

Examining Eviction Struggles in Hawaii's Chinatown in the 1970s-80s



Introduction, Urban Renewal and Historic Preservation

Pages 2-7

A: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 1/7/76 B: Undated, courtesy of May Lee

C: quote from Maxine Kahaaulelio, Honolulu Star-Bulletin, date unknown

We Are Chinatown, Third Arm and PACE

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Successes and Lessons, Conclusion

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## Introduction

In the late 1960s to mid 1980s. Hawaii's Chinatown became entangled in intensive land struggles that in many ways mirror those that were being fought in various places throughout the islands. There was much participation in support of human rights during this time and many of the disputes and disagreements surrounded land possession and management. These struggles took place in areas that included Waihole-Waikane, Niumalu-Nawiliwili (Kauai), Ota camp, Hale Mohalu, He'eia Kea, and Mokauea, among many others. As with these struggles, the Chinatown evictions involved numerous individual and communal actions in resistance to create a large and far-reaching impact. It is difficult to discuss every action taken, however I attempt to let the history speak for itself through the many publications by various newspapers, in addition to notes and written work from, and some discussion with, the organizers themselves.

Joy Wong introduced the Chinatown residents well in "Island Connections: Tenants on the Move" created by the Ethnic Studies Department of University of Hawaii at Manoa in 2012, saying; "A lot of them had been living in Chinatown for anywhere between twenty and thirty years. They were stevadors, they were retired workers from Pine and Sugar, and you know, they had helped Hawai'i, the success of Hawaii's economy, and all these corporations and banking institutions benefitted off the labor of these people. Yet here they were, in their retirement years, living in the community they had known for several decades, and were being pushed out of the community." Earlier she had said "They had seen with urban renewal, back in the 50s. that a lot of people had been removed and the community was shrinking quite a bit .. and that basically profits, that developers could, with the assistance of city government, ... pushing them out of their community, destroying their community, and they had no other choice but to stay and fight, so that's what they did."

A: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 1/7/76

B: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 7/18/77

C: Star Bulletin 8/17/79



struction is dwarfed by the Kukui Plaza apartment complex on Beretanic

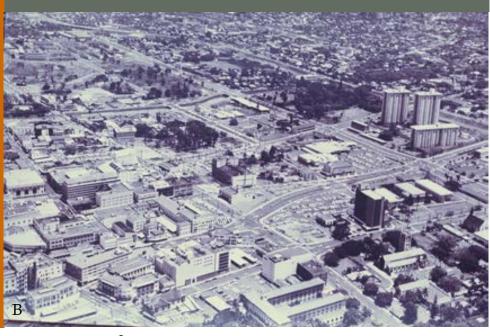
Street, built to house some low- and moderate-income residents as par of the city's downtown Honolulu renewal project. —Star-Bulletin Posts According to the Third Arm newsletter published 8/6/71 (among other sources), Urban Renewal was first made into law in 1949. "The stated goal was to solve the housing shortage by removing slums and substandard housing, then creating decent housing.. The Honolulu Redevelopment Agency (HRA), a department of the city government, is responsible for choosing neighborhoods they feel are "blighted" and decaying... they can qualify for federal money set aside for urban renewal.... The entire area (of Chinatown) is considered one in need of extensive rebuilding, in other words, a perfect candidate for urban renewal.

Once a place is picked for urban renewal, it's physical conditions rapidly deteriorate... The government no longer tries to enforce building and housing codes and often cuts down on city services... The same is true for private owners... Since the building is going to be torn down anyway, why waste money on repairs and maintenance?"

A Star-Bulletin article published 3/6/80 stated that since 1974, the city had made plans to displace 27 families, 162 individuals, and 70 businesses. Robert C.Y. Lum, urban renewal specialist, said the City expected to evict the remaining 5 families, 30 individuals, and 40 businesses. For the Pauahi Urban Renewal Project alone, the Department of Housing and Community Development requested demolition permits for 24 structures, and 996 (out of 1400) faced eviction. A and B: Courtesy of May Lee



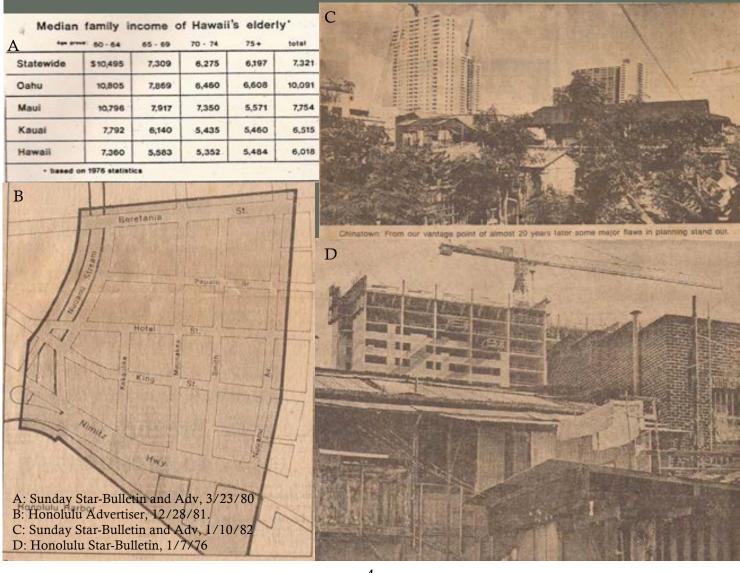
The Chinatown area consists of 36 Acres, or 15 blocks, and is bordered by Beretania, River, and Nuuanu Streets, and Nimitz Highway. According to a Third Arm report from July 1971, this area has an estimated 800 individuals, 230 families, and some 500 businesses. This is in close accordance with the 1970 census, discussed in a Third Arm "Working Together" ("WT") newsletter January 1973, which puts the number of Chinatown residents at 1405. By June 1977, 15 families and 111 single persons had been relocated out of the Pauahi project area. Of these, only 2 families and 34 singles had secured housing within Chinatown, and 12 families and 57 singles remain to be relocated, according to an article in the Star Bulletin from 7/28/77. The Chinatown general renewal project would ultimately involve some 62.5 million federal dollars, according to "Another Voice" edited by Larry Jones and published 8/1/72.



According to a Third Arm "WT" newspaper article from September 1973, "Chinatown played a vital role in Hawaii's labor history. After finishing labor contracts many dissatisfied plantation workers came to Chinatown to live. They were seeking a better way of life and Chinatown had opportunities for the small businessman. Aala Park was the center of many worker's rallies where the people united in their struggles. This made Chinatown a busy and an important part of the local people."

Due to low rental costs and low political attention residents aged living in deteriorating conditions. A City consultant's study published in July, 1981, and discussed in the Star-Bulletin 3/20/82, found that the average rent in Chinatown was approximately \$95 a month. That same article also states that outside of Chinatown there is virtually no housing at this price, and that vacancies in Chinatown are relatively low. This makes it very difficult for the residents to find adequate housing nearby.

Nearly all were living on very limited income (see A), so being evicted was a very serious predicament for them. Residents and workers not only feared their physical safety and security, but also the loss of their livelihoods and social relationships. Despite the terrible living conditions, many residents expressed appreciation for specific aspects of Chinatown living including vegetable gardens, chickens, pidgin coops, proximity to necessary stores and services, and many others. One Star-Bulletin article from 3/29/82 stated, "They are with people with whom they've spent much of their lives, and with whom they share basic life experiences like emigrating from the Philippines, working on the plantations and at Pearl Harbor. Chinatown has a street culture which its residents are comfortable with... Apartments and rooms are basic – nearly barren by middle and upper class standards –but most Chinatown people aren't especially pretentious when it comes to material possessions. Besides, they spend a lot of time outside.



Renovation projects may be "gathering momentum" in Chinatown and downgests, but you forgot one key factor: the people who live and work in Chinatown today. The costs of urban renewal and redevelopment in the old Chinatown areas of Oueen Emma, Aala, and Kukui have been high for the thousands of residents and small businesses evicted. The rewards were minimal-after long delays, a few units of low-income housing. However, rewards for property owners and developers have been great: handsome rents in the new buildings and the wholesale removal of poor families and pensioners, whose presence in the neighborhood must detract from the classy image that developers of Kukui Plaza, Harbor

A: Honolulu Advertiser, 12/28/81 B: Text from Hawaii Business 7/80, written by Sam Pooley. Courtesy of May Lee. C: PACE supporting organizations. Courtesy of John Witeck. D and E: Pictures of two Councilmen at the time, Rudy Pacarro and Daniel

Clement. Honolulu Advertiser 3/10/78.

