Becoming "Hawaiian":
World War II War Heroes and the Rise of Japanese American Power, 1941-1963

By

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Abstract

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Becoming “Hawaiian”: World War II War Heroes and the Rise of Japanese American Power, 1941-1963 examines the most celebrated Asian American war heroes in US history—the Japanese American WWII GIs—to reveal how those soldiers from Hawai‘i became racialized and legitimated as “Hawaiian” war heroes. I introduce a concept of “Hawaiian” racialization as a process by which various racial and ethnic communities ascribed qualities and characteristics of Hawai‘i, such as exotic, friendly, and feminine, onto the non-native men while the soldiers themselves actively created an heroic “Hawaiian” identity. During WWII from their mobilization to their return home from battle, the soldiers were racialized and celebrated as “Hawaiian” war heroes in the US South, in the Japanese American incarceration camps, in liberal white spaces across the US mainland, in Hawai‘i, and internationally in the European campaign. This resulted in cementing an image of “Hawaiian” war heroes as worthy representatives of the Territory and Japanese America to both US mainland and local audiences. I show that this process supported these men’s stakes as inheritors and as future patriarchal leaders of Hawai‘i, Japanese America, and Asian America in the postwar. The heroic racialization facilitated the passage of Hawai‘i Statehood in 1959 and the successful election of two “Hawaiian” war heroes into Congress in 1963. Using extensive multi-site archival research, my historical analysis relies on racial, gendered, and sexuality theories and frameworks from ethnic studies, settler colonial studies, feminist studies, and Asian American studies. This project illustrates Asian Americans creating a celebratory American identity through their racialization as indigenous. The power of non-natives to become the “new” natives is central to US Empire, which supports foundational claims to land, home, family, and nation. My research historicizes Asian American alignment with US Empire, spotlights a power dynamic between Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, and reveals how Japanese Americans legitimated themselves as “Hawaiians” through the vehicle of the US war hero.

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Acknowledgments

This dissertation project was a difficult endeavor that I could not have done alone. Spanning several different cities and thousands of miles from home, I realized after completing my dissertation the immense love, support, and resources that have been generously given to assist in my research project.

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While I left UC Berkeley's campus for almost 3 academic years to conduct archival research and provide pedagogical instruction, I want to acknowledge and thank the various historical and academic institutions that supported me. From the Smithsonian National Museum of American History, I would personally like to recognize Noriko Sanefuji and Franklin Odo for their historical assistance with my research. While as a lecturer in the Ethnic Studies Department at the University of Hawai‘i at Manoa, I want to thank the Ethnic Studies faculty for their insights and support, and I personally want to acknowledge Ty Tengan, Jonathan Okamura, Brian Chung, and Lee Ann Wang for their help. Thank you to Sarah Hardy, Elizabeth Deis, and Dennis Stevens from Hampden-Sydney College who brought me to campus and provided me with a rich opportunity to engage in teaching and research. While in Virginia, Terumi Rafferty-Osaki and Leighton Vila were generous with their space and giving with their time. At Cornell University, I would like to thank Derek Chang for his mentorship and guidance in the later stages of my dissertation research.

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"Japanese American Youth in the Millennial Generation." Panelist. Association for Asian American Studies Conference, Evanston, Illinois, April 25, 2015.

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"Contesting Asian Settler Colonialism: Gendering the Native Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement through Sudden Rush's *Ea* (2002)." American Men's Studies Association Conference, University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, April 5, 2013.

"Modeling after an Idea: The Prevalence of the 'Model Minority Myth' and Asian America in 2013." The 23rd Annual Asian Pacific Islander Issues Conference, University of California, Berkeley, March 9, 2013.

"Asian American Masculinities: Strategies, Perspectives, and Thoughtful Contestations on College Campuses." East Coast Asian American Student Union Conference, Columbia University, February 23, 2013.

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"Imprisoned Masculinities: Japanese American Prisoners of War in Europe and the Pacific." Association for Asian American Studies Conference, Washington D.C., April 13, 2012.

"The Rescue of the 'Lost Battalion:' Japanese American Racialized Masculinity and Citizenship During WWII." Social Science Research Council Mellon Mays Graduate Initiatives Program: Annual Graduate Student Summer Conference, Princeton University, June 16, 2011.

Chapter 1
An Introduction to "Hawaiian" Racialization

> "As the highest-ranking AAPI politician…[Senator Daniel Inouye] was a tireless advocate for AAPI (Asian American and Pacific Islander) issues and concerns, including protecting the sovereign rights of Native Hawaiians."
>
> -Daphne Kwok, Chair of the President's Advisory Commission on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders[1]

> "I remember feeling proud of him, proud of being Japanese American. I felt at that moment, Inouye represented the best of who we are."
>
> -John Tateishi, *Pacific Citizen*[2]

> "Danny Inouye was an American hero of the highest order—As a soldier he broke barriers with his heroism, as a proud Hawaiian he committed his life's work to serving the people of his state, and as a legislator he earned the admiration of everyone."
>
> -Senator Patty Murray (D-Washington)[3]

> "Senator Inouye will be remembered as a giant among men, a larger-than-life war hero whose greatest feats took place off of the battlefield, throughout a lifetime of public service. The Native Hawaiian people will remember him as our ally and champion."
>
> -Kamana'opono Crabbe, CEO of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs[4]

On December 17, 2012 at the Walter Reed National Military Medical Center in Bethesda, Maryland, Senator Daniel K. Inouye (HI-D) passed away due to a respiratory ailment at the age of 88. Inouye, a second-generation Japanese American who was born and raised in Honolulu, served in the U.S. Army during World War II. As all of the epigraphs illustrate, Inouye's legacy is memorialized around two themes: (1) military heroism and (2) political power. During World War II, which saw an escalation of intense anti-Japanese racism both locally in Hawai'i and nationally with the forced Japanese American incarceration, Inouye enlisted in the 442nd Regimental Combat Team (RCT), a segregated Japanese American military unit comprised of men from both Hawai'i and the U.S. mainland. U.S. military scholars consider the 442nd RCT as the most decorated unit in U.S. military history.[5] This opportunity, according to Inouye, allowed him to demonstrate his loyalty to the U.S. nation through his military sacrifice as an American.[6] Inouye lost his right arm in 1945 while valiantly defending his comrades against the Nazi enemy.

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[1] "Inouye Death End of Era," *Asian American Press*, December 17, 2012.
[2] John Tateishi, "For the Record: Dan," *Pacific Citizen*, January 18-31, 2013.
[3] Chris Cillizza, "Hawaii Sen. Daniel Inouye dies at age 88," *The Washington Post*, December 17, 2012.
[4] "OHA's statement on the passing of U.S. Sen. Inouye," Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA), Press release, Dec. 17, 2012, on the OHA website, http://www.oha.org/news/oha's-statement'passing-U.S.-sen-inouye, accessed Mar. 12, 2013.
[5] Hiroaki Morita, "The Nation's Most Decorated Military Unit, the 100th/442nd Regimental Combat Team," (Carlisle Barracks: U.S. Army War College, 1992).
[6] Daniel Inouye with Lawrence Elliot, *Journey to Washington* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1967).

His valor was ultimately recognized with the Medal of Honor retroactively awarded to him by President Bill Clinton on June 21, 2000.[7]

In the postwar era, Inouye leveraged his veteran status and legal background to claim political leadership of Hawai‘i and then seek power for Hawai‘i. Through the Democratic Revolution of 1954, which was an unprecedented reversal of a formerly Republican-held and white-dominated Hawai‘i to a Democrat-held and more non-white group of legislators, and the Passage of Hawai‘i Statehood in 1959,[8] Inouye initially was a Hawai‘i legislator and later became both the first Japanese American Representative and Senator in 1959, serving until his death in 2012. At the time of his passing, Inouye was the second-longest tenured Senator in U.S. congressional history, held the position of Pro Tempore of the Senate, and was the Chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, considered to be the most powerful governmental committee in the world.[9] Inouye's political power and influence spanned decades and impacted millions of Americans. Inouye successfully championed for the rights and welfare of Native Americans, people of color, people with disabilities, women, and the LGBTQ community.[10] Inouye guided the State of Hawai‘i both politically and economically. As one of the smallest States with influence in Congress in terms of representation, Inouye navigated both sides of the aisle to provide for the people of Hawai‘i. Materially speaking, Inouye was cited as one of the leading Senators in congressional history of "pork barrel" spending which reached into the billions. To put it humorously, Jeremy Peters of *The New York Times* at the time of Inouye's passing reported that, "Hawaii, it is often joked here, has three industries: tourism, the military and Dan Inouye."[11]

Inouye's status as a war hero and influential political leader is undeniable; however, what is confusing from the epigraphs is that everyone identified Inouye differently along racial, ethnic, and indigenous lines. Inouye was identified as "Asian American Pacific Islander" by a distinguished White House official, "Japanese American" by a prominent Japanese American activist, "Hawaiian" by a Congressional colleague, and an "ally and champion of the Native Hawaiian people" by a Kanaka Maoli[12] political leader. To these different communities, Inouye's multiple and intersectional identities straddles the tenuous lines across Asian American, Japanese American, and Hawaiian.

The blending and conflation of Inouye's identity serves as an entry point in thinking about how identity formation provided the foundation for the rise of Japanese American power through the racialization of the Japanese American World War II war hero as "Hawaiian" during World War II and the passage of Hawai‘i Statehood in 1959. This project utilizes sources such as congressional and academic archives, personal papers, ethnic newspapers, interviews, oral histories, and community organizational histories to unite three arguments: First, Japanese American soldiers from Hawai‘i were racialized as "Hawaiian" by interest groups in Hawai‘i and on the U.S. mainland. Second, this racialization occurred through the coverage, publicity, and construction of the Japanese American soldiers from Hawai‘i as war heroes. And third, by

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[7] James C. McNaughton, Kristen E. Edwards, and Jay M. Price, "'Incontestable Proof Will be Exacted': Historians, Asian Americans, and the Medal of Honor," *The Public Historian* 24.4 (2002): 11-33.

[8] Roland Kotani, *The Japanese in Hawai'i: A Century of Struggle* (Honolulu: The Hawaii Hochi, Ltd., 1985), 135-169.

[9] Roger H. Davidson et al, *Congress and Its Members 14th Edition* (Washington: CQ Press, 2014), 174.

[10] John Nichols, "Dan Inouye's Epic Civil Rights Championship," *The Nation.com*, December 18, 2012.

[11] Jeremy W. Peters, "Loss of Inouye Means Loss of Clout for Hawaii," *The New York Times*, December 28, 2012; Daniel Stone, "The Dangerous New Politics of Pork Projects," *Newsweek*, February 20, 2010.

[12] Kanaka Maoli refers to the indigenous population of Hawai‘i.

tracking Japanese American racialization, this dissertation ultimately foregrounds and historicizes the rise of Japanese American power in Hawai‘i and the larger U.S.

This dissertation treats “Hawaiian” identity and Kanaka Maoli identity as two distinct and interrelated identities, where “Hawaiian” identity refers to how non-native and outsiders have viewed and created a non-native “Hawaiian” identity. Kanaka Maoli identity speaks to the self-determination of indigenous Native Hawaiians (or Kanaka Moali) in creating and maintaining their own indigenous identities.

Since the annexation of Hawai‘i by the U.S. in 1898, Hawaiian identity historically and contemporarily has been a highly contested battleground for Kanaka Maoli. The Hawaiian Organic Act of 1900 extended to Kanaka Maoli the privileges and rights of U.S. citizenship, such as property ownership, voting rights, and constitutional protections. The Chinese and Japanese immigrants were brought to Hawai‘i because the plantation owners were unsuccessful in mobilizing the Kanaka Maoli as a labor force, which led to racist stereotypes of them. While the Kanaka Maoli monarchy married into the wealthy haole plantation and political leaders’ families, the kama’ainas or common folks were assigned negative stereotypes such as “idleness, carelessness, generosity, simplicity [and] all the money-losing qualities.”[13] To “rehabilitate” the Kanaka Maoli, the U.S. federal government enacted the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1921, which defined “Native Hawaiian” identity as persons with 50% or more “Native Hawaiian” blood.[14] Kanaka Maoli believe that Kanaka Maoli identity is based on kinship rather than blood quantum.

However, this arbitrary federal mandate has caused economic and social competition because federally recognized “Native Hawaiians” have access to affordable lands and property. In rejecting the negative stereotypes and federal definitions, the resurgent Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement from the 1970s and into the 21st century has led a renewed desire to reclaim and rearticulate an identity of Hawaiian that is based on Kanaka Maoli understandings and practices.[15] In relation to the Kanaka Maoli, non-whites in Hawai‘i created an identity called “Local culture,” which was a blend and mixing of different Asian ethnic and Kanaka Maoli cultures due to their close contact on the plantation fields. This Local culture became a culture of the people in resistance to haole plantation rule and oppression.[16] For Japanese American soldiers from Hawai‘i during World War II, their performance and embodiment of Local culture misrepresented them as “Hawaiian.” In fact, while fighting and dying for their homes, these men began to stake claims as “Hawaiians.” The notion of becoming “Hawaiian” has deep implications.

To provide clarity of the gravity of the highly-political process of historically becoming “Hawaiian,” I turn to Native scholars Philip Deloria and Shari Huhndorf who interrogate the various ways white Euro-Americans on the U.S. mainland performed and appropriated Native American identities and cultures to create a native “American” identity, albeit a racially white

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[13] Andrew Lind, *Hawaii: The Last of the Magic Isles* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), 55, 84.

[14] J. Kehaulani Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).

[15] Noelani Goodyear-Ka’opua et al. *A Nation Rising: Hawaiian Movements for Life, Land, and Sovereignty* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014); J. Kehaulani Kauanui, “Native Hawaiian Decolonization and the Politics of Gender,” *American Quarterly* (2008): 281-287; Noenoe Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native American Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004).

[16] Eric Yamamoto, “The Significance of Local,” *Social Process in Hawaii* 27 (1979): 101-115.

gendered identity.[17] Deloria's *Playing Indian* (1998) historically shows how white Americans used ideas about Native Americans through such historical examples like the Boston Tea Party, Improved Order of Red Men, Camp Fire Girls of America, Boy Scouts of America, and Grateful Dead concerts. Huhndorf's *Going Native* (2001) examines cultural productions of European Americans' appropriation of Native identities in such films as *Dances with Wolves* (1990), performances of indigeneity at U.S. World Fairs at the turn of the 20th century, and travel narratives.

Following this scholarly approach in examining the power dynamics of Euro-Americans creating identities in relation to Native Americans, this project reveals Japanese American war heroes becoming "Hawaiian" both in Hawai'i and on the U.S. mainland during World War II. But unlike Deloria and Huhndorf's historicization of Euro-Americans creating identities based on Native American culture while staking claims to America, there is yet to be a robust historicization of Asian Americans creating a U.S. identity founded on Kanaka Maoli culture, or the misidentification of it. Although scholars such as Dean Saranillio, Walter L. Hixson, and Bianca Isaki have attempted to historicize this identification, their analyses do not centrally focus on this "Hawaiian" racialization.[18] In order to historicize this racial formation, I return to the three arguments that I previously made. For the rest of the introduction, I unpack and explain all three points to show how the formation of the Japanese American World War II war hero as "Hawaiian" supported the rise of Japanese American power. Finally, I end with an overview of the dissertation and the chapters.

Historical Japanese American Racialization and Relational "Hawaiian" Racialization

When Japanese immigrants first began to arrive in Hawai'i in large numbers in 1885,[19] they were not racialized as Hawaiian. Their immigration to Hawai'i was caused by the rapid modernization of Japan during the Meiji Era and increased labor needs of the sugarcane plantations to meet the global hunger for sugar.[20] The U.S. ban on Chinese immigrants through the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 forced haole plantation owners to look to Japan. Coming as dekasegi or sojourners, Japanese immigrant workers viewed themselves as temporary workers with the eventual goal of returning home to Japan with material wealth.[21] After arriving in

[17] Philip Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Shari Huhndorf, *Going Native: Indians in the American Cultural Imagination* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001).
[18] Saranillio, "Why Asian settler colonialism matters," 282-286; Walter L. Hixson, *American Settler Colonialism*, 158-160; Bianca Isaki, "Ku'ualoha Ho'omanawanui: Re-archiving Asian settler colonialism in a time of Hawaiian decolonization, or, two walks along Kamehameha Highway," in *Transnational Crossroads: Remapping the Americas and the Pacific*, ed. Camilla Fojas and Rudy P. Guevarra Jr. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012), 269-286.
[19] Within Japanese American history, historians have debated the initial date of Japanese immigration to the U.S.. Within the context of Hawai'i, 1865 marks the first time agents of the Hawaiian sugarcane plantations solicited prospective Japanese immigrants to work in the plantations. However, by 1868, due to the maltreatment of the Japanese immigrants, the Japanese government compelled the American laborer contractors to send their people back. Within a U.S. mainland context, the Wakamatsu Tea and Silk Colony of 1869 in Northern California but the colony folded in 1872; see, Gary Okihiro, *Cane Fires: The Anti-Japanese Movement in Hawaii, 1865-1945* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991), 23; Paul Spickard *Japanese Americans: The Formation and Transformation of an Ethnic Group* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2009), 11.
[20] Spickard, *Japanese* Americans, 13.
[21] Yuji Ichioka, *Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885-1924* (New York: Free Press, 1990), 13; Yukiko Kimura, *Issei: Japanese Immigrants in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1988).

Hawai‘i and experiencing the unforgiving hardships of plantation life, many Japanese immigrants migrated to the West Coast of the U.S. mainland in search of better working conditions. However by the 1940s, the majority of the Japanese Diaspora still resided in Hawai‘i with a population of around 160,000, and with the West Coast Japanese American community totaling about 120,000.[22] By entering into the U.S., a space informed by racial formation,[23] U.S. white Americans viewed Japanese immigrants as foreigners, and their racial appearance provided a visible way that marked their difference. As a racial minority, Japanese immigrants were forced to navigate a U.S. racial hierarchy that privileged whites on the top and positioned other racial, ethnic and indigenous minorities below.

The Japanese immigrants, both in Hawai‘i and on the U.S. mainland, were initially racialized in relation to Chinese immigrants, and lumped together as Oriental or Asian in relation to white Americans. For Japanese immigrants in Hawai‘i, haole plantation owners saw them as a labor solution to the resistance and strikes by Chinese immigrant laborers in the sugarcane fields.[24] As laborers and unskilled workers on the West Coast, Japanese immigrants competed with the Chinese for employment, resources, and racial prestige in the eyes of white Americans. With the linkage of anti-Chinese racism with Chinatowns and gambling dens, Japanese immigrants sought to actively disassociate themselves from the Chinese to be seen in a more favorable light by white Americans.[25] Anti-Asian legislations pointedly conflated the Chinese with the Japanese. Such legislations and treaties like the Page Act of 1875, Alien Land Laws (1912-1923), Cable Act of 1922, and Immigration Act of 1924 made it very difficult for Asian immigrants to call the U.S. home.[26] The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and growing anti-Chinese racism in the late 19th century informed the racial hostility directed towards the Japanese immigrants. Even when successfully disassociating from the Chinese and Chinese Americans, Japanese immigrants experienced their own anti-Japanese racism.

For those dekasegi who decided to settle in Hawai‘i or on the U.S. mainland in the early 20th century, many of these issei or first-generation Japanese immigrants experienced racism involving immigration restrictions, ineligibility for U.S. citizenship, and labor discrimination. Laws restricted Japanese immigration into the U.S. but due to the growing rise of the Japanese Empire in the early 20th century, the U.S. was cautious not to upset Japan. However, anti-Japanese discrimination remained prevalent both on the West Coast and in Hawai’i. Gary Okihiro in *Cane Fires* contends that the racial discrimination against Japanese Americans in Hawaii paralleled the oppression of Japanese on the West Coast. Okihiro maintains that the plantation owners, territorial government, and haole elites launched a concerted effort

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[22] Eleanor C. Nordyke and Y. Scott Matsumoto, “The Japanese in Hawai‘i: A Historical and Demographic Perspective,” *Hawaiian Journal of History* 11 (1977): 165; for Japanese Americans on the U.S. mainland, the 120,000 statistic can be found in the narrative of the incarceration of all Japanese and Japanese Americans on the West Coast, which totaled 120,000, see Roger Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004).

[23] Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formations in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

[24] Ronald Takaki, *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawai‘i, 1835-1920* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1983), 57-152.

[25] Eiichiro Azuma, *Between Two Empires: Race, History, and Transnationalism in Japanese America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 5; Azuma, “Interethnic Conflict under Racial Subordination: Japanese Immigrants and Their Asian Neighbors in Walnut Grove, California, 1908-1941,” *Amerasia Journal* 20.2 (1994): 27-58.

[26] For more broad-based histories of Asians and Asian Americans in the U.S., see Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1998); Sucheng Chan, *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1991).

culminating in an anti-Japanese movement, while the U.S. military was developing strategies for removing and detaining the population of Japanese Americans in Hawaii two decades before World War II.[27] By emphasizing the linkages of anti-Japanese racism on the U.S. mainland and in Hawai'i, this dissertation shows how racial, social and ideological constructions of "Hawaiian" are transmitted within Japanese America.

To understand this dissertation's illustration and documentation of the racialization of Japanese American soldiers from Hawai'i as "Hawaiian" during World War II, this section addresses this racialization by building on past scholarship on historical panethnic Japanese American racial formations.[28] Scholars have examined the historical racial formation of Japanese immigrants from their first major arrival in the late 19th century to World War II, and historian Eiichiro Azuma describes the study of Japanese American racial formation as one "highly slanted in terms of generation, citizenship status, and geography."[29] By building on the geographical angle, this dissertation approaches the study of the historical formation of Japanese American racialization as "Hawaiian" by thinking through two distinct epistemic locations—the Japanese American racial formation on the U.S. mainland and the other in Hawai'i. The intellectual camp situating Japanese American racial formation on the U.S. mainland primarily focuses on the historical experiences of Japanese immigrants and their children on the West Coast. Scholars such as Roger Daniels, Eiichiro Azuma, Yuji Ichioka, Valerie Matsumoto, Tetsuden Kashima, Scott Kurashige, Lon Kurashige, and Greg Robinson, to name a few, have all examined historical Japanese American racial formation from the vantage point of the U.S. mainland.[30] Some of these scholars do mention Hawai'i but it is primarily in reference of the initial immigration stop before embarking to the West Coast.

This dissertation defines "Hawaiian" racialization as a process by which various racial and ethnic communities ascribed qualities and characteristics of Hawai'i onto non-native bodies. Racialization or racial formation in the U.S. is a socio-political process by which individuals and institutions shape and validate racial meanings.[31] With respect to the Japanese American soldiers

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[27] Roger Daniels, *The Politics of Prejudice: The Anti-Japanese Movement in California and the Struggle for Japanese Exclusion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977); Okihiro, *Cane Fires*, 3-194.

[28] Japanese America is a heterogeneous and panethnic community comprised of different ethnic groups, such as Okinawans, Ainu, Burakumin, and Naichi, but the geographical divide between Hawai'i and the U.S. mainland within Japanese America is the dominant logic that informs the Japanese American internal ethnic hierarchy. For panethnic Asian America, see Yen Le Espiritu, *Asian American Panethnicity: Bridging Institutions and Identities* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993); Dina G. Okamoto, *Redefining Race: Asian American Panethnicity and Shifting Ethnic Boundaries* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2014).

[29] Eiichiro Azuma, "The Making of a Japanese American Race, and Why Are There No 'Immigrants' in Postwar Nikkei History and Community?: The Problems of Generation, Region, and Citizenship in Japanese America," in *Trans-Pacific Japanese American Studies*. Ed. Yasuko Takezawa and Gary Y. Okihiro (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016).

[30] Daniels, *The Politics of Prejudice*; Eiichiro Azuma, *Between Two Empires: Race, History, and Transnationalism in Japanese America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Yuji Ichioka, *The Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885-1924* (New York: Free Press, 1988); Valerie Matsumoto, *Farming the Home Place: A Japanese American Community in California, 1919-1982* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993); Lon Kurashige, *Japanese American Celebration and Conflict: A History of Ethnic Identity and Festival, 1934-1990* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Scott Kurashige, *The Shifting Grounds of Race: Black and Japanese Americans in the Making of Multiethnic Los Angeles* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008); Tetsuden Kashima, *Judgment without Trial: Japanese American Imprisonment during World War II* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003).

[31] Omi, Michael and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s* (2nd ed.), (New York: Routledge, 1994), 52, 61.

from Hawai'i, different communities held varied views of, relationships with, and desires towards them, such as Southern Whites in Mississippi, Mainstream Press like *Time Magazine* and *The New York Times*, Black press like the *Baltimore Afro-American* and *Pittsburgh Courier*, Haole elites in Hawai'i, Japanese Americans in U.S. concentration camps, and other Local ethnic groups in Hawai'i. This dissertation will illustrate how, through this racialization, Japanese American soldiers from Hawai'i claimed and legitimated themselves as native "Hawaiian."

Japanese Americans becoming "Hawaiian" was a response to anti-Japanese racism, anti-Black racism, white supremacy, and exotification of Hawai'i. "Hawaiian" racialization is different from Local Identity because Local Identity denotes a type of shared resistance against haole oppression in the Hawaiian Islands. [32] Rather, "Hawaiian" racialization speaks about the movement of Japanese Americans in Hawai'i to align themselves with the nation-state to advocate for their inclusion as equals in the U.S. These actions by Japanese Americans, according to Native scholar Haunani-Kay Trask, are civil rights issues involving minority identities. Trask argues that Kanaka Maoli are different from Japanese Americans because they are not advocating for their civil rights as part of the U.S. but rather their sovereignty as independent from the U.S.[33]

To unravel this type of "Hawaiian" racialization, this dissertation employs a relational racialization approach. Natalia Molina legitimates the need for a push to incorporate a relational racialization approach that expands beyond binaries and comparative analyses. In this view, as a result, we gain new understandings of the makings, impacts and consequences of racial formation through interconnections amongst different nonwhite and indigenous groups in relation to whiteness and white supremacy.[34] To illustrate the multiple, relational "Hawaiian" racialization of Japanese Americans from Hawai'i, every chapter employs different relational models between Japanese American soldiers from Hawai'i and different racial, ethnic, and indigenous communities in Hawai'i and on the U.S. mainland. The second chapter explores "Hawaiian" racialization through the mobilization of the Japanese American soldier by understanding the relational racialization of white supremacy, anti-Black racism, anti-Japanese racism, and becoming "Hawaiian" situated between Hawai'i and the U.S. South. The third chapter's relational model focuses on the internal hierarchy within World War II Japanese America and illustrates "Hawaiian" racialization through a relational racialization between the multiple Japanese American communities in Hawai'i and on the U.S. mainland. In the fourth chapter, "Hawaiian" racialization of Japanese American war heroes is constructed through claims to an "Hawaiian" home due to their military sacrifice. Through this process, I show that the Japanese American veterans construct a "Hawaiian" Diaspora while serving abroad in Europe. In the post-WWII era leading to the passage of Hawai'i Statehood in 1959, the fifth chapter shows "Hawaiian" racialization of Japanese American veterans in relation to anti-

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[32] Eric Yamamoto, "The Significance of Local," *Social Process in Hawaii* 27 (1979): 102; For more information on Local identity in Hawaii, see John P. Rosa, *Local Culture: The Massie-Kahahawai Case and the Culture of History* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2014); Erin Suzuki, "Haunted Homelands: Negotiating Locality in *Father of the Four Passages*," *Modern Fiction Studies* 56.1 (2010): 160-182; Keiko Ohnuma, "Local *Haole*—A Contradiction in Terms? The Dilemma of being white, born and raised in Hawai'i," *Cultural Values* 6.3 (2002): 273-285.
[33] Haunani-Kay Trask, "Coalition-Building between Natives and Non-Natives," *Stanford Law Review* 43.6 (1991): 1197-1213; Trask, "Settlers of Color and 'Immigrant' Hegemony: 'Locals' in Hawai'i," *Amerasia Journal* 26.2 (2000): 1-24.
[34] Natalia Molina, *Fit to Be Citizen?: Public Health and Race in Los Angeles, 1879-1939* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); Molina, "Examining Chicana/o History through a Relational Lens," *Pacific Historical Review* 82.4 (2013): 520-541.

Statehood oppositional charges of Communism and anti-Japanese racism. The sixth and last chapter examines the 21st century to show the longevity of the influence of the Japanese American WWII veterans by juxtaposing the rise of Kanaka Maoli homelessness [houselessness] with the ongoing presence of U.S. militarism supported by prominent Japanese Americans from Hawai'i, many of them descendants of Japanese American WWII veterans. To contextualize these different relational "Hawaiian" racializations, the next section historicizes the Japanese American World War II war hero and provides the method by which each chapter will explore the intersectionality of "Hawaiian" racialization and Japanese American hero-making.

World War II Japanese America and "Hawaiian" Hero-Making

World War II became a divisive period for the Japanese American Community which saw the U.S. government uproot the West Coast Japanese American community, forcibly incarcerate them, and yet ask Japanese Americans to contribute to the war effort. With the bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941 by the Imperial Japanese Navy, Japanese and Japanese Americans residing in the U.S. experienced escalating hositility and anti-Japanese racism due to their perceived allegiance to the Japanese enemy. Influenced by anti-Japanese racism, President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued an executive order that forcibly removed all Japanese and Japanese Americans on the West Coast, which totaled over 120,000 with two-thirds of those being U.S. citizens.[35]

Executive Order 9066 effectively coerced the mass relocation and incarceration of Japanese and Japanese Americans into 10 concentration camps across the U.S. spanning from California to Arkansas: Tule Lake (California), Minidoka (Idaho), Topaz (Utah), Manzanar (California), Heart Mountain (Wyoming), Poston (Arizona), Rohwer (Arkansas), Jerome (Arkansas), Granada (Colorado), and Gila River (Arizona.[36] These concentration camps were located on barren, desolate lands and included makeshift barracks. These dreadful places were a far cry from the U.S. government's alleged summer camps.[37] About a thousand Japanese from Hawai'i were also sent to the concentration camps on the U.S. mainland. This was a relatively small proportion of the larger Japanese and Japanese American community in Hawai'i, which totaled 158,000 in 1940.[38] Yasutaro Soga recounts in *Life Behind Barbed Wire* his experience as a Hawaii Issei incarcerated on the mainland in an army camp in Lordsburg, New Mexico and later to a Justice Department Camp in Santa Fe. As an editor of a Japanese-language newspaper, Soga was targeted as a potential suspect in the U.S. government's roundup of Japanese threats. There were also Japanese and Japanese Americans incarcerated in Hawai'i at the Honouliuli

[35] Michi Weglyn, *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps* (New York: Morrow Quill Paperbacks, 1976); Roger Daniels, *Concentration Camps U.S.A*; Gary Okihiro, *Cane Fires*

[36] Greg Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy: Japanese Confinement in North America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009); John Howard, *Concentration Camps on the Home Front: Japanese Americans in the House of Jim Crow* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008); Roger Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993).

[37] Linda Gordon and Gary Y. Okihiro, *Impounded: Dorothea Lange and the Censored Images of Japanese American Internment* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2006).

[38] Eleanor C. Nordyke and Y. Scott Matsumoto, "The Japanese in Hawaii: A Historical and Demographic Perspective," *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 11 (1977): 162-174.

concentration camp. In August 1943, there were 160 Japanese Americans and 69 Japanese nationals incarcerated at Honouliuli concentration camp. [39]

In 1943, the U.S. government and officials of the War Relocation Authority (WRA) administered a "loyalty" questionnaire to incarcerees to determine the extent to which Japanese Americans were loyal to the U.S. government. Within the questionnaire, Number 27 and 28 explicitly asked Japanese Americans if they would serve in the U.S. armed forces and denounce the Japanese Empire. The controversial questionnaire divided the Japanese American community because it pitted Japanese Americans against each other on issues involving loyalty, allegiance, and military duty. Historian Roger Daniels shows that those Japanese Americans who objected to the questionnaire were considered "bad internees" by the WRA and sent to Tule Lake to be segregated from other "good internees" at the other 9 concentration camps. Those who answered, "yes" to both questions were subjected to the U.S. military draft and lauded for their patriotism. However, those who answered "no" were considered "No-no Boys" draft resisters and sent to prison for objecting to be drafted. The psychological and emotional burden of resistance was explored in John Okada's seminal novel *No-No Boy* (1957).[40]

One way to demonstrate U.S. loyalty was through military service. Prior to World War II, Japanese Americans had fought in the U.S. Army in World War I.[41] After the bombing of Pearl Harbor, the majority of Japanese American soldiers in the U.S. armed forces were discharged because of growing concerns by military officials.[42] But by 1942, the War Department and U.S. government needed Japanese Americans to address intelligence and manpower shortages. The 100th Infantry Battalion, a segregated unit comprised of about 1,200 Japanese American soldiers from Hawai'i. The Military Intelligence Service, sought the help of Japanese American soldiers who were proficient in the Japanese language and constituted the first large-scale Japanese American units during World War II. With the success of the 100th Battalion in basic training at Camp McCoy in Wisconsin, President Roosevelt on February 1, 1943 announced the creation of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team (RCT). The 442nd Regimental Combat Team was comprised of different Nisei military units and relied on both the volunteering and drafting of eligible Nisei men. The Military Intelligence Service trained Japanese Americans who served in the Pacific, at the Presidio in San Francisco, and at Fort Snelling, Minnesota during World War II.[43] Although the majority of military participation consisted of Japanese American men,

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[39] Suzanne Falgout and Linda Nishigaya, eds. *Breaking the Silence: Lessons of Democracy and Social Justice from World War II Honouliuli Internment and POW Camp in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2014); Yasutaro Soga, *Life Behind Barbed Wire: The World War II Internment Memoirs of Hawai'i Issei* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008).

[40] Daniels, *Concentration Camps U.S.A*, 113-115; John Okada, *No-No Boy* (Rutland: C.E. Tuttle Co., 1957); Jeffrey T. Yamashita, "Contesting Japanese American Identity: A Literature Review of John Okada's *No-No Boy* (1957)," in *John Okada: The Life and Rediscovered Work of the Author of No-No Boy*. Ed. Frank Abe, Greg Robinson, and Floyd Cheung (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2018): 284-294.

[41] Eileen H. Tamura. *In Defense of Justice: Joseph Kurihara and the Japanese American Struggle for Equality* (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2013).

[42] A small minority of Japanese American GIs were able to avoid military discharge because "individual officers were given the responsibility of deciding on discharges or retention" for Japanese American soldiers; see, Shirley Castelnuovo, *Soldiers of Conscience: Japanese American Military Resisters in World War II* (Westport: Praeger, 2008), 13.

[43] Joseph D. Harrington, *Yankee Samurai: The Secret Role of Nisei in America's Pacific Victory* (Detroit: Pettigrew Enterprise, Inc., 1979); Tad Ichinokuchi, *John Aiso and the M.I.S.: Japanese-American Soldiers in the Military Intelligence Service, World War II* (Los Angeles: The Club, 1998); James C. McNaughton, *Nisei Linguists: Japanese Americans in the Military Intelligence Service during World War II* (Washington D.C.: Department of the Army, 2007).

Japanese American women also contributed to the war effort through their participation in the Women's Army Corps (WAC) and in military support roles, such as clerical positions, intelligence, and translation.[44]

With the increased need to replenish the ranks of these segregated Japanese American military units, the U.S. government began to conscript Japanese Americans from the U.S. mainland and Hawai'i, which resulted in draft resistance movements in the concentration camps. Japanese Americans at Minidoka, Heart Mountain, Poston, and Gila River concentration camps chose to resist in order to the prove their patriotism by questioning the unlawful incarceration and conscription of Japanese Americans who were stripped of their constitutional rights. They created organizations such as the Fair Play Committee to advance their resistance, but many in the concentration camp community who were pro-American did not appreciate their lack of commitment to the war effort. In addition, Japanese American soldiers fighting in the Pacific and European theaters felt that their military sacrifice was muted by these acts of resistance against the U.S. military.[45] This created a divide between Japanese American veterans and draft resisters within the Japanese American Community.

Some scholars declare WWII a genesis moment for Japanese America. Historian Roger Daniels claimed that, "the wartime exile and incarceration is the transcendent event of Japanese American history."[46] When documenting and memorializing the experiences of the Japanese American soldiers during WWII, historians and community scholars have romantically positioned the soldiers as war heroes who overcame racial discrimination, incarceration and the Nazi enemy to demonstrate to the U.S. public and government that they were loyal and patriotic U.S. citizens. Prominent Japanese American historian Franklin Odo's contemporary observations on WWII and Japanese America speaks to the persistence of this "master narrative":

> The master narrative of the 'good Japanese American' community which endured unjust incarceration with dignity while their young men nonetheless fought in the U.S. military with splendid courage and to great effect thus continues its journey. There are signs of contestation: much of the recent scholarly literature on the World War II incarceration experience focuses on protest and continues to erode earlier accounts of heroic and fatalistic endurance (see Muller; Lyon).[47] But on balance the mainstream narrative maintains its hold on the population, including the Nikkei communities now increasingly evident in public history venues including numerous memorials, monuments, films/videos, and exhibitions now gracing half-a-dozen states and the Nation's Capital.[48]

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[44] Brenda L. Moore, *Serving Our Country: Japanese American Women in the Military during World War II* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2003).

[45] Frank Chin, ed. *Born in the U.S.A: A Story of Japanese America, 1889-1947* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002); Mike Mackey, ed. *A Matter of Conscience: Essays on the World War II Heart Mountain Draft Resistance Movement* (Powell: Western History Publication, 2002); Eric Muller, *Free to Die for Their Country: The Story of the Japanese American Draft Resisters* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); Cherstin M. Lyon, *Prisons and Patriots: Japanese American Wartime Citizenship, Civil Disobedience, and Historical Memory* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2012).

[46] Jane Naomi Iwamura, "Critical Faith: Japanese Americans and the Birth of a New Civil Religion," *American Quarterly* 59.3 (2007): 939; Roger Daniels, "Incarceration of the Japanese Americans: A Sixty-Year Perspective," *History Teacher* 35.3 (2002): 303.

[47] Eric Muller, *Free to Die for their Country: The Story of the Japanese American Draft Resisters in World War II* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011); Cherstin Lyon, *Prisons and Patriots: Japanese American Wartime Citizenship, Civil Disobedience, and Historical Memory* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011).

[48] Franklin Odo, "The Good War and Japanese America," *American Studies Journal* 59 (2015)

In this reflection, Odo shows that the maintenance of the "good Japanese American" is still actively maintained in the 21st century even with the inclusion of resistance literature that contests this romantic, patriotic narrative of the Japanese American veterans. This dissertation addresses and critically examines the heroic narrative of the war hero by transcending the binary of veteran and resister to show how "hero-making" was deeply tied to geographical locations within and outside of Japanese America. But first, I will unpack Odo's observations to contextualize how this dissertation approaches "hero-making."

Odo's reference to the "heroic and fatalistic" accounts of "young men [fighting] in the U.S. military with splendid courage and to great effect" speaks to the historical and contemporary romanticization of the Japanese American World War II war hero. Historians like Robert Asahina, Lyn Crost, Masayo Duus, Franklin Odo, and Bill Yenne have documented particular incidents that presented the Japanese American soldiers of the 100th Infantry Battalion and the 442nd RCT as war heroes.[49] Even though there was some dissent within the unit,[50] dominant narratives of the 100th/442nd RCT portray them as World War II war heroes that sacrificed their lives in the European campaign to prove the loyalty of the Japanese American community. Their historical narratives presented heroic exploits in the face of danger and highlight particular military moments, like the rescue of the Lost Battalion where the 100th/442nd RCT rescued 200 Texans from the 141st Regiment who were surrounded and cutoff by the Nazis, the constant pursuit of trying to prove their patriotism in the face of racism they received from other white American soldiers, and the recognition of the 100th/442nd RCT as the most decorated unit in U.S. military history. For the past seven decades, there is a plethora of narratives, memoirs, cultural performances, and museum exhibitions that historically document Japanese American military experiences during World War II.

In the 21st century, Japanese American WWII veterans are still commemorated and honored for their military participation and sacrifice. In late March of 2014, the people of Hawai'i were given the opportunity to tour the traveling Smithsonian "Go For Broke" exhibit, which documented the story of the 100th Infantry Battalion, 442nd Regimental Combat Team, and the Military Intelligence Service during World War II.[51] Just a year earlier, the Japanese American National Museum in Los Angeles hosted to much fanfare and media press an exhibit entitled "American Heroes: Japanese American World War II Nisei Soldiers and the Congressional Gold Medal." Both of the exhibits coincided with other events that honored the veterans and the historical, romantic memory of the World War II Nisei war hero from Honolulu to Washington D.C. The Congressional Gold Medal, a symbol of loyalty and patriotism, was

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[49] There are over 70 books, spanning 7 decades, concerning the heroic memory of the WWII Nisei soldier. Some highlighted works over the decades include Shirey Orville, *Americans: The Story of the 442nd Combat Team* (Washington D.C.: Infantry Journal Press, 1946); Joseph D. Harrington, *Yankee Samurai: The Secret Role of Nisei in America's Pacific Victory* (Detroit: Pettigrew Enterprises, Inc, 1979); Masayo Duus, *Unlikely Liberators: The Men of the 100th and the 442nd* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1987); Crost, *Honor By Fire*; Asahina, *Just Americans*; James McCaffrey, *Going for Broke: Japanese American Soldiers in the War Against Nazi Germany* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013).

[50] Tamotsu Shibutani, *The Derelicts of Company K: A Sociological Study of Demoralization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978); Shirley Castelnuovo, *Soldiers of Conscience: Japanese American military resisters in World War II* (Westport: Praeger, 2008); Masayo Duus, *Unlikely Liberators*, 60-63; Cindy Mackey, "Out of Rebellion: The Politics of Identity and the Japanese in Hawai'i," (PhD diss., University of Hawai'i at Manoa, 1995), 167-219.

[51] "World War II Nisei Exhibit Tours Hawai'i." *KITV4* http://www.kitv.com/news/world-war-ii-nisei-exhibit-tours-hawaii/25149004#!be5z4V March 24, 2014. Accessed April 4, 2014.

bestowed on the men of the 100th Infantry Battalion, 442nd Regimental Combat Team, and the Military Intelligence Service for their contributions and accomplishments during World War II.[52] However, in the early 1990s there was a push within the Japanese American community to reconcile the divisions between veteran and resister by documenting the history and experiences of Japanese American draft resisters.

Since the early 2000s, historical studies by Eric Muller, Frank Chin, Mike Mackey, and Cherstin Lyon have revised the narrative of the Japanese American draft resisters by positioning them as historical agents who believed their resistance was an explicit demonstration of their principled defense of the U.S. constitution and U.S. citizenship, an "heroic" act in the eyes of these scholars. These scholars desired to construct the resisters as heroes because the Japanese American draft resisters were so powerfully "condemned within the Japanese American community for years after the war that many of the resisters did not share their story of oppression even with their own children."[53] Scholars and historians writing from both sides ultimately want to create "heroes" of either the veterans or the draft resisters. For the veterans, it is easy to afford them war heroism due to their military sacrifice.

However, this dissertation is more concerned about "hero-making" during World War II, which centers the intersections of "hero-making" of Japanese Americans and "Hawaiian" racialization. This heated discussion on socially elevating either the Japanese American veterans or the draft resisters exists distinctly within *only* the concentration camps on the U.S. mainland. The majority of Japanese and Japanese Americans in Hawai'i never experienced incarceration during the war. By enlarging the scope of Japanese America to encompass Hawai‘i and the U.S. mainland, this dissertation will demonstrate that "Hawaiian" racialization of the war hero grounded the draft resistance as an U.S. mainland issue during World War II. "Hawaiian" racialization was distinctly tied to perceptions of Japanese American military enlistment and resistance, which exposed the highly contested battleground of constructing and legitimating Japanese American military heroism, which will be revealed through a "hero-making" analysis. In addition, the formation of Japanese American WWII veterans as "Hawaiian" war heroes supported their claims to Hawai‘i in the postwar future as the legitimate heirs to the Islands.

I will use what I call a "hero-making" analysis to unpack and critically examine the makings of the Japanese American World War II war hero as "Hawaiian" in each chapter. "Hero-making" is based on a discursive and material analysis of the contestations and interactions of various groups in Hawai‘i and on the U.S. mainland and their relationships in constructing Japanese American soldiers from Hawai‘i as war heroes, collectively and individually. Every chapter will illustrate a relational racialization of "hero-making" of the Japanese American soldier as "Hawaiian" from 1941 to 1959. The second chapter will build on the relational racialization model through an analysis of how various groups constructed and publicized the Japanese American soldier from Hawai‘i as war hero during their mobilization and training at Camp Shelby in Mississippi. The third chapter explores the space of the Japanese American concentration camps. The chapter examines the various ways the camp communities contested and claimed particular individual Japanese American war heroes on national speaking tours during WWII. The fourth chapter examines the relationships between the Hawai'i home front and the Japanese American soldiers while deployed away from Hawai'i. The chapter examines how Japanese American soldiers created claims to Hawai‘i as home through their

[52] "American Heroes: Japanese American World War II Nisei Soldiers and the Congressional Gold Medal," http://www.janm.org/exhibits/americanheroes/ Accessed April 30, 2014.
[53] Muller, *Free to Die*, 6.

legitimation as war heroes from Hawai‘i. In the postwar and Cold War context, the fifth chapter documents how Japanese American veterans in relation to various groups were championed as "Hawaiian" war heroes during the campaign for Hawai‘i Statehood. The final chapter explores the contemporary influence of Japanese American WWII veterans in Hawai'i. To understand the power and importance of the construction of the Japanese American World War II soldier as war hero and "Hawaiian," the next section will detail the larger structural and theoretical foundation of this dissertation: U.S. Empire and settler colonialism.

Empire, War Heroes, and Settler Colonialism: Rise of Japanese American Power

In this last section, I illustrate how best to comprehend the power of the Japanese American World War II war hero as "Hawaiian" through the lens of U.S. Empire. By re-orienting our view of U.S. History as U.S. colonial history,[54] the intimate linkages of U.S. Empire and the historical power of the U.S. war hero are revealed. Historian David Armitage notes that the United States was "born into a world of empire; little wonder, then, that the land-hungry, westward-expanding, federal Republic should have taken on many of the features of the imperial state that had given birth to it."[55] And within Empires throughout history, scholars have noted that military interventions are the driving force of colonial expansion through the concept of "perpetual war for perpetual peace."[56] With this understanding, we can re-view U.S. History from the inception of the U.S. republic to the present day as a state of perpetual war, which is reflected in the wars against Native Americans, Mexicans, Asians, and Muslims. The U.S. is an Empire that used and is currently using military conquest and occupation as a means to expand its borders. The war leaders and war heroes in U.S. History are lionized and championed as special while maintaining the legitimacy of militarism and Empire. It is no wonder that twenty-six of the past forty-four white, male Presidents of the U.S. served in the military, leveraged their military background to gain office, and were considered U.S. war heroes by the public. And of those twenty-six, World War II produced the most, with eight Presidents.[57] To summarize, theorist Andrea Smith states: "for the system of white supremacy to stay in place, the United States must always be at war."[58]

Understanding the relationship between political power and war heroism, racial and indigenous minorities in the U.S. have historically constructed war heroes not only for their own communities but also to demonstrate their Americanism to the larger U.S. society. Historians

[54] Jack P. Greene, "Colonial History and National History: Reflections on a Continuing Problem," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 64.2 (2007): 235; Alyosha Goldstein, "Introduction: Toward a Genealogy of the U.S. Colonial Present," in *Formations of United States Colonialism,* ed. Goldstein (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 1-32; Ian K. Steele, "Exploding Colonial American History: Amerindian, Atlantic, and Global Perspectives," *Reviews in American History* 26.1 (1998): 70-95; David Armitage, "From Colonial History to Postcolonial History: A Turn to Far?" *The William and Mary Quarterly* 64.2 (2007): 251-254; Michael Witgen, "Rethinking Colonial History as Continental History," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 69.3 (2012): 527-530.
[55] Armitage, "From Colonial History to Postcolonial History," 253.
[56] Harry Elmer Barnes, eds. *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace: A Critical Examination of the Foreign Policy of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Its Aftermath* (Caldwell: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1953); Robert A. Divine, *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2000); Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire* (New York: Penguin Press, 2004).
[57] Dwight Eisenhower (Army), John F. Kennedy (Navy), Lyndon B. Johnson (Navy), Richard Nixon (Navy), Gerald Ford (Navy), Jimmy Carter (Navy), Ronald Reagan (Air Force), and George H.W. Bush (Navy)—the most popular war (WWII) with the second most popular being the Civil War, which had seven Presidents.
[58] Smith, "Indigeneity, Settler Colonialism, White Supremacy," 66-69.

John F. Marszalek and Horace D. Nash traced African American military historiography and revealed that since the 1960s, "the search was on for black faces—more correctly, for black heroes—to take their places alongside the white heroes long enshrined in the history books."[59] The desire to construct romantic historical narratives of African American military heroism provided the foundation to demand the inclusion of African Americans in the pantheon of WWII war heroes. Within Chicanx Studies, Emma Perez notes that within the historiography of Chicano meta-history, "Chicano historians responded and envisioned heroes on the frontier as an oppositional retort to Anglo heroes."[60] Within Kanaka Maoli history, Ty Tengan has shown that Native Hawaiian men in the early 20th century evoked the "memory of [King] Kamehameha,[61] the warrior chief…[and] was frequently called on as an exemplary model of militarized masculinity, rational judgment, and good governance" to aid in their U.S. military training.[62]

Within Asian American studies, World War II and the role of Asian and Asian American military participation are largely commemorated as a huge sacrifice in demonstrating U.S. Americanism, patriotism, and loyalty while highlighting their contributions to the U.S. as war heroes. Although many of the scholarly works do provide instances of resistance to U.S. militarism,[63] the historiography of Asian and Asian American military participation in the U.S. armed forces largely placated fears of Asian subversion and foreignness while arguing for Asian and Asian American inclusion.[64] This dissertation enters this discussion of U.S. militarism, Empire and Asian America by thinking about how the formation of the Japanese American World War II war hero as "Hawaiian," is an extension, symbol, and representative of U.S. Empire.

The U.S. incorporated Hawai'i into its Empire when U.S. militarism, with the leadership of haole plantation owners and political elites, overthrew the Hawaiian monarchy in 1898 and created a U.S. settler colonial society through the annexation of Hawai'i as a U.S. Territory in 1900. To speak to the internal makings of the Japanese American war hero within Japanese America, which comprised of communities across Hawai'i and the U.S. continent, this chapter follows the declaration from Native Studies that calls for a more critical approach to militarization and empire in the Pacific.[65]

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[59] John F. Marszalek and Horace D. Nash, "African Americans in the Military of the United States," in *The African American Experience: An Historiographical and Bibliographical Guide* (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2000).
[60] Emma Perez, *The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas into History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 17.
[61] King Kamehameha was the first Native Hawaiian King who unified all of the Hawaiian Islands in 1810. His memory and legacy are of utmost importance to the Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiian) community.
[62] Ty Tengan, "Re-membering Panala'au: Masculinities, Nation, and Empire in Hawai'i and the Pacific," *The Contemporary Pacific* 20.1 (2008): 31-34.
[63] Setsu Shigematsu and Keith Camacho, eds. *Militarized Currents: Toward a Decolonial Future in Asia and the Pacific* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010); Vernadette Gonzalez, *Securing Paradise: Tourism and Militarism in Hawai'i and the Philippines* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013).
[64] Ronald Takaki, *Double Victory: A Multicultural History of America in World War II* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 2000); K. Scott Wong, *Americans First: Chinese Americans and the Second World War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005); Linda Espana-Maram, *Creating Masculinity in Los Angeles's Little Manila: Working-Class Filipinos and Popular Culture, 1920s-1950s* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006); Keith Camacho, *Cultures of Commemoration: The Politics of War, Memory, and History in the Mariana Islands* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011).
[65] Victor Bascara, Keith L. Camacho and Elizabeth DeLoughrey, "Gender and Sexual Politics of Pacific Island Militarisation: A Call for Critical Militarisation Studies," *Intersections: Gender and Sexuality in Asia and the Pacific* 37 (2015); Setsu Shigematsu and Keith L. Camacho, ed., *Militarized Currents: Toward a Decolonized Future in Asia and the Pacific* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010); Camilla Fojas and Rudy P.

Within U.S. Empire, U.S. settler colonialism is a process by which historically Euro-American settlers dispossessed the indigenous population, brought in cheap and slave labor to cultivate the land, and eliminated the native by becoming the new "natives" or native "American."[66] Scholar Nicholas De Genova advocates understanding the U.S. racial order through Native genocide as a pivotal foundation in creating a U.S. settler state created for non-Native settlers to occupy a position in it. To De Genova, the nationalistic foundations of the U.S. settler state are based on an "appropriation for itself of 'American'-ness as its exclusive 'national' identity" and that it "could never be other than a European settler-state's imperial gesture of usurpation."[67] For this dissertation, therefore, I will integrate this insight into my theorization and analysis. I will show that the construction of Japanese American World War II war hero as "Hawaiian" is so powerful precisely because these Japanese Americans were able to become the "rightful" leaders, rulers and elites of Hawai'i by ascribing to the logics of U.S. settler colonialism—militarism and dispossession/becoming the native.

In fact, scholars have already taken this perspective and analyzed the relationship of Asian American racial formation to an "appropriation" of indigenous cultures and identities. In extending the settler colonial paradigm to the social structure of the Hawaiian Islands, scholars have explored how Asian Americans, especially elite Japanese American and Chinese American communities, are complicit with the dispossession of Kanaka Maoli lands, by referring to the colonial formation as Asian settler colonialism.[68] Activists have articulated arguments against the late Senator Inouye by linking him with the perpetuation of U.S. Empire in the Pacific. Ida Yoshinaga and Eiko Kosasa have observed that:

> Senator Inouye has long supported the American government's interests in maintaining Hawai'i as a colony, rather than allowing the establishment of a self-determined Native Hawaiian nation. Strategically, Hawai'i is the linchpin for U.S. imperialism in Asia and the Pacific, and Inouye ensures America's global power through enormous military funding.[69] Hawai'i ranks second nationally in per capita expenditures from the

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Guevarra Jr., ed. *Transnational Crossroads: Remapping the Americas and the Pacific* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012).

[66] Evelyn Nakano Glenn, "Settler Colonialism as Structure: A Framework for Comparative Studies of U.S. Race and Gender Formation," *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 1.1 (2015): 54-74.

[67] Nicholas De Genova, "Introduction: Latino and Asian Racial Formations at the Frontiers of U.S. Nationalism," in *Racial Transformations: Latinos and Asians remaking the United States*, ed. Nicholas De Genova (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 3-5.

[68] Haunani-Kay Trask, "Politics in the Pacific Islands: Imperialism and Native Self-Determination," *Amerasia Journal* 16.1 (1990): 1-19; J. Kehaulani Kauanui, "Asian American Studies and the 'Pacific Question,'" in *Asian American Studies after Critical Mass* , ed. Kent A. Ono (Malden: Blackwell, 2005), 123-43; Roderick N. Labrador and Erin Kahunawaika'ala Wright, "Engaging Indigeneity in Pacific Islander and Asian American Studies," *Amerasia Journal* 37.3 (2011): 135-147; Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Y. Okamura, eds., "Whose Vision?: Asian Settler Colonialism in Hawai'i," *Amerasia Journal*, Special Issue 26 (2000); Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Y. Okamura, eds., *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the habits of everyday life in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008); Dean Saranillio, "Colliding Histories: Hawai'i Statehood at the Intersection of Asians 'Ineligible to Citizenship' and Hawaiian 'Unfit for Self-Government," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 13.3 (2010): 283-309; Eileen H. Tamura, "Using the Past to Inform the Future: An Historiography of Hawai'i's Asian and Pacific Islander Americans," *Amerasia Journal* 26.1 (2000): 55-85; Judy Rohrer, *Haoles in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2010).

[69] For the Fiscal Year 2013 Defense Appropriations Bill, Senate Defense Appropriations Subcommittee Chairman Daniel Inouye, recommended an allocation of $511 billion dollars for the base budget and $93.3 billion for Overseas Contingency Operations on July 31, 2012, see "Opening Statement of Chairman Daniel K. Inouye," U.S. Senate

> Department of Defense, and the Commander in Chief, U.S. Pacific Command patrols 50 percent of the earth from its base in Honolulu…We must see past Inouye's self-promoted, sacred war-hero-image to his tremendous power over politicians and businessmen.[70]

By following the cautious warning of seeing past "Inouye's self-promoted, sacred war-hero-image to his tremendous power over politicians and businessmen," this dissertation pivots to the historical past to discover and uncover the underpinning foundations of the power of the war hero as "Hawaiian": the rise of Japanese American settler colonialism.

