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ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW

with

HIRAM L. FONG

Senator from Hawaii, 1959 to 1977

Recorded by Michaelyn P. Chou

for

FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, INC.

as part of its project

THE MODERN CONGRESS IN AMERICAN HISTORY

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HIRAM LEONG FONG

Newly Elected Senator of Hawaii, 1959

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PREFACE

The following recollections of retired United States Senator Hiram L. Fong are part of a new and significant series of oral history interviews conducted with individuals who have served their respective states or territories as elected representatives to the Congress of the United States of America. The series is a project of Former Members of Congress supported by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. In Hawaii, local assistance for the interviews has been received by way of a supplementary grant from Finance Factors, Ltd., which is headed by Senator Fong.

The series has been known as the "Oral History of the Modern Congress" and "The Modern Congress in American History," but is officially entitled "Former members of Congress Oral History of the Congress Project."

The interviewer wishes to acknowledge the generous and thoughtful involvement of Senator Fong in the Project. He made available not only an extensive collection of scrapbooks and photographs for research, but kindly shared the services of his personal secretary, Mrs. Hunnie Yee, in order to expedite the research. The greatest contribution, of course, was his full participation in this significant endeavor. He willingly donated his time and efforts for the interviews, taking precious hours from his numerous other activities.

The resources of the Hawaii State Archives and those of the Hawaiian Collection of the University of Hawaii at Manoa Library were made available by helpful librarians and staff. The writer also drew upon tape-recorded interviews conducted earlier with him for The Hiram L. Fong Oral History Project.

For the opportunity to contribute to the making of America's historical records, the interviewer also wishes to thank Mr. Jed Johnson, Jr., Executive Director of Former Members of Congress, and Mr. Charles T. Morrissey, Oral History Director. Mrs. Fern Ingersoll, Research Associate, also helped to move the project along smoothly.

Ms. Duchess Quenzer conscientiously performed the important tasks of transcribing and typing. Ms. Dolores Springer also helped immeasurably with the typing. Without their efforts, these interviews could not have been completed.

Michaelyn P. Chou
Regional Oral History Interviewer
in Hawaii
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December 1979
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Honolulu, Hawaii

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Regional Oral History Project - Hawaii

THE MODERN CONGRESS IN AMERICAN HISTORY

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Interviewer/(formerly Millie Jue Tsui)
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Thomas L Long
Signature

1102 Alenua Drive
Honolulu, Hi. 96817

2-22-78
Date

Name and Address of Narrator

2-22-78
Date

Michaelyn P Chou
On behalf of Former Members of Congress, Inc.

June 21, 1978
Date

Daniel J. Prouty MPR
On behalf of the Library of Congress

Dec. 15, 1979
Date

Dr. H. B. ...
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Dated: 11-27, 1979.

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA*

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH—HIRAM LEONG FONG

PERSONAL

Born in the Kalihi District of Honolulu, Hawaii on October 1, 1907, the seventh of eleven children of Mr. and Mrs. Lum Fong. Parents were both immigrants from Kwangtung Province, China. Father arrived in Hawaii at age 15 as sugar cane plantation indentured laborer; mother arrived at age 10, employed as maidservant. Married to the former Ellyn Lo of Honolulu, a graduate of the University of Hawaii with a bachelor of education degree and a former school-teacher. Father of four children: Hiram, Jr., who served as captain with the U.S. Army in Vietnam, 1967-68, and is presently a practicing attorney in Honolulu and a member of the Hawaii State House of Representatives; Rodney L., a graduate of California-Western University Law School in San Diego, Calif., a member of the bar of the State of Hawaii, and now manager, Kaalaea Farms, Kaalaea, Hawaii; Merie-Ellen (Mrs. William Mitchell), a 1970 graduate of Goucher College in Towson, Md., with a Master's degree from Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.; and Marvin-Allan, a 1970 graduate of Lynchburg College, Lynchburg, Va., formerly at Finance Realty Co., Ltd., Honolulu, and now attending California-Western Law School, San Diego, Calif. Senator and Mrs. Fong have four grandchildren, Jennifer, daughter of Janet and Hiram Fong, Jr.; Chelsea, daughter of Patsy and Rodney L. Fong; Emily, daughter of Dr. and Mrs. William Mitchell; and Nathan Allan, son of Sandra and Marvin-Allan Fong. Senator and Mrs. Fong and their children are Congregationalists and members of the First Chinese Church of Christ in Honolulu.

EDUCATION

Graduate of Kalihi-Waena Grammar School and McKinley High School; also attended St. Louis College (a high school), all in Honolulu. Graduated with honors after 3 years of intensive study from the University of Hawaii with a bachelor of arts degree. At the U. of H, was editor of the University newspaper Ka Leo; associate editor of the yearbook Ka Palapala; adjutant of the ROTC; an oratorical contest winner; and held membership on the debating, volleyball, and rifle teams. Was member of Hawaii Civilian Rifle Team at National Matches at Camp Perry, Ohio, 1929. He is a member of Phi Beta Kappa. Studied law at Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. where he received his doctor of jurisprudence degree in 1935. Because of lack of funds, his education was interrupted twice, for 3 years after high school, and for 2 years after University graduation. Worked his way through high school and college.

Recipient of nine honorary degrees: Doctor of laws degree from University of Hawaii (1953), Tufts University (1960), Lafayette College (1960), Lynchburg College (1970), Lincoln University (1971), University of Guam (1974), St. John's University (1975), California Western School of Law (1976), and Doctor of humane letters degree from Long Island University (1968).

BUSINESS

From age 4 to 7, picked algarroba (mesquite) beans for sale as cattle feed at 10 cents per 30-lb. bag. From age 7 to 10, shined shoes and sold newspapers on the streets of Honolulu. Later, caught and sold fish and crabs, delivered poi, and caddled for 25 cents a nine-hole round, earning \$1.50 on a big Sunday. Working his way through college, he held jobs simultaneously as a collector of overdue bills, as a college correspondent for the Honolulu Advertiser newspaper, and as a guide for tourists visiting oriental temples.

From 1924 to 1927, he worked as a clerk in the supply department of the Pearl Harbor Naval Shipyard. From 1930 to 1932, was chief clerk of the suburban water system of the City and County of Honolulu.

Founded the cosmopolitan law firm of Fong (Chinese), Miho (Japanese), Chey (Korean), and Robinson (Caucasian-Hawaiian). Resigned from the firm after taking office as U.S. Senator.

As a businessman, he now holds the post of founder and chairman of the board of the following corporations: Finance Factors, Grand Pacific Life Insurance (life insurance only), Finance Realty, Finance Home Builders, Finance Investment, Finance Factors Foundation, and Market City; president of Ocean View Cemetery, Ltd., chairman of the board of Highway Construction Company, Ltd., and holds directorships in several other companies.

FARMING

Operates banana and papaya farm and a fish pond; raises cattle, avocados, lichees, macadamia nuts, and mangoes.

* Source: U.S. 94th Congress, 2d Session, 1976. Senate. Tributes to the Honorable Hiram L. Fong of Hawaii in the United States Senate upon the occasion of his retirement from the Senate. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1977, pp. 16-19.

MILITARY SERVICE

A World War II veteran of the U.S. Army Air Corps (1942-1944). Entered with rank of 1st Lieutenant; promoted to Major; was judge advocate of the 7th Fighter Command of the 7th Air Force. Reserve officer of the U.S. Army for over 20 years. He is now a colonel, retired, U.S. Air Force Reserve, and a member of the Kau-Tom Post of the American Legion, and Post 1540 of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. He was designated a member of the Board of Visitors of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, in March 1971. In April, 1974, he was appointed a member of the Board of Visitors of the U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis.

CIVIC SERVICE

He has been active in many service and civic organizations, including the Kalihi Community Improvement Club; the Army, Navy and Civilian Young Men's Christian Association; Downtown Improvement Club; Parent-Teachers Associations; Boy Scouts; Chinese American Club; Warriors of the Commercial Associates; University of Hawaii Alumni Association; Harvard Club of Hawaii; Chinese Civic Club; Chamber of Commerce of Hawaii; Chinese Chamber of Commerce, and other similar groups.

HONORS

An elector for the Hall of Fame; recipient of national award for outstanding service to brotherhood from the National Conference of Christians and Jews, 1960; citation for meritorious service from the National Association of Retired Civil Employees, 1963; Horatio Alger Award for outstanding success in law, business, and public service despite humble beginnings (selected by ballots distributed among 500 U.S. colleges), the first citizen of Hawaii to receive this award, 1970; citation for outstanding public service by the Japanese American Citizens League, 1970; Social and Rehabilitation Service Medallion for work on behalf of disabled citizens, 1970; Golden Plate Award by the American Academy of Achievement, 1971; Organization of Chinese Americans, Inc. award for outstanding services to the Nation, 1973. Certificate of Award for his example of good citizenship, April 1974, from the National Society, Daughters of Founders and Patriots of America; certificate of service for outstanding contribution to the promotion of understanding and unity among the peoples of the Pacific Asian World, October 1974, from the Pacific Asian Studies Association. Selected by President Yen Chia-Kan of the Republic of China to receive the Order of the Brilliant Star with Grand Cordon on August 27, 1976.

PUBLIC SERVICE

Was Deputy Attorney for the city and county of Honolulu 1935-1938. Served 14 years in the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii 1938-1954, including 4 years (1944-1948) as Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives and 6 years (1948-1954) as Speaker. He was Vice President of the Hawaii State Constitutional Convention in 1950 and an ardent advocate of statehood.

He was elected a delegate from Hawaii to the Republican National Conventions in Chicago, 1952, 1960; San Francisco, 1956, 1964; Miami 1968 and 1972; and Kansas City, Missouri, 1976. In 1964 and in 1968, his name was placed in nomination as favorite son candidate from Hawaii for the office of President of the United States.

U.S. SENATE

Elected to the U.S. Senate July 28, 1959. Sworn into office August 24, 1959, the first American of Asian ancestry to be elected to the U.S. Senate. The Senior Senator from Hawaii, he was reelected U.S. Senator on November 3, 1964 and on November 3, 1970.

Senator Fong is a member of the following Senate Committees:

Post Office and Civil Service (Highest Ranking Republican).—Ex-officio member of all subcommittees: Civil Service Policies and Practices; Compensation and Employment Benefits; Postal Operations; and Census and Statistics.

Appropriations (Fourth-ranking Republican).—Subcommittees: Agriculture and Related Agencies (highest ranking Republican); Defense (fourth-ranking Republican); HUD-Independent Agencies (third-ranking Republican); Labor, Health, Education, Welfare and Related Agencies (third-ranking Republican); State, Justice, Commerce, The Judiciary and Related Agencies (second-ranking

Republican) ; and Treasury, Postal Service and General Government (Ex-officio on Post Office items—third-ranking Republican).

Judiciary (Second-ranking Republican).—Subcommittees: Antitrust and Monopoly (second-ranking Republican) ; Constitutional Amendments (highest ranking Republican) ; Constitutional Rights (third-ranking Republican) ; Immigration and Naturalization (highest ranking Republican) ; Juvenile Delinquency (third-ranking Republican) ; Patents, Trademarks and Copyrights (second-ranking Republican) ; and Refugees and Escapees (highest ranking Republican).

Special Committee on Aging (Highest Ranking Republican).—Ex-officio member of all subcommittees: Housing for the Elderly ; Employment and Retirement Incomes ; Federal, State, and Community Services ; Consumer Interests of the Elderly ; Health of the Elderly ; Long-Term Care ; and Retirement and the Individual.

Appointed by the Vice President in January, 1975, to serve on the Commission on Revision of the Federal Court Appellate System.

Represented the United States as a delegate to the 150th Anniversary celebration of Argentina's independence in 1960. In 1961, he was appointed a member of the U.S. Delegation to the Canada-United States Interparliamentary Conference ; in 1965, 1967, and 1968, he was again named to this Conference. Appointed U.S. Observer at Commonwealth Parliamentary Association meeting in Wellington, New Zealand, in November 1965. Appointed Official U.S. Delegate to the 55th Interparliamentary Union World Conference in Tehran, Iran, in September, 1966. Appointed Official U.S. Delegate to the 61st Interparliamentary Union World Conference in Tokyo in 1974. Represented the United States as a Delegate to the Ditchley Foundation Conference in London (Oxfordshire), England, in January 1967. Appointed U.S. Delegate to Mexico-U.S. Interparliamentary Conference in Honolulu in April 1968. Participated as Presidentially appointed member of U.S. Congressional Delegation to People's Republic of China in 1974. In October 1974, Senator Fong made a factfinding and inspection tour of U.S. State and Defense Department installations in Japan, Okinawa, Korea, and the Republic of China as well as the Island of Guam and the Trust Territory of the Pacific. In April 1975, he was selected by President Gerald Ford to serve as a member of the official U.S. Delegation to journey to Taiwan for the funeral services for the late President of the Republic of China, His Excellency Chiang Kai-shek.

INTERVIEW HISTORY

Hiram Leong Fong was no stranger to the nation's capitol when he began serving his initial term in 1959, having been a member of the Territory of Hawaii's legislative delegation to testify on statehood in 1950. He had advocated statehood for Hawaii and the election of a governor responsible to the people even before entering territorial politics in 1938. It was an exhilarating moment for him and for all of Hawaii when Congress finally granted equal status to Hawaii in 1959.

He was elected as one of two Statehood Senators, the first person of Chinese ancestry to serve in the U.S. Congress and the first one of Oriental heritage in the Senate. By two strokes of good fortune, he became the senior senator and received the six-year term of office. Re-elected twice more to represent the quickly developing Hawaiian Islands, he achieved many other "firsts" awards and honors, a list of which appears under "Biographical Data."

In 1976 Senator Fong announced his retirement, and left the Senate the following January. At the time of his retirement, he was the nation's only surviving statehood senator. Today, he is actively pursuing the development of a botanical and horticultural garden/park on family land in Kahaluu on the Windward side of Oahu, Hawaii, while still retaining his position as Chairman of the Board of the 150 million dollar Finance Factors family of businesses, which he began 25 years ago with a small group of investors.

Senator Fong is very much interested in history, particularly Hawaiian and American History, and plans the building of a library housing his papers and memorabilia in the garden/park complex which will be available for the use of researchers and scholars.

Interviewer: Michaelyn P. Chou

Conduct of the Interviews: Seven interviews were held, the first on February 22, 1978 and the last on October 12, 1979. Many telephone calls and several personal visitations were made subsequent to the last interview.

The location was Mr. Fong's office on the seventh floor of the Finance Factors building at the corner of South King and Alakea streets in Honolulu. We always met in the morning, usually around 9:00 a.m., with sessions lasting from one to one and one-half hours each.

The office was spacious and comfortable, decorated in complementary earth colors. A large oil painting of Mr. Fong depicted him around

Conduct
of the
Interviews:

the time he was elected to the Senate, sitting at his desk, attired in a dark suit, his right hand holding a pen and the other with fingertips resting lightly on top of the desk. The set of the face was firm, almost stern, and the eyes had a direct look about them. The mouth was closed, but not strict. The viewer sensed a great deal of power around the seated figure, which was enhanced by the contrast of the background painted in soft French-influenced pastels. All in all it was a striking and appropriate portrait.

His clothing reflected the changes in the seasons. During the winter and fall months, he was attired in dark suits, shoes, and ties, but during the warmer spring and summer months, he would often wear a colorful Hawaiian shirt and lighter-colored trousers and shoes.

The desk was always "cleared for action." While books and a few memorabilia were spaced about the office, it did not have a cluttered look that one might expect from a man who has been in the public eye for over forty years. The setting was very conducive to the making of oral history records.

Initially it was planned to go systematically through his over seventeen years in the Senate, session by session, but after a while, the press of other matters made it impossible to do so. However, the sessions which were covered (1959-1968) were representative of his viewpoints and voting record of the subsequent years. The concluding interview was devoted to a quick review of his childhood, education, and career, and a discussion of the attitudes and beliefs by which he conducted himself, and still does. The reader is encouraged to contact the interviewer for further information.

Mr. Fong delighted in recalling his years in the United States Senate. His memory was very clear, and he punctuated his reminiscences with hearty laughter, sometimes directed at himself. He continued to be a candid individual, but certainly displayed the ability to deal diplomatically with sensitive topics.

The retired senator seemed to grow younger over the months of the interviews. His work in his beloved garden after a morning at the office appeared to give him outlets for his considerable physical and mental energy. He continued to hold strong viewpoints on the nation's defense, and the need for governmental fiscal

responsibility. He was definitely a man at peace with himself and with the world around him, a world which bears his imprint now, and will for generations to come.

Memorabilia: Since all of Mr. Fong's Senatorial papers and much of his memorabilia were still in storage, the interviewer was permitted access to personal scrapbooks. The only family pictures in his office were those of his active, handsome grandchildren. Books and a few important documents also gave the office a personal touch. All photographs in this volume are courtesy of the Fong family.

Editing: Mr. Fong did not wish to edit the transcripts, but gave that responsibility totally over to the interviewer. Editing was done primarily for style, but an attempt was made to keep to his distinctive speech pattern. Some repetition was left in to indicate his concern for the topics. No substantive part of the interviews was changed or omitted.

Transcribing and typing: Mrs. Duchess Quenzer of Kailua, Hawaii was responsible for all transcribing, but shared typing duties with Ms. Dolores Springer of Honolulu.

Final processing: The interviewer supervised the final processing of the manuscript into final bound form.

Michaelyn P. Chou
Regional Oral History Interviewer in Hawaii
Former Members of Congress

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December 1979

Interview Number 1, Senator Hiram Fong

Chou: Senator Fong, when Hawaii achieved statehood in 1959, after decades of trying, what were your thoughts about running for elective office to represent the new state of Hawaii?

Fong: It was not until the latter part of March 1959 that I began to seriously consider running for the United States Senate. Prior to my announcement, there were already four Democrats who had announced their intentions. One of the leading Democrats was Judge William H. Heen. He had been a long time territorial Senator, the lone Democrat in the territorial Senate for a long time, and was a very, very large vote-getter. He was of Hawaiian/Chinese ancestry, and he had a very large following in the Caucasian community. Heen was considered a very, very strong candidate.

There was Oren E. Long, who was former governor and former Secretary of the Territory. He had also been Postmaster of the Honolulu Post Office and former Superintendent of Public Instruction. Long was a very formidable candidate.

The third was Frank Fasi, who had been in the territorial Senate, and on the Board of Supervisors; Fasi subsequently became mayor of the City and County of Honolulu in later years. These three were very, very strong contenders on the Democratic ticket.

There were no Republican candidates. And I had been out of politics for a long time--about five years--having been defeated when the Republican legislature cut out three holidays for the government workers, curtailed their sickleave, curtailed their vacations and would not give them a civil service classification to their liking. Therefore, they were strongly against the Republican Party and in that Democratic landslide election of 1954, I lost by 31 votes. By 1959, I had been out of politics for five years. But looking at the field of candidates on the Democratic side, I thought that I had a fair chance of becoming a serious candidate, as the Republican Party didn't have any person who, at that time, had decided to run. However, Wilfred Tsukiyama, who was President

Fong: of the Senate--the territorial Senate, and a long-time member of the legislature, a long-time City and County attorney, as well as a very, very influential attorney in the community, was also thinking of running as a Republican.

So it was in the latter part of March that I thought about running. My wife had gone to the mainland to be with my son, Junior, and they were at my friend's home--my Harvard Law School classmate, Robert Robinson. I had sent them a letter saying that I had looked over the candidates and that I had thought about my qualifications. I had begun to list down my qualifications as a candidate. And I was told that when they received the letter, my son Junior said, "Why does he tell us this? We all know what his qualifications are. It looks like Daddy's going to run for office!" I did not consult them as to my running. It was in April that I finally announced that I would run for the Senate.

The Senate seats were divided into Class A and Class B seats and when I decided to run I said that I would run for the Class A seat. In the Class A race, Heen was listed as a candidate, Frank Fasi was running and I was also running for the Class A seat. In the Class B seat, Oren E. Long and Wilfred Tsukiyama were battling it out. Prior to statehood, we had always conjectured as to who would be the leading candidates for the United States Senate, should Hawaii attain that goal. And, as we had been working for statehood for a long, long time, it was thought by the majority of people that I knew, who had been in on our discussions, that Wilfred Tsukiyama would be a most favored candidate for the Senate. He was of Japanese ancestry, and the Japanese Americans had a very large ethnic bloc in Hawaii. U. S. Delegate Joe Farrington would be the other person who would be able to make the U. S. Senate seat. But Delegate Farrington died. Subsequently the name of Governor Sam Wilder King was also thought of as being a very likely candidate for the United States Senate. Judge Heen was also felt to be a very, very strong candidate and a great possibility for being a United States Senator. But, unfortunately for Judge Heen, statehood came a little too late for him. I think he was over 70 years of age at the time when he ran for the United States Senate. He had been favored all along in this election, so didn't do too much campaigning; he felt that he was well-known in the community, so that he didn't have to campaign too much. However, with statehood, there came a different type of attitude among the people. Fasi, being a person born in one of the United States--that

Fong: is, in Connecticut--knew something about the politics of running for office and he campaigned very vigorously. He was able to defeat Judge Heen by quite a large vote. It was amazing that he beat Judge Heen by such a large majority.

Now the political strategists among my supporters had all kinds of thoughts as to how they would vote in the primary election. At that time they could register as Democrats or register as Republicans to vote. And some of my friends went over and voted for Fasi, feeling that I had a better chance against Fasi. And some of them went over and voted for Judge Heen, because they felt that--well, if Judge Heen got nominated, there would be two persons of Chinese ancestry fighting for the office.

Chou: Either way, the Chinese would be covered!

Fong: Yes. The older Chinese were mostly for Judge Heen, because he had represented them in many cases and they had gone to him for many, many favors while he was in the territorial Senate. He had been a long-time member of the Senate, and the lone Democrat in that body. Later on the Democrats became the majority party, so they continued to go to him for a lot of favors. Some of the older Chinese would rationalize by saying, "Well, we'll vote for Judge Heen. Hiram Fong has no opposition in the Republican Party, so we'll have two persons of Chinese and part-Chinese ancestry fighting against each other, so that we'll have some representation in the United States Senate." As it came out, Fasi won, by a very large vote. And I had told my friends to stick with me.

To persons who asked me, "What should I do? Should I go over and vote for Fasi or vote for Heen?" I told them, "Stick with me. Stay on the Republican side." I was very strong on that. But my law partner, Katsuro Miho, actually told people, "Go home and vote for Fasi." And then, when Heen was defeated, we asked Mr. Awana-- T. Y. Awana--who was the campaign manager for Judge Heen, to help us in our election. Awana was Territorial Surveyor and he had always been a very close friend of Judge Heen. One day he came to my office and said, "Hiram," he said, "I want to ask you a question." He said, "Did you or did you not tell your friends to go over and vote for Fasi?" I said, "Awana, I want to tell you the truth." I said, "I told them to stick with me. But, as you know, I have no control over what other people do. You know. You've been in politics a long, long time and everybody is a political strategist. And they go--never mind what you tell

Fong: them, they're not going to listen to you--they go and do what they want. Naturally, some of my friends went over and voted for Fasi, and some of my friends voted for Judge Heen. And," I said, "I have no control over it. But, as for me, I told my friends to stick with me." On that account, he said, "All right, we will support you." And I think his friends did support me in the election.

And the B seat contest was between Oren E. Long and Wilfred Tsukiyama. Wilfred Tsukiyama was very frustrated. He said he wished he had run on the A ticket. He said, "How could you fight a man who wouldn't fight back?" Oren E. Long was the type of individual who would never talk against the other individual. He would just campaign for himself, would never answer a challenge, would never argue, and would never get into a debate. Wilfred Tsukiyama was really frustrated because Oren E. Long would not debate with him and would not say anything about him either. He just went out and campaigned for himself. And, as it turned out, Wilfred Tsukiyama lost by a very, very small margin, about 2,000 votes. I think if Wilfred Tsukiyama had spent a little more of his own money and campaigned a little harder, he could have won that seat. But somehow, Wilfred held back in the expenditures--in advertising--and depended more on his friends to carry on the campaign. I think that accounted for his defeat.

Chou: Did you and Wilfred Tsukiyama get together and discuss your campaign strategy, or did you run your campaigns quite separately, one from the other?

Fong: We ran our campaigns very separately. But the fact is that our team of Tsukiyama and Fong for the Senate--a person of Japanese ancestry and a person of Chinese ancestry--with Bill Quinn as the Caucasian member of the team, running for governor--with Charley Silva, a person of Portuguese ancestry--(the Portuguese have an entity here because they came here as a group--so the Portuguese community is very closely knit)--running for the House of Representatives--and Jimmy Kealoha, Hawaiian/Chinese, running for the lieutenant governorship--this was a formidable team from the ethnic standpoint.

Chou: A balanced team.

Fong: Ethnically, you couldn't have done better, except that, probably, we could have gotten a person of Filipino ancestry. But we did not have such a candidate and the opposition did not have one, so that sort of neutralized things. But we had the combination.

Fong: The Republican ticket had a combination for victory. And, as a result of that, I won and Bill Quinn won and Kealoha won. Tsukiyama lost by just a few thousand votes. Of course, Charley Silva was defeated by a large vote, by Daniel Inouye. So, the combination of these candidates, who belonged to various ethnic groups, added strength to the Republican Party and gave us the victory.

Chou: At one time Dan Inouye had thought to run in the Senate race and it appeared that at the last moment he decided to file for the House. Do you remember what happened to change his mind?

Fong: I had no contact with Inouye. He was of a younger generation than I was, and I had been out of politics for five years. So really I had no contact with him. I had heard that he was contemplating running for the U. S. Senate, but, somehow, later he decided to run for the House. Now, if he ran for the United States Senate, I don't know how he would have fared against Heen or Fasi, or how he would have fared against Oren E. Long, at that time. Probably he could not have made it--probably he could have made it--but for the House, it was clear sailing for him. So he decided to run for the House.

Chou: I see.

Fong: When I look back, I think that I was...well, may I say, I probably had more guts than brains! Probably it would have been better for me to run for the House, rather than for the U. S. Senate--rather than try for the highest position, because I had been out of politics for so many years. Then the question came up, why should I go for the highest office, when I had been defeated? But I felt, in looking at the candidates, that I had a fair chance at the U. S. Senate race.

Actually, I didn't think that I could win. I thought that it would be good for future generations to say, well, there was a person of Chinese ancestry who was a serious contender for the United States Senate. And from that standpoint, I thought that at least I would make history. I wasn't sure that I could win, but I felt that I was sure that I would make history from the standpoint that here is a person of Chinese ancestry who was a very serious contender for the United States Senate.

Chou: You mentioned that you made your decision quite alone.

Fong: Yes.

Chou: Without consultation with a lot of people?

Fong: Well, I did ask a few people and had very little encouragement.

Chou: Little encouragement from members of the Republican Party--the leadership in the Party?

Fong: Well, not the leadership but the people who were Republicans and who had high business positions in the community. I believe that the thinking in their minds was, "Who is this guy who thinks that he could invade the most prestigious body in the United States? When it was 100% Caucasian?" Only twice in history have there been any persons other than of Caucasian ancestry to sit in the United States Senate, when the South, right after the Civil War--where the Blacks dominated the legislatures of some of the Southern states--was able to elect two Black Senators.

Chou: Non-Caucasians...

Fong: Yeah...from the state of Mississippi. The Senate was the most deliberative body in the world, it was the most prestigious body, and it was an exclusive club. I believe the Republican thinking was, "Who is this guy, Hiram Fong, who thinks that he could invade that body?" So, I didn't get much encouragement from them.

Chou: You spoke, then, to members of the Big Five, heads of the corporations?

Fong: No, no, no. Not to them--to various people who had different businesses in the community and to lesser officials--not to the top people.

Chou: I see.

Fong: Just to get a feeling...

Chou: Just to get a feeling.

Fong: ...as to how the Caucasian vote would go.

Chou: Do you remember who they were?

Fong: Yes. I would rather not tell. I would rather not name them.

Chou: All right. I'll have to go along with that, although you are aware we can seal any information you wish to.

Fong: Of course, when the reality struck them, that I was the only Republican to represent the Republican Party, then, naturally, they fell behind me. You see? At that time, when I kind of inquired, no one knew who was actually going to run.

Chou: I see.

Fong: We didn't know who was going to run. There was Ben Dillingham, there was Quinn, of course, there was [Hebden] Porteus, and there was [Cyrus] Nils Tavares. All these people were possible candidates, and they could have gotten the votes of the Caucasian ethnic groups if they ran. But, at that time, nothing was firm as to who was running. Of course, when the nominations closed and I was the only Republican, naturally they got behind me.

Chou: After the primaries you had the Republican support?

Fong: After the primaries they were back of me, yes. I did not consult any of my other friends about running. Of course, Governor Sam King, who had relinquished his post as governor two years before that (because the Secretary of the Interior had nominated Bill Quinn to be governor, feeling that Hawaii needed a younger man), believed that when statehood came, he would be in line to run for the office again.

Former Governor Sam King wanted me to run with him. He was then in the hospital. And he asked that I come and see him, at the Queen's Hospital. So, I went up to see him, and he said, "Hiram," he said, "I want to run for the governorship, and I want you to run for the lieutenant governorship with me." And I replied, "Sam," I said, "some of my friends want me to run for the United States Senate and I'm seriously considering going for the United States Senate." So Sam said, "Well, that's good. Let's work together." And I said, "Fine, we'll work together." But subsequently, before the elections started, Sam King died.

I've often wondered, had he lived and had he decided to run for the governorship, whether Bill Quinn would have run for the governorship, or would Quinn have tried to run for the United States Senate.

Chou: Oh, yes, yes. Quinn running for the Senate would have changed things considerably.

Fong: Of course, there was [John A.] Burns, who was Delegate to Congress, who was a possible candidate to run for the United States Senate. But the [Democratic] Party

Fong: wanted him to run for the governorship to strengthen the Party at home. So he acceded to the requests of his Party members and ran for the governorship.

You see, in every election, fortuitous circumstances plays a big part in a person's success or failure. If one candidate had run, maybe the other person wouldn't have won. If he didn't run, then the other could have won. And if Burns had run, the question would have been whether I could have won. And if Judge Heen was younger, whether I could have won. If Judge Heen had beaten Frank Fasi, the question is, could I have beaten Judge Heen?

Chou: Ah, yes. I see.

Fong: I have serious doubts as to whether I could have beaten Judge Heen. He had the Hawaiian votes and he had a great number of Chinese votes back of him. The question is whether I could have overcome that. And these things...you know, you could conjecture as to what would have resulted had certain persons run and had the ticket been different. Of course, this occurs in every election.

Chou: That's true. But at the time you made your decision, you had no idea what your opposition would be. You just went ahead and decided you would...

Fong: I didn't care. I didn't care who was going to run against me. When I announced my candidacy, right off the bat, I said that I would run for Class A. Seat A. You see, I didn't care who would run for Seat A. I decided I would run for Seat A.

Chou: What made you choose seat A? Rather than seat B?

Fong: Well, I don't know. I just said I would run for seat A, because A was the first letter of the alphabet. I was the first Republican to announce, so I said, "I'll take A."

Chou: Fine...that turned out to be a fine choice.

Fong: And then Tsukiyama, when he ran, well, naturally, he wasn't going to run against me. Seat B was open, so he ran for Seat B. You see? It was a very, very interesting election. At no time prior to that election, had I worked hard at any of my elections--worked seriously at them. My electioneering before consisted only of making a few speeches on the political stump. At that time we didn't have T.V. nor did we have radio. Radio was just coming into the picture.

Fong: We went from one spot to another to speak to the people who would gather there. I would speak, or, prior to my speaking on the stump, I would pass my cards out to people who sat there. Then after speaking, I would go home.

Chou: This, of course, refers back to when you first started into territorial politics, back in 1938?

Fong: Yes. That was the substance of my campaigning, until very late in my campaign, when my friend Thomas Sakakihara came down here from the Big Island of Hawaii. He saw how I was doing it. And he gave me hell. He said, "Is that the way you campaign?" He said, "You gotta go from house to house." I said, "Nuts," I said. I wouldn't go from house to house. He said, "You gotta go from house to house. We do that all the time in Hilo, in the island of Hawaii."

Well, you see, on that island, there were only 65,000 people and the electorate was very small. You had to touch everyone, several times, before they would vote for you. And he was, of course, accustomed to that type of campaigning, whereas, I was not.

Chou: So by the time you were Speaker of the House, you were campaigning more actively? Is this what you're referring to?

Fong: No. What I was saying is this, that at no time did I campaign very seriously in the territorial races for the House of Representatives.

Chou: I see. Even in 1949, when you were elected the Speaker of the Territorial House?

Fong: Yes. During those years I felt that people knew me and if they wanted me, they'd vote for me. And besides, the last four years in the House, I wasn't too enamoured of running anyway.

Chou: By that time you had started some business interests?

Fong: Yes. And I thought that--oh, I was getting tired of politics. I felt that there was nowhere for me to go, and that was the end of it. I was Speaker of the House for six years and had been Vice-Speaker for four years and I felt that that was the limit that I could have gone.

Chou: You had not thought of running for the territorial Senate?

Fong: No, no. I felt that being the Speaker of the House was enough honor for me. And so, for the last six years I was a very reluctant candidate. My brother Leonard, said, "Well, why don't you run once more?" Then, when I decided to retire again, Leonard asked, "Why don't you run once more?" So that kept me going in politics. It was a half-hearted kind of a situation for me, running for the territorial legislature. But now that I was entering this race for the United States Senate, it was a different proposition.

Chou: Yes.

Fong: It was something in which I might go down in history. It was a real historic event.

Chou: The first statehood....

Fong: The fact that we got statehood, yes. The first statehood Senator; the first time that we were given the opportunity of joining the sisterhood of states; and we were making national and international news. I felt that now I had to give it the best I had. So, I really campaigned this time for the United States Senate, and I worked hard at it. I did almost everything that should be done. But, what I did not know about was getting professional help.

As I look back on my Senate races, in my three campaigns for the United States Senate, I have always wondered how I ever got elected, without professional help! Going out with posters, finding out what the people were thinking about, what situations the people were developing in the community, what I should do, what I should not do. I never had that kind of assistance.

Of course, we engaged an advertising agency to do our advertising for us, but that was the extent of it. For most of the advertising, we told them what to do. Of course, they did a few things more than that, but they did not go out and really find out the issues for me. They didn't tell me what to do, and what to say, and how to go about it. They didn't get the team of professionals to work with me. I've often wondered, without that kind of help, how I was able to survive. But I did everything I could that I knew, and everything I knew I should do, I did. But I didn't know that I should have really hired professionals! You see? We're still a backwards community here.

Chou: This was the situation during the first national election, of course.

Fong: Yes. First national election. And I had been out of politics, so naturally I campaigned the old way, of just going to meet the people, talking to them, getting voters, and getting people to help me. I also felt that, being a Republican in the election, I was at a great disadvantage. The Democratic Party had a lot of signed-up voters. The Republican Party was the minority Party, and therefore, I had to do something that was intended to get the votes. I could not go and use the "spreadshot" gun approach--fire into the air and hope that some pellets would hit some of the voters. I had to aim my target at individual voters. So I devised a scheme of having coordinators and captains.

Chou: How did you find these coordinators and captains, Senator?

Fong: Well, I first started with a group among my very close friends and my business associates. I asked them to go out to see some of their friends. And naturally, being of Chinese ancestry, most of these very close friends of mine were of Chinese ancestry. The great core of the group was built around the Chinese community. Now, some of my Chinese friends questioned my building my substantive core on my own ethnic group. And my answer to them was this: I do not know who my opponent is. I said, "If I went out and got helpers of various ethnic backgrounds, and if a candidate of another ethnic background should be my opponent, I may lose some of those coordinators. Then I would have to start all over again. I would like to have as the core of my campaign workers members of the Chinese community, because there is no other Chinese person who would be running against me. (Although there was a possibility that Judge Heen may be my opponent.) And I said, "Never mind what happens; it will be very difficult for them to shake my coordinators if they are Chinese." So I had this substantive group.

Chou: That's very interesting, because the Chinese population was very small--something like 6% at that time.

Fong: Yes. It was about 6%, yes. Very small. But, I had to have a group of workers, loyal workers, workers who were willing to work and stay by me. I felt that the coordinators were people who would be willing to work and that I could reach the other groups through my other organizations.

Chou: By the time you decided to run for the U. S. Senate, you had been in business as head of Finance Factors for a number of years, is this correct?

Fong: Yes.

Chou: And were some of your supporters among the group of workers on the neighbor islands, so that you had sort of an umbrella group already?

Fong: Yes, I had. I started with that organization: people who were working for the Finance Factors group, family friends, and legislators who had been with me in the territorial legislature, who were also very good friends of mine. These formed the nucleus of my team. I indicated that I wanted about so many coordinators; and each coordinator was to give me ten captains; and each captain was to give me ten or twenty supporters.

Chou: Now, you must have crossed Party lines in this effort?

Fong: No question about it.

Chou: No question about it.

Fong: No question about it. It worked this way: The coordinator would ask another person--his friend-- "Do you wish to become a coordinator for Hiram Fong?" When that person's name came in to me, I wrote him a letter and thanked him. Then the coordinator was to get so many captains--either ten or twenty. But, some of them only got five, some got twenty, some got more, some got less. But I set a goal, say, ten to twenty. Then the captains would go out and get supporters. I felt that with a nucleus like that, I could reach quite a number of people. I knew that it was impossible for me, in the short time there was between the time that I announced in April and the election in June, to be able to meet a lot of people. So, the best way to meet the people was to get my coordinators and my captains to fill that need. By then I had learned a very, very valuable lesson: every man and every woman wishes to be asked to vote. That had been very vividly brought to my attention, when I was at the University of Hawaii. In my freshman year, when I was campaigning for Patrick Gleason on the political stump, he had asked me to precede him every night at the rallies, and I did that. Pat Gleason's opponent was David Trask. David Trask.

Chou: Trask, of the Hawaii Government Employees' Association?

Fong: Yes. His father--David Trask's father. Now, after the election, I found out that my brother, T. Y. Fong, who had an express business on River Street--that's

- Fong: where the Democrats were really strong--had voted for David Trask. So I asked him, "Why did you vote for David Trask?" He said, "Nobody asked me."
- Chou: Did T. Y. mean, "Nobody asked me not to vote for him?"
- Fong: Or, "Nobody asked me to vote for Pat Gleason."
- Chou: Yes, that's right.
- Fong: You see? I had been campaigning hard for Pat Gleason, my brother Leonard had been campaigning hard for Pat Gleason, but we overlooked our family. We didn't ask them to vote for our candidate.
- Chou: I see.
- Fong: And somehow, unthinkingly, they went ahead and exercised their own judgement in voting. If we had asked them, they would have voted for our man.
- Chou: You probably assumed that he....
- Fong: I assumed. And that assumption was no good. My own brother, mind you, voted against my own candidate, when I was campaigning so actively for him. So, with that thought in mind, I said, "I've got to ask every voter." And the only way I can ask him is to get my coordinators and captains to ask him. I thought, humanistically, it would work this way: If the person is asked, he will say to himself, "Gee, if I can get him in, some day I may need help. If I need help, I'm going to ask the captain who approached me, if he would get Mr. Fong to help me." Subsequent to my election, I found that to be so. People who voted for me went back to ask their captain for help. The captain asked the coordinator, and the coordinator called me, saying, "Eh, there's a voter who has helped you before; now he wants some help." You see? Voters will be thinking that they will be doing me a favor, and yet, if elected, I would be in a position to help them because they had helped me.
- Chou: Very practical brand of....
- Fong: It was a very practical way of getting that vote. Many of my Chinese friends had relatives in the Caucasian community, in the Hawaiian community, and in the Japanese community. Hawaii is an inter-racial community.

Chou: Yes, it certainly is.

Fong: And their brothers and sisters were married to people of other nationalities, and they were able to get them to vote for me. You see? So, even if a supporter is of Chinese ethnic background, that does not mean that his friends are confined to the Chinese community. His friends are all over the place. He may be working in a shop where there are all kinds of persons, and he would ask the persons in the shop to vote for me. You see how it works?

Chou: Oh, yes.

Fong: So, I had this group of coordinators, and I had this group of captains. I would have rallies for my coordinators, rallies for my captains, you know. I would exhort them to do this and do that. I asked them to bring in the list of people they had contacted, or to send the list to me. Then we would file the list. We would also take the list and show what areas they were voting in.

Chou: Precincts and all?

Fong: Precincts that are represented by the number of people who said they would vote for me. We would file the person's name and send a letter to him, thanking him for being one of my supporters. That way we knew where we were weak and where we were strong. We would know who would be against me, who would be for me. And if we found that a person was against me, my coordinator or my supporter would tell me, "That person is against you, he's not going to vote for you." Then we would contact some other person who knew him well and ask him to vote for me. And if he decided that he still was against me, we would ask him not to fight me...just to go and vote against me, but not to fight me.

Chou: Don't take an active part?

Fong: Don't take an active part against me. You see how that plan works?

Chou: And that was your own device?

Fong: This was my device.

Chou: It was you who thought of the ways to meet this particular challenge?

Fong: Yes. And it worked.

Chou: Yes.

Fong: It worked.

Chou: It was a real person-to-person campaign.

Fong: Yes. When I said I didn't "spreadshot" my ammunition-- I fired one shot at one man or one woman, and got that woman and got that man. You see, when he goes to the polls, he would still be thinking, if, say, he hasn't made up his mind to vote for me or vote for my opponent. Then he would remember that Mary Doe had asked him to vote for me. And he would feel, Yes, Mary Doe had asked me, so--you know, it's just like Hiram Fong asking me--so he would vote for me.

One of my Hawaiian friends who grew up with me in Kalihi told me a very interesting story. He said he asked a person of Japanese ancestry to vote for me. And this person says, "Ah, I'm not going to vote for Hiram." My friend said, "Okay," he said, "you don't vote for Hiram, and when he gets in, you go ask for help." He said, "He's going pull out names from his drawer, and no more your name, and he's not going to help you." My friend said, "All these names are going to Hiram, and he's going put 'em in this file, and when you go ask for help he's going pull out that file and no more your name." Then the Japanese agreed, "Okay, okay, put my name down, put my name down!"

Chou: Real practical politics.

Fong: It was practical politics. You see, the average individual cares very little whom he votes for. In fact, he knows that his vote is very valuable and he likes to do the right thing, but he doesn't know the candidates. So he goes in and he votes on something which--he has formed his opinion on something which may not be relevant. But if a person whom he admires, whom he respects, tells him something about the candidate, he will feel that he knows the candidate. You see? And that's why I was so successful. I beat Fasi by over 15,000 votes.

Chou: That's remarkable.

Fong: Yes. With the Democratic Party that was so strong. Now, I had the support of the I(nternational) L(ongshoremen's) and W(arehousemen's) U(nion).

Chou: How did you happen to achieve that?

Fong: Well, when I was in the legislature here, I had met

- Fong: Jack Hall, who was the head of the Longshoremen's--ILWU--group. Hall came to me from time to time with different legislation, and if I saw that the legislation was good I would say yes, that we could pass it. But if the legislation was no good I would say, "No, I wouldn't back it." When Hall got my word, he knew that it was good. And he told all his friends that when Hiram gives you his word, you can count on it. With me, it was not a shilly-shally thing. He fought me from time to time because I did not vote for certain things that he wanted. Part of my defeat in the 1954 election, when we were very rough on the State and City and County employees, the government employees, was because the ILWU was against me. So, they were not for me all the time.
- Chou: That's what surprised me. That they would come out for you in the statehood election, and not support Fasi, the Democrat contender.
- Fong: Yes. It was because Fasi had run against Johnny Wilson--Mayor Wilson.
- Chou: Ah, yes. Mayor Wilson. A very popular....
- Fong: A very popular Democratic candidate. Frank Fasi had defeated Mayor Wilson. Because Fasi had defeated Mayor Wilson, a Republican, Neal Blaisdell, was able to defeat Fasi to become mayor.
- Chou: Ah, I see.
- Fong: In that election, the ILWU was strong for Mayor Wilson. And Fasi made some very derogatory remarks against the ILWU.
- Chou: I see.
- Fong: So the ILWU did not come over to my side solely because they felt that I was their friend, or that I was a man of my word, but it was also due to the fact that they didn't like Fasi.
- Chou: Did they feel that he may have gone against his word in campaigning against Mayor Wilson?
- Fong: No, I don't think so. I think that it was more that he was fighting--had fought--Mayor Wilson.
- Chou: I see.
- Fong: That sort of turned the tide for me. Even with the ILWU support, you know, it was difficult because most

Fong: of their members were Democrats.

Chou: Yes.

Fong: Now the unions do not control all their members. Many of their members whom I know voted against me. But the official support that they gave me was sufficient to give me a lead over Fasi. And after 1959 they supported me all the time, even though I went contrary to many of the things that they wanted. My record is not the ILWU record.

Chou: Actually, you have a moderate to conservative voting record.

Fong: Yes. But they all felt that they could depend on me. If they wanted anything and it was reasonable, then I was willing to stand back of them. And they have supported me ever since.

My second campaign was the toughest campaign. It was against Tom Gill. My first campaign--naturally, it was a new field because nobody had been tried. But in the second campaign, the Democratic Party had gotten much stronger.

Chou: Let's hold that, if we may, Senator, for another time. I was wondering whether we could go back to the final days of the campaign, and then to the primary, when you learned that you would be running against Fasi. I recall reading in newspaper articles, as soon as you found out that Fasi had defeated Judge Heen, you said that you were "in," that you knew then that you would succeed. Would you continue on with that?

Fong: Well, I was surprised, really.

Chou: At the primaries? Were you?

Fong: Yes. I was surprised that Fasi beat Heen by such a large vote.

Chou: Yes. How do you account for it?

Fong: I had thought that Heen would carry on a more active campaign, but he did not. I think that his age was against him. Fasi beat him by a very large vote. It was a shock, I think, to Heen and his supporters. When the primary was over, I knew that I was in--I knew that I could become Senator. I knew that if certain things turned right, I could win the election. At that time I felt that I could get a lot of Heen supporters to join with me. The people knew that I

Fong: was a more conservative individual than Fasi, and that my background was much better than his.

Chou: He had been in the territorial Senate.

Fong: Yes. He had been in and out of office.

Chou: Yes, I see.

Fong: Defeated and elected, defeated and elected. I felt that he was an easier man than Heen to beat. The fact was that I was local, while he was not local--in the sense that he was not born here--that gave me a tremendous advantage over him.

Chou: As it turned out, Senator, in the general, your vote count was 87,161 or 52.9% of the votes, compared to Frank Fasi's total of 77,647 or 47.1% of the vote, which was quite a considerable margin, it would seem to me.

Fong: Well, in all my elections I was never more than three or four percent higher than my opponent.

Chou: But it was enough.

Fong: It was enough, yes, enough. The problem was that the Republican Party was the minority Party.

Chou: Yes.

Fong: And many, many people will vote Democratic just because they're Democrats. There has never been an easy election that I have gone into. Of course, my second--we campaigned, but I didn't attack Fasi. I didn't attack him at all. I went on my own record.

Chou: You went on your own record as a business man....

Fong: We had debates. Yes. I had been in politics a long time, and I felt that that was sufficient for me to beat him.

Chou: Let me back up a little bit. In terms of financing, did you finance most of this first campaign?

Fong: It was not easy to get financing. The fact is that I spent quite a lot of money--my own money--because it was not easy.

Chou: But by that time you were already a millionaire.

Fong: Well, yes, yes. I was able to handle my own campaign.

Fong: But Hawaii's people were not accustomed to giving large sums of money, because all our elections had been small ones.

Chou: I see.

Fong: I would say that if I spent more than \$600 in each of my territorial elections, that would be too much. My campaign expenses did not exceed four or five hundred dollars. But the Senate was an important office. T.V. time was expensive, radio time was expensive, an ad was expensive. So we had to go out and raise money. I did raise some money, but it was not sufficient. I think I must have spent sixty or seventy thousand dollars of my own money. That money has not been repaid--I have not reimbursed myself.

Chou: I see.

Fong: A great portion of that was a loan paid me, and I've just chalked it up as part of my campaign. Well, you see, when I decided to run for the office, I felt that--looking at what Delegate Farrington had spent, I believed that I would have to spend about \$25,000 a year more than I would receive from Congress. I would go in for six years and it would cost me \$150,000. I felt that being a United States Senator for six years and spending \$150,000 of my own money was worthwhile. So I was looking at it from that standpoint, that I would have to do a lot of entertaining in Washington, and have a lot of expenses, and it would cost me about \$150,000. I believed it would cost me around \$225,000 to get in and then get out.*

I had originally only intended to go for one term. That's all I wanted; I wanted to come back and get back into my businesses. And, so, it was with those ideas that I went into the campaign. Even if I lost, why, that's all right, at least I tried it.

When we weren't able to raise sufficient funds, I had to sell various stocks of mine and borrowed from--in fact, I gave my children some stocks and had them sell it--sell the stocks--and then, with the proceeds, they loaned money to me. I still owe my children some money--I've paid some, but I still owe them some. I have not repaid that yet, although I've paid them interest over all these years, because I do recognize the debt.

It was a good campaign. We went out to the various islands, met the various people, and shook hands and

***See also pp. 154, 191.**

Fong: went on T.V. And, as I said, we had a good ethnic combination.

Chou: Did you go as a team usually?

Fong: No.

Chou: Oh. How did it work?

Fong: It was the workers--everyone had his own workers. We were all working separately. At times there was some rumbling from some of the workers on the other side, that we were not helping them. But I said, "Don't worry," I said. It was the two final weeks for the campaign. "We'll all get together--all get together, because they all will realize that we have to help each other. But, as of now, let's work for our own candidates." It did work out that way. Towards the end, everybody was working for everybody else, you see. And as a result, we got a formidable team of workers.

Chou: That was remarkable, to elect as many Republicans as you did, in the Democratic state.

Fong: Yes. Well, I knew that I would win. We had taken some informal polls at the supermarket. You know....

Chou: Oh, at the supermarket?

Fong: We were very amateurish about the whole thing. Some of my workers said, "Well, let's have a poll." So, they distributed questionnaires at supermarkets, you know, to find out whether I was leading or whether my opponent was leading. That's how we found that we were leading in the various districts. So, we had some idea, some inkling, although it was not scientific.

Chou: This was after the primaries? This was for the general?

Fong: Yes.

Chou: I see. How interesting.

Fong: The poll was not scientific, because it was made up by ourselves. We asked, "Who would you vote for?" And we would just hand it to the person and he would sign it....

Chou: At any time did you think that you would lose? To Fasi? After the primaries?

Fong: No. No. I felt that I had a very good chance of winning and that I would win. You see, by that time, I had read an article on how to shoot craps.

Chou: Oh?

Fong: Now this article--I forgot in what magazine it was--I thought it was the Saturday Evening Post, but we have checked the Saturday Evening Post but can't find the article. The article said that, in shooting craps, like many other things, you've got to be confident. You've got to tell yourself you're going to win. You've got to have a positive attitude. So, in the whole election I had a very positive attitude--that I was going to win. And that attitude carried me through, I think. And it carried me, also, through the selection as Senior Senator.

Chou: How?

Fong: I knew I was going to be--after I was elected Senator--I knew I was going to be Senior Senator. I knew I was going to get the longer term.

Chou: You just knew it? Was it an intuitive thing?

Fong: I knew it because of this article that I read.

Chou: Oh.

Fong: It advised, "Be positive."

Chou: Be positive.

Fong: Be positive. And I was positive about it.

Chou: Weren't you afraid that your opponent might have read the same article?

Fong: Well, I don't know. But I felt that here I was generating a positive attitude, or the suggestion of it. Positiveness. And it gave me confidence. I felt, while it may not come out the way I wanted, I've got to help my guardian angel.

You know, the people of Chinese ancestry believe that they have a guardian angel and he's watching over you. I have a feeling that I have a guardian angel too, but I felt that many times I've got to help him along as well. I've got to do my best.

So I thought that I had a good chance of winning, and I was trying to form a positive attitude about winning.

Fong: And, when the first returns came in, I knew I had it, I knew I had it.

Chou: The first returns?

Fong: Yes.

Chou: Did they come in from this island?

Fong: First returns came in from Kalaupapa, I think, and the very small precincts.

Chou: Oh, yes, yes. I see. They'd finished their voting?

Fong: They'd finished their voting. The count came in and I had a few votes ahead of my opponent in various precincts.

Chou: And so you could see the trend early....

Fong: I could see the trend, yes.

Chou: You must have spent all of your time down at campaign headquarters?