Square, and future Honolulu Towns/

Executive Centers want to project.

## Toning up downtown

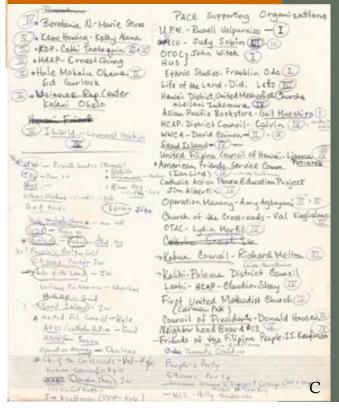
town Honolulu as your April article sug. Fine old buildings restored, fine old folks displaced

Due to the island-wide land struggles mentioned briefly, there was much in way of organized support to aid in the protest of evictions in Chinatown. Many of these supporters are listed below, and include: Labor-Community Alliance (LCA), United Public Workers (UPW), International Longshore Workers Union (ILWU), Ethnic Studies dept at UHM, Waiahole-Waikane Community Association (WWCA), Kokua Hawaii, and Citizens Party.

The two organizations most directly and intimately involved in the Chinatown evictions were Third Arm and People Against Chinatown Evictions (PACE). These groups both fundamentally aimed to help the Chinatown community unite and stand up for themselves and one another, and fought persistently for the rights of the community, although in very different ways. Third Arm was originally formed during the time of the Vietnam war with alternative purposes, including resisting the draft, providing support for GI's, and providing information regarding social security, welfare and health care. They quickly, however, learned of the imminent eviction threats and determined to focus on fighting for affordable housing for Hawaii's low-moderate income population. According to Mary Choy in "Autobiography of Protest in Hawaii" and other sources, Third Arm evolved into People Against Chinatown Evictions (PACE), although the Third Arm Free Health Clinic continued to operate next door. It is the determination of these individuals that contributed significantly to the future low-income housing plans in the

Chinatown and surrounding areas, thus providing a basic necessity that was otherwise falling behind in

priority.







## Historical Integrity Intact?

## Chinatown Plans Questioned

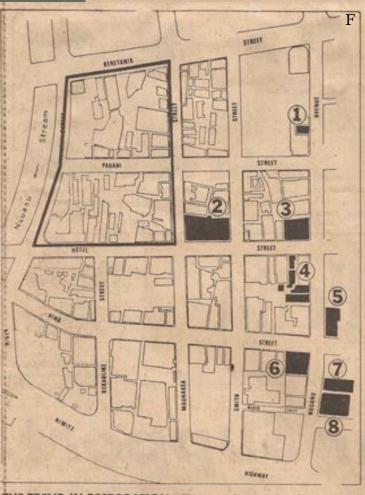
Interest Groups, as listed by Third Arm in a July 1971 Report:

1) Residents, 2) Business (large and small), 3) Property Owners (large and small), 4) Gamblers, 5) Mahus (homosexuals), 6) Drunks and Winos, 7) Patrons, Clientele and Regulars.... "In the view of Third Arm as of this point, it is the residents who stand to lose or get f\*\*ked the most; For them it is a natural happen-stance in their lives. Their loss is not only being forcibly moved from homes which some of them have inhabited for several decades but also more of the emotional trauma of being relocated and shoved about, never having the power and support or collective effort behind them to

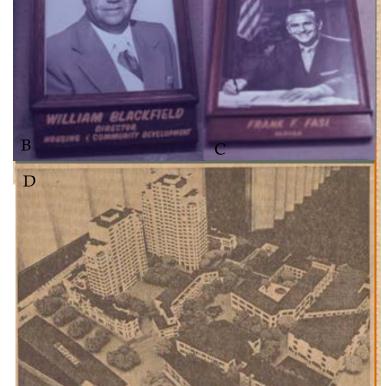
determine for themselves what happens to their lives"

A: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 1/21/76
B and C: Courtesy of May Lee
D: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 1/21/76
E: Third Arm "WT", December 1972.
F: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 8/10/77

This pattern of big profits from big developments at the expense of Hawaii's people cannot keep up forever. For one thing, Hawaii's housing and land crisis is creating other contradictions that will burst wide open. The people may lose their battles against eviction for awhile. But as each community is faced with the same threat of big developers eating up their homes and land more and more people are learning lessons that will be valuable in the future. The list of threatened communities gets longer and longer but our strength keeps building.



THE TREND IN RESTORATION—This map shows (in black spaces with numbers) the trend toward restoration work in Chinatown that runs along Nuuanu Avenue and on Hatel Street. The buildings are: (1) A small bluestone building used for affices by architect Harold Hallonquist, (2) the Mendanca building which is being restored in grand scale, (3) another building purchased by the Smith Development Co. through a subsidiary, (4) a complex of buildings to be improved by McCandless Properties, (5) the building awned by architect James Tsugawa on which restoration is hearly finished, (6) a building under lease to Jay Shidler, (7) the Wing Wo Tai building being improved by developers Richard Gushman and Duncan MacNaughton, and (8) the Royal Saloon, also purchased by Gushman and MacNaughton.

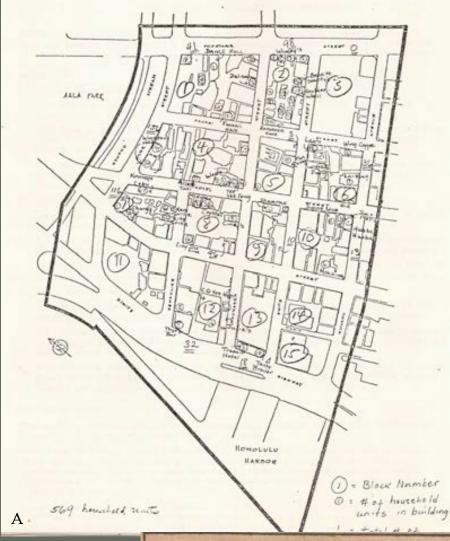


High-rises in the proposed Chinatown redevelopment have national historic

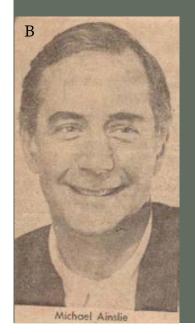
preservation officials worried. The model of Block "A" is shown.

An additional threat to tenants that came years after the start of the Urban Renewal process was Historic Preservation. According to a Honolulu Star Bulletin article, "New tax incentives in the 1981 Economic Tax Recovery Act, signed by President Reagan in August, will have a tremendous impact on the building industry because tax credits now make it more profitable to renovate old buildings than to destroy them." (1/22/82).

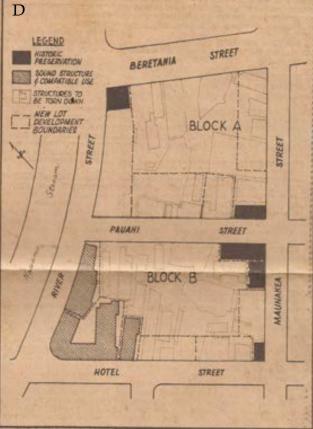
May Lee, of PACE, discussed in a Star-Bulletin article (2/23/82), that historical renovation projects and the publicity about recent tenement fires are prompting Chinatown landowners to evict their tenants. She pointed out that historical renovation is becoming increasingly profitable as a result of new federal tax policies at the same time that federal assistance for low-cost housing projects is being reduced. She told the City Council's Downtown Task Force that nearly 50 evictions can be attributed to historical renovation projects, and that one downtown developer alone 1/22/82 has been responsible for nearly 30 evictions from three buildings.



