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Target/Paradise/Home/Kin: Island Orientations

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“Your small islands are big strongholds of freedom.”

U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo¹⁾

How do islands come to be flattened out through the logics of targetability and commodification? How are they mapped onto grids of militarization and extraction? Conversely, how do island peoples refuse and resist these topographical and cartographical maneuvers and hold fast to island ontologies rooted in reciprocal responsibility and relationality? The past few years have seen another intensification of Indigenous and island consciousness flaring up in the Pacific in response to overlapping projects of rampant development, military overreach, and desecration of sacred places. This, of course, is not new. The difference perhaps, lies in a greater sense of connectedness between and across places and people, spurred by new technoscapes but also connectivities solidified by a shared understanding that the costs of climate change—colonialism’s legacy, carried out through the polluting of the military and the waste products of extraction—will be borne most heavily by our island homes.²⁾

I write about islands from the perspective of someone who was born and raised in an archipelago and who now lives in another. The rhythms and textures of island life foster a particular orientation to islands as home, as places of connection, knowledge, nurturance. Growing up on the Philippine island of Negros, my island realities were shaped by the bustle of life in a small provincial city in the middle region of the Philippines. There, the grating noise of overburdened pedicabs straining with too many passengers and the smell of diesel and traffic existed alongside corner lots overgrown with grass that hid cow patties or the occasional goat, and the annual big monsoon that would bring enough flooding to make rubber slippers float out the door. There was something to its intimate scale, of understanding what home meant through a tactile geography, of intuiting the pulse of a wider universe through the connective umbilicus of a small place. Island living fostered a particular kind of worldliness.

Much of this understanding was instinctive and sensorial: island geographies meant

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the grit of black sand baking in the sun and the taste of the saltwater border between land and ocean. It was the brown and green of coconut trees speeding by in dizzying rows from the vantage point of a window seat on the bus on the way to my grandparents' house in the country. It was the slipperiness of the silt between my toes as I walked in the fishponds, with their brackish smell, the cracked edges of small shells on their dried walls, the promise of a catch flitting against my ankles. Islands were the smell of rain on a dirt road after a long hot day. It was the tart juice of fruit ripened on the tree bursting on my tongue. As a child, I could not necessarily articulate the significance of this particular understanding of islands. It just was—it made up the entirety of what constituted my reality. There is, of course, a great deal of nostalgia in these memories, but neither do I wish to dismiss the truth that undergirds them because there is power there. For me, island life ultimately meant that there were always places to go that returned me back to an understanding of land and water as essential to life. Yet I never considered, until later, what the Indigenous name of my birthplace was or how it came to later be known as Negros.³⁾

Of course, islands themselves, and the islands on which I lived, were already shaped and reshaped by violence, and had always been exceedingly cosmopolitan, mapped onto colonial cartographies as well as Indigenous oceanic networks.⁴⁾ Growing up in the seventies and early eighties, my childhood idyll was *also* unsettled by rumors about martial law or communists, which I did not quite understand. I only knew that somewhere in the other 7,000 or so islands, disputes about land and politics were being settled by guns, and people who spoke out too loudly might mysteriously disappear. That this had become natural was also deeply embedded into my everyday life. Everyone knew someone, as I did, who had been assassinated when calling for too much change. They became object lessons, of what exactly, I was unsure. If not murdered, people were shuffled around when they agitated for something different: my grandfather had been displaced to the provinces from Manila when he began organizing his fellow workers at the Philippine National Bank. My childhood in the countryside was made possible, complete with the orchard of trees and gardens he planted, because of this. Even in the provinces, away from the power brokers, I grew up amid whispers that warned of staying out of trouble.

I came to learn that islands could be apprehended apart from my bodily relationship to them, that the intimacy of the sensorial, and the ethics borne of that, could be abandoned for an entirely different intimacy that had to do with power, extraction, and continents.⁵⁾ These were, of course, already at play, and had been at play for some time, in my home archipelago, but I had not come to feel the steep costs of these intimacies, unlike some others. The isolated but banal violence that was part of my island childhood landscape was mitigated by my home's distance away from the capital, away from the military bases in the north, by the fact that as a non-Indigenous Filipino, I was not subject to a regime of eradication. In other words, my relationship with islands was undergirded by the dispossession and marginalization of Indigenous life that had been achieved so profoundly that as a child, I did not even learn about them.

