

PREDATORY POLITICS:  
U.S. IMPERIALISM, SETTLER HEGEMONY, AND  
THE JAPANESE IN HAWAII

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To my *nisei* parents Neil Keiichi Kosasa and Mary Shizuko Goto Kosasa

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## ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the United States as a settler colonial nation and its relationship to the colonized Native Hawaiian people. Understanding the dominance of U.S. imperialism in Hawai'i is critical to this project. More specifically, it focuses on the role played by the diasporic Japanese community in maintaining Hawai'i as a colony of the United States. Although the Japanese suffered under racist American laws well into the mid-twentieth century, they continually sided with the white colonial community against Native Hawaiians.

The writings and theories of V.I. Lenin on imperialism and Antonio Gramsci on hegemony frame the political analysis of this project, shedding insights on the conflicts within a colony between the citizens of two different nations: imperialist and colonized. The first chapter describes the competition between the United States, Russia/Soviet Union, and Japan to dominate the north Pacific during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Eventually, when the United States annexed Hawai'i in 1898, two societal groups were created: colonized Natives and settlers, both white and of color. Later chapters explore the participation of Japanese settlers in the colonial society and their ascension into positions of power within the islands' settler hegemony.

During the 1960s, the Japanese restructured land use laws in the islands thereby forcing the elite *haole* (white) settlers to share their economic wealth and land holdings. This gave birth to an uneasy alliance and co-rulership between the *haole* and Japanese settlers. Both communities' success depended upon keeping the Native people colonized, continuing into the present day.

The dissertation proposes that fair-minded Japanese settlers interested in social justice rethink their support for the United States and its predatory

policies. The Japanese in Hawai'i can work to dismantle this imperialist nation thereby leaving a space for the Hawaiian nation to reconstitute itself and an opportunity for other countries to work toward an egalitarian world.



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## INTRODUCTION

### UNDERSTANDING THE TERRAIN

Colonialism is not a type of individual relations but the conquest of a national territory and the oppression of a people: that is all.

Frantz Fanon<sup>1</sup>

The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world, in various ways; the point is to *change* it.

Karl Marx<sup>2</sup>

Many third generation Japanese settlers in Hawai'i who are now legislators in the federal and State\* government, educators in the public school system, and local financial leaders (e.g., developers, retailers, bankers) believe that the United States is composed of a nation of immigrants. In this immigrant ideology, everyone has the "equal opportunity" to purchase land, to education, and to housing. Ideologically the United States is defined as a great nation because it has provided citizens with economic and political "freedoms" that were and are "lacking" in their ancestral lands or in any other nation of the world. Here in their "new home" whether it is on the Hawaiian Islands or on the continental United States, most Asian settlers believe they have a "right" to pursue economic and political dreams even if their success is based on the continued colonial subjugation of the indigenous peoples whose homeland they occupy.

Most American citizens are educated to believe that the United States is a "benevolent" and "just" nation rather than a settler colonial one. Many

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\* When using the word "state," I capitalize the "S" to identify the State of Hawai'i while a lower case "s" refers to the American federal government or references to nation-states in general.

American citizens see themselves or their ancestors as immigrants who came to the “vacant land” of America to improve the qualities of their lives rather than as *settlers* occupying Native lands. This “immigrant world view” is part of the politics of the national identity of the United States. Scholar Bob Hodge and Vijay Mishra argue that a settler colonial nation’s quest for national legitimation is two fold: 1) creation of a foundation myth in order to establish the right of ownership of the land and 2) strategies to remove the indigenous people.<sup>3</sup> Thus this immigrant world view is part of a national American legitimation enterprise to conceal the colonial origins of the United States by constructing images of a new land empty or devoid of any “civilized” indigenous peoples. Hodge and Mishra go on to argue that establishing a foundation myth is not enough. The need to legitimize a settler colonial nation’s existence is so constant that new forms of the foundation myth are continually generated.<sup>4</sup> Hence settlers and their descendants accept the foundation myth and its many variations such as the falsity of “a nation of immigrants” in order to justify their presence in a settler colonial nation like the United States.

My study will look at how Asian settlers, particularly local Japanese settlers, are politically educated to support and collaborate with the U.S. colonial policies and practices. This education or indoctrination occurs in both the public and private spheres of society through the enforcement of laws/judicial rulings and the dissemination of ideologies. These colonizing forces, in other words, continually coerce settler citizens and residents to change their views of themselves from settler to immigrant. Within the immigrant worldview, the colonial presence and agenda of the United States is embraced as “democratic opportunity.” In accepting the immigrant perspective, Asian settlers uphold the colonizers’ interests, which in turn oppose all Native peoples and their initiatives

to restore their self-determination or sovereignty. This study will look at how local Japanese settlers in Hawai'i maintain the colonial hegemony of the United States and its dominant settler society over the Native Hawaiian nation and people.

No doubt the pervasiveness of racism in the colonial United States complicates and confuses the relationship of settlers of color to the dominant white settlers and the Native peoples. Recent scholarship has proudly brought forth the voices and perspectives of Asian settlers who actively struggled against U.S. racist laws and practices. Yet when it comes to the relationship with the Native peoples, the majority of Asian settlers have collaborated with the colonizer against the indigenous peoples. Japanese settlers in the islands are a good example. Despite suffering a century of unrelenting labor and race discrimination, they nevertheless support and enforce those same colonial laws against Native Hawaiians.

If Asian Americans are seen within the context of settler colonialism, then their struggles against racism operate within the settler colonial structure of the United States. As a result, Asian settlers merely want to change certain aspects of the structure rather than overthrow the settler colonial reality they accept as their "new home." When Asian settlers fight racism, then, their concerns and issues remain within the confines of the American settler colonial structure. As Asian settlers, they never address the racist and genocidal policies and practices of imperialist United States against the Native peoples. On the contrary, they both benefit from the existence of the United States, and adopt American racist attitudes towards indigenous people.

Unless Asian settlers actively resist settler hegemony, their arguments against inequalities based on class, race, or gender will incorporate the

worldview of American colonialism into their proposed solutions. Even when Asian settlers support indigenous peoples claims to sovereignty, if they do not accept sovereignty to mean overturning the colonial power structure in revolutionary ways, their thinking and actions remain within the politics of settler colonialism. Without a move toward structural change, their politics as Japanese settlers may give the “appearance” of supporting Native Hawaiian sovereignty when in fact they are reinforcing the settler state and its settler demands.

### **The Comparison**

V.I. Lenin, in *State and Revolution*, pointed out the use of the same political tactic where the ruling class and its allies employ concepts and words to signify change but in practice support the existing power structure. Although Lenin was arguing mainly against his contemporary, Karl Kautsky, over what defines a Marxist, Lenin nonetheless points out the political strategy where arguments often “appear” to be revolutionary but in fact actually are the opposite. These deceptive arguments attempt to quell resistance by offering solutions within the exploitative structure. Lenin accuses Kautsky of this very same tactic to prevent change from occurring by advocating solutions that allow the oppressive forces and structure to continue.

Within the context of settler colonialism, one must ask the question are local Japanese settlers taking a “Kautsky-like” stance by speaking as if they support all peoples in the islands but in fact are only helping settlers? Japanese legislators and educators need to ask themselves what kind of roles they are playing relevant to the subjugation of the indigenous Hawaiian people. Are they educating students or passing laws to rectify the injustices done to Native



Hawaiians by calling for the end of the colonial state or are they fortifying it?

Although Lenin was making an argument about revolutionary change in the early twentieth century, his analysis regarding power relationships in class society is relevant to an understanding of local Japanese settlers in Hawai'i. For example, settler interests resemble bourgeois class interests especially in their relationships to the state. If one looks at the representation of state power in the two societal examples, the state gives political and economic power to the settlers within the settler colonial state and to the bourgeoisie within a capitalistic state. When issues come up such as the privatization of land, settlers and bourgeoisie will have unfair advantage for legislation and rulings will be written with their interests in mind. In Lenin's case, he critically examines class relationships and their different state functions within bourgeois hegemony in order to overturn that bourgeois structure. This dissertation, then, will incorporate applicable segments of Lenin's analysis of power relationships by looking at settlers, particularly Japanese settlers, and the collaborationist role they have come to play in supporting the colonial state and its purpose of subjugating the Native Hawaiian nation for the benefit of settlers. Following Lenin's position of struggle, this study's perspective and tone will always be moving toward overturning that settler colonial system. Many Japanese settlers today, within this context, can easily be seen as performing Kautskyist tactics. Hence Lenin's analysis will give this dissertation a new theoretical context and direction to rethink the role and position of Japanese settlers within colonial Hawai'i.

#### *Lenin's Influence*

Most local Japanese histories are told from the colonizer's "immigrant world view" where the stories begin with "humble" Japanese contract laborers

who later transform themselves into successful and productive citizens within “sparsely populated islands.” Generally, U.S. colonialism is rarely mentioned in these narratives even though laborers began to work on the various colonial plantations in 1885. In the settler narratives, Native Hawaiians are naturalized as merely another ethnic group similar to the Japanese settlers. The colonizers (sugar planters and/or the *haole* business class) are defined as oppressors, which the Japanese then overcome and later skillfully mimic. Hawai‘i is never politicized or spatialized as a colony of the United States. The works of indigenous scholars and nationalists Haunani-Kay Trask (Native Hawaiian) and Ward Churchill (Creek/Cherokee Metis) make settlers aware of the continuous colonial status of the United States in Hawai‘i and elsewhere. Trask’s path breaking book, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai‘i*, argues that both Asians and *haole* are foreigners occupying Native Hawaiian lands and enriching themselves thereby.<sup>5</sup> Yet recent scholarship by local Japanese academics/writers—e.g. Ron Takaki, writers in *Bamboo Ridge*—refuses to see themselves as settlers in Hawai‘i but continue to use this “immigrant world view” to justify their benefits from this colonial system by celebrating their “success” stories or romanticizing their past local/plantation histories.

As a way to shatter this ideological perspective of an “immigrant” identity which not only masks their settler status but the colonial status of the United States as well, the local Japanese need to identify their position politically within the larger power context of colonialism. To do this, Lenin’s critique of Kautsky’s rejection of the “dictatorship of the proletariat” will be used as a way to illustrate the similar participatory role of the Japanese in supporting the colonial state. Lenin calls Kautsky a “lackey of the bourgeoisie”<sup>6</sup> for he brings forth allegedly “proletarian” answers, which predictably, do not threaten the bourgeoisie’s

power base. In other words, Kautsky advocates change within the bourgeois system and not the dismantling of it. Kautsky's political position, then, characterizes the way liberal Japanese settler legislators are always trying to produce solutions for Native Hawaiians that really benefit the settlers and not the indigenous people.

### *Lenin and Kautsky*

Lenin argues that in order to move from a capitalist society to a communist society there needs to be a transitional period where the proletariat dominate in order to "abolish" any vestiges of bourgeois structures and class. This is not just overturning one class for another, but ending an "entire historic period" of bourgeois exploitation and the beginnings of a society's new relationship to the social means of production. Hence during this transitional period—called the dictatorship of the proletariat—the state is being restructured in order to guide society into a new era. The state, then, is "democratic *in a new way* (for the proletariat and the poor in general) and dictatorial *in a new way* (against the bourgeoisie)." <sup>7</sup> Thus when a classless society is finally established, the state is no longer needed to suppress any exploitative classes because all those oppressive forces would be gone.

Lenin agreed with Marx and Engels that

the state is an organ of class *domination*, an organ of *oppression* of one class by another; its aim is the creation of "order" which legalises and perpetuates this oppression by moderating the collisions between the classes. <sup>8</sup>

Reconciling class difference within a bourgeois state is impossible because the structural and ideological advantages will always be on the side of the bourgeoisie. Following Marx, Lenin asserts that the proletariat must destroy the bourgeois state in order to end oppression. Therefore Lenin attacks Kautsky's

illogical stance that the proletariat will be able to dominate society within the same exploitative structure that enslaves them in the first place.

In *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat*, Kautsky argues Lenin's advocacy of the proletarian dictatorship would automatically suspend "democracy." "The will of the majority of the people" would then be silenced. Universal suffrage, Kautsky contends, is the only way societal change can occur without the violence of revolution.<sup>9</sup> Lenin fires back that Kautsky fails to recognize that bourgeois class interests and perspectives are inherently built into the bourgeois state system. Thus capturing the majority of the votes as Kautsky suggests would not stop the exploitation of the classes by the bourgeoisie because the state that gives the bourgeoisie their power and privilege in society would remain in tact.<sup>10</sup>

While Lenin attacks Kautsky on many different levels, Lenin never deviates from his perspective that in order to liberate the proletariat and poor, the state structure must be "smashed" and replaced with a new one to support the oppressed. Changing the actors/players who run the state and not the state itself, according to Lenin, will not support the eventual attainment of classless society as Kautsky claims. Similarly within a settler colonial system such as the United States, unless the colonial system is dismantled, indigenous peoples will always be subjugated and will never control their own nations and lands. Thus immigrant ideologies such as "hard work will bring economic success" or "freedom is a given right for all citizens" conceal the colonial status of the United States and the benefits which the colonial system allows settlers. *Just as the bourgeois/proletarian conflict was the "burning" question of Lenin's time, the settler/indigenous conflict is the critical question of our time.* What is important to recognize is the structural clarity Lenin maintains. He constantly links the state

as empowering or oppressing different classes. In other words, the state is never neutral.

Lenin makes three points in his argument with Kautsky that need to be underscored in order to illuminate the position local Japanese settlers occupy within a settler colony. First, in *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, Lenin points out that Kautsky formulates the problem in the wrong manner. In his “theoretical confusion,” Kautsky sets up an erroneous opposition between “dictatorship of the proletariat” and “democracy of the proletariat” rather than between the “dictatorship of the bourgeoisie” and the “dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin reasons that although Kautsky understands the state represents class domination, he illogically “glosses” over the inability of the bourgeois state to rectify proletariat exploitation. Kautsky actually perceives the state as neutral in resolving proletariat problems. Hence he warn proletarians to be careful of the dictatorship tendencies to stop proletarian democracy instead of warning the proletariat of existing oppressors, the bourgeoisie. To this nonsense, Lenin reminds Kautsky the bourgeois state and its institutional agencies are “instruments for the oppression of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie, institutions of the hostile class, of the exploiting minority.”<sup>11</sup> Therefore the state supports bourgeois interests unless the bourgeois state is dismantled and replaced with a proletarian state.

Kautsky argues, in essence, this revolutionary process to liberate the oppressed is an “either/or” situation—either through democracy or dictatorship. Lenin attacks Kautsky for presenting the “liberal” perspective because dictatorship does not suspend democracy as Kautsky claims. This is the wrong comparison. Lenin gives an example that the dictatorship of slave-owners did not “abolish” democracy for the slave-owners, only for the slaves. Hence the

dictatorship of the proletariat will not end democracy for the proletariat, only for the bourgeoisie. Lenin argues one cannot speak in generalities or without the class factor as Kautsky had done with democracy and dictatorship. In leaving out the specific class component, Lenin accuses Kautsky of turning Marx's idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a "liberal" analysis. Kautsky speaks in terms of a generic or "pure" democracy rather than of bourgeois democracy or proletarian democracy. Any Marxist would not speak in generalities according to Lenin, but in specificities of class as to who benefits and who is oppressed.

This difference in understanding the dictatorship of the proletariat is not a minor moment of dissimilarity within a larger framework of agreement between Kautsky and Lenin. Kautsky's misunderstanding of the dictatorship of the proletariat reflects an entirely different worldview from the one Lenin is representing. For example during the transitional period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Kautsky identifies a different oppressor than Lenin. Kautsky sees other proletariats as potential exploiters rather than the bourgeoisie. In other words, Kautsky wrongfully formulates the power opposition as between proletariats abusing each other (democracy verses dictatorship) rather than as the bourgeoisie exploiting the proletariat (bourgeoisie verses proletariat).

Second, Lenin exposes Kautsky's thinking as remaining within the "boundaries of bourgeois reasoning and politics." Lenin points this out by focusing on Kautsky's avoidance of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is "the most important problem of the entire proletarian class struggle."<sup>12</sup> Unless one accepts the dictatorship of the proletariat, one does not ensure the displacement of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois state. In *State and Revolution*, Lenin explains this critical concept in another way by defining a Marxist as "one who *extends* the acceptance of class struggle to the acceptance of the *dictatorship of*

*the proletariat.*"<sup>13</sup> He emphasizes a two part definition of Marxism—class struggle plus the acceptance of the dictatorship of the proletariat because many people assume Marxism is primarily about class struggle. However, according to Lenin, anyone who thinks in this manner distorts Marxism and more importantly, confines the understanding of Marxism within the bourgeois worldview. In other words, if Marxism is understood as only a class struggle, it is reduced to a mere "description" of the existing economic and social relationships with no call for economic and political change. Lenin argues that to perceive Marxism as a class struggle alone without the dictatorship of the proletariat is to make it acceptable to the bourgeoisie who are the very group Marxists should try to overthrow. Therefore Lenin argues that to have a complete understanding of Marxism, class struggle must be understood as involving structural change in society and the state through the acceptance of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In another example, Lenin shows Kautsky's reasoning to be within the confines of bourgeois thinking by pointing out the fallacy of his democracy and dictatorship opposition. If Kautsky supported the proletariat, Lenin argues, Kautsky would have asked the question: "is the dictatorship of the proletariat possible *without infringing democracy* for the exploiting class?" Or stated in a more contextual way, can democracy be "*preserved for the rich and the exploiters* in the historical period of the overthrow?"<sup>14</sup> Kautsky's avoidance of the nature of the class struggle and proletarian revolution only reflects Kautsky's inability to think outside the bourgeois worldview.

Third, Lenin calls Kautsky's argumentative maneuverings a subterfuge for foiling structural change.<sup>15</sup> Kautsky creates such confusion and caution over the word "dictatorship" that it strategically turns one's focus away from overthrowing the bourgeois structure and instead moves one's attention to find

solutions within that bourgeois structure. Lenin calls Kautsky a “petty bourgeoisie” for he is looking only to improve conditions within the bourgeois state and not to overturn it. Since Kautsky thinks within the limits of bourgeois politics and philosophy, his position and solutions will always be toward supporting and maintaining bourgeois interests at the expense of proletarian interests.

Although the argument between Lenin and Kautsky is much more complex than what is presented here, the above points and examples are highlighted in order to make linkages with, and to broaden the understanding of, Japanese settlers in colonial Hawai‘i. In two important ways, local Japanese legislators and educators play a role similar to that of Kautsky’s. Politically, local Japanese legislators create a subterfuge by appearing to support Native Hawaiians in their struggle for self-determined sovereignty while in fact they are creating solutions within the settler colonial system. This would keep Native Hawaiians colonized and local Japanese privileged. Educationally, there is a movement by many Japanese settlers and other Asian academics and literary writers to recast their past island history in a “nostalgic” mode. Their purpose is to recreate a political identity that not only obscures their present political and economic power but also positions them as being similar/equal to those communities and Native people who are still struggling. This is more than a subterfuge; it is an expression of ruling class ideology.

Many Japanese settlers would strongly object to the suggestion of playing a Kautskyist role in contemporary Hawai‘i. The manipulative role doesn’t fit the local Japanese understanding of their “immigrant to successful American” history and identity. The purpose of this dissertation is to show how, within a hundred years, local Japanese have come to identify and naturalized their



presence by means of a colonial ideology. Extrapolating from Lenin's analysis, it is not enough to name the differences between groups who have power and those who don't such as with the bourgeoisie and proletariat or settler and indigenous, but more importantly, the point is to rectify those differences by overturning the exploitative/colonizing state. Kautsky, as used here, will represent the position local Japanese embody within a settler colony. The question of this dissertation could be framed thus: how did Japanese settlers come to hold a Kautsky-like attitude and position? Most local Japanese do not question or concern themselves with their role as settlers in a colony. Nor do the Japanese even classify themselves as settlers. But the question needs to be asked if local Japanese legislators' and educators' ignorance and complacency are enabled by a "comfortable" settler life gained at the expense of Native subjugation. And beyond that, whether any possibility of resistance exists among younger Japanese.

### **Organic Intellectuals: Gramsci and others**

Although Lenin organized to overturn the bourgeois system and Kautsky worked to uphold it, Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci would define Lenin and Kautsky's interests in educating people to accept a particular conception of the world as the *function* of an intellectual. Gramsci argues that intellectuals are not an independent or autonomous class unconnected to society's politics and power as is often thought. Intellectuals clearly belong to specific groups/classes and thus represent and support those particular interests. Hence *intellectuals perform a specific function in society: either rejecting or supporting the existing hegemony through their ideas and actions*. For example, Lenin's work countered the bourgeois state while Kautsky supported it.

To emphasize the role of intellectuals, Gramsci explains “all men are intellectuals...but not all men have in society the function of intellectuals.”<sup>16</sup> Here Gramsci points out that everyone in society uses his/her intellect. There is nothing special about that ability for every human activity is done with one’s intellect. In fact, every person, Gramsci asserts, is a philosopher who “participates in a particular conception of the world” and therefore works to sustain, modify, or bring into creation that world view or ideas. Hence Gramsci’s phrase “all men are intellectuals.” However when one performs in the role of an intellectual in society, that role is not extraneous to the production of society. Gramsci argues that intellectuals serve the political purpose of organizing people to uphold or overturn the hegemonic power system.<sup>17</sup>

One of the strengths of Gramsci’s work is his insistence that the function of political, cultural, and financial activities is to support ruling class and state interests. Gramsci’s analysis is similar to Lenin’s in that both make connections between classes, activities, and the state. However in understanding the role of intellectuals within the “general complex of social relations,” Gramsci further divides intellectuals into two categories: traditional and organic. Traditional intellectuals disseminate ideologies in civil society and pass laws in political society in order to preserve that hegemony. They are “deputies” of the ruling class; “they” organize people to accept the current hegemonic order. Thus as part of the maintenance of hegemony, traditional intellectuals present their position as an “uninterrupted” historical function in society and their knowledge as “specialized.” Moreover, they represent themselves and their knowledge production as autonomous and independent from the ruling class and its interests. Gramsci gives the example of priests being traditional intellectuals in feudal times because they were linked to the landed aristocracy and benefited

from that linkage.<sup>18</sup> Kautsky was a traditional intellectual because he upheld the bourgeois state. For this dissertation, settlers who support U.S. settler colonialism will be considered traditional intellectuals.

Organic intellectuals, on the other hand, arise out of a “new” class/social group and oppose the present hegemonic order.<sup>19</sup> They educate people to become politically conscious of their conditions and to resist their assigned place within the ruling class’ worldview and system. Hence, organic intellectuals function to create counter hegemonic ideologies as well as mobilize people into action. Both these revolutionary activities are necessary to usher in a new historical bloc, a new hegemony. Gramsci argues that it is not enough to be eloquent speakers, organic intellectuals must be active participants in bringing about structural changes. In other words, to transform society, organic intellectuals must function as “permanent persuaders” or organizers of people. Thus organic intellectuals are organizers such as union or factory leaders and teachers. Lenin should be considered an organic intellectual because he educated the proletariat and poor about revolutionary ideas as well as ushered in structural changes in Tsarist Russia.<sup>20</sup>

To help rethink the role of Japanese settlers in colonial Hawai’i, I will use the writings of revolutionaries/organic intellectuals Antonio Gramsci, Frantz Fanon, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, Haunani-Kay Trask, and others who have worked and/or continue to work to overturn unjust hegemonies. The works by these organic intellectuals will help to illuminate the contextual framework of colonialism in Hawai’i and the function of Japanese settlers in their support of U.S. hegemonic order.

## **Gramsci: Hegemony, State, and Dual Perspective**

Most scholars agree that Gramsci's greatest contribution to the theory and study of Marxism is his work on hegemony. However in his *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, Gramsci gives Lenin the honor of being first to articulate in theory and to initiate in practice the importance of hegemony.<sup>21</sup> While Lenin does not use the word "hegemony" throughout his work, his ideas on the dictatorship of the proletariat can be described as a hegemonic theory of state power. Lenin argues rigorously against Kautsky that in order for the proletariat to succeed, all bourgeois structures or thinking must be abolished. Hence the old hegemony must be extinguished so that the new hegemony can replace it. Revolutionary change in state power is not about replacing political actors but a complete transformation of political, economic, and social structures. If the extermination of bourgeois power is not understood, Lenin warns, whatever state structure is envisioned will remain within the "boundaries of bourgeois reasoning and politics."<sup>22</sup> In other words, for Lenin hegemony is the power invested in public institutions that uphold the ruling class and its interests. Therefore to establish a proletarian hegemony, all bourgeois institutions need to be completely eliminated and replaced with proletarian ones.

Gramsci expands Lenin's concept of hegemony to include the private institutions of civil society. This conceptual expansion is necessary because it reflects a more complex relationship between the modern state and civil society than what existed during Lenin's time. Gramsci thus makes a structural distinction between the 1917 Russian state in Eastern Europe and the expanding modern state in Western Europe. The Russian revolution of 1917, Gramsci argues, marks the end of a state structure where state power and influence were

concentrated in public institutions, i.e., in political society. In Tsarist Russia, “the State was everything, [and] civil society was primordial and gelatinous.”<sup>23</sup> Churches, schools, and other private organizations were not interlocked with the political interests of the state as they are today. At that time, technology, education, and communication were not as well developed in Russia as they were in the West. According to Gramsci, Russia was in a pre-modern state therefore the concept and strategies Lenin utilized to overturn Tsarist hegemony had to be amended and updated.

In contrast to the pre-1917 state where hegemonic power was concentrated in political society, the modern state is composed of both civil and political societies.<sup>24</sup> Massive networks of private institutions within civil society disseminate ideas that influence contemporary society to accept the interests of the modern state. While most citizens who live in industrialized, capitalistic, “democratic” nations believe they have the “freedom” to think what they want, Gramsci argues that isn’t the reality. The modern state is always coercing its citizens to accept the former’s interests and the interests of the dominant class.

For example, the U.S. film industry and news media regularly produce stories that express the views of the dominant culture and government. Arabs, Persians, and Egyptians are usually portrayed as terrorists in comparison to people of European ancestry. Most U.S. moviegoers and newsreaders do not question the political portrayals of different racial groups as friend or foe. Yet these portrayals elicit popular support for U.S. international policies. For example, in the spring of 1998, the Iraqi government refused to allow a U.S.-backed UN delegation to inspect Iraqi chemical plants. Americans generally accepted the explanation that Iraqi government’s denial of access was linked to their refusal to stop the production of chemicals for warfare materials. Despite

Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz's explanation that Iraq's refusal was based on the political integrity of the mission itself, the news media did not bother to air this view. Aziz questioned the appointment of American Scott Ritter as head of the delegation because of his questionable affiliations with the CIA and other U.S. military organizations and his credentials as a forensic scientist (verses a chemical scientist). Aziz challenged the make-up of the inspection team with an overwhelming number of U.S. delegates because the United States still considered Iraq a "non-ally" nation. Although CNN telecasted Aziz's press conference, U.S. reporters, editors, and producers of the news media generally ignored Iraq's political concerns and continued to portray Iraq as an irrational, renegade nation.

In the same vein, the negative portrayal of Arabs by the news media and film industries cannot be separated from the U.S. government's view that Arabs are untrustworthy. Since the news reports support U.S. government views of Arabs, American citizens accept the policies of the U.S. state against Iraq. Hence the modern state builds its hegemony not on coercion alone through laws in the public institutions but also on the consent it wins from its citizens through the ideologies and world views produced by private institutions (film and media industries, schools, etc.).

According to Gramsci then, the modern state maintains its hegemony through a two-pronged movement, which he refers to as the "dual perspective." This aptly named concept explains that there are two hegemonic producers of laws and ideologies—public and private institutions of the state—and that they are always in a dialectic relationship with each other. These state institutions exercise their power in divergent ways. The public institutions in political society exert *coercion* through the passage of laws and judicial ruling while

private institutions in civil society *win* the public's support through new reporting and films. Thus Gramsci argues the dual perspective is accomplished through force and consent. The state "forces" compliance from its citizens through legislative laws and judicial rulings, and at the same time, the state gains "consent" for its rule from its citizens through ideological concepts disseminated through schools, churches, and the media. This dual perspective or hegemonic movement constantly *dominates* and *directs* its citizens to accept ideas and particular worldviews. If citizens disagree with the dominant ideologies, laws are there to limit their ability to dissent and concretize just who has political power in the state and who does not. In other words, citizens are legally harassed and/or go to prison if they resist the state. Hence public institutions coerce citizens into obedience while private institutions win consent from them by educating them to support the existing hegemony of the modern state and its dominant group.

A strong example of the dual perspective and its integration of the forces of coercion and consent can be found in the 1959 statehood of Hawai'i. U.S. laws incorporated Hawai'i into its political body despite Hawai'i's status as a colonial nation on the UN Decolonization list. The United States ignored international law procedures when it conducted the 1959 statehood vote. For example only two choices appeared on the ballot for the people: 1) to become a U.S. state or 2) to remain a territory. The total range of possibilities should have appeared on the ballot such as integration (statehood), compact of free association, or independence. This violation of international law went unrecognized by the U.S. public who had been ideologically conditioned to regard Hawai'i as a U.S. territory in need of statehood status rather than as a colonial nation losing its status as a nation. Gramsci would describe the forced statehood of Hawai'i as an

example of the extension and maintenance of U.S. hegemony. The dialectic movement of law (force) and ideology (consent) in the United States allowed the incorporation of a colonial nation, Hawai'i, into a State of the union with the willing support of its U.S. citizenry.

While Gramsci used the dual perspective to emphasize the distinction between the two kinds of forces the modern state utilizes in political and civil societies, he also uses dual perspective to show the educative nature of the state as a whole. In other words, the dialectic relation between political and civil societies reveals that the modern state is constantly engaged in instructing its citizens to think and behave in particular ways. *There isn't a moment when the state is not influencing society.* The state is not just passive or silent on issues but continually steering its citizens to support legislation or ideas that benefit the dominant group. Educating people in specific directions is part of maintaining state hegemony. Hence Gramsci compares dual perspective characteristics of the state to Niccolo Machiavelli's Centaur of half-animal and half-human where having a dual nature is part of the thing itself.<sup>25</sup>

This study, then, will look at the dialectic process of force and consent as part of the maintenance and educative process of U.S. hegemony over its citizens. To have a successful revolution, Gramsci argues one must first understand how power is preserved in the modern state. Revolutionary knowledge is linked with a "precise concept of State and class: little understanding of the State means little class consciousness (an understanding of the State exists only when one defends it, but also when one attacks it in order to overthrow it)."<sup>26</sup>

The United States, for example, maintains its hegemonic order through its laws and ideologies, which prod its citizens to have an immigrant identity and thus never question the concept of the United States as a settler colonial nation.



The dialectic process between U.S. laws and ideologies produces an immigrant worldview, which masks the colonial laws and policies of the United States. Hence Japanese settlers have changed the way they initially identified themselves as *dōhō* (compatriots of Japan)<sup>27</sup> and have reconceptualized, reimagined, and rewritten their histories to encompass the political myth that the United States is an nation of immigrants. The dialectic movement of U.S. laws and ideologies “directs” (through force and consent) the Japanese to redefine themselves as “immigrants” in an immigrant nation instead of settlers in a settler colonial nation. Examples of this dual perspective are 1) the passages of U.S. laws against their race such as Executive order 9066 which forced Japanese into the internment camps on the continent and 2) the media portrayals of the Japanese as the “yellow peril” which began around the turn of the twentieth century and continued in various forms through out the first half of the twentieth century. This dialectic movement, although it spans many decades, creates such a powerful state force that despite the racist treatment of the Japanese by the U.S. government and white citizens, the former regard themselves as following a following a similar journey/trajectory as white Americans, from settlers to immigrants. With an immigrant worldview, local Japanese do not recognize the colonial situation in Hawai‘i. Rather the Japanese see Hawai‘i as a state with political and economic opportunities for themselves. They cannot conceive of themselves as being complicitous with white settlers in the subjugation of the Native Hawaiians through colonial laws and racist attitudes. Thus as local Japanese remake themselves into “Americans” and rise into power, they take on Kautsky-like perspectives which support their own settler position and legitimate U.S. imperialism.

### **Gramsci: Modern State = Hegemony Protected by the Armour of Coercion**

Although Gramsci uses the concept hegemony in an expansive sense, that is, hegemony is the totality of power and influence a modern state exercises over its citizens in both political and civil societies, Gramsci also uses hegemony in a narrower sense to represent the manner in which state power “organizes” citizen support throughout civil society. State control in civil society functions through private institutional structures, which ideologically educate citizens to accept the interest of the state and its ruling class. Gramsci argues that ideas are neither individually nor spontaneously conceived. Rather, ideas are part of an ideological landscape that are rooted in historical periods and have been “naturalized” or commonly accepted by society as “common sense.” The latter support and benefit the political activities of the state.<sup>28</sup> Hence Gramsci calls this political process in civil society a hegemonic process. State power is indirectly but constantly administered to maintain state order.

Gramsci’s famous definition of the modern state reveals its two-part structure and process: “hegemony protected by the armour of coercion.”<sup>29</sup> In other words, ideological ideas in civil society (hegemony) are protected by the policies and laws instituted by the legislative and judicial bodies in political society (coercion). This explanation discloses not only the dialectic relationship between civil and political society but it also explains the strength of the state because of this integrative relationship. Gramsci upholds a Marxist conception of state power, that is, that public institutions in political society are coercive in their exercise of authority. However, he deviates from this by including an analysis of civil society and its organization by the state and its ruling class. Civil society hence is not a space where culture, education, and economics occur outside the state’s hegemonic control. In fact, Gramsci points out that modern

state power not only functions within civil society but also its presence there is well guarded by political society. Hence overthrowing a modern state requires an additional strategy that Lenin could not foresee.

To overturn a modern state, Gramsci lays out two plans of attack: the war of movement/maneuver and the war of position. The war of movement is a frontal or military attack on the state. Lenin used this method to overturn the Tsarist hegemony in the 1917 Russian Revolution because state power was concentrated only in public institutions. For Gramsci, the war of movement, then, becomes a tactical maneuver in assaulting the modern state. It is used at strategic movements to paralyze the state from striking down the revolutionaries.

The war of position, on the other hand, is the “protracted” struggle in civil society over the production and dissemination of state ideologies from civil institutions as schools, churches, media, etc. Gramsci describes ideologies as the “cement” holding a society together because it is the “terrain” upon which citizens “acquire consciousness of their position, struggle, etc.”<sup>30</sup> In other words, through ideology, people define who they are, locate their place in society, and accept a particular worldview. State organization of civil society means that the state orchestrates what its citizens think and what opportunities are available for them.

To understand the necessity of using a two-pronged movement attached to the overthrow of a modern state system, Gramsci uses military metaphors to describe the latter. The public institutions in political society are similar, he says, to an outer ditch, while the private institutions in civil society are positioned behind this ditch or the government as “a powerful system of fortresses and earthworks.” In other words, private institutions such as schools, newspapers,

churches, cultural organizations, etc., are the fortresses and earthworks that are protected by the outer ditch of political society with its institutions and policies.<sup>31</sup> Directly attacking the public institutions of the modern state (the outer ditch) through a war of movement will not be sufficient. Capturing the military or ruling government will not constitute a victory over the modern state; only the outer trenches would have been destroyed. The state's ideological machineries, its private institutions, would still exist. In order to successfully create a new hegemonic order the fortresses and earthworks of civil society—which produce and reinforce the politics and ideologies of the ruling class—must be transformed into a counter-hegemonic movement.

Gramsci explains that the war of movement should be thought of as a tactical strike. It is useful for “winning positions” but only within a larger revolutionary struggle. The war of position, on the other hand, will overthrow the entire modern state system. Gramsci underscores the point that once the war of position is won, it is decisive.<sup>32</sup> Only when the ideological and cultural values of the ruling class have been overturned and the general public has accepted the counter hegemonic values, will there be victory. Only seizing public institutions will not lead to a successful revolution because the masses would still be ideologically supportive of the ruling class' worldview.

Gramsci points out how the state and ruling class spend much of their resources maintaining the existing hegemony throughout civil society. If something must continually be maintained, it is a point of weakness. If Gramsci's military metaphor describes the state as a series of fortresses and earthworks, maintaining hegemony would be similar to repeatedly repairing all of these edifices. Therefore the counter hegemonic movement must strike at the level of ideology.<sup>33</sup> If attacks are made here, Gramsci argues, the state can be

weakened. Although the modern state may appear superior, the fact that it must use its resources to preserve hegemonic order reveals that the state is penetrable. Therefore any siege will become “reciprocal” because the state responds to anyone attacking its vulnerable spots.

An example of a nation’s maintenance of hegemony can be seen in the incessant invoking of immigrant ideologies in U.S. school textbooks, movies, and newspapers to reinforce the belief that the United States is a nation of immigrants. The immigrant ideologies mask the settler colonial status of the United States and thus privilege the politics and reasoning of settlers over indigenous peoples. When indigenous sovereignty movements challenge this immigrant worldview, the U.S. State attempts to co-opt and recategorize what sovereignty means. In 1996, the State of Hawai’i tried to recategorize the question of Native Hawaiian sovereignty from a dispute at the international level down to a “special interests” question at the domestic level. The State of Hawai’i did this by running a false plebiscite.<sup>34</sup> The point of this example is to notice the enormous effort and monies the State of Hawai’i used to reinforce the image of America as a nation of immigrants. Hence Gramsci’s insight that a modern state’s vulnerable point is its need to maintain its hegemonic order through the dissemination of political ideologies and a worldview can be useful for counter hegemonic efforts.

### **Local Japanese: Settlers in Colonial Hawai’i**

In every epoch the ideas of the ruling class are the ruling ideas, that is, the class that is the ruling *material* power of society is at the same time its ruling *intellectual* power. The class having the means of material production has also control over the means of intellectual production, so that it also controls, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of intellectual production.

Karl Marx<sup>35</sup>

For Gramsci, the Marxist explanation that the ideas of the ruling class are indeed the ruling intellectual ideas in society was so important that Gramsci included private institutions of civil society in his definition of the modern state apparatus. Cultural, educational, economic concepts, then, are used to direct the thinking and actions of the masses to favor and accept state and ruling class interests.

Gramsci argues that the "State is the entire complex of practical and theoretical activities with which the ruling class not only justifies and maintains its dominance, but manages to win the active consent of those over whom it rules."<sup>36</sup> In other words, the ruling class not only governs political and civil societies, but also educates people to accept ruling class benefits and the enforcement of the latter's world view. To gain the support of others, Gramsci argues, the ruling class must widen its own interests to incorporate the interests of other groups. This is an important Gramscian concept. To become hegemonic, a group must expand its ideas to incorporate other class/group interests. It is not a situation where the dominant and subordinate groups equally create something new but where the dominant group redefines the interests of other groups and includes them within the hegemonic perspective. In this way, the subordinate groups are also assimilated into dominant society.

To overthrow an existing regime, a subordinate group must expand its own group interests to include those of other groups/classes. Gramsci explains class consciousness is identifying with the interests of other groups within the same class as oneself. Hence hegemonic consciousness is linking interests with other groups within the same class *plus* incorporating the interests of other classes.<sup>37</sup> This is a crucial point of the war of position.

Gramsci's analysis of the state and hegemony can be insightful in understanding the history and role of Japanese settlers in Hawai'i. If the United States is looked at in the Gramscian manner where the state organizes both political and civil societies, then the hegemonic/assimilation trajectory becomes clearer: settlers historically are reidentified as immigrants through the dual process of force and consent between laws and ideologies. As previously mentioned, the promotion of an immigrant worldview obscures the colonial status of the United States. Settlers are prodded and educated to accept the immigrant worldview. If a group rejects the ideologies of the United States, laws are passed to keep them "in line."

Over the past hundred years or so, local Japanese have moved from resisting the colonizer's authority on sugar plantations to now enforcing colonial laws and education upon others in contemporary colonial Hawai'i. This change in worldview did not happen over night but over time. The United States continually disseminated and promoted immigrant ideologies as part of its maintenance of hegemony. It directed its citizens to accept and support its ideological worldview. Hence local Japanese allied themselves with the *haole* colonizers and accepted the colonizer's worldview as their own. The Japanese do not see themselves as settlers in colonial Hawai'i but as immigrants who have a right to govern Hawai'i and profit from it.

This history of Japanese settlers within the United States and Hawai'i has been interpreted not as a struggle against settler oppression and racism and the eventual co-enforcement of settlers against indigenous peoples as much as a story about the political and financial success taking place within the landscape of an immigrant nation. The colonial occupation of the United States in Hawai'i's past and present is never seriously considered or even addressed. As local

Japanese rose to power, they in conjunction with the *haole* settlers poured and continue to pour energies and resources into maintaining the colonial hegemonic order and their co-ruling class status within it. For example, the daily newspapers continually run stories on the World War II 442<sup>nd</sup> combat unit. While these articles remind everyone that local Japanese are “American,” these stories support and disseminate the larger ideology that the United States is a nation of immigrants and not a settler colonial nation.

Yet at the same time, racism within the United States will never allow Japanese to feel fully “American.” This component of racism complicates the situation if one conceives of the United States as a nation of immigrants offering equal opportunities for all its citizens. Even anti-racism does not address the larger international question of who is a settler and who is indigenous to these islands. Within the immigrants’ worldview, local Japanese are a “success” story. Yet within the settler colonial nation, Japanese are settlers who enforce the subjugation of Native Hawaiians. No matter how long or hard local Japanese “think” they are supporting Native Hawaiians in their struggle for self-determination, if they do not see themselves as settlers, they play the role Kautsky performed in relationship to the proletarian revolution, that is, they support colonial rule over Hawai‘i.

This study will examine the predatory politics of imperialist United States and its effect on Japanese settlers living within the colonial society established by America in Hawai‘i. Despite their subjection to racist laws in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Japanese supported the American government and in its genocidal campaign against Native Hawaiians. This dissertation will describe the devastating effects of their collaboration with the colonial society



and the political consequences it has had on the indigenous people in the islands. The following is a brief outline of the dissertation chapters.

Chapter One—*U.S. Imperialism: the Invasion and Occupation of Hawai'i*. This chapter will explore the competition between the imperialist nations of the United States, Russia/Soviet Union, and Japan to dominate the north Pacific. Each nation saw Hawai'i as a potential colony, a means to further its predatory ambitions. At the turn of the twentieth century, the Hawaiian Kingdom was overthrown by the U.S. military. Meanwhile, Japan considered its numerically large *issei* and *nisei* (first and second generation Japanese) population in Hawai'i a legitimate reason to claim it, an assertion of squatter's rights, if you will, and thus attempted to take the islands during World War II. Today, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, and in direct violation of international law, the Hawaiian nation remains occupied by the United States.

Chapter Two—*U.S. Settler Hegemony: "Imperialist, Predatory Peace."* Gramsci's analysis of the state will be used to investigate the hegemonic structure of the United States. The exercise of state power is described as a dialectical relationship between economic and superstructural *institutions*, and national *ideologies*. Together, they function to unify the complex and contradictory relationships within its citizenry, and to maintain a cohesive and hegemonic entity, the state. To illustrate the effectiveness of this dialectic, the events surrounding the aftermath of September 11, 2001, will demonstrate how the Bush Administration used ideological rhetoric to mask U.S. economic and political activities, and to convince citizens the terrorists attacks were unprovoked; triggered by an irrational hatred of democracy.

A second section will look at what Gramsci considers the three moments of hegemony: the organization of the economic base, the rise of a group to ruling

class status, and the use of the military to maintain state power. Here, the example of the Japanese community's rise to political power in Hawai'i during the 1940s and 1950s is crucial. To gain leadership positions within the Democratic Party of Hawai'i, the Japanese asserted their identities as patriotic war veterans and worked to support the military presence in the islands. Furthermore, contrary to their claim to represent all peoples, the Japanese partnered with the *haole* to further subjugate the Native Hawaiian people and to profit from their land and culture.

Chapter Three—*U.S. Settler Hegemony: the National Question or the Right of Nations to Self-Determination*. Like the United States, Russia is a settler state. The Russian revolution is briefly examined here because of pivotal discussions the Bolsheviks held on the relationship between nationalism and colonialism and the rights of colonized nations. Lenin's views are of particular interest here. He envisioned the proletarian international as the result of a worldwide socialist revolution, of people working together toward an equitable society. By contrast, Lenin's vision will highlight the greed of the Japanese politicians in Hawai'i and their disregard for the colonized, Hawaiian people. Rather than working to overturn the hegemonic rule of the United States, *nisei* politicians gained a foothold in the colonial society by fortifying its laws and economic infrastructure.

Conclusion—*U.S. Global "Bootprint": Hawai'i, a Military Colony*. America's ambitions to be the world's hegemon are briefly discussed in order to understand Hawai'i's role within the global landscape of the twenty-first century. Residents are continually encouraged to believe that the economic health and political safety of the islands are contingent on the strong presence of the American military. As the military and economic sectors merge in

contemporary society and distinctions between them blur, especially the privatization of the military, Japanese settlers must rethink whether they want to continue supporting the United States and its imperialist schemes and aggressive policies. The Japanese in Hawai'i can work to dismantle this predatory state thereby leaving a space for the Hawaiian nation to reconstitute itself, and an opportunity for other nations to work toward an egalitarian world.

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<sup>1</sup> Frantz Fanon, *Toward the African Revolution: Political Essays*, trans. Haakon Chevalier (New York: Grove Press, 1964), 81.

<sup>2</sup> Karl Marx, "Critique of Feuerbach" in *Karl Marx: the Essential Writings*, 2d ed., ed. Frederic L. Bender (Boulder: Westview Press, 1972), 155.

<sup>3</sup> While Bob Hodge and Vijay Mishra focus on Australian national identity, I was nonetheless influenced by their work and can see the parallels between the two settler colonial nations of the United States and Australia. Bob Hodge and Vijay Mishra, *Dark Side of the Dream: Australian Literature and the Postcolonial Mind* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1991), 26.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

<sup>5</sup> Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i*, rev. ed., (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999). Original publication (Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press, 1993).

<sup>6</sup> V.I. Lenin, *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* (Moscow: Co-Operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the U.S.S.R., 1934), 28.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>9</sup> Karl Kautsky, *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1964), Ch. 1 & 5.

<sup>10</sup> Lenin, *Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, 32-39.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>13</sup> V.I. Lenin, *State and Revolution* (New York: International Publishers, 1932), 30.

<sup>14</sup> Lenin, *Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, 40-41.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 20-21.

<sup>16</sup> Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, ed. and trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1971), 9.

<sup>17</sup> Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, 13.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 6-7, 12, 14.

<sup>19</sup> Gramsci explains organic intellectuals function in two ways. In the narrower sense, every class or social group has organic intellectuals because they represent its interests. In the expansive sense, organic intellectuals overturn or challenge the existing hegemony of traditional intellectuals.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 5-6, 10. For a better understanding of organic intellectual, *Ibid.*, 6, 14-23.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 365, 381.

<sup>22</sup> Lenin, *State and Revolution*, 30.

<sup>23</sup> Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, 235-238.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 263.

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 169-170.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 275.

<sup>27</sup> John J. Stephan, *Hawaii Under the Rising Sun: Japan's Plans for Conquest After Pearl Harbor* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984), 2n and Tamotsu Murayama, *Hawaii Nisei: Kutsujoku kara eikō e [Hawai'i Nisei: From Disgrace to Glory]* (Tokyo: Jiji Tsūshinsha, 1966), 11.

<sup>28</sup> Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, 192-193, 196-197 and Anne Showstack Sassoon, *Gramsci's Politics*, 2d ed. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980), 91, 171.

<sup>29</sup> Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, 263.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 328, 377.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 238.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 238-239.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 238-239 and Sassoon, *Gramsci's Politics*, 197.

<sup>34</sup> When then-President Clinton signed Public Law 103-140 (the "Apology Bill") in 1993, the United States publicly acknowledged that Native Hawaiians never "relinquished" their claims to sovereignty through a plebiscite or referendum. To keep the status of Hawai'i as a state of the union, the State of Hawai'i conducted a false plebiscite. Ka Lāhui Hawai'i, the largest Native initiative for sovereignty, exposed the fallacy of the state-run "plebiscite." Ka Lāhui was so successful that the State of Hawai'i eventually changed the name of the voting process from plebiscite to "Native Hawaiian Vote."

<sup>35</sup> This famous quote is from Marx's work in *German Ideology*. Karl Marx, *Writing of Young Marx on Philosophy and Society*, trans. and ed. Lloyd D. Easton and Kurt H. Guddat (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1967), 438.

<sup>36</sup> Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, 244.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 181-182.

## CHAPTER ONE

### U.S. IMPERIALISM: THE INVASION AND OCCUPATION OF HAWAII

As the indigenous people of Hawai'i, Hawaiians are Native to the Hawaiian Islands. We do not descend from the Americas or from Asia but from the great Pacific Ocean where our ancestors navigated to, and from, every archipelago. Genealogically, we say we are descendents of Papahānaumoku (Earth Mother) and Wākea (Sky Father) who created our beautiful islands. From this land came the *taro*, and from the *taro*, our Hawaiian people.

Haunani-Kay Trask<sup>1</sup>

No nation can be free if it oppresses other nations.

V.I. Lenin<sup>2</sup>

#### Imperialism Creates Natives and Settlers

In her work, political and intellectual leader of the Native Hawaiian nationalist movement, Haunani-Kay Trask, divides the population of a colony into two groups: Natives and settlers. Natives, the first people of the land, are the indigenous people whose ancestral lands are now occupied by a foreign government and foreign residents. In the case of Hawai'i, settlers are those foreigners who come from the Americas, Europe, and Asia.

Native peoples' relationship to their land is genealogical. It is ancient, familial, and filled with mythological, political, historical, and cultural significance, as Natives have lived on their homeland for thousands of years. In contrast, settlers travel to colonies for commerce and profit. Their relationship to that land is based on the political and economic opportunities unavailable to them in their own homeland.

Colonies exist because imperialist nations seize other people's national lands and resources to increase the imperialist nations' wealth and power through military force. By moving to such colonies, settlers and their

descendants participate in and capitalize on the established colonial system that exploits Native peoples, resources, and lands.

In her path-breaking book on Native Hawaiian nationalism, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i*, Trask contextualizes the overthrow and annexation of her homeland in the 1890s as part of American imperialism in the Pacific.<sup>3</sup> In the late nineteenth century, the United States was competing against other imperialist nations for global domination. Wherever imperialist nations had imposed their system of exploitation, a deep rift between settlers and Native peoples was created. Thus the conflict between Natives and settlers was occurring around the world not only in the colony of Hawai'i.

In his famous work, *The Wretched of the Earth*, Frantz Fanon carefully describes the tension-filled relationship between settlers and Natives of French Algeria in northern Africa. A colony, Fanon says, is a place of violence for the Native people because a foreign nation imposes its own unwanted economic and political systems upon another people by military force. Further, exiled Kenyan writer Ngugi wa Thiong'o argues that no matter how effective an imperialist nation's economic and political control, it is never complete without cultural control. In *Decolonising the Mind: the Politics of Language in African Literature*, Ngugi details the devastating role British imperialist culture played in solidifying British power in Kenya.<sup>4</sup>

Literary scholar Edward W. Said has examined British and European literature as evidence that prior to colonizing the Middle East, the concept of white superiority over the non-white world was already embedded in European culture. In the same vein, Māori scholar Ranginui Walker recounts in *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End* the British colonization of his people

and homeland, Aotearoa (New Zealand), and the 150-plus years of Māori resistance against the white foreigners and their system of power.<sup>5</sup>

What is important to notice in these significant works by indigenous peoples is the singular view that imperialism devastated their nations, lands, resources, and peoples. Millions of Native peoples lost their lives, lands, and sovereignty through brutal imposition of the oppressive regimes of Europe, America, and Japan. As Vladimir Ilyich Lenin explained, imperialist wars are competitions between predatory countries who battle over “the ‘right’ of one or the other of the ‘great’ nations to rob the colonies and oppress other people.”<sup>6</sup>

In her definition of imperialism and colonialism, Trask distinguishes the former as the outright conquest of a nation and exploitation of its people, and the latter as the enforcement of imperialism. Trask writes:

**Imperialism:** A total system of foreign power in which another culture, people, and way of life penetrate, transform, and come to define the colonized society. The function and purpose of imperialism is exploitation of the colony. Using this definition, Hawai‘i is a colony of the United States.

**Colonialism/Colonialist:** Behaviors, ideologies, and economies that enforce the exploitation of Native people in the colonies.<sup>7</sup>

American imperialism is the reality of colony Hawai‘i. Settlers, whether *haole* (white) or Asian, live the “American Dream” on these islands, as the United States exploits Native Hawaiian lands, resources, and people. Although local Japanese had originally faced the white racism of Hawai‘i’s ruling *haole* oligarchy, the Japanese eventually ascended to ruling-class status in mid-twentieth century. The Japanese in Hawai‘i were able to become politically and financially successful because they are settlers living within settler-controlled islands. They did not rise in status in a “democratic” and egalitarian system, but one that was and is crafted for settler prosperity and Native exploitation.



This settler advantage is exposed in *From a Native Daughter*, where Trask reveals how the legal system places Native peoples “outside” the governing bodies of their colonizers. For example, the U.S. Constitution as a settler document protects settler rights, not indigenous rights. Trask explains that the seizure of the Hawaiian national land base and its resources and the colonization of the Hawaiian people are *neither* unconstitutional acts nor a violation of any American law. Hence, these horrendous abuses of indigenous human rights cannot be addressed within the U.S. Constitution, the foundation of the American legal system.<sup>8</sup> Like the apartheid system of South Africa, the United States government has crafted one set of rights for settlers and another for indigenous peoples.<sup>9</sup>

Native American activist and scholar Ward Churchill (Keetoowah Cherokee) often refers to settlers or “immigrants” as the invading population. In *Struggle for the Land: Indigenous Resistance to Genocide, Ecocide and Expropriation in Contemporary North America*, Churchill details the various legal strategies the United States uses to claim Indian national lands for its national land base. Although the United States signed treaties with Native nations that acknowledged their sovereignty, the United States violated its commitments and agreements by subsequently conquering these nations.<sup>10</sup> Using European unilateral documents such as the Discovery document, the Rights of Conquest, and its own settler legal system to justify imperialist and genocidal actions, the United States undermined Native sovereignty, occupied Native national lands, and colonized those Native peoples not already exterminated through warfare.<sup>11</sup>

What Trask, Churchill, and other Native scholars such as Glenn T. Morris (Shawnee) have uncovered is a double-tiered, apartheid-like legal system, which characterizes the United States today.<sup>12</sup> In spite of a nationalist rhetoric that

offers “democracy” and “freedom” for all of its citizens, the United States has never allowed Native peoples the same citizenship rights as settlers. For example, Trask often cites the fact that indigenous peoples have never been permitted to choose their nationality or citizenship. The denial of a choice of citizenship is a violation of human rights. Article 15 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that everyone has the right to choose a nationality and cannot to be deprived of it.<sup>13</sup> Native peoples were forced to be American citizens through conquest. Under U.S. law, Natives could not opt to be legal citizens of their homeland nations because these nations were—and are—occupied and ruled by a colonial overseer—the United States.

For most European and Asian settlers, an attractive element of moving to, and living in, the United States, is the opportunity of American citizenship. Although the *issei*, the first generation of Japanese settlers, were generally denied American citizenship until 1953, their community struggles were based on the right to apply American settler laws to their situation (i.e., higher wages as plantation workers in Hawai‘i, racial equality, etc.). The *nisei* (second-generation settlers) were granted American citizenship at birth. Beginning with these two generations, the Japanese community cast its future with U.S. settler colonialism and against the colonized people, the Native Hawaiians.

While the United States wags its “moral” finger at the global community and chastises abusers of human rights such as Afghanistan, China, or Iraq, the Native peoples in America continue to suffer repeated violations of their human rights. These acts of abuse remain a “dirty secret” because the United States excuses itself from implementing any international standards regarding human rights conventions deemed “inconsistent” with the U.S. Constitution. Moreover, the American government refuses to submit to any rulings by the International

Court of Justice at the Hague that may find the United States in violation of human rights, preferring instead to wage war against its supposed enemies.<sup>14</sup>

Without question, the United States considers its own laws and settler viewpoints superior to all international laws and worldviews, thus preventing all challenges to U.S. settler land claims. Because the existence of Native peoples and their claims to ancestral lands undermines the legitimacy of the United States as a nation, indigenous peoples must “disappear:” their rights as nations expunged, their culture commercialized for settler use and enjoyment, their citizenship in indigenous nations denied.

This explains why the United States refuses to accept responsibility for historic and contemporary policies of genocide. Under international law, Article II of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, the United Nations defines genocide as:

- acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:
- (a) Killing members of the group;
  - (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to member of the group;
  - (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
  - (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
  - (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.<sup>15</sup>

In “Key Indian Laws and Cases,” Churchill and Morris outline the “extermination” legislation and judicial rulings that violated the rights of Native Americans. The list of American genocidal laws used to claim Indian land include: *The Indian Removal Act of 1830*, which removed entire Native American nations west of the Mississippi; *The General Allotment Act of 1887*, which abolished traditional Native land tenure to redistribute land plots by blood quantum; *The Termination Act of 1953*, which dissolved Native nations and halted federal funding; *The Relocation Act of 1956*, which moved Native peoples off their

lands and into urban settings, and many others.<sup>16</sup> The U.S. genocidal campaign was—and remains—necessary for the existence of the United States. Native land claims conflict with settler capitalist and imperialist interests. This is why Native sovereignty is a political, economic, and ideological threat to the existence of the United States. *Native nationalism undermines the legitimacy of the United States.*

For example, in 1997, the legislature of the State of Hawai'i (the colonial government) unsuccessfully tried to end Native Hawaiians' rights to gather plants and food from the forest and seashore. This traditional gathering right was handed down from the legal system of the Hawaiian Kingdom to the Hawai'i State Constitution in 1959. However, the State legislature sought to end what the UN genocide definition describes as "conditions of life"—a Native way of gathering, of living—in order to allow settlers to use and develop inaccessible lands for hotels and businesses. From the inception of the United States in the eighteenth century, American political, social, and cultural structures have been created for, and by, settlers. Americans conduct their businesses, lives, and government as settlers. American settler society is everywhere hegemonic.<sup>17</sup>

#### *Dictatorship of the Settler*

Perhaps it is easier to see the dominance of settler interests in the United States using a metaphor from Marxist terminology. Lenin, in *State and Revolution*, placed great importance on Marx's idea of "the dictatorship of the proletariat" because the metaphor shows that state societies are hegemonic, always representing the ruling class.<sup>18</sup> Lenin emphasized that hegemony was something structured and deeply entrenched in the fabric of society. He explained that capitalist society is democratic and full of opportunities for the wealthy, but not for the working class. In other words, capitalism creates

exploitative, class-based bourgeois societies. To revolutionize and transform a society from capitalism to stateless communism, a complete structural transformation must occur on every level and in all relationships because of the depths to which privilege and profits are tied to the ruling class. Lenin argued that in an imperialist society, the class in power is “bound to it by millions of economic threads (and sometimes ropes).”<sup>19</sup> Thus a transitional period is needed—a hegemonic “dictatorship of the proletariat” where the state would be “democratic *in a new way* (for the proletariat and the poor in general) and dictatorial *in a new way* (against the bourgeoisie).”<sup>20</sup> Lenin points out that to change a hegemonic society, another hegemony must be created in its place. One cannot just change parts of a society and expect a transformation in values and worldviews because the ruling class’ or group’s ideologies dictate the way society is structured and run. The dominant class in “the dictatorship of the proletariat” is the proletariat, while the opposite is true in a capitalist society—that is, there exists a “dictatorship of the bourgeoisie,” in which the bourgeoisie are the ruling force.

Similarly, if we look at colonialism in terms of settler hegemony, one can easily see that the United States is constituted by the “dictatorship of the settler” where the state is democratic for settlers and dictatorial for Natives. The social, economic, legal, and political structures are created for settler interests and benefits. American history is filled with examples of settler hegemony that continue into the present. The undemocratic colonial structure of the United States makes Native assertions for their lands and human, civil, and political rights difficult to realize because Native peoples battle a structure that is hegemonic—a settler system with inter-locking public and private institutions that support and inscribe settler supremacy.

For example, settlers develop Native areas for settler use and profit even if these are on sacred indigenous lands. The Lakota nation continues to challenge the U.S. government over the use and abuse of its Black Hills. Thousands of settler tourists travel each year to see the images of their colonial government's presidents carved into the sacred Lakota mountains. Within a capitalist economy, the American settler citizenry handsomely profits from this vulgar symbol of U.S. imperialist power through its trade in tourism. The United States commits the same brutality as all conquerors throughout world history by defacing that which is sacred to the colonized peoples.

In Hawai'i, a similarly disrespectful, anti-Native situation is ever present. A military highway, the H-3 interstate, paved over significant *heiau* (Native Hawaiian sacred temples) such as Kukui-o-Kāne and Hale o Papa and was routed through sacred valleys. In spite of protests by Native Hawaiians and other supporters, the H-3 freeway was constructed to secure American imperialist interests (economic and military) in the Pacific and Asia by linking the Kāne'ohe Marine Corps Air Station to Pearl Harbor for the purpose of "rapid ground transportation." In this case, colonial governments, both federal and state, destroyed Native Hawaiian cultural and religious sites by placing a symbol of imperialist power—a military highway—over places sacred to the colonized people. Meanwhile, local Japanese settlers, particularly U.S. Senator Daniel K. Inouye, were active participants in the completion of this colonial project. Inouye was the freeway's staunchest and most ferocious supporter—he funneled over a billion dollars of federal monies to build the fifteen-mile American military highway, often referred to as "Danny's highway."<sup>21</sup>

It is not surprising that Inouye and the local Japanese community support American colonial presence in Hawai'i. As a settler community, the Japanese

have always cast their lot with the settler colonial system rather than supported Native resistance to it. The following chapters will explore the tremendous force and resources that the United States uses to ensure that all settler groups—particularly the local Japanese community—support American imperialism. Although white racism was a factor in shaping the Japanese settler community, I will argue that this racism must be understood as a domestic issue within settler colonial America. The larger and more important issue here (located at an international level) is settler racism—that is, the oppression of Native peoples by the imposition of a foreign, American system. The presence of U.S. colonial structures serves to maintain and enforce the distinction between settlers and Natives. It gives advantages to settlers, including the local Japanese in Hawai'i. Hence, one does not need to be white to practice settler racism. The issue of settler racism will be discussed in more depth in a later chapter.

This chapter focuses on the United States as an imperialist power in Hawai'i and in the Pacific. Most writings on the local Japanese in Hawai'i exclude descriptions of America as a colonial nation, as a place where “the dictatorship of the settler” exists. The story of Japanese settlement is told within a national ideology that erroneously characterizes the United States as a “democratic” “nation of immigrants.” Such misrepresentation allows settler communities to justify both the spoils of American colonialism and their control by settlers. This is not merely a matter of relative perspectives—of viewing a singular event or American history, in general, from differing but valid points of views. For settlers, the difference between regarding America as a “nation of immigrants” or as a settler colonial nation is the difference between supporting imperialism by denying its existence, or opposing imperialism by analyzing the reality of its subjugation of Native peoples.

During World War II, Japan and the United States fought for control over the Pacific. The Japanese settler community in Hawai'i was divided in its allegiance: some supported Japan while the majority cast their lot with the United States. Of interest here is that neither side questioned the predatory interests of either Japan or the United States in possessing Hawai'i as a colony. In other words, the entire Japanese settler community supported imperialism whether Hawai'i existed under Japanese or American rule. When Japan bombed America's colonial possession at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, it swept the United States into World War II and enlisted the participation of the local Japanese—the *nisei*—in the American war effort. By joining the U.S. military (the 100<sup>th</sup> Infantry Battalion, the 442<sup>nd</sup> Regimental Combat Team), Japanese settlers fought for America's right to maintain its colonial possession, Hawai'i, as well as to preserve their own settler presence in the islands. Local *nisei* settlers went to war and risked their lives to safeguard American imperialism in the islands. They never questioned whether they should help to liberate the indigenous Hawaiian nation from the United States. In other words, local Japanese as a community have never defied settler interests. Indeed, they have embodied them, performing as model settlers.

The fight for Hawai'i statehood in 1959 is another clear example of the dictatorship of the settler. Local Japanese did not organize to overturn the colonial system and restore the Hawaiian nation. Instead, local Japanese settlers campaigned to include themselves and other people of color as "full" participants in the American colonization of Hawai'i. In spite of local Japanese rhetoric that all people of color would become politically equal at statehood, this change within the American government system only further colonized Native Hawaiians, who then became wards of the state. Statehood was, in fact, a



movement created by the United States to keep Hawai'i as its colony. Even though Hawai'i changed from a Territory to a state, Hawai'i remained a possession within the American empire and within the dictatorship of the settler.

With the achievement of statehood, local Japanese settlers ascended to ruling class status by sharing the governance of public and private institutions with *haole* settlers. State power still remained thoroughly in the hands of settlers. Although most local Japanese settlers recount the history of their community in terms of the struggles and success of an immigrant group within a democratic society, it is, in fact, a tale of a thriving settler group within an unequal, exploitative, colonial society. Much of the rhetoric used to describe the local Japanese in post-statehood society was—and is—done to justify their rise to power. It matters little what local Japanese assert about their history or the “success secrets” behind their ascendancy. The colonial relationship between settlers and Natives is not changed. When one takes a larger overview of Hawai'i beginning with the U.S. military overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom to American statehood and into the present, the power configurations remain within the dictatorship of the settler. And it is within this colonial context that the local Japanese community and its politics must be understood.

This chapter, then, will analyze the predatory interests of the United States in the Pacific and Asia. American foreign policy will be presented as part of a global competition among imperialist nations—namely Russia, the United States, and later Japan—vying for control over the north Pacific and Hawai'i. Political theorist V. I. Lenin defines an imperialist war as “a war for the division of colonies, a war for the *oppression* of foreign countries, a war *among* predatory and oppressing powers to decide *which* of them shall oppress more foreign

nations.”<sup>22</sup> I have borrowed Lenin’s use of the adjective “predatory” to characterize the interests, actions, and policies of imperialist nations.

Specifically, this chapter will explain the predatory interests of imperialist states in controlling the Hawaiian Kingdom and its natural resources. In particular, it will demonstrate how American citizens manipulated the Kingdom leaders by convincing them that their sovereignty would be threatened by other imperialist nations unless they replaced the Hawaiian political, economic, and land tenure systems with Western capitalistic ones. The chapter then proposes that the underlying competition between Russia and the United States is based on their being settler states—and therefore suspicious of each other’s predatory policies and ambitions. Japan—the third country in this triangulated competition to dominate Oceania—emerges as an imperialist nation in the early twentieth century with its establishment of colonies in Asia. Japan uses its emigrating *issei* (first generation Japanese) as an integral component in staking a claim on the independent Hawaiian nation. This chapter, then, shows the overthrow and annexation of the Hawaiian Kingdom by the United States as initiatives in furthering America’s imperialist enterprise. Fifty years later, the Japan attempted to take the American colony by bombing Pearl Harbor. Of course, neither imperialist country bothered to consider Native Hawaiians’ right to self-government. The chapter ends with the diplomatic manipulations of the United States to block Hawai’i’s designation by the United Nations as a colonized nation to be decolonized, and to incorporate it as a State of the American nation.

## **Imperialism: Foreign Interests in the Hawaiian Kingdom**

### *Haole Contact Creates Depopulation*

Since time immemorial,<sup>23</sup> Native Hawaiians have occupied the Hawaiian archipelago in the north Pacific Ocean. These graceful, tropical islands are the ancestral homelands from which Hawaiians voyaged throughout the Pacific. Like the peoples of all great civilizations, Hawaiians devised complex social, political, religious, and cultural relationships to each other and to the larger world around them, including their familial relationship to the land. It is only in the recent past—a little over 220 years ago—that British Captain James Cook and his ships sailed into Kealakekua Bay in 1778 and forever damaged the lives of all Hawaiians. Cook and his crew brought with them a deadly combination: imperialist ideology and fatal diseases. Although Cook was fully aware that his men carried venereal diseases, which would prove lethal to Native peoples, he did not prevent his crew from going ashore.<sup>24</sup> Cook, like his European contemporaries, considered the deaths of Native people inconsequential compared to the urgency of the carnal desires of his crew. This absolute disregard for other peoples' lives is the foundation of imperialism. Cook's decision to grant his infected men shore leave proved fatal to the Hawaiian population. Within fourteen short years, by 1792, the British Captain George Vancouver noted the decline of the Hawaiian population from Cook's visit.<sup>25</sup> In *Before the Horror: the Population of Hawai'i on the Eve of Western Contact*, historian David Stannard estimated the population at western contact to be 800,000 to a million people. By 1832, the year of the first missionary census, the Hawaiian population had collapsed to 130,000.<sup>26</sup> In fifty-four years, the population dropped a staggering ninety percent from a series of introduced epidemics (cholera, whooping cough, smallpox, scarlet fever, etc.).<sup>27</sup>

Although contemporary settler scholars have described the population collapse in terms of the Native peoples' lack of natural immunities, their analysis conveniently evades the question and context of imperialism and settler politics—that is, the fact that white captains, white physicians, and white government officials knowingly allowed diseases to spread to the Native population. Stannard is one of the few scholars who directly links depopulation to the arrival of imperialists. He opens *Before the Horror* with a chilling quote from William Anderson who records that Cook “knowingly” allowed syphilis to spread to the Hawaiian people despite a previous experience in Tonga where he had witnessed the devastating effects of the disease on the Tongan people. Although *Before the Horror* focuses on the population count of Native Hawaiians prior to the arrival of the *haole*, Stannard nonetheless shows the importance of establishing a contact population figure. Anderson’s nonchalant, but obviously racist attitude, reflects the prevalent European imperialist worldview in the Pacific, a view within which Native lives were deemed expendable.<sup>28</sup>

By 1853, twenty-one years after the first missionary census, the Native Hawaiian population number again plummeted to 71,000 due to a series of epidemics that engulfed the islands.<sup>29</sup> The 1853 smallpox epidemic is a well-documented case<sup>30</sup> in which the disease spread to Hawaiians because of settler politics. As a result of a combination of intra-settler battles for dominance over the islands and settler desires to take sovereignty from Hawaiians, the disease proliferated from the few ineffectual policies taken to contain it.

Robert C. Wyllie, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Hawaiian Kingdom, knew in 1852 that the smallpox raging in California would “decimate the native population” if it reached Hawai’i.<sup>31</sup> Yet Wyllie did not act in the best interests of the Hawaiian people and the Hawaiian Kingdom as an official of the

government. Wyllie did virtually nothing to prevent the disease from reaching the islands. He failed to develop, with the help of other officials, a viable public plan of immunization if and when the disease appeared. Instead, *haole* settler physicians and government officials knowingly allowed an infected ship to dock. Hawaiian historian Samuel Kamakau, who lived during this horrific epidemic, recorded the wide-spread suffering and death of Native Hawaiians. Kamakau condemned the settler physicians who allowed the infected passengers of the *Charles Mallory* to disembark and spread the disease among his people.<sup>32</sup>

Dr. G. P. Judd, a white physician and the Minister of Finance of the Hawaiian Kingdom, was appointed by the King's cabinet to organize the medical community and its immunization efforts. Instead, Judd devised ineffective plans that ensured the failure of the vaccination process and thus the deaths of many Hawaiians. For example, Hawaiian language interpreters did not accompany the settler physicians during vaccination procedures. How could Hawaiians understand what these *haole* doctors were saying in English? Worse, Hawaiians who wanted to be immunized had to pay a fee. This was not a serious concerted public effort. Judd was later chastised for the ineffectiveness of his plans, including his failure to provide interpreters and the vaccination fee. These criticisms, made by other white settler physicians, were disingenuously raised for political reasons and came two months into the epidemic—well after thousands of Hawaiians had died.<sup>33</sup>

Instead of saving Native lives, Judd and other white settlers used the epidemic to fight amongst themselves for political control of the islands. Although public disapproval appeared to focus on the failure of the immunization efforts and the removal of two Americans, Judd and Rev. Richard Andrew, from their cabinet posts, the real issue was which settler group

(American or British) would influence the King regarding the pros and cons of U.S. annexation.

In a report to the U.S. Secretary of State William L. Marcy, U.S. Commissioner to Hawai'i Luther S. Severance expressed concern that enthusiastic American settlers campaigning for annexation would push the King and Prince Alexander Liholiho (his heir) toward favoring the British and French over America. In a private meeting, Liholiho, who was against American annexation, told Severance that Judd had contacted a New York firm to mortgage the islands for public improvement monies. Severance eventually co-opted his fellow American's (Judd's) actions by proposing his own plan to take the sovereignty of Hawai'i. He explained to Liholiho, a member of the King's cabinet and heir to the throne, that the United States was ready to annex Hawai'i when the time was right. The United States was willing to pay for "public lands, public property, and sovereignty."<sup>34</sup>

In the meantime, a few British settlers such as Wyllie and British Consul General William Miller were calculating the political weight of Severance's informal offer.<sup>35</sup> As thousands of Hawaiians were dying from smallpox, British and American settlers focused on undermining Hawaiian sovereignty. (This same settler scenario can be seen today, when Asian and *haole* settlers fight over the development of lands and line their pockets with profits while Hawaiians suffer from their position at the bottom of the socio-economic pyramid.) Native deaths from the epidemic were enormous. In the second month of the outbreak, Severance observed bodies found in shallow graves and partially eaten by animals.<sup>36</sup> This horrendous description of the burial conditions gives us a tiny glimpse of the mass suffering of the Hawaiian people and the lack of medical and societal help from those in charge, i.e., the *haole* government officials.

Smallpox hit with such velocity and force that the disease-ravaged Native Hawaiian community could not properly bury their loved ones. The sacred (*kapu*) and formal rituals that traditionally surround burial of the Hawaiian dead could not even be performed.<sup>37</sup>

Clearly, settlers did not care if Hawaiians lived or died; they did not have any deep regard for Native Hawaiians or for their islands. Only the exploitative motives of the market economy and colonialism concerned the settlers. Moreover, their imperialist intentions were not concealed. Settlers publicly described their predatory interests in controlling Hawai'i in the English language papers. This was blatantly evident in the *Weekly Argus*, six days after the infected smallpox ship docked.

Rum and venereal have done their worst to annihilate this people and have failed, but if the small pox were to be introduced, it would settle all our political difficulties in a short time.<sup>38</sup>

By their own admission, *haole* settlers knowingly introduced foreign diseases in order to fulfill their economic and political desires. In 1893, the year of the Hawaiian government overthrow by the U.S. military, the Native Hawaiian population was reduced in half to 40,000 due to waves of diseases brought by the *haole*.<sup>39</sup> By this time, the United States had exclusive rights to Pearl Harbor for its military use, settlers owned private property, and the settler sugar plantations (with their Asian labor force) had mushroomed to approximately sixty plantations covering thousands of acres.<sup>40</sup>

*Foreign Advisors Serve Western Imperialism, not Hawaiian Sovereignty*

Though philanthropy may mourn and Christian faith be staggered by the creed, it is inevitable that the Hawaiian race cannot in time be brought up to the ability required to fulfil the destiny of this group of Islands; and they will be possessed, and improved, and rendered fruitful by another people.

*Weekly Argus*, Sept. 1853  
during the smallpox epidemic<sup>41</sup>

Well before the Hawaiian government was overthrown by the American military and later made a formal colony of the United States, Hawai'i was an independent nation. Although the Hawaiian Kingdom had treaties with European, American, and Asian nations, it was not respected by the nations who made those treaties—Great Britain, France, Germany, and the United States. The Pacific Island nations including Hawai'i were fodder for the imperialist nations of Europe, America, and later Japan, who were looking to exploit market places, raw materials, food sources, and strategically placed colonies in order to increase their economic and political wealth.

When Russians first sailed to Hawai'i in the early 1800s, Captain Lisianskii and his crew noted the abundance of sugar cane growing in the islands and the large profits one could make from selling Hawaiian sugar. In fact, the German naturalist aboard Lisianskii's ship calculated that sugar in Hawai'i could supply all of Siberia, which was in dire need of food supplies during their long winters. At that time, Russia, like settler colonial America, was expanding its national territorial boundaries across the Siberian steppe lands and *taiga* (forests) to the Pacific Ocean and leaving in its wake enslaved Native peoples such as the Sakha, Even, Yukagir, Evenk, Udege, Ul'ch, Khanty, Chukchi, Saami, Aleut, Mansi, Nenets, Inuit, and many more. Russian settlers moved across the Bering Strait into Alaska and down the northwestern coast of America into California. This geographic area was referred to as Russian America. With Siberia and its Pacific



coastline frozen most of the year, the Russian-American Company (a Russian company established in 1799 and funded partially by St. Petersburg) was always in search of trade opportunities and lands to cultivate in order to supply food for settlers in Russian America and in Siberia. Thus there was interest in claiming Hawai'i as a site for sugar production, as a replenishing port, and as a settlement colony.<sup>42</sup>

At the same time, Americans also looked at Hawai'i as a refueling or replenishing stop to serve their trading needs in the Pacific. American fur traders purchased the "soft gold" (sea otter pelts and other furs) from the Russian-American Company in northwest America and frequently stopped in Hawai'i for refueling on their way to China. Also doing business with the Hawaiian Kingdom were American sandalwood merchant-traders. Kamehameha I, the most famous Hawaiian ruler, each year allotted a limited number of trees for harvesting, which the Americans purchased and resold to China. After the death of Kamehameha I, these merchant-traders completely stripped the islands of sandalwood trees. Another group of Americans interested in Hawai'i were the New England whalers, who refueled on their way to hunting grounds off the eastern coast of Russia and Japan. By the 1840s and 1850s, the whaling industry was booming in the north Pacific and in Hawai'i. In fact, during the 1853 smallpox epidemic, *haole* settlers were concerned with the deaths of Hawaiians mainly because they feared that that the epidemic might impact the upcoming whaling season.<sup>43</sup>

However, it was primarily the New England Calvinist missionaries who drastically and systematically altered Hawai'i through the imposition of their religion and by interfering in the internal affairs of the Hawaiian government for the benefit of settlers. Native Hawaiian historian Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa in

*Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?* explains that Christianity was appealing to the *Ali'i Nui* (high chiefs) because the missionaries came at a historic moment when the Hawaiian nation was transforming itself in response to the massive depopulation of its people. The *Ali'i Nui* ended their traditional state religion that had organized their whole society because their gods were incapable of preventing the massive dying of their people. When the missionaries arrived the following year, approximately eighty percent of the population had died since *haole* contact. The missionaries did not provide any remedies to prevent Native Hawaiian deaths. Instead, they introduced the "attractive" concept of "everlasting life." The missionaries also brought the printing press, whereupon "reading and writing" became a Hawaiian national pastime.

The Calvinists thus took advantage of this difficult historic time when the Hawaiian people were in extreme distress. As believers in a proselytizing religion, they were determined to dictate how other people should live. They soon redirected the attention of the Hawaiian government away from Native interests and toward fulfilling settler desires. Kame'eleihiwa reveals the ideology of the missionaries through an event that took place twenty-five years after the arrival of the missionaries in 1820. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) in the continental United States suggested that the Calvinists begin a new mission in a different geographic area, as they had achieved their goal of converting Hawai'i into a Christian nation. The ABCFM made clear it would no longer fund the Calvinists if the latter remained in the islands; their task in Hawai'i was considered completed. Instead, the missionaries severed their ties with the ABCFM, stayed in Hawai'i, and became capitalists through acquisition of land and secondary businesses.<sup>44</sup>

Because the Calvinists were citizens of the United States, a settler colonial nation expanding its national territory across a Native continent, the desire to expropriate the Hawaiian archipelago through force and/or legal maneuvers was not unusual or unique. Confiscating other people's national land base was—and remains—the hallmark of American imperialism. In other words, the Calvinists arrived in Hawai'i carrying with them the paradigms of colonialism and settler superiority. Just as the British brought with them an unquestioned belief in white supremacy as they voyaged around the world, so, too, did American missionaries and businessmen embody white supremacist values.

William Richards, a former Calvinist missionary and the highest-ranked foreign political advisor to the Kingdom, was hired to teach and advise the King and the *Ali'i Nui* (high chiefs) on capitalism and western law. Richards naturally advocated American imperialist interests over those of the Hawaiian people. He argued that the structure of the Hawaiian Kingdom had to change in order to secure its sovereignty in the nineteenth century. Hawai'i supposedly required a western-style government, the acceptance of the Christian religion, and a capitalist economy to protect itself (the government and people) against the colonizing interests of imperialist nations.

Thus, by the time the ABCFM stopped funding the Calvinists in 1850, the Hawaiian Kingdom (with Richard's help) had established a Bill of Rights (1839), a Constitution (1840), and a western-style government (executive, judicial, and legislative bodies in the Organic Acts of 1845-46). The Calvinists were confident that they would eventually increase their personal and political wealth because their proposals to the King to westernize the Hawaiian Kingdom included the privatizing of communal lands.<sup>45</sup>

To understand fully this early period of settler contact, it is necessary to trace the national affiliations of the white settlers and their loyalties to their respective home countries, and to analyze how these loyalties structured their behaviors and fulfilled their intention to establish settler supremacy and Native subjugation. For example, when the British military (under Lord George Paulet) challenged Hawaiian sovereignty in 1843, G. P. Judd, an American and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to King Kamehameha III, worked quickly to have the independence of Hawai'i restored. British Rear Admiral Thomas arrived to investigate the situation and returned the Hawaiian Kingdom to the control of Kamehameha III in six months.<sup>46</sup> While Judd helped the King regain the sovereignty of Hawai'i from Britain, Judd acted not as someone supporting Hawaiian independence but as an American who was steering Hawai'i away from Britain and towards his own motherland, the United States.

In 1848, after ten years of arguments, King Kamehameha III finally agreed to the advice of his American Cabinet members (Judd, Richards, etc.) to privatize the lands in a process called the *Māhele*. Among many reasons, they argued that a change in land tenure would protect Hawai'i against the European imperialism that was rapidly spreading across the Pacific. Western countries, the American advisors asserted, respected the documentation and privatization of lands. Therefore, Hawai'i's sovereignty would be secured forever even if an imperialist nation attempted to take over the Kingdom again. This rationale may seem like a questionable and blatantly self-interested argument to a contemporary reader well versed in the devastation created by capitalism and imperialism. But we have the luxury of hindsight. Hawaiian chiefs in the nineteenth century were forced to rely upon foreign advisors to navigate the unfamiliar and treacherous waters of imperialism. These deceitful advisors came from imperialist nations

that used their technologically powerful military forces to exploit the resources of countries and peoples less powerful.

The threat of colonization by European or American nations was very real. By the 1840s, Great Britain and France had taken Australia, New Zealand, Sāmoa, the Marquesas, and other Pacific Island nations. Great Britain had attempted to annex Hawai'i in 1843, although as stated above, independence was shortly restored. The following year in 1844, France took Tahiti. The American advisors to the Hawaiian Kingdom used the example of Tahiti, where land was not privatized, as a warning. Unless Hawaiian lands were made fee simple, they argued, Hawai'i could lose its sovereignty to another imperialist nation.

#### *Confiscating Land for Plantations*

The settler owes the fact of his very existence, that is to say, his property, to the colonial system.

Frantz Fanon<sup>47</sup>

While massive Native depopulation weighed heavily on the minds of the King and his high chiefs, the white settlers, particularly the Americans took advantage of this distressful moment to restructure the Hawaiian Kingdom and thereby profit from a foreign system that would brutally exploit the islands and the Native people.<sup>48</sup> One reason the American advisors were successful in convincing the King to westernize the Kingdom was because the *Mō'i* was aware that the international capitalist economy looming at his doorstep was the method for conducting commerce outside of Hawai'i. Americans such as Richards and Judd knew their ideas to privatize the lands would be enhanced and supported by the international economic system already established by western, imperialist nations. Of course, the settler advisors did not inform the King that the rewards of imperialist capitalism would greatly benefit settlers who understood private

property and capitalist accumulation. Such practices were completely alien to the Native people. It mattered little which imperialist nation the settler advisors used as an example—Great Britain, France, or the United States, because all these nations were engaged in the same capitalist system, competing with each other to colonize the Pacific in the 1800s and thereby rob the colonies of their wealth.

Fantz Fanon refers to global capitalism as the “peaceful violence the world is steeped in.”<sup>49</sup> In the colonies, this “peaceful violence” is committed against the colonized people by foreigners (settlers) who profit from the imposition of abusive, foreign political and economic systems. The colonizer’s domination of the colonies is supported in the international arena where imperialist nations share a “peaceful complicity” regarding the predatory crimes they commit upon smaller nations or colonies. Despite the competition over specific colonies and marketplaces, these imperialist governments all embrace a single determination to conquer and exploit foreign territories.

The American settler advisors in the Hawaiian Kingdom supported global imperialism (or what Lenin called an “imperialist, predatory peace”)<sup>50</sup> and thus passed laws on the rights of foreigners to purchase land through a series of legislative acts. This was achieved after the advisors had established a westernized legislature. The transformation of land tenure from communal to private ownership allowed plantation capitalism to work its way into the Kingdom. These changes structurally ensured the dictatorship of the settler. In fact, by the end of the century, the United States would overthrow the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893, annexing it as a Territory a mere five years later.

Kame‘eleihiwa describes the worldviews of the *Mō‘ī* and other *ali‘i* along with the predatory interests of his foreign advisors during the nineteenth century. She argues that the foreigners involved made the 1848 *Māhele* overly

complicating and confusing. Moreover, the western bureaucratic procedures and rules that replaced the traditional system of communal land tenure, served to undermine established relationships between ruler and chiefs, and the traditional Hawaiian understanding of civilized behavior.

By the end of the century, many chiefs who had received lands from the *Māhele* lost title to them due to their cultural as well as bureaucratic misunderstanding of the process for registering claims. In traditional times, whenever a new King or *Mō'ī* assumed power, all lands would be turned over to the new *Mō'ī* who would then redistribute the lands accordingly. This land redistribution or *kālai'āina* simultaneously shaped and defined the new *Mō'ī*'s political power. It mattered which chiefs received what lands. As with all traditional societies, certain lands were highly prized and carried great cultural and political meaning while other geographic parcels of land or whole regions were considered less valuable. Thus the combination of a chief's rank and his/her received land divisions (parcels spread out on different islands or adjacent to each other on the same island) defined the power and stability of the *Mō'ī*'s reign. Once the *Mō'ī* distributed the land, no third party needed to verify the allotments, as the *kālai'āina* was an established cultural procedure that anchored political and social relationships between ruler and chiefs. It was understood that newly received lands would be held in trust by the subordinate chiefs until power changed hands again.

The King agreed to the 1848 *Māhele* because he profoundly misunderstood the capitalist privatization of property. He believed that the *Māhele* would allow him to "share" his lands with his people, who would then hold large and small parcels in perpetuity. Cunningly, the *haole* settlers who understood capitalism, unlike the King, likened the process to a traditional *kālai'āina*, but added

stumbling blocks in the form of unclear western requirements to ensure that Hawaiian chiefs would lose their lands by default because they did not comply with “established procedures.”

The bureaucratic process created for the *Māhele* worked in the following manner. First, the chiefs received lands from the *Mō‘ī*. Then, they were required to register their land allotments with a new Land Commission in addition to paying a substantial fee for the lands. After these requirements were met, they received a royal patent number. According to the new western laws of land tenure, if the chiefs did not register with the Land Commission, their lands would be confiscated. These seemingly innocent steps involving third-party verification (by the Land Commission) and assessing the monetary value of the land (through a land fee) significantly violated Hawaiian political and cultural relationships between the chiefs and their King and between the chiefs and the land.<sup>51</sup>

It must be emphasized that the westernization of the Hawaiian government had begun less than ten years before the *Māhele* with the Bill of Rights of 1839. The Land Commission was only three years old at the time of the *Māhele*. However, within the new restructured and westernized Hawaiian government, the Commission held one of the most powerful positions in the Kingdom. At a time when all lands had to be registered under a western system, the Land Commission determined who received land and who did not with the stroke of a pen. It was the Land Commission members who researched the traditional land tenure system and proposed the framework for the *Māhele*.<sup>52</sup> Predictably, American settler William Richards headed this agency. He taught the King western law and the principles of capitalism. It was Richards who urged the King to westernize his government. In contrast to the *kālai‘āina*



tradition which was thousands of years old and a well understood part of the culture, the King and the high chiefs were expected to comprehend the foreign land tenure process of privatization and the registration of lands without any time-honored experience.

How did the Land Commission expect to register the new distribution of land competently and fairly when the logic of western bureaucratic procedure was culturally unfamiliar and confusing to Hawaiians? Perhaps the latter was a significant element in the settlers' proposal for privatization. Moreover, this registration process and the one, which also required the commoners to claim lands, were too brief to allow a complete understanding of the issues. Hawaiian historian Samuel Kamakau (1815-1876) said Hawaiians would have held onto their lands if there had been a twenty-year period in which they could claim and register them.<sup>53</sup> What better proof of Kamakau's assertions than what happened by the end of the century—most of the privatized lands came under the ownership of white settlers. This loss of land occurred in a nation of people who had a familial and sacred relationship to the land. They would never have sold their lands because the buying and selling of family and sacred things was incomprehensible.

Settlers used their knowledge of western laws and the capitalist economy to exploit the Hawaiian situation for their own gain. In 1850, two years after the privatization of lands, foreigners passed legislation allowing them to purchase lands and ensure a plantation economy. The primary bills involved an *Act to Abolish the Disabilities of Aliens to Acquire and Convey Land in Fee Simple* (which allowed foreigners to purchase land—also known as the "Kuleana Act") and *An Act for the Governance of Masters and Servants* (which established the wage-labor system). Companion bills were introduced and passed through the legislature,

such as a law preventing Native Hawaiians from emigrating so that they would remain in Hawai'i as laborers and a vagrancy law that made it a crime to be unemployed and that therefore forced many to become laborers.<sup>54</sup>

Within years of creating a legislative body, the American settlers passed laws to privatize lands, to purchase lands, and to have a plantation economy with a near-slave labor system. American imperialist interests enunciated through the advice of Americans like Judd and Richards were never more obvious than in those early few years. A great deal of planning and foresight was needed to pass legislation so that in one year alone (1850), settlers could purchase land, have a wage labor system, and create a pool of laborers. It should be remembered that these Americans were plotting to increase their own wealth through the purchase of land during a time when the foreign country in which they resided had no private property land tenure. The deceitfulness and ruthlessness of these American advisors were appalling.

