

Fighting a White Man's War

Participation and Representation of the Native American during WWII

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Introduction

There were no ethnic and racial groups who contributed their service to their country in the Second World War more than the Native Americans, and they were no doubt a “model minority” as far as the fighting was concerned.

The overwhelming majority of Indians welcomed the opportunity to serve in WWII. By the end of the war, 24,521 (reservation) Indians had served. The population census of 1940 counted 333,969 Indians and Indian males between the age of 21 to 44 numbered about 60,000. This means that 42% of the eligible adult Indian males served in the war, which is an amazingly high number and is in fact the highest ratio of service men of any ethnic minority or the white majority.¹

In some tribes, the percentage of men in the military reached as high as 70 percent. The Navajo and other tribes were so eager to go to war that they stood for hours in bad weather to sign their draft cards, while others carried their own rifles so they would be ready for battle right away. When their enlistment was rejected due to their lack of English proficiency, the Navajo even organized remedial English training on their reservations to qualify for service.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) Commissioner John Collier

boasted of a 99% Indian draft registration rate and 40 percent more Native Americans voluntarily enlisted than had been drafted.² A War Department official even commented that if the entire population had enlisted in the same proportion as the Native Americans, Selective Service would have been rendered unnecessary.

The Indian Motives to Serve in the American Military.

One would wonder, why then, as victims of colonialism over the centuries, they were so enthusiastic to fight a “white man’s war.” What were their motives for such a high enlistment rate and what drove Indian males to the battlefield?

First among others was the economic motive. The Meriam Report of 1928 by the Brookings Institute described the condition of Indian people as ‘deplorable.’ Health and economic conditions on Indian reservation were devastating. A ten-year depression had affected reservations even more drastically than the mainstream population and it further accelerated devastation in Indian country. In some reservations, people were on the verge of starvation.

Military pay offered relief to many impoverished Indian families, and servicemen aided not only their families but also their relatives because they traditionally held a value of extended family and mutual help. By 1944 the average Indian income was \$2,500, two and one-half times of that of 1940. This income still represent 25% of the average income of whites, but it constituted the largest single gain since the depression.³

Indians were also strongly motivated by their patriotism. But their ‘Patria’ was not necessarily the United States, but rather their birthplace reservation. The fact that the term ‘tribe’ has been increasingly replaced with term ‘nation’ clearly indicates how the Native people view the entity they belong to. Besides, the ‘Turtle Island’ as they call the American

continent was originally theirs anyway.

To defend their country and their people had been an honorable duty for Indian warriors for many generations. When white American soldiers were fighting for Uncle Sam, the Indian soldiers were fighting for their home and country, not for the conceptual Uncle Sam as their white comrades were doing. This is as if they skillfully avoided the phrase fighting for America or the United States, and invented the rhetoric in their own belief. Still, the American public, regardless of which country Indian patriotism was directed toward, welcomed and cheered it, as long as it defended the United States ultimately.

On another vein of patriotism, Indians expressed a general distaste for the Nazi concept of racial superiority and saw this as a threat to their own minority status.⁴ A member of the Celilo tribe states his reason for enlisting, "...We know that under Nazism we should have no rights at all. We are not Aryans and we would be used as slaves."⁵ The Six Nations Iroquois, while fighting with the US government in court claiming that drafting their young men was a violation of their treaty rights on the basis of sovereignty, formally declared war on Italy, Japan and Germany. Osage, Sioux, and Ponca tribes also made their own declaration of war against the Axis. Peaceful Hopi and Zuni thought the Nazi Swastika was a misappropriation of their sacred symbol and protested strongly.

American Indian tribes proved that they viewed the war from their own perspective and it is important to note here that the idea of tribal sovereignty was coupled with a strong American Indian war participation. Thus, Indian patriotism in WWII should neither simply be translated as a sign of successful assimilation nor their desire for mainstreaming.

The last but the strongest motive for Indian war participation comes from the cultural tradition of the warrior. Many tribes were traditionally warrior societies.⁶ They were extremely important religious and political institutions. They not only served as militias and the keepers of

the tribe's spiritual power in warfare but they kept order during the hunts, in encampments or on the move. They also punished criminals, guarded their camps against surprise attack, and when attacked, bought time with their lives for the women, children and elders to escape. They were much revered for fulfilling their sacred duties. Each tribe had several individual warrior societies. Members were invited into a society based on their deeds. In Lakota, the warrior society is called 'Akichita' and such Akichita as Kit Fox and Tokala were highly reputed. Young warriors eagerly waited for invitations to join, but the screening was highly selective. The society members had observed warriors' attributes and behavior since they were boys. Those who not only had physical strength but lived up to their tribal virtues of courage, fortitude, generosity and wisdom were taken into the society. Thus, being a member of such a society was a great honor that young warriors dreamed of achieving.