Japanese American settler colonialism should be treated as similar but distinctly different from Japanese settler colonialism. Whereas Japanese American settler colonialism is focused on the logics and extension of U.S. Empire or U.S. settler colonialism, Japanese settler colonialism is based on what historian Eiichiro Azuma calls "adaptive Japanese settler colonialism."[71] Adaptive Japanese settler colonialism primarily deals with the time period of the Imperial Japanese Empire from the late 19th century to the end of World War II. During this period, Japanese settlers, influenced by or "adapting to" U.S. racism and U.S. settler colonialism, attempted to extend the influence of the Japanese Empire in the Pacific world—Southeast Asia, Pacific Islands, South America, and the U.S. West Coast.[72] However, this dissertation deals with Japanese American settler colonialism because for Japanese American soldiers from Hawai'i, their military involvement in World War II was directly opposed to Imperial Japan and its expansion. But unlike other Asian American soldiers fighting in the U.S. armed forces who created solidarities with other Asians to oppose U.S. colonialism in the Pacific,[73] Japanese American soldiers were not fighting to undermine U.S. Empire but rather the maintenance of it.

In the contemporary moment, I read Japanese American settler colonialism as the current standard of historians and scholars referring to the Japanese American World War II soldiers from Hawai'i as "Hawaiian." Historians such as John Howard, Robert Asahina, Bill Yenne referred to the Japanese American soldiers as "Hawaiian", "Hawaiian Japanese American," "Hawaiian of Japanese descent" or "Hawaiian Kibei."[74] Ethnic Studies scholar Dean Saranillio

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Committee on Appropriations press release, July 31, 2012, on the U.S. Senate Committee on Appropriations website, http://www.appropriations.senate.gov/news.cfm?method=news.view&id=0d578b62-622c-415f-a406-9eefc906211d, accessed December 6, 2012.

[70] Ida Yoshinaga and Eiko Kosasa, "Local Japanese Women for Justice (LJWJ) Speak Out Against Daniel Inouye and the JACL," in *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i*. Eds. Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Y. Okamura (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 295.

[71] Eiichiro Azuma, *In Search of Our Frontier: Japanese America and Settler Colonialism in the Construction of Japan's Borderless Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2019), 17-26.

[72] Chrissy Yee Lau, *New Women of Empire: Gendered Politics and Racial Uplift in Interwar Japanese America* (Seattle: University of Washingto Press, 2022), 5-11; Christen Sasaki, *Pacific Confluence: Fighting Over the Nation in Nineteenth-Century Hawai'i* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2022), 25-50; Moon-Ho Jung, *Menace to Empire: Anticolonial Solidarities and the Transpacific Origins of the U.S. Security State* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2022), 148-186.

[73] Simeon Man, *Soldiering Through Empire: Race and the Making of the Decolonizing Pacific* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2018), 77-102.

[74] Here is a small selection of scholars who show the larger systemic issue of labeling Japanese Americans from Hawai'i as "Hawaiian." See John Howard, *Concentration Camps on the Home Front: Japanese Americans in the House of Jim Crow* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008): 86, 88, 209, etc.; Robert Asahina, *Just Americans: How Japanese Americans won a War at Home and Abroad* (New York: Gotham, 2006): 58, etc.; Bill Yenne, *Rising Sons: The Japanese American GIs who fought for the United States in World War II* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2007): 60, 63, 64, etc. It is interesting to note that Bill Yenne provides an "Explanation of

observes this phenomenon in a seminal Asian American history text, historian Ronald Takaki's *Pau Hana* (1983): "Despite its rich histories of plantation resistance and solidarity, *Pau Hana* often utilizes Asian American immigrant narratives to conflate Asian American experiences with Kanaka ʻOiwi."[75] Moving one step further by challenging this conflation, this dissertation exposes the process of becoming "Hawaiian" to reveal the power of Japanese Americans in Hawaiʻi.

To reveal the rise of Japanese American power through the lens of consolidation of settler colonial power, this dissertation uses Evelyn Nakano Glenn's framework of racial and gendered formation by attending to the various ways settler colonialism informs relational racial formations between nonwhites, whites, and indigenous communities. By advocating the need to take into account indigenous dispossession and genocide as a linking force in relational racial formation, Glenn believes that "settler colonialism as an alternative starting point for a framework…can generate a more historically and structurally grounded analysis of racial inequality in the U.S."[76] This dissertation combines Glenn's call to engage settler colonialism with Natalia Molina's call for the need to think about relationality between racial and indigenous minorities.[77]

All five chapters expose the historical rise of Japanese American power and its relationship with U.S. settler colonialism through the construction of the Japanese American World War II war hero as "Hawaiian." In the second chapter, I will show how powerful haole elites and white southerners constructed the Japanese American WWII war hero as "Hawaiian" based on white supremacy and desires for economic profit by attaching Hawaiʻi's worthiness to these men. The third chapter illuminates how Japanese American war heroes as "Hawaiian" allowed for the re-formulation of the internal Japanese American hierarchy, which originally privileged the Japanese American community on the U.S. mainland over the one in Hawaiʻi. I show that Japanese American speaking tours challenged this hierarchy, legitimated Japanese American war heroes as distinctly "Hawaiian" within Japanese America, and provided the platform for Japanese Americans from Hawaiʻi to be the representatives of Japanese America. The fourth chapter shows how Japanese American soldiers, away from the Islands, began to view themselves as a "Hawaii" Diaspora, which influenced them to actively claim Hawaiʻi as home and consequently demand prominent futures due to their heroism. The fifth chapter analyzes the Hawaiʻi Statehood Movement to reveal how Japanese American veterans as "Hawaiian" war heroes became the leaders of Hawaiʻi. Finally, the sixth chapter examines contemporary Hawaiʻi to show the maintenance of Japanese American power through the patriarchal leadership of "Hawaiian" WWII war heroes and the transmission of power to their legitimate descendants. Ultimately, this dissertation demonstrates how non-native groups, specifically Japanese Americans from Hawaiʻi, have benefited from the political and material consequences of supporting and consenting to, consciously or unconsciously, to the U.S. settler state, which speaks against the assumption that non-white groups will always align with Native peoples.[78]

Terms" and details the different generations (issei, nisei, kibei, and sansei) but does not include how he treats the identifier of "Hawaiian."

[75] Saranillio, "Why Asian Settler Colonialism Matters," 288.

[76] Evelyn Nakano Glenn, "Settler Colonialism as Structure: A Framework for Comparative Studies of U.S. Race and Gender Formation," *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 1.1 (2015): 54-74.

[77] Natalia Molina et al, eds. *Relational Formations of Race: Theory, Method, and Practice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2019), 1-18.

[78] Dean Itsuji Saranillio, "Why Asian settler colonialism matters: a thought piece on critiques, debates, and Indigenous difference," *Settler Colonial Studies* 3.3-4 (2013): 282, 288.

Concluding Overview

Becoming "Hawaiian": World War II War Heroes and the Rise of Japanese American Power, 1941-1963 examines the most celebrated Asian American war heroes in U.S. history—Japanese American WWII GIs—to reveal how those soldiers from Hawai'i became racialized and legitimated as "Hawaiian" war heroes. I introduce a concept of "Hawaiian" racialization as a process by which various racial and ethnic communities ascribed qualities and characteristics of Hawai'i, such as exotic, friendly, and feminine, onto the non-native men while the soldiers themselves actively created a heroic "Hawaiian" identity. During WWII from their mobilization to their return home from battle, the soldiers were racialized and celebrated as "Hawaiian" war heroes in the U.S. South, in the Japanese American concentration camps, in liberal white spaces across the U.S. mainland, in Hawai'i, and internationally in the European campaign. This resulted in cementing an image of "Hawaiian" war heroes as worthy representatives of the Territory and Japanese America to both U.S. mainland and local audiences. This process supported these men's stakes as inheritors and as future patriarchal leaders of Hawai'i, Japanese America, and Asian America during WWII and postwar. The heroic racialization facilitated the passage of Hawai'i Statehood in 1959 and the successful election of two "Hawaiian" war heroes into Congress in 1963. Using extensive multi-site archival research, my historical analysis relies on racial and gendered theories and frameworks from ethnic studies, settler colonial studies, feminist studies, and Asian American studies. This project illustrates Asian Americans creating a celebratory American identity through their racialization as indigenous. The power of non-natives to become the "new" natives is central to U.S. Empire, which supports foundational claims to land, home, family, and nation.

The first four chapters explore how the soldiers became "Hawaiian" war heroes during wartime. The second chapter looks at the initial racialization through tracking the coverage, mobilization, and basic training of the soldiers from Hawai'i to Mississippi in 1942. The chapter illustrates that Jim Crow anti-black racism and anti-Japanese racism stemming from incarceration influenced their portrayal and acceptance as "Hawaiian" in the US South, which was supported by white elites in Hawai'i who desired to use these war heroes to showcase the Territory's worthiness for Statehood. The third chapter shows "Hawaiian" war heroes contesting for patriarchal leadership within the Japanese American community on the US mainland, which before WWII privileged the community on the US mainland over Hawai'i. Through the examinations of three war heroes and their national speaking tours from 1944-45, the chapter reveals how two "Hawaiian" war heroes were able to leverage their "Hawaiian" and military backgrounds to be legitimated as representatives of both the Japanese American soldier and Japanese America by incarcerated and relocated Japanese Americans and white liberals across the US mainland. With the return of the men to Hawai'i at the end of the war, the fourth chapter presents how the war pushed these men to think about their home not as a duality between Japan and the US but as a singularity with Hawai'i through dynamics between claims to home and hero-making. Writing from the battlefront and speaking on the home front, returning "Hawaiian" war heroes demanded a future and home for themselves in Hawai'i for their military heroism in contrast to other Asian groups and Native Hawaiians.

The last two chapters discuss the rise to power led by "Hawaiian" war heroes in the postwar period. From 1945-1963, the fifth chapter demonstrates the institutionalization of Japanese American power through the campaign and passage of Hawai'i Statehood and ending with two successful congressional elections of "Hawaiian" war heroes in 1963. The "Hawaiian"

WWII war hero is not a 20th century historical artifact. The sixth chapter connects the legacies and actions of "Hawaiian" WWII war heroes, like the late Senator Daniel Inouye, into the 21st century with the reproduction of power to their non-native descendants, many of them who participated in the U.S. military like former Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army Eric Shinseki. Ultimately, this dissertation historicizes Asian American alignment within US Empire and reveals how Japanese Americans legitimated themselves as Hawaiians through the vehicle of the U.S. war hero.

Chapter 2

Becoming "Hawaiian": Relational Racialization of Japanese American Mobilization during World War II on the U.S. mainland

While recounting his experiences participating in the 100th/442nd Regimental Combat Team (RCT), the famous segregated Japanese American military unit that fought in the European Campaign during World War II, Senator Daniel Inouye (HI-D) described the internal divisions between the Japanese American soldiers from Hawai'i and those from the U.S. mainland in terms of differences between *buddhahead* (Japanese Americans from Hawai'i) and *kotonk* (Japanese Americans from the U.S. mainland, primarily the West Coast). The nickname *buddhahead* was a play on the word *buta*, Japanese for pig, and *kotonk* referred to the sound of one's head hitting the ground in a fight. While there were some cultural differences between the groups, both *buddhaheads* and *kotonks* were second-generation Japanese Americans or Nisei.[79] However, media coverage identified the *buddhahead* soldiers from Hawai'i as Americans of Japanese Ancestry (AJA) and labeled the *kotonk* soldiers as Nisei. Historians such as Robert Asahina, Lyn Crost, and Bill Yenne have illustrated the tensions, fights, and misunderstandings that erupted between these two groups of men during basic training at Camp Shelby, Mississippi. On the other hand, Senator Inouye's rendition of the historical episode hinged on a crystallization of an imagined military fraternity and community that spanned thousands of miles from Honolulu to the concentration camps in Arkansas.[80]

According to Inouye, the turning point that brought the two groups of men together occurred when some of the AJA soldiers stationed at Camp Shelby were invited to attend a social at the Rohwer concentration camp in Arkansas. When the men initially saw the barbed wires and desolate-looking barracks at Rohwer, Inouye recalled, everyone was silent. At that moment, according to Inouye, the AJA soldiers began to better understand and empathize with the psychological, emotional, and physical losses experienced by the Nisei soldiers and their families. Inouye declared that the significance of the moment solidified the bonds between the two groups and gave them a renewed desire to demonstrate Japanese American military heroism and patriotism not only for their communities in Hawai'i and the U.S. mainland but also for the larger Japanese American Community.[81]

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[79] Most Japanese American soldiers from Hawai'i considered themselves "Americans of Japanese Ancestry" (AJA) or Local Japanese and the Japanese Americans from the mainland identified as Nisei or Japanese American. For the rest of the chapter, I will refer to the Japanese Americans from Hawai'i as AJA and Japanese Americans from the mainland as Nisei; see Andrew Lind, *Hawaii's Japanese: An Experiment in Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946); Roland Kotani, *The Japanese in Hawaii: A Century of Struggle* (Honolulu: Hochi, Ltd., 1985).

[80] Holly Allen, "The Citizen-Soldier and the Citizen-Internee: Military Fraternity, Race, and American Nationhood, 1942-46," in *Race and the Production of Modern American Nationalism.* Ed. Reynolds J. Scott-Childress (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1999), 314; Robert Asahina, *Just Americans: How Japanese Americans Won a War at Home and Abroad—The Story of the 100th Battalion/442nd Regimental Combat Team in World War II* (New York: Gotham, 2006), 60, 73; *Lynn Crost, Honor By Fire: Japanese Americans at War in Europe and the Pacific* (Novato: Presidio, 1994), 67; Bill Yenne, *Rising Sons: The Japanese American GIs who fought for the United States in World War II* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2007), 67-76.

[81] Tom Ikeda and Beverly Kashino, "Daniel Inouye Interview," Densho Visual Collection (A-M), June 30, 1998, accessed May 28, 2015, http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx; Dan Nakaso, "442nd RCT," *Honolulu Advertiser* (hereafter cited as *HA*), August 16, 2009; Jason Ripper, *American Stories: Living American History, Volume II: From 1865* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2008), 189; Asahina, *Just Americans*, 62.

This romantic narrative of a shared relationship between the communities in Hawai‘i and the U.S. mainland did not begin or end with the men of the 100th/442nd RCT during basic training at Camp Shelby; it merely papered over the blurred lines of the Japanese America Community between Hawai‘i and the U.S. mainland with a grand narrative of Japanese American military heroism and participation.[82] However for the AJA soldiers, the journey from Hawai‘i to Camp Shelby led them to be relationally racialized as "Hawaiian" rather than Japanese American.

As the AJA soldiers of the 100th Battalion and 442nd RCT traveled to Camp Shelby, they began to experience a blending of racial understandings that muddied the lines between Japanese American and Hawaiian. The AJA soldiers were not particularly "Japanese" like the Nisei soldiers from the U.S. mainland. To the AJA soldiers, the Japanese Americans from the U.S. mainland were socially and culturally different even though the two groups shared similar ethnic affiliations. During World War II, the Japanese and Japanese American population in Hawai‘i was 157,905 (37.9% of the total population) and on the U.S. West Coast, the Japanese and Japanese Americans numbered as high as 120,000, constituting less than one percent of the population.[83]

Researcher Yukiko Kimura observed during the war that "Hawaii-Japanese may be more backward than the California-Japanese" and argued that "less aggressive ones stayed here [in Hawai‘i] while more ambitious ones moved to California." Kimura noted that "Hawaii-Japanese" were referred to as "Hawaii-gaeri" (or "Hawaii-bumpkins") because they came from primitive islands, while the California-Japanese were "from real America and represent[ed] the higher level of civilization." Kimura also remarked that "Hawaii-gaeri" came to refer to someone who "is dressed in an ill-shaped foreign dress even if he or she has never been to Hawaii."[84] Researcher Charles Kikuchi, a Nisei from the mainland, wrote in his diary that "I found these Hawaiian boys rather uninteresting. They seem to be unsophisticated country boys from Hawaii and that's all…The boys speak very lowly and their English is poor so that it was difficult to understand them."[85] Kimura and Kikuchi picked up on a difference of culture that created a binary between the Americanized, assimilated Nisei on the U.S. mainland with the less Americanized AJA. In contrast to the Japanese American culture on the U.S. mainland, the AJA soldiers grew up in a culture that was called local identity in Hawai‘i.

Sociologist Harry Kitano described this "local" culture of Japanese Americans from Hawai‘i in *Japanese Americans: The Evolution of a Subculture* (1969), arguing that they were distinct from Japanese from Japan and Japanese Americans raised on the American continent. Kitano explained that:

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[82] I distinctly capitalize "Community" because it is, to borrow Benedict Anderson's term, an imagined community comprised of many different communities, ranging from the Local Japanese community in Hawai‘i to the Japanese American communities in the concentration camps on the U.S. continent.

[83] Eleanor C. Nordyke and Y. Scott Matsumoto, "The Japanese in Hawaii: A Historical and Demographic Perspective," *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 11 (1977): 162-174.

[84] Yukiko Kimura to Galen M. Fisher, August 2, 1943, Box 1, Folder "Japanese," War Research Laboratory Records (hereafter cited as WRLR), Hamilton Library, University of Hawai‘i at Manoa, Honolulu, HI; Yukiko Kimura, "A Comparative Study of Collective Adjustment of the Issei, the First Generation Japanese, in Hawaii and in the Mainland United States Since Pearl Harbor" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1952), 317-344; Yukiko Kimura, *Issei: Japanese Immigrants in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1988), 52.

[85] Charles Kikuchi, *Charles Kikuchi Diary*, September 19, 1944, Box 15, Vol. 14, Charles Kikuchi Papers (hereafter cited as CKP), Charles E. Young Research Library, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA.

> A Hawaiian culture has developed that is a blend of the Pacific Islands, the Asian, the native, and the haole [White American]. The proportions of the blend are open to conjecture and probably depend on group identification and position. But even though the influences of the blend may differ, permanent residents of the islands refer to this culture as 'local.' Although there are ethnocentric connotations to the term, it is also a recognition that the local—whether of Asian, islander, European, or American ancestry—has developed a way of looking at the world that is different from his countrymen across the oceans.[86]

Many of the AJA soldiers performed and projected local identity during mobilization, training, deployment, and battle. However, U.S. mainland audiences misinterpreted local identity as Hawaiian culture. While traveling to and stationed at Camp Shelby, the AJA soldiers were labeled by newspapers from Hawai'i to Mississippi as deeply associated with Hawai'i. The blending of different identities—from Hawaiians of Japanese ancestry, Hawaiians, Hawaiian Japanese or Japanese Hawaiian[87]—gave the AJA soldiers the opportunity to use essentialism as a strategic survival mechanism by allowing them to perform a racialized identity that was read as "Hawaiian."

This provided a shield against anti-Japanese racism on the U.S. mainland and especially the U.S. South, where the commanding officer of the 442nd RCT remarked that the American public "is not familiar with Japanese-Americans, their problems and difficulties and their unwavering patriotism."[88] In addition, the American public did not fully comprehend the relationship between the AJA soldiers from Hawai'i and the incarcerated Japanese Americans. Throughout their travels from Hawai'i to Camp Shelby, the AJA GIs performed Hawaiian music and danced the hula for audiences from California to Mississippi.[89] On their stop in Louisville, the welcoming crew of 200 residents coaxed the AJA soldiers to sing "some native songs," and "thirteen carloads of Hawaiian melody was the result. Many of [the soldiers] hauled out steel guitars, ukuleles, and mandolins for accompaniment."[90]

Another factor that allowed the AJA men in the 442nd RCT to be misidentified as "Hawaiian" was the initial successful mobilization of the 100th Battalion. By 1942, the US government was committed to fighting a racial war with Japan and the opportunity for military participation had been extended to Japanese Americans.[91] While stationed at Camp McCoy, Wisconsin, Lieutenant Colonel Farrant Turner, the commanding officer of the 100th Battalion, spoke to numerous social clubs around the city of La Crosse about the differences between AJAs

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[86] Harry Kitano, *Japanese Americans: The Evolution of a Subculture* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1969), 185-186.

[87] Masayo Duus, one of the leading scholars on the 100th/442nd RCT, referred to the AJA soldiers as Hawaiians. Others have confusingly mixed up the different identities for these AJA soldiers, which can be seen through the countless articles that charted the experiences and heroic actions of the 100th/442nd RCT.

[88] "AJAs are given Official Welcome," *Honolulu Star Bulletin* (hereafter cited as *HSB*), April 16, 1943; "Hawai'i Volunteer Soldiers Officially Welcomed at Shelby: Called Symbol of Loyalty by Pence," *HA*, April 16, 1943.

[89] "Shelby Briefs," *Hattiesburg American*, June 2, 1943.

[90] "Loyal U.S. Japs Arrive at Shelby: 2500 from Hawaii Prepare to Fight for America," *Times Picayune*, April 15, 1943.

[91] Takashi Fujitani, *Race for Empire: Koreans as Japanese and Japanese as Americans During World War II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011); John Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986).

from those Japanese Americans from California.[92] As positive coverage of the 100th Battalion rolled in, President Franklin D. Roosevelt announced on February 1, 1943 that another Japanese American military unit would be organized: the 442nd RCT (in 1944, the 100th Battalion and the 442nd RCT became one fighting unit—100th/442nd RCT—in the European campaign).[93] The initial plan was to enlist 1,500 men from the Hawaiian Islands and 3,000 men from the U.S. mainland, primarily in the concentration camps. [94] Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson believed that offering Japanese Americans a chance to fight in the US military provided them an opportunity to demonstrate that "loyalty to the country is the voice that must be heard." He went on to note that he was "glad that I now am able to give active proof that this basic American belief is not a war casualty" and that "the situation in Hawaii was an important factor in the army's decision" to admit Japanese Americans into military service.[95] Following Mr. Stimson's address, AJA men in Hawai'i began to volunteer for the newly formed 442nd RCT, which was met with much support and appreciation from political and military powerbrokers in the Islands.

The U.S. military mobilization in response to military conflicts in both Europe and the Pacific moved millions of people from all corners of the nation. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor propelled already brewing anti-Japanese racism in Hawaii and the West Coast to a more national audience, which subsequently led to the forcible removal of all Japanese and Japanese Americans on the West Coast and some in Hawai'i to ten concentration camps across the United States. This chapter begins with the mobilization of Japanese American soldiers from Hawai'i. I examine relational racialization among AJA soldiers from Hawai'i to reveal a process by which the men became racialized as "Hawaiian" during their migration to and training at Camp Shelby, Mississippi. This process was a way of de-emphasizing their Japanese ancestry to a non-Japanese audience. This analysis builds on Natalia Molina's call for a relational understanding of racialization—one that expands beyond binaries and comparative analyses and that reveals new understandings of the makings, impacts and consequences of racial formation by examining interconnections among different nonwhite and indigenous groups in relation to whiteness and white supremacy.[96]

This chapter will show how the movement of these two units—100th Battalion and 442nd RCT—to Mississippi allowed Japanese Americans from Hawaii to become "Hawaiian." This identification was founded on the distancing from associations with anti-Black racism, the haole elite desires to prove Hawai'i as worthy for statehood, and the navigations of anti-Japanese racism on the U.S. mainland. By employing a relational racialization model, my historical analysis of the racialization of the AJA soldier from Hawai'i while in the US South shows how

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[92] Captain K. Kometani to Members of the Emergency Service Committee, August 8, 1942, Box 1, Folder 6, Confidential Research Files, 1942-1957 (hereafter cited as CRF), Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory (hereafter cited as RASRL), Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Manoa, Honolulu, HI.

[93] Fujitani, *Race for Empire*, 117-121; Masayo Duus, *Unlikely Liberators: The Men of the 100th and 442nd* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987), 58.

[94] For the history of the formation of AJA contingent within the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, see Masayo Duus, *Unlikely Liberators*; Daniel Murphy, *Ambassadors in Arms: The Story of Hawai'i's 100th Battalion* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1955); Asahina, *Just Americans*; Franklin Odo, *No Sword to Bury: Japanese Americans in Hawai'i during World War II* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004).

[95] "Program Announced by War Secretary," *HA*, January 29, 1943; "Emmons Reveals Plan to Enlist 1,500 Japanese-Americans Here: Volunteers Will Go into Combat Units," *HA*, January 30, 1943; "Volunteer AJ Units to Train in Mississippi: Isle Group to Total 1,500 with 3,000 from Mainland," *HSB*, February 1, 1943.

[96] Natalia Molina, "Examining Chicana/o History through a Relational Lens," *Pacific Historical Review* 82.4 (2013): 520-541; Claire Jean Kim, "The Racial Triangulation of Asian Americans," *Politics & Society* 27.1 (March 1999): 105-138.

two different but interconnected racial structures (a white-Asian-Hawaiian racial dynamic in Hawai‘i and a white-black racial binary in the U.S. South) intersected and interacted to produce “Hawaiian” racialization.

The AJA Soldiers at Camp Shelby: Anti-Blackness and “Hawaiian” War Heroes

The coverage of the AJA GIs held a deep significance for not only Riley Allen, the editor of the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin,* one of the prominent newspapers in the Islands, but for many other Hawai‘i residents as well. In a letter to Colonel C. W. Pence, the commanding officer of the 442nd RCT, Riley Allen wrote that, “to us the situation at Camp Shelby is more than of local importance. It is of national, indeed of international, significance.”[97] In the hearts and minds of the residents of Hawai‘i and especially the Japanese community, Camp Shelby served as not only a space where AJA GIs could prove their loyalty or seek an adventure but also an imagined place where the home front in Hawai‘i had a vested interest in their success. Hawai’i Congressional Representative J.R. Farrington also viewed the experiences and accomplishments of the AJA men as critically important. Farrington wrote voluminously to both Riley Allen and John Terry, a member of the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin’s* Washington bureau, about the AJA men and the Local Japanese in Hawai‘i.

Farrington explicitly highlighted the strategic need to portray the AJA men as heroes. In a letter to Terry, Farrington responded to the news that AJA men were being deployed to the Pacific theater as interpreters to fight against the Japanese by saying that, “the record of the Americans of Japanese ancestry is developing into a most interesting one and still offers a great source of interesting material for magazine publication.”[98] He saw publications as a way to combat anti-Japanese sentiments while propelling the image of the AJA war hero into the national consciousness. Terry informed Farrington that he was in close contact with other editors from national media outlets and presses and compel someone of note to write a war book chronicling the experiences of the AJA soldiers. Toward that end, he met with the editors of the *New York Times*, Knopf, and Appleton-Century to solicit materials on “AJA stuff.” Although Terry explains that “war books aren’t worth the effort of writing them (Clark Lee’s book sold only 20,000 copies),” the letter reveals that these influential white men—Terry, Farrington, and Allen—used their resources through the press, whether in Hawai‘i or nationally, to advance an agenda of making visible the contributions, experiences, and heroic actions of the AJA soldiers.[99]

Two years prior to the 442nd RCT’s move to Camp Shelby in 1943, African American soldiers had voiced their vehement complaints in a front-page article in the *Baltimore Afro-American*, with the headline “Miss. Camp Dixie’s Worst.” While their White GI counterparts enjoyed guesthouses, a library, movie theater, recreational hall, and baseball field, African American GIs had none of these amenities.[100] Hattiesburg, the closest town to Camp Shelby, provided “too few pleasure spots for whites” and refused to entertain the African American GIs

[97] Riley Allen to Colonel C. W. Pence, August 23, 1943, Folder 819, Joseph Farrington Congressional Papers (hereafter cited as JFCP), Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu, Hawai‘i.
[98] J.R. Farrington to John Terry, November 30, 1943, Folder 818, JFCP. Also note that Folder 818 contains many letters between Farrington, Terry, and Allen about how to properly manage the image of the AJA soldiers at Camp Shelby and the Japanese in Hawai‘i.
[99] John Terry to J.R. Farrington, November 15, 1943, Folder 818, JFCP.
[100] “Miss. Camp Dixie’s Worst,” *Baltimore Afro-American* (hereafter cited as *BAA*), August 2, 1941; “Shelby Men Want to Be Transferred—Lack of Recreation, Hostilities of Police Cited; Many Have Been Beaten,” *BAA*, August 2, 1941.

altogether. While training in Camp Shelby, African American soldiers were relegated to service units, which was basically manual labor. Ollie Stewart of the *Baltimore Afro-American* reported that, "they do a lot of manual labor, but they are combat troops. Their tasks, it was explained to me, often make them the first to draw enemy fire in an engagement, and they often bear the brunt of rear guard action."[101] Even while AJA soldiers were stationed at Camp Shelby in June 1943, the Black press and prominent African Americans like Judge William Hastie, the civilian aide to the Secretary of War, voiced vigorously their concerns about the differential treatment: "At Camp Shelby, Mississippi, two Negro soldiers lie in [the U.S. Army Base] hospital, wounded in an affray with highway patrolmen. The environs of Camp Shelby are more than familiar to the military authorities."[102] News of this extreme anti-Black racism did not reach the shores of Hawai'i.

John Terry wrote to Riley Allen in August of 1943, just several months after the arrival of the AJA men in Camp Shelby:

> I have just seen an issue of the Star-B which contains the report of an army investigation about fights involving AJA's here [in Honolulu]. I had not realized that there had been rumors current in the islands to the effect that there had been large-scale disorders or riots. There certainly has been nothing in the nature of 'race riots' in Mississippi. In the series of three articles I wrote from here on the combat team, I mention fights. I trust there will be no misunderstanding on that point. Those were individual affairs, or involving limited numbers of soldiers rather than soldiers and civilians. Col. Turner told me emphatically that there had never been anything in the nature of race riots.[103]

In this exchange, both Terry and Allen were attempting to comprehend the AJA situation both in Hawai'i and in Camp Shelby. However, rather than either exploring the rumors of "race riots" or investigating the Black press's coverage of Camp Shelby, it suggests that these influential men at the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* downplayed stories of racial discrimination and Jim Crow policies that impacted not only African American GIs but also the AJA men at the military camp. Rather than reporting the anti-Black racism in the South and the impact that racial tensions may have had on the AJA men, John Terry deemed only two types of tensions truly significant—one being tension between the AJA men from Hawai'i and the Nisei men from the U.S. mainland and the other being the heat. Terry concluded that the friction between the two groups of men stemmed from the fact that Japanese Americans from the mainland were given preferential treatment in receiving more non-commissioned officer positions over Japanese Americans from Hawai'i even though the Japanese Americans from the mainland were a minority within the segregated combat team. In his entire report, Terry's only reservation about the AJA men was the friction within the combat group.

During WWII, racism directed towards African Americans in the United States and the Hawaiian Islands deeply influenced every aspect of life, from leisure activities to community

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[101] Ollie Stewart, "Making Soldiers of Backwoodsmen—Camp Shelby's 2000 Recruits Made Up of Many Who Have Had Only 3 Years of Schooling; Chaplain's Biggest Job is to Write Letters Home." *BAA*, August 2, 1941.
[102] Memorandum, Major James S. Tatman, Acting Chief of the Analysis Branch, to the Director of the Office of War Information, June 14, 1943, Office of War Information, National Archives Record Group 208 in Phillip McGuire's *Taps for a Jim Crow Army* (187); "Shelby Men Want to Be Transferred," *BAA*, August 2, 1941; "Four Negro Units Stationed at Camp Shelby," *Pittsburgh Courier* (hereafter cited as *PC*), August 2, 1941; "Race Soldiers at Camp Shelby Volunteer Many Complaints," *PC*, August 2, 1941.
[103] John Terry to Riley H. Allen, August 26, 1943, Folder 819, JFCP.

politics. At local shops and restaurants across the Hawaiian Islands, Jim Crow ideologies influenced the reception of African American GIs by local residents. African Americans were barred from Waikiki restaurants and nightclubs because local business owners desired to appease the white servicemen from the Deep South.[104] During the same period that the AJAs were heading to Camp Shelby, a contingent of African American soldiers were transferred to Kahuku, Oahu on the North Shore, where there was a large settlement of Japanese and Filipinos who worked for the Kahuku Plantation Company. These African American soldiers, all from the US South, were met with suspicion, fear, and curiosity by the people of Kahuku, and the locals' perceptions were fueled by "previous reports, rumors, and transferred mainland prejudices."[105]

Anti-Black racism has had a longer history than the context of World War II in the Hawaiian Islands. In the late 19th century in the sugarcane plantations of Hawai'i, the haole political and economic elites, according to Miyoko Pettit, "attempted to import and transplant the social, economic, and racial structure of the U.S. South to Hawai'i," in order to emulate the success of the southern plantations. Sugarcane plantation owners imported a little over 100 African Americans because they were viewed as a better alternative to Asian labor due to the fear of a potential threat of an Asian invasion in the Hawaiian Islands.[106] Although the labor experiment largely failed because the majority of African American laborers decided to migrate back to the U.S. mainland due to increased anti-Black hostilities in Hawai'i, in the first half of the 20th century anti-Black racism was imported to and maintained in Hawai'i by military migrations from the U.S. mainland.[107]

During the late 1930s and leading into WWII, Hawaii saw an increased presence of African American GIs, white military personnel and their families. These white military personnel and their families played a vital role in spreading ideologies of anti-Black racism throughout the local population in Hawai'i. Mrs. J. Platt Cooke, the Territorial director of the USO, believed that "the White soldiers have forced a new type of prejudice upon the community and that our hands have been forced in the matter of dealing with this situation."[108] The migration of anti-black racism from the US mainland influenced how local people in Hawaii, both laymen and elites, viewed and positioned African Americans in Hawai'i.

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[104] Cooke, "Post-War Trends in the Island Attitude Toward the Negro," 100; "Anecdotes on feeling regarding Negroes in Hawaii," June 1944, Box 16, Folder 24, Confidential Research Files, 1942-1957 (hereafter cited as CRF), Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory (hereafter cited as RASRL), Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Manoa, Honolulu, Hawai'i.

[105] Judy Kubo, "The Negro Soldier in Kahuku," *Social Process in Hawaii* 9-10 (July 1945): 28.

[106] Miyoko Pettit, "Paradise Bound: The Migration of African American Laborers to Hawai'i at the turn of the Twentieth Century" (Undergraduate Honors Thesis, Harvard College, 2011), 6; Eric Love, *Race Over Empire: Racism and U.S. Imperialism, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2004), 92; John Whitehead, "Western Progressives, Old South Planters, or Colonial Oppressors: The Enigma of Hawai'i's 'Big Five,'" *The Western Historical Quarterly* 30.3 (199): 300-305.

[107] Daphne E. Barbee-Wooten and Miles M. Jackson, "The Politics of Change: Law and African Americans in Twentieth-Century Hawai'i," *Social Process in Hawai'i* 43 (2004): 123-147; Miles M. Jackson, "A Different Drummer: African Americans in the Military in Hawai'i," *Social Process in Hawai'i* 43 (2004): 189-208; Kimetta R. Hairston, "Transitioning to Paradise—A Challenging Journey: African American Military Experiences in Hawai'i Public Schools," *Social Process in Hawai'i* 43 (2004): 209-231.

[108] "Meeting of Hawaii Committee for Interracial Cooperation," Transcript of Meeting, March 2, 1944, Box 16, Folder 24, Confidential Research Files, 1942-1959, Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory (hereafter cited as CRF-RASRL), Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Manoa, Honolulu, Hawai'i.

The local newspapers in Hawai‘i played an immense role in portraying African American GIs in a way that further perpetuated fear and suspicion. The *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* and *Honolulu Advertiser* both extended the racist practices of large mainland newspapers. If a crime was committed by an African American, the word "Negro" would always be included in the description, which according to Judy Kubo "plays upon the psychology of the people who read the papers and plays a great role in stamping upon the minds of the readers the crimes committed by 'Negroes.'" On the other hand, if a criminal perpetrator was not African American, the local newspaper would refer to the person as a "serviceman, a soldier, a sailor, or a marine." Riley Allen, the editor of the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, had the habit of distinguishing the difference between "soldier" and "Negro soldier" that left the impression that the latter was responsible for the racial strife plaguing the "racial paradise" of Hawai‘i. The growing presence of Black soldiers coupled with increasing anti-Black racism affected the imagined fantasy that Hawai‘i was the melting pot of the Pacific where all races, creeds, and cultures would live harmoniously together.[109] Allen, a prominent member of the haole elite, even believed whole-heartedly that the Negro presence in the Hawaiian Islands hurt the racial make-up of the islands and threatened their racial harmony.[110] Within the space of Hawai‘i, African American military heroism was not reported in the local newspapers.

The Black press on the U.S. mainland made a concerted effort to locate and identify African American military heroism in Hawai‘i. In the aftermath of the bombing of Pearl Harbor, African American messman Doris Miller of the U.S. Navy who distinguished himself heroically in defending against the Japanese attack was not reported in the local newspapers in Hawai‘i. Considered the "first" U.S. war hero in World War II, Miller's heroism and personal identity was silenced to the point that U.S. Navy officials evaded any recognition of Miller. Covering the attack on Pearl Harbor, Black newspapers such as the very influential *Pittsburgh Courier* and *Baltimore Afro-American*, cited the valiant deeds of a "navy messman" without disclosing Miller's identity. It took until March of 1942, four months after the attack, for the *Pittsburgh Courier* to finally obtain the identification of Doris Miller and label him the first World War II war hero.[111] Citing anti-black racism as a key component in the erasure of Miller's heroism in Hawai‘i, the Black press, like many other mainstream U.S. mainland periodicals, still maintained the notion that the space of Hawai‘i was a progressive racial paradise.[112] Not until the end of the war in 1945 did the Black press change their perspective on Hawai‘i's perceived progressive racial climate and specifically exposed anti-black racism growing throughout the Hawaiian

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[109] Andrew Lind, *Hawaii: The Last of the Magic Isles* (London: Institute of Race Relations, 1969).

[110] John William Siddall, ed. *Men of Hawaii: Being a Biographical Reference Library, Complete and Authentic, of the Men of Note and Substantial Achievement in the Hawaiian Islands, Vol. 1* (Territory of Hawaii: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Ltd, 1917), 18; Gerald Horne, *Fighting in Paradise: Labor Unions, Racism, and Communists in the Making of Modern Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2011), 59; Kubo, "The Negro Soldier in Kahuku," 31-32.

[111] "Dorie Miller, Pearl Harbor Hero, First to Get Award," *Baltimore Afro-American* (hereafter cited as *BAA*), May 12, 1945; "Navy Messman Proves Hero in Pearl Harbor Disaster" *Pittsburgh Courier* (hereafter cited as *PC*), January 3, 1941; "Unidentified Messman is Hero of Pearl Harbor" *BAA*, January 3, 1942; "May Cite Messman, Laborers," *PC*, February 14, 1942; "Pacific Hero Identified by U.S. Navy" *BAA*, March 21, 1942; "NAACP asks Hero Medal for Mess Attendant—Manned Gun at Pearl Harbor" *PC*, January 3, 1941; "'Messman Hero' Identified—Courier's Untiring Effort Produces Name of Pearl Harbor Hero" *PC*, March 14, 1942; Robert Chester, "'Negroes' Number One Hero': Doris Miller, Pearl Harbor, and Retroactive Multiculturalism in World War II Remembrance," *American Quarterly* 65.1 (2013): 34.

[112] "Hawaii Real Paradise; Island Knows Unity," *BAA*, January 16, 1943; "Hawaii Fair to Our Troops and Workers," *BAA*, April 10, 1943; "Hawaiian Girls Prefer Jitterbug Dance to Hula," *BAA*, June 12, 1943.

Islands to their readers.[113] Within the Hawaiian Islands, anti-black racism informed the relationships between Hawai‘i with the U.S. mainland.

John Terry of the *Honolulu Star Bulletin* may have believed that "intolerance based on ignorance and prejudice exists, and will continue to exist, on a wide scale, but it does not seem to be taking any very active form in Hattiesburg."[114] However, the Black press, several months before, had reported extreme incidents of anti-Black racism. In May of 1943, the *Pittsburgh Courier* reprinted a pointed editorial, "Failure at Hattiesburg," from the *Saint Louis Star-Times* and described it as "the strongest editorial to come out of the South-Central States and we congratulate the *Star-Times* on its forthright stand." The editorial derided the local court in Hattiesburg for acquitting three defendants accused of lynching an African American and believed that "the debacle at Hattiesburg is a sign of the enormous distance we still must travel before the theoretical values of our democracy are made a reality." The Black press covered not only anti-Black racism in Hattiesburg but also the many transgressions committed against African Americans in Mississippi as a whole.[115] With this historical juxtaposition, it is interesting that there was no mention of these race riots and AJA soldiers' experiences with anti-Black racism in the local newspapers in Hawai‘i. Shining a light on anti-Black racism on the U.S. mainland, perhaps, was not a priority for the editors of the local newspapers nor would it be beneficial to emphasize anti-blackness to local residents in Hawai‘i because of the increased presence of White GIs and white supremacy in the Islands.

Besides the haole elites in Hawai‘i downplaying anti-Black racism, AJA soldiers in Camp Shelby also understood the institutionalization of anti-Black racism in the South. A Local Chinese college student wrote in her student journal for a Sociology course at the University of Hawai‘i about the letters she received from former classmates. Her remarks speak to the way Blackness was censored at Camp Shelby:

> Received 3 letters from former classmates now in Camp Shelby, Mississippi. Claude wrote about the "(censored) situation" down there. I am guessing that the censored word is 'negro' because the context or the rest of the paragraph points toward a situation like that, and because while browsing through Holmes *The Negro's Struggle for Survival* the other day, I noticed the negro population, as shown on the 1930 census map of the U.S. to be most dense in Mississippi. The letter in part read as follows: 'I must tell you about the (censored) situation down here. We, who came from the islands, haven't thought about (censored) matters too seriously—at least not like down here. We have been specifically instructed to keep away from them. Have nothing to do with them what-so-ever. Don't even talk to them. Keep away from places where they congregate. I was (censored) when I heard all these things. It seems that for over a hundred years the (censored) have maintained this (censored) and if we ever did do anything that would be against this

[113] "American Jim-Crow Policy Sprouting Roots in Hawaii," *PC,* December 12, 1945; "Hawaii is No Racial 'Paradise,'" *PC*, September 22, 1945; "'Army in Pacific Performs Difficult Task Well,' War Aide Tells Patterson," *BAA,* September 26, 1946.
[114] John Terry to Colonel William P. Scobey, August 26, 1943, Folder 819, JFCP.
[115] "Failure at Hattiesburg," *PC*, May 8, 1943; "Mississippi Tense as Trial Begins," *PC*, April 24, 1943; "Investigate Mississippi Bus Trouble," *PC,* May 29, 1943; "Un-Americanism in Mississippi," *PC*, May 1, 1943; "Race Riots Sweep Nation: 16 Dead, Over 300 Hurt in Michigan, Texas, Mississippi," *PC*, June 26, 1943; "Investigates Peonage Case in Mississippi," *PC,* June 19, 1943.

custom, they would look down upon us. It's pretty tough for us, but if that's the law around these parts we'll have to play accordingly.'[116]

Distancing themselves from the racial "situation" and embracing U.S. norms by "playing accordingly,"[117] enabled the AJA soldiers to be portrayed as patriotic by the local press near Camp Shelby. The *Hattiesburg American* reported that, "by voluntarily enlisting for service in the combat team, these soldiers already have taken the first steps to demonstrate their patriotism" and highlighted that the AJA men organized an "I am an American Day."[118] While recognizing the fact that the AJA soldiers had volunteered to fight, both the *Hattiesburg American* and *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, omitted to mention that many African Americans were barred from the armed forces.[119] The *Hattiesburg American's* support of the AJA soldiers came from its editor, Andrew Harmon. John Terry reported that, "Officers in the war department who are interested in the success of the 442nd should be gratified to know that a man of Mr. Harmon's caliber occupies a strategic position in the community, and is heart and soul behind the combat team."[120] Barney T. Ono of the 442nd RCT wrote that, "Harmon, a former Y[MCA] man who made a visit to Honolulu a few years ago…has done an admirable piece of work in softening the hard South for us."[121] In addition, wealthy proprietor Earl Finch of Hattiesburg also offered significant resources to the AJA soldiers. The U.S. army even banned the circulation of the Black press's reports on racial discrimination against African American GIs until September of 1941.[122] In December 1942 the *Baltimore Afro-American* reported that Lewis B. Hershey, director of the Selective Service System, revealed that there were more "colored troops" than white volunteers;[123] however, this information was never released to the public in Hawai'i, possibly in order to evade any similarities or comparisons between the African American volunteer soldiers and AJA volunteer soldiers. Since the newspapers made no explicit links between the struggles of these two groups of volunteers, the image of the AJA soldiers was disassociated from the racial hostilities endured by African American GIs.

Desires for Hawai'i Statehood through the AJA Soldiers

This desire to protect the image of the AJA soldier from anti-black racism and elevate them as "Hawaiian" was directed by the haoles elites in the tourist and plantation industries. Ethnic Studies scholar and historian Adria Imada has argued that the U.S. mainland perception of Hawai'i in the decade preceding World War II was one based on a touristic fantasy that literally erased Asians from the imagined space of Hawai'i. In the years leading up to World War II, promoters actively erased Asians from tourism literature and portraits of Hawai'i. They no longer mentioned the Local Asian populations—Japanese, Okinawans, Chinese, Koreans and

[116] "June 28, 1943—Monday," Box 3, Folder "Student Journals 41-60," Student Papers, RASRL.
[117] Jason Morgan Ward, "'No Jap Crow': Japanese Americans Encounter the World War II South," *The Journal of Southern History* 73.1 (2007): 75-104.
[118] "Americans," *Hattiesburg American*, June 1943; "Shelby Briefs," *Hattiesburg American*, June 2, 1943.
[119] "War Dep't Bans Volunteers after Ruling on Negroes," *PC*, December 27, 1941.
[120] John Terry to William P. Scobey, August 1943 (JRFCP, Folder 819).
[121] Barney T. Ono to Leslie Eichelberger, June 19, 1943, Box 1, Folder 5, CRF, RASRL.
[122] "Army Ban on Afro Lifted: Expose of M.P. Abuse Caused Ban," *BAA*, September 20, 1941.
[123] "More Colored Than Whites Volunteer For Army: Hershey's Report Reveals That Very Few Seek Deferment," *BAA*, December 5, 1942.

Filipinos.[124] Historian Christine Skwiot demonstrates that haole elites in Hawai‘i actively sought Hawai‘i statehood in the decades preceding World War II not only to protect their exports but also to maintain their sovereignty from US military rule stemming from the infamous Massie case, in which several Local Asian and Native Hawaiian men were accused of sexually assaulting a haole wife of a Navy officer.[125] In response to this case, which received national coverage, haole elites sought to burnish their tarnished image and advocated for statehood through the propagation of favorable tourism to Hawai‘i. Many of their claims promoted Hawai‘i as a "South Sea populated paradise solely by caring whites and carefree natives [indigenous population] or just by whites acting out fantasies of native culture."[126]

Throughout the war, haole elites advanced the "worthiness" of the Territory of Hawai‘i for statehood by emphasizing coverage that presented AJA soldiers as "Hawaiian." Broadcasting Hawaiian music became the most popular and influential medium through which Hawaii as paradise traveled to the ears of the U.S. continent. Desoto Brown explains that, "Hawaiian music was unwittingly a powerful ambassador, spreading the concept of its homeland" to U.S. mainland audiences.[127] Before World War II, Hawaiian music made a big national impression in the 1920s on the U.S. mainland with the advent of vaudeville and traveling tent shows featuring Hawaiian bands.[128] *Life* magazine reported that, "Since Pearl Harbor, US interest in Hawaiian customs and culture has tripled, according to the Hawaiian Federation of America. Uncounted acres of grass skirts have been mailed home to girl friends by servicemen in the Pacific. Hence uncounted American girls are now learning the hula."[129] For the AJA soldiers en route to Camp Shelby, performing Hawaiian music for residents along the way only added to the solidification of their misidentification as Hawaiian.

During the enlistment drives, the military brass and haole elites in Hawai‘i associated themselves with the AJA soldiers preparing to ship out by providing an initial narrative of patriotism, freedom, and democracy—all in hopes of solidifying Hawai‘i's relationship with the larger United States. On the island of Maui, Brigadier General R. E. Mittelstaedt, Maui district commander, mentioned that "before coming here I served with the army in California" and "among the men under me were many Americans of Japanese ancestry, and I want to say they were among the best soldiers we had."[130] On the Big Island at a recruitment drive attended by more than a thousand AJA, C.T. Tong, commander of Hilo Post No.3 of the American Legion, exhorted the AJA men, observing that "the eyes of our government and of the entire nation are focused on you and your conduct as soldiers of the American army."[131]

The University of Hawai‘i at Manoa (UH) also provided support for the AJA men volunteering to fight for the United States against the Axis powers. Gregg M. Sinclair, President of UH, implored the Japanese American students to take up arms and be a part of the plan for the enlistment of 1,500 Japanese American soldiers. In addition, Sinclair, understanding the larger

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[124] Adria Imada, *Aloha America: Hula Circuits through the U.S. Empire* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012), 186-188.
[125] Christine Skwiot, *Purposes of Paradise: U.S. Tourism and Empire in Cuba and Hawai‘i* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 140-142.
[126] DeSoto Brown, "Beautiful Romantic Hawaii: How the Fantasy Image Came To Be," *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* 20 (1994): 252-271.
[127] Brown, "Beautiful Romantic Hawaii," 253.
[128] Ibid.
[129] "The Classic Hula: American Girls are now Learning Ancient Native Dance of Hawaii," *Life*, March 6, 1944.
[130] "Maui Commander Pays Tribute to AJA Volunteers." *HSB*, February 5, 1943.
[131] "Hilo Citizens Told of Their Obligations," *HA*, February 9, 1943.

political implications of Japanese American involvement in the US military, said that, "we feel that the enlistment of our American students of Japanese ancestry is another opportunity for the university and its personnel to take its rightful place in the American community."[132] To Sinclair, the AJA soldiers held the potential to shine a positive light on Hawai'i while elevating not only the university but also the territory in the eyes of the nation.

Before embarking to the U.S. South, there were many send-off parties, which highlighted the connections between Hawai'i and the AJA men. The AJA men were treated and projected as potential war heroes by the media press and influential elites in Hawai'i. The enlistees of the 442nd RCT were invited to an Aloha Party where members of the military elite, such as Lt. General Delos Emmons, Brigadier General Henry B. Holmes, and Brigadier General Hans Kramer, were in attendance. The Aloha Party was distinctly for the AJA men and, rather than a party that highlighted their Japanese heritage, the theme of the party was "aloha," which gestured towards a type of Native Hawaiian or local culture predicated upon a romantic narrative of solidarity amongst the ethnic and racial minorities in the Islands.[133]

Finally, the last formal appearance of the AJA enlistees took place prior to their departure in late March 1943 in front of Iolani Palace, the former residence of the Kanaka Maoli [Native Hawaiian] monarchy. At the event, the prominent speakers engrained in the hearts and minds of the AJA men and the spectators that the AJA men were representing not only the Japanese and Japanese American community in Hawai'i but also the entire territory of Hawai'i. Senate President Harold Rice implored the AJAs to "make them know that you fellows from Hawaii are tough," and Charles R. Hemenway who represented the business community, said that they needed to "justify Hawai'i's trust and confidence in you" to the rest of the U.S. nation.[134] To the political, economic, and military haole elites in Hawai'i, their interests in the portrayal of the AJA soldiers as worthy American soldiers became evident in their reception in Mississippi.

"Hawaiian" Racialization and Anti-Japanese Racism

While at Camp Shelby, the AJA soldiers' performance of Local culture provided a way for them to be accepted by white Southerners in Mississippi. A month after the acquittals of alleged white lynchers in Hattiesburg, an unidentified AJA soldier wrote home that, "I have made quite a bit of acquaintances in Hattiesburg but they are all nice girls and we are friends, merely because we have found interest in each other's history, background and behavior."[135] This "history, background and behavior" suggests a type of "acceptable" culture perhaps along the lines of AJA soldiers misidentified as Hawaiian. A prime example of this interest in the AJA soldiers is reflected in a letter from Private Tomochika Uyeda to Mr. Leslie Eichelberger of the Honolulu YMCA. Uyeda related that:

> So far, the officers and other "haole" [white] soldiers have been very helpful and kind to us. They like to hear about Hawaii and its people and wonder how the people get along so fine. You know, since we came here, we sounded as though we were from the Hawaiian

[132] "U.H. Students Eager to Enlist, Says Sinclair," *HA*, January 29, 1943; "Enlistment Plan Wins Support: Japanese-Americans Pleased by Recognition," *HA*, January 29, 1943.
[133] "Aloha Party Given VVV As it Joins Army," *HA*, February 2, 1943; "Banquet Dance for VVV Tonight," *HSB*, February 1, 1943.
[134] "Vast Throngs Bid Farewell to Volunteers: Palace Square is Scene of Aloha Ceremonies; High Tribute Paid to AJ Unit," *HSB*, March 29, 1943; "Proud that their Sons are Serving the U.S.," *Hawai'i Times*, March 30, 1943.
[135] AJA soldier to Chinese girl, June 28, 1943, Box 1, Folder 5, Confidential Research Files, RASRL.

> Tourist Bureau selling ideas of Hawaii. It is fun when we get to know the other soldiers stationed here. There are some soldiers who call us names such as Tojo, Jap and other disgusting names but we do not pay any attention to them.[136]

Uyeda's reference to the Hawaiian Tourist Bureau acknowledges that some of the AJA soldiers were willingly spreading an image of Hawai'i that was attached to their Japanese (American) faces. Sergeant Masaichi Goto, a member of the 100th/442nd RCT, believed that "the boys did more for Hawaii than the Tourist Bureau in forty years" and that "it was astonishing to find the vague ideas many Americans had about the islands. Very many said to us, 'Certainly, when the war should be over, they would visit Hawaii.'"[137]

In addition, the letter shows that for AJA soldiers, being identified as Hawaiian only went so far. The White GIs still directed anti-Japanese racial slurs at them: "there are some soldiers who call us names such as Tojo, Jap and other disgusting names but we do not pay any attention to them." Mentioning these disgusting names that relied on anti-Japanese racism speaks to a larger sentiment that was hidden by the misidentification of AJAs as Hawaiian. This statement also speaks to the deep divisions between the AJA and Nisei soldiers. Chiyo Suzuki, who worked at the USO at the Jerome concentration camp in Arkansas, also befriended many of the AJA soldiers from Hawai'i at Camp Shelby. In interviewing her at the Jerome camp, researcher Charles Kikuchi observed that "it gripes her when some of the Nisei in the 442nd say they are Hawaiian when people ask them because she feels that they should say they are Japanese Americans in order to help the Nisei here."[138] Different groups, like White GIs and Nisei from the U.S. mainland, racialized the AJA soldiers as "Hawaiian" for their own purposes.

On a more national and international scale, the AJA soldier became "Hawaiian." The conflation of the AJA soldiers at Camp Shelby with Hawaiian-ness rather than Japanese-ness was realized in an article entitled "Typical Hawaiian Soldier." In *The Reveille,* a popular British weekly newspaper, Staff Sergeant Richard Kumashiro of the 552nd Field Artillery of the 442nd RCT was selected as the "most typical Hawaiian soldier" and posed for a number of recruiting posters.[139] Kumashiro's Japanese-face associated with Hawaiians to an audience that transcended the local politics of Hawai'i allowed for the general public to view the AJA soldiers in a different light compared to the Japanese Americans locked away in concentration camps across the U.S. continent. In addition, the AJA soldiers stationed at Camp Shelby even addressed themselves as "Hawaii Boys" while writing letters to the Riley Allen, the editor of the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*. In the letters to the editor, the AJA soldiers echoed similar discourses of "expecting to come back to fair Hawaii" and "willing to sacrifice anything to keep our home free from the Axis powers."[140] By claiming a Hawaiian status in the U.S. South, the AJA soldiers were able to perform and project a type of culture that was nonthreatening to the larger mainstream society that held anti-Japanese sentiments.