A: PACE Outreach Agenda, 6/5/80 B: Star-Bulletin, 1/22/82 C: Star-Bulletin, 7/20/77 D: Honolulu Advertiser, 9/3/79





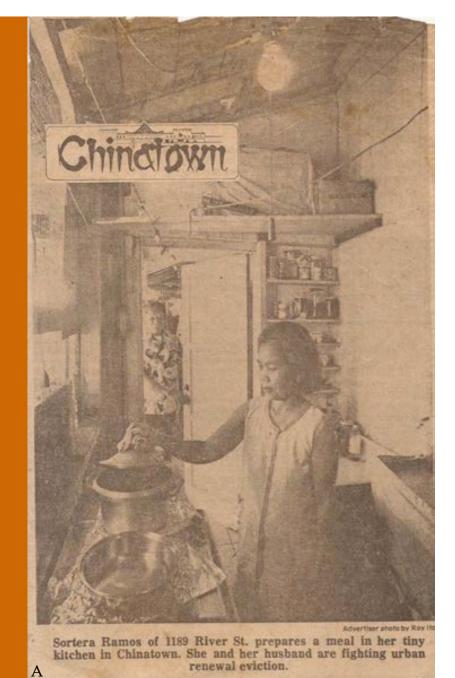


#### We Are Chinatown!

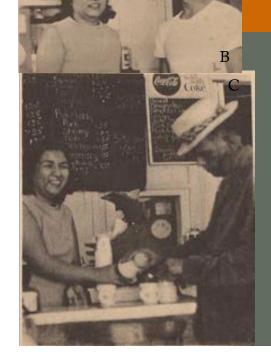
This section provides an introduction to some of the tenants who fought eviction in Chinatown during this time.

A: Rufino Ramos was a part-time yard man living at 1189 River Street with his wife Sortera and their two sons. Rufino was the first to protest the evictions, and persuaded his neighbors. He also became a PACE steering committee member. He suspected that the City wanted residents out not because of safety, but because the backbone of the Pauahi resident resistance would be broken. Information and photo A from the Honolulu Advertiser, 4/27/76.

B and C: Nina's Café is owned and ran by the large Cardenas family. Nina is from the Big Island, and her husband Petronilo (Pete) was born and raised in the Philippines. They had been in Chinatown for 21 years, having had to relocate already once before. They have eight children ranging in age from 3-24. Information and photos from "Working Together", January 1973.



According to a well-written paper by Howard Wiig in April of 1978, "Personal recognition, even intimacy, in a swarming urban environment has earmarked Chinatown from the earliest days. This interaction tends to produce an intense, high-powered and dynamic atmosphere which renders the neighborhood a potent historical source....". He goes on to say that Honolulu, then Kou, harbor had been previously two tiny clusters of humanity: fisherman in rude shacks perhaps where the Mindanao Pool Hall is now on River street, and a small group of priests living close to where Amfac Towers is now, tending an important Heiau that has since been supplanted by the Aloha Tower escalators.

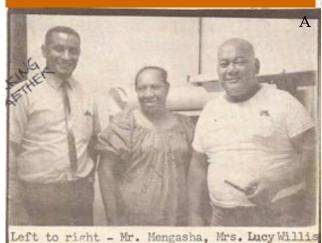


Jose Vallejo is an unmarried Filipino man. He came to Hawaii in 1927 to work on the Plantations, and has lived in Chinatown since 1956. All of his family is still in the Philippines and he has never had a chance to return to visit. He spends a lot of time at the Cebu pool hall with his friends.

Damaso Cadalo is also a regular at the Cebu pool hall. He was born in the Philippines and has lived in Chinatown for over 30 years. He came to work on a plantation in 1920, but because he participated in the sugar workers strike, he was ineligible for his free trip home after 3 years. He too is single.

Cadelo and Vallejo are typical of the older Filipino men who make up more than half of Chinatown's residents. Many go down to the pool hall everyday. A lot never play; they just watch and pass the time. Most are unmarried and live alone, the pool hall being their only place to go and talk story, day after day.

The above information is from "Faces of Chinatown" written by Arturo Wesley and published in February 1979.



Mr. Charley Miner, your Resident Representative A: Photo from a Third Arm newsletter dated July 19, 1971. Courtesy of Sandy (Sanford) Yee.

B: Same Third Arm newsletter from July 1971 providing a brief description of the Resident Representatives for the Chinatown Citizen's Committee.

Mr. Bernard Lanan -Lanan lives at 20 N. Hotel Street and has been there since the beginning of this year. He has been in Hawaii s i n c e 1957. Bernard i s an artist and has a studio at the Hotel address.

Mrs. Theone Wong - Theone has lived in Winston Hale for the past 5 years. She is with the American Red Cross and works with elderly people a 1 1 over Oahu. She feels that the people must be considered first in the Redevelopment of Chinatown, not the people who want to move in just for profit.

Mrs. Lucy Willis - Lucy lives i n Pauahi Hale and was a cab dirver for 10 years. She feels that the people living and work ing in Chinatown should be considered first above the people to be affected should have the most say in what the new Chinatown should be like.

Mrs. Carol Mengesha - Carol is a beautician at the International Salon of Beauty 12 N. King Street. She and her husband are from California. She says, "We should have our own plan to present to HRA; too often t h e y say one thing and then d o a completely different thing. They say they are concerned about the people here buy their ideas seem to s a y that they\*re more tourism."

Mr. Charley Miner - Charley lives a t Pauahi Hale strongly against and is the part-time caretaker there. He was captain i n the Army. He knows about what HRA does and feels that the people don't get a fair-shake when i t comes to tearing down homes and small bu-They only get sinesses. pushed around.

Howard Lee - Howard works at Third Arm and also attends the University during the school years. He used to live in the Kukui Area, (where Kolea Lane used to be) 7 years ago so he know how it is to be relocated. "I feel there is a need for redevelopment because housing condition are really bad. What I'm against is that most people who wish to move.can tafford to paythe rent to move back. i t takes too long before they can move back." Diane Choy - Diane also

works with Third Arm. She works part-time at the UH where she is a university student. She feels that if people have to be temporaryily relocated, t h a y should get first chance to move back without having to pay any more rent than they now pay. "Chinatown should be built as the people wantit, better housing and shops. Not, tourist t r a p s and big business.

Mrs. Lorraine Linderman -Mrs. Linderman lives at 1189 River Street and has lived there for the past 30 years. She is a die-tician at Lunalilo Home. Sanford Yee - Sanford is a volunteer worker at Third Arm. he works part time at Arts Hawaii and is also a student at the University of Hawaii.

Mrs. Margaret Kiili - Mrs. Kiili live in Maunakea interested in money and Hale, previously she used to lived i n Kukui for 23 years. She feels very plan for urban renewal. she has been relocated once before, and had a hard time getting a place when HRA moved her out of the Kukui area. She had to live on the beach for a w h i l e. She feel that Chinatown will not be rebuilt for the people, but for business and tourist.





Riverside Tailor Shop – Felipe Nieveras started the Tailor shop in the Fong building in 1949, after almost 20 years of plantation work on the Big Island, Maui, Lanai and Oahu. He moved locations twice, once for demolition and the second because of fire, and eventually found himself back in the Fong Building with Benita who had just come from the Philippines the year before in 1967. The Nieverases have a reputation in the community for good worksmanship, honesty, and friendliness. They did not have plans if relocated. Photo A.

City Art Work – Mr and Mrs. John Lau owned and worked at the store, and helped Third Arm to print articles for circulation in the community. Their store specialized in photo equipment and supplies as well as studio work. John Lau started working there as a dark room assistant in 1938. By 1940, Lau and his wife took over the business. At this time it was located a few feet away from their current location, and his wife Edith kept the business going while Mr. Lau was employed at Bellows Airfield during the war years. Both John and Edith put in 10-11 hours a day of work, six days a week. The Lau family eventually decided to relocate. Mr. Lau's health had been agrivated by City harassment.

A: Honolulu Star-Bulletin 3/6/80
B: Undated, courtesy of May Lee
- Written information from "Faces of Chinatown", written by Arturo Wesley, February 1979, and PACE Outreach Newsletter 2/20/80

Tax consultants: Manny Valin started his tax consulting business in the Fong building in 1974, after having lost two previous eviction fights. Twice he fought a legal battle against City and County to keep his Sunset Beach necklace business and his Waikiki table, representing himself, and both times he lost. Manny was a business school graduate from the Philippines, and was married with 3 children.

