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Ninety years ago, the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association (HSPA) initiated its plan to recruit mass labor from the Philippines for Hawaii's plantations. The first attempt by the HSPA was a dismal failure, but what started as only a handful of workers swelled into induced, then self-generating waves of thousands of Filipino contract laborers who landed on Hawaii's shores in the subsequent decades, from 1910 until a few years before the closing of Filipino immigration in 1934. This population of predominantly male labor recruits (popularly referred to as *sakada*), and the small number of women and children who came or were born on the islands, pioneered the formation of the Filipino community in Hawai'i.¹

Postwar Filipino Immigrant Labor

In 1946, however, a fresh cohort of 6,000 immigrant workers specially recruited by the HSPA arrived from the Philippines; many were accompanied by their families, which consisted of more than 1,300 women and children. These post World War II labor recruits would become known as the "1946 or '46 Sakadas". Their experience constitutes a fascinating episode in the history of Hawaii's Filipinos and the island community as a whole, yet, their story remains largely untold and the socio-historical significance of their experience, at both the individual and collective levels, has largely been overlooked.

This study begins to tell the story of the '46 Sakada by first providing an overview of this postwar phenomenon. It interconnects this historical event with the central players—i.e., the sugar industry, organized labor, and the public community—who were determining the fate of the '46 Sakada even before they were recruited and as the new imported laborers prepared to set foot on the islands. A central theme in this study, and any discourse on the Filipino experience in Hawai'i, is the place of the Filipinos in the ethnic and class hierarchy which exists in the island community. In presenting the essential aspects of the animated debate that went on in Hawai'i over the 1946 importation of Filipino laborers, this paper divulges (albeit, unintentionally) the very low status of the Filipinos and the group's negative representation in Hawaii's society. This long-held prejudiced perceptions surfaced instantly and clearly from the arguments voiced by the different sectors of the community on the controversial issue of whether or not to bring this massive number of "foreigners" from the Philippines. This paper leaves off with some views about the

sakadas and a brief discussion of the significance of the 1946 cohort in relation to Filipino immigration, in general, and to post-1965 immigration to Hawai'i, in particular. (The individual sakada narratives are central and integral to the larger, ongoing study of the '46 Sakada; they are purposely not included here but will be emphasized in a subsequent paper.)²

The Tydings-McDuffie Act and Filipino Immigration

The story of the 1946 Sakada is closely linked with the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934, a bill created by the U.S. Congress "to provide for the complete independence of the Philippine Islands." This "Philippine Independence Act" established the conditions for the Filipino people, and the cost to them, for obtaining sovereignty status.³

One of the smaller but significant provisions of the act pertains to Filipino immigration to the United States, and stipulates that upon ratification of the act by the Philippine Legislature or a body called for this purpose, "citizens of the Philippine Islands who are not citizens of the United States shall be considered as if they were aliens" subject to the U.S. Immigration Act of 1917 and the Immigration Act of 1924 "and all other laws of the United States relating to the immigration, exclusion, or expulsion of aliens." Although the Tydings-McDuffie Act clearly states that "All citizens of the Philippines shall owe allegiance to the United States" under a proposed "provisionary" Commonwealth government, for the purposes of immigration "the Philippine Islands shall be considered as a separate country and shall have for each fiscal year a quota of fifty."⁴ Thus, a price for creating the "complete independence of the Philippine Islands," was the exclusion of Filipinos from the United States. This provision in the act, which made it illegal for Filipinos to enter the U.S. under otherwise legal circumstances, did not come overnight. It was the final fruition of earlier unsuccessful attempts in the United States, specifically in California, to pass a "Filipino Exclusion" law in order to stop the movement of Filipinos to America.⁵

Hawai'i and Filipino Labor

The Filipino situation in the Territory of Hawaii was a different matter, however. Since 1910, a steady stream of thousands of Filipino contract workers recruited by the HSPA had migrated to the islands. By the beginning of the 1930s, the Filipinos had become the backbone of the sugar industry and had replaced the Japanese as the largest ethnic work force on the plantations.⁶ Having since depended on a continuous and cheap supply of labor from the Philippines, the HSPA anticipated the negative consequence of the Tydings-McDuffie Act and

successfully lobbied for Hawaii's exemption from the immigration quota. Thus, the quota provision in Section 8 (a) (1) "shall not apply to a person coming or seeking to come to the Territory of Hawaii who does not apply for and secure an immigration or passport visa, but such immigration shall be determined by the Department of the Interior on the basis of the needs of industries in the Territory of Hawaii."

Consistent with the spirit and intent of "Filipino Exclusion," the act made sure that the Filipino laborers to Hawaii were forbidden to step onto the shores of the United States.

