

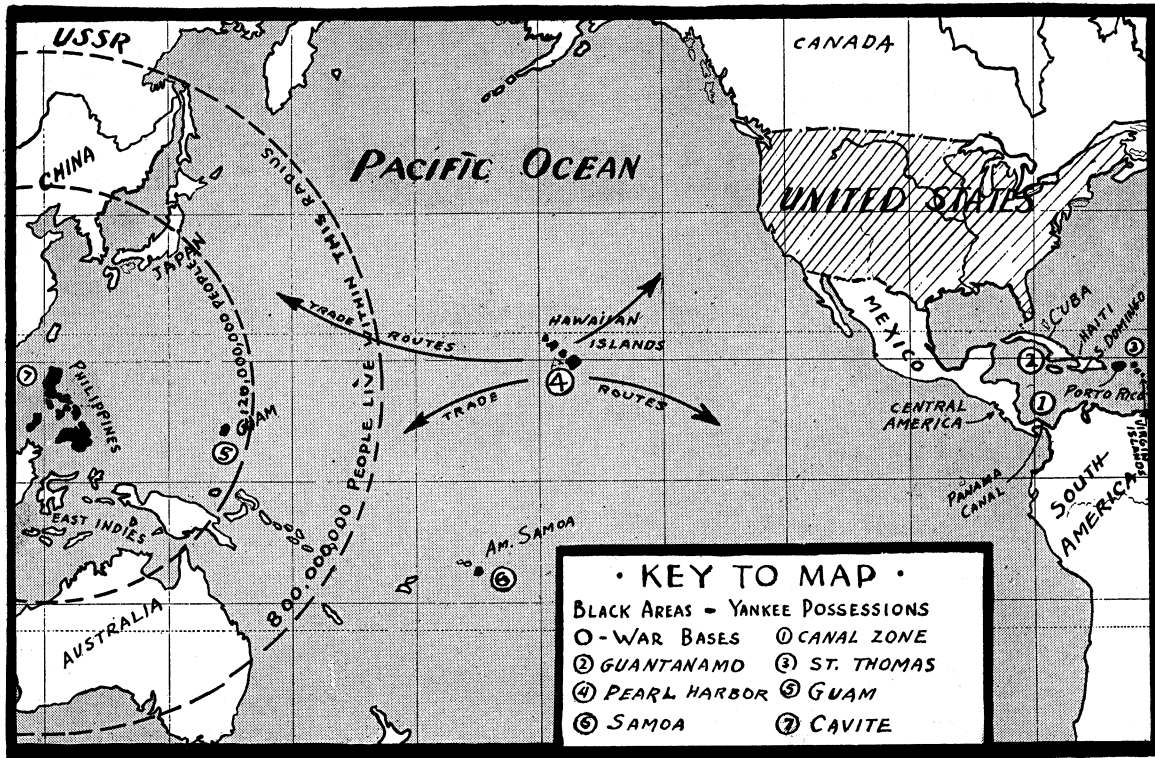


HAWAII

BY
S. WEINMAN

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THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS: WAR BASE OF THE PACIFIC.

(Pearl Harbor, Hawaii is No. 4 in key to map)

HAWAII

A STORY OF IMPERIALIST PLUNDER

BY SAMUEL WEINMAN

SOME time ago an advertisement of the Matson Steamship Line showed a Hula-hula girl playing a ukelele while more girls, all scantily dressed, sang and danced. Accompanying the ad was a blurb full of "Isles that sing their welcome: Hawaii . . . melodies . . . lilting chorus . . . mellow crooning of old chants . . . rhythmic beat of ancient tribal tunes . . . love lyrics."

This sort of high-powered ballyhoo is a synthesis of the popular conception of Hawaii. Every capitalist "educational" agency—the press, schools, movies, radio, theater—is employed in the inculcation and perpetuation of this fiction.

There are three main reasons why American imperialists paint a roseate view of Hawaii. First, it screens the slavery on the sugar and pineapple plantations. Second, it conceals military preparations for the next Pacific war. Third, tourists, readers and movie fans pay millions for illusions of paradise.

The Hawaiian Islands are small, both in area and population. Of the twenty islands covering an area of 6,499 square miles, only nine are habitable. The total population is 380,507.

The Hawaiian Archipelago derives its importance from its strategic position in the Pacific Ocean. It controls the trade and determines the military maneuvers of the Pacific. It is the stepping stone to the Orient.

"Civilization" Comes to Hawaii

When New England missionaries first penetrated the islands in the 1820's the native population was estimated at 200,000. Today, only 22,230 or less than 6% of the population, are native Hawaiians. The great bulk of the people are Japanese, Filipino and Chinese. What happened to destroy the indigenous race and to create a conglomerate population, is no mystery.

The missionaries and their commercial aides brought "civilization" with them. But "civilization" turned out to be composed of slavery and exploitation with syphilis and whisky thrown in for good measure.

In his memoirs, Captain Cook, who discovered the islands in 1778, related how he and his crew first introduced venereal disease to the natives, plaguing the islands from end to end. W. B. Elkin of Cornell University wrote that "the causes of the large death-rate in Hawaii are in brief two—vice and disease. For both of these, people of Christian nations are largely to blame."

David Malo, in the islands in 1839, stated that "venereal disease has become prevalent among the people, and even children, and all the people are miserably diseased. . . . Foreigners have lent their whole influence to make the Hawaiian Islands a brothel."

Before Captain Cook's discovery of the islands, the primitive agriculture was not burdensome, compared with modern standards, although the serfs were forced to labor six days in every fortnight for the king and the landlords. However, in this feudal society without money or commerce, certain limits were set on the accumulation of wealth, and hence, on exploitation. Production was largely for consumption. It is true that the king and the nobility consumed disproportionately, but even the royal stomach had a circumscribed capacity. With the introduction of the capitalist mode of production by American sugar planters who made possible the export of surplus crops and the conversion of the surplus into capital, the exploitation of the Hawaiian masses was cruelly intensified.

The imperialist "civilization" spread many devastating epidemics—in 1804; in 1848-49 measles, whooping cough, diarrhea and influenza killed over 10,000; in 1853 smallpox carried off 2,500; in 1860 measles destroyed large numbers. These diseases were practically unknown to the Hawaiians until the white man came bearing "civilization." The imperialists forced the Hawaiian government to repeal laws which had prohibited the importation of rum and brandy, and restricted prostitution.

"In actual history," as Marx pointed out, "it is notorious that

conquest, enslavement, robbery, murder, briefly force, play the great part" in the primitive accumulation of capital.