Particularly, warfare offered young men the opportunity to demonstrate their bravery and their sacred duties and to receive acknowledgment that they were the embodiment of tribal virtue. Warriors were highly applauded and awarded both for their courage and for defending the traditional value system of the community. In fact, many tribes bestowed special honors on warriors, and often looked to these individuals for leadership even in civil affairs. Warfare seen in this light was a way for men to gain honored status in their tribal society and maintain their spiritual power.

Revival of the Native Spiritual Tradition

After the subjugation and the onset of reservation life, along with the strongly enforced assimilation policy, warrior societies were becoming devoid of members in many tribes because there were no wars and the related ceremonies were dying out.

Indian Service in WWII helped revived these ceremonies and rekindled warrior traditions. Many tribes prepared and delivered the warpath ceremonies for departing soldiers. Zuni Medicine men⁷ gave "eutakya," a brief blessing ceremony for the protection of the warriors. The Navajo performed the Blessing Ceremony" for their inductees. The Chippewa held "Going Away" and "Chief" dances to protect them overseas. Such ceremonies fulfilled both religious and social functions in additions to granting communal recognition of a traditional status of the warrior, which assured young men a great psychological satisfaction as well as reinforcing their tribal identity.⁸

Lakota oral history also assures the revival of the sacred rituals.⁹ In Lakota Sioux reservation in South Dakota, their sacred rituals were banned after their final resistance was subdued in 1890. Assimilation policy was strongly enforced on the reservation since the end of the 19th century and the Grant's Peace Policy allowed Christian denominations to build mission schools on the reservation. These schools rigorously facilitated the conversion of Indians from their 'pagan' belief to Christianity and, although the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 propagandized respect for tribal traditions, tribal sacred ceremonies were becoming obsolete.

Many Lakota sacred ceremonies were performed after sunset, thus they are called the Lakota Night Cult by white scholars.¹⁰ Typical of such a ceremony is the 'Lowanpi' where people bring their wishes to a medicine man. In the totally dark medicine lodge, the medicine man would convey the attendant's wishes to Wakan Tanka, their great spirit and get the answer from Wakan Tanka.

From the onset of WWII, this ceremony was rekindled, and, according to my informants,¹¹ Lowanpi were being held almost every weekend and medicine lodges were filled with parents, wives, sisters, daughters and sons who wishes their sons, husbands, brothers and fathers safe return from the battlefield.

Native veterans are honored and respected by their tribal members long after they come home. This is particularly true with the tribes in which warrior spirit has been predominant such as the Sioux nation of South Dakota and Crow nation of Montana. The Native heroes, because of their having survived many terrible battles, were often considered as being blessed by the Great Spirit and as having been given special medicine (supernatural power) by the Great Spirit.

Powwow is currently a common festivity among native nations. Its origin is considered be a curing ceremony among Algonquian Indians, yet the modern day powwow has been transformed into a trans-tribal dancing contest where we find the biggest number of participants and audience. Since they are sponsored by the tribes, their starting ceremony i.e. grand entries are proceeded by the most respected tribal members. In every powwow the author observed among the Sioux, Crow, and Navajo nations, the grand entry is led by war veterans. WWII veterans are becoming fewer due to their age, yet we still find them in the front line among Korean, Vietnam and Iraq war veterans.

For some time after the war, it was a popular practice among Sioux and Crow that parents would ask them to name their newborn babies, thus making the braves Godfathers.

One Crow anecdote well illustrates such practice. Andrew Bird-in-Ground earned the Bronze Star during the Allied landing in Normandy. When he returned to his tribe, he was given a new name Kills-Many-Germans in recognition of his battlefield bravery. One day he was visited by worried parents whose newborn son was critically ill and was not expected to live. The parents appealed to Bird-in-Ground to visit their son in the Billings hospital and pray for him and so he did. He also gave the baby his new name, Kills Many Germans. Twenty years later during the Vietnam war, this grown up baby Kills Many Germans earned the Bronze Star himself.¹² So the warrior tradition continues.