Making and Unmaking Islands: Target and Paradise

Men like U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo and his predecessors note how “freedom” maps onto the Pacific. But at the August 2019 meeting on Pohnpei with leaders of the Federated States of Micronesia, the Marshall Islands, and Palau, the notions of security and sovereignty that he affirms are deeply tied to U.S. military interests in the region, rather than vernacular and Indigenous concerns.⁶⁾ These are the specters that haunt other memories of islands.

Others remembering the islands of their youth have different memories that describe how U.S. “freedom” manifests in the “open and free Indo-Pacific” envisioned by Pompeo. Craig Santos Perez, writing about his childhood on Guåhan, remembers the visual impressions the military left him: the strange fauna of serpentine “barbed wire military fences,” “steel leviathans” of warships lurking in the waters, and tanks and soldiers infiltrating his everyday life.⁷⁾ Still others track a perversion of island intimacy through the DNA of occupying soldiers in their cells, the transactional “romance” of soldiers and prostituted women, or the cancers eating away at their flesh or psyches, the not-so-spectral remains of war and occupation making up the stuff of their very selves. Pacific islands and their people continue to pay a steep price to be included in the political family of the United States’ “Freely Associated States.” Meanwhile, what they get out of this strange kinship is the very antithesis of security and sovereignty.

As Macarena Gómez-Barris has pointed out, the colonial project can be mapped out through islands, through a process of “de-islanding.”⁸⁾ De-islanding describes the alienation of island life and geography from the people who inhabit it. In the case of Okinawa, postwar U.S. de-islanding recast “the island itself . . . [into] the base.”⁹⁾ The most vicious process of de-islanding transformed island homes into test sites for the radioactive posturings of Cold War superpowers from 1947–1991.¹⁰⁾ The half-lives of this toxic showdown live on in the diseases that ravage the soil and water, the blood and the bone in the Marshall Islands, French Polynesia, Kiribati, Johnston Atoll, and Australia—places far away from France, Great Britain, and the United States, who launched the weapons in the name of global security.¹¹⁾ Teresia Teiewa notes the perverse visibility of the bikini, the body it bared, and the pleasures it promised, even as the nuclear flash of test bombs blinded the world to the fate of the eponymous atoll and its displaced residents.¹²⁾ Gridding the Pacific onto the logics of targetability, other islands soon followed. The transformation of Kwajalein into the “catcher’s mitt” of intercontinental ballistic missile testing by the United States, or the use of Vieques in Puerto Rico or of Kaho‘olawe in Hawai‘i for bombing practice captures an understanding of how island homes are transmuted into targets by the force of military desire.¹³⁾

Relatedly, Mimi Sheller has described “islanding” as the phenomenon through which empire “offshores” its infrastructures of militarism, tourism, and extraction, transforming islands through the work of the bulldozer and the crane.¹⁴⁾ Carving out ship ports, laying

the macadam for roads and airstrips, installing non-vernacular housing, schools, hospitals, and golf courses, the military base transformed islands through the exportation of American design and built environment.¹⁵⁾ On O‘ahu, close to a quarter of the land is under U.S. military control, made over into bases, airstrips, control centers, or soldier and weapons testing grounds. The naval base at Pearl Harbor anchors the U.S. “islanding” of Hawai‘i: the base, like other military territories in the islands, imposes a steel and concrete vision of “security” over what were once fertile fishing waters and taro fields.¹⁶⁾

By the mid 1980s, when my family migrated to the United States, the U.S. military had long been at work on the tradition of converting islands into military bases. They followed in Spain’s footsteps, intensifying a colonial process that imagined lands other than their own to be claimable and transferable without the consent of the inhabitants. Spain’s colonial conversion—of Filipinos into souls for salvation and land into haciendas to be tilled for profit—was a four hundred-year transmutation of islands into real estate value. When the United States essentially purchased the Philippines (along with Guåhan, Puerto Rico, and Cuba) in 1898 in a transaction that commemorated the end of the Spanish-American War, it imposed its particular system of the use and value of land on its “new possessions.” From the turn of the twentieth century, the Pacific saw an expanded and intensified U.S. military presence: by the end of World War II, its islands “hosted” over 40% of U.S. overseas military bases.¹⁷⁾

