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THE REFERENCE SHELF

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No. 5

STATEHOOD FOR  
HAWAII AND ALASKA

Edited by  
EDWARD LATHAM



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## PREFACE

The question of whether and when to admit new states to the Union is both as old as the country itself and as new as today's newspaper.

The debate has often been sharp in the past, but the divergence of views has probably never been more marked than it is now. Perhaps this is because, in the Hawaiian and Alaskan cases, Congress is called upon to consider factors which are different from those which have heretofore governed. If and when these two territories are admitted, a precedent will have been established—to the effect that ethnic differences and lack of contiguity are no barrier to statehood.

The difference of opinion in Congress and elsewhere is due largely to the importance given these new factors, but there are other questions as well: Can these territories afford statehood? What is the danger of the Communist influence becoming predominant? Have we definitely promised these territories statehood? If so, when should that promise be fulfilled? Would there be any effect militarily? How about world opinion? Do the people of Hawaii and Alaska really want statehood? Would some other status be better for them and for us? What about monopoly interests?

These and other questions have been raised, and it is the purpose of this book to set forth some of them, without going into statistical or legalistic detail.

Some of the points of view presented are highly controversial. Needless to say, in no case should the content of an excerpt be construed as necessarily reflecting the opinions of the editor or publisher.

Acknowledgment is gratefully made to the publishers and individuals who so courteously granted permission to reprint material, and to those who have so kindly permitted the use of their facilities for research.

EDWARD LATHAM

April 1953



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# FACTORS AFFECTING BOTH TERRITORIES

## EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Some of the articles and items brought together in this section relate to territories and statehood in general, while others deal specifically with factors affecting both Hawaii and Alaska.

The long article "The Territory as a Unique Political Subdivision," by Marcos E. Kinevan, may prove useful in giving the reader a clearer idea of just what territorial status means and of the several types of territorial administration that have been developed by the United States.

Selections from the *Congressional Digest* list the present United States territories and describe the legal requirements for statehood. The influence of partisan politics on the current situation is considered in the concluding articles in this section.

## UNCLE SAM'S TERRITORIES TODAY <sup>1</sup>

A certain amount of confusion often arises over use of the terms "territories," "organized territories," "possessions," "dependencies," etc.

Hawaii and Alaska, for example, are frequently referred to as "organized territories" while other outlying districts are called "possessions" or "unorganized territories." Both usages are technically incorrect.

The United States Constitution refers to all lands, legally affiliated with the United States but not part of the Union proper, as "territories" and by no other term. Congressional authority to legislate in such cases can be applied only on a "territorial" basis.

Several differences, however, have grown out of the "organic" acts by which Congress has set up systems of local government in the territories.

<sup>1</sup> From an article in *Congressional Digest*, an independent monthly featuring controversies in Congress, pro and con. 26:267. November 1947. Reprinted by permission.

[Five] such acts are currently in effect—for Hawaii, Alaska, Puerto Rico, [Guam] and the Virgin Islands. In the organic acts of Hawaii and Alaska, provisions of the United States Constitution were formally extended as applicable to all territorial affairs. This was not done in the other . . . cases. So a distinction has arisen in the status of Alaska and Hawaii (which also applied to earlier territories that are now States). Via a number of United States Supreme Court decisions it has been established that Hawaii and Alaska are “incorporated within the Union” by their organic acts—no other territories today are so incorporated.

Technically, then, Hawaii and Alaska are “incorporated territories”; all others are “unincorporated territories.”

Since the two terms are cumbersome and sound alike, it has become customary to refer to Hawaii and Alaska as Territories with a big “T” and to consider the remaining territories as “possessions.”

In each instance where Congress has formulated a territorial organic act, however, it has extended United States citizenship. The people of Hawaii, Alaska, Puerto Rico, [Guam] and the Virgin Islands are all citizens of the United States.

### THE TERRITORY AS A UNIQUE POLITICAL SUBDIVISION <sup>2</sup>

Our conceptions of the status of territoriality have their inception in the famed Ordinance for the Northwest Territories, a measure adopted by Congress under the Articles of Confederation to provide for governing a large area of land ceded to the national government by four of the original states. A clause in the subsequently adopted Federal Constitution gave Congress power to “. . . dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States. . . .” The First Congress, in reenacting the Ordinance without substantial change, created a political form as novel to the contemporary world as the republic that estab-

<sup>2</sup> From “Alaska and Hawaii: From Territoriality to Statehood,” by Marcos E. Kinevan, associate editor, *California Law Review*. *California Law Review*. 38: 273-92. June 1950. Reprinted by permission.



lished it. The Ordinance granted fundamental civil and political rights to inhabitants of the territories, including local government and representation in Congress by a nonvoting delegate. It also provided that, upon meeting certain conditions, the territories were to be admitted to the Union as states. This basic pattern was applied in subsequent years in providing for the government of later acquired areas. . . .

Congress may legislate directly for a territory or transfer that power to a locally elected body. . . . The practice prior to the Spanish-American War was to delegate to the territorial legislature power to legislate with respect to all rightful subjects not inconsistent with the Constitution and laws of the United States. A change in this practice occurred after this war, when Federal control was extended to noncontiguous tropical territory inhabited by relatively backward peoples of different races, who spoke a different language and lacked experience in self-government. Following precedent in this situation might have led to undesirable consequences. In order to justify governing these areas differently, the Supreme Court, in the *Insular Cases*, developed a legalistic distinction between a territory "incorporated" into the United States as an integral part thereof and an "unincorporated" territory. The difference is of importance primarily in determining the extent to which constitutional safeguards apply, and also in excluding certain territories from early consideration for statehood.

Although this distinction is now established, it is not clear just when a territory is "incorporated." The line of demarcation is not between an "organized" territory, which has an organized government of its own with a local legislature, and an "unorganized" territory. . . . One thing common to all "incorporated" territories is the express applicability of the Constitution. This, apparently, is prerequisite to becoming an "integral part" of the United States. Alaska and Hawaii are considered as the only incorporated territories still remaining, although prominent constitutional writers have cast some doubt upon the status of Hawaii. . . .

The procedure for transforming a political subdivision from a territory to a state is relatively simple. Usually the people of

the territory petition Congress to be admitted. Assuming that incorporated territories have what has been termed an "inherent right" ultimately to become states, nevertheless it is within the absolute discretion of Congress to decide when they will be admitted. If Congress favors admission, it passes an enabling act, which sets forth certain conditions which must be met by the territory before it becomes a state. Admission may be refused if the conditions are not met. A constitution, which must comply with congressional specifications, must be framed, ratified by the people of the territory, and submitted to the President. If the constitution is satisfactory, an election of state and other officers is conducted by the territory. Upon completion, the President proclaims the results, and the territory is then deemed admitted by Congress as a state. When a territory becomes a state, it is invested with the same powers possessed by other states. Any attempt by Congress to diminish these powers is ineffective, unless the attempted restrictions can be brought within the constitutional powers of the national government.

The distinction between incorporated and unincorporated territories is also important in determining what constitutional limitations exist in legislating for a territory. Several cases imply that once a territory is incorporated, it is entitled to the same constitutional protection as a state; an unincorporated territory is protected only by "fundamental" constitutional limitations. A complete classification of those parts of the Constitution that are "fundamental" has never been made. The Constitution has been expressly extended by Act of Congress to both Alaska and Hawaii, yet Federal legislative power over territories is still considered plenary. This curious anomaly serves to delimit, to a nebulous extent, the restrictions imposed upon Congress by the Constitution. . . . The extent to which constitutional limitations may be abrogated is still unsettled. It is highly improbable that any of the safeguards of the Bill of Rights may be violated.

The extent to which constitutional restrictions apply is further complicated by the fact that the only reference in the Constitution to territories is that empowering Congress to dispose of or make all needful rules and regulations respecting them. The pro-

hibitions of the Constitution are expressed in terms of "States" or the "United States." The preliminary question becomes, then, one of whether "States" or "United States" as used in a particular context is to be given a narrow meaning, as applying only to the states, or is to be interpreted more broadly as encompassing the states, territories and District of Columbia.

It is unlikely that Congress is bound by the express constitutional requirement of uniform treatment of "states" when legislating for either incorporated or unincorporated territories. The pertinent uniformity provisions concern duties, imposts and excises, and the prohibition that ". . . no preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another." It has been held that the uniformity limitation upon indirect taxation was not violated by a statute that applied only to the states and the District of Columbia. Likewise, Congress, in its capacity as a local legislature, has validly levied a tax upon businesses in an incorporated territory, the proceeds of which were to be used for expenditures within the territory. Nor is Congress prohibited from giving preference to the ports of the states over those of a territory. . . .

The power of Congress to enact economically discriminatory legislation has never been seriously questioned, and has been exercised repeatedly. In 1934 Congress passed the Jones-Costigan Sugar Act which, among other things, empowered the Secretary of Agriculture to fix quotas on the importation of sugar. The original enactment even referred to Hawaii as a "foreign" area. Designed to protect the mainland sugar interests, this legislation placed Hawaii in an at least theoretically disadvantageous position. . . . Proponents of statehood have vociferously objected to the quotas as limiting shipments of *refined* sugar to the mainland to 3 per cent of "capacity." However, the bark is worse than the bite, for Hawaii has never refined more than 3 per cent of its raw sugar, and there has been no substantial difference in the total tonnage of *raw and refined* sugar exported to the mainland before and after the enactment. Nevertheless, the Act is indicative of what Congress can do if it sees fit. The Federal Highway Act . . . clearly emphasizes the extent of permissible

congressional discretion in denying grants-in-aid to the territories. . . . It is therefore apparent that Congress can not only give preference to the states over the territories, but also to one territory over another. . . .

Not all discriminatory legislation has been undesirable to all interests within the territories. In 1932 the Hawaiian sugar industry, in order to maintain an adequate supply of cheap labor, was able to exert sufficient influence to incorporate in immigration legislation a provision enabling Hawaii to continue importing Filipinos, if necessary for labor. Until recently Chinese laborers were prohibited from entering the United States from Hawaii, although they could migrate from the United States to Hawaii.

About the only certain thing that can be said concerning constitutional limitations as applied to territories is that they are uncertain. "Fundamental" restrictions, such as those imposed by the Bill of Rights, are applicable to incorporated territories. Beyond this there is no fixed pattern. Discriminatory treatment of territories under the uniformity provisions suggests that, at least as far as economic prohibitions are concerned, Congress may in its discretion choose to regard the territories as "states," or as what they are—a political unit of markedly inferior status. . . .

As stated above, the form of government and participation accorded the inhabitants of a territory is within the discretion of the Federal Government. The organization and operation of the local government, and the limits of its power, are determined from congressional enactments—primarily the organic act. The Organic Acts of Alaska and Hawaii provide for the establishment of a territorial government, consisting of an executive, legislative and judicial branch. The President, with Senate confirmation, appoints the governor and secretary of both territories for four-year terms. The secretary performs duties comparable to those of a lieutenant-governor. . . .

Congress regulates suffrage rights, which it can subsequently abridge or modify. The power of the territorial legislatures extends to subjects of legislation not inconsistent with the Constitution, the laws of the United States, and the Organic Acts.

The Organic Acts, especially in the case of Alaska, contain numerous restrictions on this legislative power. Many of the limitations of the Alaskan Act were inserted because passage depended upon placating certain "vested" interests. . . .

Since the Constitution places the supreme legislative power over territories in Congress, the territorial legislatures are only agents exercising their power at the sufferance of Congress. The governor of the territory must forward copies of all new legislation to the President. Although all territorial enactments are subject to disapproval by Congress, they remain valid until abrogated. Federal legislation of the same scope and purpose supercedes similar territorial legislation. Although generally the later of two legislative enactments governs, acts of Congress which are merely inconsistent with the organic act will not be applied to the territories; but those which clearly express a purpose to supervene the organic act are applicable. In spite of the express prohibitions and the congressional veto power, territorial legislation, for the most part, is similar to that enacted by the states. . . .

The district courts of both Alaska and Hawaii are "legislative" courts, created by Congress in the exercise of its territorial power, as contrasted with the "constitutional" district courts created under Article III of the Constitution.

### ADMISSION OF NEW STATES <sup>3</sup>

The United States Constitution touches on the admission of new states at only one point, Article IV, Section 3, Clause 1, which reads:

New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new States shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State, nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The implication that Congress may enact separate statutes to govern the procedure of admission of new states to the Union

<sup>3</sup> From "Statehood Under the United States Constitution," an article in *Congressional Digest*, an independent monthly featuring controversies in Congress, pro and con. 26:259-61. November 1947. Reprinted by permission.

by virtue of this clause is usually conceded, but Congress has not done so. Instead, a procedure has grown up over the long period of United States expansion which has become the accepted custom. Congress may, if it wishes, alter this procedure. However, all bills designed to admit Hawaii or Alaska as states continue in the accepted manner. There are seven main steps.

1. Petition to Congress for passage of an enabling act to allow admission. This step, which is not mandatory but which is always followed, is taken by the legislature of the territory. The territorial legislature passes an appropriate resolution requesting statehood and forwards it officially to the Congress of the United States.

2. Passage of the enabling act by Congress. In taking this step Congress acts just as on any ordinary legislation. A majority vote of both Houses is required plus the signature of the President. The act authorizes the territory to call a constitutional convention for purposes of adopting the United States Constitution and formulating its own state constitution and sets forth the process and requirements for admission. . . .

3. Meeting of the constitutional convention. As provided in the enabling act, the convention is called, delegates to the convention are apportioned and elected and their number specified. The convention adopts the United States Constitution and drafts the constitution which will govern the territory when it becomes a state.

4. Ratification of the new state constitution. When the convention has completed its work, it submits the new constitution to the people of the territory for their vote. If approval by majority vote is not obtained the convention usually reconvenes and works over the constitution until it is acceptable. When it has been ratified, it is certified approved and sent to the President of the United States with a statement of the votes cast.

5. Action by the President. If the President finds the new state constitution to comply in all respects with the requirements set forth in the enabling act, he approves the document and so notifies the governor of the territory. In the event of his disapproval, the convention reconvenes in the territory to make the necessary changes in the constitution.

6. Election of officers under the new constitution. When the governor of the territory has received word from the President that the constitution is approved, he issues a proclamation calling for the election of all officers of the new government as provided in the constitution. These officers, legislative, executive, and judicial are elected (plus the appropriate members to Congress) and the President is so notified.

7. Final proclamation of statehood. When all steps up to this point have been taken, the President issues a proclamation announcing that the territory of so-and-so is now deemed to be a full-fledged state of the United States and that the territory no longer exists. This is the final and formal act of statehood. At this time all territorial officers cease their functions and the new state government begins.

#### NATIONAL PARTY PLANKS ON STATEHOOD <sup>4</sup>

The Republican party and the Democratic party are committed irrecoverably to immediate statehood for Hawaii. Pledges to that end were incorporated in the 1952 national platforms of both major parties during the July conventions in Chicago. Both platforms were adopted by their respective delegations without a dissenting vote.

Here is the history of the national party planks on statehood:

##### REPUBLICAN PARTY

1952

We favor immediate statehood for Hawaii.  
 We favor statehood for Alaska under an equitable enabling act.  
 We favor eventual statehood for Puerto Rico.

1948

We favor eventual statehood for Hawaii, Alaska, and Puerto Rico. . .

##### DEMOCRATIC PARTY

1952

Alaska and Hawaii. By virtue of their strategic and geographical locations, Alaska and Hawaii are vital bastions in the Pacific. These

<sup>4</sup> From *Statehood for Hawaii*; hearings before the House subcommittee on Territories and Insular Possessions. Superintendent of Documents. Washington, D.C. 1953. p59-60.

two territories have contributed greatly to the welfare and economic development of our country and have become integrated into our economic and social life. We therefore urge immediate statehood for these two territories.

1948

We urge immediate statehood for Hawaii and Alaska: immediate determination by the people of Puerto Rico as to their form of government.

### SHOULD PLATFORMS GOVERN? <sup>5</sup>

It is said, "Admit Hawaii to statehood. To do so is carrying out the Republican party platform." The Democratic party platform goes a step farther and says, "Admit Hawaii and Alaska." If these platforms have irrevocably bound us; if these pronouncements in convention have placed hoops of steel around our consciences; then, there is no need for Congress to assemble, debate, and vote, and a Congress is useless. It would be much simpler for the President, elected on a platform, to draw up a decree, sign it, and it become binding in law. No congressman is expected to be a robot; on the other hand, he or she must be free to vote on any issue according to his or her conscience. . . .

Few congressmen had the privilege of participating in the writing of either of the party platforms, but every member of congress is confronted with a solemn duty of casting their vote here. By voting according to our consciences, we can do great service to our party and we can make our party better and more receptive to the heartbeats of the people, rather than to well-organized minorities. We might as well admit now, that if Congress had passed everything in party platforms, our way of life would already have been destroyed.

### WHY HAWAII ALONE? <sup>6</sup>

In his State of the Union message President Eisenhower urged that statehood to Hawaii "should be granted promptly,

<sup>5</sup> From remarks of Congressman E. L. Forrester (D., Ga.) in the United States House of Representatives, March 9, 1953. *Congressional Record*. 99:1843-4. March 9, 1953.

<sup>6</sup> From "Statehood for Alaska," by Ernest Gruening, former governor of Alaska, 1939-53. *Harper's Magazine*. 206:72-7. May 1953. Reprinted by permission.



with the first election scheduled for 1954." The platforms of both political parties had promised immediate statehood to Hawaii, he stated.

It was asked widely why no mention had been made of our other territorial candidate for statehood—Alaska. Since President Eisenhower cited the platforms of the two political parties on Hawaii, what they say about Alaska is pertinent. The Democratic platform pledge for Alaska was identical with that for Hawaii: "immediate statehood." The Republican plank came out for "statehood for Alaska under an equitable enabling act."

President Truman, the first President to endorse statehood for either Alaska or Hawaii, endorsed both unqualifiedly and urged action upon the 79th, 80th, 81st, and 82d Congresses. The two territories have been generally teamed together, though through separate bills. The reasons for this association are fairly obvious. They are the only remaining "incorporated" territories and therefore explicitly destined for statehood. . . .

Why, then, was Hawaii alone mentioned in President Eisenhower's message?

One reason why Hawaii and Alaska have been bracketed together in recent statehood legislation has been the assumption that under statehood Hawaii would elect Republican senators and congressmen, and Alaska, Democratic. To be sure neither Alaska nor Hawaii can be considered a Vermont or a South Carolina; both would fall into the category of "doubtful" states. However, on the record, Hawaii has been predominantly Republican, and while the Republicans in Alaska swept into the legislature in the 1952 election, Alaska's Democratic Delegate, Mr. Edward L. Bartlett, survived the Republican landslide. That however is not the whole story. President Eisenhower, in his message, significantly urged that Hawaii should be granted statehood promptly, "with the first election scheduled in 1954." Since Hawaii has already adopted a state constitution, its ratification, and thereby statehood, can be achieved very quickly by Congress. What the Administration has clearly in mind is the election of two Republican senators in 1954 to increase the slender majority of one which it now holds in the Senate of the United States. The chances that it will be successful are excellent.

It is interesting to note that the long standing opposition to statehood for Hawaii of Senator Hugh Butler, Republican from Nebraska, who now occupies the powerful and controlling post as Chairman of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, has vanished in the face of political exigencies, for the case for Hawaii was just as good five years ago as now. In the 80th Congress, the Hawaiian statehood bill passed the House and would have passed the Senate if Senator Butler, then likewise Chairman, had permitted his Committee to vote it out. . . . There is no question that had Hugh Butler approved statehood then, Hawaii would now be a state.

Besides Senator Butler's opposition, and that of the conservative Republican wing which followed him, there was the opposition of the Southern Democratic bloc—for wholly different reasons. In the 45 to 44 vote which defeated Alaskan statehood in the 82d Congress, twenty-three out of the twenty-six senators from the thirteen Southern states voted in the majority. The supporting minority consisted of liberal Republicans and Northern Democrats. The Southerners' opposition—not mentioned on the floor—was based on their unwillingness to admit any state whose senators could not be counted on to take the Dixie view on "cloture." The right to unlimited debate to the point of filibuster was based on their fear of Federal civil-rights legislation. . . .

Even if the 83d Congress were to pass a statehood enabling act for Alaska, the mechanics of electing delegates to a constitutional convention, drafting a constitution, ratifying it, would make the election of state officers, including senators, for Alaska in 1954 impossible.

What puzzles and distresses Alaskans is that no word of encouragement was given to the Alaskan statehood cause by the President, who, when President of Columbia University, in September 1950, spontaneously espoused statehood for Alaska and Hawaii, saying in a Denver address: "Quick admission of Alaska and Hawaii to statehood will show the world that 'America Practices What It Preaches.'" No sooner had the presidential message to Congress in February of this year been broadcast in Alaska than the territorial House of Representatives, consisting

of twenty Republicans and four Democrats, by unanimous vote wired the President in protest against his omission of Alaskan statehood. That message embodies the hope of Alaskans that before long the new Republican Administration will also give Alaskan statehood a nod, and that the Congress will then take the necessary steps to demonstrate that the good faith of the United States, in applying the basic American principle of government by consent of the governed, is not based predominantly on partisan considerations.

#### HAWAII BILL MIRE<sup>7</sup>

Statehood for Hawaii was apparently doomed for this session of Congress [on May 12, 1953] . . . when the Senate Interior Committee unexpectedly voted to include statehood for Alaska in the same bill and ordered hearings on the admission of both territories to the Union.

The committee's 8-to-7 vote was a serious setback for the Eisenhower Administration, which has given statehood for Hawaii but not for Alaska top priority on its legislative program for this year. Hawaii is traditionally Republican while Alaska usually votes Democratic. . . .

Senator George W. Malone, Republican, Nevada, was responsible for the Administration's defeat in the committee today. The vote followed strict party lines except for Senator Malone, who crossed over to vote with the seven Democratic members to add Alaska to the bill and hold hearings on the combined measure.

Senator Malone later told reporters he was unalterably opposed to statehood for both Hawaii and Alaska and voted as he did to kill any chance of either being admitted to the Union this year.

Senator Clinton P. Anderson, New Mexico, one of the four Democratic members of the committee who had previously supported statehood for both territories, made the motion approved by the group today.

<sup>7</sup> From news article by Jack Steele, assistant chief, Washington bureau. *New York Herald Tribune*, p8. May 13, 1953. Reprinted by permission.

He later issued a statement charging that the Eisenhower Administration "drove away" supporters of statehood by insisting on the admission of Hawaii alone and thus breaking the congressional tradition that Alaska and Hawaii be considered jointly to balance the political effects of their admission.

Joseph R. Farrington, delegate from Hawaii, branded today's vote in the committee as the start of a filibuster against statehood led by Southern Democrats. He termed the action "most unfortunate" and an "extremely serious setback" to hopes for approval of Hawaiian statehood this year.

HAWAII

# HAWAII: The 49th State?



NIIHAU

KAUAI

H

A



OAHU

W

MOLOKAI



MAUI



LANAI

A



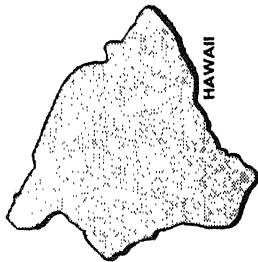
KAHOOLAWE

- AREA: 6,400 square miles
- LOCATION: 2,400 miles southwest of San Francisco
- POPULATION: 500,000

## RACIAL GROUPS . . .

Japanese 183,000 • White 114,000 • Hawaiian 87,400  
Filipino 60,000 • Chinese 33,000 • Others 22,600

- MAJOR INDUSTRIES: sugar, pineapples, tourist trade
- FAMILY INCOME: about same as U. S.
- U. S. TAXES PAID LAST YEAR: \$135 million
- POLITICS: traditionally Republican
- STATUS: incorporated territory of the U. S. since 1900



HAWAII

# BACKGROUND AND GENERAL

## EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Besides dealing with the colorful history of the Sandwich Islands, as they were called by their discoverer, the first three articles of this section contain material relating to the present situation.

The remaining articles deal with the desire of the people of Hawaii for statehood, monopoly interests, and the question of Communist influence.

The great majority of witnesses before congressional committees have testified in favor of statehood. But there is still debate as to whether this has been so because the people who opposed statehood fear to express themselves freely. Five articles, from "More Than Calculation" to "Important Public Trust," relate principally to public opinion and the congressional hearings.

The next four articles, "The Big Five" to "My Name is Jack Hall," consider the extent and danger of monopoly control. In his testimony, Mr. Hall indicates that he believes the power of the "Big Five" is at least balanced by that of his organization, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. Since Jack Hall has been convicted of Communist conspiracy under the Smith Act, his testimony also has a bearing on the subject of the last three articles of this section, the question of Communist influence in the territory.

## HAWAII AND THE PACIFIC <sup>1</sup>

In 1521, aided by the friendly trades, Magellan with three ships made the first crossing of the Pacific by a European. Others followed him; and when, after many vain attempts by the Spaniards to buck the east winds, Urdaneta discovered in 1565

<sup>1</sup> From "Hawaii and the Pacific: A Survey of Political Geography," by Stephen B. Jones and Klaus Mehnert of the University of Hawaii. *Geographical Review*. 30:358-75. July 1940. Reprinted by permission.

a way to recross the Pacific by a northerly route, a regular service of "Manila galleons" was inaugurated. For more than two centuries these yearly voyages passed only a few degrees to the south of the Hawaiian chain, westbound, and only a few degrees to the north, eastbound, but the prevailing winds and the east-west elongation of the archipelago preserved the solitude of Hawaii.

The first north-south navigation of the Central Pacific, performed by [Captain James] Cook, was intercepted by this island net that stretches over twenty three degrees of longitude. Toward the end of 1777 Cook sailed from Tahiti in search of the Northwest Passage. On this, his third voyage of exploration, he not only discovered Hawaii (and paid for it with his life) but also cleared the way for a trade that within a few years was to lure more ships than had crossed the Pacific before in a century—the fur trade between the American Northwest and the eager markets of China.

To the sailing vessels that transported furs over one of the world's longest sea routes, the Hawaiian Islands were an ideal port of call. Here, after months of hunting and dealing with Indians on the fur coast, the men found sunshine, rest, fresh food, and, if the ships were shorthanded, young Hawaiians ready to go to sea.

Soon the skippers discovered one more reason for calling at the islands: sandalwood was found and added to the cargoes of Chinabound ships. Although the trade was slow in starting, it gained an increasing importance after 1810 when the native chiefs began to grasp its economic significance. So violent was the exploitation of the sandalwood of the islands that by 1829 the supply was practically exhausted.

Although fur and sandalwood were dominant for only a few years of Hawaii's history, their influences were far-reaching and longlasting. A dispute between England and Spain over the northwestern fur post of Nootka led to Vancouver's voyage and his influential visit to Hawaii. A "Sandwich Islander," carried to New England on a trading vessel, helped inspire the first American mission. Trader influence undermined many Polynesian



customs, both good and bad, and supplied arms and white assistants for the wars that culminated in Kamehameha's conquest. Russian fur traders made a short-lived attempt to occupy the islands. Most important of all, transpacific trade, from these small beginnings, has grown and acquired a political significance far beyond that justified by its money value.

When the fur and sandalwood trade declined, a new factor emerged to make the islands a rendezvous for an increasing number of ships—Pacific whaling. In 1819 the first whalers appeared in Hawaii, and soon they increased from dozens to hundreds a year. . . .

Through a . . . coincidence, the first missionaries, who were also to affect the life of the islands in a most profound way, arrived almost simultaneously with the first whalers. . . . Another coincidence favored the missionaries in their effort to introduce Christianity. Unknowingly they had arrived at the opportune moment when the Hawaiians, upset by the vigorously intruding West, had overthrown their ancient gods and tabus. . . .

As a port of call on the fur route between America and China, as a producer of foodstuffs and sandalwood, as a rendezvous of whaleships, and as a battleground of rival creeds, Hawaii could not help being drawn into the great game of international politics played by Great Britain, Russia, France, and the United States.

For several decades England had paramount prestige in the islands. This prestige resulted not only from their discovery by Cook but also from the three visits of Vancouver, in 1792-1794, on his voyage of discovery and negotiation to the American Northwest. . . . During Vancouver's last stay in the islands, in February, 1794, there took place a "cession" of the island of Hawaii to Great Britain, which might have established a kind of protectorate. But the British government took no official notice of it, evidently feeling that the value of an island on the other side of the world did not justify the obligations that the faithful execution of the protectorate would bring. . . .

The first challenge to England's position in the islands came from a ubiquitous rival of the nineteenth century—Russia.

In quest of fur, Russians had established themselves on the northeastern shores of Asia and in the Aleutian Islands and Alaska and were reaching down the American coast toward California. The complementary relationship of fur-producing north and food-producing south encouraged such expansion. Russia was thus the white power most directly concerned with the North Pacific, and Russian adventurers dreamed of a North Pacific empire with Hawaii as a connecting link. Scheffer, a physician in the service of the Russian American Company, gained a foothold on the island of Kauai, the king of which, still undefeated by Kamehameha though voluntarily his subordinate, declared himself, in 1816, a vassal of Czar Alexander I. But the Russian government refused to sanction Scheffer's action or several attempts by other adventurers. . . .

However, a new political rival soon appeared—France. French entanglement in Hawaiian affairs came largely as a result of the hostile attitude taken by the Hawaiian government toward the Roman Catholic missionaries, who, from 1826 on, stubbornly tried to establish themselves in the islands. In 1839 the threatening guns of the frigate *L'Artemise* forced Kamehameha III to revoke his "Ordinance rejecting the Catholic religion," and in the same year the French also forced an unequal treaty on the king. . . . England, France, and the United States watched one another narrowly, each hesitating to annex the islands but sufficiently interested to prevent another from doing so. In 1842 and 1843 the three powers mutually reassured themselves by formally recognizing the independence of Hawaii.

Notwithstanding the excitement of the French interventions, the most serious rivals of the British were the Americans. . . .

Most of the whalers and Protestant missionaries were Americans. The Americans, including the missionaries, came from a society in which changes of occupation were common, in contrast with the consecrated Catholic priesthood. Americans acquired the main share of the general business of the islands and led in the growing sugar industry. When the United States acquired its Pacific coast, when the gold rush brought thousands of

Americans to California, when transcontinental railroads were built, the islands were tied to North America with bonds so close that Hawaii became almost literally part of it. Sugar, rice, and even citrus fruits were shipped to California. California children were sent to Honolulu for schooling when the sea voyage to Hawaii was easier than the mountain and desert crossing to the eastern states. . . .

Last to enter the melee over Hawaii was Japan. The emergence of Japan as a modern nation in the second half of the nineteenth century placed a new weight in the Pacific balance of power. Sensing the situation, King Kalakaua visited Japan on his world tour in 1881, diplomatically calling himself "an Asiatic" and planning the betrothal of a Hawaiian princess to a Japanese prince. Toward the end of the century Japan's Rising Sun played a part in warming annexation sentiment in the United States.

Of many commercial crops tried in the islands, sugar cane was the first to achieve unqualified success. Although pineapples are now a good second, sugar retains its leadership in Hawaiian agriculture. The islands raise, on 6 per cent of their 6400 square miles, about 3 per cent of the world's supply. This copious yield is by no means Nature's bounty but has been obtained by unremitting scientific, technical, and—not least—political enterprise. The fundamental political goal has been access to the United States market. Other aims, such as unrestricted contract immigration, have always been sacrificed if the primary goal could be better reached.

Reciprocal free trade with the United States was the great desire of the planters under the Hawaiian kingdom. Attainment of this, in 1875, led to a rapid growth in the industry. A clause of the treaty is indicative of one American reason for signing: the Hawaiian king pledged himself to lease or alienate no land to other foreign powers. Renewal of the treaty in 1887 required the additional inducement of a concession on Pearl Harbor for an American naval base. This thin edge of the American wedge was feared, not without reason, by the future queen, Liliuokalani.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to evaluate all the reasons for the revolution of 1893. In a remote way it was an echo

of the French Revolution. The commercial broke with the feudal, and the more efficient triumphed. In part it was a cultural conflict: America against what remained of Polynesian Hawaii. The last Hawaiian rulers, unlike their contemporaries on the throne of England, sought the reality as well as the form of power. In part the revolution was a step in the quest for the American market, for the revolutionists were avowed annexationists. Reciprocity no longer sufficed, for the McKinley Tariff of 1890 permitted free entry of all sugar into the United States and gave a bonus to domestic producers.

American sentiment on foreign affairs is seldom unanimous; hence the change from a refusal of annexation in 1893 to annexation in 1898 is not to be regarded as an about-face. Rising Japanese power in the Pacific, increasing Japanese immigration into Hawaii, and a dispute between the Japanese and Hawaiian governments aroused American interest. The Spanish-American War tipped the scale. With Guam, taken from Spain, and Wake and Midway, already American, Hawaii was to be a steppingstone. But the globe reveals what the Mercator chart conceals—that the great-circle route past the Aleutians is the short road to Asia. Passenger ships may make the Hawaiian detour, for local traffic, tourist interest, and trade-wind seas; but not until the coming of seaplanes, for which weather is as important as distance, has the steppingstone vision become reality.

Annexation as a fully incorporated territory has not settled all political relationships with the United States. The islands are in most matters a *de facto* forty-ninth state; yet there are many points of misunderstanding. To the islanders, trade with the mainland is the great objective. To the mainlanders, the islands are primarily a Pacific spearhead. On this point both imperialistic and isolationist politicians agree, though they differ as to the purpose of the spear. The white-dominated mainland mistrusts a land that boasts of its race mixture and is jealous of a rival sugar producer.

An immediate effect of annexation was the application of American laws stopping Chinese immigration. Immigration from Japan was diminished by the gentlemen's agreement of 1907

and stopped by law in 1924. The Philippines next furnished many thousand workers, until recruiting ceased during the economic crisis of the early nineteen-thirties. The present trend on Hawaiian plantations is to mechanize every possible operation and thus to create semiskilled trades to which island-born men will be attracted. This Americanization of plantation labor accentuates the cultural and economic adherence of the islands to the mainland.

The American market demands more sugar than the mainland itself produces but much less than the combined potentials of mainland, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Cuba. As all these areas have either free access or preferential tariffs, quotas were applied, after four depression years, by the Jones-Costigan Act of 1934. The Hawaiian Islands received a fairly liberal quota but were not classed as domestic producers. Island opinion feared that a wedge was being inserted, to pry offshore producers from their market. A widespread campaign to acquaint Americans with the fact that "Hawaii is an integral part of the United States" was begun, and the movement for statehood was intensified. This movement is many years old, and there are other reasons for its existence, but the sugar quota was the spark that set off the present agitation. As always, the primary aim, access to market, overruled all others.

In addition to the importance of an assured market for island crops, there are other arguments for statehood. Hawaii has no desire to be other than part of the United States. No independence movement exists, nor, for that matter, does any informed mainland group advocate relinquishing the islands. The population and area of the islands exceed those of several of the smaller states. The proportion of foreign-born is less than in New York state. Arguments against statehood are often racial. Doubts are expressed as to the loyalty and "Americanization" of people of oriental ancestry. Economic motives urge that island sugar be kept out of the domestic class. Prejudice, inertia, and confusion of Hawaii with the Philippines play parts. It is not unlikely that statehood for Hawaii will depend on national politics. It may be attained when the party in national power needs more congressional votes and is sure it can carry Hawaiian elections.