Presentation of Warrior Tradition in Military Service

Before the invasion of Okinawa, the war correspondent Ernie Pyle filed a report of eight Navajo Code Talkers conducting a native ceremony in front of several thousand Marines. The face-painted Navajo Marines wore outfits fashioned from colored cloth contributed by the Red Cross and adorned with chicken feathers, sea shells and empty cartridge cases that jingled like bells as they danced. Empty ration cans served as drums and they ended their ceremony by singing their own version of the "Marine Corps Hymn" in the Navajo language.

They told Pyle that they asked "the Great Spirit to sap the Japanese of their strength for this blitz." The Marines did in fact have an easy landing on Okinawa, but things quickly got tough. "Well Chief, what do you have to say about your ceremony now?" a white Marine asked one of the Code Talkers as they hunkered down in a foxhole. "It worked like it was supposed to," the Code Talker replied with a smile. "We only prayed for a safe landing."¹³

The Indian soldiers also carried feathers, medicine bundles, sweet grass cedar and other sacred objects as their own protective medicine. The



Navajos of the 158th Infantry Regiment on New Guinea wearing regalia made from items found on the island.
Source: National Archives.



Comanche code-talkers of the 4th Signal Company (U.S. Army Signal Center and Ft. Gordon)
Source: US Army images

medicines they carried were purified through the tribal rituals of purification. Josephs Medicine Crow recalls his experience in the WWII in his memoir.¹⁴

On leaving the Crow Reservation in Montana for the battlefield, his uncle Tom Yellowtail gave him a special feather as his protective medicine. Medicine Crow put the feather inside his helmet before each battle and recited traditional prayers and painted himself with a red lightening streak and red ring. He did not dare to paint on his face but on the arms under his shirt. If he did have paint he used a red pencil and painted properly as was directed by his uncle. He painted the same symbol on his rifle. Medicine Crow believes firmly that this medicine protected him in the close battle with enemy Germans.

Once an artillery shell exploded in front of him and killed half a dozen soldiers nearest him. He was blown down the hill but only with some bruises. His helmet and rifle were gone but he found the rifle while ascending the hill and the helmet hanging on a tree on the hill top. The feather was still tucked in the liner and when he put it back on, he came to his senses. He survived near death several times after this incident and he attributed particular sequence of good luck to his special Indian medicine.

He believes that his medicine helped his bravery in the battles and he was awarded the Bronze star and the French Legion of Honor. After he returned to the reservation, he was showered with tribal acknowledgement and earned a chief standing. He gave the feather to his cousin Henry Old Coyote. The feather's whereabouts is unknown thereafter, yet he speculate it has gone to Korean War and Vietnam War with a Crow soldiers.

As did the Medicine Crow, many Indian soldiers counted coup (attack in French as in coup de tor) each time they killed enemy soldiers. As their ancestors inscribed a line on their coup-sticks, modern Indian soldiers did so on their rifles and bayonet.

Indian Heroes and the Image of the Warrior for the American Public

Ever since the American Indian was introduced to Europe in the 16th century, they have been molded into European stereotypes according to the phase of Indian-white relations.¹⁵ In the early contact phase when both party's interests did not clash, the European preferred to view Indians as "Noble Savages." The Enlightenment thinkers such as Montaigne and Rousseau admired the Indians who lived in accordance with nature in comparison to the 'civilized' European society full of artificiality and vices. To them, although the Indians did not have a 'civilization,' they were the embodiment of natural good and beauty.¹⁶

Such representation naturally changes when the conflicts with Indians began through the whites' colonizing attempt on 'the new continent.' After the British became the dominant colonizing power and the succeeding American Revolution, the Indian-White relation deteriorated, and while the 'Manifest Destiny' propaganda rationalized the American invasion of the Indian countries, the whites viewed the resisting Indian as a bloodthirsty savage who had no mercy on the enemy.

After the United States conquered every Indian nation and confined them in the reservations, the fierce image of savage turned into that of the poor drunken loser. In fact Indians at the turn of the 20th century were called the 'vanishing race' with a population of merely 250,000. The surviving Indian nations were suffering from the devastating state of poverty, malnutrition, sickness and alcoholism. The Indians were often portrayed as drunken losers to the American public.

In WWII, Indians were no longer bloodthirsty savages or drunken losers but fierce fighters who would risk their lives to save the lives of their white comrades by their bravery. The negative image of Indians in the 19th century suddenly changed to positive, since the Indians were fighting on the

‘right’ side.¹⁷ The Indian braves who had been formerly despised were now celebrated.