Thus, Section 8 (a)(2) stipulates, furthermore, that:

Citizens of the Philippine Islands who are not citizens of the United States shall not be admitted to the continental United States from the Territory of Hawaii (whether entering such Territory before or after the effective date of this section) unless they belong to a class declared to be nonimmigrants by section 3 of the Immigration Act of 1924 or to a class declared to be nonquota immigrants under the provisions of section 4 of such Act...or unless they were admitted to such Territory under an immigration visa. The Secretary of Labor shall by regulations provide a method for such exclusion and for the admission of such excepted classes.

In 1945, the HSPA decided that "on the basis of the needs of industries in the Territory of Hawaii," it needed to recruit 6,000 male workers from the Philippines *before* the country became independent, on July 4, 1946.

The HSPA Invokes Exemption

On May 17 1945, Mr. P.E. Spalding, President of the HSPA, wrote a five-page letter to the Honorable Ingram M. Stainback, Governor of the Territory of Hawaii.⁷ The opening paragraph goes right to the point:

The sharp continuing decline in the labor supply of Hawaii's sugar plantations, amounting to some five per cent in the first three months of this year, has brought the Territory's sugar industry to a point of crisis that available remedies cannot solve. Some new and drastic measures will be necessary if drastic consequences are to be avoided.

Supporting this statement with an accompanying chart, Spalding proceeds to articulate the dilemma of the sugar industry, brought about by the effects of World War II on the island's economy:

... the number of adult male unskilled employees of the sugar plantations has dropped from 39,574 in 1936 to 22,543 in 1944; a decline of approximately 43

per cent. This rate has accelerated sharply in recent months; the number of these workers having fallen from 22,543 to 21,329 in the first quarter of this year. This is a loss of 1,214 in three months, or better than five per cent, and there are indications that the rate continues to rise."

He states that the plantations "have struggled to offset these manpower losses primarily by increased use of mechanical equipment and by the use of improved cane varieties having higher sugar yields, but the situation has at last reached the point where the plantations can no longer hope to maintain production at present levels without additional manpower." Spalding then says that: "The only remedy that remains is the immigration of a sufficient number of additional workers to increase production to its former levels. . ." He concludes his letter and "submit[s] that the needs of the sugar industry are such as to justify a determination by you to permit the immigration of citizens of the Philippine Islands to the Territory as provided in Section 8(a)(1) of the Philippines Independence Act" and "that a formal application is being prepared by this office for the entry of Filipinos. . ."

"Application for Authorization to Import Filipino Citizens"

On May 21, the HSAP through its secretary, Chauncey B. Wightman, submitted a formal, notarized document of "Application for Authorization to Import Filipino Citizens from the Philippine Islands" to the Office of the Governor.⁸ In a news conference in Washington, D.C. on June 25, Governor Stainback announced that he had granted the permission for the labor importation. "The governor said he is providing regulations to insure adequate wages and health care of Filipinos and also provisions to take them home when the emergency is over," the *Honolulu Star Bulletin* reports.⁹ On August 11, the official "Order Granting Applications"¹⁰ indicated the Governor's concurrence with the HSPA position: that there was, indeed, a shortage of labor in the Territory of Hawaii for the sugar and pineapple plantations and that in spite the HSPA's "reasonable efforts to find laborers unemployed in the Territory of Hawaii for the purpose of employment for which Filipino laborers are required but that such laborers are not obtainable"; that "unless such shortage of labor is promptly relieved the production of sugar and pineapple in the Territory of Hawaii will be seriously curtailed to the detriment of the general welfare of the nation and of the Territory of Hawaii"; and

[t]hat it would be the best interest of the nation and of the Territory of Hawaii to permit the importation from the Philippine Islands into the Territory of Hawaii of (a) six thousand (6,000) male laborers for employment on such plantations or

in such pineapple industry in the following pursuits, to-wit: preparation of the fields for planting, cultivating, harvesting, processing, and other allied operations and (b), in order to maintain normal family relationships as far as possible, the respective wives or children or both, of any of such laborers, if such wives, or children, or both, are permitted to be so imported during the effective period of this Order by regulations of the Secretary of the Interior now in effect or hereafter adopted.

The Order from the Governor also stipulated the terms under which the HSPA could import Filipino labor, such as the return transportation to the Philippines, payment of minimum wage, and health requirements.