Fong: Yes, I was at campaign headquarters. The place was full, and we had music there, and a lot of color. We had just vacated our business establishment at the corner of King and Smith Street, on the ground floor. And we had the upper floor also. And that's where we were doing all our work.

Chou: Your campaign headquarters?

Fong: My campaign headquarters. And the people were gathered there, and we had music, and we had food, and it was a grand old time. People were singing and drinking. So, when the first returns came in, I knew that a trend had been formed. And as it developed, I beat my opponent in every district!

Chou: Every district?

Fong: Every district. Even in the 5th district, where the Democrats were supposed to be strong.

Chou: Yes. That's your old district.

Fong: My old district, yes.

Chou: Kalihi.

Fong: Yes. I even beat him in my district. And I felt that

Fong: if I beat him in my district, well, the other districts would take care of themselves.

Chou: That was really a popular vote, all the way around.

Fong: Yes. And then, when I was sure of winning, towards the latter part of the evening, I left my headquarters to visit Bill Quinn, because he was leading also by then.

Chou: Yes.

Fong: And he had just left his office and we met in the middle of the street.

Chou: What street was that?

Fong: On Kapiolani.

Chou: Kapiolani Boulevard.

Fong: Kapiolani Boulevard. And all our supporters were around us. Traffic was stopped both ways.

Chou: Oh, how exciting.

Fong: And we embraced each other, right on the street there, at Kapiolani Boulevard. It was a grand occasion.

Chou: How exciting!

Fong: Quinn was winning, and I was winning. We both knew that we had it won. Then I went to see Wilfred Tsukiyama. His was a very close race, so we didn't know how things would come out. Of course, Charley Silva was 'way behind. Then, that night, we went home and quite a few of my supporters came up to the house and we had champagne--we drank champagne--and they sang my song--which is, "I'm for Hiram, I'm for Hiram--".

Chou: Oh, how does that go? Would you sing it for us?

Fong: You know, I forgot it!

Chou: We were recalling the first statehood election night, when you became the first elected U. S. Senator of Chinese ancestry.

Fong: Yes. So we had the celebration in my home. I said that we drank champagne. I'm not a drinker--I've never learned how to drink. In fact, I distaste liquor.

Chou: Isn't that rather unusual for somebody from a tough neighborhood?

Fong: I don't even drink beer. I've never learned how to drink, never learned how to smoke--probably because I was too poor.

Chou: Never acquired those vices?

Fong: Never acquired those vices. But there was champagne there and I sipped but never drank. I don't care to drink. In fact, I like to drink soda water. I like it.

Chou: That's rather unusual, for someone in politics as long as you, isn't it?

Fong: Yes. The peculiar thing about it, you know, as a politician--especially in Hawaii--the politicians are used to singing, dancing the hula, playing the ukulele or the guitar, and performing. Now I have never learned how to sing; my music lessons consisted of one teacher, who came to the grammar school once a month, to teach us to sing a Hawaiian song. That was the extent of my music lessons. I've never learned how to hula, although I've tried several times but never got the knack of it. I tried to learn how to play the ukulele, but never did. So, I'm a lousy politician! Actually, from the standpoint of being a politician, I should really be a good singer, like Bill Quinn, be a good actor, a good hula dancer, and drink a lot with them. But I've never learned any of those things. Actually I'm a staid politician, when you try to compare me with other people. But I suppose the people forgot that. Or maybe some of them felt that that was an asset on my part.

Chou: I don't think they held it against you!

Fong: No, I don't think they held it against me. And, naturally, my friend, Bob Robinson, who's very close to me--I called him that evening and told him that I was elected. Then he told me that one of his friends, who was a reporter in the Scranton (Pennsylvania) newspaper, had come to Hawaii during the election. When he went back, he told my friend Bob Robinson, he said, "Gee, I'm afraid your friend won't get elected." He said, "He's got tough opposition, and the Democrats are very strong. The Democrats form the majority party." And my friend Bob Robinson said, "Well," he said, "you don't know my friend." Bob Robinson was delighted that I was elected. He told me afterwards that early in the morning, the

Fong: reporter friend called him up and said, "Eh, your friend got elected." Bob said, "Yes, I know."

It never struck me--the awesomeness of holding that office, of being United States Senator--until that night. You know, I had never thought about it before that. There was only concentration on the campaign to win. It was just work, work, work. My campaign manager would say, "You go here, you go there, you go there." You know. It was just one place after the other. And I never gave a thought as to the consequences. But, after the election that night, it struck me. Now, here I am, the United States Senator, the first person of Oriental ancestry to sit there. This was a Caucasian body--only two Negroes have sat in the United States Senate before, and that was during the Reconstruction Period. And here I was going to sit with them! I thought, "Will I be effective for my state of Hawaii? And will they help me in my legislation? Will they shunt me aside? Could I be effective?" These things began to come to my mind, see?--whether, as a non-Caucasian; could I do the things for Hawaii that a Caucasian Senator could do? Or would I be less effective?

You see, I had been asked before to run for Delegate to Congress by some of my friends. I thought about it and I said, "In Congress I would have no vote. I would have to do a lot of holding of my hat in my hand, going to see various Senators and various Congressmen on behalf of statehood. How ineffective I would be, especially when I was not a Caucasian--of an ethnic background which was not Caucasian. But now I had one vote. Yeah. I was a United States Senator. And certainly, that vote should count.

Chou: Oh, yes.

Fong: The Congress was divided between Democrats and Republicans, and the Republicans had gotten a terrific shellacking in the national election in 1958. They lost quite a number of Senators.

Chou: That's right.

Fong: It was really a very, very low point in the Republican Party nationally. I had not thought much about it until I went to Washington. When I went to Washington, they told me to inform them when I would be coming. We flew to New York and they told me to come to National Airport. The reason was because if I were to fly from here to any other airport, I would not have been able to land in National Airport. So, with

Fong: my children--three of my children and my son Junior, who was in Lafayette, Pennsylvania (he came to New York to meet me)--my wife, myself, and my four children--flew from New York into National Airport. Now when I got there, I was most surprised. All the fears that I had were dissipated. There was Vice-President (Richard) Nixon at the airport, to greet me. I had met Vice President Nixon before....

Chou: Here in Hawaii?

Fong: In Hawaii. Yes. When I was Speaker of the House. And there was Senator Dirksen.

Chou: Everett Dirksen.

Fong: Everett Dirksen, Minority Leader. There was Senator Goldwater, Barry Goldwater. And Senator (James B.) Pearson from Kansas. And Senator Frank Carlson, from Kansas. And some other Senators. A great number of Republican leaders were also there to greet me. We took pictures with the Vice-President, we took pictures with all the Senators and the crowd there. Then the Vice-President took me in his limousine to the Statler Hotel.

Chou: The Vice-President?

Fong: Yeah, the Vice-President took me to the Statler Hotel. Subsequently, the Republican Campaign Committee gave me a big party. Then the Senators gave me a big party. I knew then that I would be effective, that they would treat me like any other Senator.

In fact, they rejoiced that I was elected, because I was the turning point. They had lost such a large number of Senators that my victory was a real boost to the morale of the Republican Party. It turned the tide a little bit, after that defeat. And in all the 17 years and several months that I served in the United States Senate, I found my colleagues were very, very helpful, very cooperative. My nationality and background did not affect in one iota their regards toward me. In fact, the Southern Senators, who were supposed to be less civil rights-minded, became some of my closest friends. Men like (James) Eastland and (Sam J.) Ervin and (Olin D.) Johnston and (Russell) Long-- became very, very close friends of mine. And it was amazing that I was able to get along so nicely with them. Strom Thurman was also a very strong, close friend of mine. Every chance he had, he introduced me to his friends. He would say, "This is Senator Hiram Fong. He's of Chinese ancestry and he's a millionaire."

- Fong: Well, you know, the story about my being a millionaire was prevalent in the Congress. And it even got so far that the Parade Magazine said that I was the richest man in the United States Senate. But that was stretching it a little far!
- Chou: You didn't give that credence.
- Fong: No, no. No, there were other men richer than I was. But the story of my affluence really pervaded Congress.
- Chou: Do you think that made a difference in your effectiveness as a member of the Senate?
- Fong: Well, I think it helped, because the other Senators felt that I was a success in my business ventures, and that I knew what I was doing. In fact, other Senators would consult me about business. For some legislation that dealt with business, they would ask me what I thought about it. I remember very, very distinctly Senator (Clinton P.) Anderson from New Mexico, who was a Democrat, who sought my advice on some legislation that dealt with business. They asked me what I felt about some legislation that dealt with taxes. The fact that I came from the Pacific area made a difference too; they felt that I knew more about the Pacific than any one of them. They all felt that I was one who had knowledge of the Far East and they would consult with me on Asian affairs. So, it was a very, very friendly body. Well, you can see by the testimonies that were given when I announced my retirement--53 Senators spoke well of me. Now I feel that I have been effective for my state.
- Chou: Could I get back to how you became a Senior Senator from Hawaii? Was this by means of a drawing or how was this done?
- Fong: Well, Oren E. Long and I met in the Secretary's office. The Secretary said, "Now, we will see who will call for Senior Senator." So, he flipped a coin. I called "heads" and tails came, so it was Oren E. Long who had the first chance to call the next flip of the coin--to see who would be Senior Senator. Then the coin was flipped and Oren E. Long called and it turned the other way. So I became Senior Senator.
- Chou: Isn't that remarkable?--the flip of a coin!
- Fong: On the flip of a coin I became Senior Senator. Then we had to--after we were sworn in--we had to decide as to who would get the six-year term and then who would get the four-year and two-year term.

Chou: Oh, yes.

Fong: On the first call, or the first raffle, you may say-- it was really a raffle; there were two cards that were placed in a box. One was for six years and one was blank. You see, it just happened that there was a six-year term vacant and there were four {and} two-year terms vacant. So we had to decide where we would be. So Oren E. Long had the first chance of picking the card. It was in a box. One card had six on it and one card was blank. We were standing in front of the dais of the Vice-Speaker--I mean the Vice-President--he's President of the Senate.

Chou: President of the Senate, yes.

Fong: Oren E. Long pulled the card out, handed it to the Secretary, the Secretary handed it to Nixon, Nixon looked at it and as soon as he flipped the card to look at the other side--I could see this side was blank--as soon as he flipped the card, I knew I had the six-year term. I knew it was blank on the other side. It was blank on the other side! I knew the six-year term card was in the box, and I pulled it out, and it was for the six-year term.

Then Oren E. Long had to try for the four-years' or two-years' terms. He told me, "Hiram," he said, "you know I didn't care much--too much--for the six-year term, but, gee, I really want the four years." So I put my arm around Oren and said, "Oren, let's go get the four years." And he picked the four year term! And that's how it was decided.

Chou: Isn't that interesting!

Fong: So I got six years and he got four years.

Chou: Do you think positive thinking led to that?

Fong: Yes, the positive thinking got it.

Chou: Did you really want the six-year term?

Fong: Yes, I really wanted the six-year term. I didn't want to run again so soon, see? It could have been four or two years.

Chou: That's right.

Fong: Yeah. Could have been four or two years. So, I picked the six-year term.

Chou: You didn't pick the six-year term. Oren Long picked the blank one, which meant that you got the six-year term. Doesn't matter. Either way, you got it! That's interesting, Senator. Actually, it's remarkable, how these fortuitous things have happened in your life.

Fong: Yes. And, you know, Hawaii came into the union--in 1959--61 years after the last state got into the union in 1898. That was Arizona. Arizona I think got in in 1898, something like that.

Chou: And then Alaska and then Hawaii.

Fong: Yeah. And as of today, I am the only living statehood Senator. That is, a person who had gone to Congress when his state was admitted and had gone to Congress as a Senator. Senator Inouye went in as a Representative.

Chou: That's right.

Fong: Yes. But Arizona was 'way, 'way back. And the two Alaskan Senators have passed away. Senator [E. D.] Bartlett and Senator Ernest Gruenig--both of them passed away. And the Senators from Arizona, naturally, have passed away because it was so long ago. So, I'm the only living statehood Senator.

Chou: Remarkable.

Fong: So I have the distinction of being the only living statehood Senator today.

Chou: And still, the only Chinese Senator.

Fong: Only person of Chinese ancestry, yes, to sit there. I'm the first person of Oriental ancestry to sit there. Since then Senator Inouye has been elected, Senator [Samuel] Hayakawa and Senator [Spark M.] Matsunaga.

Chou: Remarkable. Senator, have you time this morning to talk about your first term in the Senate, or would you like for me to come back?

Fong: Yeah, I think you got quite a bit today.

Chou: Oh, we did. Thank you!

Interview Number 2, Senator Hiram Fong

Chou: Senator Fong, when you first arrived in Washington, what were your plans for implementing some of your campaign promises, by way of legislation, to benefit the state of Hawaii?

Fong: Well, the first issue which was upper-most in my mind was to have Hawaii included in the defense highway system. The Territory of Hawaii had been taxed like a state for the usage of gasoline. This gasoline tax was put into a trust fund, and it was spent for 30,000 miles of defense highways. Although we were taxed in Hawaii, we did not receive any benefit from that trust fund money. So, one of my primary concerns was to see that Hawaii be included in the trust fund beneficiary. Both Oren E. Long and myself were put on the Public Works Committee, so it was easy for us to get ourselves included in that highway fund. Oren E. Long and I were successful in securing 50 miles of highway for Hawaii, under the defense highway system. Now, it was contemplated that the defense highway system would link the various states together in a super-highway. Of course, Hawaii being an insular state, we could not be linked with any other state. However, since we had military establishments here, we were allowed to have this defense highway money because we told them that it was necessary for us to reach from one section of the city to another section of the city. It was especially vital to link the Navy's Pearl Harbor section and the Army's Schofield Barracks section, which were militarily important to us. So, they did give us 50 miles of roadway and the amount of money at that time was supposed to be in the neighborhood of around \$300,000. The H-1 highway, for example, is the result of what we did. When you travel from the country--say, from Pearl Harbor or beyond Pearl Harbor to Schofield Barracks--and go to Kaimuki, for example, you are riding on the defense Highways system.

Chou: That really should be named the Fong and the Long Highway, don't you think?

Fong: Well, Oren Long had a bridge named after him--the bridge that goes over to Sand Island. Whether we

Fong: will ever have anything named after us is a question which I have pondered for many years. Will we ever get over the idea that only names of--only Hawaiian names and Caucasian names--will be used for buildings and for schools and for highways and for bridges, as heretofore used? Now, I have wondered whether some day there will be something named after Senator Inouye. Will there be a Matsunaga High School, Inouye High School, or a Fong High School? When you consider that Samuel Wilder King was governor and was delegate to Congress, Joe Farrington was a delegate to Congress, (and a delegate to Congress is in no comparison to being in a Senator's position) and there's a Jarrett High School--and there's a Samuel Wilder King High School--I was just wondering whether--some day--whether that idea would ever come to fruition. Will there be an Inouye High School?

Chou: Well, we'll have to wait and see what history says.

Fong: Or Matsunaga High School. I understand they can probably have a [Patsy T.] Mink High School. But, whether there'll be one that will be a Fong or Inouye or Matsunaga....

Chou: You mentioned all good Democratic names--you're the only Republican in this group.

Fong: Well, I'm talking about those who have attained a national prominence.

Chou: I see.

Fong: And, if a delegate could have a building named after him and a school named after him, why shouldn't a Senator have a school named after him or a park named after him? I don't know whether I will ever see that day.

Chou: Well, Senator, we'll just have to wait and see what time does.

Fong: Well, the Defense Highway system was one of our greatest achievements, I think. Oren E. Long and I were on the Public Works Committee.

Chou: Was there a special way by which you were able to get membership on that committee? Did you have to...?

Fong: No, it just happened that we came in as the Fiftieth State, of course, and they just created two more positions on the Public Works Committee and two positions on the Interior Committee. So, Oren Long

Fong: got on the Interior Committee with me and on the Public Works Committee.

Another thing which Oren Long and I had worked very, very hard on--from the beginning of our term--was to have an appropriation for the East-West Center. We felt that there should be an East-West Center out here. A preliminary study had been made. But, of course you know, many, many studies are made, but many of them are not implemented. Of course, Jack Burns and Lyndon Johnson get all the credit for the East-West Center. But actually, when you really come down to it, Oren E. Long and I really worked hard to get that money. And we were able and successful in the Senate to have the appropriations made under the State Justice Department Appropriation Bill. When it went to the House, Congressman [John J.] Rooney kind of bolted because he wasn't consulted on that.

Chou: I see.

Fong: And, for awhile, he was very, very antagonistic towards the East-West Center. We had a hard time with various appropriations. And always, when it came to the Senate, we had to restore many, many things in the Senate. Oren E. Long and I worked hard on that, and we were successful in getting the appropriation for the start of the East-West Center. I think the value of the East-West Center now exceeds over a hundred million dollars, with all the buildings. It's over ten years old now and there has been an appropriation from five or six million dollars a year, average, and there was the initial amount for about thirty million dollars for buildings. So there's over a hundred million dollars that we have brought to the state because of the East-West Center. As I said, many, many surveys have been made. Even a survey has been made for something similar to an East-West Center to be in Puerto Rico, or somewhere in Florida, or in the South. It would be a North and South Center, probably. North and South--the Latin countries and the United States. But nothing has come out of it because no appropriations have been made and nobody has really followed it through. My good friend, Senator [George A.] Smathers from Florida was thinking about it. But then he left Congress and nobody else took it up.

Chou: I see.

Fong: So, actually, Oren E. Long and I should be given some credit, but, you know, I'm just that type--to never

Fong: try to go out and say, "Well, I did this and I did that." And so, that's why, when you look at history, you can understand why men like Mao Tse-tung would like to have his followers continue after him. If he doesn't have his friends follow him into office--like Burns--Jack Burns, the governor--he had a Democratic legislature back of him and then the subsequent governors were Democrats; so, they keep on giving him the credit. By repetition, it becomes a truth. But actually, when you really come down to it, the honors really should go to people who really were able to get the appropriation.

Chou: Those who were in the daily committee meetings and who lobbied on behalf of the state of Hawaii?

Fong: Now take for example, what I mean is this: It was under Dwight D. Eisenhower that the John F. Kennedy Center (for the Performing Arts) was conceived. But, Eisenhower just didn't understand that he had to perpetuate an administration which was friendly to him, so that whatever he had started would be continued. Now, like Mao Tse-tung, for example, if he didn't have a person or a group of persons favorable to him, others would knock his statues down. So, if he wants his statues to be preserved, he'd better get somebody backing him into office. This is part of political life.

Chou: Oh, yes.

Fong: Yes. And that's why many, many people who are in power try to perpetuate that power because then it strengthens their position in history. Now, you take Eisenhower. Actually, the Kennedy Center should have been named Eisenhower Center. It shouldn't be Kennedy because Kennedy had very little to do with it. It was Eisenhower who conceived it. I mean, it was during his administration that this was conceived. But then, what did they do? They gave him a small little theater in the Kennedy Center. The big concept--the Kennedy Center--was named after Kennedy. Because Kennedy died, and he had been President. Then Lyndon Johnson came in, and there was a Democratic Congress, so they named it after Kennedy. But, still, they gave Eisenhower a little credit, so they gave him Eisenhower Theater within the Kennedy Center. Now this is what I'm talking about, you see. That's why, if you don't have somebody succeeding you, saying that you did this and you did that and credit should be given to you, your efforts are lost in history. Burns has been given, naturally, all the credit for the East-West Center. But actually, when you really come down to it, the people who really got the money were Senator

- Fong: Long and I. Since this is going to be oral history, I'm saying this; I have not publicly stated this before.
- Chou: Yes. Thank you, Senator, for sharing that. I think any researcher going 'way back into the beginnings of the East-West Center will ultimately have to come to something like this conclusion anyway. But I'm happy to have it for the record now.
- Fong: Now, Governor Quinn came up to Washington. There was some discussion, before we were able to get that appropriation, in which he said, "Why don't we put this [the East-West Center] in the Education Committee?" That seemed logical, because it had been planned as an educational center. We said, "Look, don't you fool around with this. If you fool around with this, we'll never get the appropriation. It's because we had a chairman of the Appropriation Committee who is favorable to our cause that we will be able to get it. If you move it to another committee chairman, he is not going to push it. Lyndon Johnson, who was the chairman, was very, very disposed to give us the money. That's the reason why the funding is in the State Justice Department Appropriation Bill, and it comes under the State Department. If you put it in as an education bill, that would place it in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, under [Senator Warren G.] Magnuson, who was then the chairman, and he probably wouldn't push it."
- Chou: I see. So you, by that time, had to figure out what was the most political way....
- Fong: It was a political thing. You go to the committee chairman who is sympathetic to your cause. You don't go to one who is not sympathetic to your cause because he won't push it. When a bill passes the Senate, it has to go to the House, and into a conference. If the chairman doesn't stand his ground, he's going to lose the whole effort. So, therefore, you have to have a man who is sympathetic to your cause. Lyndon Johnson was very sympathetic about the East-West Center and he deserves a lot of credit for it--in fact, he deserves most of the credit. Of course, Oren E. Long and I were back of him, pushing it, pushing it.
- Chou: Who, of the other Senators, was helping you to garner votes on behalf of the East-West Center?
- Fong: No one, it was just Oren E. Long and I. We intro-

Fong: duced bills, and we spoke on behalf of it, and Lyndon Johnson was sympathetic and he put it in.

Chou: I see, so it was accomplished more in the way of a committee effort then.

Fong: Yes, yes.

Chou: And not so much on the floor of the Senate or anything like that.

Fong: No. No, for many of these things, you can get it through the chairman. You can get it through a person on the committee, if he fights for it, and usually the chairman won't object, and it goes in. That's why it's so important to be on key committees. Very important to be on the right committees. Later on I was a member of the Appropriations Committee. Then Senator Inouye was on it. We had two members from Hawaii on the Appropriations Committee, so we were always able to hold our ground on the East-West Center appropriation. Every time the House cut down the appropriation requested by the President, we were able to restore it. Then, when we went into conference, we were able to hold on, because we were part of the committee and we were able to make our points stick.

Chou: What were your first impressions of Lyndon Johnson?

Fong: Lyndon Johnson--I liked him. He was a fine individual. Very, very personable...and sometimes dictatorial, of course, but when you are Majority Leader, you've got to be dictatorial and you've got to, somehow, run that place. Otherwise, every prima donna would be running in every direction. One thing that stands out very upper-most in our minds--that is, my wife and I--was when Lyndon Johnson was the Vice-President and he came out here for the dedication of the East-West Center. And, naturally, we came along with him, I being the Senator from the state. He insisted that my wife and I share one of the bunks. You see, it's always an over-night flight, going back.

Chou: Yes. This is on his plane?

Fong: On his airplane, yes. You see, there was one bunk which was reserved for him, and one bunk for Lady Bird Johnson, you see. He insisted that he will sleep with Lady Bird and he insisted that Ellyn and I will sleep in the other bunk. He wouldn't take "no" for an answer.

Chou: That was very kind of him.

Fong: Yeah. That's to show you the type of individual he was. And then he told us how to sleep, because the bunk is very narrow, you see. He told us, "Well, why don't you put your head on this side and Ellyn put your head on the other side." I liked him, I liked him very much.

Chou: Sounds like he took care of all the details! (Laughter)

Fong: Yes, yes. He was a fine individual, a very fine individual, and I found that he was very personable.

Chou: He apparently had a very good feeling for things in Hawaii--he appreciated Hawaii.

Fong: Yes, yes, he did. Of course, he was a friend of John Burns, you see.

Chou: Ah. You think it was primarily a personal thing with....

Fong: Well, I don't know. Probably something to do with it. And then when he met Oren Long and I, naturally he became friendlier to Hawaii. We were able to have his confidence, and he enjoyed our working with him.

Chou: What other kinds of legislation...?

Fong: Well, another thing I wanted really to do was to use the talents of our own people here.

Chou: Yes.

Fong: I felt that we were situated here in the Pacific. I ran on the slogan, "The man of the Pacific." Naturally, I felt that I should interpret the Pacific to my colleagues. They often looked to me, asking me about various things that happened in the Pacific and what I thought about these things. I really wanted to push our people to fill various positions, so that at least we will have a say in national affairs on the administrative level. One of my first acts was to have Ed (Edward E.) Johnston appointed. That was when Eisenhower was in office; it was difficult because it was the last year of his term. So, therefore, at that time, I wasn't able to get Johnston appointed, because everything had been decided already.

Now, when Kennedy was elected, naturally, there was no possibility that we could do anything, except that there were two vacancies here in the District Court--we

Fong: had to have appointments of the two District judges. Being that I was Senator from the state, naturally I recommended the people for the position. The Democrats, feeling that maybe they could prevail over the President's choice, held up the appointments. But Nils Tavares was one of my recommendees and he was willing to take the position, even though he was never appointed to it. That is, he was never confirmed under Eisenhower for it. Subsequently, when Kennedy became President, Tavares was confirmed--there was one Democrat and one Republican judge appointed.

When President Nixon won the Presidential election, that's when I began to push for the various positions which I thought that Hawaii should have. I was able to secure an Assistant Attorney Generalship for Shiro Kashiwa. Shiro Kashiwa had been Attorney General of the Territory of Hawaii, and he was a Republican. There was an opening in the Lands' Department of Resources so I went to see Deputy Attorney General (Richard G.) Kleindienst. He said, "I have one opening there; have you got a man for this?" I said, "Yes, I have a man." So I recommended Shiro Kashiwa and Shiro Kashiwa was appointed. Later on he was appointed Judge of the Court of Claims--a life-time job. There's only nine judges ahead of him, and they are the Supreme Court Justices. He's on the same level as all the Circuit Court Judges.

Chou: Oh, yes. That was quite an accomplishment, Senator, to have him placed in that position.

Fong: Yes, yes. Then I pushed for Larry (Laurence) Silberman to be on--as a Secretary of Labor. And he was Secretary of Labor and later on he became an Ambassador. Then I pushed for Ed Johnston to be High Commissioner of the Trust Territory (of the Pacific Islands) and he was made High Commissioner of that Trust Territory. I pushed for Betty Farrington to be Director of Territories. And she became Director of Territories. And I pushed for Herbert Choy to be on the Ninth Circuit Court and he became a member of the Ninth Circuit Court and he's still there--he has a life-time appointment. And I pushed for the appointment of Chief of Police, Dan Liu, to be Assistant to the Post Master General, and he became Assistant to the Post Master General--a very high position. I placed many other people in various positions in the Commissions and on Advisory Commissions and on Boards. I have a whole list of them. I think that you will find that in the Tributes as

Fong: to which individuals I have been able to appoint, and able to recommend for appointment and were appointed. I got quite a number of our people appointed and I think that was a tremendous accomplishment on my part.

Chou: Well, surely it bespeaks well of Hawaii's citizens that there were so many qualified to go into these positions.

Fong: Yes, our people are qualified and our people have something which the others don't have--we have a knowledge of the Pacific, we have a knowledge of the various racial attributes of our citizenry here. This should be made use of, and I'm glad that others recognize that. President Nixon really helped us tremendously in that regard.

Chou: You made your greatest number of appointments during his administration, didn't you?

Fong: Yes.

Chou: It certainly is an indication that it was easier for you to work with a President of your own Party, obviously...

Fong: Yes.

Chou: ...and President Nixon was a personal friend of yours as well.

Fong: Yes.

Chou: Tell me, what procedures did you follow in recommending these various individuals? Did you seek advice from anyone in Hawaii, in terms of....

Fong: Yes, usually, when--say there's a vacancy in some Department in the health, education field--I would call back home here and ask them to contact the members of the medical profession, for example, for anybody who is qualified for that position.

Chou: Did you do this through your Honolulu office?

Fong: Through my Honolulu office, yes.

Chou: And was your brother, at that time, Herman... [head of your Honolulu office?]

Fong: Yes, my brother Herman, and Mrs. [Patsy] Chun, were staff members. They asked around and then they got

Fong: me the recommendation. And these are the recommendations I put in.

Chou: I see. That's Mrs. Patsy Chun?

Fong: Yes.

Chou: Mrs. Mun On Chun?

Fong: Yes. And then we have, from time to time, people who would say that they were interested, like Rodger Betts. He said he was interested in something up in Washington. So I was able to get him on the--gee, what was that--I got him a big job. He became head of the whole Pacific, with headquarters in San Francisco. Gee, I can't remember now the office--he dealt with equal opportunities and dealt with economic development.* I think if you look at the Tributes...

Chou: The Tributes? Yes, I can do that.

Fong: His name is there. Then later on he became the counsel to that group in Washington, D. C. Well, for example, he asked that, if I find something I was to consider him. I was able to get him something.

Chou: Well, that follows pretty much along the way of how other Senators push for their own people, too, doesn't it? It's nothing that one would consider unusual, but I have a feeling that you were perhaps more successful in certain areas on these appointments.

Fong: Well, of course, if you are a member of a Senate committee, and that committee has jurisdiction over the matter, you have quite a lot of say. For example, in the Post Office Civil Service Committee, I was able to get Dr. John Ing on the Board of Governors. And then, later on, Hung Wai Ching--he's still on the Board of Governors of the Postal Commission, which is a nine billion dollar corporation. It's one of the biggest corporations in the United States. Then I was able to get Clyde Dupont to be minority counsel of that committee. Dupont had been Chairman of the Rate Commission, but now he's a member because (Jimmy) Carter was elected and put in his own man as the Chairman. Because I was on that committee, I was able to swing that kind of a vote, you see.

Then I was on the Health, Education and Welfare Appropriation Committee, so I was able to get a lot of appointments to the various Boards and Commissions under Health and Education. So, there is a tie-in. You don't try to go in to somebody else's kuleana,

Fong: went back to the National Bar Committee. The National Bar Committee felt that he wasn't qualified. But, later on, he was appointed as Chief Justice of the Court here and he's done very well as Chief Justice of Hawaii.

Chou: Yes.

Fong: Now, there was that bi-partisanship. Later on I had recommended Dick Yin Wong to be a District Court Judge. I felt that there should be a Republican and a Democrat, because then no segment of the community would feel that it was discriminated against.

Chou: Yes.

Fong: You know, it's quite a thing to go before a judge--a federal judge, and the judges of the District Court. I felt I should have people who have a feeling for the local people here, who've been here a long time, who understand the people. So I wanted persons on the bench, where people who appear before them will not feel that they are being discriminated against or that they are prejudiced against them. And so, in my appointments, I have done that. Now take for example, Nils Tavares. Nobody would feel that he's prejudiced against anyone. Tavares is of Portuguese-Hawaiian-Chinese descent. Then I had Sam (Samuel) King--who was of Hawaiian-Caucasian-Chinese descent. Dick Wong was of Chinese descent, of course.

Chou: Herbert Choy, Korean.

Fong: Herbert Choy, of Korean descent. People like that are approachable. And local people would feel, if the sentence against them was harsh, that it's not because there was prejudice or the judge was prejudiced against him on racial lines. I tried to give our people a feeling of security, a feeling that they will be treated fairly. This is really what I tried to strive for in our judicial system. That's why I had this Democrat and Republican situation. I also look at it from their ethnic background. In my recommendations for appointments you will note that they are of various nationalities. Various nationalities. Ed Johnston was Caucasian; and Betty Farrington, Caucasian; Dan Liu was Chinese; Shiro Kashiwa, Japanese; Herbert Choy, Korean; Sam King, Hawaiian-Caucasian, a little Chinese; Rodger Betts, Hawaiian-Caucasian; and Dupont, Portuguese-Hawaiian.

You see, we've got a mixture here of the racial groups in Hawaii. I was sorry that I was not able to appoint

Fong: anyone of Filipino ancestry; there was no appointment where I could place one. I would have loved to put one of Filipino ancestry on, but I didn't have that opportunity. But I tried to be fair with the various groups and my appointments have shown that.

Chou: Senator, what other issues did you have in mind when you first went to Washington?

Fong: Naturally, being one of an ethnic background which is different from those in Washington, I wanted to erase all vestiges of discrimination. And, one of the first things that I tackled was the Immigration Bill.

Chou: Ah, yes.

Fong: Yes. Because I went to the Orient in '59, and many times it was thrown in my face: Why is it that people of the Far East were discriminated against in our Immigration Bill? We brought in about 170,000 persons at that time--about 170,000 people from the various countries. Less than 2% of that quota was allotted to the Asiatic-Pacific Triangle, which comprises the countries of China, Japan, Korea, India, South Seas, Vietnam, all that section of the Pacific. And, when you consider that more than half the world's population live in that area, it was really rank discrimination. And I couldn't answer that.

Chou: Were you aware of that situation before?

Fong: Yes, I was aware of that, but I couldn't answer it. Very early in my career, I wanted to eliminate that discriminatory law against people of the Asiatic-Pacific Triangle. You see, the law favored the northern Europeans--England had, maybe, 60,000 quota; Germany had about 40,000; and Portugal, just a couple thousand; Ireland with less than about two or three million people had about 3,000; whereas, the whole Asiatic-Pacific Triangle, with billions of people, had 2,100.

You can see how discriminatory it was! It was discriminatory, very discriminatory--Europe versus Asia. And yet, Europe--northern Europe--had the preference over Mediterranean Europe, Southern Europe--the Spanish, the Portuguese, the Greeks, the Italians. They didn't have the big quota that the Norwegians, the English, the Germans, the French had. So, it was not only a fight between one from the Pacific and those who represented a constituency from these countries, but those who had constituents of Spanish ancestry, Portuguese ancestry, Greek ancestry, Italian ancestry--

Fong: they were also quite incensed at the discriminatory practices. So, it was a combination of their efforts and mine, and some of the others, even those who did not understand the immigration law. The immigration law was not something that everybody understood. When that was brought to their attention, how discriminatory the law was, everybody joined in and helped to eliminate it. It was amazing! And I think in one of my speeches on the floor of the Senate, I did say that, Here, we stand here--a Brahmin from Massachusetts, [Leverett] Saltonstall and a Slav, whose ancestry goes to, I think it was Czechoslovakia, [Roman L.] Hruska, and who else; there was--[Philip A.] Hart, who represented Michigan--Caucasian, and [Edward] Kennedy, you know, whose ancestry goes back to Ireland, and I was from the Pacific--that we should all be on the floor of the Senate, fighting against discrimination. It was a real historic day. And I think you could ferret that out somewhere.

Chou: I will.

Fong: So, we did pass this law of 1965, which erased all vestiges of discrimination from our immigration law. I felt that this was a civil rights bill--a world civil rights bill. We were fighting for civil rights in the United States, and I wanted to eliminate all discrimination within our own country. I voted for every civil rights bill--fought for every civil rights bill. In fact, I put in an amendment to have watchers in the voting booth to see that the Negro vote was not kept aside and not counted. The amendment provided that the Attorney General could send in watchers if he wanted, in the civil rights bill--the several civil rights bills that we passed. And, one of my main objectives, of course, was to eliminate discrimination in all of our bills. I even went so far as to ask from a Constitutional Amendment to the Constitution of the United States so that any person could be elected President of the United States if he were a citizen.

Chou: Naturalized or natural-born...

Fong: Yeah, naturalized. A naturalized citizen can not be President. This is the only discrimination now in our law--in the Constitution. There's a little discrimination there against people who are naturalized versus natural-born, you see. And I was trying to eliminate that also. Some day they'll eliminate it.

Chou: Some day it will be....

Fong: Yeah, some day they'll eliminate that.

Chou: Do you think there's anyone working on that now? Is there anyone from Hawaii, for instance?

Fong: I don't think anybody's working on it. Some day. You see, after all, the President of the United States is one that will be elected by the people of the United States. If he's no good, they're not going to vote for him. So, there are tremendous safeguards there. Yeah. If he's a naturalized citizen, and he's good, why shouldn't he be President of the United States?

Chou: Yes.

Fong: I was trying to eliminate that, but I wasn't successful. So, the question was of civil rights for all people. Civil rights within our borders, civil rights outside of our borders--this is something which I fought for and was successful.

And another thing which I really fought for was to give everyone a good education. I felt that I had a difficult time in getting an education, and I believed that we were only 6% of the world's population. What we don't have in numbers we've got to make up in talent and education. Our people should get all the education that we can give them. I've fought for every educational bill that came before the Senate. I was quite a liberal when it came to education.

Chou: You certainly were, Senator, and I don't think that anyone could really peg you as being Republican conservative or even Republican moderate in your votes. Because you did swing over to the liberal side on certain issues, such as civil rights and education.

Fong: Oh, yes, yes, yes. I felt that education was really the step to making our country grow. Education was the thing that we should really give to our people, because if you have an educated individual, you have a great asset. And, if you don't have an educated individual, you will not have the real potentials that can come out of the individual. Somehow, of those who have received the benefits, many of them have not looked at it from the same point that I have looked at it. Many of them have secured loans from the government and then have gone bankrupt and refused to pay that loan, saying that they didn't receive the education that they really thought that they would get. Now, I think that that's ungrateful, very ungrateful. Unappreciative of what the government did for them.

Chou: That's taking advantage of the system.

Fong: Yeah. In my time, we didn't have that. I had to work hard. I had to work five years--three years at Pearl Harbor--and subsequently went to the University. Then I had to work another two years to secure my education. We didn't have the advantages. And I felt that we should give everybody an advantage, if he wanted it--if he or she wanted it. But I had expected that it would be reciprocated. I think many of them do reciprocate by paying back and helping. But there are quite a number--(as you know, you have read the papers) who have gone bankrupt, who have refused to pay. They have a job--they're working for the government--in the Health, Education and Welfare Department--quite a number of them--and yet have not paid up. I think that they should pay up so that we could keep on having the same program for others who are unfortunate and who deserve to be helped. I am really for education. I think that's the greatest thing there is--education.

Chou: One would have hoped that these people who didn't repay their loans or who are holding back might have gotten the kind of education that would have given them the encouragement to repay these loans.

Fong: Yes. And another thing that I have done is to really try to interpret the feeling of the people of the Pacific to my colleagues. You see, when I went around in 1959, I went to Okinawa, for example. They wanted me to be the Senator from Okinawa. I said, "I couldn't be your Senator." I said, "However, I will try to help you." When I went to Taiwan, they wanted me to be the Senator for Taiwan. I went to Korea, they all looked....So, because of that first trip that I had in the Far East, I began to realize that many of them wanted to reach the United States Congress, but didn't know how to do it. They had no entree. And so, I felt that I should do my best to help in every way possible to interpret their aspirations and their needs to my fellow colleagues. It's amazing the number of people who have come to me--legislators, administrative people from Japan, from Okinawa, from the Philippines, from the South Seas, from Micronesia, for example, from Taiwan, Korea--who have come to me and asked me what I would think about a thing and how to go about certain things. I think I was a great help to many of them.

Chou: Senator, the trip that you took was not financed by public funds, was it?

Fong: No.

Chou: It was something that you paid for from your own funds?

Fong: It was at my own expense. I went to nine countries in the Far East to see for myself what the problems were and how they looked at us. And the first thing I knew, they wanted me to be their Senator. And the second thing was that they needed a lot of help. I came back with very good ideas as to what I should do, how to do it.

Chou: In a sense, you had a different purpose in going to the Far East--not so much just as a representative of the state of Hawaii--that is, the Senator from the state of Hawaii--but almost as an internationalist, Senator, it seems to me. Or someone, as you've mentioned--a man of the Pacific. What was your main purpose in going on this trip?

Fong: Well, my main purpose was really to be educated...to be educated. I was entering a new phase in my life and I wanted to see what the problems were, and where we stood in the world. And how were we regarded? And it's amazing that they looked at me as--well, many of them didn't realize that there was a person like me in the United States Senate. I was walking the streets of Chi-lung, the seaport in Taiwan, and somehow the people had heard that I was coming. I was walking down the street with quite a number of people who were with me in Taiwan, and there were some children following me. And all of a sudden I heard a little boy say, "Well, he's just like us. He's just like us." Now the amazing thing is that when I went on that trip, I went to the Philippines. The Philippine government has been very, very harsh about the Chinese there. They passed a law in which, if you were in the retailing business, you couldn't pass the business on to your children. I was there during that time when things were quite unsettled. So they asked me to come to Chinatown to meet with the people. That night, about--oh, maybe about 5 o'clock, I think--about half-past five or 6 o'clock--I got to the Chinatown quarters there. I was amazed to see the multitude of people who were gathered outside of this building and in the streets there, awaiting my arrival. They must have felt that probably I could help in certain respects.

I did take up the problem with the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate, and talked to them about it. And then, when I went to Burma, for example,

Fong: there was a question of the naturalization of the Chinese there. I met with a member of the Parliament there, who was of Indian ethnic background. He told me of the problem. They were holding up some of the naturalization papers. A group of Chinese people came to see me to talk to me about it, to see whether I could help expedite it. And so, I did some of that work in trying to talk to some of the officials about certain things in which the people were interested. I was surprised that I was regarded in such an international light, being a Senator from the United States. Many of these people looked to me and felt that I could help them. And when I went to Taiwan and made a speech there, somebody said to me, "Will you be the Senator from Taiwan?" I said, "No, I couldn't be the Senator from Taiwan." I said, "I'm a Senator from the United States. But, however, I would be very sympathetic to what you have and if there are any problems that you think that I should be apprised of, then let me know and I would take it up with my colleagues."

Chou: Senator, whose idea was it to take this trip?

Fong: I don't know. It just happened...I think my friends here more or less approached the idea that I should really take this trip to the Orient and look for myself.

Chou: Were these people in the Republican Party or people in Finance Factors?

Fong: I think mostly my people who helped me in my campaign.

Chou: Ah, I see.

Fong: They thought that it would be good for me to really take this trip, which I did, of course.

Chou: Did the question of going to Europe ever come up? You know, taking the same kind of trip to Europe or to South America or Canada or elsewhere?

Fong: No. The reason was that I was "Man of the Pacific"--that the Pacific was the problem. The Congress is Europe-centered, you know?

Chou: Yes.

Fong: But not Pacific-centered. Hawaii, being 2,000 miles closer to the other countries of the Pacific, I felt that we had an obligation--we had a responsibility to interpret the Far East to the Congress. And it was

Fong: on that premise also that I went.

Chou: There is a lot of movement afoot now to consider the Far East a real area of concern for the United States. That is to say, we have ignored a lot of the things that have gone on in the Far East--up until the past two or three decades, I think. More or less. But the emphasis now is going to be more and more on the Pacific.

Fong: Yes, the Pacific is the home of more than half of the world's population. The Pacific is where the problems are going to arise. The question of hunger, the question of food, the question of nationalism, and the expectancy of a better life--all are springing up in the Pacific. Resources...our Pacific has tremendous resources--the Pacific Ocean is a great resource. Things are really fermenting in the Pacific. And this is where we have to pay a great deal of attention.

Chou: Certainly the political situation in the Far East....

Fong: Yes. I have never hesitated to talk about the Pacific. In fact, I think I was the only Senator that talked about the problems of Cambodia and the genocide that's going on there. I was speaking up on some of the things that were happening. That's too bad that I have left--the Far East has lost a voice in Congress.

Chou: It appears that way. Were there any other burning issues in your mind when you first went to Washington? The kinds of things you wanted to work on right away?

Fong: Well, these were the things that I really wanted to work on. Of course, there were a lot of other things--appropriations--getting the appropriations for Hawaii.

Chou: Oh, yes. That was at every session, of every term.

Fong: Every session. And keeping our defense posture strong in the Pacific. But those I mentioned are the real salient things that I worked on.

You have given me a digest of some of the '59-60 Senate key votes of the 86th Congress, between 1959-1960. One is the School Assistance Act of 1960 and Civil Rights Proposal and Civil Rights Act of 1960; Postal Federal Employees' Salary Increase Acts of 1960; the Social Security Amendments providing medical benefits for all Social Security retirees to 68 and over. On all of these but Social Security I voted "Yes." As I've stated, I was strong for school

Fong: assistance, I was strong for civil rights, I was strong for the federal employees, because I had worked at Pearl Harbor long before I went to Washington. I felt that federal employees should have comparable salaries with private industry. And, on the Social Security Amendment, I voted "No" because it was an Amendment by Senator Anderson of New Mexico to provide medical benefits for all Social Security retirees 68 and over, to be financed by an increase in the Social Security payroll tax. I've always taken the stand that, for those who are able to take care of their own medical bills, they should take care of their own medical bills. We shouldn't have a general medical bill for everybody--for those who are needy, for those who can't get it for themselves, and for those who do have the wherewithall to pay for it--I felt that all those who could pay for it, should be paying for it. Otherwise our taxes would be mounting to such an extent that we will not be able to pay for any of it. And now we are beginning to feel it, that is. And I voted against these medical bills where I thought that it shouldn't cover everybody--rich and poor--and the affluent that are capable. I did feel that we should help those who cannot be helped otherwise. But those that can help themselves, should pay for it. Otherwise the expense would be prohibitive. We have found out that Medicaid and Medicare are very expensive. It has been proven to me through what has transpired that if you provide for everybody, you begin to feel that a lot of people are going to take advantage of it and you will not be able to provide the best of care to those who need it the most.

Chou: Senator, we've spoken earlier about fiscal responsibility. It seems to me that your vote against this particular bill was motivated partly by that. Did you see your role in the Senate partly as a person who had to look out for the fiscal operations of the U. S. government?

Fong: Well, being a businessman, I always look at the bottom line of the statement. I was quite concerned that we were going into deficits. We were running into tremendous deficits. There was a time when we were three hundred billion dollars in deficit. Then it rose to four hundred billion. Today it's over seven hundred and fifteen billion dollars! Just look at the amount of the carrying charges alone. Even if you say we only pay 6% interest on our money. If we owe seven hundred billion dollars, forty-two billion dollars just go to pay interest alone. You can see how costly it is. We cannot continue to keep on building deficit after deficit and hope that somehow it will go away.

Fong: Now, this creates a lot of inflation and inflation is the worst enemy of the poor. It's the worst enemy of the elderly people, who are on fixed incomes--they can't increase their income. And the poor can't seem to earn much more. If you have inflation, the cost of living skyrockets and they suffer more than anybody else. So, I was always concerned as to whether we could have a balanced budget. I would have loved to have a balanced budget.

But, as we were operating, we were in war with Vietnam, and it was difficult to have a balanced budget. I was willing to even get into a small deficit, but not the tremendous deficit that we were getting into. I looked at all of the appropriation bills from the standpoint that, are we getting too much in deficit? Can we afford these things? We can't afford everything. We have now found out that you just can't solve all the problems by just throwing money into them. Even the liberals now begin realizing that--that you just can't do that. There are certain things that we just can't buy with money.

Unfortunately, the Congress does not have a sufficient number of Senators and Congressmen who have some business experience, who have been called upon to run a business or to balance a budget. It's so easy to say, well, we need more money, we'll tax. But, if you tax too much, you destroy initiative and incentive. For example, we could say anybody who earns more than \$50,000, let's confiscate that money--he doesn't need anything more than fifty thousand--on that income he can live very comfortably. And if we did that, nobody's going to earn more than \$50,000. Yet, when you consider what we spend, every day, to run our government--several years ago it was one billion, one hundred thousand dollars--one billion, one hundred million dollars--a day! And at that time we figured that if you confiscate everything over \$50,000 in income, you would get about eight billion dollars. That would run our government for one week and one day. And then, that one time, only. Suppose nobody's going to earn over \$50,000. Therefore, you're not going to have anybody working hard to earn more money. And if you don't give them the incentive to work, they're not going to create. And if they don't create and they don't have capital, then nobody's going to invest. If they don't invest, you're not going to have people working. So, you've got to look at all sides. It's not only that particular bill that you are working on but the whole picture.

Now take for example my colleagues. They say that we

Fong: should not allow the professional man to deduct more than \$10,000 in interest payments for money that he borrowed from the bank to go into investment--investment borrowing. Now, if the man is not going to be allowed to deduct that interest that he pays out, he's not going to borrow. If he doesn't borrow, the bank's going to have a lot of money and the bank won't be able to lend it out. And the bank won't be able to make much money. Therefore you won't be able to tax the bank on its profits. You see, all our taxes come from profits--most of it--from profits. If you don't have profits, it will be difficult to hire people. If you lose money you're going to lay off people. But if you make money, you're going to hire more people. Now, here's a man who can afford to borrow a million dollars. I think I've gone into that before?

Chou: Yes.

Fong: If he doesn't borrow the million dollars, say, at 10%, the bank doesn't get the hundred thousand dollars interest. Now the bank won't pay profit on the hundred thousand dollars. Then the man doesn't put it in the lumber, he doesn't put it in the nails, he doesn't put it in the paint; and the painter, the lumber man, the carpenter, the laborer--are not going to be paid. He won't be working. He won't be taking money home to his wife. His wife won't be going to the butcher shop to buy things from the butcher or the grocer. And the grocer and butcher will not be able to buy anything from various people. All down the line, we're not going to have these people working. And this is one of the problems facing America today--we are trying to kill the goose that lays the golden egg. If you don't encourage people to invest, you're not going to have capital. We're already capital-short. For all the things that we have to do, we are really capital-short. We've got to raise the money for capitalization, because it takes a lot of money to create a job. Some jobs cost \$200,000 to create one job. The average job, they said, cost about \$30,000, something like that. So if you don't have the capital, you're not going to create jobs. We would have a lot of unemployment and when you have unemployment, government will have to pay. When the government pays, the government goes in deficit. Then you have inflation. You see the problems? How these problems proliferate? And when you consider that 85% of the work force--the work force in the private sector--and only about 15% in the public sector, that is, the Army, the Navy, the federal government, the City and County government, the city government, the county government--all these people who work for the government--only amounts to about 15% of the labor

Fong: force--you begin to see that government cannot do all these things. Government can't give a job to everybody because it hasn't got the money.

You've got to get the money from the private sector, from the people who work outside, mostly, and from private business. So, all these things have something to do with the growth, the economy of our country. And if you spend too much, you have inflation. So, I am cognizant of all of those things. That's why, sometimes, when it comes to money, I'm pretty conservative.

Chou: We were talking a little while ago about your balance in voting--that you have been liberal in certain areas and you've been humanitarian in promoting the interests of the people who have been discriminated against, for instance, in immigration and so forth. But you have also seen your role as being one who wants the government to be fiscally responsible.

Fong: Yes. I did not stint on education. I did not stint on welfare for the needy. But I say, when a man doesn't need it, why should we give it to him? You see? Don't overspend. Don't spend foolishly, because our deficit's getting too high. But, where the need is there, I'm willing to go into deficit. And I have done that. And, so, my record will show that I'm liberal on a lot of things, I'm conservative on a lot of things, and I'm middle-of-the-road in many things. And I don't think I can be stereotyped.

Chou: No, it certainly doesn't appear to me that you could.

Fong: And it's because of my wide training, or my wide business experience, and the things that I have gone through that have given me this insight into a lot of these matters; I'm quite moderate in quite a lot of things.

Chou: Certainly your difficulty in achieving an education helped you to be more liberal in your approach to educational...

Fong: Yes.

Chou: ...some of the social problems, as well.

Fong: Yes. And as I grow older, why, I get more tolerant, too. I try not to reform people, and I accept them as they are.

Chou: I see.

Fong: I try to look at the good points, rather than their faults. And try to like the person because of the good points, rather than to hate him because of his faults.

Chou: Were there any other things that came to mind as you reviewed your first year in the U. S. Senate, Senator?

Fong: No, the first year in the U. S. Senate you've got to be more or less observing things, and how they are done.

Chou: You're learning your job.

Fong: Learning your job. Paying more attention to your committee assignments and setting up your office. Seeing that your constituents are taken care of. Answering your mail. When they come to visit you, you see that they are spoken to and treat them nicely. And these are the things that you do that do not appear on the Record, you see. The first few years you've got to do that. So, the first few years, you don't do too much. And anyway, being a minority member of the Congress--for 17 years I have been a minority member of Congress, as a Republican. And you know that the bills that you put in are not going to get through, you see. You put in a lot of bills and if the ideas are good, others will take it from you. Unless you are willing to go all the way with them--with the majority, you see. For example, you have a lot of these Senators who are very liberal. If you are willing to be as liberal as they are, then they ask you to join them in certain responses to certain bills. But if you are not willing to go that far, you will find that many of your ideas will not take root.

Chou: Those are just one of the realities of working in a....

Fong: These are realities of a political system.

Chou: We talked earlier of orientation for new Senators and I wondered if you had any thoughts about that?

Fong: The amazing thing is that nobody told me anything. I'm glad that now they have an orientation for new Senators. You see, when we came in, we were a new state. We came in about eight months after the last election. And nobody told me anything. I had to inquire here, inquire there, and there were a lot of things that I didn't know. There were a lot of benefits that I could have gotten, a lot of things that I could have done--but no one informed me about them.