By 1853 Yankee simon-legreeism had slaughtered almost 50% of the people. Yet the diminished number of 108,000 was composed of 95% native Hawaiians. As the American Civil War gave added impetus to the sugar industry, exploitation sharpened; production multiplied; and Hawaiians died like flies. The tendency of the people to extinction is an accurate index of Yankee imperialism that "educates backward races for prosperity, progress and culture." In 1893 the number of natives dropped to a level (58,000) almost 50% below that of forty years earlier. To-day the figure is down to 22,000. The Hawaiian has suffered the fate of near extinction.

Forced Labor in Hawaii

As the sugar planters increased production on the one hand and exterminated the toilers on the other, a shortage of labor developed. The Minister of the Interior (1846) ordered the seizure of "vagrants" for plantation "apprenticeship." Out of this raw deal the government received one-third of the apprentices' wages. The same law permitted the master to exert "coercive force" (flogging) on the "vagrant" who refused to work.

Another law was passed (1850) making it unlawful to emigrate to California. At the same time the Assembly legalized "child labor contracts" and indentured service.

The terms of the forced labor contracts, adapted from the American shipping law, provided penalties for "deserters"—imprisonment and hard labor until the prisoner consented to serve. The Supreme Court of Hawaii (1873) upheld these contracts on the ground that labor was as necessary to the planter as the sailor was to the ship at sea; therefore, "desertion was a crime."

Importation of Labor

Still the labor supply was inadequate. "Labor shortage has ever been the cry of the planters; even when thousands in Honolulu were unemployed. The source of labor has shifted many times. Up to annexation by the United States in 1898, the

Hawaiian legislature appropriated \$1,500,000 to encourage immigration. Large forces of workers—hundreds of thousands—were induced to leave their homes in Asia and Europe; but they did not remain very long in the “Paradise of the Pacific.” At the first opportunity they bolted from the sugar plantations, creating “labor shortages” anew. The labor turnover has been tremendous, unequaled in the history of colonial exploitation.

In 1853, for the first time, 364 Chinese coolies were imported under five-year contracts at *wages of three dollars a month*. This class relationship, academically known as “contract labor,” is really peonage.* Previously 2,500 Polynesians, unaccustomed to work under pressure, were tried and found “unsatisfactory.” But the Chinese made better “contract laborers.” From 1865 to 1886 over 33,000 coolies were taken to Hawaiian sugar fields.

“The Chinese coolie system in Hawaii had an odium attached to it almost equal to the slave trade. Men were actually purchased from the mandarin for a few dollars each, while the contractors picked up vagrants and sold them at auction in the public markets.” (57th Congress, 2nd Session, *House Document No. 176*, February 25, 1903.)

The Chinese, however, refused to stay on the plantations. They branched out into the grocery, butcher, liquor and other businesses. The planters had not counted on this turn. It marked the beginning of deeper racial animosity. The Chinese were welcome as coolies; that was their place. As soon as they rebelled, they became a “menace.”

Meanwhile the Reciprocity Treaty (1875), granting Hawaiian sugar duty-free entry into the United States, enormously stimulated production. More labor was needed. Inasmuch as the Chinese had proved too enterprising, the sugar bosses looked elsewhere. The Portuguese of the Azores and Madeira held promise as prospects for exploitation. Over a span of ten years (1878-1888), 10,000 Portuguese immigrated. Very few renewed their contracts.

* For a study of peonage in all its aspects in the United States and its colonies, read Walter Wilson's *Forced Labor in the United States* (International Publishers).

Once more the planters turned to the Chinese who were imported regularly until 1898 when annexation by the United States automatically excluded Chinese by law.

Japanese were the next wholesale victims of the sugar planters who hoped that these would meekly submit to slavery. But like their predecessors they drifted into more profitable and easier occupations. For this reason, further Japanese immigration was halted for two years. American annexation, excluding Chinese, opened the way for a new flood of Japanese. In 1897 some 20,000 arrived. The influx continued until 1907 when the Gentlemen's Agreement, a product of Roosevelt's Big Stick, cut off Japanese immigration. To-day there are over 146,000 Japanese in the islands; they constitute 38% of the population.

Once more the sugar moguls combed the world for slaves. Many thousands of Russians, Spaniards, Puerto Ricans, Koreans, and others flocked to the plantations. But the results were the same. The sugar planter was unable to keep laborers in the cane-fields.

The Philippine Islands have been the main source of labor since 1907. In 1929 alone, 11,628 Filipinos, all men, arrived under contract. (Note that scarcely any women or children accompany the imported laborers. This factor accounts partly for the excessively abnormal prostitution.) In the same year, 5,337 Filipinos departed homeward.

Up to 1915 the sugar growers hired the Filipino on his native soil and paid his transportation. Since then the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association has forced the workers to pay their own way. Upon arrival, they were compelled to sign three-year contracts. At the end of that time the Association promised to pay the return fare to the Philippines. In the fiscal year 1929, 1,336 Filipinos jumped their contracts before expiration, and paid their own fare home.

The laborers' unrest and "desertion" are manifestly expressions of revolt against intolerable working conditions and starvation.

Imperialist extinction of the native population and exploitation of imported labor explain the heterogeneous racial composition in Hawaii. In 1932 the census reported:

Hawaiian	22,230	Other Caucasian	43,517
Caucasian-Hawaiian ...	17,056	Chinese	27,235
Asiatic-Hawaiian	14,459	Japanese	146,189
Portuguese	28,595	Korean	6,653
Puerto Rican	7,000	Filipino	65,515
Spanish	1,253	All others	805
		Total	380,507

Strikes on Sugar Plantations

Ever since the Americans penetrated Hawaii, labor conditions have been so miserable—forced labor, below subsistence wages, sun-up to sun-down working day, pig-sty living quarters, and the like—that spontaneous strikes have occurred frequently on a scale embracing thousands of workers. As early as 1895 an Hawaiian labor commission made a pretense of “investigation” which turned out to be a whitewash of the feudal oppression. Conditions were so unbearable on the plantations that workers preferred jail to the cane-field.

In the light of a contemporary account by an iron worker in Honolulu, it is not remarkable that strikes were both numerous and widespread. He wrote that “there are fifty-two plantations and nineteen-twentieths of all the stock is owned by about sixty men. Some plantations have paid as high as 138% per annum, and 60% is a common rate; and yet they only pay the Chinese and Japanese laborers \$11 to \$15 per month.”

Since the beginning of the twentieth century waves of spontaneous and sporadic strikes have swept Hawaii. Labor conditions have hardly improved, but what little change there has been is directly attributable to the strikes; not, as “sociologists” would have the workers believe, to the benevolence of the bosses. Of special significance to the Hawaiian labor movement are the strikes of 1909, 1920, and 1924.

Strike of 1909

In 1909 the Japanese laborers of Oahu organized and struck. Their chief demand was that their daily wages be placed on a level with those of Portuguese doing the same work. The Ha-

waiian Sugar Planters' Association determined to make no concessions and break the strike.