Response from the ILWU

From the time the HSPA's application was made public in the press in May, the importation of Filipino laborers from the Philippines became a major issue of contention and debate in the community. The strongest critical voice of concern came from the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen Union (ILWU). This was to be expected. After many decades of total control by the sugar industry over its workers, organized labor finally made some headway in the industry-dominated U.S. territory, in the years before World War II broke out. However, organized labor felt the impact of military control during the war because of wartime regulations over plantation wages and unionizing. "There is little doubt that the Big Five, which already owned four-fifths of Hawaii's wealth, relished the role the military government was playing. It [the military government] had weakened the union movement at a time when its strength was beginning to make itself felt," Weingarten of the ILWU writes.¹¹

The end of military government marked "the turning point in the territory's labor history," Weingarten claims. Citing the provisions of the Wagner Act which gave the right for a worker to join a union without employer threat of dismissal or discrimination, ILWU organizers went to work on the neighbor islands in early 1944, describing their activities as "missionary work."¹² By the end of the war, the ILWU "had already established itself in the sugar, pineapple and stevedoring industries. . ." By November 1945, the union "had secured a sugar industry contract for thirty-three of the thirty-four plantations, covering all employees including agricultural workers."¹³ This contract was to be renewed in 1946.

These were the circumstances surrounding organized labor on the eve of the arrival of the '46 Sakada. The ILWU disagreed with the HSPA's argument that there was a labor shortage; it retorted that with the ending of the war, defense

civilian employees would fill up the labor force pool. It was also concerned that the HSPA's move to import 6,000 laborers from the Philippines was a strategic ploy to create "surplus labor" and thereby gain the upperhand in the upcoming negotiations by using the imported workers to break the possibility of a labor strike should this be necessary in the forthcoming contract bargaining renewal.

Jack W. Hall, the ILWU Regional Director in Hawai'i, was the principal spokesperson for organized labor. On May 28, he relayed the position of the union to Governor Stainback regarding the issue of importing Filipino labor. "In principle," he writes, "we have no objection to the temporary importation of labor if it can be demonstrated that such labor is required to maintain our basic economy." Hall also expressed the following concerns: that immigrants be afforded "full and equal opportunity with present employees under like wage rates and working conditions"; that labor contracts should not be more than two years "in order that such immigrants might return to the Philippines as soon as the need for their labor has diminished"; and, that they be "guaranteed return passage regardless of whether or not they complete their initial contracts." Joseph A. Kaholokula, Jr., president of the ILWU Local 144 (Processing, Warehouse & Distribution Workers) in Kahului, Maui, also wrote to the Governor, supporting the position and conditions set by Hall in his letter.¹⁴

More Opposition, Some Support

In the same article in which the *Star Bulletin* published Hall's letter, the newspaper reported the opposition of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) to the HSPA "plan to bring Filipinos." It quotes George A. Mulkey, representative of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL: "We are certainly opposed to bring in more Filipinos to Hawaii, especially when we are going to be faced with the problem soon of finding jobs for our returning soldier."¹⁵

Furthermore, the subsequent reaction of the various ILWU local units throughout the islands revealed a majority opposition to the "Filipino importation" by the rank and file members as indicated by the responses to Hall's September 22 inquiry. For example, correspondence came in from the representatives of Locals 141-2 in Ka'u, 148 in Ola'a, 142-4 in Honolulu and 143-5 in Papaaloa, all indicating their opposition to the importation of Filipinos. Local 142-2 in Hilo decided not to take a vote on the issue but members agreed to support the ILWU's official position, whatever that may be.¹⁶

Opposition also existed in the community if "letters to the editor" were some accurate reflection of true public sentiment. For example, William H. Crozier,

Jr., who believed that there was going to be a postwar rise in unemployment directed questions to the different interest groups: government officials, business and industry, organized labor, and tax-paying citizens. Richard L. Kekoa, on the other hand, was anxious "to properly safeguard Hawaii's people against dangers which the coming of such laborers will create."¹⁷

A number of Filipino organizations took the side of the HSPA, especially if their leaders happened to be working for the plantations. . . One such association was the Territorial Filipino Council of Hawaii which held its second annual convention in Volcano Camp on the Big Island on November 22-24. Those present at this event passed a resolution supporting the position of the sugar and pineapple industry and instructing "that all organizations opposing the proposed importation of Filipino laborers be urged to reconsider their position." A copy of the resolution and a cover letter from its secretary, Vicente F. Arkangel of Oloa, were forwarded to the ILWU's Jack Kawano on December 15.¹⁸

"Different Racial Extraction"

Indeed, a major underlying issue in the opposition to the importation of labor from the Philippines—in addition to the debate about what was good for the island economy and labor—was the ethno-racial factor. Clearly, there has existed a strong and deeply-entrenched stereotypic perception of the Filipinos, together with their negative representation in the community and their low rank in Hawaii's ethnic and social hierarchy. Furthermore, there was tremendous apprehension as to how these imported workers from a war-torn, Japanese-occupied Philippines were going to relate with the local Japanese population in Hawai'i.