With the right to acquire land, the number of settler plantations predictably mushroomed. According to Edward Beechart, a labor historian in Hawai'i, by 1870, there were twenty plantations with an average of 425 acres each. This means 8,500 total acres under cultivation. In 1890, there were seventy-three plantations (average acreage of 1,192) and 87,016 acres under total cultivation. In other words, within twenty years, there was an increase of fifty-three plantations and over 80,000 acres of cultivated sugar. If we look at the increase in acreage in terms of production, in 1830 the plantations produced 18,783,639 pounds of sugar, which significantly increased in 1890 to 259,789,462 pounds. By 1930, when Hawai'i was officially a colony of settler America, the colonial government allowed plantations to increase to 251,544 acres under cultivation.<sup>55</sup>

With the invasion of settler plantation capitalism, Hawai'i's population demographic between settlers and Natives changed forever as thousands of foreign contract laborers were brought into the plantation fields, many never returning to their Asian homelands. The increase in the Asian settler population was dramatic. The Japanese, for example, comprised one of the largest plantation labor groups. In 1884, a year before Japanese contract workers came to Hawai'i, there were only 116 Japanese residents. Five years later, the Japanese number increased to 12,610. In 1900, fifteen years after the first Japanese laborers immigrated to the Hawaiian Islands, the Japanese population swelled to 61,111. The Japanese became a part of a growing settler population that totaled 114,345 at the turn of the twentieth century, while the Native Hawaiian population was clearly outnumbered with 39,656 people.<sup>56</sup>

The first contract laborers brought to Hawai'i were the Chinese in 1852. In quick succession, the Portuguese (1878), Japanese (1885), Koreans (1903), Okinawans (1905), and Filipinos (1909) arrived to work on the colonial plantations. While the Asian contract laborers suffered tremendously under the discriminatory practices of the white sugar planters, it is important to keep in mind the colonial context—that is, these settlers of color stepped into a plantation economy that was created by settlers for their benefit. The interests of the Native people were never considered on any level: cultural, political, or economic. In other words, contract laborers enabled white sugar planters to become wealthy in a settler system based on exploitation of the Native people, their lands, and culture. From the start, Asians became part of a colonial economic and political system. Thus their labor history is embedded within a settler history. A hundred years later, at the turn of the twenty-first century, Asian settlers continue to support and identify with the U.S. colonial government

while they oppose and oppress Native Hawaiians and their struggle for a self-determined sovereignty.

Whenever one studies established colonies such as Hawai'i, one needs to examine general relationships among settlers (i.e., British to Americans, Americans to French, and Americans to Asian laborers) and between settlers and Natives to learn how they reflect the nature of international policies between the respective governing countries. As Fanon explained, *settlers are extensions of their mother country.*<sup>57</sup> Therefore, the political status of the settlers' homeland nations in the international arena determines the power these settlers wield within their respective colonies. In the 1880s, the United States was a powerful imperialist nation in comparison to Japan, which was in the process of reorganizing itself along a western framework. Thus American sugar planters looked to Japan as another Asian country to recruit workers for plantation labor. Although the labor contract was legally binding between Japan and the Hawaiian Kingdom, in reality this contract was shaped by the political influence of the United States, as it was understood that America had extraordinary influence over Japan and Hawai'i (see the following section on Japan's relationship to the United States). Tellingly, there were no Native Hawaiian-owned plantations, only American and European settler-owned plantations.

Ten years after the arrival of the first Japanese contract laborers in 1885, Japan became an emerging imperialist power with its own colonies of Taiwan, Okinawa, and the Pescadores Islands. During this end of the century period, Japan considered Hawai'i to be a potential colony. Japan protested the American overthrow and annexation of the Hawaiian Kingdom.<sup>58</sup> Then, in the first half of the twentieth century, Japan and the United States fought for dominance of the north Pacific where Hawai'i figured prominently in each nations' imperialist

designs. Meanwhile, the situation of Japanese contract laborers and their descendants reflected this growing status of Japan as a world power. These contract settlers would ascend to ruling-class status in Hawai'i by the 1960s-1970s—although not only because of Japan's world's standing. Both Japan and America looked at Hawai'i as a strategic colony, and both Japanese and American settlers reflected their countries' views and considered Hawaiians as a colonized people—lower in status than themselves and thus exploitable and, later, expendable.

### **Imperialist Nations Compete for Control Over the North Pacific**

Owing to their locality and to the course of the winds which prevail in this quarter of the world, the Sandwich Islands are the stopping place for almost all vessels passing from continent to continent, across the Pacific Ocean. They are especially resorted to by a great number of vessels of the United States, which are engaged in the whale fishery in those seas.

U.S. President John Tyler  
Tyler Doctrine, 1842<sup>59</sup>

#### *Russia and the United States: Growing Rivalry between Settler Colonial Nations*

In the nineteenth century, the north Pacific Ocean was not isolated from the "age of imperialism" but was subject to the invading activities of explorers, traders, missionaries, and military forces from predatory nations. Whether they acted as individuals or representatives of governments, these imperialists crisscrossed the vast waters and defrauded Native peoples by taking Native resources at undervalued rates. These early exchanges between the west and indigenous nations were never equal, never beneficial to both sides. Such interactions were part of a larger system of colonization of Native peoples by imperialist states. Imperialists considered themselves superior to the Native nations they conquered. As competitors in the rush to claim indigenous lands and resources, Great Britain, France, the United States, Russia, and, later Japan,

were constantly negotiating alliances or warring with each other, depending on whether their expansionist plans converged or diverged. At particular moments in the nineteenth century, each of these countries had their imperialist eyes on Hawai'i because the islands were strategically located thus facilitating Pacific-wide exploration and exploitation.

In 1821, Tsar Alexander I declared all Pacific coastlands and islands north of the forty-fifth parallel on the Asian continent and north of the fifty-first parallel on the North American continent as Russian territory. With this decree or *ukase*, Russia claimed all coastlines beginning from Sakhalin Island off the Siberian coast to the northern portion of Vancouver Island off the British Columbia coast. By this action, the Tsar challenged Great Britain and the United States, both of which considered North America their terrain.

Of course, many Native nations whose national lands Russia seized were never consulted. The Russians like other western governments viewed indigenous peoples as something less than human. Thus, the loss of Native sovereignty for the Ainu, Nivkhi, Kamchadal, Inuit, Aleut, Tlingit, Haida, and others was never considered in the imperialist quest for global dominance.

The Russian *ukase* particularly threatened America, as it prohibited non-Russian vessels from docking and trading on these newly claimed shores. Nor were such vessels allowed to sail within 150 miles of shore. New England traders had by then already established a triangular trade where they sold provisions to the Russian-American Company (funded by the Russian state and private sources) in exchange for sea otter pelts and other furs. Boston traders then sold the fur to China in exchange for tea, silk, porcelain, and other commodities. As the Americans crisscrossed the Pacific, many made seasonal

visits to Hawai'i to replenish their ships with supplies. Thus this *ukase* stopped such lucrative American trading business at that time.

To the consternation of the United States and, in particular Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, the *ukase* asserted Russian sovereignty on "American" soil. It bifurcated the Oregon territory. Between 1818 and 1846, the United States and Britain jointly occupied Oregon, which was located south of the fifty-fourth parallel (now southern Alaska) and north of the forty-second parallel (now the border between California and Oregon). As Russia and the United States are both settler colonial nations—that is, imperialist countries that seize Native national lands for their own sovereign territory and colonize Native peoples therein—America responded to the Russian territorial claim with its own decree, the Monroe Doctrine, two years later.<sup>60</sup> This U.S. document outlined three major positions: that the Americas were not "subjects for future colonization," that any European powers attempting to colonize parts of the Americas would be considered "dangerous to our [U.S.] peace and safety." In return for acknowledging the American position, the United States would not interfere with European internal matters. In hindsight, we now realize that the United States exempted itself from the very proclamations stated in the doctrine. There were only twenty-four states in the union at the time President James Monroe signed this 1823 doctrine, and the United States would continue to colonize and incorporate independent Native nations in North America into its geographic borders. Furthermore, despite its third position, the United States never stopped interfering in the internal affairs of Central and South American countries and European interests around the globe. As historian William Appleman Williams points out, America can never stay at home. He cites seventy-nine "interventionist activities" (excluding wars) conducted by the United States since

the proclamation of the Monroe doctrine and until the turn of the century in 1900. Tellingly, this high figure does not even include the conquest of Native American nations.<sup>61</sup>

Although Spain's deliberations over reclaiming its former colonies in Central and South America are often assumed to be the reason behind the creation of the Monroe doctrine, Russia was considered even more of a threat to the United States. Through the "Holy Alliance," Russia, Austria, and Prussia urged Spain to reassert its sovereignty on American soil, more specifically, in Central and South America. From Washington's perspective, Russia loomed as the aggressive force that would challenge America's own imperialist ambitions by encouraging Spain on the one hand and by claiming a portion of the Oregon country through the *ukase* on the other. Spain's was a dying empire, but Russia posed a serious threat to America. In addition, Secretary of State Adams was greatly concerned with Russian encroachment southward into California, below the fifty-first parallel. In 1812, Russia obtained an agreement with Spain (which controlled California at that time) to establish a Russian-American Company trading post at Bodega Bay, just a short distance north of San Francisco. Was Russia, America feared, planning to take the whole northwest coastline of North America?

It is important to recognize that although Russia and the United States had cordial diplomatic ties during this period, in *realpolitik* terms, they had an uneasy, competitive relationship, as testified by the existence of the *ukase* and Monroe doctrine. Part of this conflict was their competition as settler colonial nations that absorbed Native national lands into their own political units. Russia and the United States thus shared similar ideological views on conquest, land use, settlers, and Native peoples. As predatory nations, they naturally distrusted



each other's policies. Later, they would become uneasy neighbors sharing the Bering Strait as a boundary line. Because Russia and the United States both asserted their "right" (as imperialist powers in the north Pacific) to monitor and dominate this area, their distrustful relationship would become particularly tense during the Cold War.

Meanwhile, in the early 1800s, the United States competed with France and Great Britain over who would control Hawai'i. Finally, in 1842, to protect Hawaiian sovereignty, Kamehameha III sent representatives to those three countries to request their recognition of Hawai'i's independent status. U.S. President John Tyler, in a speech to Congress, simultaneously recognized Hawai'i's independence and placed Hawai'i under America's protection to "prevent" European colonization. This was, of course, a contradictory position. His speech acknowledged Hawaiian independence while also relegating Hawai'i to "semi-colonial" status: hence, the Tyler Doctrine. Similar in foreign policy to the Monroe Doctrine, the United States based its "rightful" dominance over Hawai'i on America's geographic proximity to the islands, claiming that Europe was "far remote" from the north Pacific. In addition, the United States cited its greater share of commerce relative to all other foreign countries as a reason for its dominance.<sup>62</sup> Tyler then continued his presidential address with remarks on China. Although these two vastly different nations—Hawai'i and China—appeared in the Tyler doctrine as unrelated topics, they were similar. The United States was announcing a policy of imperialism to justify its spread across the Pacific. It needed to secure Hawai'i as an American fueling stop in order to protect its interests in China. In the quotation that begins this section, Tyler explains that the islands were important to the United States because all vessels at the time had to go through Hawai'i to cross the Pacific. Far from being

written to accommodate Kamehameha III's request for the recognition of Hawai'i's independent status, the Tyler doctrine announced America's claim to protect its business interests in the Pacific and Asia.

During the 1840s-1860s, American whalers strained the relations between Russia and the United States as they hunted off the Siberian coastline. Many whalers did not return to spend the winter in Hawai'i but remained on the northeast coast of the Asian continent. Russia, meanwhile, was engaged in European affairs and therefore unable to administer its Pacific territories with military force. Thus, while St. Petersburg was disturbed that American whalers were conducting their businesses without Russian oversight, the Russian state could do very little to monitor the situation. Russia's involvement in the Crimean War made St. Petersburg recognize the vulnerability of its Pacific Asian territories. British and French ships patrolled Russia's northeast coastline during that war while the majority of Russian military forces were in Europe. To keep power out of the hands of its European rivals, Russia sold Alaska to the United States in 1867. Thus Native lands—which included Alaska and the Aleutian Islands and all the Native peoples within it (the Aleut, Inuit, Tlingit and so on)—were sold to the United States for a mere \$7,200,000.<sup>63</sup> Its empire increased; the United States and its leaders did not think twice about the sale of indigenous human beings and their lands. Neither did Russia consider the Native peoples when selling Alaska. Both sets of leaders assumed white dominance was part of the natural order.<sup>64</sup>

In a very interesting article on Russian-American economic relations, historian John J. Stephan points out that Americans were very interested in conducting business in Siberia, especially in the strategically located Amur Basin.<sup>65</sup> The Amur River mouth empties into the Sea of Okhotsk and is the

entryway to the fertile Amur Valley, where the river flows between Russia and China.<sup>66</sup> In the 1800s, American business projects expanded from small stores to large enterprises. Washington assigned American Perry Collins (U.S. Commercial Agent to the Amur River) to build a telegraph line from the American continent, under the Bering Strait, and across Siberia to European Russia. While this project failed because of the installation of the Atlantic cable connecting the United States to Russia, Collins nonetheless raised over three million dollars for construction. By the 1890s, American companies were selling steel rails, farm equipment, “clothing, sewing machines, stoves, bicycles, automobiles, and motorboats” in this area. Commerce boomed between Russian traders and merchants in Russia’s Pacific territories and the U.S. businesses in these regions. Russia was no longer just a European country, but an established Pacific neighbor to the United States.

At this point, it is important to remember that Siberia is part of Russia’s settler colonial nation. This vast expanse of Native national lands was incorporated into the Russian national body in a way similar to the Indian national lands that were conquered and subsequently integrated into the American geo-political borders. Americans never regarded the hundreds of thousands of Native peoples of Siberia (Sakha, Yukagir, Ul’ch, Udege, etc.) as subjugated peoples needing liberation from their Russian, colonial overlord, but rather saw the Russian settlers as the legitimate rulers, business partners, and customers in the region. Americans agreed with the confiscation of Native national lands for Russian national lands. In reading various incidents between Russia and the United States or between any of the imperialist nations, these states treated (and still treat) the Native peoples as “less than” white/Europeanized people to be used as pawns, objects, or property within

imperialist conflicts. For example, one of the reasons Tsar Alexander I declared the 1821 *ukase* was because the Russian-American Company did not like U.S. fur traders doing business directly with the Native peoples and thus siphoning off Russian profits. When the United States negotiated the Louisiana Purchase from France, neither of these two imperialist nations considered the impact upon the Native nations and peoples involved in the shift from one colonizer to another.<sup>67</sup>

As U.S. interests in Asia (including the Russian east coast) increased, the more critical Hawai'i became to the United States, first as a refueling port, and later as an American military post in the Pacific. Washington was keenly aware of the imperialist interests of Russia, Great Britain, France, and Germany in Asia and wanted to monitor their movements, as they might interfere with America's own economic and political investments in the western Pacific. American naval officer Alfred T. Mahan, a highly influential figure in Washington circles, publicly argued that Hawai'i should be annexed to the United States within months of the 1893 overthrow, because Hawai'i was a key link in building and maintaining U.S. global power in the Pacific. Mahan explained that Hawai'i's strategic location would allow the United States to control/monitor all economic and military movements in the Pacific, especially those in the north Pacific. Moreover, Mahan asserted, Hawai'i's value to the United States' national security and economic interests was critical, as the distance between Honolulu and San Francisco was equal to the distance between Honolulu and the European powers residing in their Pacific colonies (e.g., the Marquesas, Gilbert Islands, Sāmoa). Mahan warned the American public that if another nation controlled Hawai'i, it would be a "serious menace to our Pacific coast and our Pacific trade."<sup>68</sup>

During the 1890s, a public debate arose over the scope of American imperialism—whether the United States should expand its borders and interests beyond its shores and across the Pacific. Although not all the interior territories were part of the United States in 1890 (only forty-four states existed), the West Coast states were already part of the union. Thus many Americans believed their nation had reached its geographic limit and now needed to find other territories to develop. Contributing to the debate was the 1893 depression that made American corporations anxious to establish new markets in foreign lands. Prior to the 1870s, only Western Union and Montgomery Ward were national corporations that operated across the entire country. By the 1890s, more corporations were rapidly becoming national entities such as Colgate, Eastman Kodak, Campbell Soup, and Pillsbury Flour.<sup>69</sup> Mahan, an expansionist and former naval officer, cleverly argued that the U.S. military had to “protect” American economic interests overseas. The oceans, Mahan explained, were “highways” or trade routes. These lines of commerce needed American military forces to patrol the oceans and watch over U.S. trade routes.<sup>70</sup>

At the end of the nineteenth century, the internal debate over whether or not the United States should expand its reach to become an imperialist nation, like Mahan’s argument, was a false issue, as the country was already involved in military exploits of conquest at home and abroad. As Native American scholar Ward Churchill has emphasized, the United States consumed many Native nations after signing peace and recognition treaties with them. It is also important to review Native Hawaiian leader Haunani-Kay Trask’s definitions cited earlier in this chapter, where imperialism is described as a foreign power that dominates and exploits another people for its own gain. Crossing an ocean is not a requirement of imperialism, but the seizure of another nations’ lands,

resources, and peoples is such a requirement. Of course, American foreign policies—in their functions and effects—were already quite imperialist. Historian William Appleman Williams, like Churchill and Trask, had argued in 1980 that the United States was an empire from its inception, because “empire” means “a way of life [that] involves taking wealth and freedom away from others to provide for your own welfare, pleasure, and power.” The endless foreign policy discussions in the 1890s were not about imperialism but more concerned with gaining public support to enter the war against Spain and to protect American markets in China. The U.S. military had already crossed the Pacific Ocean; America was a rising imperialist power at home and abroad.<sup>71</sup>

*Imperialist Japan's Relationships to Russia, Hawai'i, and the United States*

U.S. Commodore Matthew C. Perry forced open the doors of Tokugawa Japan to American imperialism in 1853. This was forty years before Mahan made his public arguments for expansion and annexation. Since the mid-1800s, Washington had regarded Japan as a possible way station for supplies, refueling, and commerce. Japan, however, had been in *sakoku* or national seclusion for 200 years, as a way to keep foreigners and foreign ideologies (especially Roman Catholicism) out of the country and as a way to maintain its political autonomy from imperialist western powers. Washington ultimately used gunboat diplomacy to demand that the Tokugawa *bakufu* (military government) open Japanese ports to American ships. To display American military strength, Perry entered Edo (Tokyo) Bay with four U.S. warships and threatened to return with a larger fleet if the *bakufu* did not agree to a treaty.<sup>72</sup> Faced with a technologically advanced military at its door, the *bakufu* was forced to sign the treaty when Perry returned the following year with eight military ships. By 1858, Japan had signed

the first of five “unequal treaties” that gave the United States (and eventually others) advantages that were unilaterally established by Washington such as extraterritoriality and the fixing of Japanese trade tariffs. Soon after the first treaty was signed with the United States, other western nations, Russia, Holland, Britain, and France, sought similar treaty conditions. Collectively called the Ansei Treaties, they were enforced for fifty-three years until the last one was finally terminated in 1911.<sup>73</sup>

Angered by the unequal treaties and alarmed by the growing invasion of the Pacific and Asia by western nations, the newly established Meiji government’s leaders rallied their people around the national slogan “*fukoku kyōhei*” (enrich the nation, strengthen the military), which would help to transform Japan into a modern imperialist power by 1895. In that year, Japan received colonies of its own, the spoils of victory from the Sino-Japanese War of 1894, an imperialist war with China that began over Korea. This war troubled Russia because of Japan’s success as a rising Pacific power, and especially by Japan’s acquisition of land on the Asian continent. It was one thing for Japan to receive the island colonies of Taiwan, the southern Ryukyus, and the Pescadores, but quite another for it to hold land on a peninsula that Russia had wanted for itself. Thus a week after the conclusion of the peace treaty between China and Japan, a Triple Intervention (Russia, France, and Germany) forced Japan to return one of its new colonies, the Liaotung Peninsula, back to China. Not surprisingly, three years later, China leased that very peninsula, along with its Port Arthur (naval port) and Dairen (commercial port), to Russia for twenty-five years. These two ports near Russia’s Far East region were ice-free during the winter and thus lent themselves to strategists, as St. Petersburg had planned to build a railroad to this region.<sup>74</sup>

As neighbors, Japan and Russia had, and continue to have, an uneasy relationship, sharing a contested national border. What Japan calls its “Northern Territories”—Sakhalin Island (a large island hugging the eastern coast of the Asian continent) and the Kurile Islands (thirty-six islands stretching from Japan’s Hokkaido island to Russia’s Kamchatka Peninsula)—have been a continuous source of contention between the two imperialist nations. Historian John Stephan points out that this border problem, dating from the 1750s, continues to this day. These two imperialist nations have yet to sign a peace treaty where both can agree upon the same national boundary.<sup>75</sup> During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Russia and Japan constantly fought for control over Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands. Whenever one of these nation-states regained the islands from the other, its leaders would lament how “Russianized” or “Japanized” the Ainu, the indigenous peoples of the islands had become.

It is important to recall that colonies are characterized by a deep rift between settlers and Natives as well as political, economic, and social tensions inevitably created by imperialist conquest. In this case, the settlers were either Russian or Japanese, and the Natives were—and still are—the Ainu (on all islands), the Kamchadal (northern Kurile islands), Nivkhi (Sakhalin), Oroki (Sakhalin), and Evenki (Sakhalin). One key aspect of this rift is that the representation of indigenous views regarding the boundary question is consistently absent. The dominant perspectives are those of the imperialist powers. In fact, what Japan considers its own northern island of “Hokkaido” (a part of the northern territories that is uncontested by Russia) are actually Ainu national and ancestral lands that have been occupied by the Japanese for centuries.<sup>76</sup>



According to Cree international human rights attorney Sharon Venne, indigenous nations, whose lands were seized by the imperialists, were never considered as worthy political subjects.<sup>77</sup> Native peoples, Venne notes, have always been treated as expendable objects by imperialist nations.

Scholar M.A. Aziz argues that the desire of the Japanese “to plunge into conquest” began with the Japanese creation myth. In this story, first emperor Jimmu Tenno, the great-grandson of Ninigi who descended to earth, received his divine orders to bring “the eight corners of the world under one Japanese roof.” Aziz argues, “the divine mission of Japan [was] to conquer and rule other countries.”<sup>78</sup> This idea of imperialism, then, was not a new concept to the Japanese in the late nineteenth century. Although Aziz does not use the phrase “national culture” to explain elements of imperialism present in Japan’s mythology, when particular ideas are repeated throughout a nation’s history or are embedded in its national foundation myth, they are part of its national culture, of its national heritage. (See following chapter on national culture and ideologies.)

Historian Akira Iriye confirms the existence of a paradigm of predatory power when he argues that settlement and colonization are part of Japanese historical tradition. When Iriye discusses the speed with which Japan organized itself into a modern imperialist nation, he includes a short passage on national tradition as a contributing factor. Many scholars, including Iriye, cite the main forces that fueled Japan’s swift and eager expansionism was an over-population problem and an admiration of the West’s ability to expand, colonize, and emigrate.<sup>79</sup> However, Iriye’s and Aziz’s assertions of conquest and expansion as part of Japan’s historic tradition and national culture, cannot be ignored. Many countries have been threatened with western imperialism. Yet they did not

respond by reproducing the same predatory power as did Japan. Could a society thousands of years old like Japan rapidly adopt an idea like imperialism unless it was already a part of its own historical tradition?

For example, the Kingdom of Hawai'i could have become an imperialist nation when representatives from Tapiteuea and Butaritari, two Gilbert Islands in Micronesia, approached Kalākaua and asked for Hawai'i's protection on two different occasions. In 1878, the Tapiteuea government wanted Hawai'i to annex their island and in 1882 the Butaritari government wanted to be under Hawai'i's protectorate. In both cases, Kalākaua refused. He did not pursue these imperialist matters because he had no interests in colonizing other nations. Kalākaua was interested in federations, not in colonization.<sup>80</sup>

Would Meiji Japan have refused such an opportunity? Of course not. Japan was set on building an empire. By examining these two countries' responses to western imperialism, one can see how the colonial agenda was part of the Japanese tradition but not the Hawaiian. Of course, there are many reasons why a nation becomes imperialist. However, it is important to consider the speed with which Japan developed into a predatory state and how this transformation was prompted by something in its own cultural and political heritage.

Iriye explains that during the reorganization of Japan during the Meiji period in the 1870s, Japanese leaders used their own history of settlement and colonization in southeast Asia and other places as a justification to expand overseas at the end of the nineteenth century. Imperialism was to be a continuation of the past. Aziz cites the famous example of Hideyoshi Toyotomi, one of the three main unifiers of Japan, who attempted to invade and colonize Korea in 1592 and 1597. Even though the Meiji leaders' examples occurred

before *sakoku*, the closing of Japan to foreigners in the seventeenth century, Iriye argues that the cultural idea of expansion and settlement did not die during this period of isolation.<sup>81</sup>

In fact during *sakoku*, Iriye points out that Hokkaido, the Ainu homeland, was considered a place for settlement in times of over-population. The *bakufu* sent explorers to the Northern Territories to map out the islands during the national seclusion period. *Sakoku*, then, physically limited the movement of the Japanese to a smaller and more confined geographic area, but ideologically, the concept of Japanese conquest was maintained. This explains why, between 1869 and 1884, over 100,000 Japanese emigrated to Hokkaido, a foreign place. The occupation of Hokkaido and the subjugation of the Ainu served the political and national needs of the Japanese. Thus, Iriye convincingly contends, the settler/Native paradigm was always in circulation. Clearly, colonization was not a new idea to the Japanese. This explains, in part, the speed of Japan's imperialist development at the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>82</sup>

*Fukoku kyōhei* (enrich the nation, strengthen the military), then, meant building the military not only for defensive purposes, but also for offensive actions to invade and take other nation's lands. Within a short period, Japan joined other imperialist nations such as Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, and the United States in terrorizing and exploiting different parts of the world for its own power, prestige, and economy. In addition to its colonies (Taiwan, the Ryukyus [Okinawa], and the Pescadores), Japan acquired Liaotung Peninsula on the Asian continent and southern Sakhalin as a result of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905. After that, Japan annexed Korea (1910), took over the German colonies in Micronesia (Marshall, Caroline, and Mariana islands) at the end of World War I, and established as a colony its own puppet state of Manchukuo

(Manchuria) in the early 1930s on the eve of World War II. Japan quit the League of Nations—where it had a permanent seat—over the League’s opposition to the existence of Manchukuo and the militarizing of Japan’s Micronesian colonies.

While Japan obtained most of its territorial acquisitions through military aggression, a program of “peaceful expansion” was created. Commerce enabled Japan to enter a country without confronting that state’s politics directly. These efforts to establish trade were not just “business for business’ sake,” but part of Tokyo’s imperialist program or “war without warfare.”<sup>83</sup> Iriye explains that trade required a “soldierly determination” to support it. Thus commerce was tied to Japanese expansionism and the consolidation of Japanese nationalism.

Of particular interest here, Japan considered its emigrating citizens as an integral part of its “peaceful expansion” policy.<sup>84</sup> Whether these Japanese subjects temporarily conducted business in foreign countries (before returning to Japan), or permanently settled there, emigration was an important element in Japan’s imperialist strategy at that time, described by Iriye as global in scope.<sup>85</sup>

Japan’s plan for territorial acquisition did not include all countries to which Japanese emigrated. Hawai’i, however, was not among these. Tokyo reasoned that its geographic proximity to Hawai’i and the considerable Japanese population on the islands at the time of the 1898 annexation gave it an equal claim to Hawai’i as that made by the United States. (This mirrors Capt. Alfred Mahan’s argument that the United States’ physical closeness to Hawai’i was a reason for its right to colonize the islands.) Tokyo protested both the 1893 overthrow and the subsequent American annexation by dispatching a warship, *Naniwa*, to Hawai’i.<sup>86</sup> In addition, the Meiji government officially filed a complaint in Washington against the annexation or formal colonization of Hawai’i by the United States.<sup>87</sup>

Japan's protest, however, was not made in support of Native Hawaiian sovereignty, but to serve its own imperialist interests. Japan wanted Hawai'i to remain an independent country and eventually become available for Japanese colonization. In other words, Tokyo's designs were predatory. Japan wanted to control another people's ancestral lands—in this case, that of the Native Hawaiians. Washington, however, ignored Tokyo's complaints since Japan was not regarded as America's equal. In the late nineteenth century, Japan was an ascending imperialist power. It had won only one colonial conquest, territories from the Sino-Japanese War of 1894, but was rapidly building an empire with new colonies.

In the meantime, Japanese intellectuals, activists, and others were actively contributing their ideas and opinions to a wide-ranging public discussion on Japan's predatory exploits through both military and peaceful expansion. Newspapers, a new medium, exploded in popularity and reached well beyond the upper classes to an interested general public. In his work on politics and newspapers in Japan, scholar Kisaburō Kawabe reveals the widening of public discussion through a display of graphs demonstrating that newspaper circulation far exceeded the population count.<sup>88</sup> In other words, the general public was reading more than one newspaper. In 1877, there were 225 newspaper agencies; in 1887, this had increased to 470 different newspapers; and in 1897, 745 newspapers. Both Iriye and Stephan cite numerous examples of written work—books, journals, pamphlets, and newspapers—that discussed the question of territorial and economic expansion as a component of *fukoku kyōhei*. In a book published in 1893 on colonization, for example, the author explains how “overseas expansion is the foundation of a rich state and strong army.” Iriye notes that in a pamphlet circulated in 1895 to organize Japanese public

opinion on Hawai'i, the islands are referred to as "our branch house" because of the large numbers of emigrants there. Activist Keishirō Inoue, Stephan writes, argued that Japan needed to control Hawai'i in order to protect its own national security.<sup>89</sup> Hence the idea of expropriating another people's land was part of the ideology of Japanese civil society. The paradigm of predatory power characterized the national consciousness of the Japanese.

The Japanese were not ignorant of America's undue influence over Hawaiian internal affairs (see the Reciprocity Treaty part in the next section). For outweighed interest, the Meiji government had refused both King Kalākaua's proposals for an Asian-led federation and a marriage proposal between his niece and a Japanese prince. Meiji leaders were more concerned to revise the unequal treaties between Japan and various western nations—i.e., the United States, Russia, Holland, Britain, and France. It was also far easier to continue with its "peaceful expansion" program than to confront America head-on at the time. Between 1868 and 1875, 4,637 Japanese passports were issued to emigrants going to the United States, Europe, Korea, and China.<sup>90</sup> In the same year of Kalākaua's visit (1881), Japanese laborers began to migrate to Siberia (specifically to Far East Russia) on the new Vladivostok-Nagasaki steamship line.

In 1885, the first group of Japanese contract laborers sailed for Hawai'i and a formal labor convention was signed the following year between Japan and the Hawaiian Kingdom.<sup>91</sup> By 1900, Hawai'i was an American Territory with large Asian and white settler populations reaching a combined count of 114,345 comparison with 39,656 Native Hawaiians. The Japanese were the largest settler group at 61,111, dwarfing the *haole* population at 26,819.<sup>92</sup> In 1897, Japan had protested the planned American annexation of Hawai'i based on the sheer number of Japanese emigrants in the islands. Stephan points out that in pre-

World War II Japan, the word *dōhō* (countrymen, compatriots) was used when referring to emigrants irrespective of their citizenship anywhere in the world.<sup>93</sup> This meant that Japan still considered the *nisei* (second generation) to be *dōhō*, even if they had been born in the United States or its territories and were American citizens. This linguistic term reveals the colonial/imperialist ideology embedded in Japanese nationalism. Japanese emigrants and their progeny belonged to Japan regardless of their actual citizenship status. To disregard a citizen's national affiliation, however, is to ignore another nation's borders, and, more importantly, its sovereignty. Among colonial nations, Japan is perhaps unique in this view.<sup>94</sup>

On another level, using the term *dōhō* to refer to the *nisei* demonstrates that throughout the first decades of the twentieth century, Japan never abandoned (although it did not politically act on) its claim to Hawai'i by right of the large population of Japanese settlers in the islands. This linguistic evidence supports both Iriye's and Stephan's arguments that emigrants and their children were part of Japan's "peaceful expansion" program. Hence, for some Japanese officials and intellectuals, the foreign citizenship of the *nisei* was irrelevant.

Stephan points out that the Japanese navy visited Hawaiian waters forty-one times between 1876 and 1939 to display and reinforce Tokyo's interests in its *dōhō* (among other concerns). By 1907, the United States had become sufficiently alarmed by Japan's predatory interests in Asia and the Pacific that then-U.S. President Roosevelt asked the U.S. military and the War Department to sketch strategies for a possible war with Japan. The Navy called it "War Plan Orange." This plan was later updated in 1914 at the beginning of World War I, and was amended every year until 1944.<sup>95</sup> It is interesting to note that even though Japan and the United States considered each other "allies" during the early twentieth

century, the United States nonetheless began to prepare itself for war against Japan, thus confirming the existence of real tensions between the two nations. In fact, such tensions reflected competing imperialisms: both nation-states aspired to control the Pacific Basin. By World War II, Japan had solidified its own predatory plans with its Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, which included the annexation of Hawai'i.

### **Hawai'i: an American Colonial Possession**

#### *U.S. Diplomacy: The Taking of Pearl Harbor*

By the last few decades of the nineteenth century, Hawai'i's strategic location in the north Pacific became an increasingly important element in America's plan to construct its hegemonic power in the Pacific and Asia. One need only recall that earlier in the century, President Tyler's 1842 doctrine first placed Hawai'i under America's sphere of influence in order to ensure a refueling port for American ships travelling to China. Later, in 1853, the U.S. Commissioner to Hawai'i, Luther S. Severance, made Prince Liholiho aware that the United States would purchase Hawai'i when the circumstances became necessary for America to assert its hegemony. Whether as government representatives (U.S. Commander Perry's forceful visits to Japan in 1853-54) or as individuals (New England whalers, merchants in Amur Valley), Americans increased their investments in Asia with each passing year.

Thus by 1875, the United States not only had secured its most favored nation status from the Hawaiian Kingdom, but had pressured the Native government to deny this same standing to other countries—i.e., other imperialist nations. The American sugar planters also influenced their American settler counterparts in Kalākaua's government to secure a Reciprocity Treaty (1875)



with the United States that allowed sugar to be exported duty free into America. In exchange, the United States gained exclusive use of the islands from which to monitor its Pacific competitors, Great Britain, Russia, Germany, and France.

Native Hawaiian historian Jonathan K. Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, in *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887*, argues that the Reciprocity Treaty was anything but a "reciprocal" process for the Native government. While the agreement gave a special interest group—that is, the settler sugar planters—economic advantages, it prohibited the Kingdom, as an independent nation, from acting in its best interest. For example, this document prohibited Hawai'i from leasing its "ports, harbors, or any other territory" or bestowing duty-free status to any other sovereign entity but the United States. The Reciprocity Treaty allowed Washington to set limits on Hawai'i's international relationships. Osorio points out that Natives opposed and organized against this unfair treaty because it gave the United States power over their island kingdom. Native legislator Joseph Nāwahī called this "nation-snatching" document a "Trojan horse." While this international instrument appeared to give economic prosperity to Hawai'i, in fact, as Nāwahī stated, it was the "first step to annexation." Osorio argues that the fight over the Reciprocity Treaty and its subsequent renewal was an erosion of Native Hawaiian sovereignty.<sup>96</sup>

By 1887, Washington wanted even more control over the Kingdom, as America's interests in Asia expanded. In that year, the United States refused to renew the Reciprocity Treaty unless Americans received exclusive use of Pearl Harbor as a naval base. King Kalākaua flatly rejected that idea. Fifteen years earlier in 1872, in the War Department's first study of the Pacific, Army Major-General J.M. Schofield recommended to the Secretary of War William Belknap

that the United States obtain the Pearl River Lagoon, as the harbor was then called. In his written report, Schofield argued that the harbor could be a “refuge in time of war,” which indicated America’s commitment in the 1870s to obtaining military control over the Pacific and Asia. Moreover, he also suggested that Pearl Harbor could be a cost-effective way to protect American ships. The harbor could be “completely defended by inexpensive batteries on either or both shores, firing across a narrow channel of entrance.”<sup>97</sup>

On the domestic front, *haole* settlers in Hawai‘i, including American descendant Lorrin Thurston (future architect of the overthrow) organized for more settler “rights.” After being rebuffed by the Hawaiian government, these *haole* forced Kalākaua at gunpoint in 1887 to sign a new constitution giving white settlers more governing power than the King via a new legislature. This settler constitution, aptly called the Bayonet Constitution, set the ground work for settler takeover in 1893 of the Native government. The new constitution allowed foreigners who had more than \$3,000 worth of property and \$600 in annual income to vote and run for the Hawaiian legislature. In other words, the Bayonet Constitution allowed non-citizens to vote and participate as if they were part of the Kingdom’s citizenry. This “settler constitution” overturned the power of the King, who would henceforth be answerable to a settler legislature. Osorio points out that, in practice, this settler document terminated the executive branch of the Kingdom’s government. Predictably, four months after the passage of the Bayonet Constitution, when Kalākaua no longer had power to veto legislation, the United States received the use of the coveted Pearl Harbor. Native Hawaiian nationalist, Haunani-Kay Trask points out that the cession of Pearl Harbor and the Bayonet Constitution substantially eroded Native Hawaiian sovereignty while achieving the American plan for a substantial foothold in the Pacific.<sup>98</sup>

It cannot be emphasized enough that white settlers and their descendants in the islands, irrespective of their citizenship, supported the interests of their home countries, of the right of foreigners to plunder Native lands and resources. Settlers from imperialist countries brought with them the belief in their superiority over Native peoples and the validity of the colonial enterprise of expropriation and exploitation. The ideology of settler supremacy is deeply embedded in the national history and culture of imperialist nations. Such nations produce imperialist settlers. Thus, as Fanon wrote, *settlers are extensions of their mother countries*. They constantly refer to, and celebrate about the successes of their colonial presence rather than the violence they perpetrated against Natives.

For example, in 1881, when Kalākaua traveled around the world, his aide, William Armstrong, a third-generation American settler descendant, did not represent Hawaiian interests, but western imperialist ones. He explained to a Japanese statesman that Native Hawaiians were, in essence, under colonial rule, and that the Hawaiian Kingdom existed only through the agreement of western powers.<sup>99</sup> Armstrong's loyalties were clearly with the predatory powers of imperialists and against the Hawaiian nation. His actions are in keeping with the examples already mentioned in this chapter by other settlers during the 1853 smallpox epidemic and the *Māhele*. These instances reveal the deviousness and arrogance, i.e. the imperialist behavior, of these American settlers.

Osorio establishes that the *haole* settlers did not believe in the legitimacy of the Hawaiian Kingdom, but remained loyal to their own nations. Whether Kingdom citizens or not, these *haole* settlers did not act or conduct themselves in the interests of the Hawaiian nation. With the *Māhele*, various constitutions and documents written by settlers, and Armstrong's visit to Japan, Americans, in

various ways, enforced a paradigm of predatory power wherever they traveled. In Hawai'i, the accumulations of their actions led to the establishment of a dictatorship of the settler.<sup>100</sup>

On the American continent meanwhile, the United States continued its genocidal campaign against indigenous peoples. In the same year as the Bayonet Constitution, the national settler legislature (the U.S. Congress) passed the *General Allotment Act of 1887*. This colonial legislation ended traditional Indian land tenure of collective stewardship and replaced it with private ownership of land distributed in small lots according to blood quantum qualifications. Native peoples were thus legally defined by the American government rather than by traditional tribal practice. This colonial legislation subsequently allowed settlers to purchase lands, which destroyed the geographic borders of Native nations and reclassified the Native peoples in racial rather than political terms.<sup>101</sup> The same colonial method of blood quantum identification was used later on Native Hawaiians in the 1920 Hawaiian Homes Commission Act. Predictably, this Act allowed settlers to gain more land to cultivate sugar.<sup>102</sup>

According to historians Walter LaFeber and Richard Polenberg, the Indian campaigns—like the 1890 massacre at Wounded Knee—“sharpened the military’s effectiveness” and prepared them for the Spanish War of 1898, and for conflicts in the Philippines and China.<sup>103</sup> In other words, the same imperialist military campaign used against American Indian nations was later applied in America’s overseas conquests. In fact, many U.S. leaders saw no difference between their overseas territorial expansions and the crossing of the American continent. Both were military operations against people of color.

For example, in 1900, U.S. Secretary of War Elihu Root in a Canton, Ohio, speech praised the American settler army for its effective work in the Indian

wars, the Spanish War, etc. To answer charges that the army was an idle agency, Root cited "2,545 separate engagements" by the army since its creation. His statistics included battles with Native American nations as similar in kind to those fought against Filipino nationalists during the Philippine War. Both wars involved the confiscation of Native lands, constituting a clear case of imperialism.<sup>104</sup>

With the passage of the *Naval Act of 1890*, the United States began building its modern Navy by allotting funds to construct three battleships designed for off-shore combat. This was the same year that former President of the Naval War College, Capt. Mahan, published his influential book, *The Influence of Sea Power*, which argued for recognizing the United States as a maritime nation that needed a strong military to protect its growing overseas business investments. As previously mentioned, the United States was in an economic depression for many years and hit a low point from 1893-1897. Due to the weak economy, the modernization of industrial technology, and the national expansion of American corporations, many companies increasingly sought new marketplaces in Asia as a way to end the depression. During the last decade of the nineteenth century, American businesses such as the American Trading Company, American Sugar Refinery Company, Bethlehem Iron Works, Chase National Bank, Carnegie Steel, and Standard Oil expanded their investments in China and Russia.

Meanwhile, Washington grew uneasy with Russia's simultaneous arrival as a Pacific power. In 1891, when construction began on the Trans-Siberian railroad that would link European Russia to its Asian coast, the railroad's inaugural tracks between Vladivostok and Khabarovsk signaled St. Petersburg's growing presence in its own Far East region and in the Pacific. Previously, the Russian east coast was isolated from the rest of the country. Soon plans to

expand the railroads across Manchuria (as a short cut to Europe) and southward into Manchuria would “threaten” American investments in that region.<sup>105</sup> With these tensions building in Asia, Hawai‘i’s strategic location in the north Pacific became increasingly pivotal to American hegemony in Oceania.

### *U.S. Military: The Overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom*

U.S. Minister to Hawai‘i John L. Stevens was a close friend of the Secretary of State, James G. Blaine, an open advocate of annexing Hawai‘i under the Harrison administration (1889-1893). Blaine appointed Stevens because they shared similar political views on foreign policy. By the early 1890s, Stevens agreed with Blaine and Harrison that the United States should take Hawai‘i because Great Britain, Canada, and Japan were encroaching upon American political and economic interests in the Pacific. Thus it was on Stevens’ order that the U.S. Marines landed on Hawaiian soil without permission of the Kingdom, indeed with the express purpose of overthrowing the Hawaiian government. Although Stevens acted in coordination with the local, all-*haole* Committee of Thirteen (the core planners of the overthrow), it was the physical presence of the American military that sent the decisive message that resistance on the part of the Hawaiian government would only bring more American troops.<sup>106</sup>

A year before the overthrow, Lorrin Thurston, leader of the Committee of Thirteen, received support for annexation from Secretary of State Blaine (the political connection) and Secretary of the Navy, Benjamin Tracy (the military connection) when he traveled to Washington D.C. The Committee of Thirteen, then, did not act alone in the overthrow, but in partnership with, and relying upon the consent of the United States. In addition, a month before the overthrow, Thurston had received further encouragement from the new

Secretary of State John W. Foster (who assumed this position upon Blaine's death), along with the continued support of Secretary Tracy.<sup>107</sup>

Although the overthrow and subsequent annexation had been years in the planning by Americans in the islands, the events which triggered both historical turning points occurred when Native Hawaiian citizens asked Queen Lili'uolakalani to restore the 1864 Constitution. The latter would have returned political power to the sovereign and, equally as important, prevented the participation of foreigners in the Hawaiian government. This Native nationalist demand alarmed the white settler community. The Committee of Thirteen, whose members included some of the *haole* settlers who violently forced the Bayonet Constitution upon Kalākaua, now organized to stop the passage of any documents or policies that would shift national power back to Native control and away from settlers and the United States. Unsurprisingly, all members of the Committee of Thirteen were *haole* settlers of either foreign citizenship, or Kingdom citizens of foreign descent, from imperialist countries such as the United States, Germany, Australia (another settler colonial nation), and Great Britain.<sup>108</sup>

From a strictly diplomatic perspective, Stevens, as the official representative of the United States in Hawai'i, acted improperly when he plotted with the Committee of Thirteen to overthrow the Hawaiian nation. However, as a citizen of a settler colonial nation whose existence was based upon the conquest and occupation of Native nations, Stevens' actions were fully supported by the Harrison administration. In addition, as historian Sylvester K. Stevens has argued Capt. Wiltse of the ship *Boston* would have landed the American settler troops in Honolulu *even if* Minister John Stevens had not requested it. Historian Stevens points out that naval policy regarding Hawai'i was to show a "prompt

display of force” whenever American lives and property required protection. Within the paradigm of settler supremacy, actions which support Native nationalism are always perceived as “threats” to American settler lives and property.<sup>109</sup>

Thus when Minister Stevens landed American military forces and surrounded the Hawaiian palace to allow the *haole* settlers to proclaim their provisional government, Queen Lili’uokalani had no alternative but to cede her beloved nation to the United States. The Native nation had no army or navy of its own. The lack of a Hawaiian military is irrefutable evidence that the *haole* settlers, for all their advice and missionizing, had no intention of establishing Hawai’i as a “modern” independent nation, but instead developed Hawai’i to be a “profitable colony” for western powers. When Kalākaua expressed a desire to establish a Kingdom military in 1886, he could not even secure a loan to establish one. No settler or settler financial institution wanted a Native Hawaiian military that could be used against them. Settlers maintained control of the means of violence in the islands via military aid from their mother countries.<sup>110</sup>

Within a month of the January 17, 1893 overthrow, Thurston and others had traveled to Washington to finalize Hawai’i’s absorption into the American political body. U.S. President Harrison submitted an annexation treaty in February of that same year, but incoming President Grover Cleveland withdrew the treaty from the U.S. settler colonial legislature before it could be passed. Cleveland was greatly influenced by his Secretary of State Walter Quentin Gresham, who opposed Harrison’s expansionist policies. One will recall that the imperialist debates of the 1890s questioned whether the United States should engage in obtaining overseas territories. These were not inconsequential public discussions, but ones around which American leaders built their policies.



Gresham and Cleveland did not agree with the expansionist ideas of Harrison, Mahan, Stevens, and others. Cleveland dispatched U.S. Senator James Blount to Hawai'i to investigate the actions of Stevens and the U.S. military. As a result of Blount's report, Cleveland pronounced America's actions to be imperialist. They were, the President declared, "an act of war."<sup>111</sup>

*Annexation of Hawai'i: U.S. Gains "Stepping Stone" to China*

Under the guidance of Thomas Jefferson, and with a Congress obedient to his slightest behest, we took Louisiana without the consent of the governed [Natives], and ruled it without their consent so long as we saw fit.

A few years more passed, and, in 1819, we bought Florida from Spain without the consent of the governed. Then came the Mexican war, and by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo we received a great cession of territory from Mexico, including all the California coast; and although we paid Mexico twenty millions as indemnity I think it has been held that the cession was one of conquest. There were many Mexicans living within the ceded territory. We never asked their consent. In 1867 we purchased Alaska from Russia, territory, people and all. It will be observed that to the white inhabitants we allowed the liberty of returning to Russia, but we except the uncivilized tribes specifically. They are to be governed without their consent, and they are not even to be allowed to become citizens.

If the arguments which have been offered against our taking the Philippine Islands because we have not the consent of the inhabitants be just, then our whole past record of expansion is a crime. I do not think that we violated in that record the principles of the Declaration of Independence.

U.S. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge  
In a speech before U.S. Senate  
March 7, 1900<sup>112</sup>

The United States has always been interested in Hawai'i insofar as it could serve America's imperialist plan to dominate the Pacific and Asia. The 1893 overthrow and the 1898 annexation of Hawai'i occurred precisely because American economic and political interests in Asia were in jeopardy of being taken over by its competitors—Japan, Germany, Great Britain, France, and Russia. In 1895, the Treaty of Shimonoseki, signed between Japan and China at the conclusion of the Sino-Japanese imperialist war which began over who

would influence Korea, was an unequal treaty that allowed foreign nations to establish textile mills and industrial complexes in China. Many scholars regard the post-treaty years as the “carving up” of China. Imperialist powers took advantage of the decline of the Qing government and claimed Chinese territories or “spheres of influence.” The taking of the New Territories (now part of Hong Kong) by Great Britain is a clear example.<sup>113</sup>

Although by the turn of the century, China represented only two percent of America’s foreign trade, its potential as a marketplace tantalized the American business imagination. Moreover, China provided evidence of this economic dream when U.S. exports increased 200 percent during the decade of the 1890s.<sup>114</sup> American manufacturers were delighted as their products held ninety percent of American exports to China by 1899.<sup>115</sup> Hence, investing in China became serious business for prominent corporations like Standard Oil of New York (an export division of Rockefeller Petroleum Trust) which supplied kerosene oil for lamps, or the American China Development Company (whose shareholders were representatives from Carnegie Steel Corporation, Chase National Bank, J. P. Morgan, and others), which received a concession in 1898 to build a railroad between Hankow and Canton. Other businesses seeking opportunities in China included the American Sugar Refining Company; Deering, Milliken, and Company (cotton exporters); and Bethlehem Iron Works, to name but a few. Therefore, when Russia received a concession from China to build a railroad in Manchuria (1896) in addition to the Liaotung Peninsula lease that included Russian access to the ice-free ports of Arthur and Dairen (1898), American textile manufacturers and traders sent petitions to Washington to stop the Russian “threat” to their investments in northern China.

In January 1898, the powerful American China Development Company organized a special group, the Committee on American Interests in China, to lobby Washington for foreign policies that would be more conducive to American business interests in China. Six months later, this committee reorganized into a formal structure as the American Asiatic Association (AAA), with headquarters in New York and branches in Shanghai, Tokyo and Kobe. With a distinguished membership of powerful American corporations—Standard Oil, Carnegie Steel, General Electric Company, Great Northern Railroad Company, Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York, the Mercantile Trust Company, Guaranty Trust Company, etc.—AAA sent its roster to Washington as a means of gaining attention for its concerns. The organization soon had Washington's ear. The secretary of AAA, John Foord, was also the editor of the *Journal of Commerce*, which published views similar to that of the AAA. The organization also had its own publication, *Asia*, to promote its position. Critically, William W. Rockhill, who became an AAA member in October 1899, was a close friend and advisor of Secretary of State John Hay. It was Rockhill who authored Hay's first "Open Door Notes" in September, 1899, that appealed to the imperialist powers to open their spheres of influence in China to *all* traders. This effectively meant equal opportunity for American traders, because the United States did not have its own sphere of influence. The membership of the AAA, as well as members of the McKinley administration, considered themselves superior to the Chinese. The Qing government eventually learned of the "Open Door Notes" through international rumors rather than through American diplomatic channels. In other words, China was not consulted or notified that agreements were being made among imperialist

nations over Chinese land and markets. Thus, American business leaders and the AAA determined U.S. foreign policy in China.<sup>116</sup>

Of all the nations staking out their “spheres of influence” in China, Russia’s claims were considered the most troubling to the United States. In essence, the “Open Door Notes” addressed St. Petersburg’s policies.<sup>117</sup> As both countries were settler colonial nations with expansionist intentions, their economic and political impulses and policies were (and still are) often the same—that is, both the United States and Russia conquered Native peoples’ territories and resources, and used them to establish their respective settler nations. Moreover, both these nation-states were always ready to seize more territory or place other nations under their political and economic sway. Therefore, when St. Petersburg acquired the Chinese railroad concessions and the Liaotung lease near its own borders, Russia’s sphere of influence in Manchuria appeared to the United States more like the beginning stages of another Russian territorial land grab to expand its national borders. In America, George Kennan led a cross-country campaign against the Tsarist government and its Siberian prison systems after his return from Siberia in the mid-1880s. St. Petersburg was so disturbed by Kennan’s actions that it planted semi-official responses to him in American journals. Therefore by the end of the century, there was a strong anti-Russian sentiment in America.<sup>118</sup>

St. Petersburg, on the other hand, was actually pleased at first to see the United States annex Hawai’i in 1898, only because this prevented Japan from doing so (Tokyo protested the overthrow and annexation because it had wanted to claim Hawai’i for itself). It should be remembered that three years earlier, St. Petersburg blocked the Japanese expansion on the Asian continent a week after Japan received the Liaotung Peninsula from the 1895 Treaty of Shimonoseki. As

an ascending Pacific nation, Russia subsequently asserted its power in the region by obtaining the railroad concession from China and the Liaotung Peninsula. Today, Russia and Japan remain uneasy neighbors in constant dispute over their shared borders in the Northern Territories of the Kurile Islands.

St. Petersburg soon grew alarmed at the American occupation of the Philippines as a result of America's imperialist wars with Spain and then the Philippines. With the Philippines as an U.S. colony, the Americans were closer to the China markets, now protected by American troops.<sup>119</sup> Russia's fears were not misguided. By the end of 1899, when America was trying to obliterate Filipino nationalists, especially leader Emilio Aguinaldo, there were 50,000 U.S. troops in the Philippines. A year later, the United States sent 6,300 troops to stop Chinese protests—the Boxer Rebellion—against imperialism.<sup>120</sup>

Here it is important to remember that in its 1898 war with Spain, the United States did not liberate Cuba and the Philippines so these colonies could become independent nations. Instead, the Americans fought an imperialist war to gain colonies. As Lenin rightly reminds us, an imperialist war is "a war for the division of colonies, a war for the *oppression* of foreign countries, a war *among* predatory and oppressing powers to decide *which* of them shall oppress more foreign nations."<sup>121</sup> The United States anointed itself the new colonial overseer once Spain was defeated by Cuban and Filipino nationalists with the help of American troops. Before the end of the war, America had seized another Native nation in the Pacific. Hawai'i was annexed in August 1898 by a simple majority vote in a joint resolution (Newlands Resolution) rather than through the customary annexation treaty that requires a two-thirds majority vote from the U.S. Congress. Moreover, annexation was never put to a general vote in Hawai'i,

as the 1993 passage of the U.S. apology bill would finally admit almost a hundred years after the fact.<sup>122</sup>

Although contentious debates were taking place in America on whether the United States should obtain overseas territories, the opposing sides differed only over the degree of investment—whether it should include the economic realm or both economic and territorial concerns. Hence, both arguments over imperialism were contained within a paradigm of predatory power, which privileged settler supremacy. The question of settler colonialism, of settler exploitation of Native peoples, was rarely raised. The distinction between nationalist struggles and imperialist battles was, moreover, never made clear. How did the war with Spain differ for Cubans and Filipinos than for Americans? Cubans and Filipinos were fighting for their independence, not to further their own subjugation. However, the United States fought to have Cubans and Filipinos subjugated to America rather than to Spain.<sup>123</sup>

Native Hawaiians were also in a nationalist struggle against their absorption into the American political system. They had not reached the level of armed struggle, as had the Cubans and Filipinos, because of the massive depopulation of Hawaiians. Moreover, no other nation came to the aid of Native Hawaiians, as often is the case in revolutionary situations, for the simple reason that no other nation wanted to wage a war with the United States at that time. When U.S. President Cleveland withdrew the annexation treaty in 1893, Lorrin Thurston and his *haole* settler group transformed Hawai'i into a republic while they waited for American annexation. Native Hawaiian political scientist Noenoe K. Silva in "Ke Kū'ē Kūpa'a Loa Nei Mākou: Kānaka Maoli Resistance to Colonization," argues that Native Hawaiians were not passive during this period. They organized into different nationalist groups. These efforts were

archipelago-wide and included organizations such as the Hui Aloha 'Āina, who mounted mass petition initiatives to stop annexation. Silva calculates that almost every Native Hawaiian adult signed these petitions, which included over 20,000 signatures, that were delivered to Washington. In fact, there were several petition drives. Clearly, Native Hawaiians overwhelmingly and definitively did not want annexation to the United States.<sup>124</sup>

As with all imperialist nation-states, America ignored the will of the Native peoples in their nationalist struggle. The United States needed Hawai'i to protect its Asian interests and thus the national settler legislature, the U.S. Congress, passed a joint resolution for annexation. By the year's end, when Washington signed the 1898 Treaty of Paris ending the war with Spain, America had crossed the Pacific territorially—hopping from one conquest to another, from one indigenous nation to another, from Hawai'i, to Guam, to the Philippines—to reach its China markets. By the end of the century, the United States had also added Sāmoa and Wake Island to its empire.

### **Hawai'i Remains a Colony Today**

#### *U.S. Military: Settler Colonial Violence*

Since toppling Hawaii's Queen Liliuokalani in 1893—an event that marked Hawaii's first stage of transformation from a Pacific paradise to a forward military base—the United States has assembled a global basing structure to support foreign military intervention, and since 1945, nuclear war. By the end of World War II, the United States had constructed a worldwide network of foreign military bases and installations.

Joseph Gerson<sup>125</sup>

In the colonies, the foreigner coming from another country imposed his rule by means of guns and machines.

Frantz Fanon<sup>126</sup>

Within ten years of annexation, the colonial presence of the United States was securely and unmistakably established with *five military bases*. The Army

erected three installations at Fort Shafter [1907], Tripler Army Medical Center [1907], and Fort Ruger [1908], while the Navy had developed two at Pearl Harbor Marine Barracks [1904] and Pearl Harbor Naval Station [1908]. Since Hawai'i was seized for its strategic military value—to “protect” America’s national security (the West Coast and the upcoming Isthmian canal) and to offensively protect American commerce abroad—the United States wasted no time in transforming the islands into an armed fortress. Thus in every decade during the first half of the twentieth century, new military facilities were erected. Between 1910-1920, the World War I years, *four more bases* were established, including Pearl Harbor Submarine Base (1914), Bellows Air Force Station (1917), and Kāne’ohe Bay Marine Corps Air Station (1918). *Two more bases* were constructed in the 1920s—Wheeler Air Force Base (1922) and Sand Island Coast Guard Station (1926). When Japan colonized Manchuria and Micronesia during the 1930s, America fortified its Hawaiian island colony with *three more bases*—a naval submarine servicing center (1933), Hickam Air Force Base (1934), and a storage for ammunition in Lualualei (1934). In the three years surrounding the bombing of Pearl Harbor in 1941, *five more facilities* were built—the Pacific Missile Range Facility (1940), Schofield Barracks (1941), Wahiawā Naval Communication Area Master Station, East Pacific (a radio communication station established on Dec. 7, 1941), Camp H. M. Smith (1942), and Barbers Point Naval Air Station (1942). All the above-mentioned installations are on the island of O’ahu with one exception (the Pacific Missile Range) on the island of Kaua’i. Although there are facilities located on the other islands, they have been excluded from the above description because the main military structures are on O’ahu. The latter island is only 380,800 acres large, the site of the capital city of Honolulu, and home to eighty percent of the islands’ population.<sup>127</sup>



Militarizing another people's homeland, especially Pacific Island nations, has been part of the American strategy to "protect" and "defend" its empire. The United States either directly oppresses Native peoples through the occupation and colonization of their nations or through supporting repressive regimes in order to lease and build military bases on their lands. Thus indigenous human rights and environmental rights are of secondary interest or not considered at all.<sup>128</sup>

Okinawa is a good example here. Controlled by the United States after World War II, the U.S. military took approximately thirteen percent or 42,000 acres of Okinawa's territorial base. In the meantime, 40,000 Okinawans lost their lands as a result of the American military presence.<sup>129</sup> Although the Ryukyu Islands are no longer under Washington's control, they are not independent and remain under Japanese control. But, the change in colonial overseers is a minor technicality, as the U.S. armed forces still dominate Okinawa. This foreign occupation creates natural tensions between Native Okinawans and U.S. settlers—that is, American military personnel. Okinawans today are constantly demonstrating and rioting against the foreign American military presence on their islands. Native Okinawan women and girls are frequently raped by American soldiers emboldened by the protection of their settler status. Today, Okinawa remains subservient to the dictates of colonial Japan and of a militarized United States.

During World War II, the Pacific War was basically fought between two imperialist nations, Japan and the United States. Both vied for hegemony over Native island nations strategically located along highly traveled shipping lanes or in ideal surveillance sites. During the war, colonial territories were used as crucial launching sites for the deployment of Japanese and American troops. For

example, in 1941, the Japanese used its military bases in Micronesia to attack Pearl Harbor, a vital colonial harbor for the United States in 1941. In turn, U.S. military planes in 1945 left the Micronesian Island of Tinian to drop a nuclear bomb on Hiroshima, which killed thousands of military and civilian people.

In imperialist wars, the colonies are not only, as Lenin states, places to obtain in order to rob and to pillage, but they are sites of military violence. Scholars unanimously agree that the bloodiest battles in the Pacific War were fought over possession of Pacific Island nations. The Japanese armed forces departed from their naval and air force installations on the colonized Micronesian islands of Belau, Bonins, Kawajalein Atoll, Jaluit, and Majuro Lagoon to attack the American colonies of the Philippines, Guam, and Wake Island. The U.S. military countered with its “island-hopping strategy” across the Pacific, battling the enemy from one island to another, leaving a trail of bloody massacres and of lasting environmental and cultural destruction that still scars island landscapes today. Many savage battles were also fought in Melanesia, such as the one at Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands. Off the coast of Asia, the battle of Okinawa was notoriously bloody and tragic for thousands of indigenous Okinawans. None of the imperialist nations of Japan, the United States, Australia, and Great Britain considered the plight of the indigenous peoples who lived on these islands. In Micronesia alone, 5,000 Natives died in their own homelands as a result of a war between predatory nations.<sup>130</sup>

At the end of World War II, the United States built a network of bases around the globe in its efforts to “contain” the Soviet Union and assert its dominance as a world power. The United States was to administer Micronesia under the auspices of the United Nations in a “Strategic Trust Territory” arrangement which meant, ostensibly, that Washington was to “guide” the

islands toward their own economic and political self-determination. Instead, the U.S. military used Micronesia as a target site to practice extermination skills and strategies.<sup>131</sup> Between 1946 and 1958, the United States dropped sixty-six atomic and hydrogen bombs on the Marshall Islands. David Robie in *Blood on Their Banner: Nationalist Struggles in the South Pacific* reveals that six islands were vaporized from the bombings. When the United States began testing on Bikini Atoll in the Marshall Islands in 1946, Native Bikini islanders had to be evacuated. In other words, the United States commandeered ancestral lands—places that had great meaning for the islanders in their historical, mythological, societal, and cultural existence as Native people. Bikinians were not informed that they would never be able to return to their homeland—that it would be radioactive for thousands of years. Instead, they were misled and told that the nuclear testing was for the “good of mankind.” *Bravo*, the bomb dropped on Bikini in 1954, was 1,000 times more destructive than the bomb dropped on Hiroshima.<sup>132</sup> Today most Americans like the American government have little concerns about the violations of human rights and the environmental devastation perpetrated against the Marshallese Natives who continue to suffer from radiation poisoning.<sup>133</sup>

The United States emerged at the end of World War II as the most powerful capitalist and imperialist military nation-state. After bombing the Marshall Islands for years and exposing Micronesian Natives to radioactive fallout, the United States government decided to put tons of “radioactive soil and scrap metal” under a huge concrete dome on Runit Island in Enewetak Atoll in the Marshall Islands. This obscene project was done during 1977-1980 as a way to “reduce the hazards” and make the rest of the islands on the Enewetak Atoll “habitable.” The soil and debris under the dome is calculated to be radioactive

for the next 24,000 years, yet the U.S. government allowed the Micronesians to return to some of the islands.<sup>134</sup> To knowingly expose Native peoples to radioactive fallout in the twentieth century is no different from what the eighteenth and nineteenth century European and American explorers and missionaries did when they knowingly transmitted venereal and other diseases to indigenous islanders. Both actions have the same results: death and depopulation.

Although the Cold War ended in the late twentieth century, the United States has no intention of decreasing its military capabilities, only reconfiguring them. As the Commander-in-Chief of the Pacific (CINCPAC) Admiral Dennis C. Blair (1999-2002) explained at a military symposium in San Diego, California, on January 22, 2001, America is not faced with

a single dominant antagonist [as in the Cold War]. We are dealing with a number of unresolved conflicts—such as in Korea and across the Taiwan Strait—that could flash into major wars, with dissatisfied powers that want to extend their influence, as well as with widespread communal violence and transnational concerns. We will be dealing with a continually changing series of threats to—and opportunities for—<sup>135</sup>promoting security and peaceful development in many regions of the world.

The “enemy” may have changed, but America’s self-anointed role, as the global police force has not. Meanwhile, Hawai’i is, and always will be, vital to maintaining the American empire and its interests in Asia. Keeping the Hawaiian archipelago colonized and under U.S. government control is directly linked to maintaining U.S. hegemonic power. In the *1995 Hawaii Military Land Use: Master Plan*, the Department of Defense (DoD) confirmed that Hawai’i occupies “a premiere role in the most important strategic considerations of the United States of America.”<sup>136</sup> In colony Hawai’i, Washington does not have to deal with a foreign government that may think independently of the United States or counter U.S. interests. The ability of the DoD to function without

restriction in colony Hawai'i allows the American military to continue killing and exploiting peoples around the globe.

With this understanding of the islands' value to the United States, it is not surprising, then, that the military-industrial complex in the Hawaiian islands is indeed enormous. The DoD controls 211,033 acres or approximately five percent of the total land in the archipelago. On O'ahu, the site of major installations, the military controls 90,817 acres or approximately twenty-five percent of the land.<sup>137</sup> The DoD boasted in 1995 that it is the "largest industrial employer and second largest employer overall in the State."<sup>138</sup> DoD pours billions of dollars into the local economy to maintain its massive defense complex. For example, the U.S. Pacific Command or USPACOM is the largest "unified command structure" in America and is headquartered at MCBH Camp Smith outside of Honolulu under the Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Pacific Command (CINCPAC). USPACOM is the coordination of the four military branches, the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, and the Marines, that patrols fifty percent of the world's surface from the west coast of North America to the east coast of Africa. This monitored area includes most of the Pacific and Indian Oceans. In other words, USPACOM troops patrol over "100 million square miles [and] includes 45 countries, 10 territories of other countries, U.S. territories, and the states of Alaska and Hawai'i" to protect American commercial and political interests.<sup>139</sup>

The DoD's *Master Plan* repeatedly reiterates that Hawai'i is key to the American defensive strategy in Asia and the Pacific. The Hawaiian archipelago is the United States' "bridge to Asia." While other military installations are decreased or closed as part of the post-Cold War reconfiguration, the DoD states, "Hawaii's role in our national defense strategy is expected to increase, rather than decrease."<sup>140</sup> This shift in military focus to Asia became evident in the last

years of the twentieth century and the first two years of the new millennium when China was chosen as the new American adversary. Each time Beijing or any other Asian nation is labeled a “threat,” Hawai‘i’s status as an American colonial possession is reinforced. When the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) Chairman, General Henry H. Shelton, informed the Chinese in a November 2000 speech that keeping the U.S. military presence (especially the Seventh Fleet) in Asian waters is in China’s national interest, he automatically endorsed headquartering USPACOM in Hawai‘i. When USCINCPAC Admiral Blair ridiculed China for not following “international norms of behavior” because it did not return a U.S. spy plane, EP-3, in the spring of 2001, this too validated Hawai‘i’s role as an American colony in defending U.S. national pride.<sup>141</sup>

The Native Hawaiian sovereignty movement, then, as a nationalist struggle against the occupation of America in the islands, has not gone unnoticed by the DoD. In the spring of 1999, the *Kukini Express*, a military exercise newsletter, described a mock scenario that portrayed Native Hawaiians as terrorists. More specifically, the Natives were identified as armed members of a Hawaiian sovereignty group who sneaked onto Hickam Air Force Base to cause “damage to two aircraft.” When this internal newsletter was exposed to the larger general public in Hawai‘i, United States Air Force Colonel Ann Testa apologized to all Native Hawaiians, and especially to Native Hawaiian nationalist, Mililani Trask, who alerted the civilian media of the *Kukini* article’s content. Testa claimed that the scenario was a “terrible mistake.” However flimsy the excuse, this series of events reveals the way in which the Hawaiian sovereignty movement is regarded within the U.S. military. Hawai‘i is considered to be similar to other colonized and occupied countries such as Okinawa, Palestine, Northern Ireland, and Tahiti, where nationalist movements

threaten the presence of their foreign overseers. As Native Hawaiians are the only ones who can make legitimate claims demanding the return of the Hawaiian archipelago, this mock-practice session targeting sovereignty nationalists was not a “terrible mistake.”<sup>142</sup> It would not be in the interest of the United States for Hawai’i to be returned to Native control and become a separate Native nation. Washington would be forced to negotiate for the location of its military base rights and would be forced to pay a fee. That would severely compromise and humiliate the U.S. military presence in the Pacific and American hegemony in general.

In the spring of 2001, JCS Chairman Shelton made a recommendation to the Senate Armed Services Committee to “elevate” antiterrorist protection training to equal “warfighting” requirements. Shelton explained that USPACOM had already incorporated “a significant antiterrorism focus” in its recent exercises staged throughout its area (theater) of responsibility, including the “joint rear areas” (Hawai’i, for one, is the rear base for the Seventh Fleet).<sup>143</sup> In other words, the military in Hawai’i is trained to combat terrorism and could easily be used against anti-colonial activities on these islands—i.e., initiatives by Native Hawaiian sovereignty groups. Again, the military mock practice described in the *Kukini Express*, then, was not a “terrible mistake.”

When the Asian Development Bank (ADB), similar in function to the World Bank, held its conference in Honolulu in the spring of 2001, Filipino scholar, activist, and critic of the United States, Walden Bello, said the ADB chose Hawai’i as its convention site because of the U.S. military’s strong presence.<sup>144</sup> The United States is one of the major stockholders of the bank. Since riots interrupted the ADB’s previous conference site, the American military presence in the islands would ensure the safety of the conference in case the Hawaiian

sovereignty movement decided to use the opportunity as a platform to educate the world about their plight as a colony. Monitoring the Native Hawaiian sovereignty movement is, therefore, not an unusual task of the American military in the islands. Even though most Americans, especially Japanese settlers, consider Hawai'i a state of the U.S. union, the DoD recognizes that these islands are, in fact, an occupied nation. Thus USPACOM is fulfilling its mission—that is, protecting American interests in Hawai'i against indigenous struggles within the United States that attack the legitimacy of the American overseer.

*Japanese Imperialism: Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere*

While much has been written about Japan's imperialist designs on the Pacific and Asia, for our purposes, it is important to parallel Japan's predatory interests in the Hawaiian islands with those of the United States. Both regard Hawai'i as a colonial possession that would fortify and enhance their empires. However, for many Japanese settlers in Hawai'i, Japan's imperialist actions during World War II are mistakenly viewed as the aggressor nation (the "bad guy") while America's are not (the "good guy"). This false perception is peddled through the ideological machinery of American private and public institutions. The Pacific War, again, was essentially an imperialist war. Both the United States and Japan fought for the right to control and exploit Pacific Island nations. Neither attacked the other to liberate Native islanders from their colonial overseers and ensure indigenous self-determination. Lenin characterized the World War I as an imperialist war, but the same could be said for the Pacific War in World War II. Tokyo and Washington were "belligerent" governments battling for the right to "rob" and "pillage" the island colonies. The attack on



Pearl Harbor, then, needs to be framed within the paradigm of predatory powers—where two foreign countries competed for colonial authority over the Hawaiian nation.

In *Hawaii Under the Rising Sun: Japan's Plans for Conquest After Pearl Harbor*, historian John Stephan argues that the idea to colonize Hawai'i was very much part of the Japanese consciousness, both in the minds of political leaders as well as the general populace in civil society. He further describes the supportive attitude many *issei* and some *nisei* naturally had for Japan (their ancestral land) and its military efforts to acquire more Asian and Pacific territories—an attitude unacknowledged in most historical accounts of post-war Japanese settlers in the islands. Because of the racism the Japanese settlers experienced in Hawai'i, Japan's imperialist victories in Asia "stirred the patriotism" of the *dōhō* as well as gave them a "heightened sense of their own status and prestige" in the world.<sup>145</sup> By December 7, 1941, Japan's empire included the colonies of Taiwan, Korea (annexed in 1910), southern Sakhalin (received after Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05), Okinawa, the Pescadores islands, Bonin islands, Micronesia (received from the Germans after World War I), and Manchuria. The attack on Pearl Harbor was initiated to weaken Washington's grip on the islands and, ultimately, the Pacific. America's presence in Oceania stood in the way of Tokyo's imperialist plans.

In August 1940, Japanese Foreign Minister Yōsuke Matsuoka was the first government official to use publicly the term "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere," which was Japan's blueprint for hegemony over Asia and the Pacific, including Hawai'i.<sup>146</sup> The intentions of the Greater East Asia policy were often compared to America's Monroe Doctrine. In 1939, in "The American and Japanese Monroe Doctrine," Professor Hikomatsu Kamikawa argued that Japan's

expansionist pursuits in Asia and the Pacific were no different than the regionalist claims of America's Monroe Doctrine. While the latter prohibited European claims or interventions in the Americas, the United States exempted itself from colonizing more Native territories for integration within the American sphere. Similarly, Japan had the same imperialist impulse and relationship to its neighboring Asian nations as the United States had to its regional nations. Point for point, Kamikawa compares the two policies in political and economic terms. Kamikawa, therefore, likens Tokyo's policies in East Asia since the Manchurian Incident (1931) as "closely resembling" Washington's.<sup>147</sup>

The Greater East Asia doctrine, Stephan explains, was very much a public discussion, as many booklets and pamphlets were published on the topic. Although opinions varied over the methods and administration of the territories, basically the Japanese supported their government's plans to conquer other lands. The most appealing components of this policy were the expulsion of the West from Asia and the Pacific, and an acknowledgment of the superiority of the Japanese over other peoples and nations. If one recalls the concepts of *sakoku* (closing Japan off from foreigners and foreign ideas) and *fukoku kyōhei* (enrich the nation, strengthen the military in order not to be colonized by the West), these were very much in keeping with the Greater East Asia doctrine regarding the problem of foreigners and the need to claim other nations as a legitimate means of enrichment and self-protection. In other words, this Japanese Monroe Doctrine or "new Asian order" was not a new idea, but an old one, thoroughly embedded in the Japanese national consciousness. Hence historian Akira Iriye emphasizes how the Greater East Asia doctrine unified Japanese intellectuals of various political stances because they believed that the history of modern Asia

was “a story of Western capitalist exploitation.” Japan was thus fully justified in “leading a crusade to free Asia.”<sup>148</sup>

Tokyo had consolidated the political administration of its conquered nations by setting up a Colonization Ministry in 1929. That office closed in 1942, only to be renamed along with other agencies into the Greater East Asia Ministry (finally terminated at the end of World War II in 1945).<sup>149</sup> Iriye argues that it was Hirota Kōki as Prime Minister, and as Foreign Minister during the 1930s, who was the most influential civilian to shape Japan’s concept of its “co-operative” foreign policy. As we now know, Japan’s “international co-operative” with other Asian and Pacific nations simply meant the recognition of “Japanese hegemony.”<sup>150</sup> There was no other political relationship to establish, only that which supported Japan’s superiority and control.

For a glimpse of the Japanese military ideology, Stephan includes the Navy General Staff’s classified document dated on November 29, 1940, entitled “Draft Outline for Construction of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.”<sup>151</sup> Here the “co-operative” relationship is defined in terms of Tokyo’s ability to exploit its neighbors. There was nothing generous, respectful, or harmonious about the Japanese view toward other nations other than the rhetoric used to describe the “Greater East Asia” plan as a form of “cooperation.” The “Draft Outline,” like all public and private discussions on this doctrine, was structured by the paradigm of predatory power. Thus the other nations in Asia and the Pacific were to be subsumed under Japan’s authority.

The importance of this “Draft Outline” is that it reveals the intentions Japan had for Hawai’i—that is, Tokyo wanted the Hawaiian islands to be a part of its national body. As Tokyo was under a military government at this time, this naval document had real significance. Japan’s designs for Hawai’i were thus

no different than those of the United States. Both wanted Hawai'i as part of their plan for their national security and as a site to monitor other nations in the Pacific. Stephan interestingly points out that when Micronesia became a colony of Japan in 1914, the Japanese empire was geographically closer to the Hawaiian archipelago than the western coastline of America. Such physical proximity was the basis for the same argument that President Tyler used when he proclaimed Hawai'i under America's "sphere of influence" in 1842.

The structure of the "Draft Outline" divides Asian and Pacific nations geographically into three spheres according to their physical proximity to Japan. The inner sphere consisted of the "Japanese archipelago, Korea, and Manchuria." The middle sphere included China, all of Japan's Micronesian colonies, and Hawai'i. The outer sphere would encompass territories functioning as satellite or tributary nations. In other words, these countries would support the Japanese empire so that it could be self-sufficient economically.

Second, the nations of Asia and the Pacific were divided into four sets of specific relationships. The first category consisted of "lands to be annexed outright," which included Guam, Mindanao Island, and Hawai'i. The second category, "autonomous protectorates," considered Indochina and the Dutch East Indies. The third category, "independent states with 'unbreakable' defense and economic ties with Japan," included Hong Kong, Thailand, and the Philippines (excluding Mindanao, which was in the first division). The final category was of "independent states with close economic ties with Japan," and included Australia, New Zealand, and India.

Similar to all imperialist plans, the "Draft Outline" did not ask nations for their cooperation or agreement, but unilaterally slotted them into subservient functions according to Japan's needs. Hawai'i was so important to Tokyo that

the government subsidized three policy institutions (National Policy Research Society, the South Seas Economic Research Center, and the Yoshida Research Center) specifically to study the Hawaiian islands as they pertained to Greater East Asia. These same institutions also distributed information to the Japanese navy, army, and a group of university geographers and economists.<sup>152</sup>

As mentioned in earlier sections, an important component of Japan's "peaceful invasion" strategy was the existence and widespread distribution of the *dōhō*, its compatriots in foreign lands. When one looks at the Greater East Asia plans in conjunction with the peaceful invasion, the function of the *dōhō* was clear, whether the latter recognized their role in the Japanese scheme or not. Tokyo organized a Grand Congress of Overseas Compatriots in 1940, where, Stephan reports, 1,900 *dōhō* came from twenty-seven countries. The Japanese settler community in Hawai'i was no exception and sent 188 delegates who were prominent in the conference discussions. Unsurprisingly, this Congress was held in conjunction with the 2,600<sup>th</sup> birthday of the Japanese empire.<sup>153</sup> Thus the *dōhō* were educated in the latest form of Japanese nationalism and imperialism (the paradigm of predatory power), and carried these ideas back to their fellow settlers within the larger diaspora.

Tokyo justified its rights to claim particular nations by the sheer number of *dōhō* who lived in such places as Hawai'i. The *dōhō* served as informants to assist Japanese imperialism, as they did in Burma. According to Stephan, by 1939, there were over a million Japanese living in overseas colonies, including 300,000 in the Kwantung Army in Japanese-controlled Manchuria. In Micronesia, there were 77,000 *dōhō* in 1940, and that population mushroomed two years later into 96,000. Historian Mark Peattie points out that the ratio of the Japanese settler population to Native Micronesians varied from island to island.

In Belau, Japanese outnumbered Natives two to one. In the Marianas, it was ten to one. While in other colonies the percentage of Japanese settlers was much smaller, such as in Korea, Sakhalin, and the Caroline and Marshall Islands, one should not be fooled that fewer foreigners meant less violence for Native peoples. Imperialism and colonialism exist because of exploitative power—superior military technology, capitalist greed, and a racist ideology. In any colony, the presence of just one settler is one too many.<sup>154</sup>

In the American colony of Hawai'i in 1940, 359,020 settlers dominated the Native Hawaiian population of 64,310. Of the total settler population, Japanese were the largest foreign group in the islands at 157,905.<sup>155</sup> The size and presence of this large *dōhō* population encouraged Tokyo to seize Hawai'i. After all, in 1897, Tokyo protested Hawai'i's annexation to the United States because its large *dōhō* population made the islands more Japanese than American. Like the Americans, the Japanese discounted the presence of Native Hawaiians and their ancient history, genealogy, culture, and control of the islands. Two imperialist empires battled for the colonial prize of Hawai'i. Moreover, the majority of Japanese settlers, the *nisei* volunteered to support America's colonial claims over Hawai'i during World War II.

*America's Bid For Global Hegemony Includes Hawai'i Statehood*

American freedom is threatened so long as the world Communist conspiracy exists in its present scope, power and hostility. More closely than ever before, American freedom is interlocked with the freedom of other people. In the unity of the free world lies our best chance to reduce the Communist threat without war. In the task of maintaining this unity and strengthening all its parts, the greatest responsibility falls naturally on those who, like ourselves, retain the most freedom and strength...In the practical application of our foreign policy, we enter the field of foreign assistance and trade. Military assistance must be continued. Technical assistance must be maintained. Economic assistance can be reduced.

U.S. President Dwight Eisenhower  
State of the Union Address, 1954<sup>156</sup>

At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one.

U.S. President Harry Truman  
Truman Doctrine, 1947<sup>157</sup>

In fact, the United States emerged from World War II to dominate an immense overseas empire. But its leaders did not refer to this control of vast territories all over the world as an empire. The United States was fighting for “freedom,” its presidents declared, as they dispatched troops and CIA officers to Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Saul Landau<sup>158</sup>

Statehood for Hawai‘i in 1959 was not a magnanimous American offer to grant full citizen rights to the island’s population. Rather, statehood ensured that American imperialist power maintained its grip over the north Pacific as Cold War tensions grew between the United States and its adversary, the Soviet Union. While the statehood of Hawai‘i secured strategic U.S. military sites, Washington did so at the expense of Native Hawaiians, the rightful indigenous rulers of the islands. The United States, under the auspices of the United Nations, had a “sacred trust” obligation to Native Hawaiians to ensure development of the latter’s self-government and self-determination. According to international law, when a colonized people attain a “full measure of self-government” and are knowledgeable about the three political choices available as nations—including independence—then a vote on decolonization is required. Such choices should and could have been offered to Hawaiians. Instead, Washington violated its trust agreements and engineered the 1959 Hawai‘i ballot to list only one option: American statehood.

In *Rogue States: the Rule of Force in World Affairs*, respected activist and scholar, Noam Chomsky, rightly categorizes the United States as a “rogue state.” Chomsky begins his book with an opening paragraph describing two uses for the phrase. He writes first of a “propagandistic use, applied to assorted enemies,”

which means that states may use the term “rogue state” as a political strategy to deface one’s opponents. In the case of America, however, there is the “literal use that applies to states that do not regard themselves as bound by international norms.” Throughout the book, Chomsky cites different post-Cold War examples when the United States disregarded international laws, including the most basic one, the Charter of the United Nations. He argues that since the end of the Cold War, the United States has become increasingly imperialist in its actions. International organizations like the United Nations (UN), the Organization of the Americas (OAS), and others have even condemned American policies as imperialist.<sup>159</sup>

Hawai’i statehood, then, must be understood within this larger international framework, as statehood further incorporated the Hawaiian islands into the United States. At the close of World War II and the dawn of the Cold War, important new global movements such as the creation of the United Nations and the rise of Third World nationalism led to various anti-colonial struggles. These pushed the United States to secure the nation of Hawai’i as its permanent colonial possession. Moreover, statehood for Hawai’i was not a new idea; it had been previously discussed by various American leaders in the nineteenth century. By the mid-twentieth century, incorporating this island country into the American state—thus deleting it from the UN decolonization list—were essential components in establishing the United States as a hegemonic global power.

Due to tensions with the Soviet Union, the United States needed to create more agencies whose missions were to work exclusively for America’s dominance in the world. Thus important legislation was passed to restructure the flow of power within the U.S. government, such as the 1947 National Security



Act, which created the National Security Council (NSC), the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS), and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). These bills legalized a secretive national security system, one that created a “parallel state structure—a state within the state—that would be inaccessible to the public and to Congress.”<sup>160</sup> This profoundly undemocratic system allowed enormous decision-making powers to be confined within a small group of private citizens: the President, his appointed (non-elected) advisors, and the Vice President. Moreover, the term “national security” was left strategically and purposefully ambiguous, thereby enhancing Executive power. The President could classify any and all information as critical to “national security,” thereby preventing public disclosure.

In *Flawed By Design: The Evolution of the CIA, JCS, and NSC*, Amy Zegart points out that national security and foreign policy decisions made within the Executive Branch, unlike decisions made in the U.S. Congress, have little public oversight. For example, Zegart argues that the relatively few interest groups connected with foreign policy are politically weak; they need to spread their resources over, and lobby at, a variety of places such as the State Department, the President and the White House staff, the Department of Defense, and so forth. In other words, there isn't a single agency, which the interested public can access and lobby for certain outcomes. In addition, public information regarding foreign affairs is scarce and often deemed a “national security” concern, making such information unattainable.

By comparison, domestic policies are treated more as public discussions, where environmental organizations, corporations, labor groups, farmers, and so forth, lobby congressional representatives before legislative decisions are made. While domestic policy is thus tied to the electoral process, American foreign

policy is not. Zegart argues, “national security policy is *presidential* policy.” [italics added] This reality is critical because, for example, the decisions to build nuclear weapons that have the capability to destroy or poison the planet with radioactive fallout are made in secret. The National Security state/system, thus, ensures that power and the enforcement of policies sanctioned under American imperialism rest in a few hands. It is telling that the armed forces, for example, are accountable to the National Security Council (NSC) rather than the general public.<sup>161</sup>

In *Politics of National Security*, Marcus Raskin explains how the national security state organizes our lives. He points out that the National Security Act of 1949 made the military a partner with the federal government in shaping the national economy. The National Security Council advises the President on “domestic, foreign, and military policies” in relationship to U.S. national security. In other words, the placement of military bases, the build-up of nuclear weaponry, etc., are inter-connected with American economic and political policies. For example, the NSC dictates where, and with whom, corporations can do business in the world, etc. The ideology surrounding the National Security system is imperialism, the paradigm of predatory power. The United States must maintain a powerful military force in order to “secure” and “protect” Americans and the U.S. empire. Thus, Raskin concludes, American society is “dominated and subsumed by the national security state.”<sup>162</sup> In plain English, the United States is a militarized, imperialist behemoth.

This national security system reveals that the United States is a hierarchical, militarized state governed by an elite with extraordinary powers. Moreover, streamlining communications between the NSC and the military has a significant impact upon Hawai’i as the U.S. Pacific Command, headquartered on

O'ahu, falls directly under the NSC. Even though Hawai'i is thousands of miles from Washington, it is rolled into the fist that Washington uses to strike out at, and threaten, the world. This is the strategic value of Hawai'i. Under unquestioned policies of national security, then, the military uses Hawai'i as a nuclear storage site, where today the island of O'ahu is one of the most nuclearized states in the union. The NSC also exempts the U.S. military from any accountability regarding environmental damage on the islands, such as polluting Pearl Harbor with toxic chemicals, damaging historical and cultural sites with routine practice exercises, and practice bombing of sacred areas.<sup>163</sup>

During the Cold War, Hawai'i's strategic location in the Pacific was critical in supporting America's military efforts against the Soviet Union. After World War II, the USSR, a Pacific power, became the United States' main adversary for control over the north Pacific. George F. Kennan, head of the Policy Planning unit of the State Department, is credited for influencing the early direction of America's Cold War policies. In his two documents, the 1946 "long telegram" and the 1947 "Mr. X" article, Kennan outlined his analysis of the Soviet Union, including suggestions to contain its expansion. In his article "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," written under the pseudonym, "Mr. X," Kennan first used the word "containment." This term would later characterize America's policies to prevent Soviet "expansion" for over forty years.<sup>164</sup>

In *The Dangerous Doctrine: National Security and U.S. Foreign Policy*, Saul Landau argues that in the early years of the Cold War, Moscow was not about to conquer the world. The country had been devastated from war—200 cities were destroyed, twenty-five to thirty million people killed, and twenty million wounded. Landau contends that Washington essentially manufactured a "permanent enemy" in the early postwar years in order to "resume" its prewar

hostilities and competitiveness against Soviet Russia. The Cold War was an escalation of the already-established rivalry between Washington and Moscow, but this conflict was no longer regional; it was global. The Cold War became “a war between two antagonistic social, political, and economic systems.”<sup>165</sup> As I have been arguing throughout this chapter, Washington’s dislike for Moscow also lay in the fact that both countries were competing settler nations with similar national predatory impulses to incorporate other countries into their own.

A perfect example of this expansionist policy can be found in two 1949 National Security Council papers, NSC 48/1 and 48/2. Here, the Council described the Soviet Union as an “Asiatic power of the first magnitude with expanding influence and interest extending throughout continental Asia and the Pacific.” The Council then reasoned that Moscow would capture its neighbor, Japan. Even though U.S. troops were occupying and colonizing Japan at that moment, the Soviet Union was ever present as its neighbor and capable of incorporating Japan into its borders. Thus, the NSC paper argues that the United States was at a disadvantage in Asia because the USSR was “contiguous” to Asia, while the United States was physically “separated” from it. This separation could have great consequences since the “industrial plant of Japan would be the richest strategic prize in the Far East for the USSR” if incorporated into the Soviet Union.<sup>166</sup> Therefore, as a Pacific power with national lands in Asia, the USSR’s presence in that region rendered Asia a critical area for the United States: communism had to be contained.

What has become known as the Truman Doctrine was, in fact, America’s public enunciation that its imperialist plans were now global. Just as the 1885 Berlin Conference divided up Africa among European powers, President

Truman divided up the world between “free” (i.e., capitalist) and “totalitarian” (i.e., communist) nations, with America and the Soviet Union as the two super powers. This mapping of the world into divisions between the Soviets and the Americans reveals the extent of American imperialist designs. Every country in the world would be required to choose sides. Just as the United States and the USSR used guns against the indigenous peoples to establish their own national territories, so the threat of nuclear bombs were used against other nations, including those of Native peoples, to establish who would be the dominant super power. Contrary to Kennan’s recommendations to “contain” the USSR in strategic sites, his successor, Paul Nitze, wrote the now-famous NSC 68 (1950), which gave equal importance to all locations in the effort to block Soviet expansion. Therefore, America’s massive military expansion was to be global. NSC 68 has come to characterize the basic Cold War strategy of Washington through the years. Peter Hayes, a critic of nuclearism, analyzes this shift from Kennan’s to Nitze’s policy as switching “from realpolitik into an ideology of anti-Communist militancy.”<sup>167</sup> In other words, Washington was increasingly “manufacturing” a monster enemy to ensure that America would continue to fortify itself militarily in order to become the premier predatory power.