The leaders of the strike were educated Japanese, including the editor of a popular Japanese newspaper. Although the strikers conducted themselves in a strictly peaceable manner, the leaders were all arrested and clapped into jail. With no semblance of legality the bosses broke into the offices of the strike leaders, and even forced open a safe.

The U. S. commissioner of immigration reported that "during the strike the planters were able to procure without any great effort a sufficient number of natives, whites and others to handle their crops in a satisfactory manner, but were compelled to pay \$1.50 per day for all help so employed. However, as soon as peace was restored, the strikers were reinstated in their former positions, as their wages were only about 47% of those paid the strike breakers." In other words, the strikers returned to work for less than 75 cents a day.

The Japanese workers displayed their solidarity in this strike. Japanese in other islands raised a fund of over \$40,000 which was sent to the Oahu strikers. The principal cause of the strike's failure was the lack of solidarity with the Hawaiian and Portuguese workers.

The Strike of 1920

Although the cost of living, stimulated by war-time inflation, had jumped by leaps and bounds, the basic wage rate of \$20 per month remained unchanged from 1910 to 1920. A survey of forty-five commodities showed that living costs had skyrocketed in one item to 2077% above normal pre-war levels; the lowest rise of any item was 40%, while the average increase was 115%.

The Hawaiian Laborers Association, a newly formed union of Japanese plantation workers, declared during the strike of 1920 that "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 the field and factory, and weeping with ten hours of hard labor and a scanty pay of 77 cents a day? We hear

that there are in Hawaii over a hundred millionaires." Briefly, this contradiction of exploitation and starvation on the one hand and parasitism and super-profits on the other, summed up the strikers' grievances.

The imperialists made lavish promises to the workers as a reward for their war-time loyalty. The end of the war, however, brought no relief. Meanwhile the sugar barons were reaping fortunes swollen by the abolition of sugar taxes, lowered freight rates, reduction of fertilizer prices and boom sugar profits.

In 1919 the workers put forward two strong demands: (1) A wage of \$3 a day. (2) An eight-hour working day. The "labor leaders" backed away from these demands and misguided the strikers who, at this time, were very militant and on the road to powerful organization. As a consequence of the leadership's appeal to the "hearty cooperation of labor and capital," a new set of demands was formulated, dropping the \$3-a-day wage to \$1.25. An assembly of representatives of the Japanese Laborers' Union and the Filipino Laborers' Union submitted the resolution to the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association. The "labor leaders" held the "firm belief that a request so moderate in its nature would naturally be accepted by the Planters' Association." The Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association rejected all of the demands and refused to grant an interview to the delegation.

On January 19, 1920, Filipino union members struck on six plantations. Large numbers of Spaniards, Portuguese and Chinese joined the strike. Japanese laborers struck in sympathy with them, and the walkout assumed general strike proportions. A total of 12,000 men, women and children were affected.

On February 10, Pablo Manlapit, president of the Filipino Labor Union, exposed his own rôle as betrayer of the workers, when he ordered all Filipino laborers on strike to return unconditionally to their former positions. However, since the strike was not union-inspired, but a spontaneous revolt, nobody paid attention to Manlapit. In spite of the reactionary leadership, the strike grew stronger, as the workers resolved to fight it out.

February 18 was the memorable day on which over 12,000 men, women and children—strikers and their families—were

evicted from their plantation homes at the height of an influenza epidemic. Thousands were stricken and many succumbed; yet the strike grew.

The sugar-controlled Honolulu press fanned the fires of race prejudice against the Japanese in order to break the strike. Every familiar journalistic lie and device was resorted to. The Hawaiian churches intervened to help the bosses carry out their slogan of "crush the unions."

After six months, the strike ended with the defeat of the workers. The failure was due largely, as we have seen, to the corrupt and bankrupt leadership; the class collaboration policy; the tendency to beg for crumbs and to passive resistance.

There were, nevertheless, real values resulting from the strike. The workers gained experience in struggle; laborers of all races showed their solidarity on a mass scale; the need for strong unionization was made plain, as was the futility of begging from capital, whose brutality had been completely unmasked. Manlapit's misleadership was exposed.

Following the strike, the bosses renewed the old cry of "labor shortage"; there were thousands of unemployed in Honolulu. What they wanted was more *docile* labor. A strong drive was initiated to get Congress to modify the immigration laws.

Strike of 1924

In the next few years labor conditions, instead of improving, took a turn for the worse as sugar prices tumbled. New strikes broke out with redoubled vigor in 1924, and were characterized by a new element—violence.

On Labor Day, strikers and workers held a mass demonstration in Honolulu. They carried placards with such slogans as "Hawaii Needs a Lincoln"—"Could You Raise a Family on a Dollar a Day?"—"We are laborers, not machines." Besides the sugar strikers, carpenters, painters and other unionists participated.

Strikers on the McBryde plantation were thrown into jail. Those escaping arrest were evicted. One hundred and fifty Filipino strikers marched twenty-two miles to attend the trial of arrested comrades. The bosses brought strike-breakers—unem-

ployed—from Honolulu. Over 600 evicted strikers who had camped in a field were ordered, under the pretext of "safeguarding public health" to install sanitary facilities or vacate.

By September 11, the death toll in police clashes had reached twenty. The Associated Press flashed: "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 to-day of a clash between cane strikers and workers on the McBryde plantations Tuesday at Hanapepe, Island of Kanai. The dead included sixteen Filipinos and four policemen."

At this juncture the panic-stricken bosses called for the National Guard—strike-breaking apparatus. Captain Ross came double-quick with one hundred men armed with machine guns. Ross arrested the whole male population of the strikers' camp. Over one hundred were cast into jail under military guard. The arrested strikers were charged with "murder, rioting and conspiracy"; seventy-six were indicted and dealt with "according to law." The rest were deported. Lorenzo Alcoren and Evaristo Acebo, strike leaders, were singled out for special punishment.

Captain Ross broke the backbone of the strike and, by the same token, won the gratitude of the imperialists. Early in 1932, Governor Judd duly rewarded Ross. He was appointed warden of Oahu prison.

Hawaii's professional strike-breaking organization—the National Guard—boasts a force of 1,677 men, according to the governor's report, 1933. The members are bribed with an armory drill pay amounting annually to \$100,000. Besides being used to break the strikes, the National Guard trains for the next war and breeds jingoism.

A Two-Crop Country

It is an inherent part of United States imperialist policy to make a two-crop land of Hawaii. Large scale agricultural production of sugar and pineapple yields the greatest profits to the imperialists. The elimination of diversified farming causes great suffering

among the workers. Food must be imported. This is the way colonies are always made to develop under imperialism.