Because the Filipinos comprised the largest percentage of plantation workers in Hawai'i at this time, and the union needed their support, it became awkward for organized labor to come out opposing the importation of workers from the Philippines without appearing "anti-Filipino." The sensitivity of this matter is reflected in Satoru Hiroshige's letter to Hall in which he reported that his Local membership in Hilo "decided not to put to a vote on the question of importation of Filipino labor . . . because if the members voted against the importation of Filipino labor, there might be some misunderstanding among our Filipino brothers."

A union leader in Kau presents a different racial perspective in a letter to Jack Hall: "We, who are of a different racial extraction, feel that such an importation of Filipino laborers will be detrimental to unionsm [sic] in Hawaii. Doubtless only Filipinos of a low social class will be brought here. We doubt

[sic] very much if we will be able to organize such a class." He continues to state that "If Filipinos come here once, we are certain that others will follow. These islands will be flooded with them and where will we, who have progressed thus far be?"

In addition to issues of race and class, the question pertaining to "Filipino social problems" (stemming from the group's unbalanced sex-ratio composition) surfaced, once again with the "fear that the overproportion of males in the community and the attendant social problems will be accentuated."¹⁹

"Only Creating Trouble Again?"

There was certainly great apprehension among the Filipinos in the community who expressed their own opposition based on different, yet similar, reasoning. They basically acknowledged that Filipinos had been victims of discrimination in Hawai'i but they also believed that the incoming Filipino workers might well be to blame because they would be unable to adjust and "assimilate." Roman R. Cariaga, a sociologist schooled at the University of Hawai'i in the Robert E. Park-Romanzo Adams-Andrew Lind tradition, articulates a sentiment shared by many Filipino leaders in the community:

Filipinos have gradually built up their social position. Social complications and maladjustments which will result from the presence of a new, unassimilated group of workers will reduce the Filipinos here to their former social status of "outsiders" and "unassimilable" outcasts. There are still some who feel this way about the Filipinos. Addition of unschooled laborers will intensify such feeling and the Filipinos will continue to be the victims of discrimination.²⁰

On the other hand, Cariaga seemed to imply that the new arrivals' diverse background (i.e., different from local or "localized" Filipinos) was going to be a divisive factor among Filipinos in Hawai'i. This particular view from the community was reiterated in Ricardo Labez's report to an ILWU committee about the "considerable opposition by local Filipinos" . . . to the importation of Filipino labor because "it would keep the Filipinos at the lowest rung of the social ladder in Hawaii."²¹

In a similar vein, a letter from "Juan de la Cruz" (aka the Rev. Nicolas C. Dizon) lambasts the HSPA but essentially puts an onus on the victims-to-be also:

Do you think that the HSPA. . . will keep their promises to give good wages and to going back home to those 6,000 new, green Filipino workers? Answer: If the HSPA could not give to the oldtimer and veteran plantation workers in their canefields, how can they give to the green one?

The 6,000 new, green Filipino workers will add only to headache here. What are you going to do with this additional number after the war? Only creating trouble again?²²

Interracial Relations: Filipinos and Japanese

The community was most concerned that the new Filipino workers would have intense feeling of animosity against the Japanese in Hawai'i because of having just experienced the atrocities of war under Japanese occupation. Many believed that this factor alone was sure to cause racial problems if only because there were sufficient number of incidents of conflict between the Filipino and the Japanese after the bombing of Pearl Harbor and especially when the Japanese invaded and occupied the Philippines.²³ Cariaga writes:

The Filipinos who will be brought to Hawaii undoubtedly have had some unfortunate experiences or dealings with the Japanese. Many of them had their families broken up as a result of Japanese cruelties. When they come they will bring to their countrymen here stories of these atrocities and hatred.²⁴

Hall makes a strong point of this issue, in his May 28 letter, as one of the conditions to be met by the HSPA in importing the new workers:

Residents of the Philippines have suffered much under the heel of Japanese militarism and unless they are thoroughly indoctrinated with the plainfact that local residents of Japanese ancestry are just as bitterly against such imperialism as they themselves, an ugly racial situation might result. Philippine Nationals who have resided in the Territory during the war years understand that fact.²⁵

The Hawaii Interracial Committee on Filipino Importation made six recommendations "for guarding against the social problems which might arise as a consequence of the importation," one of which was the requirement that "[a]ll recruits should be subjected to a government-supervised orientation program at the time of recruitment, which will prepare them for life in Hawaii's interracial communities."²⁶ This multiethnic group was comprised of some prominent members of the community, including two University of Hawai'i sociologists, Bernhard Hormann and Andrew Lind. Quite clearly, the group's objective was to ensure the speedy "assimilation" of the incoming immigrants. There was also serious deliberation given in the spirit of protecting the local Japanese population because of the "danger that the Filipino immigrants, so recently the victims of Japanese aggression, would transfer their feelings of bitterness to local persons of Japanese ancestry." Similarly, the group expressed "the fear of the local Japanese of trouble with the Filipino immigrants."²⁷