AJA soldiers became cognizant that even though there was anti-Japanese racism in Hawai'i, they were able to claim a "Hawaiian" identity that afforded some protections from anti-Japanese racism on the mainland. Historians of anti-Japanese racism in the US have largely

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[136] Private Tomichika Uyeda to Mr. Leslie E. Eichelberger, May 3, 1943, Box 1, Folder 5, CRF, RASRL.
[137] Grace E. Wills, "Soldier, Shake!," October 1944, Box 3, Book 5, Hawaii War Records Depository, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Manoa; Grace E. Wills, "Soldier, Shake!" *Asia and the Americas* 45.4 (April 1945): 211-212.
[138] Kikuchi, *Diary,* August 10, 1944, Box 15, Vol. 14, CKP.
[139] "Typical Hawaiian Soldier," *The Reveille,* May 12, 1943.
[140] "From Hawaii Boys at Camp Shelby," *HSB,* May 19, 1943.

treated the anti-Japanese racism in Hawai‘i and the U.S. mainland as two separate but connected phenomenon. Gary Okihiro in *Cane Fires* contends that the racial discrimination against AJAs in Hawai‘i paralleled the oppression of Japanese Americans on the West Coast.[141] However, the AJA soldiers' experiences with anti-Japanese racism on the U.S. mainland, equipped with their perspective and knowledge of anti-Japanese racism in Hawai‘i, allowed them to navigate anti-Japanese racism on the U.S. mainland. These experiences left a bitter taste and led many to identify with Hawai‘i rather than Japanese America, incarcerated and relocated, on the U.S. mainland. An AJA soldier who went by the name Bobcat explained to researcher Charles Kikuchi in 1944 that:

> We were just considered Hawaiians and nobody ever talked about evacuation. We came to the mainland in June 1942 and I noticed the funny attitudes the haoles had just as soon as we got into Oakland…They didn't take us as Japanese. Whenever anyone asked us we just said we were from Hawaii and we didn't mention that we were Japanese at all. I found out how the haoles treated the Japanese when I read about the evacuation and all about sabotage in the papers. Then people began to mistrust us. It wasn't as bad in Wisconsin as it was in Mississippi…But it wasn't until I came to the mainland just how the haoles looked down on the Japanese. All I see out here is haole faces and I get lonesome for the islands. I've done my share in this war and I want to head home where people are more friendlier [sic]…There are too many haoles out here and they will never accept the Nihonjin [Japanese] as equals.[142]

Some of the AJA soldiers began to understand the predicament that many of the Japanese Americans were experiencing on the US mainland. Those AJA soldiers who recognized the parallels between anti-Japanese racism in Hawai‘i and that found on the US mainland expressed the need for solidarity to combat it. Chaplain Masao Yamada of the 100th Battalion conveyed his dismay to a Japanese American from the mainland that "the boys in Hawai‘i must make up for all the California errors. The only certainty regarding loyalty of the Japanese is from Hawai‘i…[and] Hawai‘i can hold its own, but you must help the minority win their place on the mainland."[143] In response to the need for solidarity, Staff Sergeant Joseph Itagaki wrote to Congressman Farrington and communicated his desire that the Territory of Hawai‘i support the incarcerated Japanese Americans. However, Farrington responded that he talked to other political leaders in Hawai‘i and that "most of them felt that we should concentrate on our own problems, and not be drawn into those of people elsewhere."[144]

To the haole elites, the social capital of the AJA soldiers was more vital to the campaign for Hawai‘i statehood, a concern for Hawai‘i's civil rights, than the civil rights of the incarcerated Japanese Americans. Centering this relationship between the Japanese American communities in Hawai‘i and on the U.S. mainland, the next chapter illustrates "Hawaiian"

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[141] Roger Daniels, *The Politics of Prejudice: The Anti-Japanese Movement in California and the Struggle for Japanese Exclusion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977); Yuji Ichioka, *Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885-1924* (New York: Free Press, 1990); Gary Okihiro, *Cane Fires: The Anti-Japanese Movement in Hawaii, 1865-1945* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991.

[142] Kikuchi, *Diary*, September 19, 1944, Box 15, Vol. 14, CKP.

[143] Masao Yamada to M. Katagiri, July 2, 1943, Box 1, Folder "Japanese," WRLR; Miles E. Cary, "Problems of the Mainland Japanese and their Possible Meanings for Hawaii," July 20, 1944, Box 1, Folder "Japanese," WRLR.

[144] Joseph Itagaki to Joseph Farrington, September 26, 1944, Box 19, Folder 764, JFCP; Joseph Farrington to Joseph Itagaki, September 28, 1944, Box 19, Folder 764, JFCP.

racialization of specific Japanese American soldiers as war heroes. Chapter 2 will review three Japanese American soldiers who returned back stateside during the war—Sergeant Ben Kuroki, Private Thomas Higa, and Lieutenant Spark Matsunaga—and analyze their speaking tours. These were designed to pacify anti-Japanese racism and inadvertently legitimated a group of men with a particular brand of war heroism founded on "Hawaiian" racialization to become the new leaders of Japanese America.

Conclusion: A Settler Colonial Process of "Hawaiian" Racialization

The experiences during military mobilization saw the formation of a historical process of "Hawaiian" racialization of non-native AJA soldiers. Though not intentionally erasing the Kanaka Maoli [Native Hawaiians] presence by claiming to be "Hawaiian," this chapter demonstrates the limits to which AJA soldiers used "Hawaiian" racialization to navigate the harsh realities of anti-Black racism, anti-Japanese racism, and haole desires for Hawai'i Statehood. The interconnected racial logics between Hawai'i and the U.S. South mutually reinforced the need for AJA soldiers to employ unique tactics to avoid any racial violence directed their way due to their racial association with the Japanese enemy.

Although not intentional in erasing Kanaka Maoli, the various ways in which the AJA soldiers became "Hawaiian" during mobilization and basic training in Mississippi follows a classic settler colonial[145] process by which non-natives appropriate native cultures and identity while replacing the native population. Through this settler colonial process, Andrea Smith has argued, "the appropriation of Native identity by even people of color or Third World subjects cannot be easily distinguished from a logic of genocide or a logic of biopower whereby Natives must die so that postmodern subjects can live."[146]

The misidentification of the AJA soldiers as "Hawaiian" came at a time when non-natives viewed Kanaka Maoli as a vanishing people. During World War II, the Black press reported that Kanaka Maoli were perceived as the "last vanishing American," and that while Hawai'i had a growing population of non-native Asian immigrants, that very diversity was playing a part in this disappearance. The *Baltimore Afro-American* reported that the authorities in Hawai'i were "striving to preserve some of the aspects of Hawaiian culture for posterity" because they believed that "we may well look upon our Hawaiian brother as the 'last vanishing American.'"[147] In addition, in 1943 one of the local newspapers in Hawai'i published a series entitled "Hawaiians—A Forgotten Race?" which documented the various ways the indigenous population was unfit to return to their native ways.[148]

Building on Andrea Smith's observations that non-natives appropriating Native identity is an act of Native genocide, AJA soldiers racialized as "Hawaiian" during World War II was an

[145] Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, *Not 'A Nation of Immigrants': Settler Colonialism, White Supremacy, and a History of Erasure and Exclusion* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2021).
[146] Andrea Smith, "Queer Theory and Native Studies: The Heteronormativity of Settler Colonialism," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 16.1 (2010): 54; Andrea Smith, "Indigeneity, Settler Colonialism, White Supremacy," in *Racial Formation in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Daniel Martinez HoSang et al (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 66-90.
[147] Richard A. Herron, "Hawaiian Looked Upon as 'Last Vanishing American,'" *BAA*, July 10, 1943.
[148] Dorothy Benyas, "Hawaiians Unfitted to Return to Native Ways, Says Scientist," April 23, 1934; Steven Lee, "The Hawaiians: A Forgotten Race?" April 7, 1943, Box 5, Folder "Hawaiians and the War," Bernhard L. Hormann Student Papers, RASRL.

identity influenced by settler colonial white supremacy. Through a relational racialization approach, Smith argues that settler colonial white supremacy is undergirded by three intersectional pillars or racial logics—anti-Black racism, Native genocide, and Orientalism (read: anti-Japanese racism). The first logic of slavery and anti-Black racism justifies a racial hierarchy. The second logic of genocide relies on the disappearance of the indigenous population while non-Native peoples become the "legitimate" inheritors of the land, which reveals the dynamics of colonialism. The third logic of orientalism maintains the need for the U.S. to perpetually wage war against the Orient [Asia] to justify the other two logics.[149] By treating the U.S. settler colonial state as objective, my historical example in this chapter, made intelligible through Smith's model of white supremacy, illustrates that AJA soldiers racialized as "Hawaiian" was a settler colonial identity formation.

[149] Andrea Smith, "Indigeneity, Settler Colonialism, White Supremacy," in *Racial Formation in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Daniel Martinez HoSang et al (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 66-69.

Chapter 3

"Hawaiians" Representing Japanese America: The Speaking Tours of Japanese American War Heroes on the U.S. mainland during World War II

On February 7, 1944, the acclaimed "first" Japanese American World War II war hero,[150] U.S. Army Air Force Gunner Sergeant Ben Kuroki addressed a crowd of liberal white elites at the Commonwealth Club of California, the nation's oldest and largest public affairs forum. As a Japanese American GI returning from the European front, Kuroki was invited to dissuade anti-Japanese racism on the West Coast,[151] a place where 120,000 Japanese and Japanese Americans were unjustly removed and relocated to ten concentration camps[152] two years earlier due to their perceived potential collusion with the Japanese enemy.[153] In his Commonwealth Club speech, Kuroki recounted his experiences as a determined patriot destined to prove through his combat heroism that Japanese Americans were loyal citizens. Born in 1917, Kuroki, a Nisei (second-generation Japanese American), was raised in the flat plains of Hershey, Nebraska in the only Japanese American family for miles. Following the bombings of Pearl Harbor, Kuroki hoped to enlist in the U.S. Army. He was initially rejected but eventually managed to enlist in the Army Air Force and trained as an Air Gunner. Facing staunch anti-Japanese racism in the Army Air

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[150] Arthur Hansen, "Sergeant Ben Kuroki's Perilous 'Home Mission': Contested Loyalty and Patriotism in the Japanese American Detention Centers," in *Remembering Heart Mountain: Essays on Japanese American Internment in Wyoming,* ed. Mike Mackey (Powell: Western History Publications, 1998), 153; Incarceration periodicals such as the *Heart Mountain Sentinel*, the *Minidoka Irrigator*, and the *Topaz Times* declared Kuroki as the "first" Japanese American World War II war hero; however, due to the subjective nature of claiming and constructing war heroes, it is difficult to identify the first Japanese American WWII war hero.

[151] Linda Tamura, *Nisei Soldiers Break their Silence: Coming Home to Hood River* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012); Gary Y. Okihiro, *Storied Lives: Japanese American Students and World War II* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999); Roger Daniels, *Prisoners without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004).

[152] When referring to the historical Japanese and Japanese American internment or incarceration camps during World War II, this chapter will employ the term "concentration camps" to fully align with the proper discourse within the Japanese American community. See National Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) Power of Words II Committee, *Power of Words Handbook – A Guide to Language about Japanese Americans in World War II: Understanding Euphemisms and Preferred Terminology* (2013) < https://thentheycame.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Power-of-Words-Handbook-JACL.pdf> (accessed June 24, 2023).

[153] For scholarship focusing on incarceration, citizenship, and loyalty within the experiences of Japanese and Japanese Americans in the U.S. during World War II, see: Roger Daniels, *Concentration Camps USA: Japanese Americans and World War II* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1971); Roger Daniels, *Concentration Camps: North American Japanese in the United States and Canada during World War II* (Malabar: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Co., Inc., 1981); Roger Daniels, *Prisoners without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1993); Richard Drinnon, *Keepers of Concentration Camps: Dillon S. Meyer and American Racism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Yuji Ichioka, ed., *Views from Within: The Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Study* (Los Angeles: Asian American Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles, 1989); Bill Hosokawa, *Nisei: The Quiet Americans* (New York: Morrow, 1969); Peter H. Irons, *Justice at War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983); Peter H. Irons, *Justice Delayed: The Record of the Japanese American Internment Cases* (Middleton: Wesleyan University Press, 1989); Sandra C. Taylor, *Jewel of the Desert: Japanese American Internment at Topaz* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Dorothy Thomas and Richard S. Nishimoto, *The Spoilage: Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement during World War II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946); Michi Weglyn, *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996); Greg Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy: Japanese Confinement in North America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009); Greg Robinson, *By Order of the President: FDR and the internment of Japanese American* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).

Force, Kuroki persevered and became the first racial minority in a U.S. bomber squad to serve in Europe, even preceding the famed African-American Tuskegee Airmen.[154] After thirty successful bombing missions over Europe, Kuroki was sent back to the U.S. and engaged in a speaking tour where he addressed both non-Japanese American and Japanese American audiences across the U.S. beginning in February 1944 until his redeployment in the spring of 1945.[155] Kuroki's speaking tour was similar to the War Bond Tours that organized U.S. veterans, such as the group of soldiers photographed raising the U.S. flag over Iwo Jima,[156] to encourage millions of Americans to financially support the war. Kuroki's nation-wide speaking tour also worked to solicit U.S. support; not only from the American public, but also from Japanese Americans especially, by presenting and displaying the Japanese American war hero to the masses.

Kuroki's performance of patriotism dazzled his mostly white American supporters in the audience who believed it to be a powerful event challenging the anti-Japanese racism pervasive across the West Coast. Photographer Dorothea Lange, who documented the forced evacuation and incarceration of Japanese Americans in 1942, attended Kuroki's event and felt deeply moved. Lange professed in a letter to Kuroki's family in Nebraska that, "I do not remember ever having been present at a more successful meeting." She was particularly impressed by "his calm plea for fairness and justice to our Japanese Americans."[157] The University of California's Provost Monroe Deutsch, a vocal advocate in memorializing and lionizing the U.S. soldier during World War II,[158] enthusiastically supported Kuroki. In fact, Deutsch was responsible for organizing Kuroki's talk at the Commonwealth Club. Reflecting on Kuroki's speech, Deutsch spoke with Bill Davis, the Associate Secretary of the YMCA, and relayed to Kuroki that they believed his "address before the Commonwealth Club marked a real turning point in attitudes toward the [Japanese Americans]."[159] Another observer took notice of the representation of Kuroki as a war hero and potential leader for the Japanese American community.

The positive reception prompted the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL)—a U.S. -patriotic Nisei organization, the War Relocation Authority (WRA)—the U.S. governmental agency in charge of Japanese American incarceration, and the U.S. Army to use Kuroki on "home missions" at the concentration camps in order to rally support for military service and discourage military draft resistance among incarcerated Japanese Americans in the camps.[160] In early 1944, the U.S. government mandated the U.S. Army to reverse its ban on the military service of Japanese Americans and began to notify eligible Japanese American men in the

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[154] "American-Born Japanese Flyer 'Scoops' Tuskegee Air Cadets," *Pittsburgh Courier*, March 6, 1943.
[155] Bud Hutton and Andy Rooney, *Air Gunner* (New York: Farrar & Rinehard, Inc., 1944), 181-91; Ralph G. Martin, *Boy From Nebraska: The Story of Ben Kuroki* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946); Bill Hosokawa, *Nisei: The Quiet Americans*, 226-27, 419-20; Hosokawa, *JACL in Quest of Justice: The History of the Japanese American Citizens League* (New York: Morrow, 1982); Bill Kubota, *Most Honorable Son* (Alexandria: PBS Home Video, 2007).
[156] Karl Ann Marling and John Wetenhall, *Iwo Jima: Monuments, Memories, and the American Hero* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 102-121.
[157] Dorothea Lange to Miss Kuroki, February 7, 1944, Folder 19, Ben Kuroki Collection (hereafter cited as BKC), Archives Center, Smithsonian National Museum of American History, Washington D.C.
[158] Monroe Deutsch, "Though Dead, The Yet Speak," Golden Gate National Cemetery, San Bruno, California, May 30, 1943, Carton 2, Folder 1, Monroe Deutsch Manuscripts (hereafter cited as MDM), Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; Monroe Deutsch, "Our Debt to Our Fighting Men," Berkeley Rotary Club, Carton 1, Folder 6, MDM.
[159] Monroe Deutsch to Ben Kuroki, March 9, 1945, Folder 19, BKC.
[160] Ibid, 153.

concentration camps and Hawai'i. The WRA solicited support from the JACL to help with inspiring those in the concentration camps to further the U.S. war effort through military service. The re-institution of the draft troubled and angered many in the concentration camps because Nisei men questioned why they had to fight for U.S. democracy abroad while they were unlawfully incarcerated at home. This prompted resistance founded on civil disobedience in defiance of what draft resisters believed to be a gross infringement of their civil liberties as incarcerated citizens without due process.[161] In order to combat the resistance movement and to rally the incarcerated communities to support the war effort with patriotic fervor, the JACL with the blessing of the War Relocation Authority paraded Kuroki around three concentration camps in Minidoka (Idaho), Heart Mountain (Wyoming), and Topaz (Utah)—as the first Japanese American World War II war hero.

Prior to Kuroki's entering the concentration camps, the WRA-sponsored camp newspapers publicized his heroics to their incarcerated residents. Readers in the concentration camps first learned of Kuroki while he was serving bravely with his bomber crew overseas. [162] They read about his military honors and about his highly praised speech at the Commonwealth Club.[163] Although the concentration camp newspapers lionized Kuroki's heroism and painted an officially legitimated image of Kuroki as a war hero, views about Kuroki within the Japanese American incarcerated community conflicted with these glowing images.

Hailed as a "Nisei War Hero" and the "No.1 Nisei of World War II" at the Minidoka concentration camp,[164] Kuroki's attempt to inspire military support for the war effort was met with mixed reactions. Kuroki's hyper-patriotism and lack of Japanese American cultural affinity ruffled feathers among the Issei residents (first-generation). Addressing the crowd gathered to hear him speak at Minidoka concentration camp, Kuroki recalls "getting up and speaking to the group, and one thing that I remember most was that I told them that, 'If you think Japan's going to win this war, you're crazy…They're going to get bombed off of the map." James Sakoda, a bilingual Nisei sociologist, documented the reception and noted that Kuroki's hyper-patriotism did not sit well with many of the Issei residents. In reaction to Kuroki's comments, an Issei male resident commented that, "I don't like what [Kuroki] said about going to bomb the Japs. You know, he could have just said that he would do his best if he went to the Pacific to fight. After all, he's a Japanese too." By choosing to address the crowd only in English, Kuroki's hyper-patriotism did not resonate deeply with the Issei generation, a demographic that conversed primarily in the Japanese. In defense of Kuroki's disconnection with the incarcerated, a Nisei woman retorted that, "you can't help what he says because [coming from Nebraska] he's lived only among Hakujins [or Caucasian Americans]." The comments of this particular Nisei woman

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[161] For Japanese American draft resistance, see Cherstin Lyon, *Prisons and Patriots: Japanese American Wartime Citizenship, Civil Disobedience, and Historical Memory* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2012); Mike Mackey, eds. *A Matter of Conscience: Essays on the World War II Heart Mountain Draft Resistance Movement* (Powell: Western History Publications, 2002); Eric Muller, *Free to Die for their Country: The Story of the Japanese American Draft Resisters in World War II* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2001).

[162] "Sergeant Kuroki Wins More Honors in Africa," *Rohwer Outpost*, July 24, 1943; "Ben Kuroki No.1 Nisei Hero," *Gila News-Courier*, August 3, 1943; "Sgt. Kuroki Decorated," *Gila News-Courier,* November 27, 1943.

[163] "Nisei War Hero Comments," *Minidoka Irrigator,* January 15, 1944; "Editorial—Ruling Boomerangs," *Gila News-Courier*, February 8, 1944; "Radio Program Dramatizes Story of Sgt. Kuroki," *Topaz Times*, February 3, 1944; "AAF Dramatizes Kuroki Story, Attacks Racial Discrimination Against American Japanese," *Poston Chronicle*, February 21, 1944; "Kuroki Speaks to SF Club," *Gila News-Courier,* March 14, 1944.

[164] "Hunt Organizations Plan Welcome for Nisei War Hero From May 2-7—Holder of Air Medals to Deliver Special Message to Local Draftees," *Minidoka Irrigator,* April 22, 1944.

point to a growing concern about Kuroki's geographic disconnection with the incarcerated residents.[165]

Heightening tensions with the Nisei draft resisters, Kuroki's standing for the U.S. Army only exacerbated the situation when he toured the three camps. At the Heart Mountain concentration camp, the Nisei draft resisters did not view Kuroki as their war hero. Frank Emi, the leader of the draft resisters at Heart Mountain, believed that Kuroki was a pawn for the JACL and the WRA: "[Kuroki] never knew anything about the camp, never was forced out of his home. I don't think he had, really, any business coming to these camps, trying to get as many people into the army as possible."[166] The theme of geographic disconnection with the concentration camp experience resonated even with many draft resisters. After Kuroki's visit, eleven Japanese American men chose to resist the draft in Minidoka while the draft resisters at Heart Mountain amounted to eighty-five.[167]

Kuroki's vaunted heroism reached the attention of residents at other concentration camps,[168] and one resident at the Amache concentration camp decided to challenge Kuroki's war hero status. After the conclusion of Kuroki's speaking tour, Roy Yoshida, in an editorial in the *Granada Pioneer*, presented an alternative Japanese American war hero—Sergeant John Matsumoto. Matsumoto completed thirty-three combat missions in the European campaign. Although Kuroki claimed to be the only Japanese American to fly in the U.S. Army Air Force, there were other alleged Japanese Americans, such as Herbert Ginoza. Rather than claiming Kuroki as his war hero, Yoshida legitimates Matsumoto's war hero status: "[he] means more to us because he is a Californian, and his parents, a married sister and a younger brother are residing in this center."[169] Explicitly grounding Matsumoto's affinity with the concentration camp experience—Matsumoto's West Coast background coupled with his family's incarceration—allowed Yoshida to solidify the war hero status for Matsumoto, "who means more to us." Although Matsumoto did not receive similar coverage, Yoshida explains that, "we don't know much about his overseas accomplishments, because war news comes slow, but we can be assured that whatever his assignments, Sergeant Matsumoto is doing his part well." This juxtaposition of Kuroki with an unknown Matsumoto reveals that the dominant narrative of the Japanese American hero represented via Kuroki was not fully accepted.[170] However, despite offering Matsumoto as an alternative to Kuroki as a war hero who had more of a connection to the concentration camp experience and geographic familiarity to Yoshida, Matsumoto died in 2001 in relative obscurity.[171] Unfortunately, not much is known of Matsumoto's war heroism.

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[165] Hansen, "Sergeant Ben Kuroki," 161-4.

[166] Frank Chin, *Born in the USA: A Story of Japanese America, 1889-1947* (New York: Rowman Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2002), 434.

[167] Eric Muller, *Free to Die for their Country: The Story of the Japanese American Draft Resisters in World War II* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2001), 74, 92.

[168] "Sergeant Kuroki Wins More Honors in Africa," *The Rohwer Outpost*, July 24, 1943; "Ben Kuroki No.1 Nisei Hero: U.S. Air Fighters Meet King Queen," *Gila News-Courier*, August 3, 1943; "Nisei War Hero Sgt. Kuroki Pleads for American Respect," *Granada Pioneer*, February 9, 1944; "The Japanese Question," *The Poston Chronicle*, March 7, 1944; "Sgt. Ben Kuroki," *The Poston Chronicle*, May 13, 1944.

[169] Roy Yoshida, "Nisei Potpourri—Johnny is a Hero," *Granada Pioneer*, August 23, 1944.

[170] Mickey Matsumoto to Ben Kuroki, September 22, 2007, Folder 12, BKC; Mickey Matsumoto to Ben Kuroki, October 22, 2007, Folder 12, BKC; Roy Yoshida, "Nisei Potpourri—Johnny is a Hero," *Granada Pioneer*, August 23, 1944; "Home is Where the Heart Is," *Granada Pioneer*, December 9, 1944.

[171] For John Matsumoto, his brother Mickey Matsumoto recounted to Kuroki that, "John died in 2001 in relative obscurity. Very few of his friends and co-workers knew of his remarkable service during WWII. Till the very end, John held no hard feelings of your notoriety. His belief was that you both did a job that needed to be done and that

Kuroki may have been the "first" Japanese American WWII war hero, but his receptions at the Japanese American concentration camps illustrate an ambivalence among Japanese Americans towards Kuroki's war hero status. Historian Art Hansen argues that Kuroki was more of an accepted Japanese American war hero to liberal white America and the Nisei generation. Hansen highlights that the mainstream U.S. media and other liberal organizations championed Kuroki as a war hero and the Japanese American Citizens League was complicit with Kuroki's performance as war hero.

With regards to Kuroki's ethnic disconnection with the concentration camp community, Hansen's argues that Kuroki's "loyalties as an American were mediated and shaped far less by his ethnic subculture than by his interactions with his fellow bomber crew members" and that "those who were receptive to Kuroki's message were those whose pinochle club was not a bomber team, but Asian Americans [and second-generation Japanese Americans] whose national status was provisional like Kuroki's and constantly in need of validation."[172]

Kuroki's attempt to represent heroic Japanese America to the concentration camps was limited by his geographical upbringing in the Midwest and limited interactions with the West Coast Japanese American community. In short, Kuroki lacked cultural affinity with the incarcerated Japanese American community. Unable to fully win over those in the concentration camps, the JACL and U.S. Army sponsored two subsequent speaking tours to further their solicitation for Japanese American support for the war effort. While at the Topaz concentration camp in May 1944, Kuroki spoke about a group of men who would later serve as a pool for the next round of speaking tours:

> Many of you here may be ignorant of the world outside, especially of what goes on in the battlefields. I know now, because I've been there. The boys in the 100th [Infantry Battalion] and the 442nd [Regimental] Combat Team are fighting for you. They are giving their lives so that you may be accepted as Americans. For them, I ask every bit of your cooperation so that they will not be let down.[173]

While Kuroki spoke about these two segregated Japanese American military units in the U.S. Army, the 100th Infantry Battalion (100th Battalion), comprised of initially Japanese American soldiers from Hawai'i or AJA soldiers,[174] had already won praise and honors for their military participation in North Africa and Italy. The 442nd Regimental Combat Team (RCT), a larger military outfit consisting of AJA and Nisei[175] men from both Hawai'i and the U.S. mainland, had just finished their military training and were being deployed to Italy. In late May of 1944, the 442nd RCT met up and joined with the 100th Battalion in early June 1944 to become the 100th/442nd RCT, and it retained the "100th" in the name of the RCT when the two units

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you both were able to prove the loyalty of Japanese Americans during WWII" (Matsumoto to Kuroki, September 22, 2007, Folder 12, BKC).

[172] Hansen, "Sergeant Ben Kuroki," 171.

[173] "Sgt. Kuroki Asks Nisei Cooperation In War Effort," *Topaz Times*, May 20, 1944.

[174] Most Japanese American soldiers from Hawai'i considered themselves "Americans of Japanese Ancestry" (AJA) or Local Japanese and the Japanese Americans from the mainland identified as Nisei or Japanese American. For the rest of the chapter, I will refer to the Japanese Americans from Hawai'i as AJA and Japanese Americans from the mainland as Nisei; see Andrew Lind, *Hawaii's Japanese: An Experiment in Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946); Roland Kotani, *The Japanese in Hawaii: A Century of Struggle* (Honolulu: Hochi, Ltd., 1985).

[175] See previous note.

consolidated in order to honor the sacrifices and heroism of the men of the 100th Battalion.[176] Prior to this union, the 100th Battalion experienced fierce fighting, which resulted in many casualties.[177] To further their recuperation, the U.S. Army shipped back AJA soldiers from the 100th Battalion to hospitals stateside, and two of these men—Private Thomas Higa and Lieutenant Spark Matsunaga—with the sponsorship of the War Relocation Authority, embarked on military speaking tours in the Summer and Fall of 1944. Their speaking tours addressed similar issues of pacifying anti-Japanese racism and educating audiences about Japanese American military heroism.

However, below the guise of these speaking tours lay a power struggle within the Japanese American community,[178] led by Nisei Japanese Americans in the JACL and extended by AJA soldiers as "Hawaiian" war heroes. To fully understand the larger impact of Kuroki's speaking tour on the U.S. mainland on Japanese America, this discussion enhances the narrative of Kuroki by extending a relational approach to understanding World War II Japanese America. The narrative of Kuroki and the concentration camps is distinctly grounded within the U.S. mainland, but in the months that followed Kuroki's speaking tour, the AJA military speaking tours revealed a larger Japanese America, one that centered the relationships between the Japanese American communities in Hawai'i and on the U.S. mainland.

Who Will Represent Japanese America?

A month before Kuroki's concentration camp speaking tour, AJA Captain Masao Yamada of the 442nd RCT wrote about the lack of leadership in the Japanese American Community to Saburo Kido, the President of the JACL. Yamada, as a chaplain and one of the few AJA officers in the 442nd RCT, held a position that afforded him insights into the daily lives of the men from both Hawai'i and the U.S. mainland. His leadership would later propel him to be the first President of the 442nd Veterans Club postwar.[179] While stationed at Camp Shelby, Yamada admonished Kido that, "I have experienced in Shelby time and again that the mainland Nisei have no one individual that we can call as Leader! Mike [Masaoka] is only a leader of a few."[180] Mike Masaoka, the Executive Secretary of the JACL, was a visible and vocal Nisei from Salt Lake City, Utah who met Kuroki on the day of the attack on Pearl Harbor. Following the attacks, Masaoka used the JACL as an organization to shape pro-American ideologies and encourage active assimilation within the Japanese American community. Masaoka's leadership

[176] Asahina, *Just Americans*, 108-110.
[177]Logistically, these two men were selected because the 100th Battalion saw combat in Europe almost 9 months before the men of the 442nd RCT was deployed to the frontlines. Both were wounded in battle and were shipped back to recuperate in the U.S. in mid-1944 while Kuroki was engaged with his speaking tour.
[178] The Japanese American Community refers to the larger panethnic Japanese Diaspora in the U.S., which is comprised of several communities in Hawai'i and on the U.S. mainland. I insert "communities" to contend the importance of understanding the heterogeneity within the larger Japanese America Community.
[179] Michael Markrich, "Masao Yamada," *100th Infantry Battalion Veterans Education Center* <http://www.100thbattalion.org/history/veterans/chaplains/masao-yamada/>; Henry Kuniyuki, "News from the Editor's Desk," *Go For Broke Bulletin 442nd Veterans Club* 65.3 (2013): 3.
[180] Captain Masao Yamada to Saburo Kido, April 19, 1944, Box 1, Folder 7, Romanzo Adams Papers, Confidential Research Files, AJA Letters (hereafter cited as AJA Letters), Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory (RASRL), University of Hawai'i at Manoa Library; Thomas Higa, *Memoirs of a Certain Nisei*, 117.

within JACL propelled him to be a liaison between the WRA and the mainland Japanese American community.[181]

Prior to World War II, the power within the Japanese American Community lay in the leadership of Issei men both in Hawai‘i and on the U.S. mainland, which scholars have identified as Issei patriarchy.[182] However, the forced removal and incarceration of the Japanese and Japanese American community created a space, which undermined Issei patriarchal power.[183]

To best summarize Masaoka and JACL's rise to power from 1941-42, historian Paul R. Spickard contends that:

> The leaders of the JACL had risen to power rapidly. Before World War II they were politically impotent within their community. Through a combination of fortuitous circumstances—chief among them the FBI raids that took away the [Issei] leaders—and through their own negotiations with the officers of government, they managed to take control of every west coast Japanese community on the eve of evacuation. But their association with the government proved their undoing. Their complicity in the evacuation and their inability to defend their people against a variety of abuses made them the target of the accumulated anger and frustration of a people who had been tormented and jailed on account of their ancestors' nationality.[184]

Kido, who was from Hawai‘i but identified more with the Nisei from the U.S. mainland, even mentioned to Yamada that the assault he suffered in the Poston concentration camp was because of his affiliation with and leadership of JACL for many of the incarcerated residents viewed the JACL as pro-U.S. sympathizers.[185]

Sensing that Kido and the JACL needed a solution to their fallen status in the Japanese American mainland community, Yamada offered advice to advance the representational power of the JACL:

> You can do two things in such a situation. You can strengthen JACL and become the strongest representative group or unite with others and together become the organization. Frankly, I believe JACL cannot take the leadership. You have too much to live down due to misunderstanding. You spoke too soon on too many controversial matters and as long as evacuation lingers in the minds of people, you will never be quite able to shake off the

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[181] Mike Masaoka with Bill Hosokawa, *They Call Me Moses Masaoka: An American Saga* (New York: William Morrow, 1987); Bill Hosokawa, *Nisei: The Quiet Americans* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2002); Shiho Imai, "Mike Masaoka," *Densho Encyclopedia* http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Mike_Masaoka/

[182] Jitsuichi Masuoka, "The Japanese Patriarch in Hawai‘i," *Social Forces* 17.2 (1938): 240-248; Valerie Matsumoto, "Desperately Seeking 'Deirdre': Gender Roles, Multicultural Relations, and Nisei Women Writers of the 1930s," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 12.1 (1991): 19-32; Eiichiro Azuma, "Interethnic Conflict under Racial Subordination: Japanese Immigrants and Their Asian Neighbors in Walnut Grove, California, 1908-1941," *Amerasia Journal* 20.2 (1994): 27-56.

[183] Yen Le Espiritu, *Asian American Men and Women: Labor, Laws, and Love* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, Inc., 1997), 44; Evelyn Nakano Glenn, *Issei, Nisei, War Brides: Three Generations of Japanese American Women in Domestic Service* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986).

[184] Paul R. Spickard, "The Nisei Assume Power: The Japanese American Citizens League, 1941-1942," *Pacific Historical Review* 52.2 (1983): 147-174.

[185] Kido to Yamada, April 8, 1944, Box 1, Folder 7, AJA Letters.

> misunderstanding…. I believe it is certainly a victory for you and the JACL if you could unite with some other strong group. That of course is the problem as I see it now.[186]

This "other strong group" may have referred to national civic organizations like the YMCA, YWCA, Rotary Club, and Lions Club, which had chapters that were sympathetic to and supportive of the loyal AJA and Nisei citizens. Although Yamada does not explicitly recommend that this "other strong group" be the AJA soldiers, in the months that followed this correspondence between Kido and Yamada, the JACL began to take a vested interest in the Japanese American GI as their organizational partner, which was evident in JACL's support of Kuroki's military speaking tour. In response to the mixed reactions and challenges to Kuroki's war heroism within the incarcerated Japanese American mainland community, the JACL and WRA identified two AJA soldiers to pilot the next two subsequent speaking tours, which will be discussed later in this chapter. These two AJA men, Thomas Higa and Spark Matsunaga, oddly conform to Yamada's recommendations in locating the next Japanese American leader.

Yamada articulated a compelling vision of the necessary qualities of future Japanese American leaders. Writing to Kido months before Kuroki's speaking tour among the incarcerated, Yamada described three necessary attributes: (1) "the leadership required in this hour of trial must have the confidence of the [Issei generation]," (2) the Nisei leader must also be capable of meeting the Caucasians on equal grounds; and (3) the leader must be fortified by a unifying philosophy of life." Although Kuroki was able to win the support of liberal white Americans with a philosophy of U.S. patriotism, he was unable to fully win the support of the Issei generation. Perhaps the JACL revisited Yamada's recommendations after Kuroki's tour of the camps, because the two subsequent tours addressed the concerns of the Issei generation and solicited support from mainstream white America through linking a unified Japanese American experience with larger racial ideas and movements unfolding throughout the U.S. during that time.

To understand the dynamics of legitimating war heroes as leaders for these three men and the power of representing various aspects of Japanese America, this chapter employs Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of cultural and social capital. Using the lens of cultural and social capital reveals the limitations and negotiations of Kuroki, Higa, and Matsunaga to be legitimated as war heroes and potential leaders within multiple and different Japanese American hierarchies. Bourdieu describes cultural capital as the cultivation of taste and the acquisition of cultural goods and skills needed to practice the specific style of life expected of members of a privileged status group.[187] Cultural capital within mainland Japanese America during World War II can be observed through the speaking of the Japanese language, practicing Japanese and Japanese American customs, and experiencing incarceration. Within this understanding, Kuroki lacked the necessary cultural capital to successfully win over the concentration camp communities.

However, Kuroki's social capital as a U.S. war hero legitimated his potential to lead and represent Japanese America. According to Bourdieu, "Social capital designates the 'possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition'—that is, membership in a group—that increases in value in proportion to the exclusiveness of the group and the resources collectively under its control.' The membership and boundaries of such groups are sometimes formalized by the assignment of a common name or

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[186] Yamada to Kido, April 19, 1944, Box 1, Folder 7, AJA Letters.

[187] Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. Ed. John G. Richardson (New York: Greenwood, 1986), 241-258.

title."[188] For World War II Japanese Americans in Hawai'i and the U.S. mainland, the identity of the U.S. war hero held immense social capital because of its explicit symbolic value to the U.S. nation's total war effort and to dispelling anti-Japanese notions of Japanese American disloyalty.

For any of these men to be deemed appropriate and legitimate leaders, they needed to possess a blend of both cultural and social capital to effectively navigate the spaces of both Japanese America and liberal white U.S. society. In the case of Kuroki, although the social capital of his war hero status afforded meant access to the concentration camp community, his lack of cultural capital within Japanese America could not fully win over the support of the Issei generation. In addition, Kuroki's social capital as the "first Nisei World War II war hero"[189] could not compensate for his cultural disconnections. In the remainder of the chapter, I show how Higa and Matsunaga used their cultural and social capital as "Hawaiian" war heroes within Japanese America to represent the Japanese American soldier and Japanese America, respectively.

During World War II, "Hawaiian" racialization took on its own life, a life that differed significantly from Kanaka Maoli and local culture in Hawai'i. The internal dynamics and hierarchy within Japanese America and specifically the relationships between Hawai'i and U.S. mainland influenced this type of racialization. Higa and Matsunaga's speaking tours reveal a dynamic by which an undermining of Issei patriarchy in the concentration camps was not simply a matter of generation and gender.[190] Rather the intersectionality of generation, gender, hero-making, and the racialization of "Hawaiian" played a key role in re-formulating the power structure and internal hierarchy of Japanese America. In short, Higa and Matsunaga used their cultural capital as "Hawaiians" within Japanese America coupled with the social capital of the U.S. war hero to produce a form of representational power for "Hawaiian" war heroes within Japanese America. In the months before Higa and Matsunaga embarked on their speaking tours, the concentration camps began to solidify the connections between "Hawaiians" and war heroes within Japanese America.

Legitimating "Hawaiian" War Heroes within Japanese America

The legitimation of "Hawaiian" war heroes within the U.S. mainland Japanese American community first occurred with the highly publicized mobilization of the 442nd RCT in March of 1943. Although the 100th Battalion preceded the mobilization of the 442nd RCT, the publicity around the mobilization of the 100th Battalion in June of 1942 was under the cover of night and did not reach the ears of many Japanese Americans on the U.S. mainland. When the call for the formation of the 442nd RCT was issued, the coverage of the enlistment displayed an unequal relationship between the Japanese American communities in Hawai'i and the concentration camps on the U.S. mainland. Many of the newspapers in the concentration camps detailed to their incarcerees that AJA men from Hawai'i were volunteering in massive numbers in contrast

[188] Pierre Bourdieu and L.P.D. Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 119. Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. Ed. John G. Richardson (New York: Greenwood, 1986), 241-258.

[189] "Hunt Organizations Plan Welcome for Nisei War Hero From May 2-7—Holder of Air Medals to Deliver Special Message to Local Draftees," *Minidoka Irrigator*, April 22, 1944.

[190] Scholars have predominantly explored the undermining of issei patriarchy within the incarceration camps as distinctly a U.S. mainland Japanese American narrative; however, this chapter uses the relationality between the Japanese American communities in Hawai'i and the U.S. mainland to reveal other components, namely "Hawaiian" war heroes, that disrupted the ethnic and gendered hierarchy within incarcerated Japanese America.

to the much smaller numbers from the concentration camps. Some reports noted that the original quota of 1,500 volunteers was increased to 2,500 to accommodate the influx of AJA men in the Hawaiian Islands. Other newspaper articles from the Minidoka concentration camp detailed that the AJA community in Hawai'i came out in force and 40 percent of all eligible males volunteered. The *Poston Chronicle* detailed that "loyal Japanese Americans in the Hawaiian Islands are once again 'hitting the front pages' of newspapers throughout the country with favorable publicity…that 7425 volunteered for the combat unit." [191]

The volunteering drives in the concentration camps did not produce similar results as in the Hawaiian Islands, which created divisions between the two communities. A little over 1,200 Japanese Americans in the concentration camps volunteered, which amounted to less than half of the War Department's original quota for the men on the U.S. mainland.[192] WRA Directors in the concentration camps implored their eligible residents to enlist in the 442nd RCT. The Poston concentration camp Director W. Wade admonished that, "by volunteering for the army, you boys are making the supreme sacrifice. Now nobody can question your sincerity. It is by actions such as this that you will refute the statements of those prejudiced against you." From the Minidoka concentration camp, 300 volunteered for the 442nd RCT, which represented 19 percent of those eligible for army service. In Topaz, 112 volunteered and only 59 passed the initial test.[193] Sociologists Andrew W. Lind and John A. Rademaker from the University of Hawai'i observed the divisions within formation of the 442nd RCT: "The enthusiasm and determination of the Hawaiian boys of Japanese ancestry in volunteering for military service far exceeded that of the mainland boys."[194] For context, AJA soldiers from Hawai'i never experienced forced relocation and concentration camps like their Nisei counterparts on the U.S. mainland.[195]

Within Japanese America prior to World War II, the internal hierarchy privileged the Japanese American community on the U.S. mainland over those who stayed in Hawai'i.[196] Before World War II, the Japanese American communities in Hawai'i and on the U.S. mainland had infrequent direct interactions but still maintained connections. To many of the Japanese Americans on the U.S. mainland, their notions of the AJA in Hawai'i were based on stereotypes. During WWII in the concentration camps, a little over 1,000 AJA from Hawai'i, primarily Issei leaders, were relocated to the U.S. continent by the U.S. government for their potential subversion, bringing the two communities into closer contact. The incarcerated AJAs from

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[191] "The Army: Hawaiian Volunteers Pass Quota," *Gila News-Courier*, March 23, 1943; "Hawaii Volunteers 40 Per Cent Strong," *The Minidoka Irrigator*, March 20, 1943; "7425 Hawaiian Nisei Volunteer for Combat Duty," *Poston Chronicle*, February 18, 1943.

[192] Robert Asahina, "Kotonks vs. Buddhaheads," *100th Infantry Battalion Veterans Education Center* http://www.100thbattalion.org/history/stories/kotonks-vs-buddhaheads/

[193] W. Wade, "Head Lauds Volunteers," *Poston Chronicle*, February 20, 1943; "300 Volunteer in Idaho for Special Combat Team," *The Rohwer Outpost*, March 13, 1943; "59 Topaz Volunteers Pass Initial Test," *Topaz Times*, April 1, 1943;

[194] John A. Rademaker and Andrew W. Lind, "An Examination of the Underlying Causal Factors Related to the Difference in the Treatment Accorded to Americans of Japanese Ancestry in the Continental United States and in Hawaii," Box 1, Folder "Japanese," WRLR.

[195] Jonathan Y. Okamura, "Race Relations in Hawai'i during World War II: The Non-Internment of Japanese Americans," *Amerasia Journal* 26.2 (2000): 117-141.

[196] Yukiko Kimura to Galen M. Fisher, August 2, 1943, Box 1, Folder "Japanese," War Research Laboratory Records (hereafter cited as WRLR), Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Manoa, Honolulu, HI; Yukiko Kimura, "A Comparative Study of Collective Adjustment of the Issei, the First Generation Japanese, in Hawaii and in the Mainland United States Since Pearl Harbor" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1952), 317-344; Yukiko Kimura, *Issei: Japanese Immigrants in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1988), 52.

Hawai‘i were spread among concentration camps across the U.S. Upon their arrival in the concentration camps, the Japanese Americans from the West Coast treated the Issei from Hawai’i as a distinct group. The Issei from Hawai‘i were warmly welcomed as “Hawaiians” and treated as distinct relatives from the Pacific. In an editorial in the *Topaz Times*, the staff highlighted that, “this is an opportunity for us to show the newcomers that they need have no misgivings. We must welcome them with more than words.” [197] Incarcerated residents from Hawai’i organized luaus, performed hulas, created Hawaiian Clubs, formed baseball and football teams comprised of only AJA from Hawai‘i, and threw Aloha-themed dance parties. At the Rohwer concentration camp, the AJA were called the “All-Hawaii Rainbows” and did quite well against the other competition in the camp.[198] Within the concentration camps, the AJA from Hawai‘i were distinct from the Japanese Americans from the U.S. mainland.

With the need for volunteers in the concentration camps and borrowing from the AJA soldiers of the 100th Battalion who were former members of the Varsity Victory Volunteers from Hawai‘i, residents at Topaz formed an organization, Volunteers for Victory. They emphasized the volunteers’ credo at Topaz—“We believe that our volunteering in the armed forces of this country is a step towards the realization of these ends, and a positive manifestation of our loyalty to the United States.”[199] In addition, the members of this organization at Topaz urged other concentration camp communities to adopt a similar campaign and credo. Six concentration camps—Heart Mountain, Rohwer, Granada, Minidoka, Tule Lake, and Gila River—followed and met their call.[200] To support these volunteers, residents organized events to honor these men and inspire others to follow in their footsteps.[201] Among the concentration camps, Nisei soldiers attempted to create a hierarchy based on enlistment numbers. In a letter to the editor, Sergeant Tak Hirai, from the Minidoka concentration camp declared that:

> We volunteers from Hunt are proud to say we are from Hunt, because Hunt is known among the fellows as the center that had the most volunteers on the mainland. It’s not uncommon for our Hawaiian buddies to say—‘it seems most of your Mainland ‘kotonks’ are from Seattle or Portland.’ That in itself is a tribute to the patriotism and broadmindedness of our center residents, coming from the boys of Hawaii, who mustered so many thousand when the call came for volunteers.[202]

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[197] Yasutaro Soga, *Life Behind Barbed Wire: The World War II Internment Memoirs of a Hawai‘i Issei*, trans. Kihei Hirai (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2008); “Welcome Hawaiians!” *Topaz Times*, March 13, 1943; “Editorial-Our Newcomers,” *Topaz Times*, March 20, 1943; “Hawaiian Evacuees Arrive,” *Communiqué*, January 5, 1943; “Hawaiians Guests at Party,” *Communiqué*, January 15, 1943.

[198] “400 for ‘Luau’ Today,” *Press Bulletin* (Poston incarceration camp), October 25, 1942; “Hawaiian Luau,” *Gila-River News Courier*, March 6, 1943; “Hawaiians Form Activity Club,” *Gila-River News Courier*, November 11, 1942; “Hawaiian Program Scheduled for Saturday,” *Press Bulletin*, December 11, 1942; “Old Hawaiians Form Team,” *Denson Tribune*, September 21, 1943; “Hawaiian Termites Win Again,” *Daily Tulean Dispatch*, November 4, 1942; “All-Hawaiis Whip District 3, 6-0,” *Rohwer Outpost*, December 12, 1942; “Hawaiians Entertain Bussei,” *Denson Tribune*, March 30, 1943; “Hawaii Dance,” *Granada Pioneer*, November 11, 1942; “District 2’s Power and Rainbow’s Speed in Christmas Classic,” *Rohwer Outpost*, December 24, 1942; Alice to Jack, April 29, 1944, Box 14, Volume 12, Charles Kikuchi Papers (hereafter cited as CKP), Charles E. Young Research Library, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA.

[199] “Topaz Volunteers Draw up Credo of Loyalty,” *Granada Pioneer*, March 27, 1943;

[200] “Volunteer’s Credo,” *Gila News-Courier*, May 22, 1943; “Forming of Volunteers’ Organizations Suggested,” *The Minidoka Irrigator*, March 27, 1943; “Volunteers in 6 Centers Respond,” *Topaz Times*, April 8, 1943.

[201] “Volunteers Feted at American Legion,” *Communique*, April 16, 1943.

[202] Tak Hirai, “Letter to the Editor: A Volunteer’s Opinion,” *The Minidoka Irrigator*, September 16, 1944.

Hirai created an imagined hierarchy where he positioned the Nisei volunteers from Seattle and Portland over the Nisei volunteers from possibly the cities in California. However, in the process of creating a hierarchy of worthy Nisei soldiers within U.S. mainland Japanese America through enlistment numbers, Hirai legitimated the volunteers from Hunt by citing the approval of the AJA soldiers. Thus, Hirai's comments speak to the growing esteem and respect towards the AJA soldiers as the "boys of Hawai'i, who mustered so many thousand when the call came for volunteers."[203]

During the 100th Battalion's time at basic training and subsequent deployment in October 1943 to fight in the African and European campaigns, their military actions and accomplishments were publicized widely across the Japanese American Community, both in Hawai'i and the concentration camps, and the larger U.S. mainstream society. As the first highly publicized Japanese American unit fighting in Europe, the 100th Battalion's military exploits reported in the local concentration camp newspapers gave the readers a sense of the military heroism of the AJA soldiers. This coverage revealed the beginning of the marriage between the image of the "Hawaiian" AJA soldier and the U.S. war hero. At Gila River, the concentration camp newspaper announced that, "heroism is a common commodity in the 100th Infantry all-Nisei outfit" highlighting that the unit comprised of AJA soldiers and listing the numerous military honors they had already garnered over the past nine months.[204]

Newspapers from the other concentration camps published similar reports publicizing that the AJA soldiers were demonstrating that Japanese Americans were able to perform loyalty and patriotism while successfully defeating the enemy on the battlefield. At the Amache concentration camp, the *Granada Pioneer* reported that the 100th Battalion is a "battalion of American Japanese that has seen action in this theatre [and] has won praise in all quarters for its ability and loyalty."[205] When the 100th Battalion needed reinforcements and began to accept Nisei soldiers into their fold in 1944, Terry Tabata, a Nisei ex-sports reporter of the *Topaz Times* relayed his pride in being associated with the hard fighting 100th Battalion: "I won't bother to add any additional words of praise for the 100th because its fame with folks back home is 'tops'…and I feel that it's a privilege to be in such an outfit."[206] While the concentration camp newspapers made the 100th Battalion a hyper-visible AJA military unit in the minds of their readers, incarcerated residents also held views of the 100th Battalion and by extension, the AJA soldiers.

This internal debate of the comparisons between the AJA and Nisei soldiers was best displayed in the exchanges within an editorial column "Nisei in Khaki" in October and November of 1943 in the Jerome concentration camp newspaper, the *Denson Tribune*. While the men of the 100th Battalion first saw battle in October of 1943, their casualties and heroics were reported back to the concentration camps in the months that followed. Mary Nakahara, the author of the editorial, who would later become known as prominent activist Yuri Kochiyama, attempted to tackle the question: "How do the Hawaiian boys compare with the mainlanders?"

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[203] Ibid.

[204] "100th Infantry Spearheads attack on Italian Mainland," *Gila News-Courier*, October 23, 1943; "100th Infantry: Battalion of Heroes," *Gila News-Courier*, May 13, 1944.

[205] "100th Battalion Lauded for Showing True Americanism," *Granada Pioneer*, February 2, 1944.

[206] "Officer Lauds Men of 100th Battalion," *Poston Chronicle*, February 29, 1944; "100th BN Gets Unit Citation: Nisei Spearhead U.S. Drive into Cassino," *Rohwer Outpost*, August 2, 1944; "Hawaiian Nisei Praised by Gen. Clark in Italy," *Tulean Dispatch*, October 16, 1943; "Hawaiian Nisei Soldiers in Italy Prove Handy with Grenades," *The Minidoka Irrigator*, March 4, 1944; "Pvt. Tabata Expresses Pride in 100th Infantry," *Topaz Times*, June 21, 1944.

This question, according to Nakahara, was a topic discussed by many of the residents at Jerome. In her response, Nakahara explained that, "people cannot be judged from mere outside appearances…[and] placing them in categories, from knowing only their home-towns" perpetuated the U.S. government's actions in classifying them during the evacuation. She added, "let us not honor just those who are publicly recognized for their work" perhaps to suggest that the hyper-visible 100th Battalion are not the only heroes in the community.[207] Even though her response tried to diffuse the situation by speaking against a comparison by offering a shared understanding, several days later in the next issue, Nakahara revisited the comparison question and valiantly tried to dispel the contestations between the two groups:

> In considering Islanders and mainlanders, how could comparisons be made on even such definite points as athletic ability, cooperativeness, initiative, and perseverance? Those qualities, talents and capabilities depend on the individual. All Island boys are not gifted singers but neither did they all attend school with bare feet. Some may seem rugged but there have been as many visiting Island servicemen who are shy and almost backward. Many of the seemingly 'aggressive' fellows are the most softhearted, and gentle and appreciative of the slightest hospitality shown. In regard to mainland boys, they are not all conservative, adhering to moderate principles. There are many extremely independent boys too. On the other hand, being conservative does not necessarily make them 'dead-heads.' And too, we cannot say that volunteers make better soldiers than drafted men, when we know not what real purpose each man volunteered.[208]

Nakahara's observations and reflection stereotype the AJA soldiers as "Islanders" and it suggested that for many of the residents, the AJA and the Nisei presented two-sides of a spectrum. On one hand, it suggested that the AJA soldiers were viewed as aggressive, independent, assertive, rugged, and more liberal. On the other hand, the editorial reflected an observation that the Nisei boys were seen as shy, timid, dependent, and conservative. Furthermore, the issue within the community concerning the volunteer and drafted seems to have created a binary between superior soldiers and inadequate soldiers, which Nakahara attempted to refute. The relational racialization between AJA soldiers and Nisei soldiers became a contested discussion throughout the concentration camps.

In the next issue of the *Denson Tribune*, Nakahara tried to ameliorate the divide by mentioning the role of athletics, maintaining that it "encourages team work and cooperation, builds spirit and morale, and fosters strong friendship among the players" while highlighting both the 100th Infantry and the Military Intelligence Service.[209] To dismantle the growing hierarchy of the Japanese American soldier in the eyes of the camp, Nakahara spoke in defense of the soldiers visiting the Center who were ridiculed by residents who called them a "sissy" for being under the Military Intelligence Service, a unit of Japanese American translators who were sent to the Pacific front, rather than in the 442nd RCT.[210]

In a final attempt to resolve this comparison, Nakahara published a letter by "AJA Volunteers from Hawaii," her editorial response, and an Open Letter concerning the comparison between Nisei and AJA soldiers in the following week's issue. The AJA Volunteer response

[207] Mary Nakahara, "Nisei in Khaki," *Denson Tribune*, October 22, 1943.
[208] Mary Nakahara, "Nisei in Khaki," *Denson Tribune*, October 26, 1943.
[209] Mary Nakahara, "Nisei in Khaki," *Denson Tribune*, October 29, 1943.
[210] Mary Nakahara, "Nisei in Khaki," *Denson Tribune*, November 5, 1943.

admonished that, "you have the wrong impression concerning the Hawaii AJA Volunteers," questioned if Nakahara "still doubt[ed] the purpose of our Hawaii AJA volunteering 100 percent," and highlighted that, "the whole nation is keeping watch of this unique outfit, consisting mostly of Hawaii volunteers." An Open Letter attempted to "clear the air" by hoping to honor all of the soldiers regardless of geographical background and apologized on behalf of the incarcerated community to the AJA volunteers:

> "You've tasted the agony and terrorism of war and because of your loyalty and love for America, you volunteered by the thousands. Am only sorry that the mainland boys did not respond as spiritedly. And what the 100th Infantry is living and dying for so gallantly, is something that has stirred all America, and has done more than that to us Nisei. Whatever we do in the future, must be done in a way that would uphold all that they stand for. We hope we civilian Nisei will never let them down."[211]

The privileging of the AJA men over the mainland Nisei soldiers was also promoted within mainstream society. Sociologist Charles Kikuchi, in observing and tracking the media coverage of Japanese America soldiers, witnessed that in July of 1944, "*Time* magazine had an article on the 100th [Battalion's] record in Italy and praise was showered upon it, but the credit was given to the Hawaiian Nisei and the mainlanders were not mentioned at all."[212]

Within the larger U.S. society, historically, the overarching historical military heroic narrative stresses the importance of performing one's civic duty through military service.[213] Similarly, Japanese Americans, determined to perform their U.S. patriotism, legitimated the narrative of the volunteer. However, due to the sheer numbers of volunteers from Hawaii, a dichotomy of "Hawaiian" as volunteer and Nisei on the U.S. mainland as drafted/draft resister was constructed. As a result of this dichotomy, volunteers from within the Japanese American Community became associated with heroism and Hawai'i. Some of the AJA soldiers from Hawai'i formed the Varsity Victory Volunteers, which further reinforced the notion that they were defending the Islands from the Japanese-enemy threat as distinctly volunteers.[214]

To address the divisions within the community in their portrayals of Japanese American war heroes, newspapers in the concentration camps created "Joe Nisei," a symbolic generic and faceless Japanese American soldier serving overseas in either the Pacific or European theaters. This symbolic character was Americanized with the name "Joe," and could have been in the 100th Battalion, 442nd RCT, or Military Intelligence Service. Roy Yoshida of the *Granada Pioneer* provided a descriptive article on his thoughts on the embodiment of "Doughboy Joe Nisei." While beginning with "heroism and glory isn't all in the 100th Infantry battalion,"

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[211] "A Soldier Writes," *Denson Tribune*, November 12, 1943; Mary Nakahara, "Miss Nakahara Replies," *Denson Tribune*, November 12, 1943; Mary Nakahara, "Open Letter," *Denson Tribune*, November 12, 1943.