The Cold War, then, was an acceleration of the old American-Soviet rivalry. Only now, advance technologies made this war more deadly and global. President Eisenhower called the nuclear strategy, the “New Look.” His Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, clarified the New Look in 1954 by explaining that the United States was not accumulating nuclear power to attack the Soviet Union, but was doing so to in order to deter Soviet aggression. However, should the USSR strike America, Dulles asserted, the U.S. military would execute a “massive retaliation.” Although Washington spoke defensively in terms of “responding”

to or “detering” communist threats, this Cold War rhetoric was used to support U.S. military build up in other countries. The United States was in fact acting offensively—advancing its troops in order to establish the “reach” of its empire and ensure its place as the hegemonic global power.<sup>168</sup>

Eisenhower justified his commitment of U.S. armed forces to Asia during “peace time” by asserting that “American freedom is threatened so long as the world Communist conspiracy exists in its present scope, power and hostility.” In other words, America had the right to nuclearize and militarize itself and other countries until the USSR was eliminated. Thus Japan became the Asian cornerstone of American political and military policies. In his 1954 State of the Union address, Eisenhower declared that the United States would maintain military bases in Okinawa (another colonized nation of indigenous people) “indefinitely.”<sup>169</sup> That same year, Vietnamese nationalists and their leader, Ho Chi Minh, defeated France, their colonial overseer. Although Washington had paid increasingly for French military aid in the 1950s, soon the United States’ involvement to stop the Vietnamese self-determination would last decades and cost thousands of American lives.<sup>170</sup> Southeast Asia was one critical trading area American leaders wanted to develop for Japan.<sup>171</sup>

American leaders believed in the domino theory, whereby if one country fell to communism, so would the next and then the next, and so forth. Japan, in the process of rebuilding itself, was considered weak and vulnerable, and no exception to the political and economic lure of communism. The domino theory is, in fact, another name and another form for the predatory ideology of settler nations to consume other nations.<sup>172</sup>

During this same period of growing Cold War tensions that brought about the build up of nuclear weapons and the testing of nuclear bombs in Micronesia,

Third World nationalism also grew. This growth was due, in part, to the United Nations' decolonization program supporting the right of all peoples to be self-governing. Ironically, the United States helped create the United Nations (UN) system after World War II as a tool to control the globe politically and financially. While promising international peace, justice, security, and economic aid, the United States used the new international organization as a forum to assert its growing hegemonic power. For Washington, the UN served to pressure newly formed nations to join and participate in the capitalist political and economic system already supported by the western nations. In the now declassified NSC 5602/1 paper which outlined NSC policy, American leaders argued that the United States should use the UN as a forum to "mobilize" the "free" world to support U.S. policies, "expose" communism, and "exploit" Soviet weaknesses.<sup>173</sup>

Even with heavy pressures from the United States, the UN took on a life of its own, as other nations also used the organization as an international platform for their own issues and interests. With the concept of creating global peace and security, the right of self-determination for all peoples became an integral aspect of the UN's mission. For Native Hawaiians, Chapter IX of the Charter of the United Nations, "Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories," is particularly meaningful, as this new international organization recognized the plight of the colonized. This section of the Charter addressed the issue of self-determination. For global peace to be attained, decolonization was a must. Chapter IX spelled out the "sacred trust" obligation that particular member states had to their colonies to move them toward decolonization—that is, development of self-government. Hawai'i and Alaska were both identified as such colonies—i.e., as non-self-governing Territories. They were listed on the

1946 UN General Assembly Resolution 66 (I) along with seventy-two other colonized nations such as Papua New Guinea, Vietnam (listed as Indo-China with Cambodia and Laos), Zaire, Chad, the Ivory Coast, Indonesia, Fiji, Kenya, Nigeria, and Uganda, to name a few that are now independent countries. In other words, the UN recognized Hawai'i as a colonized nation that needed liberation. In addition, Article 73e of the Charter required Administering member states to submit yearly reports to the UN Secretary-General as long as the colonized nation was still a non-self-governing Territory. This filing of annual reports would later become a point of contention between many Third World and imperialist nations as to which non-self-governing Territories were really decolonized.<sup>174</sup>

In compliance with Article 73 e, the United States sent its annual summaries on Hawai'i to the UN beginning in 1947 and ending in 1959, at the time of statehood.<sup>175</sup> Although Washington's reports were purely statistical in nature, the United States began to seed its summaries with the idea that the "people of Hawaii" supported statehood starting with its first 1947 summary. On the one hand, Washington "appeared" to be moving Hawai'i toward self-government by filing reports, but on the other hand, Washington was maneuvering Hawai'i toward incorporation into America. (Washington's manipulative efforts toward statehood included conducting federal hearings in the islands beginning in 1937.)<sup>176</sup>

These self-interested actions of the Administering member states did not go unnoticed by many non-Administering nations, particularly by the formerly colonized ones. This division between imperialist nations and Third World member states was pointed out by countries such as Cuba, Pakistan, Canada, and Yugoslavia as hindering the decolonization process toward self-government. In



1953, UN resolution 742 (VIII) narrowly passed.<sup>177</sup> While the resolution began to clarify determining factors of whether a non-self-governing Territory had reached its “full measure of self-government” or not, the document supported the Administering states: i.e., the colonizers over the colonized. For example, the Administering power was to decide whether its colonized people had reached a “full measure of self-government.” The representative from Burma protested, saying that the power to make determinations must be vested in the General Assembly. To rely solely on the “Administering” or colonizing nations’ claims and findings were “incompatible with the spirit of the Charter.” Moreover, he argued, everyone knew that the Administering powers were against having the General Assembly’s oversight on this matter.<sup>178</sup> Predictably, the American representative replied that the United States supported this resolution precisely because the General Assembly could not and did not have the competency to decide. Only the Administering power had that right. In addition, the American representative reminded everyone that any discussion in the General Assembly should be limited to “expression of views and recommendations” rather than “determination.”

Another important point of difference between the Administering and non-administering nations—i.e., between the imperialists and the Third World—was that the resolution provided three options for a Territory: a sovereign independent nation, “the compact of free association,” and integration or statehood. Yugoslavia, Guatemala, the USSR, and Saudi Arabia, to name a few states, rejected the choices of free association and statehood. They argued that these two options were “completely unacceptable.” The only choice any self-governing people would take is independence. Once functioning as an

independent nation, then the people could choose other options should they so desire, such as free association or incorporation. *Self-determination is paramount.*

Perhaps Mrs. Menon of India stated the views of many Third World nations when she cited the example of Puerto Rico that had recently changed from its non-self-governing status to free association with the United States. She matter-of-factly stated that the Puerto Rican people were not “completely free.” The problem lay in the fact that the General Assembly had to believe the claims of the United States—the Administering nation—that the Puerto Rican people did not want independence. Menon reasoned only the General Assembly was competent to make a determination on the status of non-self-governing peoples. Moreover, the General Assembly could ask for a “fuller examination” and would not be tied to self-interests, unlike the case of Puerto Rico, where requests for UN oral hearings from Puerto Rican political parties and organizations were ignored by America, the Administering power. To the Indian delegation, Puerto Rico remains a non-self-governing Territory as defined by the UN Charter, in spite of American claims of holding free elections. The Indian representative remarked that when Puerto Ricans are free from the external pressures of the United States, then they can truly decide. Menon eloquently continued

independence should precede any voluntary association, and the link of an equal and voluntary union between peoples forged out of a genuine desire for co-operation is not incompatible with independence, whereas an association of States under any form in which the inequality of status is not redeemed, would only camouflage the relics of a colonial past.<sup>179</sup>

Although imperialist states secured the passage of UN resolution 742 (VIII),<sup>180</sup> the basic differences between the Administering and non-Administering states remained. Third World nationalism and the rights of self-determination for Third World countries would become a challenge to the United States and other imperialist powers. During the 1950s, several important conferences were

held by Third World countries and would eventually lead up to the formation of the non-aligned nations movement in 1961. These sovereign nations forged relationships with each other based on *their* interests rather than the Cold War interests of the United States and the USSR. These conferences signaled a coalescing of Third World countries. The importance of having and holding international forums became increasingly obvious. In 1955, the Bandung Conference, an Asian-African solidarity conference, was held in Bandung, Indonesia. There, nations declared colonialism an “evil” and supported the rise of nationalism or self-determination for all peoples. The Bandung conference was followed by three Conferences of Independent African States that again supported the UN’s efforts on decolonization—these conferences occurred in 1958 in Accra, Ghana; in 1959 in Monrovia, Liberia; and in 1960 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.<sup>181</sup>

Third World nationalism in 1950s Asia, such as Vietnam and China, resulted in the United States sending more military advisors and troops to that region. This, in turn, reinforced Hawai’i’s strategic role in maintaining American imperialism in the Pacific and Asia by providing a mid-Pacific military post with “ready” troops and weapons, as part of the USPACOM mission states.<sup>182</sup> The United States clearly regarded Third World nationalism as intertwined with the Cold War and with Soviet policies. The United States, when not politically influencing or financially aiding newly formed countries, saw the USSR as backing these nations. The conflict, now global, between America and the Soviet Union continued over other peoples’ lands and resources. With the build up of nuclear technology, the Cold War became a more lethal form of this conflict.

In the late 1950s, the United States centralized its military operations under the Secretary of Defense with the Defensive Reorganization Act of 1958.

The Secretary of Defense would oversee all military operations. He had the authority to develop a unified military strategy thus consolidating multiple missions, eliminating the duplication of separate projects, and coordinating research and the development of weapon systems. The execution of operations now flowed from the Secretary of Defense to the various Commander-in-Chiefs (CINCs). This reorganization and restructuring gave extraordinary powers to the Secretary of Defense, an important member of the National Security Council.

At the same moment, the responsibilities of USPACOM expanded to include most of the Pacific (the entire Far East Command and parts of the Alaska Command).<sup>183</sup> This gave CINCPAC, the head of USPACOM, significant military and political power. The Defensive Reorganization Act and the expansion of USPACOM increased the strategic value of Hawai'i for the United States in its drive for global dominance.

With the growing Cold War conflicts, Washington expedited the process leading to Hawai'i statehood. Pressure, in part, came from within the United Nations and Third World delegates who demanded that Administering governments, like the United States, respect and support self-determination for all peoples. The Soviets often backed Third World resolutions that indicted or condemned the United States, and the latter responded with similar tactics against the USSR. Both the United States and the Soviet Union continually exploited Third World issues for their own gain and in their pursuit of global hegemony. Outside the UN, the United States deployed its military forces to contain Soviet expansion or the presence of communism in Their World nations. Third World nationalism was rarely recognized for what it was, but used strategically as pawns in the Cold War battle between the United States and the Soviet Union. For example, the Soviets assisted China and north Korea in the

Korean War against the United States. When the Chinese communist occupied two islands in the Taiwan (Formosa) Straits in 1958, America threatened to use nuclear weapons against them to force their departure and to deter the Soviets from entering the crisis.<sup>184</sup>

Because of pressures at the United Nations, military conflicts in Asia, and rising nationalism in the Third World, the United States hurried to incorporate Hawai'i into the union. Washington accomplished this change in political status for the islands by violating its "sacred trust" obligation of the UN Charter and resolution 742 (VIII), which required the non-self-governing people to reach a full measure of self-government before taking a vote for the various nationhood options. Instead, the U.S. government imposed only one option: "Shall Hawaii immediately be admitted into the Union as a State?" The choice was limited within degrees of American colonization: first-class integration (statehood) and the current second-class integration (Territorial existence). Moreover, with settlers vastly outnumbering Natives, the United States blurred the distinction between settler and Native, by allowing all island citizens—the majority of whom were Asian and white settlers—to vote. Defining voting rights in this way ensured that statehood, and only statehood, would be the first choice.<sup>185</sup>

America's rush to conduct the statehood vote was predictable. The following year, the UN passed the 1960 *Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples* (Resolution 1514 (XV)), and its subsequent list of principles clearly asserted independence for all colonies. The document declared:

1. The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation.

2. All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.<sup>186</sup>

This international instrument further prohibited “armed action or repressive measures” of all kinds directed against colonized peoples. This was to enable them to “exercise peacefully and freely the right to complete independence.” In other words, the U.S. military would need to leave Hawai’i in order that political choices could be made unhampered by alien and colonizing forces. Resolution 1514 (XV) declares that all nations and peoples have the “right to complete independence, and the integrity of their national territory.” Perhaps one of the reasons the United States rushed with the statehood vote is because Principle IX of 1514 (XV) asserted that when a non-self-governing people choose integration, the UN can have oversight. In other words, the power to determine if non-self-governing people are really choosing “absorption into the colonizer” is vested in the UN General Assembly and not the colonizing (Administering) nation. Although this 1960 *Declaration* came a year after the Hawai’i statehood vote, these non-self-governing Territory discussions had been occurring for years. Thus Washington was aware that a new document was being drafted. More importantly, Third World nations would not have let America’s determination for the integration of Hawai’i into its union go unchallenged.

In fact, this 1960 document was presented by forty-three Asian and African nations. The Ethiopian representative, Mr. Alemayehou, stated that this resolution represented the culmination of political work from the conferences in Bandung in 1955, Accra in 1958, Monrovia in 1959, and finally Addis Ababa in 1960. The UN meetings leading up to the resolution were filled with powerful statements from the Third World and non-colonial countries against colonialism and weak defenses by the imperialist nations. The non-self-governing status of

Puerto Rico was again raised. The Cuba representative, Mr. Roa, severely criticized the United States, saying the Puerto Rican people had no voice in the international arena, and that those who speak for them cannot represent them. In the “renewal of the pact of Jose Marti,” Cuba defended the rights of Puerto Rico to claim self-determination and sovereignty.<sup>187</sup>

To the irritation of the United States, the document to grant independence to colonized peoples was originally brought to the General Assembly by the Soviet Union—by Nikita Khrushchev himself. He asked the General Assembly to allow their proposal into discussion, as it stated, among many things, the “elimination of colonialism would be of paramount importance in easing international tension.”<sup>188</sup> Perhaps the American absorption of Hawai’i, with its massive military apparatus and its strategic location in the Pacific, played a part in the USSR leading the discussion on independence for countries and peoples. Later, the Soviet resolution was dropped and replaced with the Asian-African one. However, U.S. representative Mr. Wadsworth nonetheless attacked Moscow as shepherding a “new and lethal colonialism,” by which he meant the spread of communism. Wadsworth defended America’s stance against the “liquidation” of colonialism because everyone had to consider what would replace it. Of course, the American Wadsworth was “warning” the assembly that if colonialism disappeared from the world, it would be replaced by communism. Neither the USSR and the United States cared about real issues of exploitation; they were only interested in continuing their own power to exploit and control. Both countries were using words like “liberation” and “freedom” while competing with each other for the leadership of the globe. Both countries were accusing the other of using ideological tactics.<sup>189</sup> In the end, the United States abstained from supporting the resolution. For America, the question of

global decolonization was never a concern. The United States was interested only insofar as these issues did not interfere with America's right to dominate the world. Put another way, the United States did not, and still does not, advocate international co-operative peace and security for all peoples.

The purpose of incorporating Hawai'i into the United States had to do with maintaining and advancing America's hegemonic plans in the international arena. It did not change the structure of colonial power within Hawai'i. As a Territory, Hawai'i was governed by settlers. As a state, power remained in the grip of settlers. While the statehood Admission Act now gave Japanese and other settlers of color more participatory rights in a predatory America, Native Hawaiians were actually further subjugated by this Act. They became "wards of the state," as portions of their lands, even ones recognized by American law (Hawaiian Home Lands and the ceded lands), were held, and are still held, in a public trust beyond their control. In other words, Native Hawaiian lands were not given back to Hawaiians, but placed in trust for the use and profit of the colonizing government and its settler citizenry—such as for American military operations, public schools, airports, shopping malls, etc.<sup>190</sup>

Statehood, then, is part and parcel of America's colonial and genocidal campaign against Native peoples. Hawai'i statehood allowed Japanese (and later, other Asian) settlers the opportunity to co-enforce colonial laws and policies with the *haole* over Native Hawaiian lands, resources, and people. In the 1940s, Japanese settlers went to war to ensure that American colonial presence remained in the islands. In the 1950s, Japanese settlers organized to participate in America's political system by taking over the local Democratic Party and by supporting Washington's efforts to incorporate Hawai'i into America through



statehood. Thus, they ascended to co-ruling class status with the *haole* in this island settler colony.

Although the Cold War ended in the late twentieth century, American imperialism and militarism did not die. Hawai'i remains an important armed fortress in the north Pacific for the United States. As local Japanese settlers who now run the colonial legislature and government apparatuses in the islands, they are doing more than protecting colonial interests against Native Hawaiian sovereignty. They are upholding a global predatory system. In the following chapter, we will examine the methods that the United States has employed, and still employs, to maintain its hegemony over the islands, and the process through which Japanese settlers moved with relative ease from one predatory power (Japan) to another (the United States).

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<sup>1</sup> Haunani-Kay Trask, "Settlers of Color and 'Immigrant' Hegemony: 'Locals' in Hawai'i," *Amerasia Journal* 26, no. 2 (2000), 1.

<sup>2</sup> In other writings, Lenin sometimes acknowledges Marx and Engels as the authors of this phrase. V.I. Lenin, *Questions of National Policy and Proletarian Internationalism* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, n.d.), 132, 167.

<sup>3</sup> Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i*, rev. ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999). Original publication (Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press, 1993).

<sup>4</sup> See Fanon's other masterpiece on colonialism, *Toward an African Revolution*, which includes an insightful chapter on racism. Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Constance Farrington (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1963), and Frantz Fanon, *Toward the African Revolution: Political Essays*, trans. Haakon Chevalier (New York: Grove Press, 1964).

Ngugi is known for his deeply moving political novels on Kenya. He is also recognized for his political essays such as *Decolonising the Mind* and *Writers in Politics*. See Ngugi wa Thiong'o, *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics in African Literature* (London: James Currey, Ltd., 1986), and Ngugi wa Thiong'o, *Writers in Politics: a Re-Engagement with Issues of Literature and Society*, rev. ed. (Oxford: James Curry, 1981). For his novels, see Ngugi wa Thiong'o, *Petals of Blood* (New York: Penguin Books, 1977), and *Matigari*, trans. Wangui wa Goro (Oxford: Heinemann, 1981). Ngugi was arrested for his writings in Kenya; see Ngugi wa Thiong'o, *Detained: A Writer's Prison Diary* (Oxford: Heinemann, 1981).

<sup>5</sup> Said wrote extensively on the history and contemporary political situation of Palestine, his homeland until his death in 2003. In academia, Said is known as a critic of western literature and culture. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979); Edward W. Said, *The Question of Palestine* (New York: Vintage Books, 1980); and Edward W. Said and Christopher Hitchens, ed., *Blaming the Victims: Spurious Scholarship and the Palestinian Question* (New York: Verso, 1988).

In *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou*, Walker contrasts the monumental difference between settlers and Natives by showing the specific cultural and social ways in which the Māori world is organized. Ranginui Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 1990).

<sup>6</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. XVIII, *The Imperialist War: The Struggle Against Social-Chauvinism and Social-Pacifism, 1914-1915* (New York: International Publishers, 1930), 226.

<sup>7</sup> Trask, *From a Native Daughter*, 251.

<sup>8</sup> See the chapter on "Hawaiians and Human Rights" in *Ibid.*, 25 - 40.

<sup>9</sup> For an interesting discussion on settler states, see Ronald Weitzer, *Transforming Settler States: Communal Conflict and Internal Security in Northern Ireland and Zimbabwe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

<sup>10</sup> International attorney Sharon Venne (Cree) points out "the signing of a treaty by a state is an indication to other nations of its intention to be bound by the terms of the treaty." For more detail on treaties, see Sharon Helen Venne, *Our Elders Understand Our Rights: Evolving International Law Regarding Indigenous Peoples* (Penticton, British Columbia: Theytus Books Ltd., 1998), 13-15.

<sup>11</sup> For an extensive listing of Churchill's works, see Ward Churchill, *From a Native Son: Selected Essays on Indigenism, 1985-1995* (Boston: South End Press, 1996). For more discussion on the Discovery documents, etc., see Ward Churchill, *Struggle for the Land: Indigenous Resistance to Genocide, Ecocide and Expropriation in Contemporary North America* (Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press, 1993), 33-83; Vine Deloria, Jr. and Clifford M. Lytle, *American Indians, American Justice* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983), 1-24; and Robert A. Williams, Jr., *The American Indian in Western Legal Thought: the Discourses of Conquest* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

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<sup>12</sup> Morris is a Native attorney and professor researching and teaching indigenous rights in international law. See Glenn T. Morris, "International Law and Politics: Toward a Right to Self-Determination for Indigenous Peoples," in *The State of Native America: Genocide, Colonization, and Resistance*, ed. M. Annette Jaimes (Boston: South End Press, 1992), 55-86.

<sup>13</sup> Trask, *From a Native Daughter*, 23.

United Nations, *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, General Assembly Resolution 217A (III), UN Doc. A/810, at 71 (1948); also reprinted in Richard B. Lillich and Hurst Hannum, *International Human Rights: Documentary Supplement* (Aspen: Aspen Law & Business, 1995), 17-22.

<sup>14</sup> Louis Henkin, "U.S. Ratification of Human Rights Conventions: The Ghost of Senator Bricker," *American Journal of International Law* 89, no. 2 (April 1995): 341-350.

<sup>15</sup> United Nations, *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*, 78 UNTS 277, adopted 9 December 1948, entered into force on 12 January 1951; also reprinted in Lillich and Hannum, *International Human Rights*, 13-16.

<sup>16</sup> Ward Churchill and Glenn T. Morris, "Key Indian Laws and Cases," in *State of Native America*, 13 - 21.

For a better understanding of the genocidal/annihilation campaigns on Native Americans by the United States and other western powers, see Ward Churchill, *A Little Matter of Genocide: Holocaust and Denial in the Americas, 1492 to the Present* (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1997), and David E. Stannard, *American Holocaust: Columbus and the Conquest of the New World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

<sup>17</sup> For a great research on the United States as an imperialist nation, see William Appleman Williams, *Empire as a Way of Life: An Essay on the Causes and Character of America's Present Predicament Along With a Few Thoughts About an Alternative* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980).

For more details on the 1997 anti-Native gathering bill, see Momiala Kamahele, "ʻĪlioʻulaokalani: Defending Native Hawaiian Culture," in *Amerasia Journal* 26, no. 2 (2000): 38-65.

<sup>18</sup> V.I. Lenin, *State and Revolution* (New York: International Publishers, 1932).

<sup>19</sup> V.I. Lenin, *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* (Moscow: Co-Operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the U.S.S.R., 1934), 71.

<sup>20</sup> Lenin, *State and Revolution*, 31.

<sup>21</sup> See "H-3 Tab Will Pass \$1 Billion," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 9 September 1995, and Steven Goldsberry, Clemence McClaren, and Tamara Moan, "Interstate H-3: What Price? What Purpose?" *Honolulu Magazine*, March 1992, 32-37, 44-77.

<sup>22</sup> V.I. Lenin, *Lenin on War and Peace* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1966), 84.

<sup>23</sup> "Time immemorial" is a phrase Ward Churchill uses. I follow his lead because it effectively characterizes the length of time Native peoples have lived on their ancestral lands on American continent and on the Hawaiian Islands—that is, since the beginning of time. See Churchill, *Struggle for the Land*, 33.

<sup>24</sup> James Cook, *The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery: The Voyage of the Resolution and Discovery, 1776-1780, Part I*, ed. J.C. Beaglehole (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 265-266.

<sup>25</sup> Vancouver's remarks on depopulation were handed down orally until the 1830s, when Hawaiian students attending Lahainaluna High School interviewed their elders on various historical events. Their interviews were turned into stories and printed in a book in the Hawaiian language and edited by Rev. Sheldon Dibble in 1838. Dorothy M. Kahananui, ed. and trans., *Ka Mooolelo Hawaii: Hawaiian Language Reader Based on Sheldon Dibble's Ka Mooolelo Hawaii'i* (Honolulu: The Preservation and Study of Hawaiian Language, Art and Culture, 1984), 180.

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<sup>26</sup> David E. Stannard, *Before the Horror: the Population of Hawai'i on the Eve of Western Contact* (Honolulu: Social Science Research Institute of the University of Hawai'i, 1989), 45.

<sup>27</sup> Kekuni Blaisdell lists fifteen epidemics that occurred between 1778 and 1890. This list also includes other diseases that were not epidemics, but that nonetheless tremendously effected depopulation, such as leprosy, fevers, mumps, etc. Richard Kekuni Blaisdell, "History of Medicine in Hawai'i," Department of Medicine, University of Hawai'i, March 1982, photocopied.

<sup>28</sup> Stannard uses the term "pre-*haole* contact" versus "pre-contact" because "pre-contact" involves an imperialist assertion that Native peoples did not have contact with each other before arrival of the Europeans and Americans in the Pacific. Thus I too qualify the word "contact" by using the adjective "*haole*," as in "*haole* contact." See David E. Stannard, *Before the Horror: the Population of Hawai'i on the Eve of Western Contact* (Honolulu: Social Science Research Institute of the University of Hawai'i, 1989), note on xv.

<sup>29</sup> Robert C. Schmitt, *Historical Statistics of Hawaii* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1977), 25.

<sup>30</sup> See Richard Greer, "Oahu's Ordeal: The Smallpox Epidemic of 1853—Part I," *Hawaii Historical Review* 1, no. 12 (July 1965): 221-242; Richard Greer, "Oahu's Ordeal: The Smallpox Epidemic of 1853—Part II," *Hawaii Historical Review* 2, no. 1 (October 1965): 248-266; and Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, vol. 1, 1778-1854: Foundation and Transformation* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1938), 411-413.

<sup>31</sup> Kingdom of Hawai'i, Minister of Foreign Affairs, R.C. Wyllie, *A letter to Donald Davidson, 27 September 1852*, Hawai'i State Archives, Files of the History and Miscellaneous: 1852.

<sup>32</sup> Samuel M. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, rev. ed. (1961; reprint, with an introduction by L.K. Kame'elehiwa, Honolulu: The Kamehameha Schools Press, 1992), 416-417.

<sup>33</sup> It is important to read the actual recommendations, as they reveal the settler mindset and settler politics in the islands. Judd's efforts did not prevent Native Hawaiian deaths, but rather encouraged them. Moreover, the lateness of these "common sense" recommendations showed how a whole settler community participated in this epidemic, as all were silent until it was too late. The recommendations were to: 1) find or erect suitable structures as hospitals in Waikiki and in the 'ewa side of Honolulu, 2) obtain proper vaccine and vaccinate free of charge, 3) divide Honolulu into 20 districts so medical volunteers could easily check upon patients, 4) obtain "suitable" vehicles to transport the dead to burial grounds and the sick to the hospitals, 5) secure Hawaiian language interpreters to accompany doctors on a daily basis, 6) destroy all infected "straw houses," and 7) kill and bury dogs that had been eating the dead bodies. It is shocking to read how basic these recommendations are as they reveal Judd did absolutely nothing to prevent Native deaths. These recommendations were printed in "Mass Meetings," *The Weekly Argus*, 21 July 1853, and in the *Polynesian*, 23 July 1853.

<sup>34</sup> "Severance to Marcy (No. 89), 25 August 1853 (Despatches, Hawaii, Vol. IV)" and "Severance to Hammond, 24 August 1853 (Despatches, Hawaii, Vol. IV)" in U.S. Territory of Hawaii, Legislature, *Report of the Historical Commission of the Territory of Hawaii* (Honolulu: Star-Bulletin, 1927), 25-27, 27-29. Wyllie also wrote to former Hawaiian Kingdom Attorney General John Ricord about Judd's plans to sell the Kingdom. Robert C. Wyllie to Ricord, 30 August 1853, Hawai'i State Archives, Files of the Misc. Foreign file.

<sup>35</sup> "Miller to Clarendon (No. 17), 13 August 1853 (F.O. 8/76)" and "Miller to Addington, 9 September 1853 (F.O. 58/76)" in U.S. Territory of Hawaii, Legislature, *Report of the Historical Commission of the Territory of Hawaii*, 31-32, 34-35.

<sup>36</sup> United States Legation (Hawai'i), "Severance to Marcy (Despatch No. 86: July 9, 1853)" in United States, Legation (Hawai'i), *Despatches from US Ministers in Hawai'i, 1843-1900* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives, 1955), microfilm. Also housed in Hawai'i State Archives, roll 4, vol. 4, microfilm.

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<sup>37</sup> David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities: Moolelo Hawaii*, trans. Dr. Nathaniel B. Emerson in 1898 (1903; reprint, Honolulu: Bishop Museum, 1991), 96-99.

<sup>38</sup> *The Weekly Argus*, 15 February 1853.

<sup>39</sup> Schmitt, *Historical Statistics of Hawaii*, 25.

<sup>40</sup> Thrum's 1890 Almanac listed sixty-five plantations, but seven years later, Thrum's 1897 Almanac listed fifty-four plantations. This pattern testifies to Marx's idea that capitalism tends towards monopoly; in seven years, ten plantations closed down or were absorbed into the larger ones. Thos. G. Thrum, comp., *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1890* (Honolulu: Press Publishing Company, 1889), 104-105, and S. G. Thrum, comp., *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1897* (Honolulu: Press Publishing Co., 1897), 31, 159-160.

<sup>41</sup> *The Weekly Argus*, 7 September 1853.

<sup>42</sup> See the journals of Lisianskii and Langsdorf reproduced in Glynn Barratt, *The Russian Discovery of Hawai'i: The Ethnographic and Historic Record* (Honolulu: Editions Limited, 1987), 48 (Linianskii), 114 (Langsdorf).

For in-depth account of Russian activities in Hawai'i see Klaus Mehnert, "Russians in Hawaii, 1804-1819," *University of Hawaii, Occasional Papers*, no. 38 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1939), 6 (sugar interests), 19-20 (settlement interests).

For early Russian expeditions into Oceania, including Hawai'i, see a section in B.N. Slavinskii, "Russia and the Pacific to 1917" in *Soviet-American Horizons in the Pacific*, ed. John J. Stephan and V.P. Chichkanov (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986), 36-38.

For a brief acknowledgement of Russian activity by Native Hawaiians, see Kahananui, *Ka Moolelo Hawaii*, 205, and Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, 206, 280.

For an informative article on Russian attitudes toward the indigenous peoples of Siberia, see Yuri Slezkine, "From Savages to Citizens: the Cultural Revolution in the Soviet Far North, 1928-1938," *Slavic Review* 51, no. 1 (Spring 1992): 52 - 76 and Yuri Slezkine, *Arctic Mirrors: Russia and the Small Peoples of the North* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 1.

<sup>43</sup> For fur traders see, Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, vol. 1, 1778-1854: *Foundation and Transformation* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1938), 84-85.

For detailed account of the sandalwood trade, see Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, 204, 207, 209-210, 251-252, and Kahananui, *Ka Moolelo Hawaii*, 205-206.

For a brief mention of missionaries' concern that the smallpox epidemic would effect the whaling industry, see Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, vol. 1, 413, and in a letter from Amos Cooke to a Mr. Seely, 22 July 1853, see Mary Atherton Richards, ed., *Amos Starr Cooke and Juliette Montague Cooke: Their Autobiographies Gleaned from Their Journals and Letters* (Honolulu: the Daughters of Hawaii, 1987), 423.

<sup>44</sup> Lilikalā Kame'eiehiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992), 142-152 (Christianity), 206 (ABCFM).

<sup>45</sup> For more information on William Richards, see Kame'eiehiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 173-180.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 183-185. Also see a very detailed account in the 1893 Thrum's *Almanac*. Thos. G. Thrum, comp., "History of the Provisional Cession of the Hawaiian Islands and Their Restoration," *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1893* (Honolulu: Press Publishing Co., 1892), 45-70.

With the Kingdom restored back under Hawaiian control, Kamehameha III proclaimed "ua mau ke ea o ka 'āina i ka pono" ("the sovereignty of the land is perpetuated by pono, or by righteous behavior"), which became the nation's motto and subsequently appropriated by the American colony as its motto through the present day. For a more detailed understanding, see Lilikalā Kame'eiehiwa, "Ua Mau Ke Ea o Ka 'Aina i Ka Pono: The Concepts of Sovereignty and Religious Sanctions of Correct Political Behavior" in *Hawai'i: Return to Nationhood*, doc. 75, ed. Ulla Hasager and Jonathan Friedman (Copenhagen: International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, 1994), 36-43.

<sup>47</sup> Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*, 36.

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<sup>48</sup> Kame'eleihiwa's analysis in *Native Land and Foreign Desire* clearly presents the Native perspective in the nineteenth century. Prior to her work, settler scholars characterized Hawaiian leaders of the past as greedy and incompetent rulers. Countering this interpretation, Kame'eleihiwa explains that the King agreed to the *Māhele* as a way to save his people from dying and foreign subjugation, and that his actions were generated from a Hawaiian worldview. Once depopulation began in Hawai'i, after *haole* contact, the main concern of all the Hawaiian rulers was to stop the massive numbers of deaths. From the Hawaiian perspective, if the *haole* were not affected by the diseases, then the *haole* way of life and relationship to the world must be in harmony with the universe or *pono*. Therefore, western governance and Christianity were to be emulated in order to reverse the decline of the Hawaiian population. Thus the *Mō'i* (King or Queen) and his *ali'i* (chiefs) began to embrace western beliefs and ways of doing things as part of their responsibility to their people. See, Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 25, 138-142.

<sup>49</sup> Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*, 81.

<sup>50</sup> Lenin, *Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, 71.

<sup>51</sup> Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 50-64 (*kālai'āina*); 287-305 (land commission).

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 208-214. Also see Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, vol. 1, 279-282.

<sup>53</sup> Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, 407.

<sup>54</sup> To read the actual legislation, see Kingdom of Hawai'i, House of Nobles and Representatives, "An Act to Abolish the Disabilities of Aliens to Acquire and Convey Lands in Fee Simple," *Penal Code of the Hawaiian Islands, 1850* (Honolulu: Government Press, 1850), 146-147 and Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, vol. 1, 294-298.

For more details on the creation of wage labor, see Kingdom of Hawai'i, House of Nobles and Representatives, "An Act for the Government of Masters and Servants," *Penal Code of the Hawaiian Islands, 1850*, 170-176; Edward D. Beechert, *Working in Hawaii: A Labor History* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985), 38-39, 41-57; and Hilary Conroy, *The Japanese Frontier in Hawaii, 1868-1898* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953), 11-12.

There were actually several vagrancy laws passed prior to and during 1850; see Kingdom of Hawai'i, House of Nobles and Representatives, "An Act to Prohibit Natives from Leaving the Islands," *Penal Code of the Hawaiian Islands, 1850*, 154-155, and Beechert, *Working in Hawaii*, 34-36.

<sup>55</sup> Interestingly, most settler accounts of plantation history include the tonnage of sugar produced, but not the land acreage under production. These statistics reveal that settler interest is tied to commerce; most Native nationalists would cite the total acreage confiscated for colonial cultivation. For the plantation acreage, see Beechert, *Working in Hawaii*, 178.

For the production of sugar in pounds, see Katherine Coman, "The History of Contract Labor in the Hawaiian Islands," *American Economic Association* 4, no. 3 (August 1903; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1978): 65.

<sup>56</sup> Schmitt, *Historical Statistics of Hawaii*, 25.

<sup>57</sup> The complete quote is "The settler makes history and is conscious of making it. And because he constantly refers to the history of his mother country, he clearly indicates that he himself is the extension of the mother country." See Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*, 51.

<sup>58</sup> For more details on Japan's protest, see Ernest K. Wakukawa, *A History of the Japanese People in Hawaii* (Honolulu: The Toyo Shion, 1938), 59-68 (overthrow), 110-111, 218-219 (annexation); John J. Stephan, *Hawaii Under the Rising Sun: Japan's Plans for Conquest After Pearl Harbor* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984), 15-16 (overthrow); Akira Iriye, *Pacific Estrangement: Japanese and American Expansion, 1897-1911* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), 51 (annexation); and Conroy, *Japanese Frontier*, 137-138.

<sup>59</sup> U.S. President John Tyler, "Sandwich Islands and China" of the House Ex. no. 35, 27<sup>th</sup> Cong., 3<sup>d</sup> sess., 1842 is reproduced in the U.S. Congress, House, *The Executive Documents of the House of*

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*Representatives for the Third Session of the Fifty-Third Congress, 1894-95: Affairs in Hawaii* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1895), 39-41.

<sup>60</sup> For more details on the Russian *ukase* and the Monroe Doctrine, and U.S./Russian responses, see William Appleman Williams, *American Russian Relations, 1781-1947* (New York: Rinehart and Co., 1952), 10-16; H.W. Brands, *The United States in the World: A History of American Foreign Policy*, vol. 1 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1994), 105-107; and Dexter Perkins, "The Monroe Doctrine," in *The Shaping of American Diplomacy*, vol. 1, ed. by William Appleman Williams (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1956), 142-147. I only found one source that specifically names the 45<sup>th</sup> parallel as the Asian continent's boundary line in Tsar Alexander I's *ukase*; see William Barrows, *Oregon: The Struggle for Possession*, 2d ed. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1884), 22-26. For the boundaries of the Oregon country, see the text written by Kenneth L. Homes in Judith A. Farmer, *An Historical Atlas of Early Oregon*, text by Kenneth L. Holmes (Portland: Historical Cartographic Publications, 1973), 4.

For excerpts of the Monroe Doctrine, see the appendix in David W. Dent, *The Legacy of the Monroe Doctrine: A Reference Guide to U.S. Involvement in Latin America and the Caribbean* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1999), 379-380.

<sup>61</sup> Some of the countries invaded by the American military during this period were Cuba, Puerto Rico, Greece, Mexico, Argentina, Sumatra, Samoa, Fiji Islands, Ivory Coast, Turkey, Nicaragua, Japan, Okinawa, China, Uruguay, Panama, Paraguay, Angola, Taiwan, Colombia, Hawaii, Korea, Egypt, Haiti, Chile, and Brazil. Williams, *Empire as a Way of Life*, 72-76, 102-110, 136-137.

<sup>62</sup> See an analysis of the Tyler doctrine by Ka Lāhui Hawai'i in its "Ho'okupu a Ka Lāhui Hawai'i: The Master Plan 1995" that is reproduced in Trask, *From a Native Daughter*, 217.

For the complete speech that would later become known as the Tyler Doctrine, see U.S. President John Tyler, "Sandwich Islands and China" of the House Ex. no. 35, 27<sup>th</sup> Cong., 3d sess., 1842 is reproduced in the U.S. Congress, House, *The Executive Documents of the House of Representatives for the Third Session of the Fifty-Third Congress, 1894-95*, 39-41.

<sup>63</sup> Slavinskii, "Russia and the Pacific to 1917," 38-40, and John J. Stephan, "Russian-American Economic Relations in the Pacific: A Historical Perspective," in *Soviet-American Horizons*, ed. Stephan and Chichkanov, 66-70.

<sup>64</sup> The sale of Alaska comes on the heels of the American Civil War. Interestingly, the American debates over the purchase of Alaska and the Civil War centered more around politics and economics than the selling of human beings.

<sup>65</sup> Siberia is composed of three regions: Western Siberia, Eastern Siberia, and the Far East. For clarity, I will use the more recognizable name of Siberia when referring to the east coast of Russia. The Far East conjures up images of Japan and China for most Americans, while Siberia is often identified as Russian.

<sup>66</sup> Stephan, "Russian-American Economic Relations," 61-83.

<sup>67</sup> For more details on Native peoples of Siberia, see Yuri Slezkine, *Arctic Mirrors*, and James Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia: Russia's North Asian Colony, 1581-1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). For a journalist's view, see, Anna Reid, *The Shaman's Coat: A Native History of Siberia* (New York: Walker & Company, 2002).

<sup>68</sup> Originally Mahan's article was published in the March 1893 issue of *Forum*. Alfred T. Mahan, "Hawaii and Our Future Sea-Power," in *Imperialists vs Anti-Imperialists: The Debate Over Expansionism in the 1890's*, ed. Richard E. Welch, Jr. (Itasca, Illinois: F.E. Peacock Publishers, Inc., 1972), 38-44.

<sup>69</sup> See the college textbook of Walter LaFeber and Richard Polenberg, *The American Century: A History of the United States Since the 1890s*, 2d ed. (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1975), 2-4.

<sup>70</sup> Captain A. T. Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660-1783* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1896), 25-29.

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<sup>71</sup> See the many writings of Churchill, in particular, his essay, "Since Predator Came: A Survey of Native North America Since 1492," in Churchill, *From a Native Son*, 1-36. Also see Williams, *Empire as a Way of Life*, 26.

<sup>72</sup> For portions of Perry's official instruction, see U.S. State Department and the Department of the Navy, "Instructions to Commodore Matthew C. Perry for His Expedition to Japan, 1852," in *Major Problems in American Foreign Relations*, vol. 1, *To 1920*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., ed. Dennis Merrill and Thomas G. Paterson (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2000), 276-278.

See original documents of U.S. President Fillmore's letter to the Emperor of Japan and Perry's accompanying letter reproduced in W. G. Beasley, trans. and ed., *Select Documents on Japanese Foreign Policy, 1853-1868* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955), 97-102.

<sup>73</sup> See original Treaty of Amity and Commerce reproduced in Beasley, *Select Documents on Japanese Foreign Policy*, 183-189.

For a larger understanding of the treaty port system and the unequal treaties, see W.G. Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism, 1894-1945* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 20-26; W.G. Beasley, *The Rise of Modern Japan: Political, Economic and Social Change Since 1850* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1990), 26-34; and Mauris B. Jansen, "Japanese Imperialism: Late Meiji Perspectives," in *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945*, ed. by Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 62-63.

<sup>74</sup> John J. Stephan, *The Russian Far East: A History* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1994), 59, and Williams, *America Russian Relations*, 28-29.

<sup>75</sup> Being able to read and access both Russian and Japanese research materials, Stephan gives us a comprehensive understanding of the conflict between Russia and Japan to control Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands. As important evidence of Russia and Japan's imperialist assertions to recreate their own foreign cultures in the colonies, Stephan lists place names in both Russian and Japanese in the appendices of his two books. John J. Stephan, *Sakhalin: A History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 204-206, and especially Chapter Seven, "The Northern Territories Problem," in John J. Stephan, *The Kuril Islands: Russo-Japanese Frontier in the Pacific* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), 197-236, 248-252.

For updated, post-Cold War information on the Northern Territories dispute, see "Northern Territories" and *Beyond*, where Russian, Japanese, and American scholars and diplomats provide insights into this problem through history, economics, natural resources, and, of course, politics. While the authors of this anthology are hopeful for a resolution in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, the tensions over national borders are nonetheless very high. Stephan contributes a very humorous, yet revealing, article on the Russian and Japanese reactions to his other writings, as they reflect the sense of ownership both sides feel for these islands. The border dispute now centers on a few Kurile Islands off the coast of Japan's Hokkaidō Island. James E. Goodby, Vladimir I. Ivanov, and Nobuo Shimotamai, ed., "Northern Territories" and *Beyond: Russian, Japanese, and American Perspectives* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1995).

Also see Young C. Kim, *Japanese-Soviet Relations: Interaction of Politics, Economics, and National Security* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1974), 17-53, and Tsuyoshi Hasegawa, Jonathan Haslam, and Andrew C. Kuchins, ed., *Russia and Japan: An Unresolved Dilemma Between Distant Neighbors* (Berkeley: University of California at Berkeley, 1993).

<sup>76</sup> For more details of the Japanese occupation of the Ainu homeland from an indigenous perspective, see Kayano Shigeru, *Our Land was a Forest: an Ainu Memoir*, trans. Kyoko Selden and Lili Selden (Boulder: Westview Press, 1980).

For more information on the indigenous peoples of Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands, see Stephan, *Sakhalin*, 10-16, 192-194; Stephan, *Kuril Islands*, 21-30, 52-53; and Bruce Grant, "Nivkhi, Russians, and Others: The Politics of Indigenism on Sakhalin Island," in *Rediscovering Russia in Asia: Siberia and the Russian Far East*, ed. Stephen Kotkin and David Wolff (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1995), 160-171.

<sup>77</sup> Venne, *Our Elders Understand Our Rights*, Introduction to the book.

<sup>78</sup> According the Japan's creation myths, Ninigi is the grandson of the Sun Goddess. Thus the Japanese assert that their imperial line to be descended from the gods unbroken. Mikiso Hane,



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*Premodern Japan: A Historical Survey* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991), 9-10 and Mikiso Hane, *Modern Japan: A Historical Survey* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1986), 10-12.

See Muhammed Abdul Aziz, *Japan's Colonialism and Indonesia* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1955), 3.

<sup>79</sup> Iriye, *Pacific Estrangement*, 19.

<sup>80</sup> Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, vol. 3, 1874-1893: The Kalakaua Dynasty* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1967), 313-134.

<sup>81</sup> Native Hawaiian scholar Haunani-Kay Trask introduced me to the idea that imperialist traits are often cultural traits and may contribute to why certain peoples/groups move toward colonizing others, even if these peoples/groups themselves have been oppressed. Because of my many conversations with Dr. Trask, I noted Iriye's short passage as significant. Iriye, *Pacific Estrangement*, 18-19.

Iriye states Ken'ichi Kuroda wrote the definitive book on the idea that Japanese colonization developed independently from western ideas. Unfortunately, Kuroda's work was written in the Japanese language and therefore inaccessible to me. Supporting Iriye's view of colonization as part of Japan's past, see Aziz, *Japan's Colonialism and Indonesia*, 3-6.

<sup>82</sup> Although most scholars have defined *sakoku* as the closing of Japan to foreigners except for the Dutch and the Chinese, historian Ronald P. Toby argues that Japan continued its diplomatic and trade relationships with its close neighbors China, Korea, and the Ryukyu Kingdom (now Okinawa). In other words, Toby's argument is a critique on western scholarship that interprets Japan's rejections of the west as a rejection of the world. Ronald P. Toby, *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan: Asia in the Development of the Tokugawa Bakufu* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984). Also see Bob Wakabayashi's expansion on Toby's work; Wakabayashi asserts the *bakufu's* original policies were not meant to close Japan off, as only in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century did the idea of *jōi* (armed expulsion of foreigners) take any force. Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi, *Anti-Foreignism and Western Learning in Early-Modern Japan: The New Theses of 1825* (Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1986).

For emigration statistics to Hokkaidō, see Yamato Ichihashi, *Japanese in the United States* (1932; reprint, New York: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1969), 6.

<sup>83</sup> "War without warfare" is a phrase a silk merchant used in his 1883 pamphlet to argue that economic expansion was more important than military expansion. Iriye, *Pacific Estrangement*, 20-21.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 1-25, specifically 19-23.

<sup>85</sup> Between 1868 and 1924, Japan issued over one million passports to east Russia, Hawai'i, United States, Canada, Philippines, Brazil, and Peru. This statistic does not include the largest numbers of Japanese emigrants who went to China and Korea. This figure is also an approximation because there is no way to account for all the issued passports, as one document was often issued to an entire family or given every time a person left the country. Ichihashi, *Japanese in the United States*, 8-9.

<sup>86</sup> For more details on the role of the Japanese warship *Naniwa*, see Wakukawa, *History of the Japanese People in Hawaii*, 59-68 (overthrow), 218-219 (annexation); Stephan, *Hawaii Under the Rising Sun*, 15-16 (overthrow); and Iriye, *Pacific Estrangement*, 51 (annexation).

<sup>87</sup> Conroy, *Japanese Frontier in Hawaii*, 137-138, and Wakukawa, *History of the Japanese People in Hawaii*, 110-111.

<sup>88</sup> Kawabe does not compare Japan's population to its newspaper circulation in the same table. However, one can make that assessment because the tables are on facing pages, making it easy to compare newspaper circulation to the population. For example, in 1874, the population was approximately thirty-three million. Three years later, the newspaper circulation was thirty-seven million. In 1884, the population was over thirty-seven million, while in 1997, the newspaper circulation was over ninety-five million. Kawabe's book contains such other interesting information as the number telephone lines, railroad tracks, shipping vessels, etc. Kisaburō

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Kawabe, *The Press and Politics in Japan: A Study of the Relation Between the Newspaper and the Political Development of Modern Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1921), 106-107.

<sup>89</sup> Seifuku Tsuneya's quote is reproduced in Iriye, *Pacific Estrangement*, 37, 48 (pamphlet). For Keishirō Inoue's ideas, see Stephan, *Hawaii Under the Rising Sun*, 17-18.

<sup>90</sup> Ichihashi, *Japanese in the United States*, 5.

<sup>91</sup> In 1868, the first group of Japanese laborers arrived in Hawai'i. They were not contract laborers, but workers taken by the sugar planters without the consent of the newly formed Meiji government. Thus a distinction is made in Japanese settler history of the islands between this first group (Gannen Mono [the people of the first year of the Meiji Era]) and the subsequent contract laborers who arrived in 1885.

The labor convention, "Convention Between the Empire of Japan and the Kingdom of the Hawaiian Islands, signed at Tokyo, January 28, 1886," is reproduced in Conroy, *Japanese Frontier in Hawaii*, 148-150.

<sup>92</sup> Schmitt, *Historical Statistics of Hawaii*, 25.

<sup>93</sup> Stephan, *Hawaii Under the Rising Sun*, 2, 16-17.

Even on a 1994 trip to the United States, Japan's Emperor Akihito still considered the *nisei* his subjects. He thanked the people of Colorado for their "acts of thoughtfulness and kindness...extended to Japanese and Japanese-Americans at the time of difficulty in the past"—i.e., concentration camps during World War II. "Akihito Thanks Colorado Citizens for Treatment of War Internees," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 20 June 1994.

<sup>94</sup> Russia is another example of an imperialist nation that did not recognize the new citizenship status of its former citizens. Unlike Japan, St. Petersburg's policy did not apply to all of its emigrants, but only to those who fled Russia because of religious persecution. Thus, when former Russian citizens returned to their homeland to visit, St. Petersburg still regarded them as Russian subjects and rejected their new American citizenship status. This Russian policy added to the existing tensions between the United States and Russia. Williams, *American Russian Relations*, 26-27.

<sup>95</sup> George W. Baer, *One Hundred Years of Sea Power: the U.S. Navy, 1890-1990* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 44, 51-54 and Iriye, *Pacific Estrangement*, 163.

<sup>96</sup> For an analysis of the treaty, see Jonathan K. Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 166-173, and Walter LaFeber, *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860-1898* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1963), 35.

For the 1876 Reciprocity Treaty in its entirety, see The United States of America, "Convention Between the United States of America and His Majesty the King of the Hawaiian Islands, Commercial Treaty," in U.S. Congress, House, *Executive Documents of the House of Representatives for the Third Session of the Fifty-Third Congress, 1894-95*, 164-167. It was also reprinted in Thos. G. Thrum, comp., *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1877* (Honolulu: Thrum and Oat, 1876), 12-17.

<sup>97</sup> See, Report on May 8, 1873, from Major-General U.S. Army J. M. Schofield and (Lieutenant-Colonel Engineers) Brevet Brigadier-General U.S. Army B.S. Alexander to U.S. Secretary of State William W. Belknap in U.S. Congress, House, *Executive Documents of the House of Representatives for the Third Session of the Fifty-Third Congress, 1894-95*, 154-158, and Brian McAllister Linn, *Guardians of Empire: The U.S. Army and the Pacific, 1902-1940* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 6-7.

<sup>98</sup> Trask, *From a Native Daughter*, 11-12. For details on the Bayonet Constitution, see Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 238-249. For details on the Pearl Harbor issue, see Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, vol. 3, 381-400.

For the complete text of the Bayonet Constitution, see the Hawaiian Constitution of 1887, Constitution of the Hawaiian Islands, signed by His Majesty Kalākaua, July 6, and promulgated July 7, 1887, in U.S. Congress, House, *The Executive Documents of the House of Representatives for the*

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*Third Session of the Fifty-Third Congress, 1894-95: Affairs in Hawaii* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1895), 246-255. It is also reprinted in Thos. G. Thrum, comp., "Constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom: Subscribed and Sworn to by His Majesty Kalākaua I, King of the Hawaiian Islands, July 6<sup>th</sup>, A.D. 1887," *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1888* (Honolulu: Press Publishing Co., 1887), 33-43.

<sup>99</sup> The conversation was recounted in Armstrong's journal. Armstrong did not disclose what he said to one particular Japanese statesman, but recorded the statesman's response: "...then the natives of your kingdom are under foreign rule.' I replied, 'Substantially they are, but the Polynesian monarchy will be preserved by the Anglo-Saxons so long as it does not violate their sentiments of justice and order. We who are born in the kingdom are loyal to the throne.'" While Armstrong's last sentence is double talk, his journal makes it clear that he did not respect the King, the Native people, and their right to self-government. William N. Armstrong, *Around the World with a King* (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1995), 54-55.

<sup>100</sup> See Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*, 51, and Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 146-147.

<sup>101</sup> Churchill, *Struggle for the Land*, 48-50.

<sup>102</sup> U.S. Congress, Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, 1920, Act of July 9, 1921, c 42, 42 Stat 108; reprinted in State of Hawaii, *Hawaii Revised Statutes*, Vol. 1, 1993 Replacement (Honolulu: State of Hawaii, n.d.), 191-233.

<sup>103</sup> LaFeber and Polenberg, *American Century*, 23.

<sup>104</sup> Elihu Root, *The Military and Colonial Policy of the United States*, ed. Robert Bacon and James Brown Scott (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1916), 61.

<sup>105</sup> Slavinskii, "Russia and the Pacific to 1917," 45-46.

<sup>106</sup> See LaFeber, *New Empire*, 141; Sylvester K. Stevens, *American Expansion in Hawaii, 1842-1898* (Harrisburg: Archives Publishing Company of Pennsylvania, Inc., 1945), 208-210; and, *An Act of War: The Overthrow of the Hawaiian Nation*, prod. Nā Maka o ka 'Āina in association with the Center for Hawaiian Studies, University of Hawai'i, Mānoa and dir. Puhipau and Joan Landers, 57 min., Nā Maka o ka 'Āina, 1993, videocassette.

<sup>107</sup> LaFeber, *New Empire*, 144.

<sup>108</sup> The Committee of Thirteen was composed of five Americans—Henry E. Cooper, F. W. McChesney, Theo. F. Lansing, John Emmeluth, J.A. McCandless; one German—Ed. Suhr; one Scotsman—A. Brown; and six settlers who were either naturalized citizens of the Kingdom or descendants of foreign citizens—W.C. Wilder (American), W. O. Smith (American), Lorrin A. Thurston (American), W.R. Castle (American), C. Bolte (German), and Henry Waterhouse (Australian). See report of Special Commissioner James H. Blount to Secretary of State Walter Quentin Gresham reproduced in U.S. Congress, House, *Executive Documents of the House of Representatives for the Third Session of the Fifty-Third Congress, 1894-95*, 587-588.

<sup>109</sup> Stevens, *American Expansion in Hawaii*, 222-224.

<sup>110</sup> Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, vol. 3, 292.

<sup>111</sup> For Trask's analysis of this period including Cleveland's speech, see Trask, *From a Native Daughter*, 11-16.

For Cleveland's complete speech, see U.S. President Grover Cleveland, "President's Message Relating to the Hawaiian Islands, December 18, 1893," reproduced in U.S. Congress, House, *Executive Documents of the House of Representatives for the Third Session of the Fifty-Third Congress, 1894-95*, 445-458.

<sup>112</sup> U.S. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, "The Philippine Islands, a Speech before the United States Senate, March 7, 1900," in *American Imperialism in 1898: Problems in American Civilization*, ed. Theodore P. Greene (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1955), 71-72.

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<sup>113</sup> Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism*, 64-65, and Arnold Xiangze Jiang, "U.S. Economic expansion and the Defense of Imperialism at China's Expense," in *Major Problems in American Foreign Relations*, vol. 1, ed. Merrill and Paterson, 441.

<sup>114</sup> Charles S. Campbell, Jr., *Special Business Interests and the Open Door Policy* (1951; reprint, n.p.: Archon Books, 1968), 11.

<sup>115</sup> See Michael H. Hunt, "The Open Door Constituency's Pressure for U.S. Activism," in *Major Problems in American Foreign Relations*, vol. 1, ed. Merrill and Paterson, 432, and Jiang, "U.S. Economic Expansion and the Defense of Imperialism at China's Expense," in *Major Problems in American Foreign Relations*, vol. 1, ed. Merrill and Paterson, 440.

<sup>116</sup> For details on the American Asiatic Association, see Campbell, *Special Business Interests and the Open Door Policy*, 21-22, 30-31, 41-44.

For details on the Open Door Notes from the Chinese perspective, see Arnold Xiangze Jiang, *The United States and China* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), Chapters 1, 2, and 3.

For more details on the business communities influence on America's war with Spain and America's "Open Door Notes," see LaFeber, *New Empire*, 370-406. Also see the article where he argues America entered into the war with Spain for economic reasons, Walter LaFeber, "Preserving the American System," in *Major Problems in American Foreign Relations*, vol. 1, ed. Merrill and Paterson, 357-365.

<sup>117</sup> See U.S. Secretary of State John Hay's two Open Door Notes reprinted in Merrill and Paterson, ed., *Major Problems in American Foreign Relations*, vol. 1, 423-426.

<sup>118</sup> Williams, *American Russian Relations*, 24-25.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 31-32.

<sup>120</sup> The Boxer Rebellion in 1900 was protested by Chinese peasants against the presence of foreigners and their investments in China. When the Qing government did not act swiftly, Washington sent William Rockhill, author of the first Open Door Notes and a member of the American Asiatic Association, to help suppress the rebellion. To ensure his success, American troops (191 Army officers and 4,809 enlisted men) accompanied Rockhill. See Jiang, *United States and China*, 27-31. While two sources give different American troop totals—191 Army officers and 4,809 enlisted men versus 6,300 soldiers—the important fact is that America sent its troops to China to protect its economic interests. For troop totals, see editors' notes, Root, *Military and Colonial Policy of the United States*, 333, and Stanley B. Weeks and Charles A. Meconis, *The Armed Forces of the USA in the Asia-Pacific Region* (London: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 1999), 9-10.

<sup>121</sup> Lenin, *Lenin on War and Peace*, 84.

<sup>122</sup> U.S. President William McKinley signed the Newlands Joint on July 7, 1898 and Hawai'i was annexed a month later. See Public Law 103-150, 103d Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> sess. (23 November 1993), 1510-1514, and Roger Bell, *Last Among Equals: Hawaiian Statehood and American Politics* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984), 30-37.

<sup>123</sup> There are many books about the 1890s debate on American expansionism. Some contemporary texts have reprinted the original written arguments, such as Mahan's article, which linked American national security to the necessity of annexing Hawai'i. See Richard E. Welch, Jr., ed., *Imperialists vs Anti-Imperialists: The Debate Over Expansionism in the 1890s* (Itasca, Illinois: F.E. Peacock Publishers, Inc., 1972), Richard H. Miller, ed., *American Imperialism in 1898: The Quest For National Fulfillment* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1970), and Lorrin A. Thurston, *A Hand-Book on the Annexation of Hawaii* (St. Joseph, Michigan: A.B. Morse Company, 1897).

<sup>124</sup> See Noenoe K. Silva, "Ke Kū'ē Kūpa'a Loa Nei Mākou: Kanaka Maoli Resistance to Colonization" (Ph.D. diss., University of Hawai'i, 1999), 184-201.

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<sup>125</sup> Gerson, "The Sun Never Sets," in *The Sun Never Sets: Confronting the Network of Foreign U.S. Military Bases*, edited by Joseph Gerson and Bruce Birchard (Boston: South End Press, 1991). 6.

<sup>126</sup> Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*, 40.

<sup>127</sup> The U.S. military does not make a distinction between the terms "base, installation, and facilities." Gerson, "The Sun Never Sets," 6.

For the military base information see, William R. Evinger, ed., *Directory of Military Bases in the U.S.* (Phoenix, Arizona: Oryx Press, 1991), 55-60.

In 1992, the U.S. Department of Defense (DoD) held a workshop in Honolulu to woo community support for its "stewardship of significant natural and cultural resources." In her speech, Phyllis Fox (President of Historic Hawai'i Foundation) summarized all the DoD land holdings after annexation. Interestingly, Fox stated that the Crown lands (lands of the monarchy) and government lands were placed under the U.S. War Department (a sign that the islands were considered a military colony). Volunteer troops arrived within a month of annexation and the regular army several months later, in April 1899, to survey lands for the construction of military installations. See Phyllis G. Fox's speech "Past History, Future Pride" reproduced in CEHP Incorporated, "Military Heritage in the Pacific: Report on the Pacific Regional Workshop/United States Department of Defense *Legacy Resource Management Program*," prepared by CEHP Inc. in cooperation with National Conference of the State Historical Preservation Officers, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, November 1992 (Washington, D.C.: CEHP Inc., 1992).

For acreage of O'ahu island, see University of Hawai'i, Department of Geography, *Atlas of Hawaii*, 2d ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983), 152.

The population of O'ahu island is approximately 80% of the total archipelago population of 1,108,229. See the 1990 U.S. Census in The State of Hawai'i, "Table 1.05—Resident Population of Islands: 1950-1990," in *Data Book 1997: a Statistical Abstract* (Honolulu: State of Hawai'i, Department of Business, Economic Development and Tourism, 1998), 16.

<sup>128</sup> Gerson, "The Sun Never Sets," 17-21.

<sup>129</sup> For an Okinawan perspective, see Kiyoshi Nakachi, *Ryukyu-U.S.-Japan Relations, 1945-1972* (n.p.: Abiva Publishing House, 1989), 78. Also see Tim Shorrock, "Okinawa and the U.S. Military in Northeast Asia," *Foreign Policy in Focus* 5, no. 22 (July 2000), <[www.foreignpolicy-infocus.org](http://www.foreignpolicy-infocus.org)> (1 September 2000); Chalmers A. Johnson, "Okinawa: Asia's Last Colony," *Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2000), 34-64; and "Okinawan Anger Near 'Eruption' Over Base," *The Honolulu Advertiser*, 4 August 2001.

<sup>130</sup> See Mark R. Peattie, *Nan'yō: The Rise and Fall of the Japanese in Micronesia, 1885-1945* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988), 257; C.T. Sandars, *America's Overseas Garrisons: The Leasehold Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 34; and David Robie, *Blood on Their Banner: Nationalist Struggles in the South Pacific* (Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: Zed Books, Ltd., 1989), 142-143. For information on the American "island hopping" strategy, see Peter Hayes, Lyuba Zarsky, and Walden Bello, *American Lake: Nuclear Peril in the Pacific* (Victoria, Australia: Penguin Books, Australia, 1986), 16-18, and for details on Okinawan deaths, see Nakachi, *Ryukyu-U.S.-Japan Relations*, 23-26.

<sup>131</sup> In its efforts to move colonies toward self-determination, the UN placed occupied nations into two categories, based on the colonizers' political positions during World War II. Colonies under the allied countries were placed in the category of Non-Self-Governing nations. Hawai'i was listed here. Colonies under the axis powers or under the guidance of the League of Nations were placed in the category of the Strategic Trust Territories. Micronesia, a former Japanese colony, was listed here. Thus under the UN Charter's Chapter XII "International Trusteeship System," Micronesia became a Trust Territory under the guardianship of the United States. United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations* (1945); portions of the *Charter* including Chapter XII, "International Trusteeship System" are reprinted in Lillich and Hannum, *International Human Rights*, 1-12.

Under the UN strategic trust, the United States was obligated as a trustee to move the Micronesian peoples toward self-government, economic advancement and self-sufficiency, encourage development of fisheries, agriculture, etc. Although the trust allowed the U.S. government to establish military operations on the islands, it did not grant it permission to use the Micronesian islands as nuclear bombing sites. Nevertheless, the United States went ahead

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and tested radioactive bombs on the islands, which are still contaminated. UN Security Council, *Trusteeship of Strategic Areas*, Security Council Resolution 21, S/318, April 2, 1947.

<sup>132</sup> Robie, *Blood on Their Banner*, 143, and Stewart Firth, *Nuclear Playground* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987), 14-26.

<sup>133</sup> In 2003, the United States stopped medical aid to Pacific Islanders while generously funding the military's bombing of Afghanistan and Iraq. Prior to 2003, the U.S. government balked at dispensing its meager medical aid to the Micronesians, who were suffering from radioactive fallout from American military testing of nuclear bombs in the 1940s and 1950s. Giff Johnson, "Marshal Test Victims Say U.S. Turning Its Back," *Marianas Variety*, 27 February 2004. Also see the testimonies in House Committee on Resources, *The Status of Nuclear Claims, Relocation, and Resettlement Efforts in the Marshall Islands: Hearings Before the Committee on Resources*, 106<sup>th</sup> Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> sess., 11 May 1999, and Holly M. Barker and Barbara Rose Johnson, "Seeking Compensation for Radiation Survivors in the Marshall Islands: the Contribution of Anthropology," *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 24, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 48-50.

<sup>134</sup> Firth, *Nuclear Playground*, 36-37; photos between 84-85.

<sup>135</sup> For Admiral Blair's January 22, 2001 speech at the annual AFCEA-Naval Institute symposium, San Diego, California is reproduced in a Naval on-line journal, see Admiral Dennis C. Blair, "Change Is Possible & Imperative," *Naval Institute Proceedings Magazine* 127/5/1,179, (May 2001), <<http://www.usni.org/Proceedings/Articles01/PROblair5.htm>> (26 June 2001).

<sup>136</sup> United States, Department of Defense, *The Hawaii Military Land Use: Master Plan* (July 1995), A-2.

<sup>137</sup> For military lands, see Department of Defense, *Hawaii Military Land Use*, I-A-1. For total acreage on all the islands, see State of Hawaii, "Table 5.08—Land Area of Islands: 1990," *Data Book 1997*, 138.

<sup>138</sup> Department of Defense, *Hawaii Military Land Use*, 1.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, B-2.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, A-1, A-3.

<sup>141</sup> For JCS Chairman Shelton's speech given in Beijing, see General Henry H. Shelton, "Remarks to PLA National Defense University," 3 November 2000, <[http://www.dtic.mil/jcs/chairman/CJCS\\_PLA.htm](http://www.dtic.mil/jcs/chairman/CJCS_PLA.htm)> (26 June 2001).

For USCINCPAC Admiral Blair's comment, see Admiral Dennis C. Blair, "Transcript of Media Roundtable," 18 May 2001, <<http://www.pacom.mil/speeches/sst2001/010518blairsingapore.htm>> (2 July 2001). For deeper analysis on the downing of the spy plane, see Glenn Petersen, "Routine Provocation and Denial from the Tonkin Gulf and Hainan to Kyoto and the Pacific Islands," in *Security In Oceania in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, ed. Eric Shibuya and Jim Rolfe (Honolulu: Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, 2003), 193-218, especially 200-205.

<sup>142</sup> See "Decrease to THREATCON alpha false" and "Perpetrators apprehended, threat continues," *Kukini Express*, vol. 3 (March 9, 1999); "Hickam people asked to report suspicious people, vehicles," and "Threat continues for demonstrators," *Kukini Express*, vol. 4 (March 10, 1999); Colonel, USAF Ann M. Testa to OHA Trustee Mililani Trask, March 22, 1999, letter; and Pat Omandam, "Hickam Apologizes for Reference to Hawaiians in Terror Exercise," *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, 24 March 1999.

<sup>143</sup> Although the military's antiterrorism report is based on the USS *Cole* incident, in which a bomb blasted a hole in a military ship docked in Aden harbor, Yemen, it is important to remember that prior to 9-11, the military was preparing itself (undergoing "readiness") against terrorism all over the globe. See the JCS website, General Henry H. Shelton, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, "Statement Before the 107<sup>th</sup> Congress, Senate Armed Services Committee,"

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May 3, 2001, <[http://www.dtic.mil/jcs/chairman/3MAY01\\_SASC-CJCS.htm](http://www.dtic.mil/jcs/chairman/3MAY01_SASC-CJCS.htm)> accessed on 26 June 2001.

<sup>144</sup> Bello statement was made at a lecture in Honolulu in preparation for the upcoming ADB summit in the islands. Walden Bello, evening lecture, Campus Center Ballroom, University of Hawai'i Mānoa campus, January 17, 2001. Also see op-ed piece by Grainne Ryder, "ADB Accused of Reckless Development," *The Honolulu Advertiser*, 6 May 2001.

<sup>145</sup> Stephan, *Hawaii Under the Rising Sun*, 14-15.

<sup>146</sup> See excerpts of Foreign Minister Matsuoka's speech on August 1, 1940 reproduced in Yōsuke Matsuoka, "Proclamation of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere," in *Japan's Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere in World War II, Selected Readings and Documents*, ed. and introduction by Joyce C. Lebra (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1975), 71-72.

<sup>147</sup> See Professor Kamikawa's article reproduced within Hikomatsu Kamikawa, "Japan's Monroe Doctrine," in *Japan's Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere in World War II*, 25-30.

<sup>148</sup> Akira Iriye, *Across the Pacific: An Inner History of American-East Asian Relations*, rev. ed. (1967; reprint, Chicago: Imprint Publications, Inc., 1992), 210-211.

<sup>149</sup> Not all the colonies such as Korea and Taiwan were put under the Greater East Asia's administration. Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism*, 236-238 and Stephan, *Hawaii Under the Rising Sun*, 148.

<sup>150</sup> Iriye, *Across the Pacific*, 175-176.

<sup>151</sup> Stephan, *Hawaii Under the Rising Sun*, 79-80; 136-137.

Japan's "Draft Outline" was not an unusual activity for an imperialist nation; the United States had its own mapping of the world. Unlike Japan's plans for regional hegemony, the United States' plans were global—to be the "international police force." In 1942-1943, the temporary wartime Joint Chiefs of Staff (later formalized in the National Security Act of 1947) produced the JCS 570/2 report, known as "The Base Bible," which divided the world into three areas—green-bordered, blue-ringed, and black-bordered nations—depending upon the countries' relationship to the United States. For more details on the Base Bible, see Hayes, Zarsky, and Bello, *American Lake*, 19-21.

<sup>152</sup> Stephan, *Hawaii Under the Rising Sun*, 152-155.

<sup>153</sup> This birthday celebration honored the first Emperor, Jimmu. One will recall Aziz's argument that the Japanese notion of imperialism began with Jimmu, who received the divine order that Japan was to rule other peoples. Also see, Stephan, *Hawaii Under the Rising Sun*, 48-54.

<sup>154</sup> For the population statistics in Manchuria, see John J. Stephan, "Hijacked by Utopia: American Nikkei in Manchuria," *Amerasia* 23, no. 3 (1997), 2.

For Micronesian figures, see Mark R. Peattie, *Nan'yō*, 160; Mark R. Peattie, "The Nan'yō: Japan in the South Pacific, 1885-1945," in *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945*, ed. Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 197; and Ching-chih Chen, "Police and Community Control Systems in the Empire," in *Japanese Colonial Empire*, 220.

<sup>155</sup> Schmitt, *Historical Statistics of Hawaii*, 25.

<sup>156</sup> U.S. President Dwight Eisenhower, State of the Union Address, 1954; reproduced in Robert L. Branyan and Lawrence H. Larsen, ed., *The Eisenhower Administration, 1953-1961: A Documentary History*, vol. 1 (New York: Random House, 1971), 216-229.

<sup>157</sup> Truman's speech before a joint session of the U.S. Congress is known as the Truman Doctrine. It was the first public enunciation of America's Cold War policy where the world was divided between communists and capitalists. U.S. President Harry S. Truman, speech before the U.S. Congress, March 12, 1947; reproduced in Howard B. Furer, ed., *Harry S. Truman, 1884 -*

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:*Chronology-Documents-Bibliographical Aids* (Dobbs Ferry, New York: Oceana Publications, Inc., 1970), 76-79.

<sup>158</sup> Saul Landau, *The Dangerous Doctrine: National Security and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1988), xiii.

<sup>159</sup> Noam Chomsky, *Rogue States: The Rule of Force in World Affairs* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: South End Press, 2000), 1-2.

<sup>160</sup> Landau, *Dangerous Doctrine*, 47.

<sup>161</sup> The core members of the National Security Council are the President, Vice President, Secretary of State, and Secretary of Defense with advisory members composed of the heads of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the CIA. The 1947 National Security Act also gave the Secretary of Defense great powers as the armed forces were re-organized under his watch. The 1986 Goldwater-Nichols Department of Defense Reorganization Act refined and clarified the chain of command for the unified commands. For operational orders, the flow begins from the President, to the Secretary of Defense, and finally to the CINCs. For administrative orders, the flow begins from the President, to the Secretary of Defense, to the JCS, and finally to the CINCs. See Amy B. Zegart, *Flawed By Design: The Evolution of the CIA, JCS, and NSC* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 28-40 and Stanley B. Weeks and Charles A. Meconis, *Armed Forces of the USA*, 65-72.

<sup>162</sup> Marcus G. Raskin, *The Politics of National Security* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1979), 32-34.

<sup>163</sup> For the nuclearization of Hawai'i, see Jim Albertini, Nelson Foster, Wally Inglis, and Gil Roeder, *The Dark Side of Paradise: Hawaii in a Nuclear World* (Honolulu: Catholic Action of Hawaii/Peace Education Project, 1980). For nuclearization of the Pacific, see Hayes, Zarsky, and Bello, *American Lake*, 75-98.

The military has desecrated and continues to desecrate historic and sacred sites in the islands, such as Pearl Harbor, Kaho'olawe Island, and Mākua Valley. For pollution generated by the military, see a report by Aimee Houghton and Lenny Siegel, *Military Contamination and Cleanup Atlas for the United States—1995* (San Francisco: the Pacific Studies Center and CAREER/PRO, 1995), 51-54. For an environmental article on Pearl Harbor, see Pat Tummons, "Bay of Infamy: Fifty Years After the Japanese Attack, Military Pollution is the biggest Threat to Pearl Harbor," *Honolulu Weekly*, 4 December 1991.

Although bombing stopped on Kaho'olawe in 1990 and the Navy has received approximately \$220 million annually to clean up the island, Kaho'olawe is still unsafe. See, State of Hawai'i, Kaho'olawe Island Reserve Commission's (KIRC) annual report, "Fiscal year 2001 Budget" and Julia Steel and Rowland Reeve, "Kaho'olawe: Bombs Away? Is Kaho'olawe Really Safe?" *Honolulu Weekly*, 31, July 1991.

For Mākua, see Steven Lee Myers, "Army Faces Fierce Fight on Historic Hawaii Valley," *The New York Times*, 1 April 2001; William J. Aila Jr., "Full Impact Study Right Thing To Do," *The Honolulu Advertiser*, 20 May 2001; and Mike Gordon, "Army to Resume Mākua Training," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 4 October 2001.

<sup>164</sup> Both documents are reproduced along with other important papers in Etzold's and Gaddis' excellent book, *Containment*. See George F. Kennan, "Moscow Embassy Telegram #511: 'The Long Telegram'" and "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," in *Containment: Documents on American Policy and Strategy, 1945-1950*, ed. Thomas H. Etzold and John Lewis Gaddis (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 50-63, 84-90.

<sup>165</sup> Landau, *Dangerous Doctrine*, 37-41.

<sup>166</sup> See both National Security papers reproduced in *Containment*. NSC 48/1: "The Position of the United States with Respect to Asia, December 23, 1949" and NSC 48/2: "The Position of the United States with Respect to Asia, December 30, 1949," in *Containment*, 253, 263, 252-276.

Also see, NSC 49: "Strategic Evaluation of United States Security Needs in Japan" and NSC 49/1: "Department of State Comments on NSC 49," in *Containment*, 230-233, 233-236.



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<sup>167</sup> Hayes writes a short, but very good summary of Kennan's policies versus Nitze's on pages 6-9. Peter Hayes, *Pacific Powderkeg: American Nuclear Dilemmas in Korea* (Lexington, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1999), 8.

<sup>168</sup> Economics was a convincing factor in selling Eisenhower's New Look to the American public—nuclear weapons were “cost effective” and cheaper than having U.S. armed forces in a region. (Of course, nuclear weapons did not stop the United States from committing troops to other places around the globe.)

For the reproduction of Secretary of State Dulles' original speech on deterrence and massive retaliation on January 25, 1954 in *Department of State Bulletin*, see John Forest Dulles, “The Evolution of Foreign Policy,” *The Development of American Strategic Thought, 1945-1969*, ed. Marc Trachtenberg (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1988), 279-284. Also see “Chapter 3: New Look at the Nuclear Brink” in Hayes, Zarsky, and Bello, *American Lake*, 49-62.

<sup>169</sup> U.S. President Dwight Eisenhower, State of the Union Address, 1954; reproduced in Branyan and Larsen, *Eisenhower Administration*, 216-229.

For Japan's geopolitical importance to the United States, see Joseph Gerson, “Japan: Keystone of the Pacific,” in *Sun Never Sets*, 167-196, and see Hayes, Zarsky, and Bello, *American Lake*, 41-45.

<sup>170</sup> After successfully using the threat of nuclear war in Korea, Washington wanted to use the same strategy in Vietnam. However, the French refused to go along with Operation Vulture, much to Eisenhower's disappointment. See, Joseph Gerson, *With Hiroshima Eyes: Atomic War, Nuclear Extortion and Moral Imagination* (Philadelphia: New Society Publishers in cooperation with American Friends Service Committee, 1995), 96-98, and Walter LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War, 1945-1996*, eight ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1997), 159-166.

<sup>171</sup> According to NSC 48/1 (December 23, 1949), the United States wanted to lessen Japan's reliance on its historical trading partner, China who had become a Communist country. Southeast Asia was a “natural” place to develop an alternate markets for Japan. See, United States, National Security Council paper NSC 48/1: “the Position of the United States with Respect to Asia, December 23, 1949,” in *Containment*, 252-269, specifically 263 and 268-269; Hayes, Zarsky, and Bello, *American Lake*, 42; and Kent, *Hawaii*, 100-101.

<sup>172</sup> For the domino theory, see Gerson, *With Hiroshima Eyes*, 97, 110, and LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War*, 161.

<sup>173</sup> National Security Council, NSC 5602/1: “The Basic National Security Policy,” in *Development of American Strategic Thought*, 136.

<sup>174</sup> United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations* (1945); portions of the *Charter* including Chapter XI, “Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories” are reprinted in Lillich and Hannum, *International Human Rights*, 1-12.

For the initial lists of non-self-governing nations plus the member states as in agreement to Article 73e of the UN Charter, see UN General Assembly, *Transmission of Information Under Article 73e of the Charter*, Resolution 66 (I), 14 December 1946.

<sup>175</sup> Although these annual reports were written in boring and bureaucratic language, the imperialistic intent of the American empire could not be hidden. For example, Washington repeatedly assured the UN that America would not violate the rights of those living in Territorial Hawai'i because they were protected under the U.S. Constitution. However, as Trask insightfully points out, the human rights of Native peoples are not protected under this settler document. Moreover, the reason Hawai'i was even listed at the UN as a non-self-governing nation in the first place was because the United States was violating Native Hawaiians' rights to self-determination.

For the annual reports on Hawai'i, see United Nations, *Non-Self-Governing Territories, Summaries and Analysis of Information Transmitted to the Secretary-General During 1947* (Lake Success, New York: United Nations Publications, 1948), 419-427; United Nations, *Non-Self-Governing Territories, Summaries and Analysis of Information Transmitted to the Secretary-General During 1948* (Lake Success, New York: United Nations Publications, 1949), 458-464; United Nations, *Non-Self-Governing Territories, Summaries and Analysis of Information Transmitted to the*

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*Secretary-General During 1949, Volume II* (Lake Success, New York: United Nations Publications, 1950), 629-645; United Nations, *Non-Self-Governing Territories, Summaries and Analysis of Information Transmitted to the Secretary-General During 1950, Volume II* (New York: United Nations Publications, 1951), 328-332; United Nations, *Non-Self-Governing Territories, Summaries and Analysis of Information Transmitted to the Secretary-General During 1951, Volume II* (New York: United Nations Publications, 1952), 352-359; United Nations, *Non-Self-Governing Territories, Summaries and Analysis of Information Transmitted to the Secretary-General During 1952, Volume II* (New York: United Nations Publication, 1953), 687-701; United Nations, *Non-Self-Governing Territories, Summaries and Analysis of Information Transmitted to the Secretary-General During 1953* (New York: United Nations Publication, 1954), 244-247; United Nations, *Non-Self-Governing Territories, Summaries and Analysis of Information Transmitted to the Secretary-General During 1954* (New York: United Nations Publication, 1955), 238-241; United Nations, *Non-Self-Governing Territories, Summaries and Analysis of Information Transmitted to the Secretary-General During 1955* (New York: United Nations Publication, 1957), 462-466; United Nations, *Non-Self-Governing Territories, Summaries and Analysis of Information Transmitted to the Secretary-General For 1956 and 1956/57: Pacific Territories* (New York: United Nations Publication, 1958), 49-57; United Nations, *Non-Self-Governing Territories, Summaries and Analysis of Information Transmitted to the Secretary-General for 1958: Pacific Territories* (New York: United Nations Publication, 1960), 39-45; and United Nations, *Non-Self-Governing Territories, Summaries and Analysis of Information Transmitted to the Secretary-General for 1959: Pacific Territories* (New York: United Nations Publication, 1961), 1-8.

Also see the expanded 1959 summary, UN General Assembly, Fourteenth Session, *Information From Non-Self-Governing Territories: summary and analysis of Information Transmitted Under Article 73 e of the Charter, Report of the Secretary-General: Pacific Territories – Hawaii*, A/4088/Add.5, March 6, 1959.

<sup>176</sup> In *The Last Among Equals*, Roger Bell explained that every year since 1919 statehood bills were introduced into the U.S. Congress. Below are citations for some of the U.S. Congressional hearings that were held in 1937, 1946, 1948, 1953, 1954, and 1957. For a complete listing see Bell's "Selected Bibliography." Not surprising, the majority of testimonies from settlers (*haole* or Asian) supported statehood, while most testimonies from Native Hawaiians were against it. See Joint Committee on Hawaii, *Statehood for Hawaii: Hearing on S. Con. Res. 18, 75<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2d sess., 1937*; House Subcommittee of the Committee on the Territories, *Statehood for Hawaii: Hearings on H.R. 236, 79<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2d sess., 1946*; Senate Subcommittee on Territories and Insular Affairs of the Committee on Public Lands, *Statehood for Hawaii: Hearings on H.R. 49 and S. 114, 80<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2d sess., 1948*; Senate Subcommittee on Territories and Insular Affairs of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, *Statehood for Hawaii: Hearings on S. 49 and S. 51, 83d Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> sess., 1953*; and Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, *Statehood for Hawaii: Hearings on S. 50 and S. 36, 85<sup>th</sup> Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> sess., 1957*. For Bell's comments, Bell, *Last Among Equals*, 4.

<sup>177</sup> Actually twenty-six nations voted in favor of this resolution, while sixteen voted against and eighteen abstained. However, combining the negative and abstention votes added up to most nations being against Resolution 742 (VIII). See, UN General Assembly, *Factors Which Should Be Taken Into Account in Deciding Whether a Territory Is or Is Not a Territory Whose People Have Not Yet Attained a Full Measure of Self-government*, General Assembly resolution 742 (VIII), 27 November 1953. Also see United Nations, *Yearbook of the United Nations, 1953* (New York: United Nations, 1954), 521.

To clarify the political terminology in 742 (VIII), the phrase used for independence is the "Factors Indicative of the Attainment of Independence." The terminology used for the compact of free association is "Factors Indicative of the Attainment of other Separate Systems of Self-Government." Finally, the phrase used for statehood is "Factors Indicative of the Free Association of a Territory on Equal Basis with the Metropolitan or Other Country as an integral Part of That Country or in any Other Form."

<sup>178</sup> For the general overview of the discussion, see United Nations, *Yearbook of the United Nations, 1953*, 520-529. For the various discussion in the Fourth Committee meetings, see UN General Assembly, Fourth Committee, Eighth Session, Official Records, A/C.4/SR.322 to A/C.4/SR.331, 1-12 October 1953, in pursuance of UN General Assembly resolution 742 (VIII), 1953. And see, UN General Assembly, Fourth Committee, Eighth Session, Official Records, A/PV.459, 27 November 1953, in pursuance of UN General Assembly resolution 742 (VIII), 1953.

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<sup>179</sup> Although Mr. V.K. Krishna Menon was India's representative to the UN from 1952 to 1960, the minutes to the committee meetings identified a "Mrs. Menon" as participating in the discussions for India. See Mrs. Menon's comments at the 459<sup>th</sup> plenary meeting in paragraph 177 on page 321 in UN General Assembly, Plenary Meeting, Eighth Session, Official Records, A/PV.459, 27 November 1953, in pursuance of UN General Assembly resolution 742 (VIII), 1953.

<sup>180</sup> In 1952, the United States was a member of the Ad Hoc committee to review existing governing options for the colonies. From this committee, resolution 742 (VIII) was created, which favored the coloniser. It is interesting that out of ten committee members (five Administering nations and five non-Administering ones), only two nations voted in favor of this resolution in the General Assembly—the United States and Cuba (under Fulgencio Batista's government). United Nations, *Yearbook of the United Nations*, 1953 (New York: United Nations, 1954), 520, and see UN General Assembly, Plenary Meeting, Eighth Session, Official Records, A/PV.459, 27 November 1953, in pursuance of UN General Assembly resolution 742 (VIII), 1953.

<sup>181</sup> UN Secretariat, Department of Political Affairs, Trusteeship and Decolonization, "Twenty-five Years of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples," *Decolonization* 26 (December 1985), 6, and UN General Assembly, Plenary Meeting, Fifteenth Session, Official Records, A/PV.928, 30 November 1960, in pursuance of UN General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), 1960.

<sup>182</sup> USPACOM's mission as stated on their homepage is "Ready today and preparing for tomorrow, the U.S. Pacific Command enhances security and promotes peaceful development in the Asia-Pacific region by deterring aggression, responding to crises and fighting to win." This mission statement is located under the heading "United States Pacific Command Facts," <<http://www.pacom.mil/about/pacom.htm>> (23 June 2001). A variation of this statement is printed in United States Pacific Command, *Hawaii Military Installations and Training Areas*, 1998 (Honolulu: Public Affairs Office, Headquarters, United States Pacific Command, 1998), 15.

<sup>183</sup> Baer, *One Hundred Years of Sea Power*, 367-370, and Weeks and Meconis, *Armed Forces of the USA in the Asia-Pacific Region*, 74-79.

<sup>184</sup> Hayes, Zarsky, and Bello, *American Lake*, 59-60.

<sup>185</sup> For the complete report Washington submitted to the UN, see UN General Assembly, Fourteenth Session, *Cessation of the Transmission of Information Under Article 73 e of the Charter: Communication From the Government of the United States of America*, document A/4226, 24 September 1959. Also see the acceptance resolution of Hawai'i and Alaska as states of America, UN General Assembly, *Cessation of the Transmission of Information Under Article 73e of the Charter in Respect of Alaska and Hawaii*, General Assembly resolution 1469 (XIV), 12 December 1959.

<sup>186</sup> UN General Assembly, *Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples*, General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), December 14, 1960 and UN General Assembly, Plenary Meeting, Fifteenth Session, *Principles which should Guide Members in Determining whether or not an Obligation Exists to Transmit the Information Called for Under Article 73 e of the Charter*, General Resolution 1541 (XV), 15 December 1960.

My first clue that Washington rushed the statehood vote in order to avoid resolution 1514 (XV) came from a personal conversation in October 1999 with Native Hawaiian attorney Mililani Trask, who has represented the rights of Native Hawaiians and other indigenous peoples in the international arena for many years.

<sup>187</sup> See Mr. Alemayehou's (Ethiopia) specific statements in paragraphs 9 to 36 on pages 1019 to 1022 in UN General Assembly, Plenary Meeting, Fifteenth Session, Official Records, A/PV.928, 30 November 1960, in pursuance of UN General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), 1960.

See Mr. Roa's (Cuba) comments in paragraphs 108 to 119 on pages 1170 to 1171 in UN General Assembly, Plenary Meeting, Fifteenth Session, Official Records, A/PV.937, 6 December 1960, in pursuance of UN General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), 1960.

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<sup>188</sup> See Mr. Khrushchev's (USSR) statements in paragraphs 4 to 25 on pages 671 to 673 in UN General Assembly, Plenary Meeting, Fifteenth Session, Official Records, A/PV.902, 12 October 1960, in pursuance of UN General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), 1960.

<sup>189</sup> See Mr. Wadsworth's (United States) remarks in paragraphs 8 – 35 on pages 1157 to 1161 in UN General Assembly, Plenary Meeting, Fifteenth Session, Official Records, A/PV.937, 6 December 1960, in pursuance of UN General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), 1960.

<sup>190</sup> See discussion on state wardship for Native Hawaiians' in Ka Lāhui Hawai'i's Master Plan. Ka Lāhui Hawai'i, "Ho'okupu a Ka Lāhui Hawai'i: The Master Plan 1995," in Trask, *From a Native Daughter*, 219.

## CHAPTER TWO

### SETTLER HEGEMONY: "IMPERIALIST PREDATORY PEACE"

In the colonies, the foreigner coming from another country imposed his rule by means of guns and machines. In defiance of his successful transplantation, in spite of his appropriation, the settler still remains a foreigner. It is neither the act of owning factories, nor estates, nor a bank balance which distinguishes the governing classes. The governing race is first and foremost those who come from elsewhere, those who are unlike the original inhabitants, "the others."

Frantz Fanon<sup>1</sup>

An imperialist war does not cease to be an imperialist war when charlatans or phrasemongers or petty-bourgeois philistines put forward sentimental "slogans"; it ceases to be such only when the *class* which is conducting the imperialist war, and which is bound to it by millions of economic threads (and sometimes ropes), is *overthrown* and is replaced at the helm of state by the really revolutionary class, the proletariat. There is no other way to *getting out of an imperialist war, or imperialist, predatory peace.*

V.I. Lenin<sup>2</sup>

#### American Predatory Culture

Every state is ethical in as much as one of its most important functions is to raise the great mass of the population to a particular cultural and moral level, a level (or type) which corresponds to the needs of the productive forces for development, and hence to the interests of the ruling classes.

Antonio Gramsci<sup>3</sup>

In the months following the September 11, 2001 World Trade Center (WTC) attack when two commercial jetliners ploughed into the New York City twin towers, the United States was unrelenting in its political and military attacks upon anti-imperialist Third World nations and movements. Rather than attributing the air strike to "blowback" (the CIA term for anti-American consequences of U.S. foreign policies and operations),<sup>4</sup> the George W. Bush administration and the U.S. corporate-controlled media misleadingly labeled all September 11<sup>th</sup> (9-11) incidents, including attacks on the Pentagon and White

House, "acts of global terrorism." By labeling the anti-imperialists "terrorists," Bush and others avoided any discussion about America's responsibility in provoking such reactions from the Third World. Instead, Bush used the settler ideology of the United States as a great democratic nation when he pronounced "America was targeted for attack [on 9-11] because we're the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world."<sup>5</sup>

Within a month, the U.S. military began bombing Afghanistan even though no evidence directly linked the Afghan government to the attacks on New York City and Washington D.C. The American settler citizenry never questioned whether U.S. foreign policies or the multinational corporate exploitation of Third World countries were responsible for the 9-11 bombings. Rather, they enthusiastically rallied around Bush's "war on terrorism" policies, including America's unilateral military policy to seek and exterminate "terrorists" and their "global network." It would appear that being a "predator" is a way of life in the United States.