Chou: They didn't assign anyone to you and Mr. Long to kind of help get you....

Fong: Yeah. And then the Press asks you to come to a party. They didn't even tell me that you're supposed to have a funny speech--nobody told me that. You know, that what you're supposed to do is to make people laugh. Well, I didn't even know that, so I made a serious talk.

Chou: Gave them something to think about, didn't you?

Fong: It was something which was neglected. Nobody took me in hand and told me what to do.

Chou: When did they start an orientation program for the Senate?

Fong: Just recently.

Chou: Just before you retired, something like that?

Fong: No, after.

Chou: After. Oh, as late as that?

Fong: Yeah.

Chou: That's interesting.

Fong: I think this was the first year.

Chou: It certainly must have been difficult for a lot of other new Senators and new Congressmen too.

Fong: Yes. Luckily I was Speaker of the House and I knew the procedures, so it wasn't too difficult for me. There were a lot of other things that I could have learned from them, but never got to.

Chou: In the next year, '61 to '62....

Fong: In the 87th Congress, 1961-1962, one of the votes came up to change the Senate rules to allow 3/5 instead of 2/3 of those present and voting to invoke cloture and limit debate. I voted "Yes." At that time I felt that the 2/3 majority was too large to invoke cloture and that a 3/5 vote was necessary. But subsequent to that, I've changed my mind because the number of Republicans in Congress was getting smaller and smaller, less and less, and that to make ourselves heard and to make ourselves felt, that I felt that a 2/3 vote was necessary to invoke cloture. After that, I voted

Fong: against any change in the rules from 2/3 to 3/5. But somehow 3/5 did finally pass, with the help of Republicans like Senator Pearson, and that did irrevocable harm to the Republicans. The Republicans then were not able to hold on to many of the positions that they took. We also had the School Assistance Program again in that year. Then there were Public Welfare Amendments--again the bills to provide health insurance for most persons 65 and over--to be financed in the Social Security Tax. I voted "Yes" to table Senator Anderson's amendment.

Chou: Your reasons for doing that were basically the same as before?

Fong: Basically the same, yes. So, that's about all that really happened that year.

In 1963 and '64, the 88th Congress, I voted for the passage of the Revenue Act of 1964, reducing personal and corporate income tax liability by 11.9 billion dollars over a two year period, lowering the personal income tax rate from a range of 20 to 91% to a range of 14 to 70%, lowering personal income tax liability by an average of 19.7%, reducing the corporate income tax rate from 52 to 48% and making other structural changes in the Internal Revenue Code. I felt that taxing a man 91% was really too much. You don't give him the incentive to produce. And 70% was sufficiently high. So I voted to reduce the tax rate from 20 to 91% down to 14 to 70% and to also reduce the corporate tax from 52% to 48%. I thought that by reducing the taxes, we would have more people working; we would have more money left over in the corporations so that they could begin to buy new machinery and begin to provide more jobs. If you don't give the corporations a chance to keep some of their income, you're not going to be able to really create more jobs, because it costs money to create jobs. That year I voted for that bill.

Of course, there was the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which came before us, and I voted for the invocation of cloture because there were filibusters being carried on by most of the Southern Senators. I voted for the invoking of the cloture--of cloture to stop debate. Then, again, the Social Security Amendments came up, to provide for Medicare for persons 65 and over, financed through Social Security data. I voted against it. Again, the question of permitting 3/5 of the Senators present and voting to limit debate under cloture rule, instead of the existing 2/3, came up. I voted for that 3/5. As I said, subsequent

Fong: to that, I changed my mind, because the number of Senators was getting less and less--Republican Senators--and we had to make our stand clear.

Chou: So you feel that the minority has less and less an opportunity to be heard in the Senate?

Fong: Yes.

Then I voted for the Area Redevelopment Act, increasing area redevelopment aid. I thought that many of our cities should be redeveloped, and many slum areas should be rehabilitated. And then there was the National Service Corps Act, authorizing a program of volunteer public service, and authorizing fifteen million dollars for a two-year period. That was a small sum to start a National Service Corps. There was a Youth Employment Act, establishing a Youth Conservation Corps and a hometown youth corps, to provide useful work experience for increased employability of unemployed youth. Now, many young boys do not have any training at all and with the minimum rates that have been paid for workers, many employers will not hire young people to work. Therefore, many of these youths need to have work experience and I voted for that.

Then there was a question of mass transportation in 1963, providing for grants and other aid to local and state government for the development of urban mass transit systems. I felt that Hawaii would be discriminated in that respect, because we do not have such a big problem here as compared to the other states. We would be paying a lot of money for use in the other states. We would be getting less money for mass transportation than the other states, and under those circumstances, we would be paying more out. It would be better if each state took care of it themselves. From that standpoint, Hawaii would be paying its share--paying for its own transportation needs. It would be much cheaper for us than to get into a national program, although the various mayors of the city always wanted to have free money from Washington. You know, they look at it from the standpoint that Washington money is free. But actually it is not free. That money comes from the individual through taxation. And if we have less money coming from the federal government, it means that there will be less spending, there'll be less taxes, and there'll be less deficit.

If we could do the things back home ourselves, why shouldn't we do it, rather than get it from Washington?

Fong: Washington is putting its finger into too many of these things locally. That's why the inflation problem is with us--the big deficit problem is with us. Too many committees and too many sub-committees, you see, as I've mentioned formerly. Every Democrat in the Senate has a sub-committee and the sub-committee has an appropriation. It has a staff, the staff goes out looking for things to do, and so they get into almost every field. As a result, we get our noses into everything. And it costs money. It would be cheaper, really, to have a more balanced Congress. Then you don't have so many sub-committees and you don't have so many staff looking for things to do and so many things that they have to appropriate money for.

Chou: I see. Just economizing at the Senate, then. In terms of staffing and....

Fong: No. The staffing is a very minor part--the expense of staffing is a very minor part of the situation. It's a staff which is created, which goes out to look for things to do, and then they have very expensive programs.

Chou: I see.

Fong: Some legislators delve into what should be the state's duties--the state's responsibility. They take it from the state and they have the money appropriated from the federal government. Naturally all the mayors would want more money from the federal government--that's free money coming to them, you see. And naturally they would lobby to their Senators and their Congressmen for more money from the federal government. But that money is actually the money of the people. And if more money comes to them, there'll be more taxes and there'll be more deficits. And we've gone into deficit after deficit.

Chou: When you first went to Washington, was it your intent to attempt to work on fiscal matters to hold back the cost of government?

Fong: No. I never had that impression at all when I first went to Washington. Well, in fact, I had no idea what I was going to do; I just ran for office and hoped to be elected a Senator and hoped to be called Senator. That would have been an accomplishment in itself. What I was going to do, why, that was never in my mind--what I was going to do. Of course, I had to have a program when I campaigned, but those were my ideas. My whole endeavor was to get elected. Then

Fong: after I got elected, I began to think of the issues, where I would stand on them. I thought that it would be easy for me to go over there and whatever is right is right and whatever is wrong is wrong. I would just vote that way.

If I were a conservative, it would be very easy--I'd just vote a conservative line, then vote "No" on a lot of things. If I were a liberal, I'd vote "Yes," because the Congress was very liberal. I'd vote "Yes," then I wouldn't have to really read the bills. But when I went to Washington, I found that I was not in either camp. I really was a middle-of-the-roader, and being a middle-of-the-roader I had to understand every bill. I flipped on the conservative side sometime and I flipped on the liberal side sometime. So it was more difficult for me as a moderate--more work for me--as a moderate, to be in the Senate. It would have been easy if I were a liberal--on any bill that came down, to say "yes, yes, yes, yes, yes." Or as a conservative, I would say "no, no, no, no, no," you see. But, I have to vote "Yes" at times and "No" at certain times, and that made it difficult.

Chou: You had to really study the issues.

Fong: Yeah. You really had to study the issues, had to understand them.

Chou: Did you, as a businessman, ever feel that you needed to instruct any of your colleagues in fiscal matters?

Fong: No, you don't presume that. It would be presumptuous on my part to go and tell them, or to feel that they didn't know what they're talking about. You can get in a debate, yes, but you don't presume on that. Every man is sovereign to himself. He represents a sovereign state; nobody tells him what to do. The Majority Leader can't tell you what to do, the President can't tell you what to do. You're really a free agent there. The only people who can tell you what to do are the people back home who vote for you. And that, you sometimes disregard because you feel that they don't know as much as you do, you see. You've got to exercise your own opinion because you're on the firing line. Many voters said, "Well, you do what you think is right; that's why we elected you there for. We don't understand the issue, you understand it, you go ahead and vote the best way you know how." And, so, everyone is there, voting the way he thinks or she thinks is the way he or she should vote.

Chou: I was thinking that with your extensive business back-

Chou: ground--and you were very successful working in business--that perhaps some of the Senators may have come to you for advice on certain fiscal matters.

Fong: Yes. Many of them did ask me about different things, what I thought about this, what I thought about that. Many people have asked me about the Pacific and Far East, and things like that. So I shared with them the feeling that I had of things in the Pacific.

Chou: Thank you, Senator.

Fong: Okay.

Interview Number 3, Senator Hiram Fong

Chou: Senator Fong, today's topic is the 1965 Congressional session. And I wonder if you would speak to the key issues, which you felt were important, insofar as your own participation in the legislation was concerned?

Fong: One of the key votes was on the Federal Water Quality Standards Bill. The gist of the Water Quality Act of 1965 permitted federal water quality standards to be enforced in the absence of effective state action to abate pollution of interstate waters. There was an amendment by Senator [John] Tower to substitute for provisions of the Senate version of the bill. And he wanted to delete a directive to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to set federal water quality standards for interstate streams. I felt that we should allow the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to set federal water standards and I voted "No" on the Tower amendment. Another important bill was the Assistance Bill of one billion dollars of federal aid for the development of the economically depressed eleven-state Appalachia region. This region had been in a sad economic situation for a long, long time. Evidence was presented to our committee--the Committee on Public Works--that assistance was necessary to improve the economic life of this region. And I voted for the passage of the bill.

Chou: Did you at any time tour the Appalachia area, Senator?

Fong: No, I had reasons to go from time to time to the Appalachia regions, but not just for a tour of the whole region. Because the region is a very, very expansive one, starting from Pennsylvania down to somewhere in Georgia--the Carolinas. And, I thought that this region needed help, so I voted for the bill.

There was another bill, which provided federal aid to elementary and secondary schools, and it provided for a three-year program of grants to states for allocations to school districts which had a large number of children from low income families. It also provided grants for purchase of books and library materials, funds to improve educational research, and grants to strengthen state departments of education. I felt that

Fong: anything to further the education of our students in the secondary and elementary level was worthwhile and I voted for the bill.

There was also a poll tax ban which came in as an amendment to the Voting Rights Act of 1965. An amendment by Senator (Edward) Kennedy, to prohibit the collection of a poll tax as a condition for registration for voting in state or local elections and to authorize enforcement machinery. Although the amendment was rejected 45 to 49, I voted for the amendment because I thought that the imposition of a poll tax was not a good provision. I felt that anyone should be allowed to vote, even if he didn't pay a poll tax. So I voted for the Kennedy amendment. Of course, when the Voting Rights Act of 1965 came before the Senate, there was filibuster, naturally.

Chou: Oh, yes.

Fong: There was a vote on the Senate floor to invoke cloture on the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and I voted for cloture. In that year we passed the Voting Rights Act of 1965--I supported that. It suspended the use of literacy tests, or similar voter qualification devices, in any state or county, where 20% of the population was non-white, and where such tests or devices had been used to qualify registrants seeking to vote in the 1965 general election. I felt that many, many people of minority ethnic background--especially the Blacks--were being discriminated against, because they were not able to pass the literacy test in some of the states. Literacy tests were so difficult. The voters would be asked something about Greek history of something in Greek, or something they would not be likely to pass, and so they flunked. I felt that so many of the Blacks were disenfranchised because of this device. So I voted for the passage of the bill.

Chou: Did you do any lobbying on behalf of that bill among your fellow Senators?

Fong: No, it was not necessary to really lobby on that bill because we knew where the votes were and where the votes were not. You get a feel in the Congress as to who will vote for what, because of their background and because of their previous votes. So you don't change many votes in that regard. We knew that we had the majority of the votes to pass it, but, of course, there always was the filibuster. To stop a filibuster required 2/3 of the vote. And once cloture is invoked, you know that the bill will pass. Only a majority vote

Fong: is needed to pass the bill, although a 2/3 vote is required to stop debate.

Chou: So certainly by 1965, you had a pretty clear understanding of what your fellow Senators were going to support and who would be for a bill and who would be against a particular issue.

Fong: Yes.

Chou: I was wondering if your friendship with some of the Southern Senators might have given you a particular entree to talking with them about any of these voting rights or, civil rights, acts?

Fong: Well, I was very friendly with the Southern Senators. But, of course, that did not change my attitude on the issues which I felt were very important to the nation. There were certain things that should be done, even though it went contrary to the wishes of some of my Southern friends. For example, the Southern Senators, naturally, did not want to see the Voting Rights Bill passed, because they had, consistently, in the South, carried on a policy of discrimination, kept the Blacks from voting, and have denied to them many of the civil rights which they were entitled to. And I, for one, felt that--especially as a member of the Judiciary Committee, where the bills originate--I helped to alleviate the situation--and to give to the minorities their civil rights.

Chou: Do you have a sensing that your presence in the Senate and the fact that you made it very clear how you were going to vote on these key issues affected any of the votes...?

Fong: No, I don't think so. I think that every person exercises his own judgment in any of these matters. The Congress is a very unique body. Every Senator and every Representative represents his constituents at home. Although there may be certain policies or certain attitudes that may come out from, say, the Democratic Party or the Republican Party, as a national party, the members belonging to either one of the two parties are not bound to go along with the national Democratic Party or the national Republican Party. Each legislator represents a certain constituency, which may have a different view of the situation. That's why, when I was in Congress for a little while, I began to realize that there are 50 different types of Republicans and 50 different types of Democrats, because there are 50 different states. What may be acceptable to one state's Senator, may not be

Fong: acceptable to another state's Senator. There is no uniformity of opinion, and every man exercises his own right as to what he wants to do. That's why our system is very unique in that respect. There is no such thing as anybody lording over you, no one to tell you that you have voted wrong. Although you may think yourself that you have voted wrong, nobody tells you that. You insult that man's intelligence by telling him how to vote, because he is a representative of a sovereign state, and he ought to know what he wants to do. Every man votes the way he desires. In many other nations there is a multiplicity of parties, each party or each group representing certain attitudes, and certain policies. But in the United States we have just two big parties, the Democratic Party and the Republican Party. There are all shades of thinking in both parties. You have the Southern Democrats, who are very conservative, and you have the Northern liberals--Northern Democrats, who are very liberal. Then you have the Republicans who are supposed to be conservative, and then you have some Republicans who are just as liberal as the most liberal Democrats, because they come from liberal states like New York and New Jersey, and similar states.

And, so, there is no way by which you can say that a man votes wrong, because he does what he thinks will get him reelected, or he does what he thinks is right, and he does what he thinks should be done, sometimes even contrary to his constituency. So, my Southern friends didn't change, although we were friends. You may have a very liberal Senator and a very conservative Senator being good friends, although their thinking will be very, very far apart.

This is the Congress. You expect a man to be sincere and you accept the way he votes as the way he sees things. So, you don't question the man's integrity, and you don't question the man's character because he votes contrary to how you vote. He votes according to his own conscience. History will frame him in the light that he carries himself. Take for example, Senator [Hubert] Humphrey. Senator Humphrey, to some people, was one of the most liberal of liberals. And, naturally, many conservative Senators felt that he was a poor Senator from that standpoint. He always, invariably, would ask for more money on the floor of the Senate, when an appropriation bill came up. Therefore, to those who favored the bigger appropriation because they were interested in appropriations, he was a great hero. He was a great champion to them. But, to others, he was just irresponsible, financially--

Fong: a feeling that he'd gone overboard.

The committee had settled on it; it was the consensus of the committee, by majority vote, that so much money should be appropriated for certain items. You just don't have unlimited funds to give to everyone what they need, and the committee apportioned the funds as they saw fit. Now, on the floor of the Senate, a man like Senator Humphrey, for example, gets up. Then he says, "Give another ten million dollars"--or, "give them another hundred million." Now, this sort of breaks the pattern of the committee's work. If you vote against an amendment like that, some people will regard you as being inhuman, as having none of the milk of human kindness. They may feel that you're against the aged, you're against the needy, you're against the handicapped, you're against the uneducated--just because you vote against an amendment where he calls for an additional ten million dollars or a hundred million dollars, when the committee has already appropriated very generously. So, sometimes you've got to look at it from the whole perspective. You've got to look at these things from every angle, to see whether the committee has been generous or not, or whether the committee reduced the appropriation to such an extent that an agency can't function. The committees usually are not that conservative--they do provide sufficient funds. But then, if you are faced on the floor of the Senate with an amendment, what do you do? What do you do?

Chou: It must have been difficult to go against what Mr. Humphrey was trying to do, which was to carry forth his efforts to be a great humanitarian.

Fong: Yes. It's so easy to be a great humanitarian and it's so easy to say, "Give them more, give them more." But, we haven't got all the funds to give. That has been proven now, with the Great Society, with the program that was initiated by President Kennedy and President Johnson. By throwing money at a program, feeling that you could thereby improve things--it hasn't proven out. And we are getting ourselves deeper and deeper into the hole, so that the people we've tried to help are now the unfortunate victims of what we have done. We've gone so much in the hole, so much in deficit. We are over seven hundred and eighty billion dollars in debt. The permanent ceiling for the debt was about four hundred billion dollars. We've exceeded the permanent ceiling, by calling it temporary ceilings. And this temporary ceiling has exceeded seven hundred billion dollars! Now, no other government, nor the combined governments of all the world--of the free world--owes that

Fong: much. We, in the United States, owe seven hundred billion dollars. Now, how are we going to pay that? And can we afford to keep on getting these deficits? With these deficits, we produce inflation, because we've got to go out and borrow the money. Then, when we borrow the money, that raises interest rates. If you owe seven hundred billion dollars, you've got to pay interest on that. And if you pay 5% interest, that's thirty-five billion dollars that you pay, just to carry it, a seven hundred billion dollar deficit. And, so, therefore, the government has to go out and borrow thirty-five billion dollars from the public, to pay for the seven hundred billion dollars. Now, when you borrow that kind of money, and then you go into deficit for fifty, sixty billion dollars a year, you've got to get it from somewhere. So you borrow that money. When you borrow that money, you raise interest rates because everybody's going for that dollar. So, as a result, you have inflation. Then you tax the corporations more, you tax the individuals more, then you deplete the earnings of a corporation, you deplete the earnings of the individual. As a result, you do not build a capital structure; you do not build any surplus which could be reinvested into the business.

Every job needs capital. The smallest job, I believe, takes at least--the average small job--takes at least thirty-five to forty thousand dollars to create that job. And for some jobs, you need two, three hundred thousand dollars to create one job. Now, if you haven't got that capital, how are you going to create jobs?

So, when you say, "Give, give, give," and you continue to give more, and you owe more, and you drive up inflation, and then you try to get more money to run your government, you take away from the public, you take away from the corporation, then you don't have anything to throw back into reinvestment. You then create a lot of unemployment. And this is what we are suffering from--tremendous amount of unemployment, especially among the young people. With the minimum wage, everybody says, if you don't vote for the minimum wage, then they say, "Gee whiz, this fellow, he doesn't want to pay enough for a person to survive." But, if you raise the minimum wage, then a lot of people are not going to employ anybody. For example, they say that all the people working as domestics must be paid minimum wages. Now, so many households will not, then, hire a maid, because they cannot afford to pay that kind of a wage. And then these people who are serving as house maids find it very difficult to

Fong: find other jobs, because they do not have the experience, nor do they have the skill, nor do they have the ability to hold a job that will return, to the employer, the value in services of what he pays out in minimum wages. As a result, these people are unemployed. Now, as I told my wife, if I were a housewife, I probably wouldn't hire a maid. In the state of Hawaii, for example, you have to have unemployment compensation insurance, you've got to pay for temporary disability insurance, you've got to pay a portion of the medical costs, you've got to deduct her social security tax, you've got to deduct her unemployment tax, you've got to send forms in to the government, state and federal. Now, with all of that kind of incumbrances, with all of that kind of red tape, I would rather not hire anybody. As a result of these complex things that they have to do, the poor housewife is flabbergasted. She doesn't want to be bothered, so she says, "I'm not going to hire anyone." Therefore, there are a lot of house domestics who will be out of jobs. And if you vote against a bill to provide a domestic with the minimum wage, they will say, "Oh, this fellow is hard-hearted. He's just a piker, you know? And he doesn't want to give a fair wage to an individual--a living wage to an individual." Of course, the wage earner says, "I need a different wage." But there are certain people that can't produce enough to get that wage. And, as a result, they'll be unemployed. If they're unemployed, the government will have to support them. This increases the deficit again. So, we go 'round and 'round and 'round and get ourselves into a lot of trouble, get ourselves into an inflationary trend, get ourselves into a position where there are so many unemployed that our government is in a very, very bad situation.

Chou: What do you see as an alternative to some of these actions, Senator?

Fong: Well, you are beginning to see it now. Federally and locally, they are now trying to reduce the welfare assistance program. They are trying to tighten up on the medicare program. And they're trying to tighten up on a lot of costs which have skyrocketed. They are beginning to realize that there are many, many people who just take advantage of these programs. There are a lot of people--although there are many who need the unemployment compensation when they are out of jobs--yet, there are certain "professionals"--that is, people who know the law to such an extent that they will work just so many weeks, so that they can qualify to get unemployment. Then they quit their job. Voluntarily. And these people who quit their job

Fong: voluntarily could secure unemployment compensation. They refuse to work--this is what they say--they refuse to work.

And there was a time when they said that you've got to have a comparable job. Now, I came back from Washington as a Senator. I couldn't find a comparable job. I would be entitled to unemployment compensation if I went for it, because I can definitely state that I can't find a comparable job. Many of these unemployed people say they can't find a comparable job so, therefore, they have unemployment compensation. Unemployment compensation would go for 65 weeks. 52 weeks and another 13 weeks. Now, you can have over a year--a year and three months--of vacations, if you really wanted it. We have these laws to help others, but so many people take advantage of them.

Chou: We've talked before about this, Senator, and you've mentioned that it's not so much the fault of the law, but the application of the law. That's where there have been some difficulties, such as this.

Fong: Yes. And, I, for one, believe that there are many, many people who will flaunt the law. There are many people who will steal if they have an opportunity. Of course, many say that people steal because it's society that made them steal, that society has not given them a fair wage. The recent arrests of looters, when New York City lights went out, showed that many of them were employed and in good jobs. These were not economically deprived people. Yes, some of them--probably most of them--were. But a great number of them were people who were earning good pay and still they were looting the stores. As soon as there is a snow storm, where things are bad, you find that there is looting. So, there are certain elements in our society who will steal and will loot and will go out and trespass on other people's property, on other people's rights. These are the ones who we have to guard against. Although we have laws to help the needy, still, we've got to do a lot of things to prevent those who don't need help, not to get it.

Chou: We can't legislate morality.

Fong: No, you just can't legislate morality, but you can do certain things which....

Chou: Are you saying to build in safeguards in the application of the law?

Fong: There should be many, many built-in safeguards. Some-

Fong: times we have social workers who are too lenient. Of course, when you look at it from a practical standpoint, if there are not too many welfare clients, the social worker doesn't have a job. So, you encourage... you see. So, sometimes you begin to wonder. Maybe we should do away with all of these special programs and just say, "Okay, we give you a certain amount of money and we eliminate all the overhead." You know, we're getting to a point now where we've got to do some very deep thinking on how we can correct this problem.

One of the first things we have to do is really stop inflation. Then, to provide employment. There must be a redirection of some of our laws. We have been thinking that by just throwing money at a thing we could alleviate the situation. But, after all these years that we have done it this way, we are beginning to find that we are going deeper and deeper in the hole and we're getting into a worse situation. We've done so much for crime, for example. We've spent so much money. We've poured billions into the problem, trying to alleviate the crime situation. But we haven't made much of a dent.

Chou: Are you saying, Senator, that there are certain things that Americans probably will have to live with? That is, that there will always be some people who are incapable of earning a minimum wage?

Fong: Yes. Those who are handicapped, or are mentally ill.

Chou: Yes.

Fong: And there are the disturbed, and there are the uneducated, who sometimes can't hold a job. These people need to be helped. No question about it.

Chou: No question about it.

Fong: No question. They need to be helped. But then there are so many able-bodied people--some families for three generations have been on welfare. Now, certainly, they could have gotten out of it. I saw a program in which a young girl, who is a graduate of high school, she was the third generation under welfare. She was asked, "Why don't you get a job?" She answered, "Oh, there's no more jobs." Just saying that--just "no more jobs." Well, here's a girl who is bright, well educated. Yet, she says there were no more jobs. Now, maybe there are no jobs for her at present, but, how can a family be without a job for three generations? People like that should not be helped, and we should be a little tougher

Fong: on them. But, somehow, the laws have not been working that way.

We've got to face the deficit or we'll go bankrupt. If we go bankrupt, the people who are in the lower economic strata will be affected the worst and they will find things very miserable. Now things are bad, but it could be worse if we didn't have the wherewithal to carry on the government.

Chou: Senator, how soon after you got to Washington did you become aware of some of the problems having to do with the welfare system?

Fong: Very, very early I began to realize that you just can't keep on pouring in money, because we have been in a deficit. Of course, the Vietnam war was draining us.

Chou: Yes.

Fong: It was draining us very badly and we were going into deficit after deficit. When we owed four hundred billion dollars, why, that was a lot of money. And then it began to mount, year after year, to four hundred, five hundred, six hundred, seven hundred billion dollars. Then I began to look at some of the unfunded liability that is accumulating in the other funds. For example, I was on the Post Office Civil Service Committee. We handled the retirement fund--that is, we were responsible. It was within our jurisdiction of the committee to look over the retirement system. I was abhorred when they told us that we were thirty-two billion dollars in deficit in the Civil Service Retirement Fund. In other words, we have granted increases in retirement, we have brought people into the Civil Service Retirement, without adding any money, without funding it. And, right there, it's unfunded. We are paying now--we are trying to catch up by appropriating every year, I think, ten million dollars--I'm not sure of the figures--I think it's ten million every year to catch up. And now they tell me that Social Security is running away with a tremendous amount of deficit. When Social Security was first enacted, it was supposed to be an insurance program. The money that we pay in, that's the premiums, was supposed to take care of our old age. That money was supposed to be invested and when we were ready to retire, we would get that money coming back to us. That was supposed to take care of us. But, now, all that money is gone--the money that I've paid in all my life while I was working--that's gone. And there's only enough there, in the fund, that's coming in, to take care of 2/3 of the year. If money stopped coming

Fong: into the Social Security Fund, we would be broke. Within the year, we'd be broke. And the money that's coming in now, from the young people and from people who are working, is spent on taking care of the people who are retired. Nothing has been set aside for the people who are paying the premiums.

Chou: Like me?

Fong: Yes. Or, as I said on the Senate floor, if I ran my insurance company--we have a life insurance company--if I ran my insurance company that way, I would go to jail. I have to set aside a reserve, so that when the policy is paid up, I will be able to pay it. But there is nothing like that in the Social Security system. They keep on telling you, "Well, the Social Security system is different, it's a government thing, so, therefore, we can compel the younger people to keep on paying for those who are in retirement now." Now it's gotten so bad that they've raised the base amount on which you can tax for Social Security, and they've raised the rate of tax. Now the people are howling, because the tax is so prohibitive. Exorbitant. And now they're having second thoughts. They want to postpone the rate increase--the date of the rate increase--and also talking about now getting money from the general fund to take care of that. If you have general fund money coming in there, you will deplete your general fund money, and you're going to be worse in the hole.

Chou: It's like taking money from one pocket and putting it into another? And then spending it?

Fong: And you're depleting that supply. Therefore, you've got to get the money from the people again, and from the corporations again, to supplement what you have taken out--to fill in what you have taken out. That will take away money that is needed for captial use, for reinvestment. And then you have the same cycle again. This is a problem we are facing.

Chou: I would expect, though, Senator, that people who would receive a minimum wage and money earned as a result of extra education and training, would also be some of the people who would invest in American business. And, therefore, help to build the economy. What is your reaction to that general statement?

Fong: Often those people have very little savings. The average American has very little savings. Usually, there's a hand-to-mouth existence. You earn more, you spend more. And, if you tax them, naturally you take

Fong: away the amount which they could save. Therefore, with depleted savings, they can't invest, they don't have the money to invest. If you tax the people too much, you're going to deplete their savings and you're not going to make it possible for them to be able to invest. This is a problem facing us. We need trillions of dollars for the next decade to keep the number of people employed. And there's no way to see where that capital is coming from.

Chou: You don't see where it could be coming from either?

Fong: I can't see where it could be coming from. That's why interest rates are going up and up and up. And when interest rates go up, the stock market goes down. And when the stock market goes down, people are depressed. People hold back, and you don't have the optimism that carries you through. This is very prevalent in America.

Chou: Yes, it's becoming more and more evident.

Fong: Yes. Now going back to some of the other key issues.

Chou: Yes. Well, I didn't want to let this go, Senator, since I knew you had some very important impressions on what is going on now.

Fong: Senator Dirksen had a bill proposing a Constitutional Amendment to permit one house of a state legislature to be apportioned on the basis of geography and political subdivision, as well as on the basis of population. You see, when the Supreme Court made that landmark decision--that one man, one vote--then we had to apportion all of the state legislatures. It was thought that it was necessary to keep one house in the state to be apportioned the way that they have been doing all these years. Senator Dirksen did put in the bill, and it was rejected. But I voted for that bill, thinking that it doesn't do harm to have one body represented by political subdivision. I think that it would be in conformity, more or less, with our Congress. Now, the Senate, regardless of how many people live in a state, is represented by two members from each state. That's not one man, one vote.

Chou: That's right.

Fong: You see, the state of Hawaii, with 800,000 people, has two votes in the Senate. The state of California has twenty million people, thirty times that of ours, and it has two Senators. Now, why is it that if we

Fong: can have it in the Senate of the United States, why can't we have it in the states? But, the Supreme Court held that that's it.

One of the bills that was passed in the 1965 legislature was very, very important from the standpoint of the United States. It was the Immigration Revision Act of 1965. It was a long-sought bill. It provided for the reunification of families and it repealed the national origins quotas system and substituted an overall annual ceiling of immigration from the western hemisphere and from all non-western hemisphere countries. The bill set a ceiling of 20,000 immigrants that could come from any one country. That would be the quota--the maximum quota. Originally, under the old bill--under the National Origins Bill--England got a quota of around 60,000, Germany about 40,000, northern Europeans had a large quota, and the central Europeans and the Mediterranean Europeans had small quotas. All of the Asiatic-Pacific Triangle, where more than half of the population lives, had only a quota of 2,100. Very, very small. That 2,100 was equivalent to the 2,000 of Ireland, which has only three million inhabitants. The 2,100 represented only less than 2% of the total number of immigrants that were allowed to come to the United States and it was very discriminatory. That was one bill where I worked very hard for its passage. The combination of thinking of those who represent states where they had quite a number of central Europeans and southern Europeans, and also of many of the legislators from states that did not have the problem also felt that our laws were very discriminatory. So we changed the law, so that now no nationality is discriminated against. Everyone comes on a first-come, first-served basis. The bill also provided for the reunification of families, giving preference to members of families to come to the United States, to be reunited with their other members of their family. So it was a piece of landmark legislation and I, for one, felt that it was equivalent to a civil rights bill for the whole world, a civil rights bill for the whole world, equivalent to the Civil Rights Bill that we had enacted for our own people. I was amazed when a friend of mine, Thomas Sakakihara, said he was in Iran and one of the taxi drivers asked him if he knew me. And he says, "Yes." It was because of the new immigration law.

Chou: Senator, what were some of the activities which you undertook to secure passage of this landmark legislation?

Fong: I was a member of the Judiciary Committee and I was a member of the Immigration and Naturalization Committee. Senator Eastland was the chairman of that subcommittee, and I later became ranking Republican on that committee. Senator Kennedy also served on that committee. In the Judiciary Committee there were men like Senator Hart, for example, who was also interested in the bill. Many of the Senators were simply not aware of how discriminatory the bill was. When the bill came up for discussion, I told them how discriminatory it was. I showed them that the whole Asiatic-Pacific Triangle, where more than half of the world's population lived, was only entitled to send 2,100 people to the United States. I indicated that a person who had the blood of a person indigenous to this area of the Asiatic-Pacific Triangle--if he had half the blood of that person, regardless of where he was born, he was still considered to be a person of that Asiatic-Pacific Triangle. Moreover, if he came to the United States, on the quota system, he would be allocated to the quota of the Asiatic-Pacific Triangle. For example, if I were an Okinawan, or I were a South Sea Islander, or if I were a Chinese or a Japanese, Korean, Indian--East Indian--or Indonesian, I would be considered as coming from the Asiatic-Pacific Triangle. Let's say I emigrated to England. And then for five generations my descendants have lived in England. But they continue, say, to have at least half of the blood of what I have. For example, say they are half Chinese, or half Japanese, or half Indonesian. They would not be able to come to the United States on the English quota. But they would have to go back to the Chinese quota, the Japanese quota--(105 Chinese, 100 Japanese) Filipino quota, or an Okinawan quota, or a South Sea Island quota of 100. Quotas averaged about 100 people. The Philippines had 165 and China had 105 and most of the countries had 100. That was the ceiling.

Chou: That's certainly a very small number per year.

Fong: Very small number, yes. There were people waiting in perpetuity; they would never be able to come. But if you were an Englishman, or if you were a person--a non-Asiatic-Pacific Triangle person--and you lived in England, why, you came on an English quota. There was a Chinese lady who was married to a Spanish professor. Punahou School, which is very, very well known here in Hawaii and elsewhere, wanted him to come and teach Spanish. He could come, because the Spanish quota was open. But she couldn't come because she was Chinese. And the Chinese quota was full. So the head of

Fong: Punahou appealed to me to see what I could do. I had to pass a bill to put her under the Spanish quota, so that she could come to the United States. Now, isn't that absurd? Isn't that absurd? Any other person could have brought his wife in. But because she was Chinese--or if she were Japanese, or if she were a South Sea Islander--she couldn't come because the quota was filled. It was these things that grated upon the people of the Far East. They couldn't see why our laws discriminated against them.

I presented these facts to my colleagues in the Senate and they were quite surprised that it affected the Asiatic-Pacific Triangle to that extent. Many of them had Portuguese constituents, Greek constituents, Italian constituents, Polish constituents, and they were criticizing the immigration law because it gave to northern Europe a much, much larger quota than they had. But their quota was far in excess of the Asiatic-Pacific Triangle allowance. So, these Senators, who represented these people, were also ready for reform. But they didn't know how discriminatory it was against the Far East, although they knew that it was discriminatory against many of their own constituents. Once that was revealed to them, there was very little objection to changing the law. Of course, there were some who didn't like to change it, but I made a long, long speech on the Senate floor--it was probably almost two hours--and I showed where the population of Oriental or Asiatic-Pacific Triangle people in the United States was around 1%. Of two hundred million people in the United States, there were only, at that time, about 500,000 persons of Japanese ancestry, about 400,000 of Chinese ancestry, and about 200,000 of Filipino ancestry. One half of one percent of the whole population of the United States was of that background. The Immigration Law limited the number of immigrants to around 270,000, 280,000 people. So I said, "This is not going to change the pattern of American life and it's not going to change the whole ethnic background of America." The number of such people here is so insignificant. But look at the amount of goodwill that the new law could create--and it has created a tremendous amount of goodwill, especially among the people of the Far East. The United States would be known as a country where its immigration laws are non-discriminatory. You know, very few countries allow immigrants to go in. And American is one country where we do have immigrants coming to our shores. By not discriminating against them, they would feel very happy. I worked hard on this bill, and I made it a point to see that my colleagues understood what they were facing. We

Fong: finally passed the bill. And we finally imposed a quota. Senator Ervin wanted a quota on the South American immigrants. There was a time when they could come in as long as they had a sponsor. So he imposed a quota of about 120,000, I think, for them. Some Senators began to kick at that--there shouldn't be a quota. We also sort of curtailed Canada's immigration to the United States, as well as Mexico's, and some of the other countries. But, it was a fair thing--120,000 to the Americas, 170,000 to the rest of the world. You see? Approximately 290,000 people. And so the bill was passed. And, as I said before, when the bill came on the floor of the Senate, Senator Kennedy--he's of an Irish family from Massachusetts, Senator Salstonstall--a real American Yankee from the northeast, Senator Hruska--of Slavic origin--and here, me, from the Pacific--and Senator Hart, you know, all spoke for the bill. It was a landmark bill. And I think it's done a lot for America.

Chou: Do you believe it engendered a lot of goodwill in the Far East, particularly in the Far East, for the United States?

Fong: Yes.

Chou: And, I would expect, for the mid-European countries as well?

Fong: Yes. Italy, Greece....

Chou: Southern Europeans?

Fong: Yes. Southern Europeans. They were very happy about it.

Chou: My recollection is that Senator Inouye was also in favor of this bill.

Fong: Oh, yes.

Chou: Did you, at any time, work with him?

Fong: No. No. It was a question of getting it through the Judiciary Committee.

Chou: Yes, I see. And, of course, he was not on that.

Fong: Right. And, once we got out of Judiciary, it was easy sailing.

Chou: It was easy sailing.

Fong: Yes.

Chou: How long did it take to get through the Judiciary Committee, do you recall?

Fong: No. These bills have a way of languishing in committees.

Chou: You mentioned this. Sometimes they're in there for years.

Fong: Yes. Languishing in committee and all of a sudden it comes right out. You see. And it was not too long....

Chou: Not too long after you were on the committee?

Fong: Yes. Not too long. 1965. See, I got on the committee--I went there in 1959. I think I got on the committee around '60, '61.

Chou: Yes. And ever since you got on the committee, were you working to move this out from the committee and get it acted upon?

Fong: Yes. We were trying to...although I did not anticipate that it would be changed to such an extent. I wanted to have more quotas for the Far East..

Chou: I see.

Fong: But, when all the forces came together, we delivered a fine bill.

Chou: That's one I feel you're very proud of.

Fong: Oh, yes. Yes. It's one of the pieces of landmark legislation, which I can point my finger to.

Chou: To what extent did you work with Senator Kennedy in regard to passing this bill?

Fong: On, Senator Kennedy was on the committee. We worked very closely on this bill.

Chou: You said that you were sort of surprised at the final outcome of the bill; that you had merely hoped to increase the quota of the people in the Pacific-Asiatic Triangle. The ultimate result, of course, was a much more liberal bill. To what do you attribute this?

Fong: You see, I didn't anticipate that I would have the support of many Senators until, finally, when we got

- Fong: into discussion, that some Senators felt that their constituents were prejudiced against. At first I didn't understand the makeup of where these Senators came from. Later on, I began to realize that I was not the only one who was really pushing for the liberalization of the bill, but that other Senators also were, because they had constituents who criticized the bill.
- Chou: I see.
- Fong: And then, by that time, I began to feel that, gee, we had a good chance to really come out with a good bill.
- Chou: Do you remember any of the Administrative Assistants who helped you primarily on that bill?
- Fong: Don Chang.
- Chou: Is he here now?
- Fong: He's here in Honolulu, yes. He worked hard on that bill for me.
- Chou: Senator, as we've spoken of before, America is a nation of minorities. Throughout the years, even with the restricted immigration laws and quotas, America has welcomed a number of immigrants to its shores. Essentially, the new blood that has come in has been of immigrant stock--minority stock.
- Fong: Immigrants are now coming in, about 300,000 a year. Some are children and spouses of citizens; some come on quota, some are refugees. So we have had quite an influx of immigrants into the United States. There is talk about many people who are against immigration, that they even want to stop immigration. Some people are concerned about the unemployment situation. They say it's because we are acquiring more population than we should have. I say to them that America has lots of room for people. If we compare ourselves--of course, maybe that is not a good comparison--but if we just look at Bangladesh. Bangladesh has a population of around 17 million people. It's one of the most densely populated nations in the world. If the United States had the density of Bangladesh, it would contain all of the people of the world. In other words, there would be six billion people in the United States if we had the density of Bangladesh. Or, put in another form, if all of the people in the United States--the two hundred million people in the United States--could be put into the State of Wisconsin, then Wisconsin would have the density of Bangladesh. So, when you

Fong: look at the two extremes, for example, you begin to realize that there's a lot of room in America. America has the same area as that of China. China is reputed to have eight hundred to a billion people. The United States has two hundred million people, one fourth, or one fifth the population of China. America has 19% to 22% of its land which is arable-- China only has 11% of arable land. So, you see, we have almost twice the amount of arable land as that of China, and yet China has four times our population. Now, certainly, we don't want to get to a position where we're going to have a billion people in the United States, or even half a billion people. But, with two hundred million people, we could stand some more immigration. We only have about 5% of the world's population.

Americans live in a hostile atmosphere. As I said, what we can't make up in numbers, we should make up in intelligence. But we do have to have numbers. We have very few friends in the world. Our friends are beginning to wonder whether they can trust us, with the way we backed out of Vietnam, with this talk about normalization with China, and whether we would forsake our long-time ally, the Republic of China. We've got to have sufficient numbers to be able to use our manpower. We should have an intelligent electorate so that they could be of value in problem situations. So I say, let's increase our population a little more and give to our people the best of education so that we could make up in numbers--make up in quality--what we lack in quantity.

In this world, we are beset with practical problems and we just can't wish things away. We just can't say that the other nations will not attack us. Now, Russia is certainly pushing ahead militarily. Why is she pushing ahead so strongly? China is feverishly building underground covers. Why is she doing that? She's afraid of Russia, of course, naturally. The Russians are doing a lot of things which do not conform with the idea that they want to live peacefully with us. They're preparing for the day when they're going to fight us. And we should be prepared, and not let our guard down. We shouldn't try to give too much away in negotiations when we deal with the Russians.

And I, for one, feel that a few more immigrants will not hurt the United States. It will help us.

Chou: Have you a sensing that once these people are here and they become naturalized citizens, that they would be

Chou: supportive of the American way of life and be willing to fight to defend America?

Fong: Yes, I think the great majority of them will. Of course, we have people who come in and immediately get on welfare.

Chou: I know that, and that's one of our problems.

Fong: We should really hold the sponsors responsible. We have been too lax in letting the sponsors go.

Chou: Again you're saying that it's the application of the law that has created the problem, not the law itself.

Fong: Well, we could change the law. We could provide that if immigrants get on welfare without good reason, we could send them back.

Chou: Do you foresee that this might take place?

Fong: I don't think so.

Chou: You don't think so? Why?

Fong: We have already taken a position, once they're here, they're here. Yeah. We've taken the responsibility for them.

Chou: I see. But, don't you see a movement afoot, to make the sponsor more...?

Fong: Yes, there's a movement to make the sponsors more responsible, to make them pay up. At least, then the person would feel a sense of responsibility.

Chou: Get them a job, at least. Get them working.

Fong: Yes. Now, there's a lot of work. There are want ads in the papers. But many people just don't want to do some kinds of work. They refuse to do that kind of work. Now, many of them work for a little while and then quit and go on unemployment compensation.

Chou: Yes.

Fong: Or they supplement their income while they are unemployed--they go out fishing and they do odd jobs without reporting them. Quite a number of the people who are on retirement, for example, go out and work at part-time jobs without having the income reported. They want to be paid in cash.

Chou: With no records.

Fong: No records. So, we should have stricter laws and we should enforce them.

Chou: Do you see passage of these laws?

Fong: I see that there is a movement towards stricter laws.

Chou: Before we leave this topic, Senator, I was wondering whether there was any member of your committee who was against liberalization of the immigration laws?

Fong: I think Senator Strom Thurman was against it. And, I don't know who else. The Record will show who voted against it.

Chou: I'm just trying to see who stands out in your memory as being one who was opposed to the new law.

Fong: No, I don't have that information at hand. There were 18 votes against it.

Chou: That was the general vote of the Senate.

Fong: Yes.

Chou: I'm thinking of the committee.

Fong: Committee? I think Senator Thurman was against it. I don't know if there were other members against it. But it passed 76 to 18.

Chou: That's a definite, strong, positive vote.

Fong: Yes.

Chou: Well, I think you did a good job on that, Senator.

Fong: Well, I think I did. I think I did.

There was another bill which came before the Senate that year and it was pushed by labor. It was Senator {Mike} Mansfield's bill to repeal the sectional Taft-Hartley Act, which permitted states to enact right-to-work laws, to ban union shop agreements between labor and management. The House passed the bill, but in the Senate it ran into a filibuster, but it was later signed. It failed to get even a majority vote on a vote to shut out debate. If you shut off debate you have to have 2/3 vote, and even then, the opponents weren't able to get a majority vote to shut off debate. So it was shunted aside. And I voted not to

Fong: shut off debate because I felt that the states should be allowed to permit a person to work, and not to force him to join a union.

Chou: Senator, you've received union support throughout your Congressional career. What kind of input did you receive from labor groups involving this bill?

Fong: Well, any time when there was a labor bill, I'd get all kinds of communications from the AFL-CIO, the ILWU, all the various lobbying groups, and all the labor groups, asking me to vote for these bills. Now, my vote has always been for what I thought was fair and right.

Chou: There've been people who said you were beholden to the labor vote in Hawaii.

Fong: Not when you look at my record. When you look at the record you begin to realize that my record is strewn with things that were entirely against what the ILWU wanted.

Chou: Yes.

Fong: The ILWU will tell you that. And so, as far as I was concerned, my vote was--I wouldn't say anti-labor--but there were many, many things which I voted for which labor didn't want.

Chou: Yet they continued to support you, by-in-large.

Fong: They did because they felt that I was reasonable in what I did with my vote. They knew I was a Republican; they knew that there were certain things that I stood for. They knew that when they wanted anything that dealt with what they themselves wanted in particular, that when this was reasonable, I would want to help them to secure it.

Chou: This was the pattern you had followed when you were in the territorial House. When labor came to you, particularly when you were Speaker of the House the last six years of your term in the legislature, if you felt the legislation was good, you would see that it would pass.

Fong: Yes.

Chou: Apparently this is what they sensed in you, when you were in the Congress of the United States--that they could still get through to you....

Fong: They could talk to me--anybody could talk to me. My doors were always open. They didn't need to call in and say, "Give me an appointment."

Chou: Oh, is that right?

Fong: Oh, yeah.

Chou: I wondered how you ran your office, Senator?

Fong: My office was always open. People came in--walked in. They'd come in, and say, "I want to see the Senator if the Senator is in." They could come right in. I never turned anybody away.

Chou: Senator, that was extremely difficult to do, in terms of your busy schedule, wasn't it?

Fong: Yes, yes.

Chou: How were you able to juggle all of this?

Fong: Well, I was able to see them, and talk to them. And I always listened. And I never turned anyone away.

Chou: That's really interesting.

Fong: Even if I knew that I would vote against a person's wishes, I would tell him so.

Chou: You would hear the people out?

Fong: I would hear them out, and then tell them how I felt. And they would be thankful that I was sincere with them--frank with them. If I was not for a thing, I would tell them right off the bat that I'm not in favor of it. Many times my constituents wrote and asked, "Let me know how you stand on this." At the time I wouldn't know, because I had not heard the arguments yet. I couldn't write them and say, "I'm for this," or "I'm for that." I don't want to tell them and then later on change my mind. I would say I would consider it. I would consider their thinking and consider their request, and I would listen to the arguments.

There are so many things that the Senators, as individuals, don't know about. There are many things that must be researched. On many issues, there's no such thing as right or wrong. I've got to look at the good arguments, both for and against. I've got to look at the whole picture before I can really make up my mind as to how I will vote. Therefore, when a

Fong: bill comes up, and people write me, "Tell me how you're going to vote on it," I wouldn't be able to tell them. If I know the subject pretty well, and it doesn't need much research and I already know what I should know about it, then I would tell them that I would either vote for it or against it. But, many times, I'm not able to tell them, because I don't have all the facts. Many of the bills are not from my committee; they come out of other committees. Then the bill, when it comes to the floor of the Senate, will probably have a lot of amendments. You see, people don't understand that.

Chou: It can change. The bill can change.

Fong: Yes. One little amendment will change the whole bill. Then people will criticize: "Oh, you said you'll vote for it, but you didn't." I may not have voted for it because of an amendment. Then they might say, "You lied." I've got to be very careful.

Chou: Yes.

Fong: So, I tried not to put myself in a position where I have to tell them beforehand, because I haven't heard all the arguments. I always listen carefully to the debate on the floor of the Senate; sometimes a new argument comes up on the floor that I never thought about. You see, we are not all so smart that we know every angle.

Chou: Particularly so if it hasn't come in through your committee.

Fong: Yes. Sometimes the facts are put in a more succinct manner, so that the implications become clearer. Other times, I may have known all the arguments but they didn't sway my thinking. Then illustrations and things like that are introduced. I might begin to realize that, yes, that's a very telling argument.

Chou: It's evidently very important to be on the floor of the Senate during times of debate.

Fong: Yes, but we usually just don't have enough time, you see. I have my staff on the floor, listening to the debate, and they tell me what was going on, what the arguments were, and so forth. Sometimes, we have too much legislation, and very little time for us to really ponder over these things.

Many times an amendment comes up on the floor, a bell rings, and we didn't even know that the bill is up for a vote. The Majority Leader brings the bill up,

Fong: we debate it, and then the bell rings and it's time to vote on it. We sometimes wonder, "What is this bill all about?" Our staff advises us, "Well, this is amendment so-and-so," and so forth. Then we have to make up our minds right there, how to vote. Sometimes we vote wrong--no question about it. Sometimes I feel, that if I had had enough time to think it over, probably I may not have voted that way.

Chou: Are there any of those that you recall particularly?

Fong: No, it happened very seldom. I thought I had voted most of the time correctly. Maybe once or twice I probably might have voted the other way, if I had had a little more time to think about it. But, with what I knew at that time, I think I voted right.

Chou: Can you recall which ones of these...?

Fong: No. I think most of the time I did vote right.

Chou: They didn't have to do with any of your own committee bills?

Fong: No.

Chou: You never changed your mind, or your thinking about, your vote on those?

Fong: Yes, I did.

Chou: Do you remember if they had to do with education or labor?

Fong: No. Most times, it was on amounts of appropriations.

Chou: I see.

Fong: The questions were, maybe I should have voted another ten million dollars, or should I have voted less money, and things like that.

Chou: I see. Would you recall whether your vote was in favor of additional money, and later on you felt that you should not have voted for the additional appropriation?

Fong: Most of the time, probably I didn't vote for the money.

Chou: The other way.

Fong: The other way.

Chou: I see.

Fong: Things like that. But it wasn't very....

Chou: It was not so much the issue, as the amount of money.

Fong: Yes. Not too important.

Chou: Senator, is there anything else, for the year 1965?

Fong: No, I think I've covered it.

Chou: It was a very momentous year for the nation, and for the world.

Fong: Yes.

Chou: Thank you very much.

Interview Number 4, Senator Hiram Fong

Fong: In 1966, we had several key votes in the Senate. But usually, many of the more important items that come before the Senate are passed without debate. Most of the votes concern amendments to bills that come before the Senate. Although the substance of the bill may be acceptable, various amendments are introduced to the bill dealing with certain aspects of it. In 1966, for example, in the Supplemental Appropriation for U. S. Military Operations in Southeast Asia, there was a Mansfield Motion to table Senator Morse's amendment to repeal the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, which authorized all necessary measures to prevent aggression in the area. This motion was passed and the tabling motion of Mansfield succeeded, by a vote of 92 to 5. I voted to table the Morse amendment to repeal the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin Resolution.

Chou: What were your reasons for voting that way, Senator?

Fong: Originally we had gone into Vietnam on the theory that it was vital and necessary to our national interests.

Chou: I see.

Fong: And I continued to see it from that standpoint, that a viable South Vietnam was necessary to the free world, and that, if Vietnam goes, other nations would go. I think I have been proven correct, because, when we got out of Vietnam with our tail hanging down, we suffered a tremendous defeat there--where we should have won, or should have come to an agreement in which our dignity could have been preserved. But, the liberal senators and congressmen's vote, and the sentiment in the colleges against the Vietnam War, were such that many of the senators who supported Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson saw a chance to torpedo the actions of a Republican President. Of course, 'way in the background, was the control of the White House. It was thought necessary to disparage the actions of the Republican President, to make him look as ineffective as possible. It was a constant thing with the Democrats.