[212] Charles Kikuchi, *Charles Kikuchi Diary*, July 28, 1944, Box 15, Vol. 13, Charles Kikuchi Papers (hereafter cited as CKP), Charles E. Young Research Library, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA.

[213] For discussions on the role of the volunteer force of the U.S. military, see Brent Scowscroft, ed. *Military Service in the United States* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1982); Robert K. Fullinwider, ed. *Conscripts and Volunteers: Military Requirements, Social Justice, and the All-Volunteer Force* (Rowman & Allanheld, 1983); Beth Bailey, *America's Army: Making the All-Volunteer Force* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009).

[214] For more information on the Varsity Victory Volunteers, see Franklin Odo, *No Sword to Bury: Japanese Americans in Hawai'i during World War II* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004) and Shigeo Yoshida, *In memoriam: An Address in Honor of the University of Hawaii Varsity Victory Volunteers who died in World War II* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1946).

Yoshida paints a picture of the rugged, selfless, determined, and heroic figure who "gets occasionally Distinguished Service crosses and Silver Stars but that does not tell the whole story" because he is fighting simultaneously two wars (the enemy combatant overseas and racism at home) for "better and fairer treatment of the Nisei."[215] Historian Ronald Takaki explained that fighting two wars against the Nazis and fighting for U.S. civil rights constituted a "double victory" for U.S. racial minorities during World War II.[216]

This section illustrates the racialization of Japanese American soldiers from Hawai'i as "Hawaiian" through the contested construction of military heroism within the mainland Japanese American community. Grounding the Japanese American volunteer and the 100th Battalion Infantry as "Hawaiian" legitimated a conflation between AJA soldiers and "Hawaiian" war heroes. In the next sections, Thomas Higa and Spark Matsunaga put a "face" to the "Hawaiian" war hero to incarcerated Japanese America, relocated Nisei, and liberal white Americans. While on their respective speaking tours, both Higa and Matsunaga emphasized their geographical affiliation with Hawai'i and the 100th Battalion. Additionally, the media coverage of their tours coincided with the ongoing publicity of the 100th Battalion, further solidifying the notion that it was a unit comprised of "Hawaiian" war heroes. Higa and Matsunaga's social capital as "Hawaiian" war heroes of the 100th Battalion enhanced their cultural capital within Japanese American and mainstream spaces by allowing them access to these spaces. The combination of Higa's and Matsunaga's social and cultural capital helped lead to the legitimation of "Hawaiian" war heroes as representatives of the Japanese American soldier and Japanese America.

Representing the Japanese American Soldier: Private Thomas Higa's Speaking Tour

Following Kuroki's[217] inability to fully win over the hearts of the Issei generation in the concentration camps coupled with the rising celebrity of the "Hawaiian" war heroes of the 100th Battalion, 28-year-old Private Thomas Higa of the 100th Battalion embarked on a speaking tour from June to December of 1944. Saburo Kido, the President of the JACL, asked Higa to travel to every concentration camp to "tell the truth about the 100th Battalion" so that the concentration camp communities would get an idea of the experiences of the Nisei soldiers.[218] The *Poston Chronicle* summarized the purpose of the tour to its incarcerees:

> Higa, under the sponsorship of the JACL National headquarters at Salt Lake City, is currently on a lecture tour in the Japanese language. The main purpose of his tour is to inform Issei parents, relatives, and friends of Nisei soldiers overseas about the life that soldiers lead, what they are thinking, their relationship with other units of the armed forces, and facts pertaining to the numerous rumors which have been worrying those back home.[219]

[215] "Doughboy Joe Nisei," *Granada Pioneer*, December 15, 1943; Jim Otsuka, "Jim's Nisei Doughboy," *Granada Pioneer*, December 24, 1944.
[216] Ronald Takaki, *Double Victory: A Multicultural History of America in World War II* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 2001).
[217] Thomas Higa knew of Ben Kuroki during the war but it is unknown if they knew each other.
[218] "PFC. Thomas Higa Speaks Before 2,000 People on Japanese American Boys Serving in Army," *Poston Chronicle*, October 14, 1944.
[219] "PFC. Thos. Higa to Speak Here," *Poston Chronicle*, September 12, 1944.

Touring across the U.S. with the assistance of Mike Masaoka's brother, Joe Masaoka, of the JACL, Higa spoke both in English and Japanese in front of audiences in the Pacific Northwest, Southwest, Rocky Mountains, Midwest, and East Coast.[220] Wherever Higa toured, newspapers would introduce him to their readers as "born in Hawai'i" and a member of the "famous 100th Battalion," gesturing to his "Hawaiian" war hero status.[221] Despite the differences and power dynamics between the AJA and Nisei soldiers, Higa as an AJA soldier nevertheless spoke on behalf of the Nisei military men and larger Japanese American military experience. Bridging his experiences as an AJA soldier in the 100th Battalion with the Nisei soldiers fighting in the 442nd RCT, Higa repeated throughout his speaking tour a unified image of the Japanese American soldier: "Japanese American soldiers in the U.S. Army are fighting, not to kill or to win glory, but to insure a place in this country for all persons of Japanese ancestry. Nisei soldiers are valiant fighters because they have that purpose in mind."[222] Higa's embodiment as the representative of the Japanese American soldier owed to his legitimacy as a "Hawaiian" war hero from the 100th Battalion and his subordinated identities within Japanese America. Higa's minority identities as Kibei, Okinawan, and "Hawaiian" in the U.S. Army helped facilitate his acceptance as a worthy representative of the Japanese American soldier.

As a Kibei, a second-generation Japanese American who was born in the U.S. and educated in Japan, Higa was proficient in both English and Japanese, which aided him in debunking rumors surrounding the livelihood of the Nisei men in the 442nd RCT circulating among the Issei residents, who primarily spoke Japanese, in the concentration camps. One rumor floating around the camps contended that their Nisei soldiers were experiencing racial discrimination in the U.S. Army. While at Topaz, Higa reassured the Issei audience that "it was wonderful to be treated just like everyone else, even though your parents were born in Japan."[223] Although far from reality of the prevalent anti-Japanese racism in the U.S. Army and mainstream U.S. society, Higa's responses borders on fantasy and propaganda. He told the parents that as a member of the 100th Battalion, he could attest that "their Nisei sons do not experience prejudice in the army."[224] At the Minidoka concentration camp, Higa re-emphasized these points to the Issei audience.[225] *The New York Sun* reported that Higa believed that "the Caucasian units we fought with in Italy treated us like more than brothers."[226]

Another rumor that brought much anxiety to the Issei was that their Nisei soldiers were used for the most dangerous and deadly missions because the Issei feared that the U.S. Army saw them as expendable.[227] Rather than tell the truth about the perils and dangers to not raise the anxieties of the incarcerees, Higa would mention that, "the 100th [Battalion] was not compelled

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[220] "Itinerary of PFC. Thomas Higa Speaking Tour," Box 1, Folder "Private Higa's Lecture Tour, 1944," JACL History Collection (hereafter cited as JACL HC), Japanese American National Library, San Francisco, California.
[221] A sample of the many different newspapers that publicized Higa's speaking tour: "Private First Class Higa," *Granada Pioneer*, May 31, 1944; "PFC. HIGA: War Veteran Visits Denver," *Gila River News-Courier*, July 6, 1944; "PFC. Thomas Higa Impresses Audience in Murray, Utah," *Pacific Citizen*, September 16, 1944.
[222] "PFC. Higa: Relates War Experiences," *Gila River News-Courier*, October 10, 1944; There are many other articles from other incarceration newspapers that reported this similar unified image.
[223] "Veteran of 100th Battalion Plans Visit Aug. 24-25," *The Minidoka Irrigator*, August 19, 1944.
[224] Ibid.
[225] "PFC. Thomas Higa, Wounded Twice, Relates Incidents," *The Minidoka Irrigator*, August 26, 1944.
[226] "He Didn't Find Race Prejudice," *The New York Sun*, November 9, 1944, Box 1, JACL HC.
[227] Thomas Higa, *Memoirs of a Certain Nisei*, 96.

to undergo any more dangers than other soldiers."[228] And to bridge the fear of their Nisei soldiers experiencing anti-Japanese racism and expendability, Higa mollified the fears in the audience at Gila River: "In the Army there is no such thing as racial discrimination against Nisei. All soldiers take equal risks."[229]The *Poston Chronicle* recounted the impact of Higa's speech on the Issei: "His fluent talk [in Japanese] awakened many one-track minded Issei to the true feelings and facts of the Nisei boys now fighting."[230]

Higa's identity as a Kibei from Hawai'i may have had larger implications in representing the Japanese American soldier to the concentration camps because the Kibei in the concentration camps were persecuted for their perceived pro-Japan loyalties. At Tule Lake, incarcerated residents witnessed that, "the militant group were the Kibei and they had control of people by strong arm tactics. They had military marching exercises and attempted to make everybody get out and march around camp" to promote a pro-Japan atmosphere.[231] Historian Gary Y. Okihiro argues that the dominant image of the Kibei was as a "major portion of the 'malcontents' and 'incorrigibles' within the camp population." Even though the Military Intelligence Service had some Kibei soldiers within their ranks, the concentration camp community stereotyped the Kibei as potential pro-Japan sympathizers.[232] Thomas Yatabe of the Chicago JACL told Sociologist Charles Kikuchi about a specific group of Kibei creating trouble at Tule Lake a year prior to Higa's speaking tour:

> Boy, I'd like to get my hands on some [of] those Kibeis at Tule Lake. I'd take them on one by one, but they are a bunch of cowards and they gang up. They are the Hawaiian Kibeis and they are misleading all of the Pacific Coast Japanese. Most of the Tule Lake people want peace but it is these Hawaiian Kibeis who are agitating. They are hurting our people by doing such a thing. They are cheapening the whole Japanese race. Japan won't welcome those fellows at all. They just hurt themselves and everybody and look what is happening now…the only way to fight these things is to make the Niseis wake up more. That's what the JACL is trying to do. The Tule affair put us back a whole year. The Niseis will get blamed for Tule because the Americans don't realize that the Tule people are the disloyal ones.[233]

Yatabe, in naming the Hawaiian Kibei as the true agitators at Tule Lake, spoke about the "Tule affair," which was a large pro-Japan demonstration by Kibei and other supporters. White mainstream newspapers publicized the event undermining the in-roads made by Nisei leaders in pacifying anti-Japanese racism. By portraying the stark opposite of a pro-Japan agitator, the image and embodiment of Higa as a Kibei U.S. war hero may appeared to have served to provide a patriotic response to claims of disloyalty.

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[228] "Nisei War Veteran to Visit Center Next Week," *Topaz Times*, July 1, 1944; "Nisei Veteran, Pfc. Higa Praises Army Treatment," *Topaz Times*, July 1, 1944; "PFC Higa, Nisei Veteran, Tells War Experiences," *Topaz Times*, July 5 1944.
[229] "PFC. Higa: Relates War Experiences," *Gila River News-Courier*, October 10, 1944.
[230] "PFC. Higa impresses crowd," *Poston Chronicle*, October 7, 1944.
[231] Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, *Personal Justice Denied* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 249.
[232] Gary Y. Okihiro, "Japanese Resistance in America's Concentration Camps: A Re-evaluation," *Amerasia Journal* 2.1 (1973): 21.
[233] Charles Kikuchi, *Charles Kikuchi Diary*, November 19, 1943, Box 14, Vol. 10.1, CKP.

In addition to conversing in Japanese, Higa also made many of his speeches in the Okinawan dialect. As the third child of Okinawan immigrants, Higa was able to speak directly to Okinawans in the concentration camps about their Nisei soldiers fighting overseas.[234] Higa's success with the Okinawans reached Congressional Representative Joseph Farrington of Hawai'i and his haole military friends. In November 1944, Colonel Erle M. Wilson explained in a letter to General R.C. Richardson, stationed at Fort Shafter in Hawaii, that, "Higa speaks Japanese and several dialects. In this capacity he has been of great service to the War Relocation Authority for the last few months by speaking in their own tongue to groups of the older Japanese in our Relocation Centers."[235] Even though Higa's Okinawan identity allowed him to have a larger reach among the mainland Japanese American community, Okinawans within the Japanese American Community experienced much discrimination prior to WWII.

The Okinawan Islands have had a colonial relationship with Japan, which reflected a Japanese American ethnic hierarchy that historically marginalized Okinawans within Japanese America in the U.S. prior to WWII.[236] The Okinawans experienced much intragroup prejudice by the Naichi (immigrants from mainland Japan) who viewed themselves to be superior to the Okinawans.[237] However, WWII saw changes in attitude within the Japanese American Community towards the Okinawan minority. Unkei Uchima, a Nisei of the 442nd RCT, documented that during his three and a half years of service he could not recall any distinction made between Naichi and Okinawan soldiers. Uchima recalled that, "when I became an officer and gave orders under miserable conditions, I heard no derogatory remarks to the affect that I was an Okinawan."[238] Noriko Shimada has shown that the wartime years brought less discrimination against Okinawans by Naichi Japanese.[239] For Okinawans in California, they numbered far fewer than their counterparts in Hawaii and did not experience as much intragroup racism from Naichi Japanese.[240] Even if anti-Okinawan discrimination was waning within the Japanese American Community, Higa was able to claim himself as the representative of the Japanese American soldier through championing minority statuses—Okinawan—in addition to "Hawaiian" and Kibei throughout his tour.

In September of 1944 with Higa's ability to successfully connect with the Issei generation through language, the JACL decided to extend and expand the tour for three more months, stretching into December. After Higa spoke to the incarcerees at Gila River, the *Gila*

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[234] Higa, *Memoirs of a Certain Nisei*, 153-55.

[235] Joseph Farrington to Colonel Kendall J. Fielder, November 16, 1944, Box 19, Folder 764, Joseph Farrington Collection (hereafter cited as JFC), Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu, Hawai'i.; Earl M. Wilson to R.C. Richardson, November 20, 1944, JFC.

[236] For more information on a history of Okinawans in the U.S., see Okinawan Club of America, *History of Okinawans in North America*, trans. Ben Kobashigawa (Los Angeles: Okinawan Club of America and the UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 1988); Ronald Y. Nakasone, eds. *Okinawan Diaspora* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002).

[237] Barbara A. Tamaki, "Race Relations: "Okinawan-Naichian," May 19, 1947, Unpublished seminar paper; Teruo Tanonaka, "Naichi-Okinawan," May 1947. Unpublished seminar paper; Noriko Shimada, "The Emergence of Okinawan Ethnic Identity in Hawaii: Wartime and Postwar Experiences," *The Japanese Journal of American Studies* 23 (2012): 117-124.

[238] Unkei Uchima, "Race Relationship," May 1947. Unpublished seminar paper (Bernhard Hormann Papers, Box 7, Folder 21, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Manoa).

[239] Noriko Shimada, "The Emergence of Okinawan Ethnic Identity in Hawaii: Wartime and Postwar Experiences," *The Japanese Journal of American Studies* 23 (2012): 117-124.

[240] Edith Mitsuko Kaneshiro, "'Our Home Will Be the Five Continents': Okinawan Migration to Hawaii, California, and the Philippines, 1899-1941" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1999), 142-179.

River News-Courier reported that, "the words of appreciation received from the parents indicate that the message is something which has been a much needed one for the Issei who have no means of obtaining such information."[241] When Higa addressed the incarcerees at the Minidoka concentration camp, over 1,500 heard him speak. At Poston, Higa's "inspirational speech was given so vividly that the residents were overwhelmed."[242] Requests from the other concentration camps made it necessary for an expansion of the speaking tour.[243] When hearing about the success of the tour, Representative Farrington relayed his thoughts to Colonel Kendall J. Fielder, an influential white officer who supported the 100th Battalion and 442nd RCT:

> Higa would be particularly valuable in likewise clarifying in the minds of the people in Hawai'i any misunderstandings that may have arisen in connection with the service of Japanese-Americans in the Army, and possibly enlightening the people at home on the conditions under which Japanese [Americans] are living in the [concentration camp] centers.[244]

With all the fanfare from the concentration camps and haole elites in Hawai'i for Higa's speaking tour, Higa's privileged voice as a "Hawaiian" war hero of the 100th Battalion provided positive propaganda about the experiences of Japanese American soldiers in the U.S. Army to stir up support for the U.S. war effort.

In November of 1944, the *New York Times* interviewed Higa about his speaking tour and he reiterated his task to debunk the "rumors that soldiers of Japanese ancestry are being used as cannon fodder."[245] However weeks earlier, the Japanese American soldiers in the 100th/442nd RCT found themselves in a suicide mission. General John E. Dahlquist, commander of the 36th Division, tasked the 100th/442nd RCT to rescue the 141st Texas Regiment, the so-called "Lost Battalion," who were surrounded and cutoff by the Nazi enemy.[246] Prior rescue attempts by white American military units were futile, and Dahlquist assigned the 100th/442nd RCT as a last-ditch move. The men of the 100th/442nd thought that their dangerous assignment was more of a "personal rather than a tactical decision."[247] The Japanese American soldiers collectively believed that, "there were clear-cut objectives to be purchased with their blood and their sacrifice"; however, many viewed their roles in the U.S. Army as "cannon fodder."[248] The 100th/442nd RCT deployment to rescue the lost battalion relied on a sense of expendability, which was evident when the military leadership did not extend reinforcements when requested during the mission. Moreover, some of the men acknowledged that, "as long as we save [the lost

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[241] "Higa Lecture: Tour Expanded," *Gila River News-Courier*, September 12, 1944.
[242] "PFC. Thomas Higa Speaks to Unit II," *Poston Chronicle*, October 14, 1944.
[243] "Nationwide Speaking Tour Outlined for 100th Veteran—Pfc. Higa Tells Issei of conditions faced by Japanese Americans," *Pacific Citizen*, September 9, 1944.
[244] Joseph Farrington to Kendall J. Fielder, November 16, 1944, Box 19, Folder 764, Joseph Farrington Collection, Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu, Hawai'i.
[245] "Japanese-American, Wounded in Italy, Says Unit Was Treated Like Other GI's," *New York Times*, November 10, 1944.
[246] For more information on the rescue of the "Lost Battalion," see Abbie Salyers Grubb, "Rescue of the Lost Battalion," *Densho Encyclopedia* < http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Rescue_of_the_Lost_Battalion/>; Franz Steidl, *Lost Battalions: Going for Broke in the Vosges, Autumn 1944* (Novato: Presidio Press, 1997).
[247] Asahina, *Just Americans*,163.
[248] Asahina, *Just Americans*,183-202.

battalion], nobody cares what becomes of us."[249] In the successful rescue of the lost battalion, the 100th/442nd RCT sustained over 900 casualties to rescue about 200 Texans.[250] Even though the men of the 100th/442nd RCT had in fact been used as cannon fodder for the U.S. Army, Higa's power as the representative of the Japanese American soldier legitimated his experience as the dominant narrative over the alternative and unsavory experiences of the 100th/442nd RCT.

Ironically, Higa's representative power was limited by his greatest cultural asset—language. Although Higa's speeches were delivered both in English and Japanese, Higa was unable to converse effectively in English. At Manzanar, his speeches in the Japanese-language were received with appreciation and "wonderful ovations" from the audience. However, Henry Fukuhara reported back to the JACL that Higa's speeches in English were "not as moving as the previous night due to his language handicap in English. A returned missionary from Japan interpreted for him."[251]

Despite Higa's difficulty speaking in English, his speeches in Japanese even deeply moved some non-Japanese speaking white Americans in attendance. While in Murray, Utah, Higa's speech in Japanese was so powerful that the *Pacific Citizen*, the JACL-sponsored newspaper, reported that:

> Mr. and Mrs. Jensen, from whom the hall used for the occasion was rented, sat through the three hours of Higa's speech, and though they did not understand a single word, were so impressed by its fervor and effect upon those present that they made no charge for the use of the hall.[252]

Through employing the cultural capital of multiple minority statuses within Japanese America, Higa was able to win the support of the Issei generation by representing the Japanese American soldier. His difficulty with English was addressed in the next speaking tour.

Representing Japanese America: Lieutenant Spark Matsunaga's Speaking Tour

On May 10, 1944, while Kuroki was engaged with his speaking tour in the concentration camps and Higa was being recruited for his speaking tour, Lieutenant Spark Masayuki Matsunaga delivered a speech in front of officers of the 65th Infantry Regiment on the biggest problem he witnessed on the Italian Front: the attitude of the average American soldier. According to Matsunaga, "the soldier must develop within [themselves] a will to fight and display it." To provide a remedy to this growing concern, Matsunaga offered himself as a personal case study to illustrate how these officers might emulate military fighting effectiveness:

> In the 100th Infantry Battalion we developed such an indomitable spirit of "do or die" that both General Lucas and General Ryder were prompted to remark that "the 100th Infantry Battalion is the fightingest [sic] outfit on the Italian front." The fact that we had established such a reputation made us fight to maintain that reputation. The same spirit

[249] C. Douglas Sterner, *Go For Broke: The Nisei Warriors of World War II Who Conquered Germany, Japan and American Bigotry* (Clearfield: American Legacy Historical Press, 2008), 70.
[250] Duus, *Unlikely Liberators*, 204-211; Yenne, *Rising Sons*, 171.
[251] "Capacity Crowd Hears Veteran Relate Battlefield Experiences," *Manzanar Free Press*, December 9, 1944; Henry Fukuhara to the Japanese American Citizens League, December 17, 1944, Box 153, Folder 8, JARP.
[252] "PFC. Thomas Higa Impresses Audience in Murray, Utah," *Pacific Citizen*, September 16, 1944.

> was spread throughout this regiment by one regional commander, who in one of his attack orders remarked, "the 100th is fighting its heart out on that hill. They're in trouble. We must get to them." The men of the famous 168th Infantry, of the 34th Division, fought through hell and did join us.[253]

Matsunaga highlighted the importance of camaraderie between the 100th and 168th in promoting positive attitudes among the soldiers. He also projected a lofty image of the 100th Battalion, the "fightingest [sic] outfit on the Italian front."[254] U.S. Army publication, *8th Replacement Depot*, a U.S. Army publication, reported Matsunaga's reassignment while back stateside following his recuperation on the East Coast from his wartime wounds sustained in Italy. In particular, the publication publicized the connection between the 100th Battalion and Hawai'i by describing it as "an all Hawaiian Battalion."[255]

In September of 1944, Lieutenant Spark Masayuki Matsunaga spoke with *The Sunday Republican* of Springfield, Massachusetts about his experiences as an officer in the 100th Battalion. *The Sunday Republican* recounted Matsunaga's military heroism and stressed that these minority soldiers were doing their loyal part: "his infantry outfit, all Hawaiians of Japanese extraction, had to fight to prove their loyalty." Matsunaga, a 27-year-old AJA from Kaua'i who had been an instructor of literature, political science, and dramatics at the University of Hawai'i prior to the war, was fluent in Japanese and was assigned to the Military Intelligence Service (MIS) Language School at Fort Snelling, Minnesota a month later in October.[256] Matsunaga helped supervise the MIS, a military outfit of Japanese American translators who were primarily sent to the Pacific campaign to subvert Imperial Japanese military communications.[257] While stationed at Fort Snelling, Matsunaga gave over eighty speeches from September 1944 to June of 1945, including speaking engagements in front of civilians and officers at the military base.[258]

At Fort Snelling, Matsunaga was distinctly positioned as "Hawaiian" and a war hero of the famed 100th Battalion. The *Fort Snelling Bulletin* introduced Matsunaga to the officers and soldiers of the MIS and recounted his military exploits and battlefield wounds as a "Hawaiian-born" officer.[259] While supervising the MIS recruits, Matsunaga's adulation for the Japanese American[260] MIS translators was articulated through his association and projection of the famed

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[253] Spark Matsunaga, "A Lesson From the Italian Front," May 10, 1944, Box 5, Folder "US Army/Italy, 1943-44," Senator Spark M. Matsunaga Papers (hereafter cited as SMMP), University of Hawai'i at Manoa Library, Honolulu, HI.
[254] Ibid.
[255] "The Eight Ball," *8th Replacement Depot,* May 20, 1944, Box 6, SMMP.
[256] "Jap-American Officer Visits in Waterbury: Lt. Matsunaga Calls On Mother of His Buddy in Italy," *The Sunday Republican,* September 17, 1944.
[257] For more information on the Military Intelligence Service, see James C. McNaughton, *Nisei Linguists: Japanese Americans in the Military Intelligence Service during World War II* (Washington D.C.: Department of the Army, 2007); Joseph D. Harrington, *Yankee Samurai: The Secret Role of Nisei in America's Pacific Victory* (Detroit: Pettigrew Enterprises, Inc., 1979); Tad Ichinokuchi, *John Aiso and the M.I.S. Japanese-American Soldiers in the Military Intelligence Service, World War II* (Military Intelligence Service, 1988); Kelli Y. Nakamura, "'They Are Our Human Secret Weapons': The Military Intelligence Service and the Role of Japanese-Americans in the Pacific War and in the Occupation of Japan," *The Historian* 70.1 (2008): 54-74; Eiichiro Azuma, "Brokering Race, Culture, and Citizenship: Japanese Americans in Occupied Japan and Postwar National Inclusion," *The Journal of American-East Asian Relations* 16.3 (2009): 183-211.
[258] Richard Halloran, *Sparky: Warrior, Peacemaker, Poet, Patriot—A Portrait of Senator Spark M. Matsunaga* (Honolulu: Watermark Publishing, 2002), 48-50.
[259] Corporal Irvin Rose, "Lt. Matsunaga, CO of Company I," *Fort Snelling Bulletin,* October 28, 1944.
[260] The MIS consisted of Japanese American soldiers from both Hawai'i and the U.S. mainland.

100th Battalion. At his first MIS graduation at Fort Snelling, Matsunaga introduced himself "as a former veteran of the 100th Infantry Battalion, [and] I salute you, and take pride in being now assigned to the School of which you are still an integral part."[261] By legitimating himself as a member of the famed 100th Battalion, Matsunaga used his connection with the 100th Battalion to congratulate the men: "It is gratifying to learn from all reports of the wonderful work you graduates of the Language School are doing. As individuals, collectively, you have gained a reputation even as much as the 100th Infantry Battalion."[262] To inspire the new graduates, Matsunaga's attempt to align them with the heroism of the 100th Battalion suggests that the 100th Battalion's value within the Japanese American Community was growing.[263]

Relocated Nisei leaders from the concentration camps in the Midwest and East Coast saw the potential of the "Hawaiian" war heroes and especially Matsunaga to help lead their fight against anti-Japanese racism through support for the war effort. Masao Satow, a leader of the Milwaukee Nisei Council who was also affiliated with JACL and the YMCA of Milwaukee, helped organize a dinner to honor Matsunaga and other soldiers of the 100th Battalion. At the dinner, Satow emphasized the gravity of the sacrifices of the AJA soldiers of the 100th Battalion and differentiated the AJA soldiers in the 442nd RCT by recalling the enthusiastic and disproportionate enlistment drives in Hawai'i. With a privileged voice, Matsunaga told the audience at the dinner that the Japanese American soldiers were fighting for a "world free of racial discrimination."[264] Hearing about the successes of Matsunaga's speeches, the JACL and the Japanese-American Committee in New York also viewed Matsunaga as an asset for an upcoming fundraising rally in January of 1945. George Yamaoka of the Japanese-American Committee in New York told Captain Walter Tsukamoto that "it would be very helpful to the success of the evening if we could possibly have as a speaker a veteran of the 100th Infantry Battalion" and added that he has heard that Matsunaga is a "very excellent speaker."[265] To Nisei leaders, Matsunaga's identity as a "Hawaiian" war hero of the 100th Battalion provided him with the platform and legitimacy to represent Japanese America.

Although Matsunaga's distinct association as a "Hawaiian" war hero of the 100th Battalion distinguished himself apart from the incarcerated and relocated Japanese Americans on the U.S. mainland, his speeches on his tour indicate that he advocated on behalf of all of Japanese America by discussing and criticizing anti-Japanese racism. This unifying narrative was given to non-profit organizations, private corporations, community groups, religious services, collegiate associations, and relocated Nisei.[266] At a meeting at the Kiwanis Club in Milwaukee, Matsunaga addressed a crowd about Japanese America.

> Here, in our democracy, we have a class of people who have been denounced and disowned by their families in Japan for coming to America and who have been denied the rights of citizenship in their adopted land. Yet they are loyal Americans hoping for an American victory. My parents in Hawaii, I might boast, have contributed to making Hawaii the American community it is today. But they can never become American

[261] Spark Matsunaga, "Graduation Address," circa Fall 1944, Box 6, SMMP.
[262] Ibid.
[263] Ibid.
[264] "Not Nisei but Americans All, U.S. Fighters Honored Here," *The Milwaukee Journal*, September 28, 1944, Box 9, SMMP; "Milwaukee Dinner Honors Veterans of Italian Campaign," *Pacific Citizen*, November 7, 1944.
[265] George Yamaoka to Walter Tsukamoto, October 13, 1944, Box 9, Folder 11, HWRD.
[266] There are many letters from these organizations and groups that offer their thanks and thoughts on Matsunaga's speeches, see Box 9, SMMP.

> citizens. In the Heart Mountain relocation center in Wyoming, there is a mother who has given six sons to the service and whose seventh son has volunteered and is ready to be called up. Yet she can never become one of us. The boys in the 100th were 200% American, because they were fighting for American ideals, as were members of other units, and because they had to prove that they were worthy to be called Americans. I watched many of the men die. The dying thought of each was about making a better life in a better world for the people back in America.[267]

Presenting a heroic Japanese America consisting not only of the heroism of the "boys in the 100th"[268] but also the Japanese American communities in Hawai'i and the concentration camps, Matsunaga's unified narrative was transmitted beyond Milwaukee. Matsunaga's Milwaukee speech was re-printed in WRA-sponsored newspapers in the concentration camps, such as Gila River and Topaz.[269]

Matsunaga did not have the opportunity to visit the concentration camps, but he did try to keep current with the issues in the camps by talking to relocated Nisei and collecting camp newspapers. Reading about the residents at Heart Mountain in the *Heart Mountain Sentinel* provided him with information about their military sacrifices, such as the mother with seven enlisted Nisei.[270] In one of his collections of periodical clippings, Matsunaga kept an editorial article "Center Nisei and the Future," which reflected on the growing concern among many about the lack of interest in leadership roles by the Nisei at Heart Mountain. The editorial believed that "the do-nothing-nisei are going to be a backward and not totally accepted group when their brothers return from the bloody battlefields of the world."[271] Matsunaga's preservation of the editorial suggests that the leadership of the Nisei was on his mind and that perhaps he also contemplated his own place as a potential leader of the Nisei and larger Japanese America.

Representing Japanese America, Matsunaga employed a unifying philosophy of life that connected the racial discrimination directed towards Japanese Americans with the livelihood of all Americans, regardless of racial or ethnic difference. In many of his speeches, Matsunaga conveyed to liberal white audiences and relocated Nisei the importance of tackling anti-Japanese racism:

> The future will reveal that ours is a problem of the entire world and not of America alone. How we will settle our problems of minority groups here in America will determine to a large degree the extent to which the nations of the world will turn to us for guidance in the peace that is to follow.[272]

Both relocated Nisei and liberal white audiences warmly received Matsunaga's message. When Matsunaga spoke in front of relocated Nisei in the Midwest, he was met with enthusiastic

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[267] "Lt. Matsunaga—'People Without a Country,'" *Gila-River News Courier*, December 27, 1944, Box 9, SMMP.
[268] Ibid.
[269] "Lt. Matsunaga tells about Japanese in U.S.," *Topaz Times*, December 23, 1944, Box 9, SMMP.
[270] Speaking with head archivist Ellen Chapman at the Hawai'i Congressional Papers Collection, she mentioned that Matsunaga sent back everything that he read and collected while enlisted in the U.S. Army. With the *Manzanar Free Press*, *Heart Mountain Sentinel*, and *Pacific Citizen* in Matsunaga's archive, it would suggest that Matsunaga knew about some of the issues and experiences of the incarcerated Japanese Americans and thought about their future.
[271] "Editorial—Center Nisei and the Future," *Heart Mountain Sentinel*, January 27, 1945, Box 9, SMMP.
[272] Matsunaga to I.R. Witthuh, November 27, 1944, Box 9, Folder 11, HWRD.

support. Matsunaga even gained a small fan club by supportive relocated Nisei women in the Twin Cities.[273] In front of liberal white audiences across the Midwest, Matsunaga was praised for his message, delivery, and military heroism.[274] The Minneapolis Lions Club reported, which echoed similar responses from various speaking events sponsored by other liberal white institutional organizations, that:

> Matsunaga of the famous 100th Infantry brought us one of the most thought provoking messages we have ever had, when he spoke last Wednesday of the record of the Japanese-American soldier in his war. With a masterful command of the English language, he related the unequaled deeds of valor achieved by these American "who wear Japanese faces." With a deft use of direct speaking he pointed out the unfortunate discrimination which has characterized much of the way in which the Japanese American problem has been handled, reiterated the proven loyalty of American born Japanese to America, emphasized that rumors to the contrary these people have committed no sabotage, and pointed out that the Japanese-American loves this country with a deep and abiding fidelity as evidenced by their willingness to endure the hardships of incarceration in the concentration camps and by their freely spilled blood on the field of battle defending their American homeland and the great American ideal.[275]

Many liberal white American organizations viewed Matsunaga as a worthy representative of Japanese America. Matsunaga was fortunate to have the cultural capital of not only Japanese American culture but also white mainstream America through his experiences as an U.S. Army officer and instructor at the University of Hawai'i. Matsunaga had much practice prior to the war in delivering speeches to students, soldiers, and the U.S. public about U.S. democracy, Japanese America, and military science,[276] which aided him in his speaking tour.

As "Hawaiian" war heroes within Japanese America, Higa and Matsunaga, coming from minority positions within Japanese America, were able to use their speaking tours to gain legitimacy as representatives of the Japanese American soldier and Japanese America, respectively. But more importantly, the speaking tours of Higa and Matsunaga reveal a power shift within Japanese American during World War II. This pivotal shift revealed a dynamic by which a periphery Japanese American community in Hawai'i was able to multi-directionally influence the dominant mainland Japanese American community. This shift in power within World War II Japanese America can best be understood through employing Teresia Teaiwa's settler colonial theory of "militourism" to analyze Higa and Matsunaga's speaking tours. The speaking tours of AJA soldiers as "Hawaiian" war heroes reveal the social elevation of "Hawaiian" AJA soldiers within Japanese America. As we have seen through the speaking tours of Kuroki, Higa, and Matsunaga, they possessed varying degrees of social capital of the war hero and cultural capital as Japanese Americans, which revealed the extent to which they were accepted as worthy war heroes to represent and lead Japanese America.

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[273] Kay Omata to Spark Matsunaga, March 8, 1945, Box 9, Folder 11, HWRD.
[274] Within the archival materials found in HWRD and SMMP, there were many letters that had similar praises and sentiments of the success of Matsunaga's speeches from various institutional organizations.
[275] "Jungle Rumbles" Bulletin, Minneapolis Lions Club, January 13, 1945, Box 9, Folder 11, HWRD.
[276] Spark Matsunaga, "Armistice Day Address," November 11, 1941, Box 5, Folder "U.S. Army/Correspondence, Personal, to SMM, 1942," SMMP; Matsunaga, "Military Courtesy," September 17, 1941; Matsunaga, "Script for Radio Broadcast," December 7, 1942, Box 5, SMMP.

Conclusion: "Hawaiians" representing Japanese America

To explicitly expose the power of this representation and leadership for these "Hawaiian" war heroes within Japanese America, I conclude with how we may use and build off Teresia Teaiwa's concept of militourism. Thinking through a U.S. Empire lens, Teaiwa denotes militourism as a colonial relationship whereby a foreign military intervenes, invades, or occupies a native land while impacting and influencing the host people through tourism.[277] As part of the U.S. military and as tourists, military personnel and their families have a privileged position in relation to the native or host community. They impact the host people and their land through a range of cultural, social, political, material, psychological, racial, and religious issues.

This chapter interprets and extends Teaiwa's concept of militourism by presenting how Japanese American war heroes as militourists intervened in and influenced the internal affairs of the Japanese American concentration community by portraying a worthy leader. Bourdieu's social and cultural capital[278] offered a lens to better understand the limits of acceptance of Kuroki, Higa, and Matsunaga as legitimate representatives of Japanese America. However, in the case of Kuroki, the "native" population resisted the projection of Kuroki as war hero and representative of Japanese America because of his geographical disconnection with the concentration experience and his inability to fully win the support of the Issei. And even though Higa and Matsunaga did not experience incarceration like Kuroki and identified with ethnic minorities within Japanese America, their identity as "Hawaiian" war heroes of the 100th Battalion coupled with their cultural capital, such as speaking articulately in the Japanese language or navigating well within liberal white spaces, allowed for the privileging of their voices and embodiment of the Japanese American soldier and larger Japanese America. This influence of specifically AJA militourists within Japanese America is powerful because it presents a generative critique of Teaiwa's militourism.

The speaking tours allow for a rethinking of the concept of militourism by suggesting that rather than a military and tourists traveling abroad to foreign lands, militourism can also impact *within* the U.S. Empire and specifically, Japanese America. These AJA militourists redefined the internal ethnic hierarchy within Japanese America through their speaking tours as "Hawaiian" war heroes. In other words, the privileging of the AJA militourist as "Hawaiian" war hero within Japanese America created a new "ethnic orthodoxy," which "disciplined, punished, and stigmatized a shifting set of social groups whose very existence jeopardized group orthodoxy."[279] To Nisei JACL leaders and AJA military leaders, these social groups who posed a threat to ethnic orthodoxy were those who would undermine the campaign to promote an image of a loyal and patriotic Japanese America. The power to re-shift the ethnic hierarchy within Japanese America by AJA militourists from Hawai'i onto the U.S. mainland also speaks to a larger flow of Empire, which in this chapter provided a reverse flow.

Dean MacCannell argues that Western tourists influence their host society by importing non-native customs, practices and norms that impact the native society.[280] In this sense, the

[277] Teresia Teaiwa, "Reading Paul Gauguin's *Noa Noa* with Epeli Hau'ofa's *Kisses in the Nederends*: Militourism, Feminism, and the 'Polynesian' Body," in *Inside Out: Literature, Cultural Politics, and Identity in the New Pacific*, ed. Vilsoni Hereniko and Rob Wilson (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), 251-9.
[278] Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," 241-258.
[279] Lon Kurashige, *Japanese American Celebration and Conflict: A History of Ethnic Identity and Festival in Los Angeles, 1934-1990* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 1-11.
[280] Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, 3rd Edition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 13.

speaking tours of AJA militourists as “Hawaiian” war heroes posed an inverse direction of the normative flow of modernity from the West to the East, Occident to the Orient, and the Global North to the Global South. Rather, these militourists—Higa and Matsunaga—via their speaking tours were able to influence a type of non-Western cultural identity on a more, assimilated Japanese American population in the concentration camps. Thus, this chapter showed how the periphery community of Japanese America in Hawai‘i was able to influence the metropole of Japanese America in the concentration camps. Like militourists who impact the tourist space they find themselves in, these “Hawaiian” war heroes were able to influence the ethnic hierarchy within Japanese America. By reversing the flow of settler colonialism from the Occident/West to Orient/East, the “Hawaiian” war hero as militourist allows us to understand the power of the “Hawaiian” war hero: why, how, and with what consequences this distinct minority comes to represent all of Japanese America.

In the aftermath of World War II, Kuroki found himself predominantly in front of white audiences. Thomas Higa traveled to Okinawa and led efforts to persuade Okinawans, hiding in caves, to surrender to U.S. forces rather than committing suicide with grenades. Matsunaga returns to Hawaii and later graduates from Harvard Law School in 1951. Similar to their return back to their homes in Nebraska or Hawai‘i for Kuroki, Higa and Matsunaga, AJA soldiers from Hawai‘i were also contemplating and articulating their demands and visions for the future of the Japanese American veteran in Hawai‘i. By fighting and often sacrificing their lives on the battlefields in Europe, the men of the 100th Battalion/442nd RCT became attached to Hawai‘i as their home and ceased thinking about their dual home as Japan and Hawai‘i. By actively maintaining a hero-image of the Japanese American soldiers from Hawai‘i as “Hawaiian”, they staked claims to the future of Hawai‘i as their permanent home. In the next chapter, we move to the space of the warfront and Hawai‘i to explore how the AJA soldiers as “Hawaiian” war heroes legitimated their claims to Hawai‘i as home through a construction of a “Hawaiian” Diaspora.

Chapter 4

A "Hawaiian" Diaspora: Japanese American Home-Making and Hero-Making during World War II in Hawai'i

During moments of respite from combat, surviving the elements, and constantly digging foxholes in Italy and France, the second-generation Japanese American soldiers, both from Hawai'i and the U.S. mainland, would talk with each other about home—reminiscing about long-distance lovers, describing in delicious detail their dream dinners, and mapping out their futures.[281] For these men and their communities, World War II fractured and complicated their notions of home—for the second-generation Japanese American soldiers with incarcerated families, they were indeed fighting for a nation that uprooted them from their homes and forced them into desolate, barren concentration camps with makeshift barracks as their new homes.[282] For the second-generation Japanese American soldiers from Hawaii (AJA soldiers), their home before the war was a combination of Hawai'i and Japan. But one common bond between the two groups of men was that their parent's Japanese homeland was now the U.S. national enemy.

The war prompted many of the AJAs to think about home, to actively stake claims, and to envision a future where they had a legitimate role in. Although some AJAs found the U.S. mainland preferable, the majority sought to return to Hawai'i because they believed their future was more promising there. While the Japanese American soldiers were at basic training at Camp Shelby, Mississippi, Captain Masao Yamada of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team (RCT) conveyed the budding thoughts of his men from Hawai'i concerning the notion of home to Masa Katagiri of the Emergency Service Committee, a group tasked with monitoring wartime race relations back in Honolulu:

> The feeling of 'Hawai'i is their home' is stronger than ever. They are more attached to Hawai'i now than they ever were. They have seen through the Southern tradition, the glory of Hawai'i's Aloha spirit, the mildness of Hawai'i's climate, the comfort, mentally and physically of the plantation homes and the plantation life. Without exception, I am sure, 99.9% will take the first boat home.[283]

The experiences during mobilization and basic training prompted many of the AJA soldiers to conceive of Hawai'i as home. As a Territory of the U.S., the AJA soldiers were born in Hawai'i in the early 20th century and were U.S. citizens; however, their immigrant parents were barred from U.S. naturalization. The struggle to fight for a U.S. home that repeatedly questioned their loyalty and systematically denied claims for inclusion was not a novel situation for the AJAs.

The U.S. government historically passed legislation designed to bar Asians and Asian Americans from participating fully in U.S. society. Prior to World War II, the U.S. government

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[281] Orville C. Shirey, *Americans: The Story of the 442nd Combat Team* (Washington: Infantry Journal Press, 1946); Lyn Crost, *Honor By Fire: Japanese Americans at War in Europe and the Pacific* (Novato: Presidio, 1994).

[282] James McCaffrey, *Going for Broke: Japanese American Soldiers in the War Against Nazi Germany* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013); Robert Asahina, *Just Americans: How Japanese Americans Won A War At Home and Abroad: The Story of the 100th Battalion/442nd Regimental Combat Team in World War II* (New York: Gotham, 2006); Bill Yenne, *Rising Sons: The Japanese American GIs who Fought for the United States in World War II* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2007).

[283] Masao Yamada to Masa Katagiri, February 5, 1944, Box 1, Folder 7, Romanzo Adams Papers, Confidential Research Files, AJA Letters (hereafter cited as AJA Letters), Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory (RASRL), University of Hawai'i at Manoa Library.

racially discriminated against its Asian immigrants, which impacted their views of home in the U.S. Such laws or treaties, like the Page Act of 1875, Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, Gentlemen's Agreement of 1908, Alien Land Laws (1912-1923), Cable Act of 1922, Immigration Act of 1924, and the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934 made it very difficult for Asian immigrants to call the U.S. home.[284] These laws and treaties impressed upon the minds of the Asian immigrants in the U.S. that they could not become citizens, own property, vote, enter into interracial relationships, and at various moments in the late 19th and early 20th century for different Asian groups to enter the U.S. These racist laws and treaties reflected and fed the growing anti-Asian sentiments and violence across the U.S. and its territories prior to WWII.[285]

Since the arrival of Japanese immigrants to the shores of Hawai'i to labor on the sugarcane plantations in the late 19th century, haole elites discriminated against them. Historian Gary Y. Okihiro contends that racial discrimination from 1865 to 1945 against Japanese Americans in Hawai'i paralleled the oppression of Japanese Americans on the West Coast. Okihiro shows that in Hawai'i, the haole plantation owners and government officials launched a concerted effort culminating in an anti-Japanese movement, while the U.S. military developed strategies of removing and detaining the population of Japanese Americans in Hawai'i two decades prior to WWII.[286] The AJA soldiers understood that even though their immigrant parents and they themselves experienced anti-Japanese racism in Hawai'i, the war pushed them to live for and die for a home. In response to anti-Japanese racism on the U.S. mainland, Hawai'i as home became an enticing proposition. By actively maintaining a "Hawaiian" identity while on the U.S. mainland during basic training and deployed abroad, AJA soldiers constructed a "Hawaiian" Diaspora through performance and paying attention to coverage by local newspapers from Hawai'i. As shown in Chapter Two there was enormous fanfare and support of the AJA soldiers during enlistment, mobilization, and basic training; once the men left the Hawaiian Islands, they began to actively conceive of Hawai'i as their home.

This chapter will show that AJA soldiers created claims of Hawai'i as homeland by positioning themselves as a "Hawaiian" Diaspora while deployed overseas, and during their return they began to demand a future and home as legitimate "Hawaiian" war heroes. Although many Japanese Americans still held transnational perspectives, desires, and outlooks,[287] distancing themselves from Japan and claiming Hawai'i as their real homeland became paramount. This chapter pulls from scholar Jigna Desai's definition of diaspora as "heterogeneous connections to both the homeland and to other diasporic locations through such

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[284] For more information on the following legislations, see Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* (Boston: Little & Brown, 1998); Bill Ong Hing, *Making and Remaking Asian America through Immigration Policy, 1850-1990* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993).

[285] For historical narratives of anti-Asian racism prior to WWII, see Lon Kurashige, *Two Faces of Exclusion: The Untold History of Anti-Asian Racism in the United States* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina, 2016); Erika Lee, *The Making of Asian America: A History* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2015); Shelley Sang-Hee Lee, *A New History of Asian America* (New York: Routledge, 2014).

[286] Gary Y. Okihiro, *Cane Fires: The Anti-Japanese Movement in Hawai'i, 1865-1945* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991).

[287] For scholarship on transnational Japanese American history, see: Eiichiro Azuma, *Between Two Empires: Race, History, and Transnationalism in Japanese America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Naoko Shibusawa, "'The Artist Belongs to the People": The Odyssey of Taro Yashima," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 8.3 (2005): 257-275; Naoko Shibusawa, *America's Geisha Ally: Reimagining the Japanese Enemy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006); Yuji Ichioka, "The Meaning of Loyalty: The Case of Kazumaro Buddy Uno," *Amerasia Journal* 23.3 (1997): 45-71; Yujin Yaguchi and Mari Yoshihara, "Evolutions of 'Paradise': Japanese Tourist Discourse about Hawai'i." *American Studies* 45.3 (2004): 81-106.

forms as political commitment, imagination, memory, travel, and cultural production."[288] Through this definition, this chapter shows how AJA soldiers created a "Hawaiian" Diaspora that superseded their transnational claims to Japan as home, though other Japanese and Japanese Americans in the U.S. maintained their ties to Japan as home.[289] In the following sections, I discuss the formation of a "Hawaiian" Diaspora by AJA soldiers to show the process by which the AJA soldiers began to think about home and to lay claim to Hawai'i. Next, I shift the narrative to understand the relationships between Hawai'i's home front and the deployed AJA soldiers. I examine the demands of the returning AJA veterans to Hawai'i and their expectations in postwar Hawai'i. Finally, I discuss the implications of a "Hawaiian" Diaspora and AJA settler colonialism.

Formation of a "Hawaiian" Diaspora by AJA Soldiers

Negative interactions with anti-Japanese racism coupled with empowering experiences as military soldiers while away from Hawai'i prompted many to conceive of home as Hawai'i through the creation of a "Hawaiian" Diaspora. Although the AJA soldiers were a part of the Japanese Diaspora, World War II encouraged all Japanese Americans to distance themselves from the Japanese enemy. As an alternative, AJA soldiers created an "Hawaiian" Diaspora, not comprised of Native Hawaiians or Kanaka Maoli but rather AJA soldiers from Hawai'i. By positioning themselves as a "Hawaiian" Diaspora, AJA soldiers' attempted to legitimate their claims to Hawai'i as home.[290] Although at least 22 part-Hawaiians served with the AJA soldiers in the 100th/442nd Regimental Combat Team, the vast majority of the thousands of AJA men who served in the unit were non-native.[291] About 18,000 men served in the 100th/442nd Regimental Combat Team during World War II.[292] Kanaka Maoli fighting in World War II totaled to less than 2,000 soldiers.[293]

To understand the formation of diasporic home-making, this chapter follows literary scholars who have examined diasporic formations by local Asian groups from Hawai'i. Literary scholar Erin Suzuki states that, "the Local home is never a static space or place but a concept that is always identified in the process of return." The AJA soldiers emphasized in their letters to the editors of the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* and *Honolulu Advertiser* and missives to their loved ones

[288] Lee and Shibusawa, "Guest Editors' Introduction: What is Transnational Asian American History? Recent Trends and Challenges," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 8.3 (2005): ix.
[289] Japanese and Japanese Americans in the U.S. held allegiances to multiple diasporas, such as a specific Japanese Prefecture like Hiroshima or Yamaguchi, the Japanese Empire, and Hawai'i.
[290] This chapter is not making the stance that Japanese Americans *became* a part of the Hawaiian Diaspora, but rather, there sense of a Hawaiian Diaspora was problematically predicated on indigeneity, which is a field onto itself. See, Hokulani K. Aikau, "Indigeneity in the Diaspora: The Case of Native Hawaiians at Iosepa, Utah," *American Quarterly* 62.3 (2010): 477-500; Paul Spickard et al, eds. *Pacific Diaspora: Island Peoples in the United States and across the Pacific* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002); Gregory D. Smithers and Brooke N. Newman, *Native Diasporas: Indigenous Identities and Settler Colonialism in the Americas* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014).
[291] Mike Markrich, "Hapa Soldiers," *100th Infantry Battalion Veterans Education Center* https://www.100thbattalion.org/history/stories/hapa-soldiers/ (accessed June 28, 2023); James C. McNaughton, "Native Hawaiians in World War II," *U.S. Army Center of Military History* (May 25, 2000) https://history.army.mil/html/topics/apam/hawaiians.html#:~:text=Soldiers%20of%20Hawaiian%20ancestry%20served,units%20were%20decorated%20for%20valor (accessed June 28, 2023).
[292] Everett Munez, "442nd Regimental Combat Team, United States Military," *Encyclopedia Britannica* (June 2, 2023) https://www.britannica.com/topic/442nd-Regimental-Combat-Team (accessed June 29, 2023).
[293] McNaughton, "Native Hawaiians," (accessed June 28, 2023).

that their return to Hawai‘i was a return to their home. Suzuki explains that, “these local motions are not only limited to travel or movement through space, but also apply to movements and travels through time” and argues that nostalgia is a powerful tool in evoking an affective attachment to Local identity.”[294]

For many of the men, enlistment in the U.S. army was the first time they had been outside of Hawai‘i. Homesickness was pronounced among them, and AJA soldiers wrote to their loved ones describing how Hawai‘i as home provided them with the resolve to keep fighting. In a letter from an AJA soldier to his Chinese girlfriend in Hawai‘i: “Boy I sure miss home— Hawai‘i, and all that it represents. I never realized it so much until now. You are a lucky bunch staying at home.”[295] Even while away from Hawai’i, the men were constantly reminiscing about Hawai’i. An AJA medic wrote back to his wife: “Tonight, as I sit here and write this letter, thoughts of yesterdays keep fleeing through my mind, and go before I can grasp each picture and see the details of it—Kahala, Waikiki Theatre, Maunalani, Moanalu Gardens, Varsity Theatre, Manoa, Palace Grounds, KCC Drive Inn where we had our first hamburgers and coke, those bus rides. Those were really happy days.”[296]

Another AJA soldier summed up his thoughts on the groups’ homesickness and their ties to Hawai’i:

> I am writing this portion of the letter and at the same time listening to the ‘Hawai‘i Calls’ program. It is a little after 4pm. The music seems to carry my memories back to the good old days in the Islands. I just can’t help but feel homesick as I listen to the sweet melody of our island songs. Frankly, I think lots of the boys feel gloomy and homesick at times now that the novelty of the mainland has somewhat faded away. I doubt that they’ll admit it in their letters but judging by the way they all look forward to receiving mails from home I’m sure they’re beginning to miss their families and friends very much. Any news from home and the papers are always eagerly read by all of us…The announcer just said that the song ‘To you a Lei!’ is being dedicated to the boys at Camp McCoy. Tears of joys or loneliness seems to show on some of the boys as they quietly listen to this song. To me it gives me a feeling of security to know that the people of Hawai‘i haven’t forgotten us. With the song ‘Aloha Oe’ ending the program so shall I close my letter for this time.[297]

AJA soldiers’ fears of being forgotten by their families and friends on the home front while engaged in military preparations only pushed them further to embrace their home as Hawai’i. Clearly they did not want their sacrifices to go unnoticed and be committed in vain.

During basic training, the AJA soldiers responded to bouts of homesickness with the maintenance of cultural performances and observing holidays. Unlike the popular May 1st celebration of International Workers’ Day on the U.S. mainland, May 1st within Hawai‘i is a holiday that recognizes the importance of lei giving, a Kanaka Maoli practice. While stationed at

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[294] Suzuki, “Huanted Homelands,” 169; Seri Luangphinith, “Homeward Bound,” 54-78; Stephen Sumida, *And the View from the Shore: Literature Traditions of Hawai‘i* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991), 88-109.
[295] AJA Private to Chinese girl, May 12, 1943, Box 4, Folder 1, Confidential Research Files, 1942-1957 (hereafter cited as CRF), Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory (hereafter cited as RASRL), Hamilton Library, Honolulu, HI.
[296] AJA Medic to D. [wife], June 20, 1943, Box 4, Folder 27, CRF-RASRL.
[297] Harold to Mr., Oct. 18, 1942, Box 4, Folder 17, CRF-RASRL.

Camp Shelby, AJA soldiers in 1943 made it a point to observe May Day with the same level of enthusiasm, as they perceived folks would be doing back in Hawai‘i:

> May Day is now a month old—it must have been a beautiful sight with flowers everywhere and leis around many a neck. As for us here in camp some of the boys strung some yellow flowers together and made quite presentable leis.[298]

The next year in 1944, the AJA soldiers once again observed May Day and Ralph Yempuku emphasized the connections he saw between May Day, Hawai‘i and their return back home:

> Today is May Day back home, and here in my company all of us Hawai‘i boys have been singing ‘May Day is Lei Day in Hawai‘i.’ I doubt whether you at home are holding Lei Day celebrations as in peace time, but we all join you in keeping that purely Hawaiian festive spirit as alive as ever. These flowers, pageants, and hulas are always beckoning us home, and home we’ll be as soon as our grim job here is completed.[299]

The performances of a “Hawaiian festive spirit” through singing and dancing of hulas allowed the men to maintain their nostalgic bonds with Hawai’i. In addition to May Day, the AJA soldiers also performed the hula and sang popular Hawaiian songs to military and civilian audiences while in the U.S. South at Camp Shelby on other occasions.[300]

While at Camp Shelby, some local Mississippi townsfolk made sure to make the AJA soldiers feel at ease, while highlighting their Hawai’i-roots. AJA soldier Davis Shiroma recounted to University of Hawai’i sociologist Andrew Lind that “this afternoon has been one of the most interesting moments in Shelby. We went to the Ralfin Stock Farm, a few miles outside of Hattiesburg. Three hundred boys were invited, and I was one of the fortunate soldiers…As we drove in the Farm there was a large sign roped across the road with ‘Aloha.’ It has its psychological effect.”[301] Rather than a sign that welcomed the men in English or Japanese, the emphasis on a Hawaiian welcome signifies that the townsfolks identified the AJA soldiers neither with Japan nor the Japanese American internment camps but with Hawai’i.[302]

Mr. Finch, a prominent white Hattiesburg businessman, entertained the AJA soldiers with Hawaiian musical performances.

