

The Nexus of Militarization and Tourism in the “American Lake”: Focusing on Militourism in Hawai‘i

By KAORI TAKADA*

Hawai‘i has stood at the intersection of military strategy and tourism development, serving as a principal home port for the U.S. Navy’s Pacific Fleet while concurrently becoming a sought-after tourist destination since attaining statehood in 1959. This paper delves into the intertwined dynamics of militarization and tourism in Hawai‘i, exploring their evolution into an inseparable nexus. Centered on Hawai‘i’s pivotal role in Pacific militarization and tourism, the paper examines the concurrent escalation of military fortification and nuclear proliferation during the Cold War era. It traces Hawaiian transformation from a strategic military outpost following its annexation by the United States in the 19th century to a focal point of global wartime air networks during World War II. In addition, it analyzes the resurgence of both military and civil aviation sectors during the Korean War and their subsequent impact on Hawai‘i’s militarization. Attention is directed towards Hawaiian democratization movement following the Korean War, influencing further militarization efforts and shaping the state’s path to statehood. It focuses on “militourism” in Hawai‘i, the center of the “American Lake,” offering valuable insights into the multifaceted relationship between military activities and tourism development in the region.

Introduction

Since the conclusion of World War II, the operational scope of U.S. military activities in Hawai‘i, particularly within the confines of Oahu, has steadily expanded. Joint Base Pearl Harbor-Hickam has served as the principal headquarter for the U.S. Navy’s Pacific Fleet and the Air Force Pacific Command, and Schofield Barracks as a site for infantry training center during the Korean War¹. The genesis of mass tourism in militarized Hawai‘i can be traced back to 1959, when it became the fiftieth state and Pan American World Airways (Pan Am), a prominent U.S. airline, launched Jet Clipper between Mainland and Hawai‘i in the same year. The advent of the jet age, epitomized by the introduction of the Boeing 707, engendered a notable decline in airfares in the 1960s and catalyzed the proliferation of tourism to Hawai‘i². How did these incongruous influences of the military and tourism coalesce into an indissoluble nexus? Throughout the Cold War era, Hawai‘i functioned as

* Professor, Faculty of Comparative Culture, Otsuma Women’s University, and Researcher, Research Institute for the History of Global Arms Transfer, Meiji University.

¹ Kajihira [2009], pp. 299-328.

² Mak [2008], p. 16.

the United States' conduit to the Asia-Pacific region; furthermore, it captivated tourists with its alluring cultural portrayal as a quintessential Pacific paradise since the early twentieth century³. This paper scrutinizes "militourism" in Hawai'i.

The concept of militourism, as delineated by Theresia Teaiwa, encapsulates the phenomenon in which military or paramilitary forces facilitate the seamless operation of a tourist industry and are concurrently obscured by the veneer of said tourist industry. This paper critically probes the militarization of the Pacific, contextualizing it within the dynamics of intercontinental relations among Europe, the Americas, and Asia, where the imperceptible within this militarized region. The discourse critically interrogates the erasure of Indigenous communities in the Pacific region. In locales such as Guam, Hawai'i, New Caledonia, and French Polynesia, militarism manifests itself in a manner that both sustains military installations and fosters tourism, thereby engendering employment opportunities while simultaneously dispossessing local populations of their land and undermining Indigenous livelihoods. Notably, in Hawai'i, the military apparatus has institutionalized practices such as rest and recuperation (R&R) for servicemembers, and it oversees not only medical facilities but also a hotel such as Hale Koa Hotel operations⁴. Following Teaiwa's analysis, a notable corpus of research, especially militourism researches on countries such as Cuba, the Philippines, Guam, Hawai'i, and Okinawa have accumulated in recent years⁵. However, studies on militourism typically acknowledge but do not delve into aeromobilities, namely international civil aviation, which has been indispensable to global tourism since World War II. This paper endeavors to address this research gap by focusing on the role played by military and civil aviation networks in shaping the postwar international aviation order in World War II era and the subsequent militarization of the Pacific throughout the Cold War period.

The history of international aviation during the Cold War has gained increasing scholarly attention since the 1990s. Commencing with the seminal work of Dobson and Engel, which scrutinized the U.S.–U.K. competition regarding the postwar aircraft industry and the consequent emergence of international civil aviation during World War II and the Cold War⁶, scholars have studied various facets of the interplay between nations. This research includes examinations of the dispute over the U.S.–Netherlands aviation agreement, the Soviet Union's withdrawal from participation in the Chicago International Civil Aviation Conference in November 1944, and the civil aviation policies of Yugoslavia, which developed its own air routes amid internal conflicts within the Eastern Block⁷. Peter Svik's insightful analysis, which elucidates the globalization of the Cold War through an examination of civil aviation policies adopted by both Eastern and Western blocs, is notable among these studies⁸. Additionally, research has explored the impact of Cold War military and economic aid packages on decolonization efforts and the establishment of air forces and civil aviation enterprises in regions such as Asia, the Middle East, and Africa. For instance, Katsuhiko Yokoi's examination of the Indian Air Force and civil aviation in India directly addresses the concept of "independence of arms production" in international arms transfers during the Cold War. Similarly, Waqar Zaidi's investigates the creation of a Pakistani air force and Pakistan airlines through the economic and military assistance from

³ Klein [2003], pp. 161-163.

⁴ Teaiwa [1999], pp. 251-252.

⁵ See, Gonzalez [2013]; Ginoza [2016]; Lisle [2016]. Also, regarding the linkage between militarism and tourism, See, *Special Issue: Tours of Duty and Tours of Leisure, American Quarterly*, 68-3 (September 2016).

⁶ Dobson [1991]; Engel [2007].

⁷ Van Vleck [2013]; Scott-Smith and Snyder [2013]; Gormly [2013]; Tiemeyer, [2015].

⁸ Svik [2020].

the U.S. His work also underscores the role of inter-allied arms transfers and military and economic aid in shaping the development of civil aviation during the Cold War⁹.

While many of these studies have centered on Cold War alliances, the discourse on civil aviation in the Pacific has revolved around the overwhelmingly influential U.S. civil aviation sector. Compared to conventional air transportation studies, analyses of Asia–Pacific civil aviation have focused on contemporary economic evaluations rather than on historical inquiries. Despite this, the genesis of Pacific civil aviation during the Cold War period cannot be divorced from the U.S. occupation of Japan. Transportation activities were further amplified during the Korean War; in addition to the United States, other nations involved in the occupation of Japan operated Pacific routes to facilitate traffic between these regions¹⁰.

Focusing on Hawai‘i, which has emerged as a focal point of militarization and tourism in the Pacific, this paper delves into the process of heightened military fortification and nuclear proliferation in the region during the Cold War era. It scrutinizes the trajectory of nuclear weapon development from the onset of militarization through infrastructure construction in the Pacific, the Japan–U.S. rivalry involving Hawai‘i, and the establishment of the international aviation order following World War II. This study elucidates the concurrent escalation of military buildup and nuclearization across the Pacific during the Cold War and juxtaposes with the burgeoning development of Hawai‘i as a sought-after tourist destination.

Initially, the author explores the United States’ ingress into the Pacific during the 19th century and the subsequent annexation of Hawai‘i, which precipitated the state’s metamorphosis into a pivotal military outpost. Hawai‘i’s transition as a precedent for the land appropriation and coerced relocation witnessed not only in Okinawa and mainland Japan after World War II, but also across the broader Pacific region. Subsequently, the paper analyzes the international uproar sparked by the establishment of a global wartime air network meticulously maintained and operated by the United States. Within the United States surfaced among federal lawmakers and high-ranking officials within the Department of the Navy, who advocated for the acquisition of strategic overseas bases in foreign territories in the interest of postwar security. Consequently, the U.S. government formulated a policy aimed at securing strategic bases overseas and challenging the airspace sovereignty of the British Empire. This contentious stance precipitated the U.S.–U.K. clash concerning postwar civil aviation, culminating in the establishment of the Chicago/Bermuda system—the foundational framework of postwar international civil aviation. While extensive research has been devoted to studying competition in postwar civil aviation on the Atlantic front, historical analysis of the Pacific dimension, as highlighted earlier, has lagged in terms of scholarly inquiry¹¹.

Thirdly, accounting for the U.S. occupation of Japan post-World War II and the military presence in Micronesia, this paper aims to elucidate the rapid demobilization of the U.S. military, the challenges encountered in transitioning military aviation activities to meet civilian demands. Fourth, an analysis of the Korean War, which precipitated the resurgence of the struggling military and civil aviation sectors, will be conducted. Additionally, the paper will scrutinize the process of Pacific militarization that ensued alongside the shift to wartime footing. This militarization encompasses not only the establishment of a network of U.S. military bases but also nuclear testing and deployment in the Pacific region.

⁹ Yokoi [2020], pp. 325-354; Zaidi [2020], pp. 355-381.

¹⁰ Takada [2020b], pp. 291-324.

¹¹ Dobson [1991], pp. 151-210.

Attention will be directed toward the militarization of Hawai‘i throughout the Cold War period. This will include an examination of the development of housing, resorts, and recreational amenities tailored to military personnel. Furthermore, this paper will explore the democratization movement in Hawai‘i following the Korean War and its subsequent impact on further militarization efforts in Hawai‘i. Additionally, the process leading to Hawai‘i’s attainment of statehood and the onset of mass tourism with the advent of jet aircraft will be analyzed. Through this endeavor, the study seeks to elucidate the several factors that led to the formation of Pacific mass tourism in the jet age, with particular emphasis given to Hawai‘i’s militourism within the context of making the Pacific “the American Lake.”

1. U.S.–Japan Conflict over the Pacific and Hawai‘i

(1) Annexation of Hawai‘i by the United States of America and its establishment as a base of operations

During the late 18th and 19th centuries, the rivalry between the United States and Europe for the Pacific Ocean intensified. Following James Cook’s expeditions, British influence extended over territories such as Australia, New Zealand, and other southwestern Pacific regions, while French dominions prevailed in much of eastern Polynesia. Notably, only the Kingdoms of Hawai‘i and Tonga managed to maintain their sovereignty amid this geopolitical contest. During this period, economic activities such as the lucrative fur trade in the North Pacific, whaling ventures across the wider expanse of the Pacific, and the trade of sandalwood flourished in the Pacific region. European traders introduced firearms to Pacific Island communities, thus transforming local dynamics. In response to labor shortages in British-controlled Australia and Fiji, islanders from the Southwest Pacific were coerced into servitude, leading to a drastic decline in Indigenous populations due to diseases introduced by European contact¹².