HAWAII'S STAKE IN STATEHOOD <sup>2</sup>

Hawaii has been waiting more than fifty years for statehood. Before that it took more than half a century to convince Congress on the advisability of annexing these Pacific isles. Had it not been for the Spanish-American war, and the fear Hawaii would fall into enemy hands, annexation itself might have been delayed indefinitely. Even after kings of Hawaii showed an eagerness to join the United States, Congress was deadlocked in arguments about "American imperialism in the Pacific." But all the while the United States kept a wary eye on other nations suspected of being anxious to "protect" the lush kingdom. . . .

While charging other nations with imperialist designs, the United States itself almost consummated a treaty of annexation with King Kamehameha III in 1854. Had the treaty been completed it would have precluded the current fifty-year battle for statehood. Article II of the agreement read: "The Kingdom of Hawaii shall be incorporated into the American Union as a state, enjoying the same degree of sovereignty as the other states."

Though Congress was slow to recognize the importance of Hawaii's strategic position as a Pacific frontier, the nation's press often took a far-sighted attitude. An editorial in *The New York Herald* of June 3, 1854, mixed logic with a bit of whimsy:

. . . much valuable ink and paper is spoiled discussing the peculiarities of breeches and buttons, but the Sandwich islands—halfway point between California and China, and the resort of our immense whaling fleet—cannot receive a moment's notice from the government.

Let us have the Sandwich Islands, small-pox, missionaries, volcanoes and King Kamehameha admitted into the Union without delay.

But Congress had delayed too long—the king died, and his successor did not care for the proposition. Almost another half century was to pass before the United States began to heed the advice of the *Herald*.

The Hawaiian question was continuously stalemated in Washington. President Cleveland was a bitter opponent of annexation.

<sup>2</sup> From an article by Tom O'Brien, editor of the *Hawaii Press*. *New York Herald Tribune*. Sec 7, p8-9+. March 29, 1953. Reprinted by permission.

His successor, President Harrison, favored it. Harrison had another Hawaiian treaty ready for Congress in 1893. Then he lost the election and Cleveland returned to kill it.

President McKinley turned over a treaty of annexation to Congress in June, 1897, but it was pigeonholed. Perhaps nothing would have come of it had it not been for the Battle of Manila Bay on May 1, 1898. Worried about bases in the Pacific, Congress quickly dusted off the Hawaiian treaty and approved it.

Once annexed, Hawaii seemed forgotten except for taxation purposes. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, one of the strongest pro-annexation leaders, wrote in 1907 what might be regarded in 1953 as a capsule history of Hawaii as a territory:

The islands have come so easily into our system, and so obviously belong there, that once ours, they have been in a measure forgotten.

It would be unfortunate . . . if, on account of our familiarity with the islands, we should overlook their value and their meaning to us—past, present and in time to come.

In time, thirty four years later to be precise, Pearl Harbor fixed Americans' eyes on the value and the meaning. World War II clearly demonstrated that without Hawaii the United States would not be master of the Pacific. . . .

The recent steps taken in Congress to clear the way to statehood were, from Hawaii's viewpoint, long overdue. It feels ready to take its place among the states. Its home economy is sound, its educational system of high calibre, and its racial harmony a model for the world.

Despite the fact that statehood will undoubtedly mean additional taxation—under the present territorial status the Federal Government pays the salaries of the governor, the secretary, circuit judges and members of the legislature—the citizenry is ready to accept the burden.

Hawaii's state constitution, already ratified by the people, provides for twenty five state senators in place of the present fifteen; for fifty one members of the house of representatives instead of the current thirty. Further expense will come because the state legislature will meet every year, not in alternate years.

The load will be heavy, but with statehood Hawaii's people realize an end will come to taxation without representation and they will cease to be second-class citizens of the United States.

Hawaii will take its place in the halls of Congress and actively participate in America's government.

And the nation's gain? Fulfillment of its promises to Hawaii, although delayed a half century, will demonstrate to the world America's basic sense of fairness and justice towards all sheltered by its flag.

The people of Hawaii long ago neared the end of their patience, if not their pocketbooks. They have been paying the same rate of federal income tax as citizens of New York and California, yet they do not have a decisive voice in Congress; they cannot say aye or nay when new laws are drawn nor when new taxes are levied. Hawaii's only representative in Washington is a delegate to Congress who cannot vote.

And, though Hawaii has a greater population than four states and consistently pays more taxes than several others, its people have not been permitted to vote for the President of the United States or even for their own governor, who is appointed by the President. From here it is seen as a clear-cut case of taxation without representation.

This state of affairs has prevailed now for half a century, and all the while the most ardent Hawaiians have dreamed of becoming quite another kind of state. With aspirations of statehood reaching a climax this year, many islanders have been saying these past few weeks that it's 1953 or never.

For that reason the passage of the Hawaii statehood bill by the House of Representatives . . . [in March 1953] was not a signal for wild celebration throughout the islands. There were strings attached, for one thing—an amendment that said Hawaii might have only one Congressman, though its population would entitle it to two, and another that said admission to the Union was conditional on final approval by Congress of the new state constitution. Then, too, Hawaii statehood bills had passed the House twice before—in 1947 and 1950—only to die in the Senate. So, islanders saved their cheers for passage by the upper chamber.

Not long ago, Lawrence M. Judd, governor of Hawaii from 1929 to 1934, while expressing confidence that the Congress



would grant statehood to these mid-Pacific islands, called for a showdown.

"I do definitely feel that until such time as Hawaii is granted statehood, the United States government should desist from collecting all federal income and other taxes from residents of Hawaii," he said. "In other words, grant us statehood now. If not, then stop taking our money until you do."

The former governor refuted the charge that Hawaii receives more in federal aid than it pays in taxes. He produced figures to show Hawaii, in the five-year period prior to 1952, contributed \$485,727,106 in federal taxes, but received federal grants of only \$50,591,892.

Hawaii has come so close to statehood and been rebuffed so sharply in previous sessions of Congress, there is no wonder that the "give it another try" feeling wore thin. Even the newly-appointed governor of Hawaii, Samuel Wilder King, veteran chairman of the Hawaii Statehood Commission, has wearily admitted, "If we don't get it this time, we must seek a different status."

As the statehood fight has gone up and down, extremists have been heard to advocate that Hawaii should break away from the United States entirely. The idea: Uncle Sam would be much more solicitous if the islands were free to woo and win other nations.

Many local citizens, however, would have been happy all along to settle for the status enjoyed by Puerto Rico. Burdened with Federal, territorial and county taxes, the people of Hawaii look enviously at Puerto Ricans, who pay no Federal income taxes, have their own constitution and elect their own governor.

### A LOOK AT THE 'STATE' OF HAWAII \*

There is a chance—the best so far—that Hawaii will be admitted to the union . . . as the forty-ninth state.

Hawaii, as a state, can give the Republicans two additional seats in a closely divided United States Senate, plus two more Republican seats in a closely divided House. That fact is adding

\* From *United States News & World Report*, an independent weekly news magazine published at Washington, D.C. 34:36-7, February 27, 1953. Copyright 1953, United States News Publishing Corporation.

to the urge of a Republican Congress for favorable action on Hawaii.

President Eisenhower is asking that Hawaii be made a state. There is a promise from leaders in both houses of Congress that the issue of statehood will be brought to a vote.

If approval is voted, a group of Pacific islands will become the first noncontiguous territory to be added to the American union. Today the nation is made up of individual states, all of which have borders with one or more other states. Hawaii is an island group, not tied geographically to the nation. In theory—so opponents of the action charge—with Hawaii a state, the way might open to bring other parts of the world into the United States.

Alaska, also a noncontiguous territory, is separated by Canada from direct contact with the United States. Alaska might follow Hawaii, as the fiftieth state, if the Hawaiians' dream comes true.

The urge to turn the Hawaiian Islands into a state is partly political and partly economic. Republicans feel that with Hawaii in the fold, they will be assured of a new block of votes that will help the party in Congress and in presidential election years.

Sugar and pineapple interests of the Islands feel that, with statehood, they will always enjoy the special protection that goes to industries within the American union during any time when barriers may be erected against products from outside areas.

Life itself, for individual Hawaiians, actually will not be greatly different under statehood.

Taxes will stay the same. Hawaiians pay the same Federal taxes that mainlanders do. Their territorial tax system is comparable to the average state's. It includes an income tax, auto-license fees, and so on.

Social Security system will be the same. Hawaii is included in the Federal system now.

The draft will go on as before. Draft applies to Hawaiian youths the same way that it affects youths on the mainland.

Relief pay, unemployment compensation, application of the minimum-wage law and the Taft-Hartley Act will not be changed in any way if Hawaii becomes a state. People of the

territory are treated now, under these and similar Federal laws, like the people of any state.

Hawaiians will go on getting FHA loans on their houses, just as now, if they achieve statehood. Honolulu will get the same slum-clearance aid from the Federal Government as before. Veterans will continue to receive the same benefits. The farm price-support system, sugar quotas, agricultural conservation payments will remain the same.

Differences will be great, nevertheless, for the Islands' long-range prospects if statehood replaces territorial status.

For individuals, the big difference will be that they can take part in the presidential elections. No presidential candidate has ever had to fly to Hawaii during a campaign to woo the natives there. But he might consider the effort worth while if Hawaiians could vote like other people.

For Hawaii's politicians, there will be four big jobs in Congress where only one—the delegate's job—exists today. And the power, prestige, and importance of the jobs will be immeasurably greater than that attaching to the delegate's office.

For Hawaii's economic development, statehood will bring immense advantages. As a sovereign state, Hawaii will not be subjected to any restraints that sometimes are imposed on the territory. One specific example is the prohibition against refining of sugar in the Islands, now. This limitation was slipped into the sugar-quota system several years ago.

As a result, Hawaiian interests had to build a 25-million-dollar sugar refinery in California. Once the Islands become a State, they can transplant that refinery to the home grounds, or build a new one there, and add fifteen hundred people to Hawaii's pay rolls. California gets them now.

Some extra windfalls of Federal aid undoubtedly will be available also, if two senators and two representatives are bargaining for Hawaii in Washington all the time. For instance, Hawaii urgently needs some multipurpose water and power projects. As far back as 1935, the Islanders got \$25,000 from Congress to survey the possibilities of a power-and-water project on Molokai, just like any state in the West.

Now, a 5-million-dollar project is envisioned on that island. Local interests may go through with the job on their own. But, as a state, Hawaii can seek Federal aid to develop less attractive power and irrigation sites.

Another advantage in statehood, as Hawaiians see it, is that they will no longer have to scan every proposal, every bit of legislation, to make sure that the key words "and the territories" are included in the final wording of legislation that Congress passes.

As a state, the Islands will automatically qualify for everything that comes along for the other states. As a territory, they can be left out if they are not careful. That happened in the original Social Security bill. It took Hawaiians eight years of effort to get benefits of the Federal Road Act of 1916, basic highway-aid law, extended to the Islands. They had the same trouble getting Federal aid for their "state" university.

With a state's status, local governmental machinery will not be caught in Washington red tape and politics, as it now is. Death or removal of one member of Hawaii's three-man Supreme Court often means months of waiting before the President appoints a new one. Meanwhile, the Court is completely inoperative.

Sometimes, when the territorial governor's term expires, the President waits months to name a new one—and Hawaii's local government slows to a crawl. As citizens of a state, Hawaiians will elect their own governor.

If Congress does decide to approve Hawaii, the union will be getting a state unlike any ever admitted before.

Texas will be displaced as the biggest state of all, in terms of area included in the state's boundaries. Land area of the Hawaiian Islands is only 6,400 square miles, less than one fortieth as big as Texas. But the Islands are an archipelago containing seven inhabited islands, a sizable island given to the services for a target, and many tiny atolls scattered over an immense area of ocean.

Legally, the new state will reach 1,100 miles southwest from the main islands to include Palmyra Island, an atoll which is part of the County of Honolulu.

The seven large inhabited islands are all clustered together, separated by a few miles of sea. Formed by volcanoes, these islands have semitropical vegetation, beautiful scenery, and a climate that will give California and Florida strong new competition for the title of "most salubrious" state.

Military and naval bases dot the Islands, centering around the multibillion-dollar Pearl Harbor base. United States Federal Government activity, almost all military, is the fourth biggest source of income. Sugar, pineapples, and tourist trade are valued at 233 million dollars a year.

Population is 37 per cent Japanese, 23 per cent white, 17.5 per cent Hawaiian or part-Hawaiian, 12 per cent Filipino, 6.5 per cent Chinese, and 4 per cent other nationalities.

Opponents of statehood charge that, as a state, Hawaii will be controlled by its nonwhites, people alien to American culture. They say the Islands are a hot-bed of communism, with the biggest labor union, which dominates economic life, controlled by Communists.

Hawaiians answer that their war record proves beyond doubt their loyalty to United States ideals. The House Un-American Activities Committee found plenty of Communists, but no cause to withhold statehood, after an investigation in 1950. Hawaiians add that, by making Hawaii a state, the United States will prove its interest in Asia and spike Communist propaganda that America looks down on Oriental peoples as inferiors.

#### MORE THAN CALCULATION <sup>4</sup>

Honolulu—Until I visited Honolulu, the plea for statehood for Hawaii had never made much of an impression on me, despite the proselytizing efforts of Joseph R. Farrington, delegate for Hawaii, and numerous unofficial spokesmen for the Islands on their visits to Washington. I listened to their arguments, acknowledged that they sounded pretty reasonable, and then promptly forgot them. When I thought about the question at all, I wondered if the campaign for statehood were not the work

<sup>4</sup> From "Hawaii: Forty-Ninth State?" by Ernest K. Lindley, *Newsweek* Washington bureau chief. *Newsweek*. 28:33. July 22, 1946. Reprinted by permission.

of a few special groups with ulterior motives not discernible to the casual listener. I wondered, too, if most of the Caucasian population really favored statehood for a territory in which they are a minority.

A few days here in Honolulu yield convincing evidence that the demand for statehood is both widespread and intense. In a referendum just before the war, the vote was two to one in favor. Those qualified to judge testify unanimously that the ratio would be much higher now—some say nine or ten to one.

Back of this plea are, of course, some practical considerations. The Hawaiian sugar interests want a voice, and a vote, on sugar legislation. Other business interests want a voice, and a vote.

After all, here is a territory with a population of approximately 500,000, larger than that of half a dozen of the states. It is represented in Congress by one delegate who can talk but cannot vote. As a state it would be entitled not only to two senators, but, if the current population estimate is approximately correct, to two representatives. It would have four official errand boys and spokesmen, and they could vote. Also, of course, the citizens of Hawaii would have the right to vote for presidential electors.

But there is much more than practical calculation behind the drive for statehood. There is sentiment. These people are Americans living on American soil—as no one doubted when the Japanese struck at Pearl Harbor. During the early part of the war, they were living on our Pacific frontier. They want to be recognized as full-fledged Americans, not as second-class citizens.

It is perhaps not surprising that the American Japanese and American Chinese and other Americanized Orientals who lost sons and brothers and husbands on the field of battle should feel this way. . . .

But the Caucasians or "Haoles" also want the full rights of citizenship. And the fact that they are a minority . . . does not seem to bother any of the members of this group with whom I have explored the subject.

They talk about the non-Caucasian majority on the Islands, not with fear but with pride in their success in Americanizing them and in living with them agreeably. Perhaps nowhere else in the world do so many races, including the Caucasian, work and play together so harmoniously. Lines are drawn against Orientals by exclusive social clubs. Better-class whites seldom marry Orientals, although some of them marry native Hawaiians. But in Honolulu there is only one residential district restricted to "Haoles." On the beaches, at the night clubs, in civic organizations, and elsewhere the races mingle. It all seems very natural.

Practical politicians say that, in the territorial elections, the various racial groups usually do not vote as blocs. There are Democrats and Republicans and numerous factions within the racial groups. Perhaps the answer is that when persons of Japanese or Chinese extraction are treated as Americans, they act like Americans when they go to the polls.

#### HAWAIIAN VIEWS ON STATEHOOD <sup>5</sup>

Although the Hawaiian islanders have adopted a proposed state constitution by a margin of three to one and both major political parties call for Hawaiian statehood in their platforms, opposition to immediate addition of the forty-ninth star to the American flag has not disappeared among territorial residents.

Statehood advocates in this racial melting pot of the Pacific, after several near misses, are more hopeful than ever of persuading Congress to give the islanders full self-government.

Yet it is apparent that some who support statehood on the record are merely giving it lip service while quietly suggesting it would be better to wait until certain "problems" are cleared.

One of these mentioned today, as it has been for several years, is communism. To some islanders the threat of communism here seems real. To others it is "a bogymen set up by statehood opponents to support their arguments."

<sup>5</sup> From an article by Lawrence E. Davis, special news correspondent of the *New York Times*. *New York Times*. p30. August 27, 1952. Reprinted by permission.

Hiram L. Fong, Chinese-American lawyer and Republican speaker of the Territorial House of Representatives, declared that communism was a national problem to be handled on the national level and if Hawaii had two senators and two representatives in Washington the problem here could be grappled with more effectively than under present conditions.

Publicly most leaders of the "Big Five" commercial concerns in the islands favor statehood on a realistic basis. But its most outspoken opponent among the island industrialists, Walter F. Dillingham, has asserted that Hawaii could not "make statehood go."

Mr. Dillingham, like other business leaders, deplored "the stranglehold the unions have got on surface transportation to the mainland" and struck at labor leaders "whose loyalty to the country is at least questionable."

To the argument that statehood would put two senators in Washington to fight for protective legislation for Hawaii, he replied that "California, which is not an unimportant state and is represented ably in Washington, has lost millions and millions of dollars through Harry Bridges," leader of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. This union has all of Hawaii's basic industries organized.

Statehood is supported in principle by Jack W. Hall, regional director of the Bridges union here, as it is by most islanders, but Mr. Hall, who is facing trial under the Smith Act with a half dozen others following an investigation by the House of Representatives Committee on un-American Activities, termed Hawaii's proposed state constitution archaic and reactionary, providing too much centralization of government and too many appointive and not enough elective officials. [Mr. Hall was convicted June 19, 1953, by a Federal jury.]

"If Congress said you can have statehood with this constitution, I would oppose it," he added.

Fears are voiced privately by some Caucasians here that if Hawaii becomes a state, residents of Japanese ancestry will take over the government by sheer numbers. This argument draws explosive comment from others, who declare the Nisei think and act like Caucasian Americans and are every bit as loyal.



Residents of Japanese ancestry were estimated last January to comprise 41 per cent of Hawaii's population of under half a million. Hawaiians and part Hawaiians made up 19 per cent, Caucasians 15 per cent, Filipinos 13 per cent, Chinese 7 per cent and all others about 4 per cent.

Racial bloc voting is unknown in the islands, according to business men and political scientists.

K. C. Leebrick, vice president emeritus of the University of Hawaii and a long-time student of island voting, said if one racial group ever began bloc voting, others would "gang up on it." There is reported to be as much political rivalry among the Nisei as among the Caucasians.

It is to be expected in a democratic area like Hawaii that if it wins statehood, it will as a matter of course eventually send Nisei or Chinese-Americans or Hawaiians to Congress.

"And why shouldn't we?" demanded an industry spokesman, a Caucasian. "Take the Nisei, they are highly intelligent people, they are Americans, not Japanese, and they are the largest group here."

#### A MATTER OF FEAR <sup>6</sup>

In regard to this matter of poor attendance of people opposed to statehood, the primary reason is a matter of fear. It is constantly discounted. It is true, but it is the type of thing that cannot be proved for the reasons which become evident, I hope. Fear has prevented many from expressing their opposition to statehood. This is understandable. After early trading and whaling days, Hawaii's economy depended on a system of peonage—namely, contract labor on the plantations—controlled by the overlord owners who, with their hirelings, have continued to dominate the territory. Our overlords, or vested interests, have never emancipated themselves from the peonage idea, and by means of implied threats and pressure tactics have instilled in otherwise independent thinkers among the wage earners and small businessmen a fear of expressing their thoughts openly when not acceptable to the powers that be.

<sup>6</sup> From testimony of John F. G. Stokes. In *Statehood for Hawaii*; hearings before the House Subcommittee on Territories and Insular Possessions. Superintendent of Documents. Washington, D.C. 1946. p241-50.

Before scornfully denouncing such fearsome individuals, consider again our geographical situation—isolated by more than two thousand miles of ocean from the mainland; all transportation is in the hands of the same vested interests through their absorption of competitors; and even if we were defiantly independent, the cost of travel is prohibitive to most of us. Could we cross the border of the nearest state on foot, or thumb a ride, we would feel freer, but the limitation of our geographical situation makes a perfect setup for control by our overlords. . . .

The control through fear by our vested interests is not exercised openly. Such is unnecessary. It is so well understood by our local citizens that while many have expressed themselves freely to me as opposing the ideas of the local control, practically none has dared to do so in public.

#### UNWILLINGNESS TO OPPOSE OPENLY <sup>†</sup>

The hearings [in the Senate in 1950] were largely devoted to listening to the testimony of a picked group of Hawaiian leaders who were transported here at public expense and who all repeated substantially the same line of testimony. Their statements consisted primarily of a repetition of the statement that all factions and parties of Hawaii want statehood. Very little information was given regarding the physical facts, the political danger, or the economic problems of statehood. The impression was sought to be given that no one in Hawaii was opposed.

This impression is contrary to the facts as I ascertained them at the time of my visit to the territory in 1948. On the occasion of that visit, numerous persons told me privately that they were strongly opposed to statehood but dared not say so openly. The desire for statehood on the part of some elements of the population is so strong that it might be economic suicide to appear publicly in opposition. Economic retaliation would surely follow. At least, that is the fear.

<sup>†</sup> From statement of minority views presented by Senator Hugh Butler (R., Neb.). Included in *Statehood for Hawaii*; report of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs to accompany H.R.49. June 29, 1950. (S. Report no 1928) 81st Congress, 1st session. Superintendent of Documents. Washington, D.C. 1950. p47-59.

This point is very well exemplified by the statement of Mr. Charles M. Hite (Senate hearings of 1948, p285) speaking for statehood and the Democratic committee, in which he says:

I know, and I know Mr. Burns (Republican chairman) knows, too, in all probability, of various influential witnesses you have had who in my private home were violently against statehood, who have appeared up here and given you statements for it.

In any case, the desire of a majority of the Hawaiian residents should not be the controlling consideration in the Senate decision on this question. The controlling consideration should be the welfare of the whole nation, including Hawaii. The desires of the Hawaiians are only one point to be taken into consideration. . . .

During the last few years the Congress and nation have been subjected to a concentrated and effective campaign of public relations, financed by the territorial revenues of Hawaii, in favor of statehood. Until a very few years ago, few of us seriously considered the idea of granting statehood to Hawaii. It is the old story of a well-financed and organized movement in favor of something, which has been able to overcome in public opinion the unorganized and nonvocal opposition. Almost any proposal can be sold to the people if the support for it is effectively organized and there is no one who makes it his business to oppose it. That is substantially what has happened on the question of Hawaiian statehood.

The Senate, however, has an obligation to consult its own wisdom and the broad welfare of the nation rather than the clamorings of the very small group who have a direct interest in this question. . . .

Instead of giving immediate statehood to Hawaii, I have a constructive alternative to suggest. A child must learn to walk before it can run. I propose as a substitute that Hawaii should be granted the right to select its own governor and other high administrative officials. This power should be exercised without any of the attributes of state sovereignty, and all sovereign rights should be retained in the hands of the Federal Government. By this means the people of the territory will gain substantially all

those rights of local government that they now desire, but without committing the Federal Congress to a decision which is irrevocable.

If the administration of the internal affairs of the territory under an elected governor is successful, there is no reason why this measure should not be a stepping stone toward further rights. In the case of Puerto Rico, several years ago we granted the people there the right to elect their own governor. This year [1950] we have given them authority to draft their own constitution for control of their own internal affairs. The traditions of the people of Hawaii are in their own way as alien to the common pattern of American development as are those of the Puerto Ricans. It may be that the Hawaiians will desire a pattern of development similar to that of Puerto Rico under which they would have full freedom for local self-government and, at the same time, would not be bound so closely to the system of laws and customs of the continental United States.

Puerto Rico is largely exempt from Federal taxation, and there is no reason why Hawaii should not be granted the same exemption. I freely concede that it is not right they should be subjected to "taxation without representation," but that complaint can be taken care of as well by exempting them from Federal taxes as by granting statehood.

Such a line of development would be in keeping with the precedent we have set for Puerto Rico. It would, in fact, give a better impression to world opinion than the statehood proposal. If statehood is granted, we shall be charged, justly or unjustly, with swallowing up an oriental population in imperialistic fashion. No doubt that charge will be widely believed in Asia and elsewhere. If, on the other hand, we grant Hawaii all the freedom it can desire, but without forcing on it the intimate relationship of statehood, no one can justly charge us with an imperialistic policy.

On the other hand, if the experiment of an elective governorship should prove successful, there is no reason why statehood could not be considered at a later date. Granting the elective governorship commits us to nothing definite for the future. It

makes no promises we can not afford to keep, and it opens the way to whatever line of development is subsequently desired.

### IMPORTANT PUBLIC TRUST<sup>s</sup>

Initiating statehood on offshore islands is a revolutionary change for the United States. It should be considered by something in the nature of a carefully organized convention, like that which gave us the American Constitution.

The facts about Hawaii are very material, but only after and if this nation has decided to spread statehood to offshore islands and thereby change its fundamental character. To give so much attention to a local, costly, and highly organized propaganda machine, like that set up to promote statehood for Hawaii, is like delegating tariff making on steel to the corporations selfishly interested.

It is indeed a remarkable procedure to send small subcommittees on hurried five or ten-day trips to Honolulu, to listen there to carefully sifted proponents, reports, and figures, and upon these impressions to remove the limits of statehood from continental America.

Of course, we ought not to incorporate Hawaii unless its people are willing and ready. To that end a plebiscite is valuable, if uninhibited. But the overwhelmingly important criterion is what is best for the United States.

Perhaps I am an idealist. But to me the statehood issue appears an exceedingly important public trust. In matters of such transcendent moment Congress must be the trustee for the American people. Under the committee system the Congress must rely on its major committees and these, in turn, on subcommittees to search out patiently and without fear or favor the truth of an issue for the nation.

What happened in Hawaii? I had not realized that lobbying groups, in questions of this sort, paid for long trips by congressional committees. Yet, if I understand the words of Delegate

<sup>s</sup> From statement of Arthur M. Churchill, lawyer of Portland, Oregon. Included in *Hawaii Statehood*; hearings before the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs on H.R.49, S.155, S.1782, May 1-5, 1950. 81st Congress, 2d session. Superintendent of Documents. Washington, D.C. 1950. p509-12.

Farrington on page 305 of the House hearings, the expenses of this committee were paid by the Hawaiian legislature. I quote his language:

"The legislature likewise provided territorial funds to defray the expenses of the members of Congress who were invited here to study our conditions. The members of this committee are traveling under the provisions of that law."

In such circumstances a committee should use extraordinary care to avoid partiality. In Hawaii, however, the proceedings appear to have been unbalanced. Ninety per cent of the record is filled with prostatehood material. The effect produced is that the committee had come to Honolulu for the express purpose of giving the organized proponents a chance to publicize and file their material. And the fearful opponents? By advertisement they were directed to "File by Saturday night if you'd talk on statehood." And with whom were they to file? With the attorney general of the territory, described by one witness (p246) as "known to be rabid on the subject of Hawaiian statehood."

The committee had little time. They were compelled to get back to more important business. Theoretically all witnesses were limited. But because the affirmative was well-organized, and divided up its presentation, it did not suffer from being cut off. Only two or three really effective witnesses appeared in opposition. One would have thought the committee, in common fairness, would have given them every chance to be heard. On the contrary the way Mr. Stokes was hurried (p242) and Mr. Alan cut off (p253, 254) does not reflect happily on the proceeding. . . .

Such an inquiry should certainly be completely neutral. The committee in such case is a quasi-judicial body. The House resolution under which they acted directs them to "conduct a study of the various questions and problems." Surely such "study" should be made with an open mind and impartially.

Instead of this I find a singular lack of judicial attitude. Time and again one or another member argues with an opponent of statehood or goes out of his way to act as an assistant to Delegate Farrington in bringing out the favorable phases of the testi-

mony. The impression I get from reading is that they were pro-statehood from the start. . . .

It is my conclusion that neither the time available, the sponsorship of the trip and the payment of expenses, nor the attitude of the committee augured favorably for a judicial examination of the profound questions involved.

For Hawaii to ask for self-government is quite proper. But essentially she has that already. For fifty years she has had her own legislature and made her own laws and has chosen the officials, with limited exceptions, to enforce those laws.

It is true that the President of the United States appoints the governor and the judges. If the Hawaiians want to elect their governor I see no great objection to that. By the act of 1947, effective in 1948, Puerto Ricans have been given the right to elect their own governor and he is to select his own cabinet. Hawaii may well be treated similarly.

While the election of judges, anywhere, is of dubious wisdom, especially in large cities, because the people have little idea of judicial qualifications, undoubtedly some local system of appointment, such as the Missouri plan or that proposed by the American Judicature Society, might well be worked out. That should cause no trouble.

But self-government is not what is desired at all. What is being fought for, by the politicians, by the sugar interests, by the ILWU [International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union], is to be given two United States senators. The "self-government" cry is misleading.

It is quite possible that our traditional territorial framework is not altogether suitable to areas like Hawaii. Government is always in process of evolution. The evolution of ours has gone far since John Marshall entered the Supreme Court.

From time to time totally new forms are required. The United Nations is new. The British Commonwealths are a new development. The Hoover committee's recommendations will transform much of the administrative machinery of the United States. Consolidation of Army, Navy, and Air Force into the Defense Department surely is revolutionary. Numberless alpha-

betical agencies came into being during the depression and the war.

The giving to Puerto Rico the right to choose her own governor is a case in point. The time may well have come when the United States should sit down with thoughtful citizens from the Hawaiian Islands and devise a governmental relationship which will be in the best interest of both.

To proceed on the theory that because continental areas became first territories and then states, therefore the same procedure should be followed with offshore islands is like insisting we should be driving a horse and buggy instead of using a jet plane or a radio.

Moreover, a form or arrangement suited to Hawaii might not be adapted to Alaska or Puerto Rico or Guam. Inventiveness has its place in politics as well as in the realm of physics.

### THE BIG FIVE<sup>9</sup>

Hawaii is run from five massive buildings within shadow-reach of each other in downtown Honolulu. Of the men behind desks in those offices, there are probably fifteen who matter. They sit separately but they act together. Closely bound by inheritance, intermarriage and a web of interlocked directorates, they would not act any other way. The "Big Five" are Castle & Cooke, Ltd.; Alexander & Baldwin, Ltd.; American Factors, Ltd.; C. Brewer & Co., Ltd.; Theo. H. Davies & Co., Ltd.

The history of the Big Five goes well back into the nineteenth century. They grew to their present stature as "factoring companies" for Hawaii's sugar plantations. In 1876 a reciprocity treaty with the United States opened sugar's boom era. There were then ninety plantations in the islands, most of them independently operated. Many were isolated, some poorly managed; all were beset with problems of financing, shipping, marketing, purchasing, labor supply. For two and one half per cent of the planter's gross income, the factoring company took over the administration of these and numerous other matters. By able management, the factors put system and stability into the

<sup>9</sup> From "Feudal Hawaii: Paradise, Ltd.," an article by Stanley High, author, commentator and lecturer. *Reader's Digest*. 42:19-23. June 1943. Reprinted by permission.



sugar industry and greatly facilitated its rise. . . . Pineapples, with some of the same Big Five zeal behind them, [are a close second]. . . .

Meanwhile, the Big Five bought propitiously into both industries. . . .

Since the Big Five controlled Hawaii's chief exports—sugar and pineapples—they also readily negotiated absolute control of shipping between Hawaii and continental United States. For Hawaii, two thousand miles from its markets, shipping is a matter of economic life and death. The Big Five have used it for both.

Until the Maritime Commission and the war somewhat rocked the boat, only one shipping company—the Matson Navigation Co., Ltd.—had free access to the Hawaiian trade. It is largely owned and wholly controlled by the Big Five. . . .

The Big Five soon acquired other interests. Controlling the plantations they also controlled the islands' biggest banking accounts. Today Honolulu has only two banks of consequence—both Big Five-owned.

Similarly, their control of the plantations gave them the Islands' biggest insurance business.

Purchasing for the plantations brought into camp the Islands' largest volume of wholesale and retail merchandising. Today . . . the largest slice of the Islands' merchandising business flows into Big Five tills.

From Big Five Companies, too, the Honolulu citizen gets his electricity, gas, water and telephone services. He rides on Big Five streetcars; goes to Big Five motion-picture theaters; listens to the Big Five's radio station.

The Big Five controls the large volume of interisland shipping. . . .

Although Hawaii is entirely agricultural, 85 per cent of its food is imported. Sugar and pineapples take 97 per cent of the islands' cultivated land. More food production means less area for the Big Five's two-crop bonanza; less revenue from Matson's sugar and pineapple cargoes to the mainland; less on the high-paying food cargoes from the mainland. . . .

With this amazing setup at the top, the man-at-the-bottom encounters numerous . . . costly items. To build a home [for example] he runs smack into the lumber trust—affiliated with the Big Five. . . .

If many . . . items are also costly to the plantations, that, too, the Big Five can face with equanimity. Their two and one half per cent for factoring is collected not from the plantations' net profit but from their gross income. To keep up gross income, therefore, is a major Big Five concern. That concern has sometimes been carried so far as to involve plantations in uneconomically large production which substantially reduced the net profit. In such cases, the stockholders' loss was the Big Five's gain.

Some sugar plantations are owned by many stockholders and profits therefore have to be widely split. Thus, in milking the plantations by heavy charges for transportation, fertilizer, merchandise, machinery and numerous other things, the Big Five merely transfers the profits from the plantations (with many dividend mouths to feed) to these other Big Five companies which have fewer outsiders to be cut in. . . .

The territorial legislature which looks to the average citizen for votes looks higher up for orders. . . .

That this amazing realm can be kept intact and its rulers on their thrones . . . is improbable. Rifts have already appeared. . . .

Outwardly the islands remain on the pleasant periphery of the tropics: seldom too hot, never too cold, always too beautiful. It is in their inward parts that they are being shaken. The charming overlords of Hawaii's antiquated domain have for too long been unwilling to catch up with the times to relish the present likelihood that the times will catch up with them—or to know what, in such an event, they can do about it.

#### ARDENT ADVOCATES <sup>10</sup>

The turning point in Hawaii's prolonged drive [for statehood] came in 1934, when the Big Five, the dominant economic power which had opposed statehood decided to support

<sup>10</sup> From "Alaska and Hawaii: from Territoriality to Statehood," by Marcos E. Kinevan, associate editor, *California Law Review*. *California Law Review*, 38: 273-92. June 1950. Reprinted by permission.

the movement. This important shift was due, apparently, to a series of events beginning in the early thirties which, if not countered, might ultimately have resulted in the Big Five's nemesis.