> They had a special Hawaiian musical program tonight, sponsored by a certain Mr. Finch. If I didn’t mention anything about this man, he’s liked by everyone of this regiment. He’s a businessman from nearby Hattiesburg and you know how much these boys from Hawai‘i spend their money. Either directly or indirectly he benefits by it and to show his appreciation, he regularly brings entertainers over to our nearby Service Club to entertain the boys of the 442nd. Anyway, this Mr. Finch is really pulling and trying to help us. Tonight, we had a dance band orchestra from New Orleans, and we had some colorful

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[298] AJA Volunteer at Camp Shelby to Japanese girlfriend, June 6, 1943, Box 1, Folder 5, CRF-RASRL.
[299] Ralph Yempuku to Charles Hemenway, May 1, 1944, Box 4, Folder 36, CRF- RASRL.
[300] John Howard, *Concentration Camps on the Home Front: Japanese Americans in the House of Jim Crow* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008): 86, 88, 209.
[301] Davis Shiroma to Andrew Lind, June 27, 1943, Box 4, Folder 11, CRF-RASRL.
[302] Robert Asahina, *Just Americans: How Japanese Americans won a War at Home and Abroad* (New York: Gotham, 2006): 58; Bill Yenne, *Rising Sons: The Japanese American GIs who fought for the United States in World War II* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2007): 60, 63, 64.

> music—hit songs, Latin numbers, and their version of Hawaiian tunes. Couldn't beat the Kanakas back home; however, they sure made a hit with the boys. During the intermission, Harry Hamada, a boy from Hawai'i who was a professional entertainer at the West Coast before evacuation, gave us real Kanaka music. Gee! Music like that really is sweet. Ask anybody, [censored], who's been away from Hawai'i and they'll tell you that you just can't beat the music. I can say that for myself I really enjoyed the program.[303]

The performance of Hawaiian culture, especially the dancing of hula and singing Hawaiian songs, while at Camp Shelby helped ease the homesickness of the AJA soldiers while ingratiating themselves to the local white southerners in Hattiesburg, Mississippi.

An AJA soldier wrote home that "we have a couple of musically minded fellows here – several can play the uke well, one the guitar, one the harmonica, and two with good voices. They sing a lot of Hawaiian songs."[304] The performances were such a success that AJA soldier Davis Shiroma believed that, "One definite thing that is getting the Whites here are our singing and hula troupers. Hawaiian music is winning their hearts. I think the Tourist Bureau should send [the 442nd RCT] dozens of inexpensive paper leis. On this occasion an ukulele player presented his paper lei to a woman and I believe she'll treasure the gift."[305]

The marrying of a Hawaiian identity with the AJA soldiers was felt even outside of Camp Shelby on furlough. While on furlough, AJA soldiers traveled to cities like Chicago, Washington D.C., New York, and New Orleans, in addition to others, to see the sites while never forgetting Hawai'i. In Chicago, Robert K. Fukuda felt that "Chicago was quite an experience…I even located a place called 'Little Hawaii' and real old time Hawaiian musicians."[306] Although thousands of miles away from Hawai'i, Fukuda finding a music hall and meeting the Hawaiian musicians while on his furlough in Chicago shows that home was always near in his mind.

In Washington D.C. and New York, prostitutes solicited them with Hawaiian slang: "The professional streetwalkers and pick-ups have already learned to spot Hawai'i boys a block away and open negotiations with 'Hello, ku'uipo [sweetheart], you like go pani-pani [pa'ani is "to play" in Hawaiian]?' It seems the members of the 100th and 442nd [Regiment] spent mad money on these women, and as a result they ask exorbitant prices now."[307] Others enjoyed other institutions in Washington D.C., an AJA soldier wrote how impressed he was by the Capitol building and the Smithsonian Institute. "Going through the exhibitions and the Capitol building, I wish all Hawaiian soldiers going overseas would see Washington before going into battle."[308]

While some of the AJA soldiers traveled back to Wisconsin to visit friends made while at Camp Savage, Toshio "Kenneth" Sasano also experienced Hawaiian greetings. Sasano wrote back to a friend in Hawai'i that, "In Antigo, Wisconsin, as I walk down the street just as I was about to step into a bowling game, a soldier spotted us and called 'Aloha Nui Loa' [Warm Greetings]. Every one of us turn to look, expecting a familiar face, but much to our surprise a

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[303] Unnamed, January 22, 1944, Camp Shelby, Box 4, Folder 25, CRF-RASFL.
[304] Former University of Hawai'i student of Japanese ancestry, letter excerpts, February 11, 1944, Box 4, Folder 26, CRF-RASRL.
[305] Davis Shiroma to Andrew Lind, June 27, 1943, Box 4, Folder 11, CRF-RASRL.
[306] Robert K. Fukuda to Andrew Lind, May 23, 1944, Box 4, Folder 16, CRF-RASRL.
[307] Ibid.
[308] AJA soldier (former UH student) to Charles Hemenway, June 27, 1944, Camp Shelby, Box 4, Folder 36, CRF-RASRL.

stranger recognized we Hawaiian boys, said he just came home on a furlough and in no time we became fast friends, after telling us of the places he frequents back in Hawai‘i.”[309]

In New Orleans, Davis Shiroma could not stop comparing the sites he saw with local counterparts in Hawai’i. While touring the French Market with “stalls [that] were well stocked – fruits, vegetables, fish and groceries,” Shiroma “believed our ‘A‘ala Park [in Honolulu] is larger and more colorful.”[310] When visiting Loyola University and Tulane University, Shiroma was impressed by “their buildings and wide spreading trees,” which “reminds me of Mid Pacific Institute – a building of stones covered with vines.”[311] And lastly, Shiroma stopped at an elaborate “above-the-ground cemetery” where “all those tombs must have cost a fortune.” Its counterpart, “the Prince Lunalilo tomb at Kawaiaha’o would appear natural among the others.”[312]

Learning more about U.S. history on their furloughs, another AJA soldier took advantage of this opportunity and ventured out to visit Stone Mountain Confederate Memorial, sixteen miles east of Atlanta. The soldier wrote about his experience to a friend in Hawai’i: “The scene turned out to be vastly different from the post-card pictures that we had bought…Yep, the South still breathes and relives the Civil War. Everywhere you go memorials, statues, etc., honor their valiant, vanquished heroes. It’s about time the South joins the Union in spirit.”[313]

The space of the U.S. mainland, and especially the U.S. South, offered an informal education for the men to learn about how race and power manifested in different ways outside of Hawai‘i. Witnessing Anti-Black racism in the Jim Crow South was an eye-awakening experience for many of the AJA soldiers. AJA soldier Jiro Yukimura explained in a letter that, “While in Hawai‘i I was doubtful as to whether Jim Crowism prevailed in the South. Of course, we heard much of it. Now that I am present in the heart of the South, it is evident that remnants of the Civil War era still continue to exist.”[314] In order to survive the racial violence by racist Southerners, the AJA soldiers learned quickly how to navigate the color-line. Sociologist Andrew Lind from the University of Hawai‘i at Manoa reported that “the AJA boys have been instructed to treat the negroes as do the whites in the South. On the other hand, I gathered that the whites’ reception of the Japanese has not always been too cordial, nor that it has always differed from the treatment of the negroes.”[315] Both anti-black and anti-Japanese racism influenced the various methods in which the AJA soldiers survived the racist spaces on the U.S. mainland while grasping the limits and fallacies of white supremacy.

The cracks in white supremacy started when AJA soldiers noticed differences between farming in the U.S. South and their experiences with their haole overseers on the sugarcane plantations in Hawai’i. In the Fall of 1943, AJA soldiers of the 442nd RCT were sent to Andalusia, Alabama to guard German prisoners of war (POWs). Due to labor shortages in the South, the German POWs were forced to pick vegetables and cotton. From guarding the German prisoners, Private Harold Watase wrote home about what he learned.

> By going to the different farms with these [German] prisoners, I’m learning a hellava [sic] lot of things. Peanuts, cotton, corn farming here is chiefly by the share cropping

[309] Toshio “Kenneth” Sasano to Mrs. Cox, 100th, March 20, 1943, Box 4, Folder 22, CRF-RASRL.
[310] Davis Shiroma to Andrew Lind, July 17, 1943, Box 4, Folder 11, CRF-RASRL.
[311] Ibid.
[312] Ibid.
[313] AJA soldier in Miss., to a friend in Hawaii, February 3, 1944, Box 4, Folder 23, CRF-RASRL.
[314] Jiro Yukimura to Andrew Lind, July 31, 1943, Box 4, Folder 11, CRF-RASRL.
[315] Andrew Lind to Davis Shiroma, August 21, 1943, Box 4, Folder 11, CRF-RASRL.

> method. The landowner supplies the land and the farmer farms on it. Fifty percent of all the sales goes to the landowner while the farmer gets the rest of the 50% minus all the expenses. Hence, you can see what chance the poor farmers here have of advancing. In fact, they are tied down to their farms year after year without making ends meet, that they live in the same poverty year after year. Only the landowners, who usually owns about a thousand or 2 acres, are the wealthy ones here. The farmers or 'white trash' live in poverty which is not found in Hawai'i. One has to come to the South and see these dilapidated, roofless homes, inhabited by these poor 'white trash' before he can really appreciate the conditions here.[316]

The sugarcane plantation economy in Hawai'i privileged the haole [white] population because they held positions of authority, ranging from field managers to plantation owners.[317] The experiences of witnessing poor whites in farming was an alarming fact that began to erode AJA soldiers' thoughts on haole dominance.

The AJA soldiers' racial experiences outside of Hawai'i gave them the confidence to challenge the racial hierarchy in Hawai'i. Sergeant W.H. of the 442nd talked about this change:

> Since I've been to the mainland for about two years, I've changed my ideas a lot. One is that I've gotten over my sense of racial inferiority. You know here in Hawai'i, the haoles have always been on the up and up. The Orientals, especially, the Japanese, was always inferior somehow. Well, I've sloughed off that feeling entirely. When you've seen as many white people as I have and many so crummy and indecent, well, you soon get the feeling that you're just as good as they are. I don't know whether the fellows feel as I do, but that has happened to me. It's a good feeling, I think. You see these white folks as maids, waitresses, barmaids, cooks, etc. You know we never see haoles in Hawai'i doing such work. That's the way it goes, I guess.[318]

Witnessing a different racial structure in the U.S. South afforded the AJA soldiers a chance to think about new possibilities for their future in Hawai'i.

Being treated as relatively equal to the Whites while on the U.S. mainland, AJA soldiers began to develop the courage and confidence that they were on the same level as White Americans. One example of this growing confidence is in a scene that an AJA soldier tells a friend back home: "In our minds we seem to feel that a rung has been climbed in the 'social ladder.' Witness our recent pass to Gulfport [Mississippi]. We looked for the swankiest Royal Hawaiian Hotel—the classiest joint to eat in—and no doubt of being accepted gladly by the owners. In Honolulu we were afraid to step into the Royal [Hawaiian Hotel] or [Alexander] Young [Hotel], afraid of being stared at."[319] Away from the Hawaiian Islands and its own blend of white supremacy, AJA soldiers navigated Jim Crow racism on the U.S. mainland while finding spaces where they could gain a sense of self-worth.

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[316] Harold J. Watase to Mr. E. E. Bodge, December 28, 1943, Box 4, Folder 43, CRF-RASRL.
[317] Ronald Takaki, *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawai'i, 1835-1920* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1983), 57-152; Roland Kotani, *The Japanese in Hawai'i: A Century of Struggle* (Honolulu: The Hawaii Hochi, Ltd., 1985), 6-47.
[318] Conversation with Sgt. W.H., member of 442nd Infantry, August 7, 1944, Box 4, Folder 26, CRF-RASRL.
[319] Davis Shiroma to Andrew Lind, August 8, 1943, Box 4, Folder 11, CRF-RASRL.

Deployed to Italy, the AJA soldiers of the 100th/442nd Regiment successfully demonstrated their fighting prowess with swift victories while routing the Italian and Nazi enemies. While on rest in Rome, Chaplain Masao Yamada spoke about the growing confidence in the men:

> In Rome, our men also attracted a good deal of public attention. They were looked upon by Romans as a strange race. They called our men, everything from Chinese, Japanese, North Africans, Mongols, Hawaiians, Filipinos, to American Indians. The GI's [sic] of our various divisions looked at us and we were courteous. They asked inevitably, 'Are you in the 100th [Battalion]?' The kind words and the respect they accorded the AJA's were convincing proof of the comradely feeling in the Army. The AJA's came home from Rome with great confidence in themselves and more determined than ever to make good.[320]

This newfound experience was in stark contrast to the anti-Japanese racism that many of their families and friends encountered while growing up and living in Hawai'i. By proving their worth on the battlefield which was reflected in a high level of military citations and commendations,[321] AJA soldiers gained higher levels of confidence and self-worth.

While stationed in France, AJA soldiers came into close contact with the French people, and they began to feel less inferior to their white, European counterparts. George Yamamoto of the 100th/442nd RCT wrote about such an incident to a friend in Hawai'i:

> A friend who was billeted 3 months with a French family before the 442nd [Regiment] returned to Italy [told me]: 'France was good! Felt more like a human being than at any time in my life. The French treat us buddhaheads [AJAs from Hawai'i] as on a par with them—no, I should say that they even look up to us. Guess they flattered our ego a bit…I often caught myself watching steadily at mother, father and daughter and wondering at their lack of prejudice toward my different facial makeup.[322]

These experiences changed the AJA soldiers. More so, it changed their perceptions of home because the war showed them that they were capable of not only fighting and defeating the Nazi enemy, but they could also combat anti-Japanese racism in Hawai'i in order to claim a future of Hawai'i for their families and for themselves. Fighting against both the Nazi enemy and U.S. racism constituted what historian Ronald Takaki coined "Double Victory" by racial minorities during World War II.[323]

The demands for change, for opportunity, and for a better life in Hawai'i, can be summed up by an AJA soldier explaining to a friend in Hawai'i about why they fight for Hawai'i:

> You asked me why we fight. It's obvious, isn't it? We fight (1) for self-preservation, (2) because we're of Japanese ancestry. What the fellas expect to come back to, I don't

[320] Chaplain Masao Yamada to Col. Kendall J. Fielder, August 31, 1944, Box 4, Folder 32, CRF-RASRL.
[321] Hiroaki Morita, "The Nation's Most Decorated Military Unit, the 100th/442nd Regimental Combat Team," (Carlisle Barracks: U.S. Army War College, 1992).
[322] George Yamamoto to Sumiko Oura, May 19, 1945, Box 4, Folder 29, CRF-RASRL.
[323] Ronald Takaki, *Double Victory: A Multicultural History of America in World War II* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 2001).

> know. But I'm safe, I think, in saying that they'll be more demanding and that their present work will give them a right to demand. Army life, by itself, makes one aggressive; but here the contact with haole soldiers, civilians, and women on equal terms should give one more self-confidence. And the fellas will be different when they get back, I think.[324]

The self-confidence and the thoughtful observations while away from Hawai'i brought a sudden change amongst the AJA soldiers. This change was predicated upon the fact that many of the soldiers began to form a distinct bond with Hawai'i as home while the war front provided the means for the men to build up the courage to demand equal and more opportunities. A brighter future in postwar Hawai'i motivated the AJA soldiers to push forward.

The need for a better life for themselves and their families in Hawai'i drove many AJA soldiers to keep fighting. An AJA soldier wrote to a prominent haole businessmen that, "Chances of we coming back to Hawai'i in the near future is very slim so I'm asking you one little favor. All I ask of you is that sir; please see that my rest of the kin get a fair decent break which I think they rightfully deserve then I'll be more than satisfied even if I never go back to Hawai'i again."[325]

With the postwar a possibility, the men sought out their future upon their imminent return back to the Islands. The war hardened the AJA soldiers but yet their sentimental thoughts of home remained:

> You know, one might think that being so long on the front line, taking all the shelling, killing men will change his character. Maybe it does. I admit I'm not what I used to be. This life and experiences have toughened me to a certain extent. But don't ever think that we've forgotten what peace is like. We have our months of loneliness. We think about home and those dear ones. Our constant prayer is for peace and a reunion with those back home. We plan to ourselves silently, our future and the family we'll have.[326]

Gaining self-confidence and demanding societal changes in Hawai'i, AJA soldiers, such as Ted Tsukiyama, began to think about the future for the AJA generation, the AJA community, and the AJA soldiers. Tsukiyama, who served in the 100th Battalion, 442nd Regiment, and Military Intelligence Service during the war and would later be the first Japanese American to graduate from Yale Law School, intellectually changed while away from Hawai'i and his thoughts centered on the AJA soldier's welfare after the war.[327] First, Tsukiyama believed that there needed to be a split from the first-generation. "The lagging influence of the reactionary, narrow, old-world attitudes of the first generation will have to be cast off, for their prejudices and stubborn determination to retain their old customs has been the greatest factor of inertia and hindrance to the fuller Americanization of the AJA youth of Hawai'i."[328]

Second, Tsukiyama felt that the AJA soldiers earned the right to demand better jobs, places to live, and treatment by others because of their sacrifices on the battlefield; however,

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[324] AJA sociologist graduate soldier to Chinese UH college girl named Dora, July 4, 1944, Box 4, Folder 23, CRF-RASRL.
[325] PFC Richard Nitta to unnamed; June 22, 1943, Camp Shelby, Box 4, Folder 26, CRF-RASRL.
[326] AJA to friend in Hawai'i, February 7, 1944, Italy, Box 4, Folder 27, CRF-RASRL.
[327] Ted Tsukiyama, *My Life's Journey: A Memoir* (Watermark Publishing, 2017): 17-34.
[328] Ted Tsukiyama to Reverend Mineo Katigiri, September 20, 1944, Box 4, Folder 7, CRF-RASRL.

Tsukiyama was prescient and foresaw "a long up hill struggle and journey for the AJAs on their road to acceptance and participation but I will continue to strive on toward that better society, that better world."[329] But Tsukiyama was leery that the home front may be more of liability than an asset to his commitment.

He "hope[d] that our weakest link will not be found in the civilian home front."[330] He did not want the home front to become complacent in the face of all the progress that the AJA soldiers made while fighting on the battlefields in Europe:

> If the American Japanese in Hawai'i are still "on the spot" even after their AJ soldiers come marching home, then the people themselves at home are to be blamed. If, during the course of this war, they have not progressively won and earned for themselves a more secure and trusted status in the community, then we, who have left everything so dear to us in Hawai'i to endure the hardships of army life, are fighting a losing battle as well, as far as home-front Hawai'i is concerned. I wonder if the people back home really know how dearly and nostalgically, we think of our homeland and how fervent, our hopes of returning there to pick up our normal, peaceful and trusted lives again. They cannot rest on our laurels alone; they have their own responsibility to fulfill, for our sake as well as theirs… I know that the homefolks are sincere and they mean well, that they are proud of us – but that is no reason for them to become complacent.[331]

The home front became a vital battleground to maintain the public perception of the worthy, heroic AJA soldier, which will be discussed in the next section.

Nevertheless, the AJA soldiers felt connected with each other. Captain Kometani imagined the bonds between the different AJA soldiers deployed to fight in the war:

> We are also part of the many other AJA soldiers throughout the world. The 100th is proud because we have men in all fighting fronts now. Please take care of the other units, the 442nd Combat Team, the Camp Savage boys, and those who are working in Hawai'i. They are part of us. The 442nd particularly as they are the best fightingest outfit. However, they must be impressed with the fact that like us, when that day comes, they must be fully prepared, both physically and mentally. Once out in the lines, you can't quit or even say, 'I can't take it.' The people have given us every support; please push the younger unit which we have always looked to with pride.[332]

The AJA soldiers constituted a "Hawaiian" Diaspora that required a strong relationship with the different communities in Hawai'i. While away from the Islands, their sense of identity deeply relied on their performance of Hawaiian culture and identification with Hawai'i. Witnessing the cracks in white supremacy on the U.S. mainland and in Europe afforded the men a chance to have the necessary confidence to seek change. The lessons from war molded their perceptions of what kind of future they wanted in the postwar era and how they would seek them. But, what was most important at hand was the need for the home front to actively support

[329] Ted Tsukiyama to Dr. Andrew Lind, December 18, 1944, Box 4, Folder 7, CRF-RASRL.
[330] Ted Tsukiyama to Bernhard Hormann, May 28, 1944, MacDill Field, Box 4, Folder 34, CRF-RASRL.
[331] Ted Tsukiyama letter, October 10, 1943, Camp Savage, Box 4, Folder 7, CRF-RASRL.
[332] Captain Katsumi Kometani to Mr. Walter Mihata, December 27, 1943, Box 4, Folder 36, CRF-RASRL.

the image of the AJA soldiers as "Hawaiian" war heroes was vital in order to shore up their demands to participate in the future of Hawai'i.

Hawai'i Homefront and "Hawaiian" Diaspora of AJA Soldiers

In the minds of many of the AJA soldiers, the best way for the home front to support them was to maintain the image of the AJA war hero and to have respectable behavior that did not tarnish the gains made by the AJA soldiers. However, the home front did not always live up to the expectations of the AJA soldiers. Labor strikes by local Japanese and social unrest undermined the growing relationships between the AJA soldiers and the haole elites. The AJA soldiers desired to return home to Hawai'i to new opportunities and the haole elites sought to maintain their control over the war economy.

The lionizing of the AJA soldiers as war heroes permeated the classrooms at one of the largest public high schools in Honolulu. McKinley High School, a public school which was considered "Tokyo High" due to the high percentage of AJA students, [333] publicized the connection between the AJA soldiers and Hawai'i as homeland in the school newspaper, *The Daily Pinion*. In several of their publications, *The Daily Pinion* covered former McKinley students such as Tadashi Otaguro, Masayoshi Miyagi, Masaru Ogata, and Kenneth Yoshikazu Wasada.[334] These articles honored the men specifically by recounting their contributions while at McKinley High School, their interests and hobbies such as playing baseball, and their experiences in the U.S. Army through letters to their loved ones. In the article centered on Miyagi, *The Daily Pinion* emphasized his longing for home by sharing a letter to his family: "When you're far away from home, you sometimes have a desire to go back there to all the things you loved. Right now, there is but one thought and that is of home."[335] Miyagi's desire to return home to Hawai'i speaks to his connection with Hawai'i as an active homeland; a construction that is fortified through his disconnected proximity during a moment of hazardous warfare. Furthermore, coverage of AJA military heroism dominated the local press.

In the *Hawaii Herald*, a Local Japanese newspaper, an editorial showed a growing pride in the larger Japanese community in Hawai'i:

> While no statistics have been issued showing the racial derivation of Hawai'i's men in the armed services, it has been apparent from the casualty lists published locally that a large proportion of those in actual combat have been of Japanese stock. This fact has been the subject of considerable comment and is a legitimate source of pride to the Japanese community…And because the entire American selective service system is impartial and based only on fitness for duty, the number of young men of Japanese blood who pass their physicals and are inducted into the army compares favorably with those of any other racial stock in Hawai'i.[336]

[333] Lawrence H. Fuchs, *Hawaii Pono: A Social History* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1961), 129.
[334] "In Memoriam: Pvt. Tadashi Otaguro," *The Daily Pinion*, February 18, 1945; "Pvt. Masaru Ogata '38, Supported Whole Family, Always Cheerful, Kind," *The Daily Pinion*, March 14, 1945; "Sgt. Masayoshi Miyagi, Sportsman With One Definite Weakness—Baseball," *The Daily Pinion*, April 9, 1945; Earlyn Nishimura, "In Memoriam: Pvt. Kenneth Yoshikazu Wasada," *The Daily Pinion,* April 27, 1945 (*The Daily Pinion* articles on AJA soldiers can be found in Box 3, Book 6, HWRD).
[335] "Sgt. Masayoshi Miyagi, Sportsman With One Definite Weakness—Baseball," *The Daily Pinion,* April 9, 1945, Box 3, Book 6, HWRD.
[336] "Editorial: Many Are Called," *Hawaii Herald,* September 2, 1944.

However, the editorial also paints a divergent picture; one that illuminates the anxieties and tensions amongst the different communities, Asian and non-Asian, by proffering that the Japanese American soldiers and the Japanese American community were contributing to the war effort on a perceived level that surpassed other communities.

Due to the interconnectedness between the home front and the AJA soldiers deployed outside of Hawai'i, word of the publicity of their heroic feats spread quickly. While deployed in Italy, an AJA soldier wrote to his parents about his reactions to the amount of coverage by the media.

> I understand that there are lots of write-ups in the local papers about us boys here in Italy. Lately, some of our boys have been receiving clippings from home town papers, and it seems the write-ups sound a little exaggerating, that it's almost funny. Surely the boys are putting up a courageous fight, but we do not go into a battle with 'smiling face' as the papers say. War isn't like that. Everyone is tense and alert before going into a battle, wondering, worrying, when and where the enemy will start shooting first. Then after we contact the enemy we have another worry, artilleries and mortars start coming down, then it's prayers and only prayers which bring consolation. It makes me mad when people back home think we are having a picnic out here, more so, when there are so many of my buddies being wounded and killed. Believe me, war is terrible.[337]

Captain Kometani of the 100th/442nd Regiment echoed similar thoughts about not wanting all the spotlight and the exaggerations by the press, they just want a chance to prove their worth:

> Very fortunately or unfortunately, the men have received publicity over which we have no control. It is the War Dept. who see fit to give the public news of the Army. In many cases, we have dodged the news reporters. We do not want to be treated as the favored few. All we ask is the chance, like the thousands in the front, and the army has seen fit to do so. Positively there is no race, creed or color in these trenches and when men are shouldering arms in the same uniform for the same objective. All we ask is our part in this victory and our home after this war.[338]

More than the hyper-visible publicity of their military achievements, an AJA soldier hoped that the Hawai'i media would explain to its readers about the costs of war, the unspoken horrors of fighting on the frontlines while discouraging the romanticization of war.

> Many times we receive letters or news saying, 'Boy, How I wish I could be in your boots.' We laugh at such people, for any sane person knows it's easy to talk, but try and do what we've been doing, and they'll never open their mouths again. At times the Hawai'i papers should stop printing too much glory about us, and write how much it costs to get that glory. I know lots more glory-seekers are leaving the islands, and if they should come this far, they'll even learn to say their prayers without even going to a church service.[339]

[337] Seijiro of 100th to his parents, November 20, 1943, Italy, Box 4, Folder 37, CRF-RASRL.
[338] Captain Katsumi Kometani to Charles Hemenway, November 23, 1943, Box 4, Folder 24, CRF-RASRL.
[339] From an AJA soldier, March 4, 1944, Box 4, Folder 27, CRF-RASRL.

Even though some of the AJA soldiers believed that their coverage in the press felt exaggerated and sometimes bordered on fantasy, other AJA supporters like University of Hawai'i at Manoa sociologist Andrew Lind felt strongly that the publicity was warranted to remind the public in Hawai'i about the enormous sacrifice made by the AJA soldiers.

> You commented once about the 'over-publicized 100th.' Perhaps it had been over publicized at certain times, but I do not believe that is the case at present. I suspect that a little more publicity of the right kind might do good even in Hawai'i. There are still some people in our midst who would like to forget the part which is actually being played by the second generation Japanese in this bloody business, and the reports which keep coming back from the 100th serve as a grim but nonetheless effective reminder of the sacrifices which are being made. Occasionally, too, an appreciative note from some general or representative of the War Department helps counteract some of the misconceptions which still prevail.[340]

The heroism of the Local Japanese was reinforced in response to a negative letter to the editor published in the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* in September of 1944. In a letter entitled "About Drafting the Japanese" to the editor of the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin,* the author, M.B., believed that they should not participate in the draft because of their questionable "Jap" loyalty and did not think highly of the volunteerism of the AJA soldiers.[341] With this scathing letter to the editor, the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* published four responses spanning over two weeks that opposed the views of M.B. A self-described Hawaiian lady felt that "M.B. does not read the newspapers, because if he or she did, he or she would probably come across the articles about the 100th Infantry in Italy. They're a bunch of Americans (mind you, American) boys of Japanese ancestry who are doing a wonderful job."[342] A haole, drafted soldier explained that the AJA soldiers were fighting for justice and believed that M.B. possessed an "ignorance concerning the present status of the AJA group in regard to the draft."[343] The final two responses came from AJA soldiers and they both used their position as volunteers to undermine M.B.'s letter to the editor. In one letter, the AJA soldier highlighted that he volunteered and that, "not very long ago a whole combat team volunteered and are now fighting in Europe." Private Sakamoto echoed the same sentiments and expressed that, "the boys you once called 'Japs' are now plugging away at the enemy" and questioned, "did the boys lose their fighting spirit? No! And never! They just tried harder. I know because I was there."[344] To Sakamoto and other AJA soldiers, they believed that their military participation and sacrifice warranted more respect from disgruntled residents in Hawai'i towards the Japanese American community.

Other AJA supporters like prominent haole leaders and business elites protected and helped proliferate the narrative of the AJA soldier as "Hawaiian" war heroes. The local haole elites looked towards the AJA soldiers with admiration and respect for their civic duty in serving in the U.S. Army. The men of the 100th/442nd Regiment were surprised by the haole support:

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[340] Andrew Lind to Peter G. Kawahara, February 8, 1944, Box 4, Folder 9, CRF-RASRL.
[341] "About Drafting the Japanese," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin,* September 5, 1944.
[342] "The 100th Infantry Wasn't Drafted," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin,* September 14, 1944.
[343] "We are Fighting for Justice," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin,* September 16, 1944.
[344] "He Didn't Wait to be Drafted," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, September 21, 1944; "Another Answer to 'M.B.'," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin,* September 22, 1944.

"most of the men from Hawai'i didn't know that the BIG PEOPLE back home were very much concerned with our boys, and [a haole businessman] suggested that I [an AJA officer] show, or read to the boys some of the things that you have written."[345]

Congressional Representative Joseph R. Farrington, in a speech addressing Congress, conveyed the importance of the heroism and sacrifice of the AJA soldiers in the 100th Battalion. Riding on the conflation of the 100th Battalion as a unit of "Hawaiian" war heroes, Farrington explained to his congressional peers that, "the 100th Infantry has achieved a record which attracted widespread attention and has raised confidence in our training and our way of thinking."[346] To the Territory of Hawai'i, Farrington believed that the heroism and coverage of the 100th Battalion was "necessary for keeping alive the Hawaiian spirit that has made Hawai'i one people."[347]

To convey his gratitude and appreciation to the AJA soldiers, Farrington visited the men on the frontlines and recounted to a colleague:

> I talked informally to these boys for about fifteen minutes. In telling them of my tour of the Islands during the past summer, I attempted to describe some of the great changes that were taking place and sought particularly to impress upon them the deep feeling of appreciation that I had found among all the people in the islands for the sacrifices they had made on the European front. I was anxious that they should not have the feeling apparently prevalent at so many points on the European front among other troops that their enormous sacrifices were not appreciated by the folks on the home front. Beyond this, I told the boys that the record of the 100th infantry, and of the 442nd that followed it, held deep significance for those who believed that loyalty was a matter of conscience and training rather than ancestry and race, and that they had richly vindicated the confidence of the people of Hawai'i who, through a generation, had trained them to meet the greatest responsibilities of American citizenship. I attempted in this visit to convey something of the deep interest with which their work was being followed by the people of the Territory.[348]

An AJA soldier writing to a prominent haole businessman, conveyed his deep appreciation in supporting the returning AJA veteran: "I am very much heartened to hear that some of our haole friends back home are already doing some postwar planning that will help us—for we are most anxious to return to a Hawai'i maybe not entirely free from racial friction for that would be Utopia, but a Hawaii which will grant worthy citizens irrespective of racial background a chance to live and serve as useful citizens both economically and socially—and I hope politically also."[349] The AJA soldiers are "happy that at least the boys from Hawai'i will have a clean deal when they get back. I have been reading your letter to all of my boys, and they seem very much pleased to know that there is that cloud with the silver lining back in Hawai'i. I'm grateful to you for doing so much for us, and I am sure that all of our boys who have listened in to my reading of your letter feel the same way." [350]

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[345] Lt. Edward Yoshimasu to L.F. Deacon, November 20, 1943, Box 4, Folder 26, CRF-RASRL.
[346]Joseph R. Farrington, "Hawaii Troops on European Fronts," on March 9, 1945, *Congressional Record* 79.
[347] Ibid.
[348] Joseph R. Farrington to C.R. Hemenway, February 26, 1945, Box 4, Folder 32, CRF-RASRL.
[349] Susumu Awaya to L.F. Deacon, January 13, 1944, Camp Shelby, Box 4, Folder 28, CRF-RASRL.
[350] Lt. Edward Yoshimasu to L.F. Deacon, January 26, 1944, Box 4, Folder 26, CRF-RASRL.

However, the disproportionate amount of praise directed towards the AJA soldiers was also about politics and the interests of the haole business elites. Sociologist Romanzo Adams, predicted that by 1944, two-thirds of Hawai‘i’s Asian population would be able to vote, consequently increasing the strength of the ‘non-Caucasian majority’ and leading to a redistribution of power. In order to reconsolidate and maintain a fragile and failing project of White racial power and privilege, Ethnic Studies scholar Dean Saranillio argues that haole elites strategically sought to converge their interests, such as protecting the sugarcane industry, with certain East Asians like the AJA.[351]

World War II Hawai‘i saw an increase in interracial labor strikes, which included the participation of many Japanese in Hawai’i, and that threatened the economic livelihood of the Hawaiian Islands.[352] A confidential letter circulating amongst the haole business elites detailed the crux of the labor situation concerning the Japanese. “AJA workers are becoming increasingly aggressive in unwarranted labor demonstrations such as strikes, slow-downs, etc. and this is interpreted by the public as organized ‘Japanese sabotage’ and not as ‘legitimate’ union activity.”[353]

Haole business elites and plantation owners looked towards their AJA allies in the military to pacify labor unrests. Writing to the chaplain of the 100th/442nd Regiment, an insurance executive back in Hawai’i felt that one way to combat Japanese labor activism was to use the influence of the AJA soldier.

> You know the difficulty of reaching the irresponsible youth. But they must be reached if we want to keep them from spoiling everything we’ve built up so far and everything you fellows in the Army are training and fighting for. We older fellows who are remaining home will do what we can. But we need help from you men in uniform.[354]

Aligning with their haole supporters back in Hawai’i, AJA soldiers wrote back home in defense of the plantation owners and business elites. AJA soldiers supporting the haole plantation owners and business leaders who discriminated against the Japanese in Hawai‘i pre-World War II rather than aid in the labor strike struggle may seem odd and counterintuitive. But, AJA soldiers believed that haole backing would be far more beneficial to their group’s future and success in post-war Hawai‘i. In letters, AJA soldiers admonished the folks on the home front that participation in the labor strikes and walk-outs was undermining all of their military sacrifices. Captain Katsumi Kometani wrote to a friend in Hawai’i that the strikes were threatening the progress made by the fighting AJA soldier. The social strife in Hawai’i, Kometani maintained, forced many AJA soldiers to reconsider their motivations for fighting.

> I have read of the unfortunate strikes, in which there are many boys of our kind involved. It is a pity in that they are led by the so called American patriots who cannot at this stage of national crisis forget the differences and sacrifices like the men in the front. Often we wonder, whether it is worth it or not, when papers reach us and we read of the complaints

[351] Dean Saranillio, “Why Asian Settler Colonialism Matters,” 287; George Cooper and Gavan Daws, *Land and Power in Hawaii: The Democratic Years* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990).
[352] Gary Okihiro, *Cane Fires: The Anti-Japanese Movement in Hawaii, 1865-1945* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991), 195-276.
[353] [censored] to Leslie Deacon, undated, Box 4, Folder 18, CRF-RASRL.
[354] Masa Katagiri to Masao Yamada, October 11, 1943, Box 4, Folder 32, CRF-RASRL.

> and prejudices thrown at the different races, who are Americans and true ones at that. If they could only see the boys out here, fighting, besides a clever enemy, the terrific cold and rain and mud and an unsurmountable terrain…What hurts is when people whisper into my wife's ears that I left for adventure and left them. Ernie, promise you will always keep faith for the soldiers who are each day giving their life so those remaining will live.[355]

Similarly, one of the largest high schools in Honolulu published in their school newspaper an article that detailed the thoughts of an AJA soldier on the home front's labor disputes. The newspaper, *The Daily Pinion*, reported AJA soldier Tadashi Otaguro's concerns: "We know how gruesome and cruel war is. There are many trying moments never experienced before. I wish the home frontiers' can be half as war conscious as the boys in the front. It scares us to think there are strikes and misunderstandings back home."[356] By privileging Otaguro's perspectives, *The Daily Pinion* impressed upon its school-age readers to behave in a respectable manner that did not detract from the progress made by the AJA soldiers sacrificing themselves on the battlefields. By chastising the labor movements in Hawai'i, Otaguro explained that the peoples of Hawai'i needed to fall in line and support the war effort, and by extension, always remember and honor the AJA soldiers' sacrifice.[357]

AJA soldier Akira Fujiki conveyed his thoughts on the importance of the home front in extending and defending the gains made by the AJA soldiers:

> In recent strikes and slowdowns, the AJA elements involved were played up to a great extent. Perhaps more than what it deserved, but nevertheless – they were involved in that mess. They probably may have just been carrying out union orders but – just the same – they have to realize that strikes and slowdowns at the present time is an act of betrayal to our country, especially our armed forces and made a big sacrifice will not tolerate such subversive acts which is practically selling us down the river. We are here and training in good faith – so we can join our fellow AJA boys of the 100th, and if the people back home undermines our common cause – while we are away – God forgive what will happen when we go home after the war. True, a great number of intelligent men and women are putting in their best efforts and making various sacrifices but a few sour apples can spoil the whole applecart. To those who are working hard and putting in their good efforts, we salute you – and thank you for what you are doing and pray that you will keep up the good work. We, who are in the armed forces are doing all we can and the rest is up to you. Don't fail us, we still have confidence in you and are depending on you to hold up your end. Let's show the world that we are thoroughly Americans – even if our physical features are a little different.[358]

Another concern regarding the home front was the growing narrative of Japanese American cockiness and arrogance. Several editorials in February 1943 believed that if the local dailies singled out the AJA for military distinction, "mainlanders would gain the impression that only

[355] Captain Katsumi Kometani to Dr. Ernest Murai, February 12, 1944, Box 4, Folder 36, CRF-RASRL.
[356] "In Memoriam: Pvt. Tadashi Otaguro," *The Daily Pinion*, February 18, 1945.
[357] Ibid.
[358] Akira Fujiki to Mr. U. Watada, December 30, 1943, Camp Shelby, Box 4, Folder 43, CRF-RASRL.

Japanese soldiers came from Hawai‘i and thus inflate ‘Nisei egos.’”[359] A month later in October 1944, the Emergency Service Committee (ESC) in Hawai‘i discussed the many racial problems in the Islands and believed that the arrogance of the AJA was a problem with grave consequences.[360] The ESC felt that, “arrogance of their young people—typical of many young Americans, but most conspicuous when practiced by those of Japanese ancestry—is one of these problems.”[361] In a report to the ESC, it found that “among the Hawaiian officers here is a rumor that AJA’s in Hawai‘i were getting proud and independent, and that the situation is becoming worse and worse.” A community report concluded that the enlistment of the 100th Battalion and 442nd RCT robbed the AJA community of their young male leaders and brightest students, which implied the reasons for the increased problems committed by the remaining Japanese American youth in Hawai‘i during the war .[362]

These views and sentiments were met with a response, written in *Paradise of the Pacific*, a U.S. periodical that covered World War II Hawai‘i.

> The fact remains that the atrocious public manners of AJA boys now constitute a serious and increasing source of irritation and criticism…It is identified in the public mind as a new ‘cockiness’ reflecting the attitude of the Japanese components toward the rest of the population. A few days previously both papers carried excellent stories of the AJA’s going into combat action in Italy. Much of the benefit accruing from those stories was offset by the item on this single isolated incident. I should like to see every Hawaiian member of the 442nd write to his friends here, and to the papers, protesting the betrayal of the sacrifice made by the volunteers.[363]

Although some viewed the charge of Japanese cockiness to be more fantasy than reality,[364] the sentiment held by prominent home front businessmen that:

> The general feeling among the haoles now, some of them our good friends, is that the young kids of Japanese ancestry are getting too cocky. Then there are the hoodlums, irresponsible teen-age boys, sloppily dressed, some with Hawaiian versions of the zoot suit, some wearing slippers, all using vulgar language, often going around in groups, many putting their feet on the back of chairs in the theatres, and generally disgusting everyone. True, they aren’t all Japanese boys. As a matter of fact, most of them are Hawaiian and Portuguese. Nevertheless, there are Japanese boys among them. They are the natural products of a maladjusted society but they do add to the tenseness of the situation.[365]

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[359] Helen Geracimos Chapin, *Shaping History: the Role of Newspapers in Hawai‘i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1996), 184-189.
[360] “American-Japanese American Relations in the Territory of Hawaii,” circa 1944, Box 64, Folder 38, Hawaii War Records Depository (hereafter cited as HWRD), Hamilton Library, University of Hawai‘i at Manoa.
[361] Ibid.
[362] “American-(Japanese/American) Relations-T.H.,” undated, Box 64, Folder 38, HWRD.
[363] “Making Democracy Work—Hawaii’s Handling of its Japanese Problem Sets an Example for the Entire World,” *Paradise of the Pacific*, October 1944
[364] Andrew Lind to Davis Shiroma, November 10, 1943, Box 4, Folder 10, CRF-RASRL.
[365] Masa Katagiri to Masao Yamada, October 11, 1943, Box 4, Folder 32, CRF-RASRL.

With the hope of a speedy return to their home in Hawai'i, the AJA soldiers intentionally policed their war hero-image and their community while away from Hawai'i. An AJA officer conveyed the importance of the home front: "All of the AJA officers here are relying on the folks in Hawai'i, especially our representative, to keep the situation well in hand back home."[366] To the AJA soldiers, the Japanese and Japanese Americans in Hawai'i on the home front needed to rise to the same level of fervent U.S. patriotism by avoiding any negative publicity. Realizing the gravity of the situation of returning back to Hawai'i with little to limited opportunities, AJA soldiers impressed upon their families and friends on the home front to make a conscientious decision to perform a type of respectable politics[367] that the haoles elites would accept:

> Since we Americans of Japanese ancestry are 'on the spot' as never before, every unfavorable 'act' is played up into a different light – and I'm afraid if something is not done about this matter – so that newspapers and the public alike need not have anything rash to speak against us – we will have an unfortunate situation in Hawai'i. Situations may be just as bad among other ancestral groups, but they (public) will only point their fingers at us – so it seems no longer important whether it is unfair or otherwise. Only fact remains – is that we have to do something about it – and that is to improve conditions by displaying more common sense and thoughtfulness. Yes, courtesy will have to go hand in hand with it – and will call for greater efforts on the part of the AJAs.[368]

Wartime Contributions and Asian Homelands: Kanaka Maoli, Chinese Americans, Filipino Americans, and Korean Americans in Hawai'i

In relation to the hyper-visibility and hero-making of AJA soldiers, Kanaka Maoli and other Asian ethnic groups in Hawai'i did not receive similar recognition for their military contributions during the war. For Kanaka Maoli, only about two thousand served and due to the fact that many of them were part-Hawaiian, the U.S. military reported them as belonging to other racial groups. At least twenty-two soldiers of mixed Kanaka Maoli and Japanese ancestry served with the 100th/442nd Regimental Combat Team, which totaled to almost 18,000 soldiers.[369] However, there were several Kanaka Maoli that distinguished themselves on the battlefield, such as Captain Alexander Kahopea and Private First Class Willie Hokoanna who were awarded the Silver Star and the Distinguished Service Cross, respectively.[370]

The Local Chinese American community attempted to lionize their own Local Chinese American World War II war heroes but were largely unsuccessful. In October 1944, the *Hawaii Chinese Journal*, which purported that they represented and reported to "29,000 Chinese Voices," lamented the fact that the Chinese Chamber of Commerce in Honolulu, one of the leading Local Chinese American organizations in the Islands, could not gather enough information about the heroic exploits and contributions of its Local Chinese American soldiers. Wong Buck Hung, the president of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, explained that, "the committee has printed questionnaires to gather information from the members in the US armed

[366] Lt. Edward Yoshimasu to L.F. Deacon, September 26, 1943, Box 4, Folder 26, CRF-RASRL.
[367] Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994).
[368] Akira Fujiki to Mr. U. Watada, December 30, 1943, Camp Shelby, Box 4, Folder 43, CRF-RASRL.
[369] McNaughton, "Native Hawaiians in World War II."; Munez, "442nd Regimental Combat Team."
[370] Gwenfread E. Allen, *Hawaii's War Years, 1941-1945* (Honolulu: Pacific Monograph, 1999); Edmund G. Love, "Those Little Ribbons," *Infantry Journal* (June 1946), 8-13.

forces who are of Chinese ancestry, but, to [my] regret, very little response [have] been received." In addition, Major V.C. Culver, director of the War Records Depository in Hawai'i, expressed his disappointment that "the local Chinese [American] community has given little, if any, information to the depository for war records the local Chinese have done or are doing in Hawaii during this war."[371] The invisibility of prominent Chinese American war heroes in the Local Chinese community and larger public in Hawai'i suggests that in relation to the AJA war heroes, there was a sense that the Chinese Americans were not providing similar military contributions, or at least they were not being recognized for their contributions.

The majority of the Local Chinese who served in the U.S. armed forces were predominantly in the U.S. Army Air Corps. They participated as pilots and support crew during the bombing raids against the Axis enemy. Historian K. Scott Wong documented the immense courage and sacrifice of the Local Chinese American airmen who demonstrated their U.S. patriotism in the face of anti-Asian racism.[372] When word of fallen Local Chinese American airmen traveled back to the Local Chinese American community, some in the community grumbled that there needed to be a more effective response to memorializing their military sacrifice. The *Hawaii Chinese Journal* printed several editorials on this topic and beseeched their readers to unify as a community and to create a war memorial that would honor their fallen heroes. In January of 1945, the *Hawaii Chinese Journal* demanded that "immediate attention [was] needed for a suitable and worthwhile memorial for our noble war dead" by pointing to the fact that "the whole community, however, has the available resources by pooling their finances and brain-power. Suitable war memorials for youths of Chinese ancestry must be started now by the Chinese community."[373] Even with this plea for a more concerted effort in honoring the Local Chinese American war dead with a memorial, in the waning months of the end of the war, the *Hawaii Chinese Journal*, again, repeated the same demands.

In May of 1945, the death of Lieutenant Honsun Leong, a prominent Local Chinese American who was the president of the Hawai'i Chinese Aeronautical Association, sparked the discussion around a Chinese American war memorial. The *Hawaii Chinese Journal* reported that, "the death of still another war hero of Chinese ancestry on the battlefields of France emphasizes again the immediate need for a community-wide committee to begin planning on a living war memorial." The *Hawaii Chinese Journal* explained to its readers that although various war memorial plans have been suggested, "no suitable one has been chosen for the community as a whole" and that "what has been lacking is a concerted, united action on the part of the Chinese [American] community." [374] The lack of a unified community response in erecting a war memorial for their fallen Local Chinese American war heroes suggests that their indecisiveness contributed to a lack of recognition in comparison to their AJA counterparts who were honored

[371] "War Records Head Urges Chinese Here to Give Cooperation," *Hawaii Chinese Journal*, October 12, 1944.
[372] K. Scott Wong, *Americans First: Chinese Americans and the Second World War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 125-161.
[373] "Three More Deaths of Chinese Servicemen Stress Need for Memorial Committee Now," *Hawaii Chinese Journal*, January 18, 1945.
[374] "Another war hero to be honored," *Hawaii Chinese Journal*, March 8, 1945; "Another war hero to be honored," *Hawaii Chinese Journal*, March 29, 1945; "Community Must Decide Soon on Suitable Memorial," *Hawaii Chinese Journal*, May 10, 1945; "Living Memorial Needed Now!" *Hawaii Chinese Journal*, May 10, 1945; Dr. Tang Leong Wong, "Memorial Day," *Hawaii Chinese Journal*, May 24, 1945.

with public praise by reminding the public of their heroism and sacrifice in the newspapers and other publications.[375]

For Filipino Americans in Hawai‘i, their labor in the sugarcane and pineapple plantations was deemed by haole plantation owners and haole political elites as vital to Hawai‘i’s wartime economy. Rather than mobilizing Filipino American laborers into military units, haole plantation owners needed the large labor force for their agricultural enterprises. Though many Filipino American laborers desired to enlist in the U.S. Army to seek revenge against the Imperial Japanese enemy for their atrocities in the Philippines, like the Bataan Death March, Filipino American laborers were barred from joining the U.S. Army. Many of the Filipino American laborers declared that a patriotic response was to abandon their labor obligations and migrate back to the Philippines to rid their homeland of Japanese occupation.[376] However, the Hawai‘i Sugar Plantation Association (HSPA) and haole political elites believed that this movement to allow Filipinos to enter into the U.S. Army or return back to the Philippines for military action would create an acute labor shortage for the plantation economy in the Islands.[377] Hawai‘i Governor Ingram Stainback also supported the prevention of Filipinos from entering the military service by forcing them to stay on the plantation fields.[378]

Many of the Filipino plantation workers who desired to participate in the U.S. military effort were dismayed by the fact that the AJAs were given the opportunity by the War Department to fight in the war. One of the Filipino American leaders in the Filipino Executive Committee of the Morale Committee reported to the authorities in Hawai‘i that his fellow countrymen were deeply upset that they were not given the same treatment that was bestowed upon the AJA soldiers in Hawai‘i. The report explained that Filipino American laborers were finding ways to join the U.S. Army by not showing up for work, deserting the plantation, and attempting to sign-up at the enlistment centers in Honolulu.[379]

With an increased demand for more U.S. soldiers, the U.S. War Department in 1942 began to reverse many of their racist military policies that previously barred racial minorities from entering the U.S. armed services. Specifically for Filipino nationals and Filipino Americans residing in the U.S., the War Department authorized the organization of mobilizing a Filipino American regiment to combat the Imperial Japanese forces in the Pacific theater. The call for volunteers for a segregated Filipino American regiment—the 1st Filipino Infantry Regiment—elicited such a large response was that the War Department deemed it necessary to create an additional regiment—the 2nd Filipino Infantry Regiment—in order to accept more men into the military fold. The most volunteers came from the West Coast and especially Southern California.[380] For Filipino American men in Hawai‘i, they were unable to enlist in these two

[375] “American-Japanese American Relations in the Territory of Hawaii,” circa 1944, Box 64, Folder 38, Hawaii War Records Depository (hereafter cited as HWRD), Hamilton Library, University of Hawai‘i at Manoa; “Making Democracy Work—Hawaii’s Handling of its Japanese Problem Sets an Example for the Entire World,” *Paradise of the Pacific*, October 1944.
[376] Summary Report, Filipino Executive Committee of the Morale Committee, February 5, 1943, Box 4, Folder 5, CRF-RASRL.
[377] Minutes of the Hawaii Sugar Plantation Association, August 2, 1943, Box 15, Folder 5, CRF-RASRL.
[378] Ibid.
[379] Summary Report, Filipino Executive Committee of the Morale Committee, March 3, 1943, Box 4, Folder 5, CRF-RASRL.
[380] Rick Baldoz, *The Third Invasion: Empire and Migration in Filipino America, 1898-1946* (New York: New York University Press, 2011), 211-216.

regiments until late 1943. Not until May 1944 were Filipino American soldiers from Hawai‘i engaged in the Pacific Theater in the Philippines Campaign.[381]

For the Local Korean American community in Hawai‘i, World War II offered a renewed effort in their campaign for Korean Independence. Even though the Local Korean American community comprised of only about 7,000 and of that only 2,000 were U.S.-born citizens, the majority of the Local Korean American community held more of a Korean nationalistic perspective that overshadowed their ties to Hawaii and the U.S. nation. Although some Local Korean Americans advocated for U.S. naturalization, many of them longed to return back and help support a nascent Korean independent nation. Towards the end of the war, social scientists at the University of Hawai‘i at Manoa began a project entitled “What People in Hawai‘i Are Saying” in order to gauge the social climate within the Hawaiian Islands by surveying the different racial groups. The social scientists discovered that of all the Asian ethnic groups, the Local Korean Americans desired the most to leave Hawai‘i after the war was over and return back to Korea to assist in nation-building. The report also added that the Local Korean Americans had the highest rate of any other racial group who longed for a return back to their Asian homeland due to the fact that they did not feel a close affinity with Hawai‘i as their home.[382]

Returning AJA Veterans: Legitimating Claims to Hawai’i as Home by an “Hawaiian” Diaspora

The highly contested battlefield for defining, representing, and embodying the war hero was distinctly linked with “home-making”. Precisely because Hawai‘i was still not *fully* part of the U.S. as a Territory, claims and stakes to Hawai‘i were highly political; its future status vis a vis the U.S. was still unclear during the war. This paralleled the contested claims to home by Japanese Americans and other Asian ethnic groups in Hawai‘i. Although not all AJA soldiers desired to return to Hawai’i in the postwar, a good majority of the men longed to return. As one wounded AJA soldier observed while recuperating,

> There are some guys like Barney and Richard who like the mainland so well they don’t care to come home to Hawai‘i. I can’t see it. I like the mainland too, sure it’s a swell place. I’d like to go back someday to study or for a visit but I’ll take Hawai‘i anyday because this is my home and nothing can take this place away from me. I can’t think of myself starting from scratch making new friends in a strange community on the mainland when everything that’s a part of me is tied down to this soil. Nope, give me home, home, anyday. That’s all I had been thinking of while lying on the hospital bed—home, home, home! There never was a happier day, and I don’t think there will ever be a happier day, for me, than the day the doctor told me I could go home.[383]

AJA veteran Dan Aoki spoke about how the war traumatized many men and pushed them to seriously think about their connection to Hawai‘i.

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[381] Baldoz, *The Third Invasion*, 194-236.
[382] Joseph Farrington Papers, Box 23, Folder 869 “Koreans in Hawaii, 1943-44”, Hawai’i State Archives, Honolulu, HI; Box 2, Folder “Koreans, 1920-1960,” RASRL; Box 61, Folder 1978, RASRL; Box “Koreans, 1920s-1960s,” HWRD.
[383] Wounded AJA soldier interviewed on furlough, April 29, 1945, Honolulu, Hawai’i, Box 4, Folder 30, CRF-RASRL.