Marines were “elite” fighters and particularly welcomed Indians because of their warrior tradition. Major Lee Gilstrap of Oklahoma, who trained 2,000 Native soldiers at his post said, “The Indian is the best damn soldier in the Army.”¹⁸ The media was eager to publicize Indian bravery and their “natural talent” for battle. The Indian ‘esoteric tongue’ also played an important part in the war. Navajo Code Talkers¹⁹ used their complex language as code and it is thought to have been one of the few unbreakable codes in the history of warfare. It played a vital role in America’s victory in the Pacific Theater. “Were it not for the Navajo, the Marines would never have taken Iwo Jima,” said Major Howard M. Conner, communication officer of the Fifth Marine Division.²⁰ About four hundred Navajo Code Talkers served in the war and they were immortalized as national heroes long after the war in the American public as well as among themselves.

The American Indian participation in WWII was so extensive that it reinforced the warrior image in both their people and among the American public. They served on all fronts in the war and were honored by receiving numerous Purple Hearts, Air Medals, Distinguished Flying



General Douglas MacArthur, Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Forces in the Southwest Pacific Area on an inspection trip of American battle fronts, met representatives of five different American Indian tribes in one United States Army unit. (31 December 1943)
Source: US Army Signal Corps

Crosses, Bronze Stars, Silver Stars, Distinguished Service Crosses, and Congressional Medals of Honor. As Tim Giago, an editor of *Lakota Times* (currently *Indian Country Today*), a leading newspaper in the Indian countries, comments, “The American Indian has fought, and earned more decorations (as a group) than any other ethnic group in this country,.... I have never attended a

veterans meeting or an American Legion meeting on the reservation without witnessing the extreme pride held by the Indian veterans."²¹

The statistics also supports Giago's statement. The Army (including the Air Force then), the Navy and the Marines all combined, a total of 16,112,566 American soldiers served in the war including 25,000 Indian Soldiers.²² The Medal of Honor is the highest and most distinguished medal given to the men who showed 'conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity at the risk of his or her life above and beyond the call of duty while engaged in military action against any enemy of the United States.' In WWII, a total of merely 466 Medals of Honor were awarded to such men, and among them were six Indian soldiers.²³ Statistically, while roughly one out of 35,000 American soldiers received the medal, it was given to one out of every 4,000 Indian soldiers.

The recipients of the honor were Ernest Childers of the Creek Nation, Jack Montgomery of Cherokee, Van Barfoot of Choctaw, Ernest Evans of Cherokee, John Reese Jr. of Cherokee and Roy Harmon of Cherokee. While the latter three were killed in action, the other three survived and continued their serviceman career long after the war. Ernest Childers was highly reputed for his gallant action in disabling two enemy fortifications and saving many comrades' life while himself being wounded. Such Indian heroes were the personification of the warrior image and spirit in American public mind, yet the most publicized hero was perhaps Ira Hamilton Hayes, whose figure is eternalized in the World War II Memorial in Washington, DC.

A Full-blooded Pima from Gila River Indian Reservation, the Marine private helped raise the United States' flag on Mt. Suribachi,



"Pfc. Ira H. Hayes, a Pima, at age 19, ready to jump"
Source: National Archives.

Iwo Jima in 1945. He became very famous after the flag raising photo by Joe Rosenthal was nationally and internationally publicized. He exemplified the warrior tradition and become a symbol of the Indian's expected new role in white society, a role in which the Indian retained pride in their heritage yet moved toward greater inclusion within the white mainstream.²⁴

The Rosenthal photo won a Pulitzer Prize and captured the American imagination. After Iwo Jima, President Roosevelt summoned Hayes back to the United States and assigned him to participate in the efforts to sell war bonds. The image of the flag raising became a national symbol, making Hayes a national war hero. Hayes himself was uncomfortable, thinking he had done nothing heroic, and he simply wished to return to the battlefield instead of being shuttled from city to city for publicity purpose. He said once "I was about to crack up thinking about all my good buddies. They were better men than me, and they are not coming back, much less back to the White House, like me."²⁵ Restless and depressed, alcohol became his only escape.

During the thirteen years following Iwo Jima, he was arrested fifty times due to alcohol related offenses. He died of exposure in the Arizona desert on January 24th, 1955, only ten weeks after he attended the dedication



War bonds poster

ceremony in Washington, DC for the Marine Corps War Memorial, the cast bronze replica of the flag raising photo.