European influence was instrumental in the consolidation of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1795. British advisors John Young and Isaac Davis played pivotal roles in assisting King Kamehameha I, who unified the islands through military prowess and astute leadership. In recognition of their contributions, Young and Davis were granted land on Oahu. The Kingdom of Hawai‘i emerged as a vital hub, providing essential resources such as water and food to Westerners, and serving as a crucial whaling station for Western ships. Until the demise of Kamehameha I in 1819, European influence remained confined to the vicinity of the Honolulu harbor. King Kamehameha, I initiated a centralized system of governance and exerted control over foreign trade and other economic activities. He monopolized the sandalwood trade, amassing substantial wealth through lucrative trade relations with Europe. Kamehameha I also regulated the conduct of foreigners arriving in Hawai‘i. Despite efforts to curb the deleterious effects of alcohol, including the prohibition of its production and the destruction of several distilleries, the influx of rum and spirits into Hawai‘i exacerbated tensions between foreigners and Hawaiians, contributing to alcoholism developing among ruling elites and commoners. Following Kamehameha I’s passing, discontentment with the rule of his successor, Liholiho, mounted, culminating in a rebellion over disputes regarding royal authority and land distribution. While most rebels were quelled, Power in Hawai‘i became more decentralized. Liholiho’s ascent to the throne

¹² Blackford [2017], pp. 16–17. For more on islanders’ kidnapping (blackbirding), see, Takeuchi [2009].

as Kamehameha II marked the abolition of the Kapu system, a religious code that governed Hawaiian society, paving the way for the introduction and spread of Christianity¹³.

In 1820, American missionaries arrived in the Hawaiian Kingdom, propelled by the fervor of the Second Awakening, which was sweeping through the United Kingdom and the United States. Hailing mostly from New England, these missionaries gradually integrated into Hawaiian society following the abolition of the Kapu system. Hawai‘i soon became a focal point for American missionary endeavors and trade. Hawaiian inhabitants, valuing their associations with the missionaries over the tumultuous presence of violent and inebriated sailors and traders, welcomed the influence of these missionaries, who not only introduced Christianity to Hawai‘i but also imparted elements of the United States’ legal system. Initially, Hawaiian royalty permitted missionaries to reside on land they had discovered; over time, however these missionaries began to strengthen their position over Hawaiian land and societal affairs. The Hawaiian population experienced a precipitous decline due to interactions with Westerners. At the time of Captain Cook’s arrival, Hawai‘i boasted an estimated population of 400,000; however, by 1823, this figure had dwindled to 135,000. By 1893, when the United States orchestrated the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom, the population had plummeted to a mere 40,000¹⁴.

American expansion in Hawai‘i unfolded against the backdrop of Manifest Destiny on the mainland. President John Tyler, embroiled in conflict with Congress over domestic policy and renowned for advocating for the annexation of Texas, prioritized trade relations in Asia and the Pacific. He championed the expansion of American influence into the Pacific and extended the Monroe Doctrine to Hawai‘i, insisting on British non-interference in the Hawaiian Islands. This policy became known as the Tyler Doctrine. During the subsequent Polk presidency, the annexation of the Republic of Texas led the United States-Mexican War, resulting in the acquisition of vast swathes in the southwestern United States. The Oregon Treaty, concluded with the British government, delineated the border between Canada and the United States. The consolidation of the U.S. West Coast spurred further expansion into the Pacific Ocean¹⁵.

In 1848, the significant alterations were made to the Hawaiian Kingdom’s land tenure system. American merchants and missionaries contended that the traditional royal domain system of the Hawaiian Kingdom hindered Hawai‘i’s development and advocated for the adoption of a Western land system known as the Grand Mahele, which facilitated individual land ownership. Initially, King Kamehameha III and other members of the Hawaiian royal family resisted this proposition. However, they were persuaded by an American lawyer who highlighted the colonization of the continental United States and the Pacific, warning that the United States would annex the Hawaiian Kingdom if the Grand Mahele was not implemented. Consequently, in 1850, Hawaiian land became available for sale, with parcels gradually purchased by white Americans, leading to the land dispossession of Hawaiians and the expansion of sugarcane plantations by white American planters¹⁶.

The white American elite, comprised of missionaries, merchants, and planters, collectively known as haole, wielded significant political and economic influence within the Hawaiian Kingdom. Among them, the most influential were the large landowners who operated sugar plantations that came to be known as the Big Five. In 1873, General John Schofield and Commander Alexander, posing as travelers, assessed the site for a naval base

¹³ D’Arcy [2018], pp. 206-219.

¹⁴ Hixson [2013], pp. 148-150.

¹⁵ Kajihiro [2008], p. 171.

¹⁶ Hixson [2013], p. 150.

at Pearl Harbor and extolled, “Hawai‘i is the jewel of the Pacific.” The haole community, welcoming the military presence in terms of their own security and seeking to reinforce their ascendancy over Hawaiian politics, staunchly supported the construction of the naval base by the U.S. Navy. Because of their racial and class similarities, haole and military officers forged a partnership over the control of Hawai‘i¹⁷.

Upon ascending to the throne as the seventh king of Hawai‘i in 1874, David Kalakaua discerned the encroachment upon Hawaiian lands and the imminent threat to the kingdom’s independence posed by white Americans. Recognizing the colonial expansion underway in the Asian and Pacific regions under Western dominance, Kalakaua embarked on a diplomatic tour aiming to seek protection for the sovereignty of the Hawaiian Kingdom. His objective was to appeal to Emperor Meiji of Japan to forge an Asian federation with Japan at the helm through an alliance between Hawai‘i and Japan. Both nations suffered from unequal treaties imposed by Western powers. Kalakaua further proposed matrimonial ties between the Hawaiian royal family and the Japanese imperial family to solidify their relationship. Concurrently, an agreement was brokered between the Hawaiian Kingdom and the Japanese government to facilitate the migration of laborers, resulting in the arrival of the first official Japanese immigrants to Hawai‘i in 1885. However, Kalakaua’s vision of an Asian federation remained unrealized¹⁸.

In 1887, just two years after the Japanese arrived, white militias armed themselves and forced Kalakaua to adopt a new constitution. This was known as the “Bayonet Constitution,” Article 20 of which reads:

The Supreme Power of the Kingdom in its exercise, is divided into the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial; these shall always be preserved distinct, and no Executive or Judicial officer, or any contractor, or employee of the Government, or any person in the receipt of salary or emolument from the Government, shall be eligible to election to the Legislature of the Hawaiian Kingdom, or to hold the position of an elective member of the same. And no member of the Legislature shall, during the time for which he is elected, be appointed to any civil office under the Government, except that of a member of the Cabinet¹⁹.

Hence, the Bayonet Constitution effectively stripped power from the king and consolidated it in the hands of white Americans while removing Asians from positions of authority. The enactment of the new constitution coincided with the renewal of the 1875 Treaty of Reciprocity between the U.S. government and Hawai‘i. This treaty included a provision granting the U.S. military exclusive use of Pearl Harbor, thereby solidifying the Kingdom of Hawai‘i as a pivotal outpost for the U.S. navy in the Pacific²⁰.

Following the demise of King Kalakaua in 1891, Queen Liliuokalani ascended to the throne with the aspiration of restoring Hawaiian sovereignty. Queen Liliuokalani faced staunch resistance against her efforts to nullify the Bayonet Constitution and institute a new governing framework. Working in concert with the haole elite, U.S. diplomat Stevens facilitated the landing of U.S. marine corps aboard the U.S. battleship *Boston*, effectively quelling the queen’s bid for constitutional reform. Bolstered by the support of the U.S. military, the haole faction coerced Queen Liliuokalani into abdicating her throne and

¹⁷ Kajihiro [2008], p. 172; Kanuanui [2008], pp. 69,

¹⁸ Fujikane [2008], p. 18.

¹⁹ The 1887 Constitution [<https://hooilina.org/collect/journal/index/assoc/HASH01b8.dir/5.pdf>].

²⁰ Lind [1984/ 1985], p. 28; Kajihiro [2008], p. 172.

subsequently proclaimed the establishment of the Republic of Hawai‘i in 1893. In response, U.S. President Grover Cleveland vehemently condemned military intervention as unlawful. Opposition within the United States to the annexation of Hawai‘i resulted in two instances of congressional refusal to ratify the proposed treaty. From the illegal abolition of the Hawaiian Kingdom to the annexation, Hawaiian royalty continued to protest against the Republic of Hawai‘i and its moves toward annexation. However, with the election of McKinley as president in 1896 and the outbreak of the Spanish-American War in 1898, the movement to annex Hawai‘i accelerated²¹.

It was the Pacific submarine cable that made possible the Spanish-American War, fought over a vast oceanic area. The Legislature of the Republic of Hawai‘i, occupied by haole, prepared grants for the laying of the submarine cable between the United States and Hawai‘i. However, members of U. S. Congress, opposing to the annexation of the Hawaiian Republic, blocked the Pacific Submarine Cable Act. It was the Spanish-American War that brought the Pacific submarine cable project to fruition. While fighting the Spanish Navy in Cuba, the Navy Department in Washington ordered Brigadier General George Dewey, commanding the state-of-the-art Asiatic Fleet, anchored in Hong Kong, to attack the Spanish Navy in the Philippine archipelago through cable communications. Dewey’s fleet headed for Philippine waters and defeated the Spanish Navy, winning the battle. Despite repeated protests by Queen Liliuolalani, amid the Spanish-American War, Congress passed a resolution to annex Hawai‘i in August 1898²².

After the annexation of Hawai‘i, a concerted effort to seize land and initiate base construction commenced on the island of Oahu. In 1900, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers initiated construction, culminating in the completion of the Pearl Harbor Naval Base by 1902. The naval base was to serve as a frontline base for the Philippine-American War that broke out in 1899, when Emilio Aguinaldo, the revolutionary leader of Philippine, had declared independence. The U.S. Army’s war for control of the Philippines, supported by the U.S. Navy, continued intermittently until 1907. In 1909, reclaiming a fish farm in Waikiki facilitated the establishment of Fort DeRussy, now the largest area in the Waikiki vicinity. In the lead-up to World War I, a series of extensive land seizures occurred on Oahu to create bases such as Fort Shafter, Fort Lugar, and Schofield Barracks, which were nestled in the inland mountains. The haole elite collaborated on the construction of these bases with the military to reinforce white-centric social structures and advance the militarization of Hawai‘i and Oahu. From 1911–1914, the U.S. Army Commander in the Pacific delineated plans to encircle Oahu with a “ring of steel”²³.

The militarization of Hawai‘i traces its roots back to the revelation of its significance as a whaling base by the West. The concept of “Manifest Destiny” embraced by the United States in the 1840s extended to Hawai‘i, catalyzing the gradual encroachment of American missionaries and merchants into the Hawaiian Kingdom. As lands within the Hawaiian Kingdom fell into the hands of white Americans, annexation further facilitated the acquisition and confiscation of land by the U.S. Army and Navy for the construction of bases on Oahu, notably the Pearl Harbor Naval Base. Subsequent developments included the establishment of the John Rogers Air Station adjacent to the naval base in 1927 and the Army Air Corps installation on adjoining land in 1934. By 1938, the deployment of B-17

²¹ Poblete [2021], pp. 698-699; Silva [2004], pp. 145-147.

²² Headrick [1991], pp. 99-101; Hagan and Bickerton [2007], pp. 88-89; Silva [2004], pp. 197-203.

