming its rich harvest and that of the abundant ocean. Subject only to the will of their chiefs, the people worked primarily for themselves. Sometimes they were assessed an *'auhau hana*, or labor tax, in the form of a temporary service or duty the *ali'i* might command such as the building of a *heiau* or royal preserve; otherwise, they were on their own.

With the arrival of Western traders and businessmen, native Hawaiian resources like *kapa* bark cloth and the highly prized and fragrant *'ilahi*, sandalwood, soon became the currency supporting a new island economy. By 1827, though, the reigning monarch, King Kamehameha III was faced with a burgeoning trade deficit and many personal debts. To meet this crisis he was forced to decree that every man would be assessed a *picul* of sandalwood and every woman, not infirm or decrepit, a 12 feet by six feet *kapa* mat.

At his command, loyal *maka'ainana* laboriously depleted the aged sandalwood forests to such an extent that this slow-growing tree was nearly eradicated. As the sandalwood trade exhausted, it was soon replaced by the demands of the whaling industry. Sailors wanted fresh vegetables, sturdy *kapa* for ship repair, and young, able-bodied men to fill out their crews.

While many of the fittest of the native Hawaiians were pressed into such service, vast numbers of the remaining population fell prey to the scourge of the white-man's diseases for which they had no resistance. Venereal disease, tuberculosis and even measles, which to the *haole* was no more than a mild childhood illness, raged like biblical plagues decimating then re-decimating the Hawaiian people just as the treasured *'ilahi* had been cut down earlier. Where it is estimated that in the days of Captain Cook the population stood at about 300,000, by the middle of the nineteenth century, only about one fourth of that number were left.

A song of the day captures the feelings of these first Hawaiian laborers:

PUA MANA NO

Nonoke au i ka maki ko,
I ka maki ko
Ua 'eha ke kua, kakaho ka hou,
Poho, Poho.
A 'ai'o au i ka hale ku'ai,
A 'ai'o au i ka hale ku'ai.
Anoho ho'i he pua mana no,
Anoho ho'i he pua mana no.

SURE A POOR MAN

I labored on a sugar plantation,
Growing sugarcane.
My back ached, my sweat poured,
All for nothing.
I fell in debt to the plantation store,
I fell in debt to the plantation store.
And remained a poor man.

Like the sandalwood trade the whaling industry swiftly came to an end. In 1859 oil was discovered in Pennsylvania, and within a few years this new type of oil replaced whale oil in lamps. But by then, the seeds of Hawai'i's next great industry had already been twenty years in cultivation, when Hawai'i's first sugar plantation opened at Kōloa on Kaua'i.

The rapidly evolving Hawaiian way of life was drastically changed again in 1848. The dividing up of the land known as "The Great *Mahele*" in that year introduced and institutionalized the private ownership or leasing of land tracts. Within a few years, the sugar agricultural interests, mostly *haole*, had obtained leases or outright possession of a major portion of the best cane land.

Native Hawaiians, who had been accustomed to working only for themselves or for their chiefs on a temporary basis tried to adjust to the back-breaking work of clearing the land, digging irrigation ditches, planting, fertilizing, weeding and harvesting cane for an alien planter on a daily, ten to twelve hour shift.¹

In fact, it was not long after that first plantation opened that the first recorded Hawaiian labor dispute occurred when the native Hawaiian workers walked off their jobs at Kōloa in 1841 to win a wage increase of about 2 cents an hour or 25 cents a day.

Unsuccessful as it was, this strike, together with the ever diminishing labor supply of native workers, seemed to convince the growers only of the need to look to fresh sources of labor outside the islands.



Immigrant laborers were sought from Asia and the Pacific. Over the years in successive waves of immigration, the sugar growers brought to Hawai'i 46,000 Chinese, 180,000 Japanese, 66,000 Filipinos as well as Portuguese and Puerto Ricans, each one used generally to offset the bargaining power of its predecessor. Following the classic formula, the planters increased the labor supply as needed to decrease labor's demands. The major sugar planters grew more and more powerful as they organized and consolidated their holdings into five big companies that eventually dominated the island economy.

Alexander & Baldwin, American Factors, Castle & Cooke, C. Brewer & Company, and Theo. H. Davies Company before long constituted a power in the islands that controlled virtually all business and commercial as well as public employment opportunities.

Prior to annexation in 1898, most of the immigrant plantation workers were bound by labor contracts that resembled military enlistment papers. The worker voluntarily "bound" himself to his employer for a number of years under the labor regulations of the Masters and Servants Act. Under this law, for example, absenteeism or refusal to work could cause a contract laborer to be apprehended and sentenced by the district magistrate or police office to work for the employer an extra amount of time after the contract expired, usually double the time of the absence. But the most resentment was often caused by the cruelty and arrogance of the plantation overseer or *luna* as he was called.

When Hawai'i became a Territory of the United States, Caucasians from the mainland began to pour into the islands where many sought and found work in the skilled trades and crafts. Their influence tempted many of the native and imported workers to apprentice themselves to the skilled trades and leave the plantation and the *luna's* whip for the town areas and higher paying jobs.

Two years after Hawai'i became a Territory the daily wage for field hands was up to about seventy cents. Wage improvement was generally the result of a series of sporadic strikes organized along racial lines. Though these strikes often failed to achieve the official bargaining status the workers hoped for, in almost every case, they were followed by increased wages and benefits to the workers or the discharge of particular *luna* that the employers hoped would prevent further unionization.

Then, in 1935, President Roosevelt, as part of his New Deal legislation, passed the Wagner Act giving workers the legal right to organize unions that could demand employer recognition. The International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, the ILWU, unified the former Japanese and Filipino racial unions into Hawai'i's biggest single union representing sugar, pineapple and longshore workers across the island chain.

But the grip of the Big Five control over Hawai'i would continue until the fifties. By the late forties labor had achieved a considerable degree of solidarity forged in a number of key strikes that aimed to establish the principle of wage parity in the islands. Employers had always paid local workers less than the standard wage paid to workers on the West Coast of the United States. The 1949 Longshore Strike that lasted six months and crippled the Territory's economy was the greatest single battle in that campaign. The employers and their spokesmen in the media seized upon the popular fears of the day and tried to portray the unionists as communists. And an anti-union organization called IMUA was formed to stir up the community against the strikers.

Five years later, not only had wage parity been achieved, but the political domination of the Big Five was ended and a newly elected Democratic majority commanded both houses of the territorial legislature.

In 1959 Hawai'i became the 50th State and jetliners began regular air service rapidly increasing the tourist industry and, with it, the retail sales sector and construction industry. In the

¹ "Pua Mana No" from the collection *The Echo of Our Song: Chants and Poems of the Hawaiians* by Mary P. Pukui & Alfons L. Korn (Honolulu: University Press of Hawai'i, 1973), pp. 122-24.

fifties and sixties O'ahu residents, in particular, used to joke that the state bird must be the construction crane, so common a sight was it on the Honolulu skyline.

Unionization in Hawai'i reached its zenith in the early seventies with the passage of the state's collective bargaining law for public employees. Long the lowest paid and least secure workers whose employment and wages were generally at the mercy of political caprice, state and county workers now had the right to bargain contracts and file grievances like their brothers and sisters in the private sector.

Though, in general, wages and benefits paid to Hawai'i's workers are still somewhat less than that of their mainland counterparts, the gap has grown smaller and smaller due in large part to the activity of organized labor. And today the children of former plantation workers, many college educated, are seen everywhere in the middle-class professions thanks to the spirit of sacrifice and determination that united their parents' generation and made Hawai'i one of the most socially progressive states in the nation.

Major Unions in Hawai'i

ILWU, Local 142
International Longshore & Warehouse Union

HGEA/AFSCME, Local 152
Hawaii Government Employees Association

HSTA-NEA
Hawaii State Teachers Association

UPW/AFSCME, Local 646
United Public Workers

UNITE HERE, Local 5
Hotel Employees & Restaurant Employees

IBEW, Locals 1186, 1260, 1357
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers

Hawaii Regional Council of Carpenters, Hawaii Carpenters Union, Local 745
United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America

IBT, Locals 681, 996
International Brotherhood of Teamsters

Hawai'i Federal Employees Metal Trades Council

See also: UHWO CLEAR's Directory of Labor Unions in Hawai'i
at <http://clear.uhwo.hawaii.edu/UnionDirectory.html>

Some Notables of Hawai'i Labor History

Fred Kinzaburo Makino (August 28, 1877 - February 17, 1953)

Fred Makino, was born in Yokohama, Japan the son of merchant/trader Joseph Higgenbotham and Kin Makino who raised him after his father died when he was only 4 years old. He came to Na'alehu, Hawai'i in 1899 and moved to Honolulu in 1901 and with his command of English he opened up a drug store that soon became a consulting service for poor Japanese plantation workers. He soon became an advocate for the rights of Japanese in Hawai'i. In December of 1908 he joined with Yasutaro Soga, editor of the Japanese Newspaper *Nippu Jiji*, and Motoyuki Negoro to form the *Zōkyū Kisei Kai* (Higher Wage Association) to begin a protest of the plantations' practice of paying Japanese laborers less than workers of other races. As Chairman of that early Japanese Labor Union, he led the first well organized strike of Japanese sugar workers on O'ahu. Together with the other leaders he was arrested and imprisoned on conspiracy charges until they were pardoned by Gov. Mott-Smith.

On Dec. 7, 1912 Makino started his own Newspaper, *The Hawaii Hochi*, out of his dissatisfaction with Yasutaro Soga's Japanese-language paper, the *Nippu Jiji*, which critics said was connected to the Hawaii Sugar Planters Association. The *Hochi* under Makino's leadership became a strong voice in support of Workers and their long struggle for recognition and acceptance.

Pablo Manlapit (January 17, 1891 - April 15, 1969)

Manlapit came to Hawai'i in 1910 as a labor recruit and worked at Hamakua Mill Co. He took classes at night and worked his way out of the plantation to become a labor clerk. He became one of the few Filipino lawyers in the 1920s and distinguished himself as spokesman for the Filipino labor movement here. He helped organize a Filipino Labor Union in Hawai'i and was the central figure in the strikes in 1920 and 1924 that drew thousands of plantation workers. So strong was his influence among his countrymen that he was implicated in the violent September 1924 strike on Kauai -- later known as the Hanapepe Massacre -- even though he wasn't there. Sixteen were killed during the rioting, including four policemen.

Manlapit was arrested with 60 other Filipinos, tried for conspiracy, and sentenced to 2 to 10 years at O'ahu Prison. Upon his release, he went to California. He returned to Hawai'i in 1933 but was deported to the Philippines in 1934 and died there in 1969.

Harry Kamoku (October 3, 1905 - March 23, 1957)

A man of Hawaiian-Chinese ancestry, Harry Kamoku, is one of the pioneers of the modern trade union in Hawai'i. He was born in Hilo, Hawai'i and at the age of 16 became an apprentice seaman and a member of the Sailors Union of the Pacific. Through his journeys, he witnessed firsthand the mistreatment of workers around the world. He even walked the picket lines during the 1934 San Francisco Dock strike. When he returned to Hilo in 1935, he was determined to organize the longshore workers around the ILWU principles. On November 22, 1935, Kamoku and 15 charter members held the first meeting of the Hilo Longshoremen's Association. Kamoku was elected president and business agent. When it became clear the HLA stood for all dock workers, regardless of nationality, it quickly gained the support of many. In 1938, when the Metal Trades Council and the Inland Boatmen's Steamship struck, Harry and the longshoremen staged a peaceful demonstration. However, the opposition felt otherwise. The police armed with riot guns opened fire on the unionists, wounding many. This incident became known as the Hilo Massacre. Despite the rocky beginnings, Harry Kamoku went on to organize many workers across the islands under the ILWU.



John Reinecke (1904 - June 11, 1982)

Reinecke was born in southeastern Kansas. He moved to Hawai'i in 1926, became a Professor at the University of Hawai'i in creole languages, and wasted no time in becoming one of the islands' leading "dissidents" against the control of Hawaiian society by the plantocracy and the military that existed for much of this century. He formed life-long friendships with both Jack Hall of the ILWU and Art Rutledge of the Hotel Workers Union, who used to say, "John made the snowballs, and I threw them." Assisting the unions cost him and his wife their jobs during the re-baiting of the 50s as he was branded a communist and persecuted relentlessly as one of the "Hawaii Seven." He, nevertheless, stood courageously by his principles and wrote so extensively about the early years of the labor movement in Hawai'i that he can truly be considered the father of Hawai'i's Labor History. Many of the changes in Hawaiian social and labor organization for which he worked in the 1930s and 1940s became reality though at the time they seemed an impossible dream.



Jack Wayne Hall (February 28, 1915 - January 2, 1971)

In 1935, a man arrived who would change the face of labor in Hawai'i forever. Born in Ashland, Wisconsin, Jack Hall graduated from high school at the height of the Depression. He found that the only open jobs were on ships and became a sailor. During this time he observed first hand the oppressive conditions of the working man. In 1934, he marched in the picket lines of the waterfront strike. A frequent visitor of Hawai'i, he came to Honolulu in 1935 with a mission to organize its workers. He was named regional director in 1944 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU). With his leadership, ILWU was able to make a major impact on Hawai'i's working class.