Truman once said to him, "You are an American hero" but the tragedy is that he did not want to live up to a hero warrior image of a fictional self that the American public so eagerly molded him into.

After his death, the tragedy of the warrior myth was reproduced in American popular culture. The movies "Outsider"

(1961) and "Flags of Our Fathers" (2004) both feature the tormented life of Ira Hayes, while the "The Ballad of Ira Hayes" composed by Peter La Farge and covered by famous country and western singer Johnny Cash and folk singer Bob Dylan remain in the popular music scene. The following stanzas from the song well illustrate how the American public used him and consumed his image driving him into a tragic death.

They started up Iwo Jima Hill, 250 men
 But only 27 lived to walk back down that hill again
 And when the fight was over and the old glory raised
 One of the men who held it high was the Indian Ira Hayes
 Call him, Drunken Ira Hayes, he won't answer anymore
 Not the whiskey-drinking Indian or the marine who went to war
 Call him, Drunken Ira Hayes, he won't answer anymore
 Not the whiskey-drinking Indian or the marine who went to war.

Now Ira returned a hero, celebrated throughout the land
 He was wined and speeched and honored, everybody shook his hand
 But he was just a Pima Indian, no money crops, no chance
 And at home nobody cared what Ira had done and the wind did the Indian's dance

And Ira started drinking hard, jail was often his home
 They let him raise the flag there and lower it like you'd throw a dog a bone
 He died drunk early one morning, alone in the land he had fought to save
 Two inches of water in a lonely ditch was the grave for Ira Hayes
 Call him, Drunken Ira Hayes, he won't answer anymore
 Not the whiskey-drinking Indian or the marine who went to war
 Yes, call him, Drunken Ira Hayes, he won't answer anymore
 Not the whiskey-drinking Indian or the marine who went to war.²⁶

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Embracing the Color Line

American Indians showed a great enthusiasm to participate in WWII and the war rekindled the warrior tradition and saw a resurgence of the related traditional ceremonies in Native communities. Native veterans brought their traditions into military service in unprecedented numbers. The war greatly expanded their opportunities to continue, revive, or establish warrior traditions in which veterans took the places once accorded tribal warriors.²⁷ The Native soldiers performed the ceremonies and the war dance, beat the drums, and sang victory songs in the Pacific Theater and elsewhere. They were curiously and warmly accepted by their white comrades in a way that would never have happened in their peacetime homeland.

Such traditional customs would be viewed as pagan if held in peacetime, rather, white soldiers welcomed and sometime cheered them as if such ceremonies would bring them protection and food luck.

In the platoon, Indian soldiers were called Chief or Geronimo by white comrades. The Indian soldiers usually took no offence, since they realized the nicknames were intended not as racial insults but as an acknowledgment of their reputed fighting abilities. In fact, for them, the war was an unparalleled opportunity to compete in the white world in the arena where their talents and reputation as fighters inspired respect.²⁸

The Americans expected Indian soldiers to behave as “warriors,” a role which they had long been denied. Indian soldiers in turn appropriated their expectation and redressed native identity to regain the dignity long impaired. A battlefield was, in fact, a strange place where the color lines were fondly embraced.

Yet, such amicable acceptance of Indian culture by the whites and reassurance of the Native identity by both parties were particular phenomena in the wartime comrade community who shared life and death.

The participation and loyalty of the American Indian to the United States in the WWII brought recognition of their being fully American citizens who fulfilled their duties to the country more satisfactorily than any other racial groups. This recognition was politically employed by the assimilationists in Congress who had opposed a series of Collier's IRA program.²⁹ It ironically paved the road for the Termination that aimed at dismantling the Indian communities and absorbing them into the mainstream America.³⁰ Post war Indian communities were to experience more confusion in Native identity, division of community, and poverty with federal funds terminated or severely reduced by a newly enforced policy, which will be discussed in another paper.

This paper is based on the presentation under the panel D "People of Color during World War II" in JAAS annual conference, 2010.

Notes

¹ Bernstein, Alison R. *American Indians and World War II: Toward a New Era in Indian Affairs*, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991, p.40; Franco, Jere'Bishop. *Crossing the Pond: The Native American Effort in World War II*. Denton, Texas: University of North Texas Press, 1999, p.62; Takaki, Ronald. *A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1993, p.388.

² Franco, p.33.

³ Bernstein, p.59.

⁴ Franco, p.63.

⁵ *Congressional Record*, 77th Cong., 2d Sess., A4385; *Indian at Work*, Vol.VIII, No.4 (December, 1940): 24.