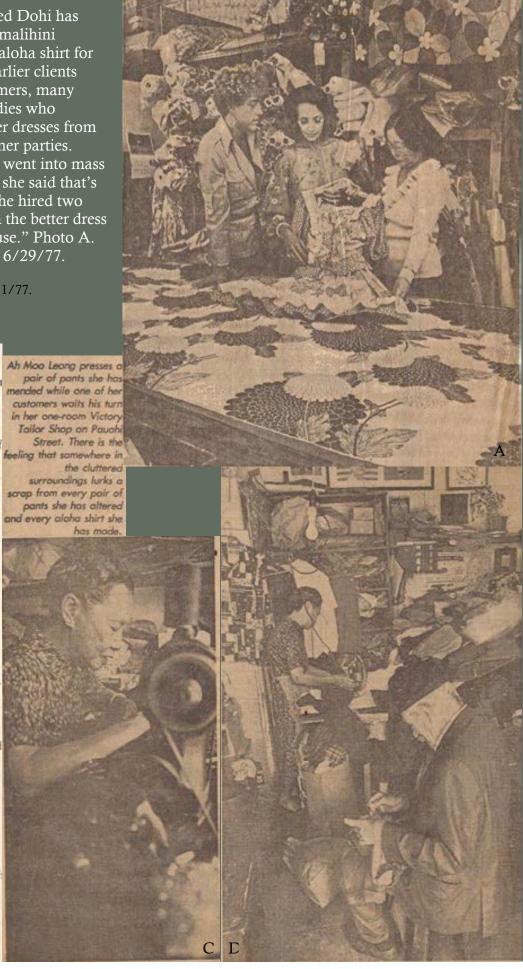
Cebu Pool Hall: Flora Libadizos owned the pool hall and lived upstairs with her daughter Suzette. Her other daughter Angie also assisted her from time to time. Mrs. Libadizos lived in Chinatown since 1958. Her husband owned the Cebu pool hall and she owned the restaurant next door. She originally had moved to Waimanalo, but found the country life too isolated.

Benny's Tailor Shop: This was the smallest store in Chinatown, and was owned by Maria Gonzalez, in addition to the Cebu barbershop next door. Maria also sold fruit from her farm in Kahalu'u, as well as other items and trinkets. She was born in the Philippines and came to Hawaii as a child with her parents who came to work in sugar cane. She first had a barbershop in Aala park, but was relocated.

Mildred's of Hawaii – "Mildred Dohi has been running up the standard malihini muumuu and conventioneers aloha shirt for the past 25 years. Mildred's earlier clients were a classier group of customers, many Nuuanu and Manoa valley ladies who ordered and-painted silk dinner dresses from her to wear to each others dinner parties. After seven or eight years, she went into mass produced sportswear, because she said that's where the money was. Then she hired two designers, and began selling in the better dress department at the Liberty House." Photo A. Published in the Star-Bulletin, 6/29/77.

B: quote from Hawaii Observer, 8/11/77. C and D: Star-Bulletin, 3/11/76.

Understanding Chinatown is accepting its paradoxes. In Chinatowns from Boston to Bangkok, the sublime coexist with the profane. Grinding poverty, sweat and despair compete with gaudy displays of wealth and waste. Even its name is a misnomer since 50 per cent of its residents are Filipino. (Twenty per cent are Chinese; ten per cent are Hawaiian; three per cent are Japanese; and scrop from every poir of 15 per cent are of other races.) The rent: The average 50-cents-per-squarefoot monthly rent attracts the elderly pensioner stretching out his social security check as well as the sailor on the make. But the iron law of rent accounts for only part of residents' and businesspeople's loyalty to the area; and-according to a City and County surveyfully 92 per cent of all residents polled wish to remain in Chinatown, "Their friends are here," Dorothy Hoe of Catholic Social Services explains, "and there's security for them here. The environment is congenial. It's very important for them to know their way around especially if they're half-blind. They don't like isolation. If they walk down the street and need food, a friend gives it to them." Hoe is talking about a Chinatown that Honolulu residents seldom see as they pass through the area on their way home from work or on a Sunday morning ride to Char Hung Sut's for manapua. This is the Chinatown behind the sex shops and run-down bars, where narrow alleys lead to neat gardens, banana trees and cleanly-swept courtyards. В



Charles Correa was of Portuguese decent, and was born and raised in Honolulu. He worked as a stevador and fireman at Pearl Harbor and as a refuse collector for the city and county for 20 years. He had lived in Chinatown for 17 years, 14 at Pauahi Hale where he paid \$60 a month in rent, and was an active member of the PACE steering Committee. Photo A.

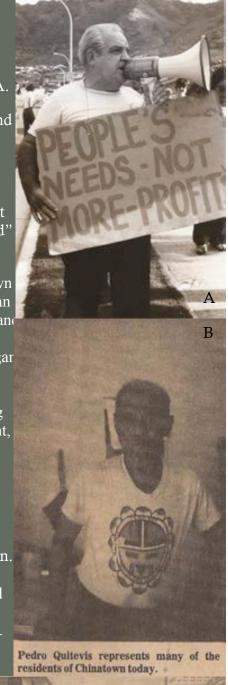
Eileen Chinen owned the New Kukui Café on Beretania, between River and Maunakea streets. Her parents were from Okinawa and first started the restaurant on Kukui street in 1950. In 1960 they were given three months notice and they were forced to move. Now there is a mortuary there. She said they forced a lot of people out of business. In 1975 they were issued another eviction notice, but this time they decided to fight. "We don't want to move until they can provide us with homes and businesses we can afford" she stated.

Pedro Quitevis lived at 4A N. Hotel Street and can be counted as a Chinatown resident representative from 1978. He emigrated from the Philippines and began working on the Honoka'a Sugar Plantation in 1928. After, he travelled interislant according to shifting demands of sugar and pineapple, but his work was interrupted by a long strike in the early 1930s. With the onset of WWII, he begar work at Barber's Point in 1941, then worked as a stevador along the Honolulu Waterfront until the war ended and he was laid off. It was during his time as a stevador that he became a Chinatown resident. He spent the rest of his working days at the Star Dust bowling alley and the Liberty House receiving department, retiring in 1975. Originally he had lived on Tin Pan Alley, near the Beretania Follies, until he and thousands of others were evicted around 1962 for the development Kukui Plaza. (Historic Hawaii News, Howard Wiig, May 1978). Photo B.

Charlie Miner had been married with one daughter before WWII. He was divorced shortly after returning, and that is when he moved into Chinatown. He worked with the ILWU as an organizer, and became a member of the Communist Party. He did end up accepting the City's relocation money and moved, but not before contributing greatly to Third Arm and PACE. He is attributed with being a leader and getting Charley Correa involved with PACE. Photo C.



A: Undated, courtesy of John Witeck B: Historic Hawaii News, May 1978. C: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 12/20/77 D: Critics of redevelopment plans fear that communal style living favored by the residents will be lost if the old buildings are replaced by high-rises. Star-Bulletin, 7/28/77



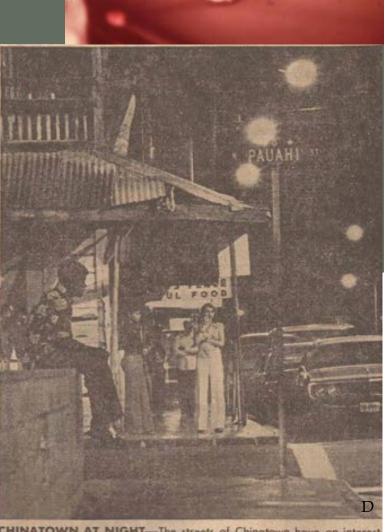


According to a Third Arm Health Clinic Supplement to WT from April 1974, many of the Chinatown residents, particularly the elderly, were living off of especially low incomes (pensions, social security and/or welfare). "Because of this, they often skip meals or eat starchy food like rice or bread that are cheaper but can fill them up. Needless to say.. not a good diet. There arent' many job opportunities.. No job, no money...When people get sick and need a doctor, they don't go because it costs too much." This was the reasoning behind the start-up of the Third Arm Free Health Clinic and Community Center, to provide a range of dire services to the many residents of Chinatown. It is because of their financial situations that eviction posed such a large threat to individual, family and business well-being and security. Any increases in expenditures, such as higher rents, would greatly effect their daily lives.

- A: Undated, courtesy of May Lee
- B: Honolulu Star-Bulletin 7/19/77
- C: Honolulu Star-Bulletin 8/10/77
- D: Honolulu Star-Bulletin 8/10/77



FADING LIFESTYLE—Workers eat lunch in crowded garment shop.
Many small merchants in Chinatown have fallen by the wayside.



CHINATOWN AT NIGHT—The streets of Chinatown have an interest ing assortment of night people. —Star-Bulletin Photos by Terry Luke.

