

**ETHNICITY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS:
JAPANESE INVESTMENTS IN HAWAII***

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1. Introduction

John J. Wilson, an attorney speaking in defense of the Nixon administration called Senator Daniel Inouye, a member of Ervin's Committee investigating the Watergate Affair, "a little Jap." He said he did not intend any ethnic slur. He went on to say that he would not mind being called a little American, as if to say that Senator Inouye is not an American. The fact that the majority of Americans make no differentiation between the Japanese nationals and Japanese-Americans may be a vestige of the Asian Exclusion Act that governed the nation's immigration policy from 1924 till the end of World War II. What underlies the Asian Exclusion Act of 1924 is that Asians can never be Americans. Mr. Wilson, who was reared and spent most of his lifetime under such an act, can hardly be blamed for being so biased; he is not alone. Nisei Americans in their own way did destroy the image that they could never be good Americans by volunteering to serve in the armed forces during World War II, while their parents and grandparents were forced to say in barbed wire concentration camps in the United States. They did so by fighting more bravely against the Nazis in Europe. The tragedy is that the majority of Americans refuse to recognize this fact and continue to perceive Japanese-Americans as if they were foreigners. Such a sentiment is most likely to surface when for instance, the nation's economy is not going too well, and when a scapegoat is needed. This will be elaborated upon later.

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In 1970, a million-dollar campaign to attract Japanese capital investments was launched by the State of Hawaii at Expo 70 in Osaka. Simultaneously, important changes were taking place in the Japanese economy and U.S.-Japan trade relations. The trade balance between the two nations, which has been in Japan's favor since the mid-1960's, has reached a dangerous degree of imbalance, resulting in the Nixon "shock" of 1971. Subsequently, the Japanese re-evaluated the yen twice. Japan in addition, relaxed its restrictions on foreign currency outflow. Japan's foreign investments increased from less than \$5 billion in March of 1972 to almost \$7 billion by March of 1973. The impact of this stepped-up direct investment by Japanese firms was felt in Hawaii as well as in many other parts of the U.S. continent. (1) An increasingly large number of tourists from Japan are coming to Hawaii, comprising about 12 percent of Hawaii's total visitors in 1973. The Japanese investors own 4,642 out of 37,319 hotel rooms, which amounts to about 12 percent of the total number of hotels in Hawaii. Similarly, 6 out of 44 golf courses are now owned by Japanese nationals. These events and particularly the acquisition of golf courses by Japanese investors have aroused wild rumors and emotional outbursts in a large number of residents in Hawaii. The total investment by Japanese firms is estimated to be over \$200 million in 1974 (Committee on Economic Development, the Senate, Hawaii State Legislature, 1974).

These events have been reported in rather spectacular manner by major newspapers in Hawaii, often capturing big headlines on the front page, whenever the acquisition of a hotel, for example, takes place. The increased reporting of these activities was characterized by a somewhat anti-Japanese tone, while the major papers' editorials remained moderate and generally in favor of increased Japanese investment.

Fears are expressed by many local residents over the purchase by a Japanese firm of such golf courses as Francis Brown. It is being rumored that only rich Japanese will be using the golf courses, to the exclusion of local residents. A subsequent investigation into the matter by the Japan-Hawaii Economic Council's Golf Study Committee revealed that much of the rumors came out of the differences in business practices between Americans and Japanese. No basis for fears generated by local golfers and residents (Golf Study Committee, the Japan-Hawaii Economic Council, 1974) was found.

Japanese investments in the United States came at the time when the U.S. economy was suffering from slow growth, inflation, and a shortage of certain consumer items. This is one of the reasons why the U.S. government has urged Japanese investors to come to the United States, for the purpose of direct investments, in order to stimulate the national economy. Approximately 20 percent of \$7 billion found its way to the United States as of 1973 (The Department of State, 1973). Although the situation is not new to people in Hawaii, many Americans for the first time found their managers or owners to be Japanese nationals, who in turn found their new positions bewildering. In the past, it was the United States who more than any other nationals went abroad with their investment, the total foreign investment amounting to \$124 billion at the end of 1972 (The Department of State, 1973).

These two examples of recent incidents coincide with what Norman Pearlstine reported on August 9, 1972, about how Tokyo-Washington differences are stirring up fears and militancy in Japanese-Americans (*Wall Street Journal*, pp. 1 and 9). He painstakingly cites numerous incidents to suggest how the resentment against Japanese economic power and policies is turned into a resentment against Japanese-Americans. There are strong indications that the U.S. government's incarceration of Japanese-Americans during World War II is still supported by a considerable portion of the nation's population. (2) A photographic exhibit which portrays sympathetically the fate of Japanese-Americans in concentration camps during World War II, has caused many angry citizens to write letters and to make hate calls in several California cities. For example, KNBC-TV, which showed the exhibit on television, received 55 cursing calls in the first 10 minutes of its showing. Robert Abernathy, a newsman for the television station reports: "They thought internment was better than they deserved, then, or now," (Pearlstine, 1972).

A point repeatedly made by many Japanese-Americans is that they are not recognized as Americans but as Japanese. The declaration of General De Witt, commander of the Western Defense Command during World War II, that "Once a Jap, always a Jap!" is shared by not only Caucasian-Americans but also by Europeans, Australians and others. People simply refused to perceive Japanese as equal Americans. Paul Takagi, a Sacramento-born sociology professor at the University of California at Berkeley complains that he is still treated as Japanese:

"No matter how good my English is, or how stylishly I'm dressed, I am still viewed as a foreigner by most white Americans" (Pearlstone, 1972, p. 9).

Such a perception of Japanese-Americans by Caucasian Americans is not seriously damaging to Japanese-Americans as long as Japan is favorably viewed by Americans as a whole. However, it begins to have deleterious effects on Japanese-Americans when Americans start looking for a scapegoat. For example, Pearlstone reports that in the strike at the Fontana, California, plant of Kaiser Steel Corporation, workers stand on the picket line and shout: "Japan steel! Jap steel!" and swear at the supervisors driving Datsuns or Toyotas, but never at those driving Volkswagens or other European cars (1972, p. 1).

Thus, there is an urgent need to understand the relationship between ethnicity and international relations, at least among those who feel the pinch. There is a research lacuna in ethnic studies and international relations, for there has been no systematic attempt made to relate these two areas of study in the past. Otto Klineberg's work (1964) comes closest to doing what is attempted here. (3) Although he touches on the topic, his main concern is with human or psychological dimensions of international relations. A book by Cynthia Enloe explores how ethnic conflicts affect political development but not international relations (1972).

This paper, thus, represents an attempt to conceptualize the relationship between ethnicity and international relations in such a way that we may be able to begin to systematically look at this area of social science. A discussion of the nature of the relationship between them is presented next, followed by a proposed model of the relationship. Finally an attempt is made to test parts of the model through the use of data on the public view of Japan and Japanese investments in Hawaii.

2. The Relationship Between Ethnicity and International Relations

First of all, it should be made clear here that we perceive of the relationship to be such that either one can affect the other. We shall begin our discussion by viewing ethnicity as the independent variable affecting international politics.