Well before Barack Obama’s Pacific pivot, the United States had remapped the region into what Walden Bello describes as a “transnational garrison” complex made up of bases and other militarized sites manned by troops and a roving arsenal. Its vastness was reduced to a scattered archipelago of economic dependencies cozying up to a bloated U.S. military budget.¹⁸⁾ In the Philippines, Subic Bay Naval Base and Clark Air Field, the largest U.S. military “reservations,” displaced Native and non-Native Filipinos alike, polluting lands, waters, and bodies, and establishing the material and imaginative infrastructure to transform islands into targets.¹⁹⁾ Expanding this map into the larger Pacific sees more of the same: Guåhan, Okinawa, the Marshalls—the template of the military land grab and the transformation of these islands into military bases is a recognizable pattern. In other words, the United States imposed a grand theft of audacious proportions under the banner of security—“freedom”—along with the kind of optics that saw islands (and life on them) through the sights of a gun.

De-islanding and islanding’s dual and related cartographies illuminate the spatial expression of imperial power. The transformation of the Pacific into a garrison was not limited to the work of bases, guns, and troops but also extended to the kinds of accommodations they demanded and relied upon: Native hospitality, gratitude, indebtedness, and a dependence so profound that it paralyzes the ability to imagine otherwise.²⁰⁾ Notions of island hospitality were perverted to serve the “needs” of occupying forces, and bases soon grew their own shadow economies of sex work and traffic, and their own “monstrous families” and genealogies of trauma.²¹⁾

Island Intimacies: Kin and Home

I came to learn, especially once I moved away from the Philippines, that these kinds of violent and extractive relations to islands are possible because they are removed from the intimate ontologies nurtured by a relationship of reciprocal obligation and care.²²⁾ These, of course, are not limited to islands, but the scale of island life clarifies them. When we ask *how islands come to be flattened out through the logics of targetability and commodification, and how they mapped onto grids of militarization and extraction*, the answer often has to do with the dissolution and destruction of island intimacies that are at the heart of island survival, abundance, and life.

On the Hawaiian Islands, where I have lived for the past fourteen years, I see the open wounds and scar tissue that U.S. militarism has wrought as part of its logics of security in the Pacific. I have written about the relationship between the islands of my birth and the islands I have come to call home and how they were linked through U.S. colonial desire and military occupation.²³⁾ But I had not reckoned with how this critical project had also taken a particular approach and method that was a legacy of trauma. In so many ways, I had cordoned off my emotions from the analysis I had brought to bear on these archipelagos. De-islanding and islanding, I realized, are also about damage and affect. Coming to terms with this—opening myself back up to the profoundly intimate and vulnerable connections that island relationality call for—helped me understand the resiliency of island life.

In 2019, I traveled to Kanaloa Kaho‘olawe with a group led by Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiian) protectors who had waged a multi-pronged strategy to demilitarize the island in the 1990s.²⁴⁾ Kaho‘olawe bears some of the most dramatic and critical injuries that were enabled by the logics of targetability, through which the United States measured the value and use of the islands. It is by no means the only lands damaged by U.S. military occupation: the archipelago bears the wounds of chemical and conventional weapons testing.²⁵⁾ For decades Kaho‘olawe was used as a practice target for ship-to-shore shelling, aerial bombing runs, and other kinds of explosives and weapons testing. In the 1970s, it became a focal point for a resurgent Kanaka Maoli sovereignty movement that coalesced around the principles of aloha ‘āina, the love of the land. An array of strategies, from occupations that were aimed at stalling additional weapons testing, to legal maneuvers, eventually culminated in the island’s return to the Hawaiian people.²⁶⁾ My own research on Kaho‘olawe had been carried out through archival sources: I understood the critical importance of the violence wrought on the islands, but I did not connect with its reality in a visceral embodied way until this journey.