These events were highlighted by (1) the *Massie* case, which turned public sentiment on the mainland against conditions in Hawaii. The case, which created a sensation in the mainland newspapers, involved Massie, a young naval officer, who was convicted of the murder of a Hawaiian whom he believed participated in a gang raping of his wife. The general impression created in the mainland was that Hawaii was a primitive lawless place where a woman risked her virtue by going onto the streets unaccompanied. . . . (2) Assistant Attorney General Richardson's report on the administration and enforcement of criminal laws in Hawaii, which went further and exposed many nefarious social and economic conditions in the islands. . . . (3) The Navy's demand for a commission form of government for the territory, which resulted in the introduction of a bill into Congress to place Hawaii under joint Army-Navy control.

Faced by the prospect of closer Federal supervision and control and looking for something to detract from unfavorable criticism, the Big Five became ardent advocates of statehood.

### A CLIQUE IN CONTROL <sup>11</sup>

I have at all times favored giving the people everywhere the opportunity to establish for themselves a free government through their own self-determination. But this bill goes farther than that.

This bill provides that Hawaii shall be admitted into the Union on equal footing with the original states. If I were not informed as to conditions in Hawaii I would not say anything relative to the dangers of giving favorable consideration to the bill.

Unfortunately Hawaii is controlled by what is referred to as the Big Five. Five organizations working jointly control the

<sup>11</sup> From remarks of the late Congressman Adolph Sabath (D., Ill.) in the United States House of Representatives, June 30, 1947. *Congressional Record*. 93: 7913. June 30, 1947.

islands. They control the production of sugar and pineapples and other crops and most businesses. Of course, it will be claimed there are thirty five different sugar companies, which is true, but they are all controlled and owned by the Big Five, and this cannot be denied.

Of the population of about five hundred thousand I think 31 per cent are Japanese and somewhere around 20 per cent are Chinese. I am personally of the opinion that they have been loyal during the war and I feel they will remain loyal to the United States; but in view of the control of the islands by the Big Five I do not know whether we should perpetuate the Big Five control of Hawaii, as a state, knowing their past record and activities and how they appeared through their representatives years ago demanding larger and larger quotas of Japanese for the island for the purpose of obtaining cheap labor. Under these circumstances I know they have not the interest of the people who live there at heart.

I feel it would be a dangerous thing to allow that combination to control the sovereign state of Hawaii. As it is now, I feel the people there should be satisfied with the manner in which the island is being governed. . . .

I am fearful of this clique that controls that island. I am fearful of the control they will exercise should it become a state. . . . I understand the War Department and the Navy Department have approved the present bill, but I feel we should not look upon it solely from a military point of view. That statehood may be helpful and beneficial and advantageous from a military view cannot be argued. With the interest of all the people of our own country at heart, I doubt very much whether it would be for the best at this time to grant statehood while the Big Five, who virtually control labor, agriculture, manufacturing, banking, transportation, and public service, still dominate the economic life of the Hawaiian Islands.

Were it not for this fact, I should naturally be inclined to favor compliance with the wishes of a majority of the people of the territory of Hawaii, regardless of their heterogeneous population. I cannot be quite satisfied, under present conditions,

that a real democracy and the rights of the people will be safeguarded.

### MY NAME IS JACK HALL <sup>12</sup>

I was born in Ashland, Wisconsin, and raised in California. I came to Hawaii as a merchant seaman some ten years ago, and since that time have been connected with the labor movement, except for two years when I was employed with the territorial department of labor, in the law enforcement section:

This statement is presented in behalf of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, and the . . . workers it represents in Hawaiian industry.

The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, hereinafter referred to as the ILWU, is unqualifiedly on record for the Territory of Hawaii being granted statehood at once. . . .

Far sweeping changes in the political and economic life of the Territory of Hawaii have taken place since a congressional committee held hearings in Honolulu during 1937 on the matter of statehood for Hawaii. . . .

Those members of Congress who fear that statehood for Hawaii would strengthen the economic control of the so-called Big Five over the workers of these islands may dispel them. We are confident Hawaii's workers are now and will remain free workers shaping their own destiny in accordance with the democratic processes of our nation and Constitution.

There are members of the Congress who entertain the belief that statehood for Hawaii would merely mean that the congressmen from these islands would be handpicked by the Big Five. That belief is completely erroneous today, in 1946.

It is certainly true, and we in the labor movement have stated it time and again, that the Big Five dominated the political life of these islands from the days of royalty until recent years. The legislature did its bidding.

<sup>12</sup> From testimony of Jack W. Hall, left-wing labor leader and organizer recently convicted by Federal jury under the Smith Act of a Communist conspiracy to teach or advocate the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence. In *Statehood for Hawaii*; hearings before the House Subcommittee of the Committee on the Territories. Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C. 1946. p 131-7.

If that political control existed today—and thank God it does not—we would be violently opposed to statehood at this time.

Much is made of the fact that the people of Hawaii voted 2 to 1 for statehood in the 1940 plebiscite. The opposition at that time came from workers. It was a vote of protest against the Big Five control of our political life. The workers felt that they were safer under the parental guidance of a sympathetic Congress and the paternal protection of the Interior Department. Now, however, the people of Hawaii are outgrowing adolescence and wish to stand on their own feet, shouldering both the rights and responsibilities of adults, statehood. Today a plebiscite would reveal the people of these islands are at least 10 to 1 in favor of statehood.

#### THE REALITIES OF THE PROBLEM<sup>13</sup>

The case against making Hawaii a State of the Union at this time rests largely upon the following three propositions:

(1) The single really big labor union in Hawaii, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, which controls shipping, loading and unloading, sugar, and pineapples, is itself absolutely controlled by known Communists. Communism has also penetrated very deeply into many of the leading political and social organizations of the islands.

(2) International communism, through its firm grip on the ILWU and its influence on the political structure, can completely dominate the economic life of the islands. By strikes or other means it can bring all economic activity in the islands to a dead halt for an indefinite period, and in fact virtually starve them into submission to its demands. Since the allegiance of Communists is to Moscow rather than to the United States Government, this power is likely to be used for political ends rather than for the attainment of economic goals. It undoubtedly can and will be used to hamper the rearmament effort and the conduct of military operations in Korea.

<sup>13</sup> From minority views presented in *Statehood for Hawaii*; report of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. (S. Report no 314) Superintendent of Documents. Washington, D.C. 1951. p66-9.

(3) It would be a terrible mistake to grant statehood to any territory whose economic life and policy is so completely dominated by Communists. If statehood should once be granted, under our Constitution it can never be revoked, no matter how strong an influence Communists may attain in the new state.

The first two propositions given above are based on irrefutable facts which have been developed fully on a number of occasions, particularly in the 1949 report by Senator Butler to the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, entitled "Communist Penetration of the Hawaiian Islands," and in the minority views as contained in the Senate report on the Hawaiian statehood bill last year. . . . The facts contained in these two previous reports have never been challenged or denied by any responsible source. If the first two propositions given above are admitted, it seems to us the third necessarily follows as a matter of simple logic.

None of the facts cited in these exposures of the Communist situation in Hawaii has ever been denied. The only answer ever given has been the retort that there are also Communists in most of the present states. Such an answer does not meet the realities of the problem.

In none of the existing states is the entire food supply of the population dependent upon offshore sources as it is in Hawaii. In none of the existing states is there only one really big dominating union controlling all the principal industries, and that one Communist-controlled. In none of the existing states has communism achieved such a status of toleration, and even respectability, as in Hawaii.

In some of the states there may be more Communists than there are in Hawaii today. In none of them has the Communist minority achieved such a powerful position of leverage over the vital economic processes upon which the entire life of the community depends. The threat of communism is not based on the numerical size of the Communist minority. Communists everywhere, even in Russia, are only a small minority. It is all a matter of the extent of control wielded by those few Communists over the economic, political, and social institutions.

Some proponents of Hawaiian statehood insist that communism can be controlled as well or better by the people of Hawaii after statehood has been granted. We do not believe the record bears out this assertion. Despite repeated exposures of the Communist menace, the power of communism in the ILWU and other institutions of Hawaiian life has not been destroyed or even noticeably weakened. There has been a great deal of public protest and indignation by patriotic citizens of the islands against Communist influence, but no effective results have yet been achieved. . . .

The grip held by the Communists on the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union is particularly dangerous because of the power of this union to completely control the economic life of the islands. This union, holding its first biennial conference [in April 1951] since its expulsion from the CIO, selected Honolulu as the site for the convention because its leader, Harry Bridges, knew his strongest supporters were in the Hawaiian locals. Bridges, now out on bail pending his appeal from his conviction for perjury, denounced the United States and all it stood for in his keynote address to the delegates to the union convention. He was reelected president of the international union by a tremendous majority, and not one of the delegates from the Hawaiian locals voted against him. In fact, not one of the Hawaiian delegates opposed the Bridges policies at that convention on anything. The convention is well described in the following paragraphs from an editorial in one of the daily Honolulu newspapers:

Any illusions that the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union would reject its Communist-line policy in time of national crisis for the good of the nation was promptly and forcefully laid to rest by the truculent left-wing union's biennial convention just concluded here.

With only a futile and outshouted minority opposition, President Harry Bridges and his organization led the convention down the Red-lined path of party line policy straight as an arrow in a carefully staged and well-executed display of ILWU "democracy."

The resolutions introduced and "yessed" by instructed delegates condemned everything and anything—except Soviet Russia. They implied, to say the least, that the United States was an aggressor in Korea. They



built up a struggle for survival between the working class on the one hand and an unholy alliance of Government and big business on the other. . . .

Granting statehood to Hawaii might expose our salient in the Pacific to extreme danger, if the power of communism there should continue to grow. So long as the islands remain in territorial status we can be sure that our military and naval forces will safeguard them adequately, but that may not be true under statehood. It seems only elementary prudence to reject any radical changes at this time, at least until they can be made safely. . . . We feel strongly that Hawaii should not be granted statehood until we are sure we are not adding a red star to the forty eight white ones of the American flag.

#### COMMUNIST PARTY OF HAWAII<sup>14</sup>

Public hearings held in Honolulu, T. H., from April 10 to 20, 1950, revealed that the Communist party of Hawaii is a subdivision of district thirteen of the Communist party of the United States. . . . The importance of Hawaii to our national security made this investigation of paramount significance.

The Communist party of the Territory of Hawaii began organization during the year 1938 with the influx of Communist party members as organizers for the ILWU, which entered the Territory of Hawaii to organize for the first time the waterfront, sugar, and pineapple workers. Jack Hall, identified by numerous witnesses before the committee as a long-standing member of the Communist party, became regional director of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. Jack Hall was an appointee of Harry Bridges, the head of the ILWU, who was . . . convicted of perjury by the United States courts, in denying his Communist party membership at the time of naturalization. . . .

Upon organizing the workers of the waterfront, sugar, and pineapple industries, Jack Hall surrounded himself with individuals identified before the committee as members of the Com-

<sup>14</sup> From *Annual Report of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States House of Representatives for the Year 1950*. H. Report no3249. Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C. 1951. p 16+.

munist party. These Communists were placed by Jack Hall in the most strategic positions within the union, thereby assuring the control of the union by members of the Communist party. Testimony taken at the hearings revealed that in some instances individuals recruited into the Communist party were elected to union offices without knowledge that they were even candidates. Through this method, a well-knit minority of Communist party members exercised complete control over the large membership of the ILWU. Today, therefore, we find a curious situation where the so-called International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union has within its membership and under the control of the Communist party, the workers of the basic industries of the Territory of Hawaii; namely, shipping, pineapples, and sugar.

To maintain this economic control of the Territory of Hawaii, the Communist-controlled ILWU has pitted race against race and creed against creed in any issue where it was losing ground with the workers. In this matter, a well-knit minority has been able to maintain rigid control over the rank and file of a powerful union.

In recruiting workers to membership in the Communist party, the Communist leaders of the ILWU were successful in being able to dupe many workers into joining the Communist party. Testimony heard time and again during the hearings disclosed that many of these individuals were duped into believing that they could best serve the cause of organized labor through membership in the Communist party. However, when the true Communist philosophy was made known to these individuals, it not only alienated them, but was responsible for their disassociating themselves from the Communist party. It is indeed encouraging to read the testimony of many witnesses who testified that when they obtained a true knowledge of Communist teachings, as contained in the constitution of the Communist party of the Soviet Union, calling for the overthrow of democratic governments, they lost no time in severing their relationship with the Communist party. The fact that many individuals were duped into joining the Communist party on the pretense of gaining a labor education does not mean that there is not

present in the Territory of Hawaii a hard core of dyed-in-the-wool Communists, who are devoted to the overthrow of the Governments of the United States and the Territory of Hawaii. It must be remembered that the Communist movement spread to the Territory of Hawaii through organizers of the Communist party who were born and received their Communist training on the mainland of the United States. The hard core of Communists presently in the islands is therefore composed of mainland Communists or Hawaiians who were trained by Moscow-dominated Communists on the mainland.

In addition to their control over the basic industries, the Communist party in the Territory of Hawaii had gained some measure of political control through its infiltration of a major political party. In line with this venture, the Communist party in the Territory of Hawaii, in 1945, embarked on a most energetic campaign in an attempt to secure control of the Democratic party in the Territory of Hawaii. Testimony presented to the committee at its hearings in Honolulu reflected that at Communist party meetings in Hawaii during the year 1945 instructions were given to party members to become active in their local precinct of the Democratic party in an effort to gain some office or position within that precinct. These instructions were issued repeatedly to Communist party members at Communist party meetings in the Territory of Hawaii in the year 1945. . . .

During this same period and subsequent thereto, members of the Communist party were not lax in carrying out the instructions given them to infiltrate their local Democratic precincts. [By] a careful survey of the list of delegates who attended the Territorial Democratic Convention held at McKinley High School on May 2, 1948, in Honolulu, thirty-four delegates were positively identified as members of the Communist Party in Hawaii by witnesses appearing before the committee.

Since the conclusion of the committee's hearings in Honolulu, the citizens of Hawaii have taken it upon themselves to "put their house in order." The Democratic party is moving to rid itself of any and all Communists or Communist influence within its ranks. Within the Territory of Hawaii, there is in existence

a legislative committee on un-American activities and a territorial commission on subversive activities, both embodied with the power of subpoena and established for the purpose of investigating and exposing any and all subversive activities within the Territory of Hawaii.

In addition, the national CIO organization . . . conducted hearings in the city of Washington, D.C., before a subcommittee of the executive board of the CIO to hear testimony and evidence on the question of expelling Harry Bridges and the ILWU from the national CIO organization; subsequent to these hearings, they were expelled.

The hearings of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives conducted in Honolulu have served as a beacon light to the people of Hawaii in apprising them of the degree of Communist activity which has taken place in their territory. The committee feels that these citizens now know more of the methods and practices of the Communist party and are much better equipped to meet any new threat that may arise as a result of activity on the part of the Communist party.

### COMMUNISTS' NUMBERS UNIMPORTANT<sup>15</sup>

The Un-American Activities Committee of the lower House discovered a number of known Communists here in Hawaii, most of whom refused to divulge their political alliance by refusing to admit or deny that they were or are members of the Communist party and took refuge behind their presumed constitutional immunity. There are undoubtedly hundreds of other Communists in Hawaii who were not located. The actual number will never be known because all Communists are taught to deny their identity, but they are here in sufficient force to become a menace, and, in this connection, there appeared in the Honolulu *Advertiser* of Sunday, April 23, 1950, an editorial which is one of the most astounding articles, coming as it does from a paper

<sup>15</sup> From letters of James L. Coke, former Chief Justice of Hawaii. In *Hawaii Statehood*; hearings May 1-5, 1950, before the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs on H.R.49, S.155, S.1782. 81st Congress, 2d session. Superintendent of Documents. Washington, D.C. 1950. p122-5.

supporting statehood, that has come to my attention. I quote as follows:

Harping on the small number of Communists witnesses at the recent Un-American Activities Committee hearing were able to say reside in Hawaii is misleading. The Communist cell system prevents one group of party members from knowing the number or the identity of their comrades in sedition. What is important is that the Communists and their fellow travelers here had sufficient strength to seize and hold the Democratic party machinery.

Whether there are 130 Communists in Hawaii or 1,300 has little significance. Some estimates place the total number of Communist card holders in the whole United States at only 200,000. Postwar investigations have shown that Hitler controlled Germany with a handful of Nazis. Mussolini dominated Italy with a small group of Fascists.

In subversive treachery it is what is done, not how many persons do it, that tells the story. Even one Communist in Hawaii who can deceive innocent Americans into disloyalty is one too many.

This statement supports 100 per cent the contention which those of us here who are fearful of statehood have been preaching for years—that is to say, that a comparatively small number of trained Communists can wield tremendous power, . . .

One of the most fallacious representations sponsored by the proponents of statehood is to the effect that as a state Hawaii could much more effectively control communism within its borders. Possibly that statement would be true if the control of the state remained in the hands of loyal Americans, but let that control be taken over by a Communist group, then Hawaii is sunk. The Federal Government would have little legal constitutional power to control the state, but Congress would while Hawaii remains a territory have plenary authority to do so.

Jack Hall, of Honolulu, closely allied locally with Mr. Harry Bridges and repeatedly in the recent hearing and investigation before the Un-American Activities Committee of Congress identified by witnesses as a member of the Communist party here in Hawaii . . . [See "My name is Jack Hall," p 55] made a public speech in the grounds of Iolani Palace in Honolulu on Labor Day, on September 3, 1947, before a large crowd. In that address, he said, "and never for a second forget that statehood for Hawaii is our most important political objective. We ache

for statehood; for self-determination." Grant statehood and undoubtedly Mr. Hall and his kind will give fervent thanks that their prayer has been answered.

If we were living in normal times, objection to statehood would carry much less weight, but conditions throughout the world are not only abnormal but are fraught with the gravest danger to our national life. By retaining Hawaii as a territory, the Federal Government through Congress could in a moment's time make any change it considers conducive to the national security. On the other hand, if Hawaii is a state, all power having to do with the internal affairs of the state would be under the control of the state government. . . .

With this Red army at our back door and gradually moving closer to us, can we afford to set Hawaii up as a state out in the middle of the Pacific Ocean with no Federal control—a state which may very promptly go under the domination of officials from governor down who are far more friendly to Moscow than to Washington? I do not say that this will happen, but I do say that it can happen. Hence, I insist that it is utterly irrational for us to assume the risk and danger of statehood at this time. . . .

# CONTIGUITY AND REPRESENTATION

## EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Much of the opposition to statehood for Hawaii stems from the fact that the islands are not contiguous to the present states, and that the admission of the territory would, therefore, set a precedent for the admission of other distant areas. The proponents of statehood feel that the issue should be determined by Hawaii's ability to discharge the obligations of statehood, not by her location.

The argument about representation is an old one. In the past, senators and representatives of the more populous states have often objected to the granting of statehood, which means equal representation in the Senate, to territories having only a fraction of the population of such states.

## NONCONTIGUITY <sup>1</sup>

The danger of dominant Communist influence in the islands under statehood is not the only reason for considering this proposal very carefully before the decision is made to grant statehood. If statehood is granted, it will represent a radical departure from all our traditions and previous policies in adding states to the Union.

In every previous case where statehood has been granted, it has been given to an area contiguous and partially surrounded by other parts of the continental land area of the nation.

In every previous case, residents of a new state have been able, easily and cheaply, to cross state boundaries and mingle with the people of other states. In most cases, in fact, the new

<sup>1</sup>From statement of minority views presented by Senator Hugh Butler (R., Neb.). Included in *Statehood for Hawaii*; report of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs to accompany H.R.49. June 29, 1950. (S. Report no 1928) 81st Congress, 2d session. Superintendent of Documents. Washington, D.C. 1950. p47-59.

state has been peopled from the other states. They have been born and bred in American traditions and American customs. Their Americanism has been native to them, and it has been continually renewed and revived by day-to-day contact with their neighbors across the state lines.

Unfortunately that is not the case with Hawaii. Only a small proportion of its residents have come to the islands from the continent. An even smaller proportion will ever have an opportunity to visit the states on the mainland. It may be true that the distance of Hawaii in terms of time (by plane) is not great, but the distance in terms of money and opportunity is tremendous. Residents of Hawaii cannot take a vacation motor trip through surrounding states or purchase an expensive excursion by rail to some resort a few hundred miles away in another state. The average Hawaiian will never visit the mainland and will never even come in contact with any except the tourist class from the mainland.

The result of this isolation from the main currents of American thought and action is to create within the average Hawaiian an insular outlook. He is primarily concerned with local happenings and problems. It is extremely difficult for any Hawaiian, other than a member of the well-to-do business and professional class, to acquire any grasp of national problems. He tends to see everything purely in terms of Hawaii and its needs. It is difficult to imagine that this handicap can ever be overcome or that Hawaiians can ever come to acquire a national view toward problems.

No such problem existed with respect to the admission of any of the present States to the Union.

### OTHERS WILL BE ENCOURAGED <sup>2</sup>

Having been in the Hawaiian Islands twice and having the privilege of firsthand knowledge on the performance of the soldiers from Hawaii who fought in Italy, I am sure that no

<sup>2</sup> From letter of Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.—then Republican Senator from Massachusetts, now Delegate of the United States to the UN—to Senator Hugh Butler (R., Neb.), of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. May 25, 1948. Mimeographed for distribution by the Committee.



valid argument can be offered against the Americanism of the people of the Hawaiian Islands. The thought of a senator from the Hawaiian Islands being Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, for example, does not bother me in the least. To these considerations, of course, must be added the important material contribution which they make to the United States.

This, however, is not, as I see it, all that is involved.

1. We face the fact that if ever we depart from the practice of confining statehood to areas within the continental limits of the United States we do, in fact, establish a new precedent. If we admit the Hawaiian Islands, it is inevitable that people in Puerto Rico and Alaska will be very much encouraged in their desire to achieve statehood for their respective areas. We know that there is already a movement on foot to submit an application on the part of the British Crown colony of Newfoundland. Some of us have already been approached. In the Italian election which passed on the question of retaining the monarchy, there were, to my recollection, several thousand people who voted in favor of having Italy join the United States as a state. All these people, and no doubt many others, will be encouraged if they learn that the Hawaiian Islands have been given statehood.

2. The question of enlarging the number of states is one that does not in any way involve one's opinion of the people who live in any particular area. There are, of course, splendid people in Alaska and Puerto Rico and in all these other places, and nothing contained in these remarks in any way reflects on the people who live in those places.

3. Regard should be had to the changes which have taken place in the organization of nations throughout the world. The idea of forming a regional group or so-called Atlantic community is very much to the fore and has been endorsed in principle by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. This would mean that certainly places like Newfoundland could achieve a close relationship with the United States without going the full distance of having congressmen and senators.

4. The matter of the size of the United States Senate is something to be seriously considered. As new states join the

Union, they do not materially change the size of the House but they do very substantially alter the size of the Senate, in which they, because of our Federal system, hold even representation with the largest states. This means that every time we add more senators to the Senate, we decrease the relative importance of every existing senatorship. If the Senate gets sufficiently large, it will be necessary to set up the counterpart of the House Rules Committee and have a sort of super-committee which will act as a graveyard or deep freeze for legislation. Then most senators will cease to be relatively unfettered representatives of sovereign states. It is not clear to me why the Hawaiian Islands could not become part of California or why Alaska could not become part of the state of Washington. This would give them congressmen in proportion to population. I have not yet seen it stated why it is utterly essential that so sparsely populated an area as Alaska should have the same number of senators as the great state of New York, with its teeming millions of people.

In conclusion, let me repeat that all these factors are at stake in the question of Hawaiian statehood and, in my opinion, the Committee . . . cannot completely discharge its responsibility merely by investigating the Hawaiian Islands. They should also go into all these matters which so drastically affect the entire composition of the Senate, the importance of individual senators, and the future of our government.

### NOT MERELY HAWAII AND ALASKA <sup>3</sup>

It is foolish to deceive ourselves that this transformation will be limited to Hawaii and Alaska, because these are the only two "organized" territories. When Puerto Rico or the Virgin Islands or Guam or Samoa want to enter, such a distinction will be brushed aside as unimportant.

Perhaps the ablest legal witness for statehood admitted this. The statehood proponents placed on the stand in Honolulu Mr. Heaton L. Wrenn, president of the Hawaiian Bar Association.

<sup>3</sup> From statement by Arthur M. Churchill, lawyer of Portland, Oregon. Included in *Hawaii Statehood*; hearings May 1-5, 1950, before the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs on H.R.49, S.155, S.1782. 81st Congress, 2d session. Superintendent of Documents. Washington, D.C. 1950. p496-517.

On page 382 of the House hearings he was asked specifically whether other islands or possessions would be entitled to be accepted as states, if they demonstrated a like capacity to manage their own affairs. He replied: "Why, certainly, I wouldn't advocate statehood for Hawaii and not advocate it for others, who had entitled themselves to it."

No one can prophesy what islands may yet come under our wing. There is just one logical and defensible place to stop. That is with the limits of continental United States. We have gone far enough. We were glad to free ourselves from further responsibilities in the Philippines. We cannot similarly retreat from islands necessarily under our aegis. But it would be the acme of folly to set them up as new states. . . .

Our Federal Government is a highly complex organization. It involves a Union, not only of forty-eight states, but of thousands of local governmental units. It covers a far greater extent of territories and greater diversities of regions and interests than any governmental unit heretofore dreamed of by men, in which the people compromise and rule, instead of being submitted to a dictatorship.

Our government becomes increasingly complex. It is highly experimental. Policies, domestic and foreign, must be approved by the people. Constantly there must be trial and error. To harmonize the views of millions of citizens taxes the best brains we can produce.

Our success, so far as we are successful, rests on an intricate set of checks and balances. We weigh the legislative versus the executive versus the judicial; Federal versus state versus local government; farms versus labor versus capital; South versus North versus West. We have pressures of competing industries, endless variation in religious groups, lodges, civic organizations, racial and national elements, with extreme possibilities of friction.

Though we are largely of European origin, our differences are legion. Modern science and the problems of our capitalistic economy test our capacities to the utmost. Surely we have enough to solve and to digest without distorting our whole structure

by starting to incorporate into our constituent state offshore islands, whose end and number no one can foresee. And . . . with these would come racial elements whose age-old traditions and mores are deeply fixed and as alien to ours as anything the earth has to offer. And they differ equally from each other, as they do from us.

The real crux of Hawaii's campaign . . . is to obtain two senators, with votes to trade.

Adding senators from sundry offshore islands will gravely affect the balance and efficiency of the Senate. Even ninety six senators are doubtless many more than the founding fathers had any thought of. There is far too much need, even with that number, to trade votes on unrelated issues, in order to obtain legislative action.

Senators should more and more represent the general national interest and not be primarily local agents. We succeed as a democracy, insofar as we do, because we avoid splinter parties. European parliaments are all too often reduced to helplessness by diluted representation. Ninety six senators are enough. We must not become too cumbersome for action.

#### THE REAL ISSUE <sup>4</sup>

The real issue boils down to this: that the constitutional structure of the United States is such as not to permit, as a practical matter, the admission of any such territory as the eight tiny volcanic islands, two thousand miles off the coast, or any other similar outlying territory because under the Constitution there must be two United States Senators from each state.

Much is made of the fact that when some of the existing states were admitted to the Union their population was less than that of Hawaii at the present time. The population of Nevada was less than that of Hawaii, but they were not two thousand miles off in the wastes of the Pacific. They were admitted at a time when conditions were very far different from the condi-

<sup>4</sup> From remarks of Congressman Frederic R. Coudert, Jr., (R., N.Y.) in the United States House of Representatives, June 30, 1947. *Congressional Record*. 93: 7922-3. June 30, 1947.

tions that prevail today. Who would have the temerity now to suggest that if it were put up to the people of the United States anew they would vote to sustain the basis of representation that now exists in the Senate; to wit, two senators for each state, no matter how widely the states may vary in number, wealth, and territory?

The existing states came in as part of the development of our national continental domain. They were a perfectly inevitable, natural development of our own population moving west and conquering the great virgin continent. Those states were admitted at a time when the states were still most important entities—much more so than they are today in this great centralized new government which has grown up in the last twenty years. If we begin admitting outlying territory . . . we must admit that we are confronted with something of far-reaching significance.

Bear this in mind: These people who are espousing this measure from outside and the committee itself speak of giving the Hawaiians self-determination. All right, give them more self-determination, but do not let them in as a state of the Union—they and the other territories—to exercise two senators' worth of self-determination on us in the continental United States. My objection is constitutional. . . .

Can there be any longer doubt that we are confronted in this bill with a problem concerning all the territorial possessions of the United States? What we do on this bill is bound to call the turn and set the precedent for Alaska, Puerto Rico, and such other insular territory as we may now or later possess. They are one for all practical purposes. . . .

So I say, in considering the position we take on this bill, we must consider all three of those dependencies and determine whether or not we are to admit them to statehood, with the two senators that go with statehood and the resultant further distortion of popular representation in the Congress.

QUESTION SETTLED LONG AGO<sup>5</sup>

[Mr. Coudert] has stated publicly that one of his reasons for opposition to Hawaii becoming a state is that it would discriminate against the large states, like New York, for instance, that has, I believe, fifteen million people; that Hawaii would get two senators with a population of but 500,000 or 600,000; that consequently New York and all the larger states would be discriminated against because of the great variance of difference in population.

I would say to any of those who hold that way that the issue of representation in the United States Senate was settled back in the framing of the Constitution. You know and I know that the question was fought over then for weeks and weeks. The large states, of course, did not feel that the smaller states should have the same number of senators as they. In order to meet that issue, it was agreed at that time that each state should have two senators, and that the representation in the House would be according to population.

I followed the admission of the thirty five states that came into the Union after the original thirteen, and the question never came up about limiting the representation in the United States Senate of the small states or territories like Nevada.

<sup>5</sup> From remarks of Congressman Leo E. Allen (R., Ill.) in the United States House of Representatives, March 9, 1953. *Congressional Record*. 99:1829. March 9, 1953.

# ETHNIC AND CULTURAL QUESTIONS

## EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Though seldom stressed in congressional debate, an important factor in preventing the admission of Hawaii to the Union has been the fact that the majority of her people are of the Mongolian race, and that many of them are, therefore, culturally Asian. A good deal of the argument relates to the degree of Americanization of these people. The process of Americanization is not denied, but the question has been raised whether it has progressed far enough to warrant statehood. The selections in this section throw light on the ethnic and cultural aspects of Hawaiian life.

## POPULATION TRENDS IN HAWAII<sup>1</sup>

Hawaii's population has increased nearly four times during the past fifty years, from about 100,000 to approximately 500,000. This phenomenal growth is chiefly a consequence of the improved economic opportunities afforded by the territory and can largely be traced in the statistics of immigration. During the first three decades of the present century, Hawaii's growth in population was overwhelmingly through the influx of plantation laborers and their dependents. It is estimated that 200,000 persons migrated to Hawaii between 1900 and 1932. Since 1940 there has been another period of extensive movement during which Hawaii's population has been increased by 60,000 through migration alone.

The racial complexity likewise of Hawaii's population has been greatly increased by immigration during the past fifty years. Three contrasted population elements, the Koreans, Puerto Ricans, and Filipinos, have been added to the complicated racial pattern

<sup>1</sup> From testimony and statement of Andrew H. Lind, professor of sociology, University of Hawaii. In *Statehood for Hawaii*; hearings before the Subcommittee of the House Committee on the Territories. Superintendent of Documents. Washington, D.C. 1946. p55-68, 559-60.

which already existed here; and important additions to the immigrant Japanese and Portuguese also occurred during this period. By 1920, Hawaii's racial complexity had probably reached its peak with eleven major ethnic or "racial" groups in the population, Hawaiian, part-Hawaiian, Portuguese, Spanish, Puerto Rican, Haole or other Caucasian, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, and Negro. In 1920, 57 per cent of the entire population of the islands had been born outside Hawaii or continental United States.

The population movements since 1920 have been chiefly in the direction of greater integration and interracial solidarity. By 1940, for example, almost four fifths (78.7 per cent) of the population were natives of Hawaii or of continental United States; and by 1945 this ratio had increased to well over 85 per cent. Similarly the tendency for the various ethnic groups to intermarry and thus fuse the population into a single American-Hawaiian type had proceeded to such a degree that by 1940 it was necessary for the Census Bureau to combine the Portuguese, Spanish, and Haoles into a single Caucasian group; and it is becoming increasingly difficult to differentiate accurately between the Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians.

Hawaii has long been noted for its intermingling of races and the experience of the past fifty years adequately confirms this impression. Definite statistics for the early period are unavailable, but since 1912 the proportion of marriages between persons of different racial ancestries has increased from 14.1 per cent to 38.5 per cent. The war has greatly accentuated the trend toward interracial marriage, but even before the war approximately three out of every ten marriages in the territory were across the conventional racial lines. Each of the various racial groups has participated in the process, some, however, to a greater degree than others. Among the immigrant peoples, it is usually those least adequately supplied with women which intermarry most readily. Thus the Chinese, Filipinos, and most recently the Caucasian men have more commonly looked to other groups for their wives than is true in the Japanese group, for example. The native Hawaiians have always been noted for their cordial reception of the visitors



to Hawaii; and this has extended to marriages, as well. During the 30-year period, for which statistics are available, the average out-marriage rate for both Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian has been over 50 per cent. Similarly the smaller groups such as the Spanish, Koreans, and Puerto Ricans tend to have high intermarriage rates. The effect of increasing interracial marriage is reflected in the number of children of mixed racial ancestry born in the territory. During the war years, the ancestry of slightly over one third of the babies born could be traced to two or more racial strains.

Visitors to Hawaii frequently express concern regarding the possibility that a single immigrant group may take possession of Hawaii's population by virtue of its capacity to reproduce. Actually, each of the immigrant groups during the early days of its residence in the territory tends to have a high birth rate which slowly declines as the group becomes assimilated into island life. During the 1890's and 1900's, it was the Chinese and Portuguese immigrants which had the largest families. In the following period, the more recently arrived Japanese had the highest reproductive rates. Since 1930 it has been the Filipinos and Puerto Ricans who have ranked highest in reproduction. It must be noted in this connection that crude birth rates, computed upon the total population of a group, may be quite misleading, particularly with a group made up largely of single men. Thus the Filipinos show one of the lowest crude birth rates, although, when figured on the basis of the number of women between the ages of 20 and 45, their rate is the highest of all the ethnic groups. The corrected birth rates for all of the racial groups had been declining during the thirties; but the war, here as elsewhere, has resulted in a temporary boom in the number of babies.

There has been a gradual shift in the complexion of the babies born in Hawaii during the past twenty five years. In the early twenties, almost 70 per cent of the children born were of Asiatic ancestry, with the Japanese alone constituting 48 per cent of the total. Just prior to World War II, the Asiatic births had declined to 53 per cent, with the Japanese ratio at 34.8 per cent.

In the postwar period, we may anticipate a further decline in the ratio of Asiatic births to less than 50.

Examination of Hawaii's record of population and vital statistics during the past twenty five years reveals a steady trend toward a citizen population of numerous racial antecedents, but unified through their common experience within an American community.