2.1 The Impact of Ethnic Conflicts on International Relations (4)

The case in point is a situation where the way a minority group is treated by the majority or the government results in some change in international relations between the two or more nations involved. One such recent instance, illustrating the impact of ethnic conflicts on international relations involving the United States, is the U.S. Congress' refusal to grant the most favorite treatment clause to the Soviet Union in spite of the Nixon administration's attempt to further *detente* with the Soviet Union. As expressed by Dr. Kissinger, such urging on Nixon's part was an integral part of his *demarche* toward the Soviet Union. The reason given by Congress was that its members did not wish to grant such a measure to a country that discriminates against Jews. In spite of Mr. Fulbright's plea to go along with the Nixon administration on this issue, the U.S. Congress, known for its pro-Israeli orientation, refused to go along with the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the Nixon administration in 1973. The Congressmen wanted to see the Soviet Jews given the freedom to emigrate to Israel. This position was supported by many liberals in the United States who otherwise would take a stand in favor of developing friendly relations with the Soviet Union or China. (5)

The second case to be presented involves Japanese Americans.

How the San Francisco Schools incident along with other anti-Japanese movements in California led to the famous Gentlemen's Agreement between Japan and the United States is a well-documented case of the extent to which and ways by which racism in the United States has affected the relations between Japan and the United States (Daniel, 1962, 31-42; Kitano, 1969, 26-29). The 1906 earthquake of San Francisco hardly interrupted waves of anti-Japanese campaigns. The San Francisco Board of Education ordered on October 11, 1906, that all Chinese, Japanese, and Korean children attend a segregated public school in Chinatown. The news of this segregation order was reported in Tokyo papers, culminating in an official complaint of the Japanese government to President Theodore Roosevelt. Of 93 children who were forced to attend the segregated school among 25,000 pupils in the area, 68 were born in Japan. The President reluctantly intervened first by sending Victor Henry Metcalf, Secretary of Commerce and

Labor from California, to investigate the matter; eventually the San Francisco Board of Education rescinded its segregation order. Metcalf recommended the Federal government's intervention after reviewing a series of anti-Japanese cases in California in addition to the school segregation order.

To Japan, her immigrants being treated as second-class people in the United States is a humiliating experience, particularly since it came immediately after the Russo-Japanese War in which Japan had defeated a "white" nation. She wanted to be recognized as a first-class military power. Thus, it was an insult for her to learn that her people were segregated and degraded by the San Francisco School Board. In the words of Kitano, "Therefore, local moves toward racial segregation were related to international affairs" (1969, p. 27).

For rescinding the segregation order, President Roosevelt was able to negotiate with the Japanese government the end to Japanese migration to the United States in **quid pro quo**. The Gentlemen's Agreement came about after a year and a half of laborious negotiations between Japan and the United States. Under this agreement the Japanese Government will not issue any passport to those Japanese who desire to migrate to the U.S. unless applicants have legitimate reasons such as joining their families but not for the purpose of seeking work. This was a victory for racists, who were able to virtually stop the immigration of Japanese to the U.S. mainland, in return for rescinding the segregation order in one city. Although Daniels (1962, p. 44) states that the Japanese government "scrupulously followed the agreement," the Japanese did develop such methods as the "picture bride" system to continue the migration of their citizens to the United States. Finally, these events led to the 1924 Immigration Act, which banned Japanese immigration to the United States. In view of the fact that Chinese immigration was already banned, the exclusion was meant to apply to the Japanese although the working of the act itself it referred only to "Asiatic peoples." Furthermore, the act made it clear that Asians or Japanese could no longer migrate to the United States and that those who were already here could not become naturalized citizens.

Many authors (e.g., Ichihashi, 1932, Kitano, 1969, pp. 28-29, Baldwin, 1949, pp. 83-86) suggest that these discriminatory acts against Asians in general and against Japanese in particular contributed to

the rise of militarism in Japan. Liberals in Japan felt betrayed by the United States, who violated the Gentlemen's Agreement by passing the Asian Exclusion Act of 1924 and by taking other anti-Japanese actions. One must keep in mind that Japan was not free from discriminating against other nationals at home such as Koreans and Formosans who were forced to go to segregated schools in their own countries under the colonial rule of the Japanese government.

The rise of militarism in Japan eventually led her to wage war against the United States, resulting in the incarceration of 110,000 Japanese-Americans during World War II. In this case, the Pearl Harbor attack and subsequent reactions of the majority of American people resulted in further anti-Japanese campaigns in the United States, signaling a chain of events which went full circle. Thus, it appears as if the nature of the relationship between ethnic conflicts and international conflicts is such that either one can indeed affect the other

2.2 The Impact of International Relations on Ethnic Relations.

An example of international trade affecting the ethnic relations within a nation is well illustrated in the case of the treatment the Japanese national receives in South Africa. The government of South Africa conferred upon the Japanese a "white status" in November of 1961 as her trade with Japan began to increase (Bloom, 1971, p. 28). They had been classified as "other Asiatics." While the Japanese status is not complete in the same way with other white persons, Japanese were given "honorary white status" by the government, who probably thought that such a gesture was beneficial to its pursuit of trading partners in the world. This is the second time the Japanese had been given "honorary" white status in her recent history, the first instance being Hitler's generous gesture to recognize the Japanese as "honorary" Aryans of the Orient during World War II.

Another example of international conflict affecting ethnic relations is the 1967 war of the Middle East and the advent of commando organizations which led to the fratricidal war between Jordanians and Palestinians in Jordan in 1970. Following the Munich incident, President Nixon established a special Cabinet Committee consisting of the FBI, the CIA, the Department of Defense and others to deal with terrorism.

"Special Measures" were felt by many Arab Americans. Some have expressed fear that "something like what happened to the Japanese during World War II, might arise" (Bassiouni, 1974, p. 26).

Concentration Camps, U.S.A.: Japanophobes grew wild in the 1930s as evidenced in such articles as one by Magner White, who wrote in 1939 in the *Post*:

"You can't trust them. Remember they may act American, but they're Japs inside. They never change. They are drifting into every American activity, from sports to churches ... But it's part of the Japanese world-domination scheme: its infiltration. (White, 1939, p. 14).

Two things are of interest to us here. First, White claims that Japanese-Americans can never become Americans, not unlike what the U.S. Congress Act of 1924 implied about the Japanese. Second, the reason given for why Japanese-Americans are trying to assimilate into American life is that this effort is an integral part of the Japanese scheme to dominate the whole world. White is attempting to justify American racism against Japanese in the name of keeping the world safe from domination by Japan. In the midst of a hostile sea, a student at Berkeley wrote an article in which he predicted what may become of Japanese-Americans, if there were a war between Japan and the United States:

"... What are we going to do if war does break out between United States and Japan? ... In common language we can say 'we're sunk.' Even if the Nisei wanted to fight for America, what chances? Not a chance! ... our properties would be confiscated and most likely (we would be) herded into prison camps — perhaps we would be slaughtered on the spot (as quoted in Daniels, 1971, p. 26).