Harriet Bouslog (1912 - April 18, 1998)

One of a handful of women lawyers practicing in Honolulu in the 1940s, Harriet Bouslog became a champion of the working class.

Often the only lawyer willing to be present when a laborer came up against an employer in court, she fought to establish fair labor laws and wages for the people of Hawai'i. Her efforts were instrumental in abolishing the death penalty in the territory, and during the "Hawaii Seven" trial she served as counsel for defendants accused of being Communists.

Disbarred for openly questioning whether people charged with such crimes could receive a fair trial in Hawai'i, she was reinstated when her appeals led to a landmark decision in her favor by the United States Supreme Court.

Arthur Rutledge (January 2, 1907 - September 22, 1997)

He was born in Poland. His parents uprooted the family and moved to the United States. His father would return back to Europe in 1914, leaving Arthur, his mother, and brother in the U.S. His mother later died when Rutledge was 11. It was in Seattle, working as a bartender in a nightclub, Rutledge saw a painting of Hawai'i and decided to go. He stowed away on a ship, and soon landed on O'ahu in 1934. A former member of the Honolulu, then expanded his efforts to include hotel workers. In 1939, he became financial secretary of the Hotel Restaurant and Bar Caterers Association of Honolulu, Local 5, and soon became their business agent.

During World War II he stood up for Japanese Americans and vouched for their loyalty to the U.S. when it was very unpopular to do so. He organized bus drivers, dairy workers and many other groups, becoming the leader of the Hawaii Teamsters, Local 996 as well.



Harry Bridges (July 28, 1901 - March 30, 1990)

Originally from Melbourne, Australia, Harry Bridges enrolled in the Merchant Marines at the age of 16. While sailing the world, he abandoned ship in San Francisco. There he joined the Sailors Union of the Pacific where he became a longshoreman and a member of the International Longshoremen's Association. He rose to notoriety when he organized a waterfront strike in 1934 for better working conditions. In June of 1937, the ILWU (the Pacific Coast District of the ILA) voted to leave the ILA to become part of the Congress of International Organization. Bridges became the founding president of the International Longshoremen's Warehousemen's Union where he would serve until 1977. At an ILWU convention in 1940, he proposed a plan to organize in Alaska, Hawai'i, and the Pacific Coast. This plan spurred the progressive changes in Hawai'i, where both the dock and plantation workers benefitted. Despite dealing with deportation and the opposition of management, Harry Bridges continued to fight for worker betterment.



Koji Ariyoshi (1912 - 1976)

Born on a coffee plantation in Kona, he was a student, a stevedore, a World War II internee, military language specialist, writer, editor and political activist who dedicated his life to the advancement of working men and women and their right to organize.

Because he was in the mainland at the outbreak of WWII, he was interned at Manzanar relocation camp, where he enlisted in the Army and was assigned to Yenan China as an interpreter and US military observer. Back in Hawai'i after the war, he established and edited his own pro-labor newspaper, the *Honolulu Record* and helped to write for and edit *Ti Mangyuna*, with Rev. Emilio Yadao. In 1951, with John and Aiko Reinecke, Jack Hall of the ILWU, and others he was arrested under the Smith Act for being a communist.

Though he was regarded by all as a quiet and unassuming man, the pages of the *Honolulu Record* over the ten years he was able to keep it going, not only chronicled the growth of Hawai'i's labor movement which was being ignored by the major papers, but reveal the eloquence and passion of his contempt for injustice and social inequities in Hawai'i, the U.S. and Asia.

Elmo Samson (1915- March 27, 1977)

As a child, Emiliano "Elmo" Samson slept with his parents in a ditch because they had been evicted from plantation housing during a strike in the 1920s. He started working on a sugar plantation like his parents and then got a job as a shipfitter and chipper at Pearl Harbor Naval Shipyard. After the War he helped organize the fledgling Hawai'i local of the Laborers Union, which he saw grow from just a few hundred to 3,500 at the time of his death. Under his nearly 20 years of leadership, Hawai'i's Local 368 of the Laborers Union (LIUNA) became one of the major building trades unions in the State.

He also was instrumental in forming the Hawaii State Federation of Labor (AFL-CIO) and Hawaii Building Trades Council. In 1960 he co-negotiated the first state-wide master agreement in conjunction with the Hawaii Carpenters Union and Electrical Workers (IBEW 1186).

One of the state's most respected and influential union leaders in the 60s and 70s, he lived an unassuming life with his family in Waimanalo and later in Wahiawa. Memories of his family's early days in poverty stayed with him throughout his life and helped shape the nature of the Laborers' contract negotiations.

Carl Damaso (1917 - January 26, 1990)

Born in San Felipe, a town in Zambales Province of the Philippines, Calixto "Carl" Damaso signed a labor contract to work in Hawai'i when in 1931 he was just 14 years old. Three years later we was helping to organize a strike of Filipino sugar workers at Ola'a Plantation on the Big Island. Fired and black-listed after that, he moved to Maui and helped Antonio Fagel to organize the last ethnic strike in the islands at Pu'unene.

Realizing the weakness of Filipino only organizing, Carl soon joined the ILWU's campaign to organize all the sugar workers into a single, inter-racial, ethnically diverse union. Blackballed again he moved to O'ahu and worked at Pearl Harbor through the war, after which he became a stevedore with Castle & Cooke. He was a key organizer for the ILWU, helping to recruit and muster Filipino support from the *sakadas* brought in to break the great sugar strike in 1946 and during the long dock strike of 1949.

ILWU elected him director of O'ahu Division and then President of the Hawai'i Local from 1964 to 1981.

Henry Epstein (1922 - 1995)

When County road workers in Hilo asked the ILWU for help in organizing a union, ILWU asked the United Public Workers of America (UPWA) if they had a good organizer who could come to their aid. The UPWA decided young Henry Epstein, was the aggressive organizer they needed in the Territory of Hawaii, seen by the union as a colonial outpost under the tight control of the Big Five sugar factors. The 25-year-old Epstein was in Chicago at the time and already a business agent for a federal workers UPWA local.

Arriving in 1947, Epstein was outraged at the way public workers were being exploited. With the support of the ILWU he pushed for racial cooperation among Island workers and fought to abolish discrimination and build solidarity between the territorial and different island counties. He encouraged working people to join political parties and community associations. Regarded as the father of the UPW in Hawai'i, he led blue-collar public workers on job actions and demonstrations at a time when collective bargaining was not protected by law and when HGEA was its rival. Under his leadership, the union grew and eventually joined together in solidarity as a local of the same national union, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME).

Walter Kupau (April 1, 1936 - August 11, 1999)

Kupau, a native Hawaiian, born in the poor and tough neighborhood of Kalihi on O'ahu became the financial secretary, business representative and chief negotiator for the 7,000-member Hawaii Carpenters Union Local 745 and was responsible for the day-to-day operations of the union from 1978 to 1999. Under his guidance Local 745 became the largest local in the Carpenters Union and the fifth-largest union in Hawai'i. He was elected the third president of the Hawaii State AFL-CIO, and served from 1969 to 1984, during which time he doubled that organization's membership, and lobbied hard and successfully to defeat efforts to enact a union-busting "Right-to-Work" law.

Arrested and imprisoned by the federal government on a perjury charge after a highly publicized trial for swearing under oath that his union's Area Standards picketing of a Maui contractor was constitutionally protected informational picketing. A tireless union organizer, he was often at odds with less aggressive unions and rarely hesitated to provoke his own arrest on a picket line when he wanted to draw more public attention to the dispute.



Ah Quon McElrath (1915 - 2008)

Becoming the "Mother Jones" of the Hawai'i Labor Movement she was a forceful and articulate advocate and spokesperson for the working people of Hawai'i. Born Leong Yuk Quon, in Iwilei to a poor immigrant family, the 2nd youngest of seven children in 1915, she went to work in the pineapple cannery as age 13. With an unquenchable thirst for knowledge and a brilliant mind, she graduated from the University of Hawai'i in 1938 and soon became a key figure with Local 152 of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union. (ILWU). She worked alongside two other ILWU legends, longtime regional director Jack Hall and information director Bob McElrath, whom she married in 1941. She organized soup kitchens during the 1949 Dock Strike, and confronted enormous harassment and 'red-baiting'. She became the office manager of the defense office for the "Hawaii 7" and worked as a legal assistant to renowned labor attorney Harriet Bouslog. In 1954 she made history as the first Social Worker for a labor union serving the ILWU members tirelessly. A champion of the working class, the disenfranchised, and generations of Hawai'i's people, she was an eloquent and passionate lobbyist for progressive legislation, including most notably, Hawai'i's landmark Prepaid Health Care Act of 1974.



David K. Trask, Jr. (1922 - 2016)



David Kahaulea Task, Jr. Was the son of a former Territorial Senator and early leader of the Democratic Party in the islands, he became the Executive Secretary for the Maui division of the Hawaii Government Employees Association (HGEA) in the early 50s and was elected as a Democratic Rep. to the Territorial legislature in the famous 1954 Democratic Revolution, and was later served in the State Senate. He worked with John A. Burns to lead HGEA into a labor alliance that would support and strengthen the Democratic Party and improve wages, job security and working conditions for public workers. He became State-wide Executive Director of the HGEA in 1969 at the crucial point when Hawai'i was at last amending its constitution and statutes to extend the right to organize unions and bargain collectively to public workers. No stranger to controversy and an outspoken advocate of labor rights, he was HGEA's Executive Director until March 1, 1981. Feisty and combative, he indelibly stamped his character onto the HGEA, public sector labor relations and the Democratic Party.

A TIMELINE OF HAWAI'I LABOR HISTORY

- 1835 - William Hooper of Ladd & Co. Arrives at Kōloa on the island of Kaua'i to begin management of the kingdom's first sugar plantation
- 1841 - July, Hawaiian sugar workers at Kōloa walk off the job to win wage increases... the first documented labor dispute in Hawai'i
- 1850 - June 20, The Hawaiian Legislature passes the Masters and Servants Act which establishes a system of contract labor.
- August, Planters organize the "The Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society" to coordinate their efforts to improve and expand sugar production in the islands.
- August 31, Kamehameha III declares Honolulu to be a City and the Capitol of the Kingdom.
- 1852 - On January 3, the *Thetis* arrives with the first 175 Chinese field workers bound to serve for five years at \$3 per month. Immigration of Chinese workers begins. 46,000 enter prior to Annexation.
- 1853 - After half an hour of deliberation, the Supreme Court of the Kingdom of Hawai'i finds a White landowner not guilty of the beating death of his Chinese laborer despite overwhelming testimony to the contrary. [*The King v Greenwell*]
- 1857 - September 1, the Hawaiian Mechanics Benefit Union is chartered (disincorporated in 1893).
- 1867 - May, Honolulu Longshoremen strike to raise their wages from \$1 to \$1.50 a day; they are replaced by scabs.
- 1869 - July, Honolulu Longshoremen strike again; again they are replaced by scabs.
- 1876 - The Sugar Reciprocity Treaty between the United States and Kingdom of Hawai'i.
- 1878 - The first Portuguese laborers begin to arrive.
- 1882 - The United States Congress passes the first Chinese Exclusion Act.
- The Planters' Labor & Supply Company is organized by plantation owners to facilitate the importation of laborers.
- 1884 - August 9, Typographical Union, No. 37 is chartered in Honolulu.
- 1885 - On February 8, the first Japanese contract field workers (*Kanyaku imin*), or contract laborer immigrants, arrive on board the *City of Tokio*: 676 men; 158 women.
- 1889 - On October 28, Katsu Goto, one of the first Japanese contract laborers was lynched by three *luna* and a shopkeeper in Honoka'a on the Island of Hawai'i.
- 1891 - In August, 300 Chinese workers "riot" at Kohala Plantation, protesting the plantation's requirement that they return one third of their pay or be deported.
- 1893 OVERTHROW OF MONARCHY-----
- 1895 - The owners and operators of Hawai'i's sugar plantations restructure the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society and rename it the Hawaii Sugar Planters Association (HSPA).

- 1897 - Chinese workers at Lihue Plantation "riot" in protest of the brutality of the head *luna*. One Chinese is killed and 15 are deported.