From the start—even before departure—the huaka‘i (journey, trip) that brought me and about two dozen other faculty from the University of Hawai‘i to the shores of Kanaloa Kaho‘olawe insists on a radically different approach to visiting the island. It is an approach unfamiliar to the military and tourists who make up a majority of encounters

in Hawai‘i, who are just the latest incarnations of people for whom consent is an afterthought. We begin by asking for permission to enter. It is permission that acknowledges the ocean and the land, the voyage over the former, and the refuge of the latter.²⁷⁾ It is highly specific to this place, and recognizes not only the sovereignty of the land, but also of its people. We partake in a protocol that opens us up to this place, this island, walking into the ocean in silence and embracing it, letting it embrace us. I feel my nerves exposed, my heart apprehensive but open.

Over the next several days and nights, I find myself on edge, overwhelmed by the lessons that Kanaloa Kaho‘olawe has to teach me and my comrades. I understand that the way I had written about Kaho‘olawe before, from the purely academic standpoint of someone doing a critique of U.S. militarism, was incomplete. In grappling with this violence on the land, I had distanced myself in order to write about it and teach about it as a form of self-preservation. The reach of the U.S. military, its horrific legacies of brutality and destruction, are numbing after a while. How does one make sense, after all, of an entity that chooses to think about islands as floating bulls-eyes for target practice? Of the realization that the brutalizing of this land is a rehearsal for the brutalization of other lands and peoples?

Kanaloa Kaho‘olawe gently whispers that another way is possible. I learn about how the island was a piko—an umbilicus—for an oceanfaring people to learn the art and science of navigating by stars and currents. From the vantage point of Moa‘ulaki, the second highest point on the island, I see swathes of bare red soil in the distance, denuded of vegetation by nearly fifty years of ship-to-shore shelling and bombing. Erosion remains a big problem—in heavy rains, a red ring of soil run-off surrounds the island, suffocating marine life. Yet from that place, I also see an alternate vision of the island re-emerging. On the rise of Moa‘ulaki, I feel the care that Kanaka Maoli and others have put into the restoration and re-knowing of Kanaloa Kaho‘olawe.²⁸⁾ One of the regular caretakers, who has been on a campaign to revegetate the land—speaks hopefully and with certainty of the future of the island, and the lush greenness that his sons will witness one day. It is a vision that invites a futurity that islanding and de-islanding have attempted to deny. Despite its scars and the trauma witnessed by the land and water, I sense island life reemerging. It is powerful and humbling, and driven by deep, deep love for this place as kin, as family. I take this vision, this reminder, so generously held out.

Returning to O‘ahu, and Honolulu in particular, is disorienting. I move with a renewed understanding that the molecules making up the verdant soil, water, and life of islands, and those making up my body, are mixed, the edges of one blurring into the other. I sense the outstretched hand of my childhood reaching out. These sensibilities grate against the optics that sight the islands through a bulls-eye, through a camera.

How do island people refuse and resist these topographical and cartographical maneuvers and hold fast to island ontologies rooted in reciprocal responsibility and relationality? The strength to hold fast and insist on a different relationality to island life comes from being vulnerable and open to the harm visited upon it, that islands are net-

worked into a vast ecology, and their survival and prosperity mean our survival and prosperity. As Michael Lujan Bevacqua puts it, this strength is “born of intimacy with the Earth, and driven by sustainability, the connections between generations past and future.”²⁹⁾

I catalogue the list of refusal and resistance to processes of de-islanding and islanding. While such refusals and resistances have been there from the first moments of colonialism, there is also a rising wave across the Pacific of Indigenous people drawing the line and pushing back and calling for sacredness of the land to be enough. From Standing Rock to Pāgan, Litikyan (Ritidian), West Papua, Hawai‘i (Mauna Kea), Okinawa (Henoko), Jeju, Guåhan, and the Philippines—the call resounds to recognize them as sacred places that were once made “sacrifice zones in the name of U.S. empire.”³⁰⁾ Indigenous people and women are at the forefront of this organizing, and the solidarity across island sites remaps the Pacific into a different cartography of kinship.³¹⁾

The identification of economies of death that stunt island life, much of which is grounded in militarization and extraction, is crucial to this organizing work. From the Marianas to Okinawa, demilitarization is understood as an essential step to reclaiming islands as homes, to building alternative possibilities, even as militarization continues to be so intimately intertwined with modern island lives.³²⁾ Sometimes these efforts are built out of rage—such as when lives and lands are treated with so much overt disregard and disdain. But the moments that birth movements are grounded in something like a deeper connection to island life and an intense wish and will to take responsibility for it and each other: as Marie Hernandez of Prutehi Litekyan declares, “It should be enough to say this area is sacred.”³³⁾