> When they throw you up there and you see your buddy getting killed right next to you and somebody gets maimed, somebody loses an arm or leg or what the case is, and then you begin to wonder 'What the Hell am I doing out here?' And you know you fight the war like anybody else does and by the time we came home we were somewhat rather belligerent, you might say. And we wanted to make a place for ourselves in our own society. And our attitude was that if we were good enough to be sent off to be killed and go to war certainly we had a place for ourselves in our community in peacetime.[384]

Although the war traumatized innumerable AJA men and pushed them to find comfort in thinking of their homes in Hawai'i during peacetime, the AJA soldiers strengthened their claims to home by constantly legitimating their "Hawaiian" war hero status. AJA soldiers read the newspapers published in Hawai'i with interest.[385] The people of Hawai'i were told of Private Thomas Higa's speaking tour and reported Higa's outlook of military sacrifice to "ensure our future in the U.S."[386] Andrew W. Lind, a leading sociologist in race and ethnicity at the University of Hawai'i, took interest in the fate of the Local Japanese community's future in Hawai'i. Lind believed that the war changed the AJA soldiers: "I hardly think that they are psychologically prepared to fit in to the same positions which they occupied before they left."[387] When Local Japanese soldiers returned to Hawai'i during the war, they advocated for their place within Hawai'i's society as their home. Dan Aoki recounted that the moment they arrived safely back to Hawai'i, members of the 442nd RCT were thinking of politics and political power.[388]

Captain Jack Mizuha of Waihee, Maui was deeply concerned about not only the welfare of the men returning under his command but also all Japanese American soldiers returning back to the Hawaiian Islands. While traveling to Chicago on furlough, Mizuha met with prominent leaders from Hawai'i and came away confident that they would assist the returning AJA soldiers: "That night Taro and I went to Farrington's [Congressional Representative of Hawai'i] for dinner where old talk of Hawai'i persisted. Hung Wai Ching was there too. It was great for us to be amongst kamaainas once more and I must say I started for Chicago that night a happier man. The delegate is doing a wonderful job and I have every confidence that he'll do something for our boys."[389] Mizuha continued, emphasizing the need to protect the interests of the AJA soldiers:

> Both Taro and I are endeavoring to get back to Hawai'i …There's a good deal to tell the People of Hawaii – the true story of our boys, what they feel, what they have done, and what they would like to see in post-war Hawaii. I want – Taro and I want to safeguard our gains. Henry Nai tells of radical elements who want to take advantage of our showing – swinging the pendulum the other way – thereby undermining all the good we have

[384] Dan Aoki (Burns Oral History Project) interviewers Dan Boylan and Paul Hooper, March 25, 1975; Tape 13; pg.6-7 (PDF-60).
[385] Masao Yamada to Masa Katagiri, February 5, 1944, Box 1, Folder 7, AJA Letters.
[386] "Japanese Americans in France Have Five Main Objectives, War Correspondent Discovers," *Pacific Citizen*, October 28, 1944.
[387] Andrew W. Lind to Masao Yamada, April 5, 1944, Box 1, Folder 7, AJA Letters.
[388] Dan Aoki (Burns Oral History Project) interviewers Dan Boylan and Paul Hooper, March 25, 1975; Tape 13; 8 (PDF-61).
[389] Jack Mizuha to Charles Hemenway, April 8, 1944, Box 4, Folder 32, CRF-RASRL.

done. It is those groups we want to combat – we don't want them to make capital something that's not extraordinary.[390]

As a leader in the 100th Infantry Battalion, Mizuha felt compelled to speak up for his fellow veterans.[391] When he returned to Hawai'i and embarked on a month-long tour around the Islands to advocate for an atmosphere that was conducive to the returning AJA veteran, one that was predicated upon legitimating a future in Hawai'i as permanent home for the AJA. Mizuha's return was prompted after being hospitalized for wounds sustained on the battlefield. He arrived back in Hawai'i in July of 1944. On his arrival back in the Hawaiian Islands, Mizuha went on a speaking tour that lasted about a month into August, a tour paralleled those of Private Thomas Higa and Lieutenant Spark Matsunaga on the U.S. mainland. In addition to seeking to inspire other Japanese Americans to contribute to the war effort or pacifying anti-Japanese racism, Mizuha leveraged those narratives to stake claims to the future of Hawai'i in the postwar era.

On his first engagement, Mizuha spoke about the need for employment and leadership roles for the returning AJA veterans. He implored the audience that the "AJA soldier has paid his freedom in blood" and he beseeched the audience to help facilitate their transition back into Hawai'i."[392] Mizuha was afraid that after the war the AJA veteran would be forced to return to a position within Hawai'i's society that they believed was beneath them due to their military heroism. In short, Mizuha told audiences throughout his speaking tour that a brighter future should be open to AJA veterans. Following in the footsteps of Mizuha, other returning AJA veterans echoed similar hopes for the returning AJA soldier.[393]

In November 1944, Sergeant Susumu Ito spoke in front of several audiences, where he gave his own version of Mizuha's rhetoric of the legitimacy and exploits of the AJA GIs. Rather than the metropole of Oahu, Ito addressed crowds in the periphery of the Hawaiian Islands, the Hakalau plantation on the Big Island. To the Hakalau Boy Scouts, Ito emphasized that, "I am not a bit ashamed of bragging when I say that the boys have made good. Their record on the field of battle speaks for itself."[394] In front of the Hakalau Civic Club, Ito told the crowd that, "I couldn't believe that I was back home again in the flesh and blood. It took me fully two weeks to fully realize that I am back in good old Hakalau."[395] The *Voice of Hakalau* recounted to its readers that, "the popular Sgt. Ito was feted highly upon his return home and addressed a number of

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[390] Ibid.

[391] Michael Markrich, "Jack Mizuha: A Man of Principle, A Man of His Word," *100th Infantry Battalion Veterans Education Center* < http://www.100thbattalion.org/history/veterans-and-public-service/jack-mizuha/> accessed on April 3, 2017.

[392] "The Second Challenge by Capt. Jack Mizuha, Formerly of the 100th Infantry Battalion," *Hawaii Herald,* August 2, 1944.

[393] "Mizuha Asks for Elimination of Japanese Ideas," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, August 2, 1944; "Mizuha to Speak to Kanai Group," *Honolulu Advertiser*, August 3, 1944; "Mizuha and 100th Inf. Vets to Be Honored Next Sunday," *Honolulu Advertiser*, August 9, 1944; "Capt. Jack Mizuha to Speak Sunday at Nuuanu YMCA," *Hawaii Herald,* August 9, 1944; "Reception Sunday for AJA Soldiers Home on Furlough," *Hawaii Herald*, August 12, 1944; "Three Talks in Rural Oahu Scheduled by Capt. Jack Mizuha," *Hawaii Herald*, August 14, 1944; "Large Crowd Attends Capt. Mizuha's Reception," *Hawaii Herald*, August 14, 1944; "Maui Hero of Italy War Cited by War Department," *Honolulu Advertiser*, August 15, 1944; "Goal of Returned Soldier is Cited by Capt. Mizuha," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, August 15, 1944; "Vets to Expect Equal Treatment, Says Capt. Mizuha," *Hawaii Times,* August 16, 1944; "Capt. Mizuha States Veterans will Help Shape Community Life," *Hawaii Herald*, August 16, 1944; "Hawaii School Setup Defended by Capt. Mizuha," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin,* August 16, 1944.

[394] "Sgt. Ito Addresses Hakalau Boy Scouts," "Letters are No. 1 Morale Builders Says Sgt. Ito," and "Sgt. Ito Home on 30-Day Furlough," *Voice of Hakalau* 3.33 (November 1944).

[395] Ibid.

gatherings in this community."[396] In addition to speaking engagements of AJA veterans around Hawai'i, local newspapers also conveyed the notion that of Hawai'i must embrace its AJA veterans—especially given their wartime heroism.

In the last months of World War II, the *Hawaii Herald* published Sergeant Joe Itagaki's letter to Masa Katagiri of the Territorial Emergency Service Committee. In that letter Itagaki addressed his concerns about the welfare of the returning AJA soldiers. His open letter solidified the point that the AJA community and larger Hawai'i society needed to cater to their needs. Itagaki was sensitive to the potential backlash to these demands by the larger Hawai'i public and provided a defense for his claims. Itagaki argued that:

> Hawaiian Soldiers of Japanese ancestry who have done so much to make the future for all Americans, and those of Japanese descent in particular, are entitled to better [jobs, housing, and postwar opportunities]. They are entitled to the special consideration of their kind, so even should they be lost in the great shuffle among all returning veterans after this war by larger agencies they shall not be forgotten by such as yours. This much, at least, I feel, is owed us. For we have risked life and limb time and time again so that persons of Japanese extraction may walk the streets in dignity and honor after this holocaust is over.[397]

This demand to be included, as equals in the eyes of the AJA soldiers, reveals their desires for equal civil rights.[398] While advocating for a better future and an equal chance, it is interesting that Itagaki notes that the returning AJA soldiers "are entitled to the special consideration of their kind."[399] This special treatment foregrounds the expected condition to include AJA soldiers within the fabric of a changing settler state in the Territory of Hawai'i. In other words, Itagaki's public demand in the *Hawaii Herald* was intentional and signified a growing consciousness by AJA soldiers desiring to be a part of the future of Hawai'i in the postwar era.

Another AJA soldier expressed similar fears about returning home with no improvements for the returning AJA veterans:

> To be perfectly honest, I am afraid to go home. They say knowing what to expect reduces half your fears, but that isn't true. The evil factors at home alone do not scare me. I am fearful of the effects those factors will have on us. After having gone through some combat most of us will go home expecting some compensation. We expect home to be as we left it or improved – in other words we expect too much. We cannot be blamed harshly for this expecting attitude because it has been our one big escape mechanism throughout the war. I don't want to see any of return to civilian life and give up the fight we started here. It would be a tragic shame, I don't want to see a bunch of lost souls because we would be letting down those brave men who died for us. That we cannot allow.[400]

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[396] Ibid.
[397] Joe Itagaki to Masa Katagiri, December 31, 1944, France, Box 4, Folder 27, CRF-RASRL; "Postwar Planning Group Need Stressed by AJ in France," *Hawaii Herald*, February 7, 1945.
[398] J. Kehaulani Kauanui, "Colonialism in Equality: Hawaiian Sovereignty and the Question of U.S. Civil Rights," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 107.4 (2008): 635-650.
[399] Ibid.
[400] AJA soldier writing to local AJA girl, June 19, 1945, Box 4, Folder 38, CRF-RASRL.

Ted Tsukiyama felt it was ultimately up to the haole [Caucasian] community of Hawai'i on how the AJA veterans would fare in the postwar era:

> The valor, courage, skill and loyalty of our fighting boys have been recognized by citations, decorations, and honors, by sincere praise and acclaim of newspapers and publications. But to these veterans who is the real judge of how well they have served other than the people of Hawai'i themselves, among whom they will resettle? The fruits and rewards of their service and sacrifice lie in the hands of the Hawaiian community, for they will determine the 'world' to which the men will return. The men do not ask to be petted, pampered and feted, but they do want and expect recognition and sincere appreciation of their efforts, full realization that most of them have changed in ideas and concepts of living, and a willingness to work in mutual accord toward better things.[401]

Nevertheless, Tsukiyama foresaw the uphill battle for AJA veterans in securing their future in their home, Hawai'i.

> But I believe that while the AJAs as a whole have made great progress in earning their place in America both on the war fronts and the home front, we are foolish to believe that the situation will always be favorable after the guns are silenced and people are no longer under the flag-waving emotionalisms, but are out looking for jobs, places to live, and surviving life. The GI will not have his uniform and ribbons to show his service but will be just another American looking after his daily bread—who is going to stop to consider what so-and-so or any group did in the war when all is struggle for survival. I foresee a long up hill struggle and journey for the AJAs on their road to acceptance and participation but I will continue to strive on toward that better society, that better world.[402]

A key element of a diaspora is the right to claim home and to have a future relationship with that home. With the AJA veterans returning to the Islands, the immense importance of the legitimacy of who has a future in postwar Hawai'i became a central issue. By laying claim to Hawai'i as their permanent home through their military heroism, these veterans, with some becoming influential leaders, looked towards the future not only for themselves but also for their families and the Japanese American community. The next chapter details the post-war period from 1945 to 1963 and the rise of AJA veterans to positions of power in Hawai'i.

Conclusion: Hawai'i Homeland and AJA Settler Colonial Diaspora

World War II became a flashpoint where AJA soldiers began to actively claim Hawai'i as their homeland.[403] For many of the AJA soldiers, their experiences away from Hawai'i pushed

[401] Ted Tsukiyama to Rev. Mineo Katigiri, September 20, 1944, Box 4, Folder 7, CRF-RASRL.
[402] Ted Tsukiyama to Dr. Andrew Lind, December 18, 1944, Box 4, Folder 7, CRF-RASRL.
[403] The theme of homeland, locality and Asian/Americans in Hawai'i has largely been explored in the fields of cultural studies and literature, see Katsuri Ray, "Nonnative Identity, Gendered Labor, and Native Homeland in Local Literature from Hawai'i: Maria Hara's *Banana heart and Other Stories*," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 14.1 (2011): 69-94; Candace Fujikane, "Between nationalisms: Hawai'i's local nation and its troubled racial paradise," *Critical Mass: A Journal of Asian American Cultural Criticism* 1.2 (1994): 23-58; Erin Suzuki, "Haunted Homelands: Negotiating Locality in *Father of the Four Passages*," *MFS Modern Fiction Studies* 56.1 (2010): 160-

them to conceive of their fates in postwar Hawai‘i. Witnessing racism, white supremacy, and military hardships outside of the Islands, AJA soldiers found comfort and safety with other AJAs while recreating nostalgic versions of Hawai‘i for themselves, which constituted a “Hawaiian” Diaspora. As shown throughout this chapter, a “Hawaiian” Diaspora comprised of AJA soldiers advocated for better opportunities exclusively for returning AJA veterans and their community. The AJA soldiers fought for their civil rights and for their place in Hawai‘i’s society.

While a vehicle for the advancement of AJA civil rights, the formation of a “Hawaiian” Diaspora also reveals a process of settler colonialism. A settler colonial diaspora allows non-natives to legitimate their claims to an indigenous homeland. With the case of WWII, AJA soldiers from Hawai‘i crystallized their claims to Hawai‘i as home, in essence making the case that these veterans were the legitimate “Hawaiians” and heirs to a postwar future in Hawai‘i. The importance of a settler colonial diaspora is the right to claim home and to have a future relationship with that home. With the AJA veterans returning to the Islands, the immense importance of the legitimacy of who has a future in the postwar became a central issue. By laying claim to Hawai‘i as their permanent home through their military heroism, these veterans, with some becoming influential leaders, looked towards the future not only for themselves but also only for their families and the AJA community. To solidify AJA soldiers’ claims to Hawai‘i as home, the next chapter shows the institutionalization of power by “Hawaiian” war heroes turned political leaders in the postwar era.

182; Seri Luangphinith, “Homeward Bound: Settler Aesthetics in Hawai‘i’s Literature,” *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 48.1 (2006): 54-78.

Chapter 5

'We All "Hawaiians" Now!': Japanese American World War II Veterans and Hawai'i Statehood

On August 21, 1959, the U.S. Congress ratified the Hawai'i Admission Act that ushered the Territory of Hawai'i into the Union as the 50th State, after five decades of intensive debates, ingenious lobbying, and political mobilizations.[404] The second longest campaign for statehood after New Mexico,[405] Hawai'i's momentous occasion was met with sirens heralding the news from car horns, church bells, and ship whistles across the archipelago. Confetti and festive cheer poured throughout the different racial minorities—Japanese, Chinese, Koreans, and Filipinos—while they rejoiced a common jubilation: "We all Haoles [Caucasian] now!"[406] For these ethnoracial minorities by equating their racial status with haoles or Caucasian elites in the Islands, the ushering in Hawai'i Statehood represented not only promises of future political equalities but also a future filled with racial equality, a prominent moment for Hawai'i's civil rights.

From the annexation of the Territory of Hawai'i in 1900 to the passage of Statehood in 1959, haole or white U.S. elites predominantly governed and dictated the welfare of the islands while Asian immigrants experienced much anti-Asian racism. Due to racial discriminatory laws passed by Congress that barred Asian immigrants from U.S. citizenship, the racial hierarchy in Hawai'i privileged haoles and Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians) due to their voting and citizenship rights as U.S. citizens. Able to consolidate power and representative authority, haole elites vacillated between pro-Statehood and anti-Statehood.[407] For haole elites, the five decades of Hawai'i Statehood campaigns reflected a fluid response to maintain their power, whether initially advocating for Statehood because it would provide equal protection for their sugarcane industry or opposing Statehood in the latter part when haole elites realized that the Japanese American community in Hawai'i (AJA)[408] would constitute a large voting population, which would challenge their political and economic hegemony in the Islands. The discourse of the potential takeover of the AJA population in Hawai'i became pervasive throughout the different communities, fueled through pamphlets, newspaper articles, and daily ethnic interactions. Kanaka Maoli viewed Statehood through similar interested eyes, such that although Statehood was framed around a civil rights campaign, it nonetheless augured a further dispossession of their community.[409]

Specifically, for many of the returning AJA veterans of the 100th Battalion ,the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, and the Military Intelligence Service, the campaign for Statehood represented a cause that would provide them with the means to advance their ethnic community's and their own standing politically. However, the campaign for Statehood was at times directly opposed to AJA inclusion and cooperation. Historian Roger Bell systematically demonstrated that the major obstacles against the passage of Hawai'i Statehood were anti-Japanese racism and

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[404] For history on Hawai'i Statehood Campaign, see Roger Bell, *Last Among Equals: Hawaiian Statehood and American Politics* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1984).
[405] David Holtby, *Forty-Seventh Star: New Mexico's Struggle for Statehood* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012).
[406] Roland Kotani, *The Japanese in Hawaii: A Century of Struggle* (Honolulu: Hochi, Ltd., 1985), 135.
[407] Roger Bell, *Last Among Equals*; Andrew Lind, *An Island Community: Ecological Succession in Hawai'i* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938); Lind, *Hawai'i's People* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1980).
[408] In the postwar, the Japanese American community in Hawai'i was referred to as the Americans of Japanese Ancestry (AJA).
[409] Bell, *Last Among Equals*; John S. Whitehead, "The Anti-Statehood Movement and the Legacy of Alice Kamokila Campbell," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 27 (1993): 43-63.

the threat of the rise communism in the Hawaiian Islands.[410] Specifically for the AJA community in Hawai‘i, the passage of Statehood represented a moment where they could finally have the opportunity to be represented as equals in Congress and the rest of the nation.

With the backdrop of the Cold War with the Soviet Union, the growing fear of the spread of Communism coupled with anti-Japanese racism stemmed from the fact that many of the wartime and postwar labor union leaders were of Japanese ancestry. In addition, the AJA community constituted the second largest labor force after the Filipinos in the sugarcane plantations during World War II. Historians and sociologists have shown that communist interests deeply impacted the racial politics within the Hawaiian Islands and created a racialization of a local identity comprised of Asian immigrant laborers in the sugarcane and pineapple plantations.[411] In analyzing this racialization of "local identity," historical sociologist Moon-Kie Jung articulates that the working-class movement "reworked race" by allowing for a staging ground for Filipinos, Japanese, and Portuguese to rearticulate racial meanings to create solidarity around non-whiteness and labor issues.[412]

However, this chapter thinks against the grain of racialization of "local identity" of AJA in the postwar period and offers a lens of understanding the issues of communism and anti-Japanese racism through the formation of "Hawaiian" racialization. Local identity was created as a subordinated position while working in the plantations in relation to haole dominance or white supremacy in the Hawaiian Islands. A "Hawaiian" identity projected by AJA veterans was an attempt to gain social status even though they were considered non-haole. The past three chapters showed the process by which AJA soldiers became portrayed and legitimated as "Hawaiian" war heroes by elite haoles and white Americans in the U.S. South (chapter two), by Japanese American communities across the U.S. mainland (chapter three), and by returning AJA veterans to Hawai‘i (chapter four).

In this chapter, I show that in the post-WWII Hawai‘i the AJA veterans became solidified as "Hawaiian" representatives through their legitimation as war heroes coupled with their professional careers in law and business. Even though the AJA community professed the notion that "We all haoles now!," the AJA veterans and their community could never *become* haole or white because of their Asian-ness. Though other minorities have become *white* in the U.S.,[413] the process of becoming "haole" for AJA veterans and their community was impossible due to the never-ending anti-Japanese racism in Hawai‘i. By thinking through the process of displacement of Kanaka Maoli, these men become "Hawaiian" rather than "haole."

By reinforcing this perspective of a racial process of becoming "Hawaiian" for AJA WWII veterans, this chapter reveals that as AJA veterans rose to power, they began to replace Kanaka Maoli as the desirable "Hawaiians." Historian Ellen Wu contends that during the campaign for Statehood, "contemporaries juxtaposed the fate of Native Hawaiians to the rise of the 'AJA's (Americans of Japanese Ancestry). They relegated Native Hawaiians to the primitive

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410 Roger Bell, *Last Among Equals*, 83-90, 154-178.

411 Gerald Horne, *Fighting in Paradise: Labor Unions, Racism, and Communists in the Making of Modern Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011); T. Michael Holmes, *The Specter of Communism in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994); H. Brett Melendy, *The Federal Government's Search for Communists in the Territory of Hawai'i* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2002).

412 Moon-Kie Jung, *Reworking Race: The Making of Hawai'i's Interracial Labor Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 5-17.

413 David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (New York: Verso, 1991); Roediger, *Working Toward Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became White: The Strange Journey from Ellis Island to the Suburbs* (New York: Basic Books, 2005).

past, whereas they hailed Japanese Americans as the symbols of the islands' future."[414] Other scholars have also shown that the AJA veterans became important symbols in the fight for Hawai'i Statehood.[415] Rather than viewing the passage of Statehood as a glorious moment for Asian American civil rights, when viewed through the process of "Japanese Americans becoming Hawaiian," the passage of Statehood reveals that Japanese Americans participated in the dispossession of Kanaka Maoli, a project of settler colonialism. With Statehood, AJA veterans became legitimated as the representatives of the future of Hawai'i by being elected into political office.

Before the end of World War II and after returning from touring the frontlines in Europe, Representative Joseph Farrington of Hawai'i recounted to Congress his observations of the remarkable unit of AJA soldiers to represent the model patriotic soldier from Hawai'i. According to him, the AJA soldiers in the 100th Battalion and 442nd RCT would be "of sufficient interest and significance to warrant the attention of Members of Congress" because of their valiant heroic record reflected in numerous Presidential citations and individual awards.[416] Building up the image of the AJA soldier while aligning their heroism with the Territory of Hawai'i, Rep. Farrington reiterated to his colleagues that they should not forget the mighty war contributions the Territory had provided during times of need. Although he mentioned that the people of Hawai'i contributed much to the war effort in terms of enlistment, Rep. Farrington spoke on behalf of the people of Hawai'i and emphasized that of all the groups who have sacrificed for the U.S. war effort, he believed that the AJA soldiers represented the best "Hawaiians" for their courageous battles against racism:

> The people of the Territory of Hawai'i are particularly proud of this record. It attests eloquently to the success of the efforts in these Islands to unite in loyal service to our country the descendants of people of many races…I am confident the record is one in which every American who believes in the fundamental principles that have united us in this great fight for liberty and freedom should find inspiration and hope for the future greatness of this country.[417]

By singling the AJA soldiers out for their model service in relation to other groups in Hawai'i in addition to projecting his own feelings of their importance, Rep. Farrington furthered the cementing of their "Hawaiian" heroism for postwar Hawai'i.

When the war did ended, even President Harry Truman viewed the AJA veterans as "Hawaiian" war heroes and linked Statehood justifications with their patriotism. In Washington D.C., President Truman received a military parade that included the 100th/442nd RCT and viewed their patriotism with the utmost respect and admiration. To President Truman, the AJA veterans fought both fascism abroad and racism at home. In his remarks presenting a Presidential citation to the 100th/442nd RCT, Truman said, "You are now on your way home. You fought not only the

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[414] Ellen Wu, *The Color of Success: Asian Americans and the Origins of the Model Minority* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 270.
[415] Dean Itsuji Saranillio, "Colliding Histories: Hawai'i Statehood at the Intersection of Asians 'Ineligible to Citizenship' and Hawaiians 'Unfit for Self-Government,'" *Journal of Asian American Studies* (2010): 283-309; Simeon Man, "Aloha, Vietnam: Race and Empire in Hawai'i's Vietnam War," *American Quarterly* 67.4 (2015): 1085-1091.
[416] Representative Farrington, "Hawaii Troops on European Fronts," 79th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* (March 9, 1945), Senate Subgroup, Personal Series, Box 8, Folder "US Army" Senator Spark M. Matsunaga Papers (hereafter cited as SMMP), University of Hawai'i at Manoa Library, Honolulu, HI.
[417] Ibid.

enemy, but you fought prejudice—and you have won. Keep up the fight, and we will continue to win."[418] Many advocates for Statehood in 1946 believed that "the parade down Constitution Avenue last July and the decoration of the unit by President Truman were a great boost to Hawaiian aspirations for statehood."[419]

President Truman's support for Statehood notwithstanding, the fact that the population in the Territory of Hawai'i consisted of a large non-white, Asian immigrant population alarmed Congress and the U.S. mainland. By the late 1940s, Hawai'i's demographics breakdown included: 163,716 Caucasians, 179,702 Japanese, 31,051 Chinese, 7,387 Koreans, 53,361 Filipinos, 10,548 Native Hawaiians [Kanaka Maoli], and 73,277 Part Native Hawaiians [Kanaka Maoli].[420] The large population of AJAs in the Territory endured widespread anti-Japanese racism both locally and nationally, and that large non-white population was cited repeatedly by its opponents as a basis to oppose Statehood.

Memorializing "Hawaiian" WWII War Heroes in postwar Hawai'i

In January 1946, with victory in World War II still fresh in the minds of the U.S. public, Mrs. Alice Kamokila Campbell, a Kanaka Maoli politician and U.S. citizen, expressed her deep opposition to Hawai'i Statehood before the House sub-committee, emphasizing her acute fear of the growing AJA voting population in Hawai'i. Campbell understood that this growing threat was belied by the heroic image of the AJA WWII veterans as distinguished Hawai'i's war heroes, notably in relation to the indigenous and other local Asian ethnic groups. Campbell observed and testified to Congress about this looming destiny that needed to be avoided.

> Racial prejudice has existed in Hawai'i to some extent for several years but has gained momentum since World War II; one of the main reasons being that those of this community and some on the Mainland have inflated the ego of the Americans of Japanese ancestry through over-indulgence of publicity, which to me must be embarrassing.[421]

Nevertheless, the late 1940s, saw the re-memorialization of the AJA World War II veterans in Hawai'i during a time of increased anti-Japanese racism.

Campbell's premonition of the intersections of AJA wartime heroism and their ascent to power in Hawai'i as legitimate "Hawaiian" war heroes unfolded with the (1) institutionalization of AJA wartime heroism through the formation of memorial clubhouses—Club 100 and 442nd Veterans Club; and (2) the re-memorialization of their wartime actions reflected through the visits of three prominent haoles from the US mainland: Mr. Earl Finch, Chaplain Israel Yost, and General Mark W. Clark. The re-memorialization and visits were also documented in the publication of books, musical performances, plays, and the awarding of military honors.

Immediately following World War II, AJA veterans commemorated their wartime experience through the creation of military clubs. Even while the men of the 100th Battalion

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[418] Harry S. Truman, "Remarks Upon Presenting a Citation to a Nisei Regiment. July 15, 1946," in *Containing the Public Messages, Speeches, and Statements of the President, 1945-53* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965), 347.
[419] "Congress May Vote on Hawaii Statehood as War Record of Territory's Nisei Stressed," *Pacific Citizen*, February 1, 1946.
[420] Clarence L. Hodge, ed. *Hawaii: Facts and Figures 1949* (Honolulu: Chamber of Commerce of Honolulu, Advertiser Publishing Co., Ltd., 1950), 13.
[421] "Text of Kamokila's Testimony on Statehood," *Honolulu Advertiser*, January 18, 1946.

served in the European theater, they began to organize themselves for the postwar moment by collecting money for a military club. Although the 100th Battalion became incorporated within the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, the leaders envisioned Club 100 as a stand-alone club in memorialization of the 100th Battalion. To support the institutionalization of Club 100, the AJA veterans sought to historically document their narratives, experiences, and wartime sacrifices in a book. Club 100 had the intellectual support of Dr. Thomas D. Murphy, an associate professor of history at the University of Hawai'i. A sympathetic and kind friend of the 100th Battalion, Dr. Murphy initially believed the project to be short-term but soon discovered through his research that "it was not just another military history. It was a real American saga…a working out of the American dream. It was the story of Hawai'i itself." Dr. Murphy hoped the book would "contribute to strengthening the aloha spirit in Hawai'i."[422] When they had accumulated enough resources, Club 100 purchased their clubhouse in 1947 and soon held banquets, dances, social events, and luncheons.[423]

In 1945 in Honolulu, veterans of the 442nd RCT created the 442nd Veterans Club in order to "perpetuate the memories of those who so valiantly sacrificed their lives that there may be peace and that free men may be able to hold their heads high."[424] Similar to Club 100, the 442nd Veterans Club served to memorialize and honor the sacrifice of their war heroes. The leaders of the 442nd Veterans Club also desired that the history of their unit be preserved for posterity. They contracted Orville C. Shirley of the *Infantry Journal Press*, the U.S. Army's periodical, which published "Americans—The Story of the 442nd Combat Team" to continue the widespread interest in the unit. With U.S. Army approval, the book was sold in early 1947. The book review in the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* praised the heroic account and argued that the book "should be in every Hawai'i library and in every public and private school."[425] Although the fame and heroism were spread through the book, the members of the 442nd Veterans Club that year still did not have a physical location to house their Club. The men reached out to their biggest wartime benefactor, Earl Finch from Mississippi.

Earl Finch was alarmed to hear in 1947 that his beloved "Japanese Hawaiians" needed financial assistance to fund their clubhouse, and he soon boarded a plane to meet their call. During WWII while the AJA men were stationed at Camp Shelby in Mississippi, Finch took great interest in the AJA soldiers and showered them with Southern hospitality in the form of dinners, entertainment, and hospital visits. The AJA GIs soon called Finch, an entrepreneur of military goods and products, as "Mr. Aloha," and this intimate relationship between the unit and Finch would extend into the postwar period. Now, in 1947, with Finch's arrival in the Islands, the local press reminded its readers of the importance of Finch's support of the AJA men while they were in basic training and deployed in Europe. To raise funds for the clubhouse, Finch put out an advertisement calling for donations to support the building of a "442nd Memorial Clubhouse." Finch explained that the clubhouse "will be open to veterans of all racial groups but will remain as a memorial to all 442nd men who lost their lives in World War II."[426] Indeed,

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[422] "New Book Recounts Saga of Famed 100th Battalion," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, August 11, 1954.
[423] Thomas D. Murphy, *Ambassadors in Arms: The Story of Hawai'i's 100th Battalion* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2020), 273-288; Gregg K. Kakesako, "80 Years of 100th," *The Hawai'i Herald*, June 3, 2022; Franklin Odo, *No Sword to Bury: Japanese Americans in Hawai'i during World War II* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004), 253-264.
[424] "A Sound of Hunting" Play pamphlet [SMM 3826] 2. Ray Coll, Jr., "High Class Talent," *Honolulu Advertiser*, April 18, 1947.
[425] "Gallant Story of the 442nd Is Told in Infantry Press Book," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, February 8, 1947.
[426] "An Important Message to All Former Enlisted Men and Officers of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team," *Pacific Citizen*, January 18, 1947.

although the clubhouse was open to all ethnic groups, the 442nd Veterans Club distinctly recognized the AJA veterans for their extraordinary service.

In addition to securing resources for the clubhouse in the postwar, Finch supported the AJA veterans by visiting them at hospitals on the U.S. mainland and bringing a little bit of "Hawai'i" to their bedside. While stationed on the mainland, the conflation of AJA's wartime heroism and Hawaiian performance became crystalized through their renditions of Hawaiian music and hula to US mainland audiences, such as a group called the "Camp Tropical Boys." With the financial sponsorship of Earl M. Finch, the Camp Tropical Boys performed at various army hospitals to recuperating AJA veterans.[427] Moreover, besides Finch, other haole supporters also confessed their longing for visits to the U.S. mainland by the AJA men by highlighting their "Hawaiian" background. Lt. Col. Alfred A. Pursall said that he would "appreciate hearing from any of the men of the 442nd…and stop by and pay me a visit" because he certainly was "sure to have a Hawaiian Room in [my house]."[428] While Camp Tropical Boys entertained recuperating AJA veterans on the U.S. mainland, their comrades were organizing themselves to theatrically perform the history and narrative of the 442nd RCT for Hawai'i's public.

After Finch left the islands, Chaplain Israel Yost, the beloved haole chaplain of the 100th Battalion and 442nd RCT, visited the islands to assist in the further commemoration of the AJA veterans.[429] In September 1947, the AJA veterans received and threw a spectacular luau for Chaplain Yost. The event was covered by the major local newspapers and conveyed the enormous importance of Chaplain Yost in replenishing the spirit of the men while fighting during WWII. Chaplain Yost, portrayed as an honorary "Hawaiian" of the 100th Battalion, legitimated the AJA veterans as "Hawaiian" war heroes observing that "God has bestowed upon this group of men a destiny to help reform our nation as Christians."[430] Chaplain Yost served as the guest of honor in the re-authorization of the 3rd Battalion of the 442nd RCT in Hawai'i in September 1947 and the memorialization of the AJA war dead whose bodies were beginning to be repatriated in November 1947. In his memorial speech Chaplain Yost emphasized that, "such an occasion is used to strengthen us in our resolves to live in a manner worthy of the dead, and as such an occasion serves to remind the world around us of the splendid achievements of the AJA."[431] Through their association with a godly man, the AJA veterans were portrayed as worthy Christian citizens.

In 1948, General Mark W. Clark,[432] the former commander of the 100th/442nd RCT during WWII, traveled to Honolulu to pay the AJA veterans a visit. Gen. Clark's arrival engendered received by much fanfare and met with a luau celebration. The event highlighted the wartime heroism of the AJA veterans and Hawai'i's wartime contributions. The *Honolulu Advertiser* reported that, "the Clarks went completely Hawaiian for the evening with coconut hats, aloha shirts, and leis."[433] The heartfelt admiration by the men of the 100th/442nd RCT for

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[427] "Camp Shelby Serenaders at Int'l Songfest," *Hawaii Herald*, January 23, 1947.
[428] "Would Like to Hear from 442nd Men," *Pacific Citizen*, January 25, 1947.
[429] Monica E. Yost and Michael Markrich, eds. *Combat Chaplain: The Personal Story of the World War II Chaplain of the Japanese American 100th Battalion* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006)
[430] "Here Is a Man," *Honolulu Advertiser*, September 9, 1947; "Pastor Yost Welcomed Here," *Hawaii Herald*, September 10, 1947;
[431] Israel A.S. Yost, "Memorial Address: Step Off the Road and Let the Dead Pass By," September and October 1947, Box 8, SMMP.
[432] Brian Niiya, "Mark W. Clark," *Densho Encyclopedia* https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Mark_W._Clark/ (accessed Jan 21 2018).
[433] "442nd, And 100th Vets Honor Clark at Luau," *The Honolulu Advertiser*, January 28, 1948.

Gen. Clark was met with equal praise for them by the general. His glowing feelings towards the AJA veterans went as far as having him be the first to proclaim to the U.S. public and armed service that the 100th/442nd RCT was the most decorated unit in U.S. military history.[434] In the aftermath of the visits by Finch, Chaplain Yost, and Gen. Clark, the AJA veterans continued to sponsor and organize annual memorial services to cement the memory of the sacrifice of their fallen comrades at the National Memorial Cemetery of the Pacific located in Honolulu. The luaus and other performances to commemorate the AJA veterans did not end with Gen. Clark's visit but extended into the 1950s.[435]

Theatrical performances of the memorialization of the AJA war heroes were on staged both locally and nationally after WWII. A local theatrical play "A Sound of Hunting" enacted the bravery and courage of the AJA veterans while they engaged the Nazi enemy in France.[436] John Kneubuhl, the director of the play, saw the immense importance of the play as an influential cultural production in shaping Hawai'i's history and future. Kneubel believed that by directing the play, he would be able to reveal that "here in the islands of the Pacific where there is such a wealth of material that has so often been misrepresented by those who have not the understanding of Hawai'i's history nor know the truth of its future."[437] In response to Kneubuhl's commitment, the 442nd Veterans Club emphasized that the Club was "indebted to the Honolulu Community Theatre for making available a director of Mr. Kneubuhl's reputation and caliber."[438] The relationship between the local theater and the AJA veterans celebrated the cultural legitimacy of their wartime sacrifice and heroism.

The local newspapers, such as the *Honolulu Advertiser*, described the theatrical performances as "fine acting, both individually and as a group symbolizing man's conscience, of the five Nisei soldiers."[439] The *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* saw the portrayal of Howard Miyake as a legitimate conduit to reveal the horrors of war and death in order to extend a "sound message: that people should look upon others as people, not as racial individuals" in "hopes that those who see the play will take to heart the lesson that prejudices are mental crutches used to compensate for inadequacies." Miyake, an AJA World War II veteran of the 100th Battalion, sought to use his theatrical platform to fight against anti-Japanese racism that fed the suspicion and mistrust by other racial groups.[440] On a national level, Hollywood movies, such as *Go For Broke!* (1951) educated audiences about the heroism of the AJA veterans.

While these veterans were actively preserving their wartime image of "Hawaiian" heroism through the organizing of visits by prominent haoles, putting on cultural productions, and creating institutional military clubs, some of the veterans focused on politics and the Statehood campaign. In 1948, Daniel Inouye, an AJA WWII war hero, attempted to recruit his fellow AJA WWII veterans to support the Democratic Party and the Statehood campaign. The end of the 1940s and the beginning of the 1950s saw the joint efforts of AJA WWII veterans,

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434 "General Clark Recalls Achievements of 442nd Infantry," *Pacific Citizen*, September 1947.

435 "Oahu AJA Veterans Council: Annual Memorial Services," July 4, 1952, Service Program, National Memorial Cemetery of the Pacific; "Club 100 Notes 11th Anniversary with 700 at Luau," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, July 27, 1953; Mitsuyoshi Fukuda, "Club 100 Anniversary," *The Hawaii Weekly*, June 22, 1952.

436 "A Sound of Hunting by Harry Brown," Play Pamphlet, July-August 1948, Box 8, SMMP.

437 Ibid.

438 Ibid.

439 "Community Play Closes Sunday," *Honolulu Advertiser*, December 18, 1947.

440 "Elder Kneubuhls Arrive in City, See John's Play," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, December 19, 1947; "Soldier 'Ghost' in Kneubuhl Play Can Speak of Death with Authority," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, December 19, 1947.

such as Spark Matsunaga while still attending Harvard Law School, and his brethren use their wartime record to advance the cause of Hawai'i Statehood.

When Mrs. Alice Kamokila Campbell addressed the Congressional Committee on grounds of anti-Statehood in 1946, Matsunaga had previously represented the views of World War II veterans on Statehood during those rounds of questioning. Back again in front of Congress in 1950, Matsunaga addressed the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, the leading government agency overseeing the Statehood issue, on support for Hawai'i Statehood.[441] With the assistance of a fellow AJA veteran, Matsunaga eloquently justified the admission of Hawai'i as a State. Matsunaga married the AJA heroic wartime record and sacrifice with the legitimation of Statehood for the Territory of Hawai'i.[442]

Although Matsunaga's plea did not materialize in Statehood for Hawai'i in 1950, his speech was nonetheless a powerful performance in maintaining the legitimacy of the AJA WWII veterans as "Hawaiian" war heroes. After Matsunaga finished his appeal on behalf of Statehood, Acting Committee Chairman Glen H. Taylor (D-Idaho) felt that, "six years in the U.S. Senate I have never heard a testimony as deeply moving as yours."[443] Word of Matsunaga's speech reached the ears of the residents in Hawai'i. About three weeks after Matsunaga's congressional testimony, *The Honolulu Advertiser* reprinted his speech over a four-day four-part installment.[444] In the coming months, Matsunaga's proposition for Statehood earned in part through the recent military sacrifice of the peoples of Hawai'i was met with the U.S. entering another military conflict, the Korean War, that thrust the notion of Communism into the discussion of Statehood for Hawai'i.

From Statehood Lobbyists to Democratic Revolutionaries: "Hawaiian" War Hero Politicians

About fifteen years before Hawai'i's Statehood celebrations, a small group of non-white Asian locals was led by John Burns, Honolulu police captain. Burns, who steadfastly defended the AJA community against accusations of disloyalty during WWII, saw an opportunity for political mobilizations with the help of the returning AJA veterans. One of the members of the group recounted that, "what triggered me into politics was the fact that youngsters that we enrolled in the 442nd Combat Team…wrote letters from their hospital beds in Italy and said, 'we're willing to sacrifice our lives in everything—are we coming back to a second-class society?'"[445] Following WWII, many AJA veterans received their law degrees with the assistance of the GI Bill and entered politics in the early 1950s. During the early 1950s, the figure of the AJA WWII veteran as worthy "Hawaiian" representatives exposed the underpinnings of anti-Japanese racism and Communism through the coverage of the 1954 Statehood delegation to Washington D.C. and the following 1954 Democratic Revolution.

A growing group of AJA political leaders and the granting of voting rights for first-generation AJA in the early 1950s aided the political momentum of the AJA community in the

[441] Spark M. Matsunaga, "Testimony of Spark M. Matsunaga," May 3, 1950, Senate Subgroup, Personal Series, Box 18, Folder "Statehood Delegation to Congress, May 8-17, 1954," SMMP.
[442] "AJA Veterans Urge Hawaiian Statehood," *Honolulu Advertiser*, May 4, 1950.
[443] "AJA Veterans Ask Statehood in Moving Plea," *Honolulu Advertiser*, May 4, 1950; Harrison Humphries, *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, May 3, 1950; "Spark Matsunaga Wins D.A.V. Recognition for Statehood fight," *Honolulu Advertiser*, October 30, 1954.
[444] "What 'Sparky' Told Congress, Pt.1-4," *Honolulu Advertiser*, May 20-23, 1950.
[445] Mitsuyuki Kido, "Statehood Commission Oral History," 1975, John A. Burns Oral History Project (hereafter cited as JAB), Hawaiian & Pacific Collection, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Manoa, Honolulu, HI.

postwar period. Younger AJA attorneys leveraged their legal careers into local political roles. AJA veterans turned lawyers such as Howard Miyake (Hawai'i House Majority Leader, 1959-1970), Katsugo Miho (Hawai'i House Minority Leader, 1959-1970),[446] Nadao Yoshinaga (Hawai'i Senator, 1955-1974),[447] John Ushijima (Hawai'i Senate President, 1959-1982),[448] and Robert Oshiro (Hawai'i State Representative, 1959-1986)[449] were a few of the many AJA war veterans who returned from law school, practiced law, and ran for office. Patsy Takemoto Mink,[450] the first AJA woman to pass the bar exam in Hawai'i, also became a leading independent Democrat and Congressional Representative of Hawai'i from 1965-1977 and 1990-2002.

Additionally, AJA veterans such as Sakae Takahashi and Matsuo Takabuki, were appointed to cabinet-level positions in the Territorial treasury and Honolulu Board of Supervisors, respectively. Historian Dan Boylan notes that the political achievements of Takahashi and Takabuki "served notice to many AJA's that being Democrat, an AJA, and an attorney was a good combination."[451] With a growing support for the Democratic Party in Hawai'i, AJA veterans recruited their fellow members of the 100th Battalion Club and 442nd Veterans Club to attend political rallies, pass out pamphlets, fundraise, and run for office.[452]

By the early 1950s, the AJA community became a key political base of the electorate in Hawai'i. From 1930 when only 12 percent of eligible voters in the Territory identified as AJA to 1950 when AJA voters reached 40 percent of total Hawai'i voters, AJA voters exercised a growing political influence. With the passage of the Walter-McCarran Act of 1952, the first-generation of the AJA community finally gained the right to naturalization. The first-generation AJA who passed the citizenship test and gained the right to vote added to the political clout of the AJA community. However, a growing concern of the AJA population was their connection with labor, plantation strikes, and Communism.[453]

John Burns and his AJA followers decided that the Democrats must not be accused of being under the influence of the left-wing International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU). One of his followers, Daniel Inouye, in response to reports of creeping Communism by within the AJA community would wave his own empty right-sleeve and proclaim that, "I gave this arm to fight fascists! If my country wants the other one to fight communists, it can have it!"[454] In a concerted effort beginning with the 1950 Democratic Territorial Convention, Burns and his faction convinced several leading AJA union leaders Fujimoto to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) and renounce their allegiance to the Communist

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[446] Brian Niiya, "Katsugo Miho," *Densho Encyclopedia* https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Katsugo%20Miho (accessed February 3, 2023).
[447] Richard C. Pratt and Zachary Alden Smith, *Hawai'i Politics and Government: An American State in a Pacific World* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 196.
[448] Richard Borreca, "WWII Vet Helped Craft Early Social Legislation," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, August 15, 2006.
[449] Mary Adamski, "Dems' Visionary Dies: The political strategist helped Gov. Burns, Ariyoshi and Waihee," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, February 14, 2008.
[450] Judy Tzu-Chun Wu and Gwendolyn Mink, *Fierce and Fearless: Patsy Takemoto Mink, First Woman of Color in Congress* (New York: New York University Press, 2022), 53-82.
[451] Dan Boylan, *John A. Burns: The Man and His Times* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 45.
[452] Kotani, *Japanese in Hawai'i*, 139.
[453] Doug Coulson, *Race, Nation, and Refuge: The Rhetoric of Race in Asian American Citizenship Cases* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2017), 115-152; Kotani, *Japanese in Hawaii*, 150.
[454] Kotani, *Japanese in Hawai'i,* 142.

Party.[455] The final blow to the ILWU's challenge for leadership in the Democratic Party came when the most prominent members of the Communist Party in the islands, such as Jack Kawano, Koji Ariyoshi, and Charles Fujimoto were indicted under the Smith Act signaling an end to their political clout.[456]

The 1950s saw a heightened frenzy of anti-Communist hysteria engulf the nation, but the FBI's J. Edgar Hoover, an ardent anti-Communist, conceded that Communism was less of a problem in Hawai'i than on the U.S. mainland. In a government report, Hoover relayed that there were only thirty-six Communist party members in Hawai'i whereas forty other U.S. States had more Communists than Hawai'i.[457] However, former Territorial Governor Ingram Stainback, a haole Democrat, in addition to other anti-Statehood proponents such as Walter Dillingham, a prominent haole industrialist patriarch, stirred up claims of Communist subversion in the early 1950s.[458] By early 1954, the perceived threat of Communist infiltration within the Hawaiian Islands became a prominent point that was met by rigorously highlighting the wartime service of the people in Hawai'i. During a moment of heightened scrutiny by Representative McCarthy's accusatory Red Scare campaign, Dr. Gregg M. Sinclair, president of the University of Hawai'i and chairman of the volunteer Citizens Committee for Statehood, believed in the political significance of using the 50,000 war veterans residing in the Hawaiian Islands as a patriotic counter to the accusations of communist subversion.[459] That same month, *Freedom & Union* magazine mentioned that the charges of Communism in the islands were unwarranted because of the large number of patriotic veterans, especially the AJA WWII veterans.[460]

This lionization of the AJA WWII veterans who displayed military heroism was not new to the magazine's readers;[461] however, what followed the meeting materialized in action, a call for the organization of a delegation of "Hawaiian" war heroes to market Hawai'i's worthiness for Statehood to Congress. Funding of the veterans' trip went forward to the State Legislature and was approved. "The plan envisions sending nine war heroes to the capital to contact U.S. representatives who themselves are veterans…[and] en route to Washington the delegation would make stops in states whose representatives are anti-Statehood."[462] The organization and selection of the delegation aroused widespread public interests and elicited many newspaper editorials. The AJA WWII veterans would consist of the majority of "Hawaiian" war heroes present on the trip but there was a military representative from the Chinese Chamber of Commerce and the Filipino Federation of America, Inc. The inequity of the representatives by ethnic groups upset many residents who felt that the delegation would wrongly inform Congress that the AJA veterans disproportionately fought and contributed to the U.S. war effort more than other groups.[463]

Although the 1954 delegation was unsuccessful in persuading Congress to grant Hawai'i Statehood, the publicity surrounding the trip did provide the springboard for the upcoming

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[455] Gerald Horne, *Fighting in Paradise: Labor Unions, Racism, and Communists in the Making of Modern Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011), 255-274.
[456] Ibid.
[457] Holmes, *The Specter of Communism in Hawaii*, 68; Bell, *Last Among Equals*, 175, 198.
[458] Whitehead, "The Anti-Statehood Movement," 44.
[459] "The Statehood Effort Capitalize on Number of Veterans Here," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, April 7, 1954.
[460] "Hawaii Statehood," *Freedom & Union*, April 1954.
[461] Bell, *Last Among Equals*; Wu, *Color of Success*, 220-234.
[462] "Veterans Trip Up to Legislature," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, April 21, 1954; "Legislature Gets Plan for Vets Delegation," *Honolulu Advertiser*, April 27, 1954.
[463] Kotani, *Japanese in Hawai'i*, 148-150.

legislative election that upcoming November, which would result in a Democratic Revolution. One of the republican legislators who partook in the Washington D.C. trip believed that: "It is time for us to do more than just pay lip service to Statehood. We are the ones who are going to have to run for reelection and tell the people what we have done to aid in getting Statehood during this session, not the newspapers."[464] This insight proved to be auspicious for the Democrats who ran in the Fall, as they leveraged the momentum of the delegation's trip to push for political parity for non-whites in the Territory of Hawai'i.

Considered the 1954 Democratic Revolution by Hawai'i historians, the Democrats led by many AJA politicians swept into political power for the first time in 1954. The Democrats' large margin of victory surprised many outside political observers. In the House, the Democrats secured twenty-two of the thirty seats, and in the Senate they controlled nine of the fifteen seats. However, not all the Democrat legislators were AJA and the others were from other racial minority groups, such as the Chinese American and Filipino American communities in Hawai'i. The Democrats won office primarily by effective coalition-building amongst labor groups and middle-class nonwhites, especially the AJA veterans.

Regarding the 1954 election results, historian Roger Bell argues that ethnicity played a central role in this large contingent of AJA politicians winning office. "Race might not have been an overt factor in this campaign, but it underlay the broad political realignment reflected in the 1954 returns. The Democratic ticket was self-consciously non-haole."[465] With seventeen newly elected AJA legislators being added to five "hold-over" senators, almost half of the forty-five member Territorial Legislature was of Japanese ancestry. Most of the new legislators were recent graduates of U.S. mainland law schools, with the majority of these veterans coming from the 100th Infantry Battalion and the 442nd Regimental Combat Team.[466]

Among the newly elected Hawai'i state legislators were George Ariyoshi, Sakae Takahashi, Stanley Hara, Daniel Inouye, and Spark Matsunaga. Ariyoshi would later be elected as the first AJA governor of Hawai'i in the 1970s.[467] Sakae Takahashi played a key role in the 1954 Democratic Revolution. Historian Kelli Nakamura asserts that Takahashi "served in a number of political and business positions to increase opportunities for Japanese Americans in the Islands."[468] Stanley Hara served both in the State House and Senate while representing the Big Island. Both Inouye and Matsunaga would rise to the level of U.S. Senators representing the State of Hawai'i.

In one of the Senate races for a seat representing the Big Island, AJA veteran Nelson Doi ran against incumbent Senator William "Doc" Hill, a prominent businessman who held anti-Japanese views. Doi believed wholeheartedly that their sacrifices on the battlefields in WWII had won their community the opportunity to participate in political life. However, to the dismay of many AJA veterans running for politics, Hill believed that, "A Jap is a Jap even after a thousand years and can't be Americanized," which reflected larger national fears of a take-over by the AJA community in Hawai'i.[469] The results of the 1954 territorial election did not sit well with

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[464] "8 Support Big Capital Delegation," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, April 28, 1954.
[465] Bell, *Last Among Equals*, 248-49.
[466] Kotani, *Japanese in Hawaii*, 142.
[467] Kelli Y. Nakamura, "George Ariyoshi," *Densho Encyclopedia* https://encyclopedia.densho.org/George_Ariyoshi/ (accessed February 3, 2023); George Ariyoshi, *Hawai'i: The Past Fifty Years, the Next Fifty Years* (Honolulu: Watermark Publishing, 2009).
[468] Kelli Y. Nakamura, "Sakae Takahashi," *Densho Encyclopedia* https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Sakae_Takahashi/ (accessed February 3, 2023).
[469] Kotani, *Japanese in Hawai'i,* 144.

elected officials on the U.S. mainland. In fact, Hawai'i's decision to elect a predominantly non-Caucasian, Democratic legislature sparked deep concerns and fears among U.S. mainland whites. The idea of welcoming a Japanese American as their equal and colleague in Congress was disconcerting but having a "worthy" Japanese American congressman mitigated anti-Japanese racism by presenting an acceptable alternative.

Local and National Oppositions to Statehood: Anti-Japanese Racism and Civil Rights

The intense battle for Hawai'i Statehood in the 1950s saw both local and national opposition that connected the local growing anxieties towards the AJA minority community and Communism in Hawai'i with national concerns around Civil Rights, Cold War, and Congressional control. The growing influence of the AJA community in the postwar period led by AJA veterans who were distinguished "Hawaiian" war heroes alarmed the established haole elites. They feared these AJA veterans would soon displace them. On a local level, opposition against Statehood and the AJA community was largely a response to the growing threat of the economic and professional clout of the AJA community in the postwar period. Sociologist Andrew Lind witnessed that, "chiefly from among the Haoles and Part-Hawaiians of the middle and upper economic classes, the small number of active and vocal critics of the Japanese are possibly most disturbed by the threat of economic and social competition."[470] Nationally, opposition was dictated by questions surrounding race, civil rights, and the Cold War.

In the postwar economy, AJA businessmen became the targets of anger and jealousy due to their financial success. Japanese American scholar, Dennis Ogawa noted that during the war, "Family business handed down from generation to generation…formed the vital center of the Japanese community's economic wealth."[471] This practice created generational wealth that provided the sons of first-generation immigrants the opportunity to invest in new ventures. While the community still relied on saimin [Japanese-style noodles] stands, Japanese speaking theaters, sake brewers and tofu makers to cater to their needs, they also supported AJA veterans entering new occupations, including real estate, banking, law, and medicine.[472]

During the 1950s, AJA veterans and Nisei became the leaders within the professional, white-collared industries in Hawai'i. In the postwar construction booms, AJA veterans and Nisei contractors and realtors flourished. Ethnic Studies Scholar Roland Kotani observes that, "Hawai'i's Japanese played such an important role in the construction industry, the Japanese Contractors Association became the Oahu Contractors Association."[473] Further strengthening their hold in the real estate sector, twenty-three of the twenty-seven charter members of the Home Builders Association of Hawai'i were of Japanese ancestry when it was founded in 1956.

AJA veterans and Nisei also prospered in the financial sector. They created security markets, banks, and brokerage firms, such as City Bank Found Club and Central Pacific Bank, the Great Hawaiian Financial Corporation in Honolulu, and the International Savings & Loan Association.[474] This professional rise in the postwar economy strengthened the future of the

[470] Kotani, *Japanese in* Hawaii, 147.
[471] Dennis Ogawa, *Jan Ken Po: The World of Hawaii's Japanese Americans* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1982), 85.
[472] "Operating the family saimin house," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, May 12, 1953; "Yamanaka Tofu and the AJA community," *Honolulu Advertiser*, September 14, 1955.
[473] Kotani, 147.
[474] *The Legacy of Central Pacific Bank: Founded by Heroes* < https://www.cpb.bank/cpb-legacy-wall> (accessed June 17, 2023); Matsuo Takabuki, *An Unlikely Revolutionary: Matsuo Takabuki and the Making of Modern Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998), 45-78.

Japanese American community in Hawai‘i, but fueled the already established anti-Japanese racism by non-AJA residents in Hawai‘i, especially other racial minorities and haole elites.

AJA veterans and Nisei also rose in numbers in the law industry. Between 1946 and 1959, there was an 850% increase in the number of AJA veteran or Nisei attorneys listed in the Honolulu yellow pages phone directory. 1952 was a pivotal moment for the community, when Michiro Watanabe became the first AJA Territorial Attorney General and Robert Murakami became the first AJA Circuit Court Judge.[475] Masaji Marumoto, an AJA WWII veteran, was the first to person of Asian ancestry to graduate from Harvard Law School, the first Japanese American president of the Hawai'i Bar Association, and the first Japanese American to serve on the Hawai'i Supreme Court.[476]

On the topic of Statehood, the opposition and support fell along ethnic lines that were informed by economic and political interests. Within this political divide, the AJA were the strongest supporters of immediate Statehood for Hawai'i. A 1958 survey showed the breakdown of ethnic groups in support of immediate Statehood (Japanese: 62%, Chinese: 44%, Filipinos: 39%, Haoles: 33%, and Hawai'ians and part-Hawai'ians: 30%). The results of this survey showed that the AJA were the only ethnic group with clear majority support of Statehood.