WE SHALL NOT BE MOVED!



MANU INAMOTO, CHARLIE CORREA AND LENGTO SIBLE are three members of the Funchi Sale Tenante Association. Charlie is their representative on the F.A.C.E. Steering Committee.



MR. BCBCRS proudly shan tomatoes grown in the co-operative garden of the funities of 1789 Hiver St. They also grow managogy, excet potato, bonana and considers.



TRIS WORKER in a Chinatown models factory is one of several handred people who earn their livelihood inside Chinatown.



THESE CHILDREN live in the Loo Chow section of Chinatown off of Hannahea St. where many immigrant Chinese families have settled.



MARY CRIMINE ELERATY OF CHINATONS find companionable and enjoy playing cards in the places comed by Chinese Societies inside Chinatown, Here they can commuicate in their native Cantonese.



MRS. TEW CHOI LINGS is a long-time tailor of Chinatown. Her shop has been on Panahi Street for about 40 years. If evicted, she will be forced to olon-shop and retire.



THE DAYARDS FAMILY OF CRESS BLOCK to one of the many neally arrived Filipino families who have found Chinatown to be one of the few places where they can afford the rent on their income. Chinatown is also on the major bus routes making incomportation compenient for those without care.



We depend upon the many kinds of small businesses in Chinatown to meet our basic needs of food and clothing. Here all are within walking distance.

GARDENS are a vital part of our lives since the fruits and vegetables we grow supplement our limited incomes and provide us with nutritious meals.







Courtyards and low-rise buildings where we can socialize with our friends and neighbors is an important part of our lifestyle. We need places we can relax and talk story, have gatherings, let our children play, and keep our animals. A, B and C are pages taken from an undated PACE brochure. They provide additional insights to the personalities and aspects that made up Hawaii's Chinatown at the time.

In addition, "There are apothecaries, sundries shops, a coffee company, seed stores, and a variety of restaurants that draw a noontime crowd of salesmen, office workers, laborers, business and professional people. Although the notorious sex shops on Hotel Street are open, they are more or less ignored. The Oahu Market at Kekaulike and King, on the other hand, teems with morning shoppers". (Star-Bulletin 8/10/77)

#### D: Honolulu Star-Bulletin 9/13/77

Chinatown has been a bustling area of history and intrigue, a reminder of Honolulu's waterfront past, a port of call to those passing from East to West, a place where the twain met in an unsettled seam. It is still that kind of place. The myths and color of its spicy past still live in its tiny shops, barrooms and restaurants, and the familiar faces of its people.



## WORKING TOGETHER

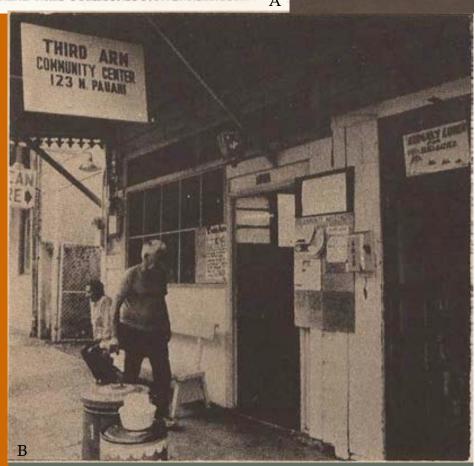


THIRD ARM COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Α

## Third Arm

Third Arm was established in April of 1971. According to Third Arm notes, the organization was started by approximately 20, however other sources credit larger groups of up to 100, young University of Hawaii at Manoa students. The organization also consisted of community people and young professionals, such as school teachers, lawyers, and social workers. Many of the students had been involved in the Bachman Hall sit-in protesting the firing of Oliver Lee, the fight to maintain the Ethnic Studies Program, as well as many land struggles throughout the islands such as in Kalama Valley, and wished to continue their public activism. Those voted in as Third Arm organization officers, as published in "WT" 8/11/71, were Charlie Miner, Charley Hassard, Theone Wong, Lucy Willis, and Bill Medeiros.



HISTORY == T A

Third Arm, located at 121 and 123 Pauahi Street. is a community service organization formed about 3 months ago by a group of young people to help fill the social needs of Chinatown area. Chinatown is made up o f mostly single and elderly people, who often don't have easy access to the regular agencies t h a t provide social services. When TA first opened w e provided m a i n l y information on social security, immigration, welfare, medical

care. But we soon found out that just information was not enough and so we decided to expand our services. This month we opened the Third Arm Community Center, a place where everyone can cometo see movies, talk, play checkers and other games, watch TV, look at magazines and alot more. Movies will be shown every Friday and Saturday nights.

Third Arm Will be open from 12 noon to 8 pm beginning July 19th. You're all welcome.

Some credit must be given to Charlie Minor for repositioning the focus of Third Arm. In an article published in Workers Viewpoint in July 1982, Lillian Yamasaki describes his entrance into the storefront, questioning what the hell the activists were doing. He admitted there was a need for what they were already doing, but if they really wanted to help the people of Chinatown, they should help fight redevelopment. A, B and C: "WT" 12/72 and

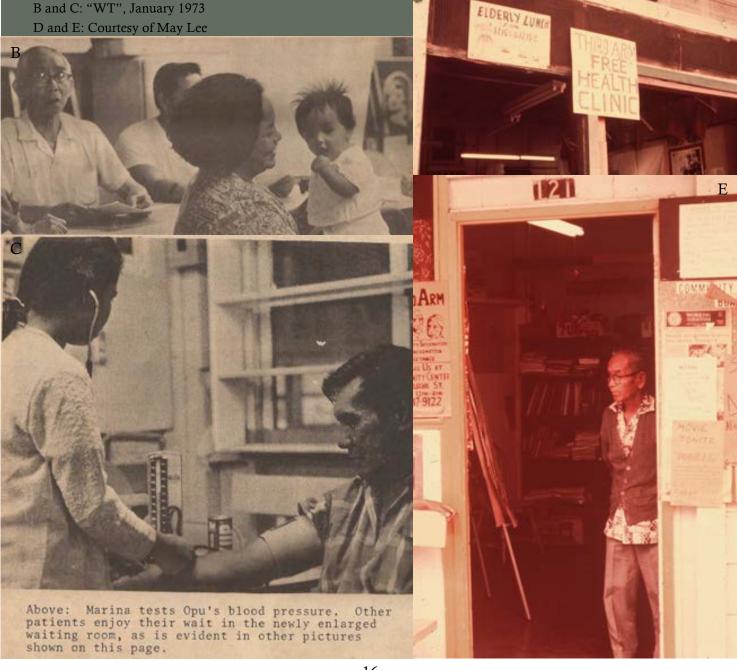
7/19/71 respectively

## THIRD ARM'S HEALTH CLINIC -NO COST TO THE PATIENT

According to Third Arm newspapers and notes, the free Health Clinic was started alongside the Third Arm Organization and Community Center at 121-123 N. Pauahi Street in 1971. According to Mary Choy, her daughter, Diane, was among those students who organized Third Arm and was an active activist, and she enlisted the help of her father to open a Free Chinatown Medical Clinic. "It became the center for Third Arm activities, a walk-in clinic plus a center for political education. It was a stimulating experience for us. We had parties, fundraisers, potlucks, forums- Chinatown and the wide communities coming together as comrades" ("Autobiography of Protest in Hawaii", p. 183). Third Arm members also realized that decent living conditions and healthy food would also promote good health. The Health Clinic offered free health care services on Friday nights from 7:30-9pm, and continued long after the evolution to PACE, eventually closing after 14 years of service.

D

A: Third Arm "WT", December 1972





As quoted to the right, B, from a Third Arm report draft dated January 1973, the purpose of the community center was to unify the community and eventually form a representative organization for the people of Chinatown. According to Third Arm newsletters and notes, the community center was opened in July of 1971, was staffed and ran by university students, was open Mon-Sat 10-5, and as, mentioned, was located directly next door to the health clinic. In addition to the Community Center, Third Arm

created a Co-op, creating and selling dustpans and toys among other items, with the aim of providing a profit that could be split between the members.

A: "WT" January 1973

C: "WT", January 1974.