-----August 12, 1898: ANNEXATION-----

- 1899 - On Maui, 130 Chinese workers march from Waituku to Sprecklesville to demand hot meals be served in camp.
- Another "riot" of Chinese workers at Wai'anae Plantation is crushed by camp police "posse." 17 Chinese are injured and the 4 strike leaders are arrested and imprisoned for 18 months.
- May 20, Boilermakers Local 204 is chartered.
- July 28 and 29, the first non-plantation strike of Boilermakers, Local 204 in protest over the discharge of a foreman.
- 1900 - January 8, the *S.S. China* arrives in Honolulu with the first new plantation laborers from Okinawa.
- January 20, thirty eight acres of Honolulu's Chinatown burns to the ground; 4000 Chinese homeless.
- April 4th, 1160 Japanese field hands on the Lahaina plantation organize a one week strike over wages, conditions and industrial injury compensation.
- June 14th, at the passage of the Organic Act, penal labor contracts are abolished.
- June 22-24, 188 Chinese and Japanese field hands and mill workers strike against the retention of a percent of their wages.
- July, Hawaii Carpenters, Local 745 is chartered
- September 3, First Labor Day Parade in Hawai'i held in Honolulu, officially sponsored by newly established Territorial leadership (Asians and plantation laborers were not invited).
- 1901 - March 16-July 2- Machinists Lodge 341 strikes Honolulu Works for 8-hour day and union shop; both strike and union smashed.
- August 22, 150 stevedores at Hamilton, McCabe & Renny (working at 30 cents an hour, 9 hours a day) struck in protest against a wage cut. When the 150 "Portuguese, Italians, Puerto Ricans, Negroes and natives" walked off they were promptly replaced with Japanese who had been recruited beforehand.
- 1903 - The first Korean plantation workers arrive.
- 1905 - After a one-week walkout by Japanese cane cutters at Wai'alua Plantation on O'ahu, 26 of 32 demands are granted in the first known case of collective bargaining in Hawai'i
- A strike by 1,700 Japanese sugar workers at Pioneer Sugar Company in Lahaina is broken with assistance from the Japanese consulate and after a violent attack on the strikers by Maui police.
- 1906 - January 16-22, 1700 Japanese field workers in Waipahu strike for 5 cents a ton wage increase and various grievances

- December 20, 15 Filipino plantation workers (*Sakadas*) recruited by the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association arrive in Honolulu aboard the *SS Doric* and were assigned to the Ola'a plantation on the Big Island.
- 1907 -The Japanese Government enters a 'Gentleman's Agreement' to limit immigration of its workers to the U.S.
- 1908 -December 1, under the leadership of Fred Makino, Yasutaro Soga and Tomoyuki Negoro, Japanese intellectuals and community leaders form the Higher Wage Association (*zōkyū kisei kai*) to improve the pay and working conditions of sugar workers.
- 1909 -May 9 to August 5, the Japanese Higher Wage Association of sugar workers strike in 'Aiea, Waipahu, and throughout O'ahu, supported by neighbor island Japanese workers. The strike is broken by scabs.
- 1912 - Industrial Workers of the World (wobblies) is listed in the Honolulu directory. Activity is reported in November among Japanese sugar workers.
- American Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots, Honolulu Harbor No. 54, successful strike against Inter-Island Steam Navigation Co. -all vessels tied up for six days over non-payment of over-time and a demanded wage increase.
- 1916 -September 19, 1,500 Hawaiian and Japanese Longshoremen newly organized in an ILA local strike for higher wages and a union shop. They win raises but not recognition.
- 1919 - In August street car motormen and conductors of the Honolulu Rapid Transit and Land Company meet to discuss A. F. of L. affiliation and to formulate wage demands. - Women telephone operators on the island of Maui strike Mutual Telephone Company for two days in July to get rest & meal breaks
- The Federation of Japanese Labor in Hawai'i is formed to unify and coordinate the different Japanese labor organizations that had formed on the various plantations.
- Machinists Lodge 1245 is chartered in Honolulu on Feb. 25.
- In October, Plumbers Local 675 is chartered.
- 1920 -January 19, three thousand members of the Filipino Labor Union walked off their jobs; Japanese workers soon joined them. By early February, 8,300 laborers on six O'ahu plantations were on strike, representing 77% of the work force. This landmark coalition strike lasted five months (165 days) against the Hawaii Sugar Planters Association. But the coalition broke down and the strike was lost.
- from May 3, a strike at Mutual Telephone by IBEW Local 545 successfully raises wages but is unable to achieve recognition
- 1921 -Hawaii Education Association, the ancestor of the Hawaii State Teachers Association-NEA is formed.
- 1922 -The Higher Wage Movement of Filipino laborers is established in the fall.
- 1923 -Anti-picketing law passed (in force until 1945) - one of many anti-labor laws.
- July 23, Musicians Local 677 is chartered.

- 1924 -September 9th, 16 Filipino sugar workers striking at Hanapēpē, Kaua'i are killed by police. Sixty of the surviving strikers are jailed and then deported.
- 1933 -Honolulu City & County workers at the Board of Water Supply form the Hawaii Government Employees' Association (HGEA).
- 1934 -March 24, U.S. Congress passes the Tydings-McDuffie Act (Philippine Independence Act) reclassified all Filipinos living in the United States as "aliens" and restricted entry of Philippine labor to 50 per year.
- Pacific Coast Longshoremen lead the San Francisco General Strike for 81 days; on July 5 (Bloody Thursday) two pickets were killed by the police.
- On October 25th, Art Rutledge first arrives in Honolulu.
- 1935 -Hilo Longshoremen's Association is organized, later to become ILWU, Local 1-36.
- October 28, Jack Hall, organizer for the Sailors Union of the Pacific and the Marine Cooks and Stewards arrives in Hawai'i.
- 1937 -January 8, the Metal Trades Council is chartered.
- April 10 to June 16, Pu'unēnē on Maui, the Filipino labor union, *Vibora Luviminda*, conduct Hawai'i's last racially exclusive strike.
- On May 1, Filipino workers march four miles in Maui's first Labor Day Parade from Wailuku to Kahului.
- June 6, the Newspaper Guild of Hawai'i, (CIO) Local 117 is chartered.
- August 25, Stage Employees (IATSE), Local 665 is chartered.
- 1938 -January 1, Hotel Workers' (HERE), Local 5 is chartered.
- February, after a 50 day strike, Workers at Primo Brewery win a union shop clause.
- June, National Labor Relations Board office opened in Honolulu by Arnold Wills.
- August 1st, A peaceful demonstration of sympathy strikers is attacked by the Hilo Police. Fifty unarmed unionists, men and women, are hit by shotgun fire (The Hilo Massacre).
- August 1st, the Central Labor Council of Honolulu (AFL), ancestor of the Hawai'i State AFL-CIO, is chartered.
- 1940 -June 6, IBEW, Local 1186 is chartered.
- Beginning on July 18, ILWU Longshoremen on Kaua'i strike for 298 at Ahukini, one of the longest recorded strikes in Hawaiian labor history.
- 1941 - February 1-28- the first bus strike in Hawai'i. Strike for union shop at Honolulu Rapid Transit (HRT); several gains, but no union shop.
- IBEW Local B-1260 is chartered in February.
- June 12, the first written contract in Hawai'i's longshore history is signed by Castle & Cooke Terminals and the ILWU.

1943 -The Hawaii Employers Council is formed; Jim Blaisdell is brought in early in 1944 as its first chief negotiator.

-IBEW Local B-1357 is chartered on July 1.

1944 -January 11, Teamsters Local 996 is chartered. [originally organized as Chauffeurs, Teamsters & Truckdrivers Union, Federal Local 22398 on July 22, 1940]

-ILWU helps win election for 16 House members and 8 Senators in the Territorial legislature.

1945 - January 12, NLRB rules that "Sugar plantation workers, excepting those who are employed in the cultivation of soil (including the harvesting of crops and the rearing and management of livestock), are employees within meaning of NLRA" and not exempt from the coverage of that federal law granting workers the right to form and or join labor unions [Pepee Sugar, 15 NLRB 1532].

-January 27, State, County & Municipal Workers of America, Local 646 is chartered in Hilo by the CIO on January 27; later becomes UPWA and is today United Public Workers (UPW), an AFSCME affiliate.

-The Territorial Legislature enacts the Hawaii Employment Relations Act (now HRS §377), the little Wagner Act" to extend the provisions similar to the National Labor Relations Act to Hawaii's agricultural workers.

-The first ILWU agreement for sugar workers is signed by flashlight at night on top of a garbage can in the alley in back of the Waikiki Tropics

1946 -July 1, IBEW Local 1186 signs its first "master agreement" with an O'ahu contractors' association.

-July 12 and 13 the transit workers of HRT instead of going on strike refuse to collect fares. The company fired 29 Amalgamated drivers. Drivers for the gas and oil companies go out on strike in sympathy until the Territorial Attorney General intervenes and forces the company to hire the drivers back.

-Great Hawaiian Sugar Strike: the ILWU leads 21,000 sugar workers throughout the state in a successful strike against the Hawaii Employers Council for 79 days from Sept to Nov.

1947 -July 11-15, 18,500 pineapple workers represented by the ILWU strike, ending in partial defeat of union.

1947 -November 15, disgruntled lonshoreman and former communist, Ichiro Izuka at Port Allen on Kauai, published a widely distributed, red-baiting pamphlet "The Truth about Communism in Hawaii" attacking ILWU.

-December 14 - 20, The "Ignacio Revolt": a short-lived attempt by Amos Ignacio of the ILWU's Big Island Division to decertify the union and create a rival "Union of Hawaiian Workers" because of press allegations of communist control of ILWU.

1948 -May 7, electricians' strike of one contractor leads to a lockout by other O'ahu contractors to force "open shop" on the new IBEW local 1186 agreement.

-September 3-October 8, Transit Workers strike unsuccessfully against HRT.

-September 21 to October 18, Mutual Telephone Strike by IBEW Local 1357

-October 11, most of the 1500 plantation workers strike O'ahu Sugar, on the Big Island.

1949 -Great Hawaiian Dock Strike: longshoremen in Hawaii led by ILWU strike for six months to win wage parity with mainland dock workers.

1950 -April 10-21, Un-American Activities Committee hearings to "expose" Communism in Hawaii; several ILWU leaders held in "contempt of Congress" for refusing to answer questions.

-August 29, International Longshoremen and Warehouseman's Union, with 65,000 members in the West Coast and Hawaii, becomes the seventh union of eleven to be expelled from the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO).

- Oct. 4, Machinists Lodge 1979 is chartered.

1951 -After 35 days, a strike that began before Christmas the previous year wins a major wage increase for Bus Drivers at HRT.

-Jack Hall of the ILWU and six others (the "Hawaii Seven") are indicted under the Smith Act for being communists and advocating the overthrow of the government.

- Feb. 27 - Sept. 14, the second longest strike (201 days) in Hawaii to that date on Lanai. Led by ILWU business agent Pedro de la Cruz, 800 Pineapple workers strike the world's largest pineapple plantation, run by Hawaiian Pineapple Co. (Dole) and gain a 15 cent wage increase for themselves (3 cents more than they asked for) and a seven-cent an hour increase at 7 companies for 9,000 workers industry-wide in addition to union recognition, union shop and job seniority.

-Machinists Lodge 1998 (Pearl Harbor) is chartered on February 23.

-Dec 24, Art Rutledge forms the Hawaii Federation of Labor Memorial Association, which four years later is renamed "Unity House," a joint fund of Teamsters Local 996, Hotel Workers Local 5, and the Transit Workers Union.

1953 -On June 16, Jack Hall of the ILWU and six others (the "Hawaii Seven") are convicted under the Smith Act for being communists. These convictions are later overturned by a federal appeals court.

-June 19, ILWU begins a four-day general strike in sugar, pineapple and longshore to protest the Smith Act convictions of Jack Hall and six others.

-Thirty-eight of Hawaii AFL unions reorganize and revive the Central Labor Council.

1954 -A Democratic Party revolution changes what was once a Republican Party political bastion in the Territorial legislature.

-Dec. 1, Hod Carriers Local 368 (later known as the Laborers Union) is chartered.

1958 -January 20, Smith Act convictions of "Hawaii Seven" reversed.

-The Aloha Strike: February 1 to June 6 (126 days), ILWU strike by 13,700 sugar workers on 26 plantations, during which the union made sure the fields were irrigated and the cane kept alive.

-Local 594, Amalgamated Meat Cutters, forerunner of UFCW, is chartered in May by 30 members at Foodland; Foodland workers strike for 38 days.

1959 STATEHOOD

- 1960 -First state-wide master agreement in construction between the contractors association and IBEW, the Carpenters, and the Laborers unions.
- Hawaii Meat Company lockout of Amalgamated Meat Cutters after their stop-work meeting. 40 months later Ninth Circuit decision overturns NLRB charges and the strike is lost.
- 1963 -The Metal Trades Council of shipyard unions at Pearl Harbor obtains recognition from PHNSY after years of campaigning and employer resistance.
- The Hawaii Fire Fighters Association (HFFA) is first organized.
- Local 5 members strike Halekulani Hotel in Waikiki.
- 1966 -In convention, 160 representatives from 44 local unions form the new Hawaii State Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO on January 7th replacing the old Central Labor Council of Honolulu.
- Local 5 members strike 'Ilikai Hotel for 8 weeks.
- July 8 to August 19, the Machinists (IAM) strike Eastern, United, Northwest and TWA
- 1967 -March 1, employees of the HRT represented by Teamsters Local 996 begin a 67-day strike, the longest transit workers strike in Hawaiian history.
- 1968 -ILWU pineapple workers strike for 61 days.
- 1970 -Hawai'i enacts a law giving State and County workers the right to join unions and bargain for wages and working conditions.
- from October 9 to December 18, two thousand Hotel workers represented by ILWU at eight neighbor island hotels engage in a 75-day strike.
- 1971 -from July 1, 15,000 ILWU dockworkers on West Coast and in Hawai'i strike 134 days. The strike was temporarily halted in October when President Nixon invoked the Taft-Hartley Act. But the 80-day cooling off period expired on Christmas Day and the dockers resumed the strike on January 17, 1972. And lasted until February 1972.
- 60-day bus driver strike from January 1 to March 1, after HRT announces a wage and benefit cut.
- HGEA and UPW put an end to many years of rivalry and jurisdictional disputes and become locals of the same international, AFSCME.
- 1972 -March 1 to April 10, 300 members of IBEW Local 1260 strike Dynalectron Corp. at Barking Sands Pacific Missile Range on Kaua'i.
- 1973 -April 2 to 16, HSTA becomes the first public sector union to go on strike under the new State law. This was the nation's first statewide teachers' strike.
- From November 19th, 1,100 members of IBEW Local 1260 strike Hawaiian Electric over pensions, wages, fringe benefits, and subcontracting.