He must have sensed the advent of "concentration camps, U.S.A." when he wrote the article in 1937. Unfortunately, his fear became a reality in 1942 after Pearl Harbor was attacked on December 7, 1941. An international event, the Day of Infamy, as it was called, started a chain of events that led to the issuance of Executive Order 9066 ordering people of Japanese ancestry to move from the West Coast to the mountain states.

Other ethnic groups such as the Chinese did not want to be mistaken for Japanese. Some of them wore signs saying that they were Chinese. A "public"-spirited *Life* magazine decided to help the public tell the difference between Chinese and Japanese by publishing an article entitled "How to Tell Japs from the Chinese." Japs from the "friendly Chinese" or our allies. This timely article appeared on December 22, 1941. The article presented a picture of an "enemy alien Jap" who looked stocky and ugly and a photograph of a handsome Chinese, who was our friendly ally in the Orient. This and other numerous Japanophobe campaigns led by practically all groups of individuals from conservatives to liberals such as Earl Warren of California, led to the signing by Franklin D. Roosevelt of Executive Order 9077 on February 19, 1942, a day of infamy for those who believe in equal justice for all Americans. It gave the army the authority to designate a "military area" from which some people were to be excluded. There was no mention of Japanese or Japanese-Americans but the intent of the order was crystal clear. The same technique has been used by Israelis to expropriate Arab lands in occupied Palestine. There is no recourse to such action since the matter rests on the Military Government. Article 125 of the Defense Laws empowers Military Governors to designate certain areas closed (Jiryis, 1968). By the same token, those who tried to challenge Executive Order 9066 ran into a brick wall, as did Gordon Hirabayashi (Hirabayashi vs. the United States, Supreme Court, May 1943).

The incarceration of 110,000 Japanese-Americans of the West Coast area was accomplished without any serious incident. Japanese-Americans were not slaughtered, as the Nisei student predicted in 1937, but Japanese-Americans were herded into barbed wire camps like he predicted. The U.S. government has repaid about 10 percent of what these Americans of Japanese ancestry lost in their property as a result of being incarcerated. Guilty by reason of race was defended by the U.S. Supreme Court. The case of how the Pearl Harbor attack contributed to the issuance of Executive Order 9066 needs no elaboration on my part.

It should be added here that Italian-Americans and German-Americans were not subjected to the treatment by the U.S. government that the Japanese were during World War II, although these two

countries were also fighting against the United States. General DeWitt, commander of the Western Defense Command stated:

"... Germans and Italians over 70 years of age, or any who have sons or brothers serving in the U.S. Armed Forces, will not be required to move unless suspicion touches them. But all Japs, no matter how old, must leave the Coast, even if they have sons in the Army or Navy" (*Time*, 1942, p. 14).

Japanese, thus, were singled out to be treated differently from other enemy "aliens" because of their race.

3. An Ethno-International Relations Model

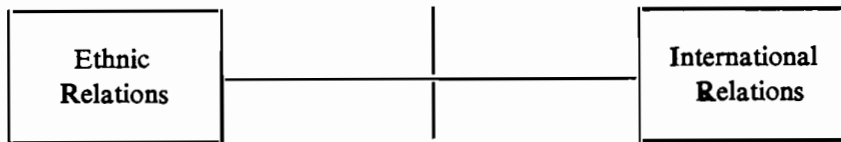
Examples given above make it clear that international events can have an impact on certain ethnic groups in a nation state and **vice-versa**. A question raised at this juncture is **when** and **under what circumstances** do international events affect that life of an ethnic group in a nation state? What kinds of ethnic conflicts are most likely to have international ramifications? In order to respond to these and other related questions, the following model is proposed:

Not all events in ethnic relations of a nation state affect international relation between the mother country of an ethnic group and the host country, but certain events do under certain circumstances. The proposed model specifies major intervening variables, many of which often constitute a catalyst or a contingent condition making certain other intervening variables relevant contributory conditions to a new trend in the ethnic life of a nation state. (6) Domestic economic conditions as reflected in trade deficits is one such variable. For example, the trade deficit the United States has experienced since the mid-1960s with Japan mounting to over \$4 billion in 1971 can be viewed as a contingent condition in reviving anti-Japanese sentiments in the United States, as reported by Pearlstine of the **Wall Street Journal**. People tend to look for a scapegoat in a time of troubles. It is interesting to note that Mr. Wilson's ethnic slur was made in 1973 and not in 1963, when it was Japan who had been experiencing a trade deficit from 1945 through 1965 in its trade relations with the United States.

Figure 1

An Ethno-International Relations Model
Intervening Variables

1. Domestic Economy (good-bad)
2. Mother Country's Status
(high-low)



3. Ethnic Group Characteristics
 - a. Social Position (high-low)
 - b. Physical Visibility (high-low)
 - c. Size (large-small)
 - d. Population Density (concentrated-sparse)
 - e. Assimilation (assimilated-not assimilated)
 - f. Similarity Between Mother Country Culture and That of the Host Country (similar-dissimilar)
 - g. Social Ties and Ethnic Identification (high-low)

While there are sentiments against Japanese investments in the United States, there is practically none in Japan, where MacDonald Hamburgers, Kentucky Fried Chicken and others are enjoying phenomenal success. In fact, a MacDonald on the Ginza, a center of Tokyo, sells more hamburgers than any MacDonald in the world. Our hypothesis here is that (1) the Japanese economy has been doing quite well, (2) these quick food chains are welcomed by people who are suffering from rampant inflation, (3) consequently they are not used as a scapegoat by the Japanese.

Attempts are made to generate prepositions specifying circumstances which are likely to produce positive association between ethnic and international relations.

1. **Whether or not an international event has any effect on ethnic relations in a nation state is contingent upon the state of domestic economic conditions, i.e., ethnic group characteristics of a nation state are likely to become relevant contributory conditions to the resultant treatment of an ethnic group by the majority.** The recrudescence of anti-Japanese feelings as cited in the beginning of the present paper began to appear as the nation began to experience economic problems starting in the early 1970s. Whatever anti-Japanese feelings American may have had before 1970 remained latent to a large extent and did not become manifested until the nation started to feel a pinch in the economy. The persecution of Jews in Nazi Germany following World War I coincided with economic difficulties Germany experienced after the war. The Jews were used as a scapegoat by Hitler and his followers for the nation's illness. Racism finds its most conducive soil to thrive in places plagued with social unrest and economic difficulties.

2. **The higher the status of a mother country, the greater is the likelihood that an ethnic conflict involving that ethnic group in a host country will affect international relations between the two countries. Conversely, the higher the status of a mother country, the less likelihood that the majority will engage in discriminatory practices against the particular ethnic minority.** The San Francisco school incident of 1906 was not likely to have produced any international repercussions had the nation involved been a weak and powerless country. Japan following the Russo-Japanese War was sufficiently strong to influence the United States government, but China did not do anything for those Chinese immigrant children who were subjected to the same discriminatory treatment by the San Francisco school district. A similar explanation can be given of the U.S. Congress' action not to accord the Soviet Union with the most favorable treatment clause. In this instance, however, the United States, the most powerful nation on earth, was Israel's surrogate state. (7)

3. **The higher the level of international conflict between a mother country and a host country, the greater the likelihood of conflict between the ethnic group involved and the majority (dominant group) in the host nation.** The resultant effect of the international conflict does not have to be exhibited in the form of physical violence as such, but in

the form of ill treatment by the majority in the host country. An example of such a case in point is the treatment of over 110,000 Japanese-Americans during World War II. A "sneak" attack on Pearl Harbor resulted in the subsequent incarceration or mass interment of Japanese nationals and Japanese-Americans. A similar "sneak" or preemptive attack by Israel on Arabs in 1967 was hailed as a brilliant victory by the U.S. mass media, known for their pro-Zionist orientation (e.g., Suleiman, 1974).