### HAWAII AND ITS BIRTH RATES <sup>2</sup>

In the House hearings Delegate Farrington and Professor Andrew W. Lind seek to create the impression that any problem from Japanese increase has been ended; that it is not now menacing. This is not true. . . .

It is true that during the depression the Japanese birth rate dropped from 35.6 in 1929 to a low of 21.4 in 1940. But by 1947 it had again risen to 28.3. It . . . dropped off only very slightly for 1948 and 1949.

But what Mr. Farrington and Professor Lind overlook is the incredibly low Hawaiian death rate. Nobody seems to die over there. In 1947, while the Japanese birth rate in Hawaii had risen to 28.3, the death rate was only 5.3. Speaking for 1947, the Japanese in Hawaii were increasing 23 per 1,000, or 2.3 per cent a year. That was even faster than the explosive rate in Japan.

The Chinese, Puerto Rican, and Korean birth rates are similar, but their numbers were smaller to begin with. The non-Haole [non-white] peoples are taking Hawaii just as surely as a lava flow overruns a volcanic region. In sixteen years (from 1929 to 1947, but omitting 1940, 1941, 1948, and 1949, whose figures I did not then have), the total Haole births were 16,439 after deducting 600 a year after 1939 for Portuguese and Spanish from other Caucasian. The total births for all races was 167,106. Subtracting gives 150,667 as the total of non-Haole births. The Japanese births alone were 62,961. And the Haole total included a large increase of births from the temporary war population

<sup>2</sup> From statement by Arthur M. Churchill, lawyer of Portland, Oregon. Included in *Hawaii Statehood*; hearings May 1-5, 1950, before the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, on H.R.49, S.155, S.1782. 81st Congress, 2d session. Superintendent of Documents. Washington, D.C. 1950. p499-502.

from the mainland. Even then, the non-Haole births were nine times as great as the Haoles and the Japanese alone nearly four times as great.

In the face of these figures, the promoters of statehood seem less than frank when they include thirty five thousand Portuguese and perhaps up to a hundred thousand white war workers and their families to make 172,583 Caucasians as of January 1, 1946. By the official reports, twenty three thousand of these war workers and their families had already gone by January 1, 1950. . . .

The Japanese population in Hawaii is increasing about 4,000 a year and the total non-Haole population about 8,500 to 9,000 a year. . . . What is to become of this endless expansion of humanity? Are they to follow the flood of Puerto Ricans to New York City? Or will they emigrate to Los Angeles, San Francisco, Portland, and Seattle? . . .

Nor do I think the peak of babies has been reached. It is the females who bear the children. In 1900 there were only 13,603 Japanese females in the islands. By 1940 there were 75,985. In 1900 there were 349.2 males to 100 females. By 1940 the ratio was down to 110.3.

By contrast the Caucasian birth rate went down to 10.1 in 1946, though it rose to 16.2 in 1947. And this included the Portuguese. If these were deducted, the rate would be substantially lower. And it is probably raised by the temporary war force also. . . .

The pure Hawaiians have all but disappeared already. When Captain Cook came they were very numerous. But they fell easy victims to the white man's diseases. By 1896 they were down to 31,019 and, in January 1950, to 10,500.

It is true that part-Hawaiians have multiplied to 74,941 as of January 1, 1950. But this is deceptive. To my mind the census of 1940, and the health bureau from that time on, were guilty of gravely confusing the figures, when they ceased numbering the Caucasian-Hawaiians and Asiatic-Hawaiians separately, and ceased enumerating the Portuguese, Spanish, and other Caucasian contract-labor groups separately. From then on they have used the obscuring term "Part-Hawaiians" and the term "Other

Caucasians," to include Portuguese, etc., whose background and mores were quite different from the so-called Haole group.

Professor Lind, however, helps us to understand the part-Hawaiians. He explains that intermarriages have been mostly with Chinese, Filipinos, Spanish, Koreans, and Puerto Ricans, who tended to have lesser numbers of their own women.

The figures from 1929 to 1939 fortunately show the distinction between the Caucasian-Hawaiian and Asiatic-Hawaiian. While the pure Hawaiian births were dropping from 418 a year to 166 a year, the mixed Hawaiian increased from 1,817 to 3,425 in 1950. But the Caucasian-Hawaiian births, to 1939, were decreasing, while the Asiatic-Hawaiians were doubling, from 823 to 1,504. By now they are probably not less than 2,500 a year, if they were segregated. This only accentuates the facts that the Asiatics are taking the islands.

The death rate of the pure Hawaiians, meantime, has been very high. In 1949 it was 26.3 with a birth rate of only 16.2. Whereas the part-Hawaiians, largely Asiatic-Hawaiians, had, on the contrary, a birth rate of 46.7 against a death rate of 4.5 per cent and the Japanese had a birth rate of 26.2 with a death rate of 5.5 (for 1949).

The proponents of statehood seek to leave the impression that the islands are just getting well started, that their numbers will be much greater in the future. . . . This is untrue. Very responsible opinion in the islands believes that Hawaii has 25 per cent more people now than its normal economy can support.

If 25 per cent (of normal numbers) are to leave, that would be a hundred thousand. Then if each year, by the excess of births over deaths, the non-Haole groups add eighty-five hundred to ten thousand to their numbers, that many additional human beings must go somewhere else each year.

Who is going to be forced out? Will the easy-going Hawaiians survive? That is, the few of them who are left? Will the Haoles maintain themselves? Or will the islands gradually be taken over by the rapid-breeding peoples, inured by centuries of tradition and experience to much lower living standards?

The world's experience has only one answer. Just as the Japanese in prewar days could not compete, in Korea, Manchuria, and Formosa, with the Chinese and Koreans, whose standard of living was lower, except for a few officials or white-collar workers, so the rapidly breeding peoples, with their lower standards of living, will inexorably take Hawaii.

And after the lava flow of children has driven the Hawaiians and Haoles out, what then of the annual overflow? There can be but one answer. It will go to the mainland, if permitted. . . .

Color, certainly, is no test of character. Under any coloring, or lack of it, may lie an extreme of charm and wisdom, of love, and self-sacrifice. God created many races. Each has a wealth to contribute to the common heritage. From all these laboratories have come rich contributions. The West can give much to the East. And we, in turn, can learn as much, perhaps more, from the cultures of the Orient, and even from primitive peoples.

Cultured leaders of every race can mingle easily. Friction rarely results. But mass mixing of peoples with totally different traditions and mores, drilled in and handed down through the ages has rarely brought anything but strife and disaster. Whether we are dealing with Asiatic resentment of Caucasians or with ignorant prejudices in the United States, friction is close to the surface.

Human beings are only finite. Emotions and prejudices are not less real than calm reason. Few of us are so mature that we are free from childish judgments. And we are all busy. We tend to hasty opinions. We have little time to investigate the men we meet. We tend to classify people, not only by color and race, but by sex, clothing, years in school, and many other factors which may have little bearing on real character or worth. These are realities. At any foreseeable time they are inescapable. . . .

Even though our American melting pot is largely European, it is as yet very, very far from stability. Racial, regional, and religious cleavages exist everywhere. Surely this is no time to spread our none-too-stable balance over scattered islands of the sea, incorporating peoples mixed as perhaps nowhere else on earth. . . .

If we admit Hawaii we shall plunge ourselves into a racial and birth-rate mixture that is extreme. Many pressures and pressure-groups are bound to arise out of it. To handle them all tactfully and without complaint will require a genius that human beings rarely possess. The disappointed will charge the United States with prejudice, selfishness, discrimination. And the racial world is highly sensitive to such charges, no matter how baseless.

Or if we admit Hawaii and refuse Puerto Rico or Guam or Samoa, there will be endless recriminations.

The founding fathers would never have believed the time would come when anyone would suggest that we incorporate into the Union isolated islands twenty four hundred miles out in the ocean, consisting primarily of tropical, corporate plantations. There is only one logical place to stop. That is at the continental edge.

### RACE RELATIONS IN HAWAII<sup>3</sup>

Hawaii has just under half a million people. While only a fifth of them are pure white, four fifths are American citizens, most of them citizens by birth rather than by naturalization.

The United States census and the bureau of health statistics at the present time recognize nine such groups: Hawaiian, part-Hawaiian, Caucasian, Puerto Rican, Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Filipino, and "All Others." . . .

In Hawaii, the immigrant groups of different color, mainly Oriental, have not been set apart . . . but have been kept separate one from the other like the European immigrant groups on the mainland. And it is because the European immigrant groups on the mainland eventually merge with the wider population that it is possible to predict that the Oriental immigrant groups too will also finally disappear in the general population of Hawaii.

For the time being they—at least the older generation—are, however, still separately identifiable by their food, their language, their clothing, their shelter, their religion, their manners. . . .

<sup>3</sup> From an article by Bernhard L. Hörmann, professor of sociology, University of Hawaii. *All About Hawaii—Thrum's Hawaiian Annual*. p 130-43. Copyrighted by Honolulu *Star-Bulletin*. January 15, 1952. Reprinted by permission.

A . . . noteworthy fact regarding race relations in present day Hawaii is that important differences between members of the different groups are fast disappearing.

The birth, death and infant mortality rates for all these groups have in the amazingly short span of a generation approached the rate of the nation as a whole, and that of course means that the differences between them are being wiped out. These trends are important because they indicate the quick spread of the small family system to the Orientals, thus disproving that they constitute a "Yellow Peril." The death and infant mortality rates, among the lowest in the world, bespeak the excellence of public health in Hawaii.

In clothes, food preferences, style of entertaining, house styles and home furnishings, accent with which English is spoken, education and recreation and the manner of disciplining children, courtship and marriage practices, holidays observed, in all the intricacies of the daily and annual round of life and the life cycle of the individual, the members of Hawaii's various groups are following less and less the differentiating ways of their ancestors, and more and more ways which they all share in common.

As a consequence, people in Hawaii pay less attention to ancestry than a generation or two ago, when the groups were still new. Curiously enough, as differences grow less, it becomes necessary to ask about racial ancestry if one wants to know, whereas formerly the groups had through their costumes, gestures, and speech, such clear visibility that it was not necessary to ask.

A . . . feature of race relations in Hawaii is the persistent cleavage between Haoles [whites] and non-Haoles, where a greater lag exists in the progressive elimination of differences and tensions than between other groups. There are several reasons why this is so.

The upper class has been and continues to be occupied mainly by Haoles, so that, among many people not of this class, resentment has accumulated against Haoles.

Another reason why a serious cleavage between Haoles and non-Haoles may continue to operate is that the Haole group is

constantly being reinforced by people from the mainland. In the future, the other local groups will have to depend almost solely on births for their survival. Not so with the Haoles.

Many mainland Haoles naturally bring with them the racial attitudes of the United States whites and have had no experience in establishing working relations with people of other complexions.

Accumulated resentment among non-Haoles has found few channels for coming to open expression. In a minor way, however, relief comes from the telling of jokes on Haoles—in the inner circle; from providing little hardly noticeable irritations; from shouting imprecations in heavy traffic, where the anonymity of the offender is assured, and perhaps by letting it out on middle and lower class Haoles, including servicemen.

Many of the resentments hark back to ancient grievances which had their origin on the early plantation. Others are due to acute sensitivities which exaggerate or distort experiences. Thus, while the resentments are real enough, their basis is not necessarily realistic. These resentments, when matched with the stereotyped notions which persist in the thinking of many Haoles about the racial groups in Hawaii help us to understand why the cleavage between Haoles and non-Haoles is one which can continue to cause misunderstanding and bitterness in local race relations.

If this cleavage remained, while the differences between the immigrant groups disappeared, Hawaii would become a community split in two, and we would be confronted with a permanent condition fraught with conflict and bitterness.

Fortunately it is possible to point to . . . [an] aspect of social life in Hawaii which tends to counteract this dualism. What the writer has in mind is the increasing importance of nonracial group activity, based on common interests and like-mindedness, socio-economic, religious, professional, and recreational in orientation. By its very nature this cuts across race lines and therefore operates to weaken them.

With the growth of a large middle class the whole organization of society is changing. The middle class has assumed im-



portant proportions only during the last quarter century but is composed of people of both Caucasian and non-Caucasian ancestry, people of American education, who behave the way middle-class people do on the mainland.

It is further important to realize not only that some Hawaiians have long had and a few Orientals have recently achieved upper-class status, but also that mainland Haoles of the working class have maintained their identity in Hawaii with this class. At the collective bargaining table today it is not unusual for management to be represented by an Oriental and labor by a Haole.

Because of the change from a two-class to a three-class society and the separation of race from class, the wall of separation between Haoles and non-Haoles is breaking down.

Increasingly, the participation in the various aspects of community life is becoming interracial and finally nonracial. In such matters as segregation in residential areas, political leadership, economic leadership, educational opportunity, and community-wide activities, the trend has been in the direction of ever-wider participation. . . .

At the most intimate level of life, families that are interracial are being formed in increasing proportions, and as a result kinship ties are bringing together many people of distinct ancestries.

Out of all this there occurs a final aspect of race relations in Hawaii, the growth of the "New Hawaiian" people, who, whether or not biologically mixed, think of themselves primarily as Americans, as Americans of a peculiar brand—Kanakas. . . .

As part of this new culture, there is a noteworthy tradition: In its half century under the American flag, Hawaii has had no riot or other violence of major proportions involving race. There have been, to be sure, a number of crises such as several dramatic criminal cases, some major strikes, and the attack on Pearl Harbor, and these would have had enough racial overtones to have precipitated open conflict.

The continued absence of open violence therefore bespeaks a certain restraint, a tolerance which has become traditional in the islands. . . .

It can be stated with some assurance that racial lines are on their way out and that biological mixing will continue, so that by the end of the century perhaps half the population will be mixed. A new culture is arising, basically American, industrial, urban—but with a uniquely Hawaiian cast. . . .

The life of the people . . . is dynamic. Therefore, any statements about them and their ways must be marked "tentative." This "molten quality" or tentativeness is what makes Hawaii important to the social scientist, for here he can see processes occurring which he has been able formerly only to theorize about. Here he can see occurring before his very eyes the fusing of diverse peoples that has occurred frequently elsewhere—but never under conditions where systematic scientific observation was possible.

Here he can see what happens when different ways of meeting situations, different cultures, mingle. Whether the distinctive new Hawaiian culture will finally become stabilized in Hawaii we cannot predict.

But whatever happens to it, the year by year record of the process will be before us. For just as the volcanologists man their Hawaiian observatory with refined instruments in order to obtain an accurate continuous record of the making of Hawaii geologically, so do the social scientists man their "observatories," in order to keep an accurate running record of the making of Hawaii sociologically. If that were all, Hawaii would be unique.

#### RACIAL WARP AND WOOF<sup>4</sup>

Visitors to Hawaii characteristically comment on the friendly relations existing among the several ethnic groups. An American sociologist who had spent several years in the Old South said, "Humanly speaking, you have no race prejudice in Hawaii." On the whole, it may be said that the several races live together in relationships which are characterized by harmony and friendliness.

<sup>4</sup> From article "Minority Groups in Hawaii," by William C. Smith, author and professor of sociology at Linfield College, McMinnville, Oregon. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. 223:36-44. September 1942. Reprinted by permission.

A number of factors have entered into the warp and woof of Hawaiian life to make it what it is, but there is no such thing as an unchangeable pattern in the islands. . . . The successive waves of immigration have brought changes, and no one can predict the future with accuracy.

The early contacts of Americans and Europeans with the Hawaiians were of such a nature as to make for friendliness and association on a basis of equality. The Hawaiians had never been slaves and they felt no sense of racial inferiority because of skin color. [In his *Interracial Marriage in Hawaii* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1937)] Romanzo Adams calls the Hawaiians "an amalgamating race." They have entered freely into outside marriages and have not raised barriers against the several immigrant groups. The Hawaiians have exerted a wholesome influence and have tended to keep down any incipient antirace feeling. When the Chinese came upon the scene, because of their marked differences, the setting was favorable for development of race feeling; but if white men had turned upon the Chinese because of race differences, the Hawaiians would have been offended. In this favorable atmosphere the Chinese made their adjustments, and they were never subjected to the treatment experienced by their fellow nationals in California.

The New England missionary element has not been without its influence. At first the Puritan consciences of the missionaries were placed under a severe strain as they came into contact with these naïve and simple people, but gradually they came to accept the Hawaiians on a basis of equality, and this attitude has been transmitted through several generations. The economic life of Hawaii is largely controlled by descendants of the old missionaries, and not being unmindful of the semiannual dividends, they observe the ritual, at least, of race equality.

The multiplicity of ethnic groups in Hawaii has been a factor of no small importance. The Chinese were the single group of different race in the early days of California. Hence it was easy to attack in one direction. Many years later the Japanese became the single target. In Hawaii the several races and race mixtures have made it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to direct a concerted attack upon any single group.

The mixed-blood group in Hawaii has played a significant role and will probably become increasingly important. Race crosses ordinarily come on the fringes, where the undesirable elements on both sides mix their blood. In Hawaii it has been far different. In the early days of European contact, Hawaiian women of royal lineage became wives of white men, and this set the stamp of approval upon intermarriage. Consequently the racial hybrids in Hawaii who come from socially sanctioned marriage relationships have a status far superior to those in areas where interracial marriages are forbidden and where mixed-bloods result from illicit relationships. The mixed-blood is accepted in Hawaii and many of them are rated highly—the superiority of the Chinese-Hawaiian is accepted almost as a religious creed in most circles.

The hybrids have been a factor in keeping down race prejudice. In hybrids the characteristic physical features are rubbed off and it is less easy to classify and categorize them. The hybrid group is intermediary and many have attained positions of leadership. They have an advantage in that they can represent several groups. On the whole, the hybrids seem to be closer to the Hawaiians than to any other group. The Hawaiians form a sort of magnetic core which attracts all varieties of mixed-bloods. The group of mixed-bloods, which is increasing both in size and in prestige, will continue to stand for race equality. . . .

But our tourist friend must remind himself that Hawaii is neither California nor Alabama, and all too often he does not appreciate the real situation. He has grown accustomed to behavior in certain areas, and when that does not appear on the surface in the familiar forms, he concludes that in Hawaii there is neither prejudice nor discrimination and that all is beautifully idyllic. . . .

Life in Hawaii and race relations cannot be understood apart from the plantation system. In this system white men provide the capital and a high-grade technology, while those of different color supply the necessary brawn. There are marked differences in the roles played by these two groups. The white group has the power and exercises the control, while the manual

laborers are accorded a status of inferiority. Status is inextricably intertwined with the plantation system and is not necessarily dependent upon race. . . .

Each importation of labor brought new realignments of the various population groups. . . . Each new group took its place at the bottom of the occupational pyramid and for a time all would be well. But gradually they would become restless and demand a share of the positions of responsibility and dignity. Such intrusions into tabooed territory were not accepted graciously. . . .

When race relations in Hawaii are examined with care, a paradoxical situation becomes evident. It is a matter of tradition and principle that there is or should be no prejudice. That is a doctrine to which the leading spokesmen for the territory subscribe, and practically all members of the community feel bound to maintain it. Race equality is visible on every hand—in the freedom of intermarriage, in the absence of legal segregation in school or in residential areas, and in the ease with which members of the different races mingle at various social functions.

Beneath this apparently calm surface, however, are found inequality, discrimination, prejudice, cynicism, and bitterness. The plantation system, in spite of the doctrine of race equality, has manipulated the importation of laborers from the several sources so that a small group of white Americans are in control not only of the sugar industry but of all aspects of life in the territory.

Much is said about the educational opportunities in the islands, and the young people are urged to use them in order to become good Americans. They are told about the "room at the top" that is open to all on an equal basis. The children go through the schools and even through the university looking forward to the days when they will play important roles in the further unfolding of the great American epic of which they have read so hopefully in their schoolbooks. Many, however, are awakened quite rudely from their dreams when, with diplomas in hand, they seek employment. Then they find barriers, some of them very subtle, to be sure, while their Caucasian classmates,

protected by vested rights, move unopposed into the preferred positions.

This disillusionment has brought mutation in the attitudes of the Hawaiian-born sons and daughters of Oriental ancestry "from one of unquestioning endorsement of the existing order to one of complete rejection of their former loyalties."<sup>5</sup>

Evidences of prejudice and race consciousness have not been open and public in Hawaii. The outward show of equality and friendliness has been sufficient to keep the mutterings of dissatisfaction well underground. But what of the future? . . . We are hopeful but not too confident.

#### HAWAII—THE ALMOST PERFECT STATE?<sup>6</sup>

Particularly at this time, with the United States so deeply concerned with problems in the Orient, Hawaii has a fourfold significance for us. First, she is our island bastion in the Pacific. Second, she disproves Soviet accusations that imperialism and racism are our national policy. Third, she dramatizes to the mainland that Americans of most diverse backgrounds can live together in harmony. And fourth, she demonstrates that 500,000 Americans, twenty-five hundred miles distant in the Pacific, can successfully work out their destiny democratically. . . .

Pearl Harbor, our largest naval base, was effectively used in World War II, and during the Korean war Hawaii has amply proven her value as an airlift transfer point. Hawaii also is headquarters of our trusteeship of the Pacific islands.

Hawaii's real and symbolic value as a melting-pot is immeasurable. The fact that a majority of Hawaiians is of Oriental extraction disproves allegations of racism made against us by Communists . . . With a high color visibility obtaining among the residents, they are nevertheless strongly behind ethnic equalitarianism. This is more than can be said for the mainland, where maladjustment between Negroes and whites, Catholics, Protestants and Jews, foreign-born and native-born often

<sup>5</sup> A. W. Lind, *Economic Succession and Racial Invasion in Hawaii* (Chicago, 1936), p410.

<sup>6</sup> From an article by Edward L. Bernays, noted expert on public relations. *New Leader*. 33:10-13. November 20, 1950. Reprinted by permission.

has popular sanction, sometimes expressed in enactment of laws and sometimes in their violation. Hawaii shows that the most diversified groups can work together and solve their problems successfully.

Hawaii's health, social welfare, educational, and other governmental services top those of many states. . . . This fine record has been made under local guidance, since the territory elects its own officials, except the governor, secretary, Territorial Supreme Court and Circuit Court judges, who are appointed by the President. . . .

Hawaii has reached many of her goals. She has attained political self-sufficiency, with high standards of democratic living and economic self-containment. She clearly deserves statehood. Despite these accomplishments, however, some gaps still need to be bridged. . . .

The mid-nineteenth century speeded up Hawaii's agricultural growth. But the native Polynesians did not want to become plantation workers. Plantation owners imported workers from Portugal, Norway, Italy, Russia, Poland and the United States without success. In the 1860's, Chinese coolie labor was imported to tend the sugar cane. This was followed by successive waves of Koreans, Japanese, Puerto Ricans and Filipinos.

The second generation of immigrants—Oriental and Occidental—accepted American ideals and deserted the plantations for the villages and cities, where they sought education, became tradesmen and professionals. Plantation owners, desperate for labor, scoured the world for new labor.

This continual search for labor is the reason why Hawaii is a melting-pot. Acculturation of first, second, and third generation Americans went on at an astonishing rate. The United States-descended white plantation owners in control of the island economy remained plantation-minded and feudal. In the two-class system of owner-and-worker, the white planters lived like colonial masters, asserting their white supremacy in major and minor ways. The factoring system centralized this process of social, economic, and political dominion. A few companies controlled much land; a handful of them represented

the plantation owner in every transaction; and the workers were exploited economically, socially, and politically.

The group in social control of Hawaii today stems from these origins. It is known loosely as the "Big Five," although actually it covers more than five organizations. Some eighty white corporation directors practically dominate the socio-economic life of the islands, and, until recently, political life, too. Whites arriving from the mainland are a liberalizing influence, but pressure is exerted on them by resident white families to "confine their more intimate social life to Haoles [whites]." Local top-drawer Haoles are accessible only to mainland visitors with good introductions. The system of land tenure clinches the hold of these Haoles, for much of the land is trusteeed and rented on lease-holds. A land-hungry population feels frustrated. . . .

The inhabitants of Hawaii have long ceased to believe that all white men are gods. The public schools, of course, have emphasized American ideals to a whole generation. With this growing democratic consciousness, the new generation of Americans of Oriental background threw off the political yoke of the Big Five.

Absorption of foreign Occidentals is accepted on the mainland. But the problem in Hawaii is superficially different because Oriental faces are different. . . .

The relationship between Americans of Caucasian background and Americans of Oriental origin deteriorated despite the extraordinary wartime record of regiments made up of Americans of Japanese background. The whites in power resented the new Americanism of the "awakened foreigners."

All this is not visible to the naked eye of the tourist. He sees all sorts of Americans with different kinds of faces and assumes they are in complete harmony with one another. But we found crippling maladjustments in Hawaii that need to be eliminated. And they can be eliminated, for the great majority of Hawaiians are people of good will and profoundly patriotic.

In 1947, several businessmen's organizations, including the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association, the Chamber of Commerce,



and the Hawaiian Employers Council, expanded their public relations effort to cope with the situation. Unfortunately, their emphasis was placed mainly on words instead of on the realities behind the situation. The Hawaiian Economic Foundation . . . was formed at this time and helped matters somewhat.

Such disharmony as exists can be blamed for the most part on the little group of myopic men who constitute an expanded Big Five, who are outmoded and outdated in their attitudes and policies, and who are still trying to run the islands. Among them are businessmen, bankers, some educators and professional men. They try to maintain social and economic control in spite of their small number and against the wishes of the great majority. They have power, but they respond to public opinion only when it is expressed vigorously in social or political action.

An analysis of rumors which I uncovered in talking with 962 people led me to this conclusion. Research at Harvard and other universities has proved conclusively that the spread of rumors indicates either economic or psychological insecurity. Aggression expressed through gossip or rumors is a common weapon of hostility against a group or individual. Rumors in Hawaii fall into two categories: (1) ethnic rumors that deal with relationships between Caucasian and other ethnic groups, and (2) economic rumors that play up the middleman, and the man in the street, as victims of the Interests, the Big Five, Big Business. The rumors point out that big business is trying to tighten its control, is causing unemployment, is increasing prices, and is using bank credit and shipping as its means of control.

Rumors cannot be laughed off, because they reveal human relations. Attitudes toward one's fellow-man, one's job, and one's community as expressed in such rumors can make or halt progress.

Here are rumors about ethnic groups that we picked up from Caucasians: "Japanese are clean, maintain group solidarity, do not think but have a good memory." "Chinese are cunning, are good businessmen." "Filipinos are emotional." "Hawaiians are happy-go-lucky." "Koreans are hot tempered."

Hawaiians of Oriental background give the other side of the picture; they deplore:

1. Segregation of families of Oriental background in certain residential districts. This leads to bad feeling among the victims of this discrimination and provides an opportunity for agitators.

2. Segregating homes of white supervisors. This prevents groups from learning about one another and creates hard feeling.

3. Separate Chambers of Commerce along ethnic lines. This leads to strong blocs in business that weaken its unity.

4. The educational trend to private schools and away from public schools. This eliminates the impact of the public school as the common meeting ground for future generations.

5. The practice of chain stores and bank branches of selecting personnel to conform with local ethnic population groups. This hurts rather than helps business in the long run.

6. The practice of some sales organizations, such as insurance companies, of selecting sales teams in ethnic groups to compete with others who concentrate sales efforts on those groups. This should be discouraged. The practice of selecting contact men for ethnic reasons, to parley with certain groups (whatever may be the immediate requirement of the situation), does not lead to long-time adjustment. This accentuates differences instead of similarities.

7. Americans of Oriental background are often paid less than Haoles for the same job. The fact that some Oriental firms practice discrimination, too, is no justification for this.

8. There is antagonism against the practice of asking for racial extraction and father's job on employee record cards. Rightly or wrongly, many do not want to put down that their father was a plantation worker.

9. Some firms hire Haoles on the basis of friendship, family relationship, or social prestige; or because Haoles don't like to be subordinated to non-Haoles. This is a common complaint.

10. Employment want ads specifying certain ethnic groups cause antagonism.

11. Constant accusation that non-Haoles have limited opportunity in big business firms; that executives are brought in from mainland universities, passing over students from the University of Hawaii.

12. Social discrimination is bitterly resented. Corporation directorships are held by the men who are also key men socially. The leading clubs . . . bar membership to Americans of Oriental background.

13. The University maintains certain customs irksome to members of certain ethnic groups. Students are required to specify race on matriculation. Americans of Oriental background say it is difficult to attain positions of importance, pointing out that among numerous deans none is of Oriental background despite the fact that the University is tax-supported. The University might well assume leadership in educating and broadening the viewpoint of our citizens on these matters. Another leading educational institution, the Punahou School, has a small, rigid quota for Americans of Oriental background.

14. Another source of friction is the practice among some University societies of restricting membership either entirely or almost entirely to certain ethnic groups. A parallel feeling of humiliation is caused by the registration of racial extraction on cards for certain courses.

These specific charges of un-American discrimination represent a few of the reactions expressed in talks with nearly a thousand people, ranging from top employers to taxidivers. They reveal a good deal of frustration, and frustration might conceivably lead to aggression. There are, of course, other equally involved intragroup relations that need adjustment. There are imperfect relations between Americans of Japanese and those of Okinawan background; between Americans of Japanese and of Korean origin; between Americans of Hakka Chinese and of Pun-ti origins.

Ethnic prejudices have curious manifestations in Hawaii. An example is the inconsistent and erratic policy of taking so-called "racial" statistics.

Many institutions have their own pet method of classification, and in most of them one finds duplications and omissions that vitiate their findings. The Territorial Bureau of Statistics uses a ninefold classification which breaks down the inhabitants into Hawaiian, part-Hawaiian, Puerto Rican, Caucasian, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino and All Others. But the Department of Public Instruction and the Police Department use a different classification: Hawaiian, part-Hawaiian, Puerto Rican, Spanish, Other Caucasian, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino and All Others. Various institutions reporting to the Territorial Department of Institutions have still other types of classification. So has the Oahu Prison. The Annual Report of the Department of Public Welfare uses no racial breakdown.

This shows how little the statistics are actually worth. Only one kind of mixture is classified in the Territorial Bureau of Health Statistics—part-Hawaiian. Only *Caucasians* and *Hawaiians* are classified for purity. For mixed blood there are separate and conflicting classifications within the categories. This unscientific hocus-pocus is still indulged in for "scientific" reasons.

That this nonsense is not necessary has been shown by the Portuguese in Hawaii. Formerly they were classified separately as "Portuguese." Persons of Portuguese ancestry protested, and, as a result, the 1940 census dropped that category. Since then, Portuguese have been classified as Caucasians. . . .

Intellectuals in Hawaii recognize that the term "race" arouses resentment; nevertheless, they bow to custom and continue to use it. . . . A scientific solution was recently proposed by UNESCO, which urged that the term "ethnic background" replace the term "race." Terms like "ancestry" or "ancestral group" would also be clear without arousing resentment. The term "race" is used loosely and unscientifically to define nationality, geographic, cultural, and religious origins.

Some argue that the problems I have touched upon here are delicate and complex, and that progress in solving them must be gradual. "Don't force the issue," they say. "Look at the advances already made." But speed is necessary because Communist

agitators are neither gradual nor quiet, and because it is important that Hawaii continue to disprove to the Far East the Russian and Communist charge that our national policy is one of imperialism and racism.

Improvement in intergroup relations is all the more important because today the situation in Hawaii is so excellent on the whole. Nothing I have said here is intended to give the impression that cataclysmic reform is needed in the islands. On the contrary, Hawaii is possibly as nearly democratic as any community in the world.

### EAST AND WEST HAVE MET <sup>7</sup>

The explosive events that began in Korea in June [1950] reverberated like drumfire among the black mountains and green valleys of these mid-Pacific islands. Although it lies a mere nine hours from the West Coast as the Pan American Clippers fly, Hawaii nonetheless always lives just next door to the Orient.

Of its . . . residents, only a fifth are Caucasians—what Hawaiians call Haoles. Of the native Hawaiians, less than 75,000 survive. The rest are Orientals: Fully a third of the population is of Japanese ancestry, and the great majority of these are United States citizens. There are approximately 60,000 Filipinos and 30,000 Chinese.

Hawaii knows the punch that Asia packs. In Pearl Harbor . . . the rusting hulk of the battleship U.S.S. Arizona juts out of the water to memorialize a fateful Sunday almost . . . [twelve] years ago. . . .

The biggest stumbling block to Hawaiian statehood has been the distrust, in Washington and among some elements in the islands, of its Oriental population.

That this block still exists when an Army combat team from Hawaii, composed of Oriental, Haole, and native Hawaiian GI's, has been in action in Korea seems especially shocking to some

<sup>7</sup> From a report by Leonard Slater, Los Angeles bureau chief, *Newsweek*. *Newsweek*. 36:22. November 27, 1950. Reprinted by permission.

advocates of statehood. Congressional delegate Farrington emphasized that reaction when he demanded to know "whether the narrow, the mean, the distrustful, and prejudiced attitude of the minority is going to be permitted to prevail . . . in the face of mounting casualty lists."

Not all the "narrow, the mean, and the prejudiced" are in the halls of Congress, however. A bank official, over cocktails in Honolulu's swank Outrigger Club (which recently opened its membership lists to non-Caucasians) commented thus: "We never should have taught these Japs how to kill white men in the war. Now they think they're as good as we are." A German-born headwaiter in a famous Waikiki Beach hotel motioned toward his Japanese and Filipino staff, shrugged, and said: "Don't forget they are the yellow race. They smile, but you never know."

And repeatedly, in doorways, barrooms, mansions, and military posts, there came the stealthy salutation: "How would *you* like to have a Jap representing *you* in Congress?"

J. Dickson Pratt, manager of the 11,000-acre Wahiowa pineapple plantation whose physician-ancestor came to the islands with the early missionaries, said about that: "I wouldn't be afraid to have an American of Japanese ancestry represent me in Congress. They're Americans just like everybody else. I lost a son-in-law in the last war so I have no love for the Imperial Japanese. But Hawaiian-born citizens are as loyal as can be."

In the last war, all military and civilian intelligence agencies agree, the record of Hawaii's Japanese was an excellent one.

In Honolulu, I visited the Memorial Hall, built to commemorate Hawaii's war dead of all races by the Nisei veterans of the 442nd Combat Team, called by its Italian theater commander, General Mark Clark, "the most-decorated unit in the entire military history of the United States."

It was another veteran of the 442nd, a reserve officer, who first emphasized to me Asia's impression of Hawaii. He had been on occupation duty in Japan after the war. "People in

Japan couldn't get over the fact that a man with a Japanese face, with parents born in Japan, was an officer in the American Army. They'd be just as impressed—even more—if Hawaii became a state and we all could vote."

Statehood supporters are convinced that to the billion restless, groping people of Asia, statehood for Hawaii would dramatize the principles of democracy for which the United States stands. . . .

The face of Hawaii today is represented in the society pages of the Honolulu *Star-Bulletin* by formal portraits of Nisei, Anglo-Saxon, and Filipino brides published side by side. It is typified by the chromium-plated drive-in where slangy Japanese-American carhops rush double-rich chocomalts to your car or the business offices where brown-skinned hula maidens practice the sinuous intricacies of shorthand. It is the brown-skinned kids in jeans and Hopalong Cassidy shirts sitting in a classroom and reciting about "our Pilgrim forefathers."