The HSPA Mobilizes

While the community debated the issue, the HSPA wasted no time in mobilizing its resources and setting up the machinery for recruiting the 6,000 workers. An important event was the stop-over visit on June 16 of the War Manpower Commissioner, Paul V. McNutt, also a former High Commissioner of the Philippines. McNutt was on his way to the Philippines as a "personal representative of President Harry Truman." In Honolulu, he met with the heads of the Big Five and the business establishment and discussed the issue of labor importation. In the Philippines, McNutt met with President Sergio Osmeña and worked on behalf of Hawaii's industries to get approval for the importation.²⁸

On June 23, the *Star Bulletin* reports that "P.I. [is] Cool to Hawaii Plea for Labor," indicating that the Philippine Commonwealth government "has taken a stand it would be inadvisable to permit workers to leave the Philippines until requirements of both army and commonwealth have been met for both war and rehabilitation projects"; and that Osmeña rejected earlier requests by several labor organizations asking for permission to export labor to Hawai'i. Hawaii's delegate to congress, Joseph Farrington joined the group in Manila and discussions were simultaneously held with the U.S. military because its approval and cooperation were essential to the recruitment plans. The core mission under McNutt included "Major General Wm. C. Rose, Mr. Walter Dillingham and others [who] secured clearance for the program in the Philippines from President Osmeña and General Douglas MacArthur."²⁹

In July, the HSPA sent Robert R. Trent to Manila "to augment the Manila Office staff" and Slator M. Miller, the coordinator of the recruitment, "arrived in Manila on September 23rd to activate the immigration program."³⁰ Miller's rather abbreviated but detailed report describes the complexity of the HSPA arrangements, especially considering that the Philippines and its primate city, Manila, were devastated by the war. The country was only just about to rebuild. Miller knew that it was strategically necessary to "obtain the active cooperation of Army authorities in order to accomplish our mission. To this end appropriate calls were made on Army officials and cordial relations were established."

From "The Vigan Cuartel"

Miller first considered establishing the HSPA base of operation out of San Fernando, La Union, at the Base M Headquarters of the Armed Forces Western Pacific. In mid-October he visited Vigan, in Ilocos Sur (an adjacent province north of La Union), which was the "approximate center of the [HSPA] recruiting

program." He decided instead to make Vigan, the provincial capital, the headquarters for the recruitment operations because it was "practically untouched by the war," and "being the only town of size to come through undestroyed." Buildings were therefore available and ready to set up for administration, medical and laboratory, housing, messes, and communication facilities. Special arrangements had to be made first with the Joint Chiefs of Staff in Washington for assigning steamships, to be paid for by the HSPA, to shuttle back and forth between the Philippines and Hawai'i; for ground transportation; and for a special Consul General to process the immigration papers out of the Vigan cuartel. Salomague, twenty-three miles north of Vigan was chosen as the port where the recruits were to be driven to for boarding the ship. Then, of course, came the processing of thousands of applicants, conducting medical check-ups and serving a total of 498,622 meals.

The plan was to recruit Ilocano workers from the northern region, the place of origin of most of Hawaii's Filipinos. The HSPA was licensed to recruit in Ilocos Norte and Sur, Abra and Pangasinan (those from other provinces could come to the HSPA headquarters and apply directly, of course). Realizing "the value of sending men with known relatives on plantations," the association encouraged their Filipino workers and "employees of the plantations and pineapple companies were invited to submit requests that friends or relatives be brought to Hawai'i." These requests were mailed from Honolulu to Manila where the HSPA staff took care of sending letters to the men listed. There was no limit to the number of names contained in each letter of request (one plantation submitted 10, another, 1,264 requests). Miller reports that: "Letters were sent to 8,152 requested men in the provinces we were licensed to recruit . . . inviting them to come to Vigan for shipment to Hawaii." Of the number who reported (from the pool of 8,152), 2,655 joined the ranks of the '46 Sakada and made it to Hawaii. Not everything went well with this system, of course: requests from Hawaii were delayed in the mail way after the shipment of laborers; many of those who were contacted in the Philippines did not show up, or were disqualified for one reason or another. There were also incidents involving deaths, illnesses, fraudulence and opportunism, desertion, and stow-away attempts.

The Voyage to Hawai'i

According to Miller, "it was necessary to process 8,861 men and 1,763 women and children or a total of 10,624 persons to net 7,361 emigrants. The loss through attrition was 32.3 per cent for men and 22.8 per cent for women." Finally, on January 14, 1946, the first "shipment" of 1,523 men sailed for

Hawai'i from Port Salomague on the *Maunawili* which shuttled to the Philippines to pick up the next shipload of 1,526 men who sailed on February 28. The third shuttle left on April 11, also with 1,526 men, followed by the *Marine Falcon* carrying 31 men, 264 women and 511 children. The fifth shipload shuttled back to Hawai'i on the *Maunawili* on May 27 with 1,393 men; and the last voyage, on the *Falcon*, departed on June 19 with 182 women, 404 children and 1 man. The HSPA's official figures show that the total number of the recruited workers who reached Hawai'i were: 6000 men, and 446 women and 915 children (or 1,361 combined).³¹ The voyage to Hawai'i took around 14 to 17 days, depending on the weather.

