



KALĀKAUA, KING OF HAWAI'I, 1836-1891  
REIGN: 1874-1891  
PHOTOGRAPHER: MENZIES DICKSON  
HAWAI'I STATE ARCHIVES

# Pacific Sovereignty Movements and Asian Americans: COMMUNITIES, COALITIONS, AND CONFLICTS

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*“If we unite, we will be strong; if we persist in division, our energy will be dispersed.”*

— David Kalākaua, King of Hawai‘i, 1881

## Bonds Under Bondage

IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY, David Kalākaua, the King of Hawai‘i, watched as the monarchal power over his kingdom slowly fell to foreign invaders from the West. American businessmen entered the Kingdom of Hawai‘i and began forming a coup d’état. In 1881, Kalākaua embarked on an extended excursion to Asia, visiting Malaysia, China, Japan, and Thailand. On his trip, he argued for an alliance among Asian and Pacific Islander communities as a means of resisting the rising tide of American and European imperialism.<sup>1</sup> In China, King Kalākaua met with the chief of foreign affairs Li Hongzhang regarding imperial threats from the West that would affect both the Pacific and Asia. He said to the foreign minister:

We [Hawaiians] are Asian, as you. . . The past strength of brown peoples is gradually declining. The reason we cannot arouse ourselves is because each country relies on its own past strength. We not only have failed to unite together to depend upon one another, but on the contrary, we are cruel to one another. This is a great pity. If we unite, we will be strong; if we persist in division, our energy will be dispersed.<sup>2</sup>

Kalākaua believed the influence of the West

could only be combated through an alliance among Asian and Pacific Island nations, bound together by a proposed *tongzhong* or sameness among the “brown Asian peoples.”<sup>3</sup>

More than a century later in 2013, the Kingdom of Hawai‘i is a nation that was forcibly taken by the United States, with its monarch overthrown in 1893 and its land later annexed as a territory of the United States in 1898. Although the United Nations recognized Hawai‘i as a non-self-governing territory in 1946, statehood in 1959 would remove Hawai‘i from that registry and obstruct international recognition of the Native Hawaiian sovereignty movement.<sup>4</sup> In all this, we return to the question of whether the *tongzhong* described by King Kalākaua has any resonance today.

During the past century, a division has grown between the Native Hawaiian population and Asian/Asian American immigrants in Hawai‘i. In 1890, Japanese and Chinese made up roughly one-third of the population, while Native Hawaiians were 45 percent of the total population on the islands.<sup>5</sup> Just three years later in 1896, Japanese and Chinese comprised nearly half of the island population, while the Native Hawaiian

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population dropped to 36 percent of the total population.<sup>6</sup> By 1900, the Japanese and Chinese population increased to 65 percent of the island population, while the Native Hawaiian population dropped to 24 percent.<sup>7</sup> In addition, Asians hold more political power in the islands with more representation than Native Hawaiians in city and state government.<sup>8</sup> While Hawai'i remains a colony of the United States, we question whether Asian immigrants or Asian Americans can effectively serve as collaborative partners with Pacific Islanders. Do Asian Americans help to resist the American colonial enterprise, or do they reinforce it? How might Asians and Asian Americans critically engage with the indigenous politics of the Pacific?

### **Recognizing History and Hierarchy**

Since many island nations served as entry points into the United States for Asian immigrants prior to 1965, Asian immigrants and their descendants heavily altered the demography, environment, and culture throughout the Pacific. For this reason, *Asian Americans must acknowledge the other histories onto which they write their own*. When Hawai'i became a territory of the United States in 1898, nearly 26,000 Chinese and 61,000 Japanese citizens of Hawai'i became American citizens, increasing the total Asian population of the United States in 1900 by 40 percent.<sup>9</sup> Regarding this history, Hawaiian scholars like Haunani-Kay Trask and Candice Fujikane assert that, while not necessarily willful or intentional participants, the large Asian immigrant population was part of the structure that brought about the displacement and disenfranchisement of Pacific Islanders through settler colonialism.<sup>10</sup> To this day, the 'local' culture of many islands in the Pacific is dominantly shaped by the descendants of Asian immigrants to Hawai'i, whereas the culture of Hawai'i's indigenous people(s) remains invisible, and what lingers is an uneven competition for representation and resources

among Asian groups and the indigenous Pacific Island population.