- 1974 -From the 9th of March, 9,000 ILWU sugar workers strike for 39 days.
- from April 7th, six thousand ILWU pineapple workers on O'ahu, Maui and Lana'i strike for 21 days.
- shortly after federal law extends bargaining rights to nurses, 477 Registered Nurses in the Hawaii Nurses Assn. strike four O'ahu Hospitals for two weeks in May.
- May 7th, thirty three hundred members of IBEW 1357 strike HawTel that lasts 40 days and tests the State's Unemployment Insurance "substantial curtailment" regulation.
- 1976 -in January, 800 R.N.s belonging to the Hawaii Nurses Association strike six O'ahu hospitals and 72 nurses strike Wilcox Hospital on Kaua'i.
- on December 3rd, five thousand union construction workers march down Kapi'olani Blvd. to City Hall in protest of the City Council's proposed construction moratorium.
- 1977 -The Ironworkers Local 625 strike stops construction state-wide from mid-August through September.
- 1979 -October 22 to December 1, UPW is the first public sector union to go out legally on strike. However, the strike is declared illegal mid-way through.
- 1982 -Appealing the results of a representation election held in February, the owner of Diners Drive-In fires most of the union supporters and refuses to negotiate with the union. July 6 to September 9, HERE Local 5 conducts a ULP strike against Diners Drive-In. The strike is broken.
- 1983 -On June 4, United Food and Commercial Workers, Local 480 strikes the 10 Safeway grocery stores in Hawai'i.
- 1984 -IBEW, Local 1186 and Carpenters, Local 745 strike the General Contractors Association bringing the construction industry to a complete halt.
- Lone Star Hawaii Rock Products and Pacific Concrete & Rock Co. lock out 170 workers and members of Teamsters Local 681 when the local struck Ameron HC&D.
- November, the Hawaii Government Employees Association (AFSCME Local 152) files a federal law suit against the state and counties of Hawai'i for system-wide sex discrimination for failure to compensate female workers according to their comparable worth
- 1986 -Symphony musicians represented by Local 677 strike for 15 weeks between August and November.
- 850 members of HERE, Local 5 strike Kaiser Hospital from October 13 to November 29.
- 1988 -Three week strike of Hawaiian Cement by members of Teamsters Local 681.
- 1990 -7500 hotel worker and members of HERE, Local 5 strike 11 major hotels from March 3 to March 24 to protect their pension benefits.
- 1993 -Amfac/JMB Hawaii, Inc. begin a two-year shut down of O'ahu Sugar Company's Waipahu Sugar Mill.
- September, the Honolulu Symphony Society declares impasse and unilaterally implements wage cuts forcing members of Musicians Local 677 to go on strike for several

	months.		
	-Despite the best joint union-company efforts to avert it, after two years struggling to survive, Hamakua Sugar on the island of Hawai'i declares bankruptcy.		1999 -June, 400 of Hawai'i postal wokers (NALC & APWU) and supporters march in informational picket around the downtown Honolulu post office as part of a nationwide salary protest
1994	-April 18-29, in Hawai'i twenty thousand clerical & white collar professional employees of the State and its four counties represented by HGEA-AFSCME Local 152 conduct the first strike in that union's 60 year history.		2000 -April 19, thousands of private and public sector labor union members rally at the State capitol to protest legislative proposals to cut back public employee rights and benefits in the name of "civil service reform."
	-December, Laborers Union local 368 begins an 18 month boycott of St. Francis Hospital for refusing to accept the results of a September 1st representation election for 149 clerks, custodians, laundry and kitchen workers.		-May 1, over 700 Screen Actors Guild and AFTRA members in Hawai'i join a nation-wide strike against producers of TV and radio commercials that lasts six months and sees local pickets at GM dealerships like Cutter Chevrolet in Honolulu.
	-June 3, workers at Kilgo's hardware store on Sand Island (O'ahu) represented by HERE Local 5, strike in protest of the company's resistance to recognize and refusal to bargain in good faith.		-A Labor and Community based coalition called SOS ("Save Our Star-Bulletin") battles the corporate decision to shut down one of the State's two major daily newspapers
1996	-April 22 to July 9, 16 Security Guards at St. Francis Hospital in Honolulu strike to get a first contract between the hospital and their new union, the Hawaii Association of Security Officers, Local 1.	2001-	-At Moloka'i General Hospital, five registered nurses represented by Hawaii Nurses Association strike from May 12 to June 14, but are unable to improve the wages in their contract.
1997	-August 4, Hawaii Teamsters local 996 joins the National strike against UPS for 15 days supported locally by all 250 UPS workers state wide.		-April 5, 10,000 Public school teachers represented by HSTA and 3000 University faculty represented by UHPA shut down public education in the State in the nation's first such higher and lower education strike.
	-July 9th, ninety-eight ILWU Stevedores and clerical workers shut down Young Brothers in a "sickout" protesting the lack of good-faith bargaining.	2002	-July, Local 5 hotel workers, at odds over wages, pensions and outsourcing, begin reaching contract agreements in September with the biggest Waikiki hotels, Sheraton, Hilton and Hyatt, after several days of selective picketing
	-April 28th, 400 ILWU Stevedores in Honolulu and at Barbers Point walkout for one day to protest the slow pace of negotiations with Hawaii Metal Recycling.		- September, ILWU dock workers on the West Coast are locked out by shippers for 11 days in late September and early October. They are ordered back to work by Pres. Bush.
	-April 24 & 25, Inland Boatmen's Union picket Uaukewai Diving, Salvage and Fishing, Inc at Honolulu Pier 21 for its refusal to bargain after the union won a representation election for its 19 workers.		- November 19, Gary Rodrigues, State Director of United Public Workers Union (AFSCME Local 646) is convicted of 101 counts of mail fraud, money laundering and embezzlement. Two days later AFSCME, UPW's parent national union, suspends him from office and subsequently places UPW in an administrative trusteeship.
	-April, at its convention in Honolulu, the ILWU changed its name from the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union to International Longshore and Warehouse Union to become gender neutral (motion by ILWU maritime division member, Lila Smith)		-from December 3, fourteen hundred nurses represented by Hawaii Nurses Assn. strike Queen's Medical Center, Kuakini and St. Francis-Liliha medical centers (three of the Big Five Hawai'i hospitals).
1998	-March 13, Teachers at Kamehameha Schools in Kapalama vote in NLRB election, 186-36 to certify the Kamehameha Schools Faculty Association as their union representative.	2003	- May 5 through July 17 about 65 Registered Nurses represented by Hawai'i Nurses Association Collective Bargaining Organization strike the 162-bed Wahiawa General Hospital for ten weeks
	-October 8, more than 100 workers at Young Laundry & Drycleaning represented by Hawai'i Teamsters, Local 996 strike over wage and benefit reductions. They are permanently replaced and the union is decertified the following May after the NLRB rules the strike replacements eligible to vote.		- August 26 through September 28 more than 1,300 O'ahu bus workers represented by Hawai'i Teamsters and Allied Workers, Local 996 strike Oahu Transit Services.
1999	-November 24, 150 meatcutters represented by Hawaii Teamsters Local 996 strike 13 Times Markets on O'ahu for four days.		- November 26, claiming the hotel was stalling negotiations over the contract covering about 300 workers, which was last renewed in 1999, HERE Local 5 initiates a consumer boycott of Turtle Bay Resort, which was purchased in 2001 by Oaktree Capital Management.
	-October 21, workers at Embassy Vacation Resorts on Maui elect HERE Local 5 as the union representative for 270 employees.	2004	- February 6 through April 2, 144 Cement workers represented by Teamster Local 996 strike Ameron for 57 days. They are joined by 60 workers at Hawaiian Cement (from Feb 7 to March 19).
	-July 30, workers at Straub Clinic & Hospital elect ILWU Local 142 as the union representative for 200 non-professional employees.		

- April 8, University of Hawai'i faculty represented by UHPA ratify the longest-term (six-year) contract in the history of Hawai'i's public sector bargaining. They agree to annual raises for the 3,442 members of the bargaining unit of 1, 3, 2, 5, 9 and 11 percent, in that order, between 2003 and 2009.
- May 3, Five hours after Governor Lingle vetoed an 8 percent wage increase awarded in arbitration, the state senate voted to override the veto of the raises for the 23,000 members of HGEA affected.
- June 29, developer Actus Lend Lease and the Hawaii Building and Construction Trades Council sign off on a project labor agreement ("Ohana Stabilization Agreement ") spanning 50 years and covering \$5.1 billion in construction and renovation work for military housing in Hawai'i.
- July 1 to July 4, 60 dispatchers and harbor-based personnel represented by the Inland Boatmen's Union strike Young Brothers Ltd. and Hawaiian Tug & Barge.
- 2005 -November 1, a class-action lawsuit filed in U.S. District Court accusing Wal-Mart in Hawai'i of wage tampering.
- October 15, as part of its plan to reorganize its financial obligations, Aloha asked U.S. Bankruptcy Judge Robert Faris to let the carrier terminate its employee contracts and pension plans.
- September, an attorney for Turtle Bay, embroiled in a long dispute with UNITE HERE Local 5, writes a letter to the local office of the U.S. Department of Justice accusing itself of "illegal benefits to Local 5 representatives" for its previous practice providing union agents with free parking.
- Between June and September, 4 major national unions disaffiliate from the AFL-CIO to form the new "Change to Win Coalition" [Service Employees International Union, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, United Food and Commercial Workers, and UNITE HERE], representing about 4 million members, nationally.
- August 19, 22 Northwest Airlines mechanics in Honolulu join the Aircraft Mechanics Fraternal Association (AMFA) national strike over airlines wage cuts and layoffs.... Sept 14 the airline filed bankruptcy.
- March 30, Nearly 150 substitute public school teachers marched at the state Capitol in the afternoon to rally support for back pay, as well as to encourage state lawmakers to pass two bills that address the substitute pay issue.
- 2006 - July 22, after four years of bitter struggles, picketing, and a boycott, UNITE HERE, Local 5 successfully concludes negotiations on a 4-year contract with Benchmark Hospitality for 340 Local 5 members at Turtle Bay Resort.
- June 24 to October 27 (126 day) strike by Hawai'i Nurses' Association against Wilcox Hospital ends with ratification of a new contract.
- 2007 -December 21, International Longshore and Warehouse Union, Local 142 opens a free store stocked with food to help workers who lost their jobs at The Pacific Beach Hotel.
- December 17, represented by Teamsters Local 996, 116 unionized workers in the meat department unsuccessfully strike Times Supermaket over medical benefits.

- 2013 -January, workers represented by ILWU, Local 142 overwhelmingly approve their first labor contract with the Pacific Beach Hotel after a strike that dragged on for 10 years despite court rulings & NLRB injunctions over the mass firings, intimidation & other Unfair Labor Practices.
- 2016 -May, BEW Local 1260 is placed in trusteeship by the IBEW International to resolve issues of financial mismanagement, resulting in the resignation of Buiness Manager Bran Ahakuelo and election of new leadership.
- 2017 -May 1, Workers' Day March & Rally in Honolulu: 800 union members with banners from twenty different public and private sector unions and supporting organizations rallied at the Hawai'i State Capitol and marched to the Federal Building to protest anti-union labor laws being proposed by Congress and the white house after te November elections.
- 2018 -June 27, U.S. Supreme Court decision (*Janus v. AFSCME Council 31, et al.*) over-riding public sector collective bargaining laws and 40 years of national precedent, prohibits agency fee requirements for State & County workers & mandates open shop.

Union Density: Top 3 States (Bureau of Labor Statistics)				
2017	Union Members		Represented by Unions	
New York	2,017,000	23.8%	2,148,000	25.3%
Hawai'i	129,000	21.3%	139,000	22.9%
Washington	584,000	18.8%	630,000	20.2%
U.S. Average	14,817,000	10.7%	16,443,000	11.9%

History of Labor in Hawai'i*

INDUSTRIAL MONOPOLY 1850-1900

"COOLIE" LABOR:

The Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society organized to protect the interests of the plantation owners and to secure their supply of and control over cheap field labor. The first group of Chinese recruited came under five year contracts at \$3.00 a month plus passage, food, clothing and a house. An advance of \$6 was made in China to be refunded in small installments.