Predation is an American cultural value. Whereas culture is defined as "the knowledge that people share,"<sup>6</sup> predation entails destroying or stealing something belonging to someone else. Predation is a foundational value of the United States. As a settler nation, the United States violated treaties with Native nations in order to seize and control Native lands and resources. This imperialist practice enabled the creation of a national land base for the United States.

Today, Washington violates international laws or refuses to sign multilateral agreements if they weaken American political power and economic profits. For example, in the Kyoto Protocol, signatory nations promised to limit the emission of greenhouse gases within each of their respected countries to prevent the poisoning of our planetary atmosphere. Much to the irritation of

America's global allies in 2001, Bush withdrew the United States from the Kyoto agreement declaring business profits would drop if U.S. corporations were forced to comply with international environmental conventions. For the United States, imperialism is valued above all else. Economic profits for American corporations take precedence over the collective welfare of the world's population as evidenced by the withdrawal from the Kyoto Protocol.

Predatory value is the thread connecting American economic and political policies to each other—the interlinking of capitalism, imperialism, and colonialism. A nation born of predation produces a national culture which naturalizes the idea that seizing and confiscating other people's land and resources is a hallmark of intelligence and entrepreneurship. Americans call this cultural value "healthy competition" and "progress" even though it costs human lives and results in the colonization of peoples, and the destruction of traditional societies and pristine lands.

V.I. Lenin explains that a national culture in a capitalist nation is the culture of the ruling class—"of the landlords, the clergy and the bourgeoisie."<sup>7</sup> In other words, the national culture proceeds from the political and economic activities of those who run the state. Regarding the United States, the dominant culture is a settler culture characterized by a predatory history, national consciousness, and, domestic and foreign policies. Where once the United States preyed upon Native nations to gain their lands and resources to create the American national land base and economy, now the United States ravages the globe in search of other nations and their resources. Anything that has to do with plundering another country, whether it is interfering in that other nation's politics or economy is accepted as "normal" behavior by the larger U.S. citizenry. How often have U.S. presidents announced that the United States will aid a

particular country either militarily by supplying weapons and/or troops to “freedom fighters” who want to overthrow an “undemocratic regime,” or financially in order to stimulate a nation’s impoverished economy? In reality, American “aid” forces that nation into a “dependant” position within the larger frame of U.S. global hegemony.

Lenin insightfully noted that an imperialist nation cannot be predatory in its foreign policies while simultaneously democratic in domestic policies. He argued:

It is fundamentally wrong, un-Marxist and unscientific to single out “foreign policy” from policy in general, let alone counterpose foreign policy to home policy. Both in foreign and home policy, imperialism strives towards violations of democracy, towards reaction. In this sense, imperialism is indisputably the “negation” of *democracy in general*, of *all democracy*, and not just of *one* of its demands, national self-determination.<sup>8</sup>

The U.S. policies are clear examples that American imperialism negates democracy abroad and at home. First, in the international context, U.S. foreign policies assault other nations militarily or financially, violating the international right of self-determination. Lenin describes these acts of aggression as clearly undemocratic. Imperialism by definition, creates hierarchies among nations and prevents less powerful and/or colonized countries from representing themselves and their interests. Second, foreign policies toward American-occupied Native nations are categorized as domestic policies, which deny Native peoples the human right of national self-determination. Third, American domestic policies deny citizens, (whether Native or settler), equal access to education, job opportunities, and housing. Preferential treatment is always enjoyed by the settler bourgeoisie. A 1996 statistic documents the well-known reality that one percent of the population owns forty percent of the wealth in the United States.<sup>9</sup> A miniscule portion of Americans exerts more economic and political influence over the leaders of the country than the vast majority of ordinary citizens.



Obviously, this illuminating statistic reveals that the United States is not a land of opportunity because only one percent of the population has access to almost half the wealth in the country. Within American society, then, democracy (equal access and equal representation) is non-existent.

Marxist cultural theorist, Raymond Williams, describes the dominant culture as the “central system of practices, meanings and values” which does more than just represent ruling class interests: it organizes society. As a component of hegemony, national culture educates citizens to accept ruling class values as their own. Williams calls this “the process of incorporation.” That is to say, when these cultural practices are “experienced” and “lived,” they reconfirm for citizens “a sense of reality” about the bourgeois regime under which they exist. The process of incorporation, then, is an important aspect of hegemony because citizens accept, participate, and thus validate the national culture of the ruling class.<sup>10</sup>

In the case of the United States, predatory culture permeates settler society. Some of the recognizable values of this culture are an emphasis on individualism, competition, and progress.<sup>11</sup> Although other countries have similar values, U.S. imperialist practices affect these activities in ways that make them uniquely American. For example, competition is an important aspect of American identity. Being ranked as “number one” is paramount in American settler society whether in sporting events, spelling bees, political elections, or internationally in the Olympics and in war. Only the placement of being “number one” carries positive meaning. All other rankings below that—including being “number two”—are categorized as “losers.” In spite of the consoling talks given to “losers” such as “it’s only a game” or “you gave it your best shot,” these words fall on deaf ears because they are unintelligible in a

predatory society.<sup>12</sup> During the Cold War, the United States boycotted the 1980 Summer Olympics because the games were held in Moscow and the Soviet Union had invaded Afghanistan in 1979. The Soviet athletes were sorely disappointed because they were unable to test their skills against their best competitors, the Americans, and thus their gold medals did not reflect a “true victory” for them. Four years later, the Soviet Union boycotted the Olympics because they were held in Los Angeles. The Americans were not disappointed at all; the U.S. athletes won more gold medals because of the absence of the Soviets.

Although the American athletes celebrated the non-appearance of Soviet participation for reasons that differed from the U.S. government, the predatory national culture encouraged Americans to interpret the events as a victory.

Kenyan novelist and thinker, Ngugi wa Thiong’o explains,

Culture is a product of a peoples’ history. But it also reflects that history and embodies a whole set of values by which a people view themselves and their place in time and space.<sup>13</sup>

American history is a celebration of plundering, pillaging, and colonizing other nations. Lionizing ruthless traits is not difficult to understand if one uses the analogy of the hunter and the hunted. This hunter/hunted model naturalizes the uneven power relationship where shooting defenseless animals is understood as a defensible way of life. If one identifies oneself as the hunter, then everyone else is a potential prey. For the hunter, it is irrelevant if one kills rabbits, deer, or mountain lions. What is relevant is that the hunter determines the welfare of the hunted. Predatory consciousness, then, is so naturalized that settler America does not question this way of existing in the world. From vacations where settlers enjoy the exploitation of Native lands, culture, and people for their amusement (e.g., visiting the Hawaiian Islands) to wars where Americans derive enjoyment from high-tech U.S. forces obliterating smaller

militaries (e.g., the Gulf War, the 2001 invasion of Afghanistan, the 2003 Iraq War), the American worldview is guided by the hunter/hunted philosophy. To exist in a world of co-operation—as equals whether as nations, corporations, or communities of peoples—is unimaginable and undesirable for an imperialist country. For Americans, conflicts are resolved in terms of winners and losers. International politics are resolved through threats or actual acts of economic sanction and military aggression.

Therefore, it is no surprise that after September 11, 2001, Americans cheered Bush's assertions that the United States would engage in an open-ended war—that is, a war which would not conclude in a "truce or treaty," but only when global terrorists are destroyed.<sup>14</sup> This promise of an unending war (or as Lenin would call this situation, "armaments without end")<sup>15</sup> has become known as the Bush doctrine. The United States will exercise global authority as it sees fit. As the world's only superpower, the United States does not need the counsel of other nations to make determinations of war or peace, but *rather* other nations need to be accountable to the United States. If other nations disagree with American reorganization of the world into "terrorist" and "non-terrorist" countries, then, they will have to deal with U.S. economic and military sanctions. On September 20<sup>th</sup>, before a joint session of Congress, President Bush warned the world: "every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime."<sup>16</sup>

While this speech may have startled some in its declaration of American imperialist policies at the dawn of the twenty-first century, its content reflected business-as-usual. In the past, U.S. presidents have made similar predatory

speeches demarcating specific regions of the globe as American political or economic zones and threatening other nations with war if they intervened. For example, in his 1823 Monroe Doctrine, President James Monroe proclaimed the entire Americas (North, Central, and South) for exclusive American colonization and unavailable to Europe. President Harry Truman in his 1947 Truman Doctrine divided the world between totalitarian and non-totalitarian (“communist” versus “free”) countries, and like President Bush after 9-11, announced that all nations needed to choose between the two. During the Cold War, President Jimmy Carter, in his 1980 State of the Union address, threatened any country (particularly the Soviet Union) with war if they tried to dominate the Persian Gulf region. Obviously, the imperialist content in President Bush’s speech followed the imperialist policies of all his predecessors. U.S. presidents, like American citizens, have been raised in a predatory culture where imperialism and colonialism serve settler interests both within the United States and abroad. Therefore American settlers, whether white or of color, rarely question and organize against American policies.

Although many American citizens are critical of the U.S. government on its environmental, human rights, or military policies, most believe the United States remains the best country in the world. In other words, these settlers accept American imperialism and settler hegemony. Some of them believe American policies need reforming. But while these reform efforts need to be pursued, there is a vast difference between repairing/reforming a state and overturning it. Put in another way, there is a fundamental distinction between reconstituting settler hegemony and ending it. Lenin clarifies this distinction when he observes that the “proletariat fights for the revolutionary overthrow of the imperialist bourgeoisie” while “the petty bourgeoisie fights for the reformist ‘improvement’

of imperialism, for adaptation and *submission* to it."<sup>17</sup> If one is against American imperialism yet believes reforms can end the American predatory policies and culture, then one does not understand the vast scope of hegemony with its interlocking governmental and societal structures. As Lenin aptly put it, supporting reform is working for solutions within ("improvements of") the colonial structure and not dismantling it.

In order to seek fundamental change in society, the existing hegemony must be abolished. For Lenin, hegemony is the power vested in public institutions that uphold the ruling class and its interests. Changing political actors, improving policies, or restructuring certain public agencies does not change the domination of the ruling class. Revolutionary change in state power means creating new political, economic, and social structures. If hegemony is not understood, Lenin warns, whatever state structure is envisioned will remain within the "boundaries of bourgeois reasoning and politics."<sup>18</sup>

For example, in a capitalistic society the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie establishes a state that is democratic for the ruling class and dictatorial for the working class. Cultural practices and political and economic policies are structured to support ruling class interests. To revolutionize society, a complete change in class relationships must occur. The bourgeois state must be shattered and replaced with a dictatorship of the proletariat (another hegemony) where state structures advance proletarian interests and not bourgeois ones. It is important to recognize that hegemonic power is not found within specific leaders or in particular state agencies, but within an entire state system. It should be pointed out that overturning the machinery of the state is not an easy task. The ruling class is constantly organizing the national culture through the state apparatus to legitimize its dominance.

In the case of the United States, the predatory culture has naturalized the invasion of Native America by foreigners to such an extent that American citizens are proud of their country's past. The historical plundering and pillaging of the land is depicted as a necessary process of settlement. Thus Italian intellectual Antonio Gramsci explains that an important component of culture is national ideology. Massive networks of private institutions in civil society disseminate ruling class ideas that influence citizens and encourage them to accept and identify with the interests of the state. These institutions create a "theoretical or ideological 'front'" for the dominant group, which maintains, develops, and defends ruling class ideas and values. For Gramsci, the press and publishing houses are the most prominent of the disseminating entities—that is, "political newspapers, periodicals of every kind, scientific, literary, philological, popular, etc., various periodicals down to parish bulletins."<sup>19</sup> In contemporary society with the advancement of technology, we need to include the internet, the industries of film, television, advertising, and music as part of this "material structure of ideology."

Using Marx's analysis that ideologies take on a material force of their own,<sup>20</sup> Gramsci creates his own metaphor of dual perspective to explain how state hegemony is maintained. For Gramsci, civil society with its private institutions (schools, newspapers, television, etc.) is a structural component within the modern state of equal importance to that of political society with its public institutions (legislature, judicial system). The dual perspective reveals that state hegemony is organized through a dialectical relationship between public institutions and private institutions. To understand domination, Gramsci argues one must recognize the state apparatus as the interlocking of political, social (cultural), and economic institutions. (The "dual perspective" will be

discussed at length later in the chapter.) The influence of the state and the ruling class permeates every aspect of our lives. We are never free from the interests of the state which continuously manipulate how we think, what we feel, and whom we believe.

This chapter focuses on American settler hegemony or, as Lenin aptly put it, “imperialist predatory peace.” Imperialism and capitalism are predatory practices that control geographic spaces. Whether or not a place is industrialized or rural, one must look at the spatial politics of the region: what forces control the country? Which class or group of people subjugates others? Are the controlling interests of a nation from outside the country? If as Frantz Fanon has argued, the world is steeped in a “peaceful violence” (global economy), then, when imperialist states bring colonialism to Native lands, violence is visited upon the Native peoples.<sup>21</sup>

To understand the colonial situation of Hawai‘i, it is essential to recognize the imperialist hegemonic apparatus of the United States. Without identifying this larger apparatus, state power is characterized only by governmental agencies and not as an enormous entity composed of both public and private institutions—i.e., of a dense network of interlocking societal forces. Moreover by analyzing state power in this expanded form, one can begin to categorize the various strategies used for domination (i.e., national ideologies, policies, cultural practices) of the citizenry as well as differentiate solutions that create revolutionary change from those that will not. The ascendancy of the Japanese in Hawai‘i thus cannot be understood without distinguishing societal reforms from revolutionary change. This distinction is key as the Japanese continue to claim they created a “revolution” in 1954 and 1959 when in fact, they only displaced

white settlers and became, themselves, rulers in the islands within the same colonial system.

While settlers of color remain targets of racism, the settler ideologies such as “Americans as a nation of immigrants” served and continue to serve the interests of settler minorities. Economic and political opportunities for all settlers—white and of color alike—are based upon imperialism and colonialism—i.e., upon dispossession of Native lands. Without the seizure and occupation of Native lands, the United States would not have a land base, and American settlers of color would not have a platform from which to demand equality. Thus any discussion of American white racism is based upon the national ideologies of the United States as a nation of equality and opportunity rather than the realities of settler colonialism. Issues of white racism for American settlers of color are tied to the domestic policies of an imperialist nation. To end white racism within the United States without addressing the larger problem of the colonization of Native peoples, then, is seeking reform within an imperialist nation. Even if white racism is minimized, Native peoples will remain colonized because as they would continue to be subjugated by foreigners—both white settlers and settlers of color. Indigenous peoples, then, are fighting racism on two levels: settler racism (the occupation of Native nations by the United States and its settler citizenry) and white racism. A more lengthy discussion on settler and white racism will take place in Chapter Three.

This chapter discusses different aspects of hegemony using Gramsci’s concepts of the historical bloc, the relations of force, national ideologies, and dual perspective to demonstrate how hegemony involves more than the domination of one group by another. Hegemony will be viewed as an “active” space organized by the ruling class to support its interests. In the case of the United



States, that ruling group is composed of both white settlers and settlers of color. Two examples of hegemony will be given to illustrate Gramsci's ideas and show America as a settler hegemonic nation. The first example reveals the efforts of the Bush Administration, post 9-11, to rally U.S. citizens behind its intent to militarily invade Afghanistan, a nation of many different indigenous peoples. The U.S.-controlled corporate media is analyzed as a mouthpiece for the government's predatory policies. The second example of hegemony looks at the ascendancy of the *nisei* (second generation Japanese) to island political power in the 1950s. A part of their efforts entailed linking their identities as war veterans to America's military emergence as a superpower during the Cold War. The *nisei* consciously used U.S. Cold War ideologies to describe "Hawai'i as a democracy for all."

## **Hegemonic Moments**

### *Historical Bloc: A View of Hegemony*

Although Lenin never used the word "hegemony" to describe the class character of the state and its control over other classes, he nonetheless used a similar term, "the dictatorship of the proletariat." (Chapter One) One cannot speak about the state in generalities, Lenin argues, but one must identify which class or group is dominant. One must not look simply at the government as the only mechanism of control, but must see the government as part of the larger state machinery—i.e., the bourgeois state machinery in the case of capitalist nations. Historically, Lenin describes the state as the "product and manifestation of the *irreconcilability* of class antagonism."<sup>22</sup> Because class antagonisms are so hostile, the ruling class creates an entity (the state) to naturalize their access to

power, privilege, and resources, and regulate the subordinate classes. Thus

Lenin agrees with Marx that

the state is an organ of class *domination*, an organ of *oppression* of one class by another; its aim is the creation of "order" which legalises and perpetuates this oppression by moderating the collisions between the classes.<sup>23</sup>

Lenin explains further that in order to maintain this beneficial, uneven distribution of wealth, the ruling class creates the "standing army and police" as the chief instruments of state power with prisons and other methods of punishment for those who resist. One of the most important facts about power in modern society is that "the bourgeoisie is armed against the proletariat."<sup>24</sup> Those who control the government not only have access to weapons, they have the "legal" means to inflict state violence against the citizenry. To fundamentally change a society, then, requires more than the overthrow a government. One must demolish the entire state apparatus and build a new one. In Marxist analysis, one must abolish the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie (state hegemony) and replace it with the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat (another hegemony).<sup>25</sup>

Lenin warns that the bourgeoisie cannot be defeated with one stroke (e.g., through a singular event like an overthrow of government) because the capitalists and landlords would remain. These exploiters must be removed from their management positions and replaced with the proletariat and a proletarian structure. Revolutionary change in the state, then, must address the entire society and not only the government apparatus. In practice, Lenin explains, the bourgeoisie remain privileged after the revolution ("it is impossible to abolish money all at once") through their existing international connections—that is, their business dealings within other capitalist countries and in the global economy. Hence, Lenin argues the need for the "revolutionary" dictatorship of

the proletariat—a temporary hegemonic period of proletarian domination in which all bourgeois formations in the political and economic realm including bourgeois resistance are eliminated from society and replaced with proletarian initiatives and structures.<sup>26</sup>

Marxism is not a theory about class differences, but a revolutionary argument for the removal of the existing and exploitative hegemony for a more humane hegemony—that is, the replacement of the bourgeois state machinery with a proletarian one. In this vein, Lenin argued that Karl Marx never spoke about forms of government, but only about forms of state (hegemony).<sup>27</sup> This distinction is critical when revolutionizing society. Discussing various forms of governments (e.g., monarchy, republic, etc.) addresses the characteristics of public bureaucracies, while analyzing the state requires an analysis of the state machinery. That is to say, one studies which class controls the organization and the distribution of power and wealth in the country. In this sense, knowing the difference between a monarchy and a republic gives us little information, but knowing that both are bourgeois states provides us with information on the organization of power within the state and their relationships in the international arena.

For example, the United States is a settler state. However, knowing that the United States is a republic does not reveal what groups control and organize the country. When analyzed as a settler state, the United States is revealed to be an imperialist nation with a predatory culture.

Lenin argues that it is irrelevant whether a government is a monarchy or a republic in an imperialist war.<sup>28</sup> The important issue is that a predatory state invades another country to benefit the ruling class of the former state. Knowing whether a monarchy or a republic is engaged in an imperialist war is useless

information, as governments are part and parcel of a predatory state machinery (hegemony) that seize foreign lands and resources. Thus to revolutionize an imperialist country one must look at its hegemonic state apparatus in order to successfully overthrow it—that is, to study its politics, economics, and culture, and the links that tie them together in support of the ruling regime. In Marxist terminology, the organization of the bourgeois base and superstructures must be abolished in order to have a proletarian society free from any vestiges of exploitation.

Gramsci uses this Marxist concept of base and superstructure and expands it to analyze hegemony in terms of a historical bloc. He writes

Structures and superstructures form an 'historical bloc'. That is to say the complex, contradictory and discordant *ensemble* of the superstructures is the reflection of the *ensemble* of the social relations of production. From this, one can conclude: that only a totalitarian [unified or all absorbing] system of ideologies gives a rational reflection of the contradiction of the structure and represents the existence of the objective conditions for the revolutionising of praxis.<sup>29</sup>

Here Gramsci identifies two critical components of hegemony. First, the relationship of the superstructure and the base is not "the single expression of a single contradiction in the economic base." Anne Showstack Sasson explains that this relationship for Gramsci is composed of an "ensemble" of superstructural expressions, which mirror an "ensemble" of economic contradictions. Sasson writes "the contradictory and discordant whole of the superstructures is the reflection of the *contradictory* nature of the social relations of production."<sup>30</sup> Hegemony of the state, then, isn't composed of a singular entity called the government, but a dense network of complex relationships between institutions in the economic base and those in the superstructure that support the interests of the ruling class.

Second, Gramsci underscores the point that state ideologies educate the public to accept the contradictory and complicated relationships existing in both base and superstructure. In other words, ideologies prop up the hegemonic apparatus. They function to “rationalize” and represent ruling class interests as the interests of the nation and all of its citizens. For example, war is often engaged in for the economic benefit of the corporate ruling class. Yet ordinary citizens will pay for the military conflict with the loss of their soldier sons and daughters and will be encouraged to believe that sacrifice was for the defense of the nation.

Gramsci points out that the over-all relationship between base and superstructure is a dialectical one.<sup>31</sup> Normally, one does not think of the base and superstructure in terms of a dialectic relationship, but rather as a causal relationship in the traditional Marxist sense—the base gives rise to the superstructure.<sup>32</sup> However, Gramsci’s idea of historical bloc is not a contradiction of Marx’s conception of base/superstructure. Rather the historical bloc is an expansion of Marx’s analysis. In the modern era with private institutions producing advertisements, church bulletins, newspapers, etc., the superstructure is equally important as the base in the maintenance of hegemony. The base and superstructure act as forces moving society through time and space. Thus, understanding hegemony as the “real dialectical process,” one realizes the controlling powers are tied to a particular historical phase in societal development and change over time. Therefore a singular and static hegemony is non-existent. Massive networks of societal forces give historical definition and clarification to hegemony, although the given hegemonic moment may last for hundreds of years. The historical bloc, then, is a dynamic space in which the

ruling class must constantly work to maintain or ensure their dominance over society.

Gramsci's conception of the historical bloc is immensely useful. For example, in modern Hawai'i history, local Japanese and other settlers of color regard the achievement of statehood in 1959 as a watershed moment separating the earlier oppressive Territorial years from the following statehood years filled with opportunity. In the eyes of local Japanese settlers, the Territorial years were a denial of access to economic and political power. The Japanese were confined to being plantation workers, clerks, and small business owners. Thus local Japanese settlers celebrate statehood as a pivotal event—a floodway that allowed settlers of color to take over government positions *en masse* and gain economic prosperity. The critical years, 1954-1959, began with the 1954 Democratic Party take-over and ended with statehood.

However, when one considers the period from the 1893 overthrow to the present in terms of a historical bloc, one finds a continuous maintenance of colonial power. The social relations of production (the economic base) still remained in settler capitalist control after the achievement of statehood. The political, social, and military relationships of the superstructure continued under the same colonial control of the United States. The political actors, however, changed from white settlers to Asian ones. Within the hegemonic bloc, this shift was miniscule as it involved replacing one settler group with another. Native Hawaiians remained a colonized people despite the achievement of statehood. In fact, Hawaiian subjugation was furthered. They became wards of the state, which denies Native control over vast Native trust lands.

Although statehood allowed the residents of Hawai'i to vote for their own governor rather than have the position filled by Presidential appointment,

Hawai'i remains a colony of the United States with large American military bases occupying Native lands. A revolutionary or significant change would have granted Hawai'i independence as a nation. The circulation of national ideologies, which promoted the United States as a "democracy" and a "nation of immigrants" functioned to obscure the contradictory reality that statehood further entrenched American imperialism in the islands. However, by using Gramsci's notion of the historical bloc to analyze modern Hawai'i, one can identify the same colonizer of the Hawaiian people (the United States) still in existence after statehood. Despite claims by local Japanese that statehood brought enormous opportunities for all residents, Hawai'i remains a colony which underdevelops Native Hawaiians, while creating opportunity which enhances the lives—and profits—of settlers.

*The Relations of Force: Another View of Hegemony\**

Analyzing and defining a hegemonic period is not easily accomplished. The works of Lenin and Gramsci were written for the purposes of overturning the bourgeois state. They offer concrete analyses of existing hegemonic apparatuses and practical strategies for revolutionizing society. Both theorists argued that errors are often made when people fail to distinguish between the different components of a hegemonic apparatus. Without a solid theoretical understanding of the state machinery, Lenin points out resistance groups end up forging weak alliances. They negotiate over principals and make theoretical concessions rather than agree on immediate practical goals. Lenin understood

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\* To clarify confusion over Gramsci's use of the singular or plural forms of the words "relation or relations" or "force or forces" in this particular analysis of hegemony, he names the overall view of hegemony with the term, the "relations of force." However, it is composed of three moments: the "relation of social forces," the "relation of political forces," and the "relation of military forces."

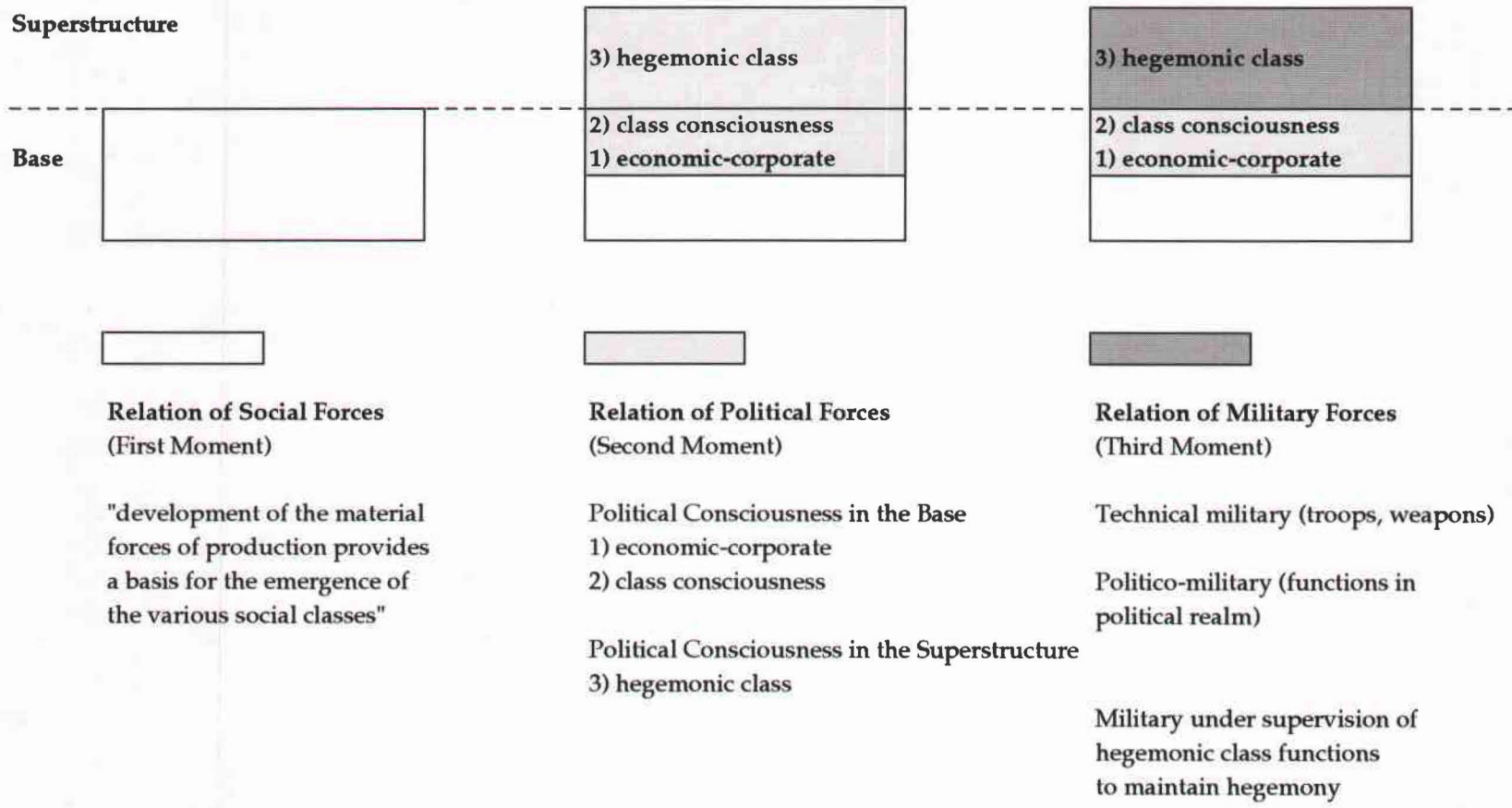
that, “without a revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement.”<sup>33</sup>

Gramsci explains why it is important to differentiate major or “organic” forces that move and control society, from minor or “conjunctural” ones that are the results of larger societal activities. To this end, Gramsci develops his concept of the “relations of force”<sup>34</sup> to examine at the state apparatus and the maintenance of hegemony. (See Figure #1) These “relations of force” involve three moments of hegemony—the economic, the political, and the military. During the first moment, “the relation of social forces” within the economic base is examined. Here one studies “fundamental data” to see if in “a particular society there exist the necessary and sufficient conditions for its transformation.” Gramsci asks whether the “material forces of production” conducive for a particular class to ascend to ruling class status are present while all others remain subordinate? The traditional relationship of the base and superstructure is employed to explain how the base of a given society gives rise to its superstructure.

During the second moment, “the relation of political forces” reveals the degree of class-consciousness exhibited by societal groups. Gramsci describes three levels of political consciousness beginning in a group without any awareness of its class position and ending in the hegemonic class. At the first level, members of a professional group (e.g., tradesmen, etc.) feel solidarity only with members of the same profession and not with others in their social class. At this level, there is no class-consciousness. Gramsci names this first level, the “economic-corporate.” At the second level, members move beyond their individual profession and establish solidarity with their entire class. In other words, groups in this category have attained some measure of class



**Figure 1**  
**Gramsci's Relations of Force**



consciousness. For Gramsci, solidarity at the first two levels is limited to activity within the economic sphere. At the third level of a given political moment, a class becomes hegemonic over society. Members of a particular social group “transcend” their own class interests by “universalizing” these interests and making them the concerns of all other classes within a nation. Gramsci calls this level “the most purely political phase” as it “marks the decisive passage from the [base] structure to the sphere of the complex superstructures.” A class becomes hegemonic under two simultaneous conditions: when the relations of production support the ascendancy of a particular class; and when that ascendant class ideologically asserts ruling class interests as representative of the entire society.

Lastly, the third moment involves “the relation of military forces.” Here a nation-state’s armed forces play a physical and political role in the maintenance of hegemony. The presence of the military functions in two distinct ways and/or in combination. In its physical role, the military engages wars or suppresses rebellions through “technical” capabilities (troops, weaponry, etc.). As an agent of the state, the military is called upon to be decisive in any given situation. In its “politico-military” role, the military functions in the political realm in an indirect fashion. For example, the sheer presence of armed forces can intimidate or provoke reactions from the enemy or the colonized. No weapons need be fired. When a tank rolls down a city street, people react to it. The presence of the military can deter uprisings from citizens or provoke a colonized nation to react in political ways that have “the virtue of provoking repercussions of a military character.”

By using the “relations of force” to analyze Hawai’i at the dawn of the twenty-first century, one can begin to recognize the fundamental role class-consciousness and the military play in the maintenance of settler hegemony.

First, the “relation of social forces” in the economic realm is organized to enhance settler domination. Predatory values encourage the settler exploitation of Native lands and the development of settler subdivisions and hotels. In fact, Native Hawaiian culture is thoroughly commodified by the largest settler industry in Hawai‘i, tourism.<sup>35</sup> Settlers manage this tourist industrial-complex (hotels, airlines, water and land tours, hotel workers, laundry services, taxis, etc.) with profits divided across the settler class through both locally and internationally owned businesses.

During the second moment, the “relation of political forces” reveals that the hegemonic classes are entirely composed of settlers supported by the colonial economic base. Since settlers control the material forces of production, conditions guarantee the existence of settler hegemony. Finally during the third moment, the “relation of military forces” of the United States functions to maintain Hawai‘i as a military colony. USCINCPAC is the largest American unified command, patrolling over half the world’s surface. With its massive physical presence composed of nuclear submarines, storage of nuclear warheads, and large bases, U.S. imperialist forces ensure acquiescence from not only indigenous Hawaiians, but from the entire population. In the year following the “9-11 event,” the military expropriated more Native lands, with the defense that it was necessary to conduct training for the “war on terrorism.”<sup>36</sup>

Examining hegemony in terms of the “historical bloc” or the “relations of force” provides two different ways to analyze the relationship between the base and superstructure, and the organization of hegemony. The “historical bloc” underscores national ideologies as the unifier of the discordant, conflicting ensemble of relationships between the base and superstructure. The “relations of force” highlight the role of the military presiding over a traditional relationship

between the base and superstructure—that is to say, the “mode of production in material life determines the social, political and intellectual life processes in general.”<sup>37</sup> Although Gramsci describes the relationship between the base and superstructure as one of conflicting entities unified through national ideologies on one hand, or as one entity (the base) giving rise to another (the superstructure) on the other hand, both views are needed. In the “historical bloc,” Gramsci describes life as messy and complicated. The function of national ideologies is to unify the world for the citizenry so the ruling class can continue its exploitation. National ideologies, then, naturalize the discordant relationship between the base and superstructure. Through an examination of the “relations of force,” the military is seen as a means utilized by the ruling class to continue its dominance. National ideologies and the state’s military, as examined by Gramsci, are absolutely necessary in the maintenance of hegemony.

It is absolutely essential to understand the intricate workings of hegemony in order to make sense of local Japanese settler power in colony Hawai’i. The Japanese used settler ideologies as well as their U.S. military service to support their political ascendancy. Too often, scholarship focuses on the content of ideology rather than on its organizing or educative function in gaining the consent of the citizenry. While the specific content may be captivating and intellectually stimulating, it is the function played by ideologies in upholding the ruling regime that is of vital importance. The dominant group disseminates “propaganda” in the first place because these ideas are an integral component in their rise to, and maintenance of, power. Both Lenin and Gramsci repeatedly emphasize that it is the function of ideology to support state hegemony and its ruling class, and that one must understand this fact in no uncertain terms in order to overthrow a state.

## The Function of Ideologies

My fellow Democrats, I am an American and proud of it. My grandparents came from Japan, 101 years ago, to work in the cane fields of Hawaii. They were not scholars. They were not wealthy. They did not own a log cabin. This evening, I join with you as a grandson of immigrants, a proud American, and a proud member of the United States Senate. This is America's story, America's hope and America's greatness. . . For Native Americans, who have largely depended upon the Supreme Court to be their ultimate haven of hope, these justices can either destroy or maintain the sanctity of the treaties that Indian leaders of ancient times entered into with past Presidents. The Indian gave their sons and daughters for our nation's defense. They gave their land and their bounty for those of us who now live on these lands. The least we can do is to protect and uphold the sanctity of their treaties.

U.S. Senator Daniel Inouye  
2000 Democratic Party Convention<sup>38</sup>

Do we not see the continuous spectacle of the diplomacy of all the imperialist powers flaunting magnanimous "general" phrases and "democratic" declarations in order to screen their robbery, violation and strangulation of small nations?

V.I. Lenin<sup>39</sup>

The concepts of the United States as a "nation of immigrants" and as a "democratic, free nation" are cornerstones of American imperialism. These ideological constructs are so powerful that most settlers are unable or unwilling to recognize any evidence, which challenges them. Antonio Gramsci would call this unshakable belief in a "nation of immigrants" and a "democratic, free nation" part of the hegemonic control the United States exerts over its citizens. Gramsci argues that a nation-state does not maintain its hegemony over its citizens solely through the direct and obvious enforcement of laws and judicial rulings. The state also utilizes an indirect approach, gaining its citizens' consent for its dominant political policies and interests through the dissemination of national ideologies by private institutions (e.g., film industry, television corporations, schools, churches). State ideologies (as opposed to personal ones), then, organize the citizenry.

On one level, ideologies create the reference points from which people define who they are, locate their place in society, and accept a particular worldview. Ideologies thus structure the "terrain" upon which citizens "acquire consciousness of their position, struggle, etc." State ideologies differ from individual opinions. Whether a person agrees or disagrees with specific political issues related to the American government is vastly different from whether citizens collectively support the state as a whole (i.e., its interests and its ruling class/groups). State ideologies, then, are absolutely "necessary" for the existence of a nation.

For example, in the above quotation, U.S. Senator Daniel Inouye proudly invokes the national settler ideology of a "nation of immigrants" at the Democratic Party Convention. Most Americans recognize and accept the vast range of "immigrant stories." The "nation of immigrants" is fundamental to an imperialist ideology that constructs the fiction of an "empty land" upon which Americans settled. There is an implicit celebration of the taking of Native lands and the resulting genocide of Native peoples. Inouye justifies the colonization of Native peoples in terms of an immigrant narrative—of peoples who willingly gave the lives of their sons and daughters "for our nation's defense" to protect and ensure the welfare of settlers. His remarks underscore the American predatory consciousness of the nation. Disingenuously, Inouye asks that settlers "at least...protect and uphold the sanctity of their treaties" with Native peoples, knowing full well that these documents have repeatedly been violated over a hundred years ago by the United States. But such duplicity is an integral part of the national settler consciousness.

On another level, ideologies are the "cement" holding a society together. Beliefs about the United States as a "nation of immigrants" and as a defender of

"freedom" bind U.S. citizens together and allow them to share similar values and worldviews that contrast with the worldviews of citizens from other nations. National ideologies, then, create an "us versus them" (self/other) opposition, feeding patriotism and uniting citizens with each other and against other nations. Hence national ideologies strategically maintain a state's hegemonic control over its people.<sup>40</sup> For example immediately following the 9-11 air strikes, U.S. President George W. Bush began describing the new "war on terrorism" to distinguish Americans-as-freedom-loving-people from the "enemy" who "hides in shadows and caves."<sup>41</sup> When the United States began bombing Afghanistan, the military operation was called "Operation Enduring Freedom," thus obscuring the lack of evidence linking the Afghanistan government to the 9-11 incident. The enthusiastic, American settler public celebrated the predatory language and imperialist acts of aggression.

To understand the hegemonic process between a state and its citizens, we can think of this relationship as an instructional one.<sup>42</sup> The United States (the teacher) tells its citizens (the students) that they live in a "nation of immigrants" (the lesson). Citizens, in turn, use the "immigrant" worldview (ideological lesson) to define themselves. As participants in American nationalism, citizens narrate their ethnic histories within the ideological framework of the state. Thus to determine the students' level of comprehension, the teacher calls upon them to recite the lesson to the class. Students are encouraged to respond with their own unique illustrations of the lesson. Local Japanese histories narrated within the "nation of immigrants" ideology can be recognized as the Japanese settler community's response to a nationalist ideology, i.e., the call for American nationalism. For example, in *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii*, author Ronald Takaki dedicates his book to his parents whom he refers to as "Issei (first

generation Japanese) Pioneers.” Takaki parallels his parents’ life—of the Japanese living on Native Hawaiian lands—with white settlers (“pioneers”) who occupied Indian lands. This dedication is a declaration that Takaki is indeed patriotic and supportive of American imperialism.<sup>43</sup>

Ideologies of the nation-state, then, shape the way we think about the world and ourselves. Through these ideologies, we define who we are as members of various ethnic groups, and collectively as a people and nation. As citizens, we respond to the lesson of the United States as a “nation of immigrants” by producing stories (books, films, TV) to educate or persuade people that the continental United States was “empty” of indigenous peoples. Moreover, the “success” of the United States is attributed to peoples who migrated from Europe and Asia or were brought as slaves from Africa.

National ideologies of the United States function to preserve American imperialism and the predatory interests of its settler citizenry. The concepts of the United States as a “nation of immigrants” or a “democratic, free nation,” are not arbitrary. They are “necessary to a given structure”<sup>44</sup>—i.e., to the existence of the United States on the land base of Native nations. America built settler cities along the natural harbors and waterways of occupied Native nations and those settlements became the leading manufacturing, financial, and political centers of the world. America prospered agriculturally on fertile Native soil to become a leading producer of food. America extracted natural resources such as coal from Native mountains for use in settler cities and for exportation around the world. America militarized itself to become the “policeman of the world” by using sacred indigenous places such as Mākua Valley in Hawai’i or the Shoshone Reservation in Nevada for the training and deployment of troops or for nuclear underground testing. American ideologies deny the existence of exploitative



imperialist policies both domestically and internationally. As constitutive of an American “ideological complex,”<sup>45</sup> they create a false rendering of the United States and its citizens as possessing political integrity, unquestioning honesty, and human generosity, thus obscuring predatory intentions.

For Gramsci, ideologies are not “negative value judgements.” It is irrelevant whether the ideological content of stories or policies reflect reality or not. What matters is the *function* of national ideologies to organize the citizenry to support and accept the state and its ruling class interests. As Gramsci explained, a class or group becomes hegemonic when it “universalizes” its interests, while presenting them as the national interest of a country. State ideologies, then, educate the larger society to accept the contradictions within both the base and superstructure and in the interactions between them. In colony Hawai‘i, schools and streets are named after American imperialists whether they are American Presidents (McKinley High School, Washington Intermediate) or settlers who overthrew the Hawaiian Kingdom (Thurston Street, Dole Street). The naming of public buildings or streets ideologically educates island residents to honor imperialists and thus support the colonization of Hawai‘i. Gramsci describes national ideology as “everything which influences or is able to influence public opinion, directly or indirectly: libraries, schools, associations and clubs of various kinds, even architecture and the layout and names of streets.”<sup>46</sup>

In the following sections, two historical moments are used to illuminate two aspects of hegemony and the function of national ideologies. The first section looks at the war on terrorism in the early twenty-first century in terms of a “historical bloc.” The second studies the “red scare” of the late 1940s and early 1950s in Hawai‘i in terms of the “relations of force.” Both examples are similar in

that the American public was manipulated to believe their freedom and safety were threatened due to the aggressive and violent actions of terrorists or communists. In reality, however, these ideological stories were implemented in order to cover U.S. imperialist policies and military invasions. Through these ideologically-continued threats (of “terrorist attacks” or “communist infiltration”), the United States asserted itself as a global leader. Both examples were selected because within months of the “9-11 terrorist attack” or within a few years of the 1940s “communist infiltration,” a battery of societal forces were mobilized and activated. In both instances, U.S. Presidents, Bush in 2001 and Truman in 1947, divided the world between “terrorist” networks/states and “free” ones or between “totalitarian” and “democratic” countries. Both presidents reduced a complicated global situation to the reductivist terms of “good” versus “evil” for the easy consumption by the American public. National ideologies, in these cases, were used to gloss over any contradictions that might expose imperialist intentions. When large economic and political profits are the results of U.S. military exploits, ideologies are always employed on behalf of the American state apparatus. In reality, nations cannot exist without them.

### **Historical Bloc: The Example of 9-11**

Terrorism is a movement, an ideology that respects no boundary of nationality or decency. The terrorists despise creative societies and individual choice—and thus they bear a special hatred for America. They desire to concentrate power in the hands of a few, and to force every life into grim and joyless conformity.

... We’ve seen their kind before. The terrorists are the heirs to fascism. They have the same will to power, the same disdain for the individual, the same mad global ambitions. And they will be dealt with in just the same way. Like all fascists, the terrorists cannot be appeased: they must be defeated. This struggle will not end in a truce or treaty. It will end in victory for the United States, our friends and the cause of freedom.

U.S. President George W. Bush  
USS Enterprise on Dec. 7, 2001<sup>47</sup>

War against terrorism? Not really. Reminder: it's all about oil.

Pepe Escobar  
*Asia Times*, Jan. 25, 2002<sup>48</sup>

The current military buildup is about much more than countering the slide in the high-tech sector, or countering the current economic recession. It is about consolidating the United States' position as the only superpower. Continued U.S. dominance requires continued control of the world's most important traded commodity—energy. . . . Securing this control is one of the major functions of the U.S. military.

James M. Cypher  
*Dollars & Sense*, Jan./Feb. 2002<sup>49</sup>

In the case of the United States, state ideologies are fundamental to the existence of this settler nation. Passing itself off as a “nation of immigrants” and a “democratic, free nation,” the United States falsifies its colonial structure and genocidal policies against indigenous peoples. An analysis of America’s “war on terrorism,” reveals how state ideologies function to support the existing settler hegemony within the contemporary moment.

While the Bush administration rallied American citizens to support an open-ended “war on terrorism” to bring “criminals to justice,” in reality, the United States was consolidating its political and economic dominance over the enormous natural resources of the Caspian Sea basin by bringing American troops to Central Asia. Prior to September 11, 2001, the U.S. military was absent in the region. Four months later, the United States gained thirteen forward bases in nine countries surrounding Afghanistan.<sup>50</sup>

International security expert Michael T. Klare analyzes the American interest in dominating Central Asia as part of its ongoing global “resource wars.”<sup>51</sup> The oil and gas reserves of the Caspian Sea basin, which include the littoral states of Azerbaijan, Iran, Kazakhstan, Russia, and Turkmenistan, are considered “second only to those of the Middle East.”<sup>52</sup> The problem in Central Asia has always been transporting the energy from this landlocked region to the

West and to Asia. Prior to the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991, economic and political access to the area was through the USSR. Now that the independent Central Asian states are looking to develop their natural resources especially with the 2000 discovery of a significant oil field in Kazakhstan, Washington wants to develop alternative pipeline routes such as through Afghanistan and into Pakistan.<sup>53</sup> According to historian Daniel Elton, Afghanistan is important to the United States because of the "role" it must play as a pipeline corridor to access this enormous energy site.<sup>54</sup>

Many are calling America's interest in Afghanistan and Central Asia as the "Great Game II" or the "New Great Game." An earlier rivalry between Tzarist Russia and Imperialist England over Central Asia was referred to as the "Great Game" of the nineteenth century. Although the twenty-first century rivalry involves the two longtime, competitor settler states of Russia and America, it also includes nations such as Iran, Turkey, Pakistan, and China.<sup>55</sup> Therefore it is not a fluke that the Bush Administration sent its military forces to Central Asia under the pretext of a "war of terrorism." Major energy corporations of the world such as Unocal, British Petroleum Amoco, Chevron Texaco were already in the region to exploit its resources.<sup>56</sup> U.S. armed forces are, therefore, in the area "to protect American interests." They represent U.S. imperialist economic and political interests in the basin, exerting pressure upon the Caspian Sea basin states, and functioning as Gramsci's "politico-military." Over time, the American military in Central Asia (now in Afghanistan, Kyrgyzstan, Pakistan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan) will become the pipeline policemen.

In *Imperialism: the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin explains how capitalism in its imperialist stage (finance capital) moves toward an "epoch of

monopolies” where “monopolist methods: the utilisation of ‘connections’ for profitable transactions” are established wherever it goes.<sup>57</sup> This means that a single corporation does not enter a foreign region by itself to do business with local entities (although it may do some transactions with local businesses). Rather, a monopoly (a predatory network) of established business relationships, of which the investing corporation belongs, enters the region and takes the lion’s share of the profits. In other words, if a Third World country wants to develop resources, it turns to multilateral development banks such as the World Bank for loans because the necessary capital to fund the projects is lacking in such countries. The World Bank, in turn, will assign the contractors and sub-contractors, all of which are foreign or First World corporations. Thus a predatory network enters the region. While the foreign monopoly profits handsomely, the Third World nation becomes entangled in tremendous debt with costs that often outweigh the economic benefits.<sup>58</sup>

Since Lenin’s time, this predatory relationship between First World and Third World has been globalized. The World Bank (WB), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs), for example, are institutions and programs which continue to keep the Third World impoverished and subservient to First World corporations and nations. As Sri Lankan critic A. Sivanandan rightly points out “businesses are in the business of government and governments are in the business of businesses and, together, they are killing off whole populations.”<sup>59</sup>

In the case of the United States, private corporations and the military (the government agency) have made the military industrial complex big business for America’s corporate elite. John Feffer points out in his article, “Globalization and Militarization” that all trade accords starting at the 1947 General Agreement

on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) have had a “national security exception” for military subsidies. Feffer explains that if the U.S. government subsidizes fighter jets rather than a passenger jet, other nations cannot file grievances against the United States through international organizations such as the World Trade Organization (WTO). It is no wonder that the United States is “the world’s largest weapons producer, exporter, and subsidizer”<sup>60</sup> and the globe a more heavily militarized planet since U.S. foreign aid is often given in the form of military aid.

American settlers, born into a predatory culture, see imperialist policies as being “good for business.” Economist James Cypher refers to the U.S. military industrial complex as the “Iron Triangle.” On one side of a triangulated relationship is the “civilian” government that “shape(s) U.S. military policy—the Office of the President, the National Security Council, the Senate and House Armed Services Committees, and civilian agencies like the CIA and NSA.” On a second side is the military institutions (the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the four branches of the military, the CINCs). Lastly, the base of the triangle consists of “the 85,000 private firms that profit from the military contracting system.”<sup>61</sup>

Halliburton, one of the world’s largest energy service corporations, is an example of a private corporation, which benefits from an intimate relationship with the U.S. government. Halliburton boasts that it has a “rich heritage” of contract work with the military. After the 1990s Gulf War, Halliburton brought the burning oil wells under control. Later, its subsidiary, Brown & Root (now Kellogg, Brown & Root), supplied “U.S. peacekeeping forces in Bosnia, Croatia, and Hungary with food, laundry, transportation and other lifecycle management services.”<sup>62</sup> Then, during the “war on terrorism,” Brown & Root again received a ten-year contract to supply the military operations in Afghanistan and

Uzbekistan with service support (laundry, food service, etc.) as well as to assist other military projects.<sup>63</sup> Halliburton is not an “outside” contractor bidding on a government job, but part of an established military monopoly. For example, current Vice President Dick Cheney was also the former Secretary of Defense who led the Operation Desert Storm during the 1990 – 1991 Gulf War. While under Cheney’s leadership, the Department of Defense gave the contract to extinguish the burning oil wells to Halliburton, which subsequently made Cheney its CEO in 1995. It is no surprise that Brown & Root was awarded the Central Asia service support contract in December 2001 given Vice President Dick Cheney’s connections. Moreover, during Cheney’s tenure as CEO, Halliburton began business ventures in Turkmenistan, one of the Caspian Sea basin states.<sup>64</sup>

Lenin identifies this mutually beneficial exchange of directors between lending institutions and industry or between government and private institutions, as a “personal union.”<sup>65</sup> It is a strategic “utilisation of ‘connections’ for profitable transactions.” For example, Zbigniew Brzezinski, former National Security Advisor to President Carter, created a consulting firm, Z.B., Inc., to advise large corporations like oil conglomerate, Amoco that also invests in the Caspian Sea basin. In the spring of 2002, former Vice-President Al Gore charged that the Bush administration had “a group of current and former oil and chemical company executives” who had undue influence on the national energy policies.<sup>66</sup> It is no secret that Enron, a bankrupt energy corporation and former oil prospector in Turkmenistan (one of the Caspian Sea states), was the largest contributor to George W. Bush’s political campaigns or that Vice-President Cheney was a member of the U.S.-Azerbaijan Chamber of Commerce (another Caspian Sea state). A lesser known fact is that National Security Advisor

Condoleezza Rice was a former member of the board of directors of Chevron Corporation (now ChevronTexaco) which is part of the Caspian Pipeline Consortium that successfully loaded the first tanker with oil from Kazakhstan in November 2001.<sup>67</sup>

While I have briefly outlined the American economic, political, and military interests in Central Asia, it is essential to recognize that the “war on terrorism” was promoted through national ideologies which are, in turn, supported by the existence of the hegemonic bloc. National ideologies are not unconnected to economic and political realities, but are disseminated for the purpose of soliciting support for the interests of the state and its ruling class settlers. The imperialist United States is in Central Asia to consolidate its global power and to exploit the region’s natural resources. The destruction of the terrorist network (al-Qaeda) is the pretext for being in the region.<sup>68</sup> Therefore, the ideological rhetoric behind the “war on terrorism” plays an important role to distract citizens to think about terrorists while the United States maneuvers itself into the role as global dictator.

Prior to 9-11, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld’s military budget was heavily scrutinized and downsized by the U.S. Congress. The military spending after 9-11, however, became a moot point. By the spring of 2002, *The New York Times* reported that the war on terrorism had already cost “more than \$2 billion a month.”<sup>69</sup> Congress, like the rest of America, was swept into supporting America’s “war on terrorism.”

The Bush administration exploited 9-11 to its advantage by attributing the air strikes on the WTC towers to terrorists preying upon U.S. citizens rather than the result of American foreign policies or a “blowback” situation. This ideological “framework” heightened the predatory impulses of the American public and their enthusiastic support of Bush’s imperialist policies towards



Afghanistan, Central Asia, and potentially Iraq. What must be remembered is that a predatory consciousness links capitalism, imperialism, and colonialism. Predation saturates the national culture and consciousness. Thus Americans willingly give up their political rights—i.e., USA Patriot Act, Homeland Security Office, Northern Command, etc.—to allow their government to hunt for “terrorists” amongst its own citizenry.

To bolster the ideology of the “war on terrorism,” President Bush and his staff skillfully chose images from America’s imperialist history to represent the anti-imperialist freedom fighters from the Third World as “terrorists” so that economic profits are forthcoming from Central Asia. For example, when asked about the capture of Osama bin Laden on December 28, 2001, President Bush remarked he didn’t care if the Muslim leader was brought to him “dead or alive.” By evoking a popular cultural term from the settling of the American West, Bush likened himself as well as all Americans to “sheriffs” hunting for “outlaws” or Indians. Americans are the “good guys” and the so-called “terrorists” or anti-imperialist fighters, the “bad guys.” This reference to frontier history is successful because not only does it celebrate America’s predatory cultural values (taking something that belongs to another people), but it also normalizes the political subjugation of indigenous peoples in the past and present. Thus the “war on terrorism” is presented as a modern day “cowboy and Indian” saga and an excuse to conduct an imperialist war on indigenous Afghan peoples whether they are Pushtun, Tajik, Uzbek, or Hazara. On the pretext of national security and world peace, the United States and its predatory interests insinuate themselves into Central Asia. The Caspian Sea basin’s oil and gas resources belonging to the Native peoples of that region are exploited for the benefit of American elite settlers.

Another example of the workings of state ideologies is the skillful linking of terrorism to communism/fascism by the Bush administration. "The terrorists are the heirs to fascism. They have the same will to power, the same disdain for the individual, the same mad global ambitions."<sup>70</sup> Bush deliberately uses Cold War language to characterize present day "terrorists" in order to conjure up hysteria, hate, and fear toward these new "enemies." Moreover, these anti-imperialist fighters are also described, as hating "individualism," one of America's most sacred values. The rights of individualism, of course, are tied to the beginnings of America as an imperialist nation—e.g., the right of pilgrims to expropriate Native lands in order to escape religious persecution and to prosper in the "new" world.

With enormous profits to be made in the Caspian Sea basin, Bush and Cheney repeatedly give national ideological speeches to drown out any opposition. In the words of Cheney, the U.S. military is in Central Asia to protect the "freedom and security of the American people and the defense of the civilized world. And let there be no doubt. No matter how long it takes, the forces of freedom will defeat the forces of terror."<sup>71</sup>

Of course, the Bush administration cannot execute this ideological "war on terrorism" alone. As Gramsci has argued, private institutions function to disseminate state ideologies. Fox news channel continually displayed an American flag on the upper left corner of the television screen, for months following the 9-11 air strike. Regardless of what was being aired, an image of a flag flapping in the wind reminded the viewer of the on-going war on terrorism and the need for patriotism and public support. Other news networks carried similar images. Not only were their reports framed within an ideology of terrorism, but bold text at the bottom of television screens interpreted current

events for the viewer: "America's New War" (CNN) or "America Strikes Back" (MSNBC). Simultaneously, the print media circulated its own version of the "war on terrorism" ideology. *Time* magazine's November 26, 2001 cover featured a picture of bin Laden with the cross hairs of a rifle scope superimposed over his eyes. The issue was entitled, "Inside the Manhunt" and explained why Americans had to collectively pull the trigger.

In the metaphor of the classroom, mentioned in an earlier section, the teacher (the state) calls upon the students (its citizens) to recite how well they know their lessons (about national ideologies). In the case of the "war on terrorism," American citizens recited their understanding by displaying flags on their homes, cars, and by wearing miniature flags pinned on shirts or blouses. Grocery stores were doing their part by selling flags or flag pins at checkout counters. Many citizens dressed exclusively in red, white, and blue colors. In the major sport organizations such as the National Football League (NFL) or National Basketball Association (NBA), small flags were sewn onto team jerseys. The NBA games were played with distracting red, white, and blue-colored basketballs except during the playoffs. The American citizens responded to 9-11 as the victim-turned-hunter and demanded blood from "terrorists," who were, of course, anti-imperialist fighters.

The ideological education of Americans begins early. In the fall of 2001, children (the nation's students) were asked by President Bush (the nation's teacher) to send one dollar to the "America's fund for Afghan Children" (the national lesson). By logging onto the White House website created for school children, they could educate themselves further. Here, young students learn that the terrorist Afghan government, the Taliban, created horrific living conditions for its children. American kids could help these disadvantaged children recur

proper schooling, food, and medical aid by donating a dollar. They are, however, not told about America's past political involvement in Afghanistan—how the CIA hired Osama bin Laden to organize and fight the Soviets in Afghanistan, which led to the emergence of the Taliban government. Rather, children are given disturbing statistics such as “one in four Afghan children will not make it to their fifth birthday” or that one in three children are orphans. Pictured on the website's screen are helpful animal guides. A cat, two dogs, and a cow lead school children through lessons designed to promote U.S. state ideologies. To gain the confidence of the parents, the White House says it has modeled this Afghan Children's Fund after President Franklin Roosevelt's successful 1938 March of Dimes campaign. By the summer of 2002, American children sent in over nine million dollars for the Afghan children. While it is critical that Afghanistan children receive food, clothing, and medical aid, the real lesson here is the ideological education of American children and not the saving of Afghan lives. Children are taught to participate in, and fund, the government's imperialist exploits at an early age.<sup>72</sup> While American bombs kill innocent Afghan families, American children are taught to interpret these aggressive acts of imperialism in terms of “humanitarian” aid and rescue operations.

State ideologies, then, organize the citizenry so that predatory ideas become what Gramsci calls “common sense.” For example, most Americans do not think of Native Americans, Alaskans, and Hawaiians as colonized peoples. Or if they are aware of these facts, they are educated to believe these problems are not significant. With the rise of Third World struggles around the globe against American imperialism and the rise of indigenous struggles within the U.S. borders against imperialism/colonialism, it is no accident the Department of

Homeland Security was given its name. Calling the agency, "homeland" extinguishes any notion that America belongs to Native peoples should the issue be raised by Third World nations (as it was by Iraq during the Gulf War) or jointly by indigenous peoples and Third World nations. Asserting itself as the lone superpower, the United States cannot afford to have the legitimacy of its existence and its confiscation of indigenous lands brought into question on the world stage. For settlers, leaders and citizenry alike, predation is an American cultural value that enables a way of life that, for self-interested reasons, remains rarely questioned.

**"Relations of Force": The Example of the Rise of Japanese Settlers During the Communist Scare in Hawai'i**

It is not a time to shush, shush, shush, or play down as hysteria, the situation which is a most serious threat. The communists themselves boast that the Territory is the most fruitful field for communism in all the nation.

I call on you and all good citizens to join in this movement to crush communism in our nation.

Governor Ingram Stainback  
Territory of Hawai'i  
Armistice Day, November 11, 1947<sup>73</sup>

There were Communists in Hawai'i, but it was (a) very, very small minority. I didn't think that we should be very much incensed about it. They were more, I would say, people who were fighting for their cause rather than being Communist. Later through the Un-American Committee (hearings some) admitted that they were members of cells. But I wasn't too incensed over it. I thought that was used as a red herring against statehood.

Hiram L. Fong  
Former U.S. Senator<sup>74</sup>

It is no coincidence that the ascendancy of local Japanese settlers to ruling class status occurred simultaneous with the emergence of the United States as a post-World War II superpower. One event was dependent upon the other. Japanese settlers rose to dominance precisely because they rode the coat tails of America's imperialist and military efforts in the islands and around the world.

Within any white colony, the politics of settlers of color are of particular interest because of white racism. Will settlers of color help overthrow an oppressive structure that is both racist and colonial? Or will they embrace the structures of oppression because they provide financial, social, and political opportunities?

During the tumultuous “red scare” years (late 1940s and early 1950s), local Japanese settlers publicly supported American imperialism in the islands. This support was crucial and marked the beginning of their rise to power and eventual establishment, along with the *haole*, as one of two dominant groups in Hawai‘i.

To track the ascendancy of the Japanese settlers to ruling class status, Antonio Gramsci’s articulation and understanding of the “relations of force” is especially helpful. According to Gramsci, when an ascending group convinces the other classes that it represents the interests of all citizens, it becomes hegemonic. Attaining hegemony is partially accomplished ideologically—using ideology as an educational and organizational tool within civil society. But hegemonic consent is simultaneously and crucially dependent on the presence of a military force (Gramsci’s “relation of military forces”), which functions directly as an “armed force” and indirectly as a “political force” or the “politico-military.” Gramsci insightfully argues that invoking the “politico-military” utilizes the military to support a regime or undermine it politically. For example, the known reputation of a nation’s military strength can deter an opponent without the firing of any weapons. Or a minority group can mount protests which have the “capacity to destroy the war potential of the dominant nation from within”—when they question the existence of a base, the use of specific lands, or military war strategies.

In the case of Hawai'i, after World War II, the Japanese settler war veterans used their military record in a "politico-military" fashion. By constantly fronting or referring to their military experience in public discourse, they legitimized their settler politics as wholly "American"—a shining example of the democratic process at work. More importantly, utilizing this politico-military strategy during the early Cold War years, Japanese settlers attained political offices and accessed economic opportunities unavailable to them prior to their war experience. In fact, this strategy continues in the present to maintain ruling class status in a militarized colony. Thus Hawai'i is a perfect site to observe the formation of Asian settler hegemony—that is, the interplay of the three relations of force. By using the framework of hegemony, one can examine a complex World War II scenario that began when *haole* settler bourgeoisie in an effort to halt the ascent of working class Asians took advantage of the national hysteria over the "fear of communist infiltration" and accused union leaders including many Japanese, of communism. Ironically, this anticommunist assault was effectively countered by Japanese war veteran leaders, and ultimately catapulted them into political power in Hawai'i.

### *The "Communist Scare"*

The rivalry between the two settler colonial nation-states of the Soviet Union and the United States began in the early 1800s. Both imperialist states, with similar predatory agendas—that is, with objectives of seizing, occupying, and claiming Native national lands as part of their settler land base—competed over territories in North America and then later over the Pacific Ocean and elsewhere. With the turn of the twentieth century and the industrialization of the United States, the writings of Marx and Lenin appealed to many American

factory workers dissatisfied with exploitative working conditions. The government in Washington responded by conducting its first “Red Scare” after World War I (Immigration Act of 1917, Sedition Act of 1918, the Palmer raids) and breaking any admiration for the 1917 Bolshevik revolution and desire to make the economic system in America more egalitarian.<sup>75</sup> Although the Soviet Union and the United States were allies during World War II, once the war ended, the competitive relationship between the two resumed. The United States branded the Soviets and communist ideology, the undisputed enemy of all Americans.

Using Cold War ideology, Washington galvanized public support for its imperialist policies around the globe, which were presented as attempts to battle the “communist menace” and the “fear of communist infiltration.” Americans believed the United States was the benevolent nation and the Soviet Union, the malevolent one. Thus nationalist struggles in the Third World against colonialism were always misrepresented as part of an ever-widening Soviet plot for global hegemony. Third World national struggles were used as battlefields where the United States and the Soviet Union—two imperialist states—fought for world dominance. Historian Albert Fried explains that events occurring between September 1949 and June 1950 heightened the fear of a “communist menace” for American leaders.<sup>76</sup> During those ten months, the Soviets exploded their first atomic bomb, Mao Zedong became the official leader of China, and in June, the Korean War began. Those events were reported as threats to America and “democracy,” while the United States’ own imperialist and predatory maneuvers were characterized as legitimate responses to protect the American way of life. For example, prior to September 1949, the United States tested atomic bombs in Micronesia (Native lands) which violated America’s trust



responsibilities to guide Micronesians to self-determination. Yet, the U.S. government represented their nuclear testing and colonization of Micronesians as part of a global effort to gain further peace. The United States also organized the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to enlist other nations in America's opposition to Soviet expansionism.

One of the finest strategies for controlling citizens is to create a "climate of fear." It effectively distracts the public's attention away from government operations and towards the "suspicious" activities of fellow countrymen. Washington did just this by announcing that communists were living among its citizens. This strategic subterfuge produced a fearful and timid public easily manipulated and influenced by government leaders. As a result, imperialist policies and new restrictive Executive Orders were signed into law without much public knowledge and protest. Just as President Bush claimed terrorists were living in the United States during the recent "war on terrorism," Truman and other government officials made similar accusations.<sup>77</sup> The FBI director, J. Edgar Hoover, issued an ideologically-inflected warning typical of the day about the post-World War II communist infiltration.

The godless, truthless way of life that American Communists would force on America can mean only tyranny and oppression if they succeed. They are against the liberty which is America; they are for the license of their own. When they raise their false cry of unity, remember there can be no unity with the enemies of our way of life, who are attempting to undermine our democratic institutions.<sup>78</sup>

The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), the permanent Congressional vehicle tasked with investigating and interrogating the public and identifying American communists, also exerted continuous pressure on citizens to produce "civilian spies" or self-confessed communists (squealers) to assist with America's imperialist efforts. Originally created to fight Nazism in 1938, HUAC was later used to break the successful organization of unions under the

guise of hunting for communist. It was in a 1948 HUAC hearing that a high ranking State Department official, Alger Hiss, was exposed as a member of the Communist Party and “stunned the nation’s foreign policy establishment.”<sup>79</sup> HUAC, the 1940 Smith Act (which made it a crime to plot the overthrow of the U.S. government), and the dissemination of ideological statements about “communist infiltration” coerced the American public into accepting the government’s harassment of its citizenry at home, and its imperialist efforts abroad, as necessary and ultimately, humanitarian. Truman frightened the American public with phrases such as, “the threat of world conquest by Soviet Russia endangers our liberty and endangers the kind of work in which the free spirit of man can survive.”<sup>80</sup> During this climate of fear that the 1949 Territorial Hawai’i legislature requested HUAC to hold hearings in Hawai’i. Suspiciously, this legislation passed two days after the end of the most successful dock strike, which shut down the entire island economy and left the *haole* settler bourgeoisie feeling vulnerable and threatened.<sup>81</sup>

### *The “Communist Scare” Years in Hawai’i*

In the late 1800s, after white settlers seized Hawaiian lands, plantation capitalism began to dominate the islands. Simultaneous with the importation of settlers of color from China, Japan, Korea, and the Philippines to work in the plantation fields, *haole* owners continued to confiscate more land for sugar and pineapple cultivation. By the time of the 1893 overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom by the U.S. military, the “Big Five” corporations (Alexander & Baldwin, Castle & Cooke, American Factors, Theo. Davies, and C. Brewer) controlled most of the islands’ economy from agriculture to banking to shipping. As T. Michael Homes writes in *The Specter of Communism in Hawaii*, the Big Five

had “a maze of interlocking boards of directors that allowed a relatively small group of men at the top to manipulate Hawaii’s economic life.”<sup>82</sup> If one recalls, Lenin identified this exchange of top personnel in interlocking institutions—the “personal union”—as a crucial component of imperialism. Thus, this incestuous arrangement was not unusual in settler colonies. Settlers regarded the colonial system as their “private preserve” and for their “exclusive prosperity.”<sup>83</sup>

For example, during Territorial elections in the 1930s, the dominant Republican Party, which represented the sugar planter and other white settler elite interests, held rallies on private island plantations while the Democratic Party was banned from those same agricultural properties. During voting, the laborers did not cast their ballots in privacy. Rather they were driven to and from the polling site in a company car. The polling booth consisted of two rooms, one side for the Republicans and the other for the Democrats. One’s entry into either room was clearly observed by all in attendance. If one voted Democratic instead of Republican, the worker would be called into the plantation office the next day, and severely admonished or punished for voting for the wrong party.<sup>84</sup>

Dock workers endured an equally abusive colonial authority. In the 1930s, they could not obtain or hold jobs without constantly placating the foreman with gifts. In addition, “discrimination, favoritism, no job security, low wages, speed-ups, dangerous working conditions were all part of a daily routine.”<sup>85</sup> Understandably, workers wanted to unionize to gain better working conditions. Jack H. Kawano, a powerful union organizer, recalled that only members of the Communist Party were willing to help him organize the stevedores. Everyone else was too afraid to protest against the Big Five who

controlled every aspect of island life. At the time, Kawano was grateful to have any support in the union's fight for fair labor practices.<sup>86</sup>

In 1949, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) conducted a 177 day strike which successfully shut down the Hawai'i economy. In solidarity with island stevedores, dock workers on the West Coast of the United States refused to unload or load cargo going to, or coming from, Hawai'i. Thus, the strike served notice to the *haole* settler establishment that the union along with Asian laborers was increasingly politicized: economic forces were positioned to challenge white hegemonic power. In addition, Japanese veterans who had used the GI Bill to educate themselves were returning to the islands to grab their share of the colonial spoils. In the year following the strike, 1950 statistics revealed that the population of settlers in the islands (413,679) outnumbered the number of Native Hawaiians (86,090). Within the settler group, local Japanese were by far the largest group with a population count of 184,598—almost half the number of all settler residents.<sup>87</sup> Their growing numbers became of increasing concern to the *haole* bourgeoisie.

It is within this context of shifting settler hegemony that one should consider the 1950 HUAC hearing and the 1952-53 Smith trial of the Hawai'i Seven. During the 1950s, the *haole* settler elite accused ascending groups of communist infiltration, in particular the numerically large Japanese settler group. At the HUAC hearing, twenty-one of the "reluctant 39" accused of Communist Party ties, were Japanese. At the Smith Act trial of the Hawai'i Seven, three were Japanese.<sup>88</sup> In a speech before the Young Buddhist Association, later published in the *Advertiser*, Governor Stainback said, "I regret to say that the most numerous converts [of the Communist Party] in the Territory are the Japanese-Americans."<sup>89</sup> While these accusations by the *haole* bourgeoisie were indeed

racist as other settlers of color and Native Hawaiians were also targeted, white racism was only part of the problem. These attacks were launched because the unions were successful in asserting their power within the economic base so that profits were more equitably distributed especially among the numerically large Japanese population.

At the time, it seems no one in the islands really believed those accused of being communists were, in fact, conspiring to overthrow the government. The accusations were ideological tools used to incite fears about “communist infiltration” and part of the McCarthyism sweeping the nation by the corporate elite against unions. Much later, island Communist Party members would overwhelmingly acknowledge they joined or worked with the Party to improve their working conditions, not to overthrow the government. Former Governor John A. Burns said “being a member of the Communist Party of Hawai’i meant nothing. All it meant was that you were looking for an organization that could teach you how to organize...against the management.”<sup>90</sup> In fact, the organizing knowledge gained through connections with the Communist Party was used to rebuild the Democratic Party, as union members were a vital component to the Party’s success.

Perhaps one of the most telling events which revealed the political intentions of the island Communist Party—to change working conditions rather than overthrow the U.S. government—was the fact that during World War II, the Party in the islands was instructed to stop its operation by the Communist Party USA. Members later recalled various reasons for the halt of activities such as fear that their work in Hawai’i would be questioned especially as the islands were regarded as one of America’s first line of geographic defense against Soviet communism. Therefore, the islands would be closely scrutinized and Party

members needed to support the war efforts.<sup>91</sup> Whatever the actual reasons for the halt of the island communist movement, members identified first as Americans and less as “communists” or “Marxists.” Lenin reminds us that it is the responsibility of Marxists living within an imperialist nation to fight their own government, especially when their nation is engaged in a predatory war (e.g., World War II).<sup>92</sup> But the island Communists obediently followed orders to cease all activities.

Many have argued, including those who lived during this period, that *haole* settlers who ultimately wanted to prevent statehood spread communist infiltration ideology. While this was certainly true in some circles, such as the right-wing IMUA organization, most island settlers voted overwhelmingly for statehood by 1950. By then, the U.S. House had already passed the statehood bill. The U.S. Senate, however, was divided on the issue for internal reasons. The passage of Hawai‘i’s statehood bill would shift the balance of power within the Senate by adding two more senatorial votes, which most felt would be Republican votes. Therefore the acceptance of the statehood bill in the U.S. Senate had nothing to do with communism and a great deal to do with internal senatorial politics. In other words, statehood was not a factor in the launch of the anticommunist attacks in Hawai‘i. In fact, Malcolm MacNaughton points out Castle & Cooke, Hawaiian Electric Company, and other corporations sent lobbyists to Washington D.C. to push for statehood later in the 1950s. MacNaughton describes a generational split within the *haole* settler bourgeoisie with those under forty years supporting statehood while many in the older generation opposed it, like the powerful Walter Dillingham.<sup>93</sup>

If one recognizes that issues of communist infiltration and statehood were not as significant as the furor surrounding the HUAC hearings and the Hawai‘i

Seven trials led us to believe, the actual conditions in the islands must be addressed. One might then turn attention to the importance of which settler group would control the colonial system. This *intra-settler* conflict concerned a struggle for island dominance between the *haole* establishment, and the rising Asian settlers.

Both the Communist Party-Hawai'i and the ILWU sent members to California to be educated.<sup>94</sup> Yusuki Arakaki, who eventually wrote the strike manual for Hawai'i, said he learned how to organize effectively by attending a labor school and by participating in California strikes.<sup>95</sup> Prior to this networking on the U.S. continent, island strikes were only marginally successful.

Although anticommunist attacks were specifically used to weaken the position and reputations of the unions in Hawai'i, the larger purpose was to stop the ascendancy of a new hegemonic class. Included in the latter were war veterans of the 442<sup>nd</sup> and 100<sup>th</sup> battalions (descendants of the plantation laborer class) who used the GI Bill to educate themselves and return to the islands as attorneys, dentists, doctors, etc.—the new settler elite.

Patiently waiting for the return of the war veterans was a group of five settlers who had met on a regular basis beginning in 1944. John A. Burns, Chuck Mau, Jack Kawano, Mitsuyuki Kido, and Ernest Murai—a *haole*, a Chinese, and three Japanese—set the initial goals and direction that the Democratic Party would eventually take up. (Later this group of five settlers would expand its membership to include people such as Sparky Mastunaga, Dan Inouye, Mike Tokunaga, and Dan Aoki. They were referred to as the Burns group or faction.) Chuck Mau was the experienced politician of the group at that time and the financial backer of their meetings. Burns was a policeman who grew up on

O'ahu and worked for the FBI during the war. Kawano was the union organizer, Kido schoolteacher/politician, and Murai a dentist.

In 1938, the FBI, the colonial law enforcement agency in the islands, organized small groups of five or six Japanese men to discuss the larger Japanese settler community. This was accomplished against a larger political backdrop in which America updated its War Plan Orange against Japan (in existence since the early 1900s) and Japan colonized parts of Asia and the Pacific. The groups met twice a month for six years. Unbeknownst to each group was the existence of other similar groups. Both Kido and Murai were members of these FBI groups. Kido said the FBI "wanted to get a feel of the Japanese community, and felt that they wanted a small group that they could trust, whose loyalty was not in question at that time." He boasted he was chosen because the FBI "couldn't see me being loyal to the Emperor of Japan with the kind of views I held about democracy." According to Kido, these groups told the FBI whatever good or bad opinions they had on prominent Japanese settler leaders and organizations.<sup>96</sup> The information they willingly supplied eventually led to the arrest and detainment of Japanese *issei* (first generation) leaders after the bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941.

It is important to keep in mind the fact that these FBI informants resided in a white militarized colony. They were probably *nisei* (second generation) and extremely patriotic toward the colonial government during a time when their own *issei* parents were denied citizenship. For example, Kido was so patriotic toward the American imperialist government and proud of his informant role that years later, he protected his activities by claiming he could not recall the names of the other six-members in his FBI group. No apology was offered to the many innocent Japanese families that were devastated by his supplied



information. More importantly for our purposes, these revelations about the existence of FBI groups demonstrate that *nisei* leaders were supporting U.S. control of the islands and thus American imperialism. These *nisei* willingly divulged facts and information to the U.S. government about their own oppressed group especially about the *issei* leaders—their own community elders—who held foreign citizenship.

The formation of the group of five settlers began during the war and under martial law (est. 12/7/41) when Kido, Murai, and Kawano were members of the Emergency Service Committee (ESC), an all-Japanese committee established in 1942. The ESC was part of the military government where all members were screened by military intelligence.<sup>97</sup> As a way to maintain control over the island population, the military government established a Morale Committee composed of subcommittees—one committee for each racial group in the islands, which functioned as a liaison between the military government and their respective communities. The ESC was one of these committees.

Naturally, the military government was keenly interested in ideologically educating the Japanese so their allegiance would lie with the imperialist United States. The ESC held over two hundred meetings in the Japanese settler community dictating what to think and how to behave, including “guiding” their alien parents toward becoming loyal to the United States. They were told they could not act in any way that might cause suspicion like speaking the Japanese language, wearing Japanese clothing, congregating in large numbers, etc. Kido explained when the military ordered all firearms and short-wave radios to be turned in to prevent the *issei* from listening to news from Japan, the ESC went out into the community to collect the items. Murai said the ESC functioned to police the Japanese community for the military. As members of the ESC, they

were ideological agents, informing the Japanese community that “this is a democracy, our government will take care of us provided we don’t do anything subversive.”<sup>98</sup>

During this time, Burns was involved in espionage work for the Honolulu Police Department and FBI. In addition, he drove ESC members to their community meetings during wartime curfew and instructed them on organizing the larger Japanese community. Thus the ESC divided the island into geographic districts and designated district “supervisors” for each. This method was modeled after the one establishing police contact groups, which operated throughout the island. During these war years, Murai, Kido, and Kawano became increasingly familiar with Burns and began to think about changing island society. The ESC had received letters from soldiers from the 100<sup>th</sup> and 442<sup>nd</sup> battalions. Why were they sacrificing their lives for a society that treated them as second class citizens? Kido asked Burns for his advice. He directed them to politics.<sup>99</sup>

This group of five settlers began to set goals for wider social change in the island community. Their first objective was to help the returning Japanese veterans. Other aims were to “fight for equality of opportunity” and change real property taxes so they would “unfreeze a lot of land for residential purposes.”<sup>100</sup> Strategically, the Japanese promised social change for all residents during their struggle to take over the Democratic Party in the 1950s. However, their public pronouncements were rhetorical. Their real objective was predatory—that is, to improve the status of the Japanese (the largest racial group) within the American colonial system in the islands. There was no concern for real justice—that is, to help return the Hawaiian nation to the indigenous Hawaiians. The group of five

settlers only wanted their share of the colonial spoils for Asians, and they would need the help of the numerically large Japanese voting population.

Japanese settler politics—dominant in the islands since the 1950s—have been shaped by colonialist law enforcement and military. First, the various *nisei* leaders colluded with the colonial government agency, the FBI, during the 1930s. Second, they worked openly with the colonial military government throughout the early 1940s via the ESC. Third, they organized the larger Japanese community using colonial police methods. Fourth, young Japanese men enlisted in the colonial armed forces to support American imperialism especially in the Hawaiian Islands. Lastly, the war veterans returned to Hawai'i to participate in the settler political system. Their combined military experiences and patriotic support of American colonial policies and values ultimately shaped the objectives and direction of the newly constituted Democratic Party. Obviously, Japanese settler politics are inseparable from American imperialism.

In post-World War II Hawai'i, the "relations of force" comprising the islands' settler hegemony were reconfigured as multiple labor strikes damaged the armor of the once tightly controlled plantation capitalist economy. The changes in the "relation of social forces" created not only economic opportunities for the rising Asian working class, but political ones as well. Hence, as the original group of five settlers plotted to disrupt the political system, the returning war veterans joined them. It needs to be underscored that the economic and political activities of the unions and the group of five settlers (with veterans) were not initiated to decolonize Hawai'i. There was no intention of reestablishing an independent Hawaiian nation even though Hawai'i was placed on the UN decolonization list (see Chapter One) in 1946. The changes sought

were *reform* movements within the existing colonial system. The Japanese settlers wanted a larger share of island resources.

The group of five settlers (and later the Burns faction) were never identified as a military group, which, in fact, they were. They continually exploited their political connections to the local colonial government or their World War II military service to gain control of Hawai'i during the Cold War in a "politico-military" fashion. Burns, was a former police officer. Burns, Kido, and Murai worked with the FBI. In their work for the ESC, Burns, Kido, Murai, and Kawano represented the military government to the community. Only Mau was unconnected to law enforcement or the military, but was an important participant in the colonial government as a politician and judge. Their connections to the colonial government and military laid the foundations and set the political tone for the Japanese settler community and the newly organized Democratic Party. This is not to dismiss the significance of the roles played by other groups in the reorganization of the Democratic Party. However, for our purposes, the group of five settlers counted on the numerically large Japanese settler population votes to support their predatory initiatives and push them to colonial leadership.

When the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) came to Hawai'i in 1950, Jack Kawano was subpoenaed to testify at the hearings. Chuck Mau claimed the group of five settlers had no knowledge of Kawano's communist affiliation.<sup>101</sup> Yet, this political denial was obviously done to protect those planning to take over the Democratic Party. Significantly, three years earlier in 1947, the larger island society was shocked when Ichiro Izuka, a former union worker and Communist Party member, wrote and distributed a pamphlet, *The Truth about Communism in Hawaii*. It described the organizational structure

and activities of the Communist Party and its close relationship to the ILWU. Izuka specifically identified Communist Party members including Kawano who was described as a leader of one of several cell groups.<sup>102</sup>

The group of five settlers, plotting to organize the islands, could not have ignored the implications of Izuka's pamphlet. They undoubtedly recognized its function as an attack by the *haole* bourgeoisie on an ascending working class. Moreover, Mau explained that Kawano was the "spark plug" who gathered and held the five together. He was the "moving spirit" and political force because he had an organization behind him. At that time, none of the other four had any institutional support—"we were nobodies."<sup>103</sup>

Izuka's accusations of communist infiltration were part of a well orchestrated effort to discredit the union and its growing Asian membership. His pamphlet was distributed four days after Territorial Governor Stainback, in his Armistice speech on November 11, 1947, warned island residents of communists living in Hawai'i. Two weeks later, two public school teachers, John and Aiko Reinecke, were suspended for being communist.<sup>104</sup> Much of the hysteria in the islands can be attributed to the works of Governor Stainback and the two white settler newspapers, the *Honolulu Advertiser* and *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, although behind them stood the *haole* bourgeoisie.<sup>105</sup>

During the successful 1949 dock strike, Stainback appointed a fact-finding board to see if the strike was "communist-inspired." By the strike's end, the Territorial Legislature passed into law the formation of a Commission on Subversive Activities of the Territory.<sup>106</sup> Meanwhile Lorrin P. Thurston, editor of the *Advertiser*, ran a series of op-ed pieces called "Dear Joe" in which he insinuated that the union took its orders from Soviet leader, Joseph Stalin.<sup>107</sup> In addition, two white groups were formed during the strike to expose communism

in Hawai'i, the Broom Brigade (*haole* housewives who picketed the union office during the strike) and the Hawai'i Residents' Association (IMUA), a right-wing group.

At the 1950 HUAC hearings, Kawano admitted he was a former Communist Party member. However, he declined to answer any question identifying other Party members and describing the structure of the organization. A total of thirty-nine people refused to respond to inquiries about the Communist Party and were named the "reluctant 39." As stated earlier, twenty-one of the thirty-nine were Japanese settlers. The following year, in January 1951, the "reluctant 39" were charged and acquitted in Federal Court for refusing to testify at the HUAC hearing. In spite of his acquittal, Kawano went to Washington D.C. six months later, in July 1951, and re-testified in a special hearing before HUAC. Kawano gave HUAC what they wanted—the names of members, organizational structure, Party leaders. He willingly answered all questions. The following month on August 28, 1951, the Federal government arrested seven people under the Smith Act of 1940 for conspiring to overthrow the government. Jack Hall (ILWU head organizer), John Reinecke (teacher), Dwight James Freeman (ILWU from the U.S. continent), Charles Fujimoto (Communist Party chairman), Eileen Kee Fujimoto (ILWU secretary), Jack Kimoto (Communist Party organizer), and Koji Ariyoshi (*Honolulu Records*, editor) became known as the Hawai'i Seven. Although they were tried and convicted in 1952-1953, they were acquitted in 1958.<sup>108</sup>

The momentum for political change in Hawai'i had grown so strong by 1953 that the negative verdict at the Hawai'i Seven trial in that year had little effect upon the forces of transformation. In fact, the arrests, and later, the trial of the Hawai'i Seven served an important function. It effectively severed any

association of communism from the Democratic Party in the larger public's eye. Prior to Kawano's confession and the subsequent indictment of the Hawai'i Seven, the relationship between the Communist Party, ILWU, and the Democratic Party was suspect. People were often members of all three organizations. Many of the "reluctant 39" were members of the Democratic Party and important precinct officers. Kawano's testimony acted as a political cleaver cutting any ties between the Communist and the Democratic Party.

Although Kawano's testimony allowed the Democratic Party to emerge untainted from the communist witch-hunts, it is unclear how or if the group of five settlers discussed or strategized about their activities.<sup>109</sup> It is also vague if these five settlers split up over the decision of whether Kawano should testify or if Mau just naturally drifted apart from the other three (Burns, Kido, and Murai) or if this split was part of a larger political scheme.<sup>110</sup> What is irrefutable is that Mau accompanied Kawano to Washington D.C. and convinced the U.S. attorney general to arrest people in Hawai'i based upon Kawano's testimony. According to Mau, the attorney general was not planning to come to Hawai'i because the island leaders were not the main organizers of the Communist Party USA. Mau reminded the Federal government about the islands' strategic importance to America's efforts in the Cold War. "Russia would very much like to control the Hawaiian Islands and if they gain control of the Hawaiian Islands, they would gain control of the whole Pacific—all of the Pacific, all the way to Asia and all the way to the California Coast." Moreover, "if the citizenry were weakened—infiltrated or weakened—you could probably never hold Hawai'i."<sup>111</sup> If the Federal government did not arrest anyone in Hawai'i, then Kawano's testimony would have been squandered (and the association between the Democratic and Communist Parties would remain). Thus Mau points out

that because of his persuasive arguments, the Federal government changed its mind and came immediately to Hawai'i rather than pursue arrests and trials in Los Angeles, Chicago, Seattle, Denver, and New Orleans.

Twenty-five years later, Kawano (who had moved to California) visited Burns. After their brief meeting, a grateful Burns got out of his sick bed to walk his old friend to his car.<sup>112</sup> Without Kawano's crucial testimony, the Democratic Party had no future, and Burns would never have become Governor of Hawai'i.

Of course, Kawano's testimony alone did not assure the future success of the Democratic Party. Various leaders within the Democratic Party emphasized that the Party was anticommunist and it joined the rest of America in the fight against this "menace." At the same time, the *nisei* veterans touted and underscored their patriotism. In fact, when lobbyists urged U.S. Senators and Representatives to support Hawai'i statehood, the war records of the 100<sup>th</sup> and 442<sup>nd</sup> battalions were cited whenever questions about the loyalty of the Japanese arose. Most Washington politicians were well aware that the Japanese were the largest ethnic population in the islands.<sup>113</sup> Ironically, what began as an ideological attack by bourgeois *haole* settlers against the ascending Asian laborer class in the islands over communist infiltration, was overturned and used by Japanese settler leaders to catapult them to power. In addition, the military experience of the numerically large Japanese war veterans was used in a politico-military fashion to identify local Japanese politics as patriotic and establish an untouchable role in colony Hawai'i.

As Gramsci's work on the "relations of force" has demonstrated, the military is an important component of hegemony. The only reason Hawai'i is a colony of the United States is because it serves America's imperialist interests as a strategic U.S. military outpost (see Chapter One). By World War II, as Japan



and the United States fought over the Pacific (which included Hawai'i), *nisei* male settlers overwhelmingly chose to become American soldiers. In other words, the *nisei* supported imperialism or more specifically, America's right rather than Japan's, to colonize Hawai'i. (*Nisei* who felt allegiance to Japan's predatory efforts returned to their homeland and joined its imperial army.) After the war and throughout the communist scare years, the budding Japanese settler politicians used their war experience to launch them into political office and establish their credibility within the eyes of the larger public. Associating one's ethnic group with the U.S. military within a nationally significant militarized colony carried symbolic weight. The politico-military linkage was not lost on island residents and high-level authorities in Washington.

U.S. Senator Daniel Inouye's power in Washington and in Hawai'i was largely gained because he represents a vital military colony and supports the American armed forces without question. As a shrewd politician and a senior ranking member of the Senate, he sits on the powerful Appropriations Committee, which oversees the budget for the military as well as for the other governmental offices. As an imperialist nation and a predatory power, the United States cannot exist without a well-funded armed forces outfitted with the latest technological weaponry. As with any imperialist state, militarism permeates the whole society.<sup>114</sup> Whenever there is a crisis, Americans want to strike back militarily (e.g., the 9-11 event or other "threatening" international incidents). The first impulse of a predatory culture is always to bomb, shoot, and/or annihilate the enemy.

Most local Japanese settlers believe Inouye is someone to be feared because of the power he wields. Therefore they never question his activities even when it concerns the serious charges of sexual harassment.<sup>115</sup> However, Inouye's

power and influence are structural in the sense that any senator or representative from Hawai'i who makes the military her/his priority and supports its presence in the islands will eventually gain the same stature as Inouye. The Hawaiian Islands are vital to America's predatory agenda. In the past, the Japanese settler community ascended to co-ruling class status because of its support of and association with American imperialist forces. Several times a year, articles appear in the settler dailies about the 100<sup>th</sup> and/or the 442<sup>nd</sup> battalions. These articles serve as ideological tools—of educating new members of the local society about the link between Japanese settler hegemony and the U.S. military. Thus, during the Cold War, Japanese settlers rose to power on the coat tails of American imperialism and continually consolidate their hegemonic position by invoking this history and their politico-military tactics.

### **The State's Call to Nationalism: "Herding" Citizens**

Antonio Gramsci argues that if one wants to overturn state power, one must study the state in terms of hegemony. Gramsci was a Marxist and acknowledged that the economic system organizes and determines society. However, Gramsci was also influenced by the writings of V.I. Lenin, who pointed out that exploitation does not only come from the abuse caused by the ruling class, but from the societal structure itself. State hegemony not only organizes our physical lives, but our intellectual lives as well. Hence, to accomplish revolutionary change, an entire new state structure must be built. A change in a state's hegemonic control *will not happen* when the controlling party in office is replaced with another party. When the Democratic Party won the majority of seats in the Territorial Legislature in 1954, this was not a "revolution" as most local historians explain, but a replacement of one political party for another. Only when state hegemony *is overturned* will an entire historic period

end and another begin.<sup>116</sup> The 1959 statehood did not overthrow state hegemony, but further colonized Hawai'i.