The legacies of Asian settler colonialism are evident in recent demographic assessments. According to the 2010 Hawai'i Department of Health Survey, the ethnic makeup of Hawai'i is Caucasian (21.2 percent), Native Hawaiians (22.5 percent), Filipino (16.1 percent), Japanese (22.1), and Other (18.1 percent).<sup>11</sup> The Native Hawaiian Education Assessment (2005) reports that Native Hawaiians have among the lowest incomes and highest rates of poverty in the islands. It also notes that Native Hawaiians have higher rates of incarceration, are more likely to drop out of high school, and are less likely to go on to college than non-Native Hawaiians.<sup>12</sup> These trends can be explained by a history in which colonial powers took control of Native Hawaiian land and assisted in dismantling the basis for Hawaiian self-sufficiency.<sup>13</sup> It is this limited access to land that continues to disenfranchise Native Hawaiians economically and socially, and for this reason the Hawaiian sovereignty movement seeks to reclaim lost land and culture.

### **Laborer, Immigrant, Settler**

By the 1880s, both American colonizers and Native Hawaiians feared the increasing numbers of Asian contract laborers. Much of the public discourse on Asian immigrants in Hawai'i in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century comes from the Hawai'i Sugar Planters Association. Documenting crop and cattle workers, immigrants were judged based on their suitability to Hawai'i's climate and their fitness on sugar plantations. In 1894, a commission was established to investigate the growing population of Chinese and Japanese on the islands. The commission concluded that the growing Asian population was not good for the island community (this being the colonizers and the colonized), but that their labor was nevertheless indispensable.<sup>14</sup>



JAPANESE SUGAR PLANTATION LABORERS AT KAU, HAWAII ISLAND. (CA. 1890)  
HAWAII STATE ARCHIVES

This paradox was also evident in King Kalākaua's concern over the growing Chinese population in Hawai'i, and his belief that they were a threat to the Native population.<sup>15</sup> In spite of these reservations, he actively solicited labor from China and Japan that same year, understanding that their labor was needed for local sugar plantations which funded the Hawaiian royal family. In 1882, a newspaper editorial supported the prospect of Chinese exclusion as beneficial for the Hawaiian population: "[Exclusion of Chinese laborers] will greatly please the native Hawaiians, who for some time past have seen their lands passing into alien hands, and have noticed the decline and diminution of their race, and the increase of Asiatic settlers. The people of the Sandwich Islands have always entertained the greatest dread of Chinese immigrants, fearing lest the Mongolians should invade the Islands like locusts and make it in effect a distant province of China."<sup>16</sup>

Arguably, the Hawaiian discourse about Chinese laborers was in dialogue with similar discussions in the continental

United States over the Chinese Exclusion Acts (e.g., 1875 Page Act, 1876 Fifteenth Passenger Bill (Vetoed), 1880 Treaty Regulating Immigration from China, 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, Act of Oct. 1, 1888, 25 Stat. 504, Ch. 1064, 1892 Geary Act, 1902 Chinese Exclusion Act). In these debates, the Chinese laborer was contrasted with the native — both White Native American and indigenous Native American. The Chinese threat to America is described by one congressional speaker, "Mongolians are alien to our civilization, aliens in blood, aliens in faith, and clogs to the free movement of the wheels of Christian civilization and enlightened progress."<sup>17</sup> One speaker asks, "Why not discriminate? Why aid in the increase and distribution over the surface of our domain of a degraded and inferior race, and the progenitors of an inferior sort of men to the exclusion of the highly civilized, progressive man of our own race? . . . Upon what other theory can we justify the almost complete extermination of the Indian, the original possessor of all these States?"<sup>18</sup> Just as the perceived threat to American culture

is consolidated in the figure of the Chinese laborer in the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, so too are fears over the declining Hawaiian culture pinned onto the image of the Asian laborer.