In her introduction to *A Nation Rising: Hawaiian Movements for Life, Land, and Sovereignty*, Noelani Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua notes how aloha ‘āina, the love of the land, emerged as the cornerstone of the modern Hawaiian sovereignty movement.³⁴⁾ This love, built on the understanding that the land is one’s kin, drove the political organizing efforts that eventually coalesced into an Indigenous sovereignty movement, and that centered the long fight to stop the bombing of Kaho‘olawe and return it to Hawaiian hands.³⁵⁾ When this is your relationship to islands, you understand that to treat them differently than you would treat yourself—with joy, love, care, reverence, delight, curiosity, generosity—is tantamount to self-harm. Working against processes of de-islanding and islanding that have shaped Hawai‘i since even before the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom, the sovereignty movement worked to build something else in place of cartographies of extraction and death. As Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua puts it, this principle of breath, life, and sovereignty—*ea*—“is based on the experiences of people on the land, relationships forged through the process of remembering and caring for wahi pana, storied places.”³⁶⁾ This work of *ea* counters an established culture where ideas like converting islands into zones for drone manufacturing and testing or building airfields or telescopes on environmentally precarious lands continue to proliferate.³⁷⁾ Candace Fujikane, noting the intergenerational, joyful stands that Kanaka Maoli and their allies have taken specifically at Mauna Kea against the

desecration of the mountain, suggests the power of ‘āina momona and ‘āina kamaha‘o (abundant land and wondrous land) are the foundation of an emergent political and cultural formation.³⁸⁾

I continue to heed the lessons of island life, and learn from the long fight waged by Kanaka Maoli and those who love the land alongside them—from Malia Nobrega-Olivera, who fights to preserve salt ponds against the encroachments of climate change, tourism, and other forces so as to be able to pass down a relationship to land and water that yields a gift that creates bonds with her community, to Candace Fujikane, a fierce settler aloha ‘aina who works with Kanaka Maoli to stop injurious development projects, but who also falls in love with the stories of place along the journey.³⁹⁾ In my adulthood, what I’ve come to learn is that islands also grow the lives that will sustain them—the uncompromising, clear-eyed souls who fight for islands as kin, as home.

Such connections to the sacred are crucial as our archipelagoes continue to bleed. I have now lived in Hawai‘i longer than I have lived anywhere on this earth. It is, in comparison to some other islands, a relatively “safe” place to do the work of advocating for island life, even with the looming presence of the military and toll it has taken on the land, water, and life here—it is a “safety” ironically secured and simultaneously threatened by the biggest perpetrator of violence, which it renames freedom. I look across the Pacific to my birthplace. I see the near-genocidal campaign that its current president has engendered, and I think about how thoroughly colonialism has done its job when the colonized take on the work of the colonizer. Indigenous Filipinos who continue to fight to care for land and water show up on the rising body count, murdered for their defense of forests, of ancestral claims.⁴⁰⁾ A piece of my heart remains there, with the child whose soles knew the textures of the sand and soil, but who lived in ignorance of the plight of Indigenous Filipinos. I look to West Papua, a place I learned more about from a dear colleague’s dedication to its independence, and mourn the people murdered by Indonesian police forces.⁴¹⁾ Another piece of my heart travels there in solidarity and heartbreak. I think about sacrifices and the sacred, about the violence meted out when refusal and resistance take shape, but also about the dreams that insist on being dreamed regardless.