In order to demonstrate how a state maintains hegemonic control over its citizens, Gramsci develops Lenin's concept of hegemony. A modern nation-state does not exert its political influence over its citizens solely through public/government institutions. The state also achieves and maintains its control through the work of private institutions (schools, churches, film industry, news media). Within a capitalist society like the United States, the ruling class that owns the private industries also runs and/or influences the direction of the government. Hence, Gramsci argues, when one studies the hegemonic control of the state, one must consider the private institutions as part of the state's apparatus. For example, the American corporate-controlled news media interprets the world for us. It determines what is "newsworthy" and what is not, and reports an event from a particular political perspective (e.g., patriotic, white, middle-class male world view). Scholar and activist Noam Chomsky explains that the news media are "corporations" owned by the elite who expect their news to reflect their interests. Thus, journalists who do not "conform" to the ideologies of the dominant class, and thus of the nation-state, are rarely promoted to "primetime" positions and the nightly news we receive reflects the government's perspective. Whether the journalists are covering wars abroad or poverty at home, they rarely present alternative viewpoints on issues.<sup>117</sup> An overt example is the United States support of Israel's right to colonize Palestine. Acts of Palestinian resistance to this imperialist situation are described as "acts of terrorism." In the spring of 2002, when Israel's military bulldozed Palestinian towns and reduced them to rubble under the guise of looking for terrorists, CNN interviewed Usama Hamdan, a member of the Palestinian nationalist Hamas

group, to supposedly obtain the Palestinian perspective of the situation. However, the caption above his name, "Spokesman for Terror?" encouraged viewers to distrust his words.

The American educational system is another example of private institutions that are used to "steer" citizens toward the acceptance of state interests. School children are educated to think within the U.S. nationalistic perspective. For example, elementary and secondary education characterizes America's acquisition of its national land base in terms of "Manifest Destiny." It is never represented as an imperial and genocidal campaign to seize the national lands of Native nations. Another example is the teaching of school children that the United States is the preeminent defender of human rights. In reality, America violates Native peoples' human rights by denying them the right to choose their nationality. Native peoples were not asked to become U.S. citizens but were forced to becoming colonial subjects.<sup>118</sup> If one recognizes that the educational system is part of the state apparatus, then one begins to understand that the knowledge base of a citizenry is indeed political.

Gramsci argues there are two producers of the state's hegemonic laws and ideologies—the public institutions found in political society and the private institutions found in civil society. These producers are always in a dialectical relationship, which he refers to as the dual perspective. For Gramsci, then, to understand the state's maintenance of hegemony, one must look beyond political society to civil society. The public institutions in political society exert *coercion* on a nation's citizens through the passage of laws and judicial rulings, while private institutions in civil society *win* the public's support through school curricula, news reports, films, and other means. Thus Gramsci argues that the dual perspective is accomplished through a dialectic of force and consent. The

state "forces" compliance from its citizens through legislative laws and judicial rulings, while it gains "consent" from its citizens through ideological concepts disseminated through schools, churches, and television networks. These dual processes constantly *dominate* and *direct* the citizens of a nation to accept particular ideas and world views. If citizens disagree with the dominant ideologies, the state has laws in place to limit their ability to dissent. Thus laws make clear just who has political power and who does not. Therefore, when citizens resist the state, they are legally harassed and/or incarcerated. Public institutions *coerce* citizens into obedience while private institutions *educate* them to support the existing hegemony of the modern state and its dominant group.<sup>119</sup>

A simple way to visualize this hegemonic movement is to think of a shepherdess moving her goat herd down a path. If the goats (citizens of a society) stray too far to the right or left of the path (state/national ideologies), the shepherdess (the state) sends her dog to redirect their course. The shepherdess possesses a variety of methods to control her herd. For example, the shepherdess can command her dog at a running pace to move the left side of the herd. The dog's speed and sudden presence (laws/force) intimidates the goats, through the threat of violence, to run back to the center of the herd. For a more subtle approach, the shepherdess can send the dog out at a walking pace (ideologies/consent). The straying goats will continue to graze, but upon noticing the dog's presence, will slowly and "voluntarily" change their direction at their own pace. Whether the individual goats are moving from left to right or vice versa, the larger herd is moving steadily forward on the path. While the goats sometimes choose which leaf or blade of grass to eat, or which part of the path to walk on (citizens have limited agency), the shepherdess controls the overall direction of her goat herd.

To show how this analysis works, let's quickly look at the events following 9-11. Within a short period, citizens were herded to accept the state's "war on terrorism." Within five or six months, Washington created the illusion that the United States was under a permanent state of siege and thus needed to use the undue power of the Presidency to act swiftly and responsibly. The ideological task of gaining public consent was not difficult as the air strikes in New York and Washington D.C. stunned and angered most Americans. Washington immediately interpreted the blowback situation as a "terrorist attack" and garnered support from the corporate-controlled media (print, TV, internet) which in turn informed/educated the churches, schools, and other institutions in civil society. Meanwhile public institutions within the state apparatus created structural changes to "dominate" society. First, Bush created the Office of Homeland Security, then ordered the military attack on al-Qaeda training camps in Afghanistan (even though no direct evidence of responsibility for 9-11 existed). Later, the five major television stations agreed to the state's request to prohibit televising a bin Laden tape.<sup>120</sup> In late October, Bush signed the USA Patriot Act, which eroded the civil liberties of citizens.<sup>121</sup> Then, in November, Bush issued a military order enabling the military to detain and hold trials for "terrorists." In December, the United States pulled out of the 1972 Antiballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty to begin building its missile defenses and use them against "terrorists who strike without warning, or rogue states who seek weapons of mass destruction."<sup>122</sup>

Most Americans were frightened by the dissemination of ideological messages on the "war on terrorism," and thus applauded President Bush's 2002 State of the Union address when he called North Korea, Iran, and Iraq the "axis of evil."<sup>123</sup> Bush identified these nations as terrorist states to prepare Americans

for war with Iraq which happens to be the second largest oil producing nation after Saudia Arabia. Through herding, the state steers its citizens down the path of state interests. In this case, the "war on terrorism" was/is used to disguise American imperialism and its long-range goals of oil profits and global domination.

*The Herding of Japanese Settlers: From Unruly Laborers to Colonial Rulers*

Young Japanese in Hawaii should remember, moreover, that already they are having exceptional privileges because they are in Hawaii. Had they been born and reared in Japan, their opportunities, even for a High School education, would be very slight indeed. The higher openings in Japan would be even less likely to come to them as farmers' sons, than they are in Hawaii, even with the handicap of being Japanese.

Dr. Sidney L. Gulick  
February 1924<sup>124</sup>

I have experienced many moments that make me proud to be an American. It made me a proud American when our government admitted that it was wrong to have incarcerated loyal and law abiding Japanese Americans in those camps during World War II. And I was a proud America when we passed the civil rights laws and said to our African American brothers and sisters that they are equal in the eyes of the law.

U.S. Senator Daniel K. Inouye  
2000 Democratic Party Convention<sup>125</sup>

Using the herding analysis, I want to show how the United States as a colonial state, "steered" the Japanese settlers in Hawai'i down the path of American nationalism (and thus, imperialism). I will only highlight a few events to illustrate the transformation of Japanese settlers from contract laborers in 1885 into "successful immigrants."<sup>126</sup> The U.S. state implemented two acts in the late nineteenth century that radically changed the political and social life of Hawai'i. Even though the Hawaiian Kingdom was an ally of the United States and internationally recognized as an independent nation by other countries, the U.S. military overthrew it in 1893. Five years later, the U.S. state annexed Hawai'i

against the opposition of the Native Hawaiian community.<sup>127</sup> These two actions from public institutions—the U.S. military and Congress—are the direct "force" (laws) that Gramsci describes in his dual perspective. Whatever the *issei* thought about the United States before the beginning of the twentieth century, their attitudes were radically altered by these imperial acts.

Shortly after the turn of the century, Japan stunned the world with its military victory over Russia (1904-05). This singular event inspired revolutionaries fighting against colonialism in Africa and Asia and frightened the public in Europe and the United States. Never before in modern history had a non-white nation succeeded militarily over a white nation. American anxieties over the "yellow peril" increased and the "Japanese Question" was publicly discussed on the continental United States and in Hawai'i.<sup>128</sup>

By 1900, the Japanese were already the largest racial group in the Hawaiian islands, comprising one-third of the population. Discussions on the "Japanese Question" in Hawai'i centered around this large population and the increasing number of its *nisei* children. U.S. Territorial leaders feared that *nisei* settlers would become a formidable voting constituency. While they needed the Japanese as laborers and servants, the white population did not want the former to gain in economic, social, and political status. Thus the "Japanese Question" became the contentious subject of discussions throughout the islands in churches, at conferences, and in the daily papers.<sup>129</sup> It was the beginning of what Native Hawaiian political leader Haunani-Kay Trask identifies as the "intra-hegemonic" struggle. Complicated by the racist beliefs of white settlers against Asians and the desires of Japanese to become successful Americans equal to *haole* (whites), these two settler communities would battle over the dominance of colonial Hawai'i and eventually form effective, but uneasy alliances.<sup>130</sup>



By 1920, the United States' public institutions had passed two laws that affected Japanese settlers: 1) the 1908 Gentlemen's Agreement restricting the immigration of Japanese from Japan to Hawai'i and from Hawai'i to the continental United States, and 2) the 1924 Immigration Act severely restricting immigration from non-European nations. Within the civil society of the settler colony, the Japanese settlers organized major strikes in 1909 and 1920 against their sugar planter employers. The intent of the strikers, which involved thousands of workers, was to obtain decent wages from the colonial plantation owners. However, the English language papers demonized the strikers as "conspirators" and characterized their activities as "unAmerican."<sup>131</sup> As producers of ideological beliefs, the local newspapers educated their readers about what it meant to be an "American"--that is, what it meant to the white colonial economy and government. Do not strike against one's employer, they preached. While the front pages heavily criticized the striking Japanese laborers, the following pages encouraged their participation in the economy and thus included business advertisements placed by people of Japanese ancestry. An efficient and competitive capitalist economy was pivotal for the white settlers--their profits and presence in Hawai'i were dependent on the labor of the Japanese, and to a lesser degree, the cooperation of the Japanese business community.

Lorrin A. Thurston, one of the architects of the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom, was also the publisher of the daily *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*. Hence his paper reflected his pro-American colonial politics. During the six months of the sugar strike initiated by the Japanese in 1920, Thurston's paper conducted two essay contests for children. The essays asked children to respond to the questions "How I Earn My Money" and "What It Means to Be an American."<sup>132</sup>

Given the concerns of the Territorial leaders about *nisei* children's political viewpoints, it is not too difficult to recognize the ideological tactic used by Thurston's newspaper to teach children, especially the *nisei*, not to sympathize with the strikers, their own parents and providers. Incidentally, this is the same strategy that President George W. Bush used in 2001 with the Afghan Children's Fund. It ideologically educated school children to support the U.S. imperialist bombings of Afghanistan.

In the 1920s, the Territory of Hawai'i (the colonial government), through three legislative bills, forced the Japanese language schools to close their doors. Territorial leaders and the *haole* community believed that the *nisei* children were being educated to become Japanese nationalists at these schools. Placing these schools under Territorial scrutiny, such as testing language teachers for their knowledge of American history, Territorial elites thought they could disrupt the Japanese community's centers of learning. Japanese settlers eventually took the Territorial government to court over this closure and won their case in the U.S. Supreme Court. Of interest here is the fact that the Japanese community framed their case (and their contentious internal debates over the issues) within American ideological beliefs about the democratic rights of immigrants in an "immigrant nation." Neither the Japanese who felt the need to appease the *haole* community by eliminating anything "Japanese" from their lives, nor those who felt America guarantees them the right to educate their children in their own manner, ever questioned the legality of the colonial Territorial government's presence in the islands or its ideological beliefs about democracy toward the Native people. The Japanese, by this time, were well on their way to becoming American colonialists, educated to think of themselves as "immigrants." <sup>133</sup>

During the 1930s and early 1940s, *haole* editors of English Language papers discussed the "Japanese Question." These editors often concluded that *nisei* with dual citizenship were disloyal to the United States.<sup>134</sup> Hence in 1941, when Japan's military bombed America's colonial possession, Pearl Harbor, many Japanese settlers destroyed personal items from Japan, or possessions associated with Japanese culture such as language books and clothing. They even closed their temples to signify their loyalty to the United States. *Nisei* volunteered in large numbers to join the U.S. colonial military that had declared war on Japan.

In summary, the overt and subtle "herding" tactics used by the settler colonial government and its *haole* citizens are methods used to maintain American hegemony in Hawai'i. By asserting particular laws and ideological beliefs, they continually herded the Japanese forward, transforming them from uncooperative laborers into "voluntarily" patriotic American citizens-as-immigrants. Like other ethnic groups of color, the Japanese path toward economic, social, and political "success" in the United States was paved with the reality of racist laws and the fiction of participating in a moral nation.

Gramsci's concept of the dual perspective is useful for any examination of a state's maintenance of hegemony. His insights about the dialectical relationship between institutions in political and civil societies are instructive because they demonstrate how the modern state ideologically educates its citizens about the interests of the state. There is never a moment when the state is not "steering" the public to support particular kinds of policies, legislation, or beliefs that benefit the dominant group. In addition, the presence of contentious debates gives citizens the illusion that there is room for oppositional views and participatory democracy.<sup>135</sup>

### **Conclusion: Migrating from One Predatory Culture (Japanese) to Another (American)**

For culture is first the expression of a nation, the expression of its preferences, of its taboos and of its patterns. It is at every stage of the whole of society that other taboos, values, and patterns are formed.  
Frantz Fanon<sup>136</sup>

Knowledge shall be sought throughout the world so as to strengthen the foundations of imperial rule.

The Charter Oath of 1868  
Meiji Government<sup>137</sup>

While the United States herded Japanese settlers in Hawai'i down the path of American nationalism, it should be remembered that this relatively quick transition was accomplished in part because the Japanese came from a predatory culture. As argued earlier, both Japan and America are imperialist states that deem it natural and acceptable to take other peoples' lands, resources, and laborers for the benefit and profit of the pillaging nation. Thus the national culture which functions to uphold and support the efforts of the state is one with predatory values. By extension, this means the Japanese already understood the predatory impulse before they crossed the Pacific Ocean and arrived in the American settler island colony.

Conquest is one of the elements in Japan's foundational myth. Over 2,500 years ago, the first Emperor, Jimmu Tenno, a divine being who "founded the earthly domain of the imperial line," commanded to bring "the eight corners of the world under one Japanese roof." That is to say, the people's mission was to go out and colonize the countries of the world in the name of the emperor, which was synonymous with Japan.<sup>138</sup> The idea of imperialism, for the Japanese, is not a modern one. Rather, it is an ancient idea linked to the creation of Japanese sovereignty by a decree of the first emperor.

For the Japanese, the relationship between the emperor and the people has special significance and it has shaped their national polity, *kokutai*. Perhaps a better translation of *kokutai* for our purposes is that of “national essence” or national culture.<sup>139</sup> Historian Bob Wakabayashi writes that *kokutai* means “what is essential to make a people into a nation.”<sup>140</sup> In the broadest sense, *kokutai* is basically 1) the recognition of the emperor as the highest authority and 2) the relationship between the emperor and his subjects as governed by the “morality of filial piety and loyalty...which made the nation an organic whole.”<sup>141</sup> These ideas originated from the belief that Japan is sacred because of “the harmonious unity of the ruler and the people, the whole nation as one family under the rule of the emperor, his line unbroken for ages eternal.”<sup>142</sup> Japanese leaders traditionally politicized this foundational myth whenever a new regime came into power. Otherwise, Japanese historian Daikichi Irokawa argues, *kokutai* “remained submerged at the level of custom, a part of the nation’s subconscious.”<sup>143</sup> Over the centuries, this concept developed to encompass Japanese works of art, literature, law, religion, etc. Irokawa discusses *kokutai* approximates Gramsci’s explanation of “common sense”—that is to say, the “familial” relationship between the “divine” ruler and the ruled, his decrees, and by inference the superiority of the Japanese (because of Japan’s divine origins) became part of the consciousness of the masses.<sup>144</sup> It was, as Irokawa suggests, a “Japanese folkway.”

However, Irokawa cautions that *kokutai* is not a “social contract but represents a natural bond between the emperor and the people; it is distinct from the political system and remains immutable under imperial rule, however the political system may change.” For example, *kokutai* was used to organize the citizenry whether the government was a monarchy, such as in ancient times, or a

military regime, such as in the Tokugawa era. The various forms of government did not change the national essence, the *kokutai*. The Meiji period (1868-1912) was no different from previous periods in that *kokutai* was placed in their Charter Oath of 1868 (see above quote) as well as in the 1889 Constitution to legitimize that the right to sovereignty descended from the first emperor and encompassed the loyalty of the citizenry. The Constitution's preamble declares "The rights of sovereignty of the State, We have inherited from Our Ancestors." The various themes of *kokutai* such as the sacredness of the emperor, the filial piety of the citizens to their imperial leader, and their obedience to fulfill Japan's mission (one of which is conquest) is expressed well in the 1889 "Imperial Speech on the Promulgation of the Constitution." This passage defines who the Japanese as a nation are.

The Imperial Founder of Our House and Our other Imperial Ancestors, by the help and support of the forefathers of Our subjects, laid the foundation of Our Empire upon a basis which is to last forever. That this brilliant achievement embellishes the annals of Our country, is due to the glorious virtues of Our Sacred Imperial Ancestors, and to the loyalty and bravery of Our subjects, their love of their country, and their public spirit. Considering that Our subjects are the descendants of the loyal and good subjects of Our Imperial Ancestors, We doubt not but that Our subjects will be guided by Our views, and will sympathize with all Our endeavours, and that, harmoniously cooperating together, they will share with Us Our hope of making manifest the glory of Our country, both at home and abroad, and of securing forever the stability of the work bequeathed to Us by Our Imperial Ancestors.<sup>145</sup>

Irokawa acknowledges that he was quite startled to realize how *kokutai* had become "common sense" knowledge. Even activist leaders from the popular rights groups in the 1880s who disagreed with the imperial system, invoked it in their drafts of constitution they submitted to the ruling government.<sup>146</sup> For Irokawa, this demonstrates that the Meiji government was not the sole proprietor of the Japanese national essence. The latter importantly existed within the culture-at-large. The belief in the divinity of the emperor, the sacred relationship

between emperor and his subjects, and the emperor's right to rule the universe, were independent of governments which rose and fell in time. For our purposes, it also meant that a belief in conquest was widely accepted by the Japanese as an inextricable component of *kokutai*. Imperialism, then, was always assumed and in the Imperial Speech quoted above, the Meiji government reveals its obligation to execute the "work bequeathed" from the first emperor. This meant that the subsequent Japanese colonization of large portions of Asia and the Pacific in the twentieth century was a manifestation of a national essence shaped by a predatory consciousness.

Young Japanese who migrated as contract laborers *en masse* to Hawai'i between 1885-1924 carried *kokutai* within them. If one recalls, the Meiji period is one where Japan reorganizes itself to prevent physical colonization by western nations as well as asserts itself as a player in the international arena. While *fukoku kyōhei* (enrich the nation, strengthen the military) was used to rally the public into action behind Tokyo's imperialist efforts, *kokutai* was the "moral essence" of the state and thereby of the national polity which included the migrating *issei*.

The Meiji government's ideological education of its citizens can be seen in its 1890 Rescript on Education when school textbooks were updated to include the Meiji interpretation of *kokutai*, which became the core of the Meiji emperor system (*tennōsei*). To underscore the importance of *kokutai* for ordinary citizens, Irokawa cites a well known story called "A Sailor's Mother." Elementary schoolchildren would recite this composition for their parents. The story unfolds during the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 (an imperialist war between China and Japan over Korea) where a commanding officer sees a young sailor crying over a letter written in a woman's handwriting. Assuming the sailor is weeping

over a woman, the commanding officer chastises him for being weak and having a poor attitude about war. The young sailor tells the officer that the letter is from his mother who writes she is disappointed because he did not participate in a particular battle and that the unit did not accomplish much in a later skirmish. She asks him "Why did you go into battle? Wasn't it to sacrifice your life to repay the emperor?" The mother says she feels as if her heart is breaking whenever she thinks of her son's cowardice and thus prays at the shrine every day for his eventual victory. Upon hearing this explanation, the commanding officer apologizes and speaks of his admiration for the sailor's mother's attitude. Thus the sailor leaves smiling.<sup>147</sup>

With its value of predatory interests, *kokutai* was then, and is now an integral part of Japanese national culture. It was considered an honor to engage in imperialist wars in the name of the emperor such as in the battle over Korea during the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95. Predatory consciousness was, and remains a naturalized value within Japanese hegemony. While the Meiji state actively herded its citizens down the path of nationalism, the United States did the same to its own settler people. The *issei* and *nisei* were herded by America to shed their allegiance to Japan and become loyal to the United States. The Japanese were steered to drop their Japanese mannerism and practices and adopt American ones. What is important to underscore is that the United States never asked the Japanese to give up their value of predatory consciousness, because it was important to settler America. The Japanese settlers were asked to transfer their patriotism from their homeland to their new settler state. Exploiting Native lands, resources, and peoples was encouraged and presented as the American way of doing things. For the Japanese, then, once they overcame the obstacles of



white racism, American settler hegemony or imperialist predatory peace was an alarmingly familiar and comfortable space to occupy.

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- <sup>1</sup> Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Constance Farrington (New York: Grove Press, 1963), 40.
- <sup>2</sup> V.I. Lenin, *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* (Moscow: Co-Operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the U.S.S.R, 1934), 71.
- <sup>3</sup> Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, ed. and trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1971), 258.
- <sup>4</sup> Chalmers Johnson, *Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2000), 8.
- <sup>5</sup> U.S. President George W. Bush, *Address to the Nation, 11 September 2001*, <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09>> (20 November 2001).
- <sup>6</sup> D. Stanley Eitsen and Maxine Baca Zinn, *In Conflict and Order: Understanding Society*, 9<sup>th</sup> ed. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2001), 83.
- <sup>7</sup> V.I. Lenin, *Questions of National Policy and Proletarian Internationalism* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, n.d.), 19.
- <sup>8</sup> V.I. Lenin, *Lenin on the United States: Selections from the Writings of V.I. Lenin* (New York: International Publishers, 1970), 290.
- <sup>9</sup> Nelson Lichtenstein, Susan Strasser, Roy Rosenzweig, *Who Built America? Working People and the Nation's Economy, Politics, Culture, and Society*, vol. 2, *Since 1877* (New York: Worth Publishers, 2000), A22.
- <sup>10</sup> Raymond Williams, *Problems in Materialism and Culture* (London: Verso, 1980), 38-39.
- <sup>11</sup> Eitsen and Zinn, *In Conflict and Order*, 97-106.
- <sup>12</sup> Although Michael Parenti does not embrace the idea that all Americans want to be "number one" and that America has a predatory culture, he nonetheless writes a very interesting chapter which ties his idea of "superpatriotism" to the military. See Michael Parenti, "Chapter 3: Superpatriotism: The Importance of Being 'Number One,'" *Land of Idols: Political Mythology in America* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), 26-39.
- <sup>13</sup> Ngugi wa Thiong'o, *Moving the Centre: The Struggle for Cultural Freedoms* (London: James Currey, 1993), 42.
- <sup>14</sup> U.S. President George W. Bush, *Speech given aboard the USS Enterprise on Pearl Harbor Day, 7 December 2001*, <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001>> (12 December 2001).  
Also see Cheney's speech which vehemently proclaims the war against terrorism "will only end with their complete and permanent destruction." U.S. Vice President Dick Cheney, *Speech given at the 56<sup>th</sup> Annual Alfred E. Smith Memorial Foundation Dinner, 8 October 2001*, <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/vicepresident/news-speeches>> (16 March 2002).
- <sup>15</sup> Lenin, *Lenin on the United States*, 206.
- <sup>16</sup> U.S. President George W. Bush, *Message to Joint Session of Congress, 20 September 2001*, <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001>> (10 October 2001).
- <sup>17</sup> Lenin, *Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, 71.
- <sup>18</sup> V.I. Lenin, *State and Revolution* (New York: International Publishers, 1932), 30.
- <sup>19</sup> Antonio Gramsci, *Antonio Gramsci: Selections from Cultural Writings*, ed. David Forgacs and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, trans. by William Boelhower (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1985), 389.

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- <sup>20</sup> Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, 377.
- <sup>21</sup> Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*, 35-106 (violence in the colonies), 81 (peaceful violence).
- <sup>22</sup> Lenin, *State and Revolution*, 8.
- <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.
- <sup>24</sup> V.I. Lenin, *Lenin on War and Peace: Three Articles* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1966), 63.
- <sup>25</sup> For more details on the ideas in this paragraph, see Lenin, *State and Revolution*, 8-10.  
Marx writes, "Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but *the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*." See Karl Marx, "Critique of the Gotha Program," *The Marx-Engels Reader*, 2d. ed., ed. Robert C. Tucker (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1978), 538.
- <sup>26</sup> Lenin, *Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, 37-38.
- <sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 21-22.
- <sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.
- <sup>29</sup> In Gramsci's citation, I added the words within the brackets to clarify what Gramsci was referring to. Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, 366.
- <sup>30</sup> Anne Showstack Sasson, *Gramsci's Politics*, 2d. ed. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980), 120.
- <sup>31</sup> Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, 366.
- <sup>32</sup> Marx writes, "The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political, and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness." See Karl Marx, "Preface to *A Critique of Political Economy*," *Karl Marx: Selected Writings*, ed. David McLellan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 389.
- <sup>33</sup> V.I. Lenin, *Introduction to Marx, Engels, Marxism* (New York: International Publishers, 1987), 20.
- <sup>34</sup> Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, 180-183.
- <sup>35</sup> Haunani-Kay Trask coined the insightful metaphor, the prostitution of Hawaiian culture, to clarify the exploitative nature of the settler tourist industry, which profits from the commodification of the colonized Hawaiian people and their culture. Haunani-Kay Trask, "Lovely Hula Hands: Corporate Tourism and the Prostitution of Hawaiian Culture," *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i*, rev. ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 136-147. Original publication (Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press, 1993).
- <sup>36</sup> Haunani-Kay Trask, "Stealing Hawai'i: The War Machine at Work," *Honolulu Weekly*, 17-23 July 2002.
- <sup>37</sup> Lenin, *Introduction to Marx, Engels, Marxism*, 65.
- <sup>38</sup> U.S. Senator Daniel Inouye, *Speech given at the Democratic Convention 2000, 15 August 2000*, <[http://216.148.247.98/hi/inouye\\_daniel/podium815.html](http://216.148.247.98/hi/inouye_daniel/podium815.html)> (17 August 2000).
- <sup>39</sup> Lenin, *Lenin on War and Peace: Three Articles*, 81.

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<sup>40</sup> Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, 328, 333, 375-377.

<sup>41</sup> U.S. President George W. Bush, *Remarks to the Warsaw Conference on Combating Terrorism*, 6 November 2001, <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001>> (16 November 2001).

<sup>42</sup> Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, 350.

<sup>43</sup> Ronald Takaki, *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983), v.

<sup>44</sup> Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, 376-377.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 195.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 389.

<sup>47</sup> Ironically, Bush's characterization of "terrorist" states can easily describe the United States. For example, America is an oligarchy in which U.S. citizens are forced to accept and conform to settler culture, values, and worldview. See U.S. President George W. Bush, *Speech given aboard the USS Enterprise*.

<sup>48</sup> Pepe Escobar, "The Roving Eye: Pipelineistan, Part 1: The Rules of the Game," *Asia Times Online*, 25 January 2002.

<sup>49</sup> James M. Cypher, "Return of the Iron Triangle: The New Military Buildup," *Dollars and Sense*, no. 239 (January/February 2002): 16-19, 37-38.

<sup>50</sup> With the new placement of U.S. military bases in Central Asia, Iran and China (two adversaries of America) are encircled by the United States. See William M. Arkin, "U.S. Air Bases Forge Double-Edged Sword," *Los Angeles Times*, 6 January 2002; Eric Schmitt and James Dao, "U.S. Is Building Up Its Military Bases in Afghan Region," *New York Times*, 9 January 2002; Qamar Agha, "The U.S. and Central Asian Oil," *The Hindu*, 28 January 2002; Chalmers Johnson, *The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy, and the End of the Republic* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2004), 182-185; Ahmed Rashid, "Central Asia," in *Power Trip: U.S. Unilateralism and Global Strategy After September 11*, ed. John Feffer (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2003), 119-123; and Lutz Kleveman, *The New Great Game: Blood and Oil in Central Asia* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2003), 115.

<sup>51</sup> Michael T. Klare, *Resource Wars: The New Landscape of Global Conflict* (New York: Metropolitan/Owl Books, 2001).

<sup>52</sup> The amount of energy reserves in the Caspian Sea basin fluctuates in ranking between second and third largest in the world. This fluctuation in ranking is due to the fact that figures are based on the potential production of the oil and gas reserve and not on actual production. Nevertheless, the energy resources are calculated to be immense. The authors of this article, Yergin and Gustafson, are president and director, respectively, of the Cambridge Energy Research Associates, which is an oil research and consulting firm. Daniel Yergin and Thane Gustafson, "Evolution of an Oil Rush," *New York Times*, 6 August 1997.

The U.S. Department of Energy reports that within the next decade, Kazakhstan could become "one of the world's largest oil producers and exporters," while Turkmenistan (neighbor to Afghanistan) holds the fifth largest oil and natural gas reserves in the world. U.S. Department of Energy, Energy Information Administration, "Kazakhstan, January 2002" and "Turkmenistan, June 2001," <<http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/caspian>> (4 May 2002).

<sup>53</sup> Hilary McCutcheon and Richard Osbon, "Caspian Production Potential-1: Discoveries Alter Caspian Region Energy Potential," *The Oil and Gas Journal* 99, no. 51 (December 17, 2001): 18-24.

In 2001, OPEC announced Kazakhstan could become the world's largest producer of crude oil by 2015. "OPEC Believes Kazakhstan May Become World's Largest Oil Producer," *Alexander's Gas & Oil Connections* 6, no. 15 (August 14, 2001), <<http://www.gasandoil.com/goc.news>> (6 May 2002). Also see "Central Asian Oil Influence Set to Grow," *Gulf News*, 14 January 2002.

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UNOCAL with Saudi Arabia's Delta Oil Company created a consortium, CentGas, in 1995 to build gas pipelines through Afghanistan. The project was ultimately dropped when the U.S. military began bombing Osama bin Laden's training camps in 1998. Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 159-180.

<sup>54</sup> Elton L. Daniel, "The Central Asian Quagmire," (paper presented at the Globalization Learning Forum, Honolulu, Hawai'i, November 2001), 4.

<sup>55</sup> For more information on the "new great game," see Klare, "Chapter Four: Energy Conflict in the Caspian Sea Basin," *Resource Wars*, 81-108; also "Part 3: The New Great Game" in Ahmed Rashid's analysis of the region and in particular Afghanistan, see Rashid, *Taliban*, 143-216; for a Washington insider's analysis of the strategic importance of Central Asia for the United States, see former National Security Advisor (1977-1981) and consultant for Amoco Zbigniew Brzezinski, *The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives* (New York: Basic Books, 1997).

For shorter articles on the connection between oil, Central Asia, and the United States, see Bruce W. Nelan, "The Rush for Caspian Oil," *Time.com* 151, no. 17 (May 4, 1998); also see Dan Morgan and David B. Ottaway, "Azerbaijan's Riches Alter the Chessboard," *Washington Post*, 4 October 1998; Dan Morgan and David B. Ottaway, "Gas Pipeline Bounces Between Agendas," *Washington Post*, 5 October 1998; Dan Morgan and David B. Ottaway, "Kazakh Field Stirs U.S.-Russian Rivalry," *Washington Post*, 6 October 1998; also see Ranjit Devraj, "The Oil Behind Bush and Son's Campaigns," *Asia Times Online*, 6 October 2001; Pepe Escobar, "The Roving Eye: Pipelineistan, Part 1: The Rules of the Game," *Asia Times Online*, 25 January 2002; and Pepe Escobar, "The Roving Eye: Pipelineistan, Part 2: The Games Nations Play," *Asia Times Online*, 26 January 2002.

<sup>56</sup> Other major energy corporations that flocked to the region were Exxon-Mobil, Royal Dutch/Shell, Elf Aquitaine of France, Agip of Italy, Stat-oil of Norway, Lukoil of Russia, China National Petroleum Corporation. Klare, *Resource Wars*, 86.

<sup>57</sup> V.I. Lenin, *Imperialism: The Highest State of Capitalism, A Popular Outline* (New York: International Publishers, 1939), 65.

<sup>58</sup> A current example of multilateral banks and First World corporations profiting from the development of a Third World country is the predicament in Laos (Lao People's Democratic Republic or Lao PDR). The World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, and the United Nations Development Program advised Lao PDR to construct dams in its Mekong Delta in order to sell hydro-electricity energy to its neighbors Thailand and Vietnam. However, once the Laotian government proceeded to build the dams, Vietnam's needs for Laotian electricity lessened—because the three international agencies had also advised Vietnam to build its own dams. Now Lao PDR is left with a large bill from First World construction corporations, an ecologically damaged Mekong Delta, and the displacement of Native peoples from their traditional lands—while the First World corporations enjoy profits from the ventures in both Lao PDR and Vietnam. For details on the eight dam sites in Lao PDR, see International Rivers Network, *Power Struggle: The Impacts of Hydro-Development in Laos* (Berkeley: International Rivers Network, February 1999).

Also see a scathing article on the United States and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) by Joseph Stiglitz, chief economist of the World Bank from 1997 to 2000. Among his criticisms is his assertion that economists of the IMF often write draft reports for a Third World country before even visiting the country. Joseph Stiglitz, "The Insider: What I Learned at the World Economic Crisis," *The New Republic* 222, nos. 16 and 17 (April 17 & 24, 2000): 56-60.

Also see Bruce Rich, *Mortgaging the Earth: the World Bank, Environmental Impoverishment, and the Crisis of Development* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994), and Mark Weisbrot, "Foreign Economic Policy," in *Power Trip: U.S. Unilateralism and Global Strategy After September 11*, ed. John Feffer (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2003), 85-96.

<sup>59</sup> A. Sivanandan, "Globalism and the Left," *Race and Class* 40, no. 2/3 (1998/99): 9.

<sup>60</sup> John Feffer, "Globalization & Militarization," *Foreign Policy in Focus* 7, no. 1 (February 2002), <<http://www.fpif.org>> (27 April 2002).

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<sup>61</sup> James M. Cypher, "Return of the Iron Triangle": 16-19. Also see Michelle Ciarrocca, "Post-9/11: Economic Windfalls for Arms Manufacturers," *Foreign Policy in Focus* 7, no. 10 (September 2002), <<http://www.fpiif.org>> (1 October 2002); Jerry Harris, "The US Military in the Era of Globalisation," *Race & Class* 44, no. 2 (2002): 1-22; and Sohan Sharma and Surindar Kumar, "The Military Backbone of Globalisation," *Race & Class* 44, no. 3 (2002): 23-39.

<sup>62</sup> Halliburton Company, "Achievements and Landmarks," Halliburton Web site, <<http://www.halliburton.com/about/history>> (11 May 2002). Also read more about Kellogg, Brown and Root in "Chapter 9: The Military Support Firm: BRS" in P.W. Singer, *Corporate Warriors: The Rise of the Privatized Military Industry* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 136-148 and CorpWatch and Global Exchange, *Houston, We Have a Problem: An Alternative Annual Report on Halliburton, April 2004* (Oakland, California: CorpWatch and Global Exchange, 2004).

<sup>63</sup> Chatterjee states Halliburton's award of a lucrative ten-year contract from the Pentagon on December 14, 2001, is called the "Logistics Civil Augmentation Program (LOGCAP)." See Pratap Chatterjee, "The War on Terrorism's Gravy Train," *CorpWatch: Holding Corporations Accountable*, 2 May 2002, <<http://www.corpwatch.org/issues>> (17 May 2002).

<sup>64</sup> Halliburton Company, "Halliburton Alliance Awarded Integrated Service Contract Offshore Caspian Sea in Turkmenistan," 1997 Press Release, October 27, 1997, <<http://www.halliburton.com/news/archive/1997>> (11 May 2002).

As a constant "insider," less than a week into the Iraq War (Spring 2003), Halliburton (KBR) received the no-bid contract to put out oil fires in Iraq. See "Halliburton Handed No-Bid Iraqi Oil Firefighting Contract," *Common Dreams*, 26 March 2003, <<http://www.commondreams.org/headlines03/0325-11.htm>> (26 March 2003).

<sup>65</sup> Lenin, *Imperialism*, 41-42.

<sup>66</sup> Al Gore, "The Selling of an Energy Policy," *The New York Times*, 21 April 2002. Also see Don Van Natta Jr. and Neela Banerjee, "Bush Policies Have Been Good to Energy Industry," *The New York Times*, 21 April 2002, and its companion piece, Don Van Natta Jr. and Neela Banerjee, "High Administration Officials Have Links to Energy Industry," *New York Times*, 21 April 2002.

In an enlightening *New York Times* article, Neela Banerjee reports oil companies that once wanted to exploit the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) now argue it is cheaper and more profitable to go abroad to drill for oil. Even though corporations have to deal with harsh physical conditions such as winters in the North Sea or with civil wars as in Angola, profits reaped from these areas "make the investments worthwhile." Environmentalist groups tie up energy corporations in litigation for years, making prospecting within wildlife refuges in the United States risky and unprofitable. Neela Banerjee, "Oil Industry Hesitates Over Moving into Arctic Refuge," *New York Times*, 10 March 2002.

In the fall of 2002 President George W. Bush asked the U.S. Congress to vote for war against Iraq. While Congress was debating the issue, former Vice President Al Gore criticized Bush's position, arguing that America should concentrate on its war on terrorism before attacking Iraq. The United States should focus on "avenging" the "murder" of the 3,000 Americans and "dismantling the network of terrorists who we know to be responsible for it." It is surprising that Gore did not counter Bush's rush to war with an environmental argument since the 1990-91 Gulf War had devastated the lands and waters of the region. Rather, he answered Bush's imperialist call to attack Iraq with the larger predatory strategy of exterminating "terrorists" worldwide. In the United States, it does not seem to matter if American leaders are Republicans or Democrats, as all endorse imperialism and capitalism as first priorities. See John Mercurio, "Gore Challenges Bush Iraqi Policy: Questions the Timing of a Military Strike," *CNN Washington Bureau* (CNN.com), 23 September 2002. For a transcript of Gore's speech in full, see Al Gore, "Transcript of Al Gore's Speech 'Iraq and the War on Terrorism,'" *Global Security*, 23 September 2002, <<http://www.globalsecurity.org>> (7 October 2002).

<sup>67</sup> For the connection between Enron and Bush, see "Newly Released Documents Indicate that as Texas Governor, Bush Helped Promote Enron's Business Interests," *Public Citizen* press release, February 15, 2002, <<http://www.citizen.org/pressroom/release.cfm?ID=1028>> (26 October 2002); for a reprint of a November 21, 1994, commentary by *The Nation*, see Comment, "Enron and the Bushes," *The Nation*, 4 February 2002, <<http://www.thenation.com>> (13 March 2002).

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For Enron's investments in the Caspian Sea basin, see Pepe Esobar, "The Roving Eye: Pipelineistan, Part 2," *Asia Times Online*, 26 January 2002.

The U.S.-Azerbaijan Chamber of Commerce (USACC) is an organization that welcomes and facilitates investments by energy corporations in Azerbaijan. Cheney was a former member of the Honorary Council of Advisors. He resigned when he became Vice President. Richard Armitage also resigned from the board upon his appointment into the Bush Administration as Deputy Secretary of State under General C. Powell. Other well connected politicians on the board are James Baker III, Brent Scowcroft, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Lloyd Bentsen, Henry Kissinger, and John Sununu, see USACC's own Web site <<http://www.usacc.org>> (26 October 2002).

White House, "Biography of Dr. Condoleezza Rice, National Security Advisor," <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/ricebio>> (15 May 2002) and White House, Office of the Press Secretary, "Caspian Pipeline Consortium, Fact Sheet," 13 November 2001, <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/11>> (15 November 2001).

<sup>68</sup> Qamar Agha, "The U.S. and Central Asian Oil," *The Hindu*, 28 January 2002; Jon Flanders, "The World Trade Center Attack...Caspian Oil and Gas and the Afghanistan Pipeline Connection," Independent Media Center Web site, <<http://www.indymedia.org>> (13 October 2001); and Kleveman, *The New Great Game*.

There is no doubt the United States is in Central Asia to harvest its resources. The idea of spreading democracies has always been the ideological front for American capitalism. An obvious example is Bush's appointment of Zalmay Khalilzad as special envoy to Afghanistan. Khalilzad is a former Unocal consultant. During the Taliban regime, Unocal heavily invested in Afghanistan and had planned to build a \$2 billion pipeline. That plan was abandoned when America began bombing bin Laden's training camps. In addition, Khalilzad headed the Bush-Cheney transition team for the Department of Defense, and has been a special assistant to President Bush and the National Security Council as well. For more details on Khalilzad, see U.S. President George W. Bush, *Statement by the Deputy Press Secretary, 31 December 2001*, <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/12/20011231-1>> (9 May 2002).

Also Hamid Karzai, Afghanistan's newly appointed president, is a former employee of Unocal. Johnson, *Sorrows of Empire*, 178-179.

<sup>69</sup> James Dao and Richard W. Stevenson, "Bush Seeks \$27 Billion Emergency Fund," *The New York Times*, 22 March 2002.

<sup>70</sup> U.S. President George W. Bush, *Speech given aboard the USS Enterprise*.

<sup>71</sup> Alan Sipress, "Cheney Visits U.S. Troops in Mideast," *Washington Post*, 22 March 2002.

<sup>72</sup> See "America's Fund for Afghan Children" on the White House Web site for kids, <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/kids/connection/20011012.html>> (23 July 2002).

For the accounting of funds, see the Red Cross' Web site for "America's Fund for Afghan Children," <<http://kidsfund.redcross.org/about.html>> (23 July 2002).

<sup>73</sup> Stainback's speech was reproduced in full in the *Advertiser*. See Governor Ingram M. Stainback, "Governor Stainback Opens Fight Against T.H. Reds," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 12 November 1947.

<sup>74</sup> Hiram L. Fong, interview by Chris Conybeare and Warren Nishimoto, *Perspectives on Hawai'i Statehood* (Honolulu: Oral History Project, Social Science Research Institute, University of Hawai'i, 1986), 76.

<sup>75</sup> T. Michael Homes, *The Specter of Communism in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994), 3-4.

<sup>76</sup> Albert Fried, ed., *McCarthyism: the Great American Red Scare, a Documentary History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 5.

<sup>77</sup> President Truman signed Executive Order No. 9835 on March 22, 1947, to investigate Federal Employees. See portions of the program reproduced in Howard B. Furer, ed., *Harry S. Truman, 1884 - : Chronology-Documents-Bibliographical Aids* (Dobbs Ferry, New York: Oceana Publications, Inc., 1970), 80-81.

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Even though Truman thought the loyalty program had “a lot of flaws,” he nonetheless implemented it. His justification for investigating millions of employees was reasoned through the lens of anti-communist ideology. See, Harry S. Truman, *Memoirs by Harry S. Truman: Years of Trial and Hope*, vol. 2 (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1956), 276-281.

<sup>78</sup> Portions of J. Edgar Hoover’s testimony before Congress was reproduced in Albert Fried, ed., *McCarthyism: the Great American Red Scare, a Documentary History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 17-18.

<sup>79</sup> Homes, *Specter of Communism in Hawaii*, 5-7, 11-13.

<sup>80</sup> Furer, *Harry S. Truman*, 116.

<sup>81</sup> Homes, *Specter of Communism in Hawaii*, 150.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>83</sup> Ronald Weitzer, *Transforming Settler States: Communal Conflict and Internal Security in Northern Ireland and Zimbabwe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 29.

<sup>84</sup> Okada explains the Democrats held rallies outside the plantation using the back of pick-up trucks as platforms and hand-held microphones. See Hideo “Major” Okada, interview by Dan Boylan, tape recording, 26 July 1978, *John A. Burns Oral History Project, Phase II, (Tape One)* 12-14.

<sup>85</sup> Testimony of Jack H. Kawano at the House Committee on Un-American Activities, *Hearings Regarding Communist Activities in the Territory of Hawaii—Part 4 (Testimony of Jack H. Kawano)*, 82d Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> sess., 6 July 1951, 7.

<sup>86</sup> Jack H. Kawano, interview by Dan Boylan, tape recording, 21 August 1975, *John A. Burns Oral History Project, Phase I, (Tape One)* 37.

Major Okada recounted the union’s struggle against the powerful plantation owners and their association with the Communists. Okada said, “The only friends that we had was the radical guys, you see, and we didn’t give a damn whether they were Communist or whatever it is, just so long as they were helping the unions they were our friends.” Okada, *Burns Oral History Project*, 29.

<sup>87</sup> Robert C. Schmitt, *Historical Statistics of Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1977), 25.

<sup>88</sup> The names of all the reluctant 39 in order of their appearance at the April 1950 HUAC hearing were: (1) Ralph Tokunaga, (2) Jack Hall, (3) Wilfred Oka, (4) Charles Fujimoto, (5) Frank Silva, (6) Dwight James Freeman, (7) Pearl Freeman, (8) Ernest Arena, (9) Edward Hong, (10) Yoshito Marumo, (11) Jeanette Nakama Rohrbough, (12) Esther Bristow, (13) Stephen Murin, (14) Marshall McEuen, (15) Rachel Saiki, (16) Robert McElrath, (17) Ralph Vossbrink, (18) Ruth Ozaki, (19) Koichi Imori, (20) John Reinecke, (21) Hideo Okada, (22) John Akana, (23) Julian Napuuona, (24) Douglas Inouye, (25) Levi Kealoha, (26) Mitsuo Shimizu, (27) Adele Kensinger, (28) Yasuki Arakaki, (29) Denichi (Jack) Kimoto, (30) Frank Kalua, (31) Shigeo Takemoto, (32) Thomas Yagi, (33) Frank Takahashi, (34) Yukio Abe, (35) Robert Murasaki, (36) Kameo Ichimura, (37) Tadashi Ogawa, (38) Jack Kawano, and (39) Benjamin Kaahawinui. See, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, *Hearings Regarding Communist Activities in the Territory of Hawaii—Part 1, 2, and 3*, 81<sup>st</sup> Cong., 2d sess., 10-19 April 1950.

The names of the Hawai’i Seven were listed later in the text of this section.

<sup>89</sup> “Text of Governor’s Address to YBA,” *Honolulu Advertiser*, 19 August 1948.

<sup>90</sup> John A. Burns, interview by Paul Hooper and Dan Boylan, tape recording, 16 January 1975, *John A. Burns Oral History Project, Phase I, (Tape Five)* 4.

<sup>91</sup> Ichiro Izuka, *The Truth About Communism in Hawaii* (Honolulu: n.p., 1947), 11-13 and Testimony of Jack H. Kawano at the House Committee on Un-American Activities, *Hearings Regarding*



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*Communist Activities in the Territory of Hawaii—Part 4 (Testimony of Jack H. Kawano), 82d Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> sess., 6 July 1951, 21-23.*

<sup>92</sup> Lenin, *Lenin on War and Peace*, 68-69.

<sup>93</sup> Walter Dillingham opposed statehood because it would structurally change the way business and politics were conducted in the islands. As a Territory, there was a direct connection between Washington and Honolulu because the U.S. president appointed the governor. This meant a few prominent island leaders like Dillingham had access to the Executive Office as well as other Washington departments to give their opinions in the gubernatorial selection as well as take care of business matters at the same time. One of the reasons for Dillingham's power in the islands was because he was well connected in Washington. Noel Kent relates a story when U.S. President-elect Dwight Eisenhower visited Hawai'i, he asked upon his arrival, "Where's Walter?" Malcolm MacNaughton, interview by Chris Conybeare and Warren Nishimoto, *Perspectives on Hawai'i's Statehood* (Honolulu: Oral History Project, 1986), 53, and Noel Kent, *Hawaii: Islands Under the Influence* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983), 72-73.

Also see Robert Hogan, member of the Statehood Commission who lobbied Congress in 1950. Robert G. Hogan, interview by Chris Conybeare and Warren Nishimoto, *Perspectives on Hawai'i's Statehood* (Honolulu: Oral History Project, 1986), 97.

<sup>94</sup> It is unclear if both the union and the Communist Party sent their members to the same school on the continental United States or if there were two different schools. Nevertheless, what is important for our purposes is that these schools offered opportunities for the Japanese settlers to broaden their horizons—that is, to travel and educate themselves outside of Hawai'i.

<sup>95</sup> Yasuki Arakaki, interview by Michi Kodama-Nishimoto and Daniel W. Tuttle, Jr., *Hawai'i Political History Documentary Project*, vol. III (Honolulu: Center for Oral History, 1996), 1131-1132, 1143-1147.

<sup>96</sup> Mitsuyuki Kido, interview by Dan Boylan and Paul Hooper, tape recording, 17 July 1975, *John A. Burns Oral History Project, Phase I, (Tape One)* 12-13.

<sup>97</sup> Office of the Military Governor-Morale Section, Emergency Service Committee, *Final Report of the Emergency Service Committee*, Honolulu, May 1946, 1-3.

Murai recalls committee members chose the name Emergency Service Committee over "Morale Committee of the military governor's office" because the latter name "would scare the Japanese people." See Ernest Murai, interview by Stuart Gerry Brown and Dan Boylan, tape recording, 1 July 1975, *John A. Burns Oral History Project, Phase I, (Tape One)* 15.

<sup>98</sup> The ESC devoted a portion of its meetings to explicitly tell Japanese how to think and behave. It was entitled, "What Can and Must We Do," and covered eleven points. Below are three of the points.

"1. We must not take a passive, sour or defeatist attitude. This will not help our situation or contribute toward winning this war."

"6. We must guide our alien parents toward loyalty to our country, their adopted country. We must see to it that they not only obey the laws of this country but act constructively to support her."

"7. We must see to it that every one of the citizens and aliens takes a positive stand in this war. We must not tolerate a half-way allegiance. Those who waver or who we know are disloyal or whom we consider potentially dangerous must be exposed not only for the welfare of our country but for our own sake...We must make it our business to know what others in our group are thinking about and doing. We must see to it that not a single case of sabotage or subversive activity is committed."

For more details concerning the ESC meetings, see U.S. Office of the Military Governor-Morale Section, Emergency Service Committee, *Final Report of the Emergency Service Committee*, 10-15. Also see Gary Okihiro, *Cane Fires: The Anti-Japanese Movement in Hawaii, 1865-1945* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991), 231-233.

Kido revealed there were other Japanese settlers who individually and/or collectively cooperated with the imperialist U.S. government such as Wilfred Tsukiyama, who worked with the Naval intelligence. Kido, *Burns Oral History Project*, 13-14, and Murai, *Burns Oral History Project*, 15.

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<sup>99</sup> Kido, *Burns Oral History Project*, 17.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 21-22.

<sup>101</sup> Chuck Mau, interview by Chris Conybeare and Daniel W. Tuttle, Jr., *Hawai'i Political History Documentary Project*, vol. III (Honolulu: Center for Oral History, 1996), 1347.

<sup>102</sup> Izuka, *Truth About Communism in Hawaii*, 18.

<sup>103</sup> Chuck Mau, interview by Dan Boylan and Paul Hooper, tape recording, *John A. Burns Oral History Project, Phase I, (Tape One)* 23-24.

<sup>104</sup> For more details of the Reineckes' suspension and trial, see Homes, *Specter of Communism in Hawaii*, 68-122.

<sup>105</sup> Stainback claimed he was always anticommunist, but he just didn't know communism existed in Hawai'i. He said it was General John E. Hull of the Army who first alerted him to the presence of communism in the islands by giving him a copy of John Reinecke's paper, "What Must We Do?" Although it seems highly improbable that Stainback was as ignorant as he claimed, he nevertheless used this story to defend himself from his earlier appointments of Jack Hall (ILWU organizer and later defendant in the Smith Trial of 1952-53) to the War Labor Board and the Honolulu Police Commission. Stainback used the meeting date with General Hull as the starting point in his anticommunist crusade in the islands. See Sanford Zalburg, *A Spark Is Struck! Jack and the ILWU in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1979), 195-198, 332.

In a *Hawaii Hochi* article, Reinecke criticized Stainback's sudden anti-communist crusade as being politically motivated. Already suspended from teaching, Reinecke accused Stainback as playing politics and falsifying the charges. See, "Dr. Reinecke Fires Back at Governor," *Hawaii Hochi*, 2 December 1947.

<sup>106</sup> Homes, *Specter of Communism in Hawaii*, 145, and Territory of Hawaii, Legislature, The Commission on Subversive Activities, *Report to the Legislature*, Honolulu, March 1951, 1.

<sup>107</sup> Of course, Thurston was also attacking his competitor, Joseph Farrington, publisher of the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, while he denounced the unions. Helen Geracimos Chapin, *Shaping History: The Role of the Newspapers in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), 193-197.

<sup>108</sup> For details of the Smith trial, see Homes, *Specter of Communism in Hawaii*, 190-211.

<sup>109</sup> Others have alluded to this same point that Kawano's testimony and accusations cleared the local Democratic Party from any communist taint. See Homes, *Specter of Communism in Hawaii*, 191-192; Paul C. Phillips, *Hawaii's Democrats: Chasing the American Dream* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1982), 22-24; Dan Boylan and T. Michael Holmes, *John A. Burns: The Man and His Times* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 103.

<sup>110</sup> It seems the decision to have Kawano testify was made collectively rather than just by Mau. The group of five settlers was too politically savvy and too invested in changing the political landscape from white actors to ones of color to allow any action with far-reaching consequences be done without serious discussion. Of course, the five settlers may not have agreed with the selected strategy, but clearly, this choice aligns with a Japanese cultural trait—making personal sacrifices for the sake of something greater or larger than one's self. Thus, the decision for Kawano to testify would have an appeal to these Japanese settlers and especially to Kawano himself, who would have to forfeit his career for the Democratic Party (and, from his perspective, for the greater good of Hawai'i).

However, lives were destroyed by Kawano's identification of seven individuals—the lives of the Hawai'i Seven and their families. Burns must have had many sleepless nights because he and Jack Hall (one of the Hawai'i Seven) were close friends and Kawano's testimony would destroy Hall's career. According to Burns, he offered to testify on Hall's behalf in the Hawai'i Seven trial, but Hall refused his help. The prosecutors wanted Burns to testify for their

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side, but Burns told them he would only speak in support of Hall. Thus, Burns was not called and the two men remained friends throughout their lives.

Years later Burns revealed that it was former Territorial mayor Johnny Wilson who had helped him make the decision to let Kawano testify and thus have his friend, Hall, arrested. "I got very valuable information from him [Wilson]. He's the one who advised me to 'go take a licking in order to clean your party out.' Smart too. But you gotta clean the party out a little bit." John A. Burns, interview by Paul Hooper, tape recording, 10 January 1975, *John A. Burns Oral History Project, Phase I, (Tape Three)* 16. For Burns' support of Hall during the Hawai'i Seven trial, see Homes, *Specter of Communism in Hawaii*, 210.

<sup>111</sup> Mau, *Burns Oral History Project*, 24-25.

In Zalburg's book, Mau says, "if war ever came with Russia. They'd have people blowing up utilities and so forth....If the citizenry should fall to the siren song of the Communists, we'd be very, very weak....And Communists usually take over weak countries." Zalburg, *A Spark Is Struck!*, 310.

<sup>112</sup> Jack Kawano, interview by Dan Boylan, tape recording, 12 August 1975, *John A. Burns Oral History Project, Phase I, (Tape Two)* 27-28.

<sup>113</sup> George Lehleitner, interview by Chris Conybeare and Warren Nishimoto, *Perspectives on Hawai'i's Statehood* (Honolulu: Oral History Project, 1986), 13.

<sup>114</sup> Lenin, *Lenin on War and Peace*, 65.

<sup>115</sup> In his 1992 re-election campaign for the U.S. Senate, Inouye's opponent, Rick Reed, exposed him as a sexual harasser. Even though a few months earlier Oregon Senator Bill Packwood had also been identified as a sexual harasser and had subsequently stepped down from office, the Japanese settler community refused to condemn Inouye's predatory behavior. See "Reed Ad: Inouye Forced Woman to Have Sex," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 16 October 1992; "Kwock: Inouye Forced Me to Have Sex with Him," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 17 October 1992; Paid Political Advertisement, "Has Dan Inouye Used His Position to Sexually Exploit Women?" *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 17 October 1992; and Allison K. Yap, "Challenging Asian Patriarchal Power and Privilege in Hawai'i: Speaking Up/Out Against Dan Inouye" (paper presented at the annual conference of the Association for Asian American Studies, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, June 1993).

<sup>116</sup> Although Lenin argues that his work is an expansion of Marx's original ideas, he has uniquely elucidated the concept of "the dictatorship of the proletariat" as an essential step in overturning state hegemony. For further readings on Lenin see Lenin, *State and Revolution*.

<sup>117</sup> For an in-depth analysis of the relationship among capitalism, the U.S. government, and the media, see Noam Chomsky, *Necessary Illusions: Thought Control in Democratic Societies* (Boston: South End Press, 1989); Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988); and Michael Parenti, *Inventing Reality: the Politics of the Mass Media* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986).

<sup>118</sup> For an insightful analysis on the human rights violations of Native Hawaiians by the United States, see the chapter on "Hawaiians and Human Rights" in H. Trask's *From a Native Daughter*. Trask points out that the document that underlies the legitimacy of America—the U.S. Constitution—is a colonial structure which "declares ownership over indigenous lands and peoples." This U.S. foundational document, then, does not protect the right of Native peoples to self-determination and self-government, but rather formally allows and legitimizes the abusers and abuses. Trask sharply assesses that the overthrow of the Hawaiian government and subsequent annexation by the United States "cannot be raised within the context of the U.S. Constitution." Trask, *From a Native Daughter*, 26-40.

Also see Louis Henkin's article on the ratification of various human rights conventions by the United States. Although the United States is a signatory on international human rights conventions, it exempts itself from adhering to those documents. Henkin points out that the United States appends each convention with a "package" of amendments that excuses itself from implementing any obligation or international standards should the convention be "inconsistent" with the U.S. Constitution. The United States refuses to submit to any rulings by the

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International Court of Justice that may find the United States in violation of human rights. Louis Henkin, "U.S. Ratification of Human Rights Conventions: The Ghost of Senator Bricker," *American Journal of International Law* 89:2 (April 1995), 341-350.

<sup>119</sup> See Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, 169-173 (dual perspective), 262-264 (state = political society + civil society).

<sup>120</sup> According to an Egyptian weekly, *Al-Ahram Weekly Online*, the bin Laden tape addressed the American public. Suleiman Abu Gheith, al-Qaeda spokesman, said, "The American people must realise that they are wholly responsible and that what is happening is a result of their support for the American administration's policies." National Security Advisor Rice did not want the American public to hear Abu Gheith's analysis that the United States was targeted because of its imperialist policies, and therefore she censored the tape. More importantly, Rice wanted to suppress any ideas about organizing against Bush's "war on terrorism" initiatives. See Diaa Rashwan, "Addressing 'the Nation,' Targeting America," *Al-Ahram Weekly Online*, no. 555 (11-17 October 2001) <<http://www.ahram.org.eg/weekly/2001/55/op173>> (13 October 2001), and Bill Carter and Felicity Barringer, "At U.S. Request, Networks Agree to Edit future bin Laden Tapes," *New York Times*, 11 October 2001.

<sup>121</sup> The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) criticized Bush and Congress for the passage of the USA Patriot Act, which "is based on the faulty assumption that safety must come at the expense of civil liberties." ACLU lists "troubling provisions" in the act, such as granting the "FBI broad access to sensitive business records about individuals without having to show evidence of a crime" and allowing "large-scale investigations of citizens for 'intelligence' purposes." See American Civil Liberties Union, "ACLU Calls New Senate Terrorism Bill Significantly Worse; Says Long-Term Impact on Freedom Cannot Be Justified," Press Release 5 October 2001, <<http://www.aclu.org/safeandfree>> (9 October 2001).

<sup>122</sup> U.S. President George W. Bush, *President Discusses National Missile Defense*, 13 December 2001, <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/12>> (16 June 2002). Also see Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz, "Beyond the ABM Treaty," *Wall Street Journal*, 14 June 2002.

<sup>123</sup> U.S. President George W. Bush, *State of the Union Address*, 29 January 2002, <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/01>> (30 January 2002). It should be noted that most of the world's nations were disgusted and objected to Bush's rendering of the "axis of evil." Mohamed Hakki, "The Allies and the Axis," *Al-Ahram Weekly Online*, no. 576 (7-13 March 2002), <<http://www.ahram.org.eg/weekly/2002/576>> (8 March 2002).

<sup>124</sup> Dr. Sidney Gulick, "Message to Hawaiian-Born Japanese," *The New Americans*, February 1924.

<sup>125</sup> U.S. Senator Daniel Inouye, *Speech given at the Democratic Convention 2000*.

<sup>126</sup> The Native Hawaiian population began to collapse in 1778, when disease-ridden British sailors landed on the island shores. Historian David Stannard estimated the pre-western contact population at 800,000 to 1,000,000 Native Hawaiians. (This number mirrors the current population of Hawai'i in the early twenty-first century.) Yet, within fifty-six years after Western contact, the 1832 missionary census recorded the drastic decline of the Native Hawaiian population to approximately 132,000. Fifty years later, when the first Japanese contract laborers arrived in the islands, the Native Hawaiian population had again dropped to approximately 44,000. For more information on the population collapse, see David Stannard, *Before the Horror: the Population of Hawai'i on the Eve of Western Contact* (Honolulu: Social Science Research Institute, University of Hawai'i, 1989). For a comparison of the Native Hawaiian population to settler populations, see Chapter One of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) State of Hawai'i, *Native Hawaiian Data Book 1998* (Honolulu: State of Hawai'i, 1998), 1-76.

<sup>127</sup> Noenoe K. Silva, "Kanaka Maoli Resistance to Annexation," *'Ōiwi: A Native Hawaiian Journal* (December 1998): 40-75. For an in-depth understanding of Native Hawaiian resistance to American annexation, see Silva's dissertation, especially "Chapter 5: Ke Kū'ē Kūpa'a Loa Nei Mākou: 'We Most Solemnly Protest,'" Noenoe K. Silva, "Ke Kū'ē Kūpa'a Loa Nei Mākou: Kanaka Maoli Resistance to Colonization" (Ph.D. diss., University of Hawai'i, 1999), 155-206.

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<sup>128</sup> To understand the political status of settler groups within the United States, one needs to examine the relationship between the settler group's homeland-nation and the United States. For example, discussions on the "yellow peril" and the "Japanese Question" began in the early twentieth century when the United States was concerned that Japan's imperialist interests in Asia and the Pacific would clash with its own ambitions. In Hawai'i, the behavior of the migrating *issei* who were openly patriotic toward Japan (their homeland) and its imperialist policies and military victories, troubled the Territorial leaders. Historian John Stephan cites several factors that contributed to the *issei*'s strong ties to Japan, among them exclusion of *issei* from U.S. citizenship. John Stephan, *Hawai'i Under the Rising Sun: Japan's Plans for Conquest After Pearl Harbor* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1984), 14-15. Also see Gay Satsuma, "Immigrant Patriotism: Hawaii Japanese and Imperial Victories, 1895-1905," *International Journal of Historical Studies* 1, no. 2 (March 1989): 59-82; Akira Iriye, *Pacific Estrangement: Japanese and American Expansion, 1897-1911* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972); and Ernest Wakukawa, *A History of the Japanese People in Hawaii* (Honolulu: the Toyo Shoin, 1938).

<sup>129</sup> While discussions on the "Japanese Question" began in the early twentieth century, they continued into World War II. To read the early discussions, see M.M. Scott, "The Japanese Conquest of Hawaii," *Munsey's Magazine* (October 1904): 97-99; Letter to the Editor by an unnamed observer, "Why the Oriental Seems Cheaper Than the White," *Sunday Advertiser*, 14 March 1909; Theodore Richards, "The Future of the Japanese in Hawaii: Things Problematic, Things Probable, Things Potential," *The Journal of Race Development* 2, no. 4 (April 1912): 399-423; Lorrin A. Thurston, "The Japanese Problem in Hawaii," in *Americanization Institute Papers* (Honolulu: Citizenship Education Committee, 1919), 11-34. The Japanese also participated in the discussion on the "Japanese Question" with their own papers and publications: A.K. Ozawa, "Opportunities for American-Born Japanese," *Olympus* 1, no. 3 (1916): 1-11; Takie Okumura and Umataro Okumura, *Hawaii's American-Japanese Problem: A Campaign to Remove Causes of Friction Between the American People and Japanese*, Report of First Year's campaign, January to December 1921 (Honolulu: n.p., 1922).

<sup>130</sup> See Trask's speech reproduced in Haunani-Kay Trask, "Writing in Captivity: Poetry in a Time of De-Colonization," in Cynthia Franklin, Ruth Hsu, and Suzanne Kosanke, eds., *Navigating Islands and Continents: Conversations and Contestations In and Around the Pacific 17 of Literary Studies East and West* (Honolulu: College of Languages and Linguistics and Literature, University of Hawai'i, 2000), 51-55. Also see Haunani-Kay Trask, "Settlers of Color and 'Immigrant' Hegemony: 'Locals' in Hawai'i," *Amerasia* 26, no.2 (2000): 1-24.

<sup>131</sup> Scholar and professor Gary Okihiro documents white racism against the *issei* and *nisei* in Hawai'i in his book, *Cane Fires*. However, like much Asian settler scholarship, he situates his argument outside of the colonial context of Hawai'i and within the American national immigrant ideologies. Okihiro, *Cane Fires*, 78-79. For further examples, see the works by Ronald Takaki, *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983); Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* (New York: Penguin Books, 1989); Roland Kotani, *The Japanese in Hawaii: A Century of Struggle* (Honolulu: Hawaii Hochi, Ltd., 1985); Franklin Odo and Kazuko Sinoto, *A Pictorial History of the Japanese in Hawai'i, 1885-1924* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1985); and Dennis M. Ogawa, *Kodomo No Tame Ni, For the Sake of the Children: The Japanese American Experience in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1978).

<sup>132</sup> "How I Earn My Money," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, 28 March 1920 and 1 April 1920; and "What It Means to Be an American," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, 29 April 1920.

<sup>133</sup> For further readings on the closing of the language schools, see Compilation Committee for the Publication of Kinzaburo Makino's Biography, comp., *Life of Kinzaburo Makino* (Honolulu: n.p., 1965), 38-70; Rev. Takie Okumura, *Seventy Years of Divine Blessings* (Honolulu: n.p., 1939), 43-47, 127-149; Ernest Wakukawa, 265-302; Eileen H. Tamura, *Americanization, Acculturation, and Ethnic Identity: the Nisei Generation in Hawaii* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 146-161; Yōichi Hanoka, "The Japanese Language School: Is It a Help or a Hindrance to the Americanization of Hawaii's Young People?," in Ogawa, *Kodomo No Tame Ni*, 180-182 (article originally published in *Friends* in 1927); "Unity Essential," in Ogawa, *Kodomo No Tame Ni*, 183-185 (editorial originally published in *Hawaii Hochi*, 21 April 1923; James H. Okahata, ed. *A History of Japanese in Hawaii* (Honolulu: United Japanese Society of Hawaii, 1971), 216-225.

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<sup>134</sup> For in-depth discussion on dual citizenship until the 1930s, see Wakukawa, *History of the Japanese People in Hawaii*, 303-325. For a general discussion, see Tamura, *Americanization, Acculturation, and Ethnic Identity*, 84-88. For various English language newspaper articles in the 1930s and 1940s, see "Expatriation Is Backed by New Citizens," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 23 July 1938; "Dual Citizens Urged to Clarify Loyalties," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 18 November 1939; "New Citizens Advised to be All American," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 19 July 1940; "Crawford Calls on Nisei to End Dual Citizenship," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 19 July 1940; "Steadman Raps Dual Citizenship: Language Schools Again Under Fire," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 20 July 1940; "Achi Takes Strong Campaign Stand Against Dual Citizens," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 15 October 1940; "Where the Advertiser Stands," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 3 October 1940; "Advice to the Alien Press," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 14 October 1940; "Dual Citizenship Bill Wins Support of Island Leaders," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 21 November 1941; and "They Seek to End Dual Citizenship," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 27 May 1946.

<sup>135</sup> Scholars Bob Hodge and Vijay Mishra argue that settler states (i.e., the United States, Australia, New Zealand, etc.) create foundation myths in order to legitimize their ownership of the land. Because settler states have conquered other peoples' national lands, mythologies must be produced in order to reinterpret the colonization process in terms of nation-building. For example, the United States characterizes its colonization of America as taking place on an "empty" continent and thus claims to be the "host" nation to the incoming immigrant populations. Likewise, it characterizes its genocidal policies as the "settling of the West." Hodge and Mishra argue that in order to maintain a settler state's hegemony, the state must continually generate new forms of the foundation myth. Bob Hodge and Vijay Mishra, *Dark Side of the Dream: Australian Literature and the Postcolonial Mind* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1991), 26.

<sup>136</sup> Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*, 244.

<sup>137</sup> The Charter Oath of 1868 is reproduced in Ryusaku Tsunoda, Wm. Theodore De Bary, and Donald Keene, comp., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, vol. II (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), 136-137.

<sup>138</sup> Muhammed Abdul Aziz, *Japan's Colonialism and Indonesia* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1955), 3-4. Portions of this myth from the ancient text *Nihongi* are reproduced in Ryusaku Tsunoda, Wm. Theodore De Bary, and Donald Keene, comp., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, vol. I (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), 64-66.

<sup>139</sup> While there are varying ideas of what constitutes *kokutai*—such as Kowashi Inoue's idea that *kokutai* is based on agriculture—what remains constant is the idea of Japan's sacredness or divinity as a nation by way of the emperor. See Yukichi Sakai, "The Constitutionalism of Inoue Kowashi," trans. Thomas M. Huber, in *Japanese Thought in the Tokugawa Period, 1600-1868: Methods and Metaphors*, ed. Tetsuo Najita and Irwin Scheiner (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 162-165.

For a broader understanding of *kokutai*, see Daikichi Irokawa, *The Culture of the Meiji Period*, trans. by Marius B. Jensen (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 247-311.

<sup>140</sup> Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi, *Anti-Foreignism and Western Learning in Early-Modern Japan: The New Theses of 1825* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 13.

<sup>141</sup> Janet E. Hunter, comp., *Concise Dictionary of Modern Japanese History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 98-99.

<sup>142</sup> Here Irokawa is quoting Tasaburō Itō, who, in 1936, made a study of *kokutai*. Irokawa, *Culture of the Meiji Period*, 247.

<sup>143</sup> Irokawa, *Culture of the Meiji Period*, 250.

<sup>144</sup> Editors Hoare and Nowell Smith of Gramsci's *Prison Notebooks* explain "common sense" in a footnote using a quote from an earlier work of Gramsci. "Common sense is not something rigid and immobile, but is continually transforming itself, enriching itself with scientific ideas and with philosophical opinions which have entered ordinary life. 'Common sense' is the folklore of

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philosophy, and is always half-way between folklore properly speaking and the philosophy, science, and economics of the specialists. Common sense creates the folklore of the future, this is as a relatively rigid phase of popular knowledge at a given place and time." Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, 326, 325-328.

<sup>145</sup> For reproduction of the Charter Oath of 1868, see Tsunoda, De Bary, and Keene, *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, vol. II, 136-137.

For an "official translation" of the 1889 Constitution including the "Imperial Speech on the Promulgation of the Constitution," see Japan, *The Constitution of Japan: with the Laws Appertaining Thereto, and the Imperial Oath and Speech, Promulgated at the Imperial Palace, February 11<sup>th</sup>, 1889* (Yokohama: Japan Gazette, [1889?]).

Meiji leaders clearly used *kokutai* to legitimize their rule and characterized themselves as carrying out the political agenda of their ancestors. For example, in the "Imperial Oath at the Sanctuary of the Imperial Palace" section, the leaders wrote "In consideration of the progressive tendency of the course of human affairs and in parallel with the advance of civilization, We deem it expedient, in order to give clearness and distinctness to the instructions bequeathed by the Imperial Founder of Our House and by Our other Imperial Ancestors, to establish fundamental laws formulated into express provisions of law." [italics added]

<sup>146</sup> Irokawa, *Culture of the Meiji Period*, 248, 256-259. For more information on the popular rights movement, see Roger W. Bowen, *Rebellion and Democracy in Meiji Japan: A Study of Commoners in the Popular Rights Movement* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980).

<sup>147</sup> Irokawa, *Culture of the Meiji Period*, 305-306.

## CHAPTER THREE

### U.S. SETTLER HEGEMONY: THE NATIONAL QUESTION OR THE RIGHT OF NATIONS TO SELF-DETERMINATION

Self-determination of nations is the same thing as the struggle for complete national liberation, for complete independence, against annexations; and Socialists *cannot* repudiate such a struggle, no matter what form it takes, even rebellion, or war, without ceasing to be Socialists.  
V.I Lenin<sup>1</sup>

A revolutionary change undermines the foundation of power.  
V. I. Lenin<sup>2</sup>

#### Introduction

Imperialist states deny the possibility of a global democracy among countries because they violate the right of nations to govern themselves independently. In his 1913 "Theses on the National Question," Lenin argued it is "*absolutely* essential" for the success of the proletarian revolutions in Russia and in other countries that all nations have the right to self-determination, which included the right of colonies to secession. Political territorial secession would allow colonies to move toward democracy. Once democracy among countries was established, the merging of socialist nations could take place and the "withering" away of the state could become a reality. Because of Lenin's interest in the latter, he carefully analyzed the problem of settler colonies and the need of all nations for self-determination, or what came to be known as "the national question."

Although the Russian Revolution occurred in the early twentieth century, Lenin's analyses and strategies are pertinent because imperialist states and a capitalist economy still dominate the world. To defeat imperialism, Lenin explained that it was necessary to understand the relationship between economic and political forces and their affect on national oppression. For the study of



American settler colonialism, Lenin's revolutionary theories and analyses illuminate the economic policies and political duplicity of Japanese settlers in Hawai'i. Because the Japanese internalized a national ideology, which defined the United States as a "nation of immigrants," they represented themselves as immigrants rather than settlers. Moreover, when the *nisei* (second generation Japanese) settlers came into political power, they did not create a democratic society within the islands as they claimed. They liberalized the existing colonial laws for settlers, but not for Native Hawaiians.

Lenin's work is particularly useful for examining the ascendance of the Japanese in Hawai'i who claimed they "revolutionized" island society for everyone. Lenin's analysis helps us compare a revolutionary solution with a reformist one. This comparison is appropriate because both the Russian and American situations deal with the fight for self-determination and its undermining by settlers. In fact, Lenin's interpretation of the proletarian international is an examination of the national question and colonial power itself.

In order to undermine settler colonialism, Lenin outlined a dialectical strategy to overthrow Tsarist Russia. The strategy depended on the roles played by the proletariats in the imperialist countries as well as in the colonies. In imperialist countries, such as Tsarist Russia, the proletariats would pressure their own governments for the immediate release of the colonies. Meanwhile, the proletariats in the colonies would organize themselves, and according to their own timetable, plan the organization of the future state and their move for independence. While both groups of workers remained in contact with each other, the proletariats in the imperialist countries were forbidden from directing the strategies of their counterparts in the colonies.

The dialectic of proletarian internationalism provides us with a road map to achieving the goal of a more egalitarian world. Although Russia and the United States are settler colonial states, the Japanese settlers cannot participate as leaders in rebuilding a new state as the Bolsheviks did in the Soviet Union. The Bolsheviks were living on their ancestral lands and had the right to agitate for self-determination. By contrast, Japanese settlers never had the right to self-determination in America.

This chapter examines the national question in the United States and the relationship between American settlers and the oppressed Native Hawaiian nation. It will begin with a section on the Russian Proletarian situation and then move into discussions on the proletarian international and settler racism in Hawai'i. The major portion will examine the participation of Japanese settlers in the subjugation of Native Hawaiians through the passage of land use laws and pro-tourist policies over a forty-year period. In the end, the Japanese enforced a colonial system that legalized settler racism and denied Native Hawaiians their right to self-determination.

### **The Case of the Russian Proletariats**

For the Bolsheviks (a faction of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party [R.S.D.L.P]), the right of nations to self-determination was regarded as a necessary step toward achieving democracy among nations and peoples.<sup>3</sup> The national question raised the issue of state repression of national/colonized groups who had the right to governance over their lands, peoples, and resources as a nation. Imperialism did not consist solely of states with overseas colonies, but included settler states that annexed (formally or informally) colonies within their national boundaries. It was essential that Russian proletariats understood

that Tsarist Russia was a predatory country with “frontier provinces” like Finland and Azerbaijan, which denied non-Russian peoples their right to nationhood. Lenin argued that overthrowing global capitalism would only succeed if all oppressed peoples had the right to form their own independent nations including the colonized countries within Russia. Once nations had self-government, they could freely choose a socialist way of life. This shift in world systems, Lenin explained, would dismantle capitalist hegemony.

Although the Bolsheviks endorsed the right of all nations to self-determination, they did not support all forms of nationalist practices especially when they involved predatory interests. For example during World War I, imperialist states such as Russia and Germany declared their entry into war in the name of defending “the fatherland.” Lenin believed these pronouncements to be misleading. Predatory wars were not engaged in for defensive reasons, but for the “‘right’ of one or the other of the ‘great’ nations to rob the colonies and oppress other people.”<sup>4</sup> Similarly, in the spring of 2003, the imperialist United States used defensive arguments to justify attacking the Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein. Washington claimed American national security was threatened by alleged Iraqi weapons of mass destruction, which Hussein intended to sell to “terrorists” for use against the United States. But, as most nations understood at the time, Iraq did not have nuclear weapons, they did however, possess the second largest oil reserves in the world, coveted by American energy corporations. Experts predicted that the oil production in the post-Saddam Hussein period could double as Iraq had not made any significant improvements in its oil wells since its war with Iran in 1980.<sup>5</sup> It is thus important to use the Bolsheviks’ analysis on nationalism to compare the disjunction between an imperialist state’s national rhetoric and its actual political and/or economic

interests. Hence, the American falsification of “weapons of mass destruction” in Iraq.

For the Bolsheviks, the national question raised the political problem of imperialism. As part of an anti-imperialist strategy, they exposed the annexation of nations within settler states as occupation policies. In his 1914 article, “Is a Compulsory Official Language Needed?” Lenin argued “no matter how many fine phrases about ‘culture’ you may utter, a *compulsory* official language involves coercion, the use of the cudgel.”<sup>6</sup> Therefore the Bolsheviks supported peoples’ right to use their own Native languages in all aspects of their lives.

The Social Democrats or Bolsheviks were undertaking a tremendous project to rid the world of political and economic oppression. Their efforts were not confined to a single site, such as the academy, or to a single region, such as a community or country. The Bolsheviks worked to overthrow global hegemonic systems beneficial to imperialist states and their elites. They argued against the imposition of an official language within a settler state while organizing the various classes and colonized peoples within that same state. This political strategy reveals the depth of the Bolsheviks’ understanding of national oppression.

Within the Social-Democratic Party, the national question became a Marxist strategy to undermine the power base of imperialist nations. The question asked was both direct and clear: “who are the oppressed national groups within the state?” The proletariats in imperialist states support the right of self-determination for colonized peoples by demanding their governments grant the immediate secession of oppressed nations within their national boundaries.

As discussed in Chapter Two, states “herd” their citizens. This included the proletariat support of national agendas to use direct coercion (legal system, laws, etc.) and indirect coercion/consent (national ideologies, national culture, etc.). Because national ideologies are naturalized in society, citizens are not cognizant that state policies permeate and direct their lives. If the workers of the world wanted to have an international revolution, the proletariats in imperialist states had to untangle themselves from their nation’s bourgeois ideologies and predatory interests in colonies.

Tsarist society naturalized the “superiority” of Russians over colonized non-Russians. Hence Lenin explained that Russian proletariats insulted and committed violence against colonized peoples (non-Russian national groups) “an infinite number of times without noticing it.” For example, ordinary Russian workers never questioned why they were promoted to higher paying jobs over that of non-Russians in factories and other places of employment. Russian workers were educated to treat non-Russians “with disdain and contempt.”<sup>7</sup> Therefore, Lenin asserted that imperialism was not only economic exploitation, but political exploitation as well. Not to ask questions about self-determination evaded the political aspects of imperialism—that is to say, the role of the state in repressing national groups. The proletariats had to face the uncomfortable fact that they had been “herded” to accept the racist values and practices that were woven into Russian (bourgeois) nationalism.

The ugly reality of imperialism meant that the proletariats of the world lived under dissimilar economic and political conditions.<sup>8</sup> Socialists in predatory states had better standards of living than the colonized in the colonies. In fact, the workers in imperialist countries were profiting off the economic and political suffering of workers in the colonies or within settler states. The proletariats in

the colonies or occupied nations were doubly subjugated—that is, first as colonized subjects under a foreign regime and second, as proletariats surviving in the colony whose economies supported the bourgeois metropole. Therefore the national question raised and clarified the problem that one class—the proletariats—lived under very different living conditions. That is to say, the proletariats in the metropole prospered off the suffering of their comrades in occupied nations.

Lenin was very clear that the national question involved the plight of oppressed national groups—that is to say, colonized peoples whose country or territories were occupied by a foreign regime. He identified these people as “oppressed nations” or “nationalities” or “national minorities” possessed of distinct languages, histories, cultures, and territories located within the national boundaries of a larger predatory state.<sup>9</sup> The right to self-determination became a national question because it addressed the oppression of *nations* within settler states and not the oppression of ethnic minorities. For example, Lenin pointed out that within Russia’s own “frontier” regions (from Europe to Asia), numerous nations were “unbelievably oppressed” by the Tsarist settler state.<sup>10</sup> If the Russian proletariat wanted to dismantle the state machinery and replace it with a “democratic republic,” they needed to address equality for all peoples including those colonized within their own settler state. If not, they would duplicate the repressive policies of their enemy, the Tsarist regime. Self-determination, then, meant providing people with the political independence to think, create policies, and rule one’s own affairs without interference from foreign overseers.

Lenin emphasized the fact that the Social-Democrats had to support the right of self-determination for all peoples as part of their struggle toward a socialist revolution. Many socialists argued against Lenin’s position. They did

not support wars of national liberation where the colonized ruling class opposed proletarian interests. Rather, they emphasized their link with proletariats across national borders, including those in colonies, and ignored any struggles for national self-determination in these oppressed nations and colonies. Lenin countered their arguments by explaining that imperialism created economic and political atrocities in the occupied territories and colonies. These brutal conditions such as those in Tsarist Russia's "frontier provinces" created a tremendous anti-imperialist mistrust and national suspicion toward all Russians including the Russian proletariat. Until the Social-Democrats recognized the total damage done by imperialism—i.e., violence by one nation against another, "proletarian internationalism" would be a meaningless phrase. As Lenin pointed out "the bourgeois nationalism of *any* oppressed nation has a general democratic content that is directed *against* oppression, and it is this content that we *unconditionally* support."<sup>11</sup> He further explained that the predatory policies of imperialist states created conditions for the rise of bourgeois nationalism in oppressed nations. "Annexations *violate self-determination* of nations; they establish state *boundaries* against the *wishes of the population*. Being opposed to annexations *means* being in favour of the right to self-determination."<sup>12</sup>

One of the first decrees of the Soviet government after the October 1917 revolution was to grant self-determination to the oppressed nations within Russia so they could conduct their own affairs as a country—form their own governments, organize their societies, assert their cultural practices. Unfortunately for these nations, the realization of the decree (and Lenin's vision of equality among nations) was unrealized until the 1990s, and then only partially, with the break-up of the Soviet Union. Soon after the Bolsheviks came into power in October 1917, they were preoccupied with pulling out of World

War I, fighting a civil war (mid-1918 to late 1920) which devastated the country, combating a 1920-21 famine where millions died, and trying to start the first socialist economy within a capitalist world.<sup>13</sup>

From the end of the revolution until his death in 1924, Lenin survived an assassination attempt in 1918 (he was shot three times) and many strokes (one which paralyzed him so that he had to learn to speak and write all over again). Joseph Stalin, who disagreed with Lenin over the national question, conspired against him during his long illnesses. When the USSR was officially established, Stalin—as the General Secretary of the Central Party and head of the committee that oversaw the affairs of the oppressed nations—pushed through legislation that retained the political status of national groups as unequal and subjugated minorities. When Lenin learned of this damaging legislation, he was too weak to present his arguments in public and dictated his opposition to Stalin to his secretaries. Lenin argued that as a result of the USSR's articles of incorporation, the workers did not have a proletarian state. Instead they had an "alien" apparatus—one that was "a bourgeois and tsarist hotchpotch." Tragically, Lenin's oppositional views never found their way into the 1923 Congress. Because Stalin outlived Lenin, he ensured that the occupied nations remained subjugated.<sup>14</sup>

Unfortunately, Lenin did not live long enough to keep Soviet Russia on its original socialist and communist track. Nevertheless, Stalin's usurping of power does not invalidate Lenin's analysis and the usefulness of the national question today, because we are still living within the same imperialist era. In fact, Lenin's writings underscore the problem of hegemony: a predatory, capitalist hegemony must be overthrown and replaced with a truly egalitarian state where all forms of violence and predation are eliminated. For Lenin, the right to self-



determination was a transitional stage from imperialism to socialism. He likened it to the dictatorship of the proletariat.<sup>15</sup> If nations are going to truly merge or “amalgamate” (and the state wither away), then nations must have the right to self-government so that the socialist way of life can be freely chosen. Stalin’s and the Bolshevik Party’s establishment of an unequal federation, the USSR, reflected the depths to which national prejudice and racism against non-Russian groups was naturalized and promoted among the citizenry. Even though the Russian communists nationalized previously private lands, they did not create a new hegemonic order and they continued to repress the non-Russians peoples as did the previous Tsarist state.

Given this example, the national question remains an important component of the revolutionary process because it uncovers a state’s repressive policies against oppressed national groups that are easily overlooked. Moreover, when predatory policies are applied to a different race of people, they become racist policies. Because the Bolsheviks did not overthrow the Russian bourgeois hegemony, it remained racist toward all non-Russian groups such as the Islamic nations of Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, and Kazakhstan. Lenin believed that once peoples saw the merits of socialism, they would choose it over the exploitative capitalist system. Hence, he told the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party in 1919 to leave the Muslim nations alone. Once a proletarian class was established, he believed the workers would agitate for a non-exploitative way of life.<sup>16</sup> Three years later, when establishing the Soviet Union, Stalin and the Bolsheviks ignored Lenin’s directive and recreated a racist settler state, albeit a Soviet one. Although Lenin was a Tartar, he did not pay much attention to racism *per se*, but instead devoted his writings and speeches to the larger hegemonic structures of imperialism, of which racism was a component. Nevertheless, for nationalists

such as Amilcar Cabral of Guinea-Bissau and the Vietnamese Ho Chi Minh, Lenin's analysis of nationalism guided their struggle against colonialism. Third World freedom fighters such as Frantz Fanon would later explain how colonial structures and cultures were inherently racist.<sup>17</sup>

### **Settler Racism and White Racism**

The race question is subsidiary to the class question in politics, and to think of imperialism in terms of race is disastrous. But to neglect the racial factor as merely incidental is an error only less grave than to make it fundamental.

C.L.R. James<sup>18</sup>

Racism stares one in the face for it so happens that it belongs in a characteristic whole: that of the shameless exploitation of one group of men by another which has reached a higher stage of technical development. This is why military and economic oppression generally precedes, makes possible, and legitimizes racism.

Frantz Fanon<sup>19</sup>

For our purposes, racism in the United States is split into two categories: settler racism, and white American racism. Both types of racism are part of U.S. imperialism. This section will examine settler racism in the Hawaiian Islands as a form of racial violence rooted in the exploitation of Native people, lands, and resources.<sup>20</sup> Before continuing on, it is important to clarify the terms imperialism, colonialism, and racism. In Chapter One, I used Haunani-Kay Trask's definition of imperialism. For Trask, imperialism is

A total system of foreign power in which another culture, people, and way of life penetrate, transform, and come to define the colonized society. The function and purpose of imperialism is exploitation of the colony.<sup>21</sup>

Imperialism (political and economic) involves the invasion of a country by a foreign regime for the purposes of subjugating and enslaving the indigenous population. It is differentiated from colonialism, which involves the systematic imposition of a foreign infrastructure (social, economic, political structures, etc.).

Trask defines colonialism as:

Behaviors, ideologies, and economies that enforce the exploitation of Native peoples in the colonies.<sup>22</sup>

The state apparatus of the invading country establishes a colonized culture that legitimizes and naturalizes Native oppression and compliance with foreign interests. In addition, when the foreign regime dominates a nation of a different color, imperialism and colonialism adopt racist structures and policies. As Trask explains, racism is

A historically created system of power in which one racial/ethnic group dominates another racial/ethnic group for the benefit of the dominating group; economic and cultural domination as well as political power are included in the systematic dominance of the exploiting group; a monopoly of the means of violence is also held by those in the dominating group.<sup>23</sup>

The terms imperialism, colonialism, and racism describe three different but interlinked components of the same predatory structure of a First World country when it invades a Third World country. National liberation fighters often define the exploitation of countries by a foreign power in terms of racist policies and practices. In his book, *Toward the African Revolution*, Franz Fanon argued that “racism, as we have seen, is only one element of a vaster whole: the systematized oppression of a people.”<sup>24</sup>

For Fanon, that “vaster whole” is imperialism. Whether for the expansion of finance capital and/or for political or military domination, imperialism is the fundamental predatory force in which racism is but one important component. Settler racism is clearly a part of imperialism in that it involves the denial of a people’s right to self-determination in racial terms by a colonial state system and its settler citizenry. However, white racism must also be understood within this larger context of imperialism, otherwise race/racism may be used to individualize the uneven distribution of wealth and power in the United States by the state apparatus. In other words, while both settler racism and American

racism are part of the American settler apparatus, they have different functions. The former suppresses any form of Native nationalism and the latter ensures that the distribution of power and privilege remains in white communities.