Accompanying the newly recruited sakadas aboard the first and subsequent shuttles on behalf of the HSPA was Anastacio Luis.³² A longtime Hawai'i resident who worked on the plantations for the YMCA in Hilo, Luis was stranded in the Philippines with his wife, Librada, and was planning to return to Hawai'i when the HSPA 1946 recruitment program began. Fortunately for the HSPA, he was an ideal person to work in the recruitment project because of his knowledge of Hawai'i, the plantations and Filipino culture, and his Ilocano background. In Vigan, he screened applicants and assisted in assigning recruits to the different plantations. Most important of all, Luis was extremely valuable to the HSPA in providing leadership and order during the voyage of the shiploads of new recruits. He recalls, for instance, having had "a rough time with the first batch . . . many of them were educated and were not to be pushed around. Giving orders or announcements was difficult because we had no public address system on board." Luis oriented the recruits on the multi-ethnic composition of Hawai'i's plantation population and reminded them "that the Japanese whom they will meet in Hawaii are not the same Japanese who occupied the Philippines during the war. The Japanese in Hawaii are American citizens and they fought for the United States in the war."

Meanwhile, members of the ILWU had been aboard the ships as crew workers, from the first voyage on. With the spirit of the "missionary work" Weingarten referred to, they approached the new recruits and educated them about the principles, purposes and benefits of organized labor. Luis remembers noticing "that the crew on the ship approaching the recruits beginning with the first trip. I did not know that they were members of the ILWU signing up the recruits. There were several Ilocano speaking Filipinos among the crew and with the help of those who had previously worked on plantations in Hawaii and had participated in labor organization under Pablo Manlapit, they were successful."³³ The immediate goal of the ILWU crew was to sign up the recruits as card-carrying members of the union. Many joined the ILWU on the shuttles to

Hawai'i, becoming union members even before setting foot on the islands. "Some of us have come up from the ranks and have become community leaders and union officials," writes Andres Salvador of Kaua'i.³⁴

Members of the '46 Sakada have also said that the ILWU organizers on board the ships reminded them that the Japanese in Hawai'i were not the same ones who were responsible for the war.

The '46 Sakada: the Beginning of a Story

The circumstances which surrounded the recruitment of the '46 Sakada have made this a fascinating narrative in Hawaii's labor and community history and in the dynamic saga of the Filipino American experience in diasporic times.

The '46 Sakadas arrived in the midst of the new economic realities in postwar Hawai'i. The institution, which recruited thousands of Filipino workers before them over several decades, and which had total and unchallenged control over their lives as plantation workers, had now been joined by a new order, organized labor, which carried their collective interest and the authority to determine and negotiate their wages and conditions of work. Essentially then, the '46 Sakadas had become a pawn in the power struggle between the HSPA and the ILWU even before their voyage to the islands.

The '46 Sakadas also represented a changing immigrant work force in changing times. Compared to their predecessors, the members of this group had more years of schooling, including high school and even college education. With the mechanization of the industry and the stipulations negotiated in the labor contract, many who worked the fields moved up to skilled and clerical positions. Encouraged by the opportunities of a booming postwar economy and the spirit of re-building which permeated the time, they made Hawai'i their home. A number married local-born partners; many traded plantation jobs for city or state civil service positions, which exposed them to the workings of mainstream institutions; others started their own business, became professionals and have been actively involved in the community; some have become parents of accomplished and nationally known islands artists; majority had given their offspring college education.

Significantly, the '46 Sakada is a direct link between the legacy of Filipino immigration of the earlier decades before World War II and the postwar migration leading to the post-1965 immigration phenomenon. Having been the only large cohort of Filipinos to enter the U.S. after 1934 and before 1965, the

'46 Sakada were in a position to bring their families and kin into the country well before the immigration laws changed in 1965. Those who decided to stay in Hawai'i (or move to the mainland) had a headstart in becoming citizens and petitioning family members in the Philippines to join them. Essentially then, by the time the 1965 immigration laws were passed, the '46 Sakada had already set into motion the chain of family migration to Hawai'i and elsewhere.³⁵ The story of their historic crossing in 1946 is also the story of their pioneering voyage into contemporary Filipino diaspora.