Sugar is king in Hawaii; 105,000 men, women and children, or half the population, excluding the cities of Honolulu and Hilo, live on the sugar plantations. Total number employed by 38 plantations in June, 1933, was over 57,000. In 1932, about 140,000 acres in sugar were harvested. Hawaii produces over 8,000,000 tons of sugar cane annually. Production of raw sugar for year ending September 30, 1932, was 1,025,354 short tons.

Production per man-day has multiplied many times. Machinery is used at every stage of production. A typical plantation increased its output from 6.7 tons per man-year in 1900 to 24.22 tons in 1929; productivity quadrupled since 1900.

Labor does not share the fruits of increased production. Wages remained practically stationary at a low level while production per man-day soared. At the peak of "prosperity," wages averaged below a dollar a day. Conditions were so bad that the "bonus" offered for regular attendance did not attract the laborer. Since 1929, wage slashes have materially reduced the starvation wages.

The 10-hour working day in the sugar industry is customary, while the 12-hour day is not unusual. According to the U. S. Department of Labor, twenty-three sugar mills operated on a 12-hour day, and nineteen ran on a 72-hour week in 1929.

Pineapples

Over 88,000 acres of pineapple have been under cultivation. The industry produced 2,000 cases of canned fruit in 1901; 50,000 cases in 1905; 625,000 cases in 1910; 1,700,000 cases in 1913, 9,000,000 cases in 1929, 12,672,000 cases in 1930, and 12,726,000 in 1931. Both growing and canning are highly mechanized.

Pineapple workers' wages parallel those of sugar. In "prosperous" 1929, field laborers received these average amounts according to the U. S. Department of Labor; male adults, \$31 a month; male minors, \$6 to \$13 a month; female adults (part time), \$7 to \$8 a month; female minors, \$9 to \$13 a month.

On pineapple plantations the labor turnover is also enormous. On one typical plantation, 44% of the workers had been hired

less than six months before the survey although the company was fifteen years old.

In the canneries, equally wretched conditions and wages prevail. In 1929 earnings ranged from \$21 to \$29 a month. Both on the plantations and in the canneries the 10-hour day is universal. Bonuses are offered for speed-up. In one cannery, 43% of the workers had been employed less than six months.

Work in the pineapple industry is seasonal. The bulk of the crop is harvested in four months during which the canneries operate two shifts at capacity. During the long slack season, 75% of the workers are laid off. The small wages quoted above become exceedingly thin when spread over the year.

Since 1929 the pineapple industry, inflated to boom consumption levels, has made "retrenchments"; cut production and thrown thousands out of work. Thousands of tons of fruit were left to rot in the fields and new plantings were curtailed. The *Wall Street Journal* hailed the great saving to the pineapple barons as a 10% wage cut went into effect on March 15, 1932.

High Cost of Living

Imperialist two-crop economy is responsible for the disappearance of the self-sustenance of the Hawaiian workers. Once the land became the monopoly of the sugar and pineapple millionaires, it was necessary to import foodstuffs. Grains, dairy products, fish, vegetables, meat, butter, are brought in large quantities from distant lands.

The great distance between Hawaii and the United States or any other food-producing country boosts the cost of living, especially on bare necessities. In October, 1930, Honolulu food prices were: bread, 10 cents a pound; eggs, 78 cents a dozen; butter, 58 cents a pound. Fresh milk brought 20 cents a quart.

The question arises: how could the workers purchase bread, butter, milk and eggs at these prices when their wages were below \$1 a day? The answer is simply that they do not buy these foods. *Their principal item of diet is rice.* Beri-beri and the other so-called "nutritional disturbances" are quite common among the workers.

Imperialism Blocks Industrial Development

A two-crop economy, such as prevails in Hawaii, has hindered the further industrialization of the islands. Only such construction as bears directly upon the production of sugar or pineapples has been advanced.

Sugar mills and pineapple canneries are erected; railroads and inter-island steamship lines are built to transport these products.

Transportation and communication are developed to a degree limited by the minimum needs of the imperialists for their trading requirements and for military domination of the islands. There are no textile, shoe or similar light industries in the islands. Practically everything but sugar and pineapple must be imported. The imperialists make two-fold super-profits: first, on sugar and pineapple, then on the imported commodities.

In spite of the fact that imperialism confines the country mainly to agriculture, still it gives rise to some development of an industrial proletariat. Even the small number of skilled craftsmen are oppressed like the plantation laborers. The urban carpenters, masons, painters and other building trades workers received only \$20 a week during "prosperous" years. Railroad workers earned \$21 a week; longshoremen received \$12 to \$14; and laundry workers were paid \$8 to \$11 for a 54-hour week. Japanese carpenters and other crafts received a third less pay than whites.

The Land Monopoly

"An excessive amount of the land [in Hawaii] is controlled by interrelated or closely allied corporations, companies or individuals," according to W. R. Neal. "Five-sixths of the real property is thus held by a comparatively small number of owners whose interests are interdependent and practically the same group owns more than nine-tenths of the personal property." James Dole, pineapple king, owns the whole island of Linai—90,000 acres.

Occasionally the imperialists make a pretense of land reform. It is a matter of form for the governor in his annual message to advocate "homesteading." In 1910 the legislature passed a law forbidding any *corporation* to own more than 1,000 acres of land.

The law, however, did not prohibit *individuals* from owning 1,000 acres; nor did the law curb the *leasing* of any number of acres. The loophole is a mile wide.

Under this law, one company, for example, owns 32,000 acres and leases 1,354 acres more. This company is not a corporation; it is a partnership. Testimony of the territorial commissioner before the House Committee on Territories, February, 1920, disclosed that evasion of land laws was authorized by U. S. District Attorneys. To-day the Castle-Cooke oligarchy holds a monopoly of the land.

The imperialists frustrate every attempt at a genuine land redistribution by actively dominating the state machinery, blocking access to the open market and controlling credit facilities.

Figures from Moody's *Industrials* showing the acreage owned and leased by the sugar and pineapple imperialists illuminate the Hawaiian land monopoly:

<i>Name of Company</i>	<i>Owned Acres</i>	<i>Leased Acres</i>	<i>Total Acres</i>
Hawaiian Pineapple Co., Ltd. ....	.....	.....	107,457
Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar Co., Ltd..	32,764	.....	32,764
Waialua Agricultural Co., Ltd.	26,612	22,456	49,068
Olaa Sugar Co., Ltd.	23,336	10,625	33,961
Lihue Plantation Co., Ltd.	24,333	7,139	31,472
Maui Agricultural Co., Ltd.	25,333	1,084	26,417
Onomea Sugar Co.	24,415	878	25,293
Pioneer Mill Co., Ltd.	10,498	12,080	22,578
Honokaa Sugar Co.	12,922	4,322	17,244
Hamakua Mill Co.	10,543	3,567	14,110
McBryde Sugar Co., Ltd.	13,229	85	13,314
Oahu Sugar Co., Ltd.	476	11,673	12,149
Honolulu Plantation Co. ....	.....	3,629	3,629
Hawaiian Agricultural Co.	9,571	618	10,189
Ewa Plantation Co. ....	.....	9,388	9,388
Paauehau Sugar Plantation Co.	3,167	1,526	4,693
Haiku Pineapple Co., Ltd.	2,462	3,857	6,319
Hawaiian Sugar Co. ....	.....	5,666	5,666
Honomu Sugar Co.	2,070	1,532	3,602
Libby, McNeill & Libby ....	.....	.....	1,300
Hutchinson Sugar Plantation Co.	22,199	35,018	57,217
Total .....	.....	.....	303,980

From this table, we see that twenty-one companies, almost all of them interlocked, own and "lease" a total of 303,980 acres. The leased land, held by dummy title-holders, is nearly always owned by the lessee.