²³ Hagan [1991], pp. 226-227; Hagan and Bickerton [2007], pp. 94-101. After the conquest of the Philippines, U.S. naval bases were also constructed in Manila Bay and Subic Bay; Lind [1984/ 1985], pp. 28-29; Kajihoro [2008], p. 172.

bombers solidified Oahu's status as a pivotal combined naval and air force bases in Pearl Harbor to deter the Japanese military forces.²⁴

The military officers, lived in haole community created by wealthy white Americans, shared their political views. A common concern of haole and the military officers was the Japanese immigrants in Hawai'i. They had come to fear the political influence of the outnumbered Japanese labor organization movement, and in 1920 the military intelligence stationed in Honolulu reported that the "Japanese problem" was a "racial problem." Japanese influence in the Asia-Pacific region after the Sino-Japanese War and the Russo Japanese War, was one of the factors driving the militarization of Hawai'i²⁵.

(2) From the Opening Japan to the Pacific War

Around the middle of the 19th century, whaling activities in the Pacific played a significant role in shaping the relationship between Japan and the United States. The waters stretching from the Ogasawara Islands to Japan, commonly referred to as the "Japan Ground," served as a prime location where sperm whales congregated; thus, the area was attractive to whaling vessels from Great Britain and the United States. In response to whaling and American business circles' anticipation of fostering trade opportunities with Asia, the U.S. government dispatched the Black Ship Fleet of the U.S. Navy to pressure the Edo Shogunate to open Japan to the outside world. This strategic move by the United States aimed to secure a foothold in the Pacific region²⁶.

In 1856, three years after the arrival of the Black Ships, the U.S. Congress enacted the Guano Act, which authorized the claiming the possession of unoccupied Pacific islands and the harvesting of bird droppings (guano), which were known for their utility as agricultural fertilizer. By 1903, the United States had claimed sovereignty over ninety-four uninhabited islands and atolls in the Pacific. Among these territories, Midway Atoll emerged as a strategic site for both a military base for the U.S. Navy and a fertilizer source. Conversely, following Japan's opening to the Western world, Japan claimed the ownership of the Ogasawara (Bonin) Islands in 1876.²⁷

Following the Meiji Restoration, the influx of Japanese immigrants to Hawai'i and the U.S. West Coast presented a citizenship dilemma for the U.S. government. In 1885, pursuant to an intergovernmental agreement between Japan and the Kingdom of Hawai'i, numerous Japanese laborers migrated to Hawai'i. However, this became a contentious issue when the United States annexed the islands. Criticism of Japan's militarism escalated following its victories in the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars, fueling a substantial anti-Japanese immigration movement in California during the early 20th century. Tensions reached a peak, resulting in discriminatory practices such as the exclusion of Japanese children from schools in California. This situation was eventually resolved through negotiations between the Japanese and U.S. governments, culminating in the signing of the U.S.-Japan Gentlemen's Agreement in 1907, which was an agreement to refrain from immigration of Japanese male workers.²⁸

²⁴ "History of Hickam Field, Joint Base Pearl Harbor-Hickam, Hawai'i," [<https://www.15wing.af.mil/About-Us/Fact-Sheets/Display/Article/376269/history-of-hickam-field-joint-base-pearl-harbor-hickam-hawai'i/>].

²⁵ Lind [1984/1985], pp. 29-31.

²⁶ Goto [2017], pp. 39-47.

²⁷ Poblete [2021], pp. 692-693.

²⁸ As for Japanese immigrants to Hawai'i and the United States, Azuma [2005], pp. 49-50; After World War I, the Japanese government endeavored to secure a racial equality clause in the Charter of the League of Nations. However, due to the indifference of U.S. President Woodrow Wilson, this aspiration remained unrealized. See, Shimizu [1998], pp. 137-162.

Japan capitalized on an opportunity to expand its influence in the Pacific after Germany's defeat in World War I. Prompted by the outbreak of war in Europe, Japan, in alignment with the Anglo-Japanese alliance, declared war on Germany. This led to the deployment of naval forces to the Pacific Island region, resulting in the occupation of Micronesia and the establishment of an archipelago defense force headquarters. Subsequently, Japan asserted its claim over the occupied German territory of Micronesia, a claim recognized by Great Britain, Russia, and France. However, President Wilson opposed Japan's mandate over Micronesia. Despite this opposition, Japanese rule was acknowledged under the League of Nations mandate system, and Japan retained its mandate over Micronesia even after withdrawing from the league. Referring to Micronesia as Nansei Shoto (the South Sea Islands), the Japanese government encouraged immigration and agricultural development in the region. Many of the migrants to Micronesia hailed from Okinawa Prefecture and the Yaeyama Islands. Japanese immigrants on Rota Island reported that, “Guam is within arm's reach of Rota's ranch,” and “Guam's residents facing thick American racism²⁹.”

During the interwar period, the Hawaiian ruling class perceived the sizable Japanese American population to be a challenge. Despite the 1907 U.S.–Japanese Gentlemen's Agreement, which did not prohibit the entry of wives, children, picture brides, parents of Japanese immigrant workers into the archipelago, the number of Japanese immigrants increased. Japanese immigrant workers organized large-scale strikes, supported by Nisei, to demand higher wages for plantation labor. The 1909 strike aimed to abolish the racial wage system, while another significant strike in 1920 involved Japanese American and Filipino workers who sought increased wages. In response to these developments, the local U.S. military suggested placing Japanese American workers under military control. However, a growing number of U.S.-born Japanese Americans held U.S. citizenship, posing a challenge to such proposals. In 1922, the Governor of the Territory of Hawai'i urged U.S. President Harding to address the high percentage of Japanese immigrants in Hawai'i, as they constituted over 40% of Hawai'i's total population of 253,000 in 1920. Efforts were made to promote tourism as a means of attracting white workers or the white middle class to the islands³⁰.

In the 1920s, Matson Navigation Company and Hawaiian Tourist Bureau, conducted various advertising campaigns to the mainland. Hawaiian Tourist Bureau Association ran an ad about “Honeymoons in the South Seas” in the mainland newspapers and magazines. It showed local Hawaiian women placing flower leis around the necks of white couples. Throughout the 1920s, tourism became the third largest economic sector, after sugar and pineapple production. The image of the wealthy white or middle-class mainland Americans as tourists to Hawai'i became widely popularized through magazines and Hollywood movies. Rather, the presence of Asian residents did not appear there³¹.

Utilizing the Royal Hawaiian brand, the haole community spearheaded beach development through the Waikiki Beach Reclamation Project and the construction of a canal between 1921 and 1924. The iconic Royal Hawaiian Hotel opened its doors, followed by the inauguration of the Pink Palace of Royal Hawaiian Hotel in 1927. Despite a temporary setback in tourism caused by the Great Depression of 1929, visitor numbers rebounded by 1935. Notably, Castle and Cook, a prominent member of Hawai'i's Big Five landowners, acquired shares in the Matson Navigation steamship line, which led to the expansion of its liner service. However, this progress came at the expense of the traditional

²⁹ Ogimi [1934], pp. 135–136 [<https://dl.ndl.go.jp/pid/1899980/1/114>].

³⁰ Skwait [2010], pp. 83, 94–95.

³¹ Desmond [1999], pp. 79–80.

Waikiki fish farms, which formed a crucial component of the Hawaiian Legislature³².

In 1929, the haole community established the Hawaiian Inter-Island Airline Company. Subsequently, the Civil Aeronautics Board, established under the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938, granted the airline a permanent operating certificate in 1939. Originally known as the Island View Airline Company, it was rebranded Hawaiian Airlines in October 1941. The airline practiced a significant racial policy: it was racially discriminatory in that it exclusively served the white population of Hawai‘i. Consequently, Americans on Japanese Ancestors and other people of color, which made up most of the population, were excluded from utilizing the airline’s services³³.

In the 1930s, Pan American Airways established a Pacific route connecting Hawai‘i to the U.S. mainland. Pan Am, renowned for its service between Key West and Havana since 1927, swiftly expanded its operations into Latin America and introduced seaplanes to its Pacific routes in 1935. Pan Am’s primary Pacific route extended from San Francisco via Hawai‘i to Midway Island, Wake Island, Guam, Manila, and Shanghai. The introduction of air services facilitated an influx of affluent visitors to Hawai‘i. Celebrity visits to the islands were prominently featured in movies and magazines, thus solidifying Hawai‘i’s image as a tropical paradise. Additionally, Pan Am inaugurated a South Pacific route from Hawai‘i to New Zealand; however, this route was forced to cease operations following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941³⁴.

In his address urging a declaration of war, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt branded December 7th as “a day of infamy.” The attack inflicted severe damage on the battleships of the Pacific Fleet moored at Pearl Harbor, while Hickam Air Force Base suffered substantial destruction, resulting in the loss of numerous military aircraft, including B-17 bombers. The onslaught claimed the lives of 2,402 military personnel, with 1,178 others sustaining injuries. This brazen attack on Pearl Harbor destroyed the isolationist attitudes of the American populace³⁵.

Japanese victories in the initial stages of the Pacific War posed logistical challenges for the Allies. However, the Battle of Midway altered the course of the conflict. This engagement witnessed fierce confrontations between Japanese and U.S. aircraft carriers coupled with intense aerial skirmishes over the island’s airfields. Japan’s early air superiority faltered when their main aircraft carriers were sunk at Midway in June 1942, disrupting the Japanese’s ability to safeguard crucial supply routes. Subsequently, upon securing airfields along the islands, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, in collaboration with civilian aviation firms like Consolidated Aircraft Company’s subsidiary, Conceal, facilitated the transportation of B-17 bombers and other aircraft to Brisbane, Australia. This endeavor, known as operation steppingstone, played a vital role in reestablishing U.S. military air capabilities in the Pacific³⁶.

The U.S. military placed Hawai‘i under military control to better manage the Japanese American population. Governor Poindexter and General Walter Short swiftly initiated discussions on the proposed military administration and subsequently implemented martial law. This decision garnered support from Robert Shivers, head of the FBI’s Honolulu office. Poindexter communicated with President Roosevelt, citing the presence of Japanese Americans as the rationale behind the imposition of a military government. Under this

³² Mak [2008], p. 82.

³³ Davies [1972], pp. 316–17; Skwait [2010], p. 165.

³⁴ Blower [2017], p. 456; Davies [1972], pp. 247–256; Konzett [2017], pp. 58–59.

³⁵ Dallek [1979], p. 311.

³⁶ Craven and Cate [1958], pp. 175–177.

regime, habeas corpus was suspended, and the courts ceased operations in Hawai‘i. However, unlike the mass internment of 110,000 Japanese Americans on the mainland, encompassing regions such as California, Washington, Oregon, Alaska, Arizona, and other remote areas, individual Americans of Japanese Ancestry in Hawai‘i were able to lead normal lives under the authority of the Hawaiian military government. Of the 1,569 individuals deemed disloyal or dangerous, 1,466 were of Japanese ancestry, constituting only 1% of the total Japanese American population³⁷.