Chou: You're referring now to Eisenhower as President?

Fong: No, to Nixon's Presidency.

Chou: To Nixon as President. All right.

Fong: Actually the Vietnam build-up was started by Lyndon Johnson, although Kennedy had built it up a little and Eisenhower started it, somewhat. It was Truman who actually started it, with Eisenhower following. But these were very, very small actions. But Kennedy started it from a real standpoint and Johnson really proliferated the number of people that went to Vietnam.

Chou: Yes, I understand that.

Fong: Nixon was trying to conclude the war in the most honorable way he knew how. The liberals continued to snipe at him; they backed him up for a while but then, later on, because of the riots and because of the various protests that were engendered on the campuses and in the cities--the demonstrations that followed--and many of our people did not want to continue waging the war, they began to get away from the support of the President's program. And in that light, they finally did not provide for the sinews of war--that is, money--appropriations. And you can't carry on a war without appropriations.

It was that which caused us to, humiliatingly, leave the Vietnam scene. And we lost our credibility in the Far East. But, more in the background, was this feeling that they should disparage the President. Because he was a Republican President, many of the liberal Senators who had voted with Johnson, took a different attitude towards Nixon's approach, which was to continue to give our boys on the field the necessary material to fight a war. And, when they finally cut out the appropriations, or reduced it to such an extent that it was almost impossible to carry on a war, we had to get out.

Chou: I see. Do you think of it, then, as a political, changing thing?

Fong: Much of this is very political. Yes. Yes.

Chou: How much of it, do you think, was influenced by popular feeling against Nixon as a person, rather than as a Republican?

Fong: I don't think that it was engendered against the President as a person. The President had been very successful in foreign affairs. It was this Vietnam war that was the real cancer in our body politic. I could sense, because he was a Republican President, they did much to disparage what he accomplished.

They couldn't allow him to conclude the war in an honorable manner. I can lay the blame on Congress--the blame for the Vietnam debacle is really on the shoulders of the Congress. The President did not lose the war; it was the Congress that lost the war.

Chou: I see.

Fong: It was the Congress that refused to vote the appropriation--refused to give him the sinews and the wherewithal to continue the war. The President could make war--presidents have, from the beginning--and, although we have curtailed their powers, the conduct of foreign affairs is in the Chief Executive's hands.

Chou: Yes.

Fong: But the appropriation comes from the Congress. And if Congress does not appropriate the money, then what can you do? You're not going to leave our boys out there to be shot in half like clay pigeons. So we lost the war in that respect. I would say that the bigger picture, in the eyes of the liberal Democrats, was that they wanted the White House back. And they were willing to--although it may sound treasonable--they were willing to do a lot of things, which they felt and said were dictated by their conscience. But actually I think that--I could sense that--this was to secure the White House.

I voted not to revoke the Tonkin Resolution because I felt that we had to stay in, we had started it; we had to stay in and we had to win it, or come to such a compromise that we would get out with dignity. And if South Vietnam fell to the North Vietnamese, then you're going to have Laos fall, Cambodia will fall, and Thailand would be threatened, and now it's showing up. Cambodia has continued a reign of terror there, Laos is in the hands of the Communists and Thailand has been pushed some more by Cambodians. And the surprising thing is the South Vietnamese are fighting the Cambodians. But, regardless who wins there, it's a Communist philosophy. So the "domino theory" is working somewhat, in that respect.

From 1966 on 'til the end of the war we had this constant fight on reducing the appropriations. Then there was a second supplemental bill to delete certain sums from the Military Assistance Act. For example,

I voted "no" on the Church amendment to reduce the authorization in the Military Assistance and Sales Act by one hundred million dollars--from eight hundred and ninety-two million to seven hundred and ninety-two million, although it was accepted by a vote of 55 to 37. You see, the liberals were continuing to cut down the appropriation for military assistance, cut down the appropriation for helping our allies in the defense picture.

There was a big airlines strike at that time and we passed the airline strike bill: (1) requiring the striking airline machinists to return to work for 30 days; (2) authorizing the President to appoint a special board, which would automatically trigger another 60-day back to work period; and (3) providing that, on the recommendation of the board, the machinists could be ordered to stay on the job for an additional 90 days. This resolution was passed by a vote of 54 to 33. I voted for that because [the strike] was detrimental to the national interest and I voted for the bill.

At that time, the first of the rental bills came before the Senate, to provide rent supplements to renters of property. I didn't think that we should embark upon a new program like that because it was an open-ended thing. Pretty soon you're going to have a lot of people asking the federal government to help them in their rent. And, as a result, why, we appropriated quite a big sum for that part of our program--to provide supplemental rental help to people where 25% of their income does not reach the rental required by the landlord.

Chou: Do you think this encourages high rents, Senator?

Fong: Yes, it encourages high rent, it encourages a lot of people to--not to earn as much as they could; it encourages the people to take it easy--to not work as hard. If the government is going to help you pay your rent, well, why should you work to get more so that you will have to pay your rent yourself? And I didn't think that we should embark on this program. But it was passed and it still is a program which we are paying very dearly for.

Chou: Do you think it encourages people to live beyond their means?

Fong: Well, there are some people who really need help, in that they can't meet their rents. But, by providing for this, you really encourage a lot of them to reduce their income. Or they make more but they won't report it. They do defraud the government. And you can see that.

Chou: Oh, yes. There's no question about it.

Fong: There's a lot of cases where they take advantage of it. The administration of that type of program is such that, almost every month you've got to find out whether the man has made more than what he should. He's not going to tell you, usually. It's quite difficult, administratively. Those people who run these houses, which are under that program, for example, have got to make out all kinds of reports. And, again, you use a lot of manpower for doing things which could be channeled into more beneficial products.

Chou: It just encourages more paper work, in other words.

Fong: Oh, the paper work is tremendous in that kind of an administration program.

Of course, there was the Civil Rights Act which came before us, to ban discrimination in the selection of jurors and in the sale and rental of some housing, and to protect Negroes and civil rights workers. This was a question that came before us and, of course, there was this huge filibuster and there was a motion by Senator Mansfield to stop debate. And I voted for that, in accordance with my feeling for civil rights.

Chou: You've been consistent on all of that, haven't you, Senator?

Fong: Yes. I have been consistent.

There was a vote on Senate Joint Resolution 144, with a Dirksen substitute, proposing an amendment to the Constitution to permit voluntary prayer in public schools. There had to be a 2/3 vote to propose a constitutional amendment, and I voted "yes," that we should allow prayer in public schools. I don't see anything wrong in having prayer in the public schools. If a person doesn't want to pray, why, that's all right. That's for him. Overwhelmingly, the number of people believing in God, far, far outnumber those

who are atheists. We don't say that they have to be Christians to pray to God--they can be Buddhists and they pray; they're Taoists, they pray to their Supreme Being. I don't see the harm in allowing prayer. I think it's a good thing to believe that there is a Super Power and that He's watching over you and that whatever you do, you have to be accountable to Him. I think it makes for good citizenship. But, somehow, the purists--the Constitutional purists--feel that this is violating the Constitution. The Supreme Court has ruled that there can't be prayers in public schools. But I think the Constitution should be amended and I don't think the Supreme Court is correct in that respect. But, if the Supreme Court is correct, then we should have a Constitutional amendment to allow prayers in the public schools.

There was a bill, also, to increase the federal minimum wage, in stages, from \$1.25 to \$1.60 an hour. Well, \$1.60 an hour is not too bad. There was another amendment to make the \$1.60 an hour wage effective on February 1, 1969, a delay of one year from the timetable provided under the bill. And I voted "no" on that; I thought that it should go into effect sooner. But, now that the minimum wage has been increased up to \$3 and something, per hour, I think that's going to do a lot of harm to the younger generation, because many of them will not be able to find gainful employment. Businessmen are not going to hire them, because young people will not be able to produce enough to justify the minimum wage. One of the big problems facing us is teenage unemployment. In some cases, it runs up to 16%, whereas the usual unemployment rate is around 6.5% or 7%. For the teenagers, the unemployment rate is sometimes double that. For some of the minorities, sometimes it doubles that. So here you have young people who are not able to find gainful employment, so you have quite a number of them resorting to crime; quite a number of them have to depend on welfare for a living. And I think that this minimum wage is such a high amount that it is one of the real causes for this type of unemployment.

Chou: We spoke earlier about the fact that small businesses would find it difficult to hire people at the higher minimum wage.

Fong: Yes. I feel that we should allow the marketplace to set the standard. Of course we should have a minimum,

but the minimum should be such that a \$1.60 minimum is all right. Most of the people can pay that. But now that they've pushed it up to \$3 and something--\$2.65, \$2.75, \$3.00, \$3.10, \$3.15--you're going to find many, many businesses that will not be able to pay that. Many housewives will not be able to pay a domestic \$3.15 an hour. For example, a domestic working in your home--\$3.15 for eight hours, eight times five is forty, now carry four, eight times eight, twelve, two,--\$25.20 a day. Can a housewife pay \$25.20 a day? And then, over and above that, she has to pay part of that social security coverage. She has to pay social security--half of the social security required and the employee pays half of it. Then she has to take out unemployment compensation in Hawaii--she pays that insurance. Then she has to pay a temporary disability insurance--if employees get hurt outside of the work, they are taken care of. Then they pay the unemployment compensation tax. Now, if I were a housewife, I wouldn't hire a domestic. So what have you then? You have another unemployed person. When you have so many households that will not hire a domestic--say for part-time--or continuously--you have unemployment again. So, the situation is such, it not only affects teenagers, it affects a lot of women--women who, many of them, are not able to secure any other job except to work in households. We have quite a number of women who come in as immigrants. Many people came in a long time ago as immigrants, and they have not learned the English language fluently so that they could be used as a salesperson or in other jobs where they have to meet people. So, the only work that they can do is housework--and they are willing to work. But the lady of the house has to pay \$25 a day plus all of the other things that go with it, and then she has to make a report, she has to send the money in to the Unemployment Compensation Bureau, she has to send the money in to Social Security Bureau--through a central agency like the bank--and she has to provide insurance for them. You know, it just taxes the capacity of the housewife! Many of them just throw up their hands and say, "I'm not going through this bother." And there you have another phase of our unemployment problem.

Chou: Of course in 1966, as you mentioned, the minimum wage of \$1.60 was reasonable. And you did vote for that.

Fong: Yes. Yes. But now it's gone up to such an extent that it's rough.

There was an amendment by John Williams of Delaware, to delete the provision permitting a taxpayer to designate \$1.00 of the annual tax payment for a fund to finance national parties' presidential campaigns. I've always been against the national funding of campaigns. I don't think the federal government should be in there, funding national campaigns. Everybody thinks that he's got a chance, and as long as he can raise \$5,000 in each state, the government will fund him. Now, as a result, you've got a proliferation of candidates and the government is called upon to finance quite a lot of those campaigns. Now they are talking about funding congressional campaigns. Then you'll have a lot of people getting into the campaign, where they didn't have a chance at all, just to get their name before the public, to get all the publicity they can from a free fund provided by the federal government. I've always been against the financing of presidential campaigns, as well as congressional campaigns.

Chou: What about the poor, very capable individual who needs some help in order to be encouraged to go ahead and seek office? It's a terribly expensive thing to run a campaign, Senator, as you well know.

Fong: Yes. We should have a limitation.

Chou: A limitation? On spending?

Fong: Yes--limitation on spending. And that will take care of it. Let's say that you can only spend up to \$20,000. Now, if a person has any kind of a background at all, he ought to be able to raise that kind of money.

Chou: I see.

Fong: Say \$100,000 or \$50,000, whatever it is, for each office. Under those circumstances, I think we could give every man an opportunity to seek office. But where you have limitless amount of spending, where, just for the House seat, like Congressman [Cecil] Heftel spending a half a million dollars, just for the House seat, why, naturally, most people can't contest that kind of spending. He outspent candidate [Fred] Rohlfing by almost three to one. So, in his case, money spoke very loudly. But if Heftel had had a limitation of, say, \$100,000, then everybody is on equal footing.

Chou: I see. In that sense, it would be much more democratic.

Fong: Yes.

Chou: To provide for a ceiling, rather than for . . .

Fong: Funding.

Chou: . . . funding.

Fong: Yeah. Otherwise you've got the government paying for everything. It seems that the philosophy of many of the people in Congress is to, well, let the government pay for it. But, eventually, it has to come from the taxpayers. We were already in the hole at that time by probably four hundred billion dollars. Now we're eight hundred billion dollars in deficit. And it is fantastic! The question is, "how are we going to pay that?" This causes a lot of inflation and, with inflation, the poor suffer more. Therefore, you have again a national problem. Unemployment prevails, inflation takes away the earnings, takes away the savings of the older people, and the government will have to help. This proliferates the type of bad situation we're in.

There was a Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966, authorizing demonstration city grants for community review, incentive planning grants for orderly metropolitan development, and other programs relating to housing and urban development. There was a Tower amendment to delete the bills authorizing nine hundred million dollars in grants to demonstration city projects for fiscal 1968 and 1969, leaving for the program only twenty-four million in planning funds. It was rejected 27 to 53, but I voted to cut down the authorization of nine hundred million dollars in grants to demonstration cities, because I felt that the amount was a little too large. You see, the federal government is putting its nose into a lot of the matters which actually should be the province of the state and the city. Some states don't even have an income tax; some states don't even have an inheritance tax. Because they don't have the wherewithal to continue certain things, the city deteriorates and the state deteriorates. Then the federal government comes in and says, "Okay, we'll help you." Now, some states don't need any help; they can handle it themselves. To provide money for the states when we are already

in such a bad predicament, nationally (as I pointed out, we were at that time probably four hundred billion dollars in the hole and we are now eight hundred billion dollars in the hole)--you begin to wonder where is the end of all this. Where is the end? You say we'll knock down all the slums and we'll put up housing for the poor.

In my experience, we have this project here which is in the center of town, bounded by Vineyard and Nuuanu Streets and School Street; all that was torn down. I was then in the legislature of the Territory of Hawaii and I was then Chairman of the Judiciary Committee. Nils Tavares came to see me about having a bill passed so that we could have urban redevelopment. He said that the people who had their homes in there would have the first chance of acquiring their property back--have the first chance of living in there. And, on that say-so, I pushed a bill out for him. But I was sadly disappointed; later on they didn't live up to their word. They built housing for--not for the poor people--but for the middle class. And, before you can get in there, you've got to pay about two hundred some-odd dollars in rent. With that kind of experience, I wasn't too favorable toward putting so much money in this type of work and this type of program, although I felt that there was some need for it.

But we shouldn't provide so much free money that we will have the national treasury in such a deficit that we will not be able to get out of it. Now the supporters have slowed down, because they just felt that they can't afford to do as much as they thought they would.

Chou: Did you ever think that the Congress should take an active part in, shall we say, advising the states to take hold of more of their own functions than they were doing?

Fong: Well, the problem with Washington is that you've got a lopsided Congress. By that I mean, it's too heavily populated by Democrats. Looking at it from the Senate standpoint, which I'm more familiar with than the House, you've got 100 Senators. When you have 66 Democrats versus 34 Republicans, and each Democrat gets a sub-committee chairmanship or two or three sub-committee chairmanships, if he hasn't got a full committee, and then he's provided with a hundred,

two hundred, three hundred thousand dollars to run the sub-committee, naturally his staff goes out and looks for all kinds of work to do.

Chou: Projects to sponsor?

Fong: All kinds of projects, yes--to make his senator look good. As a result, this is where the cost is coming from. They poke their noses into everything, where it was the state's or the city's or the county's prerogative. It was their responsibility; we are now injecting ourselves--the national government--into that phase of the work, which we have no business doing. Yes, we could help, but, once we get in . . . You start a program small, pretty soon it gets to be such a large program that billions of dollars are poured into the program. And, as a result, your budget keeps on accelerating, so that your deficit keeps on increasing.

Chou: You're saying that some programs, once started, become self-perpetuating? You can't stop them?

Fong: You can't eliminate them because you've got so many people who have jobs . . .

Chou: Dependent on this program.

Fong: Dependent on it. And you have all the mayors and all the governors saying, "this is money from heaven."

Chou: Yes.

Fong: This is money which comes from the federal government. Politicians build up their political machinery. Take, for example, we have money provided for our summer jobs.

Chou: Yes.

Fong: So the mayor goes out and he gives the jobs to these people. Then they are beholden to him. Then, when he runs for office, he sends them tickets to his fund-raising campaign to buy. Oh, yes, this is done. No question about it.

Chou: Oh, yes, I'm sure it is.

Fong: And if they don't buy it, the next summer they won't get jobs. So the federal government helps mayors--

helps the incumbent--to really get reelected to office.

Chou: Unwittingly, in many cases.

Fong: Yes. I, as a Republican, was smarting under that, because here we have all the counties in Hawaii--all Democrats. But, if Congress was distributing the money, I had to go get my share, because I represented the people.

Chou: Oh, yes.

Fong: And sometimes, I would say, I could almost be a Doctor Jekyll and Mr. Hyde personality over there, because every dollar that I brought into the state was used by the Democratic incumbent to really help himself. Of course, eventually, the money came down to the people.

Chou: Oh, yes.

Fong: Yes.

Chou: Some people.

Fong: Well, it came down to the people who really worked. But, the man who distributed the money, takes all the credit.

Chou: Yes.

Fong: He doesn't say this money comes from the federal government. He says, "I gave you the job." And it ensconced him in the office. You see? So, as a Republican, trying to build up the Republican Party, I could see that I was building up the Democratic Party. So I had to decide, early in my career, what should I do? Shall I fight it and not give them the wherewithal to help our people here? Or shall I try to get as much money as I can? So I looked at it from the standpoint that I was a Senator for the whole State of Hawaii, not only for the Republicans. Whatever was good for my state, if there was money to be given out, I was going to get it, even though I was helping the political future of my Democratic opponents.

Chou: I see. Was it a difficult choice to make, Senator?

Fong: At first, it kind of bothered me. At first it kind of bothered me. But, after I thought it out, I said I was the senator of the state--that they looked to me to get as much money as I could. The reason was that every dollar that comes to the State of Hawaii turns over three or four times. If I can get fifteen million dollars for the state, it means a two hundred million dollars boost to the economy for the state. You see? If \$50 rolls four times, before it finally ends--three or four times--and then it develops an economy of two hundred million out of fifty million. If it was a hundred million, it would become four hundred million. You see how that money helps the state?

Chou: I can understand that. Are you saying also that, being a senator, you have responsibility to see that your state becomes equal in receiving the benefits from the legislation that was passed?

Fong: You try to get as much as you can, because that's what you're there for. I had to look at my responsibilities--not look at it from a partisan standpoint.

Chou: I see. Do you think that was a sentiment prevalent among all the senators?

Fong: I think eventually they had to look at it from that standpoint, yes. Even though they gripe about it, they do it. That's why my office--from the beginning then, once I cleared my mind about it--went for every dollar we could get--even though it went to the Democratic mayors of the cities, or the Democratic governor--to dish it out and build up their political machines.

Chou: Yes.

Fong: And my office was open to everyone, regardless of party. It was amazing how the mayors and the governor--especially during the Republican administrations of Ford and Nixon and Eisenhower--came to our office and asked us to do a lot of things for them. Mayor Elmer Cravalho picked up the phone and called me on the phone.

Chou: From Maui?

Fong: Yes. My letters to John Burns, Governor--I would say every week there were four or five letters--to [Governor George] Ariyoshi were four or five letters. We would keep them informed . . . I had a good staff.

Chou: Yes.

Fong: Mrs. Thompson, who was my administrative assistant, was a crackerjack. She constantly kept them informed, asked them for their opinions as to what to do. When I announced my retirement, many of the administrative officers in the city and county and in the state and in the various counties said that they wished I would not retire, because I was giving them such good service.

Chou: I've heard that from several other people, Senator. That's very interesting.

Fong: Yes, they still say, "Gee, I wish you were there, because you gave us very good service." We treated everybody alike, although I'm a Republican and I fight for the Republican principles. But, when it comes to my state, I'm out there trying to get every dollar I can. Because it means prosperity in my state.

But, as I said, the fundamental problem with the Congress is that it's lopsided. If we had a more equal distribution of Republicans and Democrats, we would not have so many sub-committee chairmen. You see, they would give every senator--democratic senator--a sub-committee chairmanship. So, if you have 64 Democrats, and you give each of them three sub-committee chairmanships--say they're entitled to three committees there--you have 192 sub-committees. Now, if you reduce that to 50--say you had, say 51--then you can reduce that to 153. You see the number of sub-committees that will be eliminated?

Chou: Yes.

Fong: And then there would be a stronger Republican group to hold down many of the other appropriations. And then there would not be such a big deficit.

Chou: Yes. What you're really pointing out is that, in the past, the sub-committees have gone out to actually look for work.

Fong: Oh, no question about it--to justify their existence. Yes, every sub-committee has a Chief Clerk, and a Chief Counsel, and they've got to justify their jobs. They're not just going to sit on their fannies and do nothing. So they say, "Well, here's a good

project that my chairman can handle." So they go out and, naturally, impinge upon the responsibility of the states. And then, when you appropriate money, you've got to put strings attached to it--the money.

Chou: Create more work.

Fong: And create more work and more paper work. And you get a proliferation of letters from those people who are in positions in the state, in the counties, in the cities, who have been receiving this money and dishing it out. They have their followers working in various positions. And then you have the people who are working writing to you.

Chou: Oh, yes. I wondered if you heard directly from your constituents about these jobs.

Fong: Oh, yes. No question about it.

Chou: They're protecting their jobs?

Fong: They're protecting their jobs. And then, when you've got 50 of them writing to you--each one writing to his own congressman and writing to each senator--you can see that you don't eliminate any jobs.

Chou: Yes. You just feel that pressure constantly.

Fong: Yes.

Chou: From all over--to continue a program. What do you see as a logical solution to this, Senator?

Fong: Well, we try to iron that out by a budget committee. It's going to be difficult to cut down the number of committees. But, eventually, every Democratic senator is going to ask for his committee.

Chou: But the Republicans would, too, Senator.

Fong: Republicans, no, don't have a chance.

Chou: They don't have a chance?

Fong: No, because they're not in the majority. The majority takes all. The majority gets all the chairmanships. I was only a ranking member. I've been there 17 years and so many months, and I've never been in the majority. I've been just a ranking member of a

committee. As ranking member, I did have a few people working for me, no question about it. They had to give me some help.

Chou: Oh, yes, yes.

Fong: But they didn't give me in proportion to the number of Republicans versus Democrats. They just gave me a token number. Many times the Democrats took 70% or 80% of the jobs, and gave us 20% or 30% of the jobs.

Chou: So you're left with slim pickings then.

Fong: Yes. There's no democracy in it.

Chou: I see.

Fong: There's no democracy. Now, take for example, when the question came up as to whether the three Republicans on the Rules Committee of nine members (six Democrats, three Republicans) could call a witness in the Bobby Baker investigation. They were outvoted six to three every time. When it came before the Senate, they wanted to be able to call a witness and, by almost straight party line vote, the Republicans were annihilated. Ignominiously. Ignominiously annihilated. The poor three Republicans couldn't call a witness. So, how can you have an investigation?

Chou. I see. So, in a sense, there is a tyranny of the majority in Congress?

Fong: No question. In the Congress it's so noticeable. It's so noticeable. Now, Watergate was able to proceed the way it went because there was a Republican president, and there were Democratic committees. Democratic committees called the witnesses and they carried on the investigation. You see? With Bobby Baker and Lyndon Johnson, there were Democrats in control who didn't call anybody. They were only going to call the favorable witnesses. This is the problem you have. So, when you talk about democracy, there's very little democracy in the Senate, when it comes to politics like that.

Chou: Do you foresee any change in the internal structure of Congress to permit for greater representation for the minority Senators?

Fong: No.

Chou: No.

Fong: No. They're not going to be so charitable. The majority's not that charitable. Unless there is a strong minority that will hold up everything . . .

Chou: Well, for a long time, the filibuster did, in effect, accomplish this.

Fong: The filibuster accomplished this, but then you had a few liberal Republican senators who were trying to out-liberal the Democrats. They voted on the other side--you see--so, it's difficult. Just because you're a Republican doesn't mean that you're going to have a conservative, a middle-of-the-road . . .

Chou: A moderate? Yes.

Fong: Yes. You have some Republicans that will out-liberal the liberals.

Chou: I think their voting records will show this.

Fong: Yeah, their voting records will show that.

Chou: Yes. Javits and some of the others.

Fong: [Clifford] Case.

Chou: Case.

Fong: Yes. Senator Brooke. So, therefore, you can't count on all the Republicans. And then you have Southern Democrats, who are more conservative. You can count on that. But when they broke the 2/3 vote to make it 3/5, you had a hard time. But when it came to patronage, when it came to committee chairmanship, the Democrats all stuck together, North and South.

Chou: It must have been frustrating for you at times, Senator.

Fong: It was tremendously frustrating. Very, very frustrating, yeah, to see how the vote went. The only instrument we had was the filibuster. That's why I changed my attitude on the thing. I was quite liberal in the beginning and I voted for the 3/5. I voted to invoke cloture. Then I changed on that, because I felt that we weren't given a chance, and that the only chance we had was the filibuster.

Chou: There had to be some voice for the minority regardless of party.

Fong: Yeah. As long as the people vote the way they have been voting, we're not going to have much change.

Chou: Do you see that the Republicans are beginning to pick up a seat here and there? Nation-wide? That the pendulum might begin to swing?

Fong: It's difficult, because there are so many people who are Democrats. They belong to the Democratic Party. The number of people belonging to the Republican Party has diminished. Also there are more people now in the independent ranks, although they are more inclined to be Democrats. As a result, it is going to be a very difficult situation, until such time when we have spent all the money and can't spend any more. Then we probably may face a turnaround. But, when you look at countries like England, for example, they get worse and worse. It's a bad situation, and getting worse.

People are asking for more and more. They want more. Everybody has his own pet project. A man says, "Save on this; why do you spend so much? But, gee, give me what I want." One sees that all the time.

Chou: I understand.

Fong: And it is a selfish game; this political game is a very selfish game. Everybody wants his share. Everybody says, "Give me, give me." So, it's difficult. That's why the President is always having a hard time. You know, there's so many issues, and it's all so complex, that he makes a lot of enemies all the time. No question about it.

It's hard to be President. The question comes up now, really, can democracy survive? Can government be run in the democratic manner in which we think it should be run? You know, the people in Asia--many of them say, "No, you just can't do it. You can only have so much democracy, and that's about all." In America you've got too much democracy. You get to a point where everybody's speaking up. Everybody has his own opinion and not everyone will give up his. They forget that majority rule continues and the minority refuses to go along.

Now, you can see examples of this all over town. They [the minority groups] just sit down, they demonstrate. Every little, small group will demonstrate, will take possession of our office, won't move, and police will have to carry them out. This is the kind of attitude they are taking now. And they take that attitude in every political situation, more or less.

Chou: So, you probably foresee a greater time of turmoil ahead of us, before any change can really be effected?

Fong: Well, I can see turmoil all the time. But, I suppose, that's democracy.

Chou: You wouldn't have it any other way, though, would you, Senator?

Fong: I wish that our people will get (and yet, I can't say educated--because the educated ones, in the universities, you know, they protest a lot)..... I wish they would have a feeling of respect for the other man's opinion. If the majority says so, let us say we object. But let us not object to such an extent that there'll be riots, there will be civil disobedience, there'll be actions in which force is necessary for deterrence. If we can only discipline ourselves to that extent!

We pride ourselves in that we are educated in our democracy. And yet, in the last few years, you begin to wonder whether we now have gone back on that. There was a time when people accepted authority. Now they reject it. They look down on it. The politician is a crook. Well, they think that he is a crook. And his attitude on the political scene is such that he says, "I won't have anything to do with it, because it's no good." So, he has a fatalistic attitude about these things. Now, if everybody would say, "I will try to put the best man in office, and when he makes a law, let's obey it and try to change it by proper procedure."..... If we can get to that point, or continue from where we had left off, and be a little more circumspect in what we do, maybe we could get over this crisis. However, more and more you see people demanding their rights--demanding that government do certain things--demanding privileges which others don't have.

Take, for example, this conflict of possession--of the ownership of property. People refuse to respect the ownership of property, saying that, "No, I won't move

because you have raised my rent. You can't raise my rent." Now, the government raises the taxes on them. Our water bills have gone up. Administrative costs are going up. When rents were raised, they said, "No, we won't move." And when the government condemns a building, saying that it's unfit for habitation, they say, "No, you've got to find us another place to live." You see, the question is, "Is government formed to take care of every need of yours? Or do you owe it to yourselves to find things for yourselves?" Now, the people in Chinatown, PACE, have refused to move because they say that government has not provided another place for them to stay. Now, the question is, "Can government do that?"

Chou: Or should government do that?

Fong: I don't think government can do it, because government hasn't got the wherewithal to do it. Of course, Governor Ariyoshi bought six million dollars worth of property in Waiahole. The question is, "Should he have bought that?" Now, what about other people who have to be vacated? Is he going to buy those homes for them? I think it was a very poor precedent. So, this is what you're talking about.

Chou: Where should government remain within the guidelines

Fong: Well, Abraham Lincoln set it forth pretty well. What people can do for themselves, they should do for themselves. What they can't do for themselves, then government should come in and help. But government shouldn't come in and try to go all the way. Government should help to a certain extent and let them help themselves to a certain extent. And this is the Republican philosophy. But that hardly gets votes!

Chou: Well, we've talked earlier about the fact that it's impossible to legislate morality or any of the values which a human being has. That's impossible to legislate.

Fong: Yes. Now, I just read in last night's paper that, in Bobby Baker's book, he says President Lyndon Johnson said that . . . something about Hubert Humphrey. You know, Hubert Humphrey was eulogized very, very extensively for being a humanitarian. Lyndon Johnson says Humphrey's lucky that he didn't become President, because he didn't know how to say no.

Chou: That's in Bobby Baker's new book?

Fong: Yes.

Chou: Yes.

Fong: "He doesn't know how to say no."

Chou: Well, you alluded to that the last time, that whenever there was an appropriation bill coming up, that Mr. Humphrey would advocate more money be pumped into that program.

Fong: Yes.

Chou: That's interesting that it should come from Lyndon Johnson, as reported by Bobby Baker.

Fong: Yes. He said that Humphrey talked so fast that sometimes he didn't know what he was talking about. This is what Bobby Baker wrote.

Chou: That's interesting. I guess it's very difficult to know when to draw the line when one wants to help others. But, I think, Senator, with your business background, that you looked at the spending in Congress quite differently than perhaps some of the others.

Fong: Well, I know, for a fact, that government hasn't got all the money to do all the things it wants to do. Very few families in the United States have all the money to do everything the children want, or what the parents want. Yeah. The more you give, the more they want.

I don't need a yacht, but, I suppose if I had the money, I would have a yacht, and have a crew waiting there, even if I went on a cruise only once a year. I don't need it, but if I could have it, probably I'd have it. Or I would have a railroad car all for myself--or an airplane all for myself. I don't need these.

But, the government just hasn't got the money for all these things. So, therefore, we don't have them. Now, government has to get the money from the people. And when you take more than half of their earnings away from the people--from many of them--you kill incentive. There was a time when we were taking 90% of the income of certain people. Maybe at that time we didn't

differentiate between earnings and other income, although now we have a ceiling of 50% of earned income and 70% of income like rents, royalties, and things like that. . . . Dividends. When the government takes away 90% and leaves them only 10%--through taxes and the state taxes on top of that--where is the incentive to work? Many of these doctors and lawyers affected were working two days a week, or three days a week. Then they'd go fishing, because there was no incentive to work. But now that we've reduced that kind of earned income to 50%, now they say, "well, if I make a dollar, you know, fifty cents goes to government, fifty cents comes to me. That's fair enough; that's not too bad, see. But when you take away 90% or 70%, you take away quite a lot." can only get so much from them. And, when you take too much away from them, you don't have the savings to--for capital investments. As a result, you don't have jobs--new jobs. So, there you have problems.

Chou: It seems as though any discussion regarding human nature just goes 'round and 'round; that there isn't much that Congress can do about legislating human behavior.

Fong: Yes, but the people that are elected to Congress, you know, they could control their people--control that. But as I said, so many people say they are Democrats. So their representatives just vote their party line. The poor Republicans don't have a chance in that respect.

Chou: Well, maybe the Republican Party has a lot of hard work ahead of it.

Fong: Oh, no question about it. They have a lot of hard work ahead. But the question is, can they surmount that kind of built-in membership in the Democratic Party? And there's the difference in philosophy. Actually, [to succeed] the Republicans should outspend the Democrats, saying, "Okay, you asked for a hundred million, we'll give you two hundred million. You ask for three hundred million, we'll give you four hundred million." Well, then the voters will say, "Oh, these people are humanitarians."

Chou: You mean, beat the Democrats at their own game?

Fong: Beat the Democrats. But their conscience won't allow them.

Chou: Oh, I see.

Fong: I could be a hero to many of these people. Just give them more, give them more, give them more--and buy votes that way. But, my conscience won't allow it, because I don't think that's the way to run a government. However, you have a lot of people who will do that, just worrying about how they're going to be reelected. Well, I don't know whether my liberal colleagues will agree with me or not, but this is what I think.

Chou: Yes, Senator. I'm happy you shared your views.

Fong: After three terms in Congress, and having a background in business and in law, and knowing what others have to go through--what a businessman has to go through--I think I have certain insights into things that others don't have. There are very few businessmen in the Congress--very few people who have had business experience and know what it is to meet a payroll, what it is to meet expenditures. And so congressmen have used the public coffers as a bottomless pit. There will always be money to be shoveled out. But there isn't that kind of money really available.

Chou: We talked earlier about people meeting their own needs and then what they couldn't meet, the government might do. That's what Lincoln said. How do you get people to realize that they really have very few basic needs, Senator?

Fong: It's difficult, it's difficult. You have the movies, you have the T.V.'s, you have the media to show that other people are living better than they are. Therefore, the expectations of people continue to grow. Like the developing countries, they're not satisfied with the situation. They see what the developed countries have and they want more. The question is, can the developed countries provide the developing countries with more? And it seems that the developing countries feel that the developed countries owe them--that they have of responsibility of bringing them up.

There was a time when the black men were demanding millions of dollars from the churches, because they said that they were responsible to do it. That has subsided somewhat, in our local community and in the national picture. You do find that idea prevailing in the third world--that developed countries have a responsibility to see that they get to be developed.

Now, the question is, if they're all developed countries, how is the world--how will the world be?

You have Japan, for example. Its labor was cheaper than ours, so it was flooding the United States with textiles. Then came along Hong Kong and Singapore, with cheaper labor, flooding Japan. Now we have Korea and Taiwan underselling them. And they are facing the same problems we are facing.

Chou: Japan is?

Fong: Yes. They are facing the same problems we are facing because their mills are closing down because there are cheaper products coming in. Our textile mills were closing down because the Japanese products were coming in, the Hong Kong products were coming in. So, I don't know what the situation's going to be. I don't know how you're going to be able to solve that problem. Of course, we might have cheaper energy, if we could harness solar power, if we could develop power from water, from, say, separating the hydrogen in water and using that for power--if we could use geothermal power (which is constant). Take, for example, the waves--the temperature--the difference in temperature between the bottom of the ocean and the surface of the ocean, like out in Hawaii, where you go out for about a mile and you can go down about 2,000 feet, there is a temperature change of about 40 degrees. Or we could harness wind power effectively. I think we could eliminate--knock out all the poverty.

Chou: All over the world.

Fong: All over the world, yes.

Chou: That's interesting, Senator.

Fong: You see, with solar power, you could desalinize salt water. If you could desalinize salt water, a lot of land could be reclaimed. Vegetation could grow. Many of these places are arid, don't have water. But there's salt water there. Now the energy cost is too high for them to desalinate water.

I think one of the biggest means toward a better world would be cheap power. Whether it would come from the sun, the wind, the ocean, or cheaper fuel to be generated through wood process, sugar, weeds, wood, whatever it is, is not clear. Now, if that could be done, I think we could grow enough food for all the

world. Very few people would go hungry.

Of course, we would have to hold the numbers of our population down, which we are now doing. Countries like China, for example, where before it was just proliferating--more people, more children, more sons--now have a contraceptive program for the family. Now they're limiting the number of people. When we first talked about appropriating the money for the undeveloped countries so that they could keep their population down, they thought we were committing genocide--trying to hold down their population--kill them all. But now they're beginning to realize that it is to their good that they hold down their population. Abba Eban, who was the Foreign Minister of Israel, said that Egypt would be better off if it had only half of the population it had. With that tremendous population, with the land only arable along the Nile River, Egypt has a problem feeding its people. It would be more viable as a nation if it had half of the population.

If we could hold down population, with more education, with cheaper power, and with the world trying to help each other without all this fighting and one nation trying to be superior to the other, [we'd all be better off]. If Russia would only cooperate--if Russia and China would both cooperate--as we are doing. The United States is pretty altruistic.

Chou: I believe so.

Fong: We are pretty altruistic. We don't want to control the world, we don't want to grab power from other people, we want the world to be in peace. We are following that concept. That's why it's difficult for us to deal with a nation like Russia, which says one thing and does another thing. There's no sense for them to continue to proliferate the number of their warships and their submarines and all that. What does it show? It shows that they're preparing for war, you see. They talk about having disarmament talks and yet, on the other hand, they are working to build up their machinery. If we could only eliminate the amount of money that goes into defense, we would be saving that money for a lot of socialistic programs, for education, for welfare, for health purposes. Imagine now, if you could just delete all the appropriations that go for the war machinery, in every country. What could you do with that money?

There must be a re-thinking of mankind. A League of Nations, A World Court; the United Nations have been very partisan. There's got to be a re-thinking. I hope that mankind would look at it from that standpoint. But there are nations that will not look at it from that standpoint. And so, therefore, we have to remain strong, to keep secure what we believe in.

I've always believed in a strong defense. That's why I've always voted for appropriations to be secure, because, in this world, you look at another man's capabilities, not just listen to what he says. He may say one thing and do another thing. The morality of nations is such that they could be very immoral. Today they talk about morality, tomorrow they can justify their immorality. The reason is that they have to continue to exist. We've got to look at what they are capable of doing. And then we've got to be able to resist that capability.

I've always stood for a strong defense--always felt that we shouldn't have gotten out of the Vietnam situation the way we did. We should have backed the President up and should have won a victory there. Then we could have established a more permanent peace, or we would have been able to work out a stalemate, so that at least we could preserve what we were thinking about [when we entered the war]. But this way we were driven out and we forsook our ally, South Vietnam. We began to lose our credibility.

And now the question comes up about China: Shall we forsake Taiwan, one of our strongest allies? South Korea and Taiwan have been our two strongest allies. We haven't got any ally as strong as those two. Of course, Europe has always been a strong ally of ours, but many times they go contrary to what we are doing. Taiwan and Korea have been very faithful in that respect. They've gone along with us a long, long way, more than our European allies have. Now, are we going to forsake that? Just because Communist China has eight hundred million people. If we did that, would we be forsaking all of the things that we have stood for? Liberty, justice, freedom, dignity of the individual! These are the things that we Americans have got to think about, rather than saying, "Well, 16 million people in the Republic of China don't represent the eight hundred million in Communist China. Because there are eight hundred million people, we should then recognize them."

We recognized Russia and what did they do? She just made a lot of trouble for us. As I said, leave everything alone. The matter between the two Chinas is irreconcilable. One is a capitalistic system, the other is a state system. One has to give way to the other. And which one would give? Taiwan would have to give, because it is smaller; they're not of equal strength. If we were to recognize Communist China and forsake our ally, the Republic of China, eventually the People's Republic of China would have to move against Taiwan because it would lose face in the world. To the Chinese and the Japanese--the Oriental--face is a big thing. You can't tame a recalcitrant province. You're just a paper tiger. Recognition forces the People's Republic of China to move, and if it moves, there'll be a war, because Taiwan has a very viable military establishment. It could put five million people in the military.

Chou: Today?

Fong: Today, yes. It could put five million people in the military. China would have to come over and take it over but they don't have the ships. There would be a big war, and if you have a war there, what is Russia going to do? Is Russia going to sit still? If what Haldeman says is correct, that Russia wants the United States to help knock out the nuclear power of China, [we'll be drawn into war]. There is that continuous bickering between Russia and the People's Republic of China on the border question. China regards Russia as an entrenched enemy. What is Russia going to do? If Russia moves, what is the United States going to do? We would be in a world conflict. So, as I said, leave everything alone. Let time solve it. For the present, it's irreconcilable. Let time solve it and see what can come out of it.

Naturally, as an ethnic Chinese, I would like to see the United States recognize Communist China. It would give dignity to the eight hundred million people and I, as a person of Chinese ancestry, would feel that it is a recognition of the ethnic group. But when you look at it from the standpoint of Taiwan and Communist China, and look at it from the standpoint of an American who believes in justice, who believes in fair play, who believes in individual dignity, who believes in the capitalistic system, how can I say, "Disregard all those things just because I'm an ethnic Chinese, and normalize our relation with China?" I just can't.

Chou: I understand.

Fong: Yeah. This is my thinking on the whole situation. It's a difficult thing, as an ethnic Chinese, to say not to normalize relations, unless I lived in Taiwan, where my life and my future were at stake. But as an American, standing aloof here, what do I do? Do I hang on to the sacred things [American principles] that we have stood for? Do I forget about that, and say let's be practical? Recognize them because 800 million people represent a nation? Is it a de facto thing? So, it is difficult, and that's why you have a lot of people of Chinese ancestry keeping their minds to themselves. They're not expressing themselves --especially the Americans of Chinese ancestry. Naturally, any ethnic Chinese would like to see a normal relationship, if we didn't have this problem of trying to subjugate Taiwan. They hope that, by normalization, that China will be more humanistic in their attitudes, that they would regard the human being in a more dignified manner, that they would respect individual freedom and the rights of the individuals. Maybe then we could go along with normalization. But when you consider that they're going to subjugate Taiwan, they're going to take Taiwan, even by force, then you begin to hesitate.

Chou: Senator, there has been some discussion that, actually, in Taiwan, there is not as much individual freedom as we might expect to find there. The Chiang Kai-shek regime has been called rather authoritarian.

Fong: I have visited Taiwan many times. I have spoken to people in power. I know very, very personally the Prime Minister Chiang Ching-kuo. I know the President. He is one of the most kindly men I know, Dr. Yen Chia-kan. I've talked to the Taiwanese: for example, Governor Hsien Tung-ming, who is a Taiwanese, the Magistrate of Pingtung, who's Taiwanese. They all respect him. They all say that he is a wonderful individual and a good leader. Their standard of living has been raised. They know what they can expect from Communist China if Communist China came over. People have defected from Communist China and told them the situation that exists there. They don't want any part of Communist China. Yet, some Taiwanese, naturally, want independence. There's no question about it--like the Hawaiians.

For example, some Hawaiians want independence. They want to restore the monarchy. You see? But the great majority of them do not. The great majority of

Hawaiians don't want independence. They want to be American citizens. And the greater number of Taiwanese don't want to be independent. They want to stay as they are. They have good leadership now, and the standard of living has been raised. And they find that Dr. Yen Chia-kan is a very reasonable man. He goes to their parties, to their functions. Now he will have a vice president, who is a man who was born in Taiwan. So, they are beginning to be integrated.

Naturally, when you talk about having a democracy as we have it in America, you want to analyze the differences between the two countries. Here you have 16 million people on an island which is only a few miles from the China mainland. Within minutes, the airplanes of Communist China could be over it. In fact, China has fired their guns on some of the islands--they're that close. Now, if America had an enemy that close, and this enemy is going to devour us, how much freedom do you think you will have in America? If we were a small nation? America can afford to be magnanimous, because we are big. Yeah. We could afford to give a lot of freedom to our people.

Look at a place like Singapore, for example. They say that Lee Kuan Yew is very dictatorial. Well, sometimes he has to be, because he has a city state. If there is a riot in the city, everybody is affected. The whole state consists of about 200 some odd square miles--less than 300 square miles, I think. In America, all of Hawaii can riot, or all of New Hampshire can riot, all of California can riot, and it wouldn't affect the nation much, because we are so large. So, therefore, the democracy of which we speak must be a different kind of democracy for Taiwan's needs or the democracy that Singapore must have. You've got to look at it from a different standpoint. We cannot judge everybody by our own standards! If we judge everybody by our own standards, there will not be any who can meet our standards. In other countries, the electorate is not as educated as ours, they do not have the history that we have had, the

Chou: The experience with self-government, too?

Fong: The time since the Magna Carta--the 1500s. We've had 400 years of this type of democracy--that is, as an inheritor of the British type of governmental system. We've had a long, long history of democracy. Because of our resources, of which we have a tremendous amount,

because of the vastness of our area, and because of the small number of our people (in comparison to the population of China or India), we could afford to develop a type of democracy which is indigenous to us. But to say that other countries must have the same kind of democracy we have, is asking too much.

Chou: Well, it's unrealistic, isn't it?

Fong: It's unrealistic, yes. But the democracy that the Taiwanese enjoy is a democracy of which you can be proud. There is no dictator telling them what to do. There are free elections. Of course, the Kuomintang is dominant, but like the Republican Party is dominant in the United States.

Chou: Democratic Party, you mean.

Fong: Yeah, the Democratic Party is dominant in the United States, and in the State of Hawaii, where they've got all the mayors. Republicans don't have one-third of the seats in the Legislature. Now, would you call that dictatorial? So, I say, as an observer, that there is a lot of freedom in Taiwan. Look at the way they go after sports, for example, the way they go after music, the way they go after art, the way that they provide for their people, and the way of the standard of living of the people. They have leisure time, and all that.

Interview Number 5, Senator Hiram Fong

Chou: Senator Fong, today's news contained an item about the retirement of Senator James Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi, who is Chairman of the very powerful Judiciary Committee in the Senate. I wondered if you would like to speak to the acquaintanceship and the working [relationships] that you have had with Senator Eastland?

Fong: About two years after I went to Washington, approximately about 1961, I became a member of the Judiciary Committee. Senator Eastland was already chairman of that committee. During the 15 years of my association with him, we became very, very good friends. It's amazing how friendly we were. Many, many liberals really detest Senator Eastland because of his conservatism, and his stand for Southern rights and the opinions of the South, which were against the liberal thinking of the North. I think he got along with me much better than many of his Northern colleagues.

Chou: Why do you suppose that was, Senator?

Fong: Because I was of a conservative mind in many of the issues. Whenever it came to a decision on some of the very important issues that came before us, I usually found myself voting with him. So he knew that I was not a radical, nor was I an out-and-out liberal, but I was moderate in my views. That gave him an insight into the person that I was. He spoke very highly of me, as you know. Many times people would come to me and say, "Senator Eastland thinks the world of you." And he showed it. Every time we were together he spoke very kindly to me, and we discussed various things.

He was quite a very, very democratic chairman. He would let anybody speak. The committee was carried on in a very informal manner. There was an agenda, of course, bills that would be approved. He let the staff do most of the work in the immigration bills. The staff would recommend approval or disapproval. The staff was a very, very efficient staff and had been there a long time. Usually we didn't question the staff work and we would approve it or disapprove it. When it came to claims for big sums of money, he would assign different people to work on them. Once he assigned me to represent the Republicans and another person, I think it was Senator Burdick, to represent

the Democrats. We decided as to whether the claim should be paid or shouldn't be paid, and the committee took our recommendation. When the claims were big, we discussed them. But when the claims were not as large, why, he would assign them to us to do all the work. Much of the work was done on a staff level, or on one-senator-to-another-senator basis. But, in the committee, although we had an agenda, somebody might say, "Mr. Chairman, I wish to bring up House Bill Number So and So, or Senate Bill Number So and So." Eastland would say, "Go ahead." He would then turn to the staff member who had handled the bill and ask the staff member to report on it. Or the senator who asked to be heard would make a statement and it would be verified by the staff member. Then he would say, "Are there any objections?" If there was no objection, it passed. It was that informal--very informal.

Chou: Did this surprise you, this informality of the way he handled...?

Fong: Yes, it was very, very informal. Actually, if you wanted a thing badly enough, and it was not a matter concerning real policy, or if it did not involve a tremendous amount of money, you could get it passed in that committee. (laughter) So, I got quite a few things passed in that committee.

Chou: Were these immigration bills?

Fong: They were immigration bills and there were bills that dealt with claims, the statute of limitations, and with various other things--crime and things like that. You see, the Judiciary Committee is a very, very large committee. It has the biggest appropriation of all the committees. And, let's see, there were 17 on the committee and there were about ten Democrats and Seven Republicans. And every Democrat had a committee. (laughter)

Chou: (laughter)

Fong: I remember once Senator [John V.] Tunney came in. He was new then but he had to have a committee. And he was trying to name his committee, so that it wouldn't preempt the work of any other committee. And he had a hard time, (laughter) because most of the work was preempted already, see? So, finally, they gave him a committee and restricted his jurisdiction. And then he got a large appropriation. And that's the reason why I say that, if we could cut down on the number of

committees, we'd be better off with the Senate. But every Democrat has to have a sub-committee and he has to have a chief clerk of the sub-committee, and he has to have a counsel of the sub-committee. And you can see how that can proliferate.

Chou: Yes.

Fong: They will have to do something to justify their existence. Well, Senator Eastland was able to get these appropriations for his committee and, from that standpoint, we had a lot of patronage in the committee. I think most of my patronage was in the Judiciary Committee.

I had good people serving with me on the Judiciary Committee, so that my work load was lightened quite a lot. Senator Eastland sometimes was very abrupt; although he was very democratic, he was very abrupt. He would cut debate off and say, "Let's have a vote." And we would vote. But he was also very, very deferential; he deferred to the wishes of his members. If you really felt a thing strongly enough, he would give you all the time to really fight for it, or he would postpone a decision. If a matter is brought up before the Senate, and a person asks for a one-week delay, it's always granted, automatically. Eastland would consider that the matter was before us for the first time, and so he would defer action. Many times we would hassle over one thing; we would hassle over and over, and never come to a vote because of the difference of opinion. Then we'd try to get the two parties who were fighting each other to compromise. They usually would sit down and compromise on the matter; then we would look at it, and pass it.

Chou: Can you give me an example?

Fong: For example, take a crime bill. The penalty was such that the people who wanted a bigger penalty would insist on that penalty because they felt that this would deter the criminal, whereas men like [Philip] Hart, and men like [Edward] Kennedy would want a lighter sentence. They they would argue, and then somehow they'd compromise, and things would go through.

In the matter of judges, for example, the number of judges--and what should be in the Civil Rights Bill; in the registration of patents, and copyrights, and things like that. You see, it all depends on how you

look at these things. That's why much of the work is to compromise. Many times a matter does not come up on the floor of the Senate because the members are all in dispute; they can't get the votes to get it out. Senator Eastland would let the bill languish for a while and all of a sudden the bill would come up. All these sub-committees send their bills up to the full committee. Actually, sometimes you don't know what's coming up, because you're not on the sub-committee.

I was Ranking Republican on the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, which Senator Eastland kept for himself. He was the chairman of that subcommittee also, although he was chairman of the full committee. I was Ranking Republican on the Committee on Refugees and Escapees; Senator Kennedy was chairman of that. And I was on the Committee on Patents and Copyrights and Trademarks. I was second Ranking Republican on that one. I was on the Constitutional Amendment Committee as Ranking Republican. In all of these committees I had staff members, so you can see how many staff members I had. I would say maybe one-third of my staff was really Judiciary Committee appointments. As a result, the appropriation given senators for staff members is exceeded by additions that you can get from committees--so I had quite a lot of patronage in the Judiciary Committee. Eastland was not a man of many words--he was a man of few words--and it was very seldom that he spoke on the floor of the Senate. When he spoke, why, he made short speeches, but he carried the power of being the Chairman of the Judiciary Committee.

Now, when it came to the selection of judges for the district court, Eastland always deferred to the senators of the state. Now, if a senator says that he doesn't want a fellow, usually the appointment doesn't get through. He usually wanted to have the two senators agree on a choice. If the two senators agreed on the judgeship there would be no trouble, and it would go through. Of course, first, the Justice Department must recommend it. But the senator would recommend it to the President, and the President probably would talk to the Justice Department and the Justice Department would then ask the FBI to make a check on the individual. Then when the President is satisfied that the FBI check is all right, he sends the name up.