Endnotes

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1. For an overview of Filipino labor and community life in Hawai'i, see Roman R. Cariaga, *Filipinos in Hawaii* (Honolulu: Filipino Public Relations Bureau, 1937); Edward D. Beechert, *Working in Hawaii: A Labor History* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985); Ruben R. Alcantara, *Sakada: Filipino Adaptation in Hawaii* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1981), and "1906: The First Sakada," in *Filipinos in Hawaii. . . the First 75 Years*, Juan C. Dionisio, ed. (Honolulu: Hawaii Filipino News Specialty Publications, 1981); Jonathan Y. Okamura, et al., eds. *The Filipino American Experience in Hawai'i. Social Process* 33 (1991); Steffi San Buenaventura, "Hawaii's Filipinos: History and Legacy," in Jonathan Y. Okamura and Roderick N. Labrador, eds. (Honolulu: Student Equity, Excellence and Diversity, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 1996).
2. This paper is an initial piece from an ongoing study of the 1946 Sakada.
3. The Tydings-McDuffie Independence Act, No. 127, 73d Congress, H.R. 8573; "An Act To provide for the complete independence of the Philippine Islands, to provide for the adoption of a constitution and a form of government for the Philippine Islands, and for other purposes." The most prominent and much discussed "costs" for obtaining independence have been the provisions dealing with tax-exemptions on U.S. properties in the Philippines, Philippine trade concessions and the taxing of Philippine goods entering the U.S., and the U.S. rights "to maintain military and other reservations and armed forces in the Philippines."
4. Tydings-McDuffie Act, Section 8(a)(1).

5. The "Filipino Exclusion" movement gained momentum in the late twenties coinciding with the peak of Filipino immigration to California. San Francisco Congressman Richard Welch introduced bills meant to stop the immigration (of U.S. "nationals") from the Philippines but was unsuccessful because of the issue of constitutionality. See J.M. Sanial, ed., *The Filipino Exclusion Movement* (Quezon City, Philippines: Institute of Asian Studies, University of the Philippines, 1967); Steffi San Buenaventura, "Filipino Immigration to the United States," *Asian American Encyclopedia*, Franklin Ng, ed. (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 1995), 445-46.
6. See Beechert, *Working in Hawaii*.
7. International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), Hawaii Regional Office, Honolulu; ILWU Library collection, File 2.
8. A formal application was a requirement under the provisions of "Title 48, U.S. Code, section 1238 and the Regulations issued thereunder by the Secretary of the Interior dated June 15, 1934, governing the importation of Filipino citizens into Hawaii from the Philippines for employment in Hawaiian industries," cited in the HSPA Resolution, "Application for Authorization to Import Filipino Citizens from the Philippine Islands," submitted by Chauncey B. Wightman, association secretary, Honolulu, May 21, 1945. ILWU, F2.
9. "Sugar Labor Plan Gets OK," June 25, 1945, p. 1; ILWU F2.
10. ILWU, F2.
11. Victor Weingarten, *Raising Cane: A Brief History of Labor in Hawaii* (Honolulu: International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, 1946): 40.
12. *Ibid.*, 41.
13. Beechert, *Working in Hawaii*.
14. Hall to Stainback; Kaholokula to Stainback, June 6, 1945; ILWU File 1.
15. "AFL Here Will Oppose Plan to Bring Filipinos," May 28, 1945; ILWU F2.
16. Thomas T. Ishimaru to Hall, October 2, 1945; Toshio Shirasaki to Harold Ickes (Secretary of Interior, Department of Territorial Affairs, Washington, D.C.), October 3, 1945; Tomoi Hirokane to Hall, October 3, 1945; Cipriano B. Coloma to Frank E. Thompson (Acting Regional Director, ILWU Hawaii), October 4, 1945. Deciding not to vote, Satoru Hiroshige to ILWU Regional Office, October 2, 1945; ILWU F1.
17. *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, June 5 and June 20, respectively; ILWU F2.
18. Arkangel to Kawano; ILWU F1. Serving as Hall's assistant, Ricardo Labez met with the officers of the Council on February 18, 1946 in Kahuku to open a dialogue regarding the issue of "Filipino importation." The group included Cayetano Ligot, former Philippine Labor Commissioner to Hawai'i, and the Rev. C. C. Cortezan, pastor of the Koloa Filipino Church. Others held positions as luna, policeman, field overseer, and personnel clerk with the plantations.