These figures are by no means exhaustive; many plantations are not listed here.

Super-Profits

"The constant tendency of capital is to force the cost of labor backwards to zero," according to Marx.

In considering super-profits it must be emphasized that Hawaii's population (380,000) approximately equals that of Columbus, Ohio. But why are there not 100 millionaires in Columbus? The answer to this riddle lies largely in the difference in the degree of exploitation in Columbus and Hawaii.

Out of so small a population the imperialists have squeezed an annual super-profit exceeding \$25,000,000. A profit of \$25,000,000 from a total export value of \$100,000,000 is indeed a super-profit. This sum, which does not include salaries to managers, insurance, and banking costs, rents, shipping and other charges which also go to the imperialists and their agents, is not startling when it is compared with the profits of U. S. Steel or General Motors. But *the U. S. Steel Corporation in 1928 employed at least five times the total number of laborers employed in Hawaii.*

Figures from Moody's *Industrials* indicate the swollen extent of the super-profits of two representative companies operating in the Territory. They cover a 15-year period:

*Hawaiian Agricultural Co.—1915, 30%; 1916, 40%; 1917, 24%; 1918, 14%; 1919, 16%; 1920, 67%; 1921, 3½%; 1922, none; 1923, 12%; 1924, 15%; 1925, 12%; 1926, 8%; 1927, 10%; 1928 and 1929, 12%; 1930, 6%; 1931, 5%; also 1929, 12% stock dividend. Assets, \$4,100,000.

Hawaiian Pineapple Co., Ltd.—1917, 43%; 1920 and 1921, 25%; 1922, 58%; 1925, 33⅓%; 1927, 10%; 1930, 20%. Assets \$28,000,000.

In 1928, fourteen Hawaiian sugar companies reported the fol-

lowing profits and dividends. The rate is based on actual investment:

<i>Name of Company</i>	<i>Profit</i>	<i>Dividend</i>	<i>Rate % of Profit</i>
Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar Co..	\$1,989,045	\$1,500,000	15
Oahu Sugar Co., Ltd.	1,600,024	900,000	15
Ewa Plantation Co.	1,484,693	1,500,000	30
Waialua Agricultural Co., Ltd.	1,677,357	1,040,000	16
Maui Agricultural Co., Ltd.	1,020,032	600,000	12
Kekeha Sugar Co., Ltd.	702,789	450,000	51
Hawaiian Sugar Co.	684,313	630,000	32
Honolulu Plantation Co.	537,726	500,000	10
Onomea Sugar Co.	472,277	400,000	40
Wailuku Sugar Co.	470,639	360,000	24
Hawaiian Agricultural Co.	373,363	240,000	20
Pepeekeo Sugar Co.	188,372	180,000	24
Honomu Sugar Co.	175,561	112,500	10
Kahuku Plantation Co.	165,223	47,500	10

The "favorable" balance of trade, of which bourgeois sociologists boast, is additional proof of the huge super-profits taken out of the islands by the imperialists. From the seemingly "favorable" balance of trade the workers, of course, derive no benefit. The imperialists pocket the super-profits which are mostly expended in the expansion of the sugar and pineapple industries, not in the building of textile mills or shoe factories producing things for workers' needs.

Imperialists in Hawaiian State Machine

To-day the most powerful imperialists in Hawaii are the old missionary families such as Castle, Cooke, Baldwin, Alexander, Judd and Dole. The missionaries taught the natives by precept how to lay up treasures in heaven, and then by example how to lay up earthly treasures—for the missionary exploiters.

Among the first dispensers of biblical lore, rum and "civilization" were Samuel Castle and Amos Cooke, who founded the oligarchy that rules and owns Hawaii to-day. The "messengers of God" abandoned the cloth for shopkeeping as soon as Hawaii

was ripe for merchant capital, establishing the firm of Castle & Cooke, Ltd.

The merchants early discovered the advantage of having a finger in the political pie, and to secure and to advance their business, they formed an alliance with the landlord nobility. Castle was successively a privy councilor, president of Hawaii's legislature, member of the House of Nobles, and assistant superintendent of secular affairs.

The second generation of the Castle-Cooke clan saw merchant capital give way to industrial capital. From the beginning they were at the head of sugar exploitation. They bought up huge tracts of land for a song. They founded sugar plantations and built transportation facilities for shipping sugar.

Throughout the development of industrial capital, the Castles and Cookes took an active, leading part in politics. They held, for example, such key positions as attorney-general and collector of customs. In 1875 their political power enabled them to manipulate a reciprocity treaty allowing Hawaiian sugar a duty-free entry into the United States. American imports of Hawaiian sugar jumped sky-high, reaching the 20,000,000 ton mark for the first time. By 1887 the figure towered above 200,000,000 tons. Profits poured into Castle-Cooke coffers.

Then suddenly (1890) the McKinley tariff, placing sugar on the free list, threw a wrench into the Hawaiian sugar machine. Hawaiian sugar was forced to compete on even terms with sugar from Cuba and the Philippines. The imperialists in Hawaii saw their profits fade.

Two steps were necessary to restore the hegemony of Hawaiian sugar: first, annexation to the United States; second, raising a tariff wall against sugar competing with Hawaii.

By 1893 Hawaiian sugar was going from bad to worse. The Castle-Cooke tribe, deeply entrenched in the government, took matters into their own hands. Chief-Justice Dole, uncle of the pineapple king, led the movement to depose the Queen. Biographical sketches in "The Builders of Hawaii" proudly record that the Castles and Cookes took an *active* part in this Hawaiian "Revolution" of 1893. Judge Dole formed a Committee of Safety

(though nothing but sugar profits was in danger) which easily "persuaded" U. S. Minister Stevens to request the State Department to station a warship at Honolulu "to protect American lives and property." Marines were landed January 16, 1893. The Committee of Safety, protected by American marines, proclaimed the end of the monarchy.