Delos Emmons, succeeding General Walter Short, assumed leadership of the military administration in Hawai‘i. Emmons, a graduate of the Army Air Corps Tactical School who was trained in flight, was appointed by President Roosevelt as chief of the General Headquarters Air Force in 1939. Known for advocating the use of bombers to bolster offensive capabilities, Emmons was chosen to head the Hawaiian command at the insistence of Army Chief of Staff, George C. Marshall, following the Pearl Harbor attack. Having previously served as an Army Air Corps officer at Fort Shafter from 1934 to 1936, Emmons possessed intimate knowledge of Hawai‘i’s demographics, particularly the significant role of Japanese Americans in the local economy. Emmons swiftly instituted a policy of racial tolerance toward ethnic groups, emphasizing the “Americanism” campaign among Nikkei while staunchly opposing discrimination against Japanese Hawaiians. In 1943, Japanese Americans were permitted to volunteer for military service, resulting in 12,000 Nisei Hawaiians of the 33,000 all Nisei soldiers serving and eventually forming the renowned 442nd Regimental Combat Team. Through their unwavering dedication, Japanese Americans demonstrated their powerful sense of patriotism³⁸.

Meanwhile, the military government continued its acquisition of land in the Hawaiian Islands for use by the U.S. Army and U.S. Navy. By 1944, military-controlled land had reached a total area of 600,000 acres. Among the areas seized was Kahoolawe Island off the coast of Maui. Initially leased to Angus McPhee and Harry Baldwin’s Kahoolawe Ranch Company, the southern end of the island was leased to the U.S. military for bombing and artillery training in May 1941. After the Pearl Harbor attack, the military commandeered the entire island. McPhee and Baldwin demanded that the Kahoolawe Island be returned, claiming that its role as a training ground had ceased and seeking reimbursement for their investments. U.S. military authorities rebuffed their requests and retained the island for continued use as a bombing and artillery training area. Consequently, Kahoolawe Island suffered extensive devastation from bombing and shelling operations³⁹.

Hawai‘i emerged as a pivotal hub for military intelligence operations in the conflict against Japan. The commencement of widespread city bombings during World War II necessitated enhanced aerial intelligence capabilities to refine targeting accuracy. While in Europe, the utilization of aerial photography maps, crafted by the British military, facilitated operations, analogous resources for the Pacific theater and Japan were notably deficient. Recognizing this lacuna, the U.S. Army and Navy, traditionally characterized by rivalry, forged a cooperative alliance to develop aerial reconnaissance and bombing target maps directed towards Japan. Following the pivotal victory at the Battle of Midway in June 1942, senior leaders within the U.S. Army and Navy commenced efforts to optimize intelligence operations for greater efficacy.

During World War II, Hawai‘i emerged as a hub for military intelligence operation for war with Japan. The intensification of city bombings necessitated accurate aerial

³⁷ Scheiber and Scheiber [2016], pp. 39–41.

³⁸ Scheiber and Scheiber [2016], pp. 42–43.

³⁹ Blackford [2017], pp. 34–35.

intelligence, a capability that was lacking for Pacific and Japan. While the British military had produced aerial photography maps for Europe, similar resources were unavailable for the Pacific theater. Recognizing the need for collaboration, the previously competitive U.S. Army and Navy joined forces to develop aerial reconnaissance and bombing target maps of Japan⁴⁰.

As various governmental and military entities had initiated intelligence undertakings, Army Chief of Staff, George C. Marshall, and Chief of Naval Operations, Ernest King, discerned the decentralized nature of intelligence efforts and advocated for comprehensive reorganization. Consequently, the Joint Army Navy Intelligence Studies (JANIS) were established in late April 1943. The Naval Aviation Photography Unit (NAPU), operating from an aircraft carrier as its primary vessel, assumed the critical task of capturing photographic intelligence over Japanese territories, encompassing the Marianas, the Caroline Islands, the Okinawa Archipelago⁴¹.

In parallel, the Naval Aviation Photography Battalion undertook multifaceted responsibilities encompassing public relations photography and strategic aerial reconnaissance activities. Notably, among the personnel mobilized for this unit was Edward Steichen, a luminary figure renowned for his contributions to major fashion publications and advertising ventures during the 1920s and 1930s. Tasked with military advertising campaigns, Steichen's unit spotlighted leisure and tourism, particularly during wartime. Employing aesthetically pleasing and stylish portrayals of servicemembers engaged in daily routines aboard aircraft carriers, these images served as potent recruitment tools for the Navy. Depictions of soldiers engaged in leisurely activities such as sunbathing conveyed a sense of American military superiority in the Pacific theater to the domestic audience⁴². Furthermore, photographic documentation extended to the environs of Hawai'i, serving as a strategic base of operations. However, these images depicted idyllic scenes of palm-fringed beaches, lush South Seas flora, and captivating sunsets, featuring solely white soldiers and American citizens while conspicuously omitting representations of the Indigenous population. Collectively, these portrayals projected Hawai'i as an exclusive military enclave, underscoring its characterization as a U.S. military "playground."⁴³

During World War II, Hawai'i assumed dual roles as a military base for the Pacific War and a recreational center for service members. Under military governance, Hawai'i's agrarian economy, centered around crops such as sugarcane, underwent a significant transformation into a military-driven economy. The military also wielded control over wartime tourism, reshaping the image of Hawai'i, which had been thought of as an exclusive resort destination frequented by Hollywood celebrities, as depicted in movies and photo magazines of the 1930s. Soldiers stationed in Hawai'i found respite through recreational activities such as Hawaiian music, hula dancing, and surfing⁴⁴.

However, the influx of military personnel also exacerbated issues such as prostitution and venereal diseases, leading to the institutionalization and control of prostitution until 1944.

⁴⁰ Takada [2020a], p. 89.

⁴¹ Kreis [2004], p. 116; Central Intelligence Agency [2009], p. ix; Marchio [1996], pp. 116–119. JANIS reports were digitized by the Constitutional Archives of the National Diet Library as part of the Strategic Bombing Survey Mission materials. About thirty-two volumes were produced for Japan, including volumes on Kamchatka, Sakhalin, Taiwan, the Mariana Islands, and the Caroline Islands. The collection corresponding to the Japanese mainland was produced from late 1944 to early 1945 due to the difficulty of obtaining photographic intelligence. <https://rnavi.ndl.go.jp/kensei/entry/USB-1.php> (Accessed: 2019/12/10).

⁴² Dod [1999], p. 510.

⁴³ Lisle [2016], pp. 102–112.

⁴⁴ Skwait [2010], pp. 148–149; Connelly [2021], pp. 232–234.

Seaside areas surrounding naval and air bases were developed into beach resorts, further enhancing the perception of Hawai‘i as a leisure destination. Haole, in collaboration with the military, aimed to transform soldiers into tourists, and they used organizations like the United Service Organization (USO) promote the slogan “Hawai‘i is paradise” to boost morale. In sum, militourism gained traction during World War II, with Hawai‘i serving as a vital strategic base in the Pacific theater while simultaneously providing rest and recreation facilities for soldiers⁴⁵.

The imperialist notion of the Pacific as the “American Lake” which has been prevalent since the 19th century, was revitalized following the attack on Pearl Harbor. Throughout the war, the U. S. armed forces seized and occupied huge island territories and atolls from Japan, converting them into military bases. Additionally, between 1945 and 1947, the U.S. government implemented policies to assert dominance over the Pacific region, including placing Micronesia, a former Japanese mandate territory, under trusteeship. In the context of the war against Japan and the broader effort to establish dominance in the Pacific, Hawai‘i played a pivotal role as both strategic military bases and a haven for soldiers seeking rest and relaxation⁴⁶.

2. Construction of a wartime global air network and resumption of Pacific civil aviation

The United States initiated the development and establishment of a global air network in 1941. Following the enactment of the Lend Lease Act of 1941, Pan Am, operating under contracts with both the U.S. and British governments, spearheaded the creation of a South Atlantic and Trans-African air transportation network. This network strategically linked the burgeoning U.S. aircraft industry with British vital bases across Africa and the Middle East. The endeavor encountered no resistance within the United States and was widely perceived as an active measure to bolster support for Britain⁴⁷. On the other hand, the establishment of an air network in the Pacific region aimed to leverage existing Pan Am routes centered around Hawai‘i, intending to connect Hawai‘i with Australia and New Zealand. These endeavors, initially aligned with the provisions of the Lend Lease Act, were suddenly disrupted by the devastating attack on Pearl Harbor⁴⁸.

Based on the Civil Aviation Act of 1938, which positioned commercial airlines as a reserve component of the U.S. air force strength, President Roosevelt mobilized all seventeen domestic airlines of the United States. However, Pan Am, which had been actively expanding routes to Africa and the Middle East, exhibited reluctance towards military mobilization. Pan Am’s pursuit of post-war operating rights in Africa, a matter discovered by the British government, further exacerbated tensions, and solidified the British resolve to safeguard their imperial air network. In July 1942, the British government proposed and signed a memorandum of understanding with the U.S. government to hold bilateral British-U.S. aviation negotiations as soon as possible on the issue of international civil aviation and the right to use bases and airport facilities built with the Lend Lease funds. Shortly thereafter, however, it was discovered that Pan Am had planned and surveyed the

⁴⁵ Bailey and Farber [1992], pp. 95–130; Lisle [2016], pp. 99–102; Sasaki [2016], pp. 653–654.

⁴⁶ Dower [1974], pp. 146–206; Takemine [2015].

⁴⁷ Ray [1975], pp. 340–58; Van Vleck [2013], pp. 148–151.

⁴⁸ Underwood [1991], p. 171.

construction of an airport in the British protectorate of Muscat-Oman and had applied directly to the Sultan for the right to use the airport. The British government protested vehemently to the U.S. government and demanded that Pan Am be excluded from the Africa-Middle East route. This route was to be operated by the U. S. Army Air Force, Air Transport Command (ATC) and Pan Am was excluded⁴⁹.

In response to these developments, the U.S. government established the ATC in June 1942. Tasked with orchestrating a global airlift operation, the ATC, in collaboration with domestic carriers operating under its purview, initiated extensive airlift missions worldwide. Pan Am's involvement in the Africa-Middle East route was terminated in October 1942, and the company was reassigned to participate in airlift operations across the Pacific in conjunction with the Navy Air Transport Service (NATS). The ATC, alongside domestic carriers, orchestrated a sprawling airlift service that expanded significantly over the course of the conflict. By war's end, the ATC had burgeoned from a force of 11,000 personnel to a formidable contingent of 300,000 individuals, facilitating the transportation of 30,000 aircraft to the frontlines in 1942, 72,000 in 1943, and 108,000 in 1944.⁵⁰

The British government demonstrated foresight in addressing the post-war aviation challenge. In late 1942, a resolution in the British Parliament voiced apprehension regarding Pan Am's integration into the British imperial air network, characterizing the aviation issue as being akin to another "Boston Tea Party." Harold Balfour, the Air Minister of Britain, declared that the British government sought to take decisive action on behalf of the approximately one million workers in the aircraft industry. In response, the Interdepartmental Committee on Aviation Policy, convened by President Roosevelt in early 1943, was tasked to develop U.S. aviation policy. This committee was presided over by Assistant Secretary of State Adolf Berle and was comprised of military and civilian aviation experts, including the Assistant Secretaries of the Army and Navy, the Assistant Secretary of Commerce, and a representative from the Civil Aeronautics Board of the Department of Commerce. The overarching objective of the U.S. government's postwar civil aviation policy was to secure landing rights at as many airports as possible, thereby facilitating the transition of airlift operations to civilian demand by assigning international routes to commercial airlines, all while maintaining a robust global military aviation network⁵¹.