The discussion of indigenous-Asian politics is one of competing narratives that seek to make sense of culture, power, and property rights in terms of roots and routes. The narrative of the indigeneity erects a unified subject by ignoring the routes taken to establish one's rootedness in the land. At the same time, many immigrant narratives privilege travel as a positive force towards national inclusion, overlooking those who are disenfranchised by such movements. With such conflicting histories, are there political agendas to be shared? Can Asians and Pacific Islanders form a meaningful coalition?

### **Contested Coalitions**

Whereas coalitions garner political power through greater numbers, coalitions also risk perpetuating existing forms of oppressions. Activist and writer Haunani-Kay Trask writes, "Any kind of coalition-building strategy that presumes sameness cannot be supported by Natives. Specifically, this means coalitions must acknowledge not only difference, but the necessity for struggle to preserve that difference."<sup>19</sup> As described by Yen Le Espiritu, while the coalition of disparate Asian and Pacific Islander groups under the umbrella of Asian Pacific Islanders (API) successfully gained federal recognition for APIs as a collective, Pacific Islanders lost visibility in favor of homogeneity.<sup>20</sup> In 1982, University of California scholar Sucheng Chan describes the initial success of the Asian Pacific Islander coalition, since "government officials and funding agencies seemed to have welcomed such a compound label, for it... was convenient."<sup>21</sup> At the same time, Chan acknowledges that "Pacific Americans' dissatisfaction with the term 'Asian Pacific American'... [because] continued

use of the present term will produce a total loss of Pacific American identity."<sup>22</sup> Under the API label, the Pacific Islander history of colonialism, their cultural traditions, and their political agenda run the risk of going unacknowledged.

Illustrating Chan's point, in 1992 the Japanese American Citizens' League (JACL) issued a statement in support of the Hawaiian sovereignty movement, "recommit[ting] and reaffirm[ing the JACL's] efforts and support of indigenous Hawaiians in their struggles to address the federal government's illegal and immoral wrongdoings committed against them."<sup>23</sup> However, in 1999 at a public hearing, Mililani Trask, trustee at the time for the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, called Senator Daniel Inouye a "one-armed bandit," regarding his tendency to upstage Native Hawaiians in federal reconciliation meetings, while also referencing the arm that Inouye lost during World War II.<sup>24</sup> In response to this remark, Clayton Ikei on behalf of the JACL argued that Trask's comments "negatively impact [the JACL's] efforts to reach out to Japanese Americans on the sovereignty issue, and hurt [Trask's] cause. Given the history of Japanese Americans' struggle against historical discrimination and racial injustice, we are particularly sensitive to perceived racial attacks on the Japanese Americans or other racial minorities."<sup>25</sup> At the same time, Trask had many supporters who saw the comment as appropriately describing Inouye's actions against Native Hawaiians. This debate only served to polarize communities, revealing how both groups approach politics from different and often contradictory positions of power.<sup>26</sup>

Another example is the Native Hawaiian Government Reorganization Act (also referred to as the Akaka Bill) which first came before Congress in 2005. It was proposed by Senator Daniel Akaka. Akaka's bill and its subsequent revisions seek federal recognition for Native Hawaiians similar to that

of Native American tribes. However, some sovereignty proponents are opposed to this bill, seeing it as obstructing movements towards self-determination. Others note that it does not acknowledge the special status of Native Hawaiians that already exists under the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920, and it disregards the importance of the 2009 Apology Resolution. Analysts like J. Kēhaulani Kauanui warn that the federal recognition promised in the Akaka Bill poses a threat to the rights of Native Hawaiians: “Passage of the legislation could be used against Hawaiians and cited to show that claims that exceed the domestic sphere have been forfeited, especially since by then the Hawaiian governing entity would be subject to U.S. plenary power. This containment of our sovereignty draws attention away from demands for Hawai‘i’s independence and decolonization from the United States, based on international law.”<sup>27</sup> The Akaka Bill, working within the confines of the American nation, is limited in what it can offer to Native Hawaiians, who seek sovereignty outside the boundaries of this nation. As Asian Americans engage with Native Hawaiians, they must also acknowledge the incommensurabilities of their histories and their political goals, and must further question their limits and reason for involvement.