In Hawaii, East and West have already met. Now it remains to Congress to solemnize their union.

### A PRACTICAL DEMONSTRATION \*

Hawaii is no mere frontier society suddenly emerging into civilized status, such as Arizona, New Mexico and other former territories were. It boasts an old and mature culture, a tradition of independence and self-government which extends back for centuries, and a constitutional history which is a hundred years old. In modern times, it has become America's chief political, economic and military bastion in the Pacific.

Any consideration of Hawaii's demand for statehood will therefore have to begin with an analysis of Hawaii's strategic relationship to our . . . plans and aims in the Pacific. "If Hawaii had been a state," a friend remarked to me in Honolulu last

\* From "Hawaii's Claims to Statehood," by Daniel James, editor of the *New Leader*, and an Army Information and Education officer on Oahu, T. H., during World War II. *American Mercury*, 63:330-6, September 1946. Reprinted by permission.

winter, "Pearl Harbor might not have happened. At least," he amended, "the disaster might have been lessened somewhat."

If America's ignorance of Pacific affairs contributed to the Pearl Harbor tragedy, this can be counteracted in the future by representatives from the Pacific sitting in Washington. If preparedness was neglected in part because only a territory was involved, Hawaiian congressmen may be a real guarantee that this shall not occur again. And finally, if, as seems quite likely, Hawaii may become the "capital" of new acquisitions in the Pacific, she will require all of the prestige and influence attached to statehood to administer them effectively.

A long-term view brings to mind our relationship with Asia, which is of primary importance in our foreign policy. We have seen that our basic security is surprisingly sensitive to trends in that area. Solution of the many problems facing us there will require great insight and understanding on our part. What could be more natural, then, than to use as a cultural and political bridge to Asia those Americans, the Hawaiians, who have most in common with Asia?

Statehood for Hawaii, with its large numbers of Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos and others from the Pacific and the Far East, could not fail to produce positive results almost immediately. For one thing, Asia would see that we did not fight a "white man's war" and do not intend to pursue a "white supremacy" policy, but have extended our tradition of equality to include within our federation an interracial community that is not only beyond our continental borders but is intimately related to Asia itself. Asia would also see in Hawaii's elevation to the higher status a practical demonstration of our desire to assist other peoples in fulfilling their aspirations toward greater freedom. And finally, such an act would go far toward removing fears that we might revert again to isolationism—for how could the United States go isolationist with Hawaiian legislators sitting in its Congress? . . .

A race-minded congressional reaction to Hawaii's demand for statehood would have serious repercussions throughout the non-white world, which comprises three quarters of all mankind.



I AM AMERICAN <sup>9</sup>

I am an American of Japanese descent. Both of my parents migrated to Hawaii from Japan more than half a century ago, and I have never since returned to Japan, not even for a visit. I was born and educated in Hawaii, and have lived there all my life, except for about four and a half years—three years while in service with the Army and one and one half years since enrolling at the Harvard Law School in Cambridge, Mass., at which institution I am now [1950] a student.

I am a disabled veteran of World War II, having been twice wounded in combat in Italy while serving with the One Hundredth Infantry Battalion. I volunteered for service in July 1941, six months prior to Pearl Harbor, and was discharged as captain in December 1945, after four and one half years of active service. . . .

The record of the One Hundredth Infantry Battalion and the Four Hundred and Forty-second Combat Team has no doubt been placed before you. Together they formed what has been described by General Mark Clark as "the most decorated unit in the entire military history of the United States." They amassed ten unit awards, including seven Presidential unit citations . . . and over 5,000 individual awards, including 3,600 Purple Heart Medals with 500 oak-leaf clusters, 810 Bronze Star Medals with 38 oak-leaf clusters, 15 Soldiers' Medals, 17 Legion of Merit Medals, 342 Silver Star Medals with 12 oak-leaf clusters, 1 Distinguished Service Medal, 47 Distinguished Service Crosses, and 1 Congressional Medal of Honor.

SENATOR TAYLOR. How many men were involved in this?

MR. MATSUNAGA. About 3,600.

In connection with these awards, I could relate innumerable accounts of individual heroism—of men who have been decorated and of men who despite performing heroic deeds have gone into the great beyond without wordly recognition—stories that

<sup>9</sup> From statement of Spark Masayuki Matsunaga, past commander of Disabled American Veterans of Hawaii. In *Hawaii Statehood*; hearings May 1-5, 1950, before the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, on H.R. 49, S. 155, S. 1782. 81st Congress, 2d session. Superintendent of Documents. Washington, D.C. 1950. p246-50.

are grim and stories that are even funny. I would prefer at this time, however, to answer the question which has been most frequently asked of me concerning the One Hundredth and Four Hundred and Forty-second: "What was it that made the One Hundredth and the Four Hundred and Forty-second fight so hard?" . . .

I can honestly and sincerely say this: while fighting for the same ideals as any other American was fighting for, at the same time every man in the One Hundredth and the Four Hundred and Forty-second was in addition fighting to prove to the world that despite his racial ancestry he was as loyal an American as any, as loyal as any, and deserved the right to be called an American. That was the driving force behind our men which led them to achieve such an enviable record in American military history. . . .

It is often said, even by men with combat experience, that while at the front a soldier forgets about ideals and fights only for self-preservation. I can truthfully state, however, that those men whom I saw die at the front did die for ideals—died so that those whom they left behind would have a better life and might enjoy the full status of American citizenship despite their racial ancestry. . . .

Most of the men expressed great hopes for the future. They were hopeful because they felt deep within themselves that as a result of their sacrifices at the front, Americans back home would come to recognize them as plain Americans and not hyphenated Americans. They were especially hopeful because while at the front, where a man meant what he said and where superficiality was nonexistent, men of the Thirty-fourth Infantry Division and of other units which fought alongside us used to come up to us and say, "I am proud to be an American, because you are an American." . . .

I am confident I speak for all veterans of World War II who reside in Hawaii when I say that the granting of statehood to Hawaii will mean to the veteran a final recognition of the great sacrifices he made in answer to the call from his country.

NOT PRIMARILY A RACE PROBLEM<sup>10</sup>

This problem is not primarily one of race. There is no reason why a man of Japanese or other oriental extraction should not be as loyal a citizen and as good an American as a man of any other racial extraction. Those who have come to any of the present states have generally adopted American traditions and outlooks very quickly. There are some in every state of the Union.

In Hawaii, however, the various groups of recent arrivals with oriental traditions predominate and set the tone of the entire culture. The Japanese are by far the largest single racial group in the islands . . . and their numbers are growing as those of the Caucasians decline with the reverse flow of migration to the mainland. Furthermore, from a comparison of birth rates, it is easy to forecast that within a comparatively few years this one group with its own traditions will completely dominate the economic, social, and political life of the islands. . . .

As stated above, the question is not of race but primarily one of alien traditions. It will be extremely difficult to inculcate any sound concept of American ideals in a group with foreign background, dominant in its own little area, but isolated from the rest of the states. If statehood is granted to Hawaii, that may well come to be one of the greatest problems for future American statesmanship.

<sup>10</sup> From statement of minority views. Included in *Statehood for Hawaii*; report of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs to accompany H.R.49, June 29, 1950. (S. Report no 1928) 81st Congress, 2d session. Superintendent of Documents. Washington, D.C. 1950. p47-59.

# THE HAWAII STATE CONSTITUTION

## EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

With some minor exceptions, there has been no congressional objection to the proposed constitution of the state of Hawaii, as drawn up by a special convention in 1950. This constitution was approved by the people of Hawaii by a vote of three to one, the principal objectors being the left-wing elements, who felt it was too conservative.

Readers desiring the full text of the constitution may obtain it by writing to the Hawaii Statehood Commission, P.O. Box 3775, Honolulu, Hawaii.

## SOUND PRELUDE TO STATEHOOD <sup>1</sup>

Hawaii has on . . . [eighteen] different occasions petitioned Congress to grant statehood. . . .

[A] recent attempt to obtain statehood by means of an enabling statute began by the introduction of H.R. 49 by Delegate Farrington on January 3, 1950. . . .

While H.R. 49 was going through the congressional mill, the territorial legislature passed Act 334. This act was patterned largely after H.R. 49; its purpose was to try another avenue for achieving statehood should the enabling act procedure fail. Some fifteen states have been admitted to the union by the alternative procedure of drafting a state constitution and going to Congress, knocking on the door and asking to be admitted. . . .

The sixty-three delegates, elected by the people at primary and general elections February 11 and March 21, began their official task on April 4 [1950]. Although the campaign was run on a nonpartisan basis (there were no party designations on the ballot), more than 80 per cent of the registered voters cast their ballots.

<sup>1</sup> From article by Harold S. Roberts, Dean of College of Business Administration of the University of Hawaii, and a delegate to the Hawaiian State Constitutional Convention. *National Municipal Review*. 39:377-82. September 1950. Reprinted by permission.

Of those elected, approximately one third had never run for an elective office before. . . .

The delegates, elected from all parts of the territory, represented a broad cross-section of the community. Among them were two pineapple company presidents, two union representatives, a judge of the circuit court, two former attorney generals, a member of the Board of Regents of the University of Hawaii, the superintendent of public instruction, one physician, two dentists, the speaker and vice speaker of the Territorial House of Representatives, four members of the Territorial Senate, a number of school teachers and others. Of the five women who won seats, two are attorneys, two are housewives, and one is a member of the legislature.

Racially, the convention contained twenty-seven Caucasians, twenty Japanese-Americans, eleven Hawaiians, and five Chinese-Americans, generally representative of the population. Politically there were twenty-nine Republicans, twenty-one Democrats, and thirteen nonpartisans.

The delegates adopted rules of procedure, elected officers, set up twenty working committees, and began their deliberations. Members indicated their preference for committee assignments on the basis of interest and special technical qualifications. Committees ranged in size from five to fifteen members. They studied all the proposals introduced by delegates; invited experts in the special fields under consideration and held public hearings.

Unlike many political conventions, and for that matter different from the convention which drafted our own Federal Constitution, all committee meetings were open to the public, press and radio. A weekly report was prepared by the committee on submission and information which was distributed to many community groups, which in turn made copies available to members. Four radio stations provided time during the week for summaries of the work of the convention. The press provided good coverage.

As each committee completed its deliberations, it submitted a detailed report setting forth the scope and character of the problems before it and the results of its work. At the conclusion was a proposal which contained the specific language recom-

mended for incorporation in the proposed constitution. Copies were duplicated for all the delegates, the press, and community groups which desired them. These standing committee reports were then placed on the calendar for full consideration and debate.

To provide maximum flexibility and informality of discussion, most of the debate on reports was held in committee of the whole. Through full and free discussion, completely open to the press and public, by amendments and suggestions from the floor, the committee proposals and recommendations were dissected, paragraph by paragraph, sentence by sentence, and occasionally word by word.

Unlike the deliberations of many legislative bodies, proposals underwent substantial modification on the floor. Debates were frequently intense, sometimes acrimonious. On the whole, however, the discussions were on a high plane, directed toward the basic issues under consideration. One rather unusual feature was that at no time was it necessary to place a limitation on debate. The rules made provision for such limitation but they were never put to use.

The committee reports and proposals approved by the committee of the whole were sent to the committee on style for arrangement and form. The style committee was under specific instruction to confine its work to form and style and was prohibited from making any change of a substantive character. It could and did, however, call attention to discrepancies, omissions, or conflict, and report to the convention for further instructions or action. . . .

The convention lasted 110 calendar days. Actually there were seventy eight days devoted to plenary sessions. At other times there were committee meetings, hearings and preparation of committee reports. During the preliminary period of committee work there were, on the average, twenty to thirty meetings each week occupying in excess of forty hours of work. No verbatim transcript was kept of committee deliberations. Each committee did keep a brief summary in the form of minutes, and these were available to the other delegates. These minutes will

also be part of the record to be kept in the archives with other official documents.

The convention kept a complete verbatim transcript by means of electronic tape recordings of all the sessions after April 9. Over 365 reels—about 87 miles—of recording tape were used. It has been estimated that approximately five million words were spoken during the floor debates. . . .

The document signed by the delegates is a product of Hawaii and its people. It reflects the thinking of an essentially conservative community, but one that is responsive to changing times and needs. The constitution has borrowed and adapted provisions from the Federal Constitution, the Hawaii organic act, the *Model State Constitution*, and the constitutions of the other states.<sup>2</sup>

Although it has studied and tapped all available resources, the final product is unlike that of any other state. It has its own flavor and features which find roots in the problems and needs of the community. Typical of these are the provisions dealing with the Hawaiian home lands, the limitations of bonded indebtedness, and the use of assessed land valuations to adjust these limits, as well as the sections dealing with local government, drafted in the light of a centralized tax structure and a coordinated and centralized system of public education.

The basic conservatism of the constitution is reflected in the limited number of elective officials. The governor, lieutenant governor, and members of the legislature are the only elected officials. Cabinet members and judges of the courts are appointed by the governor, with the advice and consent of the Senate. Members of the Board of Education are to be appointed by the governor from panels nominated by the counties. There is no provision for the initiative, referendum and recall—so popular during the first two decades of the century.

The constitution does contain many progressive features which reflect the forward-looking character of the community. It provides for reduction in the voting age from 21 to 20. Only . . . one state, Georgia, has a voting age of less than 21. A

<sup>2</sup> The constitution is summarized in the next selection.—Ed.

provision recognizing the right to organize for the purpose of collective bargaining, as a constitutional guarantee, has been included. Only three other state constitutions, Missouri, New Jersey, and New York, provide such guarantees.

Many features of the document reflect the best current thinking in government. For example, executive departments are to be coordinated in no more than twenty major departments, to permit the governor to keep a personal check on the functioning of the executive branch. There are provisions to eliminate the pocket veto. The salaries of the governor, the judges, and members of the legislature have been increased to attract the best qualified men to office. Salaries compare favorably with the ten highest states of the union.

Provision is made for postaudits of state expenditures, as well as a requirement that the legislature pass the general appropriations bill before passing other finance bills. This may prevent the last minute rush, so typical of many legislative sessions, which makes it difficult to give careful scrutiny to final drafts of bills and leads to political log-rolling and deals. In many other respects recognition is given to practices which are conducive to good government. . . .

### SUMMARY OF THE HAWAIIAN STATE CONSTITUTION <sup>3</sup>

On July 22 [1950] the newly drafted constitution for the Hawaiian Islands, which seek to become the state of Hawaii, was signed by the constitutional convention delegates in Honolulu. The document . . . would become effective upon the admission of Hawaii into the Union.

The prospective constitution, comprised of fifteen articles and about ten thousand words, follows traditional lines more than had seemed likely at first. It is reported that the convention started out to centralize powers in the chief executive but outlined a government more of checks and balances. . . .

<sup>3</sup> From "News in Review" section of the *National Municipal Review*, 39: 405-6. September 1950. Reprinted by permission.



The convention prescribed a legislature of two houses—a Senate of 25 members to be elected for four-year terms from six districts, with from two to five senators from each specific district; and a House of Representatives consisting initially of 51 members elected for two-year terms from eighteen representative districts, with from one to six representatives from each.

The document provides that on or before June 1, 1959, and in each tenth year thereafter, the governor shall reapportion the members of the House of Representatives among four designated basic areas, on the basis of the number of registered voters; within such areas the number of representatives from each representative district shall be determined on the basis of registered voters—the basic area to be redistricted if an existing district comes to have less than half the full number of registered voters required to entitle it to one representative.

The Supreme Court is given jurisdiction to issue a mandamus, on application of any registered voter within thirty days after the reapportionment date, to compel the governor to make the reapportionment.

The executive power is vested in the governor who, with a lieutenant governor, is to be elected by the people for a four-year term, by plurality election. The executive department is to be organized into not more than twenty regular departments. The governor is not given the power to appoint department heads without interference; Senate confirmation is provided for.

The judiciary power is placed in a Supreme Court of five members with seven-year terms and Circuit Courts having judges with six-year terms; the governor appoints the Supreme and Circuit Court judges, subject to Senate confirmation. The legislature may establish inferior courts.

A state auditor is to be appointed by majority vote of each house of the legislature, in joint session, for a term of eight years and thereafter until a successor is appointed.

The governor appoints members of the State Board of Education, with Senate confirmation, from panels submitted by local school advisory councils, to be established by law.

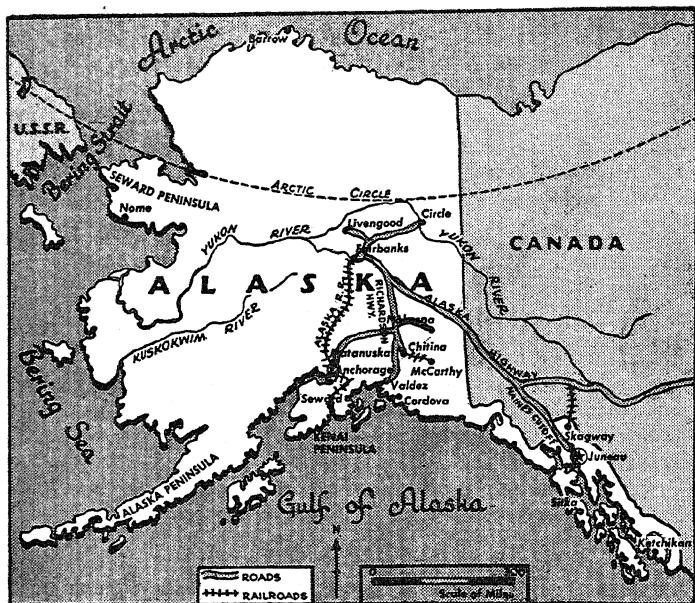
Various progressive provisions for public health and welfare, slum clearance and rehabilitation, conservation and development of resources and preservation of natural beauty, and plans of historic or cultural interest are included.

Provision is made for home rule for local units.

The right to organize for collective bargaining is protected for persons in private employment. Those in public employment shall have the right to organize and to present and make known their grievances and proposals to the state or other public employer. The employment of persons in civil service "shall be governed by the merit principle."

Amendments to the constitution may be made by convention or by the legislature, such amendments to be submitted to popular vote. Such amendments must receive an affirmative vote of at least 35 per cent of those voting at a general election or, if submitted at a special election, at least 35 per cent of the total number of registered voters. The legislature, at least every ten years, must submit to the electorate the question of calling a constitutional convention; otherwise the lieutenant-governor "shall certify the question, to be voted on at the first general election following the expiration of such period."

ALASKA



From *Senior Scholastic*, 56:10, May 17, 1950. Reprinted by permission.

# BACKGROUND AND GENERAL

## EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

As with the Hawaiian part of the book, this first section consists largely of historical and background material, much of which relates to the whole question of statehood for Alaska.

As a bargain, the purchase of Alaska from the Russian Government ranks with the purchase of Louisiana from the French and Manhattan from the Indians. Yet ever since it became a territory, Alaska has suffered from economic exploitation and discrimination; exploitation by those who wanted to get rich and get out, and discrimination by those who feared the competition of Alaskan resources.

Politically, the record in Alaska does not reflect much credit on us as administrators of distant, undeveloped areas. Many Federal departments and bureaus have had a finger in the Alaskan governmental and administrative pie, and the territory has suffered from the resultant confusion and red tape.

The last two items in this section are on the subject of continuity, which has not been so hotly debated in the case of Alaska as in that of Hawaii, possibly because Alaska is on the North American continent.

## THEY NEEDED MONEY<sup>1</sup>

Alaska has made long strides since 1867, when we purchased it from Russia. Its rich resources and its presently important strategic situation in international affairs has made its previous owners somewhat jealous of our ownership. . . . "It really belongs to us," their newspapers say, "it was sold by the Czars illegally. They betrayed the people of Russia. They were greedy,

<sup>1</sup> From statement of Emil Hurja, public relations consultant of Washington, D.C. In *Alaska Statehood*; hearings before the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, 81st Congress, 2d session. Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C., 1950. p275-80.

money-mad, and sold out their American possessions from under the Russian people." . . .

There is, I believe, ample historical background for just such Russian statements.

California's Senator William M. Gwin took up the question of Russia's ceding Alaska to the United States in 1859, although the matter had previously been broached informally. The Russian Ambassador was asked to communicate with his Government, which he did in early January of 1860. DeStoeckl, the Russian Ambassador, wrote to Gortchakoff, urging negotiations, pointing to the distance from European Russia and to the difficulties they had had in administering the affairs of the Russian America Company, lessees of Alaska. He said, and I quote, because of the aptness of the comment on the present-day affairs of Russia in the Pacific:

We ought to concentrate our energies in Siberia. . . . There we are on our own ground and we have the products of a tremendous and rich province to exploit. We could take part in the extraordinary activity which is developing in the Pacific; our establishments would rival in prosperity those of other nations, and with the solicitude which our august master has devoted to the regions on the banks of the Amur, we could not help but achieve in this tremendous ocean the high importance which belongs to Russia.

In 1867, after the negotiations had been opened again, due to . . . William H. Seward, then Secretary of State in the administration of President Andrew Johnson, we find DeStoeckl, still earnest in the desire to sell to the United States, getting a secret telegram from the Czar on March 16, 1867. The Emperor authorizes the sale for seven million dollars and adds: "Try also to obtain early payment terms and if possible in London with Baring."

They needed money.

Exploring the archives, we find two interesting memoranda written by Theodor Romanovich Osten-Saken, who in 1857 visited Alaska via Siberia, who served Russia in her foreign affairs and became an authority on the geography and exploration of Russian polar regions.

Osten-Saken learned of the project to sell Alaska only the day before the secret conference was held which approved the sale on the part of Russia's officialdom. His first memorandum, in 1866, discounts the threat that either England or America, in their rivalries on the north Pacific coast, would seize the colonies. And quoting:

They belong in reality only to the future, but it would seem that the present generation had a sacred obligation to preserve for the future generations every clod of earth along the coast of an ocean which has world-wide importance.

Later on, in 1892, Osten-Saken wrote a memorandum for the archives quoting from his diary of the year 1866:

On December 16, 1866, I learned entirely by chance . . . that a committee meeting had been called for the following day at which the question of the sale of our Russian American colonies would be decided. . . . Shaken to the depths of my soul by this news, I sat down and wrote a memorandum on the subject. . . . On this occasion I felt it my sacred duty to do everything in my power in order to avoid the threatening danger.

Coming down to our current day, it was my pleasure, in 1933, to arrange for a dedication in the Interior Department of a portrait copy of Leutze's painting depicting the signing of the treaty for the purchase of Alaska. Among those present on that occasion was the then Russian Ambassador, Alexander Troyanovsky. He spoke of Alaska . . . as the air hub of the world—a vision that our military advisers tell us today embraces more of truth than poetry.

### ALASKA: OUR DEEP FREEZE <sup>2</sup>

The story of Alaskan frustration goes back to the time of our purchase of the region from Russia in 1867. On the \$7.2 million paid for Alaska, \$5.8 million went for Russia's naval demonstration in American waters. This was during the Civil War, and England favored the Confederacy. As a scare to keep the British away, Russia was induced to send her navy to our East Coast.

<sup>2</sup> From an article by Louis R. Huber, newspaperman of Seattle, Wash. *Atlantic Monthly*, 176:79-83. September 1945. Reprinted by permission.

The Union was grateful for Russia's help. Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote a song of appreciation to the nation "Who was our friend when the world was our foe." But the fact that Alaska had been purchased for the paltry sum of \$1.4 million was not generally known then, and the purchase was unpopular. "Seward's folly" became a stock joke. . . .

Eventually, of course, the truth began to appear. In 1871 a quiet rush started into the Cassiar district in British Columbia, which is reached through southeastern Alaska. Some thirty thousand prospectors went up the Stikine River in the next ten years; and by 1883, five million dollars in Cassiar gold had been taken out. By 1896, on the eve of the yet unsuspected Klondike find, the entire financial return from Alaska to its new owners was close to \$100 million. Gold production had approached a total of \$15 million; furs, still the leading resource, had brought \$35 million; and fishermen had begun to haul from the sea a greater source of wealth than gold: salmon.

Congressmen could afford to wisecrack about Alaska in 1869; but in 1896, cold statistics no longer permitted them to do so; and finally, in 1897, the Klondike forever disposed of the notion that the purchase of Alaska was "folly."

With the destruction of the myth of worthlessness, however, another myth arose. The steamer *Portland* arrived in Puget Sound on July 17, 1897, "with a ton of gold"; and Alaska at once became the national enthusiasm. Scrubwomen and bankers, from New York to San Francisco, dropped what they were doing and caught passage for the far North. It is estimated that between two hundred thousand and three hundred thousand people invested in some way in the Klondike. Some sixty thousand of them literally stampeded for the gold ground itself.

Alexander MacDonald, "King of the Klondike," came out with five million dollars, the largest single Klondike fortune. Hundreds of others struck it rich, too; and the subsequent hoopla of dance halls, roadhouses, and fancy girls has echoed down through the years. The thousands who tasted bitter failure were soon forgotten. After the Klondike was worked out and the shouting had subsided, however, accountants soberly balanced



total Klondike investments against total production and found a net loss. You can't mine gold without "an outfit," grub, and transportation to the gold ground. This investment is a total loss if you fail to find gold. Jack London was a Klondiker who never dug any gold. Rex Beach did a little better at Nome: he was said to be the only college man able to pay his way home.

But the romance panned out enormously well. The Yukon (where life is unbearable in summer without a mosquito net) was found to have a "spell." Hollywood is still mining that lode. And where Jack London, Rex Beach, and Robert Service left off, Barrett Willoughby and Father Hubbard began. It seemed that the truth about Alaska would never be known. Whereas popular novels and travelogues sold by the million, authoritative works by men like Vilhjalmur Stefansson and Aleš Hrdlička sold a few thousands.

The gold rushes did accomplish something: they put Alaska into the national consciousness, even if in distortion. They brought a population and spread it widely. Those who caught the gold fever did not lose it readily. Thousands who stayed got a deep faith in the country. Up and down the creeks they prowled with their gold pans and mosquito netting and sourdough batter. There was plenty of game. Once you learned to be a Daniel Boone you liked it. They were finding gold here and there—enough to renew their grubstakes yearly. And they found more: along the coasts was abundant timber; outcroppings of coal were extensive; in the valleys lay rich soil. They thought they saw the makings of a northern economy. . . . But they had no government, no adequate laws. No one was quite sure whether he owned the land he claimed. At Nome a corrupt judge and his cohorts had bilked thousands of people. "Government by injunction" became a term of derision.

Petitions were circulated and sent to Washington. They demanded representation in the national legislature and local government at home. But Washington paid no attention. On March 3, 1905, at Valdez, where the overland trail set out for Fairbanks, the citizens held a mass meeting and sent the following telegram

to President Theodore Roosevelt on the eve of his second term:—

On behalf of sixty thousand American citizens in Alaska who are denied the right of representation in any form, we demand, in mass meeting assembled, that Alaska be annexed to Canada.

The Valdez telegram alluded to the fact that the Yukon Territory in Canada already had elected a member in the Canadian parliament at Ottawa, on a platform demanding that the Yukon legislature, then half elective, should become entirely so. Alaskans of 1905 were keenly aware of Canadian affairs, for the Klondike, tied closely to Alaska socially and economically, is in Canadian territory. At once newspapers all over the United States editorialized in sympathy with Alaska as "the neglected dependency." In his fifth annual message to Congress, President Roosevelt stressed "the one recommendation of giving to Alaska someone authorized to speak for it." When it came to fashioning a government to fit the territory, however, there was little agreement—and least of all in Alaska.

The Alaskans got together, not in Alaska but in Seattle, in November 1905, at a meeting which a Seattle newspaper reporter dubbed a "convulsion." The modest miner and the homesteader were not in evidence so much as were the mining promoters and would-be politicians who thought they saw a good thing. Bona fide delegates were few; the majority were "Alaskans" by reason of absentee claim to mining property in Alaska. For eight days pandemonium reigned.

Instead of writing a platform for Alaska and sending a delegation to Washington with definite instructions, the convention wound up by selecting three delegates and sending them with no instructions. They were: a promoter of small transportation companies from Nome, who favored a commission form of government; a Seattle ship captain who had never seen the interior of Alaska; and a former governor of Alaska who was an ardent supporter of home rule. The three delegates went to Washington, talked to President Roosevelt, and testified before Congressional committees; but each delegate had a different plan. The net effect of the three was only confusion.

Industry in the United States in the first decade of this century was based largely on coal. Oil and hydroelectricity had yet to come into their own. Owners of coal lands in the States, therefore, had a good thing; and they intended to keep it. They were completely taken in by the stories of Alaska's fabulous coal deposits. Louis Glavis, an investigator for the Department of the Interior, stated the popular belief when he said that "practically the future coal supply of the United States" lay in Alaska. No one bothered to ascertain that Alaska coal was inferior, or to consider how it could be transported to the States except at a loss. The flat "fact" that Alaska coal threatened the mines of Pennsylvania and West Virginia was enough. Today it seems ridiculous; but in those days it was a deadly serious matter. As far as the Eastern coal interests were concerned, this threat had to be removed.

The country was in a current enthusiasm for conservation of natural resources. "Someone discovered," says Jack Hellenthal, a Juneau attorney, "that there was just enough coal to last the world for six thousand years. After that the situation would be truly alarming." Therefore Alaskan coal must be conserved. No one stopped to think, Hellenthal has pointed out, that you can't conserve an ounce of coal by keeping it in the ground. There is just so much coal in the world, and when it is used up it will be gone. The number of coal mines has nothing whatever to do with the rate of consumption. That depends on the number and kind of coal furnaces.

The enemies of Alaskan development felt they must work fast. Congress had passed the Delegate Bill in 1906, giving Alaska one representative in Congress, with voice but without vote. Private capitalists not connected with the Eastern coal group were undertaking three different railroad lines from the coast into interior Alaska. Copper and tin had been added to the list of Alaska's riches. Seattle, the gateway port, anticipated a boom and in 1909 was putting on the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition. Alaska truly seemed to be going places. She must be stopped.

Gifford Pinchot, Chief Forester under President Theodore Roosevelt and President Taft, was not only an Eastern coal baron but also a spark plug for the conservationist movement. Pinchot

took the lead as a self-righteous crusader and had, furthermore, built up a powerful propaganda organization. His first act in the Alaskan melodrama was to create forest reserves, which had the effect of locking up the most valuable and extensive Alaskan coal deposits. Alaska was stopped—almost.

Pinchot had not acted quickly enough to prevent nearly a thousand claims from being staked on Alaskan coal lands under existing laws. Applications for patents on six hundred of these had been filed. They were already on their way through the Department of the Interior. To nullify them, there was only one course: the claimants must be shown to have filed fraudulently. They were so charged. Patenting was held up. Richard Ballinger, Secretary of the Interior, here entered the scene. Ballinger was from Seattle and he found it difficult to believe that all six hundred Alaskans were crooks. He sought facts and found little basis for the fraud charges.

When it became apparent that Ballinger was about to pass favorably on the patent applications, the hounds were set on his trail too. Charges of dishonesty and corruption were hurled at him from all sides. The Pinchot propaganda organization went to work on him in earnest. Ballinger was tried and found innocent; he was investigated by the Senate and cleared; but so effective was the smearing by the conservationists that he was utterly condemned in the court of public opinion. He resigned in 1911. Only in 1940, eighteen years after his death, was Ballinger exonerated. Secretary Ickes had the files ransacked and declared Ballinger's complete innocence.

Ballinger was replaced with a Chicago politician named Fisher, who promptly denied all the patent applications but two. Thus 598 Alaskans out of 600 were branded dishonest. There were repercussions. When Canadian coal was shipped into Cordova in 1911, the outraged citizens dumped it into the bay. The "Cordova coal party" aroused the sympathy of the press but accomplished nothing. The forest reserves remained. Alaska and her vast riches were to be held in reserve until Eastern capital was ready to open them up. The railroad ventures were dropped. Some twenty thousand Alaskans left the territory.

Those who stayed in Alaska after "the great exodus" were those who happened to have paying gold mines; those who were too broke to pay their way out; those who had "gold fever" and saw only one hill separating them from another Klondike; those who had sought refuge from justice in Alaska (of whom there were a considerable number); and those who were selling something to the rest of the residents. They were a pretty hopeless lot; yet the hopefuls among them kept up a desultory fire at Washington. In 1912 the Cordova city council wired President Taft: "We are already bankrupt waiting legislation. Must we migrate?"

In the same year Congress passed the home-rule act at last, providing Alaskans with self-government. Alaska thus became an incorporated territory, which means she is marked for statehood. . . . A territorial legislature was elected, but the legislators knew that any act they might pass would be subject to Congressional review. Their first one was enfranchisement of Alaskan women. There were not many women in Alaska, and if they could do any better for Alaska than the men, they were welcome to try.

"Pinchotism," as the Alaskans dubbed conservationism, had not laid its curse on minerals, fish, or agriculture. Alaska's lopsided economy began to work itself out. In 1911 the Guggenheims completed a railroad from Cordova to Kennecott, where they opened a rich copper deposit. Originally there was to have been a smelter at Cordova, fueled with Alaskan coal; when this became impossible the smelter was abandoned, but enough high-grade copper ore was found to make shipment to Tacoma profitable.

The Guggenheims set up their own transportation system—the Alaska Steamship Company—to haul the ore and, incidentally, to monopolize shipping to Alaska while charging Alaskans exorbitant freight rates. "Guggenheimism" was added to "Pinchotism" to thwart Alaska.

World War I brought a flurry of activity to Alaska—over and above the usual salmon canning and gold mining—chiefly in the production of airplane spruce and chrome ore. To facilitate matters at this time (1916) a leasing system for coal, oil, and

timber lands was inaugurated; but Alaskans saw the joker: an unfriendly administration could play hob with those leases. By this time, anyhow, the country was changing to oil for fuel, Alaska coal had been tested and found inferior, and hydroelectric power had begun to supplement both oil and coal.

Early in his administration President Wilson appointed a commission to study a proposed government railroad from tide-water to the interior. In 1923 this line, the Alaska Railroad, running 470 miles from Seward, farthest-north ice-free port, to Fairbanks, was finished. Rolling stock from the Panama Railroad (abandoned after the Canal was completed) was brought up for use in Alaska; and President Harding drove the golden spike, dedicating the line to the development of interior Alaska. Alaskans crossed their fingers and waited for the worst.

It was not long in coming: Congress laid down the policy that the railroad must pay its own way. The transcontinental railroads had been enriched for all time by gifts of alternate mile sections of land—they had, however, brought in the settlers for little or nothing, had even given them seeds for first plantings. No wonder the West got started quickly. But Alaskans had to pay their way, not only for 1800 miles of high Alaska Steamship Company rates, but 470 more by rail to Fairbanks. . . .

In 1910 the Arctic regions of Alaska were considered worthless except for whaling; but in 1921 it was the opinion of Vilhjalmur Stefansson, who had lived in the Arctic for several years, that here was one of the most valuable meat-producing regions in the world, where reindeer, caribou, and ovibos (musk oxen) could be pastured in vast herds. In the latter 1920's an attempt was made to popularize Alaskan reindeer meat in the States. The venture was successful until violent opposition arose from the cattlemen of the Northwest.