4. The greater the degree of assimilation of an ethnic group in a nation state, the lesser the likelihood that conflict between the host country and the mother country will emerge and vice-versa. Examples of this proposition may be found among Americans of Western European origins. Immigrants from Western Europe are assimilated into American life with much ease as opposed to Asians, Africans, or even East Europeans. This fact coincides with generally friendly relations we find between Western Europe and the United States.

5. The last proposition implies that the more difficult it is for certain ethnic groups to assimilate into American life, the more likely it is that there is a closer relationship between the way an ethnic group is treated in the United States and her relationship with the country of that ethnic group. As a corollary, the following proposition is proposed: **The more profound the physically identifiable characteristics of an ethnic group in a nation state, the greater the likelihood that a conflict involving that ethnic group and the majority of the people in the host country will result in international conflict involving these two nations and vice-versa.** A good example of this proposition is Japanese-Americans as opposed to German-Americans during World War II. There were no attempts made by the United States government to remove German-Americans en masse during World War II. The treatment of Black Americans by the majority of the Americans is another example of this proposition. Important exceptions to this proposition include such ethnic groups as American Indians, Eskimos, and Hawaiians in the United States, for they are indigenous to the U.S. soil prior to the advent of Europeans to the American continent.

6. Another characteristic of ethnic groups that can affect the extent to which international repercussions emerge is the size of an ethnic group in a society. **The larger the size of an ethnic group, the**

greater the likelihood of close associations between ethnic and international relations and vice-versa.

It is likely that the persecution of a very small minority will not create much international conflict such as Nazi Germany's persecution of gypsies. On the other hand, the mass extermination of a large minority, namely Jews, certainly produced basic change in international relations in much of the world.

7. Similarly, it is proposed here that the extent to which a minority ethnic group is concentrated in a certain location may increase the chances of international repercussions. **The more sparsely populated an ethnic group is in a nation state, the less likelihood there is of international conflict rising out of an ethnic conflict and vice-versa.** Ethnic group members sparsely populated throughout a nation are less likely to appear as a threat to the majority in power. If the minority is concentrated in a limited area, the majority in power may feel more of a threat, which may in turn lead to further ethnic conflicts eventually affecting international relations. One of the reasons for the mass incarceration of Japanese-Americans in World War II lies in the concentration of Japanese-Americans in the West Coast states and especially in California. Attempts are made by Israeli occupying forces to thin out the Palestinian population in the Gaza area in order to prevent violence, also.

8. **The stronger the social ties and ethnic identification of ethnic groups are to their respective mother countries, the greater the likelihood there is that an ethnic conflict will generate international conflicts and vice-versa.** The pro-Israeli position taken by the U.S. government led to the oil embargo policy of the Arab oil-producing countries following the 1973 Mideast war. President Nixon, who in a matter of a few years after assuming the Presidency, gave more money to Israel than all the administrations from 1948 through 1967, seems to be highly influenced by Zionist pressure groups in the United States. There is a minority among Jews led by Rabbi Elmer Berger (American Council of Judaism) who do not find strong ethnic identification and social ties with Israel (Berger, 1970).

Furthermore, a widening rift between Israel and the African states coincides with the Black power movements characterized by the anti-Zionist sentiments and a resultant conflict between Blacks and

Jews, for example, in New York City schools (Gans, 1969).

The following petition, made in the 19th century to the Japanese government by Japanese immigrants to the Kingdom of Hawaii, reveals the feeling of the Japanese in Hawaii, who were, as Asians, denied of their suffrage:

"The most influential element in these Islands is the Americans, (who) ... run things ... It is not merely because of our numerical strength that we wish political suffrage, but to maintain the dignity of the 40 million Japanese in Japan (quoted in Wakukawa, 1938, pp. 73-75).

This is rather interesting in view of the fact that it was only in 1890 that limited suffrage was given to propertied citizens in Japan. The petition was written when only a small percentage of the citizens were given suffrage in Japan, while her immigrants, who probably would not have had any suffrage in their own country, complained about the denial of suffrage in Hawaii, because of national pride. Although this national pride is much weaker in intensity, Japanese-Americans in Honolulu today continue to identify themselves with Japan more than any other ethnic groups in Honolulu do with their mother nations as will be presented in detail in the next section of the paper.

9. The greater the degree of international conflict involving mother countries of ethnic groups in a nation state, the greater the likelihood there will occur an ethnic conflict between the groups involved. Examples of this proposition are those cases where an international conflict between two or more thnic groups is transferred to a nation state where immigrants are settled from the area where the conflict is, such as the Arab-Israeli conflict. Since the 1967 war in the Middle East, the Jewish Defense League has been involved in violence on several occasions involving Arab-Americans in New York and other parts of the United States.

The President of Standard Oil Company in 1973 called for an even-handed policy by the United States government toward the Middle East conflict, which resulted in Zionist campaigns against Standard Oil in parts of California.

10. Last but not least important is the proposition that the greater the level of ethnic conflict, the greater is the likelihood it will