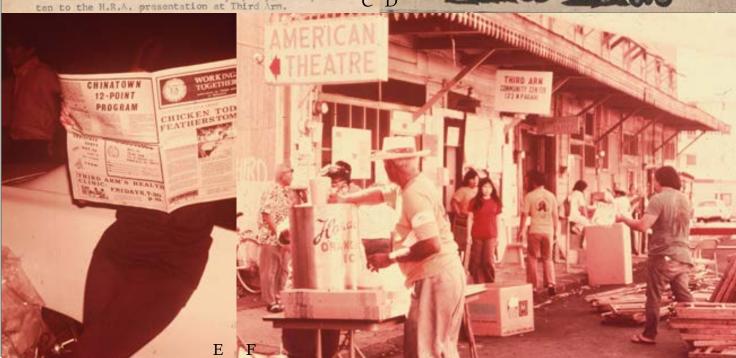
D: "WT", December 1972.

E and F: Courtesy of May Lee

Through the activities of the Community Center, it is hoped that
a unified sense of "community" will develop. At the present time,
Third Arm in its activities has managed to involve approximately 200
residents. A concentrated, community organization effort, however, has
not been implemented. With greater financial and volunteer support of
the Center's activities it is hoped that a viable organization representing the community will be formed.

B





In order for people to have self-respect they must have direct control over their daily lives. This means in our work place, we and our fellow workers should make decisions concerning our work rather than one person (usually da bose). The same is true for a community; we and our fellow neighbors should make decisions about our community rather than one agency (usually da city). Only in this way—community control—can our needs be met.

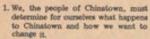
control can our needs be met.

Recause Chinatown is our home, we support the following 12-point program for Chinatown in order to provide for the basic needs of our community:









Chinstown must remain a community which serves its people and not the wishes of tourists, the rich, big business, or any other outside interest.

3. The people of Chinatown must carefully discuss any changes planned for Chinatown. Any agency doing planning and improvements for Chinatown must sign a contract with the people of Chinatown, as recresented by an active community-controlled organization.

# CHINATOWN 12-POINT PROGRAM

 We want our custures preserved. We want education and recreation that reflect our peoples' true history and the facilities to hold these activities in

the facilities to hold these activities in.

5. All planning and actual improvement
of Chinatown should employ local
resources.

 There should be increased health facilities and social services in the community. These should be staffed by community people.

 If improvements are made in our community, they should be done with rehabilitation as an on-going process, not through total clearance and destruction.  Small landownerships, shops, buildings, etc., should be maintained.

etc., should be maintained.

9. Small commercial shops should remain at current styles and rent levels, the open air markets should also be maintained.

We must have decent, low-cost housing.
 We must have employment for people of all ages in Chinatown.

 We support similar programs of community control for all local communities in Hawaii.

"BASIC NEEDS, NO MO" KUKUI WEEDS"

B



A: undated, Courtesy of May Lee
B: 12-point program proposed by Sonny
Kau and published by Third Arm "WT",
January 1973.
C and D: undated,
Courtesy of May Lee



Third Arm contributed greatly is assisting Chinatown residents in numerous ways. In addition to the WT newspaper, the community health clinic, and the coop, their actions and programs included information sharing and assistance, food and clothing distribution, celebrations and excursions, petitions and brochures, a Hui Opio youth group, public meetings, forums and guest speakers, and even tours of the Chinatown area. They also did surveys and recorded the histories of ethnic working groups of Hawaii. Their tours were very informative and allowed for a personalized and detailed comprehension of Chinatown. According to Third Arm notes, some of the stops on the tour included Pauahi Hale, Komeya Apts, Shimaya Shoten, New Kukui Café, Maunakea Hale, Aloha Hotel, Nina's Café, HRA office, the Open Market, and River Street Gardens (1189) River Street), described as the place where the first real community organizing began.

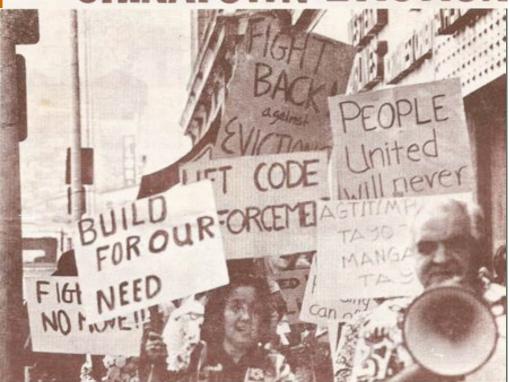


#### PACE

PACE was born out of Third Arm during vigorous protest in opposition to corrupt big business and in support of general human rights. According to a PACE brochure and as discussed in "Tenants on the Move", the organization was created on July 19, 1975, and began with approximately 60 tenants, small business people and workers from different parts of Chinatown. Their message was a strong one, "People Not Profits", and this along with many other slogans, including the popular, "People United will Never be Defeated", were chanted loudly at many events. More about their aim and plan of action is discussed to the right, A.

The Aloha Hotel was one of the preliminary and notable eviction struggles. 13 residents faced and fought eviction for approximately 2 years, including PACE steering committee member Emile Makuakane. When eviction time finally came, PACE members and supporters occupied the rooming house for ten days. The City finally conceded and provided relocation at Maunakea Hale.

## P.A.C.E. CHINATOWN EVICTION



WE THE PEOPLE OF CHINATOWN ARE BEING FACED WITH EVICTIONS AND destruction of our lifestyles through government urban renewal (we call it "urban removal" of the people), and private landlord evictions. The plan is to "revitalize" the downtown Honolulu area in order to make it more profitable for business and to attract more tourists. The DHCD (Department of Housing and Community Development) has already made its plans for our community and is actively relocating Chinatown residents so that our homes can be demolished and more aesthetic and expensive buildings can be built in their place.

P.A.C.E., PEOPLE AGAINST CHINATOWN EVICTION, is fighting for low-cost, decent housing for <u>all</u> the people in Chinatown, and for low-cost storefronts for the small businesses and their workers. We don't want the City's plans which would scatter us all around Oahu or put us in high rise buildings paying rents more than we can afford, and we don't want to be squeezed out by private landlords who want to make more profits by raising our rents and evicting us.

WE WILL STAY WHERE WE ARE IN CHINATOWN, RESIST ANY EVICTIONS, AND FIGHT FOR THE HOUSING AND STOREFRONTS WE NEED.

Community control is essential if our needs are to be met. What this means is that the people alone shall be the organization that any government agency, individual or group must deal directly with if any changes are to be suggested for the community. We know better than anyone what we as a community need because we have been denied for too long things like decent and low-cost housing, good preventive medical care, employment, and an education that teaches us to have pride and dignity in our past and teaches us practical skills so that we may work to keep our community strong.

A: PACE Brochure, date unknown.

B: Although this quote is from a Third Arm Community Policy Report, the idea of the importance of community control was a fundamental guideline that extended through the evolution to PACE.

Joy Wong provides a great description about the political aspect of PACE's actions in "Tenants on the Move". She said, "I think the success of the Chinatown housing struggle was that it was a political fight, and that we realized that who we were facing was big business. Their only intention, their only need, was to make maximum profits. They had no interest at all in cleaning up the slums, they just wanted to destroy the community, to bring in supposedly "more prosperous" kinds of businesses, and residents. So I think identifying who we were up against and why was really important and that was how we developed a political fight"

Frustrations arose when residents were not awarded fair treatment and accused City officials of assisting developers, and the struggles intensified.

PACE members were also fueled by comments made by those who had been previously evicted in similar situations. Margaret Kiili, a Third Arm member, for example, was quoted in the Honolulu Advertiser on 2/22/72 saying, she had been displaced in the Kukui apartment redevelopment, and she "warned residents not to agree to any plans for their future unless it's in black and white."

A: 3/15/78. Courtesy of May Lee B: Undated, Courtesy of May Lee C: PACE 5<sup>th</sup> Anniversary pamphlet, undated. Courtesy of John Witeck





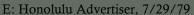


PACE members were very strategic in determining their actions. Their tactics included sit-ins at the Mayor's office, demonstrations at City Hall, picketing at the homes of landlords, as well as marches, sign-waving and chanting. They continued to provide tours and forums as Third Arm had, discussing the situation, and updated residents on the status of the evictions. When it became necessary, as mentioned, PACE members occupied buildings, such as the Aloha Hotel, depicted in photos C and D below, and 4A Hotel Street, during which time they lived and fought side by side with the tenants.

There were not only times of struggle, but also of celebration. Photo E shows the fourth anniversary celebration on Pauahi Street providing a stew and rice dinner and Jazz entertainment for the public and PACE members.