Notes

- 1) Emily Louise Bowman, “Pompeo: ‘Small islands are big strongholds of freedom.’” *ShareAmerica*, August 5, 2019, <https://share.america.gov/pompeo-small-islands-big-strongholds-freedom/>.
- 2) See John Campbell on the resilience of islands, countering the conceptualization of islands as vulnerable in “Islandness: Vulnerability and Resilience in Oceania,” *Shima* 3, no. 1 (2019): 85–97, <https://doi.org/10.21463/shima.13.2.05>.
- 3) “Negros Island,” Indigenous Peoples United, accessed October 17, 2017, <http://www.indigenouseoplesunited.org/indigenous-caribbean.html>. The Indigenous name is thought to be “Buglas” (cut off) referring to its isolation from a larger land mass at one point. The Spanish named the island Negros after encountering its dark-skinned inhabitants, who are likely a branch of the Aeta people.
- 4) Epli Hau‘ofa, “Our Sea of Islands,” *The Contemporary Pacific* 6, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 3–16.
- 5) Lisa Lowe, *Intimacies of Four Continents* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015).
- 6) Bowman, “Pompeo.”

- 7) Craig Santos Perez, "Guāhan, the Pacific and Decolonial Poetry," *Shima* 13, no. 2 (2019): 23, <https://shimajournal.org/issues/v13n2/05.-Perez-Shima-v13n2.pdf>.
- 8) Macarena Gómez-Barris, *The Extractive Zone: Social Ecologies and Decolonial Perspectives* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017); Macarena Gómez-Barris and May Joseph, "Introduction: Coloniality and Islands," *Shima* 13, no. 2 (2019): 4, <https://doi.org/10.21463/shima.13.2.03>.
- 9) As quoted in David Vine, *Base Nation: How U.S. Military Bases Abroad Harm America and the World* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2015), 75.
- 10) Hone Tuwhare, *No Ordinary Sun* (Auckland: Blackwood and Janet Paul Auckland, 1964).
- 11) Barbara Rose Johnston and Holly M. Barker, *Consequential Damages of Nuclear War: The Rongelap Report* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, Inc., 2008), 11–38. See also Joseph H. Genz et al., *Militarism and Nuclear Testing in the Pacific*, Volume 1 of Teaching Oceania Series, ed. Monica C. LaBriola (Honolulu: Center for Pacific Island Studies, University of Hawai'i-Mānoa, 2016).
- 12) Teresia K. Teaiwa, "bikinis and other s/pacific n/oceans," *The Contemporary Pacific* 6, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 87–110.
- 13) Laurel B. Hirshberg, "Targeting Kwajalein: U.S. Empire, Militarization and Suburbanization and the Marshall Islands, 1944–1986" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2011), <http://hdl.handle.net/2027.42/86555>; Déborah Berman Santana, "Resisting Toxic Militarism: Vieques versus the U.S. Navy," *Social Justice* 29, nos. 1–2 (2002): 37–47.
- 14) Mimi Sheller, "Offshore Infrastructures in the Caribbean and Pacific: Remediating Militarism, Tourism, and Climate Change in US Island Territories," in *The Geopolitics of Tourism: Assemblages of Power, Mobility, and the State*, ed. Mary Mostafanezhad, Matilde Córdoba Azcárate, and Roger Norum (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, forthcoming). See also Katerina Teaiwa, *Consuming Ocean Island: Stories of People and Phosphate from Banaba* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2015).
- 15) Mark L. Gillem, *America Town: Building the Outposts of Empire* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017); Hirshberg, "Targeting Kwajalein."
- 16) S. Joe Estores and Ty P. Kāwika Tengan, "Sources of Sustainment: Fort Kamehameha and 'Āhua Point," in *Detours: A Decolonial Guide to Hawai'i*, ed. Hōkūlani K. Aikau and Vernadette Vicuña Gonzalez (Durham: Duke University Press, 2019), 77–85; Kyle Kajihiro, "A Brief Overview of Militarization and Resistance in Hawai'i," *DMZ-Hawa'i/Aloha 'Āina*, March 1, 2007, http://www.dmzhawaii.org/dmz-legacy-site/overview_military_in_hawaii.pdf; Jonathan Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, "Memorializing Pu'uloa and Remembering Pearl Harbor," in *Militarized Currents: Toward a Decolonized Future in Asian and the Pacific*, ed. Keith Camacho and Setsu Shigematsu (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 3–14.
- 17) Kent E. Calder, *Embattled Garrisons: Comparative Base Politics and American Globalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 12.
- 18) Walden Bello, "From American Lake to a People's Pacific," in Sandra Pollock Sturdevant and Brenda Stoltzfus, *Let the Good Times Roll: Prostitution and the U.S. Military in Asia* (New York: The New Press, 1992), 14.
- 19) Vernadette Vicuña Gonzalez, *Securing Paradise: Tourism and Militarism in Hawai'i and the Philippines* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013), 147–180.
- 20) Christine Taitano DeLisle, "Destination Chamorro Culture: Notes on Realignment, Rebranding, and Post-9/11 Militourism in Guam," *American Quarterly* 68, no. 3 (September 2016): 563–572, <https://doi.org/10.1353/aq.2016.0054>; Ayano Ginoza, "R&R at the Intersection of US and Japanese Dual Empire: Okinawan Women and Decolonizing Militarized Heterosexuality," *American Quarterly* 68, no. 3 (September 2016): 583–591, <https://doi.org/10.1353/aq.2016.0054>.
- 21) The literature on prostitution and the U.S. military is extensive: see for example, Grace M. Cho, "Diaspora of Camptown: The Forgotten War's Monstrous Family," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 34, no. 1/2 (Spring-Summer 2006): 309–331; Seungsook Moon, "Regulating Desire, Managing the Empire: U.S. Military Prostitution in South Korea," in *Over There: Living with the U.S. Military Empire from World War II to the Present*, ed. Maria Höhn and Seungsook Moon (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 39–77; Sandra Pollock Sturdevant and Brenda Stoltzfus, *Let the Good Times Roll: Prostitution and the*