Sometimes we get nominations for judges who do not have the qualifications. That's when we have a big fight. (laughter) The American Bar Association always want to inject themselves into an appointment. Sometimes the representative of the American Bar Association in the state may not like the individual, and then says that he's unfit. For example, I had a case over here where the representative probably told the American Bar Association the person didn't have enough experience, and so they said that he didn't have enough experience. Then, naturally, the President didn't want to move on that.

But, in the matter of judges, Senator Eastland was very, very careful not to destroy the power of the senator. By allowing the senators to name the judges, he gave them tremendous power and authority. He strengthened the hand of the senators by doing that. Of course if there is a fight between two senators, usually the matter is held up for a long time (laughter), until somehow, some agreement is made; then it goes through. I have never seen a fight between two senators of the same state.

Chou: Oh, you haven't?

Fong: Yeah. Usually the two senators will come in and say, "Okay, we're both for the individual."

Chou: They will have worked it out before?

Fong: They'll work it out somehow, or they'll give and take. But since I was the only Republican from Hawaii, why, Senator Inouye usually went along with me.

Chou: You were the senior senator.

Fong: Yes. And he went along with me. The President, being Republican, naturally did the appointing. But that's why you've got to have a president of the same party. The President appoints the individual and then the confirmation comes from the Senate.

I was surprised that a news article stated recently that he [Senator Eastland] would seek re-election, because in all my talks with the senator from Mississippi, he said that this would be his last term. He told me long ago that it would be his last term. We discussed questions of retirement because I had announced that I would retire, and that things were not as happy as we would have it in Washington.

Everybody was looking down at you. They would scrutinize you from top to bottom. There was very little privacy left, and the Club had been not as jovial or as congenial as it was before. There were quite a number of these activist senators, and once they make up their mind, why, they won't compromise, in many instances. So Senator Eastland wasn't too happy with that situation, either. You know, they constantly picked on him because he has a big cotton plantation and he is on the Agriculture Committee.

Chou: Did they think there was a conflict of interest at some time?

Fong: Subsidies were given to cotton growers and he received a subsidy also. They constantly picked on him. But it was like rain water over a duck's back--he just didn't say anything. I was really surprised when I heard that he was going to seek reelection. Then somebody told me the reason why he would seek reelection [was] because he was trying to prevent Senator [Edward] Kennedy from taking over the chairmanship, because Senator Kennedy is very, very liberal and many things would change with Senator Kennedy as Chairman of the Judiciary Committee. But I just read in this morning's paper that he would announce his retirement. Also in the article was a story about former Governor [William L.] Waller, who was going to challenge him. And, one of the statements made by Governor Waller was that, instead of having a six-hour man there, you can have, I think it was sixty-hour man, or something like that. He said that he would bring a lot of things back to Mississippi, and he would fight again to raise Mississippi from the bottom of the economic status to the way it should be. Of course, a man 73 years old, [like Eastland] to carry on a campaign in the primaries against a former Governor, would necessarily have to campaign a lot, work hard, and whatnot. I presume that was the deciding factor in his decision to retire. He would be 74 if he took office again. In six years he'll be 80 years old. He should have some time for himself. A man who's around 70 years old shouldn't seek any more offices. Of course, he was strong for his age and I think he could have done the work efficiently. But, when you get to be 70-some-odd years old, you get tired at times. And I think it's time for a man to retire.

I was very sad to see my friend, Senator John McClellan, die in office. He died at the age of 81. He had talked to me about retirement and said that he wished he had not run for office that last time. He said that the Senate was not the way it was before, and sometimes there was very little honor in being a senator (laughter). Everybody thinks that there is something crooked going on underneath (laughter).

Chou: Getting back to Senator Eastland, do you think that what Waller said was a fair assessment of the time that Eastland did actually spend--six hours a week? --and you would want somebody 60 hours a week. You wouldn't think that six hours a week was what...?

Fong: No. No. He was chairman. He was chairman of a committee. I would say 90% of the time he was there. Very, very seldom was he away from the chairmanship, and he answered roll call. Sometimes I was very surprised that he was so diligent in answering roll calls. And he actually put in the time. And he worked very well with the Presidents--whether the President was a Republican or a Democrat--he worked very well with the Presidents. And I think the Presidents thought well of him.

Chou: Will you be sending him a telegram or writing him on the occasion of his retirement?

Fong: Well, I'll see what he says. Yeah, I'll write..... He's a very good friend of mine, and he paid me a fine tribute when I retired.

Chou: Yes, he did. Thank you. Would you like to start today on the year 1967, Senator?

Fong: Yes.

Chou: What were the key pieces of legislation in which you were involved?

Fong: In 1967, we had several key matters that came before us. Naturally, the Vietnam War Appropriation Bill was before us. It was a four and a half billion dollar supplemental defensive authorization. In 1967 everybody was still with the feeling that Vietnam was strategic to our national defense. The bill passed with a 72-19 vote. We had the problem of the censure of Senator [Thomas J.] Dodd.

Chou: Excuse me, Senator. On the Vietnam bill, you voted...?

Fong: Yes. I had always voted for appropriations to carry on the activities in Vietnam and to support our fighting men in the field. You send them to battle, you've got to provide them with the arms, the ammunition, and the wherewithal to fight the enemy.

Chou: This was consistent with part of your...

Fong: I know it's consistent throughout. When we failed in our appropriations in latter years, I was very disappointed because it meant that we were sacrificing our people and did not give them the wherewithal to fight a war which we got them into. That was a very, very big disappointment for me. And, as I always said, it was the Senate and the House of Representatives that made the United States lose the war and caused us a tremendous loss of prestige around the world, and especially in the Orient. Our credibility has been questioned since that time. I think that that has been one of our biggest foreign blunders. We could have ended the war, even with a stalemate, and if we had supplied the money for the fighting men. But the majority of the Congress was so anti-administration and so pushed by many of their activist constituents, that they thought that was the proper thing to do--to end the war, regardless of what happened. Just bring the boys home, and let South Vietnam fall. You know, you encourage people to stand up against their enemies, you get Cambodia, you fight the enemy. And then all of a sudden, you pull the props from under them. Now, that's about the worst thing that any nation could do. And we did it. This will be a very dark page in our history, and I, for one, regret very, very much that we did that. I was always strong for a large appropriation to come to an honorable settlement. We could have won the war, if we had gone in and hit the enemy fast and hard. But President Johnson didn't want to do that; he thought that by making concessions from time to time the Vietnamese would just give up. But he didn't understand the oriental mind. And, in this kind of a situation, you've [got] to beat them, beat them hard. They were on the verge, really, to talk peace, but when we weakened at home, naturally that gave them a lot of encouragement. It was our own people who really defeated us. It was not the Vietnamese. So I was always constant in my support for larger appropriations for the Vietnam conflict.

Chou: How do you see that we might reverse this trend in the Far East, Senator?

Fong: I don't know how we can reverse it. I think the thing is almost irreparable. We don't command the respect of the nations of the world now. Actually, many of them--many of the nations regard us as a paper tiger, especially with President [Jimmy] Carter there. He talks a lot, but takes no action. The Russians are testing him out now. Although he tells the Russians certain things, he doesn't move. When the Cubans went into Angola, we could have gone in there and helped. But instead we let them go and now they're well entrenched there. See, we were so tired with Vietnam that we forgot that there are other places where we should make a stand. And of course, it means sacrifice of lives, but, as a nation, you just can't say that we will not ever get into a war. I mean, you just can't do that, because there's your enemy and he's pushing and pushing and pushing and pretty soon, if you don't watch out--like, now stories are beginning to appear how the Russians have surpassed us, militarily. If they threaten us, what are we going to do? When Carter was running for the Presidency, he said that he would cut defense appropriation by five billion dollars. But what did he do? He saw the situation when he went in there and began to realize that he couldn't cut out five billion dollars. Instead he added to it. He added to the appropriations of the Defense Department. This shows you the situation that we are being confronted with by the Soviets. They're building warships, they're building carriers, they're building submarines. And they have ICBMs that outnumber [ours]. We have to keep ourselves strong militarily to preserve the peace. If we are weak, we're not going to be able to preserve the peace at all. And, even though it's costly, it's one of those things that we have to upkeep. As I said, if we all could be living peacefully in this world, and did away with all the money we spend on armaments and military forces and pensions for the Armed Services and hospitalization and all that, we could do a lot of things for the people. But we live in a very practical world; we live in a world which some dictators want to dominate and some nations want to dominate and want to be superior to others, although we are not in that class. We covet nobody's property; we just want to keep on trading and be peaceful. But there are other nations that do not follow that line, so we have to be strong defensively, and even be able to carry on a war if need be. We do not build our armies to fight an aggressive war, but a defensive war. I don't think that we will try to create a war, or try to engage our enemy in a war unless they start something. We will always try to talk to them.

Now the SALT negotiations have bogged down and the Russians talk one way and they act another way. It's difficult to really negotiate with people who say something and then disregard the treaties that they enter into. This is the type of world that we are in. We look at the capabilities of our enemy rather than what he says. If he says that he wants peace, and yet he keeps building on his Navy and his Army, then we say that, "Well, we'd like to take your word, but your word doesn't go along with what you're doing. So, we've got to keep on building to match what you have." I say that the Vietnam debacle was one of the saddest pages in our history. Yes, we were defeated; no question about it. But from the standpoint of credibility, from the standpoint of losing all that we stood for--to stand by your allies, to be strong with them and not to desert them--we actually deserted South Vietnam, no question about it.

Chou: Do you feel a lack of moral commitment?

Fong: Yes, we were immoral in that respect. We urged them to fight and then we ran away. It is a sad page in history. Another matter that came before that Congress was the censure of Senator Dodd. Senator Dodd had used some of his campaign funds for his own personal benefit. The question was, should he be censured or not. The vote was 92 to 5 to censure him, after a long, long investigation. Afterwards the facts were brought before the Senate, in closed session. And I voted, along with the majority, to censure him. Money that has been contributed for elections should not be used for personal benefits. Of course, it's so easy for an individual to divert some of the funds for his own political purpose, but Dodd did it a little too much. (laughter) If he had done it just a little, he could have gotten by.

Chou: Sort of a glaring error, do you think?

Fong: Yes, I think he did. But his son, now, is in the House of Representatives. So I don't think that they--[the] people of Connecticut--

Chou: Held it against him?

Fong: Held it against the family or held it against him too much.

Chou: Did you, at any time, waiver in your decision to censure Dodd?

Fong: Dodd was a very good friend of mine. He was very friendly; we talked a lot. But, the situation was such that it was almost difficult not to be with him, although he had a few friends who stood by him, like [Senator Abraham] Ribicoff, who came from the same state. Naturally, being from the same state, he would not fight him. Then there was Senator [Russell] Long of Louisiana, and Senators [Strom] Thurman and [John] Tower who did not vote to censure him. But I thought the right thing was to censure him. It was not a very, very severe penalty, although to a senator it's bad. But a censure--a man can live with it. I went along with the majority in censuring, because I thought there were sufficient facts there to call for a censure.

We also had a Truth-in-Lending bill in that Congress. It required that consumers who borrow money, or make installment purchases, be informed of the true cost of the loan or credit, prior to the completion of the transaction. The bill had no dissenters at all; it passed the Senate 92 to nothing. That was a good bill, because anybody who borrows money or anybody who enters into a contract, should be told the truth. There is no reason why anything should be hidden from them. We had a...

Chou: Oh, Senator, I know that your firm, Finance Factors, was started to provide loans--industrial loans primarily--and, with your business background, then, you found no difficulty in voting for this particular Truth-in-Lending bill?

Fong: No, although it made us print new forms, and put more information in them and subjected us to a lot of little petty suits because our print was smaller than [it should be] (laughter). You see, it's things like that, sometimes, that rile you. Although you have conformed in every respect, they say that, well, this print should have been larger than the other print, and things like that.

Chou: It's a matter of format, are you saying?

Fong: Format, yes. Then you get many lawyers who don't have much to do, who would harass you with such things like that. But the whole idea is a good one. I voted against it.

Chou: Oh, you voted...

Fong: Yes.

Chou: ...for it.

Fong: For it. I voted to pass it.

Chou: Yes.

Fong: We had a railroad strike at that time and things were getting very, very bad. It was a nationwide strike and the national security was being jeopardized. And the strikers and the company couldn't come to an agreement. So we passed a bill to force them to agree that their special mediation board's final recommendation would become binding on the 91st day after enactment, if no agreement had been reached by the parties themselves. There was a Morse amendment to the bill, and it was accepted 68 to 21. Naturally, many of the members who were strong labor people objected to it; they never wanted to force anybody to go back to work when there is no collective agreement. But we were in such bad straits at that time that something had to be done.

The question of strikes is getting to the point now where it jeopardized the economic strength--the economic viability of our nation. Now we have a coal strike, during one of the most severest winters that we've had. The miners have refused to go back to work. The President invoked the Taft-Hartley Law, but he wished that the members go back voluntarily. And the union says that they would defy the Taft-Hartley Act. The President is just marking time. You begin to realize that there is a tremendous weakness in our labor laws, when a group of miners could so threaten, or so endanger, the whole economic system of our nation. Now, the car manufacturers say that they can only exist for a certain time if they don't have coal. Steel makers will not be able to produce steel. People who need heat can't have the heat in their homes. Many utilities that burn coal find that their supply is exhausted. So, the whole nation is affected. Yet, under the present laws, we are almost powerless to act. Now, something should be done to eliminate that kind of a serious threat to our economic life. Railroad strikes, bus strikes, aviation strikes, coal strikes, steel strikes--many of these things are so vital to our economy that we have to have something done. Whether arbitration is a means, I don't know. Arbitration usually compromises things. And if we are going to have an economy that will not be inflationary, probably arbitration is not

the thing. The unions are always asking for more and more, and if they don't have more, they strike. Even when only a few companies are involved the whole nation pays for it.

You actually have just two parties deciding what the third party will have today. Take for example, the maritime strike. The government is not in there. It was a strike between the company that owned the ships and the strikers. Now, because the company can raise the rates afterwards, who suffers? It is the people who suffer. I think, in all these situations, we should have the consumer represented. The consumer should be in there, and the consumer should have a stronger voice than the owners or the workers, especially in those industries that affect the whole economy. In government, the people who work for government shouldn't be allowed to strike. I don't believe that teachers should strike. I don't believe that government workers--city, county, state, federal--should have the right to strike, because they perform essential services that need to be carried on. If you keep on having strikes in all these key places, we're going to be in eternal chaos.

- Chou: What happens if there's a safety factor involved? Like in the miners' strikes, Senator, when they say that they believe some of their working conditions are quite unsafe and if they'd be forced to go back to work before the unsafe working conditions are taken care of, then it would be at the peril of their lives. Money is not the only consideration, but it is also these other factors, such as safety.
- Fong: Well, I think matters like that could be arbitrated.
- Chou: Those, you think, could be arbitrated?
- Fong: Yeah, I think that could be arbitrated. I think that OSHA...You know, we do have mine inspections, that can be taken care of by the government, by patent laws that deal with safety factors. But, when it comes to money, then that's another problem.
- Chou: How would you implement your idea to have the consumer represented on the various conferences or boards, let's say, that would govern or deal with any strike threat?
- Fong: I think there should be a bureau.

Chou: A bureau?

Fong: Yes. Of trained people, who would have to look after the public's interest. Now, the public is so scattered that they're not united in their efforts. I think there should be a Bureau that should look after that. Of course, the question is a big question--one faction may look at it one way and another faction would look at it another way. But I presume, if you had very expert, trained bureau personnel--expert trained business personnel--you probably could define the limits of whom you represent. I think it should represent the great majority of the people, and yet regard the minorities' rights also. I think there should be a group that says, "We just can't pay this; we just can't pay this."

Chou: How would you determine the members of this bureau?

Fong: That would be difficult. Of course, many bureaus are run by a person who is appointed by the President.

Chou: I was going to say, usually they're appointive positions.

Fong: Yeah. You can't get away from politics, that's the bad thing about it. You can't get away from politics, although we have tried to do it with the Comptroller, for example. We appoint him for 14 years. And then members of the Federal Reserve Board are appointed for about 12 years, something like that. The chairman is appointed every four years. Then they are devoid of politics somewhat, even though they were first appointed, politically. We could have a long-term individual to be head of this bureau, whatever, commission, or board, to represent the interests of the people. Maybe the Justice Department could be a part of it, I don't know. They go after monopolies and all that. But there is one monopoly which has not been touched--that's labor. One wonders whether there should be some provision, relative to the monopoly of labor.

Chou: Is this idea of having a bureau to represent the American citizen something you've discussed with fellow senators?

Fong: No, I have not discussed that with anybody. But, from time to time, some senators have talked about it, as to what should be done. But, not being on the

committee--Labor, Welfare and Education--why, it is not within our jurisdiction. You see, as I said before, the Committee of Labor, Welfare and Education is a very liberal committee. You have Peter Harrison, who's the Chairman of that committee; he comes from New Jersey. He's backed by labor, 100%, very strong with labor people, who raise a lot of money for him. The second ranking member, I think, is Senator [Edward] Kennedy. Then the Republican, who is the Ranking Member, is Senator [Jacob] Javits from New York. So here you have three great labor people.

Chou: You've mentioned that, even though Javits is a Republican, he's really a Democrat in disguise (laughter). A liberal Democrat, at that.

Fong: Oh, yes, he's very, very liberal in that respect. Legislation that comes out of the Labor Committee has been such that it's very difficult to pin labor down.

Chou: I see. That's an interesting concept and, Senator, maybe someone in the future will pick up on this, and we'll see what might develop from it.

Fong: Well, you can see the chaos that we are in. We're in a mini-recession. Where we expected that this would be a good year, it started out to be a very bad year economically.

Chou: It certainly is.

Fong: Look at the number of people who are put out of work because a few people would hold up the progress of certain activities. Now, take for example another bill, which I voted against, which allowed any small contracting company employees to hold up the whole project, just because they couldn't come to an agreement with their employers. Now, why should a few men--say 20 men--hold up a project where you put three, four hundred people out of work? What right have they to do that? Why should they be given that kind of power? You can see the pressure that is being put on the employer in that kind of situation. And every day that they delay the work, it means a payment of thousands of dollars in interest; that interest cost is running. When you consider that money costs nine to ten percent, and, say, you have a ten million dollar project, you can see what it costs per day to be on strike.

Chou: You'd have overruns in no time.

Fong: Oh, yes. In no time. The question that comes up now is, "Who cares to get into a situation like that?" It deters people from investing. Then you create unemployment. You see, you've got to give capital an even chance to make a profit. If investors don't see that even chance, or they see that they have a chance of losing, they're not going to chance it. Many of the people who have the money, don't have to keep investing, especially when government takes a lot of it from them in taxes. Many of them say, "Well, it's better for me to buy municipals [bonds]. I don't have to pay any taxes on municipals--just forget about it. I have enough money to live on." However, there are a lot of people who want to do things, even though they don't have money. They want to provide employment, and they want to see things being done. We should encourage that, not discourage it.

Chou: While we're on the subject of strikes, Senator, would you comment on maritime strikes in Hawaii? What you feel about them?

Fong: Oh, yes, I was very strong in really barring strikes of our maritime industries, as far as it pertains to Hawaii. About 97% of the goods that come to Hawaii are carried by surface ships. If you cut off that supply line, we'd starve here. When the ships are stopped, the planes can only bring in about 3% of our supplies. You endanger the whole economic structure of the Islands. No small group of people should be allowed to have that kind of a power. So, we said to the unions, you keep on running the ships, until the strike is finished. When the strike is finished, we will reimburse you for what the agreement arrived at provides. I think that's fair. The trade to Hawaii is only a very small percentage of the shipping trade--I think it amounts to 3%, or something like that, of the whole Pacific Coast trade. It shouldn't be a big factor in deciding whether the strike will be settled or not. I don't think that Hawaii, plus Guam, Puerto Rico, Virgin Islands, Samoa, Trust Territory, should be sitting ducks for a group of men. Why should we be put in that precarious position? Even the people who are beholden to labor for their support see that.

Chou: Obviously, you would not be in favor of sympathy strikes, affecting our maritime industry, either?

Fong: No, no. I was in the Legislature when the dock strike went for six months in 1949.

Chou: Yes. This was the Territorial House...

Fong: Yes. I said that if we have to put our national guard on the boats, we will put them on. But we're not going to let our people starve. But that was rough. It was tough. If that wasn't anti-labor, I don't know what was.

I made that statement, I tell you. We've got to put our national guard people, we'll put 'em on to run the boats. Of course, the question of who's going to load them, well, I suppose we'd have to load them. And if we have to fight the strikers, we'll have to fight them, because we're not going to let 600,000 people (at that time) starve. Two-thirds of our consumer goods come from the mainland and we just can't eat sugar and pineapple.

Chou: (laughter) You were a fighter all the time you were in politics, Senator, it seems.

Fong: Well.....

Chou: Never backed away from a fight.

Fong: No, I never backed away from a fight. That's one thing, even a physical fight. (laughter) Well, I suppose, the community that I was born in, you know, sort of ingrained in me that, regardless of what it is, you've got to stand up. When I was a kid, I got beaten up, no question about it. I remembered when my son was...he was driving along and somebody came and hit him. It was quite a news [item] in the papers. The police caught the individual, and the reporter came to see me asking if I was going to take real action against him. I said, "No." I said, "It's good for him to be beaten up once in a while." (laughter) And I said, "If he can't defend himself, why, then he'll learn how to defend himself." A beating up is nothing--I've got beaten up many times in my young days, and it's good for an individual to be beaten up. Then he begins to understand that there is authority, and he doesn't go around being so arrogant. This is my attitude.

Chou: You haven't wanted to "overprotect" your children, then.

Fong: No. In fact, I've oftentimes wanted to pay somebody to go and beat my boy up (laughter), and teach him a lesson, you see. It's that kind of attitude that I have. And, as I said, I've always fought my battles. I never backed away from any. Of course, getting an education was the toughest thing that I fought for. Now in those days, there was very little you could do, outside of really earning the money yourself. I suppose if I had been a minister's son, then I could have gotten some kind of a grant or a loan easily, for many of the ministers' sons did get that kind of a loan. Well, my father was a laborer, and he didn't know anybody. We children were just growing up! We didn't know anybody. How are you going to get any kind of a loan? Probably if I had known what I know now, I could have gone to the institutions and asked, "Why, why don't you lend me some money?" and then go to school. Probably then I could have borrowed some money. But, not knowing anything, just coming from a poor family out in Kalihi (a community that is not too intellectually inclined) we all felt that whatever we did, we had to do ourselves. We depended on nobody and worked and did it ourselves. This is the way that I've carried on, and I've been successful.

Chou: Yes, you certainly have. Senator, this feeling of not being overprotective toward your own children must have carried over into your thinking about the American, or the Hawaiian, populace. That is to say, you wouldn't want to overprotect them with too many rules and regulations?

Fong: No. I thought...Well, this reparation act, which the Hawaiians are asking for, needs to be passed. Economically, they need to be helped. But it's not to be given freely to them; it should be set up in a fund for education, for economic development, for the advancement of their social life and their economic life, their home life--and to better their standard of living. I think they need to be helped, even though they didn't have a claim. But they do have a claim that the American minister sort of "connived" with the foreign residents in the community. When the American warship was in [Honolulu] harbor, they overthrew the Queen.* There is some merit to that claim. I think that they should be given certain amounts of money to help them in their rehabilitation. Of course, some of them talk in terms of billions of dollars. Now, let's take a look at the money. Suppose they got a

*Liliuokalani

billion dollars, and they put it in investments and got 6% or 7%. You how much money they would get? Sixty million dollars a year, or seventy million dollars a year in interest. What could they do with it? They'll buy up every business in town. You see the enormity?

Chou: The enormity, yes.

Fong: The enormity of a thing like this. Yes. So, you can't expect the government to say, "Well, you're going to get a billion dollars." Something like a hundred million--they were talking in terms of fifty million, you see. I think they probably will go to a hundred million. A hundred million--you invest that at 6%, you get six million dollars. So, with six million dollars you could do a lot to rehabilitate people and to help them. So, I think that it's going to be somewhere around a hundred million dollars.

Chou: You think the government can live with that?

Fong: Yes. You see, the situation with Alaska was different. The oil situation played a very predominant part and we had to get that oil out. So Congress was pushed to compromise and they gave the Eskimos and the Indians there something like a billion dollars and a tremendous amount of land. Here we don't have the land. They were in possession, you see.

Chou: That's right.

Fong: Here, Hawaiians are not in possession of much of the land.

Chou: Certainly in Alaska there are many more natural resources; we have so few here in Hawaii.

Fong: Yes. Well, Alaska has 560,000 square miles of land and its resources are boundless. Then it has another 500,000 square miles of continental shelf. Alaska is a tremendous empire, and a billion dollars there is nothing. But here in Hawaii, you don't have that kind of situation. The Kings had divided the land and the government was using quite a lot of it. What is the price? So, what you try to do is rehabilitate those who are in need. And I think, probably, the figure will be around a hundred million dollars. Although, if you ask me to set the amount, I wouldn't know how to set it. But Senator [Sam] Nunn, who was

HAWAIIAN CITY OF HAWAII LIBRARY

head of the subcommittee in the Senate, was talking in terms of fifty million dollars when he spoke to them.

Chou: I see.

Fong: I think he would be willing to go to a hundred million dollars. But, they were talking in terms of that amount.

Chou: Well, Senator, back to 1967. (laughter)

Fong: Yes. We had a Financial Disclosure bill that came partly as a result of the Dodd affair. And also, a House member was included. Some grounds like that. The question was whether to require members of the Congress and candidates for election to Congress, to disclose their assets, liabilities and outside income. This was rejected by a 42 to 46 vote and I voted to reject it.

Although I had disclosed my assets when I ran for office, I didn't feel that we should be delving too much into the private affairs of the individual. Now, with all of the disclosure bills that have been passed since then, we are keeping very good men away from office. When you run for office, your private life is no more--there's no more private life. As Otis Pike just recently said on the T.V., he's retiring because there's no more privacy. We shouldn't try to invade the privacy of a public official, when we do so much on the other hand to protect the privacy of the individual. There is a double standard there. Whenever you try to invade an individual's privacy, immediately there is a howl and a scream. It's horrendous.

Chou: The American Civil Liberties Union gets involved?

Fong: Yes. And yet, when it comes to members of Congress and public officials, it is said, "Yes, they should tell you everything." Now, why should there be that double standard?

Chou: Don't you feel that being an elected official, you have put your record on the line, so to speak? And so, therefore, you've given up certain rights for privacy?

Fong: Well, you don't have to disclose it; your opponent can disclose it for you.

Chou: Oh, I see. I see.

Fong: I mean, I don't say that you bar the disclosure. Your opponent can disclose it for you, and they can ferret it out if they want to. But why should you go ahead and say that I have this, I have that, and I owe this and I owe that. Now, take this for example: ever since I came back from law school, I've owed the bank money. I've borrowed money all the time. Now, because a person borrows \$10,000, the individual on the street says, "Gee, he's beholden to the banker." Now, I owe the bank hundreds of thousands of dollars. I was able to pay off \$130,000 to the Liberty Bank because we sold a piece of property. Now, if they knew that I owed the Liberty Bank \$130,000, what would they say? They would say that Liberty Bank controlled me--owned me. And yet, not once did they ever ask me for any kind of favor, except when they wanted to open a bank branch, and asked me if I wouldn't expedite it for them. Now, I would have done that for anybody. Any bank that would ask me, I would do it. But, you see, seemingly it doesn't look right. It doesn't look right that the man should be borrowing so much money. And yet, I'm a businessman. I've got a lot of investments. I have to borrow money. Now, could I seek office and expect to win if I say that I owe the Liberty Bank \$130,000? You see, so many people are devoid of any business experience at all, and have no idea of what it is to be a businessman--to be borrowing money. Most of the businessmen don't have money at all. They live on credit, and whatever money they have is invested. If they had to liquidate, they would be all right. But they're not liquidated. There are so many newspaper articles that have come out saying that this Congressman has borrowed \$10,000, \$20,000--Like [Senator Mark] Hatfield, for example. They say that he borrowed, what, \$50,000? Something like that? To buy a home? Well, what is \$50,000 to a businessman, when you really come down to it? Suppose he was a good businessman.

Now, these are the type of people that you are now chasing out of office. They will not seek office because you invade their privacy. Maybe it's all right for them. They say, "Well, I don't mind revealing my assets and everything." But then we have partners in various other activities. And is it fair to my partners that I disclose everything and, from my disclosure, others can see what amounts they are in for?

Chou: I see.

Fong: You see, it's not only you. Your partners are affected and the business, also, is affected. And, so, even though I had disclosed, I didn't feel that they should be invading my privacy. The fact that I'm an official doesn't give them a right to know everything about me.

Chou: The question of public trust always comes up, Senator, when there are questions of money, and money owed other people and other firms. How do we get away from any sense of impropriety when you are in business like that and you have to borrow money? We all know that every businessman has to borrow; every firm is in debt for one reason or another; otherwise we would not have so many successful banks and bankers around. And the government, of course, works on credit. How do you get away from being considered "improperly influenced" by dealings with money? When you're entrusted with public dealings, with passing legislation affecting your constituents, how do you see that a line can be drawn adequately between those who would abuse such trust, because of business dealings, and those who would not?

Fong: Well, suppose we turn it the other way. How can a labor representative be truthful or be fair in his dealings with the public when he is a representative of labor and is in Congress?

Chou: Same kind of situation.

Fong: Same kind of situation. You trust the individual. You look at his record and if he doesn't do well, next time, you don't vote for him.

Chou: So you're saying that these things are important, but they should not govern the working of the person in elected office?

Fong: Yes. Yes. Let the opponent bring it out. But why should he reveal everything?

Chou: Are you thinking, also, that this is a law which (in order to try to correct a situation) is doing more harm than good?

Fong: Yes. It's doing more harm from a standpoint that what you have are people that probably don't have much money or haven't got anything, seeking office.

People who have experience, who've been successful, probably will evade it. Now, why should a wife be dragged into this? Whatever is hers--her income--why should she be dragged into it? You don't want anybody to know what you're making. And the individual on the street says, "That's my own business." So, why have one standard for one person, and another standard for the elected officials? This is what I object to. The fact that I am an official doesn't mean that I've given up all my privacy. But, we have passed disclosure bills like that. Then you have requirements for people who are working for the government to disclose. Maybe it's a good thing to have certain partial disclosures (if you are working for the government), to see whether you have other income which conflicts with what you are doing. But a public official is elected. People know more or less what he is or what he's done in the community. But to confirm that you owe \$150,000 (laughter) to one bank, and then you owe another sum of money to your wife or to your children, you know.... A fellow says, "Well, why should I do that? And why should I run for office?" It's a deterrent for a lot of people. And, maybe, the liberal group wants that, because it keeps the more conservative people out of the race. (laughter)

Chou: That's interesting. Do you see the face of Congress changing?

Fong: Oh, yes, the Congress is changing, no question about it. You're going to see less and less business people, people who have made their mark successfully, get into that game, especially now when people regard the Congress in such a low light. Garbage collectors get more approval than members of Congress. (laughter)

Chou: Well, perhaps that will change in time, Senator. I don't know.

Fong: We had another bill which was before us, dealing with the Administration Anti-Poverty Program. Naturally, the liberals wanted to appropriate a lot of money and extend it for a number of years. There was an amendment to cut it down from 2.8 billion dollars to 925 million dollars and make it a one-year program, instead of a three-year program. It would be better to really take it year-by-year, so that we can see what's happening. But, you see, once you have the money there, you can never--it's almost impossible--to take it back.

Chou: We spoke earlier that a program is almost self-perpetuating, once it starts.

Fong: Yes. As I've always said, government cannot provide all the jobs, it can only provide so many. But, we should provide some, anyway. And I voted, although I voted for the bill itself, I voted for the amendment, to cut it down to one year.

We had a Continuing Appropriation bill for fiscal 1968, and there was a Mundt amendment to reduce each line item by at least 5%, except military funds, an item determined by the Budget Bureau Director to be outside Administrative control. It was rejected and I voted against it. I was a member of the Senate Appropriation Committee--we work on a bill and we listen to all of the testimony that is brought before us, and then we decide as to what amount is necessary. When it comes out on the floor of the Senate, some persons say, "Oh."

Now, you take for example, I have been listed as one of the most flagrant spenders in the Congress.

Chou: Oh, is that right, Senator?

Fong: Yes. I have been listed as one of the most flagrant spenders in the Congress, because I vote against bills like this, where they say cut a billion dollars, or cut 5% from the total appropriation bill of 90 billion dollars. Cut 10%, that's nine billion dollars. Now, I vote against a thing like that, so they say that, "See, he spent nine billion dollars more." (laughter) You see how your opponents use that against you? I have been listed as one of the most flagrant spenders because I vote against this kind of "meat-ax" chopping.

Chou: Across the board?

Fong: Across the board. Cut everybody 10% or 5%, which means you cut 500 million dollars or billion dollars off. Now, [William] Proxmire, once in a while, does that. Oh, then he's a great conservative, you see. He tried to save a half a billion dollars. Now [Karl E.] Mundt comes in and cuts 5% or 10%--then he's a great conservative. But why doesn't he cut 100%? Now, we who sat on the Committee have listened and we know why we appropriate this kind of money. You just can't say, "Cut everybody 5% or 10%." If a senator picks on a

certain item and says, "well, this is too much, and I think we should cut maybe 2% or 5% or 15%, whatever it is, then we can argue about it. But when he says cut the whole thing, then what's the sense of having an Appropriation Committee? It's a reflection upon the intelligence of our Committee that you would go along with a man like that. So, I voted against-- I always voted against these meat-ax cuts, although I am one of the fellows who worked on fiscal responsibility there. But that's not the way to do it. That's not the way to do it. That's why, sometimes, my position is very difficult. You've got to study every little item to understand what you're doing. But, if I had been an out-and-out conservative, I would say, "Okay, cut everything." I wouldn't even have to think. Or if I were an all-out liberal, I would have said, "Spend everything." Because I wouldn't have to think. But when you begin to be a middle-of-the-roader, you know, when you begin to try to analyze what is the right thing to do, then your job is more difficult. You've got to understand what you're doing. I would say a few of my senators-- friends--come on the floor, not knowing what it's all about. They just vote their attitudes. (laughter) I wish I could be in that position, to vote my attitude.

Chou: I see.

Fong: But it wouldn't be right. It wouldn't be right. And, so, that's why I found that my work was hard work.

Chou: I did note, in going through your voting record, that you were voting consistently in certain areas, like civil rights and for immigration--rights of humanity-- and that you did take various stands on different issues, which, to me, was an indication that you certainly were attempting to look at each issue by itself.

Fong: Yes. Now, take the wire-tap bill. I think I was the only one that really spoke against it. And when the final vote came, I think I was joined by three others, Senator [Philip] Hart, Senator [John Sherman] Cooper and Senator [Lee] Metcalf.

Chou: It's an interesting combination.

Fong: Yes. Yes. I said that we would be a police state, if we continued with that kind of situation, where a prosecuting attorney can go out and get a warrant--

a decree--so that he can listen in on the wire and all that. Certainly, later on, they abolished it. But, of course, I never got the credit. (laughter)

Chou: Surely, if you spoke against it, Senator, then it would be in the Congressional Record.

Fong: Yes, I spoke against it. So, it's not easy to be a middle-of-the roader, you know. (laughter) I think these were the salient bills that were before us.

Chou: Thank you, Senator, very much.

Interview Number 6, Senator Hiram Fong

Chou: Senator Fong, before we start on your 1968 voting record in Congress, I wonder if you would answer a question concerning some of the reasons--the real reasons--why you didn't speak out on the issues which came up for discussion while you were in the Senate. The speculation has been that you were "not as effective as you might have been representing Hawaii in the Senate because of the fact that you did not speak out on certain key issues." What is your reaction to this speculation, Senator?

Fong: To really answer your question, I've got to picture for you the politics of Hawaii. Hawaii, as you know, has one big city--Honolulu. 82% of the people live in Honolulu and the vicinity of Honolulu, on the island of Oahu. Now, wherever you have a big city, the vote is very liberal, and that means the vote is Democratic. Then, in Hawaii, we have the "Little Wagner Act," which gives to agricultural workers the right of collective bargaining. The outside islands--"Neighbor Islands"--are predominantly agricultural; they have sugar cane and pineapple as the agribusiness of Hawaii. These plantations hire several hundreds of people each. As a result of the "Little Wagner Act," they have the right of collective bargaining. I was Vice Speaker of the Legislature in 1945, and Chairman of the Judiciary Committee in 1945, and I was instrumental in pushing the "Little Wagner Act" to its successful enactment. Naturally, whenever there is a union, usually the union is Democratic.

Chou: Yes.

Fong: Yes. It's always fighting the employer; it feels that the employer is Republican, so the union becomes Democratic. In Hawaii we have a big city--Democratic--and we have outlying neighboring islands--Democratic. I am a Republican. The Republicans are outnumbered. As you noticed in the newspapers, only 17% of our people are registered Republicans. We have the closed primary here. With the closed primary, you must designate which party you belong to, and more and more people are saying that they are Democrats. I had fought the enactment of the closed primary. I told Mary Noonan, who was then pushing for it for the Republican Party. Her reason for pushing it was because the party did not have any control over the legislators. The party leaders wanted to exercise more control over the legislators, so that if the

legislator were a recalcitrant GOP member, they could really work their strength on him--against him--in the primaries and have him defeated. So, that was one way which the party felt that it could control the members in the Legislature, and that's why they pushed for the closed primary.

Chou: This was in 1949?

Fong: The ILWU, which represents the workers on the sugar and pineapple and on the waterfront, saw their chance: this was a great instrument for them to really have a strong control in politics. Therefore they sided with Mary Noonan and the Republican Party to try to pass the closed primary. I was able to hold the vote down to a point where they couldn't win in the House; there was a 15 to 15 tie. I was then Speaker of the House. But we lost one vote, which was Sam Ichinose's vote. When we lost his vote, there were two other people--three others--who went with him. They were willing to stay with me if we had a chance to win, but because we lost that one vote of Sam Ichinose's, the closed primary law passed the House with two or three more votes than the bare majority. Well, with the closed primary, the Republicans, who are usually very conservative, would have a tremendous say in the primary election.

A person who seeks public office first has to look at the immediate ground in front of him, before he can look at the horizon. As Aesop said, you'd better look on the ground first and watch your step, before you turn your eyes towards heaven, because you may falter. A person who runs for office has got to be able to hurdle the first obstacle. And that is the primaries. If you are not in tune with your Republican Party For example, I, as a Republican, was not in tune substantially with my Republican party members; they would not vote for me in the [closed] primary. Therefore, even though I could win in the general election, it's no use talking about the general election.

You've got to pass that first hurdle. So, as a Republican, I had to be in line with the Republicans, and yet, I had to be moderate enough so that the liberals would vote for me. Now, there were many, many times in which I wanted to speak out. I wanted to speak out on issues on which I know I could have made very effective speeches.

Chou: What were the issues?

Fong: Issues on defense, for example issues in Vietnam. We shouldn't have withdrawn, you see. We should have followed it through. I could have made strong speeches on those things because I felt strongly about them. I voted my conscience. When it was time to vote, I voted what I thought was right. However, when you vote, it doesn't make such an impression on the voters as what you say.

Chou: As a big speech on the floor?

Fong: Yeah, as a big speech on the floor. They can fault you on your speech, but, somehow, they don't fault you on the vote. So, I voted to support what I thought was right, and against what I thought was wrong. On my votes on the Vietnam issue, for example, I was always for a strong defense, and I was always for a real concluding victory--or concluding a negotiation in which we would leave with honor. But, somehow, the liberal element in the Congress did not allow us to do that. And we left with ignominy, I would say. And we left an ally really out there lurching. So, being a Republican in a predominantly Democratic state, I had to tread my ground lightly. If I were a Democrat, it would have been easy for me to speak up on many, many issues, to speak up to the majority view of the people in my state.

Chou: Grab headlines?

Fong: Grab headlines. I could have grabbed headlines. Because, I like to talk.

Chou: Yes.

Fong: And I could make effective speeches.

Chou: That's right.

Fong: It's not what you say. In the final tally of the votes, my one vote would mean a lot of things. And many, many times my one vote really counted.

Chou: I'm sure it did.

Fong: Yeah. The fact that I voted the way I thought helped my country, I felt. It's no use talking a lot and then find that you can't be there to serve your

people. So, I would say that had I been a Democrat I could have spoken on many, many issues and the people would have loved it...loved it. But, being a Republican, in a strongly Democratic state, I had to watch what I said. Therefore, many times it would be better for me not to say anything, but to vote--vote how I felt.

I've thought about it many, many times. When I first went to Congress, as I said, I thought it would be easy. If I were a conservative, I would just listen to the conservatives and then vote yes or no. If I were a liberal, I would look at what the liberals do; I would just follow, yes or no. In that case, I could be a robot; the people didn't have to send me there. They could have sent a robot machine there to keep the tally and vote. But I'm a moderate individual and I hate to see overpowering forces on one side. I like to balance the forces. And in my career in politics, I've followed that. I tried to balance the forces.

Hawaii is the first state that gave collective bargaining rights to agricultural workers. This is what Cesar Chavez has been fighting for all these years in California. Well, in 1945 we gave it to the agricultural workers, and I was Chairman of the Judiciary Committee. As I look at the situation here in Hawaii now, it's so unbalanced, lopsided. And I regret that, at my age (laughter) I have to retire. (laughter) If I were a younger man, I would have have pursued a career in which I would try to restore the balance. But, it's so lopsided now in favor of the Democrats, that we are not getting the best government that we should have. My being in the Congress, being a Republican, made it possible to alert the people as to what was on the other side. I may not be right. I may be wrong in espousing the other side, but at least my people here in Hawaii, that is, the people of Hawaii, got two sides of the question. Then they could decide for themselves who is right, who is wrong. With Hawaii's four Democrats in the Congress of the United States, nobody is in conflict with anyone else. Nobody is presenting the other side of the coin. Everything is going along smoothly, and our people are really brainwashed; no question about it, our people are brainwashed. There are so many questions that have arguments on the other side which should be presented. But with all of them being Democrats, naturally they're going to work in

harmony with each other. And it's a sad thing for the State of Hawaii that we should be so lopsided. Does this answer your question?

Chou: Yes, it does to a point. I'd also like your opinions as to how you feel you were able to stay in office for almost 18 years being a Republican from such a predominantly Democratic state.

Fong: I've thought about it many, many times. And I have said to myself, you know, I could not be in a worse position A politician would be in a worse position if he were a Samoan Republican, or if he were a Korean Republican. You see? (laughter) My ethnic group comprises only 4½ to 5% of the population. My party is 17% of the voting population. Now, I presume a person of Korean ancestry would be (well, the Korean ethnic group is a little smaller than the Chinese group and the Samoan group is a little smaller) in a worse position than I [as an American Chinese] would be. (laughter) You see, the population as we have it now is that the Caucasians are about 36% of the population; persons of Japanese ancestry are about 29 to 30%; persons of Hawaiian ancestry are about 15% and those of Filipino ancestry are about 10%. The Chinese are 4½ to 5%! So I couldn't be in a worse position than any other candidate representing an ethnic background.

Chou: Well, that's what makes it remarkable, Senator, because you have voted moderately in Congress. And yet, it's this very liberal Democratic state that has kept you in office for almost 18 years. There must be something over and above just your voting record that has caused them to keep returning you to national power. I wonder if you would care to speculate on why you, personally, think that you've been successful all these years?

Fong: Well, I have been in politics 32 years. Throughout that period, the people of Hawaii have gotten to know me. I am one individual that likes to do what I say. If I give you my word, I try to keep it. If I tell you I'll meet you tomorrow at 10 o'clock at a certain place, I want to be there at 10 o'clock--I try to be there a little earlier. If I can't make it, I get you on the phone and tell you why I can't make it. If I owe money to the bank, and I have to make a payment to the bank--a monthly payment--if I can't make it, I go down and see the man at the bank and tell him, "Gee, I'm sorry I can't make it; I'll pay you the

interest." And so they don't have to wonder as to why I'm not making the payment.

It's things like that that have helped me throughout life. That is, I try to do what I feel is right, and to let the other person know beforehand what he can expect. If I tell him something that I can't keep, I will tell him why I can't keep it, so that he would understand that I have not broken my word. All the time that I've been in the territorial legislature as well as in Congress, I have lived by that precept: that is, to do what I said I would do. I think the people have sort of relied on it. They have not faulted me for anything that I have said that I would do, and that I have not done, or tried to do, even though I may not have accomplished [what I said I would do]. But it's not my fault if I don't accomplish it, because it's not all my own doing; other people have some say in it. But I try to do it. And I would say that is one reason why I've been successful in politics.

The second reason is that I'm a very approachable individual. I don't forget my friends. Maybe that's one fault I have. (laughter) Many people say that I have a fault in that I'm too loyal to my friends, and they fault me for that--or I'm too loyal to my family. But I feel that if I can't be loyal to my friends, then who can I be loyal to? If I can't be loyal to my family, then who can I be loyal to? If I can't be loyal to my wife, for example, then who can trust me? You see? I've got to start from the person very, very close to me first; I've got to be loyal to that person. My family, my wife, and then my friends. And then, if I'm loyal to them, then it's easy to carry over and be loyal to other people. I have a very, very strong sense of loyalty in that respect. And sometimes they fault me for that: being too loyal to my friends; that's how I get myself into trouble! (laughter)

Chou: You're thinking in terms of political appointments that you have made?

Fong: Oh, yes. I have made appointments to people who have been strong for the party, you know.

Chou: Right. Edward Johnston, for instance.

Fong: Ed Johnston, yes. I've stuck by him, and they fault me for that, sticking by him. But I've stuck by him and I've stuck by my friends. I would say that that is another reason why people may like me.

Probably another reason is that I have been successful. I have been successful on my own initiative and my own hard work. I have not inherited much from my family. My father was a laborer; we had a big family of eleven children, and none of my brothers has had a college education--I'm the only one in six boys who has had a college education. Only one sister out of five sisters has had a college education. My oldest sister probably had only two years of schooling, and my oldest brother probably two years of schooling. My father was a laborer up until the time he died. He didn't leave much, except a home, a very modest home, to my mother. That's about all I've had. What I've done in my law career and my business career, I did myself and have been successful. So they don't fault me for that. At least I've done it on my own, and I've done it legitimately and done it legally, and done it without stepping on other people's toes. In our business at Finance Factors here, for example, we have not tried to usurp anybody's position, we have not tried to steal anything from anybody; we've done it on our own. I think maybe that is another reason why people have faith and confidence in me.

Then another reason is that when I was in office, we handled all our correspondence faithfully; we answered everybody who had any kind of question. Anything that they wanted done, we tried to do it for them. When I first went to Congress, I debated in my mind as to how I should carry the duties of my office. Here we have, in every county, a Democratic mayor, with a Board of Supervisors, at that time, predominantly Democratic; a Democratic state--although it was under a Republican regime, that is, under [William] Quinn--but later on it became Democratic. Should I do my best to get all the appropriations I can get back to the state, to give it to the mayors, to give it to the Democratic governor, so that he could spend it and build his political machine? Well, that was something that I had to debate. I came to the conclusion that I was there to represent the people of Hawaii. If the mayor got the money, and he built his political machine, well, that was his good fortune.

Chou: You weren't going to hold it back because of politics?

Fong: I wasn't going to hold it back. Yeah, because of politics. So, my word to all my staff was, regardless of who asks for help, we will help everyone. As a result, people like Mayor Cravalho would pick up the phone and call me and say that he wanted something.

Mayor Fasi would write me a letter that he wanted certain things done. Governor Burns--there was a tremendous amount of correspondence between Governor Burns and Governor Ariyoshi and my office. We kept them alerted to all the things--most of the things--that were happening. If we felt there was something for them to know, they got the correspondence. And there was a lot of correspondence between these offices and my office. Many Democrats in the executive branch have bemoaned the fact that I quit. They said, "Hiram," they said, "you have given us tremendous service. Now we don't get the kind of service that you once gave us."

I had a good staff there [in Washington as well as in Honolulu]. I knew that I had to provide a service, so approximately half of my staff were professionals who had had a lot of experience on the Hill, who knew where to get the data, who had friends in other departments, so that by one telephone call they could get the data and get it back to our people here. By doing that, we kept a lot of people here happy, we kept up our correspondence with them. They were informed on everything that they wanted to know.

Another reason why, probably, I got elected was because my office was always open. A person need not ask for an appointment. If I was in my office, and he came in, I saw him. And when I came back home here, when people wanted to see me, they could come in here and they could see me. I would not say, "I'll give you an appointment, and you come and see me at a certain time." Of course, if they called me on the phone and said, "May I come and see you?" If I was busy I would say, "Could you come at a certain time?" But if they were here in the office, I would see them. And so, in that respect, we kept our office open to all these people. Maybe that's one of the reasons why they kept on reelecting me.

And then, I'm a very democratic individual. I say "hello" to everybody. It's a habit with me. I say "hello" to everyone because I know what it means to be out of office--to see a successful politician and to wonder whether he would say "hello" to you when you say "hello" to him. Would he respond? I have had that experience; I've been out of office. I wondered at times about some of my colleagues: would they still feel the same towards me because I was out of office? I've always kept that in mind, and I will say "hello" to the other person first, so that he would not feel that...that he would not have that question mark in his mind. And, as a result, they all remember

me. And those are some of the reasons why I think I have been successful.

Chou: That's really very interesting. Senator, would you tell me about the sense of loyalty that you have to the family and your friends and your political associates? Is this something that was instilled in you through your Chinese heritage? Or is it something you've just "naturally" adhered to?

Fong: Well, my father always sent money back to his family village in China. He had cousins over there. He had a mother there; she was blind, and he always sent money to his mother. In the old days, the Chinese would send money through the storekeeper; they didn't go to the bank. They would go to the store, the store would remit the money to another store back in the village and that store would deliver it to his mother or his cousins. He always remembered the people back in the village. He knew how difficult it was for them to eke out a living. I know that he sent money to his cousins--his cousins' sons--so that they could get married. He sent money to his cousin for the first son to get married, but the first son happened to be in the Philippines. So the second son took the money and got married. (laughter) When the first son came back, he was very angry. So my father sent more money and gave him a chance to get a wife also. Well, he got married too. My father was a poor man, he was a laborer, but he always remembered that he had to take care of his less fortunate relatives.

You see, I would go with my father almost every Saturday night to town. He would come to town and he would take in a movie, and he would take me to a movie at the American Theater--[it cost] ten cents to go in. Nobody sat on chairs; they all sat on the backrests, with their feet on benches! He always went to a rooming house where one of his distant cousins was incapacitated; he was always in bed. I always saw him give this cousin three dollars, five dollars, to help him out. So, somehow, I think, that got to me.

Chou: It's by example . . .

Fong: Yes. I remember one time, I brought a pineapple home... (laughter) and he asked me where I got it. I said I got it from the truck. He took the pineapple, and just threw it out of the window. (laughter) And from that day on, I wouldn't take anything that didn't belong to me. (laughter)

You see, I was with the Kalihi boys, and the Kalihi gang was a very notorious gang. Whenever they'd see a truck, they would raid it. (laughter) They'd see a cucumber patch, they would go in and steal cucumbers. But I didn't eat cucumber--raw cucumber. They would raid the field. One night the Chinese farmer put planks with nails (laughter) in the field, and these boys got lots of nail pokes [in their bare feet] (laughter). I didn't participate in that. My father was a very moral individual, and he was very honest. I think I got some of that from him, and from the fact that he always contributed to famine relief, for example. There was always a famine somewhere in Kwangtung Province. There were always droughts or floods. There was hunger. In Honolulu, there were always subscriptions--contributions being collected to help. And he always contributed, even with his very meager earnings. I think I got a little of that charity from him. We had a big family, and we had to work together to really keep the family going. My sister Alice was working for \$30 a month, and my other sister Rose was working for \$25 a month. They contributed to us--the family--and that helped to keep the family going. My father had passed away while I was going to law school. Actually, you can say that my sisters contributed to my education. I've never forgotten that. After I came back from Harvard Law School, I bought a piece of property right next to my mother's place, and I put it in my mother's name. We owed some debts on my mother's home, so I paid that off, too. My mother wanted to give the property to me. But I said, "No, no, don't give it to me," I said. "My two sisters have been very nice to you. Make me trustee, with my two sisters, of the property. And then give half of it"--since I had bought the other piece--I said, "Give half of the income to my children and half of the income to my sisters." When the income was not very much--about \$500 at that time--I denied my children their half and gave it all to my sisters.

Chou: This is \$500 a year?