For indigenous peoples subjugated by the United States, settler racism occurs on a daily basis due to the imposition and presence of the American state apparatus and its settler citizenry on Native national lands. When the Japanese ascended to ruling class status in the islands, they did not take over a democratic state, but a colonial state with racist practices against Native Hawaiians. Contrary to the claims of Japanese settlers that their political participation in the State government (beginning in the 1950s) was for the benefit of all island residents, the Japanese enforced colonial laws and policies against Native Hawaiians and thereby upheld settler racism. Once local Japanese and other Asians took political control over the Territorial and State machinery, they prospered financially under this settler structure. As they did not have Native lands to sell—land acreage had already been confiscated by *haole* elites in the nineteenth century—the Japanese gained power and wealth through the passage of new laws on land use and tax reforms in the State legislature. They administered those laws and policies by creating new public procedures and responsibilities such as the newly formed Land Use Commission, which defined and categorized the islands into land-use zones. In addition, the *nisei*-dominated legislature spread colonial power throughout the islands by giving island county councils governance to determine who and what could be constructed on specific plots of land. In other words, Japanese settlers supported the occupation of the Hawaiian Islands by the imperialist United States. They fortified the already established American colonial system by facilitating the real

estate development of Native lands, thereby greatly enhancing their own political and economic wealth.

White or American racism is also an integral part of the U.S. settler state. Racism denies political, social, and economic rights for all people of color, including Natives, to participate as equals within the dominant white colonial society. Through decades of resistance and protest against the various racist state structures, people of color, led by Africans in America, partially reduced white racism through their ascendancy in U.S. political and economic arenas. However, American racism is never resolved because it is a component of the state and is tethered to U.S. foreign policies and white supremacy wherein all nations of color are deemed inferior to Europe and the United States.

American settlers of color are always identified with their ancestral lands by the United States and become targets of hatred whenever their country or their country's region of the world comes into conflict with American foreign policies. For example, during the late nineteenth century and up until the mid-twentieth century, Japan and the United States competed against each other to establish hegemonic power in the Pacific. After Japan bombed Pearl Harbor in 1941, the U.S. government and public assumed that the Japanese living in America, whether U.S. citizens or not, were agents working for Japan. This assumption justified Japanese internment on the West Coast of the United States.

Another example of American racism was the Iranian hostage situation (1979-1981) which targeted all Iranians and Arabs in America. From 1953-1979, the United States kept the Shah of Iran in power with massive military aid and a secret police force trained by the CIA to repress Iranian citizens. After the 1979 Iranian revolution, President Carter admitted the fleeing Shah into the United States. In angry protest, Iranian students stormed the U.S. embassy in Tehran

and held hostages for 444 days. During this time, Iranians and Arabs in America were violently harassed and treated as if they were the hostage takers themselves. With racism deeply embedded in American society, any incident can trigger a volatile race war especially when a white supremacist government controls the political sphere and a white corporate-owned media control the private sphere and interpret events in support of American predatory and global interests.<sup>25</sup>

Unlike C.L.R. James who believed that racism was a “subsidiary” of the larger category of class and thus of imperialism, Michael Omi and Howard Winant argue otherwise. For them, race is the primary category. It is the “*central axis* of social relations which cannot be subsumed under or reduced to some broader category or conception.” Race in America, Omi and Winant write in *Racial Formation in the United States*, needs to be examined as “racial formations.” This is the “process by which social, economic and political forces determine the content and importance of racial categories, and by which they are in turn shaped by racial meanings.” They conclude that all American private and public institutions are racial institutions as race is the “organizing principle” of all social relationships.<sup>26</sup> While Omi and Winant argue that race is a part of American hegemonic order by using Gramsci’s notion of the expanded state (state = public and private institutions), they neglect the fact that Gramsci was a Marxist and thus overlook the importance that imperialism and capitalism held in Gramsci’s analyses. Even if one is only interested in Gramsci’s discussion of culture and society, capitalism underlies his analysis. For Gramsci, capitalism organized modern society, not racism.

Without identifying imperialism as the larger category over racism, Omi and Winant erroneously assume that the United States is an immigrant or

multiracial nation rather than a settler colonial one.<sup>27</sup> Their analysis of racism, then, does not look at the organization of societal power within an imperialist hegemonic order, but accepts the settler state's national ideology that defines its society as democratic. In other words, the national ideology functions to obscure the reality of America as a settler state and promote the belief that it is a democratic one. Omi and Winant's book works to preserve that obfuscation and sustain settler hegemony.

University of Hawai'i law Professor Eric K. Yamamoto in *Interracial Justice* also uses American national ideology and sets his study of racism within a "nation of minorities."<sup>28</sup> Thus his presentation of the racial peace process or what he calls "interracial justice"—the healing and reconciliation among people of color—advances the national interests of settler America as he attempts to resolve racial conflicts. Without the cornerstones of capitalism, colonialism, and imperialism in any discussion on racism in America, the resolutions for racism are theoretically and legally limited to accepting a predatory state and its bourgeois and settler institutions.

In Hawai'i, to ease the "racial" tensions between Japanese settlers (who control the colonial state apparatus) and Native Hawaiians (who are colonized), Yamamoto proposes his interracial justice process. (The latter involves the four "Rs" of recognition, responsibility, reconstruction, reparations.) However, the hostilities between Asian settlers and Native Hawaiians are not racial, but colonial. For example, one would never expect the Israelis (the colonizers) and the Palestinians (the colonized) to go through an interracial justice process similar to the one outlined by Yamamoto to relieve racial tensions within the settler state of Israel. Any resolution in the Middle East must involve giving Palestinians the right to self-determination over their Native lands (i.e., at

minimum, the governance over the occupied territories minus the presence of Jewish settlers). Similarly, one cannot expect the conflict in Hawai'i to be solved through a process that does not address Hawaiian self-determination and the return at minimum, of the ceded lands.<sup>29</sup>

Nevertheless, Yamamoto devotes two chapters of his book to the conflict resolution process between Asian settlers and Native Hawaiians by examining the meetings that occurred during the 1990s between Asian and Native Hawaiian churches. He explains that Asian American churches paid multimillion dollar reparation settlements to Native churches for the loss of nationhood and their continued subjugation. While the financial payments certainly helped the Hawaiian churches, they could never compensate for the loss of Hawaiian nationhood. Moreover, giving money to the churches is not equivalent to giving money to Native Hawaiians. Yamamoto's interracial justice process is dangerous. It is a predatory peace offering to resolve colonial tensions between Asian settlers and Native Hawaiians. In other words, Yamamoto endorses a process that allows settler groups to "feel good" because they do not have to address their participation in or collaboration with existing colonial structures which empower them and legitimize their presence in the islands. Yamamoto's interracial justice constitutes neither reparation nor reconciliation, but the maintenance of settler colonialism.

If Yamamoto intended to support Native rights, he should have urged Asian church leaders to lobby the State legislature and other powerful Asian politicians for the return of the ceded lands and Hawaiian Homelands to Native Hawaiian control. The return of Hawaiian lands would be a good beginning in the resolution of colonial conflicts. Since Asian church leaders either know or have familial ties to Asian politicians who run the State apparatus, successful



lobbying would not be a difficult task. Asian clergies could also exert moral pressure on their congregations who are often comprised of legislators and other political and civil leaders.

At the same time, Yamamoto should have encouraged Asian churches, along with other settler organizations, to educate their own communities about settler colonialism in Hawai'i. Until Native Hawaiians exercise the right of self-determination over their national lands and people, organizing a few workshops in the Asian communities is not as praiseworthy as Yamamoto believes, nor will it inspire people to dismantle the settler state apparatus. Malcolm X repeatedly pointed out that if sincere white people wanted to fight racism, they should organize within their own communities to change racist attitudes and actions against Black Americans.<sup>30</sup> Following his suggestion, Japanese settlers need to educate their own communities about settler colonialism and begin to change their colonialist attitudes and laws against Native Hawaiians and then to work toward overturning the American settler system.

Yamamoto's peace process has the appearance of constructive change, but in reality it does not call for a radical change in the system or any substantial part of it. In the Japanese language, there is a word, *shibai*, which means a "play" or a "theatrical presentation"—"to put on a play." It also means an act or "faking" it—"to put on an act."<sup>31</sup> In the islands, *shibai* is often used to describe a lie or false representation of reality by politicians and other leaders. In terms of dismantling the repressive systems of colonialism and settler racism, Yamamoto's interracial justice is *shibai*; it pretends to resolve an enormous conflict. Social justice is only possible for Native Hawaiians when they enjoy political self-determination including control over their islands without settler oversight.

This last position is well known in the State of Hawai'i because Native Hawaiians have made clear their demands for the return of self-government, including national lands. Whether the Native Hawaiian organization be Ka Lāhui Hawai'i, the Hawaiian Kingdom, or the Nation of Hawai'i, they all demand the right of self-determination in some form or another.<sup>32</sup> Yet, Japanese settler leaders along with their *haole* fellow travelers, continually claim they do not know which Native group "truly" represents the indigenous Hawaiian viewpoint. This response is another example of settler *shibai*. If these Asian leaders believed in democracy and a democratic world among nations, they would work to return lands to Native Hawaiians. U.S. Senator Daniel Inouye—a *nisei* settler—is the greatest individual opponent of Hawaiian sovereignty. Although he has tremendous power in the U.S. Congress (where he sits on the Committee of Appropriations and the Committee on Indian Affairs) and although he claims to support Native Hawaiians, he has never authored or sponsored substantial legislation to restore self-determination to the Hawaiian nation or to return its national lands. This is because he supports maintaining Native Hawaiian subjugation as well as the occupation of Native lands by the U.S. military and the settler citizenry. Inouye's concern for Native Hawaiian liberation is *shibai*.

Settler racism involves—in racial terms—the repression of Native nationalism by the settler system and its citizenry. As examined in Chapter Two, colonial culture is predatory against indigenous peoples. The settler state apparatus (consisting of political and civil societies) creates a racist culture through which Native "inferiority" is naturalized while settlers are allowed to the pillage, rule, and commodify anything indigenous—including Native land,

culture, and language. In the words of Frantz Fanon, “every colonialist group is racist.”<sup>33</sup>

Therefore, a racist within a racist society is normal.<sup>34</sup> Settler institutions *depend* upon settler racism (the belief that Native peoples are inferior and cannot be trusted with self-rule) to maintain the colonization of Native lands and peoples. Both types of racism (settler and white) are employed for capitalist and imperialist profits. In the United States, for example, it is perfectly acceptable to use racist language to describe poverty as being a problem inherent to a particular race rather than the result of an exploitative capitalist system. Or to use settler language to interpret the anger or lethargy of Natives as being integral to their race rather than a response to the violent and demeaning conditions of a colonial system. The fact that settlers of color traveled to America to occupy Native American, Hawaiian, and Alaskan homelands and to prosper within the existing American colonial nation, confirms their interests in opposition to Native nationalism.

Indigenous leader Haunani-Kay Trask makes an important contribution to our understanding of the term “settler” in the United States. She excludes African descendants from the definition. Because Africans in America “were forcibly transported from Africa to become slaves in the United States,” they are not settlers.<sup>35</sup> They did not journey under their own volition to the “nation of immigrants” for opportunities lacking in Africa, but were brutally enslaved as part of the European economic market and sold for profit to American plantation owners. Different from the histories and experiences of settlers of color, the exploitation of Africans by the capitalist and imperialist American system was massive in scale. It created a racist hegemony. When Malcolm X was with the Nation of Islam, he considered America a white hegemonic nation. He said

Africans did not want to live in segregation or integration in the United States. Rather they wanted to live separately from whites. Segregation and integration always assumed an inferior status for Africans, but separation meant they could create their own independent nation on an equal footing with other nations. In other words, white racism is so entrenched in every aspect of American life that Malcolm X felt it would be better to create a new state entity for Africans. Although he never used the phrase "white hegemony", it describes his thinking and analysis. Thus he emphasized, "America is the last stronghold of white supremacy."<sup>36</sup>

Unlike the Africans in America, the Japanese voluntarily traveled to Hawai'i for opportunities unavailable in their own ancestral land. Although oppressed by white racism up until the mid-twentieth century in the islands, the Japanese were never recipients of settler racism for the simple reason that they are not indigenous to Hawai'i. In fact since the *nisei* (second generation Japanese) took political control over the islands in the 1950s, white racism has almost subsided for them as a community. As one of the two hegemonic groups in contemporary Hawai'i, the Japanese are racist toward other communities of color such as the Filipinos, Samoans, etc. The Japanese commit settler racism against Native Hawaiians and American racism against other peoples of color by enforcing the abusive colonial and capitalist systems. This societal position is unusual for settlers of color. No other group has dominated the American State apparatus as the Japanese have done in Hawai'i.

In *Hawaii: Islands Under the Influence*, political scientist Noel Kent argues that after World War II, the islands' political and economic terrain changed due to reconfigurations in global power. The *haole* business elite that tightly controlled the island economy was forced to diversify.<sup>37</sup> America was now

engaged in a Cold War against the Soviet Union and needed to retain Hawai'i as its strategically placed military colony of front line defense against communism (see Chapter One and Two). Japanese settlers, in the meantime, took control of the State legislature in the mid-1950s and endorsed U.S. imperialist interests in Hawai'i and around the world. Through the passages of land use and tax laws in the 1960s and 1970s State legislature sessions, the Japanese settlers began to enjoy enormous profits from the exploitation of Native land and culture. Moreover, the *nisei* (second generation Japanese) war veterans supported the occupation of Native lands through their endorsement of the military, the largest income producing industry in Hawai'i until 1977, when tourism overtook it.<sup>38</sup> Japanese politicians also ushered in corporate based tourism, which exploited and continues to exploit Native Hawaiian culture and lands for foreign consumption. In this sense, the local Japanese re-enforced settler racism against Native Hawaiians by fortifying a military economy and building a massive settler tourist economy to ensure the continuation of Native subjugation. Later, this chapter will examine at the colonial system and the measures the Japanese undertook in strengthening the predatory structure that entrapped Native Hawaiians and their communities. In Gramscian terms, Japanese settlers constructed heavier earthworks and dug deeper trenches to undergird the powerful colonial fortress (the political and civil societies) of the islands.

Before continuing on with specific examples of settler racism and the Japanese, a deeper examination of the national question and the strategies of the proletarian internationalism are in order. Because Lenin outlined the necessary strategies to overthrow a state apparatus, his program provides a historic example that can be used to compare and examine the role played by Japanese settlers in Hawai'i. This juxtaposition will reveal that the Japanese were never a

revolutionary force against imperialist America and the *haole* oligarchy in the islands, but a reformist movement within the U.S. predatory system. It is important for the Japanese settler community to recognize that their attacks on the Territorial apparatus did not end colonial violence in Hawai'i, but helped to further it.

### **The Dialectic of Proletarian Internationalism**

Marxism reveals how economic and political structures (“base” plus “superstructure”) organize and determine our lives. Lenin’s work carefully linked Marx’s revolutionary theory to practical applications. Many Marxists believed that economic change would resolve all political problems and opposed Lenin’s focus on the national question and its relationship to the proletarian internationalism. To these Marxists, nationalism was reactionary and dangerously encouraged proletariats to identify with their nations rather than with each other as working class people across national borders. To them, nationalism was contrary to global democracy. Lenin agreed that imperialism was always grounded in the economic base. However, he argued that not all nations would come to revolution at the same time. People had distinctly different historical conditions; overturning the imperialist bourgeoisie would be a complex struggle that required different strategies. It would take an “epoch of proletarian civil war against the bourgeoisie” in the imperialist countries “combined with a *whole series* of democratic and revolutionary movements, including movements for national liberation” in the colonies to produce the socialist revolution.<sup>39</sup> While the socialists envisioned a spontaneous overthrow of capitalism spreading across the globe, Lenin explained that the socialist

revolution would not be a single battle, but “a long series of battles on all fronts.”<sup>40</sup>

During the revolutionary “epoch” when imperialist countries are overthrown and become socialist states, they would grant their colonies independence to govern themselves. The right of nations to self-determination or the right of oppressed nations to nationalism was an essential step before the amalgamation of socialist nations could be accomplished. Lenin argued that the aim of socialism is “not only to bring the nations closer to each other, but also to merge them”<sup>41</sup> so the “withering away” of all state apparatuses could occur. Lenin asked why wouldn’t former colonies *freely choose* to participate in a more humane socialist system rather than remain in the exploitative capitalist one?

Achieving proletarian internationalism without giving colonies the right to nationhood would perpetuate another form of imperialism. The proletariats in imperialist countries had to remember that their nations’ economic and political systems profited from the suffering of those in the colonies. For this reason, these proletariats were privileged in comparison to peoples in the colonies. The right of all nations to self-determination—i.e., the national question—was the mechanism to adjust and equalize power among peoples and nations. It was an opportunity for nations to engage each other in a non-predatory way, and thus take a fundamental step in the change from forced imperialism to co-operative socialism, and finally, to stateless communism.

Lenin had to reassure his opponents that the merging of nations would not be of a “uniform, drab colour.” Each nation would “introduce a special feature in the form of democracy it adopts, in the form of the proletarian dictatorship, and in the rate at which it carries out the reconstruction of the various phases of social life.” The right of self-determination for all oppressed

nations moved the world toward establishing international democracy among nations. The national question considered different peoples' historical, cultural, social, and political conditions. Whereas imperialism destroyed the sovereignty and borders of nations and the national cultures and citizenship of peoples, self-determination could end the violation of state boundaries "according to the sympathies of the population." Once democracy was completely instituted in all "spheres" of peoples' national lives, then the amalgamation of nations could become a reality.<sup>42</sup>

It was erroneous to believe that a change in an economic system from capitalism to socialism would eliminate national oppression because it addressed the problem only on an *economic* level. The right of self-determination countered imperialism on the *political* level—"namely, the forcible retention of one nation within the state boundaries of another nation."<sup>43</sup> Gramsci would later affirm Lenin's view by saying, "the line of development is toward internationalism, but the point of departure is 'national'—and it is from this point of departure that one must begin. Yet the perspective is international and cannot be otherwise."<sup>44</sup>

To attain such a global revolutionary moment, the socialists from all nations had to understand their assigned roles in overthrowing capitalism and imperialism.<sup>45</sup> Lenin explained that proletarian internationalism consisted of a dialectical movement between the roles of the proletariats in predatory states and those in the colonies. The proletariats in imperialist countries would raise the national question—i.e., the right to self-determination—within their own nation. They would demand the *immediate and unconditional secession* for all colonized nations from their foreign overseers. While engaged in a revolutionary struggle to overturn the bourgeois state's exploitation of the working class, the proletariats would simultaneously attack their governments' exploitation of



colonized peoples and demand their political secession without delay. This call for immediate secession would be initiated irrespective of the proletarian conditions in the colonies. In other words, the stage of proletarian development or the level of organization, or the existence of anti-imperialist resistance in the colonies did not matter. The primary job of the proletariats in predatory countries was to dismantle their own state machinery, which contributed to the global enslavement of other peoples. That was the role of a good internationalist. The motto of the proletariats, "our chief enemy is at home," meant that their primary duty was to attack their own imperialist state.<sup>46</sup>

Meanwhile, the proletariats in the colonies who were fighting for national liberation would demand *conditional secession* from their colonizer. Conditional secession gave oppressed peoples the time and space to begin the process of self-determination. The colonized would decide for themselves the conditions and terms for their independence (should they want complete or partial separation or the right to change their demands as world conditions shifted) rather than simply accept the oppressor's proposals. Moreover, conditional secession gave the colonized proletariats a flexible period to create a proletarian governing apparatus and to organize and educate the masses and prevent them from accepting any structure imposed by the exiting imperialist state. There would be no point in having an independent state if it duplicated the former colonial regime with new leaders. Lenin understood well that "a certain *rapprochement*" existed between the bourgeoisie of the exploiting countries and that of the colonies and that a newly independent nation was vulnerable to becoming another bourgeois state. Therefore, the proletariats in oppressed nations had to ensure control over the new state apparatus and not just for political secession from the colonizer. Frantz Fanon would later detail and clarify this treacherous

relationship between the bourgeoisie of the colonizing nation with those in the colony in his masterful work, *The Wretched of the Earth*. Thus, one of the tasks of Native proletariats was to retain their connection to the international proletarian movement while they fought for nationhood.<sup>47</sup>

Lenin's view of proletarian internationalism envisioned a dialectical relationship between the actions of the proletariats in imperialist countries and those in the colonies. By making two different demands—immediate *and* conditional secession—of the same colonizing government, these dual requests would weaken the predatory state because it involved assaults from two different directions. The different and independent attacks of the proletariats in the colonizing state and those in the colonies reinforced each other, working together to liberate the colonies and move the former colonizing country and the former colony toward a more egalitarian world. Most importantly, for our purposes, the work of the proletariats in predatory countries continues on regardless of the organizing conditions in the colonies.

Although world conditions have altered since Lenin's time, we are still within the age of imperialism. In fact, Lenin's analyses and strategies are valuable today because the United States has consolidated its power and is the sole superpower remaining. While many American groups protest U.S. imperialist policies such as its economic and military aid to countries, nothing substantial will stop its predatory violence without dismantling the nation itself. Reform will not stop U.S. interests, only revolution will. America was engendered within a predatory consciousness and structure (see Chapter Two). Even without the actual existence of military wars overseas, political and economic predation will continue to be a problem because the United States is built upon occupied Native nations. It is an ugly reality that settlers who

support Native peoples must face, just as the Bolsheviks had to face the reality of Russian colonialism. Americans will never have real peace, only “imperialist predatory peace” unless the United States is dismantled. Many of the world’s problems today can be traced to the long reach of American imperialism. Whether or not the dismantling of the United States is a possibility, it is important for American settlers to understand settler hegemony at this moment in history so their actions may be guided by revolutionary practices rather than reformist ones.

Lenin’s strategies for proletarian internationalism or the blueprint to overthrow imperialism, then, are essential to this study. Of particular importance is the role of the proletariat in predatory nations. Understanding their role can help us analyze settler activities in Hawai’i as well as help us to see the contradiction between the claims of Japanese settlers that they created a more “democratic” society and their actual engagement with, and enforcement of, the same exploitative colonial system of the *haole* oligarchy. Comparing the role Lenin proposed for proletariat in imperialist countries to the role played by the Japanese will reveal how the latter reformed the colonial system rather than revolutionized it. Today, Japanese settler leaders never consider the political possibility of secession for the Hawaiian nation. Instead, they continually work to maintain its subordination under the United States. Without using Lenin’s blueprint as a framework of analysis, the role of Japanese settlers in Hawai’i and their ascendancy in the political arena will be misinterpreted as an example of their positive assimilation and not as their problematic predation on Native lands and resources.

### *The Nationalism of Predatory and Colonized Countries*

Since the United States remains an imperialist nation, Lenin's analysis of nationalism and imperialism are very appropriate here. Moreover, the national question clarifies the colonial situation in Hawai'i by distinguishing the differences between the nationalist policies and practices of imperialist nations and those of colonized nations. As Lenin constantly reminded everyone, *during the age of imperialism, the division between oppressor and oppressed states must underpin one's analysis of the world*. One could not simply support anti-imperialist statements in "abstract postulates" and slogans. One must examine the concrete economic and political realities of countries in order to recognize the differences in nationalist agendas.<sup>48</sup> For example, the 2003 U.S. military invasion of Iraq was executed to control Iraq's oil production. With a presidential administration heavily involved in the American energy industry, Washington's justification for war—i.e., to disarm Iraqi—was a pretext the international community largely rejected. However, as the lone superpower in the world, no other country or coalition had the political, economic, or military means to prevent the United States from unleashing its genocidal policies and practices against Iraq. Arrogantly, the U.S. military used depleted uranium shells, which are classified by the UN as a weapon of mass destruction (WMD) as well as cluster bombs, which killed Iraqi children. The Iraqi war was launched to plunder and pillage Iraq for its resources while Iraqi national interests for the past twelve years were to survive against the UN economic and medical sanctions.<sup>49</sup>

According to Lenin, not all forms of nationalism should be supported. Predatory or imperialist states must be abolished as they, in Lenin's words, enslave the majority of the world in order to rob them of resources. The proletariats in imperialist countries, then, must "'blow up' national unity, and

establish class unity." At the same time, national liberation struggles in the colonies must be endorsed and defended. Colonized "nations still have national tasks to fulfil, namely, *democratic* tasks, the tasks of *throwing off foreign oppression*."<sup>50</sup> In his analysis, Lenin differentiates between states by examining their relationships to global economic and political forces. During the age of imperialism, Lenin argued, not all nations are equal. Some benefit from the current predatory system while others are enslaved by it. Lenin believed in the right of nations to self-determination. But he did not sanction the right of nations to determine the fate of other nations.

Another way to understand the importance Lenin placed on the distinction between imperialist and non-imperialist nations is by using Gramsci's theoretical concepts of organic and conjunctural movements.<sup>51</sup> The power to influence and direct world affairs depends upon the close or distant relationships states have to the global economic and political systems. Always a student of hegemony, whether examining a state apparatus or the capitalist/imperialist system, Gramsci argued one must distinguish between major or "organic" forces that organize the hegemonic system, and minor or "conjunctural" ones that are products of hegemony. Organic movements are closely linked to the dominant structure and thus have "far-reaching historical significance" while conjunctural movements are "occasional, immediate, almost accidental." By applying Gramsci's concepts to international relations among nations, certain states and their nationalist agendas are organically tied to global hegemony and allow them to function as major players in world events. Other states are minor players reacting to the dynamics created by the organic forces. These conjunctural nations are the recipients of the friendly or threatening policies of the organic states.

Gramsci warns that a “common error” in analysis is the “inability to find the correct relation between what is organic and what is conjunctural.”<sup>52</sup> This problem is particularly evident with Americans who cannot distinguish between organic and conjunctural forces. For example, the attacks on New York City and Washington, D.C. on September 11, 2001 were conjunctural actions responding to U.S. foreign policies in the Middle East. The latter constitute organic movements within this current period of imperialism. The size of the 9-11 events does not matter. They are minor acts in comparison to the permanent predatory policies of the United States, which have economic and military power to injure and kill millions of Third World peoples, including those of Islamic nations. Of course, Washington and the American corporate-based media work diligently to obfuscate the hegemony of the United States. They accomplish this by interpreting U.S. policies within the framework of national ideologies. Hence U.S. activities are identified with the spread of democracy, when in fact the United States exploits different regions of the globe.

In the spring of 2003, the United States went to the United Nations’ Security Council as a last minute public relations effort to gather support for its war against Iraq. African member states such as Guinea and Cameroon, who operate on the conjunctural level in international affairs, were under tremendous pressures to endorse America’s war. Their economic welfare is dependent upon receiving “preferential access to U.S. markets through the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA).” However, one of the demands of AGOA is that recipient nations “not engage in activities that undermine United States national security or foreign policy interests.” Luckily for these Third World countries in the UN Security Council, the vote was never taken. If they had voted against the United States, they would have damaged the economic health of their countries.

The national interest of the United States dominates the world and thus operates on an organic level. It is the only country with veto power in the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.<sup>53</sup> Yet Americans cannot distinguish between the policies of Iraq under Saddam Hussein, which function at a conjunctural level, from the policies of the United States under George W. Bush, functioning at an organic level. Iraqi national interests are regional and conjunctural while America's are global and organic.

Another conflict Americans are unable to analyze is the nationalist agenda of Israel and Palestine. Israel is a settler colonial state while Palestine is its colony. As the perpetrator of settler hegemony, Israel's actions are organic while Palestine's are conjunctural. To bolster Israel's settler power, the United States gives its largest foreign aid package (economic and military) to Israel. Yet the American media and Washington never portray Israel, with the fourth strongest military force in the world, as a ruthless predator. Regardless of the 1993 Oslo Accords (which many Palestinians considered too accommodating to Israel) and other international instruments signed between the two nations, Israel has never honored international law or Palestinian diplomacy. Within a sixteen-month period (between October 2000 to January 2002), Israeli occupation forces (known as the Israeli Defense Forces) killed 929 Palestinians, injured 17,099, arrested 2,976, destroyed 559 residential buildings, shelled 3,669 residential buildings, uprooted 112,900 olive trees, and destroyed 3,669,000 square meters of cultivated Palestinian lands. The Israeli state encouraged illegal Jewish settlements in occupied Palestine, which have multiplied by seventy-seven per cent since the 1993 Oslo accords. Moreover, these settlers shoot Palestinian farmers trying to harvest their own olive groves without reprimand from the Israeli government.<sup>54</sup>

To make matters worse, Israel has constructed a network of roads throughout the occupied West Bank encasing them with high wire fences to connect the illegal Jewish settlements and prevent Palestinians from driving on Israeli government roads. In addition, the Israeli government is building a twenty-five foot, 403 mile long apartheid wall to claim more land from the Palestinian West Bank.

The goal of Israeli nationalism is genocide against Palestinians. The goal of Palestinian nationalism is the right to self-determination—to wage national liberation struggles. Palestine, like all other colonies, does not have a military to protect its interests. Since it has no military installations to attack, the Israeli occupation forces ambush and destroy Palestinian civilian towns. The only effective defense mechanism Palestinians have against the occupational government is suicide bombers. Yet these sporadic acts of defense are characterized as horrifying acts of terrorism, even though they occur at the conjunctural level and as a response to the imposition of a permanent apartheid system on Palestinians for over fifty years.<sup>55</sup> Therefore, Israeli and Palestinian actions cannot be judged or understood as being equal to each other or in isolation from hegemonic systems. In this age of imperialism, it is necessary to use Lenin's distinction of dividing imperialist states from non-imperialist ones and Gramsci's distinction between organic movements from conjunctural ones in order to comprehend the complexity of the political terrain. As Lenin remarked, it does not matter who fires first in any conflict, but whom the two sides represents in terms of economic, political, and hegemonic power. Simply put, who is the predator and whom the prey?<sup>56</sup>

Within settler colonial America, settlers are the predators and Natives the prey. Thus the history and experience of Japanese settlers in Hawai'i must be



analyzed within the conflict of American nationalism (with its organic relationship to global hegemony) and Hawaiian nationalism (with its conjunctural relationship to global hegemony). When Japanese support the United States, they are not simply endorsing their adopted nation's policies, but those of a superpower engaged in exploiting the rest of the world for its own political, economic, and military gains. Moreover, Japanese settlers have not passively supported America's right to occupy the islands, but have actively endorsed the structure and practices of U.S. imperialism. For example, *nisei* and *sansei* (third generation Japanese) lawmakers and leaders continually undermine Hawaiian sovereignty issues by linking them with other local issues or subsuming them under inappropriate U.S. colonial agencies. Predictably, when Japanese attempt to facilitate or "manage" Native Hawaiian initiatives, they inevitably support the sole superpower and its imperialist, "organic" policies.

In 1996, Ka Lāhui Hawai'i, a Native Hawaiian sovereignty initiative, invited the Unrepresented Peoples and Organization (UNPO)—based in The Hague, Netherlands—to conduct a fact-finding mission and hearings on the "legality, fairness and possible effects of the plebiscite/Native Hawaiian Vote" conducted by the State of Hawai'i. The Native Hawaiian Vote was another *shibai* legislation because the local State government does not have the legal authority to address or arbitrate issues of nationhood. Rather such questions on decolonization must be posed at the U.S. federal and international UN levels. During the course of UNPO's visit, UNPO staffer Robin Sluyk astutely remarked that Native Hawaiians have a difficult task ahead of them—that is, to make their claims against America, "the best organizer in the world."<sup>57</sup>

Sluyk's comment prefigured what happened in 2003, when the international community could not stop the American military invasion and

occupation of Iraq. It is in this context that the Japanese settler support of American nationalism (occurring at the organic level) over Native Hawaiian nationalism (occurring at the conjunctural level) must be examined. In addition, Lenin's blueprint, which outlines strategies to overturn imperialism, must serve as the guide to true democracy in order to contrast the predatory (and not liberatory) role that the Japanese played and continue to play in the islands. If *sansei*, *yonsei* (fourth generation Japanese), and *gosei* (fifth generation Japanese) settlers believe in democracy and equality among nations, then they must condemn imperialist America with its genocidal policies and occupation of Native Hawaiian lands. Japanese settlers must relinquish their duplicitous role where on the one hand, they claim to support Native rights, and on the other hand, where they enforce the occupation of the foreign American regime in the islands which denies Native Hawaiians the right to self-determination.

### **Fortifying the Colonial State Apparatus**

We draw a distinction between *Portuguese colonialism* and *Portuguese settlers* just as we draw a distinction between a cart and its wheels. A cart cannot run without wheels. Colonialism cannot function without settlers. You are the wheels of the old and detested cart of Portuguese colonialism which tries to continue running against all the realities of history, at the cost of exploitation and destruction of our people.

Amilcar Cabral<sup>58</sup>

Settler rule is a particularly resilient form of authoritarian domination. Viewing the country as their permanent abode, settlers typically regard the political system as their private preserve, and the socioeconomic order as the vehicle for their exclusive prosperity. They often expropriate the richest land, lay claim to prime natural resources, introduce social segregation, and exploit native labor (under minority rule) or marginalize it (under majority rule).

Ronald Weitzer<sup>59</sup>

Whenever the local Japanese community identify the 1954 Democratic Party "take over" and the 1959 statehood of Hawai'i as definitive moments in

their history, they commemorate the shift in settler politics from *haole* dominance to an East Asian one. In fact, the Japanese welcomed statehood, as it did not alter the basic settler system in Hawai'i's transition from a Territory to a State. For the *nisei* politicians, their concern centered on reforming the colonial system so that the corridors of white political power would be open to them. Their interest was never to dismantle American hegemony or "the dictatorship of the settler" and restore the Hawaiian nation. Rather they were guided by settler opportunism. Japanese settlers migrated to the American island colony of Hawai'i to partake of the predatory system. When the Japanese came into political power, they re-enforced the U.S. colonial apparatus, actively opposing the right of self-determination for the Native people of the islands.

If one recalls, settler racism is the denial of the right of nations to self-determination. Upholding the American colonial system and its settler documents such as the U.S. Constitution, for example, are acts of settler racism against the colonized Native Americans, Alaskans, and Hawaiians because the U.S. state apparatus is designed to perpetuate settler privilege and Native subordination. When the Japanese joined the Democratic Party, they aligned themselves with a colonial organization that is one of the mainstays within the American political sphere. Thus their use of words such as "freedom," "liberty," and "the welfare of all the people" in the Party literature and documents meant the advocacy of those rights for settlers within the American settler hegemony.<sup>60</sup> The mission of the local Democratic Party in the 1950s was to reform the imposed settler structure, never to overthrow it. American democracy is the dictatorship of the settler (democracy for settlers and dictatorship for Natives). The Party was not and is not a revolutionary party like the Russian Social Democrats whose purpose was to dismantle the Tsarist regime. For Lenin and the Bolsheviks,

democracy meant equality for all peoples, while for Americans, democracy meant and still means equality for settlers or for those who endorse the U.S. predatory values and way of life. In other words, American democracy does not propose a world of fairness, freedom, and opportunities for all peoples but one of settler superiority and Native inferiority. Therefore the American Democratic Party will never produce an equitable solution to the national question as it seeks to ensure settler sovereignty, not undermine it.

During the 1950s and 1960s, the United States began a forty-year Cold War against the Soviet Union. Granting statehood to Hawai'i was a way for America to ensure a permanent military presence in the Pacific Ocean and to deter Soviet aggression (Chapter One). At a time when de-colonization of Third World nations was being addressed at the United Nations, the passage of the 1959 statehood legislation ignored the right of indigenous Hawaiians to self-determination. Moreover, it was the act of a budding superpower as the United States unilaterally removed Hawai'i from the UN list of nations to be de-colonized. Thus statehood did not give Native Hawaiians, what the Japanese covetously called "first class" citizenry status. Rather the Admission Act demoted Natives to "wards of the state," as portions of their lands, were held, and are still held, in a public trust beyond their control.<sup>61</sup> The Admission Act, then, was America's "commitment to build and sustain" settler rule and "institutionalize" Native subjugation in the islands.<sup>62</sup> It simultaneously denied Native Hawaiians their human rights to self-governance (Chapter One).<sup>63</sup>

Using Lenin's analytic framework—that is, to distinguish imperialist nations from occupied ones—statehood can be recognized as a tool to retain the Hawaiian nation within the American empire rather than to liberate the islands from colonialism. For Japanese settlers, Hawai'i's incorporation into the

American body politic was fortunate since it opened up predatory opportunities unavailable to them during the Territorial period when island political power was closely tied to Washington. Now the *nisei* and other island residents could vote for the State governor and thereby acquire control over the State apparatus since the governor appoints key positions such as judgeships, trustees of the Bishop Estate (the largest private trust in the islands), and directors of State agencies. When the *nisei* ascended to prominence within the Democratic Party and within the larger island society, the Japanese community became synonymous with the Democratic Party.

In their well-researched book, *Land and Power in Hawaii*, George Cooper and Gavan Daws compiled staggering statistics to expose Japanese settler opportunism. Even though the *nisei* presented their beliefs as democratic rights for all peoples, they meant those rights for settlers and more specifically for the Japanese. Cooper and Daws disclosed this contradiction by showing the overrepresentation of the Japanese settlers as elected officials of the Democratic Party during the boom period of land development. For example in 1960, the Japanese comprised thirty-two percent of the population, yet represented sixty-seven percent of the Democratic legislators in the State houses. In 1970, the *nisei* settlers comprised twenty-eight percent of the population and won fifty-eight percent of the Democratic seats in both houses.<sup>64</sup> These astonishing numbers show how the Democratic Party was not a multiethnic effort, but a singularly Japanese one. Other ethnic communities may have worked toward a multiethnic system, but the Burns group who controlled the Democratic Party carried out its original 1940s goal—that is, to use the Party to increase the political power of the returning *nisei* war veterans and their community (Chapter Two).

If the *nisei* truly believed they were building a multiethnic government as they espoused, they would have insisted that candidates from other racial groups run for legislative seats. Or if they truly believed in democracy, they would have supported the return of the Hawaiian nation as the Bolsheviks did for the colonized nations within Tsarist Russia. Instead, the Japanese followed their predatory interests and kept opportunities within their own race. They did not share the influence and prestige with fellow Democrats—i.e., other settlers of color and Native people—unless it was strategically necessary.<sup>65</sup>

On a larger scale, the *nisei* presence was unmistakable when examining the racial makeup of all elected officials and not only within the Democratic Party. Even though their numbers were miniscule within the Republican Party, the GOP Japanese settlers were prominent and added to their growing numbers as government officials. In both 1960 and 1970, *nisei* politicians comprised half of the elected State legislators when only a third of the total island population was Japanese. This overrepresentation of *nisei* settlers in government does not even begin to address the hundreds who were appointed to jobs within the State apparatus once the Democrats took power. One needs only to read the *Directory of State, County and Federal Officials* to find that Japanese surnames pervade the directory during the boom development years of 1960s-1980s.<sup>66</sup>

It was not an accident that the *nisei* ended up dominating the State structure. In the 1940s, when the Burns group of five settlers organized the Democratic Party take over, they heavily recruited the returning Japanese war veterans. During a 1975 interview, U.S. Senator Daniel Inouye likened the process of collecting proxies from “the 442<sup>nd</sup> people” at various Party precinct meetings to “picking mangoes with no one around. It was that easy.” The entire meeting would last ten minutes because they did not have to spend much time

deliberating and voting. They had organized the veterans to vote by proxy prior to the meeting. Inouye boasted that in a single night they took over half the precincts in the Territory.<sup>67</sup> By 1954, with the ending of the recent Korean War and the beginnings of the Cold War, the Democratic Party represented the patriotic and military influence of the *nisei* war veterans. That year the Party platform acknowledged the “immeasurable obligation” the people of Hawai‘i had “to all veterans of the Armed Services” and “a deep sense of gratitude to them for their many sacrifices.” As previously argued in Chapter Two, the Japanese rose to power on the coattails of American imperialist and military efforts in the islands and around the world. Whether as legislators (direct domination through the passages of law) or as educators in the public school system (indirect domination through national ideologies), Japanese settlers held key positions to ensure the maintenance of settler hegemony (Chapter Two). Under these conditions, Japanese settlers assumed a position at the helm of the colonial state apparatus, which suppressed any form of Native nationalism.

### *The State Apparatus: Land Reform and the Big Five*

Unbelievably, at the turn of the twenty-first century, many liberal Asians deny that Japanese settlers are largely responsible for the condition of Native Hawaiians today. Their denial is based upon their acceptance of the U.S. national ideologies, which champion the spread of American democracy—i.e., settler superiority and Native inferiority—as liberatory for all peoples. For the past two centuries, American democracy has been mislabeled. In reality, U.S. policies of imperialism, colonialism, and capitalism are zero-sum games. One country’s loss is another one’s gain as only a finite supply of resources and territories currently exist. Whether as plantation laborers or as State politicians,

Asian settlers prospered off the imposed American colonial system at the expense of the Native peoples' lives, lands, and nation. Therefore, the Japanese in Hawai'i are not innocent of colonial crimes. In fact, they have become powerful and wealthy off this predatory system, as they too assumed the right to pillage Native Hawaiian lands, culture, and resources.

One of the issues that brought the Japanese and the Democratic Party into larger prominence in the 1950s was the quest for land reform. Since the 1893 overthrow and 1898 annexation, half the usable lands in Hawai'i, or two million acres, were categorized as private parcels (in the hands of a small minority of landowners), while the other half were public lands (in the hands of the federal and State governments).<sup>68</sup> When the *nisei* soldiers were growing up on the plantations during the Territorial years, the *haole* and Republican Party controlled all spheres of island life including both the private and public lands. Five large corporations known as the "Big Five" (Alexander and Baldwin, American Factors, C. Brewer, Castle and Cooke, and Theo. H. Davies) dominated the local sugar industry from planting to shipping and financing.<sup>69</sup> Historically, the Big Five were *haole* missionary and merchant-descended factors or agents that handled the sale of raw sugar for the plantations. The Big Five eventually increased their services to manage most aspects of sugar production. In the 1950s, the five factors began their "systematic acquisition of stock" of the various plantations they once represented, and the actual producers of the sugar became either wholly owned subsidiaries or affiliated companies of the Big Five.<sup>70</sup>

Under American settler rule, the Big Five and other large landowners and entities such as the Dillingham Corporation had tremendous influence over the way business and government was conducted in the islands. The large landowners controlled more than ninety-five percent of all the private acreage



leaving less than five percent for the rest of the island's population.<sup>71</sup> In addition, the Big Five leased the most valuable of the public acreage for their own agricultural production, thus increasing the number of parcels under their direct control.<sup>72</sup> Initially the land leasing policy began during the Kingdom where it satisfied the needs of both the Native (government) and settler (private) interests within the independent nation. Once the American settlers imposed their own colonial government, the land leasing policy only satisfied settler interests. Along this vein, the Territorial and State governments exchanged public lands with private owners to build settler roads and cities or switched public parcels to accommodate the development of shopping malls and airports. They even used Hawaiian Home Lands, acreage set aside exclusively for Native Hawaiian homesteading, for these projects.<sup>73</sup>

As Ronald Weitzer insightfully explains in *Transforming Settler States*, settlers "typically regard the political system as their private preserve" and "the socio economic order as the vehicle for their exclusive prosperity."<sup>74</sup> For example, during the Territorial years, big landowners such as Castle and Cooke and Bishop Estate often placed their unused lands in the "forest reserve" to escape taxation. At any time, they could virtually take their land out of the forest reserve and develop it without suffering any back taxes or penalties. The *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* reported in 1957, that out of the total of 122,000 acres in the forest reserve, 79,000 acres were privately owned.<sup>75</sup> Another example involved tax laws in the countryside. In 1960, when the State legislature hired a Chicago consulting firm to study the tax laws that governed the rural areas, the consultants reported that "the most glaring single deficiency" was the practice of allowing the plantation and ranch owners to set their own taxes.<sup>76</sup> Finally, in violation of anti-trust federal and State laws, the Big Five continued to have

interlocking directorships. Clearly the *haole* settlers used the colonial system as a “vehicle” for their economic prosperity.

In any colony, the settler government and settler citizenry work closely together to pillage Native lands and resources. However, when an ascending settler group or class challenges the dominant one, conflicts ensue over the interpretation and enforcement of colonial laws. In the case of the *nisei* and the *haole* settlers in Hawai‘i, an uneasy alliance was forged as both groups used each other to maintain settler rule over Native Hawaiians.

When the *nisei* World War II veterans eventually returned to the islands, they were not only well educated (through the GI Bill) and more worldly, their participation in the U.S. imperialist military forces indoctrinated them ideologically to accept the American colonial system as their own. It is what Marxist cultural theorist Raymond Williams calls “the process of incorporation.”<sup>77</sup> (Chapter Two) The military transformed them from oppressed laborers under white settler colonialism, to active soldiers who defended that same colonial system through their incorporation. In addition, their participation in the 442<sup>nd</sup> Regimental Combat Team and 100<sup>th</sup> Infantry Battalion worked to their political advantage once they returned to Hawai‘i. The Democratic Party Japanese did not have to convince the wider island communities to join their efforts because they could use the *nisei* veterans and their organization of interlinked former military units (Companies A, B, C, etc.). Moreover, the larger conditions of war and of the white racism that pervaded the islands created strong bonds and feelings of loyalty and commitment among the veterans for each other. Thus as already explained, organizing among the veterans was as “easy as picking mangoes” because the Japanese politicians relied upon the cooperation and votes from their war buddies. By the time the

*nisei* returned to the islands after their service in the war, they felt they had earned the right to claim their portion of the colonial spoils.

The Japanese and the Democratic Party soon campaigned for land reforms to break the *haole* monopoly over the islands. The Democrats explained their intention to make “idle” acreage in the islands become “highly productive” deliberately using American predatory language.<sup>78</sup> Their carefully chosen words conveyed the idea that the *nisei* and other settlers of color were following in the footsteps of the American forefathers by claiming undeveloped land. Just as the early white settlers justified the confiscation of Native land by applying U.S. national ideologies, land use laws, and later U.S. Supreme Court case rulings, the *nisei* Democrats followed suit. Once in power, they passed legislation that supported their settler interests in land tenure and ignored existing pro-Native laws that didn't.

The two million acres of public lands in Hawai'i are almost all ceded lands, once belonging to the Crown and government of the Hawaiian Kingdom. This acreage passed from the Kingdom of Hawai'i, to the Republic of Hawai'i, to the United States, and finally to the State of Hawai'i to be held in trust for the Native Hawaiian people.<sup>79</sup> At the time of statehood in 1959, the ceded lands were placed in a Public Land Trust for the “betterment of Native Hawaiian conditions.” At the State's 1978 Constitutional Convention, delegates clarified that Native Hawaiians were one of two beneficiaries of this trust.<sup>80</sup> Oddly enough, in the forty plus years since statehood, the ceded lands have never been systematically inventoried and mapped in reliable detail. Worse, the revenues from these lands have never flowed in any unified or consistent manner to Native Hawaiians. Since the ceded lands are categorized as public lands, they fall under the administration of the Department of Land and Natural Resources

(DLNR), a division under the local colonial government, i.e., the State of Hawai'i.<sup>81</sup> The settler governor appoints the chairman of DLNR whose department manages, administers, and protects this public acreage. The Board of Land and Natural Resources (BLNR) determines land leases and land use on conservation lands such as development plans and permit applications. The chairman of DLNR not only runs the BLNR, but also sits on the powerful Land Use Commission (LUC), which administers the zoning status for all land parcels in the archipelago. Therefore the chairman of DLNR has enormous knowledge of current and future land development projects by sitting on the two boards of DLNR and LUC. Said in another way, the chair of DLNR has tremendous responsibilities and obligations to Native Hawaiians as DLNR administers their ceded lands trust.

During the boom development years, Sunao Kido, brother of Mitsuyuki (one of the "group of five settlers" who originally planned the goals of the Democratic Party, see Chapter Two), was deputy to the chairman of DLNR (1962-1968) and later appointed by Governor Burns to become the chairman of DLNR (1968-1974). Sunao like his brother, Mitsuyuki was involved in land development. While Sunao was a State official charged with protecting the public lands in the archipelago, he also held a realtor's license. Mitsuyuki was a land developer looking for large parcels. In *Land and Power*, Cooper and Daws exposed numerous cases where *nisei* politicians (elected and/or appointed) used their position within the settler government to line their pockets with money. Cooper and Daws also point out that these *nisei* abuses of power did not break the law, which is not surprising because inherent in settler law is the exploitation of Native lands, resources, and peoples. For the *nisei*, they did not hesitate to use their political power to their community's advantage. In a 1994 article,

*Environment Hawai'i* reports that since the establishment of the BLNR, almost half of the appointed board members have been Japanese.<sup>82</sup>

As Ronald Weitzer explained, settlers regard the colonial political system as their "private preserve" and "the socio economic order as a vehicle for their exclusive prosperity."<sup>83</sup> In the colony of Hawai'i, the *nisei* were no exception. They had been ideologically educated to accept predatory characteristics as natural—from their Japanese culture and from their newly acquired American one. To plunder Native lands and resources was commonsense knowledge. Sunao acted against his trust responsibilities to Native Hawaiians as deputy and chairman of DLNR. He sided with his brother's and other developers' interests by issuing permits requesting the redistricting of conservation lands or by "aiding the developer on political strategy" to traverse the State bureaucracy.<sup>84</sup> Clearly these conflicts of interests between the DLNR as guardian over conservation lands and the DLNR as facilitating the requests of developers was hidden from the public as DLNR was not required to conduct public hearings as it is now.<sup>85</sup> In a colony, settler interests prevail over Native ones no matter what the colonial law decrees. As the ascending settler group, the Japanese acted without fear as they and their fellow Democrats filled key positions within the colonial State government and thus became skillful in manipulating the colonial system for their own gain. The Democrats purposefully created bureaucratic procedures that would ensure their position as powerful gatekeepers to determine, in the words of Cooper and Daws, "if, when, and how land in Hawaii might be developed."<sup>86</sup>

Native Hawaiian attorney Melody MacKenzie points out in *Native Hawaiian Rights Handbook* that DLNR did not follow its trust responsibilities under the Admission Act to separate rent revenues received from ceded and

non-ceded lands. Since most of the two million acres of public lands are ceded, the earnings owed to Native Hawaiians are enormous. Yet, it is no accident that the ceded lands have remained inaccurately identified and inventoried, as this very mismanagement of the trust lands has allowed Japanese settlers to conduct public business in a manner that enabled them to become powerful and wealthy. MacKenzie argues "the state's failure to identify ceded lands, like a private trustee's failure to identify and segregate trust assets, constitutes an independent breach of its 5(f) obligations."<sup>87</sup> Even with reports from State auditors who cite misconduct by DLNR, the Democratic Party settlers have yet to correct any violations of the ceded lands trust.

When it comes to enforcing the law on behalf of Native Hawaiians, no one in the settler government with substantial power was or is willing to be their advocate. This anti-Native stance is not surprising. Even if settler laws acknowledge Native Hawaiians as beneficiaries of the ceded lands trust, within the context of colonialism, those laws simultaneously "institutionalize" Natives as inferior and open for abuse as "wards of the State."<sup>88</sup> The local attorney general's office does not enforce the Admission Act requiring DLNR to properly manage and inventory the ceded lands, nor has it prosecuted anyone for the mismanagement of those millions of dollars of trust funds. As previously mentioned, this breach of the trust has been on going for over forty years and under the watch of Japanese politicians.

In a 1975 interview, former Lieutenant Governor, Thomas P. Gill (1966-1970), commented that despite the passage of a law in the State legislature, "it didn't make a damn bit of difference if people didn't administer it."<sup>89</sup> Gill's comment is very revealing. Bills can be passed for public consumption, for the appearance of equality and fairness, but never enforced if they disturb the

configuration of settler power. Gill, a liberal Democrat, said that by the mid-1960s, the statute books were filled with “forward-looking laws,” such as anti-trust laws, but no one administered or enforced them. He charged that “Burns had no interest in land reform, or anything of this sort. It was an anathema to him.”<sup>90</sup> Although Gill names Burns *per se*, he meant the Burns faction of the Democratic Party that ran the State or commonly referred to as the Burns machine, which was dominated by *nisei* war veterans. People such as Dan Aoki (Burns’ administrative assistant and the “real governor” when Burns was out-of-state) and Bert Kobayashi (attorney general).<sup>91</sup> Cooper and Daws come to the same conclusion as Gill—that is to say, the Democrats were not interested in land redistribution, but in land development. Although they passed some land use laws, they did not alienate the large corporate landowners, the Big Five, from their lands.<sup>92</sup> Rather the Japanese-dominated Burns machine ended up “protecting” big business at the expense of the general public and of the colonized Native Hawaiians whose trust lands the settlers were dividing among themselves.

According to Gill who was the Lieutenant Governor under Burns and a major participant in building the Democratic Party, Burns was a “front man to some extent” for the Burns machine. Gill contended that the moving forces in the Burns administration were the “factors [the Big Five], plus the sub-dividers, plus the ILWU and a few other fast-buck operators.”<sup>93</sup> While the *nisei* were not part of the Big Five (although some were on their boards of directors or hired as corporate attorneys), they were definitely part of the developers (or sub-dividers), the ILWU, and “fast-buck operators.” A perfect example is Masau “Pundy” Yokouchi who was Burns’ unofficial representative on Maui and a political appointee to the chair of the State Foundation on Culture and the Arts

(SFCA, 1966-1978). By his own admission, Yokouchi stated he did not have any knowledge of the arts, yet Burns hand picked him for this newly created agency.<sup>94</sup> However the appointment was not so strange as Yokouchi was politically well connected. He was a developer and a realtor on Maui whose Valley Isle Realty Inc. included members of the Maui County Council (which issued permits to develop the urban, agricultural, and rural lands in that county), a State senator and a Maui County supervisor. Yokouchi managed twenty *hui* (investment groups) and worked with Amfac (a Big Five) on a number of land sales. He was Amfac's representative in the development of Ka'anapali, the first resort complex in the islands. Yokouchi safely shepherded Amfac through the problems Ka'anapali encountered with the community and the ILWU. In addition, Amfac sold sixty-six acres of undeveloped land to Yokouchi on Kaua'i for \$1.2 million, which in less than a year was resold for \$5.25 million with nothing done to the property. Years later, Yokouchi asserted his innocence by claiming he did know the land would be up zoned for resort development after he sold the parcel. However, according to Cooper and Daws, the Land Use Commission approved only the Nukoli'i site for resort zoning and turned down all other similar requests that year on Kaua'i.<sup>95</sup>

To counter these questionable manipulations of the system, former Lt. Governor Gill decided to run against Burns in the 1970 gubernatorial election. If he remained part of the Burns administration, he knew he would be as guilty as the rest of the Burns machine in abusing the settler system, leaving nothing for future generations. Although Gill's concerns were not for the colonized Native Hawaiians, but for the continuation of the settler society, his quote below on the Burns machine's development projects is nonetheless important as it gives a



glimpse into the predatory consciousness of the *nisei* and other settlers during those times.

They were playing the game. The more you made, the better it was, and the more concrete you poured the better off everything was going to be. It was just running wild like cancer. And the boys were making money hand over fist. The fast-buck operators were rife, laying out subdivisions, some of whom I'm suing right now because the bastards are stealing the money. Okay, so the thing was going to hell in a handcart.<sup>96</sup>

The *nisei* were becoming adept settler leaders in using the colonial system as their "private preserve" and as a "vehicle for their exclusive prosperity" with no regard for the Native nation, its land, history, and the Native Hawaiian people. The boom development years were the beginning of the mass pillaging and plundering of the islands by the Japanese. No one was stopping them because both the *haole* and the Japanese settlers were working as partners. As Gill rightly reveals, the forces during the boom development years were the Big Five, the developers, and the union. Whether one was a Republican or Democrat did not matter. Both settler Parties endorsed raping the lands for profits. Gill remarked in a 1997 interview that once in office, the Democrats moved away from any long-term social project programs and catered to special interests.<sup>97</sup> In other words, *nisei* politicians were willing to work with their former enemy if there was money to be made, despite the fact that the Big Five had oppressed both the Japanese and other people of color in the islands for decades. As Marxists know, the economic base gives rise to the political superstructure to create hegemony (Chapter Two). Thus the ascending Japanese politicians made an uneasy alliance with the *haole* in order to gain access to the economic realm. Together the two groups created an ethnically-inflected, settler hegemonic bloc to transform and profit from a rapidly changing Hawai'i.

### *The Case of Matson Navigation Company*

Perhaps one of the earliest public signs of the *nisei* alliance with the *haole* oligarchy was the settlement of the 1964 anti-trust suit filed by U.S. Justice Department against four of the Big Five corporations over their majority stock ownership of Matson Navigation Company. The suit asked the four factors to “divest themselves of Matson stock and that no representative of any of the firms be allowed to sit on Matson’s Board.”<sup>98</sup> Six months later, Burns (then Governor) and Inouye (then U.S. Congressman) negotiated a deal with the federal government where Alexander and Baldwin (A & B), one of the Big Four, would maintain its Matson stock and buy out the interest of the other three factors. The A & B agreement blocked an offer by a New York based corporation, U.S. Freight, to be the principal ocean carrier between the islands and the West Coast of the United States.<sup>99</sup> If the Democrats wanted to destroy the stranglehold of the Big Five over island life, they could have lobbied Washington to accept the New York offer. Instead, they lobbied for A & B, an integral part of the *haole* oligarchy even though by 1961, the Big Four already managed eighty-six percent of the sugar industry and three out of the four factors controlled more than half of the pineapple production.<sup>100</sup> Their effort to secure A & B as the owner of Matson revealed the support the *nisei* politicians (e.g., attorney general, Bert Kobayashi and Inouye) were willing to give to protect and fortify the very business monopolies the Democrats were publicly saying they wanted to break. Thus the objective of the ascending *nisei* settlers was not to dismantle the settler apparatus in the islands, but to manipulate it so they could become players and/or partners with the *haole* elite in exploiting the colony.

Because of the passage of the 1959 statehood bill, the federal Clayton and Sherman anti-trust laws were applicable only to the islands’ inter-state commerce

and not its intra-state business.<sup>101</sup> Thus the new settler legislature had two years to create its own anti-trust legislation to cover business transactions within the State of Hawai'i. One of the key issues that arose during the legislative discussions was the interlocking directorates of the Big Five. In particular, the lawmakers were interested in four of the Big Five's seventy-four percent stock ownership of Matson (A & B, Amfac, Castle and Cooke, C. Brewer). As the principal ocean carrier in the islands, Matson included a passenger line, freighters, and container barges. In addition, this navigation company had two wholly-owned subsidiaries, Oceanic Steamship Company, a passenger line and cargo freight entity, and Matson Terminals, a contract stevedoring and terminal service company which did contract work for Matson as well as other carriers including the U.S. military. In other words, the Big Four via Matson dictated the island's economy by controlling the largest industry in Hawai'i, namely sugar, and by regulating the shipping rates at a time when airfreight was still something in the future. Through Matson, then, the Big Four controlled the island ports and much of the American shipping traffic between the U.S. West Coast and the Pacific (Hawai'i, Australia, and New Zealand).<sup>102</sup>

Because the Big Four and Matson violated the anti-merger section of the Clayton Antitrust Act and the restraint-of-trade section of the Sherman Act, the island public was at the whim of this monopoly between the factors and Matson. It worked in this manner. Matson lowered its shipping rates to export the Big Four's sugar to America but covered its loss by increasing its import rates on its return trips to Hawai'i. Thus U.S. continental companies shipping goods to the islands passed on price hikes to island consumers. With two-thirds of the food and ninety percent of the consumer goods imported from the continent, Matson held tremendous economic and political power. In 1961, as part of a background

study to create antitrust laws, the State House of Representatives commissioned a report on the interlocking directorates among island businesses, in particular the relationship between the Big Four and Matson.<sup>103</sup> The report stated "13 of Matson's directors and/or officers occupied 110 positions as directors and/or officers of 67 other companies." Of those thirteen directors, nine represented the Big Four, which owned seventy-four per cent of Matson's stock. Between those nine directors, they "held a total of 105 positions in the 67 companies besides Matson."<sup>104</sup> To restate, the Big Four controlled eighty-six percent of the sugar industry, over half of the pineapple industry, and seventy-four percent of the shipping industry.

Federal law required Hawai'i to create its own anti-trust legislation within two years of statehood. With the glaring statistics on interlocking directorates facing them, the State legislature in an overwhelming vote passed its own anti-trust law. It was an anti-monopoly bill led by the Tom Gill faction of the Democratic Party. It forbade price-fixing and interlocking stock ownership. It forced companies to deal with all potential business entities in order to widen competition. The bill also "clamped down on interlocking directorates." Perhaps one of the most important aspects of this new legislation was that it gave the attorney general broad powers to investigate and prosecute any anti-trust violations. No one could hide behind the "corporate shield."<sup>105</sup> The bill went into effect on August 21, 1961.

Within six months of the passage of the State anti-trust law, Burns won the gubernatorial election and took over the governor's office completing the Democratic Party's control over the entire State apparatus. With government power securely under their control, the *nisei* politicians used their political leverage to force the *haole* business elite to share the islands' economic profits

between them. Rather than destroy the Big Five, the Japanese settlers wanted to become partners in colonial crimes—the pillaging of Native lands and resources. Bert T. Kobayashi, the new *nisei* attorney general, for example, did not take the Big Five immediately to court for violations of the anti-trust law. Instead he gave them a four-year period to comply before he would litigate. His anti-trust policy style is reminiscent of President Theodore Roosevelt’s “speak softly but carry a big stick.” This forty-eight month period gave the business community time to negotiate agreements with the *nisei* Democrats in private or face the alternative “the big stick”—public litigation.

In a 1980 interview, Kobayashi explained his policy helped to “steady down the business community.” In reality, it threatened the *haole* firms to comply with the *nisei* politicians and leaders or face the possible public disintegration of their corporations via the courts. He claimed “when I first went into office, one of the biggest problems here in Hawai’i was interlocking directorships...Number two...was litigation.”<sup>106</sup> Former Governor (1973-1986) and law partner with Kobayashi, George R. Ariyoshi praised Kobayashi’s non-litigation strategy as following Democratic Party initiatives. His support of the attorney general’s policy revealed his own ambitions to align with Big Five interests.<sup>107</sup> He praised Kobayashi for preventing the “hauling [of] the boards of the Big Five into a bitter, humiliating court battle.” Moreover, “it saved taxpayer money, and it also prevented further ill will.”<sup>108</sup> If the *nisei* wanted to break the monopoly of the Big Five and build an egalitarian society, litigation would have been the perfect public venue as it would have exposed the questionable dealings of the plantation firms. Kobayashi’s non-litigation policy, however, forced the *haole* business elite to make concessions with the *nisei* politicians in private.

Three years later, Burns, Kobayashi, and Inouye assisted in the 1964 federal lawsuit settlement where A & B bought out the other three factors of their Matson stock. To the relief of the *haole* and Asian elite settlers, Matson remained a Hawai'i based shipping company—embedded within the established island political hierarchy.<sup>109</sup> As Gill remarked in 1975, the importance of the Matson case was that the Big Five realized they “didn’t need the Republican party; they had Burns” and his *nisei* machine.<sup>110</sup> Prior to Burns taking the helm of island government as governor, the Big Five assumed that once the Democrats were in power, they would assault and harass them out-of-business. Many of the *nisei* Democrats, after all, grew up on their sugar plantations under racist conditions. However, the Big Five instead found the *nisei* willing to work hand-in-hand with them.

Having the Democratic Party in power had its advantages for the *haole* factors because the ILWU supported the Democrats. Two days after the federal lawsuit was filed against Matson, Jack Hall, the regional director of the ILWU, publicly endorsed Matson and the monopoly of the Big Four. He commented in the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, “we are better off with a controlled monopoly than anarchy.”<sup>111</sup> Hall’s comments revealed a settler consciousness where race and class are subsidiary categories of imperialism and colonialism. In other words, although a labor leader, Hall subsumed his class and labor interests under settler interests.

In any colony, the “great divide” is between settlers and Natives and conflicts among settlers are secondary. However as Ron Weitzer explains “fissures within a settler population can prove disastrous” if those conflicts “provide an opening for native mobilization” or “undermine the state’s capacity to defend settler rule.”<sup>112</sup> The possible purchase of Matson by the New York

based firm U.S. Freight, could have instigated dissent amongst island settlers, as it was unknown where U.S. Freight stood on island politics. Having an outside firm as the hub of economic life in Hawai'i would have been risky. Even if the company agreed with settler colonialism, it may bring many employees to Hawai'i who may "champion the rights or forge political alliances with [Native] leaders" for humanitarian reasons or support certain Native issues under the belief that smaller concessions promote longer-term survival of settler rule. Even the *haole* settler newspapers periodically ran "letters-to-the-editor" supporting Native rights and the return of lands to Native Hawaiians.<sup>113</sup> Therefore in Hall's mind, an East Coast ownership of Matson would only create "anarchy" for the island's powerbrokers, which now included the ascending *nisei* and their affiliated institutions of the State, the ILWU, and the Democratic Party. Although there were other American corporations doing business in the islands such as Hilton Hotels International or developer Henry J. Kaiser, none occupied the center of the island economy as Matson did. Thus it was too risky a proposition to have an outside entity command that much authority. The "controlled monopoly" of A & B was the ideal for the settler elite—that is, for both the *haole* and now the *nisei*.

#### *Nisei Determined Land Use Laws*

As carefully documented in *Land and Power*, the *nisei* were not interested in land reform (distribution) even though they promoted the issue in the 1950s and early 1960s.<sup>114</sup> Rather, they were interested in using the land to further the ascendancy of their own ethnic group in the islands. In parallel with the Russian case, where Lenin wanted to build egalitarian societies for all peoples and nations, the *nisei*, like Stalin, were not interested in building an egalitarian world.

Instead they used American democracy as their model—that is, settler superiority and Native inferiority. They did not demand that the United States grant immediate secession to colonized Hawai‘i, but worked to incorporate Hawai‘i further into the political body of its imperialist overseer. Statehood gave settlers of color “first-class” citizen rights while subjugating Native Hawaiians as “wards of the state.”

If the *haole* settlers imposed a foreign economic and political system in Hawai‘i, then the *nisei* settlers fortified that same colonial edifice by liberalizing its laws to benefit them. In other words, democratizing a colonial structure only equalizes rights for settlers, not for Native peoples. A foreign occupying regime can only produce—in the words of Lenin—a “hypocritical democracy” for the colonized.<sup>115</sup> Therefore the local Democratic Party reformed island politics from a white colony that once discriminated against settlers of color and the indigenous people to a “true” dictatorship of the settler, where the State became more democratic for settlers but remained dictatorial for Natives. Statehood and the Democratic Party’s efforts, then, harden the line between settlers and Natives because now the Japanese and other Asians had the “opportunities” to pillage Hawaiian lands and resources like the *haole* before them.

In *Transforming Settler States*, Ronald Weitzer argues that solidarity amongst settlers is one of the pillars of settler rule. Settler alliance—that is, unity among various settler classes and groups to oppose Native rights and interests—is a necessity in preserving colonial order. This colonial cohesion is accomplished through “ideological glue and material incentives.”<sup>116</sup> For example in the United States, two of the most powerful “ideological glues” to unify the settler citizenry are the concepts of a “nation of immigrants” (everyone came from somewhere else and there are no indigenous peoples) and American



democracy (settler superiority and Native inferiority). Although the ideologies are somewhat contradictory, they function together to produce a common vision of America. Although the Japanese and *haole* settlers formed an uneasy alliance, in the forty plus years since statehood, they have been unified against Native interests—repressing Hawaiian nationalism through public and private institutions and demonstrating unwavering support for the existence of the U.S. settler colonial state.

Weitzer also explains that material incentives are essential in the preservation of settler rule because they “dispense privileges to the lower echelons of the settler caste—where they exist in significant numbers—to avert the growth of class alliances with natives.”<sup>117</sup> When the *nisei* Democrats came into political power, they spread colonial authority across the archipelago by empowering the various island county apparatuses and awarding many friends and families with employment in the State/county systems and with private contracts. These acts pressed the wider island citizenry into the service and maintenance of the American “dictatorship of the settler.” There is a local joke that every family in Hawai‘i has at least one member who works for the settler colonial State.

By the late 1950s both Democrats and Republicans understood the future lay in land development. The lack of adequate residential housing and the need to move the island’s economy away from a dependency upon sugar and toward a reliance on tourism were evident everywhere. The Republican Party, representing large landowner constituents, supported Governor William Quinn’s campaign to use government acreage to answer land development needs either by leasing large tracts or selling small parcels.<sup>118</sup> Meanwhile the Democrats, comprised of constituents like themselves looking for financial prosperity, used

their political clout as a leverage over the *haole* oligarchy and forced the business elite to share the economic wealth with the ascending Japanese and other Asian settlers.

In 1961, the *nisei* dominated State legislature passed the Land Use Law (LUL) or Act 187, which spread the State's (*nisei*'s) authority over every square inch of the islands.<sup>119</sup> Prior to the passage of the bill, private parcels on the neighbor islands could be sold and/or developed without Territorial or county oversight. Act 187 changed that practice. It gave the *nisei* politicians structural power over the *haole* business elite. The LUL assembled a governor-appointed Land Use Commission (LUC) to classify all private and public lands into four categories: urban, conservation, agricultural, and rural categories. Below the LUC level, State agencies and/or county councils were assigned to oversee each land zone so that no plot of land could be sold or developed without the State's oversight. The Big Five and other large private landowners could no longer determine land-use according to their own plans, but had to abide by State and county regulations and zoning laws. If a landowner wanted a particular parcel rezoned to make it more attractive for sale or development, that property owner was forced to negotiate a bureaucratic maze in order to obtain the necessary permits and approvals which often took as long as seven years.

Depending upon the zone classification of a parcel and its size (over or under fifteen acres), the procedure changed as to whether the applicant first approached the county councils or agencies, DLNR, or the LUC. University of Hawai'i law professor David Callies states this multi-layered "development permit process is easily among the most complex and time-consuming in the fifty states." Callies goes on to remind us that less than five percent of island lands are designed for urban use—meaning those properties are already zoned for

development and easier to process than the other categories. Meanwhile, ninety-five percent of island lands need special permits from LUC or DLNR for any development such as golf courses on agricultural lands or other activities on conservation lands. The county councils are powerful as they determine the specifics—that is, where and what kinds of development can take place within the urban and agricultural zones. In an interview, Yoshiro Nakamura, former City Council member (1961-1968) remarked the City/County Council had tremendous power “to create wealth overnight by rezoning land.”<sup>120</sup>

The passage of the LUL simultaneously fortified the colonial apparatus and gave Japanese settlers structural leverage over the *haole* business elite. More specifically, the LUL inserted *nisei* Democrats into the once exclusive *haole* dominated economic arena as necessary players. It forced the large landowners and developers to hire *nisei* consultants and/or attorneys to negotiate their way through the Japanese dominated the State and county apparatuses. For example in 1967, C. Brewer, one of the Big Five, hired attorney George Ariyoshi who was then a State Senator (1959-1970) and future Lieutenant Governor under Burns (1970-1973) to represent the factor before the Honolulu City Council on a land issue. The nine-member City Council that Ariyoshi faced was composed of eight Democrats of which, five were Japanese, and of those five, one was Matsuo Takabuki, a close confidant of Governor Burns.<sup>121</sup> Thus the LUL forced *haole* settlers into a co-rulership with the Japanese.

As the rising settler rulers, the *nisei* enjoyed the privileges of the settler colonial system. Perhaps the most famous example is the case of Kaua’i chicken farmer and *nisei* LUC commissioner, Shiro “Sally” Nishimura (LUC 1963-1969). Nishimura belonged to a *hui* (investment group), which purchased an agricultural zoned Kaua’i property (between Lāwa’i and Kalaheo) in March 1969

for \$325,000 and resold it a year later for \$900,000. Nothing was done to the property except it was up-zoned to an urban classification. Nishimura's insider knowledge and position on the LUC gave him the information he needed to purchase and then resell the property for a handsome profit.<sup>122</sup>

In 1969, according to the LUL mandate, the LUC was to review the zoning boundaries for all islands in which only LUC members—and not property owners—could make recommendations for redistricting. It was only after the LUC held its first of three Kaua'i workshops to determine which lands to rezone did Nishimura purchase the Kalaheo acreage (mentioned above) from A & B, one of the Big Five. Four months later in July, Nishimura voted in a LUC meeting to up-zone his parcel. When the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* began its own investigation into the land dealings of Nishimura, he resigned from the LUC citing health reasons. However, it was widely known he stepped down at the request of Governor Burns who began his own investigation as part of a "damage control" effort. However, Attorney General Bertram Kanbara's probe was limited in scope, covering only Nishimura's responsibilities as a commissioner and not his profits from the Kalaheo transaction. With an election year approaching, Governor Burns could ill afford criticism over his LUC appointments. Predictably, Kanbara, a Japanese settler, found "no violation of criminal law" and only "errors in ethical judgment" of which, "the only penalty [was] removal from office." However by the time Kanbara reported his findings, Nishimura had resigned from the LUC and therefore the attorney general deemed the case "moot." Even worse, Nishimura was already working as the development coordinator for the firm that purchased his Kalaheo property.<sup>123</sup> Although this case received a lot of publicity, Nishimura's actions were not uncommon as he

and other *nisei* belonged to the “fast-buck operators” described by former Lt. Governor Gill.

The LUL was publicly promoted as the “greenbelt” law because its passage would preserve prime agricultural lands and “open spaces.” However in reality, the LUL was the Democratic Party’s economic leverage. One needs to only recognize that the governor-appointed commissioners of the LUC were usually pro-development people. For example, in the LUC’s first rezoning case, Castle and Cooke (C & C), a Big Five, wanted to up-zone 3,000 acres of its agricultural lands in central O’ahu to an urban classification. Oceanic Properties, the development arm of C & C, proposed the reclassification of its pineapple acreage in order to construct affordable housing. The LUC voted in favor of the zoning change and later released Oceanic Properties from its original intentions so it could construct upper middle-class homes.<sup>124</sup> This first rezoning case was indicative of the Democrats’ agenda to use the colonial system—that is to say, the political structure as “their private preserve” and the economic one as a “vehicle for their own prosperity.” It did not matter to settler leaders if these prime agricultural lands, considered the best in the archipelago, were lost to urbanization. For the *nisei* politicians, the important fact was that the buying and selling of real estate translated into financial profits for the larger Japanese community thereby giving them the economic clout to challenge and weaken *haole* dominance.

To encourage physical change in the island landscape, the State legislature passed the 1963 “Pittsburgh Law,” which taxed properties with buildings on it at a lower rate than “idle” land.<sup>125</sup> The Democrats argued this legislation was part of their land reform efforts to open up lands for homeownership by forcing larger landowners to develop and/or sell their acreage or risk taxation at a

higher rate. Ideologically, Party members said they were taxing lands according to the “highest and best use” invoking the history of early American settlement and likening it to contemporary conditions in Hawai‘i. The *nisei* politicians used the same ideological tactics that white settlers use to legitimize the expropriation of Native lands. Thus the passage of the Pittsburgh law fortified the structure of the American settler system by defining the value of Native Hawaiian land according to an imposed economic system, capitalism.

Although the Pittsburgh Law was short lived (it was repealed in 1977), it nevertheless was replaced by Act 100 (the 1978 Hawai‘i State Plan), which outlined the hegemonic mission of the State via land development, militarism, and tourism.<sup>126</sup> Thus all existing and future laws, policies, and projects, such as the LUC’s zoning decisions, had to conform to the settler goals and objectives that the *nisei* legislature laid out—that is, to provide lands for population growth and economic development. For example, the ecologically sound *ahupua‘a* system, the Native land division from the mountains to the ocean, could never be adopted as a guideline for land use for it would never allow the free flow of capital and profits, nor permit the building of hotels along fragile shorelines. Act 100, then, structurally organized the political and economic direction of the State so that there would be no exceptions to the rule or isolated projects that followed a divergent path. Although the State Plan declares the government must protect the lands and waters, those statements are *pro forma* or *shibai*. Land use is determined by its alignment with settler capitalist definitions and interests and not by Native or ecological concerns.

### *Nisei Politicians Attack Native Hawaiian Trusts*

Although the passage of statehood, the LUL, and the State Plan hardened the line between Native and settler interests, the colonial Democratic Party was already moving in this direction before Hawai'i became a State. During the late Territorial period, the Democrats in their 1958 Party platform promised to investigate the land-use of the "large private trusts." Though not specifically named in the platform, it was common knowledge that the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate (now known as Kamehameha Schools) was and remains the largest private landowner in the islands. The estate's *sole* beneficiary is the Kamehameha Schools, a private educational institution (K-12) for Native Hawaiian children. Even with that understanding, the Democrats, threatened to review the large private trusts and landowners and ensure their

inescapable responsibility to use their lands for the highest benefit to the community, and that failure to do so is contrary to the public interest.<sup>127</sup>

By 1960 (post-statehood), the Democrats again pledged they would "examine" the function of "large private and eleemosynary trusts" to determine "whether the paramount public interest in the land resources they control [was] being properly served."<sup>128</sup> Burns, in his 1962 inaugural address, promised his attorney general, Bert Kobayashi, would seriously investigate the estate and trustee reports to determine whether the State of Hawai'i had to initiate court proceedings against the private trusts to force changes "for the good of the entire community." Burns identified the charitable trusts of which three institutions were Native Hawaiian. Members of the Hawaiian monarchy bequeathed their personal lands in forms of eleemosynary trusts, often referred to as the *ali'i* trusts, for the benefit of their own people, the Native Hawaiians. Three of the *ali'i* trusts that the Democrats named were the Bishop Estate (for the education of

children), the Queen Lili'uokalani Trust (for orphan and destitute children), and the King Lunalilo Trust (for the elderly).<sup>129</sup>

Although Native Hawaiians were very much part of the Democratic Party, they were involved in party politics for different reasons than that of the *nisei* settlers. Nowhere was this more apparent than in the lease-to-fee legislation. In 1963, the Democrats introduced a lease-to-fee conversion bill (referred to as the Maryland bill) in the State legislature. It gave leaseholders the option to purchase their homes after five years of residence under their landlord, the *ali'i* trusts. Although the Maryland bill was disguised as part of the Democratic Party's land reform measure to "place ownership of land in the hands of many, rather than the few," it was an easy way to fulfill their campaign promises at the expense of the Native Hawaiian beneficiaries.<sup>130</sup>

Outraged, Native Hawaiians, both within the Party and outside of it, vigorously opposed the legislative measure. They saw the Maryland bill for what it really was—a genocidal policy that would severely undermine and compromise the survival of Native Hawaiians as a people. Whether at public legislative hearings, at protests, or in the letters-to-the-editor, Native Hawaiians made their position clear that any attack upon the *ali'i* trusts was an attack upon the indigenous people themselves. From a Native point of view, all indigenous Hawaiians are connected genealogically to their *ali'i* and to their land (Chapter One). In other words, the land is never real estate, but an elder sibling and ancestor. Reverend Abraham K. Akaka, a Native Hawaiian leader who organized various protests, perhaps stated it best. He said the Native Hawaiian people "are the Bishop Estate, the Liliuokalani Trust and the Lunalilo Estate. Contrary to popular thought, this land does not belong to just a few individuals



but to thousands of Hawaiians now living and yet to be born—and especially the poor and needy among us.”<sup>131</sup>

For the *nisei* Democrats, Rev. Akaka’s explanation did not matter. Hawai’i was a colony under settler America’s laws and its policies should favor settlers over Natives. Therefore the Japanese politicians did not care if they were attacking Native Hawaiians via the private *ali’i* trusts. The Asian settlers coveted the lands belonging to the indigenous Hawaiians. When Native protesters circled ‘Iolani Palace, the site of the State legislature, the *nisei* Democrats who were inside voting on the Maryland bill in committee, easily dismissed the indigenous Hawaiian position and voice. Two *nisei* settlers, Senate President Nelson Doi and Land and Natural Resources Committee Chair, Kazuhisa Abe, both stated the protest would have “no effect” on the deliberations of the bill. Doi arrogantly remarked, “I know the Legislators pretty well...they’ll vote on the facts and figures...not the parade.”<sup>132</sup> When twelve Native Hawaiians quietly carried their protest signs into the visitor’s gallery to listen to the deliberations on the Maryland bill, they were escorted out of the gallery. Senate President Doi was livid at the silent demonstration and demanded that a fellow *nisei*, Tokuichi (Dynamite) Tokushi, the Senate sergeant-at-arms “prevent a repetition of the incident.” Tokushi then posted warning signs forbidding posters or banners in the gallery. Part of Doi’s anger was aroused when the silent protesters were greeted with a “rousing round of applause” from the 150 spectators in the visitors’ gallery.<sup>133</sup>

Interestingly enough, *nisei* Democrat George Ariyoshi killed the 1963 Maryland bill by casting the deciding vote in the State Senate.<sup>134</sup> However, Ariyoshi’s action was not done in support of Native Hawaiians, but for *haole* business interests. Publicly, Ariyoshi explained that his opposition to the

measure was based on several “democratic” concerns on the constitutionality of the legislation or fear that the bill would create “two different classes of people living in the same neighborhood” because it dealt only with future leases and not existing ones.<sup>135</sup> Privately, Ariyoshi endorsed big business or *haole* interests. In the complex world of settler colonialism in the islands, the *haole* elite controlled the holdings of the Bishop Estate. A year earlier, Ariyoshi became a board member (1962-1970) of the First Hawaiian Bank, one of the two main banks in the islands. This financial institution was founded by Charles Bishop, the *haole* husband of Pauahi Bishop who became executor of her vast Bishop Estate upon her death.<sup>136</sup> Hence a close tie existed between the financial institution and the *ali'i* trust. In the early 1960s when Ariyoshi became a board member of First Hawaiian Bank, he entered a “rarified” world composed of the *haole* business elite who ran the islands. Ariyoshi now had access to the presidents and chairmen of the very corporations the Democrats claimed they wanted to crush, such as A & B, Amfac, B.F. Dillingham Co.<sup>137</sup>

Coopers and Daws revealed an additional factor for Ariyoshi’s “no” vote on the Maryland bill. Prior to the 1963 legislative session, Ariyoshi became a board member of the Damon Estate, which owned 1,000 residential lease lots. Through their own investigations, Coopers and Daws interviewed retired *haole* business people who believed Ariyoshi’s opposition to the Maryland bill was based on his political connections rather than on the technical deficiencies of the bill as he publicly claimed. Moreover, others mentioned his closeness to the powerful Bishop Estate trustees.<sup>138</sup> Ariyoshi’s voting dilemma, then, was not over a Native/settler issue, but over the intra-settler conflict—whether he should stand with the *haole* elite or with the *nisei* Democrats.

Although his Democratic colleagues heavily criticized Ariyoshi for his “no” vote on the Maryland bill, those negative remarks came primarily from the Party “foot soldiers” who believed in the Party’s public rhetoric or who voted along Party lines without much self-reflection. Or the remarks came from opposing factions within the Party. In any case, the *nisei* Party elite—the Burns inner core—were already moving to forge alliances with the *haole* as seen in the following year with the settlement of Matson’s anti-trust case. Although Ariyoshi claimed he was not a part of Burns’ inner circle, he nonetheless traveled down that same *haole* alliance road. Moreover, the *haole* business elite recognized him. Ariyoshi was subsequently asked to sit on the boards of the Honolulu Gas Company (1964-1970) and the Hawaiian Insurance and Guaranty Company (1966-1970), a wholly-own subsidiary of C. Brewer (a Big Five) at that time. To show his gratitude, from 1967-1970, he chaired the Senate’s Utilities Committee while being on the Honolulu Gas Company’s board and being a co-board member with the president of Hawaiian Electric Company on the First Hawaiian Bank board.<sup>139</sup>

When a version of the Maryland bill passed in 1967, Ariyoshi reversed his earlier opposition and this time claimed co-authorship of the bill with Senator John Lanham. Ariyoshi claimed that the impetus for the bill originated from a Bishop Estate trustee who wanted help in resolving the lease conversion issue. By the mid-sixties, Bishop Estate was ready to sell portions of its lands for its own financial reasons. Ariyoshi then advised Bishop Estate to accept a “voluntary conversion process” where each community would decide for themselves whether to purchase their tract lands or not rather than have the State condemn all the leased lands in the archipelago as proposed in the failed 1963 bill. What finally passed in 1967 was applicable only to O’ahu lands and to

subdivisions of at least “five contiguous acres in which at least half of the lessees were willing and able to buy.” While the earlier 1963 Maryland bill supported a private transaction between the trust landlord and the potential homeowner, the 1967 bill inserted the State as middleman. In other words, the State would purchase the leased parcels from the private estates, and then resell the lots to the former lessee or continue leasing the homes. Later in 1975, the law was amended so that the State could select only lots that had willing buyers rather than condemn the whole subdivision.<sup>140</sup> Through the various versions of the Maryland bill, one can begin to sketch the accommodationist strategies of the *nisei* settlers to work with the *haole* business leaders so both parties could profit from the exploitation of Native lands, resources, and people.

At this point, it is necessary to examine the actions of the Japanese within a larger perspective. Although the *nisei* captured the colonial political power in the islands, they did not control the economic system in the early 1960s. For Marxist readers, it is important to keep in mind, the Japanese were developing reformist measures and not revolutionary ones as they continued to support America’s imperialist occupation of Hawai’i. The *nisei* did not want to overturn the settler superstructure and the economic base for a more egalitarian world as they wanted a larger portion of the colonial spoils. Although the Japanese community ascended from the sugar plantations, their rise in power was within (and not outside of) the imposed U.S. settler system. Their fight with the *haole*, as previously mentioned, was an intra-settler conflict. The Japanese were not struggling for a truly democratic world (e.g., the right of all nations to self-determination), but for power within American hegemony. Over the years, the legislation they passed or the rulings and policies they supported helped to fortify the dictatorship of the settler. Had they wanted otherwise, they would

have attacked the United States and its colonial power over Native Hawaiians. It is only when one compares the actions of the Japanese to real revolutionary situations, such as Lenin's strategy for achieving a socialist-democratic world, that one can see that the *nisei* had no intention to support the subjugated Native Hawaiians. In fact, they further exploited Natives as with the passage of the lease-to-fee conversation legislation. Matsuo Takabuki, a *nisei* and close confidant of Burns, clarified their position in his memoirs, "our social and economic goals were not revolutionary. We wanted to accelerate the changes that had begun during the war, not destroy the system."<sup>141</sup>

Matsuo "Matsy" Takabuki was in a position to know. As the number two man in the State, he was the insider's insider who helped direct the *nisei* political ascendancy.<sup>142</sup> In 1971, when the Democrats were securely in power, Takabuki was appointed a trustee of Bishop Estate, which fittingly reflected his settler political stature. According to Cooper and Daws, "a seat on the Bishop board was one of the true pinnacles of power in Hawaii."<sup>143</sup> Not anyone could become a Bishop Estate trustee as the nomination is made from a tightly woven political core in the islands. The governor appoints the justices to the Hawai'i Supreme Court who, then, in turn choose the trustees for the powerful Bishop Estate. In effect, then, the governor has a hand in choosing the trustees.

However Native Hawaiians heavily opposed the Takabuki nomination because it blatantly represented the new political regime in the islands—i.e., the uneasy settler alliance. They wanted the trusteeship to go to a Native Hawaiian who understood the needs and concerns of their community. Under Burns' watch as governor, two Asian settlers were appointed as trustees to the Bishop Estate board (Takabuki's was the second). Although Burns and the *nisei* Democrats continually spoke about the importance of diversifying the structures

of power when they were organizing against the *haole* elite in the 1950s, they did not appoint a Native Hawaiian to the board of trustees of the Bishop Estate. Of course, Burns vehemently denied any involvement in the selection process.<sup>144</sup> However it was irrelevant whether Burns personally participated in the nominations because in any colony, the system favors settlers over Natives. Former Lieutenant Governor Tom Gill charged that the Takabuki appointment solidified the “economic control for the present power elite in a very real way”—meaning, the Burns’ *nisei* faction of the Democratic Party.<sup>145</sup> For Gill, the nomination of Takabuki was a return to the old *haole* oligarchy-style system of the Territorial period, only this time the rulers included the Japanese. For our purposes, Takabuki’s nomination symbolized the hegemonic alliance between *haole* and *nisei* settlers in their rule of the island colony and their common interests against anything and anyone Native.

Takabuki, in true settler fashion, refused to address the concerns of the Native Hawaiian community even though they were the beneficiaries of this indigenous charitable institution.<sup>146</sup> The most respected Native Hawaiian Christian leader, Reverend Abraham Akaka, called for Takabuki’s immediate resignation. His opposition to the *nisei* trustee was echoed by twenty-three Hawaiian organizations including the Alumni Association of Kamehameha Schools, the Hawaiian Churches for the Hawai’i Conference of the United Church of Christ, and community organizations such as The Hawaiians and Kōkua Hawai’i.<sup>147</sup> Later when Takabuki refused to resign, a newly formed “Ad Hoc Committee for a Hawaiian Trustee” filed a lawsuit to block his appointment. The Committee was led by two Native Hawaiians, former Family Court Judge Samuel P. King and attorney Arthur K. Trask, and assisted by former Lieutenant Governor Tom Gill. Predictably, Circuit Court Judge Yasutaka Fukushima, a

Japanese settler, dismissed the Committee's case including its subsequent amended complaints.<sup>148</sup>

Writing his memoirs years later, Takabuki justified his acceptance of the trusteeship as a political favor for other settlers.<sup>149</sup> Whether that statement was the "true" reason is irrelevant since his appointment reflected the unity of settlers against Native as well as the arrival of the Japanese as co-rulers with the *haole*. In a settler colonial society or a dictatorship of the settler, Natives are subjugated to foreigners. As Frantz Fanon states in *Wretched of the Earth*, a colony is "a world cut in two" between the colonizer and the colonized.<sup>150</sup> It is a Manichean world. Hawai'i as a settler colony is no different. Historical events have shown that the Japanese in the islands have always promoted settler interests over Native ones. In the 1960s and 1970s, the Democratic Party, a settler political organization, sought to deplete the assets of Hawaiian charitable trusts rather than that of the Big Five. Takabuki clarifies this point in his writings. The Democrats, he says, recognized "the Big Five were important players in Hawai'i's economy, and we did not want to destroy them." They also did not want the Big Five "to continue to dominate and be the only game in town."<sup>151</sup> The Japanese wanted their share of the colonial spoils.