A month later, a commission including William R. Castle and Charles M. Cooke were in Washington with a treaty of annexation before the Senate. President Harrison was cordial, but his term expired shortly. The succeeding Cleveland administration withdrew the treaty and conducted an investigation of the revolution. As the facts came to light the reformers waged a campaign that deferred annexation until the hysteria of the Spanish-American War.

Meanwhile a republic was established with Judge Dole as president. James B. Castle was Secretary of the Hawaiian legation in Washington. The planters' Congressional lobby succeeded in getting the Wilson Tariff (1894) to impose a duty on sugar and admit Hawaiian sugar free. Sugar "prosperity" returned.

To-day, the Hawaiian government is a branch of the Castle-Cooke enterprises. George P. Cooke and Clarence H. Cooke are members of the Hawaiian Senate, while Robert W. Shingle is president of that body. The interests of these three "representatives of the people" cover the islands.

Clarence Cooke, for example, is a director of the Bank of Hawaii, Ltd., Hawaiian Trust Co., Hawaiian Electric Co., Ltd., Brewer & Co., Ltd., Lihue Plantation Co., Wailuku Sugar Co., Hawaiian Agriculture Co., Ewa Plantation Co., Waialua Agricultural Co., Kaluku Plantation Co., Makee Sugar Co., American Sugar Co., Cooke Trust Co. and Hawaiian Pineapple Co.

Governor Lawrence M. Judd is a director of Pearl City Fruit Co., Association of Pineapple Cannerys, National Cannery Association, E. C. Hall & Son, Union Mill, and Theodore H. Davies & Co. Formerly, Judd was agent for Alexander & Baldwin, a Castle-Cooke bank.

William R. Castle, Jr., Under Secretary of State in the Hoover administration, is also a member of the imperialist oligarchy.

The imperialist control of the government has facilitated "legal" graft. In 1926, for instance, the legislature passed a law exempting the Honolulu Transit Co. from paying the franchise tax; in March, 1933, the same company, which is headed by A. L. Castle, received permission from the "government" to raise school fares on street cars and make the city pay for the maintenance of the pavement between the rails.

Large numbers of workers—Japanese, Chinese, Korean, and others—are disqualified from citizenship by naturalization and literacy laws.

Concentration of Finance Capital

After the Spanish-American War and annexation, the Castle-Cooke oligarchy entered the finance-capital stage. They founded new banks; bought up the old banks; merged the small banks; and created a monopoly of the financial system in Hawaii. The marriage of the plantation and the bank was performed and thereafter the banks played the dominant rôle in the colony.

Russell Owen, *New York Times* correspondent during the Massie trial, reported on March 19, 1932, that "there is no doubt the influence of the big business firms, banks and plantations is supreme in Hawaii. By interlocking directorates and intermarriage the families controlling them are in a position to dictate."

In Hawaii one cannot sleep in a hotel, talk on a telephone, ride a trolley, buy a newspaper, use gas, electricity or ice, eat a lump of sugar or a slice of pineapple without paying tribute to the Castle-Cooke monopoly.

The directors of the Bank of Hawaii include C. H. Cooke, T. A. Cooke, R. A. Cooke, F. Cooke Atherton, etc. These directors are at the same time interlocking directors of practically every bank, plantation, transportation and communication company in the Territory.

Frank Cooke Atherton, for example, is a director of the following companies: Castle & Cooke, Ltd.; J. B. Atherton Estate; Ewa Plantation Co.; Hawaii Sugar Co.; Wailua Agricultural Co., Ltd.; Waialua Water Co.; Kohala Sugar Co.; American Factors, Ltd.; Oahu Sugar Co.; Maui Agricultural Co., Ltd.; Bank of

Hawaii, Ltd.; Hawaiian Trust Co., Ltd.; International Trust Co., Ltd.; Honolulu *Star Bulletin*; Territorial Hotel Co., Ltd., Hawaiian Electric Co., Ltd.; Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association; Sugar Factors Co., Ltd.; and Hawaiian Pineapple Co., Ltd.

The Bank of Hawaii's remaining seventeen directors are directors of whatever banks, sugar and pineapple mills, canneries, plantations and utilities there are in the islands. Domination of the islands radiates from the banks.

Altogether there are 19 Banks in Hawaii with total resources of \$124,931,000. Only the Chinese-American Bank, with a Chinese board of directors, seems to be outside the Castle-Cooke fold.

Super-profits in the imperialist banks have been uniformly high. From 1927 to 1930 the Bank of Hawaii declared annual dividends of 12%. The Baldwin Bank paid in 1927, 18%; 1928, 20%; 1929, 27%; 1930, 30%. In 1931, Hawaiian Trust paid \$12.66 a share and Bishop First National Bank paid 9%.

Hawaii in the War Area

Long before annexation, naval and military experts in the United States appreciated the key position of Hawaii at the cross-roads of the Pacific. Hawaii is the stepping stone to the Orient. Many ships crossing the Pacific must stop at Honolulu for refueling and revictualing. A glance at the map on page 2 is graphically convincing—Hawaii is a strategic military outpost on the Pacific.

Frequent military, naval and aerial maneuvers (called "war games") are conducted with Hawaii as the base of operations. In view of the present international situation—the interventionist schemes against the Soviet Union, the Japanese provocations, the Manchurian war, the sharpening American-Japanese antagonism—these maneuvers are, in every sense, war preparations. Hawaii will be America's spring-board in the impending Pacific conflict.

Pearl Harbor at Honolulu is the most completely equipped war base in the Pacific; it was recently described by the New York *Evening Post* as "one of the world's mightiest naval bases." It has a large dry dock and repair shops, a naval air station, reinforced

concrete wharfage, a large oil supply depot, an ammunition depot, a submarine base and a marine reservation nearby.

Nearly \$10,000,000 of the N. R. A. "public works" fund has been allotted to strengthen Pearl Harbor. Approximately \$50,000,000 has been spent to date in developing it into a war base of the first magnitude, with \$100,000,000 more required to complete the program of the Navy Department. In the belligerent "second to none" statement of naval policy made by Secretary of War Swanson, June 29, 1933, he referred specifically to the need "to further the development of outlying bases in the Hawaiian Islands." Later in the year he visited the islands to push this war program and announced: "It is my belief that the base is destined to become, perhaps, the most important of the United States." And a *United Press* dispatch, September 16, 1933, describes the adjacent Island of Oahu as the "Gibraltar of the Pacific."

During the Massie trial the imperialists, ordinarily more subtle, made plain the true meaning of Hawaii as the spearhead in the next war. Representative Britten of Illinois introduced a bill to place Hawaii completely under the control of the army or navy. Britten employed the characteristic demagoguery. He spoke of "American rights," "American citizens," "American control," and used the Massie trial prejudice as a fulcrum to spread jingoism, while he blustered menacingly at Japan after Stimson's Manchurian notes manifested their impotence. Navy officials and newspaper editors joined the chorus of "military control."