### **Working from Differences**

As Vincent Diaz writes in his article, “To P or not to P,” “decolonization in the Pacific Islands must be determined by the indigenous people of the land in question, and non-Indigenous people — and scholars no less, or all the more — need to understand how they are also implicated in colonial-

ism.”<sup>28</sup> Before engaging with indigeneity, Asian Americans must understand their place within the American colonial enterprise, noting that their engagement continually risks becoming new colonial gestures.

If Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders are to form a meaningful coalition, they should highlight: 1) **Converging histories** that are shared among the two groups, acknowledging historic API alliances often built in response to the tenuous relationship between APIs and the U.S. nation-state, 2) **Relational differences** among the sub-groups of the API pan-ethnicity, recognizing and taking responsibility for positions of power, and understanding the interdependency of each group, and 3) **Stepping up and stepping back** by capitalizing upon opportunities for collaboration, and also recognizing when it is better to work behind the scenes or separately. While earlier examples of coalition-building among APIs focused primarily on unity, coalitions can also work from differences. Individual members of a coalition are situated differently in relation to race, gender, and class, and therefore function simultaneously as oppressor and oppressed. These differing relations can become rich resources when approaching issues of violence and oppression, but only if members are willing to challenge and transform their own power relations in order to collaborate.

To conclude, I return to this paper’s opening anecdote, with King Kalākaua of Hawai‘i who invested great hope in an API coalition when he told Chief Li Hongzhang of China, “If we unite, we will be strong; if we persist in division, our energy will be dispersed . . . We should discuss affairs with sympathy for one another and unite as one.”<sup>29</sup>

## Timeline of Hawai'i

### Kingdom of Hawai'i

300-500 – The **first settlers** arrive in Hawai'i from the Marquesas Islands.

1778 – **Captain Cook** lands on the Island of Kaua'i.

1789 – **The Columbia Rediviva**, the first American ship, arrives in Hawai'i.

1795-1810 – **King Kamehameha I** launches his campaign to unite the Hawaiian Islands.

1820 – Led by **Hiram Bingham**, The New England Congregationalists arrive in Hawai'i.

1822 – The **first printed language book**, *Ke Kumu Hawai'i* is published in Hawai'i.

1848 – Known as **The Great Mahele**, King Kamehameha III divides the Hawaiian land among the king (23%), chiefs (40%), and government (37%).

1852 – The first **Chinese contract laborers** arrive in Hawai'i.

1864 – **Kamehameha V** signs a new constitution, restoring royal power and placing literacy and property restrictions on suffrage.

1874 – **David Kalākaua** is elected King of Hawai'i by the legislatures.

1885 – 180,000 **Japanese laborers** arrive in Hawai'i.

1887 – King Kalākaua signs the **Bayonet Constitution**, placing executive power in the hands of his cabinet.

1891 – **Lydia Lili'uokalani** becomes the successor to the throne after the death of her brother Kalākaua.

1893 – **Overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarch**. Under the threat of force by U.S. Minister Stevens and a coup called by the Committee of Safety, Queen Lili'uokalani acquiesces the throne.

1894 – **Sanford B. Dole** becomes the leader of the Republic of Hawai'i.



KAMEHAMEHA I, KING OF HAWAII, [1758-1819]  
HAWAII STATE ARCHIVES



QUEEN LYDIA LILI'UOKALANI (CIRCA 1891)  
LAWRENCE M. JUDD MS. COLLECTION  
HAWAII STATE ARCHIVES

### Territory of Hawai'i

1898 – Hawai'i becomes a **territory** of the United States.