Vital contrasts between the West's development and Alaska's stagnation appear as one gropes his way through Alaskan history: the West was understood, Alaska was not; transportation to and from the West was cheap, transportation to and from Alaska was costly; legislation favored development of resources of the West, legislation locked up Alaska's resources; the West controlled its economy, Alaska has been controlled by bureaus five thousand miles away.

THE STATE OF ALASKA <sup>3</sup>

The Territory of Alaska is one of the richest and most beautiful regions of this earth. Its resources have been ruthlessly exploited by selfish interests, at the expense not only of Alaskans, but of the country as a whole. As its political importance—national and international—grows, it becomes increasingly clear that we can no longer neglect Alaska and its problems. Only a change in status from territory to statehood will strengthen our great northernmost rampart, redress some of its wrongs and injustices, develop its vast riches, insure its people a chance to enjoy “the American standard of living.”

These are my conclusions on returning from crowded and exciting weeks in Alaska. In this article, I propose to show . . . readers why I call Alaska “a looted land,” and why I believe statehood is the only answer to the difficulties that now plague our last great frontier.

Franklin D. Roosevelt once compared Alaska, where he had just inspected prewar army and navy outposts, with the nations of the Scandinavian peninsula.

“I could not help remembering,” said the President, as he stood on the bridge of a destroyer anchored off Puget Sound Navy Yard, “that the climate and crops and other resources of Alaska are not essentially different from northern Europe—Norway and Sweden particularly—for the people of those countries, in spite of the cold and winter darkness, have brought their civilization to a very high and very prosperous level.”

This comparison did not originate with FDR. It had been voiced by five or six of his predecessors in the White House, by Vilhjalmur Stefansson, Joseph Pulitzer, Will Rogers, and innumerable others. Yet today, after more than eighty years under the proud sovereignty of the American flag, . . . fewer white people live in Alaska than in a single suburb of Oslo or Stockholm. Alaska may have Scandinavia’s climate and resources, but no one could claim it has Scandinavia’s “very high and very prosperous” civilization.

<sup>3</sup> From an article by Richard L. Neuberger, Oregon state senator and journalist. *Survey Graphic*, 37:75-7+. February 1948. Reprinted by permission.

It is embarrassing but true that Alaska has progressed but little socially, culturally, or economically since the flag of the Czars was hauled down at Sitka and the last Russian *promysblennik* left American shores. "If the United States had been settled at the leisurely pace which has prevailed in Alaska," George Sundborg, manager of the Alaska Development Board, has written, "our frontier would not yet have reached the Allegheny range."

This may astound the schoolboy who reads in his geography book a description of Alaska's vast natural wealth. Even the staid "Britannica" boasts that up to 1939 the Alaskan salmon fisheries alone had produced nearly \$1.5 billion as contrasted with the purchase price of \$7.2 million which William H. Seward paid to Czar Alexander II in 1867—this in addition to hundreds of millions from other fisheries, from furs and gold.

Why has such wealth failed to create in Alaska a civilization worthy of the name?

Alaskan treasure has rarely helped the Alaskans. Virtually all of it has gone "outside." In a very real sense, Alaska has been looted—with the approval, and active collaboration of the Congress of the United States.

The salmon which surge up mountain rivers each spring and fall are the basis of Alaska's main industry. Fish traps, huge wire devices sunk at the entrances to rivers and inlets, make the commercial catch. Yet of [the] . . . fish traps licensed by the Department of the Interior, only . . . [a few] belong to residents of Alaska. . . . [Most] are owned by . . . absentee canning companies.

Absentee domination of the fisheries is so complete that resident Alaskans miss even the full benefit of employment in their major industry. . . .

The Alaskan salmon pack exceeds the value of Florida's grapefruit, Wyoming's cattle, and Montana's copper. Yet so far as the permanent wealth and welfare of Alaska are concerned, it is virtually as if the salmon industry did not exist. . . .

In October 1946 the people of Alaska voted for statehood. The referendum carried by 9,630 votes to 6,822. One might reasonably ask why the decision was so narrow.



The explanation lies in the desperate fight against the proposal made by the absentee interests—canneries, steamship companies, mining corporations, trading syndicates. Eskimos were told they would lose their citizenship if statehood carried. Alaskan merchants were warned against confiscatory taxation. Needless to say, the absentees were worried about their own taxes, rather than those of the local storekeepers. The canneries now take the wealth of rajahs from Alaskan rivers and leave behind in taxes what a congressional committee has generously described as a “niggardly pittance.” If Alaska became a state, it would have to collect taxes. The most likely source would be the vast enterprises which have used Alaska’s resources virtually tax-free for decades. . . .

Shipping rates are even more important to Alaska than fish-trap licenses. Alaska has the highest freight rates in the world. This is the product of monopoly, absentee domination, and a weak central government.

A ton of cargo, shipped from the Pacific seaboard to Honolulu, costs [much less than it does] . . . to carry the same cargo to Nome, substantially the same distance. . . . In addition, the Alaska Railroad, owned and operated by the Department of the Interior, has . . . ton-mile rate[s] . . . about eight times the average in the United States. . . .

Now look at a map; you will see that Alaskan prices are immediately related to shipping distances. The farther from Seattle, the higher the price index. . . .

Two Seattle steamship companies, both owned by the same family, have the grip of a vise on Alaskan shipping. . . .

The greatest potential threat to the present Alaskan shipping monopoly are the trim, neat vessels of the Canadian Pacific, Canadian National, and Union Steamship Companies. These are all Canadian lines. The Jones Act, sponsored by a senator from the state of Washington, expressly forbids the use of Canadian vessels to haul freight or passengers between Alaska and any point in the continental United States. Canadian ships serve American ports on the Great Lakes and along the Atlantic Coast—only Alaska is specifically discriminated against. The United States Supreme Court has ruled the Jones Act would be uncon-

stitutional were Alaska a state, but that a territory enjoys no such protection.

So the day Alaska achieves statehood, the Jones Act dies. The ships that now serve Alaska from Seattle will have to compete with the Canadian National . . . and the Canadian Pacific. . . .

Organized labor, as well as government and industry, has occasionally created grave problems for Alaska. In the fall of 1946, a shipping strike closed the port of Seattle for more than two months. Because Seattle controls the territorial trade, Alaska found itself without fresh meat, fuel oil, medicines, Christmas toys. Only emergency truck convoys on the Alcan Highway kept any supplies at all moving to Alaska. Congressmen condemned labor's "outrageous conduct" but did nothing to open the great Canadian ports of Vancouver and Prince Rupert to Alaskan commerce. That would have been a threat to the Seattle monopoly which the delegation from the state of Washington did not permit to develop.

Most Americans have thrilled to Jack London's tales of the Klondike gold rush, when the desperadoes ruled Skagway and hijacked all the dust not convoyed onto Alaskan soil (in contravention of international law) by the Canadian Mounties. The gold rush was in 1898—half a century ago—but Alaska still has no territorial police force. Law enforcement is in charge of politically appointed United States marshals and commissioners. As long ago as 1910, the Reverend Dr. Hudson Stuck, Episcopal Archdeacon of the Yukon and leader of the first ascent of Mt. McKinley, said this system "made a mockery of law and order." The statement is no less true today.

Men trudge into the Alaskan bush and are never heard of again. Prospectors and trappers fail to show up at the end of a long winter, and no stubborn man in a scarlet tunic, as in neighboring Canada, comes in quest of evidence. . . .

This anarchy and indifference are the product of Alaska's patchwork structure of government. The people elect a territorial legislature, but its acts can be repealed by Congress or vetoed by the governor. This executive is appointed by the President of the United States but serves as a subordinate of the Secretary of

the Interior. The legislature cannot create courts of either original or appellate jurisdiction. . . .

Discrimination in Alaska is almost endless. For example, all parcel post in the territory travels at the eighth zone or maximum rate, no matter what the distance over which it is sent. It costs as much to mail a package the fourteen miles from Skagway to Port Chilkoot as to ship the same parcel the thirty-two hundred miles from Boston to Los Angeles. The Post Office Department has established no zone differentials for Alaska.

Alaska sent many men to war, but when they were discharged by the services—which evidently knew nothing of Alaskan travel costs—they received only five cents a mile for transportation. Service men from Shishmaref and Beaver spent \$350 apiece of their own money to get back home.

In the American West the government subsidized the railroads with fabulously valuable land grants, many of them exceeding the total value of the new route. Thus the Northern Pacific received \$137 million worth of timber and grazing acreage to construct a \$71 million railroad. This may have been high handed disposition of our common heritage, but at least rail rates were low and settlers poured into the country. In Alaska, an infinitely sterner land, an opposite policy has prevailed. Instead of subsidizing the Alaska Railroad, Congress has insisted that it pay its way. As a result, travelers in Alaska pay more to ride in rickety day coaches over a corrugated roadbed than they would to travel on the Twentieth Century or City of Portland in the States.

This is all of a piece with the Army's statement to President Roosevelt in 1939 that "there appears at present to be no necessity, from the viewpoint of national defense, of increasing the military garrison in Alaska." When this statement was made, the only troops in the territory were two companies of infantry, their ancient guns pointed in the direction of friendly Canada. Three years later, Japanese soldiers were slogging ashore at Kiska and Attu. . . .

Alaska today is at a crossroads in its history. When the Japanese invader crouched in the outer Aleutians, many Americans became aware for the first time of the land which the early Indian

tribes called *Alakh-Skbak*. Alaska at last has been joined to the United States by land, for the Alcan Highway twists through 1,519 miles of mountain and spruce solitudes to end finally in Fairbanks. Lack of land transportation has held back the development of the territory. Carefree, indeed, the homesteader who will settle where a fortnight of slogging on snowshoes separates him and his family from a doctor. Had Alaska been a state . . . it would have been eligible for . . . Federal highway funds. Today, roads would thread fertile valleys now barely mapped.

Alaskans hold their regular elections in September, before snow plugs the passes and isolates the lonely settlements of the hinterland. Generally they manifest voting trends which forecast what their more fully enfranchised brethren in the States will do two months [later]. . . . Although Alaskans send delegations to the Democratic and Republican nominating conventions, they cannot vote on the presidency.

Is there a way out of all this muddle? Yes, indeed; the answer is statehood. Full membership in the Union would solve a thousand difficulties.

But can Alaska with [so few] people qualify for admittance to the Union? Minnesota had a population of 6,077 when it achieved statehood, Oregon 13,294, Nebraska 28,841. Some New York skeptics, among them the late Nicholas Murray Butler, have questioned giving two United States senators to fewer people than live in a handful of apartment houses on Manhattan Island. The doubt is reasonable. . . . But the question is more complex than immediately appears. If Alaska does not get two senators, it will continue to have . . . [few] people. Held in territorial subjugation, it will continue to merit only territorial status. Somewhere the vicious circle must be broken.

Senators are mentioned advisedly. A senator from the Pacific Coast gets on the telephone in behalf of Alaskan fish-trap licenses for important corporate constituents; intrepid the federal bureaucrat who can say "No," and stick to it! Alaska's lone delegate, with no vote in the melee of the House of Representatives, is lost in this competition. . . .

Many frontier attitudes still prevail in the territory. Guns are packed by men in "the bush," and not to use only on wolves

and bears. The *per capita* consumption of liquor is almost incredible. And Dr. W. T. Harrison, a visiting official of the United States Public Health Service, said a few [years] . . . ago, "I did not think there was any place under the American flag where prostitution is as flagrant as it is in Fairbanks."

Yet in Alaska there are two populations—the rooted as well as the wanderers. The inhabitants with families are as staid and moral as anywhere in the United States. The schools, hospitals, churches, and social welfare institutions may be comparatively few in number, but they are most conscientiously run.

Despite Alaska's immense natural wealth, even those born in the territory often pack up and go "outside." Of 10,595 Alaska-born white people enumerated in the 1940 census, only 4,353 were living in Alaska. George Sundborg and his staff sent questionnaires to find out why these native Alaskans had moved away. Some said they could only be minor clerks in the territory, that all the enterprises exploiting Alaska's natural resources had their headquarters in Seattle or Tacoma. A few young men frankly admitted there were not enough girls. . . .

Alaska's resources are almost limitless. At a time of world-wide shortage of newsprint, for example, Alaska's spruce and hemlock forests stretch across the mountains of the Inside Passage in a green cloak measured by horizons rather than miles. It is the greatest supply of pulpwood left on earth.

W. A. Rockie, Alaskan expert for the United States Soil Conservation Service, reports that hardy grains have been developed which will thrive in many sections of Alaska. "I believe," he says, "that the immense lands of southern Alaska surpass those of all Scandinavia in their agricultural potentialities."

Nor can Alaska's human resources be discounted. The people, skimpy in numbers though they be, have courage and vitality. Brave, resourceful fliers have made the Alaskan bush pilot an international symbol of modern pioneering. He is the frontiersman of the twentieth century.

A state in the crackling glow of the aurora borealis will be a dramatic addition to the American nation. States which were gaunt frontiers at the time of admission have served the country well—Colorado, Missouri, California, Washington. Alaska will not break this tradition.

ALASKA BEGINS TO HIT HER STRIDE <sup>4</sup>

The news from Alaska . . . is that a great part of the value of the gold, furs and fish taken out of the vast peninsula since Seward bought it in 1867 for \$7.2 million is being returned in the form of expenditures for defense. . . .

Alaska is equivalent in area to nearly one fifth of the United States. It has never been adequately prospected—not even for gold, much less for the minerals and metals that nowadays are more precious, even though paradoxically less valuable, than gold. Alaska can have a raw-materials boom when the defense boom is over. So the wise men say.

A visitor who goes in by Juneau, Skagway, Whitehorse (in Canada's Yukon Territory), Fairbanks, Mount McKinley National Park, and Anchorage does not thereby become an expert on Alaska. He is too dazed to be an expert. He comes out humble. But if he talks, listens, looks, and reads he comes out with definite impressions.

He comes out with the impression that the only generalizations that will hold for Alaska are that it is big and underdeveloped. It needs a Point Four program—and is getting a sort of one through the Department of Defense.

He comes out with an impression of infinite variety. How can Ketchikan on the southeastern coastal strip, with its annual twelve and a half feet of rain, be compared with Anchorage, where the precipitation is about fourteen inches, or with Fairbanks, where it is not much wetter but far colder? And Barrow, far north in the Eskimo (and also Department of Defense) country, is something else again. So the books say—the tourist in a hurry doesn't yet go there.

He comes out with an impression of swift and modernistic growth. In the cities, where most of the population is centered, this is no shack and lean-to frontier. If there seem to be slum areas—as in one neighborhood outside of Anchorage—they are the result of slipshod regulating and hurry-up building, just as they might be on Long Island or outside Los Angeles.

<sup>4</sup> From an article by R. L. Duffus, member of the New York *Times* editorial board. New York *Times Magazine*. p 14+. November 2, 1952. Reprinted by permission.

He sees a few modern hotels and apartment houses, a few modern office buildings, stores and public buildings, flourishing newspapers, radio stations, commercial air fields with connections all over Alaska and all over the world, many attractive homes. He sees new buildings of all kinds going up, except, perhaps, in the season of the deep cold, when the tourist is rarely around, anyhow.

He sees Army and Air Force expenditures building up toward half a billion dollars, with no end in sight, after a real start only about three years ago. By way of contrast, at the beginning of the second World War there were two or three hundred men stationed near Haines, tucked away in an estuary on the eastern side of the Gulf of Alaska below Skagway.

Consider Fairbanks: Since 1949 its population has nearly doubled; its bank deposits have doubled; in spite of a big building program, it needs new schools, public buildings, a sewage-disposal system. Without Federal aid, so say the city officials, Fairbanks cannot handle the load the Federal defense program, almost without warning, has imposed upon it.

Or take Anchorage, where car registrations increased 1,390 per cent in just a decade; where school attendance went up nearly a thousand per cent in about the same period; where the population of Greater Anchorage is reported to have increased 52.1 per cent between April 1, 1950, and December 31, 1951.

The tourist can fairly hear the buttons popping when cities enlarge themselves like this. There is the kind of excitement felt on the beach at Nome in 1899 and on the Tanana, near the site of Fairbanks, in 1902. But it is excitement with problems. Alaska cannot safely plan its future on a foundation of defense expenditures. It must create and produce. How—and what?

The tourist hears of projects under way or talked of. A big pulp mill is going up at Ketchikan; there is enough spruce in Alaska to flood the country with newsprint as well as the slicker kinds of paper.

The tourist gets into Skagway, by air from Juneau, after a brief but thrilling flight past the mountains that line the Lynn Canal—which isn't a canal, but a natural arm of the sea. When Skagway was the jumping-off place for the Chilkoot and White

Pass routes to the Yukon Valley and the Klondike, it had maybe ten thousand population. Now it has 750, who are there because cargo brought up by the sea for Whitehorse and other Yukon Territory points is here transferred to the steam-driven, narrow-gauge White Pass and Yukon Route—or the other way round.

But the man who owned a few acres on a wooded hill above the town, normally worth a few hundred dollars, is said to have sold them . . . for twenty thousand dollars. The Aluminum Company of America has announced plans to spend many millions of dollars on water-power installation to process bauxite here. If this plan goes through, Skagway will be a city ten times its present size—and some say much more.

If the tourist proceeds to Whitehorse, Y. T., he hears people say that with the improvement of the Alaska Highway the whole Yukon Valley, on both sides of the international boundary, will be explored and exploited as never before.

He may go 'round to Fairbanks by bus over the Alaska Highway in three days or so, or across by air in about that many hours, and there he will find that many people expect that the oil of Point Barrow, now being intensively developed, may become more important to the growing city than the gold that has flowed into it for half a century. The dredgers are still at work not many miles from the modernistic apartment hotel where one stays, but gold cannot operate machinery or heat a house.

Out at the University of Alaska, on the outskirts of Fairbanks, students are learning mining engineering as well as paleontology and the humanities; this, too, is a part of the Alaskan future, as seen by President Terris Moore, mountain climber and aviator as well as educator.

At Mount McKinley Park, once a year, the Alaskan Science Conference assembles, to talk of such subjects as ice islands in the Arctic, and the economic and social as well as the scientific future of Alaska. The Alaska Development Board, with headquarters at Juneau, works on practical aspects of the same problems.

In Anchorage, citizens proudly describe Fourth Avenue as "the Wall Street of the Last Frontier." They, too, are full of plans and projects. An oil company is putting some millions next



year into an exploration of the Kenai Peninsula, south of Anchorage, with a rail terminal and port at Seward. There is talk of great hydroelectric developments in the Susitna Valley—a lovely, wild stream paralleled for many miles by the Alaska Railroad.

There is talk of coal and copper, of pumice and concrete, of tungsten, nickel, chromite and forest products, of uranium. In some of these cases not even the surface has been scratched.

There is talk of the salmon catch, which has been dropping, and of what to do to bring it up again. The best scientific minds are working on this question.

There is talk of agriculture. The Matanuska Valley farming experiment of the 1930's has succeeded after many failures. About one fourth of the two hundred original families have remained; others have come in; the average gross income is put at twelve thousand a year; one original settler recently sold out for about fifty thousand dollars. Palmer, the valley's market town, has a night club (so the sign says) and advertises itself as "The Future Capital of Alaska."

There is talk of tourists, and what they have brought and might bring to Alaska. In Alaska, there would be two kinds of tourists: first, the sort who like comfort and would come for about three months of the year; second, the sort with brass ears who would revel in the winter's snow and cold, as tourists do in northern New England and Quebec.

For Alaska—or that portion of it south of the Yukon—is enchantingly beautiful. The traveler who had been led to expect a stern and forbidding land is happily disappointed. It is, indeed, a man's country—or so one might have said before women took to climbing mountains and flying airplanes; it is vigorous; it does not suggest indolence. The mountains, snowy at the top, clothed lower down with spruce, birch, aspen and—as one goes south—cottonwood, march splendidly against the sky; the rivers flow exuberantly, some clear as crystal, some smoky with glacial debris; there are pastures where moose and caribou may graze; the fisherman and the hunter will not be disappointed.

The tourist, now and for many years to come, may feel in certain areas of Alaska that he has turned back the pages of history: this is the wilderness as the beaver trappers and trail-

makers of the American West a century ago saw it; this is trail's end; this is nature in its primitive mood. Then, in an hour or so, with the forest music still in his ears, he may dine in a hotel as up-to-date as any in New York City, listen to the radio, go to a movie, drop off to sleep in a steam-heated room.

For the miracle of the pioneer Alaska of 1952 is that the airplane has destroyed isolation. Not so many years ago, the sled dogs, tied out and howling all night, were a familiar feature of Alaskan towns. But a trapper or prospector doesn't go to his location these days by dog team. He can't afford the time. Instead, he hires a pilot to fly him and his supplies in and return at the season's end to fly him out. The planes go everywhere—not every day but everywhere. Float planes that can sit down on a puddle, amphibians that don't need a puddle. Small planes that connect with the big mainliners. Maybe you are in Nome and take a notion to go to New York or Tokyo. You fly to Anchorage, one of the principal aerial crossroads of the continent—perhaps some day a kind of aerial Chicago—and in a few elapsed hours you are in Japan or seeing a Broadway show.

All this costs money. Most of the food Alaska eats has to be imported. So must its clothing, except, perhaps, for a few furs. So must scores of incidental items necessary to build a house or maintain a business. But if the cost of living is high so are incomes. Carpenters, electricians and plumbers receive \$3.50 an hour in Anchorage, stenographers \$400 a month and up. Young professional men—lawyers, doctors, engineers—will find Alaska full of opportunities. There are seasonal opportunities for floating labor from the states, not only in the fishing industry, but in some other occupations.

But Alaska is less and less a land from which people flee in cold weather, or which they leave forever as soon as they have made a stake. More comfortable living, plus the very ease of escape, are among the reasons for this change. The spirit of youth and hope asserts itself. In the states, 71.5 per cent of the population is under 45; in Alaska the percentage is 81.6.

Throughout our history the pioneer has felt the pressure of population behind him; the highway, the steamboat, the railroad, finally the automobile and the airplane, have followed the old

trails, by water and by land. In Alaska for a while the precedent seemed to fail. Between 1900 and 1930, population actually dropped off. Only in recent years has it surged upward again—by 22.3 per cent between 1930 and 1940, by 77.4 per cent between 1940 and 1950. It may be 150,000 now. What it can ultimately be depends on who is doing the computing. A Canadian study made last year indicated that the Yukon Territory and Northern British Columbia—an area maybe half that of Alaska—could support six million people. Norway and Sweden, with a combined area also about half that of Alaska, have a combined population of about twelve million.

If the impression hadn't gotten around that the whole of Alaska, from Ketchikan to Barrow and from Cooper River to Norton Sound, was perpetually under three feet of snow, settlement might have gone forward more rapidly.

Perhaps the tide has now turned. Soldiers who served in the Aleutians during the second World War don't seem to be returning to their old posts, but those who knew Anchorage, Seward, Cordova, Valdez and Fairbanks, or who have discovered them since the end of the war, do come back. There are still Americans with the historic urge to "grow up with the country," and Alaska is something to grow up with.

Politically, Alaska hasn't yet quite made the grade. . . . Nearly all Alaskans one talks to say they favor statehood. The difference is that some want it right away, while others would rather wait. Those who would rather wait may be afraid of the heavier costs of self-government, but with a surplus in the territorial treasury this is not regarded as a compelling argument. The truth is, according to advocates of statehood, that some 'interests' don't care for real self-government in Alaska.

An outsider wouldn't know. But even an outsider, one literally from the "Outside," a greenhorn, a *cheechako*, as they call him in the territory, can feel the majestic pulse of destiny as he traverses even a restricted quadrant of the peninsula. Alaska is in her stride at last. She is not merely an outpost and a Roman wall to keep out the barbarians. She is the beginning of a great community, made possible by ancient courage and modern invention.

EQUITABLE ENABLING ACT<sup>5</sup>

Every committee of the Congress to which the Alaskan statehood bill has been submitted, has rendered a do-pass report. That occurred in the 79th, 80th, 81st, and 82d Congresses. In the 81st Congress the Alaskan statehood bill actually passed the House; in the 82d Congress, the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs reported the bill favorably, as it had in the 81st, but when the bill came up for debate in the Senate in February of 1952, it was defeated by the narrow margin of one vote, 45-44. The defeat was accomplished by a motion to recommit the bill to Committee.

The arguments against statehood for Alaska, with the one exception of the noncontiguity argument, are similar to those that have been advanced against the admission of nearly all of the twenty-nine states which were territories before their admission. One: it has insufficient population. Two: it is too far away. Three: it has inadequate resources to support a state.

All these arguments can be readily refuted.

What then is the significance of the wording in the Republican platform requiring an "equitable enabling act"? The answer is that the opponents of Alaskan statehood have been driven from a position of opposing statehood *per se* to the argument that the bill presented to the 82d Congress was not adequate to permit Alaska to become a viable state. It was urged that 99 per cent of the land in Alaska was in public domain, and that Alaskans had been remiss through the years in not transferring more of this land into private ownership; and further, that given this large amount of Federal control over land, Alaska would not in effect become a free and independent sovereign state, but would remain a vassal of the Department of the Interior.

The fact, of course, is that it is Congress itself which, through the years, has made the acquisition of the land by private individuals almost impossible in Alaska. During the first thirty years under the American flag, despite the unceasing protests of all Alaskans, the homestead and general land laws were

<sup>5</sup> From "Statehood for Alaska," by Ernest Gruening, former Governor of Alaska, 1939-1953. *Harper's Magazine*. 206:72-7. May 1953. Reprinted by permission.

not made applicable to Alaska. Congress did not act until the turn of the century. Up to that time it was impossible in Alaska to secure title even to a homesite. By the time these laws, adopted two generations earlier in the states, were applied to Alaska, they were obsolete and inappropriate. For the past half century Alaskans have vainly tried to secure modification of the laws and of the red-taped procedures in their application. Alaska is in the ironical position of being reproached by Congress for Congress's own failure to act.

However, if the present Administration considers that the bill defeated at the last session, S.50, and now again before the Congress, is not "equitable"—as was implied by the Republican platform and stated in Senate debates—it would be very simple, if a sincere purpose exists, to make it equitable. Alaskans . . . will be glad to accept any "given" amount. There are some ways in which the bill could be made somewhat more generous if Congress desires to make it so. It could provide Alaska with an appropriation for constructing its capitol, state penitentiary, and institution for the insane. . . . The Congress could, if it desired, offer the funds for surveying the 23 million acres provided by the previous bill, considered by the opponents of statehood as not "equitable." Congress could increase the land grant. Alaskans have not in the past requested such generosity. Those who have given the question study are satisfied with the bill and would, if necessary, accept an even less generous act in preference to perpetuation of the territorial status. Territorialism's inherent discriminations and frustration, more flagrant in Alaska than in the case of Hawaii, would require pages of chapter-and-verse documentation. But it can be said with moderation, as well as truth, that Alaska has for eighty-five years suffered congressional policies and bureaucratic tyranny, unparalleled in any other territory, which have thwarted its normal development.

Some improvement has come in the past few years. But this has been due largely to wholly extraneous circumstances—World War II with its Japanese threat, and the sequent actions and attitudes of the men in the Kremlin. These, and these alone, have belatedly called attention to Alaska's strategic importance and to

the necessity for building up its defenses. The military program has benefited Alaska substantially by providing long overdue roads, airfields, housing, and land surveys. But even here the developments are unbalanced by the fact that they have been wholly subordinate to purely military considerations. They should instead be geared to a well rounded, intelligent economic development, which would enable Alaska to achieve its destiny to be not only a bulwark of defense for the Western Hemisphere, but an outstanding example in these far northern latitudes, in juxtaposition to Soviet totalitarianism, of the American way of life.

#### TIME AND SPACE <sup>6</sup>

The argument that Alaska should be denied statehood because the peninsula happens to be noncontiguous to the rest of the continental United States is wholly lacking in merit, either historically or factually. Historically, . . . [contiguity] has never been a requirement nor has it been followed as a precedent. California was admitted in 1850 when some fifteen hundred miles or more of plains and mountains and wilderness—a wilderness infested by hostile Indians—separated her from the nearest state of the United States. It is interesting to note that some of the very same arguments which were used in the Thirty-first Congress in 1850 against the admission of California, and later Oregon, which was contiguous only to California, are being used against the admission of Alaska.

Factually, in this day of radio, telephone, television, telegraph, and the airplane, Alaska is much nearer to Washington, D.C., in travel and communication time than were Boston and New York at the time of the formation of the Union. This fact is so self-evident as to require no elaboration. However, the following historical comparisons are of interest:

The fastest time by the famed Pony Express from the "jumping off" place in the then sparsely populated and financially

<sup>6</sup> From majority views as set forth in *Providing for the Admission of Alaska Into the Union*; report of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs to accompany S.50. May 8, 1951. (S. Report no315) 82d Congress, 1st session. Superintendent of Documents. Washington, D.C. 1951. p 1-18.

poor territory of Nebraska to California was nine days. This service, of course, was only for mail, at five dollars a half ounce.

The best stagecoach time from the terminal in St. Joseph, Missouri, to San Francisco, was twenty-five days.

The record for a sailing vessel in 1850 was established by the clipper *Sea Witch* which made the trip from New York around the Horn to San Francisco in ninety-seven days.

Today, Juneau, capital of Alaska, is but twenty-two hours by air from Washington. Regular ship time between Seattle and Seward or Whittier, the territory's principal ports, is five to seven days.

In addition, Alaska can be reached from any part of the United States by highway. The Alaska Highway, constructed during World War II, is open throughout the year. Automobiles and trucks can travel from the Northwestern States to Fairbanks, Alaska, in as little as five days.

#### NO RADIO, NO TELEGRAPH <sup>7</sup>

In important particulars, the argument against statehood for Alaska is much like that against statehood for Hawaii. Like Hawaii, Alaska is far distant from the nearest of our states and like Hawaii it has a population of diverse races and colors. . . .

Alaska is as distant from our states as a foreign land.

As in the case of the people of Hawaii, the people of Alaska because of their small numbers in a vast territory, and because of their distance from our country, cannot possibly enter into our national life and take part in our political discussions, in the way the people of our forty-eight states now do.

And it would seem that the race problem we already have are heavy enough without adding to them the race differences of Alaska and Hawaii.

But the advocates of Alaskan statehood tell us that statehood for Alaska is an imperative requirement for national defense, that it is a must.

<sup>7</sup> From April 1, 1950, letter of Edward R. Lewis, lawyer and author of Winnetka, Illinois. In *Alaska Statehood*; hearings April 24-29, 1950, before the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, on H.R.331 and S.2036. 81st Congress, 2d session. Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C. 1950. p528-9.

Congressman Mansfield, of Montana, in the House debate, asserted that, "When the bombs fell on Pearl Harbor the American people cried 'We've been attacked.' There was no one to say, 'Wait, Hawaii is not yet a state.'"

Precisely, no one asked that Hawaii be a state before we treated an attack on Hawaii as we would have treated an attack on San Francisco or Seattle. The Pearl Harbor illustration is in no way an argument for statehood either for Alaska or Hawaii. The Pearl Harbor attack proves that statehood makes no difference whatever so far as national defense is concerned.

It would be interesting to hear from the advocates of statehood for Hawaii and Alaska one single thing that we could do for national defense if they were states that we cannot do now when they are territories.

The conclusion is inescapable that Alaska's people want statehood largely for business and sentimental reasons. Evidently, there are people in Alaska who think statehood will help their business and more people, undoubtedly, who would rather live in a state than in a territory. They seem to feel that statehood would give them more dignity.

These are human and understandable reasons, but they should not control in the face of great national objections.

The fact is that our Union was never intended to include states far distant from the other states, to reach which great distances of land in a foreign country, or ocean, have to be crossed. We have never had a state whose boundaries were not also the boundaries of another state or territory.

No radio, no telegraph, no fast running steamers, no television, no air mail can ever make people a thousand or two thousand miles away from the nearest state, one with us as are people who live next door to one of our states.

Nicholas Murray Butler was profoundly right when he wrote in opposition to Hawaiian statehood that if it were granted, it would mean the end of our Union as we and our forefathers have known it. The admission of Alaska would not be so dangerous as that of Hawaii, but surely it would be a great mistake to grant it.



# RESOURCES AND DEVELOPMENT

## EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

While much of the record of Alaska's resources is composed of instances of neglect or exploitation, the real question today relates to their proper development in the future. No one disputes the fact that the resources are there, but there are differences of opinion as to whether it would be economically sound to attempt to utilize them at the present time, and as to whether they would be developed more quickly and effectively under statehood. Statehood would free the territory from much of the bureaucratic control that has hindered development, but it is within the power of Congress to accomplish the same end without granting statehood, by granting a greater measure of territorial self-government and by passing legislation limiting Federal control or defining the manner in which it shall be exercised in future.

This section also contains material relating to the question of whether Alaska's economy is such that the territory can support the financial burdens of statehood. There are people in Alaska and in Washington who hold that statehood should not be granted until there is a greater population and a more highly developed economy in Alaska. Proponents of "statehood now" claim that the present territorial status is acting as a deterrent to immigration and development. They say, in effect, that the very granting of statehood will make Alaska capable of assuming the obligations of that status.

## DOUBLE-BARRELED HANDICAP <sup>1</sup>

Alaskans have fought a two-fold battle: one against the impediments of nature, not the least of which is inadequate transportation because of the terrain; the other against man-made

<sup>1</sup> From "Alaska Fights for Statehood," by Frank L. Kluckhohn, reporter and foreign correspondent. *American Mercury*. 68:555-62. May 1949. Reprinted by permission.

obstacles. The chief of these are absentee financial domination and long-range government from Washington.

Today, as in the time of the gold rush, almost everything, from machinery to food, has to be shipped into Alaska. With only one inadequate railway, and with the Alaskan highway a mud bog for 150 miles south of the Canadian border, airplanes are the chief means of delivery and travel away from the sea. . . .

Most Alaskans claim that the tight financial control exercised by Seattle leads to their being "held up" on everything they buy, while none of the profits of corporations operating in Alaska are left behind to develop the country's resources. Since William H. Seward bought Alaska from Russia in 1867, they note, there has been taken from here about \$1.5 billion in fish, a billion dollars in minerals and \$150 million in furs, not to mention the "take" from lesser sources of production. Alaskans have little to show for their wealth.

In other words, basic conditions are little changed from the time when Jack London and Robert Service wrote about them. The issues are the same as when Rex Beach wrote *The Spoilers* in protest against the methods of the big fishing monopolies.

Alaskans stress that it is not only the monopolies which have kept them poor. They say that the Federal Government, in the name of conservation, has made it virtually impossible to tap Alaska's undeveloped natural resources. There are at least twenty-one million feet of timber in Federal reservations, embracing 98 per cent of Alaska's forests. No less than forty thousand square miles have been set aside for Federal purposes, apart from forest and mineral reserves. Abnormal restrictions have been placed on hunting, fishing and even mining.

Because of the interpretation placed by Washington (and by the courts) on a provision of the original treaty with Russia guaranteeing the natives would maintain the same status as before, the Indians claim ownership to most available land. Generally speaking, the laws make it next to impossible for others to get clear title to any Alaskan land.