From the beginning, there was a deliberate policy of separation of the races, pitting one against the other as a goal to get more production out of them.

The President of the Agricultural Society, Judge Wm. Lee, advised the planters in these words: To all those planters who can afford it, I would say, procure as many laborers as you can, and work them by themselves, as far as possible separate from the natives, and you will find that, if well managed, their example will have a stimulating effect upon the Hawaiian, who is naturally jealous of the coolie and ambitious to outdo him."²

The back-breaking work was 26 days a month and 10 or more hours per day. Fierce overseers, known as *Luna*, rode on horses carrying whips which they were not hesitant to use on the workers.

The planters were determined to obtain and hold a "stable" labor force, and in this the planters had the assistance of the law.

MASTERS AND SERVANTS:

From June 21st, 1850 laborers were subject to a strict law known as the Masters and Servants Law. Under the provisions of this law, enacted just a few weeks after the founding of the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society, two different forms of labor contracts were legalized, apprenticeships and indentured service.

The law was enforceable under the Penal Code of Hawai'i, meaning it was a criminal act for laborers to break their labor contracts. If a contract laborer found conditions unbearable and tried to run away, the law permitted his employer to use "coercive force" to apprehend him, and his contracts on the plantation would be extended by double the period of time he had been away. If such a worker then refused to serve, he could be jailed and sentenced to hard labor until he gave in. The law, therefore, made it virtually impossible for the workers to organize labor unions or to participate in strikes. Indeed, the law was only a slight improvement over outright slavery.

It should be noted, as Hawai'i's National Labor Relations Board officer first remarked, that "our Hawaiian advocates of 'free enterprise,' like their mainland confreres, never hesitated to call upon the government to interfere with business for their special benefit."³ For a hundred years, the "special interests" of the planters would control unhindered, the laws of Hawai'i as a Kingdom, a Republic and Territory.

In the United States, most of the sugar was produced in the South, so with the outbreak of the Civil War in 1864, the demand and, therefore, the price for sugar increased dramatically. The Hawaiian sugar industry expanded to meet these needs and so the supply of plantation laborers had to be increased as well. The Kingdom set up a Bureau of Immigration to assist the planters as more and more Chinese were brought in, this time for 5 year contracts at \$4. a month plus food and shelter.

Even the famous American novelist Samuel Clemens, better known as Mark Twain, while visiting the islands in 1866 was taken in by the planters' logic. Normally a foe of racism and economic servitude, he accepted entirely the plantation sentiment that the Chinese in Hawai'i were the dregs of their society. He wryly commented that, "Their Former trade of cutting throats on the China seas has

made them uncommonly handy at cutting cane."⁴ Having observed the operations of plantations throughout the south and in California, Clemens knew exactly how low the "coolie" wages were by comparison and expected the rest of the country to soon follow the example of the Hawai'i planters. He wrote:

You will not always go on paying \$80 and \$100 a month for labor which you can hire for \$5.
... It cheapens no labor of man's hands save the hardest and most excruciating drudgery
—drudgery which all white men abhor and are glad to escape from.⁵

The planters who wanted cheap labor spoke of them as good workers. But as their number increased and they began to leave the plantations and enter the labor market of the towns, an outcry was raised against them. An article in *All About Hawaii* of 1890 warned that, "Hawaii is going to lapse into a Chinese colony without making a struggle to prevent it."⁶ Two years later a drastic law was passed that Chinese could only engage in agricultural field work or in work actually connected with the running and operation of rice and sugar mills.

When the Chinese laborer was needed he was praised as quiet, skillful, obedient, patient and quick to learn. When he left the plantation and entered the open labor market, or went into business, he was condemned as a murderer, cutthroat, thief, selfish and cunning. These and other racist epithets were used to deride his ethnic background. It is estimated that between 1850 and 1900 about 46,000 Chinese came to Hawai'i. The problems of the immigrants were complicated by the fact that almost the entire recruitment of labor was of males only. In 1884, the Chinese were 22 percent of the population and held 49 percent of the plantation field jobs. In the period since then their proportion to the total population has declined to about 6%. By 1932 the Chinese had mostly left plantation work.

In 1876 the sugar industry was again stimulated by the Sugar Reciprocity Treaty signed with the United States which permitted Hawaiian sugar to be sold in the U.S. without tariff restrictions thus giving the island kingdom an advantage over other sugar growing areas.

Once more the planters began looking around for plantation labor. They experimented with many nationalities. They imported South Sea Islanders, Portuguese, Puerto Ricans, Koreans, Germans, Russians, Spaniards, Norwegians, and even more Chinese. Always the goal was the same. "Divide and rule." They wanted servile labor and cheap labor that would be unable to organize and assert itself.

The Committee on Labor of the Planters' Labor and Supply Company wrote in 1883: "...the experience of sugar growing, the world over, goes to prove that cheap labor, which means in plain words, *servile* labor, must be employed in order to render this enterprise successful."⁷

In order to keep labor servile and costs down, it was a conscious policy to introduce a surplus of labor. In 1883 the *Planters' Monthly* commented, "...let immigrants come here in large numbers and the market will break, so to speak. John Chinaman will have to work or starve."⁸ A year later there was a further jubilant comment in the *Planters' Monthly* which said, "The arrival of Chinese from China recently has resulted in a decided fall in the rate of wages."⁹

JAPANESE IMMIGRATION:

Of all the groups brought in for plantation labor, the largest was from Japan. Before the century had closed over 80,000 Japanese had been imported. At first their coming was hailed as most satisfactory. The *Planters' journal* said of them in 1888, "These people assume so readily the customs and habits of the country, that there does not exist the same prejudice against them that there is with the Chinese, while as laborers they seem to give as much satisfaction as any others."¹⁰

⁴ Mark Twain, *Letters from Honolulu* (Honolulu: Thomas Nickerson, 1939) p. 52.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁶ *Thrum's Hawaii an Annual for 1890*, p. 84.

⁷ As submitted by Samuel T. Alexander, G.N. Wilcox, William O. Smith and A. Unna, *Planters' Monthly*, Vol. II, No. 8 (November 1883), p. 246.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ "Items," *Planters' Monthly*, Vol. III, No. 2 (May 1884), p. 404.

¹⁰ "Japanese Immigration," *Planters' Monthly*, Vol. VII, No. 1 (January 1888), p. 7.

* This essay is based in major part on a television script by Max Roffman written for the series *Rice & Roses*, produced by the Center for Labor Education & Research in 1974.

² Judge Wm. Lee, *Transactions of the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1852, page 6.

³ Arnold L. Wills, "History of Labor Relations in Hawaii" in a paper presented before the Hawaii Education Association, November 15th, 1945.

By 1892 the Japanese were the largest and most aggressive elements of the plantation labor force and the attitude toward them changed. In 1894 the *Planters' Journal* complained: "The tendency to strike and desert, which their well nigh full possession of the labor market fosters, has shown planters the great importance of having a percentage of their laborers of other nationalities. ...They seize on the smallest grievance, of a real or imaginary nature, to revolt and leave work..."¹¹

Most of the grievances of the Japanese had to do with the quality of the food given to them, the unsanitary housing, and labor treatment. And chief among their grievances, was the inhuman treatment they received at the hands of the *luna*, the plantation overseers. Such men were almost always of a different nationality from those they supervised. In fact, most were Europeans who did not hesitate to apply the whips they carried constantly with them to enforce company discipline.¹²

Many workers began to feel that their conditions were comparable to the conditions of slavery. The plantation management set up rules controlling employees' lives even after working hours. All workers were forced to wear numbered tags which took on the name "bango" the Japanese word for number. It was a control system that erased their name and cultural identity and had been borrowed from the system of slave tags used in pre-Civil War South for the same demeaning purpose. Once issued, overseers call the workers exclusively by their numbers. No were they permitted to leave the plantation in the evenings. There were rules as to when they had to be in bed -usually by 8:30 in the evening - no talking was allowed after lights out and so forth.¹³

The Japanese immigrants were no strangers to hard, farm labor. But the heavy handed treatment they received from the planters in Hawai'i must have been extreme, for they created their own folk music to express the suffering, the homesickness and the frustration they were forced to live with, in a way unique to their cultural identity. These short lyrics, popularly sung by the women, followed the rhythm of their work and were called *Hole Hole Bushi* after the Hawaiian expression *hole hole* which described the work of stripping dried leaves from the cane stalks, and the Japanese word *fushi* for tune or melody. These two examples give us an idea of what their lives must have been like.

Before the 19th century had ended there were more than 50 so-called labor disturbances recorded in the newspapers although obviously the total number was much greater.

EARLY STRIKES:

The earliest strike on record was by the Hawaiian laborers on Koloa Plantation in 1841. Though they were only asking for twenty-five cents a day, with no actual union organization the workers lost this strike just as so many others were destined to suffer in the years ahead.

They followed this up a few years later by asking and obtaining annexation of the islands as a Territory of the United States because they wanted American protection of their economic interests. As the 19th century came to a close, there was very little the working men and women could show for their labors. Plantation field labor averaged \$15. a month for 26 days of work. The average workday was 10 hours for field labor and 12 hours for mill hands.

Even away from the plantations the labor movement was small and weak. As early as 1857 there was a Hawaiian Mechanics Benefit Union which lasted only a few years.

The only Labor union, in the modern sense of the term, that was formed before annexation was the Typographical Union.

RACIAL UNIONISM 1900-1934

On June 14, 1900 Hawai'i became a territory of the United States. This had no immediate effect on the workers pay, hours and conditions of employment, except in two respects. The labor contracts became illegal because they violated the U.S. Constitution which prohibits slavery and involuntary servitude. And the Territory became subject to the Chinese Exclusion Act, a racist American law which halted further importation of Chinese laborers.

When the plantation workers heard that their contracts were no longer binding, they walked off

the plantations by the thousands in sheer joy and celebration. These were not strikes in the traditional sense. There were no "demands" as such and, within a few days, work on the plantations resumed their normal course. Many of the freed men, however, left the plantations forever. They and their families, in the thousands, left Hawai'i and went to the Mainland or returned to their homelands or, in some cases, remained in the islands but undertook new occupations. Meanwhile, the planters had to turn to new sources of labor. They brought in more Japanese, Puerto Ricans, Koreans, Spanish, Filipinos and other groups.

The year of 1900 found the workers utilizing their new freedom in a rash of strikes. There were no unions as we know them today and so these actions were always temporary combinations or blocs of workers joining together to resolve a particular "hot" issue or to press for some immediate demands. Twenty-five strikes were recorded that year. Most of them were lost, but they had an impact on management. Within a year wages went up by 10 cents a day bringing pay rates to 70 cents a day.

Because most of the strikers had been Japanese, the industrial interests and the local newspapers intensified their attacks upon this racial group. Just as they had slandered the Chinese and the Hawaiians before that they now turned their attention to the Japanese. An article in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* of 1906 complained:

A more obstreperous and unruly lot of Japanese than Waipahu is cursed with, are not to be found in these islands....To discharge every Jap and put in newly-imported laborers of another race would be a most impressive object lesson to the little brown men on all the plantations...So long as they think they have things in their own hands, they will be cocky and unreasonable...¹⁴

The employers also continued their "divide and rule" technique as reported by a U.S. Labor Commissioner in 1902 who said, "...during the year ending June 30, 1901. The regular arrival of monthly expeditions of Puerto Rican laboring people throughout an entire year largely disabused them [the Japanese] of this sense of monopoly and made them much more reasonable in their relations with their employers."¹⁵

During the first decade of the 20th century more than 40 strikes were reported in the press. Most of the strikes were for higher wages. Some were in protest of harsh treatment. One was a demand for discharge of a *luna* named Patterson at Waipahu who ran a lottery racket. Such work stoppages were often spontaneous, usually involved only one ethnic group and mostly without any organizational structure to back them up, and with few exceptions, the results were a loss to the workers.

SKILLED TRADE UNIONS:

Meanwhile in the towns, especially Honolulu, a labor movement of sorts was beginning to stir. These were craft unions in the main. They too encountered difficulties and for the same basic reason as the plantation groups. The racist poison instigated by the employers infected the thinking and activities of the workers.

As early as 1901 eleven unions, mostly in the building trades, formed the first labor council called the Honolulu Federation of Trades. Later this group became the White Mechanics and Workmen and in 1903 it became the Central Labor Council affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Similarly the skilled Caucasian workers of Hilo formed a Trade Federation in 1903, and soon Carpenters, Longshoremen, Painters and Teamsters had chartered locals there as well. But these locals tended to die out within 20 years without ever fulfilling the goal of organizing the unorganized, in large part because of their failure to take in Orientals.¹⁶

The 1909 STRIKE:

There came a day in 1909 when the racist tactics of the plantation owners finally backfired on them. For years they had been paying workers unequal wages based on ethnic background. The Japanese were getting \$18 a month for 26 days of work while the Portuguese and Puerto Ricans received \$22.50 for the same amount of work.