It is no accident that the Congressional delegate for Hawaii is U. S. K. Houston, a graduate of the U. S. Naval Academy, a retired commander of the navy, and the son of a late rear admiral. Houston's chief function in Congress is to advise and take care of military and naval affairs concerning Hawaii.

The Inter-Island Airways, Ltd., of Hawaii operates seemingly, on a commercial basis. The governor's report for 1932 stated that "development of territorial airports has been the principal work of the aeronautical commission during the past year. The airports on all the principal islands are in fine shape now." The peace-time business needs of Hawaii's 380,000 population in the

mid-Pacific positively do not require an extensive, highly organized transport service by air. Even passenger traffic on island railroads is negligible.

Inter-Island Airways cannot be self-sustaining on a purely business basis. However, as the airline will be converted into a war instrument at a moment's notice, Yankee imperialism will subsidize the project through air-mail contracts. Congressman Clyde Kelly of Pennsylvania has asked the federal government to give Inter-Island Airways an air-mail gift. Radio-equipped, twin motored amphibian planes will be highly effective in the coming war as well as in quelling labor insurrections on plantations.

In January, 1934, six high-powered, radio-equipped U. S. naval planes dashed from San Francisco to Hawaii in the first mass flight across the Pacific attempted by the Navy Department. This was a part of the increasing preparations of the U. S. government for the coming war in the Pacific. Commander McGinnis, the day the planes landed in Hawaii, was reported as "much pleased with the flight as a demonstration of the possibility of flying any number of squadrons from San Francisco to Honolulu *in a time of national emergency.*" (*New York Times*, Jan. 12, 1934). It was announced that "fuel consumption figures were *of military importance* and officers declined to discuss the question." (Our italics.)

There is a Reserve Officers' Training Corps at the University of Hawaii, a land grant college receiving \$50,000 annually from the U. S. government; accordingly, this university gives instruction in "military science and tactics." Two years of R.O.T.C. training lead to a reserve commission in the army and are compulsory for all physically fit undergraduates.

R.O.T.C. units are regular features of all island high schools. "Smart" military uniforms, medals, competition and the like are used to attract the youth. Boy Scout troops are another source of militarized youth.

Number of soldiers, sailors and marines normally stationed in the islands is about 20,000 men.

Massie Lynching and Yankee Chauvinism

The capitalist press colored the facts and distorted the meaning of the Massie case in 1932 to such an extent that its significance as an expression of imperialist policy was concealed. The bare facts are as hackneyed as a triangular melodrama. Several officers and men in the U. S. Navy killed a native Hawaiian. When they were apprehended while trying to dispose of the body, they accused the dead man of having raped a white woman.

It is an old ruling class trick. In the South it has long been used against the Negroes. The Scottsboro case is but one of hundreds of examples. Both the Massie and the Scottsboro cases are rooted in the same soil.

Wherever the ruling class oppresses a mixed racial and national population, it fosters prejudices, putting one race against another; and it inculcates the "theory" of Nordic superiority—ruling class superiority. The imperialists spread the notion that dark-skinned men are unfit to cohabit with white women. The reverse—white men seducing native girls—however, is permissible.

The punishment for the "sin" of inter-racial cohabitation is death—lynching. Should the "inferior" native cross the ruling class on any score—defend himself against a white man's assault—immediately the cry of rape is raised. So common has the subterfuge become that the imperialists spread another lie, *i.e.*, that natives are addicted to the rape of white women!

During the Massie trial the capitalist press in America whipped up racial prejudice. The whole foul lie of racial "inferiority" and rapist tendencies was played up. In the press there was no room for doubt of guilt. Rape had been committed. The honor of womanhood and the sanctity of the home had to be defended!

It will be to the everlasting shame of Clarence Darrow that he deserted the Scottsboro boys and rushed off to Honolulu to defend the white lynchers. In spite of Darrow's success in excluding Hawaiians from the hand-picked, lily-white jury, the lynchers were found guilty and sentenced to prison. Nevertheless, Governor Judd, imperialist puppet, under pressure from Washington immediately pardoned them.

An official report to the United States Senate on crime conditions in Hawaii (*New York Times*, April 5, 1932) stated that "the investigation which we made and the crime tabulations which we prepared, do not show that crime, including sexual crime, can be laid at the door of the Hawaiian."

A report prepared for the Department of the Interior admits that so-called racial "inferiority" is a myth. It states that children of contract laborers whose ancestors for centuries had lived in ignorance "breeze through the high schools, go on to the University and meet the psychological tests as well as do the blond sons of Nordics."

The U. S. Department of Labor reports that "earnest efforts are being made to impress upon children in the public schools the dignity of agricultural labor."

The character of Hawaii's educational system is determined by the imperialists who give their financial support. The University of Hawaii's Board of Regents includes Mary D. Frear, a member of the Castle-Cooke hierarchy and C. R. Hemenway of the bank of Alexander & Baldwin, Ltd. J. P. Cooke donated the University Athletic Field, and C. M. Cooke endowed the Marine Biological Laboratory and Aquarium. The Rockefeller Foundation contributed \$170,000 to the University, while the Carnegie Endowment provided generously.

In the middle of the crisis the University jacked up the tuition fee from \$30 to \$100 a year. The increase was fought by the Hawaiian Proletarian League, an organization of Japanese, Chinese, Hawaiian, Filipino and Korean students. The League was split by the adherents of Professor Oyama, formerly a sympathizer of the Communist Party of Japan, but now a reactionary. As a result 2,500 members of the League broke away and formed the Hawaiian Proletarian Soviet. The youth of Hawaii is rallying around revolutionary leadership. *Rodo Shinbun*, Japanese organ of the Communist Party of the U. S. A., reported the organization of a Young Communist League.

Economic Crisis in Hawaii

The imperialists in Hawaii echoed every one of Hoover's reactions to the crisis—"prosperity around the corner," "prosperity in sixty days," "don't sell America short," "buy now," etc. It was a long time before they admitted that unemployment existed in Hawaii, and even longer before anything was done about it.

For over a year after the crash there was no mention of unemployment in the territorial legislature. But by March, 1931, a resolution requested an "investigation." No other resolution regarding unemployment was offered during that session.

While thousands of unemployed laborers roamed the streets of Honolulu, the planters cried "labor shortage" and proposed to import Puerto Ricans. Hawaii's "educators" at the same time recommended the restriction of education to keep the youth on the plantations.

The Honolulu Iron Works cut its force; construction actively fell off, throwing 1,200 out of work; sugar plantations worked one and two days a week; pineapple plantations laid off 4,000 workers.