Helping the Japanese rise to hegemonic settler power were historical events. Takabuki explains that after the attack on Pearl Harbor, many *haole* businesses fled the islands and created an economic vacuum. The *nisei* immediately saw business opportunities which Japanese-owned family businesses took advantage of—eventually growing into successful corporations such as Servco-Pacific (auto dealerships) and Star Supermarkets. However, the most promising venture on the horizon, Takabuki points out, was the growing tourist industry.<sup>152</sup>

*Tourism: Exploitation of Native Hawaiian Land, Culture, and People*

In *Itineraries of Empire: the Uses of U.S. Tourism in Cuba and Hawai'i, 1898-1959*, historian Christine Skwiot argues that American overseas tourism (versus domestic) was a vehicle to expand and maintain the American empire. International tourism is a capitalist enterprise that promotes U.S. predatory interests abroad through the activities of public and private institutions. In the case of Hawai'i, Skwiot details how annexationists and then later pro-statehood people in the islands used tourism to advocate for the inclusion of the islands in the American body politic. For instance at the turn of the twentieth century, Lorrin A. Thurston, the architect of the 1893 overthrow and an ardent annexationist, framed his tourist brochures within an expansionist framework. The United States needed to obtain overseas territories as well as foreign investments to remain a viable world power. (Chapter One) The islands were described in tourist literature as "not tropical" or unfamiliar, but part of the larger Anglo-Saxon society. Moreover, the literature boasted that the white population was large enough to produce future generations of settler leaders in the islands.<sup>153</sup>

A year before the overthrow, Thurston was funded by the Kingdom to travel to Chicago and negotiate a tourist exhibition booth at the upcoming World's Columbian Exposition. During that same trip, Thurston, also financed by a group of annexationists, took a side trip to Washington D.C. to receive assurances from Secretary of State James Blaine that the United States would send troops to attack the Hawaiian government. However after the 1893 overthrow, a newly elected U.S. President, Grover Cleveland, withdrew the annexation treaty from Congress. Undeterred, Thurston created the Hawaii



Bureau of Information, which promoted settlement in the islands. Later, when Thurston managed Hawai'i's exhibition booth at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago and the 1893-94 San Francisco Mid-Winter Fair, he passed out his pro-annexation literature by representing the islands as an ideal white settlement. He urged "newspaper editors and Congressmen to annex the only overseas outpost of American civilization."

Fifty years later, Lorrin P. Thurston followed in his father's footsteps by advocating overseas tourism as a way to advance statehood. He promoted statehood by linking it to the Democrats' and Republicans' economic dream of a mass-based corporate tourism. The "duel mandate" of statehood and tourism would transform the islands into a "bastion of free enterprise, a 'rainbow of democracy,' a prosperous consumer culture, and a force for advancing U.S. foreign policy in Asia and the Pacific."<sup>154</sup> Although statehood and tourism may seem divergent enterprises, during the 1950s, the international tourist industry was an important component of U.S. President Eisenhower's Cold War doctrine of "trade, not aid" or "vacations, not donations."<sup>155</sup> The overseas tourist industry, then, was an important element in America's predatory policies and practices around the globe. As argued in Chapter One, the Cold War was not strictly about two economic systems, but more about the competition between two settler states, the Soviet Union and the United States, initiated by regional and international conflicts. Constructing hotels in Third World countries and encouraging American tourists to visit them were not about helping other nations to become economically self-sufficient as Eisenhower suggested. American firms doing business in foreign countries allowed U.S. capitalism to penetrate those nations' economies as well as provide an excuse for the presence and interests of the U.S. government in that region of the world. Skwiot notes

that Conrad Hilton constructed hotels in “geo-strategic” areas of the world that dovetailed with American foreign interests. Hotels in Cairo, Tokyo, West Berlin, and Rome were constructed because those locations respectively held “keys” to the “Moslem world,” Asia, “the containment of Europe,” and the “center of Christendom.” He bragged he did not build hotels, but “little Americas.”<sup>156</sup> In the case of Hawai’i, both corporate and federal officials in the 1950s “designated tourism as a key sector for economic development.”<sup>157</sup> The islands were also a strategic American military colony perfect for monitoring Soviet and communist movements in the Pacific.

Skwiot explains that “modernization, security, and consumption,” the goals of America’s Cold War strategies, converged in the industry of overseas tourism.<sup>158</sup> Needing the endorsement of its own citizenry, the Eisenhower Administration used international tourism, as one of its tools to garner support for its imperialist exploits around the globe. Both the state and private business entities appealed to American citizens to help “uplift” the Third World nations by seeing “themselves as partners of corporate capitalists.” According to Skwiot, Americans were told their patriotic duty to support U.S. modernization and security efforts was to travel abroad and spend money. She writes tourist firms like American Express, Kaiser Industries, and Pan American Airlines as well as mainstream magazines such as the *Atlantic Monthly*, *Saturday Review*, *Business Week*, and *U.S. News & World Report* enthusiastically promoted Eisenhower’s edict of “vacations, not donations.” U.S. citizens could now participate in maintaining American imperialism through visiting designated foreign countries and consuming goods and services.<sup>159</sup>

If the overseas travel industry was a loose merger between private firms and the U.S. federal government, it is not surprising that island tourist firms and

the Territorial/State government had a close relationship with the military especially in times of war. During World War II when the islands were under martial law (1941-1944), the military took over many administrative duties in Hawai'i including overseeing the travel industry. Tourism served almost exclusively the needs of American military officers and enlisted men. For example, the U.S. Navy leased the Royal Hawaiian Hotel for shore leave for its submariners. Hotels, restaurants, bars, and other businesses in the travel industry catered and profited from the military visits.<sup>160</sup> Twenty plus years later during the escalation of the Vietnam War, Hawai'i was again designated as one of the vacation spots for the U.S. soldiers' "R and R" (rest and recuperation), only this time wives and girl friends flew *en masse* to join their husbands and boy friends. Honolulu shopping centers, beaches, and movie houses were overflowing with the "R and R" soldiers thus endearing military personnel to the local business community and to the larger island society. Hawai'i tourist industry supported America's imperialist war efforts against communism, while North Vietnam waged a war of national liberation.

Interestingly enough, Skwiot points out Hawai'i was never promoted as an "exotic and sexual" site until corporate capitalism became involved.<sup>161</sup> Only after World War I when Dillingham and other *haole* business elites from Castle & Cooke and Matson Navigation moved to "reclaim" Waikikī (i.e., draining the fish and duck ponds, clearing out Hawaiian and other farmers), did acreage open up for the commercial development into tourist resorts. Literature promoting travel to the islands recast colonial history as a "natural" progression ending with *haole* rule over the islands. Thus tourists vacationed in an occupied nation where colonized Natives, their history and culture were commodified for tourist consumption and settler profits. The Hawaii Promotion Committee (forerunner

to the Hawaii Visitors' Bureau and now the Hawai'i Visitors and Convention Bureau) created the promotional "melting pot" myth of racial harmony including "hula girls" and "beach boys."<sup>162</sup> Hawai'i was advertised as a benign and safe American place to visit—a colony where white settlers could vacation while brown people serviced their every need.

To revive tourism after World War II, in 1947, the settler visitor industry created the "Aloha Week" festival to offset the slow months in the tourist season. Industry leaders wanted the Aloha Week to be a comparable event to New Orleans' Mardi Gras except with a Polynesian theme. Corporate and Territorial sponsors deceptively represented the weeklong event as "preserving" Hawaiian traditions and culture. However within four years, Native Hawaiians withdrew their organizational support. In a scathing letter to *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* editor Riley Allen, Native cultural expert Charles W. Kenn charged that the Aloha Week festival "exploited" Native Hawaiians and their culture into a "tin-horn commercial venture." Two days earlier, Riley had written an editorial explaining that the Aloha Week sponsors would have to go to the legislature for financial backing if the general public did not provide enough goods and volunteer services, and purchase enough Aloha Week ribbons. Kenn, who shared his expertise for two years with the Aloha Week committees, said the sponsors "betrayed" the Native Hawaiian community. He criticized the sponsors for not understanding the word "aloha." "To them, it evidently means 'go for broke,' spend your hard earned *kala* (money) for cheap and gaudy paraphernalia incorrectly termed Hawaiian." Kenn explained "aloha properly symbolizes cooperation (a two-way cooperation), not competition." Settlers were changing the meaning of the word. They were only concerned that the tourist dollar would be spent elsewhere, unless everyone in the islands supported the travel

industry. For settlers, tourism was the consumption and commodification of Hawaiian culture and people for settler profits. Kenn identified the greed of tourist industry. "Aloha Week does not benefit the Hawaiian people of aboriginal blood. It exploits them."<sup>163</sup>

Predictably, the anti-colonial position of Kenn and the other Native Hawaiian organizations was ignored by settler interest in a new type of economy promoted by the tourist industrial complex. In "'Lovely Hula Hands': Corporate Tourism and the Prostitution of Hawaiian Culture," Native Hawaiian nationalist Haunani-Kay Trask uses the metaphor of prostitution to explain the exploitation of Native Hawaiian culture, which includes their history, land, and the people themselves by the colonial tourist industry. Whereas in the sex industry, women are degraded and sexualized for profit by men, in tourism, Native Hawaiians and their culture are commercialized and vulgarized for settler profits. Trask explains the genealogical relationship Native Hawaiians have to the islands and where the land is the source of their culture (language, history, knowledge, dance) and their nation. The destruction of Native lands and the prostitution of their culture were "planned and executed" by a settler tourist industry. That is to say, by "multinational corporations (both foreign-based and Hawai'i-based), by huge landowners (such as the missionary-descended Castle & Cooke of Dole Pineapple fame), and by collaborationist state and county governments." This tourist industry created a settler-interpreted experience of the islands through exoticized packaged tours (hotels, airline travel, golf courses, restaurants, etc.). The industry does not present the real Hawai'i, revealing the horrors of colonization for the Native people, but a Hawaiian paradise created by Madison Avenue-type advertisements. Trask insightfully points out that for American

and Japanese tourists, Hawai'i is a "state of mind." It is "a thousand light years away in fantasy" and ready for their use and abuse.<sup>164</sup>

In the late twentieth century, overseas tourism increasingly came under attack as a "form of imperialism." More specifically, it was described as "leisure imperialism" because First World economies exploited Third World countries so that First World citizens had the means and leisure time to travel abroad. Social Scientist Malcolm Crick and others have argued international tourism in the Third World is in fact a product of colonialism. Where once the colonized were subjugated under the colonial rule, after independence, the indigenous peoples continue to cater to the needs of First World tourists as "the UN, UNESCO, and their World Bank spend vast sums on [the tourist industry] and encourage its adoption." Moreover, when a First World developer wants to construct hotels in a Third World country, it clearly has the economic and political clout on its side. Hence "the very way a tourism industry is planned and shaped" recreates "the fabric of the colonial situation." Often the relationship between the tourist nation and the majority of its visitors are based on connections between the former colonizer and the colonized.<sup>165</sup>

When a nation, as Hawai'i, remains under colonial rule, the problems of tourism are intensified or aggravated. The settler government and its settler leaders make all the decisions and reap all the profits while the Native peoples remain, in Trask's term, "ornamental." From post-World War II onward, the settler dailies ran editorials, articles, and special issues detailing the promising facts and figures of the travel industry that could deliver the island from its withering agrarian economy. In that sense, it was not too difficult to convince Asian settlers to embrace tourism, as it would replace the plantation capitalism of sugar and pineapple (from which they or their parents fled). Just as the

American government and tourist firms told U.S. continental travelers that their patriotic duty was to travel overseas and spend monies during the Cold War, the State of Hawai'i and private companies reminded island communities that their duty was to cater to all visitors with the "aloha spirit." According to the Hawaii Visitors Bureau (HVB), a quasi-State agency, the "Aloha Spirit" was "Hawaii's biggest asset" to attract tourists. All residents, however, had to cooperate with the industry to show a "friendly" face. But Native Hawaiians in particular had to embody the "warm charm" of "Polynesia" (in other words, prostitute themselves) for the promising industry.<sup>166</sup> Both private and public institutions were mobilized to ideologically instruct island residents about the importance of displaying friendliness toward all tourists. In addition, Native Hawaiians must smile and enjoy the raping of their land, culture, and history for the tourist dollar and the economic benefit of the settler society. The *nisei* political leaders enthusiastically endorsed overseas or settler tourism because the commodification of Native Hawaiians, their culture, and land opened up economic opportunities previously unavailable to them and other settlers of color communities under the plantation economy.

As argued in Chapter Two, Antonio Gramsci describes civil society as comprised of massive networks of private institutions which disseminate ruling class (in this case settler) ideas that influence citizens and encourage them to accept and identify with the interests of the state. These institutions create a "theoretical or ideological 'front'" for the dominant group, which maintains, develops, and defends ruling class ideas and values.<sup>167</sup> In the case of post-World War II Hawai'i, the newspapers and other settler institutions continually "saturated" the consciousness of island residents with ideas that tourism was good for Hawai'i's economy.<sup>168</sup> While the Territorial government, and later the

State legislature along with private institutions such as the *Honolulu Advertiser* and *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* lectured island residents about the importance of tourism, these institutions simultaneously ensured the maintenance of a U.S. military colony and an acquiescent population. As Skwiot has argued, international tourism is a vehicle to advance and sustain the American Empire, including its colonies.

In 1952, *nisei* City Councilman, Sakae Takahashi, traveled to Tokyo to promote island tourism at a Japan-U.S. mayoral convention.<sup>169</sup> Takahashi enthusiastically reported to the mayors that tourism held the “greatest potential for expansion of any of Hawaii’s industries.” Both the public (Territorial government) and the private (corporations) sectors of society were fully involved in the “rapidly growing” tourist industry as it touched “nearly all aspects of the island economy.” While Takahashi painted a bright future where government subsidies bolstered a budding travel industry in the islands, he was at the same time reassuring the mayors from the continental United States and Japan that colony Hawai’i was a safe place to vacation. Within the context of the post-war world where the newly created UN placed colonies on a list of nations to become self-determining (including Hawai’i), Takahashi painstakingly represented the islands as a “melting pot” that did not need to follow the UN route for independence. Politically, then, he presented Hawai’i as a unique Territory within the larger American “nation of immigrants.” Takahashi bragged “our citizens of Hawaiian, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Korean, Portuguese, and Anglo-Saxon extraction combine to make the visits to our tourists unforgettable events in their lives.”

By fall 1959, Takahashi, now a State Senator, along with other State legislators endorsed tourism as the “best stimulant for Neighbor Island



economies.”<sup>170</sup> Although both settler parties supported the expansion of tourism since the early 1950s, they differed over how to obtain lands to accomplish this goal. For the Democrats, tourism was another reason to keep pressuring the *haole* bourgeoisie into providing more land development projects. Just as the *nisei* Democrats used the 1963 Land Use Law (regulating State-wide zoning) as political leverage over the *haole* business elite to gain economic power, fifteen years later they used Act 100 or the 1978 Hawai‘i State Plan to establish themselves as co-hegemonic rulers over the islands. Although Takabuki became a Bishop Estate trustee in 1971, that appointment was symbolic. Act 100 represented the structural reality and presence of Japanese hegemony. The *nisei* politicians determined what political, economic, and social topics and issues were important for the future growth of the State. Act 100 was the *nisei* effort to build a structural process by which the direction of the State would continue toward settler prosperity and Native destitution.

Under the directorship of Hideto Kono of the Department of Planning and Economic Development, the Hawai‘i State Plan created a political framework that established (1) overall themes, goals, objectives, and policies, (2) its implementation, and (3) its guidelines from which all laws, policies, and programs would conform.<sup>171</sup> For example, the three State goals collectively point to the importance of the visitor industry, which meant the continued colonization of Native Hawaiians, and their culture. Restoring the Hawaiian nation was not listed as a future goal, nor was the return of the ceded lands to Native Hawaiians. Instead, Act 100 pledged to exploit the indigenous people of the islands through tourism and other economic ventures for the betterment of the larger settler society. Promising that the State’s goal would maintain “a desired physical environment, characterized by beauty, cleanliness, quiet, stable natural

systems, and uniqueness, that enhances the mental and physical well-being of the people,"<sup>172</sup> the *nisei* politicians manipulated the economic terrain so tourism was an obvious choice consistent with the State goal.

Law Professor David Callies explained the passage of Act 100 was a milestone in U.S. law because it transformed "a policy document into a set of preeminent legal requirements." Other states shy away from such sweeping and obvious colonial-type laws. Now the State of Hawai'i programs, laws, and policies were under the guidelines of a *nisei* defined-view of the islands. Act 100, then, fortified the settler colonial web through a Japanese determined edifice, one that denied Native nationalism on all levels including the Native right to self-determination. In his 1978 State of the State Address, Governor George Ariyoshi arrogantly said, the Hawai'i State Plan "will serve notice that we know what is good for this State, what is proper and what is achievable." Put in another way, *nisei* settlers asserted that they knew what was best for the colony and for its colonized subjects, the Native Hawaiians. Act 100 was their structural "gift" to the imperialist United States whereby the Japanese ensured the continued subjugation of Native Hawaiians and the occupation of the islands. By the time the Japanese rose to political power, Hawai'i was already an established American settler colony with its colonial system in place. Thus the only contribution the *nisei* could bring to this military colony was to place all future private and public development projects under the specific guidelines of the predatory State of Hawai'i. Governor Ariyoshi ranked the plan "second only to the State Constitution in importance." In fact, Ariyoshi called it "a beginning."<sup>173</sup>

In 1978, the year Act 100 was passed, Hawai'i had a constitutional convention that created the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) and re-instituted the Hawaiian language as one of the two official languages of the State.

However, these accomplishments were not done out of generosity, concern, or respect for Native Hawaiians, but as an effort to manage and control them as a colonized people. During the 1970s, the rise of Native Hawaiian nationalism was becoming evident in land struggles against public and private settler projects. A few examples are protests against the military bombing of Kaho'olawe, demonstrations against a suburb development and eviction of farmers in Kalama Valley, O'ahu, and struggles against the State Land Use Commission's decision to rezone land in Nukoli'i, Kaua'i for tourism.<sup>174</sup>

Although OHA distributes much needed financial aid in the form of business loans, scholarships, and special projects, it is very limited in its powers. OHA is a state agency and must function within the vision, interests and control of the settler State bureaucracy.<sup>175</sup> Similarly, the revitalization of the Hawaiian language was funded primarily for the settler visitor industry and not for the sake of the indigenous people. The revival of the Native language and cultural practices lifted island tourism to another level of representation and marketing. Social Scientist Bryan Farrell argues tourism was closely linked to all of Ariyoshi's major issues including the role of Hawai'i as a "cultural and economic link between Asia and the Pacific."<sup>176</sup> It is no secret that Japanese nationals invested heavily in the islands because their *dōhō* (compatriots—the Japanese settlers [Chapter One]) dominated Hawai'i politics and economics. Thus Ariyoshi's appointment of Planning Director Kono, whose department designed the Hawai'i State Plan, was an obvious choice. Kono was a well-connected international business manager. He was former president of Castle and Cooke East Asia (a Big Five subsidiary), former director of the Hawaii Visitors Bureau, and former vice-president of Dole-Itochu Food Co., Ltd. based in Tokyo and Jintan-Dole Co., Ltd. based in Osaka.<sup>177</sup>

As earlier argued, tourism was categorized by the *nisei* as “a major component of steady growth for Hawaii’s economy.” Thus Act 100 pledged the colonial State government to subsidizing the private visitors industry annually with millions of dollars. The plan stipulates that the State will “assist” in advertising the industry, repair and improve tourist sites and areas, “encourage cooperation and coordination between the government and private sectors in developing and maintaining” all aspects of the industry, “provide opportunities” for island residents to train in the industry, promote the industry’s contribution to the island economy, and “perpetuate the aloha spirit.”<sup>178</sup> The State Plan essentially presented tourism as *the* economic savior whether specifically naming the industry itself, or generally encouraging “private initiatives” to create an industry that takes “advantage of Hawaii’s unique location and available physical and human resources.”<sup>179</sup> Thus Act 100 gave the “green light” for developers to rape the land and Native culture for the sake of the tourist industrial complex. This raping included the building of hotels, marinas, residential suburbs, golf courses, and airports, which damaged the physical environment, cultural sites, and agricultural production.

One needs to recall Gramsci’s warning that the full force of the state is never advanced by public institutions alone, but is assisted by the private sector. Commerce in civil society is aligned with the interests of the state and Act 100 is an exemplary model of one such alignment. In this case, the tourist industry assists the United States in its continued occupation of the Hawaiian nation. Tourism constitutes a multi-pronged assault on Native land, culture, and people by private businesses for settler profits and sanctioned by the colonial State government which subsidizes the visitor industry. Native Hawaiians are forced into an exhausting fight against the state (public and private institutions) on

different fronts and at numerous sites. Act 100 must be seen as fortifying the settler colonial structure as it granted private tourist corporations the right to ravage the land.

Tourism must be seen as one of the “organic forces” of the settler state in that it represses Native nationalism by interpreting, commodifying, and destroying Native culture, history, and land. Law Professor David Callies explains the Hawai‘i State Plan instructed the Land Use Commission to approve of boundary changes if they conformed to the larger colonial tourist themes and goals of the plan. In other words, Act 100 directs “Hawaii’s major land-dealings and regulating agencies (DLNR, the Land Use Commission) to act in conformity” with the Hawai‘i State Plan.<sup>180</sup> Thus agricultural lands could be rezoned for urban use tourist projects without substantial justification, because it complied with the State Plan.

Perhaps a good example of Act 100 is in the development of West Beach or what is now known as Ko Olina Resort and Marina located seventeen miles west of the Honolulu International Airport in leeward O‘ahu. In spite of the outcry from Native Hawaiians and other organizations over the West Beach project, the convergence of a *nisei* developer, *nisei* determined land use laws, and *nisei* endorsed tourist industry resulted in a resort complex built for settler profits and settler vacation pleasures.

In 1977, *nisei* developer Herbert Horita went before the LUC board to request rezoning 830 acres from agricultural use to urban use, and more specifically to construct a multi-million dollar resort complex, which would mushroom to three billion dollars by 1994. The surrounding Native communities of Nānākuli, Wai‘anae, and ‘Ewa Beach as well as the environmental organization Life of the Land protested Horita’s project.

However, the LUC board led by *nisei* chair Eddie Tengan approved the plans, but downsized the tourist project from 830 acres to 640 acres. Even with the downsizing, West Beach was larger than the 509 acres comprising Waikīkī (“bounded by Ala Wai Canal, Kapahulu Avenue, and the Pacific Ocean.”).<sup>181</sup>

Originally the second wealthiest trust in the islands, the Estate of James Campbell, owned the land.<sup>182</sup> The Estate sold the development rights in 1971 and years later, the land to Horita’s development corporation, West Beach Estates (WBE). In the 1980s, a Japanese national firm, SKG Properties, became general partners of West Beach Estates with Horita. SKG Properties was a partnership between TSA International (owner or co-owner of many hotels in the islands including the Hyatt Regency Waikoloa, the Westin Kaua’i Hotel, the Westin Maui) and Kumagai Gumi Co. Ltd. (“the sixth-largest construction company in the world” and general contractor of the Westin Maui and the Kaloko Industrial Park). In other words, WBE was a formidable economic and political force within the islands from current and past projects.<sup>183</sup> During the 1970s and 1980s, when Japan’s economy was booming, Japanese corporations devoured island businesses and properties with investments from hotels to office buildings to partnerships in banks. For example, these large conglomerates purchased the Ilikai Hotel, the Waikīkī Sheraton, and prestigious Waikīkī landmarks like the Royal Hawaiian Hotel and the Halekulani Hotel. Many local businesses were also consumed by Japanese capital such as the purchase of Ala Moana Shopping Center, Pacific Guardian Life Insurance (sixty-three per cent interest), Dillingham Construction (forty-five per cent interest) and undeveloped resort acreage at Ka’anapali, Maui.<sup>184</sup>

Prior to the partnership with Kumagai Gumi (1986), West Beach Estates was tied up with submitting “myriad of [government] permits” and slowed

down by protests from the Native Hawaiian community in Wai'anae. Once the Hawai'i State Plan and the O'ahu General Plan were in place, and State and county officials sorted out the relationship between the plans, approval to develop the resort complex at West Beach was a foregone conclusion. The plans either endorsed lands to be up-zoned for tourism (Hawai'i State Plan) or designated West Beach as a resort designation (O'ahu General Plan). Even though it took Horita years to obtain the required permits from the various governmental agencies, the period was rife with intra-settler squabbles within and between the State and City/county agencies over jurisdiction and authority of the West Beach project.<sup>185</sup> For our purposes, it is important to note these disputes occurred among settlers. But more critical to this project is the fact that these settler entities did not argue about the exploitation of the Native land and culture. In the case of West Beach, Horita and the colonial government agencies totally ignored the concerns of the Native Hawaiian community.

Although the City and State officials had differences among themselves as well as with Horita over the development of West Beach, they were unified in their view of the land. That is to say, it was a piece of real estate—a commodity—to be bought and sold. Whether the land remained in cultivation for agriculture or developed for tourism, its use value would support the economic and political interest of the larger settler colonial system. The 1978 Hawai'i State Plan articulated the goals of State officials and mobilized the various public agencies to support the rising visitor industry. Horita, knowing he had the support of the government, boasted that his development of the “world-class” Ko Olina Resort (with four artificial lagoons and golf courses) was a “developer’s dream.” Although Horita was unable to fulfill his “dream” due to the collapse of the Japanese economy and the withdrawal of partner Kumagai

Gumi in 1990, Ko Olina Resort and Marina continued on with its new settler owners and managers, Ko Olina Company, Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance, and Marriott International.<sup>186</sup>

Native Hawaiians have lived on their homelands for thousands of years. Their relationship to the land is genealogical; the land is filled with familial, mythological, political, historical, and cultural significance. With the construction of Ko Olina Resort, the indigenous communities of the Wai'anae Coast were concerned by the desecration of cultural and historical sites as well as the destruction of the outlying reef and its marine life, including the turtle sanctuaries. As a colonized people, saving their cultural, historical, and environmental sites were and are acts of *Hawaiian national interests* and not simply the partisan interests of an ethnic group.

When Native Hawaiians confronted Horita over the construction of Ko Olina, he did not reply directly to them. Rather, he answered with facts and figures that interested the larger settler community. For example, Horita shamelessly promoted the luxury resort complex as a site that would generate employment for Wai'anae residents. However, Native Hawaiians were not interested in jobs that would bring "sprawling urbanization, pollution, and water problems" to their rural communities. Moreover, as Ray Cantania asserted, tourism paid the lowest wages in Hawai'i. West Beach Estates was not going to hire Wai'anae residents for the well paying hotel management positions, but for the housekeeping, grounds maintenance, and food service jobs.<sup>187</sup>

For years, the Wai'anae Land Use Concerns Committee (WLUCC), an umbrella organization of Native Hawaiians who opposed the resort complex, were out-manuevered by the double and triple teaming of West Beach Estates (WBE), the City, and the State who pushed to move the resort development



forward. Often the decision-making government officials would not attend public meetings to hear the concerns of the community or would change meeting times without proper notification. One short-lived success was a lawsuit filed by Life of the Land to overturn the 1977 LUC approval to reclassify the land from agriculture to urban. However by the end of 1986, WBE obtained all its government permits. The only remaining roadblock was a WLUC lawsuit filed against WBE.<sup>188</sup>

Even with the pending litigation unresolved, West Beach Estates broke ground on its two billion dollars resort complex project in December 1986. A month later WBE and WLUC signed an "Aloha Agreement" with WLUC promising to withdraw its lawsuit. Just as powerful First World nations forced Third World ones to sign countless unfair treaties, WBE took advantage of its power within the settler colony and to force an unequal settlement. For example, the Japanese settler Archbishop of the Daihonzan Chozen-Ji, Roshi Tenshin Tanouye brokered the negotiations between WBE and WLUC. Tanouye was an "unofficial" spiritual guide for many of the *nisei* and *sansei* (third generation Japanese) Democrats. Why didn't WBE invite a Hawaiian priest or *kahuna* to broker or participate in the agreement? The misnamed "Aloha Agreement" was also written by WBE's attorney, *sansei* Rodney Fujiyama of the influential Japanese and *haole* settler law firm of Fujiyama, Duffy and Fujiyama. It forced WLUC to give up its lawsuit and in return, WBE would give a miniscule donation to the community.<sup>189</sup>

When the "Aloha Agreement" was signed in 1987, the Ko Olina project was valued at two billion dollars. West Beach Estates offered to assist the Wai'anae Coast communities to develop an economic Master Plan and a catfish aqua farm by giving \$375,000. Although WBE considered the monetary sum generous, it

would barely compensate for the impending damage to the environment and the lifestyle of the rural leeward communities.

In addition, WBE agreed to respect and adhere to the nationalist demands of WLUC for the preservation of Hawaiian ancestral bones, burial artifacts, petroglyphs, paleontological findings, and the *'āina*, in this case the marine environment. To this date, WBE has not honored its agreement. Even though the agreement document was created and sanctioned by the settler colonial legal system, none of its governmental agencies would oversee its enforcement. In other words, no settler agency would force another settler entity to comply with the demands of Native nationalists. To do so would set the wrong legal precedent and undermine settler colonial rule.

If WBE had any intentions to be a good neighbor in the Wai'anae Coast as it claimed in the agreement, it would have reconfigured the resort design to accommodate historical, environmental, and cultural sites. Or West Beach Estates could have offered to construct a much needed hospital for the Wai'anae Coast. Kumagai Gumi, one of the partners in WBE and the sixth largest construction firm in the world, would have had the financial and political clout to shepherd through such a project on the Wai'anae Coast. Or WBE could have refurbished the much neglected public schools in the area, stocked the public and school libraries with new books and magazine subscriptions, or purchased lands for Native Hawaiians to farm and be economically self-sufficient. The Ko Olina Project plus the encroaching residential suburb developments in the area contributed to the destruction of the fishing and hunting sites along the Wai'anae Coast.<sup>190</sup>

Since the 1978 Hawai'i State Plan when the Japanese announced themselves as hegemonic co-rulers with the *haole*, the *nisei* and *sansei* settlers

have enforced and defended the American settler colonial system and viewed the islands as their very own preserve to develop and sell as they please. As Governor George Ariyoshi asserted “we know what is good for this State, what is proper and what is achievable.” This rulership extends to the tourist industry. Herbert Horita boasted that his West Beach project took the “best of what I considered Waikiki and the best of Kaanapali and the best amenities they had on the island, such as the Ilikai Marina and Kewalo Basin...and a little bit of the Polynesian Cultural Center, because I needed a grand luau facility. And so what West Beach is a combination of all that.”<sup>191</sup> It is only belonging to the ruling class or group where one uses cavalier words to describe the destruction of land and communities for capitalist profit.

Tourism embodies the unrelenting assault against Native Hawaiians and their lands by settlers. It is now protected by the Hawai'i State Plan and is agreed upon by both private and public institutions as the dominant commercial industry. Within this settler economy, tourist firms continually try to manipulate the laws to suit their needs. They are not always successful, however. For example in 1994, West Beach Estates wanted the State to designate the waters off of Ko Olina Resort as a “Marine Life Conservation District.” The Wai'anae community opposed this designation and Native Hawaiians charged that it was another attempt by settler developers to block their access to traditional fishing areas. The development of West Beach in the mid-1980s had already destroyed much of the coastline (fishing sites, turtle sanctuaries) as WBE demolished portions of the fringing reef in order to create four artificial swimming lagoons. Now WBE accused the communities of threatening the marine environment through their fishing and gathering of *limu* (seaweed). WBE, who agreed to respect the Native Hawaiian community when it signed the Aloha Agreement,

now wanted the Wai'anae residents out of the resort area. Makakilo fisherman Bob Alakai charged that WBE's move to designate the area as a conservatory was a "thinly veiled attempt to further restrict public access to the area." Moreover, William Aila, vice president of the Hawai'i Fishermen Foundation stated it was silt deposits from dredging the resort marina and the deep draft harbor that caused the marine life to suffer, not fishing. Fortunately in this case, the community won this round and the surrounding waters are still open to the public, although Ko Olina Resort and Marina make it difficult for area residents to access the shoreline.<sup>192</sup>

It must be remembered that tourism is one of the organic forces of the settler colonial state by which it represses Native nationalism by commodifying and misrepresenting Native Hawaiian culture, land, and people. Many *nisei* and *sansei* owned tourist businesses justify their financial wealth by proudly retelling their "rags-to-riches" stories within the ideology of immigration, which legitimizes their right to exploit Native Hawaiians and simultaneously garners them praise from the larger settler society. For example, these businesses often turn profits from demeaning and disfiguring *hula*, the national dance of Native Hawaiians, by selling dancing *hula* dolls for automobile dashboards or coconut bras as authentic dancing apparel. One such *nisei* owned business posted over \$151 million from the sales of "cheap and gaudy paraphernalia incorrectly termed Hawaiian" to use the words of Charles Kenn from the 1950s. The *nisei* and *sansei* owners of these demeaning business practices are actually admired for their ingenuity at using the American colonial "socioeconomic order as the vehicle for their exclusive prosperity." Thus tourism is the playing field where settler racism and the degradation of Hawaiian culture are rampant.

## Conclusion

In her memoirs on her life with Lenin, Nadezhda K. Krupskaya recounted the numerous fights within the Social Democratic Party leading up to the revolution. During their 1903 Second Congress, the Party members discussed the “fundamental questions of theory” as well as laid down “the foundation of Party ideology.” When the Party program or platform was put on the floor for approval, “every word, every sentence had been motivated and weighed, and hotly debated.” Many members were angry and considered the debate needless. Their criticism reminded Lenin and Krupskaya, who both supported the discussion, of a story told by Russian novelist Lev Tolstoi (Leo Tolstoy). One day when Tolstoi was walking, he saw in the distance a “man squatting and waiving his arms about in a ridiculous way.” He thought to himself that this was a “madman” but upon approaching, he saw that the man was sharpening a knife on a curb. Krupskaya related Tolstoi’s story to their advocacy for including theoretical discussions at the Second Congress. “From the outside it seems a sheer waste of time, but when you go into the matter more deeply you see that it is a momentous issue.”<sup>193</sup>

For Americans who think American imperialism and its affect upon the Native peoples are issues of the past, they need to carefully examine settler colonialism. Just as Krupskaya explained that once one considers a matter in depth and detail, one would realize how profound and momentous it is. As previously argued settler colonialism is a particular type and form of imperialism and is the foundation upon which the United States stands. It needs to be deeply studied. Many Americans think current U.S. President George W. Bush’s foreign policies are anomalies addressing special circumstances, but they are not. The duplicitous diplomacy and policies of the United States leading up

to the 2003 Iraqi War were not any different from its policies in the nineteenth century that led to the occupation of Native nations in the Americas, Hawai'i, and Alaska. As the lone superpower in the world, imperialist United States is now unrestrained. Therefore it is critical at the beginning of the twenty-first century to study American settler colonialism especially as the United States engages in what it calls its "war on terrorism."

Along this line, Japanese settlers in Hawai'i need to reexamine their past and current roles in fortifying the predatory settler system. When the *nisei* politicians passed the 1961 Land Use Law and the 1978 Hawai'i State Plan, they liberalized colonial laws for settlers of color while further subjugating Native Hawaiians. In other words, they were enforcing a colonial system that legalized racism—that is, settler racism—the denial of the right of Native nations to self-determination.

For those Japanese and other Asian settlers who claim they support Native Hawaiian struggles, they should look to the simple strategy of proletarian internationalism laid out by Lenin to defeat settler colonialism. He explained the proletariats in imperialist nations must agitate for the immediate secession of oppressed nations and colonies while the proletariats in the colonies must demand conditional secession (meaning the colonized will determine when and how they want independence). Therefore Japanese settlers, who advocate for a democratic world and the right of Native Hawaiians to self-determination, must wage an unrelenting war against the American settler colonial state for the release of its colonies. It is irrelevant whether Native peoples are organizing for sovereignty or not, settlers must continue their assault upon the United States because American imperialism produces violence and death wherever it goes. One cannot simultaneously endorse Native nationalist struggles *and* the

American settler colonial state. They are oppositional entities. To have real peace and not an "imperialist predatory peace," settlers must "*turn their guns against their own government.*"<sup>194</sup> Whether or not the dismantling of the United States can be achieved is not the issue. Understanding the genocidal nature of settler hegemony with the willing participation of individual settlers is the issue. Planning and executing political actions against the state would, in this situation, constitute a revolutionary project.

<sup>1</sup> V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. XIX, 1916-1917 (New York: International Publishers, 1942), 220.

<sup>2</sup> V.I. Lenin, *Questions of National Policy and Proletarian Internationalism* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, n.d.), 169.

<sup>3</sup> In 1903, the Second Congress of the RSDLP adopted two positions against colonization and in support of oppressed nations within Russia. It read:

"8) The right of any people to obtain an education in their native language, to be guaranteed by setting up the necessary schools at the expense of the state and the organs of self-government; the right of each citizen to employ his native language in public meetings; the use of the native language on an equal basis with the state language in all local, public and state institutions."

"9) The right of self-determination for all nations forming part of the state."

However, the recognition of colonized peoples within Russia was a very controversial issue and one that split the party into several factions. To examine the document, see Robert H. McNeal, ed., *Resolutions and Decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union: The Russian Social Democratic Labour Party, 1898-October 1917*, vol. I, ed. Ralph Carter Elwood (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), 39-45.

<sup>4</sup> V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. XVIII, *The Imperialist War: The Struggle Against Social-Chauvinism and Social-Pacifism, 1914-1915* (New York: International Publishers, 1942), 226. Also see, V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 21, *August 1914-December 1915* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1964), 104, 159-160 and Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. XIX, 215-222.

<sup>5</sup> Chris Weafer, "OPEC, Russia and Iraq," *The Moscow Times*, 25 September 2002; Dan Morgan and David B. Ottaway, "In Iraqi War Scenario, Oil is Key Issue," *Washington Post*, 15 September 2002; and U.S. Department of energy, Energy Information Administration, "Iraq, February 2003," <<http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/iraq.html>> (23 March 2003).

<sup>6</sup> Lenin summarized "that is why Russian Marxists say that there must be *no* compulsory official language, that the population must be provided with schools where teaching will be carried on in all the local languages, that a fundamental law must be introduced in the constitution declaring invalid all privileges of any one nation and all violations of the rights of national minorities." See V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 20, *December 1913-August 1914* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1964), 71-73. Also see, V.I. Lenin, *Lenin's Final Fight: Speeches and Writings, 1922-23*, edited by George Fyson (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1995), 198.

<sup>7</sup> Lenin, *Lenin's Final Fight*, 196 and Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. XIX, 242.

<sup>8</sup> V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 29, *March-August 1919* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1965), 170-175.

<sup>9</sup> Although the literature on the national question generally referred to the peoples living in the geographically larger oppressed nations of Ukraine or Poland or Kazakhstan, the Native peoples across Siberia were also considered to be living in oppressed nations as they fell under the responsibility of the People's Commissariat of Nationalities (Narkomnats). Once the Bolsheviks seized power, the Narkomnats, headed by Joseph Stalin, oversaw the affairs of the oppressed nations. Although the right to self-determination was part of the "official Party policy," the enforcement of the policy within the Bolshevik government was another matter. As Lenin would find out later, most of his fellow Party members supported Russian predatory policies to retain oppressed nations under Russia domination.

From the indigenous perspective, the Native peoples of Siberia categorized the Russians as foreigners and oppressors whether they represented the Soviet or Tsarist government or commercial interests. (Slezkine, 133, 136)

For more details on Native peoples of Siberia, see Yuri Slezkine, *Arctic Mirrors: Russian and the Small Peoples of the North* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994); James Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia: Russia's North Asian Colony, 1581-1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); for a journalist's view see, Anna Reid, *The Shaman's Coat: A Native History of Siberia* (New York: Walker & Company, 2002). Also read about the indigenous Sakha Republic of Siberia, see, Marjorie Mandelstam Balzer, "A State Within a State," in *Rediscovering Russia in Asia:*



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*Siberia and the Russian Far East*, ed. Stephen Kotkin and David Wolff (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1995), 139-159.

<sup>10</sup> V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 19, *March-December 1913* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1963), 243-251

<sup>11</sup> V.I. Lenin, *Questions of National Policy*, 70, and Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 20, 412.

<sup>12</sup> Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. XIX, 275.

<sup>13</sup> Creating the first socialist nation within a capitalistic world was an overwhelming task as the Bolsheviks could not use another country as a structural model/guide. In fact, during their civil war, the United Kingdom, France, United States, and Japan sent troops to help the counter-revolutionaries fight against the Bolsheviks. To grasp the enormity of their struggle, one must read Lenin's address to the Eleventh Party Congress on March 27, 1922. Lenin, *Lenin's Final Fight*, 23-73.

Immediately after the revolution in November of 1917, the Bolsheviks formally granted oppressed peoples their inalienable right to self-determination in the document entitled, "Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia." The four principles of the document are:

- 1) "The equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia."
- 2) "The right of the peoples of Russia to free self-determination, even to the point of separation and the formation of an independent state."
- 3) "The abolition of any and all national and national-religious privileges and disabilities."
- 4) "The free development of national minorities and ethnographic groups inhabiting the territory of Russia."

See the Declaration reproduced in Robert V. Daniels, ed., *A Documentary History of Communism in Russia* (Hanover, Vermont: University Press of New England, 1993,) 66-67.

<sup>14</sup> The political fight between Lenin and Stalin centered on several issues. The most important one for our purposes was the dispute over the national question. Although in 1913, Stalin wrote the pamphlet, *Marxism and the National Question* upon the request of Lenin, Stalin's contempt for the right of nations to self-determination (equal rights) and his preference for the "autonomy" status (unequal rights) did not surface until years later when establishing the USSR in 1922.

Stalin revealed his position to the Bolsheviks when Lenin was convalescing from a series of strokes and unable to tend to Party and government matters. From May 1922 until his death in January 1924, Lenin was unable to function as the day-to-day leader. He returned to work briefly for a few months in the fall of 1922 (late September to November). During those months, Lenin met with Stalin to discuss establishing a Soviet state as a federation with true democracy among all the nations as equals. Stalin made a few concessions, but as a whole did not agree with Lenin. In particular, Stalin wanted a state apparatus that ignored the right of self-determination for all nations in the federation. Stalin wanted the other nations to follow the lead of the Russian Bolsheviks and thus have the lesser "autonomy" status.

Physically weakened and unable to attend the 1922 October and December plenary sessions, Lenin dictated his views on the national question to his secretary on December 30 and 31 of that same year. He then called Leon Trotsky to present his disagreements with the Bolsheviks at the following Congress in April 1923, but Trotsky never carried out Lenin's request. By that time Lenin had another stroke in March and would never recover.

In his 1922 December notes, Lenin expressed anger over the establishment of the USSR which contradicted two positions the Bolsheviks endorsed prior to the revolution: the national question and Russian chauvinism against non-Russians. Because the formerly oppressed states joined as "autonomous" regions (with unequal rights) rather than as "independent" nations (with equal rights), Lenin complained the "whole business of 'autonomization' was radically wrong and badly timed." Stalin rushed the process of forming a federation without giving non-Russian nations time to develop as independent states and voluntarily join the Soviet federation when they were ready. Lenin thus described the USSR, the "Russian apparatus...we took over from tsarism and slightly anointed with Soviet oil." "There is no doubt that that measure should have been delayed somewhat until we could say that we vouched for our apparatus as our own. But now, in all conscience, admit the contrary; the apparatus we call ours is, in fact, still quite alien to us; it is a bourgeois and tsarist hotchpotch and there has been no possibility of getting rid

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of it in the course of the past five years without the help of other countries and because we have been 'busy' most of the time with military engagements and the fight against famine."

In January of 1923, Lenin added to his December notes that Stalin must step down from his position as General Secretary of the Party. However, Lenin's thoughts and guidance were not heard at the 1923 Congress session because Trotsky did not read Lenin's notes as promised.

See, Lenin, *Lenin's Final Fight*, 77-94, 179-200, 253-270, 289-301; Lenin's "Testament" to remove Stalin from his post, reproduced in Daniels, *Documentary History of Communism in Russia*, 117-118; and Russell Block's analyses throughout the book in V.I. Lenin, *Lenin's Fight Against Stalinism*, ed. Russell Block (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1975), 5-28, 29, 61-62, 70-73, 113-115, 127-129.

Although I do not agree with their analyzes of Lenin and his work, both Smith and d'Encausse bring much historical detail to the fight among the Bolsheviks over the national question. See, Jeremy Smith, *The Bolsheviks and the National Question, 1917-23* (New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1999) and Helene Carrere d'Encausse, *The Great Challenge: Nationalities and the Bolshevik State, 1917-1930*, trans. Nancy Festinger (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1992). Also see, Samad Shaheen, *The Communist Theory of National Self-Determination* (The Hague: W. Van Hoeve Ltd., 1956).

<sup>15</sup> Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. XIX, 51.

<sup>16</sup> Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 29, 172.

<sup>17</sup> At a 1970 seminar on "Lenin and National Liberation" held at Alma Ata, Kazakhstan, African revolutionary Amilcar Cabral paid tribute to Lenin. He said, "How is it that we, a people deprived of everything, living in dire straits, manage to wage our struggle and win successes? Our answer is: this is because Lenin existed, because he fulfilled his duty as a man, a revolutionary and a patriot. Lenin was and continues to be, the greatest champion of the national liberation of the peoples." See, "Amilcar Cabral: Outstanding Leader of African Liberation Movement – a Tribute," *African Communist*, no. 53 (second quarter 1973), <<http://www.sacp.org.za/docs/history/dadoo19.html>> (10 February 2003).

See various tributes to Lenin by Ho Chi Minh such as "The Path Which Led Me to Leninism," "Lenin and the Colonial Peoples," and "Lenin and the Peoples of the East," see, Ho Chi Minh, *On Revolution: Selected Writings, 1920–66*, ed. Bernard B. Fall (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967).

For Fanon, see Frantz Fanon, *Toward the African Revolution: Political Essays*, trans. Haakon Chevalier (New York: Grove Press, 1964), 29-44.

<sup>18</sup> C.L.R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*, 2d ed. rev. (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 283. Original publication (New York: Random House, Inc., 1963).

<sup>19</sup> Fanon, *Toward the African Revolution*, 37-38.

<sup>20</sup> Anti-Japanese racism will not be discussed in this project as others have covered that topic well. See, Gary Y. Okihiro, *Cane Fires: the Anti-Japanese Movement in Hawaii, 1864-1945* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991).

<sup>21</sup> In the appendices of *From a Native Daughter*, Trask has a "Typology on Racism and Imperialism," where she defines the terms imperialism, colonialism, racism, and prejudice. See, Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i*, rev. ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 251. Original publication (Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press, 1993).

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 251.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 252.

<sup>24</sup> Fanon, *Toward the African Revolution*, 33.

<sup>25</sup> See Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988); Noam Chomsky, *Necessary Illusions: Thought*

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*Control in Democratic Societies* (Boston: South End Press, 1989); and Michael Parenti, *Inventing Reality: the Politics of the Mass Media* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986).

<sup>26</sup> Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1980s* (New York: Routledge, 1986), 61-62, 66-68.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 38-51.

<sup>28</sup> Eric K. Yamamoto, *Interracial Justice: Conflict and Reconciliation in Post-Civil Rights America* (New York: New York University Press, 1999).

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>30</sup> Malcolm X, *By Any Means Necessary: Speeches, Interviews, and a Letter by Malcolm X* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970), 58, 164.

<sup>31</sup> *Kodansha's Pocket Romanized Japanese-English Dictionary*, ed. Timothy J. Vance (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1993), 298.

<sup>32</sup> One needs only to use the subject heading in "Hawaiian sovereignty" on the Internet to locate various demands by Native groups on past and current issues.

<sup>33</sup> Fanon, *Toward the African Revolution*, 40.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.

<sup>35</sup> Haunani-Kay Trask, "Restitution as a Precondition of Reconciliation: Native Hawaiians and Indigenous Human Rights," in *Should America Pay? Slavery and the Raging Debate on Reparations*, ed. Raymond A. Winbush (New York: Amistad/HarperCollins Publishers, 2003), 38.

<sup>36</sup> Malcolm X, *The End of White World Supremacy: Four Speeches by Malcolm X*, ed. Iman Benjamin Karim (New York: Arcade Publishing, 1971), 69-70, 75-76, 138.

<sup>37</sup> Noel J. Kent, *Hawaii: Islands Under the Influence* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983), 95-121.

<sup>38</sup> State of Hawai'i, Department of Business, Economic Development and Tourism, *State of Hawai'i Data Book 1997: a Statistical Abstract* (Honolulu: 1997), 355.

<sup>39</sup> Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. XIX, 244-250, 246-247 (cited portion).

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 48.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 50.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 50-51, 256-257, 268-272.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 268.

<sup>44</sup> Antonio Gramsci, *Selections From the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, ed. and trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1971), 240.

<sup>45</sup> Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. XIX, 51-52, 241-263, 292-293, and Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 31, 242.

<sup>46</sup> V.I. Lenin, "The Task of the Proletariat in Our Revolution," in *Lenin on the United States: Selected Writings by V.I. Lenin* (New York: International Publishers, 1970), 310-311.

<sup>47</sup> Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. XIX, 241-244 and Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 31, 242. Also see Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Constance Farrington (New York: Grove Press, 1963).

<sup>48</sup> Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 31, 240-241.

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<sup>49</sup> "Exclusive: the Evil of Cluster Bombs," *Arab News* (Saudi Arabia), 9 April 2003; "US Forces' Use of Depleted Uranium weapons is 'Illegal,'" *The Sunday Herald* (Scotland), 30 March 2003; "American to Oversee Iraqi Oil Industry," *Guardian* (UK), 26 April 2003; Michael T. Klare, "It's the Oil, Stupid," *Foreign Policy In Focus* (2 May 2003), <<http://www.foreignpolicy-infocus.org>> (25 May 2003); Colin Hallinan, "Aftermath: Cleaning Up the Mess," *Foreign Policy In Focus* (29 April 2003), <<http://www.foreignpolicy-infocus.org>> (25 May 2003); and Sarah Anderson, Phyllis Bennis, and John Cavanagh, "Coalition of the Willing or Coalition of the Coerced?: How the Bush Administration Influences Allies in its War on Iraq," report, Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, DC, February 26, 2003, <<http://www.ips-dc.org>> (3 March 2003).

<sup>50</sup> Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. XIX, 245-247.

<sup>51</sup> Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, 177-179.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 178.

<sup>53</sup> Anderson, Bennis, and Cavanagh, "Coalition of the Willing or Coalition of the Coerced?"

<sup>54</sup> America's military aid to Israel can be seen on TV news in the form of American made "F-16 fighter jets and Apache helicopter gunships" attacking and killing Palestinians. Rania Masri, "The Al-Aqsa Intifada: a Natural Consequence of the Military Occupation, the Oslo Accords, and the 'Peace Process,'" in *The Struggle for Palestine*, ed. Lance Selfa (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2002), 103-127; Tikva Honig-Parnass and Toufic Hadda, "September 11 and Beyond: A View From Palestine," in *The Struggle for Palestine*, ed. Lance Selfa (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2002), 154-172; Jonathan Cook, "Olives and Lives," *Al-Ahram Weekly On-line*, 31 October – 6 November 2002; Shawn L. Twing, "A Comprehensive Guide to U.S. Aid to Israel," *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* (April 1996): 7, 49-52; Roger Gaess, "Interview from Gaza: What Hamas Wants," *Middle East Policy* 9, no.4 (December 2002): 102-115; and Khaled Hroub, *Hamas: Political Thought and Practice* (Washington D.C.: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2002). For updated facts on U.S. military aid to Israel, see the following Web sites, The Palestine Monitor: the Voice of Civil Society <<http://www.palestinemonitor.org>> and Palestinian Initiatives for the Promotion of Global Dialog and Democracy (miftah) <<http://www.miftah.org>>.

<sup>55</sup> According to reporter Nigel Parry of *The Electronic Intifada* (online news coverage), Israel's apartheid wall will be larger and longer than the former Berlin Wall that America once condemned during the Cold War. The Berlin Wall was 96 miles long and 11.8 feet high while the Israeli Apartheid Wall will be 403 miles long and 25 feet high. In the fall of 2003, the UN General Assembly passed a resolution demanding Israel to demolish the apartheid wall. A majority voted to pass the initiative, with four countries voting against it: the United States, Israel, Micronesia, and the Marshall Islands. See "Nigel Parry, 'Is It a Fence? Is it a Wall? No, It's a Separation Barrier,'" *The Electronic Intifada*, 1 August 2003, <<http://electronicintifada.net>> (1 September 2003); Kirk Semple, "U.N. Resolution Condemns Israeli Barrier," *New York Times*, 22 October 2003; and Greg Myer, "Barrier Route Would Give Israel 15% of West Bank, U.N. Says," *New York Times*, 11 November 2003.

<sup>56</sup> V.I. Lenin, *Lenin on War and Peace: Three Articles* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1966), 6.

<sup>57</sup> Sluyk's comment was made at a pre-conference meeting on July 2, 1996 in Honolulu, Hawai'i. UNPO is an international body where colonized nations organize and support each other in the process toward self-determination. Former UNPO members who are now member-nations in the UN include Armenia, Belau, Estonia, Georgia, and Latvia. See Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO), *Covenant of the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization*, February 11, 1991. Also see, UNPO, *Hawai'i: Report of the UNPO Mission to Hawai'i, June 30-July 9, 1996*, prepared by Robin Sluyk in pursuance of UNPO General Assembly Resolution 4/1995/10, 1996.

<sup>58</sup> Amilcar Cabral, "Message to the Portugues Settlers in Guine and Cape Verde," in *Unity and Struggle: Speeches and Writings*, trans. Michael Wolfers (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1979), 160-162.

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<sup>59</sup> Ronald Weitzer, *Transforming Settler States: Communal Conflict and Internal Security in Northern Ireland and Zimbabwe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 29.

<sup>60</sup> Read the 1952, 1954, 1956, and 1958 platforms of the Democratic Party of Hawai'i in Daniel W. Tuttle, Jr., comp., *The Hawaii Democratic and Republican Party Platforms, 1952-1964* (Honolulu: Department of Political Science, University of Hawai'i, 1965, photocopied), 2-4, 16-19, 28-33, 42-50.

<sup>61</sup> See Ka Lāhui Hawai'i, "Ho'okupu a Ka Lāhui Hawai'i: The Master Plan 1995," in Trask, *From a Native Daughter*, 219.

<sup>62</sup> Although Weitzer was not speaking about Hawai'i *per se*, he nonetheless theorizes the foundations of settler rule. See, Weitzer, *Transforming Settler States*, 49.

<sup>63</sup> Article 15 of the UN's *Declaration of Human Rights* states everyone has the right to choose her/his nationality. Article 1 of the UN's *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* states "all peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development." Article 1 of the UN's *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* duplicates the wording of the Economic, Social and Cultural Rights' Covenant on the right to self-determination. Since 1976, these three international instruments along with a fourth, the *Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, are known collectively as the International Bill of Rights. See, United Nations, *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, General Assembly Resolution 217A (III), UN Doc. A/810, at 71 (1948); United Nations, *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*, 999 UNTS 3, adopted December 19, 1966, entered into force January 3, 1976; United Nations, *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, 999 UNTS 171, adopted December 19, 1966, entered into force March 23, 1976; United Nations, *Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, 999 UNTS 302, adopted December 19, 1966, entered into force March 23, 1976; and all four documents are respectively reprinted in Richard B. Lillich and Hurst Hannum, *International Human Rights: Documentary Supplement* (Aspen: Aspen Law & Business, 1995), 17-22, 23-32, 33-50, 51-54.

<sup>64</sup> George Cooper and Gavan Daws, *Land and Power in Hawaii: The Democratic Years* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985), 42-43, 411.

<sup>65</sup> It is a well-known fact that Burns pushed for multiethnic candidate slates. The Japanese, on the other hand, often presented all-Japanese candidates to Burns, who made them change the slate to include other racial groups. Bert Kobayashi, interview by Dan Boylan, tape recording, 18 June 1980, *John A. Burns Oral History Project, Phase II*, 33.

It is important to note that Native Hawaiians played an important role in building the Democratic Party of Hawai'i. To control the islands, Burns urged the young Democrats had to organize the Native Hawaiians and the Japanese because they were the largest groups in the 1950s and 1960s. However, for our purposes here, I do not highlight the participation of Native Hawaiians because their reasons to participate within the settler Party was different from those of the Japanese settlers who wanted to perpetuate the colonial system. Moreover, for the purpose of this project, it is critical to emphasize the distinction between settlers and Natives with the colonial context—rather than to show various Party relationships between Japanese and Native Hawaiians.

<sup>66</sup> For the statistics of the 1960 legislature, see the almanac originally called and still referred to as *Thrum's*, but subsequently renamed *All About Hawaii*. Douglas Boswell, comp. and ed., *All About Hawaii: The Recognized Book of Authentic Information on Hawaii, 1960* (Honolulu: Star-Bulletin Printing Co., Inc., 1960), 312-313.

For the 1970 legislature figures, see the 1971 Directory of officials produced by the State. The legislature did not publish a directory for the year 1970. See, Hawai'i Legislature, Legislative Reference Bureau, *Directory of State, County and Federal Officials* (Honolulu, 1971), 6-7, 10-12.

During 1960-1962 period, the Democrats lost control over the State Senate, but not over the State House. It was the only time that the Democratic Party lost dominance over both houses from 1955 until the present day. Nevertheless, the Japanese still remained the largest racial group during this period as Republicans and Democrats.

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During the years when Republicans outnumbered Democrats in the State Senate (1960-1962), Thomas P. Gill, then-State Representative, said the Democrats controlled the legislature by default. The Republicans had "no leadership" in the Senate and were distracted by arguing with the Republican Governor over appointments in the State apparatus. Therefore, the Democrats still controlled both houses. Thomas P. Gill, interview by Paul Phillips, tape recording, 7 November 1975, *John A. Burns Oral History Project, Phase I*, 27-28.

<sup>67</sup> Daniel K. Inouye, interview by Paul Hooper and Dan Boylan, 6 August 1974, *John A. Burns Oral History Project, Phase I*, 15-16.

<sup>68</sup> For the sake of simplicity, the figures for all island acreage were rounded-up and reflected that ownership in the islands were equally distributed between private and public (federal and State) entities. In his 1967 land study, Horwitz reported the State of Hawai'i controlled 1,590,532 acres and the federal government controlled 401,482 acres, which totaled to 1,992,014 acres or almost two million acres (or approximately half of all island lands). Hawaii Legislative Reference Bureau (HLRB), *Public Land Policy in Hawaii: Major Landowners*, Report no. 3, by Robert H. Horwitz and Judith B. Finn (Honolulu, 1967), 13.

<sup>69</sup> For more details on the Big Five, see Noel J. Kent, *Hawaii: Islands Under the Influence* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983), 69-91. For a quick biography on the founders of the Big Five, see A. Grove Day, *History Makers of Hawaii: A Biographical Dictionary* (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing of Honolulu, 1984), 2-3 (Samuel Thomas Alexander of A&B), 8 (Henry Perrine Baldwin of A&B), 31-32 (Theo H. Davies), 27-28 (Amos Starr Cooke of C&C), 20-21 (Samuel Northrup Castle of C&C), 14-15 (Charles Brewer), and 47 (Heinrich Hackfeld of Amfac).

<sup>70</sup> The State of Hawai'i defined a factor as "an agent charged with selling the products of a business enterprise and with responsibility for such other functions as may be mutually agreed upon. In Hawaii, five larger corporations have served as the major factors for the Islands' sugar plantations during most of the twentieth century. Initially, these factors handled the sale of raw sugar for the plantations, but they gradually extended their range of services. Today [1967], they manage almost all of the affairs of the plantations except the cultivation of the land. Direction of Hawaii's plantations has thus become centralized in Honolulu, where the factors manage plantation fiscal affairs, purchase of supplies and equipment, labor relations, etc." HLRB, *Public Land Policy in Hawaii: Major Landowners*, 4-5, 108 (Chapter I, footnote 1).

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>72</sup> Hawaii Legislative Reference Bureau (HLRB), *Public Land Policy in Hawaii: An Historical Analysis*, Report No. 5, by Robert H. Horwitz, Judith B. Finn, Louis A. Vargha, and James W. Ceaser (Honolulu, 1969), 108-143 (in particular 112-113, 143).

<sup>73</sup> Hawaii Legislative Reference Bureau (HLRB), *Public Land Policy in Hawaii: Land Exchanges*, by Robert H. Horwitz, Report No. 2 (Honolulu, 1964), and Alan Murakami, "The Hawaiian Homes Commission Act," in *Native Hawaiian Rights Handbook*, ed. Melody Kapilialoha MacKenzie (Honolulu: Native Hawaiian Legal Corporation and the State of Hawai'i, Office of Hawaiian Affairs, 1991), 51-61.

<sup>74</sup> Weitzer, *Transforming Settler States*, 29.

<sup>75</sup> John Ramsey, "Democrats Say Land Tax Hikes Essential to Island Economy," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 27 February 1957 and Cooper and Daws, *Land and Power in Hawaii*, 36.

<sup>76</sup> Al Goodfader, "Tax Values Soar for Big Land Holdings," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 29 April 1960.

<sup>77</sup> Raymond Williams, *Problems of Materialism and Culture* (London: Verso, 1980), 38-39.

<sup>78</sup> Read the 1956, and 1958 platforms of the Democratic Party of Hawai'i in Tuttle, *Hawaii Democratic and Republican Party Platforms*, 28-33, 42-50.

<sup>79</sup> Again for the sake of simplicity, the ceded land acreage was rounded up to two million, although it is slightly less. Not all public lands are ceded lands. However, the ceded lands have

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never been properly inventoried by the State because it owes enormous amount of monies to the Native Hawaiians in back and current rent. At the time of annexation, Horwitz (HLRB) identifies 1,800,000 acres as ceded lands. See, HLRB, *Public Land Policy in Hawaii: An Historical Analysis*, 63.

<sup>80</sup> Much confusion exists between the five uses of the trust lands (for schools, Native Hawaiians, agriculture, public improvements, and public use) and two beneficiaries of the trusts (Native Hawaiians and the general public). The State of Hawai'i continually argues that Native Hawaiians are entitled to only 20% of the revenues and not half, which conflates the uses of the land and the beneficiaries of the land. It should be noted the State has not paid its back rent for the use of lands to Native Hawaiians. See, Melody K. MacKenzie, "The Ceded Lands Trust," in *Native Hawaiian Rights Handbook*, 22-42. Also see §5(f) of the State's Admission Act. Public Law 86-3, 73 Stat 4, 86<sup>th</sup> Cong., 3d sess. (18 March 1959), *The Admission Act: an Act to Provide for the Admission of the State of Hawaii into the Union*.

MacKenzie uses Lorrian A. Thurston's figure for the acreage of the ceded lands (assessed in 1897) as 1.7 million acres. See, Lorrian A. Thurston, *A Handbook on the Annexation of Hawaii* (St. Joseph, Michigan: A.B. Morse Co, [1897?]), 24.

Ka Lāhui Hawai'i (KLH) has argued for years that the beneficiaries of the ceded lands trust includes all Native Hawaiians and not simply those who possess the fifty percent Hawaiian blood quantum the federal government uses to identify "native Hawaiians." Using the federal government's own definition, KLH asserts all Native Hawaiians are beneficiaries because they fall within two categories of beneficiaries as "native Hawaiian" or as the "general public."

<sup>81</sup> However, some of the ceded lands are federal lands and under the jurisdiction of the federal government.

<sup>82</sup> "Typical Land Board Member: Male, Japanese, Democrat, Pro-Development," *Environment Hawai'i* 4, no. 11 (May 1994), <<http://www.environment-hawaii.org/594board.htm>> (8 September 2003).

<sup>83</sup> Weitzer, *Transforming Settler States*, 29.

<sup>84</sup> Cooper and Daws, *Land and Power in Hawaii*, 121, 304-313, and "Typical Land Board Member," *Environment Hawai'i*. Also see Sunao Kido's different positions in DLNR in the various directories of State officials. See Hawai'i Legislature, Legislative Reference Bureau, *Directory of State, County and Federal Officials* (Honolulu, various years).

<sup>85</sup> Phyllis Myers, *Zoning Hawaii: An Analysis of the Passage and Implementation of Hawaii's Land Classification Law* (Washington, D.C.: The Conservation Foundation, 1976), 63.

Since 1981, the DLNR was forced to conduct public hearings as provided by law. See Hawai'i Department of Land and Natural Resources, "Subchapter 3: Rulemaking Proceedings," Title 13: Subtitle 1 Administration, Chapter 1 Rules of Practice and Procedure. The rule became law in Hawai'i Revised Statutes §171-6 and §91-3, 91-6, effective June 22, 1981.

<sup>86</sup> Cooper and Daws, *Land and Power in Hawaii*, 10.

<sup>87</sup> MacKenzie, "The Ceded Lands Trust," 32.

Ka Lāhui Hawai'i also asserts the United States violated its trust responsibilities. See Ka Lāhui's "Ho'okupu a Ka Lāhui Hawai'i: The Master Plan 1995" that is reproduced in Trask, *From a Native Daughter*, 221-222.

<sup>88</sup> Weitzer, *Transforming Settler States*, 49.

<sup>89</sup> Gill, *Burns Oral History Project*, 59.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.

<sup>91</sup> Gill said when he was Lt. Governor, neither Burns nor his administrators would notify him when Burns was out of town. Even though by law, Gill would be the acting chief executive of the State, Gill stated "Dan Aoki was the chief executive of the state." Gill, *Burns Oral History Project*, 56.

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- <sup>92</sup> Cooper and Daws, *Land and Power in Hawaii*, 6-9.
- <sup>93</sup> Gill, *Burns Oral History Project*, 59.
- <sup>94</sup> Masaru "Pundy" Yokouchi, interview by Larry Meacham and Warren Nishimoto, *Hawai'i Political History Documentary Project*, vol. III (Honolulu: Center for Oral History, 1996), 1066-1070.
- <sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 1060-1066 and Cooper and Daws, *Land and Power in Hawaii*, 220-228, 298, 325-331, 346-353.
- <sup>96</sup> Gill, *Burns Oral History Project*, 60.
- <sup>97</sup> John Wythe White, "The Man Who Fought the Machine: An Interview with Tom Gill," *Honolulu Weekly*, 23-29 July 1997.
- <sup>98</sup> "U.S. Files Suite Against 4 of 'Big 5' and Matson," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 20 January 1964 and "U.S. Ends Matson Antitrust Suit," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 17 July 1964.
- <sup>99</sup> Gill names Inouye as one of the negotiators. Gill, *Burns Oral History Project*, 35. Also see, Shurei Hirozawa, "Burns Played Role in Matson Sale," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 17 July 1964.
- <sup>100</sup> "U.S. Files Suite Against 4 of 'Big 5' and Matson," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 20 January 1964.
- <sup>101</sup> "State Anti-Trust Laws Needed, Governor Says," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 19 August 1959, and "State Orders Study of Interlocking Directorates," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 1 January 1961.
- <sup>102</sup> Alexander and Baldwin, "Matson Navigation Company," 1965 *Annual Report* (Honolulu: Alexander and Baldwin, 1965), 4-6.
- <sup>103</sup> Peter Clyde, "State Orders Study of Interlocking Directorates," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 1 January 1961; Forrest Black, "Democrats Assail Matson-'Big 5' Ties: U.H. Report Released by Legislators," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 19 February 1961; "Gill Gives View on Mund Report" and "Economist Studies Matson," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 19 February 1961.
- <sup>104</sup> To simplify, the actual stock ownership of Matson by the Big Four was rounded up from 73.58% to 74%. Vernon A. Mund and Fred C. Hung, *Interlocking Relationships in Hawaii and Public Regulation of Ocean Transportation*, Report for the State Legislature of Hawaii (Honolulu, 1961), 13-14.
- <sup>105</sup> The vote tallies in favor of the bill were 22 to 1 in the Senate and 40 to 9 in the House. "New State Antitrust Law to Focus Attention on Big Five," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 30 July 1961.
- <sup>106</sup> Forrest Black, "State Gives Firms Antitrust Warnings: Kobayashi Lists 5 Areas of Violations," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 28 December 1962; Bert Kobayashi, interview by Dan Boylan, tape recording, 18 June 1980, *John A. Burns Oral History Project, Phase II*, 19, 24.
- <sup>107</sup> Ariyoshi served on the Boards of Directors for the First Hawaiian Bank's Board of Directors (1962-1970), Honolulu Gas Company (1964-1970), and Hawaiian Insurance & Guaranty Company (1966-1970). He resigned only when he became Lieutenant Governor. During his board tenure, he worked with officials from all of the Big Five factors. See the various annual reports of 1962-1970 First Hawaiian Bank (First National Bank until 1969), 1960-1968 Castle and Cooke, and 1964-1970 Honolulu Gas Company, Ltd.
- <sup>108</sup> George R. Ariyoshi, *With Obligation To All* (Honolulu: Ariyoshi Foundation, 1997), 69-70.
- <sup>109</sup> Shurei Hirozawa, "A&B Gets Matson Control for \$23 Million," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 13 July 1964; "Matson Put in Clear with Settlement of Trust Suit," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 13 July 1961; and Shurei Hirozawa, "Burns Played Role in Matson Sale," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 17 July 1964.
- <sup>110</sup> Gill feels his statement may have oversimplified the situation, but nonetheless showed that Burns "took care of their friends downtown." Gill, *Burns Oral History Project*, 35.



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<sup>111</sup> Shurei Hirozawa, "Hall Backs Matson on U.S. Suit," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 22 January 1964.

<sup>112</sup> Weitzer, *Transforming Settler States*, 49, 52-53.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

An example of a pro-Native letter to the editor was one written by Marie L. Roebuck in 1959. Roebuck supported the return of the ceded lands and Hawaiian Home Lands to Native Hawaiians. Roebuck used her experience living in the Pacific (Fiji, Aotearoa [New Zealand], Sāmoa) where Native peoples controlled their own lands or where outsiders were not allowed to purchase land. See, Marie L. Roebuck, "Letter to the Editor: Give Hawaiians a Break," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 30 June 1959.

<sup>114</sup> Cooper and Daws, *Land and Power in Hawaii*, 45-46.

<sup>115</sup> Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. XIX, 64.

<sup>116</sup> Weitzer, *Transforming Settler States*, 28.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

<sup>118</sup> "Frank Hustace Resigns in '2<sup>nd</sup> Mahele' Dispute," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 4 August 1959; "Quinn Doesn't Answer Some Mahele Queries," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 19 August 1959; and "Quinn Signs Bill for Opening Up 1.3 Million Acres," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 12 June 1962.

<sup>119</sup> Act 187 categorized the lands into three divisions: urban, agricultural, and conservation. Later the law was amended to include a rural category. Hawaii *Revised Statutes, Annotated* § 205 (Michie 2001), 606-635. Also see, Cooper and Daws, *Land and Power in Hawaii*, 86-123; David L. Callies, *Regulating Paradise: Land Use Controls in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984), 6-12; Myers, *Zoning Hawaii*, 23-45; and Thomas H. Creighton, *The Lands of Hawaii: Their Use and Misuse* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1978), 70-76.

<sup>120</sup> It is important to note that the four land zoning categories have subzones within them. Therefore certain agricultural subzones allow golf courses while others do not. However, this does not mean that golf courses and other projects were never constructed within restricted zones.

To rezone conservation lands or parcels of 15 acres or more, one must approach the LUC. If the parcel is less than 15 acres, the applicant must get approval from the county planning commissions. Therefore, the county councils and agencies govern the urban, agricultural, and rural zones, while DLNR governs the conservation zone. See David L. Callies, *Preserving Paradise: Why Regulation Won't Work* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994), 57-79, and David Kimo Frankel, *Protecting Paradise: A Citizen's Guide to Land & Water use Controls in Hawai'i* (Kailua, Hawai'i: Dolphin Printing and Publishing, 1997), 53.

Nakamura's remark was quoted in Cooper and Daws, *Land and Power in Hawaii*, 136, 162.

To clarify the confusing permit and approval process, see the environmental impact statement (EIS) prepared by Wilson Okamoto. The EIS identified the various government agencies a client must receive approval from prior to the development of large properties. Under State regulations, three separate permits must be obtained from the Land Use Commission, Department of Health, and the Department of Land and Natural Resources. Under City and County of Honolulu regulations, eight permits must be obtained from the Department of General Planning, Department of Land Utilization, Department of Public Works, Board of Water Supply, and the Building Department. See Wilson Okamoto & Associates, Inc., *Ko Olina Phase II: Draft Environmental Impact Statement*, prepared for West Beach Estates (Honolulu, January 1989), 4-5.

<sup>121</sup> Other members of the 1967 Honolulu City Council were Democrats Herman Lemke (chair), Clesson Chikasuye, Frank Fasi, George Koga, Kekoa David Kaapu, Yoshiro Nakamura, and Ben F. Kaito. The lone Republican was Eugene Kennedy. See, Hawai'i Legislature, *Legislative Reference Bureau, Directory of State, County and Federal Officials* (Honolulu, July 1967), 53.

In 1967 when Ariyoshi represented C. Brewer before the Honolulu City and County, he sat on the board of directors for The Hawaiian Insurance & Guaranty Co. Ltd, a subsidiary of C. Brewer. Ariyoshi was not a stranger to the powerful *haole* elite and supported many of their interests as State Senator. See Cooper and Daws, *Land and Power in Hawaii*, 17, 394.

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Cooper and Daws also commented that once the Big Five realized the *nisei* Democrats were a permanent political force, they hired Asian settlers as attorneys and made them as board members to give their corporations a "less *haole* look." Cooper and Daws, *Land and Power in Hawaii*, 217.

<sup>122</sup> Cooper and Daws, *Land and Power in Hawaii*, 113-117.

<sup>123</sup> Besides Nishimura, Attorney General Kanbara's investigation included probes into three other LUC members, C.E.S. Burns (no relation to the Governor), Alexander Napier, and Wilber Choi. Governor Burns' opponents in the gubernatorial election that year called for the probe of LUC. See Buck Donham, "State Land Official Voted to Rezone Own Property," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 14 August 1970; Harold Hostetler, "Nishimura Land Deals No Secret: Rezoing Case 'A Shock,'" *Honolulu Advertiser*, 15 August 1970; Douglas Boswell, "Nishimura's Resignation Requested During Probe," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 15 August 1970; "Gill, Republicans Decry Land Case," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 15 August 1970; Tom Coffman, "Gill, King, Porteus Ask for Probe of Land Commission," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 15 August 1970; "Kauai's Ex-Land Official Subject of 2 Investigations," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 15 August 1970; Harold Ching, "Nishimura Development Coordinator," *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, 15 August 1970; Gerry Keir, "Burns Lets Report Out," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 30 October 1970; and "Land Use Conflicts Held Not Criminal," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 30 October 1970.

In another case, Vincent Yano, a State Senator and running mate of Tom Gill in his bid for the Governorship in 1970, complained to Governor Burns that another Senator misused his powers as chairperson of a Senate committee. According to Yano, this Senator manipulated legislation to favor a particular company and was financially rewarded for his questionable efforts. Burns replied to Yano that Yano did the same thing. Yano defended himself by drawing a distinction between the two cases. However, the different cases were irrelevant to Burns. See Vincent H. Yano, interview by Chris Conybeare and Daniel W. Tuttle, Jr., *Hawai'i Political History Documentary Project*, vol. II (Honolulu: Center for Oral History, 1996), 814-815.

<sup>124</sup> Myers, *Zoning Hawaii*, 23-24, and Creighton, *Lands of Hawaii*, 72-73.

<sup>125</sup> The Pittsburgh Law was repealed in 1977. See Creighton, *Lands of Hawaii*, 182-183, and Cooper and Daws, *Land and Power in Hawaii*, 37.

<sup>126</sup> Callies, *Regulating Paradise*, 12-20; Callies, *Preserving Paradise*, 48-51; and *Hawaii Revised Statutes, Annotated* § 226 (Michie 2001), 872-908.

<sup>127</sup> Tuttle, Jr., *Hawaii Democratic and Republican Party Platforms*, 43.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, 71.

<sup>129</sup> Wallace Mitchell, "Burns Eyes Big Estate Operations," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 21 December 1962.

The five *ali'i* trusts left by the Hawaiian monarchy are (1) the Kamehameha Schools (former Bishop Estate); (2) the Queen Emma Foundation, Queen's Medical Center and Health Care System; (3) The Lunalilo Trust; (4) the Queen Lili'uokalani Trust; and (5) the Queen Kapi'olani Women's and Children's Medical Center. For more information, see Ka Lāhui Hawai'i's Master Plan located in the appendices in Trask, *From a Native Daughter*, 230-231.

<sup>130</sup> Cooper and Daws, *Land and Power in Hawaii*, 410-445, 415 (quote).

<sup>131</sup> For the Akaka quote, see "120 March on the Palace to Protest Maryland Bill," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 12 April 1963. For other articles on the Maryland bill, see Mel Masuda, "Hawaiians Seen Against Lease Land Reform Bill," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 4 April 1963; Forrest Black, "Maryland Ground Rent Bill Causes Mixed Emotions," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 8 April 1963; Reverend Abraham K. Akaka, "Rev. Akaka in Sermon Opposes Maryland Land Bill," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 25 April 1963; Ted Kurrus, "Hawaiians Again Demonstrate Against Maryland Ground Bill," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 30 April 1963; Arthur K. Trask, letter-to-the-editor, *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 30 April 1963; and Mel Masuda, "Huhu Hawaiians Shatter Stiff Decorum of Senate," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 1 May 1963.

<sup>132</sup> See "120 March on the Palace to Protest Maryland Bill," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 12 April 1963.

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<sup>133</sup> Mel Masuda, "Huhu Hawaiians Shatter Stiff Decorum of Senate," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 1 May 1963

<sup>134</sup> "Ariyoshi Will Nix Land Bill," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 1 May 1963, and Buck Buchwach, "Maryland Bill is Beaten, 13-12; Legislature Calls it a Session," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 4 May 1963.

<sup>135</sup> Ariyoshi, *With Obligation to All*, 53-56, and Cooper and Daws, *Land and Power in Hawaii*, 403-406.

<sup>136</sup> Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?*, Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992), 310, and Kent, *Hawaii*, 47-48.

In 1967, Bishop Estate owned 369,699.68 acres of which 11,427.92 acres were in "one and two family residential" lots. The revenues collected from residential leasehold agreements funded Kamehameha Schools as the sole beneficiary of the trust. See HLRB, *Public Land Policy in Hawaii: Major Landowners*, 17, 23.

<sup>137</sup> See the various *Annual Reports* of the First Hawaiian Bank of Hawaii (called First National Bank from 1960-1969). For the 1962 board membership, see First National Bank, *1963 Annual Report*, 22.

<sup>138</sup> Cooper and Daws, *Land and Power in Hawaii*, 406.

When Ariyoshi joined the boards of the First Hawaiian Bank and Damon Estate, he served with fellow State Senator, D. Hebden Porteus, whose father, Stanley D. Porteus, wrote about the different racial groups in the islands in racist terms. See First National Bank of Hawaii, *1963 Annual Report*, and David E. Stannard, "Honoring Racism: the Professional Life and Reputation of Stanley D. Porteus," *Social Process in Hawai'i* 39 (1999): 85-125.

<sup>139</sup> In a 1991 interview, Yasuki Arakaki, a leader in the ILWU (he wrote the strike manual) and a member of the Democratic Party, said he was disappointment to discover that Burns' *nisei* inner core profited from their political positions. Arakaki compared the conduct of the *nisei* leadership to being similar to that of the Big Five. Arakaki's statement is important because it reveals the difference between Party members and the Party leaders as Arakaki had to read about the profiteering of the Japanese Democratic leaders in *Land and Power*.

Arakaki added, "I guess Governor Burns had no absolute control...they [*nisei* inner core] were strong Democrats, they helped build the party. But they built themselves and their coffers." Yasuki Arakaki, interview by Michi Kodama-Nishimoto and Daniel W. Tuttle, Jr., *Hawai'i Political History Documentary Project*, vol. III (Honolulu: Center for Oral History, 1996), 1161-1163.

For more information on Ariyoshi, see Cooper and Daws, *Land and Power in Hawaii*, 60, 398-399; Betty Finley Burker, ed., *Men and Women of Hawaii 1972: A Biographical Directory of Noteworthy Men and Women of Hawaii* (Honolulu: Star-Bulletin Printing Company, Inc., 1972), 23; and First National Bank, *1968 Annual Report*, 26.

<sup>140</sup> Ariyoshi, *With Obligation to All*, 58-59.

The private trusts supported the 1967 version of the Maryland bill because its passage solved capital gains tax problems. Prior to the 1967 legislative session, representatives of the various trusts met with the IRS in Washington, D.C. and were counseled that the upcoming bill would not charge them with a capital gains tax if they reinvested their monies within a fixed period of time. Cooper and Daws, *Land and Power in Hawaii*, 416-417, 420.

<sup>141</sup> Matsuo Takabuki, *An Unlikely Revolutionary: Matsuo Takabuki and the Making of Modern Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998), 64.

<sup>142</sup> Takakabuki was named the "number two" person in State government and in City government under Mayor Neal Blaisdell. Charel Turner, "Will Next Mayor Be Democrat?," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 11 November 1962; George West, "'Kitchen Cabinet' Reportedly Has Breakfast Meetings with Governor," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 3 October 1963; and Cooper and Daws, *Land and Power in Hawaii*, 126.

<sup>143</sup> Cooper and Daws, *Land and Power in Hawaii*, 126.

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<sup>144</sup> "Burns Used No Influence—Marumoto," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 30 June 1971; "Marumoto's Statement on the Appointment of Takabuki," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 30 June 1971; and Gregg Kakesako, "Burns Denies Role in Takabuki Choice," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 2 July 1971.

<sup>145</sup> "Gill Sees Struggle Against 'Elite'," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 23 June 1971.

<sup>146</sup> "Takabuki Won't Reply to Critics," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 23 June 1971.

<sup>147</sup> "Trustee Selection Opposed: Hawaiian Groups Speak," *The Sunday Star-Bulletin & Advertiser*, 20 June 1971; Diane Mark, "Akaka Criticizes New Bishop Estate Trustee," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 22 June 1971; "Rev. Akaka's Statement on Appointment," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 22 June 1971; Carole Hoyt, "Hawaiians Plan to Fight Appointment," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 22 June 1971; "Hawaiians Seek Legal Moves: Hope to Block Takabuki Appointment," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 23 June 1971; "Hawaiian Committee in Protest March at Courthouse," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 24 June 1971; Steve Hoar, "Backing of Takabuki Criticized," *The Sunday Star-Bulletin & Advertiser*, 27 June 1971; Robert McCabe, "Oust Burns, Some Maui Hawaiians Say," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 3 July 1971; Robert Johnson, "The Hawaiians Want Takabuki to Resign Post," *The Sunday Star-Bulletin & Advertiser*, 4 July 1971; Richard Hoyt, "Anti-Takabuki Symbol: 'Splintered Paddle' Law," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 8 July 1971; and "Church Bells Toll Takabuki Protest," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 30 July 1971.

<sup>148</sup> Kathy Titchen, "Legal Aid Offered to Stop Takabuki," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 9 July 1971; Gene Hunter, "Judge Dismisses Suit by Anti-Takabuki Group," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 28 July 1971; June Watanabe, "Takabuki Vested as Trustee; Vows Fulltime Service," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 30 July 1971; and "Anti-Takabuki Action Dismissed," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 11 August 1971.

<sup>149</sup> Predictably, settler Takabuki asserted the American national ideology of a "nation of immigrants" to defend his position as a trustee. Just as white settlers used the same ideology to justify the killing of Indians in order to steal their land, Takabuki depicted himself as an immigrant victim being harassed by Native Hawaiians only because he was fulfilling the "American Dream." Obviously speaking to the larger settler society, he said he was merely "a lawyer of second-generation Japanese ancestry, without a family history, who had climbed the ladder to become one of the 'newly arrived' on Hawai'i's economic and political scene." Also see his speech to the Hawaiian Civil Clubs where he characterized Native Hawaiians as an ethnic group (rather than colonized people) and depicted Japanese settlers as "good guys." He arrogantly questioned the Native audience in 1972, "Are the Japanese, or Takabuki, the symbol of suppression as the 'whiteys' are to the militant blacks?" See Takabuki, *Unlikely Revolutionary*, 95-96, 97-128, 197-203.

<sup>150</sup> Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*, 38.

<sup>151</sup> Takabuki, *Unlikely Revolutionary*, 64.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, 64-65.

<sup>153</sup> Christine M. Skwiot, "Itineraries of Empire: The Uses of U.S. Tourism in Cuba and Hawai'i, 1898-1959" (Ph.D. diss., Rutgers University, 2002), 24-35.

For a quick history of tourism in the islands, see a report done for the State Planning Office. John Child and Company, *Structure and Growth Potential of Tourism in Hawaii*, Report of the State Planning Office (Honolulu, 1960), 5-30.

<sup>154</sup> Skwiot, "Itineraries of Empire," 273.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, 201-202, 209-210.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, 208-209.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, 202.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, 202-203.

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<sup>159</sup> Ibid., 209-214.

It is important to point out that America's call to its citizen to become soldiers of American capitalism is not unusual for predatory states. As argued in Chapter One, Japan did the same thing. It considered all of its citizens and their descendants in the diaspora as *dōhō* (compatriots) during the late nineteenth and twentieth century when it was vying for domination over the Pacific.

<sup>160</sup> Skwiot, "Itineraries of Empire," 160-161.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid., 10-11. Also read Douglas and Douglas article (particular pages 19-25), Norman Douglas and Ngaire Douglas, "Tourism in the Pacific: Historical Factors," in *Tourism in the Pacific: Issues and Cases*, ed. C. Michael Hall and Stephen J. Page (London: International Thomson Business Press, 1996), 19-35.

<sup>162</sup> Although Skwiot cites 1,400 acres were involved in the "reclamation" of Waikīkī, the project was much larger and included what is today considered Waikīkī with its 507 acres (bounded by the Ala Wai Canal, Kapahulu Avenue, and the Pacific Ocean). Skwiot, "Itineraries of Empire," 78-81, 86-89, and 114-119. For acreage on Waikīkī, see The State of Hawai'i, "Table 1.17—Resident and De Facto population and Employed Persons, for Waikiki: 1960-1990," in *Data Book 1997*, 32.

<sup>163</sup> "Oldtimers Plan Aloha Week Here Sometime in October," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 3 March 1947; "Aloha Week Celebration Planned to Preserve Hawaiian Tradition," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 23 July 1947; "True Makahiki Revival Planned for Aloha Week," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 28 July 1947; "Aloha Envoy Leaving for Coast Today," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 6 October 1974; "Ancient Hawaiian Rituals are Revived," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 27 October 1947; "Members of Aloha Week Committee are Announced," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 19 June 1948; "Hawaii Events Well Publicized on Mainland," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 29 June 1948; Riley Allen, "Aloha Week Needs More Stable Support," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 28 November 1950; and Charles W. Kenn, letter-to-the-editor, *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 1 December 1950.

<sup>164</sup> Trask, "Lovely Hula Hands': Corporate Tourism and the Prostitution of Hawaiian Culture," in *From a Native Daughter*, 136-147.

For information on the impact of tourism on Hawai'i, see Luciano Minerbi, "Impacts of Tourism Development in Pacific Islands" (paper for Greenpeace Pacific Campaign, San Francisco, California, June 1992); Luciano Minerbi, "Hawai'i," in *Tourism in the Pacific*, ed. by Hall and Page, 190-204; Dana Naone Hall, "Preserving Hawai'i as a Hawaiian Place: Tourism, Development and Destruction of the Environment," in *Hawai'i: Return to Nationhood*, doc. 75, ed. Ulla Hasager and Jonathan Friedman (Copenhagen: International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, 1994), 165-170; and Marion Kelly, "Foreign Investment in Hawai'i," *Social Process in Hawaii* 35 (1994): 15-39.

For a great overview on tourism, see Kent, *Hawaii*, 164-185.

<sup>165</sup> Dennison Nash, "Tourism as a Form of Imperialism," in *Hosts and Guests: the Anthropology of Tourism*, 3d ed., ed. Valene L. Smith (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), 38-52; Malcolm Crick, "Representations of International Tourism in the Social Sciences: Sun, Sex, Sights, Savings, and Servility," *Annual Review Anthropology* 18 (1989): 307-344, cited portion, 318, 322; C. Michael Hall, "Political Effects of Tourism in the Pacific," in *Tourism in the Pacific*, ed. by Hall and Page, 81-83; and Freda Rajotte, "Tourism Impact in the Pacific," in *Pacific Tourism: As Islanders See It*, ed. Freda Rajotte and Ron Crocombe (n.p.: The Institute of Pacific Studies of the University of the South Pacific in association with the South Pacific Social Sciences Association, 1980), 1-14.

<sup>166</sup> "Keep Isle Spirit to Aid Tourism, Land Owners Told," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 14 September 1955; Raymond Coll, editorial, "Keep Hawaii Hawaiian," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 16 September 1955; and "Thurston Sees Tourism Hawaii's No. 1 Industry," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 24 February 1956.

The Hawaii Visitors Bureau (HVB) received almost 75% of their funds from the State with the remainder coming from its membership dues from hotels, restaurants, and businesses. HVB promoted tourism as well as provided statistical surveys for the tourist industry. Today the Hawaii Visitor and Convention Bureau (HVCB) replaces the work of HVB. HVCB is contracted by the State and works in conjunction with the State agency, the Hawaii Tourism Authority (HTA). HTA is housed in the Office of the Governor under the Department of Business, Economic Development and Tourism (DBEDT). For more information on the HVB, see Farrell,

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Hawaii, 274-275. For more information on HVCB, see its own Web site <<http://www.visit.hawaii.org/About>> and for more information on HTA, see its Web site under DBEDT <<http://www.hawaii.gov./dbedt/about.htm>>.

<sup>167</sup> Antonio Gramsci, *Selections From Cultural Writings*, ed. David Forgacs and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, trans. by William Boelhower (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1985), 389.

<sup>168</sup> The two main Honolulu dailies constantly promote tourism through articles and editorials. To give the readers a sense of the ideological "herding" to support tourism during the 1950s and early 1960s, I have listed some article titles below. "H.V.B. Survey Finds Tourism May Become Top Industry," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 3 May 1954; Ray Coll Jr., "Kaiser Says Vast Hawaii Development Is Needed," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 27 November 1954; Oren E. Long, editorial, "The Tourist Industry: It Affects Employment and Prosperity; Extensive Training Program is Prime Requisite," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 3 March 1955; Henry J. Kaiser, "Kaiser Sees: Million Population by 1970; Tourism as No. 1 Industry," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 19 January 1960; Tomi Knaefler, "Tourism Tops Pine, Sugar as Prime State Industry," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 9 January 1961; "Tourism Means New Jobs and Money on All Islands," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 27 January 1961; "Tourism is biggest Isle Industry, H.V.B. Confirms," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 16 February 1962; "Visitor Industry Employs 15,000 Throughout Hawaii," *Sunday Star-Bulletin and Advertiser*, 17 March 1963; and Gene Hunter, "Hawaii Eyes Future Tourism Challenge," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 9 April 1967.

<sup>169</sup> "T.H. Tourist Trade Gains Told Mayors," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 31 October 1952.

