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BY ALBERT HORLINGS

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The United States is making one of the most dranatic bets of history in Hawaii. It is a gambling the internal stability of its greatest bade in the Pacific—the anchor of the whole Pacific battle line—on the loyalty of 150,000 Japanese and Japanese Americans, 40,000 of whom are aliens, the majority of whom cannot read or speak English, and few of whom have ever seen America or have a clear understanding of what

America stands for.

This is no mean wager. A Japanese forth column in Hawaii could do great damage during an attempted invasion. It could halt civilian transportation, block highways, destroy the vulnerable reservoirs upon which Honolulu depends for water wreck gas and electric service, destroy food, and terrorize civilians. By diverting man-power from the exterior defenses this fifth column could turn defeat for the invader into success. Sabotage would be easy for it; the Japanese population is 40 per cent of the total, and its members hold hundreds of strategic positions in public utilities, in

civilian defense, and in other services.

"e might deserve praise for risking so much on the human heart if only we were not making the bet for the wrong reasons. I suspect we are making it not because the military authorities in Hawaii really trust the Japanese but because (1) pressure has been brought on them, and (2) they have been told that the economic life of the islands will collapse without the Japanese. Hawaiian business men are variously motivated, but some of them appear to favor a liberal policy toward the Japanese simply because they favor business as usual. And in the background hovers the case for Hawaiian statehood. The Japanese in Hawaii have long been held up to the mainland as first-class Americans by those pressing for the island's admission to the Union, and many islanders fear that to cast doubt on Japanese loyalty now would ruin the chances of admission. The real conviction of the white islanders is shown by the large-scale evacuation of women and children that has been going on ever since Pearl Harbor.

In this historic gamble we have certainly something to win. First, we can win the confidence of some good citizens of ours. Japanese communities in this country have in general realized that their members could never blend physically into the American stream, and so far they have shown no evidence of wanting to be anything but a Japanese colony abroad. But a few individuals in these communities, in Hawaii and in the states, have become truly Americanized in spirit, and it would be a tragedy if they were discriminated against by measures aimed at Japanese who merely live here. No one who knows the able, spirited, and likable American of Japanese ancestry will underestimate the contribution these people can make to American life once they choose—and once we permit them—to turn irrevocably to the West.

We gain something also by admitting that Hawaii has handled its peculiar racial problem sensubly and well, and by refusing unnecessarily to disturb the islands' equilibrium. Socologically and genertically we have everything to win. Hawaii is one of the great anthropological laboratories of the world, and it would be easy to arouse antipathies that would destroy its value. The racial aloha of the islands is a real and priceless thing.

But the greatest thing we stand to gain is the aid of hundreds of millions of people whose skins are not the color of ours. Whether we win or lose the peace will probably depend greatly upon our success in convincing Asiatics, Indians, Negroes, and others that our plea for world leadership is not a screen for world domination. We must convince them that we are fighting not for an Anglo-Saxon world or a Caucasian world, but for a

world in which humanity is the best of franchise.

However, our kindness to enemy aliens and enemy sympathizer at a naval outpost will abail us little so long as we needless-ly affront our friends. The propaganda value of extraordinary solicitude for Hawaii's Japanese-and it is certainly extraordinary measured by Japanese and German standards, as weod as by our own past performance-will be completely nullified unless we mend our manners. A Chinese seaman who was on our side yar years before the State Department know which was our side is prohibited from coming ashore at an American port. Amd if it is true that an exclusion law aimed at all Orientals arouse more redentment than good treatment of enemy-alien Orientals can ever undo, then we must wonder whether we have not a local matter, and a decision relating to control of a possible fifth column must be determined by national interests. How does our present policy look from that point of view? I am afraid that it looks crazy. I never found anyone in Honolulu, not eyen the most enthusiastic member of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce, who would say that Hawaii's Japanese were overwhelmingly loyal to the United States. Why should they be, and why should they want us to win this war?

The political and ecomomic fortunes of a few depend upon our winning. Some have been released from stark poverty by living under the American flag. Some have washed away the stain of ostracism that attached to their family in Japan. Some believe that America's accent upon the worth of the individual will lead to greater happiness for themselves and the world. A few would rather see a defeated Japan than a militaristic one. Some have deeply rooted prejudices and sentiments bind-

ing them to our side.

But the proportion of these is not large. The majority have nothing to gain by the degeat of Japan. Their prestige as expatriates depends in large part upon the prestige of the Japanese empire. Their economic fortunes are often tied more colosely to Japan than to America: they work for Tokyo banks and business houses; they import goods from Japan; they invest in Japanese securities. Even if they live entirely off Hawaiian lamd or its surrounding waters, their cistomers are likely to be members of their own race. When they work for the white man, it is in a menish position, one that is more likely to arouse resentment than regard. To a remarkable degree Hawaii's Japanese are untouched by American ways; all their pride of

race, family, sand religion binds them to Japan. Thousands see or hear almost nothing American, while they consume Japanese food, Japanese clothing, Japanese music, Japanese pictures, Japanese newspapers and magazines by the shipload.