Fong: A month. I gave it all to my sisters. When we finally renegotiated a lease with the Jack in the Box restaurant that gave us \$1,000, then I gave my children half of it, and they had to pay the gross income tax. My sisters got \$500. Now they're getting more. With their retirement and social security payments, they have enough to live on. I also built them a home on my lot. I gave them a lease for life for \$1, so that

if anything happened to me, my children can't kick them out. So, I've taken care of my sisters that way. In a way, indirectly, they have helped me, by keeping the family going while I was in law school.

Chou: You've never forgotten that?

Fong: No, I've never forgotten that. My brother, for example, he was supposed to send me \$50 a month.

Chou: That's Leonard?

Fong: Yeah. But he never sent me anything. I really should have been very, very angry with him. But I never kept that anger. When I came back, why, I tried to help him as much as I could. He became my assistant here in Finance Factors, so he had a good job. I have tried to take care of my family in these ways. Sometimes, inadvertently, I get myself criticized for doing that.

Now, take for example, there were some positions open in the Post Office for summer work. This program was not geared to the people who really needed work; it was just summer work. The Post Office officials asked me, "Well, who have you got?" So I asked my son, Rodney, who was then at the University of Hawaii ...he had been campaigning for me and he had a group of boys who had campaigned for me also. So I asked Rodney if he would recommend three or four of them. He did, so I sent their names in. Then he said, "Daddy, I want to work, too." Well, not thinking about the question of nepotism, I said, "Okay, I'll send your name in, too." He worked there for about a month, I think, and I was criticized.

Chou: I remember, there was something in the newspapers about that.

Fong: Yes, I was criticized for that. Well, since there were vacancies, and they wanted somebody, and Rodney said he wanted to work, I said, "Well, okay, go ahead and I'll send your name in with three or four others." They said that I was exercising nepotism, but it was such a small, little thing. And then I appointed my brother.

Chou: Herman?

Fong: Herman--to be my assistant here, to be head executive in the Honolulu office. Well, I felt that Herman knew all my friends, he knew the people in Hawaii, he was outgoing, and if people "saw" him, they would be

satisfied that they saw my brother. You see, many times they're not satisfied if they see only an assistant of mine. They would not always feel that that assistant would convey what they said to me. But with Herman, being my brother, they would all have the confidence that he would tell me, you see. So from that standpoint, I think it was a better service for my constituents that I had my brother here in this office. That's the reason why I appointed him.

Chou: I see.

Fong: I had a big fight with my wife [about Herman's appointment]; she wouldn't talk to me for three weeks!

Chou: She felt that it would be a political liability for you?

Fong: Yes. All my associates here felt that it would be a political liability for me if I appointed my brother, and they all fought me--all fought me. But I felt that here's a job that I knew he could fill. How could I live with the fact that I would not give it to him? I knew that he would do the job, and he would probably do it more conscientiously than anyone else, because he felt that whatever he did would react on me. If he didn't do a good job, naturally, the people would be sore at me. So he had to do a good job, and from that standpoint I thought he was better than any other individual because he was really my alter ego. He would do as much as I would do. And so I didn't hesitate to appoint him, although, as I've said, for three weeks my wife wouldn't talk to me. She thought that I would be jeopardizing my reelection.

I felt that if my conscience dictates that I should appoint Herman, I should do it. If people felt that that was sufficient enough to kick me out of office, why, I'd be glad to leave. I didn't mind being kicked out if they felt that I had to be kicked out. Well, in fact, I only wanted to be in Congress for one term anyway. I never wanted to go to Congress for any length of time, because I love Hawaii and I like the life here. And I felt, when I ran for office, that it would cost me about \$25,000--did I tell you this before?

Chou: Yes.

Fong: It would cost me about \$25,000 a year, because Joe Farrington had spent that much money as Delegate to Congress. I felt that if I had to spend \$150,000* during the six years that I would be there, why, I would spend that, and I would come home. But, luckily, I didn't have to spend that. I never wanted to stay too long. The Republican Party didn't have anybody else to run, so I stayed another term. When Bill Quinn was willing to run, then I said, Okay, I will retire. I'm not afraid of not being elected.

Of course, when I said that I didn't speak out on some issues because I had to tread carefully, that's a little different; that's a little different. I felt that I could do certain things for my constituents by being there in Congress. I didn't have to speak out every time there was an issue.

Chou: As long as there's a vote.

Fong: As long as there's a vote, the vote is the one that counts. And I followed that course in my voting.

Chou: You had a pretty good attendance record in Congress, didn't you, Senator?

Fong: Yes, yes.

Chou: They couldn't fault you for absenteeism.

Fong: No. My attendance was very good, considering the fact that we live 'way out here in Hawaii. You know, it's a rough thing to be 5,100 miles away from Washington, D. C. Every time you come home it takes you about six days or seven days to get over the jet lag. And just when you're over the jet lag, you've got to go back. Then it takes you another six or seven days to get over the jet lag over there. You try to stay home as long as you can. In Washington, you're up early in the morning, you go to the meetings, you go to your committee meetings, you stay there sometimes until 7, 8 o'clock at night, and you are really bushed. One of the toughest things to do is to come home and then go back. I came home about eight or nine times a year, so about one-third of the year I was not feeling well. Some of the other senators don't go back home, because there's nothing back home. Many of them live in small towns, so in the winter they go down to Florida. But Hawaii's so nice that we came home. When we came home then I was besieged with a lot of people who wanted to see me. Even

*See also pp. 19, 191.

though I'd write them a letter, explaining everything, they still want to come and see me. That's what makes Hawaii's representatives such tough positions to hold.

Chou: I can imagine. It had special benefits and special responsibilities for you.

Fong: Yes, yes.

Chou: Well, Senator it's been very, very interesting learning for Former Members of Congress how you have felt about serving in such a minority position all these years in Congress.

Fong: Then another thing I was very careful about...you know, now that I see my good friend and colleague [Edward] Brooke with his problems, he being the first elected negro to the Senate. There were two other negroes who were in the Senate before him. That was in Reconstruction days.

Chou: Many, many years ago.

Fong: Yes. When the South lost the Civil War, many negroes got into the state legislatures. Senators were elected by the legislators at that time. Now Brooke is being questioned as to some of the things that he said.

Chou: His income tax returns.

Fong: His income tax, and things like that. I've always been very careful, because I am a...I'm not Caucasian. I was the first oriental--Asian--in the United States Senate. And being the first Asian in the United States Senate, naturally all eyes were upon me. What kind of American is he? Will he be free from trouble? And will he get himself in Dutch? That's slang--in Dutch! (laughter)

Chou: No racial overtones at all? (laughter)

Fong: No, no. No racial overtones! (laughter)

Will he get himself into a predicament? Will he disgrace his people and will he disgrace a new state--the State of Hawaii? There were so many misgivings as to whether we should get statehood or not. It was said that we were Communist-infiltrated, that there were too many orientals here, that we would not be good Americans. Being a new state, what kind of

representatives was Hawaii sending to the Congress? You know, that sort of got me thinking a lot as to what my actions should be. I felt that I should be very circumspect in everything I did. I've tried not to get myself involved in any kind of a scandal--to try to do what was right, what was proper and what was moral. As I look back now, you know, there are so many hazards in being a Senator. You get people contributing to your campaigns, and then they come and ask for certain favors and things like that. It's difficult to deny them. Things like that can get you into a lot of trouble. One has to be very careful about these things. Whatever you do will be front page news, especially if there's any dereliction of duty, you know.

Chou: From time to time politicians have not been held in very high regard by the public.

Fong: No, no, no.

Chou: And I'm sure you were aware of that.

Fong: I was aware of that. Many times you pick up the paper in the morning, asking yourself, "Well, is there anything here (laughter) that derogates your standing and what the people think of you?" And to go through almost 18 years--17 years and four months--in Congress, and to come out unblemished, you know, it's a feat by itself.

Chou: That's really a significant accomplishment, particularly in view of the fact that the Koreagate and the foreign influence...

Fong: Was in my time.

Chou: Yes, certainly in your time. I didn't see your name in any of the headlines.

Fong: No. And I was such a good friend of Korea.

Chou: Yes.

Fong: The fact was that I was such a good friend of Korea, that they didn't have to give me any money. (laughter)

Chou: I think, too, sometimes senators' and representatives' staff members received donations unbeknownst to the elected officials.

Fong: Yes.

Chou: Wasn't this true in your case, too? I'm thinking that Bob [Robert] Carson [Administrative Assistant] was in a situation in which he was involved, which might have reflected upon you, but through circumstances, you were not directly involved.

Fong: Well, you see, that situation arose when a man sent a check to my campaign for \$1,000. It was a corporate check, and we couldn't receive any corporate money.

Chou: Right, right.

Fong: So Bob Carson sent it back to him, telling him that we cannot receive corporate money. Then he telephoned Bob Carson and said that he would bring cash, and that probably he'd bring a few dollars more.

Chou: Oh, oh.

Fong: So then he came, and he gave Bob Carson \$2,000, to make up for that \$1,000 check that we sent back to him, you see. I was home in Hawaii here. I was home here in Hawaii and didn't know anything about it. In fact, I didn't know about the corporate check. The man told Bob Carson that if he could do certain things for him, that he would give \$50,000 to the Republican Party--not to Bob Carson, but to the Republican Party.

Chou: Ah, I see.

Fong: And Bob Carson went down and talked to the Attorney General, whom he knew personally. But before he went down, there was a newspaper article saying that the man had been indicted. So Bob Carson said (this is what he told me) that he took this article down, and he said, "I came down to see you about this, but now that the man's been indicted, I presume there's nothing that can be done." Bob Carson told me that's all he said to the Attorney General.

Chou: That was to [Richard G.] Kleindienst?

Fong: To Kleindienst. The prosecutor in New York--I don't know who he was aiming at. He probably set it up. Looks like an entrapment to me. And they had this man all wired!

Chou: Ah, because he was already under indictment.

Fong: Yes, he had been all wired. Probably they sent him to my office, I don't know. Maybe they were after me, trying to get me, I don't know.

Chou: Could have been.

Fong: Yeah. At first, when Carson talked to Kleindienst, Kleindienst didn't feel that he had been bribed. But then when the news came down that the prosecutors in New York had known about Carson going to see Kleindienst, then Kleindienst changed his story. He said, "Well, he thought that Carson had been bribed." That's how Bob Carson got into trouble.

Chou: I see.

Fong: I had really nothing to do with it. If I were there [in my Washington office], Carson would never have gone to see Kleindienst, because that's not the way to do things.

Chou: That's right.

Fong: Yeah. And Bob Carson's fault was that he knew these people and he thought they were friendly people. Kleindienst was the campaign chairman coordinating all the activities for Nixon when Nixon was running for reelection. I was a strong supporter of President Nixon, and Bob Carson was with me down in Florida, so he knew Kleindienst from that standpoint. When I couldn't get to the meeting with Kleindienst, he went for me, you see?

Chou: Yes, yes.

Fong: Unfortunately, circumstances were such that they got him in trouble. I still believe that he was innocent. But, luckily, my guardian angel told me to be in Hawaii.

Chou: That's right. (laughter)

Fong: Yes.

Chou: You first heard about it through the newspapers, or did somebody call you?

Fong: I first heard about it when Attorney General [John] Mitchell called me.

Chou: What did Mitchell tell you?

Fong: He told me what had happened. I don't remember now. He told me something about it. Then I went back, afterwards, to Washington to find out. Then I suspended Bob Carson [1971]. But I still believe that he's innocent. I think he was framed; I think he was framed. I think the frame was rigged to frame me. Yeah. I think he got into trouble that way. But, as I said, you know, being the first Asian there in the Senate, I was very, very careful. I knew that if I did anything that was in the line of dereliction of duty, why, it would shame me or shame my family, it would shame those of my ethnic background, and it would shame my people of Hawaii. Then people would say, "Why? Gee, we shouldn't have allowed Hawaii to be a state." Also, it would be something that a lot of people around the world would know, because I have a lot of friends around the world, especially those of Chinese ancestry who knew that I was in Congress and looked to the fact that I would represent the State of Hawaii in a very, very circumspect manner, to bring honor upon the state and to their ethnic background. So I was very careful in everything I did. Now that I've come home, and look back, I say "Thank God (laughter) I came through unscathed." Well, I didn't know what I was getting into, I'm telling you. It's a hazardous occupation. (laughter) But it was interesting.

Chou: It required a lot of practical sense, didn't it, Senator?

Fong: Yes, yes.

Chou: Knowing that what you're doing isn't going to reflect just on you personally, but on a host of other people...

Fong. Yes,

Chou: And an entire state.

Fong: An entire state. Because, after all, we [Oren E. Long and Fong] were the first senators. The responsibility upon us was such that we had to win over my colleagues. Now, you take men who had voted against statehood because they felt that we were not qualified to be a state. The amazing thing is that so many of the people who voted against statehood are very close friends of mine--men like Eastland. So I feel that, from the standpoint of carrying out my responsibilities to my state, and to all the people to whom I owe responsibility, I have done the job that I was sent there to do.

Chou: Well, certainly for three consecutive terms, Senator, the people of the State of Hawaii felt the same way. (laughter)

Fong: Yeah, in spite of the fact that I belong to the minority party and belong to a minority ethnic group. I sometimes wonder, you know, sometimes, how I ever jumped those hurdles. Yes, I've marveled at times that I was able to do it.

Chou: Well, I think it showed a certain astuteness on your part, knowing that you had to reflect the wishes of your party as well as the wishes of the electorate. And I think that that was...

Fong: I think knowing when to keep my mouth shut.

Chou: But that gets back to my original question of why some people have questioned the fact that you did not speak out on key issues. Yet you did vote your conscience.

Fong: Well, I spoke out, when I came home and made speeches. When I made speeches everywhere, I spoke out. But I didn't speak out as often as I should have.

Chou: As you might have wanted to?

Fong: As I might have wanted to, yeah. I spoke up, no question about it. On the question of defense, for example, I spoke out very strongly and made a lot of speeches...but I could have made more. But I felt that I shouldn't talk too much. From time to time I did speak out. Now take, for example, the ILWU, which had a stand that we should normalize our relations with Red China. I took just the opposite view. I've made speeches on issues like that. I would say that I could have spoken more, but I think I did enough speaking. You see, I don't charge for my speaking. (laughter)

Chou: That's right. You were one of the few who took no honoraria for speeches.

Fong: No. If I took honoraria, I could have made more speeches. (laughter) I probably would be induced to make more speeches. I've always felt that part of my duty as a senator was to speak out when I was asked to speak. Although I was offered honoraria, I refused to accept them because I felt that that was part of my legislative duty as a senator. I assume

the reason why so many of the members of the Senate speak out so often is because they've been paid. Some of them make \$70,000, \$60,000 a year for speeches. They get \$1,500 for a speech, \$500, \$1,000 for a speech. So the more they speak, the more money they make. But I didn't have that incentive. (laughter) Since I wouldn't take any honoraria, there was no reason for me to make a lot of speeches. I've only accepted speech engagements for my people back home here, and for different groups in the mainland. From that standpoint, my speeches were limited. If I were accepting honoraria, I could have really made a lot of speeches, made a lot of money! (laughter)

Chou: Senator, Dan Inouye is one of the senators who has made a lot of speeches, and earned a lot of money in honoraria -- going around and speaking on the various issues of the day. That brings to my mind the fact that, during the last senatorial campaign in which you participated, Senator Inouye apparently acted in ways which you felt were not as a senator should behave toward another senator. I have in mind a newspaper article which gave certain reasons for your not walking down the aisle with Mr. Inouye during the opening of the first Congress following your last election. Would you comment on that for me, please?

Fong: I may not have all the reasons in my mind now, because it was so long ago. As I recollect, Senator Inouye was Chairman of the Senatorial Campaign Committee during that election. Usually an incumbent senator does not go out and campaign against his colleague from the same state.

Chou: Is that sort of an unspoken agreement among the members?

Fong: It's not an unspoken agreement, but it's been a custom. Like my friend, [Gale W.] McGee. He doesn't speak against [Clifford P.] Hansen and Hansen tells me he doesn't speak against McGee.

Chou: I see.

Fong: He may speak for his individual choice; he may say that he endorses him, but he doesn't go out and campaign for him. If the incumbent gets elected again, you've got to work with him, you see. Hansen tells me he and McGee work very, very closely together; they don't fight each other at all. Senator Inouye was Chairman of the Campaign Committee and he did his

level best to defeat me--did everything he could. Word came from Washington--and it came out in the newspapers, you can find it--that Hawaii was represented by four orientals--Inouye, myself, Representatives [Spark] Matsunaga and [Patsy T.] Mink. (All of us, I being Chinese and the other three being of Japanese ancestry.) It was said that it was time that we had a Caucasian in there, to break up this oriental team. And I was to be sacrificed!

Chou: Ah, I see. You were the lone Republican and you could be sacrificed.

Fong: Well, I was the oriental that was to be sacrificed.

Chou: Ah, okay. You were the oriental...

Fong: Although I was the only person of Chinese ancestry in Congress, and there were three of Japanese ancestry. But I was to be sacrificed. That was the theme that went around, to get my caucasian supporters in Hawaii voting against me. But they didn't listen to that; they voted for me. They knew what I was, what I am, and so they voted for me. And there was some other reason, too, I can't recall. But I was so angry with him that I didn't want him to walk that aisle with me. (laughter) In fact, I asked Senator Gordon Allott to take me down the aisle. (laughter)

Chou: Did Inouye ever mention this to you at all?

Fong: No.

Chou: He's never spoken about it again or anything like that?

Fong: No.

Chou: Well, Senator, you've always been one to follow your feelings and emotions and I'm sure the electorate respected your desires in this matter. Frankly, we haven't heard anything more about it; I think that they felt that was your prerogative, one way or the other, and if you chose not to walk with him, that was the way it was.

Fong: Yes. You know, I thought that I would have a lot of adverse criticism for retiring. But the amazing thing was that everybody says that I did the right thing--that it was time for me to really leave the Congress. There was one old time politician--Mr. [Joseph P., Sr.] Petrowski--who's eighty-some-odd years old. He ran for office many, many times and never made it into

office. He ran for Delegate, and ran for U. S. Senate. He told me one day, he said, "Hiram, don't be hoggish." (laughter) I presume the fact that I was willing to retire and not show that I was hoggish, I think I've won a lot of people to my side. The great majority of people felt that I did the right thing, because I had been in politics so long, and that, at my age, it was time for me to go home.

Chou: Well, I'm sure you have no regrets.

Fong: No, I have no regrets. Look at what's happened now, after one and a half years of my being out of the Congress. I found that four of my colleagues have passed away. Of course, Senator [John L.] McClellan was older than I was; he was 81 years old. But Senator [Hubert] Humphrey was younger than I am. Senator [James B.] Allen was only 68. And Senator [Lee] Metcalf. Four senators passed away during this year and a half that I've been out. Now Senator Eastland, the senior member of the Senate, with all the prestige of office (being the senior member, with a chauffeur, with a car) is leaving office. Senator [John] Sparkman, head of the Foreign Relations Committee--a very prestigious position--is leaving office. And Senator [Carl T.] Curtis, long time Republican in the Senate, is leaving. Senator Hansen, who's junior to me (and who's been there three terms), but he's leaving.

Then Senator [Clifford] Case, you know, after several terms in the Senate, got defeated. Senator Brooke's being questioned now as to his income tax; he's questioned as to what he said in his affidavit. And Senator [Herman] Talmadge for receiving money and not reporting it.

You know, as I look back now, from this perspective of a year and a half, it was the right thing for me to do, to leave Congress. Of course, many times when you do something, you wonder whether you've done the right thing or not.

Chou: Yes.

Fong: But now, as I look back, I can say, "Yes, I did the right thing."

Chou: Well, you also had a retirement project to look forward to, Senator, your botanical garden.

Fong: Yes, I have something here that I really should be pushing hard, which I am--pushing hard. I have

something which I'd like to leave to posterity. That was another reason why I wanted to leave. I wanted to leave before I was too old to do anything else. Now that I've left, people say that I look younger. But as I look at my friends who are ten or twenty years younger, and I see how old they are, I know that I'm an old man. (laughter)

Chou: Well, Senator, I don't know. Just a couple of weeks ago I saw you climbing a lichee tree, with your shoes off and in your stocking feet. The way you were moving around those branches and clipping off the lichee, why, it reminded me of a much younger man! (laughter)

Fong: Well, I don't feel old at all. But, as I say, when I see these young people, and I see that they look old, I know that I'm old. (laughter)

Chou: Senator, thank you very much.

Fong: Thank you.

Interview Number 7, Senator Hiram Fong

Chou: Senator Fong, I would like to start today's concluding tape for Former Members of Congress with some of your recollections of your early life in Honolulu, Hawaii. Your parents had come from China, and I wonder if you would say a few words about your mother and your father.

Fong: Well, my father Fong Lum, or Kong Lum, as he was sometimes called, was 15 years old when he left Kwantung Province to come to Hawaii to work on the sugar plantation. He was fatherless when he was very young and was brought up by his mother. She remarried into another village and he went with her to live there. So at the age of 15 the economic conditions were such in the southern part of China that he had to seek employment elsewhere, and he was recruited to come to Hawaii to work on the sugar plantations. My mother Lum Shee came here when she was 10 years old as a--she came with her aunt who left her here while she went back to the Orient. Mother became a maid with the Yong Nin family. Father and Mother married--through matchmaking. Father had left the plantations and was in taro growing. Later on there was a drought. He lost his investment and he went to work for Pacific Guano and Fertilizer Company. When I was a child, my early days were spent around Pacific Guano and Fertilizer Company.

Chou: Senator, I thought I would clarify for the record that your birthdate is actually October 15, 1906, is that right?

Fong: Yes. You see, when my brothers and sisters were born, my mother and father, not being literate, did not officially record our births. Our births were recorded in the family book according to the Chinese calendar. And, naturally, when we went to school we more or less guessed at what these dates were. And so my birthdate is October 15, 1906.

Chou: Thank you, it's good to have that clarified.

You went to Kalihi-Waena Elementary School?

Fong: Yes. Graduated in 1920. Then I went to McKinley High School, graduated in 1924, worked three years at Pearl

- Fong: Harbor before going to the University to study, and finished in three years at the University of Hawaii. Then I went to work for two more years at the City and County of Honolulu, as Chief Clerk of the bureau of rural water and sewers. And then, with \$2,000, I went to Harvard Law School and graduated in 1935.
- Chou: Would you like to say a few words about your oratorical work at the University of Hawaii? In a way that kind of got you into politics, didn't it?
- Fong: Yes, at the University of Hawaii I entered debating and joined Hawaii Union, the forensic club. I was in oratory contests, extemporaneous as well as prepared. And when the Sheriff of the city wanted a university student to speak campaign for him, his workers came to the university and asked me, during my freshman year, to precede him on the political stump. And I preceded him every night on the political stump and he was elected. Two years afterwards, the nominee for mayor, Mayor Fred Wright, also asked me to do that for him and I preceded him on the political stump. And that's how I got my initiation into politics.
- Chou: I see. You must have enjoyed the speaking in the various and colorful rallies that were held in the Territory in those days.
- Fong: Yes, in those days it was very, very colorful. We didn't have TV, nor did we have radio. And the campaign was conducted by rallies at various places. One night we would visit about three different places. People would be gathered around at parks and school houses, and it was advertised throughout the community that there would be a Republican rally at night. So people would gather there, and the speakers would come one by one to speak at the rally.
- Chou: As I recall, you mentioned that there were no mechanical aids for the speakers; you had to be heard above the crowd. So your voice had to carry.
- Fong: Yes. We had to talk very loudly. And frankly speaking, when microphones were first introduced, I was appalled. Still yet today, as I use my hands in speaking, sometimes when the microphone is not stationary and the microphone is in my hands...sometimes I speak with my hand holding the microphone way down where my hand is, unconsciously. (Laughter)
- Chou: Well, actually, with your strong "stentorian" voice (as it's been called, Senator), you can be heard very clearly at quite a distance.

- Fong: Yes. I remember there was one speaker; he was Judge O'Brien. He had a loud voice and everybody liked to hear him speak because he was able to be heard.
(Laughter)
- Chou: Well, you mentioned that these were Republican candidates. At that early time in your life were you already a Republican?
- Fong: No, I wasn't. I was asked by the Republican Party to speak on behalf of the candidates and I just did it. My brother being a Republican, and speaking campaigning for the candidates who were Republican, naturally I became a Republican.
- Chou: I see. There was no question at the time that you would be a Democrat? The Democrats had almost no power in those days.
- Fong: That's true.
- Chou: And I want to clarify for the record that your brother was Leonard Fong.
- Fong: Leonard Fong. He was later elected Auditor of the City and County of Honolulu for 14 years.
- Chou: Fine. So you had some political experience already, even when you were at the University of Hawaii.
- Fong: Yes, I had a lot of experience in trying to seek out the voters. Prior to going to the University of Hawaii, I was--well, we had a club of graduate students from the class of 1924 of McKinley High School. Fred Wright, being a McKinley alumnus, was then a member of the Board of Supervisors. Wright asked us if we would not help him to campaign. We assiduously went through the voting lists with him, maybe 20 of us sitting around the table. He would go through the names and ask, "Who knows this person, who knows that person." If we knew the person we would go out and seek the person's vote, and we would report it back to Mayor Wright. He would jot it down on his pad, as to whether this man was for him and that woman was for him, or whether they were not for him. He predicted that he would beat Mayor Wilson by 2,000 votes, and he did beat him by 2,000 votes.
- Chou: Oh, that's fascinating, Senator. So you really had some very practical lessons.
- Fong: Yes, it was very practical politics. It was zeroing in on the individual, rather than like taking a gun and "spreadshooting" it around.

- Chou: You've never lost that touch of trying to reach individual voters.
- Fong: Well, except that when I ran and there were six to be elected, we didn't have to do that kind of concentrated campaigning.
- Chou: Okay. You're speaking of 1938 now, when you were running for your first seat in the House?
- Fong: 1938, yes. It was very haphazard. It was not until I ran for the United States Senate that I worked it the way Mayor Wright worked it.
- Chou: I see. So actually you didn't apply those lessons until 1959.
- Fong: No, I didn't. I was re-elected seven times, a fourteen-year span. During my fifth term as a member of the legislature, I was getting tired of being a legislator, but my brother Leonard kept on saying, "Why don't you try for one more term, one more term," and I did. And the last year, when I was beaten by 31 votes, it was--I shouldn't have been beaten--but it was one of those campaigns in which you felt that you already had enough and you just went through the motions.
- Chou: I see. I could tell from some of the newspaper accounts that you had been thinking of retiring from politics several years before that anyway.
- Fong: Yes.
- Chou: And it was not until the very last moment that you decided to file. Was it always at the encouragement of Leonard to go one more time, one more time?
- Fong: Yes. You see, I had reached the pinnacle of political success here in the territory. After five terms of 10 years, I had been Vice-Speaker and Majority Floor Leader, then became Speaker of the House. So, really, there was not much more, except for the Senate, and I didn't care to run for the Senate. And so it was--I was quite a disinterested person.
- Chou: At that time, of course, the legislature met only every other year, and only for 60 days.
- Fong: Yes. It was really a part-time job, and they only paid us \$1,000 a session. So you can see that it wasn't something that was too important.
- Chou: Yes, I see. By that time, of course, you had already started your legal career in Honolulu as a private

Chou: attorney. And before we get into that, I wonder if you'd like to backtrack just a little bit and tell us about your days at Harvard Law School?

Fong: Well, it was a rough three years there. Coming from balmy Hawaii to a cold, cold climate was really quite a change.

Chou: You actually went in 1932 and graduated in 1935.

Fong: Yes. And I didn't have too much money; I had \$2,000 to carry me through. I figured that if I would pass the first year, I would have a sufficient amount left that I could borrow enough or the family could scrape up enough money to keep me in the second year. If I passed the second year, then the last year probably the school would give me a loan. Then I figured if they flunked me out the first year, well, then, I would come back here. (Laughter) And as it turned out, by living very frugally, \$13 for room rent...

Chou: That was a month, \$13 a month.

Fong: Yes. In fact, it was \$11--the first room I had. And it was so small that it just had a bed, a desk and a bureau and one chair. When my friend visited with me, he said it was so small that he had to go outside if he wanted to change his mind! (Laughter) He couldn't change his mind in my room! But the next year I moved into larger quarters, at \$13.

For breakfast I would eat a bowl of oatmeal and maybe a little plate of prunes. That would cost about--the oatmeal would be ten cents, the prunes would be five cents, but we had a discount--a 20 percent discount if we bought a meal ticket, so the meal didn't cost us much in the morning. And then for lunch we would make a sandwich, and then at night we'd eat a fifty cents to about a dollar, dinner. And that was the extent of my expenditures, except for laundry, which was two or three dollars a month. So I got along very, very reasonably. When I finished my first year I had a few hundred dollars left. I came home for the summer and worked at the City and County of Honolulu, and made enough money to keep myself going, and pay for the transportation fare. So when I went back I had enough--a sufficient amount to carry me for part of the year. Prior to coming home I had asked the school officials whether they would loan me the tuition, and they were very kind enough to loan me the tuition of \$400.

Chou: Yes.

Fong: So I didn't have to raise \$400. I also got a \$400 loan for my third year. So all I had to do was get enough money to survive. Just at that time the City and County condemned about 14 feet of my mother's property--my mother's home--and paid her \$400 for that. And she sent that to me. And my married sister sent me about \$100, and my other sister sent me a few dollars, so I was able to make it through my second year. And my third year, well, my friend Chinn Ho loaned me \$100 a month for ten months, and I had a loan from the school for tuition and that's how I made it.

Chou: I see. Well, it was sort of nip and tuck all the way, in a sense.

Fong: Yes, yes.

Chou: I recall that you said your days were very long at Harvard; that you got up early and had to go to class and take down every word that the professors said.

Fong: Yes, because it was difficult to follow their thoughts. You had to take down every word so that you had time to digest them when you went back to your room and studied. The hours were very long because at that time they took in quite a number of students. Your grades, probably, at that time, didn't mean too much--that is, your college grades--they took in almost everyone who applied. Then the first year they would flunk out one-third. The popular saying at that time was, "Look to your left, look to your right, one of you will not be back next year." It seemed that every time you read the newspaper, somebody had quit school because he had gotten a little wacky, or he couldn't stand the hard work. You say to yourself, "Well, my chances of surviving are one better." (Laughter) It was that kind of a dog-eat-dog attitude.

Chou: Yes, yes.

Fong: You know, it was a survival thing. They said that if so many people quit, why, they couldn't fire, needn't flunk, so many. (Laughter) It was that kind of a situation there. Now, as I understand it, it's much better. They go through your records and find if you're a good student. Then they will try to help you out so that you'll graduate. Now, I understand, only five percent flunk out.

At that time, one-third would flunk out the first year. In my class of 560 I think only 230 graduated.

Chou: Oh, my.

- Fong: So it was a real tough grind because, coming from Hawaii, you know that you can't flunk. (Laughter) You can't flunk, because if you flunk, why, we would be ashamed. And besides, I was one of the first students from Hawaii to be tried out. They told me that my university was not accredited, and if I was in the upper ten percent of my class, they would try me. I was in the upper ten percent, and being one of the first students from Hawaii at Harvard--well, I couldn't very well flunk out.
- Chou: As I recall, you were the only one of Chinese ancestry in your class.
- Fong: Yes, yes.
- Chou: Yeah, that's what Bob Robinson told me, that you were the only Chinese.
- Fong: Yes. There was one other person who was "non-Caucasian"; he was an Egyptian--he came from Egypt. He didn't make it the first year.
- Chou: Oh, my.
- Fong: Yeah. I was the only one who survived, who was not a Caucasian.
- Chou: I see.
- Fong: I remember one morning, I was walking down Massachusetts Avenue--on a very cold day--with my books slung around my back, and this Caucasian boy turned to me and said, "Hiram, you know, Harvard Law School has a lot of boys of Jewish faith." He said, "You know, those Jewish boys--they study 12, 14 hours a day, and we Gentiles have got to follow them." I dropped my books, and laughed and laughed and laughed. And he said, "What are you laughing about?" I said, "Well, yesterday I was a minority of one. (Laughter) Today I'm in the majority. (Laughter) I'm a Gentile." (Laughter)
- Chou: Oh, that's marvelous. Senator, I'll just mention for the record here that you had been very active in the church. You had grown up going to the Kalihi Union Church, which was Congregational, and had also been active in the YMCA. And you were already a Protestant, of course, at the time. So it is an interesting thing that your friend recognized this at Harvard. (Laughter)

Well, is there anything else you want to say about your Harvard days?

Fong: Well, it was very interesting. For recreation we'd go down to Goodspeed's Bookstore in Boston, and browse around, looking at some of the old books. I brought back quite a number of old books. One day I had to hire a taxi to bring the books back, because there were so many. (Laughter) You get into the intellectual atmosphere--and you can't help it--of studying, studying, studying. By seeing everybody studying, you get to appreciate learning. It was a very, very enlightening part of my life, being at Harvard Law School. You see, the students--not only the faculty--made the law school; the students also made it. And as they say, almost every man had a Phi Beta Kappa key.

There were so many of the law school students in my class who had been leaders of their college activities. Either they had been president of the student body, or they had been editor of the school paper, or they were Phi Beta Kappa. And you would see so many Phi Beta Kappa keys around there, that it became very commonplace to hear that a Phi Beta Kappa key and ten cents would buy you a cup of coffee. At that time, ten cents was the price of a cup of coffee. (Laughter) So there was tremendous competition. And the students really made the school, together with the professors, of course. Because you knew you had to compete, you studied constantly.

Chou: At that time, you were not aware that you had qualified for Phi Beta Kappa, because Hawaii did not have a local chapter?

Fong: We didn't have a chapter. Finally when they installed a chapter here and I was asked to be a foundation member, I was skeptical. I said, "Are you sure that I made it?" I said, "You'd better check the record." They came back and said, "Yes, you made it." Then I accepted. I didn't want to accept an award for something that I never accomplished. And yes, they verified the fact that I did make Phi Beta Kappa.

Also there was a group of people known as the Real Deans at the University of Hawaii. I always said to myself, if I had stayed there four years I would have made the Real Deans' list, not knowing that I had made it. It was long, long afterwards, when somebody presented me with the school annual--the Ka Palapala--that I saw my graduation picture there, and my listing as "Real Dean." (Laughter) You see, I had left the school right after the summer session of 1930. The listing was in the 1931 annual. Naturally, for the whole year I was not in school, I did not--I was not

- Fong: asked to buy a school annual. So it never came to my attention that I was a Real Dean until much later.
- Chou: That's very interesting, and I think particularly in view of the fact that you had gone through school at such a fast pace at the University of Hawaii. And you had also had to work, part-time, during the time that you were in school.
- Fong: Yes.
- Chou: You were carrying such a heavy load.
- Fong: I was amazed that I was able to carry over 20 credits each semester. And yet, I didn't feel that it was too onerous. I was able to do that and still carry on collecting for Aloha Motors, writing newspaper articles for the Honolulu Advertiser, and taking tourists to the temples. And then to find that I made Phi Beta Kappa, why, it really surprised me.
- Chou: Do you think it would have made your life at Harvard easier had you known that you had qualified for Phi Beta Kappa?
- Fong: No, no, it would not have. But if I had known how important it was to have a very fine command of the English language, I would have probably worked harder on my English. You see, it never dawned on me that English was so important. If I had had a better command of the English language, I could have done better in law school, because by the choice of one word you can more or less gather many thoughts into that one word. But if you don't use the right word, then you've got to beat around the bush and you've got to keep on writing, so that the thoughts will finally come out--but in verbosity. Whereas, by being a good English student, I could have really done much better. I regret it--and, I, of course, did not have good English teachers. No one ever told me that the choice of words was very important; that I had to defend every word, had to defend every phrase, defend every sentence, and defend every paragraph. And now my advice to every student who goes to school is: you ought to be able to defend every word that you use, every phrase that you use, every sentence you use and every paragraph. If you can do that, then you will be a good writer.
- Chou: I think that this is very important in lieu of the fact that you grew up in an immigrant family in which Chinese mainly was spoken, certainly much more than English. And so you didn't grow up speaking English as a matter

Chou: of course.

Fong: That's true, very true. Moreover, nobody would correct us. I remember when one of my high school classmates-- I think it was Clarissa Hart--who corrected me once when I used the singular when I should have used the plural--like when I referred to the apples as "it" instead of "them." She corrected me once. And I never forgot that. (Laughter)

Chou: That is interesting. I think it's particularly true that the public schools at that time were trying to get the immigrant children--the families of immigrants--to have a greater command of the English language.

Fong: Yeah, but the teachers wouldn't tell you what was important. They would ask you to write a theme, and they would mark you "C," "A," "B," without telling you why. And you have no idea why you made an "A," why you made a "B," why you made a "C." I remember I made a "C" in a composition at the University of Hawaii in English class, and a friend of mine who got an "A" asked me to help him. I said to myself, "He got an "A." I couldn't figure out how he got an "A" and I got a "C," especially when I helped him! (Laughter)

Chou: Your speaking about English reminds me of the story that we had shared earlier about Neal Franklin, U. S. Army Air Corps Colonel Neal Franklin. And I wondered if you wanted to relate that.

Fong: Well, I didn't really know how to write.

Chou: Even as a graduate of Harvard Law School, the nation's top law school.

Fong: That's right. I didn't even know how to write. And it came very, very strikingly to my attention, when, during the Second World War, I was called into military service. I had been a reserve officer--an infantry officer--but I was called into Hickam Air Force Base and made an Air Force officer. I was placed in the Judge Advocate's office because I was a lawyer. I wrote the first opinion for an appeal that the Colonel asked me to do.

Then he questioned me all over the place. Oh, did I feel like a five-cent piece! Then I began to realize my lack of training. I said to myself, "Gee whiz, I don't know how to write." But under Colonel Franklin I learned to follow all the rules. I had to choose the right word, I had to be able to defend that word, be able to defend that phrase, be able to defend that sentence. It was then that I learned how to write.

Chou: What you're saying is a commentary upon higher education in Hawaii and at the law school.

Fong: It didn't have to be higher education; they could have taught me that in grammar school.

Chou: That's true, too.

Fong: If only one teacher had told me, "You choose the right words."--not because that word sounds good, or you know a phrase that sounds good and you just shove it in. That was what I'd been doing. And it was a revelation to me.

Chou: Well, how fortunate, then, for you that you got hold of such a strict officer when you were in the military!

Fong: Yes. And how fortunate I was to be able to finish school without knowing all the rules! (Laughter)

Chou: That really is unusual. Well, Senator, maybe we should back up a little bit and have you say a little bit about your decision to go into the House of Representatives, back in 1938. This was your first political attempt in Territorial politics. You had had some experience in campaigning for Honolulu's Sheriff Patrick Gleason and Mayor Fred Wright. But this, in 1938, was your own personal attempt, and I wonder if you would give us a picture of that.

Fong: Well, I was then in the City and County Attorney's Office as Third Deputy. I was handling a lot of paternity cases, and being an advisor to various agencies. It was one of those very, very frustrating jobs. (The work was not interesting, I would go to lunch and come back--there was really no incentive. I said to myself, "Is this the kind of life that I have and will have?" It was a dull life--no push to it. And yet, I was afraid to leave because here was a job that paid me \$200 a month. (Laughter) And finally it paid me \$287. I decided that if I were to run for office and got elected, then I would be forced to get out. So I decided to try my luck in elective office, for the House of Representatives from the Fifth District. And, of course, I was elected. But I didn't know what was ahead of me after the election, because I certainly had a hard time trying to hold on to my seat! (Laughter)

Chou: Well, actually, being seated at all, Senator, as I remember.

Fong: Yes. I was kept from my seat for seven days, on the grounds that I was an officer of the government, being

Fong: Deputy City and County Attorney. It was felt by many politicians that under the Organic Act, I wasn't eligible to run for office. However, I always maintained that I was just an employee, not an officer. I was finally seated. Of course, it was persecution on the part of the man I refused to support for Speaker, and he set the ball rolling against me.

Chou: That was Roy Vitousek, who had been Speaker of the House since 1935.

Fong: Yes.

Chou: Wouldn't it be appropriate at this point, too, Senator, to mention that, up until that time, the Republican Party had been very much in control of not only the government in Hawaii, but also the economic and social life of the Islands?

Fong: Yes, the political control was almost entirely in the hands of the Republican Party. When I was first elected, there were only two Democrats out of the House membership of 30. They were Fred Schumacher and George Holt, Jr. Prior to that Yew Char and George Holt had been elected. So the House was predominantly Republican-- 28 to 2, or 29 to 1. In the Senate were 14 Republicans and 1 Democrat: Judge William Heen was always elected. So the legislature was predominantly Republican. Naturally, when you have a predominance of one party, there will be factions. In the Republican Party, I suppose I could say I was one of the smaller factions. (Laughter)

Chou: Well, I was struck by the fact, Senator, that, as a very new elected official--you hadn't even taken your seat in the legislature as yet--you held back and did not endorse Roy Vitousek for Speaker. He was trying to get matters organized before the legislature met in February, 1939. And along about, oh, the middle of November in '38 he was seeking endorsements for his speakership position. As I recall, the newspapers indicated that you were silent on your choice.

Fong: Yes, I remember that night when we were called to a caucus of Republicans. It was upstairs on the second floor of the Mission Memorial Hall. At that time I refused to go along with Mr. Vitousek.

Chou: What was your reason for doing that?

Fong: Well, I thought that he represented a group that wielded too much power. I'm always trying to have balance. At that time, probably, I didn't realize what I was doing,

Fong: but I felt that there should be some balance and that we shouldn't be so one-sided, so lop-sided. And so I resisted his leadership, although I didn't have anybody to champion; I just wanted to show that I felt that there should be a little more balance.

The funny thing is that throughout my life I've been doing that. Later, when the Republicans got weak and the Democrats got strong, I felt that it was lop-sided the other way. We should really balance things out. I think that a balanced government is the best government we can have, because one curtails the excesses of the other. If you have a lop-sided government, you have the majority going every way and without any brakes at all.

Chou: Did it ever enter your mind, back in 1938, that you might have incurred the wrath of the Republican leadership by not supporting Roy Vitousek?

Fong: Well, I knew they would be sore at me. I knew that they would consider me a maverick, but it was the way I felt. But I was elected independently, by the people, and I wanted to represent the people the way I saw fit. I felt that that was my duty.

Chou: Wouldn't it have been simpler just to go along with the Republican leadership, being as there was no question that Mr. Vitousek would be elected speaker? There were only two Democrats. He couldn't have had much opposition within his own party.

Fong: Well, that would have been the smartest thing to do, to go along with him and reap all the benefits that went along with the majority. I was just starting on my law practice, and it would have been very helpful if the Republicans had given me some cases. But somehow I never thought about it. I never looked at it from that standpoint. And as a result of my maverickism--if there's such a word--I never got any business from the entrenched economic powers here.

Chou: I see.

Fong: I never got one single cent of business. Throughout the time that I practiced law, and throughout the time that I was Speaker of the House I have never gotten any kind of business from them. Never any bit of business at all.

Chou: At the same time, Senator, it seems to me that the voters responded to the fact that you were willing to be independent. I mean, here you were, a Republican--there was

Chou: no question that you would ever become a Democrat, is that right?

Fong: Well, I was wooed many times.

Chou: I see.

Fong: I was wooed many times to become a Democrat. But I'm not that type of a person who will run away from his duties and will run away from his loyalties. I'm very strong in that respect.

Chou: Is this due to the fact that you grew up in a Chinese home, where family loyalty (and loyalty to friends) is taught from almost the very beginning of life?

Fong: Yes, yes. You have to be a man of your word. You have to be a man of your own actions. You're responsible for what you do. And even though the going is tough, you've got to bear it and endure it. You just can't go along--just because the other side has a greater group of people, and you might reap benefits from them. This was taught to us very, very early in life.

Chou: By both mother and father?

Fong: Oh, yes. Yes, you had to be true to yourself.

Chou: That certainly seems to reflect in your actions throughout the years that you were in the Territorial Legislature, Senator. You stated as early as 1941, in your second attempt at election, that you "would vote your conscience." Despite the problems that you had in being seated, you did not strictly follow the party line.

Fong: No, I didn't follow the party line at all. Where I felt the party line was right, I did go along. Where I felt it was not in the interest of the public, I did not.

Chou: I don't want to jump too far ahead in your territorial career. I feel that the action of the Republican leadership in 1939, to keep you away from your seat, is very important, and I would like to have your recollections of what happened at that time.

Fong: Well, you know, the peculiar thing is that I--there are a lot of things that you have unearthed that I was not aware of, due to the fact that I was kept from my seat for seven days and didn't know what happened. Of course, the House Journal had not been printed yet. Yeah, it was all typed out but not printed, so I couldn't see it. I didn't know what was going on, not being a member of the legislature in the beginning. Being kept out of

- Fong: my seat, I couldn't go over the notes and the minutes of the previous sessions. So, really, I didn't know what was going on. And you have unearthed a lot of things about opinions by the Attorney General [J. V. Hodgson], and opinions by Judge [William B.] Lymer concerning my eligibility to sit, and concerning who made what motions at the time--I was not aware of those things. I only knew that I was kept out of my seat.
- Chou: I see. The question was whether you had resigned as third deputy of the City and County of Honolulu before you ran for the House of Representatives. As I note in my research, even Judge Lymer himself indicated that the House and the Senate were empowered by Section 15 of the Organic Act to be the judge of the qualifications of its own members.
- Fong: Yes.
- Chou: Lymer had pointed out that others had been seated in the legislature without having previously resigned their respective official positions with the Territory. Still the fact remained that your seat was being challenged.
- Fong: Yes. There were various instances of people who kept their positions--official positions--and were still seated in the legislature. For example, Mr. [Arthur A.] Akina from Kohala: he was the Deputy Sheriff, yet he was never challenged. He was such a close friend of Vitousek's, he was never challenged. And there were other people that I can't recall just now and they were never challenged. Why should they challenge me?
- Chou: I can understand that when you first ran for election--you had announced your candidacy on August 5, 1938--knowing this had been the common practice of people in the legislature, it probably never crossed your mind to resign.
- Fong: No, it never crossed my mind, nor was I aware of the provision in the Organic Act, that an officer of the government could not run for office. And I always maintained that I was not an official, that I was just an employee of the city.
- Chou: For the record, I might mention that your position was created at the request of the City and County Attorney, Wilfred Tsukiyama, who needed an additional worker to help him.
- Fong: Yes.
- Chou: Tsukiyama appealed to the mayor, who agreed with the need, and the mayor asked the Board of Supervisors to

- Chou: create this position, which they did. Then you were hired in response to that request.
- Fong: Yes.
- Chou: So it was not a position....
- Fong: Created by Congress, or created by the legislature.
- Chou: I wanted that clear as to your thinking at the time that you ran.
- Fong: But I was not aware of that provision in the Organic Act. After I was elected, then there were some questions that came up, as to whether I was eligible to run.
- Chou: Well, the House resolved itself ultimately into a committee as a whole, and they did vote you in. But it was nip and tuck there for a while, I'm sure. (Laughter) The newspapers reported that even before the vote was taken, popular sentiment as well as the feeling of your fellow legislators, was that you really should have been seated.
- Fong: There was also some question as to how, if I were thrown out, they would elect or sit my replacement. And, naturally, they were exploring the idea of having the next highest vote-getter come in and take my place. Finally they came to the conclusion that there had to be an election. And if there was to be an election, there was no question that I could get in again. So it was useless to throw me out! (Laughter)
- Chou: Section 37 of the Organic Act provided that vacancies in the legislature have to be filled by special elections. Were you aware, Senator, that there were two movements afoot to bypass that provision in the Organic Act?
- Fong: No, I was not aware of it, because I was not in the House.
- Chou: I see. Okay.
- Fong: I was an outsider then.
- Chou: Representative Walter Macfarlane, on the very first day of the opening of the legislature in which you were not seated, offered House Concurrent Resolution Number 3, requesting that Congress empower the Territory of Hawaii to replace any vacant positions by a vote of the remaining members of the legislature. That was an interesting development, I thought.

Fong: Yes. I was unaware of that.

Chou: And then, on the 21st of February of 1939, Representative Worrall introduced House Concurrent Resolution Number 11, which again tried to circumvent Section 37 of the Organic Act by asking Congress to permit the territory to accept the next highest vote-getter (who in 1939 was a man willing to support Vitousek).

Well, it's interesting that the Republican leadership took these two methods of trying to control the legislature. That is, to control the elected officials of the people.

Fong: It was difficult for them to have in their ranks a dissenting voice. Since I was a dissenting voice, I can understand how they felt. They wanted to squelch that voice and, naturally, they tried to do everything to see that it was squelched.

Chou: Did it surprise you that you were seated?

Fong: No. I felt all the time that I would be seated because I felt that I was elected by the people. Why should others keep me out of my seat?

Chou: So you were able to take your seat then on February 23rd, eight days after the legislature convened. Before we go further, could I ask you your personal feelings about what occurred during those seven days when you had to sit outside?

Fong: Oh, I just sat out there and listened to what they were doing there, but it was very difficult to follow the proceedings because I was outside and didn't know what's going on. I showed up every day, but I was not permitted inside.

Chou: The legislature was a very small body. Was it your feeling that, once you were seated, you would just let bygones be bygones and work as you needed to do to represent your district?

Fong: Yes, I felt that I had to vote my conscience. It was not a question then of just being in opposition.

Chou: Okay. It was very interesting that later on the ILWU supported you. Did you have any idea, when you first started introducing bills for the benefit of not just the fifth district but for the, shall we say, the common, every-day person, that as early as the first session, people like Jack Hall were kind of watching you and thinking, "Hey, here is a Republican who understands the average worker and we will try to work

Chou: through Representative Fong."?

Fong: Well, people could see that I was not under the thumb of the Big Five, nor under Vitousek's thumb--that I came from a district which, at that time, was Republican, but where there was also a tremendous--where there was also a strong element of Democrats. Outside of the plantations, in Kalihi and the Palama area and town area, there were really some strong Democratic strongholds. These were where the real working people lived. You couldn't find any more lower economic groups than people who lived in Kalihi and Palama and in that town area--Aala Park, around Kukui Street. These were the people that I represented.

Chou: As a matter of fact, you'd been born in that very district.

Fong: Right in Kalihi, yes. And, naturally, it was part of my upbringing. They were like an element in my life, that group of people.

Chou: To be independent?

Fong: Yes. To know what they were striving for.

Chou: Yes.

Fong: They were all working people; hard-working people--blue collar and unskilled workers. In that atmosphere we grew up, and so it was part of our makeup.

Chou: You just sort of absorbed it, along with everything else?

Fong: Of course, I could have forgotten it.

Chou: Yes.

Fong: I could have forgotten it.

Chou: Well, that's what I was thinking, Senator. You had gone away to law school. You were beginning your own private law practice.

Fong: As I said, I could have gotten out of it (--the Kalihi experience). That is, I could have pushed it aside and said, okay, I'm going to follow the path of least resistance and get all the benefits I can get, but I was not that type of an individual. I always remembered my old friends.

And there were many interesting legal cases. One of the most interesting cases was the Ho Poi (Kee) case, wherein

Fong: that man had two--he had a wife and a concubine. There were seven children born to the wife and, I think, nine children born to the concubine. But they were all registered in the wife's name.

Chou: That was Chinese tradition.

Fong: Chinese tradition. The first wife, or the wife, was given the honor of being the mother.

Chou: She was the official mother.

Fong: And even the children who were born to the concubine would go home and address the first wife as Mother. And then they would call [their own mother], the second wife, "Auntie." The question in the case arose where the will stipulated, "To my lawfully begotten children." Now the seven children of the first wife said, "We are the lawfully begotten children; the other nine should not be in." And that was the fight--I represented the nine. And we finally prevailed. It was ruled that all of them were children, legally begotten. (Laughter) It was an interesting case. It took many, many years.

Chou: At the same time that you were developing a very interesting and very lucrative law practice, Senator, you started investing in real estate and getting into business, too.

Fong: Yes. Yes. I felt that the law field was limited; you can only do certain things. It's a very personal thing and you only have so much time. Whereas, if you got into business, you have other people who would be doing work also. So we bought real estate and then we formed this Finance Factors company. With the Finance Factors company, we just grew and grew and grew. So that today, we have a little conglomerate--financial conglomerate--industrial loan company, mortgages, real estate. We're in construction, we're in hotel management, we're in apartment rentals, business rentals. We have a domestic life insurance company, and we also generalize in insurance. The assets, I would say, are in the vicinity of about a hundred and fifty million dollars, so it's quite a sizeable company, with equity of about eighteen million dollars--equity in capital and surplus. And to have grown to such a large company in a matter of just about 27 years now, is quite a success, I would say.