However, congressional pressure for base acquisition, coupled with the Department of the Navy's desire acquire island bases to make the Pacific Ocean "the American lake." This led to increased interest in overseas bases constructed and maintained with Lend-Lease funds. The Joint Chiefs of Staff drafted a plan in 1943 outlining the framework for securing overseas bases, which became integral to the U.S. national security system⁵². Meanwhile, the interdepartmental committee submitted a policy proposal to the Secretary of State advocating for securing immediate rights to use valuable air facilities for postwar air commerce. This proposal also emphasized the importance of creating an international civil aviation organization and initiating negotiations with Great Britain⁵³. Disagreements arose

⁴⁹ Dobson [1991], pp. 128-129; Craven and Cate [1958], pp. 53-54; *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1942, volume 4, The Near East and Africa*, 1963, pp. 531-534.

⁵⁰ Craven and Cate [1958], p. 19.

⁵¹ Berle and Jacobs [1973], pp. 482-83; Takada [2011], pp. 82-83.

⁵² Stoler [1982], pp. 303-21.

⁵³ National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), College Park, MD, "Interdepartmental Subcommittee on International Aviation Preliminary Report as Adapted March 1, 1943," Record Group 105 Entry 210 Box 123, pp. 8-9.

within departments regarding the nature of air agreements: The Department of Commerce and the Civil Aeronautics Bureau favored bilateral agreements based on airspace sovereignty, while the Interdepartmental Committee recommended a multilateral approach involving general agreements, including a “fifth freedom” that would allow airlines to operate beyond right— the right to load and unload cargo and passengers between two or more countries⁵⁴.

In the postwar era, international civil aviation was shaped by bilateral aviation agreements between the United States and Britain, which were negotiated at the Chicago International Civil Aviation Conference in November 1944 and at the Bermuda Conference in February 1946. At the Chicago Conference, the U.S. advocated for a comprehensive multilateral agreement that included the “fifth freedom” right for airlines. However, the conference resulted in a commitment to bilateral negotiations. Subsequently, the Bermuda Agreement, negotiated between the U.S. and Britain in February 1946, became the foundation for postwar aviation agreements. Although the British government succeeded in limiting beyond rights of the United State in the conclusion of agreement, the latter vigorously pursued bilateral air agreements⁵⁵.

The Bermuda Agreement also addressed Pacific routes. The UK secured the right to operate a route from Singapore to San Francisco via Hong Kong, Manila, Guam, Wake Island, Midway Atoll, and Honolulu. Conversely, the U.S. obtained rights to multiple routes, including one from San Francisco or Los Angeles via Honolulu, Midway, Wake, Guam, and Manila to Hong Kong, Macau, and various destinations in Asia. Another route extended from San Francisco or Los Angeles to Dutch Indonesia. Following the Bermuda Agreement, the British government coordinated with Commonwealth countries and the U.S. to establish the Pacific route. Hong Kong emerged as a crucial hub between Asia and Southeast Asia, prompting the UK to develop the Hong Kong Airport to facilitate air travel in the region⁵⁶.

In response to the dominant air transport capacity of the United States, the United Kingdom and Commonwealth nations in the Pacific established the South Pacific Airlift Advisory Committee and launched British Commonwealth Pacific Airlines (BCPA) as a joint venture. BCPA aimed to operate a trans-Pacific route connecting Australia and the United States, thus competing with Pan Am in the Pacific region. The Australian and New Zealand governments were reluctant to grant fifth freedom rights to U.S. airlines. However, negotiations between these governments and the United States led to the signing of air service agreements in December 1946 that were like the Bermuda Agreement. This agreement paved the way for BCPA to commence operations, flying a route from Australia and New Zealand to the U.S. West Coast via Hawai‘i three times a week, starting in 1947. Meanwhile, Pan Am continued to operate a similar route twice a week⁵⁷.

After World War II, the rapid demobilization of military airlift units in the U.S. Army and Navy led to significant reductions in personnel and aircrafts. For example, the Army Airlift

⁵⁴ Dobson [1991], pp. 136–138; Smith [1950], pp. 148–150. On “Five Freedoms of the air” provides (1) innocent passage or over-flight; (2) technical stop for repairs or refueling; (3) the right to pick up passengers from an airline’s country of origin and disembark them in territory of the other contracting party; (4) the right to pick up passengers in the other contracting country and disembark them in the airline’s country of origin; and (5) the right to pick up passengers from the other contracting party and carry them forward to a third-party destination. The Fifth Freedom is also known as “beyond rights.” See, Dobson [2017], p. 36.

⁵⁵ Dobson [2017], pp. 52–55.

⁵⁶ Wang [2022] pp. 45–46; Guyana (Bermuda I) Air Transport Agreement of February 11, 1946, <https://2009-2017.state.gov/e/eb/rls/othr/ata/g/gy/114284.htm>.

⁵⁷ Orders [2003], p. 177–178.

Command, which had 300,000 personnel and 3,700 transport aircrafts on September 2, 1945, saw its force shrink to 60,000 personnel and 1,500 aircrafts within a year. The focus of airlift routes shifted to the North Atlantic, Europe, and the Pacific, with reduced operations in the latter region limited to routes such as the North Pacific Great Circle route from the U.S. West Coast and via Hawai‘i. Airlift operations in the South and Southwest Pacific were handled by the Royal New Zealand Air Force Airlift Command, which operated a smaller fleet of 600 aircraft in 1947. Similarly, the U. S. Naval Airlift Command faced rapid demobilization and budget cuts and operated only 116 seaplanes in 1947⁵⁸.

As military airlift operations demobilized, efforts were made to convert airlift activities to meet civilian demand. Bilateral air agreements with countries such as Ireland, Canada, and the United Kingdom allowed the U.S. to secure landing rights, and the Civil Aeronautics Board assigned routes to commercial airlines. In the Pacific, Pan Am established a monopoly before the war. However, post-war routes were allocated to multiple companies. Pan Am and Northwest Airlines were assigned routes from the North Pacific Great Circle to Tokyo and continuing to Shanghai and other parts of Asia. Another carrier, United Airlines, received permission to fly a route from the U.S. West Coast to Hawai‘i. Subsequently, both Pan Am and Northwest were granted permission to fly to Hawai‘i, with Pan Am receiving approval in the same year, followed by Northwest in the following year in 1947⁵⁹.

Between 1945 and 1946, the airline industry experienced a brief period of growth and expansion. Eager to attract new customers, airlines demanded the production of modern airliners, leading to the introduction of state-of-the-art aircraft such as the Lockheed Constellation. Transcontinental and Western Airlines even rebranded itself as Trans World Airlines (TWA) and began operating Lockheed Constellation aircraft. By 1947, the market dynamics had shifted dramatically due to the rapid demobilization of military airlift forces, which flooded the market with surplus transport aircraft, notably the DC-3. These used aircraft, though considered obsolete for military use, found new demand in the civilian sector as they could be converted into passenger planes at a low cost. This led to an overproduction of planes and financial challenges for airlines, which was only exacerbated by stagnant passenger traffic growth and reduced demand for civil aviation⁶⁰.

The viability of international civil aviation was further complicated by regulatory issues. While the Civil Aeronautics Board granted permission for airlines such as Pan Am and Northwest to fly to Japan in 1946, the General Headquarters Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (GHQ/SCAP) in Japan was slow to act. It was not until April 1947 that GHQ/SCAP allowed these airlines to operate flights to and from Japan. GHQ also limited the use of civilian airport companies to Haneda Airport in Tokyo, which was under U.S. military control, while other airports, such as Chitose Airport in Hokkaido in northern Japan, Osaka Airport (Itami), and Fukuoka Airport, were placed under military authority⁶¹. Moreover, to avoid accusations of monopolizing Japanese civil aviation, GHQ/SCAP permitted other international airlines, including British Overseas Airways Company, Canadian Pacific, Qantas, Philippine Airlines, and China Airlines to operate flights to and from Japan, albeit restricting them to Haneda Airport⁶².

⁵⁸ Williams [1999], pp. 15, 18; Orders [2003], p. 175.

⁵⁹ Davies [1972], pp. 376-377; Mak [2008], p. 15.

⁶⁰ Bright [2020], pp. 79–80; Hühne [2017], p. 151.

⁶¹ NARA, Record Group (RG) 218 Entry UD 4 Box 28, Enclosure, “Appendix A: Discussion,” 11 October 1945, pp. 6–10; NARA, RG 331 UD 1148 Box 386 G4 Files, “Request for Use of International Civil Communications by Northwest Airlines, Inc., and Pan American Airways, Inc.,” February 18, 1947, pp. 1–2.

⁶² Davies [1997], p. 464.

The Nexus of Militarization and Tourism in the “American Lake”

After World War II, the Pacific Ocean came under significant American influence, with islands that were once fiercely contested now occupied by U.S. forces. Guam, which had been occupied by Japan during the war, was also reoccupied by U.S. forces. The U.S. Navy strongly advocated for the annexation of the Pacific region, particularly the islands of Micronesia, which had been under Japanese rule since World War I. However, the State Department opposed annexation, arguing that it would violate the rights of the island peoples to self-determination; instead, it supported the idea of establishing a trusteeship system. This difference in opinion between the military and the State Department led to controversy within the U.S. government regarding the Micronesia situation⁶³.

While some military officers advocated for the cultural Americanization of Micronesia through white American settlement, the U.S. used the region as a nuclear test site, profoundly altering the culture, traditions, living conditions, and ecology of the region's Indigenous inhabitants⁶⁴. Bikini Atoll, located in the northern part of the U.S.-occupied Marshall Islands in Micronesia, was chosen as the site for the first post-war nuclear tests due to its remoteness from the Pacific transportation network and its small population, thus minimizing potential casualties⁶⁵. President Truman approved the proposal in January 1946, and preparations were made to conduct the tests. Despite domestic protests and international criticism, the first atomic bomb test was conducted on July 1 of that year, targeting decommissioned U.S. Navy ships and Japanese and German battleships, followed by a second test conducted on July 25, 1946⁶⁶. The United Nations did not recognize the United States' international trusteeship of Micronesia until 1947, and the U.S. military's continued nuclear testing in the region may have been aimed at erasing the political and cultural influence of the Japanese mandate⁶⁷.