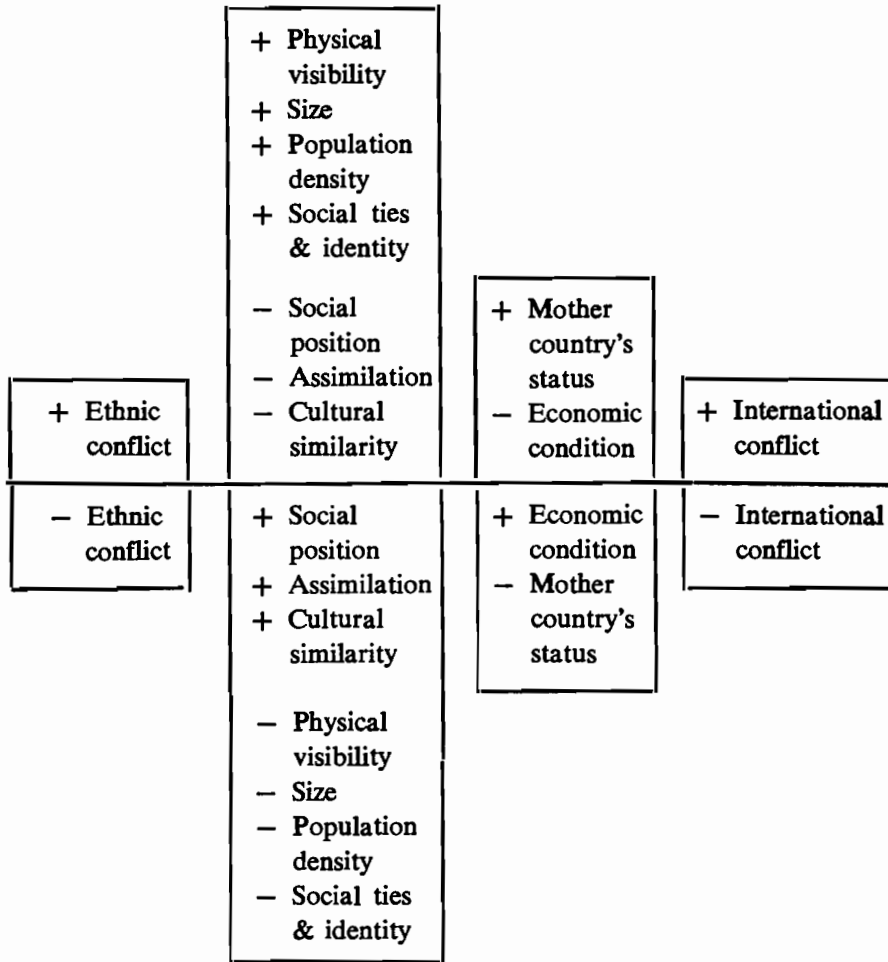
lead to an international conflict between two or more ethnic groups involved. Similarly, it should be stated that the greater the extent of discrimination of an ethnic group by the majority, the greater the likelihood that an ethnic conflict will lead to an international conflict involving opposing ethnic groups. Examples of this proposition are found in such countries as Cyprus, where Greeks and Turks continue to be involved in conflict and in Israel and occupied Palestine, where Palestinian Arabs are subjugated by the Israeli military occupation. Certainly, the same can be said about the way Jews were treated by Nazi Germany during World War II. A similar proposition can be applied to religious minorities as well. For example, the protracted conflict between Hindus and Moslems in India and Pakistan suggests that our proposition is applicable to religious minorities as well. Oftentimes, however, religion and ethnicity are closely and intricately related. The main emphasis of the present paper remains ethnicity and not religiosity.

On the basis of the presentation of propositions and historical events of ethnic and international conflicts, I now wish to summarize my proposed model as follows:

Forces that generate ethnic and international conflicts are specified in Figure 2. The minus in front of ethnic group characteristics represents an absence or low degree of a given characteristic. For example, "+ physical visibility" refers to an ethnic group whose characteristics are such that they can be easily recognized from other ethnic groups such as Blacks or Koreans as opposed to such minorities as Arabs or Jews in American society. Solid lines indicate a greater possibility of closer linkage between variables, while dotted lines show a lesser possibility of one variable affecting another. If ethnic group characteristics as shown in the upper half of Figure 1 are as indicated in the Figure, there is a high probability of an ethnic conflict leading to an international conflict or **vice-versa**. In other words, any deviation from the upper half of the Figure will mean a decreased possibility of an ethnic conflict's generating international repercussions or **vice-versa**. The top half of the Figure represents a case when there is a maximum probability of an ethnic conflict's leading to an international conflict, while the bottom half of the Figure is intended to show a situation when such conflicts are most likely to be minimized, even if there is any ethnic conflict within a nation state or an international conflict involving different ethnic groups.

Figure 2

**A Dynamic Model of Ethnic
and International Conflicts**



Thus, the more nearly a given ethnic conflict resembles the top half of the Model, the greater the danger of an international conflict. Conversely, the more closely a given ethnic conflict approximates the bottom half of the model, the less likely there is of any international conflict.

4. An Empirical Assessment: Japanese Investment in Hawaii

The purpose of this section is to test portions of the proposed model through an examination of survey data analysis. Data from two surveys were used in the findings: (1) a telephone survey of Oahu voters concerning Japanese investments and tourism, conducted in October, 1973 (8) and (2) a JETRO survey of Honolulu voters concerning the image of Japan in Hawaii, carried out in the fall of 1973. (9) In examining our data analysis, it should be kept in mind that there are some important differences between the ethnic composition of the Oahu-wide voters, some of whom are rural residents, and that of urban Honolulu voters. Furthermore, ethnic characteristics of the Census population of Oahu are considerably different from those of registered Oahu voters.

Portions of the proposed model to be tested are those dealing with the social ties and identity of an ethnic group with the mother country and acculturation. It is assumed in the proposed model that a member of an ethnic group in the United States tends to identify himself with the country from which his ancestors came and that he maintains a certain degree of social contacts. To be sure, there is no question about the fact that Sansei or third generation Japanese-Americans identify themselves as Americans. They belong to the United States just as other third-generation ethnic group members do, but the question to be raised is — To what extent do they identify themselves with Japan? How do other ethnic groups identify themselves with other countries? The word, "identification," is used here to mean the extent to which one associates oneself with a nation state and not to refer to actually belonging to one country or another.

Countries Liked: A question was asked of the Honolulu voters as to which country they liked the most among: China, Japan, England, France, West Germany, Soviet Union, and other. Response patterns of different ethnic groups revealed a clear association between country of one's origin and country of one's choice. Percentages of those who preferred European countries ranged from 48 percent of Caucasians to only 17 percent of Japanese-Americans. Thirty-seven percent of Hawaiians and 32 percent of Chinese chose European countries. Others, consisting of various minor ethnic groups, show a strong association with European countries also. Chinese-Americans mentioned China as the country of

their choice more often than any other nationality. Hawaiians were divided: 43 percent mentioned either China or Japan, while 37 percent named European countries. Japanese-Americans, however, clearly show their preference for Japan, a high 70 percent mentioning Japan as the country they liked the most.

Table 1

Countries Liked by Ethnic Group

Nations	Caucasian	Chinese*	Hawaiian	Japanese	Other**
China	7%	27%	13%	2%	5%
Japan	16	21	30	70	18
England	26	21	20	7	23
France	14	9	17	7	18
West Germany	8	3	0	2	10
Other***	29	21	20	11	26
Total %	100%	102%	100%	99%	100%
Total N	(73)	(34)	(30)	(176)	(39)

* Includes small numbers of Koreans.

** Includes Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, mixed, etc.

*** Many of those who chose "other" mentioned the U.S.

Note: This and other tables do not include those who fell in "DK (Don't Know) or NA (Not Ascertainable)" categories unless otherwise noted. These responses are as a rule distributed more or less evenly among different ethnic groups included in the data analysis.

Several inferences to be made here are: (1) each nationality seems to identify itself most closely with its ancestral country. (2) the predominance of the Japanese culture or the Japanese-American subculture as manifested in restaurants, shops, and things Japanese in Hawaii seems to affect other nationalities to develop affection toward Japan. Certainly, not too many Americans on the mainland would mention Japan as the country of their choice or at least not as much as Caucasians in Honolulu do.

Countries Disliked: The same question was asked about the country disliked the most; many refused to respond to this question. Responses given to this question are tabulated and presented in Table 2. The Soviet Union is mentioned most often by all nationalities as the country they dislike most.