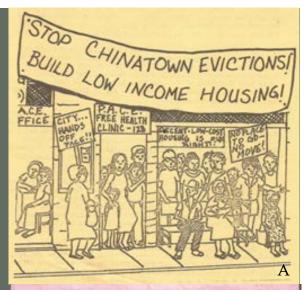
Also, to the right, B, is a clip from a PACE pamphlet from February 1980 describing clearly their understanding of the importance of unity as a strong weapon, that community effort is essential to the struggles against evictions, and that the City cannot always be trusted to adhere to promises made regarding low-moderate income housing provisions.

A: PACE undated brochure C and D: Star-Bulletin, 7/16/77 and 7/19/77









#### WHAT CAN WE DO TOGETHER?

В

We are not the rich land owners whose rights are protected by goverment and the courts.

We can only rely on ourselves because what we are struggling for is right! Unity is our Strength and our strongest weapon is to Organize into PACE's political fight. PACE's fight for housing is like the union's fight for safer working conditions, benefits and decent pay on the work site.

A strong & big show of support at the March & Rally is needed to make the City meet PACE's Demands:

1. Make Smith/Beretania for low income housing, not condominiums.

2. Stop the Small Business evictions at Fong's, until the City meets with PACE and the tenants to work out a decent settlement.

City owned Smith/Beretania parking lot, across from Lau's Place is the latest example of the city's broken promises. In 1975 it was promised to the 1189 River St. residents and PACE for low-income relocation housing. But about 2 years ago it was taken away because the city had other plans for making it more profitable. The new plans are to lease it a private developer to build 600 market condos, with some maybe for moderate income people. With our fixed incomes, none of us in Chinatown can afford to buy even the moderate income condos.

The developer chosen for Smith Beretania is "Pankow Associates "the most recent of city government's pay offs to "Big Business." Pankow is a mainland development corp. who also owns Block F, the parking lot across from Smith/Beretania, between the Cultural and Kukui Plazas. The Pankow plan at block F is to build 400 market condos, at prices from \$90,000.-\$235,000.



ISSUES	Positions	What needs to be done being Position is reached	Who Tites it up	Devision Time		Who
				TAGE	city	turns out that work
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ISSUES	POSITIONS.	What nebb to be don't before Paston received	Who takes it	Distance lines		Who carries
				PACE	City	Who cortino
At this stage-if the begins can't meet fentur A i-rest needs or can't affect the hids		EME before theosing a layer we can support we need the followings it is a series on reat, lease, spece. Nahe seperate signs w/ Lam & Oha gets! Their man, 55d, 2, Written agreement they will be best a Law's stay at afford, rest.	Temmatr. S.C. G.C. Pep. coordinators	Nov. Sch	City will be adhe- rilating for bids for bids in 500, at that time we will her the low- out pric you can htd. relicated by 60 da solicita period than 2 which whic	Lon
will depend we can put to Superated	on how much pressure of the city.					
Political Internal	Gain C.T. people's support for the Fong fight.	Hald FMC stg. to Status importance of tocquing int. to keep resident independent Iffestyle. Fine Opendo to mobolize sure C.I. Yolks to support Forgs and the peat of F.F. Fights comming up.	PAC, S.C. 4 I.C.	ducing 3rd wk. of Nov.	No.	PRC, E.C. & L.C.
		2. Semeral C.T. migs. 3. Name & distribute leaflet to ordate the struggle and mobelize to Openhouse.				



The written notes, C and D to the left, supplied by John Witeck, provide an example of, and glimpse into, PACE's process of planning. They first identified the issues and locations and their positions on the issues, then determined how to best approach them and who would take responsibility for the task. Their tactics were always non-violent, however they were aimed at exhibiting the strength and power of people united. They fought against some very powerful individuals, thus they weren't always accepted kindly. Frank Fasi, Mayor of Honolulu at that time, for example, was quoted in the Honolulu Advertiser on 10/3/78 as calling PACE activists, "professional poor people" who were "unreasonable, insulting and demanding all at the same time". Their relationships with political figures were very complex and quite difficult, with public officials often avoiding questioning and responsibility, and occasionally providing inaccurate or partial information, once they were able to be reached. Non-the-less, PACE succeeded in their mission of firmly grasping the

attention of prominent political officials and steadily persisted productively in their struggles.

A: Sunday Star-Bulletin and Adv, 7/18/76

B: Courtesy of May Lee

E: Honolulu Advertiser, 4/15/76



At times the struggles against eviction became quite serious. In a few cases, activists, residents and supporters were arrested, although in many of the cases, such as with the "Chinatown 21" arrested for trespassing at the City Housing and Community Development Department's site office on Smith street in March of 1978, the charges were dropped and those arrested were acquitted of the charges. There was even a case in which demolition began while residents remained in the building. Wayson Chow, a legal attorney for PACE from Legal Aid Society, in his chapter in "Autobiography of Protest in Hawaii", stated that of their five court cases, two went up to the state supreme court, exhibiting the strength and impact of PACE's efforts. "PACE and it's supporters won all five court cases, and no one was ever evicted", he declares.

A: Honolulu Advertiser, 7/19/77

B: Star-Bulletin, 7/12/77.

C: Honolulu Advertiser, 3/14/78

D: Star-Bulletin, date unknown

E: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 12/27/77

"PACE has publicly stated that we have no weapons," supporter Davianna Alegado said later. "We have no intention of being violent but we will peacefully resist the law."



EYES ON EACH OTHER—Police and supporters of Aloha Hotel residents who are resisting exiction worsky eye each other across Maunokea Street. Police watched but were not called upon to enforce the exictions yesterday.



CONFRONTATION—Residents resisting eviction.com their supporters blocked a doorway at the Aloha Not in this July stand-off between eviction protesters and Deputy Sheriff Ben Chur (back to camera). The disput over Chinatown reconstruction, still unresolved, is maving into another year.—Star-Bulletin Photo by Terr Luke.

## Successes and Lessons

Wayson Chow continues in his chapter, "Our legal team successfully represented every Chinatown tenant, stopped every single tenant eviction, and helped encourage the city to build over five hundred affordable apartments in Chinatown into which displaced residents would relocate directly... After the Hawai'i Supreme Court decisions overturned the Chinatown eviction orders, the city and private landlords became more cooperative in working with PACE. The nature of PACE has changed from stopping evictions to tenant governance and the preservation of the quality of life in Chinatown." (p.44)

Joy Wong in "Tenants on the Move", said "The success that PACE had had to do with being able to educate a broad sector of the community, and so yes, we had lots of support from labor, schools, university students, community groups, and churches... the Chinatown people realized that they had to just rely on themselves, it was people power, and in order to do that we had to organize not only our community, but the broader community as well."

The marches, demonstrations, and overall eviction situation gained nationwide attention, landing Chinatown in newspapers such as the LA Times in August 1978, and the San Francisco Journal in August 1977. The San

Francisco Journal discussed the Aloha Hotel evictions, and says that as of 1950, 1418 families. 1236 individuals and 505 businesses had been evicted due to "urban renewal". It also asserted that in July 1977, "the city finally agreed to pass a resolution to stop all Chinatown evictions: work out with PACE a low-cost housing and store-front plan...; and provide acceptable relocation in Chinatown."

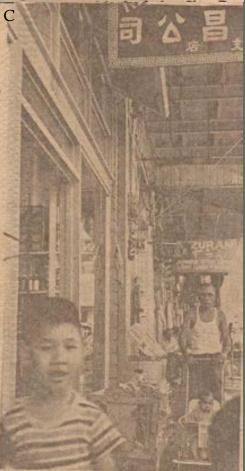
A: PACE undated brochure B: Honolulu Advertiser 5/4/76 C and D: Courtesy of May Lee



## Chinatown peace: tenants 'win'

Ironically, isn't that what government is all about—to be a servant of the public?

B



NEW FACE?—New urban renewal approach would renovate rather than bulldoze Honolulu's Chinatown district, Councilman Rudy Pacarro says.—Star-Bulletin Photo by Jack Titchen.