After the atomic bomb tests at Bikini Atoll, the onset of the Cold War became evident in Europe and the Middle East in late 1946 and 1947. In response to the growing threat of communism, President Harry S. Truman announced the “Truman Doctrine” in March 1947, which aimed to provide military assistance to nations worldwide in resisting communist expansion. To prepare for the challenges posed by communism, the Truman administration developed a national security structure, leading to the passage of the National Security Act of 1947. The National Security Act resulted in the merger of the Departments of the Army and Navy and the creation of a new branch, the Air Force. Recognizing the critical importance of aviation in both military and civilian sectors, Truman established the Air Policy Commission, also known as the Finletter Commission, led by Thomas K. Finletter, who had served as a special assistant of Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, and a consultant at the United Nations Conference on International Organization as San Francisco, to formulate national aviation policy. In December 1947, the Finletter Commission issued its report titled “Surviving the Air Age,” outlining its recommendations for a comprehensive aviation strategy⁶⁸.

The Finletter Commission noted the duplication of the Army and Navy airlift forces and recommended that airlift forces be integrated with the creation of the Air Force. The committee also emphasized that the combined transport capabilities of the present Army and Navy airlift forces and civilian airlift companies were inadequate for strategic airlift

⁶³ Foltos [1989], pp. 317–323.

⁶⁴ Friedman [1997], pp. 49–70.

⁶⁵ Teaiwa [1994], pp. 84–109.

⁶⁶ Graybar [1986], pp. 888–907.

⁶⁷ The South Pacific was militarized and suffered nuclear testing–induced radioactive contamination. It was not until the mid-1970s that the area was developed for international civil aviation. Kissing [2014], p. 38.

⁶⁸ Crackel [1998], pp. 63–64.

operations responsible for rapid logistics in preparation for future wars, and it recommended that the transport capabilities of civilian airlift companies be enhanced and mobilized to conduct airlift operations as they had been during World War II. The Air Policy Board recommended that the Military Air Transport Service, which integrated the Army and Navy airlift forces, oversee airlift activities to meet the needs of the Army, Navy, and Air Force. Based on these recommendations, the Military Air Transport Service (MATS) was established under the Air Force to oversee airlift activities for the Army, Navy, and Air Force. Secretary of Defense Forrestal issued a decision in January 1948 to consolidate the Army and Navy airlift forces and establish the MATS. Airlift routes were divided into three regions: Europe, the continental United States, and the Pacific. Hickam Air Force Base in Hawai‘i was designated as the starting point for flights to Tokyo in the Pacific region, reflecting the strategic importance of Hawai‘i in post-war military operations⁶⁹.

The intensification of the Cold War brought about challenges such as the Berlin Blockade, during which West Berliners faced shortages of essential supplies like food, fuel, and medicine. The Soviet Union hoped that these difficulties would force Western powers to withdraw from West Berlin. However, MATS spearheaded a massive airlift operation known as the Berlin Airlift, which played a crucial role in ensuring the survival of West Berliners by airlifting supplies into the city. The Berlin Airlift demonstrated the significance of strategic airlift operations in the context of the Cold War, highlighting the capability of the United States to sustain its allies in the face of Soviet aggression. Following the success of the Berlin Airlift, the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950 further underscored the importance of airlift operations⁷⁰. The Korean War led to the establishment of a close partnership between the military and civilian sectors in conducting airlift operations. Additionally, the conflict prompted further militarization of the Pacific region, as the United States sought to bolster its presence and capabilities to counter communist aggression. Overall, the challenges posed by the Cold War propelled the revitalization of U.S. military airlift capabilities and underscored the critical role of airlift operations in the strategic defense and support of country’s allies.

3. The Korean War and Militarism and Tourism in the “American Lake”

The Korean War played a significant role in facilitating the establishment of military alliances in the Pacific region. The approval of Japanese commercial airlines was an outcome of the San Francisco Peace Conference and the Japan–U.S. Security Treaty, which provided for the permanent use of U.S. military bases in Japan. Additionally, Australia and New Zealand, foreseeing competition for operations in the Pacific, strengthened its relations with the United States as British military power in the region declined. Both countries contributed troops to the Korean War as part of the UN’s forces. Emphasizing the importance of building alliances in the Pacific, the U.S. government signed security treaties (ANZUS) with Australia and New Zealand, further solidifying regional partnerships⁷¹.

The war significantly heightened both U.S. military and civilian airlift operations. MATS and mobilized civilian airlines played an increasingly crucial role in transporting supplies

⁶⁹ Williams [1999], pp. 22–23.

⁷⁰ Williams [1999], pp. 25–27.

⁷¹ Orders [2003], p. 190.

and personnel to Japan, which became a frontline base for the conflict. Prior to the outbreak of the Korean War, the Pacific Division of MATS airlifted an average of seventy tons of munitions per month to Japan. However, after the war began, Hickam Air Force Base in Hawai‘i saw its role strengthen as MATS’ Pacific Division commenced wartime operations. Aircraft from various parts of the world, including mobilized civilian planes, landed at Hickam, which became key military airlift hub on the frontline. In 1952, during the Korean War, the Air Force established a system for mobilizing commercial airlines for military purposes. Companies such as Transocean Airlines and the cargo-focused Flying Tigers were among the first to participate in military airlifts as chartered flights. Additionally, major commercial carriers like Pan Am, Northwest, United, Seaboard & Western, and Overseas National also contributed to military airlift operations between the U.S. West Coast and Japan. By September 1950, 345 commercial aircrafts had been chartered for these purposes, although MATS soon faced budgetary challenges⁷².

A committee was formed within the U.S. government on the request of the Secretary of the Air Force and the Chairperson of the National Security Resources Administration to respond to the need to ensure wartime airlift capability. In March 1951, President Truman issued Executive Order 10219, which mobilized civilian airlines for military service. This led to a significant increase in trans-Pacific flights, with 40 percent of them being conducted by commercial airlines. Notably, among the passengers transported were 35 U.S. soldiers liberated from a North Korean prisoner-of-war camp for whom Hickam Air Force Base became a symbol of relief and joy⁷³.

Hickam Air Force Base played a significant role in the post-World War II era, serving as the home base for MATS, which was organized in 1948. In the late 1940s, housing developments were constructed for military families not only in Hickam but also in garrisoned areas and occupied territories of Japan and Germany. Hickam Base notably became the site of the first military family housing project in the United States. Various amenities, such as dormitories for single soldiers, military family housing, restaurants, gymnasiums, schools, movie theaters, and day care centers, were established on the base. The housing was designed to resemble suburban housing on the U.S. mainland, featuring spacious layouts, large gardens, and tropical plants from the South Seas. This initiative reflected the broader aim of creating “Little America” residential areas around the world that would mirror typical suburban lifestyles found in the continental U.S.⁷⁴.

In addition to its role as a residential hub, Hawai‘i also served as a crucial training base. In 1951, the U.S. Army established the Infantry Training Center at Scofield Barracks to mobilize and train personnel from various regions, including the mainland U.S., Hawai‘i, Guam, and American Samoa. The military and the Hawaiian territorial government anticipated that military personnel visiting Hawai‘i would contribute to tourism. Interestingly, the military even referred to trainees as “tourists in military uniforms.” However, the mobility of military personnel, who often move between bases on the mainland and overseas, presents a challenge: it is difficult to accurately account for their presence. Consequently, military personnel stationed in Hawai‘i or visiting for training or transportation, who may not be officially recorded by immigration authorities, effectively become transient tourists and consumers during their time in the region⁷⁵.

⁷² Crackel [1998], p. 69.

⁷³ Priddy [1994], pp. 12–15; Krejcarek and Chute [1985], pp. 42, 76.

⁷⁴ Alvah [2007], pp. 21–34; Gillem [2007], pp. 73–121; Krejcarek and Chute [1985], pp. 78–92; Blower [2017], pp. 457–458.

⁷⁵ Man [2018], p. 80; Morris-Suzuki [2010], pp. 123–124.

The militarization of Hawai‘i during the Cold War era was intertwined with the dynamics of local politics and the struggle for democratization. Prior to this period, the political and economic power in Hawai‘i was concentrated among the haole, especially the Big Five, haole sugar plantation owners and landlords, who were Republican. After World War II, however, there was a shift in power dynamics driven by the emergence of labor unions and the mobilization of demobilized soldiers. Postwar Hawai‘i witnessed the organization of plantation and dock workers into unions that aimed to address economic exploitation. However, union leaders were often targeted and labeled communists, leading to the suppression of labor movements. In response, demobilized World War II veterans, including Japanese and Chinese Americans, began to advocate for full U.S. citizenship and spearheaded the statehood movement. This movement gained momentum, culminating in the victory of the Democratic Party in the 1954 Hawaiian congressional elections, known as the “Bloodless Revolution.” The success of the statehood movement led to its admission as the 50th state of the United States in 1959. However, this outcome disappointed Native Hawaiians who had sought decolonization and the restoration of Hawaiian sovereignty. Meanwhile, Asian Hawaiians, who played a significant role in advocating for statehood, valued their relationship with the federal government, particularly the military⁷⁶.

The facilitation of statehood and alignment with federal interests, including the military, contributed to the process of militarization in Hawai‘i. As a result, the expansion of military bases and functions in the Pacific region, including the establishment of new training bases, became intertwined with the political and social developments in Hawai‘i during the Cold War era. Veterans played a significant role in shaping Hawai‘i’s military landscape, given their affinity for the military and military bases. The U.S. government and military extensively expanded Hawai‘i’s military capabilities, with Oahu alone hosting sixteen military bases. Substantial portions of the military budget were allocated to Hawai‘i, highlighting its strategic importance in Washington’s Asia-Pacific policy⁷⁷.

Hawai‘i also emerged as a crucial hub for U.S. nuclear forces in the Pacific, marked by multiple nuclear tests conducted in the region. Beginning with the atomic bomb test at Bikini Atoll in 1946, the U.S. conducted 106 nuclear tests, which had significant environmental and health implications for the region. The Castle Bravo hydrogen bomb test in 1954, conducted during the Eisenhower administration, had particularly far-reaching consequences, with radioactive fallout affecting various areas, including Micronesia, Japan, Australia, India, and Hawai‘i. The presence of as many as 3,100 nuclear weapons in Hawai‘i further proved its pivotal role in U.S. nuclear strategy during the Cold War⁷⁸.

Moreover, the growing political influence of the Asian population in Hawai‘i became increasingly significant in shaping U.S. Cold War policy toward the U.S.-Soviet Union, especially in the context of Asia’s rising importance. The establishment of the People’s Republic of China, the end of the Korean War, and the First Indochina War, and the emergence of newly independent Asian and African nations critical of the U.S.-Soviet Cold War dynamics, highlighted the need for a racially fair approach. In response, commercial airlines in the United States, such as Pan Am, began reassessing their policies, including diversifying their workforce to include second-generation Japanese Americans cabin attendants for the Asia-Pacific routes to accommodate the growing passenger traffic from Asia, marking a shift toward greater inclusivity and engagement with the region⁷⁹.