1903 – The first **Korean laborers** enter Hawai'i on the S.S. *Gaelic*.

1906 – The Hawai'i Sugar Planters' Association seeks to recruit **Filipino laborers** due to limited access to other labor groups.

1920 – Jonah Kuhio Kalaniana'ole sponsors the **Hawaiian Homes Commission Act** to allow homesteading for people of 50% Hawaiian ancestry or more.

1931-1932 – The **Massie Trials** gain national attention over two racially charged court cases in Oahu, one for rape and the other for murder.

1941-1944 – Under General Walter Short, Hawai'i enters into **martial law** following the bombing of Pearl Harbor.



'IOLANI PALACE FLYING AMERICAN FLAGS ON  
ANNEXATION DAY. FROM ALI'IOLANI HALE.  
(AUG 12, 1898)  
PHOTOGRAPHER: F.J. LOWREY  
HAWAII STATE ARCHIVES

## State of Hawai'i

1959 – Hawai'i becomes the **50th State of the U.S.**

1964 – The first **Merrie Monarch Festival** begins as a way of attracting tourists to Hilo. It initially starts as a beard contest but later evolves into a large hula competition in 1970.

1976 – Eight Hawaiians occupy **Kaho'olawe** to protest U.S. naval bombing of this island, which holds great historic and religious significance to Native Hawaiians.

1993 – President Bill Clinton signs the **Apology Resolution**, admitting the United States' responsibility in the "deprivation of the rights of Native Hawaiians to self-determination."

2000 – Senator Daniel Akaka proposes a series of bills entitled the Native Hawaiian Government Reorganization Act or popularly known as **The Akaka Bill**, potentially gaining U.S. federal recognition for indigenous Hawaiians similar to Native Americans.



HULA DANCERS GREETING THE S.S. MATSONIA,  
HONOLULU (CIRCA 1935)  
PHOTOGRAPHER: PAN-PACIFIC PRESS BUREAU  
HAWAII STATE ARCHIVES

Maluna o ka noho ali'i  
Hā'awi mai i ke aloha  
Maloko a kona na'au  
A ma kou ahonui  
E ola e ola ka mō'i  
Ho'oho e mau ke

Bless the nation once again  
Give the king your loving grace  
And with wisdom from on high  
Prosperous lead his people on  
As beneath your watchful eye  
Grant your peace throughout the land

LYDIA LILI'UOKALANI, "HE MELE LĀHUI HAWAII"  
("THE SONG OF THE HAWAIIAN NATION"), 1866



KĀNE KĀHIKO AT MERRIE MONARCH FESTIVAL (2013)  
HĀLAU KEKUAOKALĀ'AU'ALA'ILIAHI  
PHOTO BY R. LIKEKE AILA IBALE



WAHINE 'AUANA AT MERRIE MONARCH FESTIVAL (2013)  
HULA HĀLAU 'O KAMUELA  
PHOTO BY R. LIKEKE AILA IBALE

"Hawaiians in Hawai'i are inescapably a part of the living tissue of island history. In some respects, it is a terrible burden. We are, to some extent, the walking repositories of island antiquity: living symbols of a way of life long dead, but which strangely persists in shaping the character of life in the fiftieth state."