Way to Keep Chinatown's Flavor Eyed PACE celebrated it's 6<sup>th</sup> anniversary around the same time the City committed to the Teddi Duncan Apartments, so named for Maerea Duncan, tenant of 4A N. Hotel street and active member of PACE. According to a PACE newsletter published Sept-Oct 1981, the building was dedicated on August 17, 1975, and was the first new housing built for Chinatown residents since the start of PACE. This was also the same year the new City administration recognized PACE as the Chinatown resident's representative, and 30 of the 48 apartment units went to people connected with PACE. At the same time they also celebrated the City's decision to renovate, rather than the demolish, Pauahi Hale. Their celebration consisted of a slide show, tours of the housings, and speeches, in addition to the entertainment and refreshments.

The Smith-Beretania groundbreaking in 1982 also marked a big year for PACE and Chinatown residents.. The City had made the decision to develop high-cost market condominiums at Smith Beretania, but PACE instead strongly urged City administration, in a struggle lasting 8 years, to dedicate the development to low and moderate income rentals. This had also already been promised to displaced residents of 1189 River Street a few years before, but they subsequently received notice that they were no longer eligible for relocation at that site. PACE created a petition and a Smith Beretania Coalition with the aim of gaining support for a resolution calling for subsidized rentals at Smith Beretania. They brought the petitionbanner to Department of Housing and Community Development (DHCD) director Barry Chung. According to a PACE pamphlet from May-June 1980, tax records showed that public funds were used in 1920 to buy Smith Beretania and "that makes it public land and we have a right to decide how it should be used." In addition to housing, a park and underground parking facility were developed, and can be seen there today.

A: title in Honolulu Advertiser 7/20/77

B: quote from Arlene Lum, Star-Bulletin, 7/28/77

C: Star-Bulletin, 4/20/77

D: undated PACE handout describing groundbreaking ceremony on 8/30/82

E: Sept-Oct 1981 PACE outreach newsletter

P.A.C.E. is having a celebration, and we want to share the joyous occasion with you. The happy event is the start-up of the City's new low/moderate income rental project, the Smith-Beretania. Official groundbreaking ceremonies will take place Monday, August 30 at 11:00 a.m. and P.A.C.E. has been invited to take part in the program.

The groundbreaking ceremonies constitute two P.A.C.E. victories actually: (1) 163 affordable housing units will be available to Chinatown residents by early 1984, and (2) P.A.C.E.'s inclusion in the program means official, public recognition that P.A.C.E. is an important force in the community. These developments are so significant that we've declared groundbreaking day P.A.C.E.'s 7TH ANNIVERSARY, and we're planning some actions of our own.





Davianna Alegado of PACE shared the concerns of many in stating, "It's really the inaction on the part of the City that has frustrated us" (Star-Bulletin, 3/14/78). With the Smith-Beretania apartments, May Lee of PACE praised the efforts of Chinatown residents and Housing Director Joseph Conant, photo A, in finally getting the project off the drawing board (unknown source, 8/31/82).

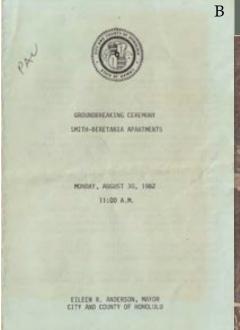
Wayson Chow projects ahead in his thoughts of future land issues and offers some suggestions, "I think it becomes more difficult to organize against a landlord that does not have their main office in Hawaii...When your landlord is a multinational corporation with headquarters in Cleaveland, Ohio, how do you picket their headquarters? You can picket their Honolulu office....but it isn't very effective. Activists need to become increasingly skilled in gathering information and finding systemic pressure points in the technological age....You have to encourage labor unions organizing in other lesser developed nations." (Autobiography of Protest, pg. 47-48)

A: Honolulu Advertiser 2/20/81

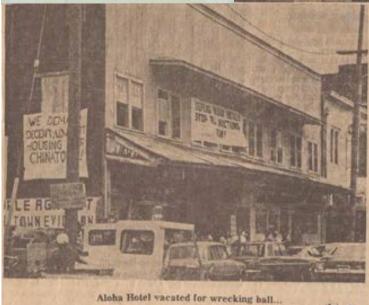
B: City and County Brochure, 8/30/82

C: Star-Bulletin, 8/31/82

D: Honolulu Advertiser, 7/20/77







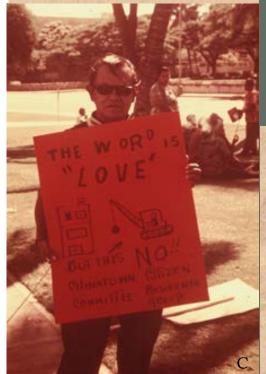


Today PACE has condensed to a few remaining active fundamental activists who still assist Chinatown residents as needed, as Wayson Chow mentioned and Mari McCaig confirmed, although in a less frequent and less intimate manner. Their focus has shifted to tenant management and building regulation, and they are generally contacted by residents for assistance with specific issues.

As a Third Arm newsletter states (December 1972), "similar to the Ota Camp struggle and many other community struggles, in Chinatown it all boils down to life of the land, lifestyle struggle, housing, economic and collective local community."

A: Third Arm "WT", January 1974 B: Third Arm "WT", Sept. 1974 C: Courtesy of May Lee

For our needs to be met, we will have to fight, and to fight we need to organize ourselves and bring many people together. Only when we are united will the government be forced to be responsible to us.





Mary Choy declared in "Autobiography of Protest in Hawaii" an underlying trouble of many, "it's so sad to see how state power is used against the people rather than for them" (p. 184). It is, thus, very important that future generations believe in the power of the people and continue to exert themselves in political events and struggles to maintain a strong community voice, as these activists have done and continue to do. Wayson Chow points out, "We activists are hardworking, caring people willing to confront unscrupulous landlords and bureaucratic government officials who don't seem to care about the average citizen." He continues that many (often mothers) begin with the idea, "Let's organize together for a more democratic, more humane, and more just society – a society where material goods are distributed on the basis of human needs." (p.49)

The quote below, D, from a Maryknoll priest published in the Honolulu Advertiser in 5/13/73, respectfully asserts a very important point, that the well-being of Chinatown residents and businesses reflects, as well as influences, the well-being of society as a whole, and thus it is in everyone's best interest that it remain intact.

"I humbly submit to you that allowing the businesses and the residents to remain in Chinatown is primarily a moral consideration, touching on the basic human rights of residents to live, to carry on economic activity and to supply services to the community which no one else can supply. We of the whole community have large stakes in what happens to Chinatown residents and businesses. It is important that they be allowed to remain where they are now."

EDWARD M. GERLOCK, MM

## After-note

It was the aim of both myself and Hawaii People's Fund to present the voices of the people living in Chinatown during this period of time, and those who aided and supported them, with reverence and respect in a truthful and clear manner. Through this brief article we provide an introductory glimpse into the sizeable evictions struggles that threatened the lives of many individuals, and pay tribute to all who fought in the struggle to maintain the security and comfort of our Chinatown residents.

In compiling research, as mentioned, I relied heavily on newspaper and magazine article clippings, pamphlets and brochure, as well as photographs among other resources, many of which were provided by participants, a substantial amount of whom also provided an interview which was transcribed and is provided separately. I must express my sincere gratitude to everyone who participated and aided in this project, specifically Sandy Yee, May Lee, Diane Fujimura, Merle Pak, John Witeck, Ibrahim Aoude, and Mari McCaig.

Sadly, many of the tenants have since passed, and it is a great loss that we are unable to document their perspectives and experiences. There is a wealth of knowledge that has passed on with those individuals; knowledge of the inner workings of Hawaii's labor force and plantation industry, of the hidden sides of the military and port-life, and of the often overlooked character and cultural preservation ingrained in Hawaii's Chinatown community. Unfortunately the scope and time frame of this project did not allow for an intensive detailing of all specific actions and individuals, however we aspire for this work to be further expanded upon in the future, and have knowledge of, and anticipate, an upcoming full composition on this subject by PACE members themselves.

The ultimate fundamental dilemma apparent in the struggles presented here is a substantial one. These Chinatown eviction struggles reflect struggles across the United States, and can be seen as a representation of the dynamic power relationship between the general public and those chosen to represent and govern them. The Chinatown residents and activists fighting eviction, through their statements and actions, showed they understood the importance of what they were fighting for and their character, enthusiasm, diligence and adaptability all guided them to a success in unearthing the improper actions and attitudes of Governmental representatives, and in achieving proper relocation provisions and situations for the displaced persons of Hawaii's Chinatown. We thank them for their sincerity, dedication and hard work for Hawaii's people.