¹¹ *Planters' Monthly*, Vol. XIII, No. 11 (November 1894), p. 498.

¹² Victor Weingarten, *Raising Cane - A Brief History of Labor in Hawaii* (Honolulu: I.L.W.U. -Local 156), pp. 11-14.

¹³ Waihee Plantation rules as cited in *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii* by Ronald Takaki (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1983), pp. 67-68.

¹⁴ Walter G. Smith, Editor, *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (January 20, 1906) p. 4; also quoted in Lawrence H. Fuchs, *Hawaii Pono: A Social History* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1961), p. 210.

¹⁵ U.S. Bulletin of the Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin #47, "Report of the Commissioner of Labor on Hawaii for 1902" (July 1903), p. 709.

¹⁶ Mark Perlman, "Organized Labor in Hawaii," *Labor Law Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (April 1952), p. 267.

A young lawyer named Motoyuki Negoro pointed out the injustice of unequal wages in a series of articles he wrote for a Japanese newspaper. This led to the formation of the *Zokyu Kisei Kai* (Higher Wage Association), the first organization which can rightfully be called a labor union on the plantations.

The leaders, in addition to Negoro were Yasutaro Soga, newspaper editor; Fred Makino, a druggist and Yokichi Tasaka a news reporter. The members were Japanese plantation workers.

The Association initiated a polite request to the Planter's Association asking for a conference and appealing to the planters for "reason and justice." The Planters acknowledged receipt of the letter but never responded to the request for a conference. On the contrary, they made a decision amongst themselves not to deal with the workers representatives and they forbade any individual plantation manager from coming to an agreement with the workers.

The workers waited four months for a response to no avail. Meanwhile, they used the press to plead their cause in the hope that public opinion would move the planters. The English language press opposed the workers demands as did a Japanese paper that was pro-management. In desperation, the workers at 'Aiea Plantation voted to strike on May 8. This was followed within the next two weeks by plantations at Waipahu, Ewa, Kahuku, Waianae, and Waiialua. The Waimanalo workers did not walk off their jobs but gave financial aid as did the workers on neighboring islands.

Immediately the power structure of the islands swung into action against the workers. Sixty plantation owners, including those where no strike existed banded together in a united front against labor. Strikebreakers were hired from other ethnic groups, thus using the familiar "divide and rule" technique. The Hawaiian, Chinese and Portuguese were paid \$1.50 a day which was more than double the earnings of the Japanese workers they replaced.

The Newspapers denounced the strikers as "agitators and thugs." An article in the *Advertiser* referred to the Japanese as, "unskilled" unthinking fellows, mere human implements."¹⁷ The Japanese Consul was brought in by the employers and told the strikers that if they stayed out they were being disloyal to the Japanese Emperor. But this had no impact upon them.

On June 7th, 1909 the companies evicted the workers from their homes in Kahuku, 'Ewa and Waiialua with only 24 hours notice. The people picked up their few belongings and families by the hundreds, by the thousands, began the trek into Honolulu. Yes, even from Kahuku 600 marched along the coast and over the Pali to Palama. It took them two days. There, and in Kaka'ako and Moili'ili, makeshift housing was established where 5,000 adults and many children lived, slept and were fed. But this too failed to break the strike.

On June 8th, police rounded up Waipahu strikers who were staying with friends and forced them at gunpoint to return to work. Thirty of their friends, non-strikers, were arrested, charged with "inciting unrest." On June 10, the four leaders of the strike, Negoro, Makino, Soga and Tasaka were arrested and charged with conspiracy to obstruct the operation of the plantations. On June 11th, the chief of police banned all public speeches for the duration of the strike. In a cat and mouse game, the authorities released the strike leaders on bond then re-arrested them within a few days. The documents of the defense were seized at the office of the Japanese newspaper which supported the strike. In the trial of the leaders, which began on July 26th, the only evidence against them was the Japanese newspaper articles and these were translated in such a way as to twist the words and give them a more violent meaning.

In the midst of the trial there was an attempted assassination of the editor of an anti-strike Japanese newspaper. It had no relation to the men on trial but it whipped up public feeling against them and against the strike.

On August 5, 1909, after three months out, the strike was called off. On the record, the strike is listed as a loss. It cost the Japanese community \$40,000 to maintain the walkout. The Higher Wage Association was wrecked. But the strike was well organized, well led and well disciplined, and shortly after the walkout the employers granted increases to the workers who were on "Contract", that is working a specified area on an arrangement similar to sharecropping. This was estimated at \$500,000. The ordinary workers got pay raises of approximately \$270,000. Housing conditions were improved. The racial differential in pay was gradually closed.

As for the owner, the strike had cost them \$2 million according to the estimate of strike leader Negoro. The four strike leaders were found guilty and sentenced to fines and 10 months imprisonment. But when the strike was over public pressure mounted for their release and they were pardoned by Secretary of the Territory, Earnest Mott-Smith. In 1973, Fred Makino, was recommended posthumously by the newswriters of Hawai'i for the Hawai'i Newspaper Hall of Fame.

In the years following the 1909 strike, the employers did two things to ward off future stoppages. They imported large numbers of laborers from the Philippines and they embarked on a paternalistic program to keep the workers happy, building schools, churches, playgrounds, recreation halls and houses. Though they did many good things, they did not pay the workers a decent living wage, or recognize their right to a voice in their own destiny.

Two years after the strike a Department of Immigration report said, "The sugar growers have not entirely recovered from the scare given them by the strike.... and would like to bring in to the islands large numbers of Filipinos or other cheap labor to create a surplus, so that.... they would be able to procure the necessary help without being obliged to pay any increase in wages."

A Commissioner of Labor Statistics said, "Plantations view laborers primarily as instrument of production. Their business interests require cheap, not too intelligent, docile, unmarried men."

Recorded Plantation Strikes by Racial Groups (1900 - 1937)*			
Year	Number	estimated workers	Nationality
1900	20	8,000	Japanese
1901-1902	2	Not available	-
1903-1905	12	10,165	-
1906	1	1,700	-
1909	1	7,000	-
1920	2	15,000	Japanese & Filipino
1924	1	3,000	Filipino
1933	several	1,000	Filipino
1937	1	3,500	Filipino
Edward Johannessen, <i>The Hawaiian Labor Movement: A Brief History</i> , (Boston: Bruce Humphries, Inc., 1956): 74.			

THE BIG FIVE:

In 1911, the American writer, Ray Stannard Baker, said, "I have rarely visited any place where there was as much charity and as little democracy as in Hawaii."¹⁸

The decade after 1909 was a dark one for Labor. There were no major strikes although 41 labor disturbances are on record in this period. These were not just of plantation labor. They involved longshoremen, quarry workers, construction workers, iron workers, pineapple cannery employees, fishermen, freight handlers, telephone operators, machinists and others. Wages were the main issue but the right to organize, shorter hours of work, freedom from discrimination, and protests against unfair discharge were matters that triggered the disputes.

The employers had continued to organize their efforts to control Hawai'i's economy, such that before long there were five big companies in command. The notorious "Big Five" were formed, in the main, by the early *haole* missionary families at first as sugar plantations then, as they diversified, as Hawai'i's power elite in all phases of island business from banking to tourism. They were C. Brewer, Castle & Cooke, Alexander and Baldwin, Theo. Davies, and Hackfeld & Co., which later became AmFac.

¹⁸ Ray Stannard Baker, "Wonderful Hawaii, Part II: The Land and the Landless," *American Magazine* (December 1911) p. 210.

¹⁷ Walter G. Smith, Editor, *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (May 14, 1909), p. 4.

The first notable instance of racial solidarity among the workers was in a 1916 dispute when longshoremen of all races joined in a strike for union recognition, a closed shop, and higher wages. This strike was led by Jack Edwardson, Port Agent of the Sailors Union of the Pacific. The workers did not win their demands for union security but did get a substantial increase in pay. These were the years of World War I. War-induced inflation raised the cost of living in Hawaii by 115%. Yet, the plantation owners were so strong that basic wages remained unchanged.

THE 1920 STRIKE:

In 1917 the Japanese formed a new Higher Wage Association. They reminded the Hawaii Sugar Planters' Association that the established wage of \$20 to \$24 a month was not enough to pay for the barest necessities of life. The planters ignored the request. Instead, they stepped up their anti-Japanese propaganda and imported more Filipino laborers.

Because a war was on, the plantation workers did not press their demands. But when hostilities ended they formed a new organization called the Federation of Japanese Labor and began organizing on all islands.

Meanwhile, the Filipinos formed a parallel but independent Filipino Labor Union under the leadership of Pablo Manlapit. The two organizations established contact. However, they worked independently of each other. Eventually this proved to be a fatal flaw.

In December of 1919 the Japanese Federation politely submitted their requests. The appeal read in part:

We are laborers working in the sugar plantations of Hawaii. People know Hawaii as the paradise of the Pacific and as a sugar producing country. But do they know that there are thousands of laborers who are suffering under the heat of the equatorial sun, in field and in factory, and who are weeping with 10 hours of hard labor and with a scanty pay of 77 cents a day?

We love production. Fifty years ago, when we first came to Hawaii, these islands were covered with *ohia* forests, guava fields and areas of wild grass. Day and night did we work, cutting trees and burning grass, clearing lands and cultivating fields until we made the plantations what they are today.

We are faithful laborers willing to follow the steps of our departed elders and do our part toward Hawaii's production. We hear that there are in Hawaii over a hundred millionaires, men chiefly connected with the sugar plantations. It is not our purpose to complain and envy, but we would like to state that there are on the sugar plantations which produced these large fortunes for their owners a large number of laborers who are suffering under a wage of 77 cents a day.

The effects of the European war have reached Hawaii and there is no need to mention about the spiraling rising living costs. We have so far restrained ourselves because we did not want to cause the slightest disruption in the economy of our nation at war. The war is over, and our plight has increased. The sugar industry has prospered. The elimination of wartime taxes, combined with postwar lower freight and fertilizer have resulted in increased profits to the industry. We fully realize that capital is entitled to a fair return. On the other hand, we feel that it would only be fair and just that worker's economic plight be recognized and consideration be given to increasing their wages.¹⁹

Their respectful request was accompanied by a list of demands which included:

1. An increase from 77 cents to \$1.25 a day. Women laborers to receive a minimum of 95 cents a day.
2. The bonus system to be made a legal obligation rather than a matter of benevolence.
3. An eight hour day
4. Maternity leave with pay for women two weeks before and six weeks after childbirth.
5. Double-time for overtime, Sundays and holidays.

The HSPA flatly rejected all items. Three times the workers submitted proposals. Three times they were rejected. The workers sent two representatives to meet with the HSPA. The HSPA would not even grant them an interview. As the Japanese Federation was considering what steps to take next, the Filipino Laborer's Association jumped the gun and went on strike on January 19, 1920.

Four days later the Japanese joined them in the strike. The response of the HSPA followed the pattern of action it had used in 1909. With the *Advertiser* and the *Star-Bulletin* as their mouthpiece they attacked the strike as an Oriental conspiracy, always describing the strikers as "alien agitators."

At the same time, the press was giving considerably kinder treatment to a Teamster strike of primarily white and Hawaiian drivers against Honolulu Construction and Draying, Co. But, as on the plantations, the employers were steadfastly refusing to recognize or bargain with their employees in any form whatsoever.

The main attack of the press, however, was directed against the Japanese. The *Star-Bulletin*, in an editorial tried to intimidate Americans who supported the strikers. The editorial said, "An American citizen who advocates anything less than resistance to the bitter end against the arrogant ambition of the Japanese agitators is a traitor to his own people."²⁰

The next step of the owners was to evict the strikers from plantation homes. They did not spare the sick, the elderly and the children. When the police had finished, over 12,000 were homeless. Again the long treks into town began.

As one of the strike leaders recalled later, "... the 18th of February is a day we can never forget. It was the day when we were expelled from our homes on the plantation.... A pitiable and even frightful scene that day (was) presented to us--household utensils and furniture thrown out and heaped before our houses, doors tightly nailed that none might enter, sickly fathers with trunks and baggage, mothers with weeping babes in arms, the crying of children, and the rough voices of the plantation officers.... Alas, poor wanderers, where were we to find ourselves at the next break of day?"²¹

An influenza epidemic was raging at the time, and sickness and death hit the ranks of the workers and their families. Still, this did not break the strike. On the contrary, the inhuman treatment that was suffered forged an even greater solidarity. Less fortunately, bitter feelings generated in this strike were planted deep in the heart of the Japanese community.

In the midst of the struggle, a disagreement developed between Pablo Manlapit, leader of the Filipinos, and the leaders of the Japanese Federation. The *Star-Bulletin* and *Advertiser* goaded and humiliated the Filipinos by continually writing that they were only being used by the Japanese.

Manlapit announced that all Filipinos were returning to work, and the *Star-Bulletin* immediately gloated that the strike had been broken. Though there was confusion in the ranks, many Filipinos refused to follow Manlapit's instruction. Instead, they stuck with their Japanese brothers and sisters. Five days later Pablo Manlapit revoked his call for an end to the strike. He said he had misjudged the mood of his people.