Table 2

Countries Disliked by Ethnic Groups

Nations	Caucasian	Chinese	Hawaiian	Japanese	Other
China	2%	0%	0%	16%	10%
Japan	6	8	4	2	16
England	4	4	0	4	7
France	16	7	8	9	7
West Germany	0	0	12	6	3
U.S.S.R.	60	72	64	54	36
Other	14	12	12	10	23
Total %	102%	103%	100%	101%	102%
Total N	(52)	(25)	(25)	(127)	(31)

Those who specified the Soviet Union are the largest number. Chinese-Americans most often singled out the Soviet Union as the country they dislike, suggesting their sympathy toward China, a nation which is in conflict with the Soviet Union. No Chinese-Americans expressed their dislike for China.

Foreign Investment: Although many foreign nations are investing in Hawaii, the nation most often mentioned in recent years in connection with foreign investment was Japan, probably because of the rapid increase in the total amount and types of investments she has made in the past three years. The question asked was: "Do you think we should have more foreign investments in Hawaii or less?" Entries in Table 3 reveal responses to this question by different ethnic groups. Japanese-Americans indicate a desire for increase in foreign investments more often than any other nationality, while the Caucasians reveal the

least interest in foreign investments. Here is, thus, another example of different nationalities indicating their identification with countries of their ancestry.

Table 3
Foreign Investment by Ethnic Group

Foreign Invest.	Caucasian	Chinese	Hawaiian	Japanese	Other
More	25%	38%	35%	45%	34%
Less	75	62	65	55	66
Total %	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total N	(81)	(42)	(34)	(184)	(44)

Japanese Investment: There were several question on Japanese investment asked of the Honolulu voters as well as in another study of Oahu voters. Responses to all these questions revealed the same trend as manifested in entries on Table 4. Japanese-Americans are least likely to have a negative attitude toward Japanese investment, as compared to other ethnic groups.

Table 4
Effects of Japanese Investments
by Ethnic Group

Help Economy	Caucasian	Chinese	Hawaiian	Japanese	Others
Yes, much	11%	28%	29%	19%	23%
Yes, some	67	55	46	71	58
No,	20	15	17	9	19
No, harmful	2	3	9	1	0
Total %	100%	101%	101%	100%	100%
Total N	(85)	(40)	(35)	(188)	(43)

Similar results were obtained when we asked the respondents to tell us their impression of Japanese (national) businessmen's attitudes toward local customs, the respondents attitudes toward Japanese investments in the future, and other related questions. Thus, there is a number of findings which indicate a **positive association in Hawaii between ethnic groups and countries of their origin.**

The second series of findings to be reported represents an attempt to ascertain to what extent formal schooling as an agency of acculturation and assimilation affects each ethnic group's identity with its ancestral country. The same data was used to answer this question. For this data analysis, the extent of formal schooling was controlled as an intervening variable affecting the extent to which each ethnic group identified itself with its ancestral country.

Table 5
**Countries of Choice and Ethnic Group
by Formal Schooling**

Schooling*	China	Japan	England	France	Germany	Other	Total % (N)
Caucasian							
Low	4%	32	18	11	7	29	101% (28)
Middle	7%	7	33	27	0	27	101% (15)
High	10%	7	30	10	13	30	100% (30)
Chinese							
Low	31%	38	13	6	0	13	101% (16)
Middle	33%	17	0	17	17	17	101% (6)
High	17%	0	42	8	0	33	100% (12)
Hawaiian							
Low	12%	35	23	18	0	12	100% (17)
Middle	12%	25	25	12	0	25	99% (8)
High	20%	20	0	20	0	40	100% (5)
Japanese							
Low	1%	74	3	9	4	10	101% (77)
Middle	2%	73	12	7	0	7	101% (59)
High		57	10	5	2	22	98% (40)

* Low = high school or less: Middle = some college education and/or business and other specialized schooling beyond high school: High = college graduates.

Formal Schooling: Entries in Table 5 present how findings on level of education confirm our earlier finding that each ethnic group tends to identify itself with the country of its ancestry. Although the number of cases falling into each cell becomes somewhat small, there are definite trends that can be observed. The major findings is that **the higher the level of education, the more one identifies himself with Western nations over Asian countries, irrespective of one's ethnic background.** For example, among Caucasians the number of those who mention Japan as the country of their choice decreases rapidly from 32 percent for high school graduates to 7 percent for college graduates. A corresponding increase in the number of Caucasians naming England, France and Germany is seen among the respondents. The number of Japanese-Americans who name Japan also decreases from 74 percent for high school graduates to 57 percent for college graduates. A similar finding is seen in every ethnic group on Table 5. This finding is extremely interesting and carries an important implication for those who are concerned with ethnic awareness and higher education in the United States. The nature of college education seems to be such that increased education produces a greater identification with Western civilization, irrespective of one's ethnic group identification, or so it seems at least in Hawaii. Although the University of Hawaii offers more Japan-related courses than any other colleges and universities in the U.S. and maintains the largest number of Japan specialists in the nation, its curriculum remains Western-oriented and its faculty continues to be predominantly Caucasians from the mainland. Thus, the finding is not surprising.

One interesting finding concerning the respondents' attitudes toward countries of their dislike, when the education factor is controlled, was that respondents in all ethnic groups decrease their antipathy toward the Soviet Union, with the exception of Chinese respondents. A high 90 percent of college educated Chinese respondents single out the Soviet Union as the country they disliked. A likely reason for this aberration to what we found among all other ethnic groups may be that highly-educated Chinese are critical of the Soviet Union because of her hostility toward China. Educated Chinese may be more cognizant of the Sino-Soviet rift than less educated Chinese respondents. Thus, this finding, too is in line with our general proposition that all ethnic groups identify themselves with countries of their origin.

Japanese Investment: In view of the fact that a rather consistent finding on all Japanese investment-related questions was discovered, only one table is presented here to demonstrate the nature of our findings on the impact of higher education on each ethnic group identification.

Table 6

Effects of Japanese Investments and Ethnic Groups by Formal Schooling

Schooling	Much	Some	No	Harmful	Total % (N)
Caucasian					
Low	16%	65	16	4	101% (31)
Middle	12%	76	12	0	100% (17)
High	5%	65	27	3	100% (37)
Chinese					
Low	31%	44	19	6	100% (16)
Middle	30%	50	20	0	100% (10)
High	21%	71	7	0	99% (14)
Hawaiian					
Low	33%	45	22	0	100% (18)
Middle	40%	30	10	20	100% (10)
High	0%	72	14	14	100% (7)
Japanese					
Low	23%	68	7	2	100% (85)
Middle	15%	80	5	0	100% (64)
High	18%	62	20	0	100% (30)

What we find is that the **higher the level of education, the more one is critical of Japanese investments**, tourism, and Japanese businessmen in Hawaii. This is not true of Chinese-Americans. Caucasians, Hawaiians and Japanese increase in their hostility toward foreign investments and the tourist industry as they acquire more formal schooling. The number of Chinese respondents who believe that Japanese investments have either no effect or harmful effects decreases from 25 percent for high school graduates to 7 percent for college graduates, while

among other ethnic groups, those who do not believe in the good effect of Japanese investments increases with level of education, as in the case of Japanese-Americans. Those Japanese respondents who fall in this category increases from 9 percent for high school graduates to 20 percent for college graduates. The only hypothesis I can generate at this time to explain the Chinese-Americans' attitudes is that they are more business-oriented than other ethnic groups and are in agreement with most economists who claim that foreign investments are necessary for Hawaii's economic growth. There is a disproportionately large number of Chinese represented in the business community of Hawaii.