U.S. Military in Asia (New York: The New Press, 1992).

- 22) See for instance, Jana Lipman, *Guantánamo: A Working-Class History between Empire and Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008); David Vine, *Island of Shame: The Secret History of the US Military Base on Diego Garcia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011).
- 23) Gonzalez, *Securing Paradise*.
- 24) Davianna Pōmoka'i McGregor, "Kanaloa Kaho'olawe: He Wahi Akua/A Sacred Place," in Aikau, *Detours*, 261–270.
- 25) Kajihiro, "A Brief Overview of Militarization."
- 26) Jonathan Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, "Hawaiian Souls: The Movement to Stop the U.S. Military Bombing of Kaho'olawe," in *A Nation Rising: Hawaiian Movements for Life, Land, and Sovereignty*, ed. Noelani Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, Ikaika Hussey, and Erin Kahunawaika'ala Wright (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 137–160.
- 27) Mele komo (request to enter) and mele kahea (welcoming chant) for Kanaloa Kaho'olawe.
- 28) Davianna Pōmaika'i McGregor, "Kaho'olawe: Rebirth of the Sacred," in *Nā Kua'āina: Living Hawaiian Culture* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 249–285.
- 29) Jon Letman, "Native People Across the Pacific Are Resisting Dispossession of Sacred Land," *TruthOut*, August 6, 2019, <https://truthout.org/articles/native-people-across-the-pacific-are-resisting-dispossession-of-sacred-land/>.
- 30) Ayana Young, "Cinta Kaipat on the Militarization of Pāgan and Defending Island Sovereignty," July 24, 2019, in *For The Wild*, podcast, 58:59, <https://forthewild.world/listen/cinta-kaipat-on-the-militarization-of-pagan-and-defending-island-sovereignty-129>.
- 31) Kim Compoc, Joy Lehuanani Enomoto, and Kasha Ho, "From Hawai'i to Okinawa: Confronting Militarization, Healing Trauma, Strengthening Solidarity," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* (forthcoming).
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- 33) Letman, "Native People."
- 34) Noelani Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, "Introduction," in Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, *A Nation Rising*, 1–35.
- 35) Osorio, "Hawaiian Souls," 137–160.
- 36) Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, "Introduction."
- 37) Debra Green, "UH's Proposal Would Turn the Skies Above us into Dangerous Experiment," *Mauī News*, September 27, 2019, <https://www.mauinews.com/opinion/columns/2019/09/uhs-proposal-would-turn-the-skies-above-us-into-dangerous-experiment/>. See also, "Ecuador 'allows US military planes to use Galapagos island airfield,'" *BBC News*, June 17, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-48663283?fbclid=IwAR2Ljtjdv7W90wLEOr-6KCWauZJnwEi1-HjfLiVIjwawajkDpXbJPGgEYP7E>.
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