The *Commerce Year Book*, 1932, recorded that "building construction was off about 39 per cent, collections were poor, and fewer visitors arrived from the mainland . . . trade with foreign countries declined considerably." Yet "an average profit of 5.17 per cent was made by 17 sugar plantations during the year."

While the U. S. Department of Commerce denied that there was great unemployment in Hawaii, L. L. Partlow writing in *Asia* (January, 1931) declared that "there was an unemployment crisis in Honolulu, though some people denied that it existed." Meanwhile the sugar bosses were importing 300 Filipinos a month. The contradiction of unemployment and "labor shortage" is inherent in Yankee imperialism.

Unemployment relief took the same forms as Hoover employed on the mainland. They included: (1) Clean-up, fix-up, paint-up campaign; give a job. (2) Urging the bosses not to lay off men. (3) Home gardening schemes (like Henry Ford's). (4) Artificial creation of jobs by public works, etc. How ineffectual

these panaceas were in the United States is well known; in Hawaii they proved equally worthless.

A report to the U. S. Senate (April, 1932) stated that conditions in Hawaii "make the unemployment situation in the immediate future one of very serious portent."

In September, 1932, Pablo Manlapit, A. F. of L.-style labor misleader, capitalized the crisis by organizing a new union for Filipino laborers. Manlapit, according to *Hawaii Hochi* of Honolulu, advocated a class collaboration policy. He urged the Filipinos to demand relief from Manila's government and capitalists a thousand miles away, instead of demanding relief from the Castle-Cookes in Hawaii. Manlapit, a second-rate William Green, declared that "the Filipino Labor Federation stands for the ideal of constructive conciliation and for furtherance of understanding between employers and employees."

Hawaii's New Deal

Events since Roosevelt's inauguration have proven that the new raw deal is shuffled from the same old stacked deck.

R. A. Cooke, chairman of the unemployment commission, decided to cut the school budget to provide "relief." W. H. Hill of the Hawaiian Senate proposed cuts in the departments of education, agriculture, health, forestry, etc., and that the University of Hawaii and all high schools be shut down. Over 400 school teachers in Honolulu have been dismissed; teachers of Kamehameha have received a 12% salary cut.

A tax of one-half of 1% was placed on salaries, wages, and dividends under Act 209 (Session Laws of Hawaii) of 1933. This "unemployment relief act" was planned to soak the 75¢-a-day laborers for the relief of the unemployed.

At the same time the imperialists unloaded 25% of their own share of the "relief" cost by lowering the tax rate from \$40.11 per thousand dollars of assessed valuation in 1932 to \$30 in 1933. The legislature also killed a bill proposing a two-year moratorium on mortgage foreclosures.

Forced labor in Hawaii is called "relief." Wages are \$1 a day, except in Honolulu where \$2 is the scale. Work is allotted only

three days a week ; *i.e.*, "relief" cases mean an income of \$6 a week in Honolulu and only \$3 a week elsewhere.

Political graft controls the "relief" work. Since the New Deal began, only enrolled Democrats are eligible. Thousands of alien unemployed are ineligible.

Thousands of Filipino workers have been deported. The Honolulu *Star-Bulletin* April 24, 1933, announced the deportation of 100 Filipinos by the Planters' Association. The Association ran a daily help wanted advertisement in the *Star-Bulletin* which was a decoy for the deportation of unemployed Filipinos. Unemployed workers who answered the ad were urged to return to the Philippines.

Since Roosevelt's inauguration the imperialists have thus closely paralleled the program of the "champion of the forgotten man." The program embraces forced labor, "economy," wage-cuts, dismissals, sales-taxes, deportations, restriction of immigration, stagger system and almost no government relief.

Tasks of Hawaiian Revolutionary Movement

It is apparent that the social and economic conditions of the workers in Hawaii are the product of Yankee imperialism; that Hawaii is a naval base for the approaching war in the Pacific; that the two-crop economy is adapted to Castle-Cooke finance capital; that forced labor of a feudal character and low wages are inevitable so long as Yankee imperialism has a strangle-hold on Hawaii. No permanent or just settlement is possible short of a complete overthrow of foreign domination and the establishment of a workers' and peasants' republic.

²⁸To achieve this end, definite tasks, arising out of the social and economic conditions and the international situation, face the revolutionary movement in Hawaii. These tasks were outlined by the recently deceased Sen Katayama in the *Communist International*, June 22, 1933.

(1) Mass revolutionary trade unions must be organized, especially among the sugar, pineapple and transport workers; at first according to racial lines, but unified by a central trade union council.

(2) A strong Communist group or party should be formed, including Communists of all nations, which will guide the trade unions and the revolutionary movement generally.

(3) The immediate slogans and demands in the every-day mass struggles, under Communist leadership, should concentrate on conditions of labor; *i.e.*, the eight-hour day, equal pay with white workers, defense of labor, and demands for political freedom, freedom of press, organization, assembly, electoral rights. Special demands must be formulated for farm hands, plantation workers, tenants and poor peasants, *i.e.*, lower taxes and lower rent. Also, concrete demands must be made for national and cultural freedom and equality.

(4) The Hawaiian revolutionary movement must be tied up with the revolutionary movement in the United States, Japan and the Philippines.

Rôle of American Workers

It is the same imperialist class that is at once exploiting and oppressing the workers of both Hawaii and the United States. The imperialists are the common enemy of colonial peoples and workers in the "homeland." The struggle of the Hawaiian masses against the imperialists is *the struggle of the American workers*.

To help throw off the yoke of Yankee imperialist oppression in Hawaii, as well as in all American colonies, the Anti-Imperialist League has been organized. It carries on struggles among the American workers and colonial peoples for the real independence of Hawaii and the rest of the colonies and semi-colonies under Yankee domination. The League is affiliated with the International League Against Imperialism.

Independence will never be handed the Hawaiian workers on a silver platter. It will be gained by the colonial peoples only through struggle. American workers must help. American workers in the army stationed in Hawaii made a beginning when Walter Trumbull and Paul Crouch educated their fellow soldiers as to the function of the armed forces in subjugating the plantation laborers and mill workers. The authorities court-martialed Trumbull, who was sentenced to 26 years in the military prison at Fort

Alcatraz, California, and Crouch, who was sentenced to 40 years at hard labor. Both have since been released.

The workers of America and other anti-imperialist elements must fully support the struggle of the Hawaiian toiling masses for complete national independence; self-determination of nationalities; removal of the imperialist armed forces; and confiscation of the plantation lands, mills, canneries and banks for the benefit of the workers.

SELECTED REFERENCE SOURCES

For information on United States imperialist rule in the Philippines, Puerto Rico and other colonies see *Yankee Colonies* by Harry Gannes, No. 7 in this series. For analysis of the background of the coming war in the Pacific, see *War in China* by Ray Stewart, No. 19 in this series.

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