Opponents against Statehood argued that Statehood would lead to the solidification of AJA economic and political power in Hawai'i. A Filipino barber on Oahu argued that Statehood would only further the gains of AJAs, who already dominated well-paying jobs. A prominent Hawai'ian public servant complained, "I am sick and tired of kow-towing to the Japanese. Republicans should not seek their votes; we could win with all other groups." A part-Hawai'ian stevedore explained that he was anti-Statehood because he was not interested in having a Japanese governor. A Portuguese businessman located in Waikiki worried that the strength of the AJA community would determine the future of Hawai'i.[477]

In an effort to acknowledge that AJA veterans were not the only "Hawaiian" WWII war heroes, the campaign for Statehood also attempted to champion other local Asian ethnic war heroes to justify the patriotic worthiness of the Territory's admission. While some Asian ethnic war heroes spoke on behalf of their own ethnic group, others made the argument for the value of Statehood to all persons of Asian ancestry. For example, the *Hawaii Chinese Journal* wrote that the brave Chinese American men who served in World War II and the Korean War sacrificed their lives so that Chinese Americans living in Hawai'i could be equal, which would only be fully realized with the passage of Statehood.[478] Other pro-Statehood organizations, such as the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, the American Chinese Club, the United Chinese Society, and the Filipino Federation of America, Inc, used their own wartime narratives like those used by AJA veterans in their argument for Statehood.[479]

The haole elite were conflicted about the advancement of the AJA in the 1950s. While some haole elite worried about the economic and professional power the AJA had gained, others assisted the AJA in their rise to power. To help break down prejudice towards Territorial

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[475] Kotani, *Japanese in Hawaii*, 130-145; Ogawa, *Jan Ken Po*, 120-135.
[476] Dennis Ogawa, *First Among Nisei: The Life and Writings of Masaji Marumoto* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 1-23.
[477] Kotani, *Japanese in Hawaii*, 149-150.
[478] "Chinese Servicemen Stress Need for Memorial Committee Now," *Hawaii Chinese Journal*, January 18, 1953.
[479] Summary Report, Filipino Executive Committee of the Morale Committee, March 3, 1953, Box 4, Folder 5, CRF-RASRL; Minutes of the Hawaii Sugar Plantation Association, August 2, 1953, Box 15, Folder 5, CRF-RASRL; "War Records Head Urges Chinese Here to Give Cooperation," *Hawaii Chinese Journal*, October 12, 1954; James H. Okahata, *A History of Japanese in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: The United Japanese Society of Hawai'i, 1971), 271-273.

Hawai'i, corporate managers on the U.S. mainland filled positions with competent ethnic minorities, many favoring the AJA. In the 1950s, Bishop First National Bank, was among several major local institutions to promote an AJA professional to a leadership role.[480] While the 1950s saw a mostly positive alliance between haole business leaders and AJA professionals, it was also a relationship fraught with tension, as not all haole business leaders trusted the AJA professionals.[481]

At the national level, many opponents of Statehood aligned the large Asian population with Communism.[482] As discussed earlier, the issue of Communism in Hawai'i was met with a heroic response by the Statehood delegation of war heroes. The idea of a racial paradise framed the national issue of race in Hawai'i was dictated by the idea of a racial paradise. To combat anti-Asian racism, portrayals of "Hawaiians" drew upon notions of a racial paradise to convey Asian subjects as assimilable and worth of inclusion in the U.S.[483] Throughout Statehood deliberations, this image of a racial paradise became the pervasive narrative, featured in newspaper editorials across the country. When Hawai'i residents, cabinet officials, members of Congress, and territorial leaders testified on Capitol Hill in favor of Statehood, the dominant themes focused on tolerance, cooperation, and racial harmony.[484] In the pro-Statehood campaign, the narrative of Hawai'i as a racial paradise created relatable imagery of harmonious ethnoracial mixing.[485] In November 1945, *Life* published a photo essay "Hawai'i: A Melting Pot" which visualized the narrative of a racial paradise. *Life* wrote that Hawai'i is "the world's most successful experiment in mixed breeding…unmatched in today's world for interracial tolerance and affection."[486] The photo essay implied that that Hawai'i's diversity made racism obsolete, thus, a racial paradise.

On the U.S. mainland, already grappling with the black civil rights movement, the pro-Statehood campaign fought to dissuade fears that the Hawai'i population, especially the AJA population, would bring additional race issues to the country. Again, playing into the visual imagery of Hawai'i as a racial paradise, Statehood proponents argued that the "Hawaiians" could be used for political benefit in the Pacific on behalf of the U.S. due to their Asian ancestries. This argument was used by Territorial Representative Farrington and his congressional colleagues in many public appearances, testimonies and speeches arguing for Statehood.[487] An article in the *Los Angeles Times* pondered, "Hawai'i will send a Senator Watanabe to Washington…What's so bad about that?...A Hawaiian delegation which included men of Oriental descent would be a strong weapon in our hands against the Communist preaching to the Asiatics."[488] Until Hawai'i officially became a state in 1959, the battle for Statehood in Congress would rehash decades old concerns of the civil rights, race, and power of the AJA population, combined with the dreadful fear of Communism. This all changed upon Statehood, when Hawai'i began sending its war heroes to Congress as their representatives.

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[480] Kotani, *Japanese in Hawai'i,* 147-148.
[481] Ibid.
[482] Holmes, *The Specter of Communism in Hawaii*, 68-85; Bell, *Last Among Equals*, 175-198.
[483] H. Brett Melendy, *The Federal Government's Search for Communists in the Territory of Hawai'i* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2002), 1-23; Gerald Horne, *Fighting in Paradise: Labor Unions, Racism, and Communists in the Making of Modern Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011), 34-67.
[484] See files in, Joseph Farrington Collection (herafter cited as JFC), Box 19, Folder 764, Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu, Hawai'i.
[485] Wu, *Color of Success*, 223.
[486] Matthew Harmon, "Hawaii: A Melting Pot," *Life Magazine*, November 1945, Box 8, SMMP.
[487] See speeches, testimonials, periodicals, and clippings in Box 12, Folder 648, JFC.
[488] "Hawaii Statehood," *Los Angeles Times*, February 19, 1957.

Passage of Hawai‘i Statehood and Congressional Elections of “Hawaiian” War Heroes

Despite the anti-Japanese backlash and alleged threats of Communist subversion, Hawai‘i became a State in 1959. This chapter primarily focused on the issues of anti-Japanese racism and Communism to illustrate the various ways in which AJA veterans as “Hawaiian” war heroes overcame their marginalization while seeking political representation and office. But there were other factors that played into the passage of Statehood, such as the ratification of Alaskan Statehood in 1958, President Eisenhower’s supportive administration, Senator Lyndon B. Johnson’s congressional leadership, and the ongoing fight for US democracy and capitalism during the Cold War.[489]

While most sectors of Hawai‘i’s population celebrated the announcement of the fiftieth state, the event was a particular joyful occasion for the AJA community. AJA accountant Thomas Yamabe believed that Statehood represented to the AJA community a long awaited moment—“Really, it's about time”—because “people can talk about democracy and freedom but we were always made to feel inferior, not considered equals.”[490] Other non-AJA locals viewed the growth of AJA political power in concert with Hawai’i Statehood as spelling the end of haole domination over the Islands. With the growing AJA electorate, the fears of AJA political power challenging haole authority was not unwarranted, but in reality it was slow and uneven. With Statehood, Hawai’i became more equitable for racial minorities; however, discrimination and prejudices remained and informed how society functioned in the Islands.[491]

In the aftermath of Statehood, the citizens of Hawai’i elected their first state Congressional delegation in 1959 and then in 1962, which included the successful elections of AJA veterans Daniel Inouye and Spark Matsunaga. The 1959 elections saw a reactionary wave of Republican victories in the local election and only position in the House of Representatives went to Burns’ talented and popular protégé, Inouye.[492] However, in the next state election in 1962, the Democrats resumed their control of state politics. John Burns won the governorship, Inouye became the junior Senator, and Matsunaga replaced Inouye in the House of Representatives.[493] Historian Roger Bell writes that throughout the 1960s and 1970s, Burns and his supporters, based in part on the overwhelming support of the AJA veterans, became the “new establishment” in Hawai’i’s politics.[494] The decline of the haole-dominated Republican Party in local politics was evidenced by their loss of representation in the 1954 and 1959 elections, a pattern which continued after Statehood.

In contrast to the celebration of AJA politicians as “Hawaiians,” Historian Roger Bell contends that Kanaka Maoli experienced a reverse process by which they became more foreign than native with the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i in the 1890s to the culmination of the passage of Statehood in 1959,

> For Hawai‘i’s native peoples, this process had exacerbated the erosion and distortion of their traditional values and customs. As the descendants of imported Asian laborers

[489] John S. Whitehead, *Completing the Union: Alaska, Hawai‘i, and the Battle for Statehood* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 2004); Wu, *Color of Success*, 220-224; Bell, *Last Among Equals*, 254-265; Cindy I-Fen Cheng, *Citizens of Asian America: Democracy and Race during the Cold War* (New York: New York University Press, 2013).
[490] Thomas Yamabe, “Statehood Commission Oral History,” Box 13, SMMP.
[491] *Bell*, *Last Among Equals*, 318-319; Kotani, *Japanese in Hawai’i,* 148-151; Ellen Wu, *Color of Success,* 210-241.
[492] Kotani, Japanese in Hawai’i, 148-151.
[493] Ibid.
[494] Bell, *Last Among Equals*, 318.

> began to play an active, open role in local political and economic affairs, the relative influence of Hawaiians or part-Hawaiians declined further. In a sense, native Hawaiians had become haoles, or strangers, in their own land, submerged beneath the powerful white minority and a newly assertive Asian majority.[495]

Bell's assertion that Kanaka Maoli, through their dispossession by the U.S., became "haole" does not mean that they gained more privileges and rights. On the contrary, Bell is equating haole as a type of "non-native" who is foreign to Hawai'i. Through the act of Statehood, a type of perpetual dispossession of Kanaka Maoli sovereignty, Kanaka Maoli are forced to contest their native claims to Hawai'i as legitimate Hawaiians while AJA veterans were championed as worthy "Hawaiian" representatives. Through this relational racialization between AJA veterans and Kanaka Maoli, the newfound fortunes of the AJA community in the postwar era meant the simultaneous erosion of Kanaka Maoli rights and social standing.

Historian Ellen Wu supports Bell's assertion of Kanaka Maoli dispossession by explaining that,

> Post-statehood accounts of Hawaiian society remarked on the 'rapidly' disappearing indigenous population. As Hawai'i's 'sophisticated civilization' displaced 'old Polynesia,' so, too, were 'full-blooded' Native Hawaiians destined to fade into the mixed-race population with only vestiges of their traditional culture to remain. Contemporaries juxtaposed the fate of Native Hawaiians to the rise of the AJAs. They relegated Native Hawaiians to the primitive past, whereas they hailed Japanese Americans as the symbols of the islands' future.[496]

Statehood brought about many changes for Hawai'i's AJA community, and the gains in the post-Statehood era need to be understood through the lens of claims to Hawai'i and it's future.

<u>Conclusion: "We All 'Hawaiians' Now!" and AJA Settler Colonialism</u>

"In the end, Statehood was more than just an event; it was an ideological project of the U.S. state to preserve empire in the name of freedom, a 'freedom with violence' that would intensify across the Pacific in the next decade. Statehood reaffirmed that a commitment to liberalism was a commitment to war, a reality that manifested in the ongoing suppression of Native sovereignty and in the steady militarization of the islands under the demands of economic growth and national security."

-Simeon Man, "Aloha, Vietnam"[497]

The popular response to the passage of Statehood that "We All Haoles Now!" by AJA community members represented their suppressed desires to be recognized as equals to the dominant haole community. However, AJA equality, and ascent, relied not on becoming haole but by becoming legitimated as worthy "Hawaiians" over the indigenous and other Asian ethnic groups. Through this process of becoming "Hawaiian" war heroes in the postwar era, AJA WWII veterans replaced indigenous Hawaiians as inheritors of the future of Hawai'i, with this process

[495] Bell, *Last Among Equals*, 293.
[496] Ellen Wu, *Color of Success*, 270.
[497] Simeon Man, "Aloha, Vietnam," 1090.

of elimination as a key foundation of U.S. settler colonialism. Scholars of settler colonialism have shown how the interplay of U.S. institutions, such as legal courts and governmental offices, facilitated the elimination and replacement of the native population through U.S. colonial policies, laws, and law enforcement.[498] For the AJA community, the institutionalization of the memory of AJA WWII war heroes and the ability of AJA politicians to attain political office within both local and national contexts assisted in their rise to power within the U.S. settler state.

The historical significance of the political ascendancy of AJA veterans as legitimate "Hawaiian" representatives into the Statehood era is better understood when placed in the context of their political past with the annexation of Hawai'i in 1900. The Territory of Hawai'i privileged two groups—haoles and Kanaka Maoli—with U.S. citizenship and privileges that were excluded Japanese immigrants.[499] The historical racial and political shift of Hawaiian-ness over the first half of the 20th century from indigenous Hawaiians to non-native "Hawaiians" additionally speaks to the process of AJA war heroes replacing the indigenous population. Through institutional privileges afforded through Statehood and citizenship, the AJA community, once disenfranchised for their immigrant background, was able to contest for political inclusion and representation in local and national politics.

This fourth chapter illuminated the tense struggle of the AJA community to mitigate anti-Japanese racism and charges of Communist subversion through the championing of the AJA WWII veterans as legitimate "Hawaiian" war heroes. By extending the memory of AJA WWII heroism into postwar Hawai'i politics, AJA veterans turned politicians used their wartime sacrifices as capital to contest for political office. To pacify anti-Japanese racism directed towards their community, AJA politicians projected their "Hawaiian" war hero identity and substantiated their worthiness. In turn, the Democratic Revolution of 1954 followed with the 1963 congressional elections of Daniel Inouye and Spark Matsunaga. These emerging leaders finally realized not only the solidification of AJA WWII veterans as "Hawaiian" war heroes but also the rise of Japanese American political power in the Islands and nationally. Sen. Inouye and Sen. Matsunaga would later become the longest-tenured Japanese Americans, Asian Americans, and "Hawaiians" in Congressional history. They both went on to mentor the next generation of Asian American politicians in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century.

Recognizing the AJA WWII veteran as "Hawaiian" war hero as a process of settler colonialism and not of civil rights allows us to unpack and address the power of becoming "Hawaiian" by non-native AJA and the maintenance of that legitimacy by their descendants. By framing the conversation around "Civil rights for whom?" Kanaka Maoli demands for sovereignty from the U.S. rather than fair inclusion under the U.S. law exposes the limitations of the nation. AJA WWII veterans have played prominent roles in the civil rights of Japanese Americans and other Asian American groups, such as Redress and immigration legislation.[500] In addition, scholars have duly documented the intimate connection between the famed AJA war heroes, Kanaka Maoli, and settler colonialism and have shown the unequal relationships between

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[498] Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8.4 (2006): 387-409; Joanne Barker, *Native Acts: Law, Recognition, and Cultural Authenticity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011); J.K. Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).
[499] Bell, *Last Among Equals*, 38-42.
[500] Yasuko Takezawa, *Breaking the Silence: Redress and Japanese American* Ethnicity (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); Alice Yang Murray, *Historical Memories of the Japanese American Internment and the Struggle for Redress* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008).

these groups to expose how Kanaka Maoli remain dispossessed.[501] However, this dissertation pushes this relationship to think explicitly about the ways in which non-native AJA veterans maintain settler colonialism by replacing Kanaka Maoli by becoming legitimated as "Hawaiian" war heroes worthy to be representatives and models for the State of Hawai'i.

In the decades since 1963, the power of the AJA community through the championing of the "Hawaiian" war hero has not waned with the transferal of racial privilege to their next generation. The AJA community, today known in the contemporary as the Local Japanese community, has provided prominent leadership in political, economic, and cultural spaces in Hawai'i and in Congress. The next and concluding chapter emphasizes that the "Hawaiian" WWII war hero is not a historical 20th century artifact. Rather, the "Hawaiian" WWII war hero remains an influential and contemporary identity and institution that is extended by their descendants into the twenty-first century. "Hawaiian" WWII war heroes and their legitimate Local Japanese descendants have become the worthy new "natives" over the indigenous population, which will next be explored through the intersections of family formation, private property, and U.S. militarism.

[501] Saranillio, "Colliding Histories," 283-309; Man, "Aloha, Vietnam," 1087-1091; Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Okamura, eds., *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008).

Chapter 6

Japanese American Power into the Twenty-First Century:
Hetero-patriarchy of "Hawaiian" World War II War Heroes

In 2015, the U.S. federal government declared that Hawai'i had the highest rate of homelessness per capita in the U.S. that year. In response to the homeless crisis, Governor David Ige, whose family members served in the 100th/442nd Regimental Combat Team in World War II, signed an emergency proclamation. However, in a follow-up poll a year later in 2016, 59% of respondents across Hawai'i felt that Governor Ige did not do an effective job addressing the issue, and 40% believed that the situation had worsened from the previous year. In response, politicians and leaders across Hawai'i's political spectrum came together to demand punitive consequences to discourage homeless people from congregating near tourist spaces in Honolulu.[502] As shown by the acceptance of violence towards a marginalized community, life in Hawai'i is no paradise. In a State that has one of the highest costs of living in the nation, housing prices have skyrocketed and outstripped the financial reaches of many residents, which has left them unable to afford housing. In 2017, Hawai'i's rental prices were the highest in the U.S. To the affluent class, the homeless population poses a direct threat to their livelihoods. The tourism industry employs hundreds of thousands across the Islands, and it is clear that tourists do not like the homeless imposing on their expensive dream vacations on the lush sand beaches of Waikiki.[503]

A disproportionate number and percentage of the homeless are Kanaka Maoli, the indigenous population of Hawai'i. The "homeless" Kanaka Maoli are in fact "houseless" precisely because Hawai'i is their native home. Kanaka Maoli families have one of the highest rates of poverty and lowest mean family incomes of all major ethnic groups in Hawai'i, which puts them the most at-risk in not being able to afford mortgages or rent. The 2010 U.S. Census found that 27.2% of Kanaka Maoli households are overcrowded. Furthermore, the State of Hawai'i estimates that Kanaka Maoli constitute 30% of the total houseless population in 2012, which is the second highest with white Americans, predominantly former veterans and homeless traveling from the U.S. mainland, being the largest houseless population with 43%. Kanaka Maoli comprise 70% of the houseless population on the Waianae Coastline. In short, the houseless issue in comparison to other racial and ethnic groups disproportionately and egregiously impacts Kanaka Maoli families the most across the State of Hawai'i.[504]

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[502] Cathy Bussewitz, "Hawaii to Spend $12M on Housing, Homeless Outreach, Sweeps," *Associated Press*, July 21, 2016; Greg Botelho, "Homeless Emergency Declared in Hawaii," *CNN*, October 17, 2015; Chip Reid, "Hawaii's homeless problem reaches crisis level," *CBSNews.com*, January 2, 2016; Chris Tanaka, "Hawaii Poll: Respondents pessimistic on homelessness," *Hawaii News Now*, July 18, 2016; Anita Hofschneider, "Candidates Embrace Punitive Approach to Homelessness," *Honolulu Civil Beat*, July 29, 2016; Stacy Yuen, "Homelessness in Waikiki," *Hawaii Business*, January 2014.

[503] "Out of Reach 2017: Hawaii," *National Low Income Housing Coalition* http://nlihc.org/oor/hawaii; Ben Gutierrez, "Report: Every zip code on Oahu is pricing out the average renter," *Hawaii News Now*, June 8, 2017; Adam Nagourney, "Aloha and Welcome to Paradise. Unless You're Homeless," *The New York Times*, June 3, 2016.

[504] S. Yuan et al, *Homeless Service Utilization Report: Hawai'i 2015* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, Center on the Family, 2016), 1-16; Jessica Terrell, "This Waianae Homeless Camp Is Not What You'd Expect," *CivilBeat.org*, November 16, 2015; Cathy Bussewitz, Hawaii Struggles to Deal with Rising Rate of Homelessness," *Los Angeles Times*, November 15, 2015; S.M. Kana'iaupuni, N.J. Malone, and K. Ishibashi, *Income and Poverty Among Native Hawaiians: Summary of* Ka Huaka'i *findings* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools-PASE, 2005); "Statewide Homeless Point-in-Time Count 2012 Methodology and Results," July 2012

Since the unlawful annexation of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i by the U.S. government in 1898,[505] Kanaka Maoli continue to be dispossessed of their native lands. In response, a Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement, led by Kanaka Maoli activists, has advocated for a rejection of U.S. norms of home owning by living outside the barriers of U.S. civil society.[506] With some of the houseless Kanaka Maoli rejecting owning a home, Native activist Haunani-Kay Trask defends their actions: "branded as 'crazies,' simply because we assert the priority of our cultural values…over the American insistence that all value proceeds from moneymaking" and, specifically house-owning.[507] In opposition to the Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement, those who support property-ownership, capitalism, and the military are deemed worthy and legitimate "Hawaiians" in the State of Hawai‘i by mainstream society. In the twenty-first century, Japanese American World War II veterans are still commemorated and celebrated for their wartime actions. In December of 2016, Governor Ige paid tribute to the Japanese American WWII veterans, including his father, and declared to the large crowd at the Hawai‘i Convention Center that, "I would not have this opportunity, this honor and privilege to serve all of you as your Governor if not for the heroic deeds and actions of all of you veterans during World War II." The *Wall Street Journal*, covering the event, declared that, "Hawai‘i's Japanese-American [sic] governor [is] a living symbol of the group's transformation from persecuted minority to state power players."[508]

The contemporary crisis of houseless Kanaka Maoli families reveals a larger power dynamic within Hawai‘i and nationally when connecting it with the legacies of "Hawaiian" World War II war heroes and their Japanese American descendants. In this conclusion, I want to revisit the introductory chapter with the coverage of the funeral of Senator Daniel Inouye to show that the "Hawaiian" WWII war heroes are not historical twentieth-century historical artifacts. Instead, they are a living and breathing institution into the twenty-first century. Similar to the various ways that Japanese American WWII veterans legitimated their claims to Hawai‘i as home during WWII and the Cold War, the contemporary houseless issue in the War on Terror relives those foundational questions about home: (1) Who are the legitimate Hawaiians?; (2) Who are the illegitimate others?; And (3) Whose progeny are the legitimate heirs to the future of Hawai‘i? In contrast to houseless Kanaka Maoli families, the Japanese Americans, or as they are

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https://www.honolulu.gov/rep/site/ohou/ohou_docs/2012StatewidePITreport.pdf; Kirsten Scharnberg, "Hawaii Tent Cities Come With Million-Dollar Views," *Los Angeles Times*, September 26, 2006.

[505] Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004); William Michael Morgan, *Pacific Gibraltar: US-Japanese rivalry over the Annexation of Hawai'i* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2011).

[506] For more information on the Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement, see Kehualani Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009); Michael Kioni Dudley, *A Call for Hawaiian Sovereignty* (Honolulu: Na Kane O Ka Malo Press, 2006); Maile Arvin, "Spectacles of Citizenship: Native Hawaiian Sovereignty gets a makeover," in *Transnational Crossroads: Remapping the Americas and the Pacific.* Eds. Camilla Fojas and Rudy P. Guevarra Jr. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Noelani Goodyear-Ka'opua et al, eds. *A Nation Rising: Hawaiian Movements for Life, Land, and Sovereignty* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014).

[507] Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 126.

[508] David Y. Ige, "Fighting Two Wars: A Tribute to AJA Veterans of World War II," December 5, 2016, speech at Hawai'i Convention Center, Honolulu, HI <https://governor.hawaii.gov/main/fighting-two-wars-a-tribute-to-aja-veterans-of-world-war-ii/>; Jim Carlton, "Hawaii's Governor Embodies Japanese-Americans' Rise in Island State," *Wall Street Journal,* December 5, 2016.

known in contemporary Hawai‘i—the Local Japanese[509]—constitute the third largest ethnic group and occupy elite political and business positions across the Islands, from Kauai to the Big Island.[510] The relationships between houseless Kanaka Maoli families and WWII war heroes and their families reveals the importance of families, reproduction of power to their descendants, and the war hero in contemporary Hawai‘i and nationally. The houseless issue is caused by many historical and contemporary factors. I am not arguing that the war heroes caused houselessness in Hawai‘i, but the linkages between the war heroes and houselessness is undeniable with respect to the ways in which families and particular groups are legitimated as Hawaiians.

In the post-World War II era, Local Japanese WWII veterans of the 100th Battalion and 442nd Regimental Combat Team (100th/442nd RCT) and Military Intelligence Service (MIS) contested for power. Japanese American historian Franklin Odo contends that Local Japanese WWII veterans were instrumental in "transforming race relations in Hawai'i and the nation" because with the assistance of the GI Bill, "so many of them were admitted into elite U.S. law and graduate schools that they constituted a major pool of social, educational, business, and political firepower."[511] Returning from graduate and law school, the veterans vied for political power through the successful campaign for Hawai‘i Statehood in 1959. Dean Saranillio argues that the "narrations of Japanese American loyalty and masculine sacrifice in World War II were popularized as a means to win statehood for Hawai‘i."[512] In the aftermath of the passage of Statehood, the successful elections of Daniel K. Inouye and Spark Matsunaga, both World War II Japanese American veterans, propelled them to into Congress in 1963. During this time, the Local Japanese constituted 35% of the total population in the Hawaiian Islands, and this large voting bloc facilitated the rise of Japanese American political power.[513]

Roland Kotani documented the rise of a discourse of "Local Japanese success," from the mid-1960s to the 1990s. This extraordinary success paralleled the concurrent model minority myth on the U.S. mainland that stereotyped Asian Americans as successful socioeconomically and academically over other racial groups. "Local Japanese success" facilitated the legitimation of Local Japanese power because it spotlighted the apparent meritocratic perseverance of this specific group.[514] Historians have documented how during the 1980s the campaign for Redress for the injustices of incarceration became a national issue for the Japanese American community. The Congressional bill for Redress was classified as H.R. 442 in honor of the sacrifices of the 442nd RCT and many scholars have noted that the Local Japanese veterans played an instrumental role in the passage of the Redress Bill.[515] In the latter part of the twentieth century,

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[509] Jonathan Y. Okamura, "Why There Are No Asian Americans in Hawai‘i: The Continuing Significance of Local Identity," *Social Process in Hawai‘i* 35 (1994): 161-178; Okamura, "Aloha Kanaka Me Ke Aloha ‘Aina: Local Culture and Society in Hawai‘i," *Amerasia Journal* 7.2 (1980): 119-137.

[510] U.S. Census Bureau, "Profile of General Population and Housing Characteristics: 2010 Demographic Profile Data," generated by Jeffrey Yamashita, using American FactFinder, http://factfinder2.census.gov; (3 October 2017).

[511] Franklin Odo, *No Sword to Bury: Japanese Americans in Hawai‘i during World War II* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004), 253.

[512] Dean Saranillio, "Colliding Histories: Hawaii Statehood at the Intersection of Asians Ineligible to Citizenship and Hawaiians Unfit for Self-Governance," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 13.3 (2010): 292.

[513] Roland Kotani, *The Japanese in Hawaii: A Century of Struggle* (Honolulu: Hochi, Ltd., 1985), 135-151.

[514] Ibid, 157-167

[515] For Japanese American Redress, see Robert Shimabukuro, *Born in Seattle: The Campaign for Japanese American Redress* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001); Alice Yang Murray, *Historical Memories of the Japanese American Internment and the Struggle for Redress* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008); Mitchell T. Maki, Harry Kitano, and S. Megan Berthold, *Achieving the impossible dream: how Japanese Americans obtained*

historians George Cooper and Gavan Daws showed Local Japanese accumulation of valuable real estate and the consolidation of political power on the State-level.[516] In 1994, Bruce I. Yamashita successfully sued the Marine Corps on grounds of racial discrimination, and his victory, he claimed, could only really have occurred with the backing and support of the Local Japanese World War II veterans.[517] In the twenty-first century, Jonathan Okamura contends that the ethnic hierarchy within Hawai'i still privileges the Local Japanese and their families.[518]

As many Local Japanese leaders rose to prominence in Hawai'i and nationally in the post-Hawai'i Statehood era, they deflected accusations that the Local Japanese were growing in power. To mute the growing sentiments, Governor George Ariyoshi, a WWII veteran of the Military Intelligence Service, summoned the memory of his Japanese parents who were oppressed in the sugarcane plantations. By linking the oppression experienced by his family members, which many other prominent Local Japanese have done, Ariyoshi distanced himself from the critical portrayals of Local Japanese power through an alignment with the local commoner's shared history of plantation oppression.[519] Observing the social shift in power to the Local Japanese, Noel Kent contends that since the 1970s the "[Local Japanese] elite never constituted a *legitimate ruling class* [but]…instead, they have skillfully performed a multitude of roles—front men, middle men, mediators, agents, and power brokers…which prefers invisibility as one element of its power."[520] This form of invisibility may not be as applicable in the twenty-first century, though. Indeed elite Local Japanese, such as the former Lieutenant Governor Shan Tsutsui, Senator Mazie Hirono, Representative Jill Tokuda, Alan Oshima—CEO of the largest utilities company in Hawai'i, and Speaker of Hawai'i's House of Representatives Scott Saiki.

However, Local Japanese hegemony is invisible in the sense that their leadership and ethnic dominance is taken-for-granted, normalized, and accepted as reality. The preponderance of Local Japanese in elite positions and their children enrolled at the top schools and employed in professional fields and family businesses in contemporary Hawai'i maintains this highly privileged status. The invisibility[521] or normalization of Local Japanese hegemony is best understood through its relationship with the hyper-visibility of houseless Kanaka Maoli families. The invisibility/visibility dynamic influences the ways in which particular "Hawaiians" are

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redress (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 153; Yasuko Takezawa, *Breaking the silence: redress and Japanese American ethnicity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), 210.

[516] Eleanor C. Nordyke and Y. Scott Matsumoto, "The Japanese in Hawai'i: A Historical and Demographic Perspective," *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 11 (1977): 165; Jonathan Okamura, *Ethnicity and Inequality in Hawai'i* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008); George Cooper and Gavan Daws, *Land and Power in Hawa'i: the Democratic years* (Honolulu: Benchmark Books, 1985), 42-85; Jonathan Okamura, *From Race to Ethnicity*: *Interpreting Japanese American Experiences in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014), 9.

[517] Bruce I. Yamashita, *Fighting Tradition: A Marine's Journey to Justice* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003), 131-133.

[518] Jonathan Okamura, *From Race to Ethnicity: Interpreting Japanese American Experiences in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014), 9.

[519] Bianca Isaki, "Re-archiving Asian Settler Colonialism in a Time of Hawaiian Decolonization, or, Two Walks along Kamehameha Highway," in *Transnational Crossroads: Remapping the Americas and the Pacific.* Eds. Camilla Fojas and Rudy P. Guevarra (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012), 269-290.

[520] Noel Kent, "Myth of the Golden Men: Ethnic Elites and Dependent Development in the 50th State," in *Ethnicity and Nation-Building in the Pacific*. Ed. Michael Howard (Tokyo: United Nations University, 1989), 114.

[521] Local Japanese invisibility, according to Noel Kent, is based on hiding power, privilege, and resources, whereas, Black invisibility is based on anti-black racism and black subordination. For black invisibility and anti-black racism, see bell hooks, *Black Looks: Race and Representation* (Boston: South End Press, 1992), 115-31; Angela Y. Davis, *Women, Race & Class* (New York: Vintage Books, 1983).

legitimated, such as WWII "Hawaiian" war heroes and their descendants, while others are marginalized. In addition, this dynamic between invisibility/visibility speaks to the ways in which bodies are marked and celebrated as "Hawaiian," such as military families and elite Local Asian families, while Kanaka Maoli families and their progeny, many of them houseless, are viewed as expendable and less desirable Hawaiians.

To explicitly assist in exposing invisibilized Local Japanese hegemony and showing the connection with houseless Kanaka Maoli families within the twenty-first century, I turn to the concept of hetero-patriarchy. Hetero-patriarchy refers to the intersectionality of patriarchy and heterosexuality; where patriarchy creates a male-dominated social structure. "Hawaiian" World War II war heroes legitimated a Japanese American military patriarchy that dictated the future of Hawai'i in the post-WWII and contemporary era. Heterosexuality, the normative and dominant sexuality in U.S. society, is organized around the privileging of reproduction and the transfer of resources (read: inheritance) to the next generation within the celebrated nuclear family structure. The historical and contemporary importance of blood quantum, birthright, lineage, and marriage within U.S. society is a testament to the power of heterosexuality and its patriarchal institutions through the protection of progeny and of the future of the family.[522]

The Academy Award-winning movie, *The Descendants* (2011), starring George Clooney, vividly illustrates the functioning of hetero-patriarchy within popular culture. The movie chronicles the divisive politics of inter-generational transfer of land and power within elite hapa-haole[523] families in contemporary Hawai'i. The movie centers on a patriarch (George Clooney) and the politics of preserving his estate for his children while mediating internal family power struggles stemming from financial issues of perceived sibling birthrights. *The Descendants* reveals the significance of inheritance and its consequences, such as divisive issues of money, land, and power, through family disputes.[524]

The concept of hetero-patriarchy allows us to better comprehend the impact of the patriarchy of Local Japanese WWII veterans as "Hawaiian" WWII war heroes and the reproduction of political, economic, and cultural power to their non-native descendants in the contemporary world. By juxtaposing Local Japanese WWII war heroes and their descendants with houseless Kanaka Maoli families in Hawai'i, this concluding chapter will illustrate the impact of "Hawaiian" WWII war heroes on the legitimation of Japanese Americans and their descendants over the indigenous population in Hawai'i. Through the maintenance of U.S. militarism in the Pacific during the War on Terror, Local Japanese war heroes and politicians are lionized and upheld as model "Hawaiians" and rightful leaders of the State. This image is founded on Local Japanese military patriarchy and extended by their descendants. In the following sections, I first contextualize the contemporary patriarchy of "Hawaiian" WWII war

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[522] For hetero-patriarchy and settler colonialism, see Andrea Smith, "Heteropatriarchy and the Three Pillars of White Supremacy: Rethinking Women of Color Organizing," in *Color of Violence: The INCITE! Anthology* (Cambridge: South End Press, 2006), 66-73; Andrea Smith and J. Kehaulani Kauanui, "Native Feminism Engage American Studies," *American Quarterly* 60.2 (2008): 241-249; Scott Laria Morgensen, *Spaces Between Us: Queer Settler Colonialism and Indigenous Decolonization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011); Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, "Decolonization is not a metaphor," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1.1 (2012): 1-40; Maile Arvin, Eve Tuck, and Angie Morrill, "Decolonizing Feminism: Challenging Connections between settler colonialism and heteropatriarchy," *Feminist Formations* 25.1 (2013): 8-34.

[523] Hapa Haole refers to the progeny of US white missionaries who married into royal Kanaka Maoli families in the 19th century Hawai'i.

[524] *The Descendants*, directed by Alexander Payne (2011; Beverly Hills: 20th Century Fox Home Entertainment, 2012), DVD.

heroes to show how it is still influential in the twenty-first century. I then describe the importance of certain Local Japanese military descendants. Next, I explore the actions of Local Japanese politicians' support of U.S. militarism during the War on Terror and the impact of those actions on the local housing situation, which benefitted military families and demonized houseless Kanaka Maoli families. Finally, I show that in the post-Senator Inouye era, Local Japanese and other Local Asian groups extend the conception of the "Hawaiian" war hero to encompass their Japanese American descendants.

Patriarchy of "Hawaiian" World War II War Heroes into the Twenty-First Century

At the turn of the twenty-first century, two important Japanese American military events marked the legacies and continued importance of "Hawaiian" World War II war heroes as patriarchs of Hawai'i. On June 21, 1999 in Fort Myers, Florida, General Eric K. Shinseki, a third-generation Local Japanese from Līhu'e, Kauai, was sworn in as the Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army, the most senior uniformed officer to serve in the Department of the Army. With cannons booming and the U.S. Army band playing "The Army Goes Rolling Along" in the background, General Shinseki became the highest-ranking Japanese American and Asian American officer in U.S. military history. To show their support of Shinseki, the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, a popular local newspaper, released articles entitled "Shinseki is No.1 in Army" and "Native son joining ranks of eminent Army leaders" in commemoration while aligning his accolades with Hawai'i.[525] As the highest-ranking officer in the U.S. Army, Shinseki was a first in many categories, such as the first Asian American, Japanese American, and "Hawaiian," to be honored with such a position. In addition, Shinseki's promotion to Chief of Staff put him in an elite cadre of widely-celebrated, past military patriarchs, such as John J. Pershing, Douglas MacArthur, George C. Marshall, Dwight D. Eisenhower, and William C. Westmoreland. As Chief of Staff, Shinseki directed military funds at the turn of the twenty-first century to the defense industries in the Hawaiian Islands, the second-largest employer besides the tourism industry.

In his acceptance speech, General Shinseki highlighted that while growing up in Kauai he would listen attentively at the dinner table about the heroic exploits of his uncles who served in World War II—Hiroshi "Roscoe" Haruki and Herbert Ishii of the 100th/442nd RCT. General Shinseki recounted that he felt proud of their sacrifice "because of what they did, I have lived my life without suspicion." At another military event, General Shinseki said that the 100th/442nd RCT's "actions in World War II purchased future opportunities for all American but especially for [Japanese Americans]."[526] By explicitly referring to his familial predecessors who served in the U.S. Army throughout multiple speeches over the span of his military and civilian career, Shinseki intentionally links his own illustrious military career with the legitimacy and fame of the 100th/442nd RCT, especially with prominent military and political patriarch, Senator Daniel Inouye. Shinseki understood the importance of honoring the Japanese American military patriarchs in the community—his Local Japanese uncles who served with Senator Daniel Inouye.

[525] Pete Pichaske, "Shinseki is No.1 in Army," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, June 22, 1999; Gregg K. Kakesako, "Native son joining ranks of eminent Army leaders," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, June 21, 1999.
[526] David Stout, "22 Asian-Americans Receive Medal of Honor," *The New York Times*, May 14, 2000; Pete Pichaske, "Kauai's Shinseki is considered a sure thing as Army's top boss," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, June 8, 1999; Gregg K. Kakesako, "'An Inspiration for a generation': At the dedication of an exhibit on his Army days, Shinseki credits those who helped along the way," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, March 31, 2004.

On June 21, 2000, exactly a year after General Shinseki was promoted to Chief of Staff, President Bill Clinton retroactively awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor to Senator Daniel K. Inouye. Following in the footsteps of African American WWII veterans being retroactively awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor in the 1990s,[527] Senator Daniel Akaka from Hawai‘i requested a three-year Army study in 1997 to re-evaluate the recommendations for upgraded medals. President Clinton awarded Medal of Honors to twenty-two Asian American WWII veterans, with twenty of them being Japanese Americans from the 100th/442nd RCT — eleven Local Japanese and nine Japanese Americans from the U.S. mainland.[528] Inouye's actions in battle in Italy warranted the Medal of Honor, as in the heat of battle almost fifty years ago he had effectively navigated his platoon around German Nazi military forces while sacrificing his body for victory. The Medal of Honor citation of Senator Inouye portrayed an image of a fierce, patriarchal warrior protecting his men in battle.

> With complete disregard for his personal safety, Second Lieutenant Inouye crawled up the treacherous slope to within five yards of the nearest machine gun and hurled two grenades, destroying the emplacement. Before the enemy could retaliate, he stood up and neutralized a second machine gun nest. Although wounded by a sniper's bullet, he continued to engage other hostile positions at close range until an exploding grenade shattered his right arm. Despite the intense pain, he refused evacuation and continued to direct his platoon until enemy resistance was broken and his men were [safe].[529]

The upgrading of medals solidified the 100th/442nd RCT as the most decorated unit in U.S. military history.

To honor the congressional recognition of the Local Japanese WWII war heroes, residents of Honolulu threw a citywide weekend celebration. Two months after the medal ceremony, officials in Honolulu organized a three-day tribute to not only the Local Japanese veterans but also all WWII Asian American veterans from Hawai‘i. The extravaganza began with a Chinese lion dance along with 10,000 fireworks lit by Honolulu Mayor Jeremy Harris near the Sun Yat Sen statue in Chinatown. A motorcade-parade of Local Filipino WWII veterans, Local Asian WWII veterans, and Local Japanese WWII veterans who "all wore white aloha shirts embossed with their Army unit insignias and matching ball caps" rode through downtown Honolulu to military bands playing and thousands of residents watching from the side. The celebration concluded with a special banquet at the Hawai‘i Convention Center with keynote speaker Army Chief of Staff Gen. Eric Shinseki who impressed upon the crowd the gravity of the sacrifice of the WWII veterans from Hawai‘i and especially the heroism of the 100th Battalion/442nd RCT.[530]

In the early 2000s, ethnic studies scholar Ty Tengan observes that "despite the contributions of Kanaka [Maoli] in the U.S. military, their participation has been overshadowed

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[527] Elliot V. Converse III et al, *The Exclusion of Black Soldiers from the Medal of Honor in World War II: The Study Commissioned By the United States Army to Investigate Racial Bias in the Awarding of the Nation's Highest Military Decoration* (Jefferson: McFarland & Co., 1997).
[528] Brian Niiya, "Congressional Medal of Honor recipients," *Densho Encyclopedia* <http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Congressional_Medal_of_Honor_recipients/>.
[529] Heidi M. Peters, *Medal of Honor Recipients: 1979-2014* (Washington D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 2014), 13.
[530] Gregg K. Kakesako, "Medal of Honor heroes given a 'last hurrah': The three-day fete also recognizes all the WWII Asian-American soldiers," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin,* August 26, 2000.

by the accomplishments of the [100th/442nd RCT]."[531] The celebration of the Medal of Honor recipients was not an isolated case in recognizing Local Japanese military heroism but rather one moment in a larger historical trajectory of solidifying the image of the legitimate "Hawaiian" war heroes since World War II. The early 2000s saw an increase in the re-memorialization of the Japanese American WWII veterans, which was reflected in the publications of literature and organization of the commemoration of the men. At the turn of the 21st century, the historical documentation and research on Local Japanese military participation during WWII, with an emphasis on the men of the 100th/442nd RCT, became a guiding symbol of a historical legacy of patriotism, loyalty, and heroism throughout the Islands. During this time period, the education of the larger public in Hawai'i and nationally significantly increased, which paralleled the growing literature in Japanese American Studies on this particular subject and the varied ways the scholarship perpetuated the image of Local Japanese as "Hawaiian" and as heroes of Hawai'i. The discourses surrounding the history and memory of the Local Japanese WWII soldiers reinforced the notion that they were the legitimate protectors of Hawai'i.

Asian American historian Sucheng Chan observes that the memory, history, and representation of the Japanese American WWII veteran remained a constant theme in Asian American studies and Japanese American studies.[532] In addition, the early 2000s saw an explosion of over forty historical, fictional, and creative works on the memory, experiences, and heroism displayed by the Japanese American military men, by far those during WWII outstripped those of other wartimes. Even a female narrative of military participation during World War II was published to expand the dialogue of Japanese American *male* war heroes; however, it still romanticized their participation and the historical narrative of the U.S. military, a distinctly patriarchal institution.[533]

Furthermore, the intense desire to expose and excavate the stories of other Local Japanese military men during World War II resulted in the narratives of other acts of heroism. There were scholars who wrote about the triumphs and sacrifices of the Military Intelligence Service.[534] Unlike in Chapter Three where "Hawaiians" were privileged over the Niseis from the incarceration camp, the contemporary scholarship does not make value judgments between those two groups. The more contentious debate surrounds the veterans and draft resisters. Other scholarship on the Local Japanese WWII veterans portrayed them as foundational to contemporary Hawai'i.

The publicity of Local Japanese WWII veterans gestured to an understanding that they helped "build" modern Hawai'i was illustrated twofold. On one level, a slew of biographies of prominent patriarchal war heroes was published, while on another level, historians of Japanese American WWII military history wrote numerous publications that portrayed the Local Japanese

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[531] Ty P. Kawika Tengan, *Native Men Remade: Gender and Nation in Contemporary Hawai'i* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 48.

[532] Eileen Tamura, "Asian Americans in the History of Education: An Historiographical Essay," *History of Education Quarterly* 41.1 (2001): 61-63; Sucheng Chan, "The Changing contours of Asian-American historiography," *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice* 11.1 (2007): 131.

[533] Brenda Moore, *Serving Our Country: Japanese American Women in the Military during World War II* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2003).

[534] See James McNaughton, *Nisei Linguists: Japanese Americans in the Military Intelligence Service during World War II* (Washington D.C.: Department of the Army, 2007); Kelli Nakamura, "'They Are Our Human Secret Weapons': The Military Intelligence Service and the Role of Japanese-Americans in the Pacific War and in the Occupation of Japan," *Historian* 70.1 (2008): 54-74; Mire Koikari, "'Japanese Eyes, American Heart': Politics of Race, Nation, and Masculinity in Japanese American Veterans' WWII Narratives," *Men and Masculinities* 12.5 (2010): 547-564.

WWII GIs as "Hawaiian." At the turn of the 21st century, academics and researchers published biographies of particular Local Japanese WWII veterans, such as Matsuo Takabuki, the late Senator Sparky Matsunaga, Masaji Marumoto, Thomas Higa, and George Ariyoshi. Takabuki was portrayed as a Local Japanese veteran who played a significant role in helping to secure financing for many projects around Hawai'i.[535] Masaji Marumoto was a lawyer and became a Hawai'i Supreme Court judge.[536] Popular local writer Tom Coffman trumpeted the praises of the Local Japanese in his political history of Hawai'i: "the mass migration of Japanese to Hawai'i eventually was to become the single most important factor in the development of the State of Hawai'i and also the making of Hawai'i's unique contribution to America."[537]

While expanding the military narrative of the 100th/442nd RCT to include other perspectives, the image and memory of the Local Japanese WWII soldier was etched into the hearts and minds of the people of Hawai'i, not only the Local Japanese community. These books and exhibits not only reinforced the historical memory but they also wrongfully identified and complicated the Local Japanese soldiers from Hawai'i as distinctly Hawaiian. Historians such as John Howard, Robert Asahina, Bill Yenne referred to the Local Japanese soldiers as "Hawaiian", "Hawaiian Japanese American," "Hawaiian of Japanese descent" or "Hawaiian Kibei."[538] This may seem like a benign and inconsequential action. Instead, it suggests that at the turn of the twenty-first century labeling the success of the Local Japanese soldiers from Hawai'i as distinctly Hawaiian draws parallels to the arguments of Kanaka Maoli activists who have challenged the rise of Local Japanese hegemony within the Islands.[539] By associating the heroics and military success of past war heroes with Hawai'i but with Local Japanese faces, it provides a pretense of *who* should be the leaders, which undoubtedly defaults to the Local Japanese elites such as the late Senator Inouye and General Shinseki.

Exhibitions from Honolulu to Washington D.C. were used to educate local people in Hawai'i and tourists from around the world about Local Japanese military heroism during WWII. In October 1997, the Japanese Cultural Center of Hawai'i with the support of the 442nd Veterans Club constructed an exhibit "Japanese Americans and the Liberation of France" to educate the

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[535] Rick Daysog, "From plantation to power: Matsuo Takabuki and Hawaii," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, September 9, 1998; See Matsuo Takabuki assisted by Dennis Ogawa, *An Unlikely Revolutionary: Matsuo Takabuki and the Making of Modern Hawai'i: A Memoir* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998); Richard Halloran, *Sparky: Warrior, Peacemaker, Poet, Patriot: A Portrait of Senator Spark M. Matsunaga* (Honolulu: Watermark Publisher, 2002); Dennis Ogawa, *First Among Niseis: The Life and Writings of Masaji Marumoto* (Honolulu: Japanese Cultural Center of Hawai'i, 2007); Elsie Higa Taniguchi, ed. *Memoirs of a Certain Nisei, 1916-1985* (Kaneohe: Higa Pubs., 1998); George Ariyoshi, *With Obligation to All* (Honolulu: Ariyoshi Foundation, Distributed by University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), 200.

[536] Dennis M. Ogawa and Claire Marumoto, "Masaji Marumoto," *Densho Encyclopedia* <http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Masaji_Marumoto/>

[537] Tom Coffman, *The Island Edge of America: A Political History of Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003), 15.

[538] Here is a small selection of scholars who show the larger systemic issue of labeling Japanese Americans from Hawai'i as Hawaiian. See John Howard, *Concentration Camps on the Home Front: Japanese Americans in the House of Jim Crow* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008): 86, 88, 209, etc.; Robert Asahina, *Just Americans: How Japanese Americans won a War at Home and Abroad* (New York: Gotham, 2006): 58, etc.; Bill Yenne, *Rising Sons: The Japanese American GIs who fought for the United States in World War II* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2007): 60, 63, 64, etc. It is interesting to note that Bill Yenne provides an "Explanation of Terms" and details the different generations (issei, nisei, kibei, and sansei) but does not include how he treats the identifier of "Hawaiian."

[539] Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Y. Okamura, eds. *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008).

public about the heroic sacrifices of the men in fighting successfully against Nazism.[540] Again in 2003, commemorating the 60th anniversary of the 100th/442nd RCT, a traveling exhibit "Beyond the Call of Duty" was on display at the Hamilton Library, the main library at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa.[541] In 1987 to its closing in 2004, the Smithsonian National Museum of American History (NMAH) featured "A More Perfect Union: Japanese Americans and the U.S. Constitution," which documented the incarceration experience on the national mall. One of the criticisms of the exhibit stemmed from viewers and scholars who believed that the exhibit narrowly focused on romanticizing military service, which was a result of pressure from Congress and Dr. Tom Couch, a curator at the NMAH. In the end, the exhibit included the loyalty questionnaire, draft resisters, and Tule Lake, but many still felt that it retained a celebratory narrative of the military units.[542] The most recent traveling exhibit was the "American Heroes: Japanese American World War II Nisei Soldiers and the Congressional Gold Medal," which traveled to seven different cities from 2013-2014 while highlighting the Congressional Gold Medal awarded to the AJA soldiers in the 100th/442nd Regimental Combat Team and Military Intelligence Service by President Obama in 2010.[543]

The solidification of these patriarchal Local Japanese leaders in the academic and in the public arena unfolded concurrently with the War on Terrorism, which saw the progeny and descendants of Local Japanese WWII veterans serve their country. The memory and influence of the Local Japanese as "Hawaiian" WWII war heroes becomes a legitimating force that celebrates and polices particular contemporary Local Japanese as "Hawaiian" war heroes. The investment in the next generation is a concern for many residents and Local Japanese WWII veterans, which was best summed up by Senator Inouye: "The sacrifices (of the members of the 100th/442nd RCT) were not made in vain, because the generation which followed clearly benefited."[544]

(Il)Legitimate "Hawaiian" Military Descendants: Ehren Watada and Eric Shinseki

After the World Trade Center attacks on September 11, 2001, President George W. Bush declared a "War on Terrorism" in a formal speech to Congress.[545] The War on Terror revealed the importance of the reproduction and genealogy of the 100th/442nd RCT in the wars waged in Afghanistan and Iraq. In April 2003, the veterans of the 100th/442nd RCT, families, and friends organized a celebration to commemorate their 60th reunion in Honolulu. The *Honolulu Advertiser*, a popular local newspaper, interviewed some of the veterans about their thoughts on the current War on Terror. Veteran Edward Ichiyama said that "many of us…ex-warriors are glued to the television" because we "remember what it was like being under fire, sympathizing

[540] Gregg K. Kakesako, "Story of Nisei Bravery, Honor Retold: An Exhibition focuses on the 100th Battalion and 442nd Regiment," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, October 6, 1997.
[541] Will Hoover, "Bloody Battle Sums up 442nd Fortitude," *Honolulu Advertiser*, April 4, 2003.
[542] Abbie Salyers Grubb, "A More Perfect Union: Japanese Americans and the U.S. Constitution (Exhibition)," *Densho Encyclopedia*; Alice Yang Murray, *Historical Memories of the Japanese American Internment and the Struggle for Redress* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008): 389-390; Elena Tajima Creef, *Imagining Japanese America: The Visual Construction of Citizenship, Nation, and the Body* (New York: New York University Press, 2004), 127.
[543] "American Heroes: Japanese American World War II Nisei Soldiers and the Congressional Gold Medal," *Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service*
http://www.sites.si.edu/exhibitions/exhibits/congressionalGoldMedal/
[544] Kakesako, "Medal of Honor Heroes," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, August 26, 2000.
[545] "Transcript of President Bush's Address," *CNN.com*, September 21, 2001
http://edition.cnn.com/2001/US/09/20/gen.bush.transcript/

with soldiers of today, and upset about anti-war demonstrations."[546] Ichiyama, like many of his fellow veterans, believed that their sacrifice in WWII was a direct fraternal lineage with the current sacrifices of the soldiers from Hawai'i deployed in combat in Afghanistan.

The explicit fraternal lineage between the Local Japanese WWII veterans and the current soldiers based in Hawai'i became salient when the U.S. Army re-activated the 100th/442nd RCT and attached it with the the 29th Separate Infantry Brigade (SIB) of the Hawai'i Army National Guard. Prior to their deployment to the Iraqi campaign in August 2004, General Joseph J. Chaves, the commanding officer of the 29th SIB, reassured the people of Hawai'i that he supported the men wearing the 100th/442nd shoulder sleeve insignia, the same insignia that the Local Japanese veterans wore in WWII. Chaves believed that "the colors of the [100th/442nd RCT], which are imbued with the traditions of honor, sacrifice and courage under fire—are the same colors that will fly proudly in the deserts of Iraq."[547] By donning the insignia, the current men and women in the SIB represented and extended the legacies of past sacrifices. By doing so these recent soldiers extended the memory of WWII Local Japanese military heroism, into the twenty-first century.

Extending beyond the lineage of the WWII Local Japanese veterans with the contemporary re-activated infantry outfit, two Local Japanese military men, former Chief of Staff Gen. Eric Shinseki and Lieutenant Ehren Watada, provide a juxtaposition to illustrate the importance of proper military descendants and their relationships with "Hawaiian" war hero patriarch, Sen. Inouye, and the larger Local Japanese community. Understanding the importance of military legacies, when General Eric Shinseki, a third generation Local Japanese, assumed the role of Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army in 1999, he emphasized modernizing the U.S. Army for the twenty-first century. As Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army, Shinseki created the Stryker Brigade, a fast-action deployable combat unit, as the cornerstone of the modern U.S. Army and a key program for his military legacy.[548]

In June 2006, Lt. Watada, a fourth generation Local Japanese, became the first U.S. commissioned officer on active-duty to refuse deployment to the Iraq campaign due to what he deemed an illegal war. Lt. Watada, stationed at Fort Lewis, Washington, was an officer in the Stryker Brigade, the personal "baby" of the former Chief of Staff Gen. Shinseki. The 28-year-old Lt. Watada's act of military resistance revealed the re-occurring significance of the WWII Local Japanese heroic memory, which created a tension not only within Hawai'i but also nationally with his firm resistance against the war in Iraq and his visible connections with Japanese America militarism from World War II.[549]

The reception by the Local Japanese community and others in Hawai'i was ambivalent towards Lt. Watada's resistance. In a viewer feedback issued by a Honolulu-based news station, residents voiced a range of sentiments, from pride in his refusal to disdain for his "unpatriotic and unmanly" actions. Many people in the Japanese American community viewed Lt. Watada's actions as a betrayal of the historical legacy of WWII Japanese American military heroism.[550]

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[546] Walter Wright, "442nd identifies with Iraq War," *Honolulu Advertiser* March 29, 2003.
[547] Rudi Williams, "The 'Go for Broke' Regiment Lives Duty, Honor, and Country," *US Department of Defense News*, May 25, 2000; Joseph J. Chaves, "Why 100th Battalion patch will go to Iraq," *Honolulu Advertiser*, September 17, 2004.
[548] Robert Burns, "Stryker Brigade Part of Shinseki's Army Legacy," *Honolulu Advertiser*, June 9, 2003.
[549] Gregg K. Kakesako, "Lt. Watada defends his war stance on CNN," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* November 16, 2006.
[550] Hillary Jenks, "Urban space, ethnic community, and national belonging: the political landscape of memory in Little Tokyo," *GeoJournal* 73.3. (2008): 241-2.

Many of the responders employed the memory of AJA military participation: "He is a disgrace to the uniform and a disgrace to the memory of Japanese-Americans who have fought for this country!" Another respondent, Richard, said "Mr. Watada is a traitor to this country and a disgrace to the Japanese-American community…[and] he is not a hero as some people are making him out to be."[551]

To understand the hetero-patriarchal aspects of Lt. Watada's case study, I consider the relevance of American Studies scholar Dennis Ogawa insights into the family structure of the Local Japanese in the late twentieth century, a period when Lt. Watada grew up in Hawai'i. Even though Lt. Watada distanced himself from the memory of the Japanese American World War II heroes, the Japanese American communities in Hawai'i and on the U.S. mainland nonetheless highlighted his Japanese American connection with the hetero-patriarchal past of the sacrifices of the Local Japanese WWII war heroes.[552] Born in 1978 and raised in Hawai'i, Lt. Watada grew up in a community that Ogawa describes as one dominated by the Local Japanese patriarchy. Ogawa paints a picture of the Local Japanese family that consists of a patriarchal figure in which the wife's obligation was "to keep her husband happy even though she had to make personal sacrifices."[553] The Local Japanese family had to obey the wishes of the father figure while preserving the family image. The Local Japanese family was comprised of "overachievers." As a result, according to Ogawa, "A Japanese American family cannot be average, run-of-the-mill or mundane. The family members must be the best at whatever they attempt; their Image must be unblemished and exemplary."[554] The familial expectations of upholding the heroic memory of Local Japanese WWII war heroes clashed with the perception of Lt. Watada's refusal to deploy. In turn, his action signified a betrayal of not only his Local Japanese family but also the larger Japanese American community.