Chou: I think that everyone would agree with that. To what would you attribute the success, Senator?

Fong: Just hard work. The opportunity was there. The association was good. Everyone contributed; we trusted each

Fong: other. We did not milk the company; we plowed back all of the profits into the company. We gave very, very small dividends. And we always treated the customer with respect, and we never tried to pull a fast one on them. We tried to do an honest piece of work. It has always been our policy that we would never argue with the customer. If there is some give, we'll give. We've always been successful.

Chou: That certainly is a very conservative way of doing business, Senator.

Fong: Yes. We've always done business with the idea that we have other people's money entrusted to our care; that we are trustees and this is a great responsibility, and that we cannot slacken that responsibility. It's one of conserving the capital, and at the same time plowing ahead.

Chou: Senator, I know that you have many small investors in Finance Factors. It's been said that some of the small investors include members of various unions. ~~One~~ union of great importance to Hawaii is the ILWU. Would you care to speculate on whether your fairness to the laboring population (who make up most of the general population of Hawaii), in the various acts which you saw through the Territorial House, helped in your ultimate business success?

Fong: I would say our real success in our business was due to the fact that we had very, very honest, diligent, hard-working officers, plus dedicated employees. But it was the Board of Directors which set the policy, and it was always a conservative one. It was one in which we gave fair service, and we gave honest service, and we treated everyone with fairness. It was due to that fact, I think, that we have grown because people trusted us. None of us has a blemish. That's why it was so important for us, whenever we went into anything at all, to be above board. I am lucky because I have been in various very, very precarious callings. For example, being a Senator is a precarious calling.

You know, there are so many things that your clerks could do, or your aides could do, that can reflect upon you. There are so many things that are done that you're not conscious of, where they might say there's a conflict of interest. I'm so happy that when I finally retired from the United States Senate, that I came out with a clean record. Many people say that, you know, when you go to Congress, if you can come home without an indictment against you, and with your same wife (Laughter), you know, you're a success... (Laughter)

Fong: There's always a fight. Now, you see, there's a fight now on the question of abortion. And then the question of pay. This is in the Labor, Education and Welfare committee, of which I was a member. I could have been the ranking Republican if I were there now. Senator Magnuson is the chairman. They are holding up appropriations now because there's an eternal fight on the question of abortion. Every year when the bill comes up, there's a fight. Now, Congress could easily have a bill that takes care of two years of appropriations, rather than one, instead of wasting all that time of the committee members and the Congress to fight over the same problem that comes up every year. You see, if we had a biennial appropriation--an appropriation for two years--then for one year at least you don't have that problem; that year you can devote to other things. But every year you have the same thing coming up, and it's just a waste of time. Of course it makes the chairman very powerful.

Chou: Yes.

Fong: Yeah, and they won't give up the position. But it just creates a lot of work. It could be streamlined. I think Congress would better serve itself by having a two year appropriation rather than a one year appropriation. In a one-year appropriation you've got to have the introductory bill--the first bill that comes up to authorize it. It authorizes so much for this department, so much for that. And then the appropriation committee comes in and appropriates the money, and they may appropriate less than that, you see. You have a fight on the first bill, which authorizes it--the authorization bill. And that goes on and on and on. Then you have a fight again in the appropriation bill. You see, all that could be eliminated, at least for one year. And then Congress could really put it's teeth in a lot of other things that are more worthwhile. But Congress has not seen itself to do that. I hope someday that there would be a biennial authorization bill and a biennial appropriation bill--that would simplify--that would give the members of Congress so much more time for themselves.

Chou: Do you see that in the near future?

Fong: Well, if the chairmen are going to act like prima donnas (and, you know, every person who's elected feels that he's representing a sovereign state, and I would say there are a lot of prima donnas there) (Laughter)--they're not going to give up that power. They like to subject all these cabinet members and these sub-cabinet members and their deputies to come before them every year. They're wasting the time of the cabinet members, they're wasting the time of their deputies, they're wasting the time of all the

- Fong: clerks who have to get these facts together. You know, we could save a lot of money.
- Chou: You wouldn't run your business that way, would you?
- Fong: No, I wouldn't run my business that way; I'd go bankrupt if I did.
- Chou: Tell me what you think about this fight over the pay increase that sort of snuck by?
- Fong: Well, you know, last time the legislators gave themselves a very hefty increase. Now they are trying to give themselves another increase. The Senate especially feels that they shouldn't get that, but the House feels that they are "worth" it, and this is the fight between them. The House members couldn't accept just the House getting it and not the Senate members because then others would say, "Well, the House is greedy, whereas the Senate is not." You see. If anybody's going to be blamed, then the whole Congress be blamed--House and Senate.
- Chou: Yes.
- Fong: So this is the problem they're facing. But I think that the pay of \$57,000 is sufficient. Sufficient.
- Chou: It would seem to the average worker that \$57,000 is a very nice sum.
- Fong: Yeah, it's a nice salary. Of course, they have a lot of expenses, but the last increase really took care of it.
- You see, it's the acceleration of wages that has caused inflation in the United States--and the nonproductivity. It is the acceleration of wages not being in conformity with an increase in productivity, which has really caused inflation.
- Chou: Do you think that the labor unions are pretty much at fault for this...they're always pushing....
- Fong: No question. Every time there is a reopening, they're asking for more. So you have a continuous acceleration of increase of pay. And if you increase the pay, naturally everything increases. Well, another thing that has to do with it is the increase in the cost of energy. When you increase the cost of energy, then everything requiring energy has to increase. And these are the two factors which really have caused inflation.
- Chou: We've talked before about the fact that the government is not run very efficiently. I think it was very good

Chou: news to learn recently that the Post Office has been profitable for the first time in many, many years. At the time when you were on the Post Office committee, how did you assess the work of the Post Office so that it might be changed to make it more effective?

Fong: When I sat on the Post Office committee, neither I nor anyone of the members of the committee had any idea of what the postal rates should be. If one member had a dear friend who had a mailing business, he would see that the friend would probably get $1/8$ cent cut on his mailing. That's the way it was run.

Chou: Oh, sort of a political....

Fong: It was quite political. And then we had to appropriate quite a lot of money to subsidize part of the Post Office operations. So there was a clamor to put the Post Office on a more efficient basis and to take the appointment of post masters out of politics.

Now, here again, the Republicans, whenever they get into a position where they can appoint somebody, then they just throw it away. (Laughter) From the viewpoint of a Republican, I felt we were giving away 3,000 Post Master positions. The appointments could have helped our party.

Chou: Yes.

Fong: But the President wanted it, and I was, I think, the last man on the Post Office committee finally to accede to it. So now we have a Board of Governors. You will find that the Post Master General does not stay there too long. He stays there for a few years, then he quits, takes another office, because it's a job without the rank of a cabinet officer. I was asked later what would I do if I could do things all over again. I said I would eliminate the Board of Governors and have the Postmaster General be a member of the cabinet, but I would keep the rate commission, the people who set the rates. They would be the ones who would know what the expenses were, what was necessary to really set the rates so as to not favor one group over the other groups, or to give preference to one group and then let the others suffer.

The surplus which you're talking about is just a temporary thing. Next year, I understand, they're going to raise the rates. However, when you compare the postal rates in the United States with those of other countries, we do have a very low rate. It has not been self-supporting. We have appropriated, I think, around over a billion

Fong: dollars a year to subsidize the Post Office. The reason why it has not been profitable is because there are a lot of small little post offices in small little areas--rural areas--which are kept open. An efficient businessman would have closed them. (Laughter) But politics comes into play again.

Chou: Yes, and service to the people.

Fong: Yes.

Chou: It seems to me that mail, and the delivery of messages and that kind of thing, is very important to the people.

Fong: And delivery of magazines and newspapers, to keep the people educated--these are some of the concerns. That's why the government provides subsidies. But if you were a hard-headed businessman, and were looking for the bottom line to see whether you've made a profit, you would eliminate quite a number of these post offices, because they're very expensive to maintain. And yet, when you look at it from the other angle, that you have to serve the people and that they should be educated--the newspapers and periodicals should reach them--never mind how distant they are--then that's another story.

Chou: So, again, you always have had to look at the balance.

Fong: You have got to have balance. There's no such thing as just true black and white.

Chou: Senator, you were one of two statehood senators in the Congress. What impact do you think Hawaii's statehood has had on the Congress? And what has your impact, do you think, been in the Congress?

Fong: Well, I was the first person of Oriental descent to sit in the Congress. Naturally, the legislators felt that Hawaii was quite a liberal state. And being a liberal state, our two Senators and the Congressional delegation were expected to be very liberal. They were most surprised that they found in me a moderate.

Chou: Do you think that Oren Long was pretty moderate too?

Fong: Yes, Oren Long was quite moderate, but he stayed there only four years. I believe that the other Senators expected me to be very, very liberal, but it turned out that I was a moderate, and they were quite surprised. And, naturally, they were especially surprised that here was a non-Caucasian who was able to work with them. The most surprising thing was that most of my very good friends--quite a number of my good friends--are from the South.

Chou: Yes. Why is that?

Fong: Well, I think they began to respect the stands that I took. Many times I was with them. Men like Senator Stennis, Senator Eastland, and a few others. They are very good friends of mine--Strom Thurman--all very good friends of mine. They will swear by me. In fact, they all urged me not to quit. (Laughter) I was very happy, in that I was able to win their respect.

When I first went to Congress, I had some trepidation, not being a Caucasian and being an Oriental from a state with its mixed population, as to whether they would accept me--whether they would throw obstacles in my way, and whether I could perform the things that I was duty-bound to do for my state. But within the first day or two, I knew that I was accepted. It was no trouble at all.

Chou: It seems to me that they might have expected you to be either very conservative, as a Republican, or very liberal because you were from a heavily-Democratic state....

Fong: Or maybe a dunce. Or maybe one who's illiterate.

Chou: Oh, that's true; they didn't know what to expect.

Fong: (Laughter) No, they didn't know what to expect. They didn't know whether I had a queue or not! (Laughter) Remember some of the things that happened 'way back in 1898 when they were discussing the annexation of Hawaii....

Chou: Senator, did you feel that your experience in the Territorial House really prepared you for work in the Congress?

Fong: Yes. Being Speaker of the House and knowing all the rules made it very easy for me to just fall into my place in the Senate.

Chou: The fact that you had been defeated five years before your election to the Senate didn't really discourage you from politics, did it?

Fong: No, it was my fault that I was defeated.

Chou: It was your fault?

Fong: Yes. I didn't work.

Chou: Ah.

- Fong: And I got to the point where I was disinterested.
- Chou: And it was partly the fault of the Republican Party, too, was it not? Not to be watching what was going on in the community?
- Fong: No, at that time we did a very foolish thing, as I said. It was a question of, we Republicans had knocked out three holidays from the government employees. (Laughter) We had curtailed their leave and we didn't give them the classification that they wanted. So the combination of the government employees--you know, there's a big group of government employees--together with the labor unions who went after the Republican Party that caused the change.
- Chou: All the more surprising that the unions would support you in 1959.
- Fong: Yes. But, as I said, they didn't like Fasi. (Laughter)
- Chou: Again, it just seems like a very interesting set of circumstances, Senator, that kind of prepared things for you in 1959. By 1954, you had been removed from your seat in the House. Did you feel that, in a sense, your political debts had been paid by that defeat?
- Fong: Yes, all those people who didn't like me, for example, were satisfied that they had kicked me out. So I didn't have their rancor when I ran for the Senate. I think if I had kept on in the House, I think the rancor would have continued and they would have used that against me. But, in 1959 when I ran for the Senate, all of that was forgotten.
- Chou: You may not have been able to be elected to the U. S. Senate in '59 if you had been in the Territorial House at that time.
- Fong: Probably. I probably could have made more enemies.
- Chou: That's very true. In the interim you used your time to build up Finance Factors.
- Fong: Yes. We really worked on Finance Factors. I also kept up my law practice, and I became financially independent, which was very important.
- Chou: You felt it was very important to....
- Fong: Yes, to be financially independent. And so, whenever I did anything for anybody, why, it was done because it was the thing to do, never looking for a reward.

Chou: You didn't really need a monetary reward.

Fong: No, I never needed it.

Chou: It kept you....

Fong: In fact, I only wanted to go to Congress for one term. And I was willing to spend, what was it, \$50,000 a year and spend it for six years--\$300,000*--and that would be my contribution and I would come home.

Chou: That was your thought?

Fong: That was my thought. But the peculiar thing about it was that, you see, that's what Hawaii's delegate Joe Farrington did. He spent quite a lot of money to entertain the necessary people, and I thought I had to do that. But when I went there I had a vote--I was a Senator. I had one vote, which was just as good as anybody's.

Chou: Oh, yes.

Fong: Instead of my entertaining, they entertained me. So I didn't have to spend that kind of money.

Chou: The whole approach to work in Washington was different, of course, with statehood.

Fong: Yes, very different, very different.

Chou: Did it ever occur to you that you might want to be delegate to Congress? 'Way back?

Fong: I was asked.

Chou: You were asked?

Fong: I was asked to run for delegate to Congress by certain people here. I told them, "As long as I go to Washington with my hat in my hand," I said, "no, I would never go." "Because," I said, "I could never do that." And yet, when I ran for the Senate, these same people who wanted me to run for delegate didn't come out to help me.

Chou: Ah, that's interesting. (Laughter) As I recall, Senator, you didn't have a heck of a lot of encouragement from the Republican Party.

Fong: No, no, no. They didn't encourage me at all.

Chou: Do you think that the fact that you had been defeated was a consideration for them, or did they feel that you couldn't get all the voters back of you?

*See also pp. 19, 154.

Fong: They didn't figure that I could get elected.

Chou: Whom did they think could have gotten elected? Are you thinking that William Heen might....

Fong: Well, Wilfred Tsukiyama was in politics, and they felt that he probably would be one that would be elected.

Chou: Yeah, he could have gotten 30 percent of the vote, being of Japanese ancestry.

Fong: It would be more.

Chou: More. 33 percent?

Fong: 35 percent. Yeah. They felt that he--and Judge Heen probably would have made it. And what chance did I have?

Chou: There again, in a way, Senator, you were sort of bucking the expected responses of the community.

Fong: Yes, yes.

Chou: Did you think you had a chance to win?

Fong: Well, I felt that with my qualifications I was just as good as anyone--and that if I could present them to the public, they would "buy" me. And they did, they did.

Chou: You were a younger man than Heen....

Fong: I was a younger man.

Chou: You were wealthy....

Fong: And he was a judge. And he had Republican support all the way. He had a lot of Republican support. He also had a lot of the older Chinese community support. I was a maverick. Yeah, I was independent. So they supported him.

Chou: You have mentioned about 15 percent of the Chinese people have never supported you.

Fong: Yes.

Chou: 15 percent out of the small percentage of Chinese in Hawaii is significant.

Fong: Yes. For one reason or another they never supported me.

Chou: I wouldn't expect anybody to ever get 100 percent support. I'm sure Tsukiyama would not have gotten the total number of Japanese voters either. But it's interesting how you have been able to get voters to support you from both parties, especially from the rank and file. The fact that you were already a millionaire didn't seem to trouble a lot of the less wealthy people.

Fong: Yes, well, many of them say that I earned it, you see. I didn't inherit it, so they didn't hold it against me. At that time, you see, the Puritain ethic was still quite prevalent. (Laughter)

Chou: You don't think it is much today?

Fong: Not so much today.

Chou: I suppose those were different times, Senator, when people who sort of pulled themselves up by their bootstraps, so to speak...

Fong: Were respected.

Chou: ...were respected.

Fong: Yes.

Chou: It was expected of you to work hard, was it not?

Fong: That's true. Then, if you were successful, then it proved you had something in you.

Chou: I suppose the fact that there had never been a scandal associated with your work, or with your political career, too, must have helped considerably.

Fong: Oh, yes, yes. People knew you. I had been in politics a long time, 14 years, and if anything negative was present, it would have come out.

Chou: There must have been a lot of temptations along the way, though, Senator. I mean, the fact that so many things were available to you in terms of....

Fong: Well, we could have pushed ourselves. I recently was asked this question: "Why is it that the Democrats are so much in power now and you Republicans did not get into the life of the community the way the Democrats used politics to get into the community? Why is it that everything they do now affects the community?" I answered, "At that time we treated politics as, like an

Fong: avocation, not a real vocation. We had our jobs--I was a lawyer, I was a businessman--and I worked at it even when the legislature was in session. Before the session opened, in the morning, I went to my law office. And then, as soon as lunchtime came, I came back to my law office. Then if I had a meeting at 2:00 o'clock, I would go back there, and then when the matter was over I came back to my law office." You see, I was predominantly a lawyer. The legislature met for a 60-day period once in two years.

So politics was just one of the things that you had to do, but it was not the overwhelming thing in our life. But the Democrats have made it an overwhelming thing in their lives, to control the thought, to control the economic life, to control the political life of this community. That's what they've done.

Chou: That's the only way they could have wrested power from the Republicans.

Fong: Yes, you see.

Chou: So they did it consciously.

Fong: They did it consciously--this was their goal--whereas the Republicans didn't have that kind of a goal. We were in there, and it was, as I said, an avocation. Everybody had his own job. Now, many of the legislators don't work. This is their job. You see the difference?

Chou: Yes, I certainly do. Do you think the Republicans ever would have gone into hardline politics, bringing politics and....

Fong: No, because the Republicans believe that the least government is the best.

Chou: Ah. So it's a total difference in philosophy?

Fong: Yes. Whereas the Democrats believe in centralized government--they centralized their power--we say....

Chou: Spread it?

Fong: Spread it out. Centralized government is bad government, which is true. When you've got too much power in the hands of a few, it's bad government. Republicans could have done the same if we wanted to.

Chou: I see. It was not so much that you didn't recognize what the Democrats were doing in Hawaii in the 1950's, but that you just made a choice not to act in the same way?

Fong: Yes. I never bothered, I never butted into the various government levels. As Speaker of the House I could have. I could have dictated many things, I could have held out appropriations from the university; I could have gone there and said, "Okay, I want this man as regent. If you don't give it to me we're going to do certain things." I've never done it. [University of Hawaii, President Gregg, Sinclair was a Democrat. I didn't even know he was a Democrat. He was just a friend. Whenever he came to me, and whatever the university wanted, I helped him with it. I could have said, "Okay, you're a Democrat; I'm not going to help you."

Chou: Well, you've always supported higher education--education of all types.

Fong: Yes. We never butted into the university. I could never claim that the Republican Party ever put their fingers into university affairs or tried to control its administration. Now, the Democrats just go in there. They get their regents in there and their regents set policies.

Chou: In retrospect, is there anything that you would have done differently in Congress, Senator?

Fong: No, I don't think so--because of the situation back home. I could have spoken out more frequently and spoken out with more determination on certain issues. But if I did, my people here would be...I would not be voicing the general sentiment. My people here are liberal.

Chou: Yes. I see.

Fong: My people are very liberal here in Hawaii. And I could have taken strong stands on defense, for example. I could have taken strong stands on fiscal responsibility. But if I did that, probably I would get quite a number of them against me.

Chou: They probably would have picketed your office.

Fong: Yeah. (Laughter) You see? So, I let my vote decide, rather than to express my opinion.

Chou: I see. There has been some criticism that you didn't speak out on issues enough. But as I have mentioned, the record of your vote will indicate how you felt and how you acted. But were you not concerned that the voters would examine your voting record and say, "Hey, I don't go along with this?"

Fong: But that was all right. That was all right. They could examine my record, because many, many people say one

Fong: thing and vote the other way.

Chou: That's true. Have you an example?

Fong: You get a lot of people talking conservative and voting very liberal. You take, say, Senator Jacob Javits, for example. Any time when you talk about business, oh, he takes a very strong business line. But when he comes to vote, he's way out there, on the other side.

Chou: Yes.

Fong: Talk is cheap. It's the vote that counts.

Chou: And so you were not concerned about speaking out on the issues, to the extent that....

Fong: I would arouse their wrath. (Laughter) I spoke just enough.

Chou: In retrospect, that seemed to work, Senator, because you were never defeated in your races for the Senate.

Fong: I just spoke enough.

Chou: Just spoke enough. Do you have a certain amount of intuitive ability, Senator, do you think?

Fong: Well, you see, it was an uphill battle for me. All the way. Hawaii's Democratic. And if I wanted to retain my seat, I couldn't be 'way out there.

Chou: And yet, you couldn't be ultra-conservative, either.

Fong: And yet, I couldn't go against my conscience when I voted. I could refrain from talking; I didn't have to talk. That was not my duty. My duty was to vote. When I vote, then I've got to vote my conscience.

Chou: Well, what about lobbying, you know. Going around and seeing your peers to see if you could influence them to vote your way?

Fong: Well, every man is supposed to know what he's doing. You never question a man's vote in the Congress of the United States.

- Chou: Senator, I know that our time is getting short. Would you be so kind as to give us a closing statement as to your political career in Congress, and also your philosophy and your outlook on life? It seems to me, having studied your life from practically the minute that you were born, that you have held to certain principles. I would like for you to speak about those principles, because I see them as being the major influences in your life.
- Fong: Well, first, I think if a person is going to seek political office, especially in the Congress of the United States, he should have some financial independence. And with that financial independence, then he could do a lot of things without being worried whether he votes one way or the other, whether he'll get re-elected or defeated. Too many of our legislators over there are so worried about being defeated. All they expect to do--all they want to do--is get re-elected, so they do everything possible to get re-elected. And, after all, that is not what a person who represents the people should be looking at.
- Chou: If what you say is true, people voting under those circumstances would seem to vote out of desperation.
- Fong: Yes. You'd be surprised that so many of them feel it is so important to be re-elected. Because if they're not re-elected, they've nothing to do, they've nothing to go back to. You see, so many of them have been in politics so long that they have nothing to fall back on. I was lucky in that respect, that I had been out of local politics. I had made my mark in the business world, and was financially independent to do what I really wanted to do.
- Chou: And even at that, if you had not achieved business success, you had a law office to which you could return.
- Fong: Yes. And whether I was re-elected or not, it didn't matter. In fact, I only wanted to go for one term anyway. Of course, no one wants to be defeated. (Laughter)
- Chou: Oh, yes, I'm sure. What you're saying is you enjoyed a certain amount of personal freedom?

Fong: Yes, I had a tremendous amount of freedom in my work. Nobody could intimidate me. The unions couldn't intimidate me, big business couldn't intimidate me; I did what I wanted to do. And yet, I kept friendly with them all. You see, they were abrasive, but I always listened. Even though I may not agree with them, I wouldn't argue with them. I listened and then I decided; when the time came, what I had to do I did.

Chou: You had a reputation of being forthright in the Territorial House. Do you feel that you kept this attitude in Congress?

Fong: Yes. When I felt a thing was not right, I said so. I didn't beat around the bush, nor did I keep a man hanging as to what my feelings were. Maybe sometimes it was not the right thing: I should not have told what I would do. (Laughter) But I always felt that you have to be true to yourself; you've got to live with yourself. You've got to do what you think is right, and then do it.

Many of the people voted for me because they felt that I was capable of analyzing the situation, and trusted me to do the right thing. Whether I did it one way or the other way, it didn't matter as far as they are concerned, as long as I did it. They had faith in me, and that's why they elected me. Just because the majority in Congress wanted it a certain way did not mean that I had to go along with the majority, even though politically it may not have been the right thing. For the majority may be wrong. If I felt that the majority was wrong, I should not follow the majority. And I have not gone along with the majority when I felt the majority was not right. Of course, I had to weigh the thing back and forth and see what was the right thing to do. In everything I did, I wanted to keep my word. That is why if I tell you that I will meet you tomorrow at a certain time, I will try to meet you. If I find later that my schedule is such that I can't, I will call you beforehand and tell you, "Gee, could we postpone it or could we delay it a little bit." At least in the small things, you can be trusted. If you can be trusted in the small things, you can be trusted in the big things. And a little thing like keeping a date, for example, is very important to me. If I tell you that I will see you, I will see you.

Chou: Is this something your parents emphasized at home?

Fong: Yes. My father was very honest. I remember one time when I came home with a pineapple. And he asked me where did I get the pineapple? I told him the boys were helping themselves from a truck, so I helped myself, too. He took the pineapple and threw it out the window. And he chased me out of the house--I ran out of the house! (Laughter)

Chou: You learned early that you had to behave....

Fong: Very early that I had to be honest--had to be honest.

Chou: And I was struck by the fact, too, in some of the earlier tapes that I've made with you, that you said your mother always trusted you to do the right thing.

Fong: Yes. She always trusted me; she always felt that I would do the right thing. She never questioned me as to what I did. She felt that ever since I was a child that I knew what I was doing, and I did it. When I wanted to go back to school, she said, "Okay, let's see how we can manage it." It was really my mother's influence and my father's influence which had a lasting effect on me.

What I'm trying to do now is, I try to treat the other man as I would like to have him treat me. And I've never forgotten my friends. In fact, one of my bad traits, some of my political friends tell me, is that I'm too loyal to my friends--even though they may not measure up to certain standards, I will still stick up for them.

Chou: Yes. This loyalty is again part of your upbringing, the Chinese influence in your life. What would you say was the most important influence of all of these?

Fong: Discipline.

Chou: Discipline.

Fong: Yeah. To sit down and work at a thing and to study it and to see it through.

Chou: The discipline you mention--was this something that your parents instilled upon you, or did you just recognize it was something you had to do yourself?

Fong: Well, my parents, you know, were hard-working people. They had a big family; they couldn't give me the time that a one-child family or a two-child family could give. My father was a hard-working man, he was a laborer, and he worked seven days a week.

Chou: He wasn't home very much.

Fong: No, he wasn't home very much. My mother was always working hard and taking care of the children. So they couldn't give me much. Although they were unlearned, they had a lot of philosophy. (The Chinese are just filled with philosophy--the teachings of Confucious.) They could understand it but they hadn't read it. By listening to other people, they became full of philosophy. I was part of that upbringing.

Fong: Yet, I realized early in life that there were certain things I had to do myself. If I didn't do them, I didn't eat. For example, we had to go and pick beans to support the family. To get extra money I had to do certain things to help the family. These were things that I realized that I had to do. By being subjected to all those situations, you see, when I had spare time I shined shoes, I sold newspapers, I went to caddy. I had to segregate my time and I had to be very, very efficient. So I learned that I had to be disciplined.

Chou: Even as a youngster.

Fong: Yes.

Chou: In that sense, then, your being from a very poor and humble family ultimately benefitted you, didn't it?

Fong: Yes. I wouldn't have struggled if my parents had had money. I wouldn't have worked hard. Why should I have worked hard? (Laughter)

Chou: Your life would have been considerably different, I'm sure.

Fong: Very, very much different. Very much different. I wouldn't have had to worry. If I didn't make it, I didn't make it. I couldn't fall back on the family because they didn't have anything. So I had to do it.

Chou: This got you through the university, through the law school.

Fong: Yes. Then, looking at my family, I knew they all depended on me....Honesty, discipline and punctuality. These are the things that stand out.

Chou: And treating people....

Fong: As you would want them to treat you.

Chou: Wasn't that part of the Protestant teaching that you learned in Sunday School and at the YMCA?

Fong: Yes, and Confucius, too: "Do not do unto others as you would not have them do unto you."

Chou: What you're indicating is that it's not just one philosophy that you've followed, but it's been kind of an East-West balance, would you say?

Fong: Yes. My learning about the religions of the East, taking the tourists to the various temples, you know, sort of

- Fong: gave me a moral code to follow, something that I could trust in. I learned that I could have people trust me. This is the most important thing.
- Chou: Senator, looking back on your life, is there anything you would have done differently had you been able to?
- Fong: Maybe I would have tried to borrow as much money as I could, to go to school, and not waste five years--I can't say waste them, but not lose the five years that I lost by working. And yet, that taught me something.
- Chou: What did it teach you?
- Fong: It taught me that I had to work hard. That things don't come easy. Borrowing money would have spurred me on because I would have saved five years. But whether that would have made me better or not, I don't know.
- Chou: Well, Senator, this has really been very interesting. Is there anything else that you would like to say?
- Fong: Probably I would have sent my children to--instead of the public schools--maybe send them to a school like Punahou, where the teachers would have taught them a lot and imbued them with a love for education. That's my mistake. I tried to put my children through public schools to save the money for college, where I should have really given them a good foundation. Punahou could have made them better students.
- Chou: Well, that's problematical, I suppose, Senator.
- Fong: Oh, yeah, yeah, yeah. But they turned out to be all right.
- Chou: Yes.
- Fong: But they could have been better!
- Chou: Well, Senator, this has been a very interesting morning and I do want to thank you very much. Any last final words?
- Fong: No. Except that it has been a pleasure.
- Chou: I want to thank you on behalf of Former Members of Congress.
- Fong: I want to say to my colleagues, that although I was not a Caucasian--I am Asiatic--that it didn't make any difference to them. They treated me as an equal. They respected me and they gave me every consideration, which

Fong: from some of them, I was very, very worried about initially.

Chou: Well, knowing your experiences in the Republican-dominated House of Representatives, at the beginning of your political career, I can understand your concern.

Fong: I will say that my colleagues were great people. They were a pleasure to work with. There was no finer group of men than those men. We really worked hard. Of course, many of them are real politicians, but that's the game.

The American scene is a political scene. You've got to accept that. But with all its shortcomings, it's a great thing.

Chou: It's still the best system available, isn't it?

Fong: Yeah...with all the human frailties that there are.

Chou: To have had a voice in key pieces of legislation--like the Immigration Act--I'm sure this must have meant quite a bit to you.

Fong: Yes, after having gone to the highest tribunal, there's no other higher position (except to be Vice President or President) in the elective process. To know that I have gone up there, and that I can come home and look back on that scene and say I went through it....Actually, I have nothing more to long for, except to be able to do something which my heart is set on. You know, something personal. But to seek more glory, to seek more riches, to seek more fame, that has all passed. I have gone through all that.

All I want now is to do what I feel that I should do at home and not be entangled too much with other things that divert me. At the present time, my job now is to develop the botanical and horticultural gardens, which I'm glad I'm in a position to do. Very few people can do the same. Very few people would be able to get a piece of land, say, of two, three hundred acres, five hundred acres, and then to say that I'm not going to use this land--to sell it as house lots and get the money out, so that at least I'll be well-off. But to take it and say, "We will build a garden here and make it a showplace for people so that they can enjoy it, and future generations can enjoy it"--few others can say that. My only hope is that my children will hang on to it, that it will be a living legacy to the people of Hawaii and to the nation. This is what I hope for. If my children ever sell it, I'll come back and haunt them! (Laughter)

Chou: As a youngster shining shoes and picking algaroba beans, did you have any feeling that any of these things might happen to you?

Fong: Well, these are the things that mold you. These are the things that shape you. Whatever you do in life from your childhood up are the things that shape you. They either make you worse, or they make you better. I would say that it has made me a better man, although I could probably have been made better. But I feel that these have "made" me sufficiently enough so that I was able to reach the highest political office, outside of President and Vice President, and to come home unsullied, with 53 of my colleagues saying nice things about me.

After all, it's something, you know, that not everyone can boast of. To have the Republic of China, and the Republic of Korea, award me with some of their highest diplomatic honors--you know, after all, it's something which I never dreamt that I would ever receive. But to receive them, and to come home now and be a common, ordinary citizen, is a great thing.

Many people say, "Why don't you run for governor?" I replied, "If I wanted to run for governor, I would go back to Washington." There is no comparison between the two jobs. Here you are number one man in the state that has 900,000 people. You are more of an administrator--lots of problems come to you. Whereas, if you go to Washington, you legislate for 220 million people. And whatever you do affects the whole world. It's an entirely different job. No comparison between the two jobs. And I said, "If I really wanted to stay in politics, I would have gone back to Washington, not be governor."

Chou: Yes.

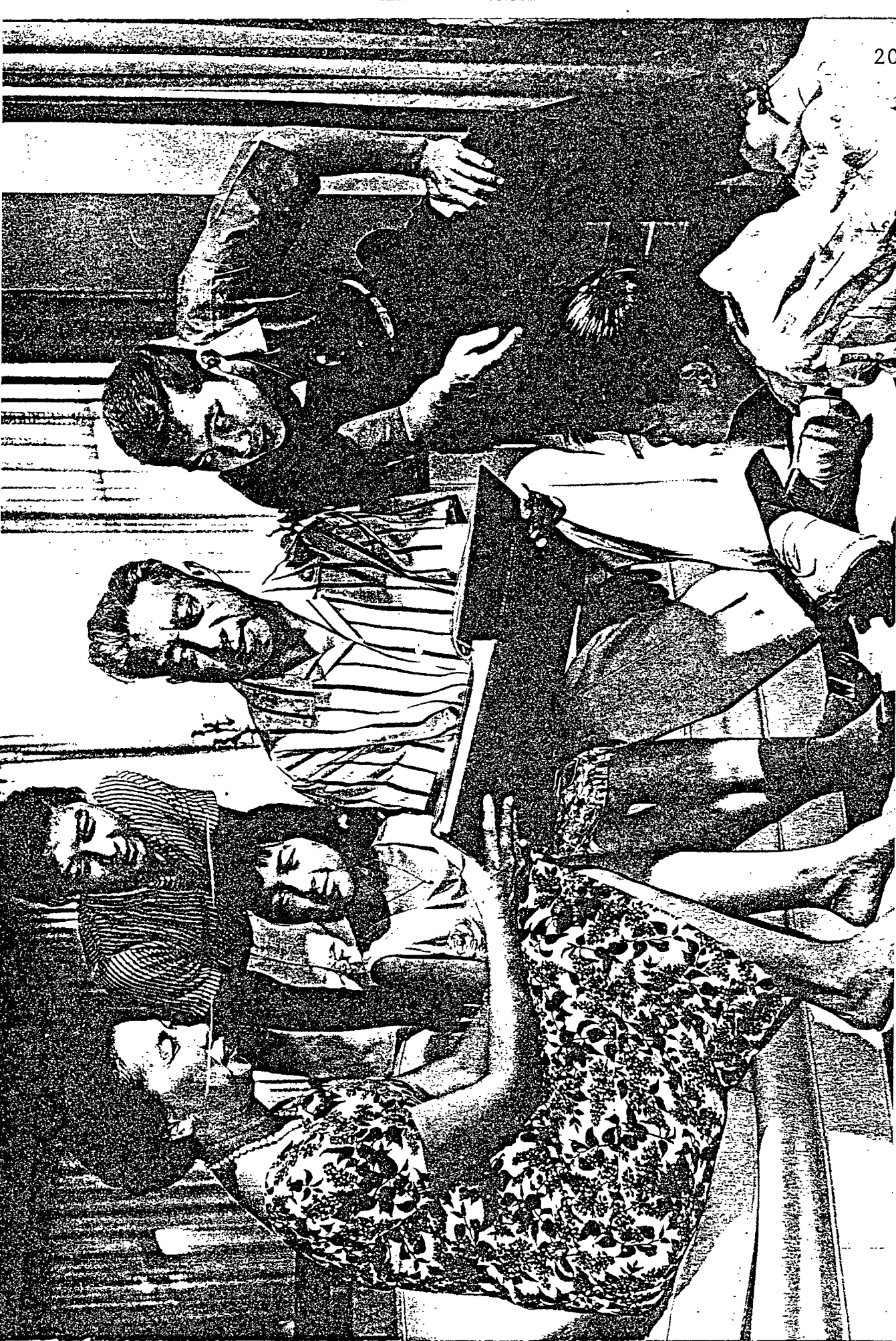
Fong: And then they begin to understand. But they said, "Oh, we need another governor." (Laughter) But from my standpoint, I would have gone back to Washington.

Chou: You're comfortable and happy in retirement then, aren't you, Senator?

Fong: Oh, yes. I have nothing to yearn for. I have gotten everything that I wanted and more. In fact, God and the people of Hawaii have been very, very kind to me. If you measure success by how other people measure it, then I believe I can say I have had successes that could cover three lifetimes. (Laughter)

Chou: There aren't very many people who could say that, Senator. Thank you very much.

PHOTOGRAPHS



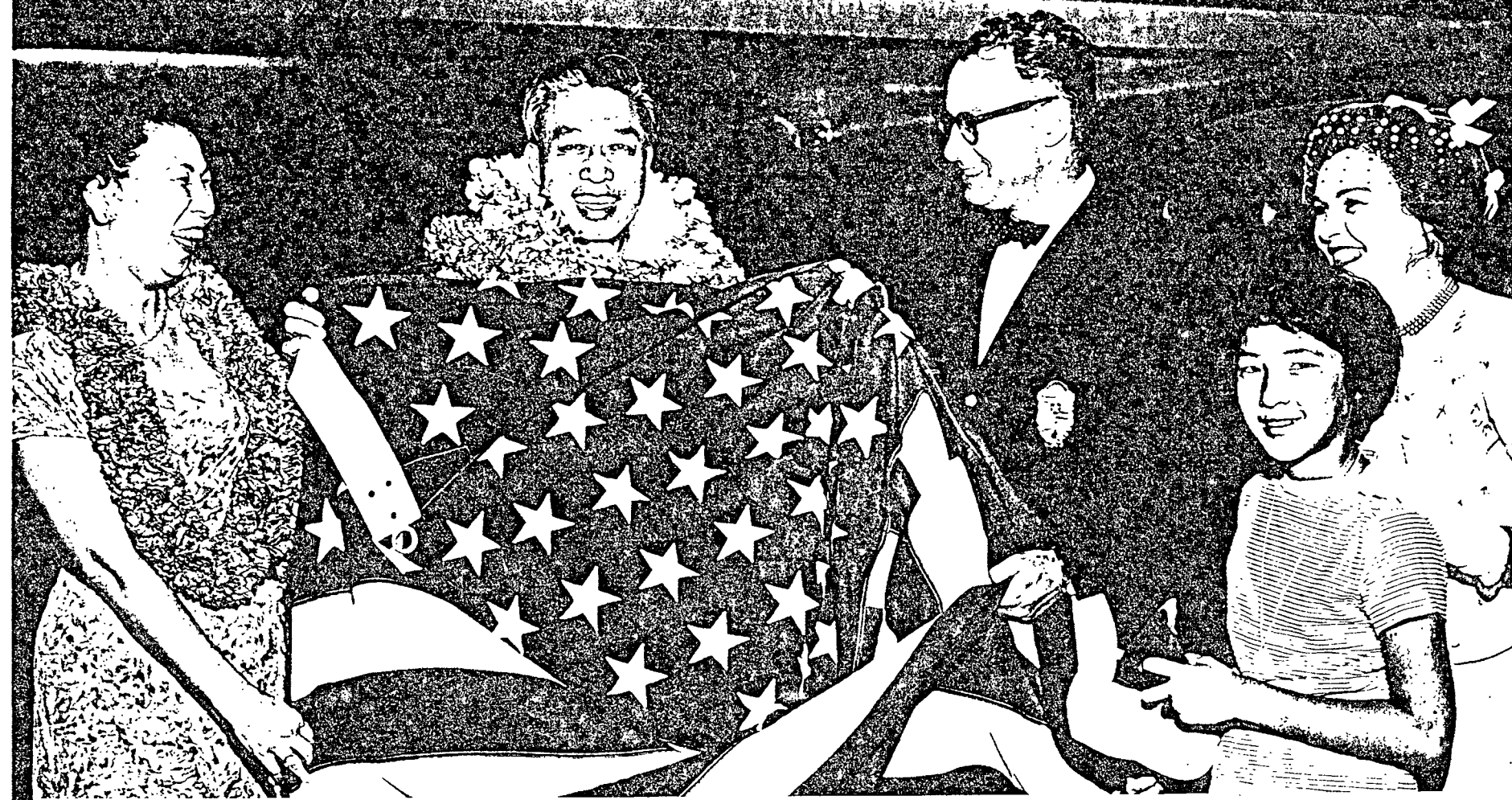
At Home
1959

Hiram, Jr.

Hiram

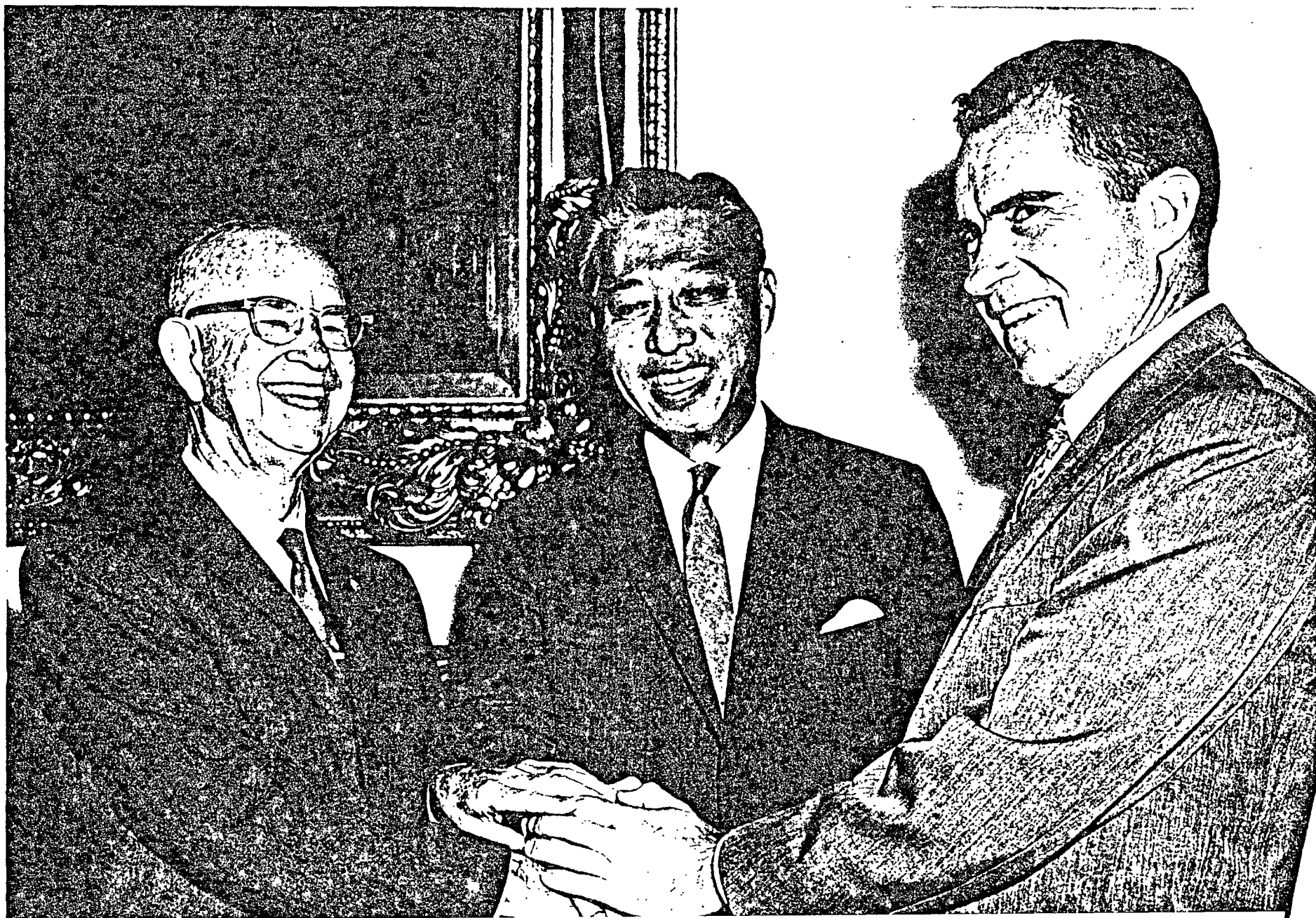
Rodney
Merie-Ellen
Ellyn

UNITED

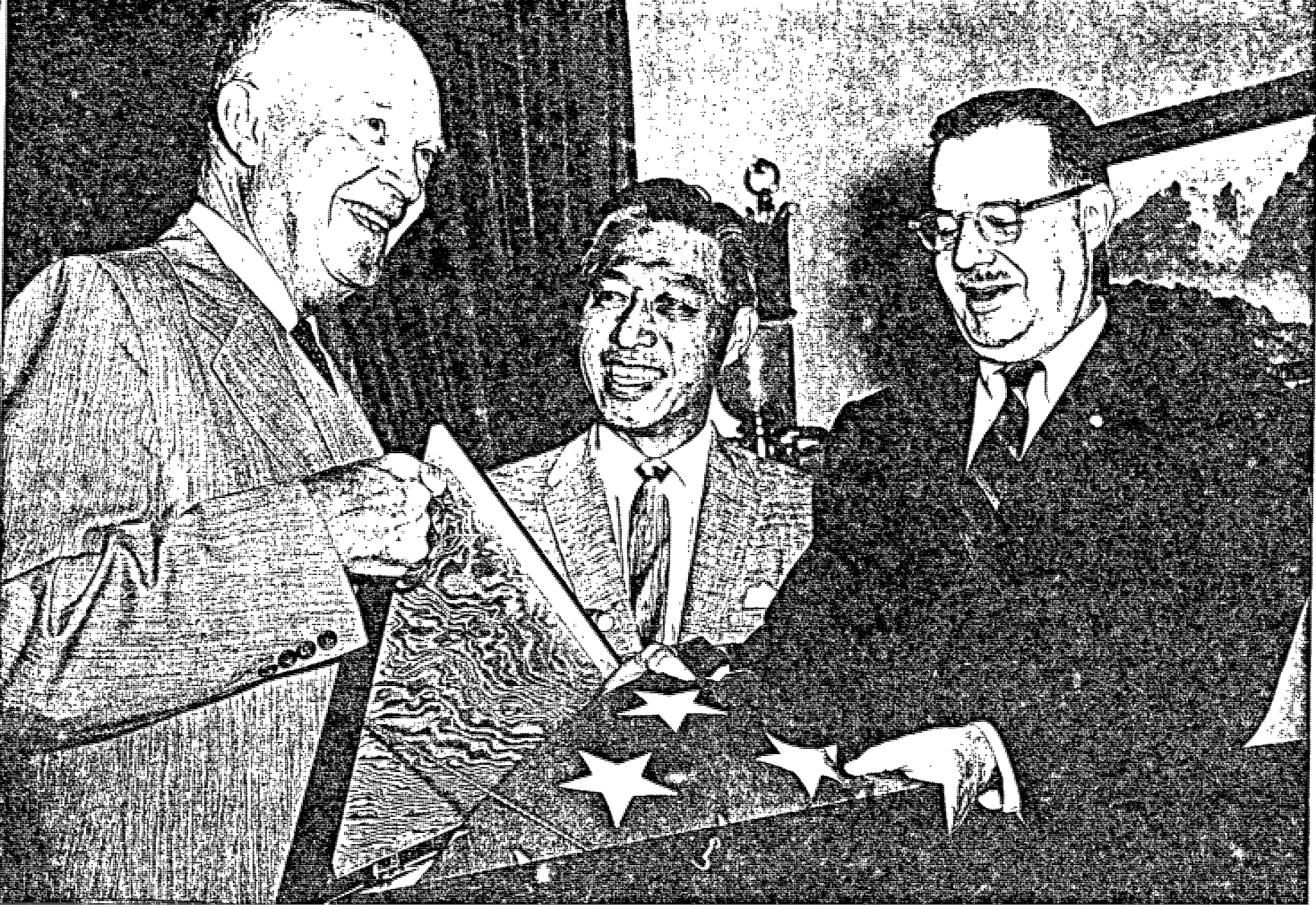


With Ellyn, Governor and Mrs. William Quinn of Hawaii, and Merie-Ellen, displaying the new 50-star flag, 1959.

UNITED AIR LINES PHOTO



With Senator Oren E. Long and Vice-President Richard M. Nixon after swearing-in,
1959



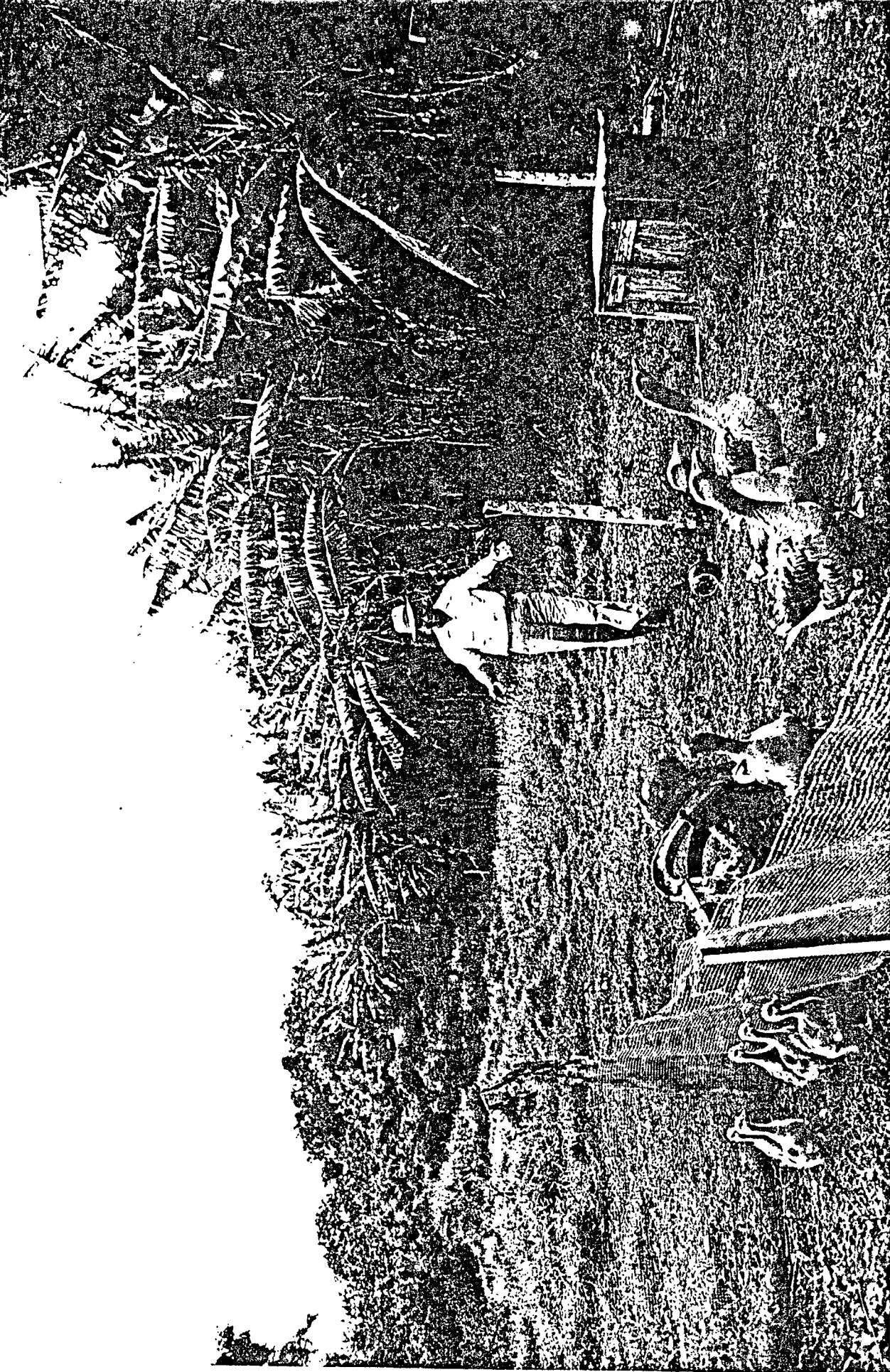
With President Dwight Eisenhower and Senator Hugh Scott at Independence Hall,
Philadelphia, Pa. July 4, 1960



With President John F. Kennedy

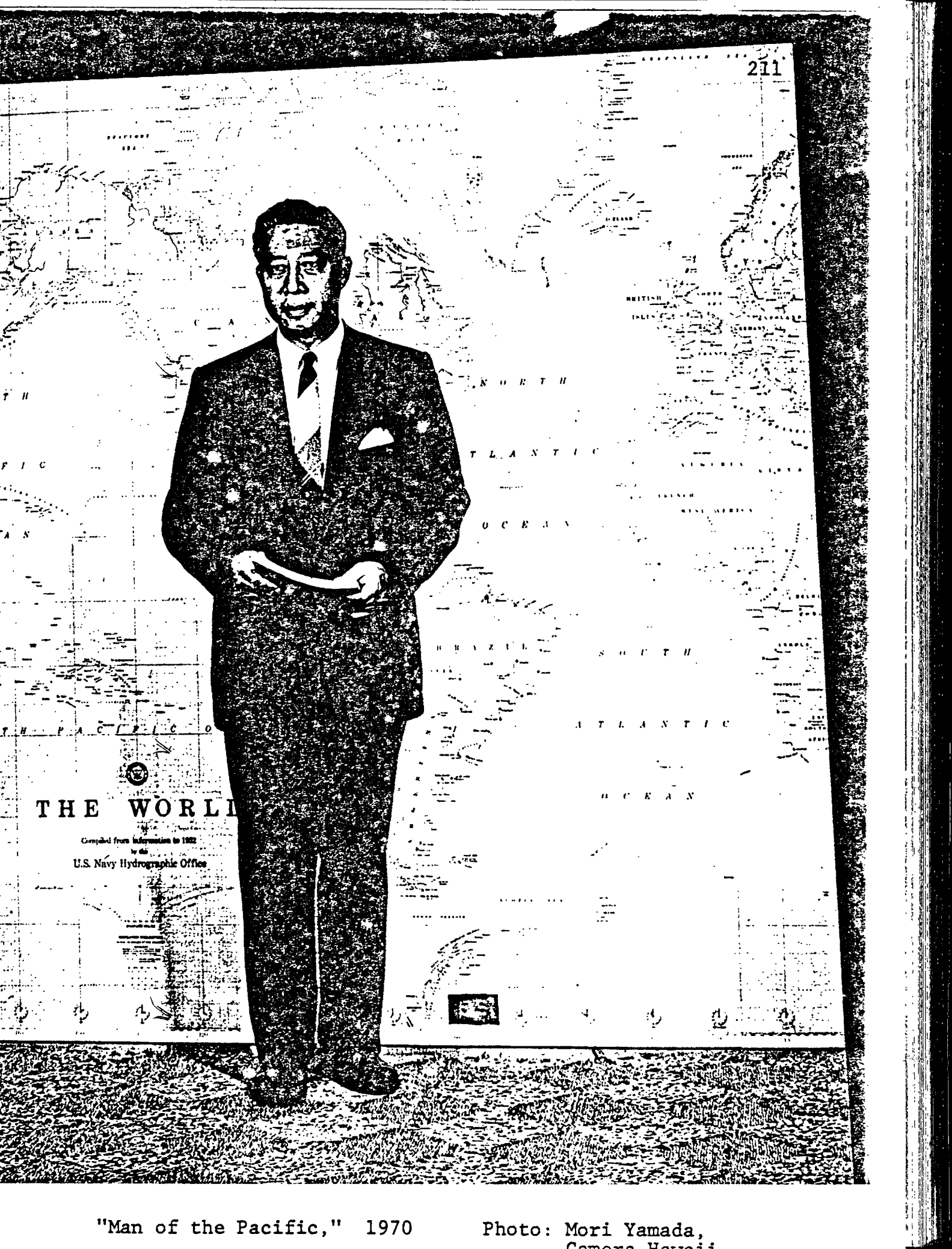


With President Lyndon B. Johnson



At the Fong farm

photo: Camera Hawaii



THE WORLD

Compiled from information to 1962
by the
U.S. Navy Hydrographic Office

"Man of the Pacific," 1970

Photo: Mori Yamada,
Camera Hawaii



Looking forward to retirement, 1977

SAMPLES OF PUBLICATIONS



Your Senator

H I R A M F O N G

Asks Your Opinion and Advice

MAR 9 1965

HAWAIIAN COLLEGE
SERIES M. E. COLLEGE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII

To return please fold with address outside

Place
Stamp
Here

To: SENATOR HIRAM L. FONG

1107 SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20510

HAWAIIAN COLLECTOR
PAM
FILE HIRAM L. FONG
HAWAII

HAWAIIAN COLLECTOR
COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE
COMMISSIONER OF HAWAII

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D. C.