⁷⁶ Klein [2003], p. 248; Man [2018], pp. 81-82; Skwiot [2010], pp. 161–162.

⁷⁷ Skwiot [2010], pp. 161-162; Lind [1984/1985], p. 37.

⁷⁸ Klein [2003], p. 309; Norris, Atkin & Burr [1999], p. 30; Fitzgerald [2022], p. 91.

⁷⁹ Yano [2011], pp. 2-3.

The Nexus of Militarization and Tourism in the “American Lake”

Pan Am ordered the Boeing 707 and Douglas DC-8 jetliners in 1955. Following Pan Am, many commercial airlines upgraded from using four-cylinder propeller-engine airliners to jet airliners. This was the arrival of the first jet age. The transition to jet aircraft revolutionized air travel and tourism in Hawai‘i and the broader Pacific region. While the United Kingdom initially led the jetliner market with the de Havilland Comet, a series of accidents tarnished its reputation, allowing American manufacturers like Douglas and Boeing to dominate the industry. Pan Am’s introduction of the Boeing 707 marked the beginning of the intercontinental jet era, with its service reaching Honolulu International Airport in 1959, coinciding with Hawai‘i’s statehood⁸⁰.

Despite the growing political influence of Asian Hawaiians, the economic influence of the haole community remained significant. This was evident in the rapid development of tourist infrastructure, including large hotels like the 650-room Holiday Inn, the 31-story 1,900-room Waikiki Sheraton, and others like the Hawaiian Regent and Hyatt Regency. United Airlines’ introduction of DC-8s and its efforts to attract more passengers, such as sponsoring a Professional Golf Association tournament in Hawai‘i, further boosted tourist visits to the islands. The military played a crucial role in the development of Hawai‘i’s tourism industry, as the introduction of jet aircraft and the expansion of tourist hotels were often driven by military-related initiatives. This convergence of military and civilian interests contributed to the popularization of Hawai‘i’s militourism, or mass tourism, which had its roots in the facilities and infrastructure established by the military during and after World War II⁸¹.

The period between 1950 and 1959 witnessed a significant surge in tourism in Hawai‘i, with tourist spending increasing by 350% and the number of visitors rising from 34,000 in 1945 to 243,000 in 1959. United Airlines played a role in this growth by introducing various initiatives, including family fare discount programs and the introduction of the coach class, which made air travel more accessible to families and individuals alike. Additionally, military visitors to Hawai‘i, not accounted for in official tourism statistics, also contributed to the island’s tourism industry, as MATS was actively involved in military airlift operations across the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans⁸².

In 1962, three years after Hawai‘i attained statehood, the last atmospheric nuclear test in the Pacific occurred amid heightened tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union over Cuba. The detonation of nuclear devices led to the forced relocation of residents from Bikini Atoll and Eniwetok Atoll in the Marshall Islands. U.S. servicemembers stationed in the region witnessed these tests from proximity, with some stationed as close as ten miles away. The Atomic Energy Commission portrayed these nuclear tests as public spectacles, even allowing local families and schoolchildren to observe tests conducted in Nevada. The 1962 atmospheric hydrogen bomb test conducted on Johnston Island, just west of Hawai‘i, was visible from the islands and American Samoa. Witnesses described the sky turning vivid colors, ranging from lime green to lemonade pink and finally red, creating a surreal and alarming sight. Reports detailed how residents, tourists, and individuals who resembled soldiers watched the test unfold from Waikiki Beach. This event underscored Hawai‘i’s inclusion in the broader Cold War landscape of nuclear testing and geopolitical tensions⁸³.

⁸⁰ Engel [2007], pp.173–174; Davies [2007], pp. 40–41, 50–52.

⁸¹ Allen [2004], pp. 37–40; Mak [2008], p. 16.

⁸² Klein [2003], p. 245; Lust [2009], pp. 153–159; Williams [1999], p. 37.

⁸³ Nye [1994], pp. 232–234; “Space bomb in color: EERIE Spectacle in Pacific Sky,” *Life*, July 20, 1962, pp. 25–34.

Conclusion

This paper comprehensively examined the formation of militourism in Hawai‘i, tracing its roots back to the annexation of Hawai‘i by the United States in the 19th century. It highlighted how settler colonialism and the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i paved the way for white American rule and military control in the region. Japanese immigrants in Hawai‘i, who were also spreading across the Pacific as part of Japan’s imperial expansion, became a focal point of concern for the white elite in Hawai‘i. The U.S. government and military capitalized on tensions with Japan to assert control over Hawai‘i, further militarizing the islands and seizing land for military purposes. This expansion of military control over Hawai‘i reflected a renewed imperialist conception of the Pacific as the “American Lake” in the 20th century. The Pacific region, including Micronesia, was brought under the influence of the U.S. military, with Oahu emerging as a key strategic base. Pearl Harbor, serving as the home port of the Pacific Fleet, and Hickam Air Force Base, established in the 1920s, were pivotal in the military’s operations in the Pacific. Additionally, the expansion of Schofield Barracks during the Korean War further solidified Oahu’s role as a critical military hub. Throughout World War II and the Cold War, Oahu’s military base functions were enhanced, underscoring its significance in U.S. military strategy in the Pacific region.

The aftermath of World War II saw a clash between the United States and Great Britain over international civil aviation, particularly in the Atlantic Ocean. This conflict led to the establishment of the Chicago–Bermuda system, which established the framework for the postwar international civil aviation. Meanwhile, in the Pacific, the United Kingdom sought to counter U.S. influence through the establishment of the British Commonwealth Pacific Airlines (BCPA) with the Commonwealth realms. In the Pacific theater, the United States granted operating rights to Pan Am and Northwest Airlines for routes between the U.S. West Coast and Japan. United Airlines was also permitted to operate routes between the U.S. West Coast and Hawai‘i. However, Pan Am attempted to monopolize the civil aviation market in postwar Japan, exacerbating tensions in the region. The situation was further complicated by the outbreak of the Korean War and the subsequent involvement of the United States. This geopolitical context heightened competition and strategic maneuvering in the Pacific, particularly in the realm of civil aviation.

The Korean War had significant geopolitical ramifications, particularly in the Pacific region. This led to the signing of the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty, which transformed Japan into a strategic ally for the United States and further militarized the region. Additionally, military alliances with Australia and New Zealand further bolstered the Pacific’s military capabilities. Furthermore, the war increased military activities in the Pacific, with Hickam Air Force Base in Hawai‘i becoming a crucial hub for airlift operations to Japan and Korea. Civilian airlines played a substantial role in troop transport during this period, contributing to their experience and involvement in Pacific routes. Moreover, Hawai‘i’s military function was strengthened after World War II, with the islands becoming a center of air mobility in the Pacific. The development of infrastructure and recreational facilities in Hawai‘i catered to the needs of soldiers and their families stationed there, earning it the nickname “America Town.” Political developments within Hawai‘i, including the growing influence of Asian Hawaiians and military veterans, emphasized cooperation with federal

The Nexus of Militarization and Tourism in the “American Lake”

government and the armed forces. Simultaneously, economic interests, primarily driven by the haole minority with significant economic power, prioritized tourism, and land development, including alliances with mainland capital for hotel construction. Hawai‘i is being granted statehood further facilitated the growth of tourism, which was heralded by the introduction of jet service by passenger airlines such as Pan Am.

This paper scrutinized the intricate relationship between Hawai‘i’s transformation into a tourist destination and its role as a key U.S. military base in the Pacific. The militarization of Hawai‘i, particularly through bases like Pearl Harbor Naval Base and Hickam Air Force Base, played a significant role in shaping the island’s tourism industry. Military personnel stationed in Hawai‘i, although not traditionally counted as tourists, contributed to the local economy and tourism sector. The military’s presence in Hawai‘i, especially after the Pearl Harbor attack, led to the development of tourism infrastructure and activities catering to soldiers and their families. This dynamic would have persisted during subsequent military engagements, such as the Vietnam War, further underscoring the symbiotic relationship between militarization and tourism in Hawai‘i. Further research on this topic could provide valuable insights into the complex interplay between military activities, tourism development, and local economies in regions with significant military presence. This could pave the way for a more comprehensive understanding of the multifaceted impacts of militarization on tourism and society at large.

[This work was supported by JSPS Kaken Grant Number 23K01499 and was based on the Panel Presentation in the American Historical Association Annual Conference, 2024, San Francisco. RIHGAT supported the author for travel grant to participate in the AHA Annual Conference, 2024.]

[The author would like to thank to the anonymous reviewers for their insightful comments on earlier drafts of this article.]

References

- Donna Alvah [2007] *Unofficial Ambassadors: American Military Families Overseas and the Cold War*, New York University Press.
- Eiichiro Azuma [2005] *Between Two Empires: Race, History, and Transnationalism in Japanese America*, Oxford University Press.
- Beth Bailey and David Farber [1992] *the First Strange Place: Race and Sex in World War II Hawai'i*, Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Beatrice B. Berle and Travis B. Jacobs, eds. [1973] *Navigating the Rapids, 1918-1971: From the Paper of Adolf A. Berle*, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Mansel G. Blackford [2017] *Pathway to the Present: U.S. Development and its Consequences in the Pacific*, The University of Hawai'i Press.
- Brooke L. Blower [2017] "Nation of Outposts: Forts, Factories, Bases, and the Making of American Power," *Diplomatic History*, 41-3.
- Charles D. Bright [2020] *The Jet Makers: The Aerospace Industry from 1945 to 1972*, University Press of Kansas.
- Sean Connelly [2021] "Our City as Ahupua'a: For Justice- Advancing Futures," in Noelani Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, Craig Howes, Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo'ole, Osorio, Aiko Yamashiro, eds., *The Value of Hawai'i 3: Huliha, the Turning*, The University of Hawai'i Press.
- Theodore Joseph Crackel 1998] *A History of the Civil Reserve Air Freet*, Air Force History & Museum Program, Washington D. C.
- Wesley F. Craven and James L. Cate [1958] *The Army Air Force in World War II: vol. 7: Service around the World*, The University of Chicago Press.
- Robert Daley [1980] *An American Saga: Juan Trippe and his Pan Am Empire*, Random House.
- Robert Dallek [1979] *Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Foreign Policy, 1932-1945*, Oxford University Press.
- Paul D'Arcy [2018] *Transforming Hawai'i: Balancing Coercion and Consent in Eighteenth-Century Kānaka Maoli Statecraft*, Australia National University Press.
- R. E. G. Davies [1972] *Airlines of the United States since 1914*, Smithsonian.
- R. E. G. Davies [2007] *A History of Airlines of the Jet Age*, Rowman & Littlefield.
- Jane Desmond [1999] *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World*, University of Chicago Press.
- Alan P. Dobson [1991] *Peaceful Air Warfare: The United States, Britain, and the Politics of International Aviation*, Oxford University Press.
- Alan Dobson [2017] *A History of International Civil Aviation: From Its Origins through Transformative Evolution*, Routledge.
- John W. Dower [1974] "Occupied Japan and the American Lake," in Mark Selen and Edward Friedman, eds., *America's Asia*, Vintage Books.
- Karl C. Dod [1999] *United States Army in World War II: The Technical Service: The Corps of Engineers: The War Against Japan*, United States Government Printing Office.
- Jeffrey A. Engel 2007] *Cold War at 30,000 Feet: The Anglo-American Fight for Aviation Supremacy*, Cambridge University Press.
- David Fitzgerald 2022] *Militarization and the American Century: War, the United States and the World since 1941*, Bloomsbury.
- Lester J. Foltos [1989] "The New Pacific Barrier: America's Search for Security in the Pacific, 1945-1947," *Diplomatic History*, 13-3.
- William M Franklin and E. B. Perkins [1963] *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1942, volume 4, The Near East and Africa*.
- Hal M. Friedman [2000] *Creating an American Lake: United States Imperialism and Strategic Security in the Pacific Basin, 1945-1947*, Bloomsbury.
- Hal M. Friedman [1997] "'Races Undesirable from a Military Point of View': United States Cultural Security in the Pacific Islands, 1945-1947," *The Journal of Pacific History*, 32-1.
- Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Y. Okamura, eds. [2008] *Asian Settler Colonialism: from Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday life in Hawai'i*, University of Hawai'i Press.
- Mark L. Gillem [2007] *America Town: Building the Outposts of Empire*, University of Minnesota Press.
- Ayano Ginoza [2016] "Space of 'Militourism': Intimacies of U.S. and Japanese Empires and Indigenous Sovereignty in Okinawa," *International Journal of Okinawan Studies*, 3-1.
- Vernadette Vicuna Gonzalez [2013] *Securing Paradise: Tourism and Militarism in Hawai'i and the*