<sup>170</sup> Brian Casey, "Key Legislators Advocate State Action to Aid Tourist Industry," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 20 September 1959. By 1964, the neighbor island settler leaders were eagerly developing the lands for the tourist industry. For more information on neighbor island tourism, see "Neighbor Isle Tourism Progress Noted," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 24 February 1964; Jack Bryan, "Major Isles All Sharing in Tourism," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 24 February 1964; Jack Bryan, "Hotel Rooms Doubled on Garden Isle," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 25 February 1964; Jack Bryan, "Neighbor Isle Resort Industry Spurred by Maui Developments," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 26 February 1964; Jack Bryan, "Big Island Makes Strong Bid for Resort Trade," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 27 February 1964; and Jack Bryan, "Rural Oahu Resorts Planned," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 28 February 1964.

<sup>171</sup> Hawaii *Revised Statutes, Annotated* § 226 (Michie 2001), 872-909. To read more on earlier tourist policies which culminated in the 1978 State Plan, see Farrell, *Hawaii*, 125-134, 303-306. For an overview of the plan, read Kent M. Keith, "The Hawaii State Plan Revisited," *University of Hawaii Law Review* 7, no. 1 (Spring 1985): 29-61.

Over the years, the Territorial and State legislators did many studies on tourism. Following statehood, the State Planning Department hired the John Child Company to do a comprehensive study on tourism. See John Child, *Structure and Growth Potential of Tourism in Hawaii*. Also the summary of the report in the news article, see "Here's Summary of What Tourism Means to Hawaii," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 27 January 1961.

<sup>172</sup> Hawaii *Revised Statutes, Annotated* § 226-4 (Michie 2001), 876.

<sup>173</sup> Callies, *Regulating Paradise*, 12. George R. Ariyoshi, governor of Hawai'i, State-of-the-State Address to the 9<sup>th</sup> State Legislature Meeting in Joint Session, 23 January 1978; and Ariyoshi's quoted portion also reproduced in Tom Coffman, *The Island Edge of America: a Political History of Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003), 245-250, 248 (cited portion).

See Ariyoshi's description of the Hawai'i State Plan in his memoirs, Ariyoshi, *With Obligation to All*, 107-117. Tom Coffman says Ariyoshi was the Hawai'i State Plan's biggest champion. Even in 2003, Ariyoshi praised the plan and chided legislators and community leaders to follow the plan or come up with a better one. See, George R. Ariyoshi, "We Need a Plan," *Hawaii Business Magazine* (June 2003), <[www.hawaiibusiness.com](http://www.hawaiibusiness.com)> (1 October 2003).

<sup>174</sup> Haunani-Kay Trask, "Kūpa'a 'Āina: Native Hawaiian Nationalism in Hawai'i," in *From a Native Daughter*, 65-86.

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For a partial listing of Native Hawaiian struggles, see Luciano Minerbi, "Native Hawaiian Struggles and Events: a Partial List 1973-1993," *Social Process in Hawaii* 35 (1994): 1-14.

<sup>175</sup> Haunani-Kay Trask, "The Office of Hawaiian Affairs: Self-Determination or State Dependency," *Social Process in Hawaii* 30 (1983): 104-112.

<sup>176</sup> See Farrell, *Hawaii*, 118. Although Ariyoshi's couched his support for tourism within preservationist rhetoric on the environment and Native culture, in reality, he endorsed tourism because it was good settler business. See Ariyoshi, *With Obligation to All*, 116, 126-128.

<sup>177</sup> Buker, *Men and Women of Hawaii*, 1972, 327.

<sup>178</sup> *Hawaii Revised Statutes, Annotated* § 226-8 (Michie 2001), 879-880.

In 1962, the University of Hawai'i established a four-year program on hotel management and tourism, then the "world's third largest industry." Four years later, the School of Travel Industry Management (TIM) was established on the UH campus. See C. J. Walker, "University of Hawaii Leads Nation in Training Travel Field Leaders," *Sunday Star-Bulletin and Advertiser*, 4 November 1962 and the University of Hawai'i, School of Travel Industry Management Web site <<http://www.tim.hawaii.edu/history>> (30 September 2003).

<sup>179</sup> See vague and direct endorsements of tourism in Part III, Priority Guidelines, § 226-103 (a) (8) (A-D) and (b). See *Hawaii Revised Statutes, Annotated* § 226-103 (Michie 2001), 901-903.

<sup>180</sup> Callies, *Preserving Paradise*, 49.

<sup>181</sup> The initial figures for West Beach development began in millions of dollars and ended in the billions of dollars. Gerald Kato, "Kahe Resort Awaits OK," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 19 January 1977; "Horita Manages to Find a Way," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 21 July 1987; and Greg Wiles, "Ko Olina Project Down But Not Out," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 11 April 1994.

Although the newspaper articles during the West Beach struggle cited Waikiki as 640 acres, I am using the figure issued by the State of Hawai'i. See footnote for Waikiki acreage in The State of Hawai'i, "Table 1.17—Resident and De Facto population and Employed Persons, for Waikiki: 1960-1990," in *Data Book 1997*, 32.

For Tengan citation, see Gerald Kato, "Only One Step on Long Trip to West Beach," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 16, June 1977.

<sup>182</sup> Dan Nakaso, "Campbell Estate to Cut 32 Positions," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 22, August 2003.

<sup>183</sup> "Work Starting on \$2 Billion West Beach," *Pacific Business News*, 1 December 1986; "A World Leader in Building: Ko Olina Resort," *Sunday Star-Bulletin and Advertiser*, 7 December 1986; Charles Memminger, "Ko Olina May Upstage Waikiki," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 21 July 1987; and Rod Smith, "Ko Olina Developers Use Loan to But Out Partner Kumagai," *Pacific Business News*, 16 April 1990.

It was difficult to find general documentation on the sale of 640 acres from Campbell Estate to Horita's firm, West Beach Estates (WBE). The public librarians at three State institutions—the University of Hawai'i Hamilton Library, the Department of Business, Economic Development and Tourism, and the Hawai'i State Library—could not find records of the sale. All three librarians commented that it was unusual for a large piece of real estate to go unreported in the dailies. Repeated phone calls to Campbell Estate to clarify the matter have been unsuccessful—either transferred or unreturned.

The dailies reported that in 1971, Horita purchased only the development rights from Campbell Estate. The Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) in 1985 still listed Campbell Estate as landowner. However by 1989 and 1990, DBEDT's listing of foreign commercial activities showed WBE re-sold seven hotel lots to different Japanese corporations. Then in 1998 and 1999, it was reported that WBE sold the "remaining 344 acres" of undeveloped land to Ko Olina Partners, LLC as well as the 372 acres of the Phase II project. The sale must have taken place between 1985 and 1989. Perhaps Campbell Estate sold the development rights and not the land, but why all the mystery? In its 2002 Annual Review report, Campbell Estate did not report Ko Olina as a property it owns or leases. See Environmental Communications, Inc. and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, *Joint Federal-State Draft Supplement Environmental Impact Statement for West Beach Honouliuli, Ewa District, Island of Oahu, Hawaii* (Honolulu, 1985), 2-4; The State of

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Hawai'i, Department of Business and Economic Development (DBED), "A Listing of Foreign Investments in Hawaii" (Honolulu, 1989), 77; Wilson Okamoto & Associates, Inc., *Ko Olina Phase II*, 6; and The Estate of James Campbell, *2002 Annual Review* (Kapolei, Hawai'i, 2002), 2-3.

Although WBE sold the seven hotel sites, it retained the right to repurchase the land should the buyer decide to resell within five years. Of the hotel developers, only Pan Pacific Hoteliers, Inc., a subsidiary of Japan Airlines completed its project of building and opening the Ihilani Resort and Spa in 1993. For a listing of the corporations that purchased the seven hotel sites in 1989 and 1990 and the opening of Ihilani Resort, see the web site of the State of Hawai'i, Department of Business, Economic Development and Tourism, "Selected Foreign Commercial Activities in Hawaii and the United States: 1954 Through 1998, by Country," <<http://www.hawaii.gov/dbedt>> (15 October 2003); "Hotel Developer Buys Ko Olina Parcel," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 2 November 1989; and Greg Wiles, "Horita: Ko Olina No Ka Oi," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 30 November 1989.

For more details of the 1998 and 1999 sale of undeveloped land to Ko Olina Company, see "Kapolei Property Purchased," *Pacific Business News*, 20 August and Russ Lynch, "Marriott Buys Ko Olina Site for \$30 Mil," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 7 January 2000.

<sup>184</sup> To get a sense of the magnitude of Japanese investments during the 1960s-1990s, one need only to look at DBEDT's detailed list of selected economic activities in Hawai'i by foreign countries. In the 1980s alone, 254 transactions of property purchases, business acquisitions and investments took place, excluding renovations or completions of projects. See the web site of the State of Hawai'i, Department of Business, Economic Development and Tourism, "Selected Foreign Commercial Activities in Hawaii and the United States: 1954 Through 1998, By Country," <<http://www.hawaii.gov/dbedt>> (15 October 2003).

"Work Starting on \$2 Billion West Beach," *Pacific Business News*, 1 December 1986. Also read, Kent, *Hawaii*, 174-176.

<sup>185</sup> One of the initial intra-settler fights that delayed the WBE project occurred between the State who wanted the land to remain agricultural and the City who wanted to urbanize it. Years later another fight ensued within the City government over amending the O'ahu General Plan (adopted January 18, 1977), which designated West Beach a potential site for resort development. Mayor Eileen Anderson did not endorse the development of West Beach, but conceded when Horita promised to include public access to the beaches. If one recalls, the LUC can up-zone a parcel from agriculture to urban, but the City controls: who can develop and what can be developed on each parcel. Horita was forced to seek approval from LUC twice, because a court order (filed by Life of the Land, an environmental group) reversed the first LUC approval.

Water usage was another settler fight. In 1977, Edward Hirata of the Honolulu Board of Water Supply (BoW) threatened developers by letting them know that BoW determined whether water would be diverted from agriculture to residential-resort complexes. "We have the power of approval...If it (West Beach's water use plans) is not okay, West Beach will not come about. We can stop it at the front end." See Gerald Kato, "Walkout Enlivens Hearing On West Beach," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 13 April 1977; Gerald Kato, "Only One Step on Long Trip to West Beach," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 16 June 1977; "Hirata Warns Developers of West Beach," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 26 October 1977; A.A. Smyser, "A Look at 2 Resort Areas Mayor Anderson Says We Don't Need," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 25 February 1982; "Minor Resort Status Asked for W. Beach," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 22 April 1982; June Watanabe, "City Gives Blessing to West Beach Plan," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 2 May 1983; and Gerald Kato, "Developer Horita's Long March to West Beach Project," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 6 May 1983.

It is important to note by January 1989, engineering and planning firms such as Wilson Okamoto & Associates used the Hawai'i State Plan and the O'ahu General Plan to explain how their client's resort development project complied with the "long-range development of the State." Thus the State Plan functioned as Ariyoshi envisioned as a strategic settler vision and justification. See Wilson Okamoto & Associates, Inc., *Ko Olina Phase II*, 43-56.

<sup>186</sup> Horita constantly boasted he was constructing a "world-class resort" complex. When joined in partnership with SKG properties, the master plan included hotels, marina, tennis complexes, shopping areas, two golf courses, parks, schools, and aquarium. See Ray Maneki, "Horita Facing His Biggest Challenge: West Beach Project—'A Developer's Dream,'" *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 25 October 1979; Greg Wiles, "Horita: Ko Olina No Ka Oi," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 30 November 1989; and Greg Wiles, "Ko Olina Project Down But Not Out," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 11 April 1994.



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However, Horita only completed the construction of four artificial lagoons and 280 townhomes before he sold the property to Ko Olina Company. During WBE's tenure, the Japanese developers of Pan Pacific Hoteliers, a subsidiary of Japan Airlines, built the Ihilani Resort and Spa and the golf course. Andrew Gomes, "Aquarium Deal Spurs Ko Olina Development," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 2 June 2003. Also see "Insurance Firm Has Ihilani Stake," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 8 October 1999 and Andrea Hackman, "Marriott Takes Over Luxury Hawaiian Resort and Spa," *The Timeshare Beat*, 30 December 1999, <<http://www.thetimesharebeat.com/archives/ts/tsdec120.htm>> (1 October 2003).

<sup>187</sup> Gerald Kato, "Residents at Odds on W. Beach," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 24 February 1977; Ray Maneki, "Horita Facing His Biggest Challenge," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 25 October 1979; Mike Markrich, "Project a Threat to Ocean?" *Sunday Star-Bulletin and Advertiser*, 9 February 1986; and "Kelly Bemoans a 'Loss' at Ewa," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 21 July 1987.

Also see two videos produced by Nā Maka o Ka 'Āina. The 1985 video was produced as testimonies for submittal at the public LUC board hearing in 1985. *Wai'anae Through the Eyes of Her People*, prod. and dir. Nā Maka o Ka 'Āina, 117 min., Nā Maka o Ka 'Āina, 1985, videocassette and *West Beach*, prod. and dir. Nā Maka o Ka 'Āina, 60 min., Nā Maka o Ka 'Āina, 1985, videocassette.

<sup>188</sup> Gerald Kato, "Residents at Odds on W. Beach;" Gerald Kato, "Walkout Enlivens Hearing on West Beach," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 13 April 1977; Gerald Kato, "Only One Step on Long Trip to West Beach," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 16 June 1977; "Life of Land to Fight West Beach Rezoning," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 27 September 1977; Pat Guy, "Life of Land Wins West Beach Appeal," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 21 July 1981; Charles Memminger, "W. Beach Hearing Outrages Group," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 27 December 1983; Phil Mayer, "Waianae People Blast Resort Plan Hearing," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 28 December 1983; Phil Mayer, "UH Professor Against W. Beach Resort," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 7 February 1985; and Gerald Kato, "West Beach: Resort Development Wins Support from State Land Use Commission," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 24 July 1985..

<sup>189</sup> A duplication of the nineteen page January 22, 1987 *Aloha Agreement* or the *Mutual Mediated Agreement* document between WLUC and WBE was placed in the University of Hawai'i Hamilton Library. It also contains materials given out at a teachers' workshop given by Pōkā Laenui. See, Pōkā Laenui, "Participants, Pacific Islands Teachers' Workshop," University of Hawaii (March 1989).

Also see Jerry Burris, "Japanese Business Resort Pact Given to OHA Trustees," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 17 April 1987 and "West Beach's 'Aloha Agreement' Doesn't Please All," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 11 October 1988.

<sup>190</sup> Back in 1960, Japanese settlers on the City Planning Committee rejected a proposal to use two acres in Mā'ile to construct a Kaiser Hospital and Clinic. See, "Planners Reject Rezoning for Leeward Kaiser Clinic," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 30 September 1960. For more information on the testimonies by Native Hawaiians and the destruction of their fishing and hunting sites (in particular the testimonies of Kaipō Moses and Kiram Kamana), see *Wai'anae Through the Eyes of Her People*, videocassette.

<sup>191</sup> "Horita Manages to Find a Way," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 21 July 1987.

<sup>192</sup> If people want to access the shoreline near the artificial lagoons, they must pass signs warning them of danger if they go beyond the posted signs and climb between the Naupaka bushes that were planted to block access. However once people pass the bushes, they enter into another world. The crossing is very dramatic, on one side is a man-made artificial beach environment with concrete sidewalks and meticulously mowed green grass lawns, while on the other is a windswept rocky shoreline. On one side, the tourists sun bath while on the other, local residents fish and gather *limu*. "Fishing Ban Requested by West Beach Estates," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 16 November 1994 and Melissa Vickers, "Kahe Point Sanctuary Meeting Draws 200," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 18 November 1994.

<sup>193</sup> Krupskaya also mentions the fact that once the Bolsheviks came into power, Lenin had the state publishing house reprint cheap editions of all the Russian classics including Toistoi's work. N.K. Krupskaya, *Reminiscences of Lenin* (New York: International Publishers, 1970), 40, 90. Also

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see Lenin's critique on Tolstoi's work in two different articles, "Leo Tolstoy as the Mirror of the Russian Revolution" and "Lev Tolstoi and his Epoch." See, V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 15, *March 1908-August 1909* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1963), 202-209 and V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 17, *December 1910-April 1912* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1963), 49-53.

<sup>194</sup> Lenin paraphrased Karl Liebknecht's words. Lenin, *Lenin on the United States*, 311.

## CONCLUSION

### U.S. GLOBAL "BOOTPRINT": HAWAII, A MILITARY COLONY

America has friends and allies in this cause [war on terrorism], but only we can lead it. Only we can rally the world in a task of this complexity, against an enemy so elusive and so resourceful. The United States, and only the United States, can see this effort through to victory.

U.S. Vice-President Dick Cheney<sup>1</sup>  
February 15, 2002

Our government is the biggest arms dealer in the world, and if they issue me a license, I'll sell.

Val Forgett<sup>2</sup>  
American Arms Dealer  
(Past customer: Chilean dictator President  
Augusto Pinochet)

Our highest USPACOM priority is sustaining and supporting the Global War on Terrorism.

Admiral Thomas B. Fargo<sup>3</sup>  
Commander, U.S. Pacific Command  
(USPACOM), June 26, 2003

### Understanding the Terrain

By declaring the September 11, 2001 air strikes on New York City and Washington D.C. as "acts of terrorism" rather than as acts of resistance to U.S. imperialism, American leaders moved international relationships into a new arena of global politics. During the Cold War, as the Soviet Union and the United States vied for dominance, they each tried to persuade the international community that the other superpower was the menace to worldwide security. Today, the United States is the lone hyperpower and according to its leaders, "terrorists" are the new found global danger since 9-11. With the threat of the American military arsenal poised to intervene at a moment's notice, it is no surprise that the international community complied with America's declaration that terrorism was, and is the primary global problem. As everyone knows

(except the American public), Western imperialism is the cause of exploitation and hardship in the Third World while “blowback” situations (e.g., 9-11) are its symptoms. Where once American leaders disseminated national ideologies to “herd” its citizenry behind its imperialist agendas, now the Bush Administration promotes a global ideology—the “war on terrorism”—to “herd” the world behind its efforts for global hegemony.

Soon after 9-11, President Bush introduced the Bush Doctrine to silence any dissenting nations. Countries had two options—to be “with us” or “with the terrorists.”<sup>4</sup> Although this threat was reminiscent of the 1947 Truman Doctrine where states had to choose between communism (“totalitarian states”) and capitalism (“free states”),<sup>5</sup> this time, non-cooperation would have vast consequences. Countries faced “regime change” if they did not comply with the predatory interests of the United States as evidenced by America’s military invasion of Afghanistan.

Although Bush declared particular states security problems, such as the “axis of evil” composed of Iraq, Iran, and North Korea, in actuality these states were identified because of their importance to American energy interests, and their resistance to the United States. For example, Iraq was invaded because it has the second largest oil reserves after Saudi Arabia. Iran was targeted because it proposed that only the five Caspian littoral states, and not the United States, should determine the development of the energy reserves in the Sea. Meanwhile, North Korea lies within the strategic pipeline route to harvest Russia’s vast gas reserves (the world’s largest) in the northeast Asia region.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, to force countries like Iraq, Iran, and North Korea into a more subservient and cooperative position toward U.S. investments, America identified these countries as “rogue” states—e.g., supplying or giving refuge to

terrorists with arms or nuclear weapons, or financing terrorist projects, or developing nuclear weapons themselves. America's global "war on terrorism" is the convenient ideology, which justifies American national policy. American leaders do not have to explain their economic and military interests in a particular region of the world. They need only disseminate intelligence information that terrorists are active in a particular region, to enter.

The "war on terrorism," enables intervention in the internal affairs of other countries, thereby securing oil wells, gas reserves, and pipelines for American consumption and profits. Rather than initiating a truly global democracy respecting all nations' right to self-determination, the United States released its September 2002, National Security Strategy, declaring that it "will not hesitate to act alone" to destroy terrorists.<sup>7</sup> Naming non-state actors, especially Muslims or Arabs, as the "global menace" gives the United States the flexibility to maneuver its military presence anywhere in the world. More importantly, Muslims and/or Arabs are targeted because they happen to live in the energy-rich regions of the world (the Middle East, Central Asia) or near strategic shipping lanes (Southeast Asia). America's global "war on terrorism," then, is its "legitimate cover" to move armed forces anywhere in the world to plunder other countries for their riches.

The "war on terrorism" is a policy to exterminate anti-American freedom fighters because they call attention to the heart of the problem: U.S. imperialism in their countries or other regions of the world. Often nationalists, these rebels have no access to their own state resources. They do not have state television or radio stations at their disposal. Unless the western mainstream media picks up their demands, displeasures, or criticisms of the United States, they remain "terrorists" without voice or representation to the larger western world. These

revolutionaries are at odds with their own governments because their state officials acquiesce to the dictates of the United States, placing America's interests over the welfare of their countrymen. Furthermore, these anti-imperialist rebels charge that acts of compliance corrupt their government leaders while humiliating and impoverishing the citizenry-at-large. These revolutionaries remain "terrorists" even within their own countries. Thus regimes use the "war on terrorism" as a way to legitimize their oppression of insurgent groups. In naming non-state actors as threats to the world, the United States and its allies ensure their ability to define and shape the international terrain.

America's "war on terrorism" establishes the United States as the global hegemon, prospering financially from its dominant position. Only U.S. citizens believe the specious ideas disseminated by leaders like Vice President Cheney that "terrorists" attack the United States because the country represents "human freedom." Cheney claims that America's "enemies direct their rage at us not because of what we do, but because of who we are."<sup>8</sup> Predictably, Americans do not question or think it suspicious that these "shadowy" adversaries happen to live and operate in the same regions where the United States has key economic investments and interests. Although American political leaders work and move within the realm of *realpolitik*, they keep their voting citizenry shrouded within a world of U.S. national ideologies that argue the United States is a "nation of immigrants" which represents "freedom and democracy." For example, without the "war on terrorism" rhetoric, American citizens would considerate it an unnecessary expense to place military bases in remote areas such as the energy rich region of the Caspian Sea basin, especially when Americans are losing their jobs or social security benefits at home. In truth, the "war on terrorism" is not a defensive policy protecting Americans at home or the world at large, but an

offensive imperialist campaign targeting the mineral and energy wealth of the world while forcing the international community under the hegemonic boot of the United States.

As the Social Democrats asserted in their 1908 resolution, “wars are rooted in the very essence of capitalism; they will end only when the capitalist system ceases to exist.” In other words, a distinct relationship exists between militarism and capitalism. Lenin pointed out that when there is an absence of war, countries continue to manufacture weapons and maintain their military forces in order to protect their economic investments and interests. Only the destruction of the capitalist system and the establishment of a global socialist system will end war. Therefore, the connection between militarism and capitalism cannot be overlooked. As Lenin explained “modern militarism” is the “vital expression” of capitalism.<sup>9</sup>

America’s global “war on terrorism” is a perfect example of modern militarism in the twenty-first century and must be seen in relationship to capitalism. Not only is the current military mission executed to secure the vast energy resources in Central Asia and the Middle East for U.S. corporations but war, itself, is big business for the American economy. Since the end of the Cold War, the U.S. military searched for a formidable enemy to avoid drastic downsizing. Without the threat of the Soviet Union, there was no reason to maintain a vast armed force. Thus, the air strikes on 9-11 were an economic godsend. Every year since 2001, the Department of Defense (DoD) has increased its budget. Top American DoD contractors such as Lockheed Martin, Boeing, Northrop Grumman, Raytheon Company, and General Dynamics Corporation, have prospered in the arms business.<sup>10</sup>

In 2002, the United States spent \$349 billion on its military while its so called enemy states of Iran, North Korea, and Syria collectively spent a paltry eleven billion dollars. Although Russia and China are in second and third places in global military spending at fifty-one billion dollars each, America's budget was still four times greater than either country. In spite of what the American media reports, other countries do not pose a military threat to the safety of the United States, as they do not simply have the monies and thus the purchasing power to obtain the new "state-of-the-art" weaponry systems. Furthermore, it is outlandish to consider non-state actors as global threats. These alleged terrorists do not have access to resources that nations have—even poor ones.<sup>11</sup> Yet American leaders continue to "herd" their own citizenry and the peoples of the world into fearing Muslim "terrorists," while American corporations are stealing their lands and natural resources, and dismantling their governments.

America's global "war on terrorism" involves corporate profiteering and world domination, rather than a struggle against terrorism. Perhaps no aspect of this U.S. imperialist mission better reflects Lenin's phrase—"modern militarism is the result of capitalism"—than the proliferation of private military firms (PMFs). At the end of the Cold War, state militaries worldwide were downsized, producing a glut of military officials in search of employment. Many of these former or retired soldiers either established their own PMFs or worked for one—that is to say, corporate organizations that provide "professional services intricately linked to warfare." In his fascinating book, *Corporate Warriors: The Rise of the Privatized Military Industry*, P.W. Singer reminds the reader that although PMFs are military organizations, they are first and foremost "commercial enterprises" driven by profit, and thus competitors on the open global market.<sup>12</sup> According to Singer, PMFs are "corporate warriors" providing military



services—i.e., troops, advisors/trainers, technological assistance, and/or base upkeep.

In fact, the U.S. military has completely privatized the development, maintenance, and administration of strategic warfare weapons such as “the B-2 bomber, the F-117 stealth fighter, the KC-10 refueling aircraft, the U-2 reconnaissance aircraft, and numerous naval surface warfare ships.”<sup>13</sup> In order to operate technologically advanced weapons, the federal government hires either the Department of Defense (DoD) contractors and/or PMFs (who are often subsidiaries of DoD companies). Singer reports the warfare technology is so sophisticated that it requires as many as five different companies to assist just one U.S. military unit in carrying out its operations.<sup>14</sup> With profits as the driving force of capitalism, it is not difficult to recognize that American militarism (post 9-11) supports corporate profiteering while advancing the agenda of U.S. imperialism.

If the global “war on terrorism” involved “elusive” non-state actors, the maintenance of important arms would not be left to the care of private corporations where “terrorists” could easily infiltrate and sabotage the weaponry systems as employees. Many PMFs advertise for skilled workers over the Internet with questionable security protocols in place. Moreover, if America’s profile of terrorists target Middle-Eastern men, many have already been trained and educated by the CIA or American universities and are desirable hires by PMFs. What is really at stake is money. U.S. government leaders, who are often part of the defense industry, don’t disclose that war is a lucrative business. They do not want Americans to recognize the close relationship between the government, DoD contractors, and PMFs (many PMFs are linked to conglomerates<sup>15</sup>). For example, Vinnell, a PMF, is a subsidiary of Northrop

Grumman, producer of the B-2 stealth bombers and, in 2002, was the third largest DoD contractor after Lockheed Martin and Boeing. In 2003, Vinnell was awarded the DoD contract to train the new Iraqi Army because of its experience training the Saudi National Guard, a 55,000-man military force. When Saudi Arabia went to war during the 1990s Gulf War, Vinnell employees accompanied the Saudi troops into battle. Singer estimates that Vinnell employs over 1,400 workers in Saudi Arabia. When a Vinnell compound was bombed in Saudi Arabia killing nine employees in May 2003, the U.S. media only reported that an American enclave was bombed.<sup>16</sup> Viewers assumed the Americans killed were either embassy workers or businessmen and not retired military officers training the Saudi military. The U.S. government does not want its citizens to know that the American military exists not to “protect the world,” but to exploit it.

Experts explain that PMFs are an extension of American foreign policy. They are the tools the United States uses to manipulate global affairs without publicly involving the U.S. government, because the State Department protects the disclosure of PMF contracts. In this sense, PMFs are the new face of U.S. militarism, capitalism, and imperialism. PMFs maintain U.S. hegemony through profitable military actions. Unencumbered by international laws that often limit state action, PMFs perform covert activities for the United States. In addition, the White House and the State Department purposefully hire PMFs to circumvent public and congressional scrutiny. For example in 1994, the Clinton Administration violated a UN embargo that prohibited military aid to Croatia and Serbia by hiring Military Professional Resources Incorporated (MPRI), a PMF and subsidiary of DoD contractor L-3 Communications, to train the Croatian military against the Serbian forces of President Slobodan Milosevic. The Clinton White House also breached U.S. laws by hiring PMFs, in particular

Dyncorp, to suppress Colombian revolutionaries who use the drug trade to finance their civil war. Significantly, Colombia is an important oil producing country for the United States (“400 of the *Fortune*-500 companies do business in Colombia”).<sup>17</sup>

PMFs and DoD contractors are vital components in America’s assertion of global dominance, including the profits from its global “war on terrorism.” For instance, *The Guardian* reported the second largest contingent in the 2003 Iraq War is not the British military but the private military contractors with their 10,000 employees. The newspaper calculated for every ten servicemen there is one private employee. During the 2003 Iraqi combat, warfare equipment such as the Global Hawks and B-2 bombers were operated by the private sector. At the beginning of the occupation period, a controversial PMF, Dyncorp, received the contract to train the Iraqi police while PMF Science Applications International Corporation (SAIC), operated the Iraqi Arabic radio and television station, *Al Iraqiya*, and national newspaper, *al-Sabah*, to indoctrinate Iraqis into American ideology and perspectives.<sup>18</sup>

Significantly, SAIC’s primary contract work for the government (National Security Agency [NSA] and the CIA) focuses on surveillance.<sup>19</sup> According to Singer, one of the services PMFs provide is gathering intelligence.<sup>20</sup> Perhaps this PMFs task is most central to the maintenance of American hegemony as it provides the “justification” for U.S. predatory action. If intelligence is for sale, and if PMFs are driven by profits, then who is to know the state of world affairs? It is not too far to see how intelligence-as-commodity, can be manufactured to please its customers, especially for one as important as the United States government.

As long as capitalism exists so will imperialism and America's global "war on terrorism." The United States will not stop its aggression against the Third World until it controls all the energy rich homelands of anti-imperialist fighters. However, American citizens must not be fooled by the rhetoric of their leaders and need to apply the analyses of Lenin and Gramsci in order to comprehend the complexity of the global terrain because much is at stake. Thousands upon thousands of people have died globally, and will continue to die because of American imperialism. As Lenin explained, to understand power in the age of capitalism, one must separate imperialist states from non-imperialist ones as the first step in any analysis. Furthermore as Gramsci warned, people need to distinguish the differences between major or organic forces from minor or conjunctural ones. Obviously, the United States creates organic movements that organize global hegemony, while Third World countries produce conjunctural movements that are the product or effect of hegemony. (See Chapter Three) In this analysis, the non-state actors of the Third World must be understood as functioning at the conjunctural level—importantly resisting the organic actions of the United States.

Yet American leaders, both Democrat and Republican alike, continue to place the "terrorists" on an equal footing with the United States to justify and promote America's imperialist interests and financial investments. In his insightful 2002 "Letter to the American People," Osama bin Laden explained al-Qaeda's actions. "Why are we fighting and opposing you? The answer is very simple: Because you attacked us and continue to attack us. You attack us in Palestine. You attacked us in Somalia." Moreover, America supports other states that oppress Muslims in Chechnya, Kashmir, and Lebanon.<sup>21</sup> Bin Laden details American political, economic, and military abuses in Islamic regions.

However, his message that al-Qaeda's actions function to resist U.S. aggression (at the conjunctural level) is censored and not broadcast in America. Although bin Laden as a non-state actor is a minor force in the world while the United States is the major organizer of global hegemony, U.S. leaders nonetheless characterize bin Laden and other anti-imperialist movements as threats to the United States and its allies in order to further the U.S. pillaging of the Third World.

Because American citizens live in a predatory and reactionary culture, even if they did read bin Laden's letter, they would not understand his analysis. Moreover, they would consider him a liar because of the way the U.S. government and media portray him. As previously argued, America is a settler state—that is, established on imperialist policies—occupying Native nations and colonizing the Native citizenry. American democracy is based on settler superiority and Native inferiority. When the U.S. national culture of “democracy” is transported overseas whether through foreign policies or through American tourists, the power differential remains the same, resulting in American superiority and Third World subjugation. For example, during its contract work in Kosovo, PMF Kellogg, Brown & Root (KBR), a subsidiary of Halliburton, considered Balkan employees unequal to Americans and therefore instituted segregated bathrooms with “American-only” facilities. When criticism was raised, KBR cited “cultural differences” to justify its policies.<sup>22</sup>

The imperialist United States views the world as a place for exploitation rather than as a space for cooperation and understanding among nations. Deceitfully, the U.S. military used weapons of mass destruction (WMD) to attack Iraqi soldiers and civilians in the 2003 Iraq War. This war was launched after the American government claimed the reverse—that Iraq had WMD. The United

Nations classifies depleted uranium (DU) as a WMD because when DU tipped weapons penetrate tanks, they “erupt in a burning radioactive cloud.” Yet, the U.S. military left radioactive DU-burnt tanks and debris (bullet fragments and contaminated earth) littering the Iraqi landscape and threatening the safety of civilians.<sup>23</sup> The American military dropped napalm bombs (an internationally-banned incendiary weapon) on Iraqis, as well as released the controversial cluster bombs in which each cluster opens in mid-air to “scatter” hundreds of smaller “bomblets” or grenades over a large area. Cluster bombs were air launched or “surface-delivered” into densely populated Iraqi residential areas (in school playgrounds and near hospitals) where many bomblets did not detonate upon impact. The unexploded ordnance become “*de facto* antipersonnel landmines” and would blow up when being picked up by a child or triggered by rising temperatures. Throughout the war, Iraq, the United States, and the United Kingdom violated the human rights of Iraqi civilians. However, among the participating nations, the United States bears full responsibility for the war atrocities because it was, and remains, the organic force in the world.<sup>24</sup>

Clearly the U.S. global “boot print” is military in nature because the United States has almost 800 bases/installations outside of its fifty states (702 in foreign countries and 96 in U.S. territories).<sup>25</sup> However, America’s boot print is also an economic and political imprint disfiguring the ancestral lands of other peoples and stealing their resources for the benefit of U.S. corporations and citizenry. Hence, *American militarism is rooted in capitalism and imperialism*. For example, in 2001, the United States sabotaged a UN conference on small arms to prevent the passage of a resolution that would curtail the arms trade. Since America is the largest manufacturer and distributor of weapons, it is financially advantageous that other states and non-state actors continue to engage in

physical violence, whether for actual combat, for stockpiling equipment in preparation for potential conflicts, or for societal “law and order” (firearms used by the police).<sup>26</sup>

To protect its arms, defense, and energy industries, the United States refuses to submit to any international organization or structure that may rule against America’s imperialist policies and investments. American leaders believe the United States should determine how the international community envisions the future and not the other way around. Therefore, America refuses to acknowledge the International Court of Justice (ICJ) where states can be tried for crimes against humanity and the newly established International Criminal Court (ICC) where individuals are held responsible for human right abuses.<sup>27</sup>

Without another superpower or a powerful coalition of nations to restrain the United States, the twenty-first century looks bleak for the Third World or for those who believe in true democracy and equality among nations and peoples. Two noted scholars, Noam Chomsky in *Hegemony or Survival: America’s Quest for Global Dominance*, and Chalmers Johnson in *The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy, and the End of the Republic*, have documented and insightfully analyzed America’s hegemonic interests.<sup>28</sup> While both ruminate over whether America can be held in check, Chomsky sees a slim hope in the global human rights movements as one form of resistance against the massive forces of U.S. capitalism and militarism.

It is essential to understand the imperialist enterprises of the United States in order to comprehend the role of colony Hawai’i. Hence, by describing the global “boot print” of the United States above, one can understand the strategic effect enabled by the interlocking of America’s private (defense and arm industries) and public (government and military) institutional forces. The

current policies of the George W. Bush Administration that sanction these partnerships are not anomalies, but follow in the predatory tradition of the U.S. settler state outlined in earlier chapters.

### **The Role Required of Hawai'i**

In "Stealing Hawai'i: The War Machine at Work," Native Hawaiian nationalist Haunani-Kay Trask argues settler America is again confiscating Hawaiian land in the name of "national security," a pretext it used to "steal" land in the islands beginning in the 1880s. Already in control of 109,000 acres at Pōhakuloa, the U.S. Army now wants another 23,000 acres to prepare and train soldiers for America's global "war on terrorism." However, Trask warns the 23,000 acres is only a "down payment." The Army claims it needs a total of 98,840 contiguous acres as a training ground for the new Stryker armored vehicle and other new weaponry because the majority of the existing acreage at Pōhakuloa is unacceptable. In times of war, Trask explains how the U.S. military is "particularly despotic." Its objective to confiscate more land, including additional acreage on the island of O'ahu, would increase the existing militarized land holdings by fifty per cent.<sup>29</sup> The Department of Defense already oversees 245,485 acres and has over eighty-three military installations on this tiny archipelago.<sup>30</sup> Yet, Trask cautions, the DoD will use the excuse of war, in this case the "war on terrorism," to take more Native Hawaiian lands.

As argued in Chapter One, the United States colonized and annexed Hawai'i into to further imperialist ambitions in Asia and the Pacific. The islands' strategic location in the north Pacific Ocean serves as a U.S. military base to monitor the movements of other predatory nations in Asia and in Oceania as well as act as a buffer zone to protect the continental United States. Throughout



the twentieth century, then, Hawai'i was used as a military outpost for the United States. However, because of 9-11, Admiral Tom Fargo, USN, head of the U.S. Pacific Command (USPACOM), announced the United States had expanded its buffer zone. Now security for the United States begins in East Asia, well beyond the recognized American national borders in the middle of the Pacific Ocean.<sup>31</sup> In other words, the imperialist United States is extinguishing the right to self-determination for all the island nations in Oceania between Hawai'i and East Asia such as the Marshall Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia, and Belau. It is a political "island grab" of major consequence.

The United States described the expansion of its buffer zone to East Asia as "maritime security" policy against the terrorists of al-Qaeda, Jemaah Islamiyah (in Indonesia), and Abu Sayyaf (in the Philippines). Admiral Fargo explained how America's "homeland security" is dependent on the security of other countries. Thus the U.S. military needs to patrol and protect the "narrow straits of Southeast Asia" through which oil is shipped to Japan and China. Speaking to an Asian audience in Singapore, Fargo said the U.S. military must have "exquisite knowledge of traffic on the seas, and agreement on methods for regulating that traffic" if safety is to be preserved in that region.<sup>32</sup> Translated, Fargo's words imply Asian states must turn over their intelligence to the United States which will supervise the security for the straits of Southeast Asia. No doubt much of the analysis will be done at USPACOM's headquarters in Honolulu.

With the United States securing its global hegemonic status via its "war on terrorism," the Hawaiian Islands are no longer just a military outpost in the Pacific Ocean, but a nerve center located well within the American Empire. As a colonial site, Hawai'i is home to U.S. military programs poised to threaten, kill,

and oppress peoples throughout the world. For example, in 2002 alone, almost four billion dollars in federal defense funds poured into the islands through the work of U.S. Senator Daniel Inouye, a Japanese settler. The Maui Space Surveillance System (MSSS), for instance, is home to the DoD's largest telescope. The MSSS is a "state-of-the-art electro-optical facility" to track satellites and conduct other predatory air and space research. It is important to remember that the United States wants to protect its domination on earth by militarizing space ("space weaponization"). Hence, land use in occupied Hawai'i facilitates America's hegemonic mission not only to train troops, but to test weapons, gather intelligence, and do space research. Another large recipient of federal funds is the Navy's Pacific Missile Range Facility (PMRF) on the island of Kaua'i. PMRF does extensive testing on missile defense weapons such as tracking and shooting down rockets launched from Alaska. The PMRF is a vital feature of America's missile defense program to strike at the Third World.<sup>33</sup>

With capitalism and militarism as national priorities, the United States considers it irrelevant that it lodges military facilities on sacred Native lands and thus ignores protests by Native peoples. For example, Native Hawaiians are fighting to halt the construction of telescopes on their sacred mountain, Mauna Kea, on the island of Hawai'i. Originally, the University of Hawai'i (UH) received a sixty-five year lease in 1968 to build a single telescope. Currently, there are twenty-five telescopes on the mountain with The National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) and the university planning to construct sixty more. Mauna Kea is a hallowed site for Polynesians to conduct spiritual ceremonies. Yet, NASA and UH, as settler institutions, actively oppose Native land use. In addition, they do not want to address how the presence of their telescopes and other buildings are defiling the sacred mountain, and how their

four mercury spills nor the ineffectual treatment of human waste have severely damaged the fragile ecosystem.<sup>34</sup>

Since the *nisei* Democrats took over the State government, they have enthusiastically supported projects by the DoD in the islands. One must recall that Japanese settlers ascended to island power on the coattails of American imperialism during the early Cold War years by asserting their status as World War II veterans who served the country despite the fact they were not recognized as “full fledged citizens.” To show their gratitude to settler America, the *nisei* who dominated the Hawai‘i State Legislature, passed Act 100 or the 1978 Hawai‘i State Plan. This legislation created a structural process that ensured settler prosperity and Native destitution. Tellingly, the passage of Act 100 occurred when Native Hawaiians were publicly organizing for a re-constituted nation.

As explained in Chapter Three, one of the settler objectives in the State Plan was to support the tourist industry. Thus developers easily petitioned for the rezoning of lands to build hotels and tourist attractions. Similarly, another State objective was to “promote Hawaii’s supportive role in national defense.”<sup>35</sup> Although this objective was rationalized as encouraging federal expenditures to remain “an integral component of Hawaii’s economy,” politicians and residents alike knew that federal funds meant monies for the military. Thus the Japanese settler politicians wrote into Act 100 that the State promised to make land available for federal exchanges as well as to share the use of State facilities and services. In other words, the *nisei* Democrats, through the State Plan, pledged Hawaiian lands and resources to the United States enabling Hawai‘i to become a preeminent military colony.

An example of Japanese settler support for American imperialism is glaringly evident in the politics of senior U.S. Senator Daniel Inouye. At the annual military briefing to the State Legislature in January 2001, Senator Inouye threatened his audience by stating that if the U.S. Army could not resume live-fire training in Mākua Valley, the 25<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division (Light) would move to another state—meaning the islands would lose federal revenues. (Community groups who opposed the use of Mākua Valley as a military training site because the Army had previously desecrated cultural sites and threatened the life of endangered species in the area, warned that the military's return would devastate the land.) Hence, Inouye spoke deliberately in terms of American nationalism. "I know the Mākua issue will be contentious and disturbing, but if we are concerned about the security of this land and the stability of the region, we better think twice before closing Mākua." Inouye lamented the closing of Kaho'olawe as a military training site (an island sacred to Native Hawaiians bombed for years by the U.S. Navy). Fortunately, for the land and the wildlife at Mākua, the community group, Mālama Mākua and environmental groups were able to stop the Army from training in the valley. Unfortunately, nine months later, 9-11 occurred and within a month the Army was back in Mākua resuming live-fire training after a three-year absence.<sup>36</sup>

The September 11<sup>th</sup> air strikes on the Twin Towers in New York City did not make Inouye a rabid, military advocate. He was always a supporter of American militarism and hence U.S. imperialism. In fact, when President-elect George W. Bush was selecting members for his cabinet in January 2001, Inouye praised Bush's choices of Donald Rumsfeld for Secretary of Defense, Condoleezza Rice for National Security Advisor, and General Colin Powell for Secretary of State as "first class" choices. Inouye's praise included his respect for

then Vice-President-elect Dick Cheney.<sup>37</sup> When Inouye later disagreed with the policies of the Bush Administration, it was inconsequential because his opposition was based on party politics and not on America's predatory behaviors. Inouye recognized fellow imperialist war hawks like himself in Bush's team and, after 9-11, Inouye joined Bush's "war on terrorism" along with the majority of American politicians.

As argued in previous chapters, Inouye is the most powerful settler—Japanese or otherwise—in the islands because he ensures Hawai'i will remain an American military colony. Strategically positioned as the "third most senior member of the Senate" and the highest ranking Democrat on the Defense Appropriations subcommittee, Inouye funnels billions of military dollars into the islands while meddling in the affairs of Native Hawaiians who challenge the occupation of the United States in their homeland. Hawai'i's settler residents regard Inouye as a savior of the State's economic woes, but much of the federal monies go to corporations that are headquartered outside the islands.<sup>38</sup> Nevertheless, with the surge of military monies injected into the islands, settler residents consider the presence of the armed forces as a necessity to their economic and political well being. Inouye's power is grounded in his pro-military stance; he deliberately keeps Hawai'i dependent upon military funds (to the praise of island residents) and thus in alliance with American imperialism (to the satisfaction of federal leaders).

Inouye maintains his power base by employing an old political trick. He sprinkles federal monies in many directions to reduce criticism of the militarization of the islands. For example, Inouye boasts that he funnels millions of dollars in aid to Native Hawaiian communities. However, whatever funds he does steer toward Native Hawaiians, are miniscule in comparison to the billions

of dollars he obtains for the military. (It is a ploy of the colonizer to preserve the subjugation of others for one's own benefit.) This type of funding is similar to the budget allotment for prisoners and the prison system. The few federal dollars allocated for the welfare of prisoners does not compare to the vast amounts spent to maintain the inhumane prison system. In the same way, Inouye ensures Native Hawaiian colonization by massively funding the settler system that keeps them oppressed—i.e., the military—the guardians of the colony.<sup>39</sup> Thus Inouye safeguards the role of Hawai'i as a cog in the wheel of U.S. imperialism which crushes the human rights of indigenous peoples, including Native Hawaiians.

### **What Is To Be Done?**

Fifty years after the bombing of Bikini Island (1954), many Native Micronesians still suffer from radioactive fallout and from living in exile because their homelands are still too "hot" (radioactive) to return. Yet, the United States balks at paying medical compensation to these Islanders. Rongelap Islander Lijon Eknilang says "They (the United States) hurt us, and now they don't want to take care us." Eknilang asks, "why should we have to beg the United States to get funding for our medial problems that are directly related to their nuclear bombs they tested on us?"<sup>40</sup> Why, indeed?

In his 2002 "Letter to America," Osama bin Laden identified one of the problems in the U.S. relationship to the Third World, "America does not understand the language of manners and principles." The United States has a "duality in manners and values" where one set is for the white race and another for the rest of the world.<sup>41</sup> Yes, why are Bikini Islanders and the other Micronesians put in the demeaning position of asking for medical care? Ten

presidential administrations have come into office since the Bravo bomb was dropped on Bikini Island and still no American President or Congressional representative has ensured continued medical funding for the Micronesians.

But ironically, bin Laden is partially wrong in his charge that America lacks manners and principles. The United States *does* have principles. However, its code of conduct is not generated by values of ancient hospitality and wisdom that guide many of the other nations of the world, but by the predatory values of imperialism. Thus, American leaders consider it appropriate to have Micronesians “beg” for medical aid. After all, the U.S. Congress would rather pour monies into arming its military forces rather than funding a national health care program for its own citizens. In this sense, American settlers who care about a true democratic world among nations like the one Lenin described should take the words of bin Laden seriously, because he identifies imperialism as the cause of their suffering.

A simple, but effective solution to end armed conflicts around the globe would be to pull all U.S. military forces out of the Third World. This action would be a solid step toward world peace. Then, the “terrorist” activities Americans fear—blowback—would begin to subside. But, predictably, the United States will never recall its troops as billions of dollars are earned in the Third World while American corporations need the presence of the U.S. armed forces to protect unfair and predatory business practices around the globe.<sup>42</sup> It is for the protection of capitalism and imperialism that the Bush Administration’s “war on terrorism” will continue.

But for the sake of humanity, the United States must be dismantled and replaced by the Native nations whose national land base America now occupies. A nation that bombs other countries without any consideration for the spread of

radiation on the earth or without any responsibility to clean up the contaminated lands in Micronesia, Afghanistan, and Iraq, must be overturned. Native nations like all other non-settler states are guided by ancient principles that are not based on capitalistic values and realities. There is no humane reason to fund any American national defense programs (i.e., Homeland Security) because these policies are used to gain global power and earn economic profits. Support for America means support of unparalleled death in the rest of the world. Do Americans realize that nine months after the American invasion of Iraq, over 10,000 Iraqi civilians have died from direct military action by the United States, while only five hundred American soldiers have been killed during the same period?<sup>43</sup>

In the South Pacific, the United States alone exports over fifty percent of the small arms and ammunition to the Pacific island nations (including Australia but excluding Pacific Rim nations like the Philippines).<sup>44</sup> Unsurprisingly, the two settler states in this region are Australia and New Zealand who just happen to be the largest importers of U.S. arms. They, in turn, become the South Pacific's two largest exporters of small arms and ammunition to other island nations. While Oceania does not have armed conflicts on the scale of other places such as Southeast Asia, the Pacific Basin is nonetheless a heavily armed place. Philip Alpers and Conor Twyford in *Small Arms in the Pacific* compare the global ratio of one privately held gun for every sixteen persons to an Oceania ratio of one privately held gun for every ten persons.<sup>45</sup> The statistics do not reveal the fact that the small arms (including military-styled light weapons) are clustered in two settler states (America was excluded from this survey). Settler states and their citizenry heavily arm themselves as a nation and as individuals because they occupy someone else's national land base. Armed conflicts in the Pacific usually



arise as the result of western political and economic forces in the region. For instance, the 2000 Fiji coup by Native Fijians against the settler Indian regime, or the more complex 2000 civil war in the Solomon Islands created by Australian colonialism, or the war of liberation for Bougainville against Papua New Guinea also created by Australian colonialism.<sup>46</sup>

Although most Americans think Fiji, the Solomon Islands, and Papua New Guinea are disconnected from the United States, they are not. America is directly involved with these island nations' military and/or police forces (and thus the armed struggles) whether as an arms dealer or as a trainer for their military and/or police leaders.<sup>47</sup> In other words, the United States is in the business of exporting violence to Oceania. As a military colony, Hawai'i is intimately involved in the American war business. Occupied Hawaiian lands are used for American military bases as well as to house the DoD's Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies in Waikiki. Promoted as a "non-warfighting academic organization," the Asia-Pacific Center is the think tank for the U.S. Pacific Command (USPACOM). It is also a place where intelligence and security information is exchanged between the United States and Asian and Pacific Island nations. Under the guise of academic "dialogue" between "military and civilian defense officials," countries as diverse as Australia, Kiribati, Mongolia, the Solomon Islands, Tonga, and Vanuatu send their personnel from their Ministries of Foreign Affairs or Defense, military units, or police forces to study at the Asia-Pacific Center.<sup>48</sup>

Pro-military Japanese settlers in Hawai'i were once lackeys of the *haole* and of the United States much like former Marxist Karl Kautsky was a lackey of the bourgeoisie in the early twentieth century (see "Introduction"). Today, however, the Japanese are co-partners with *haole* settlers in enforcing U.S. colonialism and

settler hegemony in the islands. As previously mentioned, the *nisei* Democrats ensured settler interests would proliferate in the islands with the passage of the 1978 State Plan. The Japanese settler community does not care that Native Hawaiians have lost their homeland and have remained colonized. They are only concerned with their use of the colonial political system as their “private preserve” and “the socio economic order as a vehicle for their exclusive prosperity.”<sup>49</sup> The Japanese enjoy living in a settler nation where “there are more gun retail outlets than McDonald’s restaurants and the equivalent of one weapon for every one of the country’s 250 million residents.”<sup>50</sup>

Moreover by promoting America’s global “war on terrorism,” the Japanese in Hawai’i are supporting the export of hegemonic violence to Pacific Island nations and to the Third World. Now these countries will be even more under the boot of American imperialism. Palestinians die because of America’s generous military aid to Israel. Japanese have a hand in the deaths of Palestinians because they do not make the military uncomfortable in these islands. The top five DoD contractors like Boeing who makes the Apache helicopter gunships that chase and kill Native Palestinians have offices in the islands.<sup>51</sup> In addition, Japanese politicians are always looking to make Hawai’i economically attractive to the international business community whether as an investment site or as a meeting place to discuss overseas business. On its web site, the State promotes loans, credit and insurance from one of the federal government’s Export Credit Agencies (ECAs), the U.S. Export-Import Bank (Ex-Im). ECAs fund oil, mining, and energy projects that a multilateral development bank such as the World Bank or Asian Development Bank would determine too risky. In Oceania, Ex-Im has backed the troubling OK Tedi Copper Mine in Papua New Guinea where the mining company left “dead” rivers—unusable for

the indigenous peoples and animals in that area.<sup>52</sup> The Japanese settlers are not the model leaders they claim to be. Their leadership and prosperity are based upon the export of American violence (public and private) upon indigenous peoples around the world, including Native Hawaiians.

For those who want to live in an egalitarian world where all nations have the right to self-determination, we need to turn to the insights of Lenin and Gramsci. Lenin carefully sketched the dialectic strategies active in the proletarian internationalism. As explained in Chapter Three, the proletariats in imperialist nations demand the immediate release of the colonies and agitate to overthrow their governments. Meanwhile the proletariats in the colonies organize themselves and according to their own timetable, plan their future state and their move toward independence. Extrapolating from Lenin's analysis, settlers in imperialist states such as the United States, must work to overthrow America, while the colonized indigenous peoples organize to determine when, where, and how they want to work toward self-determination. This means Japanese settlers do not tell Native Hawaiians what to do or interfere with their struggle for independence, but concentrate on destabilizing the United States and the State of Hawai'i.

Now is the opportune time to organize against the United States while it is engaged in its global "war on terrorism." As Lenin explained, one must turn the "imperialist war into a civil war." While settlers' work to destabilize the United States, they will not be engaged in a civil war, *per se*, because those settlers who disagree with American imperialism will not end up running the new state. Various Native nations will replace the United States. For Japanese settlers in Hawai'i, their work should entail criticizing and exposing Japanese leaders and other settlers who not only block Native Hawaiians' right to self-determination,

but who allow U.S. corporations and the U.S. military to expunge Native rights and damage Native lands. Unless the United States with its history, culture and policies of predation is overthrown, the whole planet will continue to suffer.

However, Gramsci points out that overturning a state in modern times requires protracted struggle because both private and public institutions are interlinked in the promotion of state interests and values. Revolutionary change will involve tearing down old societal values and worldviews and building new ones. For the United States, this entails asserting and exposing the realities of imperialism and settler colonialism as these revelations bring the citizenry into the realm of *realpolitik*—that is, the American practice of profiting from stolen goods (Native nations, lands, resources). If one reveals the fallacy of America's national ideologies and educates settlers on their obligation to support Native peoples' rights to self-determination, overturning the United States may be accomplished, if slowly. As Gramsci explained, one must strike at the level of ideology to undermine the modern state. It is in the ideological arena that the state painstakingly nurtures and constantly allocates resources, in the hopes of preserving its image. This is clearly seen in the constant effort American political leaders make to emphasize the United States is a "the nation of immigrants" and "a democracy."<sup>53</sup>

As Gramsci writes:

If one applies one's will to the creation of a new equilibrium among the forces which really exist and are operative—basing oneself on the particular force which one believes to be progressive and strengthening it to help it to victory—one still moves on the terrain of effective reality, but does so in order to dominate and transcend it (or to contribute to this). What "ought to be" is therefore concrete; indeed it is the only realistic and historicist interpretation of reality, it alone is history in the making and philosophy in the making, it alone is politics.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> U.S. Vice President Dick Cheney, *Speech given to the Council on Foreign Relations, Ritz Carlton, Washington D.C., 15 February 2002*, <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/vicepresident/news-speeches>> (16 March 2002).

<sup>2</sup> Val Forgett interviewed by Ken Silverstein, *Private Warriors* (New York: Verso, 2000), 60.

<sup>3</sup> Admiral Thomas B. Fargo, *Statement of Admiral Thomas B. Fargo, U.S. Navy, Commander, U.S. Pacific Command on U.S. Pacific Posture*, a special report before the U.S. House International Relations Committee, Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific, 26 June 2003, <<http://www.pacom.mil/speeches>> (4 February 2004).

<sup>4</sup> U.S. President George W. Bush, *Message to Joint Session of Congress, 20 September 2001*, <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001>> (10 October 2001).

Vice President Dick Cheney clarified the doctrine in 2003 when he said, "the Bush doctrine makes clear that those states that support terrorists, or provide sanctuary for terrorists, are just as guilty as the terrorists themselves of the acts they commit. So in addition to going after the terrorists, we are also taking on states that sponsor terror." See U.S. Vice President Dick Cheney, *Remarks at the 2003 Air Force Convention, Washington D.C., 17 September 2003*, <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003>> (11 December 2003).

<sup>5</sup> U.S. President Harry S. Truman, *Message to Joint Session of Congress, March 12, 1947*; reproduced in Howard B. Furer, ed., *Harry S. Truman, 1884 - : Chronology-Documents-Bibliographical Aids* (Dobbs Ferry, New York: Oceana Publications, Inc., 1970), 76-79.

<sup>6</sup> At a regional meeting, Iranian President Mohammad Khatami proposed Azerbaijan, Russian Federation, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, and Iran (the five littoral states of the Caspian Sea) plan and solve the energy development issues of the Sea without foreign intervention. No doubt, Iran suggested the formation of the group to block U.S. interventions in the region. The Caspian "five" have continued to work over the years to draft agreements on various aspects of development such as environmental protection and biological resources. Unfortunately, the United States works its way into interfering in the region. See "Khatami Calls for Decision on Caspian Legal Regime," *Tehran Times*, 27 December 2001 and "Caspian Littoral States to Discuss Status Issues," *Tehran Times*, 23 July 2003.

Russia's gas reserves are located in eastern Siberia and off the coast of Sakhalin Island. As the largest gas reserves in the world, the United States and U.S. corporations have always been interested in the northeast Asia region. Currently, Exxon-Mobil plans to explore potential gas reserves off Sakhalin's coast and lay pipelines through two routes: one down through Japan and the second across to continental Russia and down through North Korea. In addition, other western corporations are proposing gas and oil pipelines running from eastern Siberia down through China and North Korea. See Selig S. Harrison, "Gas and Geopolitics in Northeast Asia: Pipelines, Regional Stability, and the Korean Nuclear Crisis," *World Policy Journal* 19, no. 4 (Winter 2002/2003): 23-36.

<sup>7</sup> White House, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, released September 17, 2002, 6.

<sup>8</sup> U.S. Vice-President Dick Cheney, *Speech given at the 56<sup>th</sup> Annual Alfred E. Smith Memorial Foundation Dinner, 18 October 2001*, <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/vicepresident/news-speeches>> (16 March 2001).

<sup>9</sup> V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 15, *March 1908-August 1909* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1963), 192-193 and V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 13, *June 1907-April 1908* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1962), 79-80.

<sup>10</sup> D.B. Des Roches, spokesperson for the Defense Department noted that 9-11 was lucrative for PMFs. "The war on terrorism is the full employment act for these guys...A lot of people have said 'Ding, ding, ding, gravy train.'" Esther Schrader, "US Companies Hired to Train Foreign Armies," *Los Angeles Times*, 14 April 2002; also see Singer, *Corporate Warriors*, 232. Gideon Burrows also cites 9-11 as profitable for the military industry. Gideon Burrows, *The No-Nonsense Guide to the Arms Trade* (London: Verso, 2002); 107-110.

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Thalif Deen reported that the Iraq War was a boon for the military industry. Within the first two weeks of the war, the United States dropped over 8,700 bombs. No doubt, Deen speculated, the replacement of the weapons would be worth billions of dollars. Thalif Deen, "There's No Business Like War Business," *Common Dreams News Center*, 3 April 2003, <<http://www.commondreams.org>> (3 April 2003).

While Dexter Filkins' article criticizes the inaccuracy of U.S. military air strikes on Taliban hideouts, one can also conclude that the military was purposefully unloading its weaponry. Northern Alliance Deputy Defense Minister Atiqullah Baryalai complained that the Americans were not using the right equipment to attack the Taliban. Baryalai said, "This is our country. We know it best. If I were the defense minister of America, I could use his weapons better than he." Dexter Filkins, "Taliban's Foes Say Bombing Is Poorly Aimed and Futile," *New York Times*, 2 November 2001.

Also see a list of U.S. arms sales that identifies the country, the type of arms received, the manufacturer of the arms, and the estimated costs. Rachel Stohl, "Post Sept. 11 Arms Sales and Military Aid Demonstrate Dangerous Trend," *Center for Defense Information* (June 18, 2003), accessed from CDI's web site <<http://www.cdi.org>> (12 January 2004).

<sup>11</sup> Marcus Corbin and Olga Levitsky's article lays out U.S. military spending with eight helpful graphs. Graph #4 lists the 2002 military spending of the United States and compares it to other countries. The graph categorizes countries according to their political relationship to the United States. Thus America is listed alone at \$349 billion. Then, the graph proceeds to list: "Countries with Poor U.S. Relations:" Iran at \$5 billion, N. Korea at \$5 billion, Syria at \$2 billion, Cuba at \$1 billion, Sudan at \$1 billion, and Libya at \$1 billion.

"U.S. Allies:" France at \$40 billion, U.K. at \$37 billion, Germany at \$33 billion, Other NATO countries collectively at \$85 billion, Japan at \$39 billion, S. Korea at \$13 billion, and Australia at \$8 billion.

"Other Countries:" China at \$51 billion, Russia at \$51 billion, Saudi Arabia at \$21 billion, India at \$14 billion, Israel at \$10 billion, Taiwan at \$8 billion, and Pakistan at \$3 billion.

One can see America's spending dwarfs the budget of other countries. Another example is Graph #3 that shows the strengths of countries' armed forces which include the numbers of active duty personnel and the reserve personnel, the numbers of heavy tanks, armored infantry vehicles, airplanes, helicopters, and warships. Again, the United States out matches all other countries. Graph #6 should make Americans angry because it depicts the 2003 U.S. national budget. Monies allocated for defense spending is larger than all other citizenry needs. For instance, the national defense budget is at \$425 billion while that of education is at \$52 billion and health care at \$44 billion. See, the newsletter, *The Defense Monitor*, by the Center for Defense Information. Marcus Corbin and Olga Levitsky, "Vital Statistics: The U.S. Military," *The Defense Monitor* (November/December 2003): 2-4, 6.

<sup>12</sup> Like other industries, PMFs specialize in particular aspects of warfare. Some PMFs furnish military troops (i.e., soldiers, pilots, equipment) while others provide only military advisors and trainers. The numerically largest group of PMFs do "non-lethal aid" and assistance, which means anything from the logistics in moving troops, to gathering intelligence, to giving technical support and supplies to cleaning the mess halls. P.W. Singer, *Corporate Warriors: The Rise of the Privatized Military Industry* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 8, 45-46, 92-100, 154-157. Also read the work of journalist Ken Silverstein, *Private Warriors* (New York: Verso, 2000). For a brief overview, read the article by Barry Yeoman, "Soldiers of Good Fortune," *Mother Jones* (May/June 2003): 38-43, 92-93.

<sup>13</sup> Singer, *Corporate Warriors*, 15. In an article in the *Mother Jones* magazine, Barry Yeoman reports twenty-eight per cent of the American military weapons is now under private maintenance contracts and now President G.W. Bush wants to increase it to fifty per cent. Yeoman, "Soldiers of Good Fortune," 92.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 64.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 13,97; Vinnell website <<http://www.vinnell.com>> (22 December 2003); Arms Trade Resource Center (project of World Policy Institute), "Resources on 'RMCS' and Vinnell," Update on May 13, 2003, on World Policy Institute web site <<http://www.worldpolicy.org>> (8

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November 2003); and Frida Berrigan, "A Growth Industry," *Peace News*, no. 2452 (November 2003), <<http://www.peacenews.info>> (8 November 2003).

<sup>17</sup> PMFs are important to American foreign policy because they can accomplish a mission for the White House while providing a "cover" for U.S. involvement. It is called "plausible deniability" according to former professor at the DoD's Marshal European Center for Security Studies, Daniel Nelson. In other words, the White House and State Department can hire PMFs without notifying the U.S. Congress (and thus the public). For example, one wonders why PMF Kellogg, Brown & Root, a subsidiary of Halliburton, did business with Libya even when there were U.S. sanctions against the country? Also, the 1947 National Security Act authorized the White House to "engage in covert military operations." Singer, *Corporate Warriors*, 125-130, 141-142, 206-215, 220; Yeoman, "Soldiers of Good Fortune," 41, 43, 92; Lora Lumpe, *U.S. Foreign Military Training: Global Reach, Global Power, and Oversight Issues*, Special Report of Foreign Policy in Focus (May 2002): 20; and Public Broadcasting System (PBS), FrontLine/World Report, "Colombia – The Pipeline War," November 2002, <<http://www.pbs.org/frontlineworld/stories/colombia>> (23 February 2004).

<sup>18</sup> Dyncorp is a controversial firm because it was implicated in running sex slavery scams in the Balkans. Dyncorp is also well known for cutting corners by providing faulty equipment in order to make more profits. Yet Dyncorp is a "favorite" of the DoD. Dyncorp provides the bodyguard service for Afghanistan President Hamid Karzai. Hiring personal protection for a political leader reflects the imposition of an American regime and puppet leader on a foreign people. See Ian Traynor, "The Privatisation of War," *The Guardian*, 10 December 2003; Yeoman, "Soldiers of Good Fortune," 92; and Singer, *Corporate Warriors*, 156, 222. Also for more details on Karzai, see Johnson, *The Sorrows of Empire*, 140-141.

For more information of SAIC, see Pratap Chatterjee, "Information Warfare or Yesterday's News?," *CorpWatch*, 6 January 2004, <<http://www.corpwatch.org>> (1 February 2004); Ben Haddad, "SAIC and News Coverage of the Iraqi Media Network (IMN)," *SAIC Feature Articles*, 26 January 2004, on SAIC web site <<http://www.saic.com/cover-archives/natsec/imm>> (29 February 2004); and Peter Feuilherade, "Protest Hit Iraq 'Coalition TV'," *BBC News*, 19 November 2003, <<http://www.newsvote.bbc.co.uk>> (29 February 2004).

<sup>19</sup> Chatterjee, "Information Warfare."

<sup>20</sup> Singer, *Corporate Warriors*, 61-62, 97-100.

<sup>21</sup> Osama bin Laden's letter to Americans was published in full in the UK. See, Osama bin Laden, "Full Text: bin Laden's 'Letter to America'," *The Observer*, 24 November 2002.

<sup>22</sup> Singer, *Corporate Warriors*, 141-142 and Larry Margasak, "Halliburton Splits Up Restrooms for U.S., Foreign Workers," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, 9 September 2000.

<sup>23</sup> Neil Mackay, "US Forces' Use of Depleted Uranium Weapons is 'Illegal'," *The Sunday Herald*, 30 March 2003, (also reproduced on Common Dreams News Center web site on 30 March 2003; Robert Collier, "Iraq Links Cancers to Uranium Weapons," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 13 January 2003, also reproduced on Common Dreams News Center web site on 30 March 2003; Scoot Peterson, "Remains of Toxic Bullets Litter Iraq," *Christian Science Monitor*, 15 May 2003, reproduced on Common Dreams News Center web site on 15 May 2003; and "Iraq: Experts War on Radioactive Battlefields," *Tehrantimes.com*, 28 September 28, 2003.

<sup>24</sup> For more information on napalm, see James W. Crawley, "Officials Confirm Dropping Firebombs on Iraqi Troops," *San Diego Union-Tribune*, 5 August 2003 and "U.S. Admits Using Napalm Bombs in Iraq: Report," *IslamOnline.net*, 10 August 2003.

Cluster bombs weigh 1,000 pounds each. After a bomb is air dropped or surface launched, it releases up to 300 bomblets or grenades where upon each bomblet explodes into 200-300 fragments upon impact. However many bomblets do not explode and thus turn into landmines. The unexploded bomblets are bright yellow, soda can size cylinders that are attractive to children. Human Rights Watch reported the during the first three weeks of the Iraq War, more cluster bombs were dropped by the air force than during six months in Afghanistan. Steve Goose, "Cluster Munitions: Toward a Global Solution," in *World Report 2004: Human Rights and Armed Conflict*, by Human Rights Watch (Washington, D.C.: Human Rights Watch, 2004), 245-

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276; Human Rights Watch, *Off Target: The Conduct of the War and Civilian Casualties in Iraq* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2003); Jack Epstein, "U.S. Under Fire for Use of Cluster Bombs in Iraq," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 15 May 2003, reproduced on Common Dreams web site <[www.commondreams.org](http://www.commondreams.org)> (15 May 2003).

<sup>25</sup> Within the United States, the military has 5,904 bases or installations. U.S. Department of Defense, Office of the Deputy Under Secretary of Defense (Installations and Environment), *Base Structure Report: Fiscal Year 2003 Baseline*, DoD-7.

<sup>26</sup> The arms industry worldwide is shrouded in secrecy. States do not like to publicize the size of their weaponry or how they acquire them. Nonetheless, advocates for more transparency and accountability have compiled great documentation on states and the arms industry. Interestingly, the end of the Cold War produced new arms dealers. Countries that were once Cold War policy arms recipients are now dealers selling their old stock to conflict areas. For a general overview of the arms trade, see Burrows, *The Arms Trade*. For more information on the small arms trade, see Lora Lumpe, ed., *Running Guns: The Global Black Market in Small Arms* (London: Zed Books, 2000) and William D. Hartung, "The New Business of War: Small Arms and the Proliferation of Conflict," *Ethics and International Affairs* 15, no.1 (2001): 79-96.

See, Klare's article for statistic that "80-90 per cent of all casualties in recent wars have been produced by such weapons, which include rifles, grenades, machine guns, light mortars, land mines, and other 'man-portable' systems." Michael Klare, "The Kalashnikov Age," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 55, no. 1 (January/February 1999).

Small Arms Survey, a research project of the Graduate Institute of International Studies based in Geneva, Switzerland, produces annual textbook style literature on small arms. These books are filled with statistic and graphs, which simplify for the reader this very complex situation. Most researchers define small arms and light weaponry according to UN definitions as printed in the annual *Small Arms Survey*.

•Small arms: Revolvers and self-loading pistols, rifles and carbines, assault rifles, sub-machine guns, and light machine guns;

•Light weapons: Heavy machine guns, hand-held under-barrel and mounted grenade launchers, portable anti-tank and anti-aircraft guns, recoilless rifles, portable launchers of anti-tank and anti-aircraft missile systems, and mortars of less than 100mm calibre."

Small Arms Survey, *Small Arms Survey 2001: Profiling the Problem* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); Small Arms Survey, *Small Arms Survey 2002: Counting the Human Cost* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); and Small Arms Survey, *Small Arms Survey 2003: Development Denied* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

For information on the UN 2001 Small Arms conference, see Rachel Stohl, "United States Weakens Outcome of UN Small Arms and Light Weapons Conference," *Center for Defense Information* web site, 1 September 2001, accessed on website <[cdi.org](http://cdi.org)> on January 14, 2004 and Small Arms Survey, "Chapter 5: Reaching Consensus in New York: The UN 2001 Small Arms Conference," *Small Arms Survey 2002*, 203-233.

<sup>27</sup> Although the International Criminal Court (ICC) can only take violations that occurred after July 1, 2002, the United States refuses to participate. See Jim Garamone, "U.S. Withdraws from International Criminal Court Treaty," *American Forces Information Service News Articles*, 7 May 2002, <<http://www.defenselink.mil/news/May2002>> (15 May 2002); Human Rights Watch, "ICC Fact Sheet," <<http://www.hrw.org.campaigns/icc/>> (31 December 2003); and Jim Lobe, "U.S. Seeks exemption from War Crimes Court," *Common Dreams*, 9 June 2003, <<http://www.commondreams.org>> (9 June 2003).

<sup>28</sup> See Noam Chomsky, *Hegemony or Survival: America's Quest for Global Dominance* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2003) and Johnson, *Sorrows of Empire*.

<sup>29</sup> Haunani-Kay Trask, "Stealing Hawai'i: The War Machine at Work," *Honolulu Weekly*, 17-23 July 2002. Also see American Friend Service Committee (AFSC), "Keep the Stryker Brigade Out!," AFSC flyer, Dec. 2003 and Derrick DePledge, "Army Rolls Out Stryker Vehicles," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 25 May 2003.

<sup>30</sup> U.S. Department of Defense, *Base Structure Report*, DoD - 9, DoD - 29. Chalmers Johnson reports that the DoD 2003 base report is inaccurate because it did not list installations in Afghanistan, Iraq, Israel, Kuwait, Kyrgyzstan, Qatar, and Uzbekistan. He estimates the total



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number of U.S. bases world-wide is closer to 1,000. See Chalmers Johnson, "America's Empire of Bases," *Common Dreams*, 23 January 2004, <<http://www.commondreams.com>> (23 January 2004).

<sup>31</sup> Admiral Tom Fargo, USN, Commander, U.S. Pacific Command, *Speech given at the Homeland Security Conference, Honolulu, Hawai'i on 21 November 2003*, <<http://www.pacom.mil/speeches>> (23 January 2004).

<sup>32</sup> Admiral Tom Fargo, USN, Commander, U.S. Pacific Command, "Maritime Security after 9-11," *Speech given at the Shangri-La Dialogue, 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session, Singapore on 1 June 2003*, <<http://www.pacom.mil/speeches>> (23 January 2004) and Admiral Tom Fargo, speech on November 21, 2003.

<sup>33</sup> The island of Maui also houses the Maui High Performance Computing Center (MHPCC) "one of the top supercomputer sites in the world, MHPCC provides world-class, parallel computing capability to the research, science, and warfighting communities." MHPCC is an Air Force Research Laboratory center like the MSSS but is managed by the University of Hawai'i. See, MHPCC home page at <<http://www.mhpcc.edu>> (5 March 2004).

For more information on federal defense funding, see the web site of Senator Inouye as dollar amounts are listed for each project/facility as well as a short description. However, Inouye's site does not index all the funding received in the islands as it identifies only two billion dollars for the years 2000 – 2003 while the Honolulu Advertiser and the State of Hawai'i (DBEDT) states the defense spending in the islands for 2002 alone was almost \$3.96 billion. See Inouye's web site under the heading of "Accomplishments." U.S. Senator Daniel K. Inouye, web site <<http://www.senate.gov/~inouye>> (4 February 2004). Also see, William Cole, "Military Projects May Light Tech Fire," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 30 November 2003; The State of Hawai'i, "Table 9.40—Federal Expenditures in Hawaii, By Type: 1997 To 2002," in *Data Book 2002: a Statistical Abstract*, <<http://www.hawaii.gov/dbedt>> (6 March 2004); Anthony Sommer, "New Missile Tests Due for Kauai," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 24 March 2003; Michael Jones, "Planned Missile Defense Tests Need Further Study," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 3 December 2000; and "State Set Terms on Missile Range," *Environment Hawai'i* 3, no. 9 (March 1993), <<http://www.environment-hawaii.org>> (1 March 2004). For more information on "space weaponization," see Theresa Hitchens, "U.S. Weaponization of Space: Implications for International Security," paper presented at The Workshop on *Outer Space and International Security*, 2 October 2003 <<http://www.cdi.org/friendlyversion/printversion.cfm?documentID=17>> (17 March 2004).

<sup>34</sup> Kealoha Pisciotta, "Why Mauna Kea Should Be Preserved and Protected," *Mauna Kea – The Temple: Protecting the Sacred Resource*, ed. Royal Order of Kamehameha I and Mauna Kea Anaina Hou, online report (Pisciotta paper, 1999) on Kahea web site <<http://www.kahea.org>> (25 January 2004); Kahea: the Hawaiian-Environmental Alliance, "Protecting the Sacred Temple of Mauna Kea," April 4, 2002 press release on Kahea web site; and Usha Lee McFarling, "Science, Culture Clash Over Sacred Mountain," *Los Angeles Times*, 18 March 2001, reproduced on Kahea web site.

<sup>35</sup> *Hawaii Revised Statutes, Annotated* § 226-9 (Michie 2001), 880.

<sup>36</sup> Mike Gordon, "Inouye Says Army Must Use Mākua," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 11 January 2001; Steven Lee Myers, "Army Faces Fierce Fight On Historic Hawaii Valley," *New York Times*, 1 April 2001; William J. Aila Jr., "Full Impact Study Right Thing to Do," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 20 May 2001; and Mike Gordon, "Army to Resume Mākua Training," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 4 October 2001.

Another Japanese settler with close ties to the military industrial complex is General Eric K. Shinseki, retired Army Chief of Staff (1999 – 2003). In November 2003 after he retired from the Army, he became a member of Honeywell International's Board of Directors. Honeywell is a DoD contractor and the alleged producer of the cluster bomb. See Honeywell International, "Honeywell Elects General Eric K. Shinseki to Its Board of Directors," Press Release, 3 November 2003, <[http://www.honeywell.com/mediakit/announcement\\_details.jsp?rowID=43&docID](http://www.honeywell.com/mediakit/announcement_details.jsp?rowID=43&docID)> (2 February 2004).

<sup>37</sup> Michele Kayal, "Inouye Praises Bush's Defense Team, But Urges Focus on Asia," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 11 January 2001.

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<sup>38</sup> Twenty-eight of the top fifty defense contractors in the islands are U.S. continental-based companies. Three of the top five U.S. DoD contractors were listed as recipients of the federal grants in the islands: Northrop Grumman, Raytheon, and Boeing. See, "Top 50 Federal Contractors in Hawai'i," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 16 November 2003.

<sup>39</sup> See, Frank Oliveri, "Inouye Tops in Steering Home Military Dollars," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 26 January 2004; Frank Oliveri, "Sen. Inouye a Master at Milking the Federal Budget," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 25 January 2004.

For monies allocated to the military and Native Hawaiians, one needs to add up the funds listed on the Senator's website to make comparisons. See the Senator Daniel K Inouye's website <<http://www.senate.gov/~inouye>>.

Inouye constantly meddles in the affairs of Native Hawaiians. He is successful in his manipulations because he sits on the powerful Appropriations Committee, which determines and allocates monies for most of the federal government. An example of Inouye's maneuvering is the construction of telescopes on Mauna Kea. Ali'i Aimoku Paul Neves wrote a letter depicting Inouye's practice of creating "ad hoc groups" to oppose community positions and support the government. In this particular case, Inouye supported the building of telescopes on the sacred mountain. Neves charged Inouye hand-picked Native Hawaiians who supported his position, and thus deceptively claimed he obtained the consent and support from the Native Hawaiian community. See Ali'i Sir Paul K. Neves to Colin Kippen, 20 April 2001, reproduced in *Mauna Kea - The Temple: Protecting the Sacred Resource*, ed. Royal Order of Kamehameha I and Mauna Kea Anaina Hou, Appendix N, online report on Kahea web site <<http://www.kahea.org>> (25 January 2004).

For other instances of meddling by Inouye, see Ida Yoshinaga and Eiko Kosasa, "Local Japanese Women for Justice (LJWJ) Speak Out Against Daniel Inouye and the JACL," *Amerasia* 26, no. 1 (2000): 143-157.

<sup>40</sup> Giff Johnson, "Marshal Test Victims Say U.S. Turning Its Back," *Marianas Variety*, 27 February 2004.

<sup>41</sup> Bin Laden, "Letter to America."

<sup>42</sup> Bin Laden explains al-Qaeda's rage at the U.S. imperialism in his 2002 letter to America. He writes, "you steal our wealth and oil at paltry prices because of your international influence and military threats. This theft is indeed the biggest theft every witnessed by mankind in the history of the world.

Your forces occupy our countries; you spread your military bases throughout them; you corrupt our lands, and you besiege our sanctities, to protect the security of the Jews and to ensure the continuity of your pillage of our treasures.

You have starved the Muslims of Iraq, where children die every day. It is a wonder that more than 1.5 million Iraqi children have died as a result of your sanctions, and you did not show concern. Yet when 3,000 of your people died, the entire world rises and has not yet sat down." See bin Laden, "Letter to America."

<sup>43</sup> Iraq Body Count, an independent and public database project based in the United Kingdom, compiles civilian deaths in Iraq since the beginning of the war. It estimated over 20,000 Iraqi civilians suffered injuries from the war (March 19 - May 1), but had no updated numbers for those injured during the occupation. Missing from these figures is the body count of Iraqi soldiers during the war. Without an Iraqi military or government to account for the soldier death toll, a figure may never be reached. See the web site, Iraq Body Count, "Civilian Deaths in 'Noble' Iraq Mission Pass 10,000" (7 February 2004) and "Adding Indifference to Injury" (7 August 2003), <<http://www.iraqbodycount.net>> (9 February 2004).

Every week or so, the Department of Defense releases an updated death toll of American soldiers who died during the Iraq War and occupation period. For example, in the week of March 17, 2004, the total was 564 deaths. "Names of the Dead," *New York Times*, 17 March 2004.

<sup>44</sup> While the United States supplies over half of the region with arms, the other forty-nine percent is split among twenty-six other exporting nations with the United Kingdom being the next largest exporter controlling eight percent of the total sales. These numbers were collected in a report by the Small Arms Survey. Nations included in this report were American Samoa, Australia, Cook Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, Fiji, French Polynesia, Kribati, Marshall Islands, Nauru,

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New Caledonia, New Zealand, Niue, Palau (Belau), Papua New Guinea, Sāmoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, and Wallis and Futuna. Philip Alpers and Conor Twyford, *Small Arms in the Pacific*, Occasional Paper No. 2 (Geneva: Small Arms Survey, March 2003). 7.

<sup>45</sup> Alpers and Twyford, *Small Arms in the Pacific*, 9, 12.

<sup>46</sup> The sections on the disarmament process of Bougainville and Solomon Islands are the most interesting in Alpers and Twyford's research. Alpers and Twyford, *Small Arms in the Pacific*, 29-56; 81-107 and Tarcisius Tara Kabutaulaka, "Beyond Ethnicity: Understanding the Crisis in the Solomon Islands," *Te Karere Ipurangi* (Maori News Online), 7 June 2000, <<http://marinews.com/karere/solomons/solo007>> (28 January 2004).

<sup>47</sup> Alpers and Twyford report in all three countries where armed struggle took place, rebels "treated state-owned armouries as gun supermarkets." In addition, they listed the United States as one of the arms dealers to Papua New Guinea but not the other two. However this does not mean American made arms do not show up in the other countries. Alpers and Twyford, *Small Arms in the Pacific*, xvi, 5, 15, 24.

One of the training programs the Department of State funds for foreign forces is called International Military Education and Training (IMET). Most of the training occurs in the United States while some courses are taught in the students' own country. One helicopter training course was done in Honolulu. However, Ken Silverstein argues private military firms (PMF) have the capability to train a whole army while IMET instructs only a few dozen at a time. Lora Lumpe, *U.S. Foreign Military Training: 10-15* and Silverstein, *Private Warriors*, 167.

In 2002, Indonesia, Malaysia, Mongolia, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Sāmoa, Solomon Islands, Thailand, Tonga, and Vanuatu sent their military and/or police forces to IMET. See U.S. Department of Defense and U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Military Training in Fiscal Years 2002 and 2003*, vol. 1, Joint Report to Congress, May 2003, <<http://www.state.gov/t/pm/rls/rpt/fmtrpt/2003>> (19 January 2004).

<sup>48</sup> Nations that participated at the Asia-Pacific Center in the year 2002 were Australia, Brunei, China, Cook Islands, Fiji, Indonesia, Japan, Kiribati, South Korea, Laos, Malaysia, Marshal Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, Mongolia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Sāmoa, Solomon Islands, Taiwan, Thailand, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, and Vietnam. U.S. Department of Defense, *Foreign Military Training*.

Also see web site for the Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies at <[www.apcss.org](http://www.apcss.org)>; Mike Gordon, "Security Studies Center to Dedicate New For DeRussy Home," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 22 August 2000; Bobby M. Tuazon, "Arroyo's 'All-Out War' Pledge is in Pentagon's Agenda," *Bulatlat*, 14-20 October 2001, <<http://www.bulatlat.com>> (9 March 2004); Richard Halloran, "Asia Pacific Center Detractors Fail to See its Value as a Diplomatic Tool," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 21 April 2002.

<sup>49</sup> Even within the island colonial system, Japanese settlers work to keep other settlers from power. For example, between 1995 and 2003, seven out of ten politicians who were fined or convicted for violating campaign spending laws were Japanese settlers. Many more in the Japanese settler community were fined for falsifying names in campaign contributions (there is a limit for donations) or for misusing campaign funds. Bob Watada, executive director of the Campaign Spending Commission said that the Japanese want to maintain economic power. "And what better way to do this than to do it in a way that keeps out everybody else? They give money to the politicians, and the politicians give them back the power through jobs—that's how it works. That's what we're trying to stop." See Shara Yuki Enay, "AJA of the Year: Bob Watada," *Hawai'i Herald*, 19 December 2003.

<sup>50</sup> Put another way, "the United States is four percent of the world's population, yet possesses fifty percent of the privately owned firearms." This footnote statistic is from an article by Philip Alpers, "Yes, Americans Are Often Shot—And so Are Many Others," *Injury Prevention* 8, no. 4 (December 2002): 262 but published in Alpers and Twyford, *Small Arms in the Pacific*, 12. For McDonald's statistic, see Small Arms Survey, *Small Arms Survey 2001*, 199.

<sup>51</sup> The Israel's assassination of Palestinian Hamas leader, Sheik Ahmed Yassin, was executed from a Boeing Apache helicopter gunship using a missile nose camera to guide the weapon to Yassin. Accompanying the deadly mission were two Lockheed Martin F-16 fighter jets whose loud

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overhead noise hid the approaching Apache gunship. Both Lockheed Martin and Boeing have offices in Hawai'i. "Israel Assassinate Hamas Leader," *The Jordan Times*, 23 March 2004, and Mostafa el-Sawwaf, "Last Moments in Sheikh Yassin's Life," *IslamOnline.net*, 22 March 2004.

<sup>52</sup> Export Credit Agencies and Investment Insurance Agencies (ECAs) are government backed bilateral lending institutions. ECAs do not need the agreement of many countries such as with multilateral development banks to fund projects; therefore the potential for environmental, political, social and cultural damages to the world is high. It is difficult to believe there are lending institutions worse than multilateral banks. However, watchdog groups estimate that ECAs fund twice the amount of oil, gas, and mining projects than all the multilateral development banks combined. Doug Norlen, Rory Cox, Miho Kim, and Catriona Glazebrook, *Unusal Suspects: Unearthing the Shadowy World of Export Credit Agencies*, special report of ECA Watch (2002): 1, on ECA Watch web site <[www.eca-watch.org](http://www.eca-watch.org)> (28 August 2003). Also see Pacific Environment's web site for more information on ECAs and multilateral development banks, <<http://www.pacificenvironment.org>> (28 August 2003). Also see State of Hawai'i's web site promoting Ex-Im <<http://www.hawaii.gov/dbedt/br3k.htm>> (10 March 2004).

For more information on the OK Tedi Mine project in Papua New Guinea, see, *A Race to the Bottom: Creating Risk, Generating Debt and Guaranteeing Environmental Destruction – A Compilation of Export Credit and Investment Insurance Agency Case Studies*, a special report by Berne Declaration, Bioforum, Center for International Environmental Law, Environmental Defense Fund, Eurodad, Friends of the Earth, Pacific Environment & Resources Center, and Urgewald (March 1999), 17-18, 25-26, reproduced on Pacific Environment web site <[http://www.eca-watch.org/eca/race\\_bottom.pdf](http://www.eca-watch.org/eca/race_bottom.pdf)> (28 August 2003).

Currently, Ex-Im is negotiating with Shell Oil to fund its Sakhalin II Oil and Gas project. Environmental Groups are warning that pipelines will cross twenty-four earthquake faults in a seismically active area. Also see footnote 6. See, Pacific Environment web site on Sakhalin Island <<http://www.pacificenvironment.org>> (13 March 2004).

<sup>53</sup> Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, ed. and trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1971), 238-239, 376-377.

<sup>54</sup> Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, 172.

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Hawaii Visitor and Convention Bureau (HVCB).  
<<http://www.visit.hawaii.org>>.

Human Rights Watch. <[www.hrw.org](http://www.hrw.org)>.

Iraq Body Count. <<http://www.iraqbodycount.net>>.

Kahea: Hawaiian-Environmental Alliance. <<http://www.kahea.org>>.

Pacific Environment. <<http://pacificenvironment.org>>.

Palestine Initiatives for the Promotion of Global Dialog and Democracy (miftah).  
<<http://www.miftah.org>>.

Palestine Monitor: The Voice of Civil Society.  
<<http://www.palestinemonitor.org>>.

Science Applications International Corporation (SAIC).  
<<http://www.saic.com>>.

Small Arms Survey. <<http://www.smallarmssurvey.org>>.

U.S.-Azerbaijan Chamber of Commerce (USACC). Web site.  
<<http://www.usacc.org>>.

Vinnell. <<http://www.vinnell.com>>.

#### **Newspapers, Newsletters, News Web Sites, and Almanacs**

*Al-Ahram Weekly Online*, Egypt, newspaper.

*Aljazeera.net*, Qatar, news web site.



*All About Hawaii: The Recognized Book of Authentic Information on Hawaii*, almanac.

*Alexander's Gas and Oil Connections*, Germany, news web site.

*American Forces Information Service News Articles*, military news web site.

*Arab News*, Saudi Arabia, newspaper.

*Asia Times Online*, Hong Kong, newspaper.

*Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC)*, news web site.

*Bulatlat.com*, Philippines, weekly news web site.

*Common Dreams News Center*, Portland, Maine news web site.

*Daily Star*, Lebanon, newspaper.

*Environment Hawai'i*, Hilo, newsletter.

*Guardian*, London, newspaper.

*Gulf News*, Dubai, newspaper.

*Hawai'i Herald*, semi-monthly Japanese American newspaper.

*Hawaii Hochi*, newspaper.

*Honolulu Advertiser*, newspaper.

*Honolulu Magazine*.

*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, newspaper.

*Honolulu Weekly*, newspaper.

*IslamOnline.net*, Qatar, newspaper.

*Jordan Times*, newspaper.

*Kukini Express*, O'ahu, Hickam Air Force Base newsletter.

*Los Angeles Times*, newspaper.

*Marianas Variety*. Saipan, newspaper.

*MidWeek*, Honolulu, newspaper.

*Moscow Times*, newspaper.

*New Americans*, Honolulu, Christian newsletter.

*New York Times*, newspaper.

*Observer*, London, newspaper.

*Pacific Business News*, Honolulu, newspaper.

*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, Honolulu, newspaper (later *Honolulu Advertiser*).

*San Diego Union-Tribune*, newspaper.

*San Francisco Chronicle*, newspaper.

*Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, newspaper.

*Te Karere Ipurangi*, New Zealand, Maori news web site.

*Tehran Times*, newspaper.

*The Hindu*, India, newspaper.

*The Sunday Herald*, Scotland, newspaper.

*Time.com*, magazine.

Thrum, Thos. G., comp. *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual*. Honolulu, (later *All About Hawaii*).

*Wall Street Journal*, newspaper.

*Washington Post*, newspaper.

*Weekly Argus*, Honolulu, newspaper.