Ruled from Washington, thousands of miles away, it is difficult for Alaskans to get intelligent decisions on current problems as they develop. Many decisions, the natives insist, are

made against Alaska at the behest of senators and representatives from states which might be affected by a Federal ruling for Alaska.

With this double-barreled politico-business handicap, it is small wonder, Alaskans say angrily, that the population of this vast, rich land has increased . . . [so little]. Statehood would . . . really open up "our last great frontier" for population and development, its proponents claim. Governor Gruening contends that only as a state can Alaska win back control of a fair share of its natural resources, establish clear-cut land laws, and fight successfully against "penalties" such as those imposed by shipping differentials. Only as a state, he holds, could Alaska insist upon adequate funds for road construction and other undertakings which would really open up the interior.

Alaska has had a delegate in Congress since 1906. But he cannot vote. The statehooders say there is no use blinking the fact that, in peacetime, states and districts do get Federal funds for development through congressional log-rolling. Alaska has no one in Congress in a position to support, say, Oregon's wish for a new dam in exchange for Oregon's support for a road grant to Alaska. Voting senators and a representative, it is held, would have more voice in drafting general legislation affecting Alaska and could make their weight felt in all directions. . . .

The opponents of statehood let us look at the picture from the other side. Take roads, for instance. Today Alaska may not get all it wants for constructing them, but, as a territory, what it *does* get is an outright Federal grant. States have to match Federal road funds fifty-fifty. As a territory, Alaska gets many other special benefits without cost which she would not get as a state.

The antistatehooders argue that of the [population of] . . . Alaska, perhaps thirty-five thousand are Indians and Eskimos who not only cannot pay taxes but, in many cases, get aid from the Indian Service. Of the whites, only a small percentage are in a position to pay substantial taxes. The whole load of statehood would fall on a small group. The bill would be so big that, instead of being able to pay, they would be

driven out of business. Moreover, how much would the politicians help us? Up to now, all they have accomplished is to drive Alaska into debt with their "socialism" and "experiments." At the moment this is a happy hunting ground for Federal bureaucrats.

Governor Gruening, in rebuttal, estimates that statehood would cost Alaska only about two million dollars additional annually. This, he says, could be paid for by diversion to Alaska from the Federal Government of the income from the Pribilof Islands seal fishing. One prominent Alaskan newspaperman wonders "why it would cost much more to support a state than a territorial legislature and government."

Cap Lathrop insists that the Governor's estimate of added cost is far too low. And he says that because of the United States government's international agreements on the Pribilof Islands, it could not turn over the fur funds to Alaska even if it wished to. . . .

Statehood, almost every Alaskan agrees, would lead to fundamental shifts in the foundations of Alaska's economy and life. The proponents feel these changes are long overdue and that this frontier will never develop except as a sovereign state. The opponents believe that such drastic action is premature. They claim that the territory, already virtually bankrupt, has neither the money nor maturity to take its place alongside New York and California, or even such sparsely populated states as Nevada and New Mexico. No one is forthrightly against statehood as an eventual end; the issue is whether now is the time.

### THE SAME INTERESTS <sup>2</sup>

I have been in the status of an employee, an employer, have been in business, have held public office, and twice have been elected a member of the territorial legislature, and through my fifty years of continuous residence in Alaska, I have watched the economic and political repercussions from a definitely personal interest viewpoint, and it is my firm belief that the same

<sup>2</sup> From statement of R. E. Sheldon, fifty-year resident of Alaska. In *Alaska Statehood*; hearings April 24-29, 1950, before the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, on H.R.331 and S.2036. 81st Congress, 2d session. Superintendent of Documents. Washington, D.C. 1950. p265-6.

nonresident interests that have held back development of many of Alaska's natural resources are the same interests who are opposing statehood today and are endeavoring to maintain the Territory of Alaska as a sort of preserve for their personal use.

It is a matter of history that the vested coal interests in the United States were able to block development of Alaska's coal deposits under the so-called conservation plan, and the bona fide residents of Alaska are now convinced that the large oil interests in the United States and the large timber interests of the United States, including the paper and pulp interests, will permit no development of oil or timber for paper and pulp purposes until they themselves are ready to move in and develop those resources; likewise the Aluminum Corporation of America.

The fishing interests of Alaska are very definitely opposed to statehood for the very simple and selfish reason that under the present setup they have to deal only with one man, namely, the Secretary of the Interior of the United States, which through the years they have found much more satisfactory than would probably be the case if they were compelled to deal with a state legislature and other state officials.

When Alaska becomes a state, the nonresident Alaska fish trust would be dealing with state officials elected by and responsive to the will of the citizens of Alaska and, therefore, would not be able to dominate the industry as completely as they do now in dealing with the Secretary of the Interior, who is not an elective official and therefore not responsive to the will of the people, more especially the citizens of Alaska.

It is my considered opinion that the time for Alaska to get started becoming a state is right now if it is going to do the Alaskans any good who have given and are continuing to give their lives to the development of this great country.

### WE HAVE NOT HAD FREE ENTERPRISE <sup>3</sup>

I have been a fisherman for the past eighteen years in Alaska, and I feel the fisheries of Alaska are one of the greatest re-

<sup>3</sup> From statement of W. O. Smith, a fisherman of Ketchikan, Alaska. In *Alaska Statehood*; hearings April 24-29, 1950, before the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, on H.R.331 and S.2036. 81st Congress, 2d session. Superintendent of Documents. Washington, D.C. 1950. p245-9.

sources that has ever been known to man. In other words, it is a resource that produces over \$125 million every year and is self-perpetuating. . . .

Now, one of the witnesses here made the statement that he feared that if Alaska acquired statehood, that there would be imposed taxes sufficient to stifle free enterprise in the territory.

Gentlemen, for the past twenty-five years we have not had free enterprise in the fisheries of the territory. We have had a controlled enterprise; an enterprise controlled by the Alaska salmon industry, with the aid of the Fish and Wildlife Service.

SENATOR ECTON. Mr. Smith, you mention the Alaska salmon industry. That is a company that operates up there?

MR. SMITH. That is a combination, or association, of the companies who operate in Alaska. . . .

The control which they have over the salmon industry is such that in Alaska they have fish traps, and the fact is that they control one half of the source of supply. They have the special privilege, and an exclusive privilege, of taking one half of the salmon in Alaska, through the use of these traps, and through that they control the supply, and therefore, they have control of the markets.

If I wanted to go in and put in a small operation, I would be licked before I started, just from the fact that they had control of this one half of the total supply of salmon. It is a cheap source of supply, . . . and through that cheap source, they absolutely control the market.

SENATOR ECTON. If you were a state, could you recommend what should be done, or remedy that situation through legislative enactment? . . .

MR. SMITH. I am sure of it in my own mind that we could, yes, merely through taking away this special privilege which they now have of taking one half of the total volume of fish which comes from Alaskan waters.

SENATOR ECTON. Supposing, for instance, you pass legislation, which would just run them out of the industry in Alaska; then would that help?

MR. SMITH. We don't have any intention, sir, of passing such legislation that would run them out of the territory. The

British Columbia fisheries have operated since the beginning without fish traps. They have had a high volume of production in accordance with the length of the coast line. They have had a stable industry, much more stable than ours. They have possibly a three months' season—a canning season—where we have three weeks or less.

The state of Washington and the state of Oregon have eliminated fish traps. They still have a salmon industry. We don't anticipate running the salmon industry out of Alaska. All we would attempt is to force them to compete equally with the rest of us, and to pay their proportionate share of the cost of government along with the rest of us. . . .

SENATOR ECTON. You don't have any fish traps?

MR. SMITH. No; I don't have any fish traps. . . .

SENATOR BUTLER. Is that because operating the fish traps is too expensive an operation for you?

MR. SMITH. No, Senator, it is not. It is due to the fact that the Fish and Wildlife Service made regulations in about 1928 specifically providing that all waters in Alaska should be closed to fishing by means of traps except those areas where there were then traps. That number has been reduced since that time from about seven hundred down to about four hundred left in the territory. Eight of the large canning companies own half of those traps, and the balance, or two hundred, of those traps are owned and controlled by the smaller companies, and a few by individuals.

Now, of that remaining two hundred, a good portion of them are owned or controlled by officials of these companies who control the other two hundred, and it gives them a tremendous advantage over any competition in that field.

SENATOR BUTLER. Does the ownership change occasionally by transfer?

MR. SMITH. About the only way it is changed is through death, you might say, or it may change by purchase, also.

SENATOR BUTLER. That is what I mean. They do change by purchase, although they have no legal rights?

MR. SMITH. The only way they hold these fish traps is through regulations issued by the Fish and Wildlife Service.

They have no legal claim at all, and still the sites are bought and sold. Not only that, but they are bought and sold under terms contrary to regulations issued by the Fish and Wildlife Service, and as proof of this, in 1948, the Nakat Packing Corporation purchased two plants from the P. E. Harris Company, and through that purchase they acquired at least ten fish traps, and possibly more, although the regulation said specifically that any individual who owns as many as ten fish traps should not be permitted to acquire more fish traps.

The Nakat Packing Company had twenty-six fish traps when they bought these companies, but they acquired these fish traps. The acquisition was reported in the official list of the traps issued by the Army engineers, and this particular transfer was also reported there. That is the type of thing which has made Alaskans maybe a little inclined to be bitter toward the Alaska salmon industry. . . .

SENATOR MCFARLAND. As far as the preservation of the fishing industry is concerned, is there any advantage of using the trap over the hook, or the hook over the trap?

MR. SMITH. . . . There is a definite advantage in that the trap is stationary. It is put in a certain place in the path of the migrating salmon. The trap is open all the time, and all they have to do is sit and wait for the fish to come into this trap. . . . The fishermen will tell you that the trap operation is much less expensive. The Alaska salmon industry will tell you otherwise. The Alaska salmon industry produced figures in Juneau in court in one of the tax cases, purporting to prove that the trap-caught fish were more expensive than the seine-caught fish; yet, in testimony before a congressional committee, they say they have to have these cheap trap fish in order to operate, so you can draw your own conclusions. . . .

#### WHY STATEHOOD? <sup>4</sup>

Uncle Sam has two great storehouses of riches. One is at Fort Knox and the other is Alaska.

At Fort Knox he keeps his gold. Although buried deep in the ground in massive vaults, the gold is a vital factor in his

<sup>4</sup> Editorial. Anchorage *Daily Times*, p4. October 6, 1952. Reprinted by permission.



fiscal affairs. It is the stuff that gives Uncle Sam's paper money value.

In Alaska he keeps untold wealth, of even greater value. Much of it is buried in the ground. More is on the surface. It is out in the open where all can see it.

The Alaska wealth is in the form of precious minerals, timber, water power, oil, coal and the products of the soil.

Although the Alaska wealth is sprinkled lavishly throughout the Northland, it is not much of a factor in any phase of the national economy. It is a mere potential. Instead of converting it to use Uncle Sam has built a fence of restrictions around it. The fence has discouraged developments that would bring this tremendous wealth into the national economy.

For eighty-five years Alaskans have sought to remove the restrictions. They have wanted to develop the riches of the territory to the fullest extent.

The development would enrich the nation. New wealth would pour into the national economy and make it stronger and more prosperous. The opening of Alaska to such development would attract population here. It would fill the vacuum that has resulted from the lack of development.

But the efforts in Alaska have met with little success. After all these years the territory is still largely a wilderness. Developments have been spotty. Alaska has been neglected in the national considerations at Washington. The fence of Federal restrictions has made the territory unattractive to private capital. Major investments in enterprises here have been few and far between.

Federal laws offering financial aid for new projects often exclude Alaska. The United States Supreme Court has ruled it legal for the Federal Government to enact laws discriminate. Congress is always more interested in serving the constituents of its voting members than it is the nonvoters of Alaska.

The record of eighty-five years shows that territorial status is not one that encourages the type of development that has made the United States the greatest nation in the world.

Alaska can never realize its destiny as an inseparable economic unit of the nation unless it wins full membership in

the federal family. That means Alaska must become a state, with all the rights and privileges that go with it.

Under statehood, Alaska would share in the national programs on an even basis with the other states. The Constitution would forbid discrimination. Federal laws to encourage highways, education, transportation, health, welfare, statistical studies, agricultural experiments, and industrial developments would apply to Alaska the same as the states.

State government would eliminate the vagaries of territorial government. The big money in the States would understand Alaska and be encouraged to come here and develop the untapped wealth. The new state would be ripe for the influx of people and enterprises that has been experienced by every other territory that became a state.

The development would bolster the defense program by taming the wilderness. The military would no longer have the impossible task of defending a vacuum.

Alaska statehood would improve the foreign relations of the nation by demonstrating the international ideals of equality and sovereignty for all people.

The national benefits from statehood would be accompanied by even more benefits for Alaskans. There would be more employment, more of the marvels of civilization, more abundant living and more self reliance. Alaskans would no longer be peons working in a colony for someone else. They would be American citizens of the first class. They would have the power to guide their own destiny.

No measure other than statehood has been found that would open the way for these great achievements. The struggle for statehood must continue without a pause until it is won.

### CAPITAL WANTS USUAL SAFEGUARDS <sup>5</sup>

How would statehood stimulate civilian development in Alaska?

<sup>5</sup> From an editorial "The Air Force Wants Development," in the Anchorage *Daily Times*, March 20, 1950, included in "Alaska Statehood"; hearings April 24-29, 1950, before the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, on H.R.331 and S.2036. 81st Congress, 2d session. Superintendent of Documents. Washington, D.C. 1950. p228-9.

The answer has many ramifications—all good. But before considering it, the same question could be asked relative to other territories that became states. Why did statehood stimulate settlement and development in Oklahoma, Nevada, and all the other states carved out of the West?

Capital is one of the foremost needs of Alaska. It isn't available in the north. It must come from the States.

After eighty-three years of American ownership, during which the territorial form of government has been given adequate time to encourage development, it has been decisively proven that the desired development will not come. In that period the nation has grown from 31 million to 150 million population. Alaska has just passed the 100,000 mark.

Capital doesn't venture away from the safeguards to which it is accustomed. The protection and assistance that comes under the American system of government is essential if long-term investments are to be encouraged.

In Alaska this protection would be lost. Instead of having state congressional delegations taking an active interest in the welfare of private enterprises within the state, investors in a territory find they are subject to the whims of bureaucrats and especially the Secretary of the Interior. He is the boss under the territorial system. Even if the present Secretary is good, there is no way of knowing what the next one may be. Investors will never forget the topsy-turvy conditions that prevailed under the Ickes' administration.

Besides extending to Alaska the proper representation in Congress, statehood would replace many of the remote controls with local controls over natural resources.

Multiple frustrations that throttle many new enterprises under the territorial system would give way to management policies shaped out of local needs and requirements. The primary duty of the state would be to make these management policies wise. Certainly they would not be ignorant or indifferent as they are at present.

These two fundamental changes—a state delegation in Congress and local controls over natural resources—would be fundamental in stimulating development.

The territorial system is not only strange to the capitalists who are needed in Alaska. It is a failure so far as producing intelligent administration. Congress, the ultimate authority over a territory, never knows what to do and consequently does nothing. That is the history of Alaska ever since its purchase from Russia in 1867. Only through statehood will the experiences of the past be altered in the future.

#### FINANCIAL BURDENS OF STATEHOOD <sup>6</sup>

Differing points of view as to the ability of the territory to support state government have been presented to the committee. However, no one has even suggested that the territory was not one of the richest areas under the American flag in raw materials, and one of great industrial potentiality because of the juxtaposition of mineral and forest resources to water power sites and to coal. The sole issue is the present state of development of these resources.

The majority of the committee . . . is satisfied that Alaska can assume all essential additional costs of statehood. There has been a prevalent idea that the Federal Government now bears the greater share of the cost of services which are the responsibility of state governments. This is not the case.

Alaska as a territory has created and now supports all such services except in areas which are reserved to the Federal Government by limitations set forth in the organic act. The most important functions provided by the Federal Government are the courts and law enforcement system, protection and conservation of the fish and game, care and treatment of the insane, and the major share of the road construction and maintenance program.

The territorial government has built up departments or boards of health, education, welfare, agriculture, labor, taxation, aviation, development, communications, highways and highway patrol, and includes offices of attorney general, treasurer, auditor,

<sup>6</sup> From majority views as set forth in *Providing for the Admission of Alaska into the Union*; report of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs to accompany S.50. May 8, 1951. (S. Report no315) 82d Congress, 1st session. Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C. 1951. p. 1-18.

as well as a large number of additional regulatory boards and commissions.

The committee believes that Alaska's ability to finance necessary or desirable public services is well within its economic ability. Resources and production are the foundations of the tax structure, and Alaska has both great natural resources and a high per capita rate of production. It should also be noted that there is no fixed or arbitrary level of expenditure which must be maintained by state governments. Expenditures should be "tailored to fit the cloth." There is no reason to believe that the people of Alaska through their elected representatives will fail to meet their obligations or be unable to do a business-like job of making expenditures meet their revenues. . . .

The final statistics of the 1950 census give Alaska's total population on April 1, 1950, as 128,643 as contrasted with the 1940 census total of 72,524. This represents an increase of 77.4 per cent for the decade between 1940 and 1950, as compared with an increase of 22.3 in the previous decade. Alaska's gain of 77.4 per cent was the largest of any area under the American flag, percentagewise.

Unfortunately, a breakdown of the 1950 census by racial groups is not available. Official estimates by territorial officials, however, indicate that there are between 33,000 and 34,000 natives, which include . . . the Eskimos, Indians, and Aleuts.

In percentage, the natives comprise approximately 25 per cent of the population. This marks a decrease over the previous census figures, which placed the native population at approximately one third.

Beyond question, the 77.4 increase in population consists almost wholly of native-born Americans who have gone to this area of such great potential wealth in large numbers from the states of the United States.

In the more than eighty-three years that Alaska has been a part of the United States her population has increased at a rate somewhat faster than that of the nation.

In the 1870 census, the population of the states of the United States was slightly less than forty million.

The 1950 census shows Alaska to have a total population in excess of 128,643; the states have a total of 150,697,361. Thus, Alaska has more than quadrupled; that of the states has not quite quadrupled during the past eighty years.

The committee wishes to emphasize that its members . . . are keenly aware of the fact that the acts of one Congress do not bind another Congress, and that the hand of the founding fathers and of the 1787 Continental Congress, reaching across 164 years of turbulent history, should not force the hands of the . . . Congress. Neither do dicta of the judicial branch, even by the highest Court, control the policy decisions of the legislative branch.

The question of enabling the Territory of Alaska to qualify as a state of the United States is within the sound discretion of the . . . Congress.

However, the committee does believe that the past can be used as a useful guide for the present and future. Therefore, it feels justified in calling the attention of the Senate to the historic precedents, and in pointing out that refusal to pass the measure would be breaking the historic mold in which our nation has expanded and grown great.

### WEALTH WHICH HAS WAITED †

I would like just to sum up for you very briefly what resources Alaska has. Alaska is still only at the very beginning of its development. We have wealth there which has waited, waited, and waited to be utilized, and I think it has waited and waited for a number of reasons, one of which has been what kind of government we have in that part of the world.

Our greatest developed resource, of course, is the fisheries resource, which over the recent years has been producing about \$125 million worth of products annually. I would say that of the fisheries resources in Alaska only salmon and halibut perhaps have been fully developed. I would add, at least in some years in the past, the salmon fishery has been developed perhaps too

† From statement of George Sundborg, Consultant to the Alaska Development Board. In *Alaska Statehood*; hearings April 24-29, 1950, before the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, on H.R.331 and S.2036. 81st Congress, 2d session. Superintendent of Documents. Washington, D.C. 1950. p 179-96.

fully. I think we took too many salmon in some years past and we are paying the penalty for it now in the decreased runs in some areas. . . .

In the categories of bottom fish, scrap fish, and shellfish, including clams, crabs, and shrimp and abalone . . . the opportunity for increased utilization is simply tremendous. We have hardly begun to utilize the fisheries resources in Alaska.

Our second greatest resource historically has been that of minerals, and about the only mineral we have ever bothered with up there has been gold. More than \$600 million worth of gold has been mined already in Alaska, and the Geological Survey estimates there still exists a reserve of more than twice that amount in Alaska, waiting to be mined, waiting until conditions are right so that gold mining can be further developed. We are already producing a considerable amount of platinum. For the last several years Alaska has produced the only tin that is produced in the United States. We produce antimony. . . .

We are also mining large quantities of coal in Alaska. Alaska has been said, and truly so, to have twice as much coal as Pennsylvania ever had, a statement which does not mean too much, perhaps, when you consider the large area of Alaska and the relative quality of the coal, but we do have coal, which is being utilized there.

Alaska also produces large quantities of limestone. In the past it has produced considerable quantities of marble, and there are still good marble quarries there, but not presently operated. . . .

Alaska has also produced, in the past, large quantities of copper, and large reserves of copper remain in Alaska. We have one of the few deposits of chromite anywhere in North America, a deposit which could be very readily worked in the event of national emergency. They did begin to work it during World War II, when sources of this particular type of chromite, which we had been getting from Turkey, had been cut off because of the war. Then when we were able to open up the Mediterranean and utilize again larger quantities from Turkey we suspended operations in Alaska, but we do have the resource there and undoubtedly it will be utilized in the future.

We have a large resource of nickel. We have some very large iron-ore deposits, one near Haines. . . . It is magnetite. It has not been examined too carefully, but I understand the iron in it runs something like 30 per cent, so it is not a very poor deposit exactly, and because of its size it may become a substantial producer. Associated with it is titanium, a new wonder mineral, a light metal. Somebody has given thought to utilizing that deposit to produce both iron and titanium.

Then, of course, we have the petroleum resources. Many people don't know that for years and years Alaska had a producing oil well at Katalla. The largest reserves of oil in Alaska are thought to exist in the Naval Petroleum Reserve, which encloses the entire Arctic slope. You will notice in the statehood bill that would still be reserved by the Navy, even after statehood. Since about 1945 the Navy has had a project of putting down test wells and examining the petroleum resources of the naval reserve. That is a program which has still several years to run.

SENATOR ANDERSON. Have they produced any oil?

MR. SUNDBORG. The information I have is that they have found oil in every well they have put down, but nowhere have they found it in what they consider would be commercial quantities. But the geologists who are working in the area say there is no other answer possible but that a very large oil field of real commercial significance does exist in that area and the question is one of finding where it is best to tap it. Geologists seem to feel because of the structure of the land forms there, there has to be a large petroleum reserve.

In addition to the minerals Alaska produces some furs. I would say that this resource is utilized at the present time as fully as is consistent with good conservation principles, and we do not look for any increase in the catching of furs. Fur farms are another matter and much progress is possible there. In addition great development should be made in the tanning and processing of furs in Alaska and in fashioning garments from them.

There is much interest in the agricultural resources of Alaska. At the present time we have only about fifteen thousand acres of



that vast country in cultivation. It would not even make one good-sized farm, perhaps, in some sections of the country, but that is all the agricultural land which has been broken to the plow in Alaska. The opportunity exists now in providing food for the market that already is present in Alaska in areas immediately adjoining the agricultural areas, to increase the production from farms in Alaska perhaps tenfold.

I think there is a variety of reasons why we do not have more agricultural production in Alaska. I think the Number One reason is that we have had too much prosperity up there in other lines. We have seen people come up proposing to settle on the land and after they have settled for a while they find they can get a job in Anchorage paying perhaps three times as much, so they, at least temporarily, are attracted by those jobs. In the future we are going to find farming stepped up very materially, and we will bring many additional areas into production. . . .

Let me say something briefly on the timber resources that we have up there. When we speak of forests I think we need to distinguish between national forests and forest lands. The best timber in Alaska is embraced entirely within the boundaries of two large national forests, the Tongass National Forest and the Chugach National Forest. I think the Tongass National Forest is the largest national forest anywhere. Those two national forests have in them, in merchantable timber, eighty billion board-feet, and all of this timber is within two and a half miles of tide-water. This timber is not locked away from us entirely. It is being held by the Forest Service for beneficial use, and we have the provision in the proposed bill . . . , which would give the new state the revenue from those sections, on a proportionate basis of what the sections that would otherwise come to the state within the national forest bear to the total area of the national forests. I say that, because I am sure it was the intent of the drafters of this bill, and it would satisfy the new state. . . .

Outside of the national forests there is a good deal of forest land in Alaska, on the public domain. There are large birch timber resources which are not on any national forest or reserve of any kind, and we are now working with a group which intends very soon to begin to utilize some of the birch forests. Birch is a

species of timber that has almost disappeared from the furniture business and they are very anxious to get it and we are very anxious to have them come to Alaska and get it, and when the proper arrangements are worked out I am confident we are going to have birch timber industries in Alaska.

Now there is one resource that we have done very little with, and that is power. We have it in great abundance. Alaska has power which, at a single site, for instance, would support a plant with output of power greater than Grand Coulee and Hoover Dams combined. That is a single site on the Yukon River. That is something for the future, because at present we do not have any market for that power. . . .

Finally, one other resource, and that is one that is a little bit intangible because we can't point to it on the map, and that is the tourist resource. . . . The contribution . . . to Alaska's economy is very important. The contribution . . . in the future will be ever so much more important, because I believe we have hardly begun to realize the possibility of developing the tourist industry. These people have come every year, you might say, in spite of Alaskans. We have done nothing to advertise or attract them, we have done very little to provide modern and enjoyable accommodations and good cruise ships, and so on, and still they come. I think in the future, perhaps in ten years, Alaska could well have a tourist industry which, as it is in many parts of the West, would be the most important industry of the entire area. I think it could contribute to the economy of Alaska as much as all the salmon and all the gold combined can contribute.

With statehood, I think we would find many, many more people would want to come up and see that area. With statehood I think we would find many people would be more encouraged to invest their money in Alaska in tourist resources than they are under the present situation, where the law in Alaska, the things that go on up there, are subject almost entirely to the whims of the far-off Federal Government, whether that Government is represented by the bureaus or the Congress, and where little control is exercised by the people who actually live in the area.

ALASKA, LAND OF OPPORTUNITY—LIMITED<sup>3</sup>

Fortunately modern Alaskan pioneers will not have to worry about obstacles of the kind that confronted pioneers of the West. . . . The truth of the matter is that the hardships dramatized by writers and lecturers really do not exist in the settled parts of Alaska where most migrants would make their homes.

But the economic limitations and hardships that will confront "Alaskan pioneers" are not illusionary by any means. The proposition that Alaska can support millions is fantastic. Indeed, the assertion that Alaska can support two or three hundred thousand people should be classified as extremely optimistic. . . .

First, let us point out that neither statistics of Alaska's natural resources nor facts relating to her invigorating climate or the fertility of her soil have any real bearing upon the territory's future. Physical resources and economic resources are not synonymous although many people fail to see a difference. An easily accessible deposit of iron ore is a physical resource but it is not an economic resource unless its location is more convenient to the market than other equally-rich iron ore deposits. It is absurd to predict the future of a region like Alaska on the basis of an itemization of its physical resources. . . .

The economy of Alaska is often compared with that of the Scandinavian countries to prove that the region can support millions of people. It is true that Alaska and Sweden are similar in climate, latitude, and physical resources. Unfortunately, it is the differences not the similarities that are significant to Alaska's future. The most important of these differences is Sweden's proximity to markets and Alaska's distance from them. More than a hundred million people live within 700 miles of Stockholm, Sweden. Less than one million people live within 700 miles of Ketchikan, Alaska's most accessible city. The hundred million people located near Stockholm live in industrial countries (Germany and England) which lack the particular raw materials most abundant in Sweden. By contrast, most of the million persons "near" Alaska live in Vancouver, Canada, or in Seattle,

<sup>3</sup> From an article by Wilford J. Eiteman, professor of economics at the University of Michigan, and Alice Boardman Smuts, research assistant. *Economic Geography*, 27:33-42, January 1951. Reprinted by permission.

Washington, regions whose resources are of the same type as those of Alaska. Thus Sweden ships lumber to England where lumber is scarce. If Alaska exports lumber, she must ship it via Seattle where lumber is one of the principal products. Even disregarding transportation costs, the cost of producing lumber in Oregon and Washington is less than the cost of producing it in Alaska. Add to this the fact that the North-Pacific states are closer than Alaska to the consumption centers and it becomes clear why Sweden's forests are economic resources while Alaska's forests are just physical resources.

Sweden possesses the richest iron ore deposits in the world. She mines, smelts, and ships the metal to a customer only 500 miles distant (Germany). Alaskan iron ore is of lower quality. Furthermore, the nearest important markets lie east of the Mississippi River, more than 3000 miles away. To make matters worse, higher quality ore is mined in the Lake Superior region very close to consumer markets. Thus, until a steel industry is firmly established on the Pacific coast, high transportation costs will keep Alaskan iron deposits in the classification of physical rather than economic resources.

What has been said of Alaskan iron and lumber does not apply to salmon, gold, and fur. Alaska produces seven eighths of the world's supply of salmon. Consequently she dominates the market and is in a position to demand and receive a price high enough to pay any transportation charges. In addition, salmon are so abundant in the waters of Alaska that the cost per pound of catching and canning them is low even though wages of fishermen and cannery workers are high. Gold and furs have such high market value in proportion to their bulk that transportation costs to distant markets are not significant. As long as their supply remains abundant, their cost of acquisition will also remain fairly low.

Most of the resources suggested as a basis of new Alaskan industries do not possess the unique economic characteristics of salmon, gold, and furs. For example, it has been pointed out that Alaska has enough forests to supply one third of the United States newsprint needs. This may be true, but Alaska forests will not be used for this purpose as long as the domestic and Cana-

dian forests are able to supply American paper requirements at lower prices. Lumber for construction purposes is milled in Juneau, Sitka, and Ketchikan, but it has not been possible to market this lumber in the territory outside of the towns where the mills are located. . . . The cost of producing lumber in Juneau is much higher than the cost of producing it in Washington and Oregon. Hence, Juneau lumber cannot be exported with profit to the States nor even sold in other parts of Alaska in competition with outside producers. Consequently, local mills are forced to limit their production to the needs of the vicinity in which they are located. An exception is Sitka spruce cut in the neighborhood of Ketchikan and shipped to Seattle for use in the manufacture of airplanes.

Turning next to Alaska's great store of minerals, we see again that it is not the quantity of iron, zinc, copper, and lead that determines the future of Alaska's mining industry, but the richness of the deposits, the cost of extracting the minerals, and the ability of Alaskan producers to compete with outside producers in distant markets. . . .

Lead, zinc, and copper—are bulky and have a low value per pound. Markets are distant and consumption centers are even more distant. The cost of mining these minerals plus the cost of shipping them to market are so great as to render their exportation unprofitable in view of the relatively low price at which they must be sold. . . . There are three areas in the territory where the environment is suitable for agriculture: the Matanuska Valley, the Tanana Valley, and the region around Homer. In the first two, large tracts of land are already under cultivation and yield abundant crops. Development of agriculture around Homer has lagged due to inadequate transportation facilities.

In the case of agriculture, also, there are significant differences between Alaska and Sweden. The broad interior valley where Sweden's farm lands lie is in southern Sweden. Alaska's large valley, the Yukon, is in the North where the weather is too cold for most forms of agriculture. Sweden's valley opens southward toward her markets; Alaska's valley points westward away from her customers. Sweden's mountains act as a protection from bad weather. Alaska's mountains act as a barrier to trade.

Up to the present the high level of local prices has made farming in Alaska profitable. Since Alaskan farm production has never been able fully to supply local consumptive needs, retailers are forced to import some food of every kind from Seattle. . . . The Alaskan retail price of imported foods is the Seattle wholesale price plus transportation charges plus the retailer's mark-up for handling. . . . It is the present Alaskan farmer's good fortune to be able to sell his produce at the prices set by merchants for imported products, even though he does not have to pay freight charges from Seattle. . . .

The Alaskan farmer could lose this advantage in two ways: (1) he might expand production to the point where importation would be unnecessary or (2) transportation costs might be lessened. If farmers flock to Alaska in such numbers as to make it possible for farm production to supply the needs of Alaskan consumers, importation will cease and farm prices will drop to lower levels. . . . Alaskan farmers are not in immediate danger of any of these pessimistic happenings for the industry can stand doubling or trebling. But doubling or trebling Alaskan agriculture means adding two or three thousand more persons, not millions or even hundreds of thousands. . . .

Most of the persons now engaged in mining operations are connected with gold mining. A rapid expansion of placer mining will only deplete the territory's placer deposits that much the quicker. . . . Man invariably mines the richest deposits first and then moves to poorer and poorer deposits until forced to cease mining altogether because the deposits left do not warrant the cost of working them. . . . Under the circumstances, gold mining does not offer promise of supporting large numbers of permanent residents in the territory.

Something of the same type of reasoning applies to the salmon industry. To prevent depletion of this resource it is necessary to maintain a balance between the rate of catch and the rate of reproduction. Any attempt to increase the present catch so as to give employment to additional residents will lead only to the extinction of salmon.

What has been said of the salmon applies also to the trapping of wild animals. At present the hardships of a trapper's life maintain the necessary balance between catch and reproduction. A large influx of hunters is not apt to occur but, if it did, it would lead to an extermination of fur-bearing animals similar to that of the sea otter and the sea cow by the Russian hunters.

The islands that fringe the coast of Alaska are ideal for fox farming since one has only to purchase a small island and allow the animals to run wild. Fox farms already exist there and the market for furs could absorb larger quantities than at present without adversely affecting prices. . . . Fur-animal farming does offer some prospect of limited development.

The economic salvation of the territory, say some, depends upon the building up of new manufacturing industries. Manufacturing industries usually find it advantageous to locate between the source of cheapest raw material and the location of the largest body of consumers. Obviously Alaskan manufacturers cannot do this. Except for salmon, gold, and furs, raw materials found in Alaska are not cheap. It is doubtful if Alaskan producers could afford to import raw materials for manufacture. Consequently such manufacturing as may develop must take the form of converting local raw materials into goods for local consumption. Of necessity such industries will be small. . . .

Many of those who urge millions to settle in Alaska assume that improved transportation is the magic cure-all, a panacea for all of the territory's economic ills. They contend that the Alcan Highway, new air routes, and possibly a United States-Alaskan railroad would end Alaska's isolation from the rest of the world and so remove the barrier to its future development.

The Alcan Highway was built to serve military, not commercial needs. The road is long, it is impassible most of the year, and it is difficult at all times. Its upkeep is extremely expensive and it is separated from the principal Alaskan cities by high mountain ranges. . . .

Air transportation is fast but is not cheap. It may aid the tourist trade but it is not serviceable for shipping such bulky resources as ores, fish, and lumber. . . . The construction of a United States to Alaska railroad might reduce transportation costs of bulky articles to the cold sparsely populated interior valley of

Alaska (the region about Fairbanks) but the road would never be able to earn more than its expense of operation nor to pay a return on its investment.

It is significant to note that not all Alaskans stand to profit from cheaper transportation. The first effect of lower freight rates would be lower prices of imported products. . . . This would be a boon to the salmon and gold mining industries but a burden to Alaskan industries attempting to provide goods to Alaskan consumers. If Alaskan producers understood the full significance of lower transportation charges, it is doubtful if so many of them would continue to advocate lower freight rates. . . .