February, 1965

Dear Friend:

With the opening of a new Congress, many new issues as well as continuing problems will come up for action.

In keeping with my policy of discussing with you the important issues facing our State and Nation, it would be very helpful to me as your Senator to have your views on these issues. Would you kindly take a few moments to answer the questions on the following pages

It may not be easy to answer all questions with a simple "yes" or "no," which is often the case when an "aye" or "nay" vote is demanded in the Senate. Please feel free to answer exactly as you believe because you need not sign the questionnaire unless you so choose. I welcome any additional comments you might wish to make.

To mail the questionnaire to me, please refold it with my Washington address outside. No envelope is required.

If you should visit Washington, I hope you will stop by my office to say aloha. I am always happy to have visitors from the Islands.

Mahalo for your kokua.

With best personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Hiram L. Fong

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February 1965
DOMESTIC ISSUES

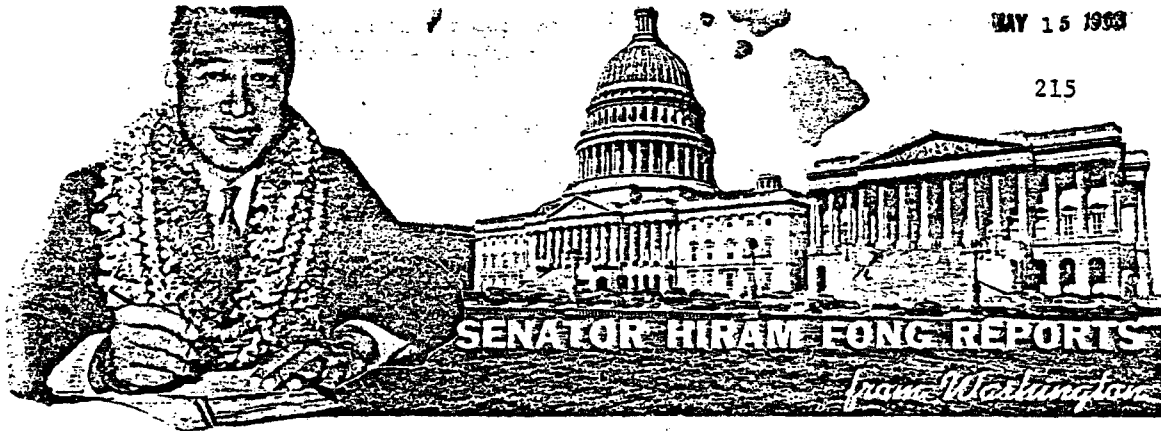
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
Do you favor Federal aid:			
To public elementary and secondary schools?	---	---	---
To private and parochial (church) schools?	---	---	---
For educationally deprived children from low-income families?	---	---	---
Do you favor Federal aid for colleges and universities?			
so, for private and church-affiliated institutions as well as public?	---	---	---
Should a new Cabinet-level agency, Department of Education, be created?	---	---	---
Should tax deductions be given to parents and working students for college expenses?	---	---	---
Do you favor repeal of Federal retail excise taxes on cosmetics, luggage, handbags, jewelry, and furs?	---	---	---
Do you favor changing our immigration laws to:			
. Eliminate unfair racial discrimination in quotas for immigrants?	---	---	---
. Permit entry for more immigrants who have skills needed by our country?	---	---	---
. Make it easier to reunite families in America?	---	---	---
Senate Rule 22 now requires a two-thirds vote to shut off filibusters, although only a majority vote is needed to pass a bill. If Senate Rule 22 would guarantee sufficient time to debate any issue -- say 25-30 days -- would you then favor closing debate and voting on the issue:			
a. By 51 (a majority) out of 100 Senators?	---	---	---
b. By 60 (three-fifths) out of 100 Senators?	---	---	---

February 1965
DOMESTIC ISSUES (Contd)

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
8. Should Social Security benefits be increased?	---	---	---
9. Do you favor Federal medical care for the aged?	---	---	---
10. If so, should it be financed:			
a. From general funds of the U. S. Treasury?	---	---	---
b. By increasing Social Security taxes?	---	---	---
c. By expanding the present Federal-State (Kerr-Mills) program?	---	---	---

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

1. In regard to Vietnam, do you believe we should:			
a. Get out?	---	---	---
b. Continue sending our military personnel and equipment at the present rate?	---	---	---
c. Increase our support?	---	---	---
d. Strike at enemy supply bases outside of South Vietnam?	---	---	---
2. Do you believe the loss of South Vietnam will lead to Communist conquest of all Southeast Asia?	---	---	---
3. Should Congress cut the President's proposed \$3.4 billion foreign aid program?	---	---	---
4. Should Congress cut off aid to:			
a. Indonesia?	---	---	---
b. Egypt?	---	---	---
5. Should the United States resign from the United Nations?	---	214	---
6. Do you favor admission of Red China to the UN?	---	---	---



Vol. III, No. 3

May 10, 1963

RESULTS OF 1963 QUESTIONNAIRE

The response to my questionnaire sent out last February was most gratifying. Because of the widespread interest, I am sending you this summary of the tabulated returns.

Of those who responded, more than a third wrote letters or included comments explaining their views on particular issues.

As I pointed out in my questionnaire, it is not easy to answer all questions with a simple "yes" or "no," which is often the case when an "aye" or "nay" vote is demanded in the Senate. This was shown in the number of "not sure" votes and blank votes on some questions.

Before beginning my summary and comments, I want to say mahalo nui again and invite you to express your views and opinions to me at any time.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

1. TAXES: The President proposed income tax cuts of \$13.6 billion to be offset by tax collections of \$3.4 billion through tax changes, for a net reduction of \$10.2 billion over the next three years.
 - a. Is a tax cut justified since it will put the Government many billions of dollars deeper in the red in 1964? 40% yes, 36% no, remainder not sure or no opinion.
 - b. If taxes are cut, should the President cut Federal spending to reduce the huge deficit forecast for 1964? 70% yes, 8% no, remainder not sure or no opinion.

(Comment: The replies indicate that, while a slightly larger proportion of respondents favor a tax cut, an overwhelming number, approximately 9 to 1, would want Federal spending cut if taxes also are to be cut. The people are evidently uneasy about our huge deficit.)

2. Do you favor these tax changes proposed by the President?
 - a. Taxing a person on sick pay received while he is ill and unable to work? 24% yes, 73% no, remainder not sure or no opinion.
 - b. Repealing \$50 exclusion and 4% tax credit on dividends? 15% yes, 61% no, rest not sure or no opinion.
 - c. Reducing the deductions a person may claim for State and local taxes, interest, charitable contributions, etc.? 13% yes, 78% no, remainder not sure or no opinion.
 - d. Taxing employees on the premiums paid by their employers for group life insurance? 19% yes, 68% no, remainder not sure or no opinion.
 - e. Substituting a flat tax credit of \$300 for persons age 65 or over in place of the present extra \$600 exemption and present 20% tax credit on retirement income? 15% yes, 63% no, remainder not sure or no opinion.
 - f. Repealing the tax credit of up to \$304.80 for Government retirees between age 55 and 65? 24% yes, 53% no, remainder not sure or no opinion.

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2. (Comment: When tax "reforms" proposed by the President are identified specifically as they have been in the questionnaire, it becomes apparent from the responses that the changes listed have little support. 216

After many weeks of hearings on the President's tax proposals, the House Ways and Means Committee is now drafting a tax bill. It may be mid-summer before the House will act on the bill and send it to the Senate. The President has expressed his wish for a tax cut even if the economy improves, although he originally proposed tax cuts to spur a sluggish economy.)

3. YOUTH CONSERVATION CORPS: Should a new Federal agency, the Youth Conservation Corps, be created to give unemployed youths jobs in forestry and resource development (like CCC of 1930s)? 53% yes, 28% no, remainder not sure or no opinion.

(Comment: Strong support for a Youth Corps is indicated by the 2 to 1 margin of replies in favor of such a new agency. The bill to create the Corps has been approved by the Senate and is now in the House. I voted for the bill because of my great concern over the unemployment rate of more than 15% of our youth between 16 and 22 years of age.)

4. DOMESTIC PEACE CORPS: Do you favor a Domestic Peace Corps? 33% yes, 39% no, rest not sure or no opinion.

(Comment: Domestic Peace Corps legislation was introduced in the Senate and House last month. No Committee hearings have yet been scheduled.)

5. MEDICARE: Do you favor Federal medical care for the aged? 37% yes, 45% no, remainder not sure or no opinion.

(Comment: Slightly more are against than for Federal medical care for the aged.)

6. Do you favor liberalizing the present Kerr-Mills medicare for the aged program? 31% yes, 24% no, remainder not sure or no opinion.

(Comment: The Kerr-Mills program is now in operation in Hawaii and other States under Federal-State financing. Support for liberalizing it is indicated in the larger number of replies for than against it.)

Or, do you favor a new program? 26% yes, 26% no, remainder not sure or no opinion.

(Comment: There is an even division of opinions on this question. It may mean that public sentiment is still in a stage of flux and uncertainty.)

7. If you favor a new program, should it be compulsory? 19% yes, 36% no, remainder not sure or no opinion.

(Comment: Nearly twice as many said "no" as said "yes" on this question.)

8. If you favor a new program, should it be financed
- From the U. S. Treasury's general fund? 11% yes, 21% no, remainder not sure or no opinion.
 - From joint Federal-State funds? 16% yes, 16% no, remainder not sure or no opinion.
 - From Social Security taxes on workers and employers? 13% yes, 18% no, remainder not sure or no opinion.
 - From a combination of Social Security funds and the U. S. Treasury's general fund? 16% yes, 21% no, remainder not sure or no opinion.

(Comment: It is apparent there is no clear-cut preference for any particular method of financing medicare. Evidently a large number of persons have not yet formed an opinion on the method of financing medicare.)

9. DEPARTMENT OF URBAN AFFAIRS: Should a new Federal Agency, Department of Urban Affairs be set up to help citizens meet their special problems? 27% yes, 58% no, remainder not sure or no opinion. 217

(Comment: A noticeable 2-to-1 margin oppose the proposal. Legislation to create a new Department of Urban Affairs was defeated in the last Congress. A bill for this purpose has just been introduced in the House; none in the Senate.)

10. DRAFT: Should the military draft be continued? 65% yes, 11% no, remainder not sure or no opinion.

(Comment: Congress in recently voting for a 4-year extension of the military draft law appears to have reflected the strong public sentiment in favor of such action. My poll showed a better than 5-to-1 margin for continuing the draft.)

11. FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION: Do you favor Federal aid to public primary and secondary schools for construction? 54% yes, 35% no, remainder not sure or no opinion.
- a. For teachers' salaries? 28% yes, 45% no, remainder not sure or no opinion.
 - b. For private and parochial school construction? 33% yes, 54% no, others-not sure.
 - c. For colleges and universities for construction? 45% yes, 38% no, remainder not sure or no opinion.
 - d. For college students for scholarships? 48% yes, 34% no, remainder not sure or no opinion.

(Comment: The replies to these questions indicate that the type of Federal aid to education determines whether it is favored or opposed. More favored than opposed Federal aid for college and university buildings and for college student scholarships. More replies said "no" than "yes" to Federal aid for teachers' salaries and for private and parochial school construction.

As of now, no over-all Federal aid to education bill has been reported for Senate or House action. These bills are pending in Committees. A separate bill to provide funds for construction of medical teaching facilities and for student loans has passed the House and is now in the Senate. As a product of public schools, I favor Federal aid for education. In a world of 3 billion people, America numbers only 180 million, 6 per cent of the world's population. What we lack in numbers we must make up in quality, and that quality can only come with the best educational facilities we can afford our people.)

12. CIVIL RIGHTS: Should Congress pass a literacy test bill protecting the right of persons to vote? 50% yes, 27% no, remainder not sure or no opinion.

(Comment: By a 2-to-1 margin, sentiment favors this civil rights legislation. I am co-sponsor of a measure to guarantee voting rights to all citizens who have completed the 6th grade level of education. This measure would prevent discriminatory practices in certain States to bar voters from the ballot box on racial grounds.)

13. FILIBUSTERS: Senate Rule 22 today requires a 2/3 vote to close debate, although only a majority vote is needed to pass a bill. Since 1917, the Senate has closed debate only five times out of 27 attempts. If Senate Rule 22 would guarantee sufficient time to debate any issue -- say 25-30 days -- would it then be fair for a majority to close debate and vote on the issue? 60% yes, 20% no, remainder not sure or no opinion.

(Comment: I am pleased to note such a strong support expressed for the stand I took early in this Session to try to change the Senate rule so filibusters can be stopped -- after sufficient time for debate -- by a majority of the Senate membership instead of a two-thirds vote as at present. The move to change the present rule failed but I am happy that my constituents believe my stand was correct.)

1. **CUBA:** Regarding Cuba, do you think the President has taken all the steps he should to meet the threat of Cuba's military build-up? 26% yes, 53% no, rest not sure or no opinion.
 - a. Should the President have lifted the military blockade of Cuba? 24% yes, 55% no, remainder not sure or no opinion.
 - b. Should the President insist on on-site inspection of Soviet missile bases there? 61% yes, 20% no, remainder not sure or no opinion.
 - c. Should the President impose an economic blockade against Cuba? 67% yes, 10% no, remainder not sure or no opinion.

(Comment: These replies indicate views that the President should be firmer and stronger in handling the Cuban situation. The views appear to coincide with widespread sentiments elsewhere in the country. The people look to him to take a firmer grasp of a continuing problem.)

2. **FOREIGN AID:** Should Congress cut 20% off the President's \$4.9 billion request for foreign aid? 66% yes, 13% no, remainder not sure or no opinion.

(Comment: General Lucius D. Clay, Chairman of a Presidential committee to study foreign aid, has called for trimming foreign aid spending -- \$200 million plus perhaps \$300 million more than the President himself has cut from his foreign aid budget. The views expressed in my poll seem to be in line with the prevailing attitude in Congress to take a close, hard look to eliminate wasteful spending.

I have joined a bipartisan group of Senators in sponsoring a measure to review carefully the aid programs of the 97 countries now receiving economic and military assistance from the U.S. I am a firm believer in the principle of foreign aid, but it must be wisely used to advance our foreign policy goals. We cannot afford waste.)

3. **TEST-BAN:** In any atomic test-ban treaty, should the U.S. insist on on-site inspection to make sure no nation cheats and tests in secret? 83% yes, 5% no, rest not sure or no opinion.

(Comment: This 16-to-1 margin leaves no doubt that there is strong insistence on on-site inspection in any atomic test-ban treaty. Congress is closely following the current U.S.-Russian test ban talks in Geneva. I have joined 18 Senators of both parties in sponsoring a resolution setting forth Congressional guidance to our negotiators.)

4. **VIETNAM AID:** Should the U.S. continue to give military equipment and send military advisers to South Vietnam? 59% yes, 15% no, remainder not sure or no opinion.

(Comment: The "yes" vote on continuing military help to South Vietnam reflects the deep concern and appreciation of Hawaii's people that winning the war against the Communists in Southeast Asia is vital to our peace and security. The fact that Hawaii servicemen are serving in that area, and several have died in action there, underscores our concern and commitment to bring peace and order out of a continuing crisis.)

-- SPEAKING UP --

One man, very pleased to receive the questionnaire, asked for another: "My wife and I don't see eye to eye on many points. Please send another questionnaire so she can fill it out herself."

A professional man: "We, the self-employed in Hawaii, are one of the most taxed civilians."

A housewife: "Get Khrushchev and Castro out of Cuba, even if we get hurt in doing it."

Another woman: "The answers indicated are not mine alone but are the result of a small poll I took among my neighbors."

A man: "We give away billions of the taxpayers' dollars. In return we get slapped in the face."

NOTE: My NEW address is 1107 Senate Office Building, Washington 25, D. C. If your mailing address has changed or if you know anyone who would also like to receive my Newsletter, please indicate here and return to me. Name: _____

Address: _____

City: _____



Vol. III, No. 5

September 9, 1963

TIME TO CHANGE OUR IMMIGRATION LAW

A priority item high on my legislative program is reform of our immigration law. There are many features in the law that are highly discriminatory, unjust, and out-dated. The time for changes is long over-due.

On August 23, I delivered a major speech on immigration in the Senate Chamber. It was a presentation which took months of painstaking research and preparation.

I spoke for over two hours -- the longest in my Senate career. With 12 charts and three tables to illustrate my points, I gave a comprehensive review of our immigration policies dating back to 1875. I pointed out the many provisions of racial discrimination in existing policies; explained how legislation now pending in Congress would wipe out these discriminatory features, and gave a detailed answer to the main arguments that have been used against immigration changes.

Racial immigration restrictions began in 1875 and reached their peak in 1924. Since then, particularly in 1952, we have made tremendous progress toward removing such restrictions in our immigration policies and practices. As we move to erase racial discrimination against our own citizens in the civil rights area, we should also move to erase racial barriers against citizens of other lands in our immigration policies and laws, which are still replete with racially discriminatory provisions.

The problem of immigration is no longer merely a domestic issue; on the contrary, it has great international significance. The racial restrictions inherent in our present immigration laws disparage our democratic heritage.

Until the many provisions of our immigration laws which discriminate against certain national and ethnic groups are eliminated, our laws needlessly impede our struggle for global peace. They are bad for America. Repeatedly America has been accused that it has been unfair in its immigration laws.

Under present American immigration quotas for Asia and the Pacific areas, more than 50 per cent of the people who populate Hawaii could be almost totally excluded from the United States if their ancestors had not migrated before enactment of the present discriminatory laws.

Two major bills to overhaul our immigration law have been introduced. I am a co-sponsor of both. One is known as the Hart bill; the other is Administration-sponsored. Both would eliminate the racially discriminatory aspects of our present immigration laws, have bipartisan support, and are meritorious. But the Hart bill is less subject to discriminatory administration.

Two arguments have been advanced by opponents of immigration law changes. They are:

1. The fear that the admission of more immigrants to the country would exhaust our economic resources and add to our serious unemployment problems.
2. The fear that too many persons of Oriental background would be admitted into the country, upsetting patterns of American life.

Reasonable analysis of both arguments, however, shows them to be quite unfounded.

First Let us look at the impact of immigration on our economy. Here are the facts:

Hiram
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clining factor in the increase of U. S. population. In the last 30 years, it has accounted for an average of 5.1 per cent of the population increase.

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b. The number of immigrant workers entering the US in any one postwar year was less than 1/4 of one per cent of the total work force. Only half of the immigrants entered the labor force.

c. Those who were employed had talents and skills needed in our economy, such as engineering and science. High unemployment in the country is not found among the professional and technical workers, but among the unskilled.

Since only a very small number of unskilled immigrants are admitted annually, immigration has only a minimal effect, if at all, on unemployment.

d. Every educated and skilled immigrant admitted into the country adds immeasurably to our economic and social wealth, since the training of professional and technical workers is a costly undertaking.

e. Immigrants can help this country make up for a shortage of people in the 25 to 44 age group, an age bracket considered by economists as the prime years of a working person's life. This shortage was caused by the sharp drop in births during the depression years of the 1930s.

Second As for the old, emotional argument against changing our immigration laws because of fear that an increase in the number of immigrants would upset the historical and cultural patterns of American life, these are the objective facts:

a. According to the 1960 Census, there were in the U. S.: 464,332 persons of Japanese ancestry; 237,292 persons of Chinese ancestry; 176,310 persons of Filipino ancestry; and 218,089 persons of other Oriental and Polynesian ancestries--a total of only 1,096,023 persons of Oriental and Polynesian extraction, or sixty-one one-hundredths of one per cent (0.0061) of a total of 180 million people -- an extraordinarily small minority.

b. Under the Hart bill, the total allotment for nations of Asia and the Pacific would be 26,990, or only 10.8 per cent of the total annual immigration--a small proportion considering that the Asia-Pacific area contains over half of the world's population.

nesian ancestries were once thought to be "unassimilable," they are as much a part as any other ethnic group in the mainstream of American life. They contribute significantly to the Nation's economic and cultural life. They also serve as "bridges of understanding" between this country and peoples of Asia and the Pacific. From among immigrants have come outstanding individuals from many countries in many fields, including 15 U.S. Nobel Prizewinners in physics and chemistry.

To summarize Our tenets of equality regardless of race, creed, or color have inspired freedom-loving people everywhere to look to America as a beacon in their struggle to win freedom and independence. Our opportunity is to live up to these ideals.

Since 1924, we have come a long way in our immigration laws. Let us go the final mile in writing a fair and just law. We will then be demonstrating to the whole world that we practice what we preach, and that all men are equal under law.

I am grateful to my Republican and Democratic colleagues who made generous remarks on the Senate Floor about my speech.

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn) Senate Majority Whip, said the speech "surely ranks as one of the most thoroughly researched and factual addresses delivered on this subject in many years." Senator Philip Hart (D-Mich) author of the Hart immigration bill, called the speech "most eloquent and vigorous." Senators Kenneth B. Keating (R-NY) and Jacob K. Javits (R-NY) both said the speech was eloquent and thorough.

Aloha,



Hiram L. Fong

U. S. Senator Hiram L. Fong
1107 Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20510

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FLOWER SHOWS

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 ORCHID SHOWS
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FLOWERS

SEE ALSO ORCHIDS
 PDINSETTIAS
 ROSES
 ANTHURIUMS
 ILIWA
 PLUMERIA
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FLU

SEE INFLUENZA

FLUORIDATION OF WATER

SEE WATER - FLUORIDATION

FLYING SAUCERS

FOLK DANCING
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FONG, HIRAM LEONG, 1907-

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F

FONG,

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FOOD

SEE ALSO CANDY
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 POLYNESIAN FOOD SPECIALTIES, LTD.
 POTATOES
 SUGAR

CATERING
 FISHCAKE
 TOFU
 RICE
 WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON FOOD,
 NUTRITION AND HEALTH
 COCONUT CHIPS
 COOKERY
 JELLY
 COFFEE
 SAUSAGES
 SCHOOL LUNCHESS
 MILK
 FRUIT
 MACADAMIAS
 SASHIMI
 CHEESE
 SAIMIN
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WARD
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FONG, MIRAM LEONG, 1907-

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FONG, MIRAM LEONG, 1939-

FONTES, GEORGE J.

FOOD
 SEE ALSO CANDY
 EGGS
 GRANNY GOOSE FOODS, INC.
 POLYNESIAN FOOD SPECIALTIES, LTD.
 POTATOES
 SUGAR
 CATERING
 FISHPAKE
 TOFU
 RICE
 WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON FOOD;
 NUTRITION AND HEALTH
 COCONUT CHIPS
 COOKERY
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Will decide w/in 60-90 days whether to be gubernatorial candidate S & A 5/20/73 A1:4
Edit: GOP nominee for Gov S 5/21/73 A20:1
Gov race out S 5/31/73 A1:1
Fong announces he will not seek governorship A 6/1/73 B5:1 S 6/1/73 A1:6
Urges priority for flood funds S 6/5/73 D10:1
Honored by newly formed Organization of Chinese Americans S & A 6/10/73 A21:1
Distributes 500 lbs of litchi in Wash. D.C. A 6/22/73 D18:3 S 6/22/73 A11:1
'Nonpolitical' testimony planned for A 7/18/73 B6:1
Seeks changes in immigration laws S 7/23/73 A10:1
Intro const amendment to make all U.S.

FONG, HIRAM LEONG, 1907-

citizens eligible for Pres A 7/28/73 A19:1
Assails foes of defense budget at Am Legion conv S & A 8/18/73 A9:1
Urges McKinlay alumni serve pub S & A 8/19/73 A9:3
Asks fireworks exception for Haw S 8/1/73 A12:1
Edit disagrees w/Fong's view S 8/6/73 A16:1
No testimonial dinner A 8/16/73 A14:4
Ltr crit Fong's fireworks stand S 8/16/73 A23:4
Votes to defy Pres on fed pay S 9/28/73 A1:6
Says Reagan is his 1st choice for VP S 10/11/73 C2:1
Backs choice of Ford as VP S 10/13/73 A8:2
Proposes study of Hilo Bay's potential S 10/29/73 A5:1
Urged to push for spec, independent Water-gate prosecutor S & A 11/4/73 A3:1
Decries 'lynching party' S 11/22/73 G4:1
Writes to U.S. energy authorities re Isles' dependence on fuel & tourist econ S 12/8/73 A4:1 S & A 12/9/73 A1:2
Backs bill to set up independent spec prosecutor to investigate Watergate S 12/13/73 F6:1
Pushes bill that would enable sr citizens to qualify for higher Soc Sec benefits should they choose to delay retirement S 12/15/73 A10:3
Supports Haw Kai Marina as priv, nonnavigable waterway S 12/25/73 A1:1
Urges Isle break on fuel S 12/26/73 D14:3

FOOD

Food unit-pricing, open-coding cited S 1/5/73 A2:1
'Pull date' law on all perishables is asked S 1/22/73 A1:1
New food dating game: yes, no, maybe so? A 2/1/73 E1:1
Open date-coding pros & cons aired A 2/16/73 A12:1
Fred Stare defends food additives, fluorides A 3/13/73 D1:1
Open-dating seen as way to curtail stale egg dumping A 3/22/73 B8:1
Edit: Open dating's case A 3/24/73 A14:1
Food dating, unit pricing bills mired S 3/29/73 E8:1
All inspected? Only close check on proven problems, routine periodic check on everything else S 5/8/73 D1
Soyburger may be on Haw market A 7/12/73 A17:1
Safeway sets bacon limit S 7/20/73 A1:7
Open-dating rules now legal S 7/31/73 A2:1
Vegetarian diet recommended by 7th Day Adventists A 8/30/73 F1:1
Preparing natural foods for baby S 9/14/73 B1:1
Nutriburgers to hit counters A 9/22/73 D1:1
Nutriburger - hamburger stretched w/soy protein concentrate S 9/24/73 B1:2
Hon Providoring Corp. rushes NZ fish, meat here S 9/27/73 G1:3
Creighton: Enjoy Hawn foods S & A 10/29/73 A25:3
Chas. Miyashiro & mother market Japanese pickled vegetables A 11/1/73 E2:1
Foremost acts quickly to add ingredient info to eggnog carton S 12/21/73 A10:1
See also CANDY
CATERING
COFFEE
COOKERY
EGGS
FISHCAKE
FRUIT
ICE CREAM
MACADAMIAS
MILK

1974

FLOWER INDUSTRY

Terrific business last yr A8/3/74 A12:5
Floral export trade booms S10/4/74 C9:5
Big isle's cpn to prevent increase in air freight rate A4/13/74 A3:1

FLOWER SHOWS

Nakagawa has show in modern Sogetsu style done with isle blossoms S9/5/74 A7:1
Mrs. Bayard Dillingham tells how to keep flowers in hse throughout year S&A9/15/74 C1:1
See also FLORA PACIFICA

FLOWERS

Clay: Grow native plants & flowers S&A6/9/74 C9:2
Please don't eat the oleander S&A7/7/74 D1:1
Turn to jewelry when Rbt Burnish electroforms thm with 24-karat gold S8/27/74 D1:1
Mrs. Bayard Dillingham keeps fresh flowers in hse throughout yr S&A9/15/74 C1:1
Hawaii to test sea level, tropical roses A9/17/74 B2:1
Cultivate a garden of gold S&A9/22/74 C6:4
The fragrant ones—Horace Clay S&A10/12/74 C8:1
See also NAUPAKA
ORCHIDS
PLUMERIA
ROSES
SILVERSWORD

FLU

See INFLUENZA
FLUORIDATION OF WATER
See WATER—FLUORIDATION

FLYING SAUCERS

Fireball sighted over Maui S8/15/74 A2:3

FOLK DANCING

See also SQUARE DANCING

FONG, ARTHUR S. K.

Altiery asks Ethics Cmsn for rept on Fong S6/18/74 D10:2
Nominee explains ethics case—charges were dismissed A7/26/74 A6:2
Court appointment gets Senate OK S7/26/74 A1:1
Judge Fong denies any interest in conflict S7/27/74 B12:1
Says prison is joke A12/7/74 A1:3

FONG, HAROLD M., 1938-

Feels pressured in Ala Wai Cove fraud case S8/14/74 A14:1

FONG, HIRAM LEONG, 1907-

Sums up 1973, discusses outlook of '74 A1/2/74 A6:1
Announces academy nominees S1/4/74 C5:1
Mayer: Fong predicted a Watergate when wire-tapping bill approved S&A3/10/74 C2
Edit: Refusing to vote in natl no-fault debate S4/1/74 A12:1
Slates hrg on amendment to let all qualified U.S. citizens run for Pres S4/2/74 C9:1
Urges constitutional amendment that would allow naturalized citizens to run for pres A5/1/74 A16:5
Seeks more funds for Isle harbor projects A5/1/74 E8:1 S5/1/74 E22:4
Stands in way of Nixon's patent-reform bill S&A5/5/74 A4:1
Terms talk of '76 retirement 'premature' S5/6/74 C8:3
Hits proposed increase in postage subsidies for pbins C5/9/74 B3:7
Wants Nixon to stay in S&A5/19/74 A1:4
Asks Sen subcom to earmark \$150,000 for taro research in Haw S5/22/74 A20:1
Urges Labor Com to protect Isles in longshore str A5/24/74 A10:1
Intervenes in Haas & Haynie-GSA fed bldg dispute S7/25/74 A2:2
Urges support of Haw dock strike bill A6/29/74 A7:2
Senate speech for docks bill, S1566 A7/17/74 A1:2

FONG, HIRAM LEONG, 1907-

Announces com approval of energy-from-waste amendments S7/18/74 B3:2
Edit: Fong man to watch in impeachment voting S7/22/74 A16:1
Japanese, Fong in Pupukea deal S7/25/74 B1:1
Fong backing bill similar to Act 45, making arrest info unavailable A7/31/74 A1:5
Sees Nixon resignation as best action A8/9/74 A18:1
Thinks Rockefeller 'an excellent choice' S8/20/74 A4:2
Will visit mainland China for first time A8/27/74 A7:1 S8/28/74 A6:1
Announced adding 4 Haw sites to Natl Register of Historic Places S8/28/74 A12:5
Fong Congressional group China-bound S8/31/74 A3:1 A9/3/74 B8:1
Honored in Peking S9/4/74 E9:1
Taiwan still obstacle in US-China relations
Fong learns A9/16/74 A1:1
Fails consumer group's vote scoring S9/24/74 B7:5
Flies to Taipei for China tour A10/15/74 A6:2
May run again—sparked by Far East trips A10/30/74 A7:1
Visit to the two China's S11/11/74 A21:1
Still undecided on '76 race A11/16/74 A7:1
Supports Dick Yin Wong as Judge Pence's successor S11/22/74 C3:1 A11/23/74 A21:1
Encourages elderly to fight inflation S12/14/74 A3:1
Pledges support to Ariyoshi's admin A12/24/74 A4:4

FONG, HIRAM LEONG, 1939-

Supports ethnic studies curricula, wants Hawn heritage preserved S3/13/74 C2:1
To run for reelec from 13th Hse dist S8/22/74 D8:3

FOOD

Frito-Lay of Haw: chips worth millions off old potato A1/10/74 F1:1
Soy extended hamburger takes great leap forward A2/28/74 E1:1
Convenience foods don't stretch budget A3/7/74 E1
Tom Kaser searches for perfect malted milk A3/14/74 E2:1
Memories of saloon pilot crackers S3/28/74 D1:1
Dept of Health to stop tests on hamburger S4/17/74 D4:1
Changing from bottled to natural baby foods A5/3/74 B1:1
Taste test: kids had real food, but Twinkies took cake S5/10/74 C1:1
Give children nutritious summer meals A6/6/74 G1:1
Make a bread house for children's party A7/4/74 G1:1
Series by Louise Cook on meat S7/4/74 F1:1 S7/5/74 C1:1
Lone bidder, Produce Ctr Dvlprnt Co, wins Produce Ctr lease S7/20/74 A3:1
And then top it off with bicarbonate—strange favorites A10/18/74 B1:1
Holiday food for hungry, elderly poor S10/30/74 E22:1
Cholesterol value for island foods S11/13/74 H1:1
Food supply world's #1 woe S11/15/74 B1:1
How to finance merry baking season S11/20/74 F1:1
Civil Defense emergency rations stored 12 yrs in Dmd Hd A12/13/74 B1:1
See also CANDY
CATERING
COFFEE
COOKERY
EGGS
FRUIT
MACADAMIAS
MILK

FOOD

POTATOES
RICE
SAIMIN
SAUSAGES
SCHOOL LUNCHES
SHOYU
SUGAR
TOFU
FOOD AND DRUGS ADMINISTRATION
See U.S. FOOD AND DRUGS ADMINISTRATION
FOOD CONTAMINATION
Survey of cleanliness of hamburger sold in 31 mkts here S1/22/74 D1:1
No state sanitation standards for raw meats S1/22/74 D1:2
FOOD LAWS AND LEGISLATION
Processors of low-acid foods must go to sch A1/9/74 C6:2
FOOD PRICES
Beef prices again rising S1/24/74 A1:7
Sugar prices up S1/31/74 B1:1
Unit price reception lukewarm, Times Mkt repr says S2/12/74 B5:1
'Food Crisis Road Show' presented by Co-op Exten Svc S2/21/74 C3:1
Isle prices up 18.6% in yr S2/22/74 A2:5
Isle milk prices up 22% from yr earlier A2/27/74 A7:1
Oahu prices jump 3.2% in Feb, up 19% in yr S3/20/74 A1:7
71¢ for 1½ lb of bread A3/22/74 A1:4
Continues to rise S&A3/24/74 C1:1
Oahu, Big Isle milk price to go up 6¢ per ½ gal A3/29/74 A1:3
Milk prices up 57.6% since '67 S3/29/74 A2:4
Over-all index rose 18.8% during past yr A5/21/74 D7:4
Costs up 20% in yr S5/21/74 A3:2
Index up slightly A6/21/74 A16:1 S6/21/74 A2:8
Meat prices dip A6/22/74 A1:2
Edit: plan now for future world food shortages A6/22/74 A14:1
How bad are they? S7/10/74 H1:1
Temporary milk price hike now permanent A7/17/74 A8:1
Elderly at Makua Alii & Paoakalani cope with rising prices, fixed incomes A7/18/74 F1:1
Shave ice same; price has changed A7/30/74 B1:3
Up 4% in July S8/1/74 A2:4
Food agent B Jones shows what it costs to live in Honolulu A8/15/74 H1:1
Restaurants trying to hold price line A8/19/74 B1:1
Index rises again in July S8/21/74 B8:1
Safeway Stores Inc not changing prices on existing stock A8/22/74 E5:1
Isle retail prices up 2.2% in Aug S9/20/74 A1:1
Food prices in isles near double U.S. % increase A9/21/74 A4:6
Food cost isn't bad, he says S10/2/74 F1:1
Price hike causes decline in fresh milk consumption A10/3/74 E1:1
An investment in food index—Star Bulletin Food Barometer S10/3/74 B1:1
Stickers pile up as prices rise S11/1/74 B1:1
Isle sugar prices face hike S11/9/74 A1:1
Sugar prices to stay high, exec says A11/12/74 A1:8
Stretching your food dollars A11/14/74 E1:1
Isle Thanksgiving dinners will cost more—up 15.7% for family of 6 S11/25/74 D20:1
Star Bulletin's \$100 bag of groceries costs \$102.31 8 weeks later S11/28/74 C1:1
Continue steady climb A12/21/74 A2:3
See also COST OF LIVING
FOOD STAMPS
St agency averts cut-off to aged, blind & disabled S1/25/74 D5:1

1975

FISH PONDS

Hawaii Kai Marina case big issue—
question of public use of ponds S2/11/75
C6:1
Prosecutor on Hawaii Kai case told to find
out how many other ponds will be affected
by private vs public property dispute
A2/17/75 A6:1
Fishpond owners alerted to court suit
involving Hawaii Kai marina S4/28/75 A3:2
Tales of Old Haw: Lava flows inundating
royal fishponds viewed as punishment of
gods S6/21/75 A11:1
Tales of Old Haw: fishpond ecosystem
S6/28/75 A11:1
Tales of Old Hawaii: building of fish ponds
S9/13/75 A9:1
See also HEEIA FISHPOND, OAHU

FISHERIES

New cntr for research started in Honolulu
by Rockefeller Frdn A1/17/75 A9:1
S1/17/75 A5:2
Automation catching eye of aku industry—
pushbutton fishing poles from Japan.
S2/4/75 A2:1
\$1.5 mil. budget for new Rockefeller ctr;
Int'l Ctr for Living Aquatic Resources Mgt.
S&A2/23/75 A15:1
Edit: A not-blue revolution A2/24/75 A12:1
Makapuu Oceanic Institute reveals
Antarctic fishery project S10/14/75 A10:1
See also INTERNATIONAL CENTER
FOR LIVING AQUATIC RESOURCES
MANAGEMENT

FISHERMEN

Ecuadorians win suit against capt. of
Charles H. Gilbert A3/22/75 A3:1
Cite hazards at Pohoiki boat ramp in Puna,
Hawaii S5/23/75 F2:1
Fernando Leonida still fishing at 70
S11/5/75 C1:1

FISHES

Lindbergh fish, bird sanctuary proposed
S&A4/13/75 A8:1
Deadly attraction of balloon fish S6/5/75
F8:3
Fish mercury scare dispelled S10/23/75
A15:1
See also AQUARIUMS

CATFISH
MARLIN
SHARKS
TUNA FISH

FISHING

Senate bill would allow speared fish to be
sold S2/6/74 D2:1
Charter boat capt. C. Choy charts new
course to Kona A2/7/75 D1:1
Torchlight fishermen still walk the reefs
A3/4/75 B1:2
Nuuanu Reservoir to open May 10 for
channel catfish A4/15/75 D3:2
Harpooning ulua as they come upstream
A4/29/75 C:1
Ahi fisherman try baking nails to prevent
natural cooking of fish S8/2/75 A1:1
Coast Guard is high seas warden: illegal
fishing costlier now S12/8/75 B8:1
See also HAWAIIAN INTERNATIONAL
BILLFISH TOURNAMENT
HAWAIIAN INVITATIONAL ALLISON
TUNA (AHI) TOURNAMENT

FISHING BOATS

Japanese boat runs aground on Maui reef
S1/6/75 A18:1
Tuna ship master says 4 Ecuadorian
seamen refused to work; broke pact
A1/9/75 A7:1

FISHING BOATS

Tuna boat pulled off Waihee reef, Maui
A1/17/75 A4:1
U.S. impounds tuna boat for non-payment
of Equadorian seamen A1/18/75 A7:1
S1/18/75 A5:4
Tuna boat owner agrees to post \$50,000
bond to free it from impoundment
A1/29/75 F10:1
No takers in auction of impounded tuna
boat Charles H. Gilbert A5/23/75 A14:1
Actor Lee Marvin sues to prevent Kona
capt. R. Nelson from mortgaging fishing
boat S5/28/75 B1:1
Castle & Cooke buy 12 purse-seiners, now
has 1 of 3 largest tuna fleets in U.S. A6/6/75
E8:1
Tuna boat Charles H. Gilbert auctioned for
\$55,000 to Crocker National Bank of San
Diego S6/9/75 A10:1 A6/10/75 A6:1
Lee Marvin drops charges over fishing
boat ownership S6/11/75 E2:7

FLAGS

Rainbow flag for Haw? S2/1/75 A9:2
Amalu: Will Haw's flag be changed?
A2/27/75 E6:2
Bicentennial flag raising A7/11/75 A10:5

FLAMINGO ENTERPRISES, INC.

Steven Nagamine owns 4 restaurants
S2/25/75 Hawaii 200: Progress Ed 22:6
FLETCHER, CHARLES KIMBALL, 1902-
Pres. of Pioneer Savings & Loan has
increased assets ten-fold. S2/27/75 Hawaii
200: Progress Ed 18:3

FLOOD CONTROL

City receives Council support for \$5 mil
fed loan for Kahaluu project S3/13/75
A12:1
\$830,000 released for Kahaluu project
S5/2/75 C9:1
\$3 mil fed funds for Kaneohe-Kailua
project S5/16/75 C8:3
Big Isle Hawns can seek Fed aid against St.
City agencies over flood control project
S&A9/28/75 A2:1
Kahaluu project starts S12/16/75 B2:5

FLOOD INSURANCE

Oahu flood insurance maps nearly
finished S12/4/75 D3:1

FLOODS

14-in rains flood Hilo area yards, roads
S1/9/75 A1:3
Flood at Hanalei, Oahu alerted S1/30/75
A1:5
Water pipe break floods 15 homes in
Kahului S3/17/75 A13:1 A3/18/75 A9:1
Flood in Kahului angers families S3/18/75
A1:4
Maui flood victims promised aid S3/19/75
B2:1
Maui flood victims map legal action
S3/21/75 A15:1
Haleiwa Community & City work to
prevent repeat of flood disaster
S&A11/2/75 A3:2

FLORA

See PLANTS

FLORISTS

Court order gives Kauai Airport Florist Inc.
exclusive selling rights at Hon Airport
S2/20/75 B3:1 A2/21/75 A8:1

FLOWER INDUSTRY

Michael Kirch of Wm. Kirch Orchids Ltd.
grows a rainbow S4/11/75 B1:1
Claire Johnson of Flower Farm exports
tropicals; Sam Lum of Blossom Shop
imports mainland flowers S6/18/75 C1:1

FLOWER SHOWS

See also ORCHID SHOWS

FLOWERS

Cloudy skies dim hope for Easter lilies
A3/29/75 A17:1
Gardenias are now in full blossom
S&A4/13/75 B5:1
See also HIBISCUS
ORCHIDS
PIKAKE
PLUMERIA
PROTEA
ROSES

FLOWERS, ARTIFICIAL

See ARTIFICIAL FLOWERS

FLU

See INFLUENZA

FLYING SAUCERS

3 in Lydgate family sight UFO above
Manoa home S9/29/75 A5:1

FOLK DANCING

Mrs. Andreola donates time teaching folk
dance at Kuhio School S5/8/75 F1:1

FONG, HIRAM LEONG, 1907-

Praises Pres Ford; Demo delegates
disagree A1/16/75 A5:1
Reflects successes of immigrants' children
S2/25/75 Hawaii 200: Progress Ed 10:1
Proposes advisory cmsn to oversee
civilian manpower at military bases
A5/2/75 B4:1
Receives plaque from Haw Employers
Cncl for support of shipping antistrike bills
A5/2/75 F7:1
Criticizes bill for voter registration by mail
A5/10/75 A8:1
Seeks review of COLA cut, questions data
accuracy S5/15/75 B10:1
May decide on '76 race S5/20/75 A8:1
Accepts reduced cost of living allowance
for fed employees S6/6/75 A2:1
Introduces legislation to exclude Pearl
Harbor Shipyard from civilian manpower
ceilings S6/10/75 E13:1
Pleased with master plan for Natl Memorial
Cemetery A6/12/75 A7:3
Asks study of COLA's data for Fed
employees in Haw A6/13/75 A14:1
Defends vote on N.H. election deadlock
A7/11/75 A16:8
Backs bill to reimburse public schools for
initial cost of educating Vietnamese
A7/23/75 A6:1
At odds with columnist Jack Anderson
again S8/5/75 A2:7
May look at governor bid A8/7/75 A1:3
Only Haw congressman to take foreign
trips last yr S8/25/75 A7:2
Patent bill dead S9/10/75 E4:1
Says Alaska oil estimate escalates
S&A9/14/75 A12:1
Double-cross claim in Fong abortion vote
S9/23/75 D5:1
Scores columnists Anderson, Whitten on
patent story S9/26/75 D8:3
Not invited to parties for Emperor Hirohito
S10/2/75 A1:6
Interview with Gerry Keir on issues
relating to Haw S&A10/19/75 B1:1
Talks about probable retirement
S12/12/75 A1:1

***FOOD**

Series: Focus on hunger A1/1/75 A3:3
A1/2/75 A3:3
A matter of mind over food S1/1/75 G1:1
Amfac donates money to feed elderly from
money it makes on food S&A1/19/75 D12:2
Dial-a-Dietitian answers questions on
food, diet, nutrition S3/5/75 H1:1
Aloha Friday now to star island foods
S3/12/75 H4:1

1976

FONG, HAROLD M., 1938-

Says Judge Dick Yin Wong right in refusing to disqualify self from Aloha Air, K. Char slush fund case A11/5/76 A17

FONG, HIRAM LEONG, 1907-

Officially announces retirement S1/13/76 A1 A1/14/76 A1
 Edit: Fong's announcement A1/15/76 A10
 Fong's tenure in Senate S1/17/76 A10
 Favors ID card for aliens S3/31/76 A1
 Denies Ford offered him cabinet post. S4/27/76 A9
 Parade Mag: Fong may be richest U.S. Senator A5/18/76 A3
 Fortune is estimated to top \$5 mil S6/4/76 A1
 Tells rags to riches story S6/4/76 C8
 Rapped by delegate Kinau Kamalii for supporting Ford over Reagan A7/8/76 A1
 Edit: Hughes, CIA & Hawaii's Senator; he's mystified A8/10/76 A8
 Called in political IOU's to have aide Dorothy Parker named to \$37,900/yr Parole Cmsn job S9/23/76 A1
 Senate bids formal aloha to Fong S10/1/76 B1
 Plans botanical garden in Kahaluu A10/18/76 A1
 To shoulder load in revitalizing Repub party S11/4/76 A12
 Speech to Hawn Sugar Technologists: fears "govt tyranny" over private lives A11/9/76 A6
 Amatu: Fong merits salute A12/2/76 E4
 Kalihi "shoe-shine kid" honored A12/13/76 A6 S12/13/76 A4

FONG, HIRAM LEONG, 1939-

Files \$175,000 suit against Makiki man over sign on pension, pay bill vote A10/23/76 A4
 Judge says sign not court case A10/28/76 A8

FOOD

Diamond crackers, famous from Kapalama S1/14/76 F1
 Home economist Patti Borsch & dietician Evelyn Chong make babies' food at home A2/4/76 E1
 Dr. Bardach will direct food and nutrition study A2/14/76 B5
 Are food additives safe? A4/7/76 H6
 Shark meat not popular in Haw S6/2/76 G12
 Sneaky Sweets shops specialize in low-calorie sweets S11/18/76 E1
 See also CANDY
 COOKERY
 EGGS
 FISHCAKE
 FRUIT
 MILK
 MOCHI
 POTATOES
 RICE
 SAIMIN
 SCHOOL LUNCHESES
 SUGAR
 TOFU

FOOD EDUCATION AND SERVICE**TRAINING**

See FOOD SERVICE

FOOD POISONING

Shellfish suspect in mass illness at Kuilima Hotel A4/15/76 C10

FOOD PRICES

Up 81% in past 5 yrs S1/29/76 A2
 Advertiser begins publishing results of weekly food price survey, Retail Food Price Guide A1/30/76 A3
 Index rises nearly 1% A3/19/76 A4
 Rice prices beginning to increase S4/28/76 A7
 Increase in milk prices sought by dairymen S5/1/76 A1
 Milk price increase granted A5/14/76 A1
 S5/14/76 B1

FOOD PRICES

Oahu prices decline slightly, .1% S5/21/76 A2
 Milk price up 5 cents per half-gal S6/2/76 A2
 Milk, beef price hikes seen if Matsun gets rate hikes S6/19/76 A3
 Price survey comparing Honolulu with other cities S6/23/76 C1
 Brand name food survey begins A6/25/76 A13
 Milk emergency price hike made permanent at \$1.05 to \$1.09 per half-gal A9/4/76 A3
 Isle beef costs may rise if EPA directives on water pollution stand S12/10/76 C4.
 See also COST OF LIVING

FOOD SERVICE

Health Dept OKs 75% of food operators A5/12/76 D4
 Linda Uyehara's classes at Farrington H.S. S5/19/76 D3
 950 food firms fail sanitation test A6/15/76 A1
 Drive-through window causes fast-food sales to jump A7/10/76 D10
 Special dinner served by Kapiolani Community College Students to epicurean society A10/27/76 C1
 Honolulu ranks 30th nationally in eating & drinking establishment sales S11/18/76 E1

FOOD STAMPS

No problems w/Isle food stamps S1/15/76 E10
 Heat's on cheaters S1/30/76 C3
 State House asks DSSH to tighten controls on food stamp program S2/14/76 A3
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Michaelyn Chou

Michaelyn Pi-Hsia Chou has recently been awarded a Ph.D. in American Studies at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. The life and thought of Senator Hiram Fong was the focus of her dissertation for which she recorded many hours of oral history interviewing not only with Senator Fong but also with people who have been close to him.

With a B.A. from the University of California at Berkeley, and an M.A. in American Studies from the University of Hawaii, Michaelyn Chou got special oral history training at the Oral History Institute at the University of Vermont in 1975. She also has a M.L.S. (Library Science) and is resource librarian for special collections at the University of Hawaii at Manoa.

She is a member of the Hawaii Chinese History Center and the Hawaii Historical Society.