⁶ For the warriors society, see Walker, James R. *Lakota Belief and Ritual*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980. Hassrick, Royal B. *The Sioux: Life and Customs of a Warrior Society*. Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964.

⁷ Medicine man is the healer in native community who is believed to have supernatural power

which has rendered by their great spirit. He is the center of the tribal spiritual traditions and master of religious ceremonies conducted in the tribes. See Abe, Juri, *Amerika Senjuumin: Minzoku Saisei ni Mukete (Native American: Toward Reviving Nations)*. Tokyo: Kadokawa, 2005, pp.195-207.

⁸ See Franco, chapter two.

⁹ Abe, Juri "It Is a Good Day to Die: Native American Warrior Tradition and American Wars" in *Rikkyo American Studies*, No.29, March 2007, pp.53-69.

¹⁰ Powers, William K. *Yuwipi: Vision and Experience in Oglala Ritual*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982; DeMallie, Raymond J. and Douglas R. Parks (eds.) *Sioux Indian Religion: Tradition and Innovation*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987; Lewis, Thomas H. *The Medicine Men: Oglala Sioux Ceremony and Healing*. Lincoln : University of Nebraska Press, 1990.

¹¹ Interview research has been conducted every summer since 1993 on Rosebud Indian Reservation in South Dakota. Informants include Vera Compton, Ollie Neppasine, Nancy Poorman, Frank Leader Charge, Albert White Hat.

¹² Viola, Herman J. *Warriors in Uniform: The Legacy of American Indian Heroism*. National Geographic: Washington, D.C., 2008, pp.101-102.

¹³ Carroll, Al. *Medicine Bags and Dog Tags: American Indian Veterans from Colonial Times to the Second Iraq War*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2008, p.114. Also in Viola p.102.

¹⁴ Medicine Crow, Joseph. *Counting Coup: Becoming a Crow Chief on the Reservation and Beyond*. Washington, D.C.: The National Geographic Society, 2006.

¹⁵ Abe, Juri. "Created Indians: A Lineage of Noble Savage" in *Shotoku University Bulletin of Institute of Language and Culture* No.7, 2000, pp. 305-321.

¹⁶ Michel Eyquem de Montaigne, *Zuisouroku (Essays)*. trans. Hideo Sekine. Tokyo: Hakusuisha, 1960: pp.279-280; Jean Jacques Rousseau, *Ningen Fubyoudou Kigen Ron (Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes)*. trans. Kiyoji Honda. Tokyo: Iwanamishoten, 1933.

¹⁷ Bernstein, p.54.

¹⁸ Bernstein, p.55.

¹⁹ Navajo has the largest reservation in the southwest, population being the second largest after Cherokee among the native nations. There are abundant literature about the Code Talkers, and among the recent ones are Gilbert, Ed, *Native American Code Talker in World War II*. Oxford: Osprey Publishing Ltd. 2008, Durrentt, Deanne, *Unsung Heroes of the World War II: The Story of the Navajo Code Talkers*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009; and Holm, Tom, *Code Talkers and Warriors: Native Americans and World War II*. New York: Chelsea House Publishing, 2007.

²⁰ Davis, Mary B. ed. *Native America in the Twentieth Century: An Encyclopedia*. New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc. 1994, p.365.

- ²¹ *Lakota Times* the Nov. 9, 1983 issue.
- ²² Anne Leland and Mari-Jana Oboroceanu, "American War and Military Operations Casualties: Lists and Statistics." (Congressional Research Service, February 26, 2010) <<http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/RL32492.pdf>>; Holm, p.34.
- ²³ "Archive Statistics," Congressional Medal of Honor Society, <<http://www.cmohs.org/medal-statistics.php>>; "Native American Recipients of the Medal of Honor," Home of Heroes, <http://www.homeofheroes.com/e-books/mohE_indian/index.html>
- ²⁴ Townsend, Kenneth William, *World War II and the American Indian*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000, p.131.
- ²⁵ Viola, p.94.
- ²⁶ "Bob Dylan Lyrics," <<http://www.azlyrics.com/lyrics/bobdylan/theballadofirahayes.html>>
- ²⁷ Carroll, p.114.
- ²⁸ Bernstein, p.40.
- ²⁹ Indian Reorganization Act was remarkable in shifting the federal assimilation policy since 19th century. It recommended the establishment of tribal government to recover the autonomy and traditional culture of the the Indian tribes.
- ³⁰ See discussion in Townsend, pp.194-214.