The Nexus of Militarization and Tourism in the “American Lake”

- Philippines*, Duku University Press.
- James Gormly [2013] “The Counter Iron Curtain: Crafting an American-Soviet Bloc Civil Aviation Policy: 1942-1960,” *Diplomatic History*, 37-2.
- Atsushi Goto [2017] *Wasure Rareta Kurofune: America Kita Taiheiyō Senryaku to Nihon Kaikoku* [Forgotten Black Ships: America’s North Pacific Strategy and the Opening of Japan], *Kodansha Sensho Metier*.
- Lloyd J. Graybar [1986] “The 1946 Atomic Bomb Tests: Atomic Diplomacy or Bureaucratic Infighting?” *The Journal of American History*, 72-4.
- Kenneth J. Hagan [1991] *This People’s Navy: The Making of American Sea Power*, Free Press.
- Kenneth J. Hagan and Ian J. Bickerton [2007] *Unintended Consequences: the United States at War*, Reaktion Books, 2007.
- Daniel R. Headrick [1991] *The Invisible Weapon: Telecommunications and International Politics, 1851-1945*, Oxford University Press.
- Walter L. Hixson [2013] *American Settler Colonialism: A History*, Palgrave.
- M.C. Hühne [2017] *Pan Am: History, Design & Identity*, Callisto Pub GmbH, 2017.
- Kyle Kajihiro [2008] “The Militarizing of Hawai‘i: Occupation, Accommodation, and Resistance,” in Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Y. Okamura, eds., *Asian Settler Colonialism: from Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday life in Hawai‘i*, University of Hawai‘i Press.
- Kyle Kajihiro [2009] “Resisting Militarization in Hawai‘i,” in Catherine Lutz, ed., *The Bases of Empire: The Global Struggle against U.S. Military Posts*, Pluto Press.
- J. Kēhaulani Kanuanui [2008] *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity*, Duke University Press.
- Christopher Kissing [2014] “Networks Enabling Air Transport Services in the South Pacific: 40 Years of Change,” in Davil Timothy Duval, ed., *Air Transport in the Asia Pacific*, Routledge.
- Cristina Klein [2003] *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945-1961*, University of California Press.
- John F. Kreis, ed. [2004] *Piercing the Fog: Intelligence and Army Air Forces Operations in World War II*, University Press of the Pacific.
- Capt. Kevin K. Krejcarek, eds. [1985] Sgt. Paul J. Chute, Hawai‘i, *Hickam: The First Fifty Years*, Public Affairs Division 15th Air Base Wing Hickam AFB.
- Delia Malia Caparoso Konzett [2017] *Hollywood’s Hawai‘i: Race, Nation, and War*, Rutgers University Press.
- Ian Y. Lind [1984/1985] “Ring of Steel: Notes on the Militarization of Hawai‘i,” *Social Process in Hawai‘i*, 31.
- Debbie Lisle [2016] *Holidays in the Danger Zone: Entanglement of War and Tourism*, the University of Minnesota Press.
- Daniel Lust [2009] *Flying across America: The Airline Passenger Experience*, University of Oklahoma Press.
- James Mak [2008] *Developing a Dream Destination: Tourism and Tourism Policy Planning in Hawai‘i*, University of Hawai‘i Press.
- Simeon Man [2018] *Soldiering through Empire: Race and the Making of the Decolonizing Pacific*, University of California Press.
- James D. Marchio [1996] “Days of Future Past: Joint Intelligence in World War II,” *Joint Force Quarterly*.
- Robert S. Norris [1999] William M. Atkin & William Burr, “Where They Were,” *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 55-6.
- David E. Nye [1994] *American Technological Sublime*, The MIT Press.
- Ogimi Chotoku [1934] *Waga Touchichi Nanyo Gunto Annai* [Guide for our mandated Micronesia island groups], Kaigai Kenkyū Jo, 1934 [<https://dl.ndl.go.jp/pid/1899980/1/114>].
- P. G. A. Orders [2003] *Britain, Australia, New Zealand and the Challenge of the United States, 1939-1946*, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Joanna Poblete [2021] “The American Island Empire: US Expansionism in the Pacific and the Caribbean,” in Kristin Hoganson and Jay Sexton, eds., *The Cambridge History of America and the World: Volume II 1820-1900*, Cambridge University Press.
- Ronald N. Priddy [1994] *A History of The Civil Reserve Air Fleet in Operations Desert Shield, Desert Storm, and Desert Sortie*, Volpe National Transportation Center.
- Deborah Wing Ray [1975] “The Takoradi Route: Roosevelt’s Prewar Venture beyond the Western Hemisphere,” *The Journal of American History*, 62-2.

- Christen Tsuyuko Sasaki [2016] "Threads of Empire: Militourism and the Aloha Wear Industry in Hawai'i," *American Quarterly*, 68-3.
- Harry N. Scheiber and Jane L. Scheiber [2016] *Bayonets in Paradise: Martial Law in Hawai'i during World War II*, University of Hawai'i Press.
- Giles Scott-Smith and David J. Snyder [2013] "A Test of Sentiments": Civil Aviation, Alliance Politics, and the KLM Challenge in Dutch American Relations," *Diplomatic History*, 37-5.
- Naoko Shimizu [1998] *Japan, Race and Equality: The Racial Equality Proposal of 1919*, Routledge.
- Noenoe K. Silva [2004] *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*, Duke University Press.
- Henry Ladd Smith [1950] *Airways Abroad: The Story of American World Air Routes*, The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Christine Skwait [2010] *The Purposes of Paradise: U.S. Tourism and Empire in Cuba and Hawai'i*, University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Mark A. Stoler [1982] "From Continentalism to Globalism: General Stanley Embick, the Joint Strategic Survey Committee, and the Military View of American National Policy during the Second World War," *Diplomatic History*, 6.
- Tessa Morris- Suzuki [2010] *Borderline Japan: Foreigners and Frontier Controls in the Post War Era*, Cambridge University Press.
- Peter Svik [2020] *Civil Aviation and the Globalization of the Cold War*, Palgrave.
- Kaori Takada [2020a], "A Total War for Mapping Japan: US Map-Making of Japanese Targets in World War II" [in Japanese], *Otsuma Hikaku Bunka*, 21.
- Kaori Takada [2011] *Open Sky Diplomacy: The US Military-Civil Aviation Policy, 1938-1946* [in Japanese], Yushisha.
- Kaori Takada [2020b], ed., *The Century of Aviation: Airmindedness, World Wars, and the Cold War* [in Japanese], Nihon Keizai Hyoronsha.
- Seiichiro Takemine [2015] *Marshall Islands: Living with Endless Nuclear Damage* [in Japanese], Shinsensha.
- Mahito Takeuchi [2009] *Imperfect Machinery? Missions, Imperial Authority, and the Pacific Labour Trade, c. 1875-1901*, VDM Verlag Dr. Mueller.
- Teresia Teaiwa [1994] "Bikini and Other S/pacific N/oceans," in Setsu Shigematsu and Keith L. Camacho, eds., *Militarized Currents: Toward a Decolonized Future in Asia and the Pacific*, University of Minnesota Press, 2010 [originally published in *The Contemporary Pacific*, 6-1, pp. 84-109].
- Teresia Teaiwa [1999] "Reading Paul Gauguin's Noa Noa with Epeli Hau 'ofa's Kisses in the Nederends: Militourism, Feminism, and the "Polynesian" Body," in Vilsoni Hereniko and Rob Wilson, eds., *Inside Out: Literature, Cultural Politics, and Identity in the New Pacific*, Rowman and Littlefield.
- Phil Tiemeyer [2015] "Launching a nonaligned Airline: JAT Yugoslav Airways between East, West, and South, 1947-1962," *Diplomatic History*, 41-1.
- Jeffery S. Underwood [1991] *The Wing of Democracy: The Influence of Air Power on the Roosevelt Administration, 1933-1941*, Texas A & M University Press.
- US Department of State [1948] *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1942, volume 4, The Near East and Africa*, GPO, U.S. President's Air Policy Commission, *Survival in the Air Age*, a Report, GPO.
- Jenifer Van Vleck [2013] *Empire of the Air: Aviation and the American Ascendancy*, Cambridge University Press.
- John D. Wang [2022] *Hong Kong Takes Flight: Commercial Aviation and the Making of a Global Hub, 1930s-1998*, Harvard University Asia Center.
- Nicholas M. Williams [1999] *Aircraft of the United States' Military Air Transport Service*, Midland Publishing.
- Christine R. Yano [2011] *Airborne Dreams: "Nisei" Stewardesses and Pan American World Airways*, Duke University Press.
- Katsuhiko Yokoi [2020] "The Formation of National Air Power in Cold War India.; in Kaori Takada, ed., *The Century of Aviation: Airmindedness, World Wars, and the Cold War* [in Japanese], Nihon Keizai Hyoronsha.
- S. Waqar H. Zaidi [2020] "Pakistani Civil Aviation and U.S. Aid to Pakistan, 1950 to 1961" in Kaori Takada, ed., *The Century of Aviation: Airmindedness, World Wars, and the Cold War* [in Japanese], Nihon Keizai Hyoronsha.