In common with all the other races there, the Japanese love their purple islands, but they can imagine Hawaii without American rule. Indeed, Japanese propaganda has frewwently drawn the picture for them. Instead of doing menial labor at the low end of a double wage standard, they would occupy lofty positions in the economic life of the islands. Instead of being crowded in slums, they would live in the cool valleys back of the city, from which deed restrictions now generally exclude them. Instead of seeing their children admitted to the best schools only in token numbers, they would enjoy all the emoluments of the ruling class. In hundreds of ways even the "good" Japanese would gain, not lose, by Japanese rule of Hawaii.

Not are they unaware of these facts. In impressive numbers they fail to burn their bridges to Japan. Despite the numerous campaigns for renunciation of Japanese allegiance, there are still 60,000 dual citizens in Hawaii—in other words, the majotity of American-born Japanese in Hawaii are willing to let the Japanese government claim them as its own. Some 15,000 Hawaiian-born Japanese have cast their lot permanently with Japan. Thousnds of others shuttle between Tokyo and Honolulu, "taking my father's ashes to dis homeland," seeking better jobs, or simply taking advantage of thellow steamship rates through which Japan keeps in touch with its foreign colonies.

Only a Pollyanna could conclude that there is no danger in this situation. If only because it hides the emperor's agents, this large unassimilated group constitutes a real menace. Nor are the professional saboteurs who escape the FBI the only ones who would act with zest if they found themselves in a position to swing the balance against the United States forces. There are also congenital white-man haters thaole-haters in the island vernacular) among both the alien and citi-The most innocuous papa-san could easily become zen Japanese. their dupe. I do not say he will; the point is that we cannot be sure he will not. With no better material the emperor's men certainly welded efficient fifth columns in the Philippines, in Malaya, and in the Dutch East Indies. (There is another side to the coin, and in a happier time I would rather be polishing it-it presents the Hawaiianization of Japanese who can never be Americanized, for instance, and the human q qualities which we must admire in these fine people whether they happen to be on our side or not.)

People who havebeen interned do not buy theater tickets or serve cocktails, and some islanders have argued that this is not the time to disturb matters in civilian Honolulu. Hawaii's Congressional delegate, Sam King, has worked assiduously to convince both Congress and the military that nothing should be done beyond apprehending known spies and treatherous ringleaders. Everywhere one hears repeated the testimony of Captain John Anthony Burns of the Honolulu police force that he has found the accounts of sniping at American soldiers

untrue, and the touching story of Yoshio Yamamoto, who saves all hisapenniesefor war stamps. Everywhere people emphasize the Japanese are indispinsable in Hawaii. But many of these are interested persons who overlook the Buddhist temples, the Japanese-language schools, the dozens of Japanese societies and organizations, some with official Tokyo connections, the ubiquitous pictures of the emperor, the Japanese holidays, the crowds flocking to see the emperor's cruisers, the subscriptions to Japanese warlloans, the strongly nationalistic propaganda uncovered in Japanese-language publications.

The argument of Japanese-indispensability, the one that has been dinned into the ears of Congress and the military authorities, is a fallacious one. It would be inconvenient to get along without the Japanese, but it would not be impossible. The Filipino has long been the backbone of the plantation labor supply, and there are thousands of Chinese, Hawaiians, Koreans, Puerto Ricans, and Caucasians to carry on essential functions. If the plantations should stop raising sugar and pineapples, which they would be forced to do during a long siege, there would be an over-supply of labor. Conversion to food crops has not taken place in Hawaii to the extent always thought necessary.

One articulate group in Hawaii advocates internment of the Japanese. The leader of this group are life-long islanders, some of whom were raised with the Japanese and speak their language. Those I know are not given to jitters, and when they say that the absence of sabotage on December 7 proves nothing, I agree with them. If Japan has a well-organized fifth coumn in Hawaii it would certainly not have exposed it prematurely, before any effort was to be made at invasion, and when the saboteurs could have accomplished nothing but own

extinction.

I cannot agree, however, that large-scale internment of Hawaii's Japanese would be wise. Not only would internment be sure to cause great hardship, but it would be ineffective in one particular-in getting out of the invader's reach a large and competent reservoir of manpower which could be depended on to carry on civilian life in the islands. For whatever doubt there may be about the attitude of the Japanese before or during an invasion attempt, there is no doubt that the vast majority of Hawaii's Japanese will work with alacrity with the emperor's forces if Japan ever takes the islands. I favor evacuation, which would (1) remove this labor force, (2) bring less hardship, and, (3) reduce Hawaii's consumption of food, much of which is convoyed from California.. Since ships return from Hawaii with only sugar and pineapples, which we can forgo mementarily, plenty of bottoms are abailable for the purpose.

We should not underestimate the importance of what we are gambling. Hawaii consists of seven islands-only one of them fortified-as against the 2,500 islands of Micronesia; it is virtually our only neutralizing agent for the vast insular system of "stationary aircraft carriers" that projects Japanese power south to the Equator and east to within bombing

istance of Honolulu. Hawaii is indispensable to us if we are to protect our flanks in the Antipodes and Alaska, safegused the Panama Canal and our West Coast, and eventually carry out a frontal attack on Japan. Without it we should be impotent in the Pacific.

If it was expedient to remove a scattering of Japanese from our Western coastal regions, the American people should be told why it is not many times more necessary to remove this heavier concentration of Japanese from islands which are in greater danger and harder to defend. We are playing for the highest stakes: Congress should investigate immediately and tell us what the odds are.