JOHN DOMINIS HOLT, *ON BEING HAWAIIAN*, 1974



## Notes

1. There is a gap between the public perception about Kalākaua's travels and his private intentions. While many newspapers describe the tour as being primarily about plantation labor in Hawai'i, accounts of Kalākaua's discussions with overseas officials would indicate that he was interested in issues of national sovereignty. Most interesting would be the gap between descriptions offered in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* and William Armstrong, and the notes recorded in his journal located in the archives of the Bishop Museum; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser, King Kalākaua's Tour Round the World: A Sketch of Incidents of Travel* (1881) (Honolulu: P.C. Advertiser Co., 1881).
2. Zongli Yamen archives, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan, box 01-21/20-6; qtd. in Rebecca Karl, *Staging the World: Chinese Nationalism at the Turn of the Twentieth Century* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002): 59-60. The term *tongzhong* is the same term used by Kalākaua and repeated by Li Hongzhang to argue for a racial sameness between Hawaiians and Chinese. Beyond this, Kalākaua extends this to argue for a shared lineage with the Japanese and other Asian nations, to the dismay of Li Hongzhang.
3. *Ibid.*
4. J. Kēhaulani Kauanui. "Precarious Positions: Native Hawaiians and U.S. Federal Recognition," *The Contemporary Pacific* (17:1, Spring 2005).
5. 1890 Census — Total population of 89,990 in the island, Hawaiian and Part Hawaiian 40,622, Japanese 12,360, Chinese 15,301. Bureau of Public Instruction, *Report of General Superintendent of the Census, 1890* (Honolulu: R. Grieve, Steam Book and Job Printers, 1891). <http://guides.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/content.php?pid=94166&sid=703227>
6. 1896 Census — Total population of 109,020 in the island, Hawaiian and Part Hawaiian 39,504, Japanese 24,407, Chinese 21,616; Department of Public Instruction, *Report of General Superintendent of the Census, 1890* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Star Press, 1897). <http://ia600708.us.archive.org/33/items/afp4242.0001.001.umich.edu/afp4242.0001.001.umich.edu.pdf>
7. 1900 Census — Total population of 154,001 in the islands, Hawaiian and Part Hawaiian 37,635, Japanese 61,115, Chinese 25,762; Thos. G. Thrum, *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1904: Reference Book of Information and Statistics Relating to the Territory of Hawai'i, of Value to Merchants, Tourists, and Others*. Honolulu: Thos. G. Thrum, 1903. <http://guides.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/content.php?pid=94166&sid=703229>
8. "Between 1900 and the early 1920s the Hawaiians remained the majority of voters, but they apparently lost that position in 1924. The part Hawaiian voters are difficult to identify, however, and early researchers like Littler omitted them. Concurrently the Japanese increased in population and political influence as island-born children of immigrants matured to voting age." Michaelyn P. Chou. "Ethnicity and Elections in Hawai'i: The Case of James K. Kealoha," *Chinese America: History and Perspectives*. (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America): 106; Candice Fujikane and Jonathan Okamura (eds.), "Introduction: Asian Settler Colonialism in the U.S. Colony of Hawai'i", *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008): 22.
9. According to Census data in 1890, the Asian population in the United States was 114,189; Campbell Gibson, Kay Jung, "Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals By Race, 1790 to 1990, and By Hispanic Origin, 1970 to 1990, For The United States, Regions, Divisions, and States" United States Census Bureau. (56: September 2002). <http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0076/twps0076.pdf>; Under 8 USC § 1405 (Persons born in Hawai'i), all citizens of the Republic of Hawai'i as of August 12, 1898 became citizens of the United States.
10. Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i* (Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 1993). Candice Fujikane and Jonathan Okamura (eds.), *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008).
11. Department of Health (DOH), *Hawai'i Health Survey 2010*, <http://hawaii.gov/health/statistics>, Accessed January 31, 2013; The DOH counts mixed-race Hawaiians as "Hawaiian," mixed-race Caucasian/Asians as "Asian," and those who list Caucasian as their sole race as "Caucasian." The Health Survey does not list data for Koreans or African Americans. These figures are based upon a total population of 1,295,024.
12. Policy Analysis & System Evaluation (PASE) — Kamehameha Schools, *Ka Huaka'i: Native Hawaiian Educational Assessment* (Honolulu: Pauahi Publications, 2005).
13. Neil Levy, "Native Hawaiian Land Rights," *California Law Review*, 63:4 (July 1965): 848-885; In 1848, the Great Mahele or land division was enacted by King Kamehameha III, making land accessible by defeudalizing its ownership. The Kuleana Act in 1850, outlined specifics related to Crown lands, dividing the Hawaiian land into thirds: one-third to the Hawaiian government, another third to the chiefs and land agents, and the final third to the tenant farmer. However, land ownership changed when Hawai'i was annexed, and all government land was passed to the United States in 1898. The United States government supplanted the Hawaiian taro industry with Chinese, and they transformed the Hawaiian ranching and farming industries by the Japanese. During World War I, as food and goods were being shipped overseas for war efforts, so many Native Hawaiians were impoverished that Prince Kuhio organized a mass protest, forcing the United States to provide land grants to Native Hawaiians. This resulted in the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920, which established