The employers tried to take advantage of the situation. Reports were spread that Manlapit had been offered a bribe of \$25,000 but had held out for \$50,000. The rumors were never substantiated.

The strike began to weaken and wind down. On July 1, 1920, more than five months after it began, the Federation voted to call off the strike. Many Japanese were never taken back to work. As was common in such cases, the names of union leaders were "black-listed" to prevent them from working anywhere.

But, as with most struggles of the workers, there were some positive results. Shortly after the strike, the race differential in wages and in the bonus system were eliminated. Pay was increased from \$20 up to \$23 a month. The bonus was increased. Management made extensive improvements in housing, sanitation and water systems.

The strike had developed some qualities of leadership among the workers which would be useful 15 and 20 years later when there was a resurgence of unionization. The Japanese Federation had received \$681,499 in strike assessments and in support from the community. This was 16 times as much as had been given in the 1909 strike.

The HSPA, according to some estimates, had spent \$12 million as compared to \$2 million which was used to break the earlier strike.

1924 -THE FILIPINO STRIKE:

Typically, the bosses now became disillusioned with both Japanese and Filipino workers. They spent the next few years trying to get the U.S. Congress to relax the Chinese Exclusion Act so that they could bring in new Chinese. Suddenly, the Chinese, whom they had reviled several generations back, were considered a desirable element. Congress, in a period when racism was more open than

²⁰ R. A. McNally, Editor, "What the Japanese Agitators Want," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, (February 13, 1920) p. 6.

²¹ Perlman, "Organized Labor in Hawaii," pp. 269-270.

¹⁹ Ernest K. Wakukawa, *A History of the Japanese People in Hawaii*. (Honolulu: Toyo Shoin, 1938), pp. 240-242.

today, prevented the importation of Chinese labor.

Unfortunately, organized labor on the mainland was also infected with racism and supported the Congress in this action. For a while it looked as though militant unionism on the plantations was dead. To ensure the complete subjugation of Labor, the Territorial Legislature passed laws against "criminal syndicalism, anarchistic publications and picketing."²²

This repression with penalties up to 10 years in prison did not stifle the discontent of the workers. Particularly the Filipinos, who were rapidly becoming the dominant plantation labor force, had deep seated grievances. As the latest immigrants they were the most discriminated against, and held in the most contempt.

Although the planters claimed there was a labor shortage and they were actively recruiting from the Philippines, they screened out and turned back any arrivals that could read or write. They wanted only illiterates. Of 600 men who had arrived in the islands voluntarily, they sent back 100. But these measures did not prevent discontent from spreading.

In 1922 Pablo Manlapit was again active among them and had organized a new Filipino Higher Wage Movement which claimed 13,000 members. In April 1924 a strike was called on the island of Kaua'i. The chief demands were for \$2 a day in wages and reduction of the workday to 8 hours. It looked like history was repeating itself. The employers used repression, armed forces, the National Guard, and strikebreakers who were paid a higher wage than the strikers demanded. Again workers were turned out of their homes. The propaganda machine whipped up race hatred. Spying and infiltration of the strikers ranks was acknowledged by Jack Butler, executive head of the HSPA.²³

Arrests of strike leaders was used to destroy the workers solidarity. People were bribed to testify against them. On September 9th, 1924 outraged strikers seized two scabs at Hanapēpē, Kaua'i and prevented them from going to work. The police, armed with clubs and guns came to the "rescue."²⁴ The Filipino strikers used home made weapons and knives to defend themselves.

The Associated Press flashed the story of what followed across the nation in the following words: Honolulu. - Twenty persons dead, unnumbered injured lying in hospital, officers under orders to shoot strikers as they approached, distracted widows with children tracking from jails to hospitals and morgues in search of missing strikers - this was the aftermath of a clash between cane strikers and workers on the McBryde plantation, Tuesday at Hanapēpē, island of Kaua'i. The dead included sixteen Filipinos and four policemen.

In the aftermath 101 Filipinos were arrested. 76 were brought to trial and 60 were given four year jail sentences. Pablo Manlapit was charged with subornation of perjury and was sentenced to two to ten years in prison. The *Hawaii Hochi* charged that he had been railroaded to prison, a victim of framed up evidence, perjured testimony, racial prejudice and class hatred. Shortly thereafter he was paroled on condition that he leave the Territory.²⁵

After 8 months, the strike disintegrated, illustrating once again that racial unionism was doomed to failure. And what of the sugar companies? *The Federationist*, the official publication of the AFL, reported:

In 1924, the ten leading sugar companies listed on the Stock Exchange paid dividends averaging 17 per cent. From 1913 to 1923 eleven leading sugar companies paid cash dividends of 172.45 percent and in addition most of them issued large stock dividends.²⁶

After the 1924 strike, the labor movement in Hawaii dwindled but it never died. Discontent among the workers seethed but seldom surfaced. Pablo Manlapit, who was imprisoned and then exiled returned to the islands in 1932 and started a new organization, this time hoping to include other ethnic groups. But the time was not ripe in the depression years. There were small nuisance strikes in 1933 that made no headway and involved mostly Filipinos. In 1935 Manlapit was arrested and

forced to leave for the Philippines, ending his colorful but tragic career in the local labor movement.

VIBORA LUVIMINDA:

The mantle of his leadership was taken over by Antonio Fagel who organized the *Vibora Luviminda* on the island of Maui.

The *Vibora Luviminda* conducted the last strike of an ethnic nature in the islands in 1937. Fagel and nine other strike leaders were arrested, charged with kidnapping a worker. Fagel spent four months in jail while the strike continued.

Eventually, *Vibora Luviminda* made its point and the workers won a 15% increase in wages. But there was no written contract signed. The loosely organized *Vibora Luviminda* withered away. The era of workers divided by ethnic groups was thus ended forever.

The years of the 1930s were the years of a world wide economic depression. Unemployment estimated at up to 25 million in the United States, brought with it wide-spread hunger and breadlines. Hawai'i too was affected and for a while union organization appeared to come to a standstill.

PA'A HUI UNIONS²⁷: TRIUMPHS OF SOLIDARITY After 1935

The third period is the modern period and marks the emergence of true labor unions into Hawaiian labor relations. Labor throughout the entire United States came to new life as a result of President Roosevelt's "New Deal". Under the protection of a landmark federal law known as the Wagner Act, unions now had a federally protected right to organize and employers had a new federally enforceable duty to bargain in good faith with freely elected union representatives. In this new period it was no longer necessary to resort to the strike to gain recognition for the union. Under the Wagner Act the union could petition for investigation and certification as the sole and exclusive bargaining representative of the employees.

Two big maritime strikes on the Pacific coast in the '30's; that of 1934, a 90 day strike, and that of 1936, a 98 day strike tested the will of the government and the newly established National Labor Relations Board to back up these worker rights. The strike of 1934 in particular finally established the right of a bona fide union to exist on the waterfront, and the lesson wasn't lost on their Hawaiian brothers.

By terms of the award, joint hiring halls were set up, with a union designated dispatcher in charge, ending forever the humiliating and corrupt "shape up" hiring that had plagued the industry.

The West Coast victories inspired and sowed the seed of a new unionism in Hawai'i. Harry Kamoku, a Hilo resident, was one of those Longshoremen from Hawai'i who was on the West Coast in '34 and saw how this could work in Hawai'i. He and other longshoremen of Honolulu, Hilo and other ports took up the job of organization and struggle to achieve recognition of their union, improved conditions, and greater security through a written contract. This new era for labor in Hawai'i, it is said, arose at the water's edge and at the farthest reach from the power center of the Big 5 in Honolulu.

On Kaua'i and in Hilo, the Longshoremen were building a labor movement based on family and community organizing and multi-ethnic solidarity. Harry Kamoku was the model union leader. Part Chinese and Hawaiian himself, he welcomed everyone into the union as "brothers under the skin."

Inter-Island Steamship Strike

The Inter-Island Steamship Navigation Co. had since 1925 been controlled by Matson Navigation and Castle & Cooke. In the days before commercial airline, nearly all passenger and light freight transport between the Hawaiian islands was operated by the Inter-Island Steamship Co. fleet of 4 ships. By 1938 a rare coalition of the Inland Boatmen's Union (CIO) and the Metal Trades Council (AFL) in Honolulu had signed up the 500 Inter-Island crewmen and were trying to negotiate contracts. On May 26 a strike was called and after three weeks the company began to recruit replacements to get the ships running again and break the unions.

Workers in Hilo and on Kaua'i were much better organized thanks to the Longshoremen so that when Inter-Island was eventually able to get the SS. *Waialeale* back into service at the end of

²² Sections 5600, 5601-4, and 6120-6122 of the *Laws of Hawaii*, passed in 1923; see Liebes' Thesis, "Labor Organization In Hawaii," Appendix D.

²³ Letter from Sheriff William H. Rice to Wallace R. Farrington, September 20, 1924; State of Hawai'i Archives, "The Papers of Governor Wallace R. Farrington"; also noted in Fuchs, p. 234.

²⁴ *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, September 9, 1924.

²⁵ Lawrence H. Fuchs, *Hawaii Pono* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1961), p. 235.

²⁶ E. Guy Talbott, "Labor Problems in Hawaii" *American Federationist*, Vol. 32, No. 7 (July 1925), pp. 551-552.

²⁸ A Hawaiian phrase first used to describe the solidarity among the Hilo unions back in the late 1930s. The Hawaiian word Pa'a means solid or tightknit and the word Hui refers to an association, group or union. See *Pa'a Hui Unions: The Hawaii State AFL-CIO, 1966-1991* (1991), p. 41.

July, sympathetic unionists there were prepared to demonstrate their support for the striking workers. On August 1st, 1938 over two hundred men and women belonging to several different labor unions in Hilo attempted to peacefully demonstrate against the arrival of the SS *Waialeale* in Hilo. They were met by a force of over seventy police officers who tear gassed, hosed and finally fired their riot guns into the crowd, hospitalizing fifty of the demonstrators. In that bloody confrontation 50 union members were shot, and though none died, many were so severely maimed and wounded that it has come to be known in the annals of Hawaiian labor history as the Hilo Massacre.

On June 12, 1941, the first written contract on the waterfront was achieved by the ILWU. The future of labor organizing appeared bright until December when the bombing of Pearl Harbor threw the territory into a state of martial law for the next four years.

The bombs that dropped on Pearl Harbor also temporarily bombed out the hopes of the unions. Martial law was declared in the Territory and union organization on the plantations was brought to a sudden halt. Military rule for labor meant:

1. Wages were frozen at the December 7 level.
2. Workers were forbidden to change jobs without permission from the employer.
3. Unemployed workers had to accept jobs as directed by the military.
4. Absenteeism was punishable by fines up to \$200 or imprisonment up to two months. Under this rule hundreds of workers were fined or jailed. In some instances workers were ordered to buy bonds in lieu of fines or to give blood to the blood bank in exchange for a cut in jail time.
5. Labor contracts were suspended.²⁸
6. Plantations and the military worked out an arrangement whereby the army could borrow workers. The workers received 41 cents an hour but the Planters were paid 62 cents for each worker they loaned out. All told, the Planters collected about \$6 million dollars for workers and equipment loaned out in this way, taken.

The 1946 Sugar Strike

As to the plantations, still no union had been successful in obtaining so much as a toe-hold in any plantation of the Territory until 1939. There were many barriers. Anti-labor laws constituted a constant threat to union organizers. Strangers, and especially those suspected of being or known to be union men, were kept under close surveillance. Camp policemen watched their movements and ordered them to leave company property. The Anti-Trespass Law, passed after the 1924 strike and another law provided that any police officer in any seaport or town could arrest, without warrant, any person when the officer has a reasonable suspicion that such person intends to commit an offense. These provisions were often used to put union leaders out of circulation in times of tension and industrial conflict.

Another major obstacle to labor organization on the plantations was "paternalism."

"Since all land, housing, community centers, stores and even many governmental functions of the plantation towns were controlled by the plantations, anyone disapproved of by management was, in effect, a trespasser and could be put off the premises. Plantation paternalism with its system of perquisites, bonus payments and contracts did much to discourage labor organization. It also aided in breaking up strikes as was illustrated by the eviction of strikers and their families from company houses during labor disputes." [Edward Johannessen, *The Hawaiian Labor Movement: A Brief History*, (Boston: Bruce Humphries, Inc., 1956): 92.]

Thirty-four sugar plantations once thrived in Hawaii. "King Sugar" was a massive labor-intensive enterprise that depended heavily on cheap, imported labor from around the world. While the plantation owners reaped fabulous wealth from the \$160 million annual sugar and pineapple crop, workers earned 24 cents an hour. With the War over, the ILWU began a concerted campaign to win representation of sugar workers using the new labor laws. From 1944 to 1946 membership rose from 900 to 28,000 as one by one plantation after plantation voted overwhelmingly for the union.

The plantation owners could see a strike was coming and arranged to bring in over 6,000 replacements from the Philippines whom they hoped would scab against the largely Japanese workforce. But the ILWU had organizers from the Marine Cooks and Stewards union on board the

ships signing up the Filipinos who were warmly received into the union as soon as they arrived.