19. Report of Hawaii Interracial Committee on Filipino Importation, [ca. February 1946], p. 1; ILWU F2.
20. *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, letter to the editor: "Aspect of Filipino Labor Plan," June 14, 1945.
21. ILWU Committee to Confer with the Attorney General of Hawaii, Re Importation of Filipino Laborers, Minutes of Conference, February 6, 1946 [Honolulu?], p. 5; ILWU F1.
22. *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, letter to the editor: "Questions Wisdom of Filipino Labor Importation," June 18, 1945. Dizon ran a Filipino "Juan de la Cruz Reading Room" in the thirties in Honolulu and wrote a treatise against Hilario Camino Moncado and the Filipino Federation of America with the title, *The Master Vs. Juan de la Cruz*. I also recognized his home address which was printed in the letter to the editor. The answer to Dizon's question, "Only creating trouble again?" was being attributed to the HSPA, I believe, but ironically, also to the new Filipinos who had not yet arrived.
23. See Lauriel E. Eubank, "The Effects of the First Six Months of World War II on the Attitudes of Koreans and Filipinos Toward the Japanese in Hawaii." Master of Arts thesis, University of Hawaii (February 1943).
24. Cariaga, *op. cit.*
25. Hall, *op. cit.*
26. "Report of Hawaii Interracial Committee on Filipino Importation," p. 2; ILWU F2.
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Star Bulletin*, "Paul McNutt Told of TH Labor Needs," July 16, 1945; *Honolulu Advertiser*, "McNutt Studies Importation of Filipinos Here" by Ray Coll, Jr., July 17, 1945.
29. Slator M. Miller "Report to Mr. H.A. Walker, President, Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association on 1945-1946 Filipino Emigration Project," 1.
30. *Ibid.* The rest of the account about the HSPA recruitment in the Philippines comes from Miller's Report.
31. The sets of statistics are not always clear and and at times inconsistent. Miller's Report contains nine statistical appendices on the recruitment and shipment of male laborers, women and children. Other references to the 1946 importation have cited different figures (for instance, see note # 32 and Hawaii Filipino News' *Filipinos in Hawaii*, p. 49).
32. I am grateful to Anastacio Luis and Harold S.Y. Hee for giving me permission to refer to a draft of an unpublished paper, "The Last Mass Migration of Workers to Hawaii—1946," which will be published in the 1996 issue of the *Hawaiian Journal of History*. Mr. Luis, who resides in Hilo, came to Hawai'i at 11, graduated from Lahainaluna on Maui and the University of Hawai'i, and has been a well-known figure in the community, especially among Hawaii's Filipinos. His 1946 statistics of the Sakada arrivals also differ.

33. Luis, "The Last Mass Migration." Several correspondence in the ILWU collection describe the recruitment efforts on board the ships and the '46 Sakadas I have interviewed on O'ahu, Kaua'i and Maui all verify the ILWU organizing activities during their voyage to Hawai'i.
34. Andres Salvador, "Kauai's 1946 Immigrants," in Hawaii Filipino News, *Filipinos in Hawaii*, 49.
35. San Buenaventura, "Hawaii's Filipinos," 38.

Sakada Dreams: A Portrait of My Father

P. de Los Santos

His frail, skinny body was riddled with black and purple splotches, and he labored heavily to extract every bit of oxygen from each breath that he took in. Yet throughout that summer Sunday in July he always managed to smile and say thanks to the many friends and relatives who came to see him and pay their final visit. After everyone went home and my mother fell asleep on the living room couch, I went to him to wish him a good night and sweet dreams. His eyes were half open, and he saw me but he could not speak. I tried to say I love him, but he closed his eyes and took his final breath in my arms. He died with a faint smile on his face, and as I cried I wondered with great sadness if his life would have been much more different if he had stayed in the Philippines instead of coming to Hawai'i. I also wondered what his dreams were and if he had accomplished them before leaving this earth. My father led a simple life, one which reminds me of being similar to that of Celestino Fabia, a character in Bienvenido Santos' short story, *Scent of Apples*.

In his introduction of Santos' book, *Scent of Apples: A Collection of Stories*, Leonard Casper identified a "recurring theme" of the Filipino author's works—a theme which delves in the importance and the difficulty of being "Filipino at heart" through the practice and maintenance of an individual's cultural values away from his homeland. This theme is portrayed by Santos' main characters, expatriate Filipino men leading lonely lives away from their mother country. Casper duly noted at the end of his introduction that the dream of most Filipino expatriates in Santos' stories is to return to the Philippines. Perhaps it was an unfulfilled dream that my father held before his death.

My father was born Nemesio de Los Santos in 1924 in Santa Maria, Ilocos Sur, Philippines. He shared the same birth date as Abraham Lincoln. But unlike Lincoln, he did not get a chance to lead his country, or even to die in his own country. He was the second oldest of eight children, three of whom died in their youth due to illness. He was a rebellious and stubborn youngster who was sent to live with relatives in Manila at an early age. He returned to Santa Maria as a teenager and fought to save his family and land against the Japanese in World War II. He grew up to be a strapping young man with strong convictions and a fiery temperament, and although he had a limited education he was quite proud of his physical strength and his self-reliant ways.