a commission to lease land parcels to Native Hawaiians for ninety-nine years. While sounding humanitarian on the surface by intending to move Native Hawaiians from tenement housing in urban spaces, in practice this had little benefit to a generation of Hawaiians who were unfamiliar with the farming practices for their grandparents, and furthermore these parcels were arid and undesirable for agriculture. Ultimately, this legislation favored the existing sugar barons who were threatened by earlier formulations of Hawaiian homesteading.

14. *Minutes from Executive Committee Meeting*, October 26, 1894.
15. "His Majesty on Kau'i," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, January 8, 1881. 2.
16. "The Chinese and the Sandwich Islands," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, January 14, 1882. 2.
17. U.S. Congressional Record 1882, 1582.
18. U.S. Congressional Record 1882, 1487.
19. Haunani-Kay Trask. "Coalition-Building between Natives and Non-Natives." *Stanford Law Review*, Vol. 43, No. 6 (July, 1991), pp. 1197-1213.
20. 'Hawaiian' and 'Part Hawaiian' were first added to the U.S. Census in 1960. 'Guamanian or Chamorro' and 'Samoa' were added in the 1980 Census. 'Other Asian or Pacific Islander' was added to the Census in 1990. Still the API category was further embedded and formalized in 1992 under H.R. 5572, signed by President Bush, declaring May Asian Pacific Heritage Month.
21. Debbie Hippolite and Paul Spickard. "Pacific Islander Americans and Asian American Identity," *Contemporary Asian American Communities: Intersections and Divergences*, eds. Linda Trinh Vo, Rick Bonus (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2002): 115
22. *Ibid.*
23. Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), *Resolution Reaffirming Support for the Restoration of Human, Civil, Property, and Sovereign Rights of Hawai'i's Indigenous People*, 1992 National Convention.
24. Pat Omandam, "She Says the U.S. Senator Acts 'in Outright Opposition to our People,'" *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, November 11, 1999.
25. JACL-Honolulu, Clayton Ikei, Letter to Mililani Trask, November 22, 1999, reprinted in "JACL Opposes Trask's Comments to Inouye," *Hawai'i Herald*, December 3, 1999, A-7, Candice Fujikane and Jonathan Okamura (eds.), "Introduction: Asian Settler Colonialism in the U.S. Colony of Hawai'i", reprinted in *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008): 303.
26. Eric K. Yamamoto, *Interracial Justice: Conflict and Reconciliation in Post-Civil Rights America* (New York: New York University Press, 1999); Candice Fujikane, "Foregrounding Native Nationalisms," *Asian American Studies After Critical Mass*, ed Kent A. Ono (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2005); Ida Yoshinaga and Eiko Kosasa, "Local Japanese Women for Justice (LJWJ) Speak Out Against Daniel Inouye and the JACL," *Amerasia Journal*, eds. Candice Fujikane and Jonathan Okamura (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center Press, 26:2, 2000): 143-146.
27. Kehaulani J. Kauanui. "Precarious Positions: Native Hawaiians and U.S. Federal Recognition," *The Contemporary Pacific* (17:1, Spring 2005).
28. Vicente M. Diaz, "To 'P' or Not to 'P'?": Marking the Territory Between Pacific Islander and Asian American Studies." *Journal of Asian American Studies* (7:3, October 2004): 195-196.
29. Zongli Yamen archives, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan, box 01-21/20-6; qtd. in Rebecca Karl, *Staging the World: Chinese Nationalism at the Turn of the Twentieth Century* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002): 59-60.

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