From this perspective, Lt. Watada was not a "good son/descendant" within the Local Japanese military hetero-patriarchy precisely because he blemished the memory of the WWII Local Japanese veterans through his resistance to deployment. Ogawa documented that the children in the Local Japanese family were expected to "never talk back to their parents or disobey a parental order."[555] Lt. Watada's opposition to the war directly challenged the memory and authority of beloved Local Japanese military patriarchs—Gen. Shinseki and Sen. Inouye. In addition, Ogawa witnessed that the Local Japanese family strives to "attain a standard of the 'good life,' and gain the respect and admiration of others"[556] In many local residents' eyes, Lt. Watada's resistance fell along the lines of disobedience to not only the U.S. military but also the elders within the Japanese American community, especially the Japanese American veterans. In stark contrast to the anti-hero image of Lt. Watada, Sen. Inouye, widely-believed to be a war

[551] "Viewer Feedback About Lt. Ehren Watada," *Hawaii News Now*, July 12, 2006; Diane Ako, "Watada Defends Himself," *KHNL News8*, July 12, 2006; Diane Ako, "Lt. Watada Responds to Your Viewer Comments," *KHNL News8*, July 12, 2006; Greg Small, "Inouye agrees with court-martial for Watada," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin,* August 27, 2006.
[552] Charles Burress, "Officer's Refusal of Iraq Deployment Divides the Japanese American Community: The Cast of Lt. Watada," *The Asia-Pacific Journal* 4.9 (2006): 5-6.
[553] Dennis Ogawa, *Jan Ken Po: The World of Hawai'i's Japanese Americans* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1973), 28.
[554] Ibid, 40.
[555] Ibid, 39.
[556] Ibid, 48.

hero,[557] was reported to have felt that "because of his own record of service in World War II he 'can't be too happy' about 1st Lt. Ehren Watada's refusal to deploy." Sen. Inouye furthered his comments by agreeing to an army official's recommendation for Lt. Watada's court-martial.[558]

Consciously distancing himself from the genealogy of the "Hawaiian" war heroes of the 100th/442nd RCT, instead Lt. Watada deliberately chose to align his resistance with the historical actions of the Japanese American draft resisters during World War II from the U.S. mainland. Similar to the Japanese American draft resisters who opposed enlistment into the 100th/442nd RCT on grounds that the internment was unjust and unlawful, Lt. Watada's actions were endorsed by former draft resisters in mid-2007. Prominent Japanese American draft resisters, such as Frank Emi, supported Watada's refusal to deployment with enthusiasm and pride. Many of these WWII draft resisters looked towards Watada as "one of them."[559] Consequently, Watada became associated with Japanese American draft resisters on the U.S. mainland rather than the Local Japanese WWII veterans. Seen within a resistance genealogy, Watada garnered much admiration and support from resisters of previous U.S. military conflicts. In turn, his resistance resulted in national support from celebrities, such as Sean Penn on the U.S. mainland.[560] Even though Lt. Watada distanced himself from Hawai'i, prominent leaders of Hawai'i attempted to align Lt. Watada's actions with Hawai'i nonetheless.

In support of Lt. Watada, Senator Daniel Akaka (D-HI) and Representative Mazie Hirono (D-HI) defied many local residents who viewed Lt. Watada as the antithesis of Local Japanese WWII war heroes of the past by recognizing the validity of his actions. Senator Akaka, the first senator of Hawaiian ancestry, commented that he admired Lt. Watada's position and concluded that his refusal stemmed from "being reared and brought up in Hawai'i in a diverse population and with diverse culture and a care for the people."[561] In an attempt to offer an alternative definition to "Hawaiian" war heroes as non-analogous with Local Japanese WWII war heroes, Sen. Akaka gestured that Lt. Watada's family and upbringing in Hawai'i were responsible for his refusal. Rep. Hirono, who opposed the Iraq War, gave her support to Lt. Watada while recognizing his courage to stand up against U.S. intervention in the Middle East. Although both Sen. Akaka and Rep. Hirono occupied a minority voice within this episode and the larger community in Hawai'i rejected Lt. Watada as a "Hawaiian" war hero.

Local reporter Diane Ako polled residents and discovered that 87% of residents in Hawai'i disapproved of Lt. Watada's actions.[562] So even though Sen. Akaka and Rep. Hirono supported Watada, the overall sentiment towards Watada mirrored that of the feelings of the majority of residents across the Hawaiian Islands. Even though the local newspapers readily identified Watada through his association with his roots in Hawai'i by explicitly citing his educational background and local upbringing, a majority of residents of Hawai'i did not view Watada as "one of them." *KHNL News 8,* a local news station in Honolulu, asked local people about Watada's refusal. Lynn felt "so ashamed of this local boy…[because] our troops live and die for us so we the Hawaiian Island people can live in peace, 'We are the people of the

[557] Ida Yoshinaga and Eiko Kosasa, "Local Japanese Women for Justice (LJWJ) Speak Out Against Daniel Inouye and the JACL," in *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai*'i. Eds. Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Y. Okamura (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 295.
[558] Greg Small, "Inouye agrees with court-martial for Watada," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, August 27, 2006.
[559] L.A. Chung, "War resister's predecessors stand with him," *Mercury News*, July 6, 2007.
[560] Hal Bernton and Nancy Bartley, "Watada Court-Martial Begins," *The Seattle Times*, February 5, 2007.
[561] Interview with Amy Goodman and Senator Daniel Akaka, "Sen. Daniel Akaka (D-HI) on the Iraq War, Lt. Ehren Watada," *Democracy Now!*, May 4, 2007.
[562] Diane Ako, "Lt. Watada Responds to Your Viewer Comments," *KHNL News8*, July 12, 2006.

islands.'" Widespread disapproval of Watada's heroism mirrored sentiments about his local-ness or "Hawaiian" identity in stark contrast to the beloved portrayal of "native son" Gen. Shinseki. Ultimately Watada's court-martial ended in a mistrial in February 2007, and in October 2009, the U.S. Army did not pursue another prosecution and decided to discharge Watada under "other than honorable conditions."[563]

While Watada resisted the Iraq War, General Shinseki was honored with the opportunity to lead the Department of Veterans' Affairs, which illuminated his intimate connection with patriarchal war hero, Sen. Inouye. At General Shinseki's Senate confirmation hearing before the Committee on Veterans' Affairs in 2009, Senator Inouye spoke in support of Shinseki becoming the Secretary of Veteran Affairs, which revealed a form of Local Japanese 'ohana and hetero-patriarchal lineage. In the nomination hearing before Congress, Sen. Inouye emphasized the idea of 'ohana or family to explain that even though Shinseki was not blood-kin, their relationship represented a type of kinship that was just as legitimate and strong. Sen. Inouye explained to his colleagues at the confirmation:

> In Hawai'i, our favorite word is aloha, but second to that is the word "ohana," and that word means family. But a Hawaiian family includes men and women not necessarily of blood kinship but united by shared concerns and shared beliefs.[564]

Inouye highlighted that he nominated Shinseki for West Point, a type of fatherly gesture, and that the nomination for Secretary of Veteran Affairs highlighted the second time Inouye facilitated the patriarchal transferal of power from one generation to the next. Later in 2009, after the successful nomination of Shinseki, the late Senator Daniel Inouye became the chairman of the Appropriations Committee, which was considered the most powerful committee because it controlled the purse strings and enabled Inouye to help funnel hundreds of millions of federal money to the defense military budget in Hawai'i.[565] These two men would be responsible for directing significant amounts of military spending to the defense industries in Hawai'i, which in turn reinforced the hierarchy of worthy Local Japanese families.

The case of Lt. Watada's resistance in the mid-2000s ultimately revealed the contemporary contours and limitations of identifying as a legitimate descendant of past "Hawaiian" war heroes. Lt. Watada, although a Local Japanese, was largely championed as a hero not by residents in Hawai'i but by communities on the U.S. mainland, such as the Japanese American WWII draft resisters. Although the local newspapers kept grounding Lt. Watada's roots in Hawai'i by constantly citing his educational background as geographical legitimacy, many local residents rejected Lt. Watada as their local war hero on the grounds that his resistance shamed the heroism of Local Japanese WWII veterans. Even though Lt. Watada did not embody the "Hawaiian" war hero position like Gen. Shinseki, Lt. Watada was still a hero to many. Lt. Watada explained that, "Almost every day since I spoke out publicly, there have been people who have approached me—just ordinary people. People in uniform…have written to me

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[563] Kim Murphy, "Army to discharge officer who refused to go to Iraq," *Los Angeles Times*, September 29, 2009; The Associated Press, "Army Officer who refused Iraq Duty is allowed to Resign," *The New York Times*, September 26, 2009; Michael Tsai, "Discharged Watada ready to start a new life," *Honolulu Advertiser*, October 4, 2009.
[564] "Hearing on the Presumptive Nomination of General Eric K. Shinseki, to be Secretary of Veterans Affairs," *U.S. Government Printing Office*, January 14, 2009: 8-9; "Inouye's longevity benefits isles, nation," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, October 24, 2009.
[565] Ibid, 8-9.

and come up to me and have given me their support and their respect for what I have done."[566] Although the comparison between Shinseki and Watada reveals the dynamics of constructing "Hawaiian" war heroes, they nonetheless are both Japanese Americans. In addition to the policing of proper Local Japanese descendants into patriarchs, the next section shows how the privileged Local Japanese hetero-patriarchy legitimates certain families.

Hetero-patriarchal Families: "Hawaiian" Home-making and Houseless Kanaka Maoli

Building on the patriarchal lionizations of Local Japanese WWII war heroes and the legitimation of certain Local Japanese military descendants, Sen. Inouye and Gen. Shinseki's actions and influences over Hawai'i reveal the formation of celebratory Local Japanese as worthy "Hawaiian" representatives through the intersections of militarism, housing, and descendants. The War on Terror saw increased military spending and personnel funneled to Hawai'i, which impacted the housing market. Juxtaposing houseless Kanaka Maoli families with "Hawaiian" WWII war heroes and their descendants exposes how non-native Local Asians privilege non-native families over native families in regard to housing. Beginning in the early 2000s, both Gen. Shinseki and Sen. Inouye played important roles in securing and directing defense resources to the State of Hawai'i. [567] The defense industry is the second largest employer and requires a more college-educated pool of workers in comparison to the tourist industry, the largest employer of more unskilled laborers. The Chamber of Commerce of Hawai'i estimated in 2013 that direct and indirect impacts of military expenditures generated about $14.7 billion for Hawai'i's economy.[568] In 2021, the State of Hawai'i received $7.9 billion from the Department of Defense, which provided direct funding for the Department of Defense personnel salaries, defense contracts, and construction of military facilities and homes.[569] The defense industry, to reiterate, is a major lifeblood for the economy and middle class Local Asian residents.

With new military conflicts arising in the 21st century, Gen. Shinseki sought to modernize the U.S. Army through his personal project called the Stryker Brigade and sought to secure a unit for Hawai'i.[570] The Stryker Brigade, a fast-strike unit of wheeled armored vehicles, became the stalwart for a fast-deployment strategy of sending U.S. military personnel around the world at a moment's notice. In addition to Lt. Watada's Stryker Brigade stationed in Washington State, the Pentagon also planned to have a unit based in Hawai'i. Bringing the Stryker brigade to the Islands would direct hundreds of millions of dollars and an increase of 2,200 military personnel, which would be a boon for tourism and service businesses but not for housing prices. However, when the Stryker Brigade did come to Hawai'i for training maneuvers, activists and ultimately the federal court stopped the U.S. Army from future exercises owing to negative environmental

[566] Gregg K. Kakesako, "Lt. Watada defends his war stance on CNN," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, November 16, 2006.
[567] Patterson Clark, "Spending On the Military, 1988-2012," *Washington Post*, March 26, 2014.
[568] Chamber of Commerce of Hawai'i, "US Military: Hawaii's 2nd Largest Industry," January 2014 <http://www.cochawaii.org/wp-content/uploads/CCH-Military-broch-1g-NEW-LOGO.pdf>
[569] United States Department of Defense, "Readiness and Environmental Protection Integration Program (REPI) State Fact Sheets Hawai'i," 2023 https://www.repi.mil/Portals/44/Documents/State_Fact_Sheets/Hawaii_StateFacts.pdf (accessed June 29, 2023).
[570] Pichaske, "Shinseki," June 22, 1999.

impact concerns. Nevertheless before the Stryker Brigade was deployed in late 2007 to the Iraqi front, the Stryker Brigade had brought over hundreds of additional families to the Islands.[571]

Responding to the exorbitant housing prices for active service personnel and their families, Sen. Inouye earmarked hundreds of millions of dollars each year to assist military families in obtaining housing from the 1990s into the 2000s.[572] At the beginning of the 21st century, military personnel and their dependents averaged 100,000. That population had increased to around 130,000 by 2015.[573] Sen. Inouye played an important role in securing and directing defense resources to allow military families in Hawai‘i to receive Cost-of-Living Allowance (COLA) to supplement their salaries. These housing subsidies privileged military families at a time when houseless Kanaka Maoli families had little access to public housing services.[574] When housing subsidies were unable to meet the demand fully, Congress allocated millions of dollars to construct, renovate, and manage almost 16,000 military family housing units between 2004 and 2009, a deal worth $1 billion dollars.[575]

Sen. Inouye's ability during his tenure to divert hundreds of millions of federal dollars to maintain numerous defense installations across the Hawaiian Islands speaks to the privileging of military families. As chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, Sen. Inouye appropriated funds to support the of bases at Pearl Harbor, Hickam Air Force Base, Fort Shafter, Schofield Barracks, Barking Sands Missile Range, and others. These military bases and military maneuver-exercises encroach upon and desecrate sacred Native Hawaiian lands, such as the U.S. Navy's control of the island of Kaho‘olawe for twenty years in the late 20th century. In 2005, the Pentagon and U.S. Congress, in order to reduce defense spending, considered closing the Pearl Harbor naval base. Sen. Inouye led the successful congressional lobby to prevent the naval base's closure and thus saved thousands of middle-class jobs. Upon hearing the news that Pearl Harbor would stay open, machinist Robert Lillis rejoiced: "It's like winning the lottery. It feels

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[571] Robert Burns, "Shinseki gives Stryker thumbs up," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (June 9, 2003.); Gregg K. Kakesako, "Defense bill funds Strykers in Hawaii: Congress passes a bill that will give nearly a half-billion dollars for Hawaii projects," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (September 26, 2003); Gregg K. Kakesako, "Isles' Stryker bill up for vote: Bush's $339.7 million request for Hawaii projects could get increased," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (June 16, 2004); Susan Essoyan, "Schools face strain with Stryker's arrival," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (September 16, 2004); Kajihiro, "The Militarizing of Hawai‘i,"184-188.

[572] "Proposed '97 Pentagon spending for isles: $551.2 million," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (June 21, 1996); Pete Pichaske, "Senate Oks military construction bill: A record $248 million is pegged for the isles in the $8.4 billion package," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (September 1, 1998); "$268.5 million OK'd for isle military spending," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (June 11, 1999); "$367 million budgeted for isle military," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (July 24, 2005); "Isles to get $496.7 m in new defense bill," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (July 23, 2004); "Isle delegation packs a punch with veterans and military: 'Earmarks' help smaller states," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (January 16, 2007).

[573] "Section 10, National Defense," in *2016 State of Hawaii Data Book* (Honolulu: State of Hawai‘i, 2017)

[574] "Overseas (OCONUS) COLA Overview," http://www.military.com/benefits/military-pay/allowances/overseas-oconus-cola-overview.html; "Hawaii BAH (Basic Allowance Housing) Rates by Military Housing Areas," http://militarybenefits.info/bah-rates-state/hawaii/

[575] Anthony Sommer and Crystal Kua, "Homeless in Paradise: The 'rousting' of people living in parks is on the rise in all four counties," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (December 7, 2003); Rosemarie Bernardo, "Homeless problem hardly swept away," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (March 6, 2006); Gregg K. Kakesako, "Army wants to privatize military housing in Hawaii," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (August 16, 2002); Gregg K. Kakesako, "California firm lands Hickam housing deal," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (October 4, 2003); James Hosek, Aviva Litovitz, and Adam C. Resnick, "How Much Does Military Spending Add to Hawaii's Economy," *National Defense Research Institute* (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2011): 18-19.

very, very good."[576] To others, saving Pearl Harbor base signaled a future filled with higher housing prices and cost of living.

For those less fortunate families, the underbelly of U.S. militarism exposed the harsh housing realities for Kanaka Maoli. Even though not all Kanaka Maoli are impoverished, in relation to other racial groups in Hawai'i, Kanaka Maoli have significantly more trouble finding affordable housing. For the past three decades, the Urban Institute for the Department of Housing and Urban Development found that (1) Kanaka Maoli experience the highest incidence of housing problems (68%); (2) the incidence of housing problems was much greater for Kanaka Maoli households (49%) than for non-Kanaka Maoli (38%); and (3) the Kanaka Maoli population is younger, has lower average education, higher unemployment, and lower incomes in comparison to non-Kanaka Maoli population. In addition, Kanaka Maoli participation rates (over 24 percent) in federal, state, and local housing programs are higher than their share of the total population.[577]

Houselessness is also more common among Native Hawaiians than expected based on their representation in the state. In the early 1990s, Kanaka Maoli constituted 20% of the entire houseless population and in the mid-2010s, the percentage had increased to 30%. In a 2013 Hawai'i Homeless Utilization Report, researchers found that Kanaka Maoli are overrepresented in houseless families and constitute 47% of families who received houseless outreach services.[578] Residents in Hawai'i voiced their concerns over the lack of attention paid by the local government to this very serious problem.[579] Although the State of Hawai'i could not accurately record the number of "houseless" in Hawai'i during the early to mid-2000s, many reports estimated the population to be around 6,000, with Kanaka Maoli constituting between 30% to over 50% of the total "houseless" population and about 70% of the "houseless" population on the Waianae Coast. More than 25% of the "houseless" population held jobs, sent their children to public schools, and paid taxes while they faced stigma, such as their encampments breeding criminal activity.[580] Even though they are attempting to participate lawfully in Hawai'i's society, their inability to occupy permanent housing has created a situation where they are deemed unworthy and unfit "Hawaiians."

Many houseless Kanaka Maoli families are de-valued and vulnerable to law enforcement, politicians, and the local public for their lack of private property. In light of this housing issue, houseless Kanaka Maoli families attempt to create comfortable ohanas for their immediate and extended family members. At an encampment on the North Shore of Oahu, a houseless Kanaka

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[576] Gregg K. Kakesako, "Lobbying helps keep Pearl shipyard open," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, July 20, 2005.
[577] S. Yuan, I.R. Stern, and H. Vo, *Homeless Service Utilization Report: Hawai'i 2013* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, Center on the Family, 2013), 1-16.
[578] Ibid.
[579] Barbara Jesse, "Why isn't local government interested in the homeless," in Letters to the Editor, *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (July 23, 1996); "Mainlanders pinch housing: A survey says that one-fifth of Maui and Kauai owners are mainland residents," *Associated Press* (September 6, 2005); Mark Coleman, "Living the dream: Yosuke Tanio always wanted to live and work in America, and now he does," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (September 5, 2005); Stewart Yerton, "Securing the homeland: Camber Corp., which has been part of the booming industry in Hawaii, will participate in the Asia-Pacific Homeland Security Summit & Exposition later this month," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (September 11, 2005)
[580] "Pushing out homeless is useless and cruel," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (June 6, 2005); Rosemarie Bernardo, "Kamehameha grants aid charters, housing: Kamehameha Schools releases $9 million to help charter schools and the homeless," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (January 25, 2007); "Nina Wu, "Hope for the Homeless: More Shelters are being built, but advocates say it's just a start," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (May 20, 2007); Bernardo, "Nimitz homeless ousted: Crews remove homeless from viaducts," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (July 1, 2008).

Maoli felt that, "we are like one big family. We respected each other" but law enforcement arrived and "broke up our 'ohana here [and] displaced our families." To officials of the Hawai'i Tourism Authority, houseless Kanaka Maoli ohanas pose a grave threat to the tourism industry because the deeply troubling reality of houseless indigenous families seriously contradicts the "paradise" image of Hawai'i. Many houseless Kanaka Maoli are incarcerated. In 2011, Kanaka Maoli made up only 20% of the general population in the Hawaiian Islands but represented 40% of the incarcerated population.[581] Those numbers have not changed in 2023.[582] Kanaka Maoli are disproportionately harmed by the Hawai'i criminal justice system, which also negatively impacts their families.[583] Ironically, the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* reported the growing phenomenon in the early 2000s that the space of Hawai'i became fertile grounds in maintaining the "ohanas" of families from the U.S. mainland through annual family reunions. The *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* noted how the "beauty of the Islands was a therapeutic backdrop to strengthening [their] family bonds."[584] In response, Kanaka Maoli have resisted the vulnerability of their community through activism and protest.

Kanaka Maoli activists, through the Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement, a movement that started in the 1960s and 1970s that advocated for Kanaka Maoli sovereignty, respond to the degradation of their community due to houselessness and attempt to empower many houseless Kanaka Maoli families through protest. The Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement in the 2000s saw many activists mobilize around assisting houseless Kanaka Maoli. To educate their people, Kanaka Maoli activists such as the rap group, Sudden Rush, circulated songs about the ironies of houseless Kanaka Maoli: "So we're living on the beach and they call us squatters. Cuz we're living off our own land fishing from our own waters." In a biting critique of U.S. militarism, they explain: "Can't run from the past can't hide from the truth, and I still ain't wearing no soldier boots." Kanaka Maoli activist Haunani-Kay Trask supported this perspective by stating that Kanaka Maoli are chastised for not prioritizing private property over cultural and family values.[585] In the 2000s, law enforcement stepped up their rousting of "houseless" by forcibly relocating them from the beaches and public parks around the State of Hawai'i to temporary shelters to render them invisible to tourists and affluent residents. In response to the ousting of the "houseless," one of the largest protests erupted in 2006 in front of Honolulu Hale, which houses the city council resulting in four arrests including that of a kupuna, an elder, which outraged many Kanaka Maoli.[586] Protesting U.S. military presence, Kanaka Maoli activists staged a months long demonstration in Makua Valley to highlight the century-long occupation of the U.S. through military dominance.[587]

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[581] Hawai'i Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, "Is There an Uneven Administration of Justice for Native Hawaiians in Hawai'i?," September 2011 https://www.usccr.gov/files/pubs/docs/HawaiiAdministrationJusticeNativeHawaiiansReport.pdf (accessed June 29, 2023).
[582] Prison Policy Initiative, "Hawaii Profile," https://www.prisonpolicy.org/profiles/HI.html (accessed June 29, 2023).
[583] Charlotte West, "Native Hawaiians Are Overrepresented in Prisons," *Honolulu Civil Beat*, May 21, 2023 (accessed June 25, 2023).
[584] Tim Ryan, "'Ohana Connection: Family reunions are a way to keep ties strong," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (September 24, 2002); Leila Fujimori, "City forces homeless to leave Mokuleia," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (June 17, 2008).
[585] Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter*, 126.
[586] Leila Fujimori, "4 arrested as homeless protest at Honolulu Hale," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (March 28, 2006).
[587] Greg K. Kakesako, "Makua: Activists fight the Army's plan to resume training in the valley," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, January 19, 2001.

Ethnic Studies scholar Jonathan Okamura argues that in contrast to houseless Kanaka Maoli families the Local Japanese community is in position of power. Although not all Local Japanese are "successful," Okamura shows that the Local Japanese community, through the accumulation of property, educational attainment, and professional occupational status, has ascended to the relative top of the ethnic hierarchy. Large populations of Local Japanese families congregate in desirable neighborhoods, such as Kahala, Manoa, and Hawai'i Kai. In relation to other racial groups besides the haole community, the Local Japanese community tends to resemble the "model minority myth" on the U.S. mainland.[588]

Throughout the 2000s, the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* had a segment entitled "The Family Tree," which predominantly presented elite AJA and Chinese American families as respectable "Hawaiian" ohanas based on property and patriarchy. Although the newspaper did showcase a couple of Kanaka Maoli families, by far, the majority of the families were of Local Japanese and Chinese descent. Particular families such as the Louie family, the Dunn family, the Ho family, the Doo family, the Nakagawa family, the Fong family, the Lau family, the Wo family, the Kosasa family, and the Ai family were highlighted to show how these particular families operated or led beloved-entrepreneurial establishments such as hardware stores (City Mill), financial institutions (Finance Factors), eateries (Wally's Garage & Grill), wholesale businesses (Hawai'i Popcorn Co., ABC stores, furniture retail, and Hauoli Sales Co. Ltd., and Pacific Marine & Supply Co.), and utility companies (Hawaiian Electric Industries, Inc.). Across all of the articles, the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* used words like "patriarch" to show who was in control of the family businesses, highlighted many of the rags-to-riches narratives of family success, illustrated how marriage was an important institution in these family business, demonstrated how intergenerational inheritance allowed for these family businesses to continue, and ultimately reinforced the notion that they were the rightful "Hawaiians" of the Islands.[589]

The children of these prominent Local Asian families in Hawai'i attend private schools that uphold the memory of the Local Japanese WWII war heroes as the historical protectors of the Islands. 'Iolani School and Punahou School are the two top-ranked college-prep, private schools in the Hawaiian Islands, where tuition annually exceeds $30,000. Their students, such as former Honolulu Mayor Mufi Hanneman and former President Barrack Obama, became local and national leaders.

'Iolani School, Punahou School, and the veterans of the 100th Battalion and 442nd RCT have had a long shared history since the postwar. Many of the children and grandchildren of the veterans attended these schools, and in the 21st century, the memory of the heroism is still ingrained in the minds of these descendants. At 'Iolani School, the Local Japanese WWII veterans are honored yearly at events, such as Memorial Day and the Fourth of July, and

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[588] Okamura, *Ethnicity and Inequality*, 53, 55.

[589] Russ Lynch, "The form of family: For the Loui family, combining business with family is, well, just part of being a big, happy ohana," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, March 17, 2002; Tim Ruel, "At Wally's Garage, everyone is family," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, February 17, 2002; Erika Engle, "Just Doo it. They did." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin,* May 11, 2003; Sally Apgar, "Fall of the House of Fong," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, July 5, 2005; Tim Ruel, "Small firm appeals to lending exec," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, September 11, 2005; Erika Engle, "The Lau Factors: High powered but humble, well paid but frugal, busy but focused, chief executives Russell and Connie haven't forgotten their roots," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin,* February 19, 2006; Jacquelyn Carberry, "Family Tree, Baking Buddies: Ho'ala School's annual Cookie Bake fundraiser brings family and friends together," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin,* November 12, 2006; Jennifer Sudick, "City Mill: The home-improvement chain is still going strong after nearly 110 years in the family," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, April 13, 2008; Susan Essoyan, "Family of learning," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin,* April 27, 2008.

frequently showcased in the school's student newspaper and parent journal.[590] At Punahou School, the administration named a building after a Local Japanese WWII veteran whose three children and six grandchildren are Punahou alums. In addition, the family in charge of the Japanese Cultural Center of Hawai'i has a strong connection with the school.[591] By molding the future leaders of Hawai'i with a narrative of past Local Japanese heroism and the contemporary legitimacy of their Local Asian families as worthy "Hawaiians," the next generation is conditioned to believe that even though they may not be indigenous, their genealogy warrants their ascent.

To commemorate the 100th Battalion's 80th anniversary in 2022, community leaders in Hawai'i organized a virtual event targeting students. The event "asks youth to identify an important issue facing Hawai'i and to use the nisei soldiers' values to create an innovative solution to it."[592] Channeling the veterans' values of resiliency and loyalty, the students from 'Aiea High School conducted projects on student mental health, such as researching the impact of a lack of school supplies in public schools, of homelessness, and of food insecurity.[593] The organizer of the event, Kathleen Hayashi, addressing the students, linked the legacy of the AJA veterans with the future of Hawai'i: "Your participation in this inaugural project-based learning challenge, you have planted the seeds for a new and brighter future. Not only to preserve the legacy of the 100th Infantry Battalion, but to expand it."[594] The legacy of the 100th Battalion lives into the 21st century.

In Spring 2022, the most popular Hawai'i newspaper, The *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*, partnered with the nonprofit Nisei Veterans Legacy to sponsor a program called "Nisei Impact." The three-month program selected and supported local high school students to research and report on the veterans to "preserve, perpetuate and share the legacy of Americans of Japanese Ancestry who served in the U.S. armed forces in World War II." [595] For an entire week in April, the *Honolulu Star-Advertiser* published a daily profile on a specific AJA veteran to highlight their "stories of life, hardship, bravery and resilience."[596] The profiles emphasized their linkages with Hawai'i, how they overcame many obstacles during and after the war, connecting their sacrifices with better opportunities for the next generation.[597] Clearly, as shown throughout, the conscious molding of the youth is needed to maintain the memory and legacy of the AJA WWII veterans.

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[590] Tiana Bohner, "World War II Veterans Share their Stories," *Imua Iolani*, February 14, 2008; see *IMUA Journal* for numerous articles on the Local Japanese WWII veterans, family genealogies, and Hawai'i.
[591] "Yamane Family Hall," *Punahou Bulletin*; Christine Donnelly, "Lenny Yajima '79," *Punahou Bulletin*, Spring 2018.
[592] Jayna Omaye, "Student project seeks to perpetuate 100th Infantry Battalion's legacy," *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*, March 19, 2022.
[593] Kristen Nemoto Joy, "100th Infantry Battalion Student Challenge," *The Hawai'i Herald*, June 3, 2022.
[594] Ibid.
[595] Jayna Omaye, "Nisei Impact: Honolulu Star-Advertiser youth storytelling project honors Hawaii's Japanese American World War II veterans," *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*, April 10, 2022.
[596] Ibid.
[597] Marisa Fujimoto, "Nisei Impact: World War II veteran left behind legacy of bravery and dedication," *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*, April 12, 2022; L. Kensington Ono, "Nisei Impact: Ohana recalls family member as true American who fought heroically in World War II," *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*, April 11, 2022; Shane Kaneshiro, "Nisei Impact: World War II veteran, 99, recounts experience that earned his first Purple Heart distinction," *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*, April 13, 2022; Stephanie Yeung, "Nisei Impact: Veteran, 98, recalls joining famed 442nd Regimental Combat Team after Pearl Harbor attack," *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*, April 14, 2022.

The memory and legitimacy of Local Japanese war heroes as worthy "Hawaiian" leaders is also extended to the larger public and their children. Local museums serve as public conduits of shared community knowledge and memory from one generation to the next. In 2003, the U.S. Hawai'i Military Museum served up a historical genealogy of the militaristic narrative of the Hawaiian Islands. Similar to a bloodline, the Museum crafted a military history of the Hawaiian Islands that began with ancient Kanaka Maoli warriors, such as King Kamehameha the Great, and conclud with an exhibit solely for the commemorating of Gen. Shinseki. The Hawai'i Army Museum, which rests within Fort DeRussy Military Reservation[598] in Waikiki, became a visual and physical site to legitimate U.S. military occupation, providing a narrative of Local Japanese military men from Hawai'i as "proud warriors, brave soldiers, and patriotic citizens" of the U.S.[599]

With the passing of Sen. Inouye in 2012, Gen. Shinseki became the most important exemplar of the Local Japanese military patriarchy. Sensing the impact of the exhibit on the local community, retired Major General Herbert Wolff, the president of the Hawai'i Army Museum Society, felt honored that the museum housed "the Shinseki Gallery in Battery Randolph to portray a worthy model for the school children" of Hawai'i.[600] By aligning a Kanaka Maoli military genealogy with contemporary Local Japanese militarism, the commemoration of Gen. Shinseki as a "Hawaiian" war hero cements not only his role in Hawaiian history but also the sacrifices of past Local Japanese veterans as "Hawaiian" war heroes. In the post-Senator Inouye era, other "Hawaiian" war heroes have extended and maintained his legacy.

Conclusion: Political Descendants & "Hawaiian" War Heroes in the post-Inouye Era

In the aftermath of Sen. Inouye's passing, the legacy and memory of Sen. Inouye as a "Hawaiian" war hero remained strong while other Local Japanese descendants and other Local Asian war heroes rose to meet the vacuum in leadership for Hawai'i. The next generation of "Hawaiian" leaders consist of political and military descendants of Sen. Inouye and the next generation of "Hawaiian" war heroes are not only Local Japanese but also hail from other local Asian American and Pacific Islander groups. Sen. Inouye's namesake spread across: institutions in education, including an elementary school and four University of Hawai'i buildings or programs; the Department of Defense, including several military installations, museums, and centers; and in other public entities, including the National Oceanic Atmospheric Administration's Pacific Regional Center and a lighthouse on Kaua'i.[601] In the wake of Sen.

[598] Fort DeRussy Military Reservation was established in 1911, 13 years after the unlawful annexation of Hawai'i, and houses the Asia-Pacific Center for Security Study and the U.S. Army Musuem of Hawai'i ("Fort DeRussy Military Reservation," *Army.com* < http://army.com/info/posts/fort-derussy-military-reservation>)

[599] Kathy Ferguson, Phyllis Turnball, and Mehmed Ali, "Rethinking the Military in Hawai'i," Ulla Hasager and Jonathan Friedman, eds. *Hawai'i: Return to Nationhood* (Copenhagen: International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, 1994), 185.

[600] Gregg K. Kakesako, "Army Museum Honors Shinseki: An Exhibit Charts the Kauai Native's Life from Childhood to his service as Army Chief," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, March 28, 2004.

[601] Nanea Kalani, "Schofield elementary school to be renamed in honor of Inouye," *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*, April 20, 2016; "UH Hilo College of Pharmacy renamed in Sen. Inouye's honor," *Pacific Business News*, February 21, 2013; Office of Congresswoman Tulsi Gabbard, "Hawaii Delegation Honors Late Senator Daniel K. Inouye In Commemorating The Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center For Security Studies," press release, February 24, 2015, http://gabbard.house.gov/index.php/press-releases/396-hawaii-delegation-honors-late-senator-daniel-k-inouye-in-commemorating-the-daniel-k-inouye-asia-pacific-center-for-security-studies; Gregg K. Kakesako, "Think Tank Takes Name of Longtime Senator," *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*, March 9, 2015.

Inouye's passing, the *New York Times* pondered the political future of Hawai'i and questioned if the younger leaders in Hawai'i's Democratic Party would be able to fill the void.[602]

Notably, Local Japanese women descendants of the WWII Local Japanese veterans' generation met the call in the wake of the passing of Sen. Inouye. Before Sen. Inouye passed, his last dying wish was to appoint Congressional Representative Colleen Hanabusa, a third-generation Local Japanese, to replace him in the U.S. Senate. To Sen. Inouye, Hanabusa represented a seamless transition from the second-generation to the third-generation in terms of not only the political future of Hawai'i but also the best interests of the Local Japanese community. Even though Hanabusa was slighted by the then-Governor Neil Abercrombie who nominated someone else, Hanabusa did gain back her Representative seat in the late 2010s.[603]

Since filling the seat formerly held by Sen. Inouye, Senator Mazie Hirono, another third-generation Local Japanese, has maintained a steady eye on defense spending, keeping strong the lifeline to the local defense industry. Hirono was appointed in 2021 to serve as the Chair of the key Senate Armed Services Subcommittee on Sea Power, which oversees both U.S. Navy and Marine programs.[604] Her involvement on the committee has seen a steady flow of federal funds to defense installations across the Hawaiian State. *The New York Times* reported that in the 2022 congressional session, Mazie ranked fifth overall in the Senate in securing almost $500 million with $111 million going towards an army facility project.[605] Hanabusa and Hirono, both Local Japanese women, maintain Local Japanese patriarchy through their continued support of the defense industry and the legacy of Sen. Inouye.

In 2015, Mark Takai, a third-generation Local Japanese and lieutenant colonel in the Hawai'i National Guard was elected as a Congressional Representative. In his campaign, he invoked his genealogical legacy with the 100th/442nd RCT. Rep. Takai, with the support of VoteVets.org and its Vote Vets Action Fund spent $100,000 in advertisements. In a 30-second TV ad, titled "Service," the commercial linked past "Hawaiian" war heroes such as Daniel K. Inouye and Spark Matsunaga with the heroism and Local Japanese-background of Takai. The ad legitimated Takai's claim to political office by declaring that, "Mark Takai continues that tradition of service."[606] In reference to the 100th/442nd RCT, Takai aligned his legitimacy to represent Hawai'i in Congress with past Local Japanese veterans turned political leaders, which ultimately paid off when he was elected into office.

Not only Local Japanese descendants but also other non-native Local Asian American and Pacific Islander American politicians, such as Senator Tammy Duckworth, have championed their identity as "Hawaiian" war heroes to help justify their claims to office. Senator Tammy Duckworth (IL-D) and former Representative Tulsi Gabbard (HI-D). Sen. Duckworth, a Local Thai who was raised in Hawai'i and attended the University of Hawai'i with Rep. Takai, served in the Iraqi campaign where she lost both her legs. In a commercial entitled "Right," Duckworth

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[602] Jeremy W. Peters, "Loss of Inouye Means Loss of Clout for Hawai'i," *The New York Times*, December 28, 2012.
[603] Aaron Blake, "Abercrombie Apologizes for Questioning Inouye's Dying Wish," *Washington Post*, April 15, 2014; "Abercrombie Apologizes for Remarks on Inouye's 'Dying Wish,'" *The Rafu Shimpo*, April 23, 2014; "Abercrombie Apologizes for Questioning Inouye's Wish," *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*, April 14, 2014.
[604] Kevin Knodell, "Sen. Mazie Hirono to Chair Senate Subcommittee on Military Seapower," *Honolulu Civil Beat*, February 18, 2021; William Cole, "Sen. Mazie Hirono appointed chair of key Navy and Marine Corps subcommittee," *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*, February 18, 2021.
[605] Stephanie Lai, "As G.O.P. Rails Against Federal Spending, Its Appetite for Earmarks Grows," *The New York Times*, February 5, 2023.
[606] Gordon Y.K. Pang, "Veterans Group Will Run Ad Backing Takai for Congress," *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*, July 22, 2014.

highlights her Hawai‘i connection with Takai through shared educational and military experiences, primarily as “Hawaiian” war heroes.[607] In 2007 while campaigning for Senate, Sen. Duckworth traveled back to Hawai‘i and spoke about how she lives everyday with the goal to inspire the next generation because of the model of the “World War II generation who came back from the war and changed this country…Sen. Daniel Inouye was in that generation.” Furthering her connection as “Hawaiian” war hero, the *Honolulu Advertiser* reported that, “Duckworth is happy to point out that she and Hawai‘i-raised Punahou graduate Obama have ‘a kama’aina [local residents in Hawai’i] connection.’” Duckworth recounted that “the big thing for me is that I’m a McKinley High graduate….That gives you a lot of street creds. I wasn’t a rich kid.”[608] Even though Sen. Duckworth may represent the State of Illinois, her connection with Hawai‘i remains strong, so strong in fact that when in 2018 she gave birth to a baby girl she named her Maile, a Kanaka Maoli name.[609]

Former Rep. Gabbard, a Local Samoan, also identifies with the “Hawaiian” war hero. As a former veteran of the Iraq War who served with the late Rep. Takai, former Rep. Gabbard was a rising star of the Democratic Party. In fact, she was the first member of Congress to endorse Democratic Presidential candidate Bernie Sanders. Portrayed as a “Hawaiian” war hero, Rep. Gabbard’s endorsement included her recognition that Sen. Sander’s fit for the Presidency was due to his “heart of aloha.” Rep. Gabbard’s decorated military past has drawn considerable support from President Donald J. Trump and his former senior advisor Steve Bannon for her strong stance against “Islamic radical terrorism.”[610] Nevertheless, Rep. Gabbard’s identification as a “Hawaiian” war hero has aided her well in her political career.

In 2023, the latest elected Congressional Representative from Hawai’i, Jill Tokuda, also has deep connections with the AJA soldiers of World War II. Tokuda’s grandfather served in the Military Intelligence Service. Hailing from the island of Maui, Tokuda in February 2022 spoke in front of a crowd in Maui commemorating the grand opening of an AJA WWII veterans memorial center in Kahului. Linking the past with the present and with the future of Maui, Tokuda played upon the notion that the AJA soldiers are a distinctly yet defining thread in the fabric of Maui’s society: “That’s what makes this place to me so very special and worth fighting for and building on because it holds all of our stories, it’s a glimpse into our shared past that we have together, and more importantly, it embodies the hope of the shared future, the better future, for our island community.”[611] By weaving the heroism of the WWII veterans into the narrative of Maui’s history, Tokuda specifically highlights physical parts of the veterans center to capture the transgenerational importance of the center’s symbolism: “This literally embodies the vision of the Nisei Veterans Memorial Center and all of our nisei veterans. The past, the original roof to the pavilion; the present, in the building; and if you look right here at our feet the writings and the hand-drawings of preschoolers, the future. This center embodies all of these things.”[612]

From WWII to the War on Terror, from Local Japanese war heroes to Local Samoan war heroes, and from Kanaka Maoli to non-native “Hawaiians,” the “Hawaiian” war hero both as

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[607] Mark Takai, “Right,” September 22, 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QWtWl8zLZeE
[608] Will Hoover, “Duckworth working to win,” *Honolulu Advertiser*, January 8, 2006.
[609] Rod Ohira, “Duckworth inspires generations,” *Honolulu Advertiser*, October 19, 2007; Laurie Kellman, “Tammy Duckworth and daughter make Senate history,” *Star Advertiser*, April 19, 2018.
[610] Branko Marcetic, “Tulsi Gabbard is not your friend,” *Jacobin Magazine*, May 26, 2017; Emmarie Huetteman, “Tulsi Gabbard, Rising Democratic Star From Hawaii,” *The New York Times*, Nov. 28, 2015.
[611] Dakota Grossman, “Nisei veterans center opens new resource pavilion: Event held on Feb. 19 to mark 80 years since internment of Japanese Americans,” *The Maui News*, February 21, 2022.
[612] Ibid.

historical and contemporary fact is a profound cultural icon that ultimately legitimates a new group's rise to power. The "Hawaiian" war hero is not exclusive to the Local Japanese community and other groups can adopt the power of U.S. militarism and Empire through the vehicle of the war hero. Ultimately, the "Hawaiian" war hero is not a 20th century historical artifact that faded with the passing of Sen. Inouye, but a living, breathing and powerful contemporary identity that will surely have a vital role in shaping the future of Hawai'i.

Conclusion
Disentangling Civil Rights and Sovereignty Movements: A Hawaiian Identity

When I first embarked on this dissertation project in 2014, one of my objectives was to honor the sacrifices of my two family members, Lieutenant Yasutaka Fukushima and Staff Sergeant Daniel Yamashita, who volunteered from Hawai'i to serve in the 100th/442nd Regimental Combat Team (RCT) during World War II (WWII). While growing up in Hawai'i, I would listen to and read about the heroics surrounding the veterans of the 100th/442nd RCT. I was proud that one of the defining narratives of why the men fought was to fight against racial injustices, such as anti-Japanese racism, and to protect the civil rights of their Japanese American community and of other racial minorities living in the U.S., especially Asian Pacific Islander Americans (APIA).[613] This narrative of defending civil rights and fighting racial injustices would be extended by other WWII AJA (Japanese Americans from Hawai'i) veterans.

Senators Daniel Inouye and Spark Matsunaga, both WWII AJA veterans, advocated for and championed the causes of many APIA and Native Americans during their tenure in Congress.[614] For the APIA community, Inouye and Matsunaga supported and mentored many APIA community activists, politicians, and military officials.[615] For Native Americans, Inouye sponsored much-needed funding to federal tribes on the US mainland and Native Hawaiian educational programs in Hawai'i.[616] Inouye and Matsunaga were also instrumental in sponsoring legislation that honored and celebrated the contributions and experiences of APIAs in 1977, which later became Asian/Pacific American Heritage Month.[617] In 1988 after decades of Japanese American activism, both Inouye and Matsunaga helped support the the passage of Japanese American Redress, reparations to Japanese American WWII internees in 1988.[618]

The AJA WWII veterans fought for a better future for the next generation; however, whose future? While AJA WWII veterans championed for civil rights for U.S. racial minorities like APIA, Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiian) activists have raised indigenous sovereignty concerns that the AJA WWII veterans and their community are the new oppressors, or what they call "Asian settler colonials."[619] From civil rights to sovereignty movements, both movements rely on the root goal of social justice for the oppressed, for the aggrieved, and for the voiceless. APIA activists fight against forms of white supremacy and anti-APIA racism while Kanaka

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[613] This defining narrative can be found in many accounts that highlighted AJA military heroism, see Shirley Orville, *Americans: The Story of the 442nd Combat Team* (Washington D.C.: Infantry Journal Press, 1946); Lynn Crost, *Honor By Fire*; Robert Asahina, *Just Americans*; James McCaffrey, *Going for Broke: Japanese American Soldiers in the War Against Nazi Germany* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013).
[614] John Nichols, "Dan Inouye's Epic Civil Rights Championship," *The Nation*, December 18, 2012.
[615] Ivan V. Natividad, "Aloha, Daniel Inouye: Remembering Hawaii's True Son," *Hyphen: Asian America Unabridged*, December 21, 2012; Inouye and Matsunaga supported APIA community groups, such as the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) and the Organization of Chinese Americans (OCA).
[616] Liz Hill, "A Warrior Chief Among Warriors: Remembering U.S. Senator Daniel K. Inouye," *American Indian Magazine* (Spring 2014) 15.1 https://www.americanindianmagazine.org/story/warrior-chief-among-warriors-remembering-us-senator-daniel-k-inouye (accessed April 4, 2023).
[617] "An Act: To designate May of each year as "Asian/Pacific American Heritage Month," 102d Congress https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-106/pdf/STATUTE-106-Pg2251.pdf.
[618] *History, Art & Archives, U.S. House of Representatives*, "Long Road to Redress," https://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/APA/Historical-Essays/Exclusion-to-Inclusion/Redress/ (accessed April 4, 2023).
[619] Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Y. Okamura, eds., *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the habits of everyday life in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008.

Maoli activists resist colonialism and empire. White supremacy, anti-APIA racism, and colonialism/empire are related and interconnected.

However, the WWII AJA veterans should not be fully labeled as complicit. It would be a disservice to create a blanketed statement that all WWII AJA veterans dispossessed the Kanaka Maoli community in Hawai‘i or view the veterans as settler colonials. Kanaka Maoli scholar activist Haunani-Kay Trask speaks about the need to think past notions of complicity:

> …theorizing of settler colonialism goes beyond exposing complicity, offering instead new pedagogies—different ways of knowing, being, and responding to—of the living force of the colonial past in the present. Pushing beyond binary conceptions of power—oppressor-victim, white-nonwhite, settler-indigenous, settler-migrant—the intricate *relationality* of power shows how multiple binaries organize and layer differences within the settler state.[620]

This dissertation considered the various relations of power, in terms of formations of racial and ethnic identity, in regard to the experiences of the AJA WWII veterans. In different geographical spaces outside of Hawai’i, the chapters show the myriad ways in which the soldiers navigated different racial spaces while projecting different identities for survival, such as “Hawaiian” in the U.S. South.

The dissertation centers race as a lens to track the rise to power by AJA WWII veterans and their community, starting with WWII and focusing on the process of “Hawaiian” racialization wherein non-natives negotiated their identity as “Hawaiians.” The first three chapters detailed the process by which, during WWII, the AJA soldiers began to form attachments to Hawai’i as home while demanding better opportunities in postwar Hawai’i. With an upbringing that included haole dominance, plantation oppression, and anti-Japanese racism, AJA WWII soldiers witnessed new social discoveries while away from Hawai’i that undermined their notions of haole superiority and provided them with a newfound confidence to seek better opportunities in postwar Hawai’i.

The last two chapters track the rise to economic, political, and social power by the AJA veterans and their families in the postwar era with the passage of Hawai’i Statehood and the elections of AJA veterans turned Congressmen. By becoming “Hawaiian,” the AJA veterans aligned their political and economic futures with the future of Hawai’i.

Who counts as “Hawaiian”?

Ultimately, this dissertation speaks to two questions: who constitutes as “Hawaiian” and who can claim Hawai’i as home and its future? This dissertation on the formation of “Hawaiian” racialization of AJA WWII veterans offers ways to think about “Hawaiian” identity with regards to (1) Kanaka Maoli blood, (2) living inside/outside of Hawai’i, and (3) notions of sacrifice and claims to Hawai’i.

Kanaka Maoli and Hawaiian

With the issue of Kanaka Maoli blood, Peter Hong, a Kanaka Maoli living on the U.S. mainland, reflected in an essay about Hawaiian identity: “So what does it mean to be of Hawai’i

[620] Dean Saranillio, “The Obscenity of Settler Colonialism,” *Verge: Studies in Global Asias* 5.1(Spring 2019): 33.

today? The answer lies in an ongoing dispute over whether Native Hawaiian [Kanaka Maoli] ancestry is a requisite to being a Hawaiian."[621] In other words, does being Hawaiian require someone to have Kanaka Maoli blood? Even though the U.S. federal government currently uses blood quantum as a way to legally recognize Kanaka Maoli, Kanaka Maoli cultural beliefs do not view blood as the sole means for inclusion.[622] In short, should non-natives be included in the narrative of Hawai'i's History?

AJA WWII veterans have shown that non-native experiences by other communities from Hawai'i are a part of Hawai'i's modern historical narrative. However, we need to be cognizant and hyper-aware that we do not impose forms of cultural genocide when advocating the need to document a non-native Hawaiian experience over indigenous experiences. One is not more important than the other, but we need to transcend a native versus non-native divide to think through the middle, the gray zone, the area where we can better understand forms of "Hawaiian" culture that is respectful of indigenous practices and beliefs while treating specific non-native experiences as uniquely part of the fabric of Hawaiian life.

To better think about non-native experiences from Hawai'i, I propose that we identify non-native locals who are raised in the culture of Hawai'i as Hawaiians and to identify indigenous Hawaiians as Native Hawaiian or Kanaka Maoli. These identities of Hawaiian and Native Hawaiian/Kanaka Maoli are better understood in the context of outside of Hawai'i.

Living Inside/Outside of Hawai'i

For many Hawaiians and Native Hawaiians, living in Hawai'i is a requisite to being identified as Hawaiian because of the importance of place in local identity.[623] However, with the increase out-migration of Kanaka Maoli and Hawaiians, concerns have been raised about the future of a Hawaiian identity and the reproduction of Hawaiian culture.[624] In 2022, Hawai'i's population continued its annual decline with around 12,000 residents or 0.7% leaving the Islands in 2021. The population of Hawai'i has declined every year since 2016 and ranks Hawai'i among the five states with the most residents leaving.[625] Ethnic Studies scholar Jonathan Okamura notes that in 2021 there were more Kanaka Maoli living on the U.S. mainland than living in Hawai'i, while pondering their future.

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[621] Peter Hong, "What Does it Mean to be from Hawai'i?: A Honolulu-born mainlander reflects on how demographic and economic change are making an idealized Aloha State identity obsolete," *Honolulu Civil Beat*, October 15, 2018.

[622] J. Kehaulani Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).

[623] John P. Rosa, "'Eh! Where You From?": Questions of Place and Identity in Contemporary Hawai'i," in Camilla Fojas, Rudy P. Guevarra, and Nitasha Sharma, eds, *Beyond Ethnicity: New Politics of Race in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: Hawai'i, 2018), 78-93.

[624] Audrey McAvoy, "Spiraling housing prices spark worry about Hawaii's future," *Honolulu Star-Advertiser,* April 3, 2023.

[625] Stewart Yerton, "Hawaii's Population Drain Outpaces Most States—Again," *Honolulu Civil Beat,* January 5, 2022; Hawaii News Now, "Pandemic didn't stop Hawaii's population decline as thousands more flock to mainland," *Hawaii News Now* https://www.hawaiinewsnow.com/2022/03/25/pandemic-didnt-stop-hawaiis-population-decline-thousands-more-flock-mainland/ (accessed April 3, 2023); Grassroot Institute of Hawai'i, "High Cost of Living Continues to Drive Away Hawai'i Residents," https://www.grassrootinstitute.org/2022/12/the-trend-continues-hawaiis-population-declines-again/ (accessed April 3, 2023).

> When they migrate, Native Hawaiians take both Hawaiian culture and local culture with them. They have transplanted the former, as is evident in hula halau, canoe paddling clubs and olelo Hawai'i language classes, and contributed to the emergence of the latter. But Native Hawaiians' bidding aloha (goodbye) to Hawaii is much more significant than for other island ethnic groups. American Community Survey data from the Census Bureau indicates that in 2021 more Native Hawaiians resided in the continental U.S. (370,000) than in Hawai'i (309,800), their homeland.[626]

While Kanaka Maoli identity and culture is reproduced by Kanaka Maoli living on the U.S. mainland, Williamson Chang, a University of Hawai'i law professor who identifies as Kanaka Maoli, fears that:

> The departure of so many Native Hawaiians could dissipate Hawaiian values, like caring for the land, kuleana (sense of responsibility) and lokahi (working together). There's not a great effort to preserve Hawaiian values if you don't have Hawaiians. In other words, who's going to transmit these values? Who is going to teach these values?[627]

However, the resiliency of the Kanaka Maoli Diaspora to maintain their culture thousands of miles away from Hawai'i with hula halau, canoe paddling clubs, and olelo Hawai'i language classes, shows that dislocation cannot derail a community. Similar to AJA WWII soldiers maintaining and creating an "Hawaiian" Diaspora outside of Hawai'i in the 1940s, Hawaiian Diasporic communities are becoming more prevalent in the 2020s.[628]

With the outflow of residents of Hawai'i, Neal Milner, a former political science professor at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa, puts this outflow into context:

> "You may feel Hawaii is special enough to stay. You may feel this way even if you leave, which is what so many Hawaii expats say. So, help people who want to leave. Don't see them as lost souls or cultural deserters. See them as an extended part of Hawaii. Leaving is not a tragedy. And leaving has been so much a part of this place for so long – a good part, with lots of things to teach people in Hawaii about adapting to new cultures while maintaining their own."[629]

Now in the 21st century, with the high cost of living and the out-migration of many locals, the notion of who is "Hawaiian" is on the minds of many. For those leaving Hawaii, their future relationship with Hawai'i will hinge on how they view Hawai'i in relation to notions of home, culture, and nostalgia. But nonetheless, their attachment with Hawai'i will be determined by how much they retain their relationship with Hawai'i, while living outside of Hawai'i.

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[626] Jonathan Y. Okamura, "Hawaii's Brain Drain is Getting Worse. It's Taking our Culture Too," *Honolulu Civil Beat*, March 5, 2023.
[627] Audrey McAvoy, "Spiraling housing prices spark worry about Hawaii's future," *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*, April 3, 2023.
[628] Jessica Terrell, "What Does it mean to be Hawaiian Outside of Hawaii?" *Honolulu Civil Beat*, May 17, 2020.
[629] Neal Milner, "Struggling to Hang On In Hawaii? It's Ok to Go," *Honolulu Civil Beat*, September 30, 2021.

Sacrifice and Claims to Hawai'i

This dissertation documented that various ways in which the AJA WWII veterans leveraged their military service and sacrifice to demand more opportunities in postwar Hawai'i, creating a romantic narrative of sacrifice. However, we need to be critical by de-romanticizing the WWII AJA war hero, by understanding that the narrative of sacrifice creates a hierarchy of which local community deserves more in Hawai'i. We need to be nuanced when championing the AJA World War II veterans and to understand that the vehicle of the AJA WWII war hero continues to *impact* APIA and Kanaka Maoli communities, individuals, and institutions.

Finally, we need to stay vigilant in the interrogation of power structures in Hawai'i while realizing that racial minorities could become part of the dominant class.[630] While we advocate for U.S. civil rights, we should be weary that it does not infringe on the sovereignty of indigenous communities. Racial minorities have the potential to become the new natives, a source of settler colonial power to eliminate and replace the native with a new "natives."

[630] Dean Saranillio, "The Obscenity of Settler Colonialism," *Verge: Studies in Global Asias* 5.1(Spring 2019): 33.

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Romanzo Adams Papers, Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory, Hamilton Library, UHM
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War Relocation Authority (WRA) Records, National Archives and Records Administration
Western Defense Command (WDC) Records, National Archives and Records Administration

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