Conclusion: These survey findings certainly are in consonance with propositions contained in the proposed dynamic model of ethnic and international conflicts. Caucasian, Chinese, and Japanese respondents tend to identify themselves with the nation of their origin or ancestry. Second, ethnic ties with a mother country is reflected in each ethnic group's attitude toward Japanese investments in Hawaii. Third, assimilation of the younger generation into the mainstream of American life, which is characterized by its European orientation, is making better educated and younger generations of Japanese-Americans more critical of Japanese investments and tourism. Fourth, the stronger social and cultural ties which are felt among Japanese-Americans with Japan are indicative of what the model states about the mother country's status in the world community. Although China is now the strongest power with nuclear weapons, she has traditionally been a weak country in the past century. Consequently, when Chinese migrated to Hawaii, they had no intention of going back to China: This resulted in a high rate of miscegenation with Hawaiians in the past. On the other hand, Japanese immigrants had intentions of short term stays ("Japan, in 3 years") until the end of World War II, just as Jews used to say "Jerusalem, next year." The Japanese intermarried much less frequently than the Chinese. Consequently, their social ties to Japan remained much stronger than those of Chinese-Americans to China.

There were emotional outbursts of many individuals as well as of some organizations in Hawaii against Japanese investments in such areas as the purchase of golf courses and hotels in 1972 and 1973. Those elements identified in the top half of the dynamic model may account for the ethnic conflict in Hawaii. Many factors seemed to prevent any serious international or ethnic conflicts. For example, the 1973

energy crisis and the decreased holdings of foreign currency by the Japanese government led to a drastic cut in Japanese investments in Hawaii. Warnings were issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1973) as well as other non-governmental organizations such as the **Keidanren** (Federation of Economic Organizations) (1973) to prospective investors in Hawaii. The University of Hawaii was selected as one of ten universities in the U.S. to receive a special grant of \$1 million from the Government of Japan for the promotion of Japanese studies. (10) Such organizations in the State of Hawaii as HISA (Hawaii International Service Agency) and Japan-Hawaii Economic Councils played their part in helping to cool down the heated controversy over Japanese investments.

However, the danger is not over for the Japanese investors in Hawaii, for our survey indicates that two-thirds of the respondents in Honolulu believe that Japanese investors practice discrimination in employment practices. Only one-third of the respondents (fall of 1973) thought that Japanese investors do not practice any ethnic discrimination. In this instance, what is important may not be the reality but how citizens perceive of the hiring practices of Japanese firms in Hawaii. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 as amended in 1972 clearly bans any intentional or unintentional ethnic discrimination in hiring. The Japanese firms may be, however, justified in requiring some of their employees to understand the Japanese language in view of the fact that it relates directly to one's effective job performance.

Had foreign investments in Hawaii been largely from Canada or Australia, would Hawaii residents have reacted negatively with the same intensity as they did toward the Japanese? If the proposed model is correct, the answer is negative. Europeans or Canadians should have found an easier time being accepted by Hawaii residents.

5. Concluding Remarks

This paper began with an attempt to demonstrate how ethnic conflicts relate to international relations and vice-versa. Subsequently, efforts were made to construct a model of an ethno-international relations model. A portion of the proposed model and a series of propositions generated in the paper were tested against studies of the attitudes of Honolulu voters toward Japanese investments in Hawaii. The pro-

posed model represents only the beginning of an emerging new area in social science.

An important aspect of the subject which was not covered in the paper is the question of how serious and prevalent the ethnic conflict is at the international level, as manifest in the recent crisis in Cyprus. Is it becoming one of the most important causes of international conflicts? When one looks at major conflicts in the world in recent years, one is struck by the predominance of ethnic conflicts in such areas as the Middle East, Northern Ireland, India-Pakistan, Indonesia, various parts of Africa, and China and the Soviet Union. As the Cold War period faded away from the world politics scene as a consequence of President Nixon's *detente* with China and the Soviet Union, the major armed conflicts left in the world are largely limited to the Arab-Israeli conflict, Northern Ireland, Sino-Soviet conflict, Cyprus, and conflicts on the African continent. In other words, such conflicts as the Sino-Soviet dispute emphasize the ethnic dimension in international conflicts.

Results of opinion polls conducted in Japan concerning foreign countries which the Japanese like or dislike and countries with which they would like to develop closer ties suggest the influential role ethnicity may play in future world conflicts. When the Japanese are asked to name countries they like, they mention such countries as Switzerland, England, France, and the United States in that order. However, what interests me most here is that when they are asked to tell which country with which they would like to develop closer ties in the future, their response is China (34%), with the United States ranking second with 24 percent. Furthermore, the younger and the better educated the person the more likely he is to choose China as the future partner in world politics. Over 50 percent of the college graduates selected China (Watanuki, 1973). This is more remarkable in view of the fact that a small percentage of the Japanese name China as the country they like. I submit to you that what counts for most in future world politics is ethnic affinity and not ideology. (11)

However, this is not to deny the role of ideology in any international conflict, for in such cases as the Catholic-Protestant conflict in Northern Ireland and the Israeli-Palestine conflict in the Middle East, the underdogs in these conflicts are becoming radicalized in their ideological orientation as the level of conflict escalates day by day.

Both Catholics in Northern Ireland and Palestinians of Christian and Moslem religious groups are being politicized and radicalized as a result of the protracted armed conflict (Schmitt, 1974).

International conflicts in much of Asia and Africa in the 20th century have centered around the liberation of former colonial areas. As most of the nations gained confidence in being what they are, the impact of this liberation movement in Africa has been felt even in the United States. An increasing number of Blacks in the past decade or so began wearing African style hair and clothing indigenous to the African continent. Until recently, it was stylish for American Blacks to make their hair look like that of the Whites.

There has been much speculation by observers that Hawaii's negative reaction to Japanese investments is based on racism. It is a difficult task to prove such a hypothesis, for nobody advertises himself as a racist. I encountered a delightful middle-aged Black lady while I was pre-testing the questionnaire last September on the University campus. She remarked: "You know, had the Japanese waited a little longer, they would not have had to bomb Pearl Harbor." She was referring to the increased Japanese investments in the State of Hawaii. To be sure, the Japanese economic "attack" this time caused considerably less attention than what took place in 1941. The kinds of discrimination that are most likely to cause international repercussions are institutionalized discrimination. Institutionalized discrimination has been reduced in recent years by the United States government to a large extent through such measures as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 amended in 1972. A lesson we could learn from past ethnic and international conflicts is that we should eliminate institutionalized discrimination if we are to work toward the reduction of tensions in such areas as the Middle East and Northern Island, where ethnic and international conflicts continue to erupt. For example, Israel's Law of Return represents an institutionalized discrimination against Christians and Moslems who wish to return to their homes. By the same token the Palestinian Liberation Organization's contention to return all European Jews to Europe constitutes another institutionalized discrimination that must be eliminated. It is in this sense that the United States government's "special measures" to deal with ethnic Arabs in this country must be viewed with care. The Civil Rights Act of 1972 represents a tool by

which institutionalized discrimination can be reduced to a minimum in the United States.