But a contrasting picture of the territory can also be painted. It is a fact that fortunes are being made there every day. For example, it is estimated that a thousand fishermen support their families by catching the legal limit of beaver. A few weeks of hard work yield these men a sizable annual income and enable them to save the entire proceeds of their fishing activities. . . . [But] it will be noted that the legal limit for beaver hunting will remain what it is only as long as the number of beaver hunters is small. The rather extreme case of the beaver-hunting fishermen illustrates a characteristic of most Alaskan opportunities: they vanish when too many attempt to exploit them.

Another way of stating this is to say that remarkable opportunities for earning a livelihood exist in Alaska, but for individuals, not for crowds. It is difficult to make casual observers realize this; to see that future migration to Alaska must remain an individual matter; that if it is carried out on a wholesale scale, it will lead to disaster.

### STATEHOOD COSTS TOO MUCH <sup>9</sup>

Arguments for granting immediate statehood to Alaska are based on . . . theories which will not stand examination. The proposal is a chimera. It has been advanced as a means for speeding the territory's development, increasing its population,

<sup>9</sup> From minority views as set forth in *Providing for the Admission of Alaska into the Union*; report of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs to accompany S.50. May 8, 1951. (S. Report no315) 82d Congress, 1st session. Superintendent of Documents. Washington, D.C. 1951. p46-54.



and placing it on a sound economic footing as a member of the Federal Union.

Passage of the pending legislation will accomplish none of these things. It will not, because Alaska currently is suffering from grave economic ills. This bill is not an economic bill. It makes no pretense of solving any of the territory's fundamental problems.

Alaska cannot afford statehood at the present time.

Alaska, after eighty-five years as a Federal territory, in recent years has been unable adequately to support itself in its present territorial status.

These are not matters of criticism or disgrace directed at the inhabitants of the territory. These are hard, cold facts which must be faced by the members of the Congress in the consideration of this legislation.

Alaskans cannot be held responsible for a situation which has as its inherent qualities an almost total lack of basic industries, staggering wage scales, long freight hauls for all commodities, and the cloud of Indian claims against territorial lands as a further deterrent to industrial development.

Federal spending in Alaska, including the multimillion-dollar projects for war and defense, is at a peak. Aside from the salmon industry, which is declining, Federal spending constitutes the territory's main industry.

When this bubble bursts, Alaskans will be faced with extreme economic hardship. The population must decline without industries to replace the Government building program. Beyond the conversation of the bureaucrats, there are no new industries in immediate prospect now. . . .

Agriculture itself, the basic industry, has actually declined, not increased, during the past decade. Ten years ago there were 623 farms (including fur farms) in the entire territory; now there are exactly 525. Either figure is far less than the number of farms in the average county in the forty-eight states. Acreage of land under cultivation has likewise decreased.

This will mean that money will be increasingly scarce for those who remain in Alaska. Theirs will be the job of continuing to support the expensive territorial government that has been

allowed to grow during the lush years of Federal spending for defense. The resultant peril of financial chaos and governmental bankruptcy would be multiplied many times over by thrusting statehood on the territory at the present time, with the added burden of supporting the new state government now, and later when the golden torrent of Federal dollars has ended.

Attempts have been made to give the impression that territorial status is the only obstacle to a rapid development of Alaskan resources and growth of the Alaskan population. Such an impression is false. Beside the economic factors involved, the failure of Alaska to develop more rapidly has been due to a gigantic superstructure of stifling regulations and restrictions upon the use of its resources by various bureaus of the Federal Government. . . . Suffice to say, the Congress can best aid Alaska by undertaking a thorough inquiry into the many economic problems and restrictive policies now hampering the territory, and by adopting corrective measures based on logic and reason.

This would be a departure from the emotional and highly colored approach to this matter which has marked all previous attempts to force the bill through the Congress. It would also be an act of simple justice and common sense toward these United States citizens who are the most concerned; namely, the Alaskans themselves.

Alaska now has almost every kind of tax to be found anywhere else in the country. With the new taxes . . . enacted, it is estimated that territorial taxes will now amount to . . . a figure higher than that of any other state [per capita].

Statehood is expected to double the cost of government for territorial inhabitants, adding approximately \$10 million to their annual tax bill.

Is this a proper burden with which to saddle Alaskans so that a handful of ambitious politicians may realize their dreams of becoming senators, members of the House of Representatives, judges, and other officials of the proposed new state? That is the only direct benefit, for a handful of Alaskans, that passage of the pending bill can hope to convey. The question answers itself. . . .

Out of the . . . inhabitants of Alaska . . . between 30,000 and 35,000 are natives who are nonproducing and who, therefore, contribute little revenue to the territorial government. The effect, of course, is to increase the burden on that segment of the population that does produce.

To grant statehood at this time is to fail utterly in our obligation to guard the welfare of those who have ventured to the territory to make their homes and who are bravely striving to lead normal lives there in the face of a harsh combination of climatic and geographical handicaps.

## WILL OF THE PEOPLE

### EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Despite the 1946 vote of three to two in favor of statehood, the question of whether the people of Alaska desire it at this time, and under the conditions proposed, seems to be a good deal more controversial than it does in the case of the people of Hawaii, where the voting was two to one—and where a powerful pro-statehood movement has been organized for a much longer period.

During the Senate debate in 1952, Senator Hugh Butler brought out the fact that the population of Alaska has increased considerably since 1946, and made the point that the new arrivals should have an opportunity to vote on the issue, which would affect them as much as the old inhabitants.

In reality, there are three alternatives, not two. It is possible that any future referendum would give the people of Alaska (and Hawaii) an opportunity to vote in favor of a status similar to that now enjoyed by Puerto Rico, which has been granted local self-government and freedom from Federal taxation. Heretofore, the choice has been between statehood and a continuation of the present territorial status.

### THE DESIRE OF THE MAJORITY <sup>1</sup>

As to the desire of a majority of the inhabitants of the territory for statehood, the Interior Department report points out that the 1946 referendum on the question resulted in a substantial victory for the proponents. More significant because more recent is the vote for the highest elective office of the territory, delegate to Congress, in the 1950 election. The incumbent, the Honorable E. L. "Bob" Bartlett, who has been a most outspoken,

<sup>1</sup> From majority views as set forth in *Providing for the Admission of Alaska Into the Union*; report of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs to accompany S.50. May 8, 1951. (S. Report no315) 82d Congress, 1st session. Superintendent of Documents. Washington, D.C. 1951. p. 1-18.

unequivocal advocate of statehood since his first campaign for the office in 1944, was opposed by a man who did not commit himself on statehood in any way. Mr. Bartlett won by a margin of three to one. It is submitted that when the people of Alaska returned an outspoken advocate of statehood to office by a margin of three to one over his noncommittal opponent, they thereby gave some expression to their views on statehood.

Furthermore, S. 50 carries its own provision for a referendum. The constitution drafted by the popularly elected delegates to the constitutional convention must be submitted to the people of the territory for approval. If they do not wish statehood under the terms of S. 50, they can make their disapproval known by rejecting the constitution drafted in accordance with its terms.

The Senate committee . . . [in 1950] heard more than forty witnesses who came from Alaska to support statehood and has painstakingly studied the voluminous . . . House committee hearings conducted in Alaska during the Eightieth Congress. It is convinced that statehood is the wish of the majority of the citizens of Alaska, and that they are ready for it.

The committee gave most careful consideration to the arguments and reasoning of opponents of statehood for Alaska. It was noted that no resident of the territory appeared in opposition, but that the burden was carried by representatives of the fish-packing industry with headquarters in the States. Most of the opposition, however, was directed to certain specific provisions in the Alaska statehood bill.

### ALASKANS UNITED ON STATEHOOD <sup>2</sup>

Statehood is not a matter of argument in Alaska. Alaskans no longer line up politically as pro-statehood or antistatehood, but are either for immediate statehood or in favor of statehood at some unspecified time.

All of the opinion polls taken in the past have indicated that a majority in Alaska were in favor of statehood, but at present it is not exactly a pressing issue. No hot wave of enthusiasm

<sup>2</sup> From an article by Robert G. Knox, special news correspondent of the *New York Times*. *New York Times*, p23. September 2, 1952. Reprinted by permission.

was whipped up when the most recent of the statehood bills appeared in Congress this summer, and no mass outcry of indignation was heard when that bill followed its predecessors in dying at the hands of Congress.

The two major political parties appear in accord in wanting statehood, but they differ widely in the type of statehood they want and how they want to go about getting it.

A plank in the Democratic national platform endorses immediate statehood and the national Democratic policy was in back of the most recent statehood measure. The Republicans also went in favor of statehood at their convention. However, they asked for it "under an equitable enabling act."

Ardent "statehood now" supporters argue that immediate statehood could do only good and would help all Alaskan residents by freeing the territory from Federal domination, allowing the new state a voice in the affairs of the nation through voting in national elections and the votes of its members of Congress, and allow the citizens of the newly created state to manage their internal affairs and natural resources without having to fight Washington domination.

The "statehood in the future" camp has argued that Alaska was still not ready for this step, what with its small population and huge areas. It raised the question of where Alaska could obtain the financial aid now granted by the Federal Government for many of the necessities of community life. It also argued that statehood under the bills so far drawn would only be a "token" measure as Washington would retain control of much of Alaska's natural resources although contributing less than now to support the area.

Another plan advanced was the idea of taking another gradual step toward statehood. . . . Under this plan Alaska would be allowed first of all to elect its own governor. Later this might be widened to allow Alaskans to vote in national elections, and perhaps elect one voting senator. These steps, the statehood-in-the-future group believes, would be the natural intermediate steps before the final plunge into full statehood.

Most citizens here feel that Alaska's most immediate problems are those caused by the construction-boom inflation, lack of adequate housing, and transportation and labor difficulties. Whether any or all of these problems could be solved entirely or in part by the creation of the state of Alaska is open to doubt.

### ALASKA FIGHTS FOR STATEHOOD <sup>3</sup>

Alaskans are by nature a disputatious people. You can get up a spanking argument in the territory over anything from fish traps to the price of lettuce. But there has never been such hair-raising, high-wind-velocity shouting, with all gentlemanly rules of debate suspended, as over whether Alaska should add the forty-ninth star to the United States flag by becoming a state. . . .

The fight over statehood . . . is personified by three men who are extraordinary even for "the Great Country." Each in his own way is as hard as Alaska's mountains, as eruptive as its volcanoes, and as cold as its glaciers.

The first of these is Ernest Gruening, governor of Alaska [1936 to 1953]. . . It is this heavy-set man with a square jaw, a prominent nose, and a ready grin who has led the fight for statehood. Bursting with a vitality which has made him the first governor to visit every outlying settlement and establishment, Gruening has behind him a lifetime of experience as a newspaper editor, writer of authoritative books, and Federal administrator. He was appointed to the top Alaskan post after serving as Director of Insular Affairs in Washington. His manner is suave, his composure unshakable. But he is a slugger in a fight like the one raging now. He is, moreover, proud of being "a New Dealer" who believes in Federal support for housing, education, and other "progressive" efforts.

Opposed to him in the current battle is "Cap" Lathrop [recently deceased] the salty 83-year-old millionaire of Fairbanks and Anchorage who came to Alaska in the early days without a cent and has made a fortune estimated at \$18 million by plowing his profits back into the territory. Perhaps more than any single

<sup>3</sup> From article by Frank L. Kluckhohn, reporter and foreign correspondent. *American Mercury*. 68:555-62. May 1949. Reprinted by permission.

man, he has developed Alaska. Spry and keen despite his age, blunt and straightforward, he is a horse trader who, nevertheless, stands on principle. He owns newspapers, banks, theatres, radio stations and modern apartment houses. . . .

Another leader of the opposition is a polished gentleman who has the manners and the reserve of a successful Wall Street executive, but who has written his name into some colorful chapters of Alaskan history. He is Carl Lomen, who owns mines, and operates the lighterage business, at Nome. Before the Federal Government (according to him) drove him out of business, Lomen was known as "the Reindeer King." He had imported and developed the Alaskan reindeer herds until they numbered 250,000 head. Then, he says, "the government moved in, forced me to sell at a fraction of value and so mishandled the undertaking that the reindeer now number only ten thousand." Less forceful than Governor Gruening, not as vociferous as Cap Lathrop, Carl Lomen, behind his imperturbable exterior, is a good hater and a strong fighter.

Governor Gruening has charged that Lathrop, Lomen, and others like them, are opposing statehood from sheer personal interest.

"Cap Lathrop," he asserted, "owns five theatres, two each in Anchorage and Fairbanks and one in Cordova. They pay no territorial taxes whatever, only a hundred-dollar license fee which is turned over to the municipality. He owns two banks, one in Fairbanks and one in Cordova. They pay no territorial taxes whatever, only a \$250 license fee which goes to the municipality. He owns two newspapers and two radio stations. They pay no territorial taxes whatever. He owns apartment houses which pay no territorial taxes whatever. He has a coal monopoly in the North, operating the Healy River Coal Company. His territorial tax is less than one cent a ton, and he can and does fix the price at any figure he wants. His other enterprise—the Olympia Brewing Company—is taxed slightly, but the taxes are passed on to the public.

"The Lomens," continued the Governor, "have made a fortune out of their lighterage monopoly, which is unregulated, and which pays no taxes whatever.



"Lathrop and Lomen have been active in lobbying against a basic tax program which they know will either precede statehood or be an inevitable consequence of it."

Lomen, for his part, asserts in conversation that Governor Gruening . . . organized the Indians and Eskimos—over a third of the population—into a powerful political machine. He claims the governor made presents of war surplus stocks to them in order to get their political support for his objectives. (The military commander at Nome was asked by the Army Department . . . to investigate reports that war surplus guns were being given the Indians. He reported that they were, but that there was nothing illegal in the process.)

Cap Lathrop says that Gruening has told friends he wants to be the first senator from Alaska. Lathrop claims, to any and all callers, that this is the primary reason the Governor is fighting for statehood.

This questioning of personal motives and methods by the leaders, these charges and counter-charges, are echoed, with amplifications, up and down the land from Arctic sub-stations to the cities of the Southeast Panhandle. Alaska is seething. In . . . recent elections the territory voted by more than eight to one in favor of abolishing fish traps, an act which the canning industry claims will ruin Alaska's chief industry if Congress in Washington approves. Coming on top of the earlier referendum asking for statehood, the vote shows that Alaskans are demanding change.

There are some amusing sidelights to the battle. One law officer I met in Alaska explained the battle over statehood this way: "Look," he told me. "There are a handful of people up here because they committed some crime. The territory is safer for them than the States. We seldom dig into their pasts unless there is a formal request for their extradition. You'd be surprised how much noise these characters make against Alaska becoming a state."

Not all the fighting over statehood is partisan, and not all Alaskans have made up their minds definitely. One Fairbanks businessman told me that he'd be willing to pay greater taxes for statehood; he was convinced that the benefits would more

than compensate for the cost. But he said he was worried about the prospects of a socialized economy emerging in Alaska after statehood.

A number of other people told me substantially the same thing; *i.e.*, they were all for Alaska becoming a state, but they were afraid that the wrong people might get control. A bush pilot commented: "I believe in statehood now. The only thing I have against it is the gang that's for it. I don't like their social ideas." . . .

Despite the violence of the argument, in which almost everyone in Alaska is involved, and despite the fact that practical obstacles do stand in the way of statehood, the tide seems to be running in favor of it both in Alaska and Washington. The "antis," moreover, cannot deny that Alaska has failed to progress without statehood. . . .

Although they cannot publicly take part in political disputes, most representatives in Alaska of the armed services privately favor statehood. They are concerned about the Soviet population-increase in Eastern Siberia, just across the Bering Straits, and lean to anything that might build up Alaska's small population.

Yet even the extent to which Alaska's population can be increased is a matter of controversy.

Gold production, for example, is a depression industry, and many Alaskan mines are currently shut down. Alaska's timber is capable of producing enough wood pulp to supply the world for years. But it is too soft for lumber, which actually has to be imported. There are big coal deposits a long way from markets. There are latent oil reserves, presently being explored by the Navy, but now oil is being pumped and shipped into Alaska.

The Matanuska Valley farming project, undertaken to resettle destitute farmers during the depression, has proved a long-range success, but only at enormous initial cost. While the amount of arable land in Alaska is debatable, it is widely said to be limited to an extent where it would be impossible for Alaska to grow food for a large population. . . .

A number of impartial experts are inclined to believe, in short, that Alaska's resources, considerable though they are, have been greatly overestimated. New developments—and the need for scarce metals Alaska possesses—may alter this estimate.

The aged president of the University of Alaska, a liberal who has lived in the territory forty years and favors statehood, nevertheless gives it as his considered judgment that Alaska is not capable of supporting a population more than two or three times larger than it now has.

"For one thing," he says, "this is a hard country. Women today do not like to face the back-breaking, lonely existence they must face if their husbands are to make good here as farmers. They like a little fun and the company of their kind."

#### MANY CHANGES HAVE OCCURRED <sup>4</sup>

Six [now seven] years have passed since Alaskans were afforded the opportunity to vote on the statehood issue. Many changes have occurred in those years, and thousands of new residents have settled in the territory.

The 1946 referendum, which favored the general proposition of statehood by the narrow majority of three to two, was voted upon by only 16,452 persons. Of these, only 9,630 voted in favor of statehood. . . . We have heard no expression of feeling from anything remotely resembling a majority. . . .

Are we to consider burdening . . . people with the added cost of statehood when less than 10 per cent of . . . [the total population] have indicated they desire statehood? . . .

I do not believe it is fair or in the interests of justice to take any action whatsoever on this bill before we have ascertained beyond any doubt that the people of Alaska not only desire immediate statehood but that they desire the brand of statehood offered. . . .

Before taking this momentous step, the Senate must have before it all of the pertinent facts, both for and against statehood. To date we have heard only from the small faction which has made repeated trips to Washington at the taxpayers' expense to present us with their reasons for desiring statehood.

Opponents of immediate statehood, who do not enjoy such ready access to the public coffers, have been forced either to sit at home, some five thousand miles away, while hearings affecting

<sup>4</sup> From remarks of Senator Hugh Butler (R., Neb.) in the United States Senate, February 27, 1952. *Congressional Record*. 98:1501-4. February 27, 1952.

their entire future were conducted here in Washington, or to come here at their own expense to oppose the measure. . . .

In all fairness to the great bulk of the Alaskan populace, the Senate should conduct hearings on statehood within Alaska itself, to give both opponents and proponents equal opportunity to state their case. . . . The Senate has never held hearings on the issue in Alaska. . . .

I . . . submit that the 1946 referendum, upon which the Alaska statehood committee bases so much of its argument, is today not the least indicative of the tenor of Alaskan thought. . . .

Are those thousands who have moved to the territory . . . [from 1946 on] to have no voice whatsoever in the matter? . . . I submit that the vast majority of Alaskans have never indicated their feelings on statehood, and that they should be given the opportunity to do so. I further submit that there are other means, less costly and harmful to Alaskans, by which this Congress can help them develop their resources and prepare themselves for eventual statehood.

The majority of Alaskans must certainly favor statehood in its true sense, whereby the state is master of its own destiny, with the same control over its land and resources as that enjoyed by other states. But it does not follow that the Alaskans must be burdened with a form of statehood which enables the Federal Government and its agencies to own and exercise control over every resource of the land and sea and thus dictate the manner and degree of their development. . . . Under the pending bill Alaska would be relegated to the status of a poor and distant relation of the Federal Union. Public hearings previously held on this matter have been confined almost exclusively to the merits and demerits of statehood, with little thought or consideration to the terms under which Alaska should be admitted to the Union. . . .

The people of Alaska are almost completely uninformed as to the provisions of the pending measure, since the only public hearings held on the statehood question within the territory were on a measure . . . different from [the one] now under consideration. . . .

Looking at the question from a purely objective viewpoint, I cannot see how it is at all practical to impose statehood on this

potentially rich territory when so little has been done to develop the natural resources upon which it will have to depend for income to pay the costs of state government.

At the present time, all but three tenths of one per cent of Alaska's land is owned by the Federal Government, and only one tenth of one per cent is privately owned. . . .

In our desire to aid the territory, there are other obvious steps we can take to prepare it for statehood before casting upon its people the overwhelming tax load which will surely result.

First and foremost we must give the residents of Alaska the opportunity to develop their country without the hampering controls of the Interior Department. We must remove the restrictions which have hamstrung Alaska for so many years and release from Federal control the vast forests, the potentially rich oil fields, the mineral deposits, and the limited farm lands. Give Alaska her fair share of income from the lucrative Pribilof Islands.

To prepare the citizens of Alaska for the responsibilities attendant on statehood, we should pass legislation giving them the right to elect their own governor. . . .

I should like to say that I agree . . . that the United States Government should adopt a policy that can be followed with reference to the treatment of lands not adjacent to our own mainland. I think we have already adopted such a policy, and it has worked extremely well. I believe it was in the closing minutes of the Eightieth Congress that a bill was passed by the House and the Senate, and signed by the President, giving to Puerto Rico the right to elect its own governor and granting certain other privileges which the people of Puerto Rico had not had up to that time. Since then there have been no more contented people in the Western Hemisphere than the people of Puerto Rico.

### STRIKINGLY STRANGE <sup>5</sup>

I wish to state briefly something further in regard to the sentiment of the people of Alaska themselves. It is strikingly strange to me that if this proposal were so sound from their

<sup>5</sup> From remarks of Senator John C. Stennis (D., Miss.) in the United States Senate, February 27, 1952. *Congressional Record*, 98:1519-22. February 27, 1952.

standpoint approximately 42 per cent of the people of Alaska who participated in an official election . . . on this question voted against statehood. That fact has not been explained to me or to the Senate, and it is all the more striking inasmuch as the territorial administration of Alaska was moving heaven and earth to get out every vote they possibly could in favor of the statehood bill. Statehood is their theme song.

I do not criticize them for wanting statehood; it seems to me that every person in Alaska would want statehood in the United States of America, unless there was some overwhelming reason against it, unless their common sense and good judgment told them plainly that Alaska was not ready for statehood. I believe that is the reason why most of them voted as they did. Nine thousand six hundred and thirty-four votes were cast in favor of statehood, and 6,822 votes were cast against statehood.

In further reference to the sentiment in Alaska, let me point out that following the failure of the Alaskan statehood bill to pass the Senate of the United States in December, 1950, the Alaskan territorial legislature passed a resolution memorializing the Congress that they desired an additional measure of self-government, through provision for the election by the people of the territory of their own governor. The territorial legislature is the most representative group to speak for Alaska, and it passed a resolution requesting the Congress to allow the people of Alaska to elect their own governor.

However, in the face of that resolution, their delegate to the Congress opposes the movement to let the people of Alaska elect their own governor. . . .

After the Alaskan statehood bill had been before the Congress in 1950, and failed of passage by the Senate, the territorial legislature of Alaska memorialized the Congress of the United States to allow Alaska a fifteen-year exemption from all Federal taxation, in favor of corporations which would develop the territory of Alaska. The territorial legislature was taking a very sound and practical approach to a practical matter, when it memorialized the Congress of the United States for that special tax provision of fifteen years. However, such a provision could not stand if Alaska were a state, because throughout all the states

of the Union taxation must be uniform, according to fixed schedules. Here is a constructive, down-to-earth proposal by the people of Alaska, not by us; but it is being opposed and played against. . . .

### MANY WHO VOTED "YES" DIDN'T MEAN "NOW" <sup>6</sup>

Undoubtedly . . . you will arrange for further hearings to be held in Alaska. This would seem only fair, as many people who believe Alaska is not yet ready for statehood have neither the time nor the money to make a trip to Washington. On the other hand, the prostatehood group has \$25,000 in tax funds, appropriated by the last legislature, and recently made available out of the territorial treasury, for the promotion of statehood.

I realize your committee held hearings in Alaska in 1947, but many changes have taken place in the territory since that time, . . . from the standpoint of our territorial financial situation, our tax structure, and military construction. . . .

It has often been said that I object to statehood because of the heavy tax burden which would fall on my interests. In the first place, I am not opposed to statehood. Like most Alaskans, I hope the day will come when Alaska will become a state. Being a practical businessman, however, I feel that the territory should first prove its ability to carry such a financial burden. . . .

As the members of your committee who have been in Alaska well know, I have tried to build for the future in giving the communities buildings and institutions which present business does not justify. I have always been identified with constructive, progressive movements in the territory. Those who have visited Alaska can tell you that my belief and interest in the future of this country has been expressed not in words and political speeches, but in the construction of fine buildings, and in the development and expansion of companies with which I am connected. A large portion of my interests, especially theaters and

<sup>6</sup> From letter of Austin E. Lathrop, late capitalist and old resident of Alaska, Fairbanks, Alaska, March 25, 1950. Included in *Alaska Statehood*; hearings April 24-29, 1950, before the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, on H.R.331 and S.2036. 81st Congress, 2d session. Superintendent of Documents. Washington, D.C. 1950. p527-8.

radio stations, would benefit quickly and materially by a large influx of people and capital. If I honestly believed that statehood would bring even one fourth of the people and the development which its proponents claim, I would be one of the most enthusiastic leaders of the statehood now movement, regardless of the increased taxes involved.

One point the committee should bear in mind, that while the proponents of statehood have been much louder and much more active than the antistatehood group, the vote on the referendum actually was quite close—58 per cent for statehood and 42 per cent against, with the second and fourth divisions turning in a majority against statehood.

As you know, the wording on the referendum ballot merely stated, "Are you in favor of statehood for Alaska?" Many people voted "yes" who didn't believe that Alaska is ready for statehood now.

Another point that should be noted is that one of the very strong arguments by the proponents of statehood at the time of the referendum vote was that under territorial status less than 1 per cent of the land in Alaska is in private ownership and under statehood a large proportion of the public land would be turned over to the state. The original bill, which so provided, is not the bill now under consideration by your committee. The new bill turns not more than 1 per cent of the Government-held land over to the state, which means that approximately 98 per cent of the area of Alaska would still be controlled by the Federal Government. I am very certain that many people in Alaska today would change their vote on statehood if this point were made clear to them. . . .

In closing, I cannot refrain from commenting on the preposterous and highly emotional claim that statehood is necessary for the defense of Alaska. I would hate to think that our military policies and defense planning in strategic areas are dependent upon or in any way influenced by the form of government or the political doctrines in such areas. As was brought out in one of the statehood hearings in Alaska . . . this national defense angle is a very peculiar promotional piece of propaganda. On the one hand, it is argued that statehood will increase the popula-



tion and we must urge and encourage great numbers of people to go north with their families and establish their homes. In the next breath we are telling these people that Alaska is a very strategic place and in the event of another war will certainly be one of the first places to be invaded, attacked, or neutralized.

# DEFENSE

## EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Compared to Hawaii, Alaska has long been neglected from the point of view of defensive military installations. Today, with the threat of a "polar war," vast defensive projects are being undertaken in the northern territory. But there is still disagreement as to whether statehood would affect the defense of Alaska beneficially.

### ALASKA—KEY TO ARCTIC DEFENSE <sup>1</sup>

With aerial refueling, or in one-way suicide raids, a Russian B-29-type bomber—the Tu-4—can reach most of the United States from European and Siberian bases. But only the extreme Eastern Siberian bases are near enough to Alaska, Western Canada, the Pacific Northwest, and the Hanford (Wash.) atomic energy plant for two-way raids by B-29-type aircraft. Theoretically, at least, the Russian B-29's (there are probably several hundred of them available), if they have approximately the same range as our own, could just barely reach Hanford and return to their bases in conventional two-way raids.

These facts alone explain the importance of Alaska and the Arctic to our strategic concepts. But the Arctic, as a whole, has an even greater significance in the air and missile age. For trans-polar great circle air routes are the shortest distances from Soviet Russia to the United States and vice versa, and modern weather and navigation techniques have robbed the Arctic of much of its peril to aircraft.

Thus the Arctic offers the best—in fact, virtually the only—air route of approach for Russian attacks upon the Western Hemisphere. But it is not only highly important to our defense; it is today of supplementary importance to our air attack, and in

<sup>1</sup> From "U. S. Building Strength on Vast Arctic Front," by Hanson W. Baldwin, noted military affairs analyst. *New York Times*. p E5. March 22, 1953. Reprinted by permission.

time, when very long-range jet bombers and guided missiles are available, it may become of primary importance.

The Arctic—particularly the Alaskan-Aleutian area, “storm factory” of the world—is also highly important to accurate weather forecasting. It has major importance to control of the North Atlantic and North Pacific. Bases in Alaska and the Aleutians, Newfoundland, Labrador, Greenland and Iceland flank the great circle air and sea routes to Europe and Asia; such bases are vital to protection of seaborne commerce and effective antisubmarine war.

United States military installations in the Arctic are scattered from the Aleutians, which reach out from the Russian base at Petropavlovsk, through Alaska, across Canada and its fringing Arctic islands to Greenland and Iceland. There is even a floating experimental weather and scientific station near the Arctic ice cap and there is a NATO-approved airfield in northern Norway.

Of all these areas Alaska and its islands are the most important. The defense of Alaska is based on the “heartland” concept; our garrisons concentrate on the defense of the key mainland communications and three main bases—among the largest in the world—at Anchorage, Fairbanks and twenty-six miles from Fairbanks. They make no attempt to defend each island or the whole perimeter.

Each one of the three main airfields is strongly defended on the ground; there are two regimental combat teams in Alaska, and probably two or three battalions of antiaircraft. But the air defense is still weak; there is less than one full wing of all-weather F-94 interceptors, and the radar network, as recent maneuvers showed, still has “holes” in it. Nome, directly across from Russian Siberia, and other peripheral spots are undefended, or only lightly so; the Navy has its Alaskan headquarters and a base at Kodiak and there are some outlying weather and other details on the Aleutians, at Point Barrow and elsewhere. The concept of defense contemplates a screen—chiefly radar—around the periphery, strong defense of the three main bases against enemy air and airborne attack, and rapid reinforcement by air, airborne troops and ships from the United States in case of war.

In Canada and its northern Arctic islands the United States and Canadians maintain a series of weather and radar stations, with intermittent airfields much further south. There is a string of airfields—useful for the support of Alaska—roughly along the route of the Alaskan Highway, and the Royal Canadian Air Force has fields or strips near Churchill on Hudson Bay and elsewhere in the North Country. . . .

Russia's Far Eastern Military District, which includes that area of Eastern Siberia nearest to Alaska and extending from the Sea of Okhotsk and the Kamchatka peninsula northward through the Chukchi peninsula, probably has a garrison of 200,000 to 300,000 men scattered through this vast, primitive area as compared to perhaps 25,000 to 35,000 United States military personnel in Alaska. . . .

The United States is much more advanced in the art of waging war in the Arctic today than it was three years ago, and though it would be easy for an enemy to land in Alaska it would be hard for him to take the key "heartland" area (Anchorage-Fairbanks) and harder still for him to maintain his position once he had landed there.

But there are admittedly great gaps in our radar chain all across the north; interceptor fighters stationed in the Arctic are few in number and inadequate as night or all-weather fighters, and some of our key installations are still unfinished. The United States Arctic today could not be expected to stop a Russian air attack; indeed, under certain conditions it might not even detect it.

### QUESTION OF DEFENSE NOT GERMANE <sup>2</sup>

I have been asked to testify on a question that has beclouded the issue of the purpose of this bill under consideration. That question has to do with the relative value of Alaska statehood in regard to the national defense.

I think all military strategists concede the importance of the Alaskan position. You gentlemen are well aware of testimony from the highest military figures in this regard.

<sup>2</sup> From statement of Ralph Wood, retired rear admiral. In *Alaska Statehood*; hearings April 24-29, 1950, before the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, on H.R.331 and S.2036. 81st Congress, 2d session. Superintendent of Documents. Washington, D.C. 1950. p369-71.

I hold to these opinions. But to becloud the matter of the format of this particular bill by insisting that it, and it only, will assist the national defense is definitely not a service to clarification. . . .

It has been stated that statehood for Alaska is now going to bolster somehow the national defense.

In my opinion, it makes no difference whether Alaska is a state or a territory as far as national defense is concerned. As a matter of fact, since the federation of the original thirteen colonies the common defense has been just that.

Our plans, purposes, policies, and practices in the common defense have been effected without regard to sectionalization.

During the period of our frontier days, the territories were in a way, and because of necessity, better defended than the original states.

In recent times Alaska, Guam, Puerto Rico, the Canal Zone, and Hawaii received the utmost attention in our scheme of national defense. In other words, the status as to state or non-state never entered defensive or offensive calculations.

Were Alaska to become a state tomorrow, it would not alter, I am sure, the general over-all consideration of our defense problems.

Be advised that I am not debating the merits of statehood. I am simply pointing out that the question of the national defense is not germane to the issue. . . .

In conclusion, I would say that all persons responsible for the national defense—the President, the Congress, the Department of Defense, and others—will do their duty to the utmost irrespective of the political status of Alaska, state, or territory.

### STATEHOOD FOR ALASKA <sup>3</sup>

At a time when Russia frowns across the Bering Strait at the northernmost frontier of the United States, it is of supreme importance that Alaska be a strong point of American defense. This is not exclusively, nor even most importantly, a matter of physical armament. It requires, rather, that Alaska be sound

<sup>3</sup> Editorial. *New York Herald Tribune*. March 7, 1950. Reprinted by permission.

and vigorous, militarily, economically, and politically, that it share in the main currents of American life. In the cold war, the best garrisons are not those who wear uniforms; they are citizens with the full rights of citizenship, promoting the prosperity of their communities and aware of their responsibilities. Such rights as Alaskans have enjoyed under the territorial government are, to be sure, far superior to those which any subject of a Soviet dictatorship is granted by his masters. But American freedom should not be exemplified in a crucial region by half measures. As an example of the intrinsic dynamism of the American way, if for no other reason, Alaska should be admitted to statehood.

Such a decision . . . will have other practical benefits. As a state, represented in Congress and able to vote for presidents, Alaska could attract a larger population, work more freely to develop the riches of its huge area, help to dispel the ignorance which has hampered its growth. Too many Americans are still only vaguely aware of the potentialities of Alaska; its semi-dependent status has fostered an impression of wild wastelands, romantic but exotic. To bring Alaska into the familiar political pattern of the American states will adjust this viewpoint, allow a more realistic appraisal of Alaska's value and encourage the investment of capital, skills and human hopes. . . .

The Alaskan case is, in our judgment, overwhelming. Virtually all of the opposition in the House to Alaska's entry has been based on political considerations—the fact that as a state it would have two senators, like all the rest, despite the disparity between its present population and that of New York, for example, or California. But if statehood will increase Alaska's citizenry, it would be a mistake to hamper the growth of an important portion of America because of a situation which may well be temporary and which, in any case, was expressly provided in the Constitution to balance the political power of large and small states. Shifts in population have before this made many of the arguments used against the acquisition of territories by the United States ludicrous—it used to be said, for example, that Oregon was worthless because of the "fifteen hundred miles of unredeemed and invincible sterility, with a backbone of snow-covered and (for

most of their length) impassable mountains" separating that region from the East. Time proved the folly of this judgment; given courage and imagination in Congress, time can do the same for Alaska.

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