About twenty six thousand sugar workers and their families, 76 thousand people in all, began the 79-day strike on September 1, 1946 and completely shut down 33 of the 34 sugar plantations in the islands. By actively fighting racial and ethnic discrimination and by recruiting leaders from each group, the ILWU united sugarworkers like never before. Members were kept informed and involved through a democratic union structure that reached into every plantation gang and plantation camp. Every member had a job to do, whether it was walking the picket line, gathering food, growing vegetables, cooking for the communal soup kitchens, printing news bulletins, or working on any of a dozen strike committees. The organization that won that strike for the union remained long after the strike and became the basis of a political order that brought about a political revolution by 1954.

The agreement ending the strike abolished the "perquisite system" on sugar plantations and provided for the conversion of perquisites into cash payments, an estimated \$10,500,000 in increased wages and benefits. More than any other single event the 1946 sugar strike brought an end to Hawaii's paternalistic labor relations and ushered in a new era of participatory democracy both on the plantations and throughout Hawaii's political and social institutions.

The Great Dock Strike of 1949

The 1949 longshore strike was a pivotal event in the development of the ILWU in Hawaii and also in the development of labor unity necessary for a modern labor movement. The 171 day strike challenged the colonial wage pattern whereby Hawaii workers received significantly lower pay than their West Coast counterparts even though they were working for the same company and doing the same work.

The employers included all seven of the Territory's stevedoring companies with about 2,000 dockworkers total, who were at the time making \$1.40 an hour compared to the \$1.82 being paid to their West Coast counterparts. After trying federal mediation, the ILWU proposed submission of the issues to arbitration. When that was refused by the companies, the strike began on May 1, 1949, and shipping to and from the islands came to a virtual standstill.

The local press, especially the *Honolulu Advertiser*, vilified the Union and its leadership as communists controlled by the Soviet Union. This vicious "red-baiting" was unrelenting and stirred public sentiment against the strikers, but the Union held firm, and the employers steadfastly rejected the principle of parity and the submission of the dispute to arbitration.

The Legislature convened in special session on August 6 to pass dock seizure laws and on August 10, the Governor seized Castle & Cooke Terminals and McCabe, Hamilton and Renny, the two largest companies, but the Union continued to picket and protested their contempt citations in court.

From the beginning the Union had agreed to work Army, Navy and relief ships at pre-strike wages. A "splinter fleet" of smaller companies who had made agreements with the Union were also able to load and unload, which as time passed became an effective way for the union to split the ranks of management.

The strike was finally settled with a wage increase that brought the dock workers closer to but not equal to the West Coast standard, but it was certain the employers were in disarray and had to capitulate.

One year after the so-called "Communist conspiracy" trials, the newly won political rights of the working people asserted itself in a dramatic way. Union contracts protected workers from reprisals due to political activity. And so in 1954 Labor campaigned openly and won a landslide for union endorsed candidates for the Territorial Legislature.

The newly elected legislators were mostly Democrats. Many were returned World War II veterans whose parents had been plantation laborers. They reflected the needs of working people and of the common man. Thus the iron grip of the industrial oligarchy, which had controlled Hawaiian politics for over a half century through the Republican Party, was broken.

In the years that followed the Labor Movement was able to win through legislative action, many benefits and protections for its membership and for working people generally: Pre-Paid Health Care, Temporary Disability Insurance, Prevailing Wage laws, improved minimum wage rates, consumer protection, and no-fault insurance to name only a few.

Labor was also influential in getting improved schools, colleges, public services and various health and welfare agencies.

In the meantime the Labor Movement has continued to grow. Late in the 1950's the tourist industry began to pick up steam. The advent of statehood in 1959 and the introduction of the giant

²⁸ General Orders, No. 38, December 20, 1941, Office of the Military Governor, Fort Shafter, T.H.; see J. Garner Anthony's *Hawaii Under Army Rule* (California: Stanford University Press, 1955), p. 141.

jet airplanes accelerated the growth of the visitor industry. At the same time that mechanization was cutting down on employment on the plantations, the hotel and restaurant business was growing by leaps and bounds.

The Unity House unions, under the leadership of Arthur Rutledge, which covered hotel and restaurant workers plus teamsters, reached a growth in 1973 of about 12,000 members.

Forging Ahead

Early struggles for wage parity were also aimed at attempts to separate neighbor island wage standards from those of Honolulu City & County. A permanent result of these struggles can be seen in the way that local unions in Hawai'i are all state-wide rather than city or county based. For example, Local 745 of the Carpenter's Union in Hawai'i is the largest in the International Brotherhood of Carpenters.

In 1961 President John F. Kennedy issued an Executive Order which recognized the right of Federal workers to organize for the purpose of collective bargaining. This gave a great impetus to an already growing union movement among Federal employees. In 1973 it was estimated that of 30,000 Federal workers in Hawaii, about one third are organized, mostly in AFL-CIO Unions. Of these, the Postal Workers are the largest group.

In 1966 the Hawai'i Locals of the AFL-CIO joined together in a State Federation. In 1973 the Federation included 43 local unions with a total membership in excess of 50,000.

The ILWU lost membership on the plantations as machines took the place of man and as some agricultural operations, were closed down but this loss was offset by organizing other fields such as automotive repair shops and the hotel industry, especially on the neighbor islands. In 1973 it remained the largest single trade union local with a membership of approximately 24,000.

By 1968 unions were so thoroughly accepted as a part of the Hawaiian scene that it created no furor when unions in the public sector of the economy asked that the right of collective bargaining by public employees be written into the State Constitution.

The Constitutional Convention of 1968 recommended and the voters approved a section which reads:

Persons in public employment shall have the right to organize for the purpose of collective bargaining as prescribed by law.

In pursuance of this constitutional mandate, the State Legislature in 1970 adopted a Public Employee Collective Bargaining Law which gave workers in the State and county government the right to organize and bargain collectively, including the right to strike under certain conditions.

Thus Hawai'i became one of the first states in the Union to recognize that government workers had the right to strike similar to that of workers in private industry.

Labor had indeed come a long way from the dark days when workers were looked upon as mere instruments of production and unions were considered evil conspiracies; when work was paid at subsistence levels and living conditions were mean and demeaning; when education for working class children was primitive and security in old age was unheard of.

In 1973 union membership embraced about 115,000 members out of a work force of 350,000.

And so the struggle goes on, usually more peaceful than in previous decades, but the union campaign for better wages, hours and conditions of employment continues. And, as in the past, the union fight embraces demands for greater democracy, economic, political and social.

The Labor Movement in serving its own members inevitably contributes to the welfare and prosperity of the community; to the quality of life itself.

HAWAIIAN LABOR HISTORY BOOKSHELF

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LABOR HISTORY VIDEO & FILM*

1946: THE GREAT HAWAII SUGAR STRIKE - *Rice & Roses* (1996, 60 min.)

BIG JIM McLAIN (1952, black and white, 90 min., Warner Home Video)

BROTHERS UNDER THE SKIN - *Rice & Roses* (1986, 30 min.)

BROTHERS UNDER THE SKIN - *Rice & Roses*, Dramatization (1989, 60 min.)

GETTING SOMEWHERE (1998, 30 minutes)

THE GREAT HAWAII DOCK STRIKE - *Rice & Roses* (1999, 60 min.)

HARRY BRIDGES: A MAN AND HIS UNION (1992, 60 min)

HOLE HOLE BUSHI: SONGS OF THE CANE FIELD - *Rice & Roses* (2015, 30 min.)

JACK HALL: HIS LIFE AND TIMES - *Rice & Roses* (2008, 60 min.)

MEMORY LANE - *Rice & Roses* (1987, 30 min.)

PICTURE BRIDE (1995, Miramax Films 95 min)

PICTURE BRIDES - *Rice & Roses* (1986, 30 min)

PLANTATION DAYS - *Rice & Roses* (1984, 2 parts, 30 min. each)



Lai Toodle

from the album "Eddie Kamae Presents The Sons of Hawaii"
produced by Hawaii Sons, Inc. (HSC-1001)

1
There was a haole Luna
He rides on big white horse
he too muchi peku peku ke la Pilipino
Ke la Pilipino hapaiko

Lai toodle, lai toodle, lai oh
Lai toodle, lai toodle Lai oh
he too muchi peku peku ke la Pilipino
Ke la Pilipino hapaiko

2
Here comes that haole pupuka
he rides on a big white horse
He too muchi pekupeku ke la Kepani
Ke la Kepani hapaiko

Lai toodle, lai toodle, lai oh
Lai toodle, lai toodle Lai oh
He too muchi pekupeku ke la Kepani
Ke la Kepani hapaiko

3.
Here comes that son of a bitchy bossy
he rides on a big white horsey
He too muchi pekupeku ke la Chinaman
Ke la Chinaman hapaiko

Lai toodle, lai toodle, lai oh
Lai toodle, lai toodle Lai oh
He too muchi pekupeku ke la Chinaman
Ke la Chinaman hapaiko



*available at the CLEAR Video Library at University of Hawaii - West O'ahu

Hole Hole Bushi

These lyrics were sung by Japanese plantation workers to a standard folk melody that accompanied their laborious cane stripping work. "Bushi" is the Japanese word for melody and "hole hole" is Hawaiian for the dried sugarcane leaves that had to be manually stripped from the stalks at harvest. Most of these verses are preserved thanks to Professor Franklin Odo in the Ethnic Studies program at the University of Hawai'i in the early 80s:

Hawaii Hawaii to
Kite mirya Jiyoku
Boshi ga Emma de
Runa ga oni

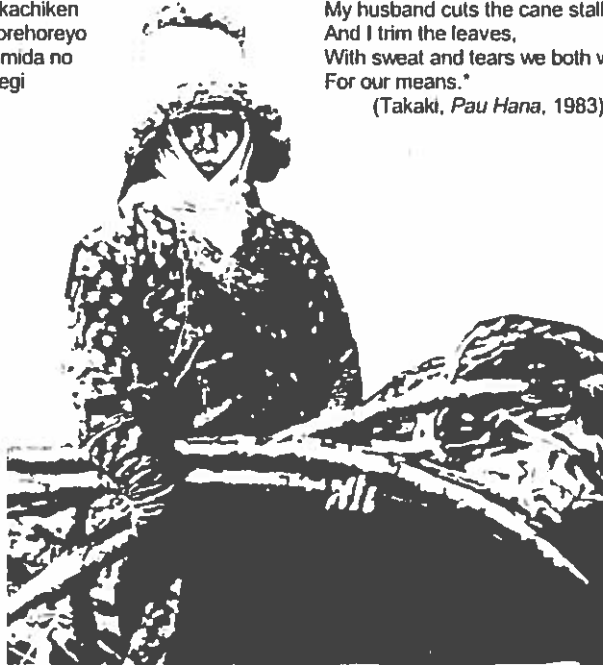
Wonderful Hawaii, or so I heard.
One look and it seems like Hell.
The manager's the Devil and
His luna are demons.
(*Hawaii Herald*, 8-7-81)

Dekasegi wa kuru kuru
Hawaii wa tsumaru
Ai no Nakayama
Kane ga furu

The laborers keep on coming
Overflowing these Islands
But it's only Inspector Nakayama
Who rakes in the profits.
(*Hawaii Herald*, 8-7-81)

Kane wa kachiken
Washa horehoreyo
Ase to namida no
Tomokasegi

My husband cuts the cane stalks,
And I trim the leaves,
With sweat and tears we both work,
For our means.*
(Takaki, *Pau Hana*, 1983)



* Franklin Odo and Harry Minoru Urata, "Hole Hole Bushi," *Humanities News* (Feb-March 1984) Vol. 5, No. 1, p. 4.

Labor Force brought to Hawai'i

Chinese (1852-1900)	46,000
Japanese (1868-1907)	180,000
Portuguese (1878-1913)	17,500
Norwegians (1881)	615
Germans (1882-1897)	1,280
Puerto Ricans (1900-1901, 1922)	5,800
Koreans (1903-1910)	7,420
Spanish (1905-1916)	7,500
Filipino (1906, 1929, 1945)	111,000
Russians (1906-1912)	2,475

*Johannessen, Edward. *The Hawaiian Labor Movement: A Brief History*. Boston: Bruce Humphries, Inc., 1956: 28.

Laborers' Average Monthly Plantation Wages

In the report of 1888-1890 the Board of Immigration estimated plantation wages as follows:—

	Contract Laborers	Free Laborers
Hawaiian	\$18.58 per month.	\$20.64 per month.
Portuguese	19.53 "	22.25 "
Japanese	15.54 "	18.51 "
Chinese	17.61 "	17.47 "
South Sea Islander	14.81 "	15.36 "

The figures show a higher average wage in case of the free laborer, but the majority of contract laborers were serving for the first term or were inferior men who could find employment only under contract and at low wages.

Coman, Katherine. *The History of Contract Labor in the Hawaiian Islands*. New York: Macmillan Co., American Economic Association (August 1903). pp. 23-24

CHART 5

OFFICERS OF ONE OF THE FIVE LARGE SUGAR AGENCIES
OF HAWAII