This line of thinking along with the advent of "ethnic awareness" in much of the world today necessitates a better understanding of the old American concept of pluralism. What types of political structures at the national and international levels can best promote pluralism, reduce the level of conflict, and maximize the level of satisfaction of all ethnic groups concerned? For these reasons, I would welcome the beginnings of such new journals as **Ethnicity**. Let me, thus, end this paper by underscoring the importance of ethnicity and international relations for those who are concerned with ethnic studies, international relations (economic and political), and peace research.

NOTES

1. Senator Daniel K. Inouye conducted hearings on December 27 and 28, 1973, of his Senate Commerce subcommittee on foreign commerce and tourism concerning the impact of foreign investments in the United States with special emphasis on Hawaii's economy.
2. The U.C.L.A. poll reports that 48 percent of Californians approve of Executive Order 9066, which forced 110,000 Japanese-Americans to be interned in concentration camps. It further reports the close association between the image of Japan with that of Japanese Americans. As reported by Pearlstine (1972, p. 1).
3. There are some who analysed aggregate data to ascertain relations between domestic and international conflicts (e.g., Chadwick, 1966, Rummel, 1966, Tanter, 1966). They found little or no relation between the two among many nations of the world. Of course, neither domestic conflicts nor international conflicts necessarily involve ethnicity, which is of utmost interest in this paper.
4. Following Tumin (1964), Harding et. al.'s definition of "ethnic group" (Harding, Proshansky, Kutner, and Chein, 1969, p. 3):

"An ethnic group is a collection of people considered both by themselves and by other people to have in common one or more of the following characteristics: (1) religion, (2) racial

origin, (2) national origin, or (4) language and cultural tradition.

The concept of conflict in this paper will include not only physical conflicts but also psychological conflicts involving hatred, prejudice, discrimination, and other related feelings that are at variance with other ethnic groups.

5. I wish to point out the one-sidedness of this stand taken by so many liberals in the United States. First, if one is to take the position of encouraging everyone to settle in a country of one's choice, there would be chaos. It seems reasonable, however, to take the firm position that an ethnic group indigenous to what is now Israel or occupied Palestine should have priority over foreigners. The gentile population consisting of Christians and Moslems who used to reside in Palestine under the British Mandate prior to the 1948 war continue to live in refugee camps in neighboring countries, hoping someday to return to their home and property. Why should foreign Jews be given an opportunity to settle in Israel while there are over two million refugees waiting to return some but cannot because they are Christians or Moslems? The Zionist response would be that Israel absorbed Jewish "refugees" from neighboring Arab countries which, of course, is the reason there are now more Oriental Jews than European Jews in Israeli society. Arguments will go on, no doubt. There are also many Soviet Jews who are waiting to return to the Soviet Union after becoming dissatisfied with their life in Israel. Hundreds of them are now waiting to return to the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union in retaliation reduced the number of Jewish emigrants by 25 percent in May of 1974 in relation to the same month in 1973. Here, then, is an example of international pressure causing further ethnic conflict within a nation state, the Soviet Union.

6. Dahrendorf contends that the economic position of a group or social class is the most crucial resource variable relating to group conflicts (1959, pp. 215-218). Agreeing with Dahrendorf, Newman advances a hypothesis that economic deprivation increases the probability of group conflicts (1973, p. 133). The author is in basic agreement with Newman. In fact, the author is indebted to Newman's models of

conflicts and ethnicity for the development of the author's proposed models of ethnic and international conflicts presented in this paper.

7. Why did the U.S. act as a surrogate state for Israel? There are several reasons for it. First as manifested in the U.S. Congress' overwhelming support of \$2.2 billion aid to Israel following the 1973 war and as so declared by Senator Fulbright, over two-thirds of the U.S. Senators are pro-Israeli in their orientation toward the Middle-East conflict. This position, of course, is supported by the voters, who have been influenced by massive and powerful Zionist lobbying activities in the U.S. mass media. Second, Jewish-Americans today are in many important social and political positions and enjoy a higher social position than the average American. Third, it is hypothesized that many Christian Americans would like to have an opportunity to prove their innocence against an often-made accusation of anti-Semitism. In other words, their actions may be viewed as an attempt to eliminate one's guilt feeling. Fourth, it could be interpreted to mean a genuine desire on the part of liberals to assist those whose freedom has been denied by the government. However, if this is the case, they should become cognizant of the fact that allowing Soviet Jews or any foreign Jews to immigrate to Israel may further contribute to the denial of freedom for Palestinians, the other half of the Semitic people, who wish to return to their own home and property. Some of those who sympathize with the Soviet Jews are not aware of the view expressed above. Consequently, I would like to believe that the desire to help Soviet Jews is genuine and not malicious in intent.
8. The universe of the sample respondents for this study was composed of all those who were registered to vote in the General Election held in November 1972. There were 262,597 citizens registered to vote in that election. A systematic sample of 501 potential respondents was chosen from the list of the voters. Of this sample, 412 respondents were interviewed. This study was sponsored by Fukuoka and Honolulu Japanese Junior Chamber of Commerce. For more detail, see Kuroda, Kurodt and Murfin, 1973.
9. A sample survey of Honolulu voters from 8th through 18th Representative Districts was conducted from the end of October through the end of December. 418 voters were randomly selected from

152,178 voters in Honolulu and were personally interviewed during this period.

10. Mr. Osono of Japan, who has invested heavily in Hawaii in the past decade, is a close friend of Premier Tanaka. The latter decided to include the University of Hawaii as one of ten universities to be given a \$10 million gift; This gift was given at the height of the Japanese investment controversy. Let me add, however, that the University of Hawaii, with the largest number of specialists on Japan among U.S. universities, certainly deserves to be included in the group of ten.
11. The same conclusion is reached by Johan Galtung in his recent article on Japan. It should be noted that his prediction of Japan's forming a closer tie with China over the United States was not based upon his knowledge of survey results in Japan. He came to his prediction quite independently from studies mentioned herein (1973).

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الائثنية والعلاقات الدولية : **الاستثمارات اليابانية في هاواي**

١. كيمودا

يدور هذا البحث بصورة رئيسية حول تحليل الصلة المتبادلة بين الاثنية والعلاقات الدولية . ويركز بالذات على أوجه الترابط في العلاقات الدولية بين اليابان والولايات المتحدة من جهة ، وطريقة معاملة الاقلية اليابانية في الولايات المتحدة من جهة أخرى .

وهذا قد يكون عاملا لتصور المشاكل التي قد يواجهها مواطنو الدول النفطية في المستقبل كنتيجة لاستثماراتهم الضخمة في الولايات المتحدة ودول أوروبا الغربية .

وتعتمد الكاتبة على عينة مختارة في هاواي للوصول الى الادلة التي تثبت صحة أو خطأ فروض النظرية .

وقد حاولت الكاتبة وضع نموذج لتقييم اهم المتغيرات المتداخلة في هذا الموضوع ، وتعتبر هذه محاولة جديدة في التقييم بطريقة موضوعية .