



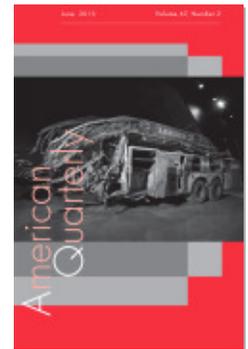
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Introduction: Pacific Currents

Paul Lyons and Ty P. Kāwika Tengan

We are taught by our *kūpuna* (elders) that from the moment we enter the water, we acknowledge all of the ocean's inhabitants. We are visitors in their home. . . .

When we were kids, our grandparents (*tūtū wahine* and *tutu kāne*) would sit us down on the shoreline and teach us how to watch (*nānā*) and listen (*ho'olohē*) to the ocean. We studied its patterns and movements, its currents and weather conditions. We even watched the debris return to shore to see where the gap exit, or *puka*, in the waves was in order to float or swim safely back to shore.

—Brother Noland, *The Hawaiian Survival Handbook*

In Oceania, there is a different kind of “common sense” that circulates among Islanders, one based in a fluidity of being in the world. One might refer to this as an “Oceanic Reason” that flows from awareness of one’s environment. For the less Island-acclimated, the ‘Ōiwi (Indigenous Hawaiian) musician, outdoorsman, teacher, and author Brother Noland has produced a primer to surviving in Hawai‘i’s differing environs, inclusive of ocean, mountain, and city.¹ He weaves together lessons from his lifelong search to acquire new skills from teachers throughout Hawai‘i and beyond. The resultant text offers both serious and humorous instructions on such issues as “how to survive shark attacks” and “how to poop in the woods” in order to illustrate “lessons of aloha” that foreground practices of “adjusting, adapting, blending, and being aware” of others, whether they be the inhabitants of the reef or the locals of an unfamiliar neighborhood.² This active, survival aloha counters the pervasive tourism-driven senses of the word “aloha,” whose proscriptive grip on Native Hawaiians within “capitalist maneuvers” Stephanie Nohelani Teves indicts in “Aloha State Apparatuses” in this special issue. Approaching the sociocultural and natural worlds separately, Brother Noland suggests, can be particularly dangerous in the ocean, where his first advice is “to go with a partner who is familiar with the area and the surroundings.” If one is unable to do so, one should “sit on the shore and study the wave and current patterns for evidence of undertow, rip current, or riptide” before entering the water.³ What Brother Noland advises about the ocean—about the need to respect its inhabitants

and is currents—is both practical advice and a philosophy for approaching challenging environments. Following his guidance, we open this special issue, “Pacific Currents,” with a call for coalition building, solidarity among Oceanians and the peoples who encircle the ocean, that pays special attention to the place-based knowledge that emerges from the large and small currents of the Moana Nui (Pacific Ocean), including the dangers and opportunities for movement that currents present.

There is an ‘ōlelo no‘eau (Hawaiian proverb) that goes “‘A‘ohe o kāhi nānā o luna o ka pali; iho mai a lalo nei; ‘ike i ke au nui ke au iki, he alo a he alo.” The noted ‘Oiwī scholar Mary Kawena Pukui translates this as “The top of the cliff isn’t the place to look at us; come down here and learn of the big and little current, face to face,” and provides a window on its meanings: “Learn the details. Also, an invitation to discuss something.”⁴ In her contribution to the land/seamark special issue of *The Contemporary Pacific*, “Native Pacific Cultural Studies on the Edge” (edited by Vicente Diaz and J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, both contributors to our forum section), Teresia Teaiwa argued that this ‘ōlelo no‘eau “provides a conceptual structure for understanding” Native Pacific studies,⁵ especially in its “intimate approach to knowledge” based on interpersonal relationships formed in face-to-face meetings at various Pacific-focused conferences. We build on this understanding by thinking through the ways that “big and little currents” convey an intimacy between people, land, ocean, and time.⁶

The Hawaiian term for current is “au.” Like many other ‘Oiwī concepts, au is rich with kaona, layers of esoteric meaning that present possibilities for decolonial praxis.⁷ In their *Hawaiian Dictionary*, Pukui and the linguist Samuel Elbert gave the following among their fourteen definitions of au:

1. nvi. Period of time, age, era, epoch, cycle, the passing of time. . . .
2. nvi. Current; to flow, as a current . . .
3. nvi. Movement, eddy, tide, motion; to move, drift, float, walk, hurry, stir; succession or train, as of thought, trend
-
5. n. Weather

Another set of meanings come through the 1865 dictionary of the American missionary Lorrin Andrews, who includes “a territory; district of country; generally compounded with other qualifying words; as, auakua, a desert, a place of gods, ghosts, &c. See AUAKUA. Aukanaka, an inhabited country; aupuni, a large region, &c. NOTE.—Au is the term representing all places

where food grows.”⁸ The confluence of these currents make available different interpretations; for us, those that stand out link ocean flows to passage of time, succession of thought, emplacement of weather patterns, growing cycles of food, and occupational practices passed among ancestors and affiliated peoples.

This sense of fluid, powerful lines of connection in space and time is powerfully gestative, as seen in the very first line of the genealogical creation chant the Kumulipo, recorded in 1889 by King David Kalākaua: “O ke au i kahuli wela ka honua.”⁹ Kalākaua’s sister and successor Queen Lili’uokalani translated this as “At the time that turned the heat of the earth.”¹⁰ As Brandy Nālani McDougall argues in “Mo’okū’auhau versus Colonial Entitlement in English Translations of the Kumulipo,” the mistranslation of these texts functions as a violent interruption of vital Indigenous currents. In the face of US imperialism in the islands, the Kumulipo (as she shows) asserted a spiritual grounding for contending with the political currents leading to the overthrow of the lawful Hawaiian Kingdom. Contemporary Kanaka ‘Ōiwi artists and authors continue to draw from this genealogy as they imagine alternative futures, as Joyce Pualani Warren details in “Embodied Cosmogony: Genealogy in the Racial Production of the State in Victoria Nalani Kneubuhl’s ‘Ho’oulu Lāhui.” These essays highlight the use of mo’okū’auhau (genealogy) as a Kanaka ‘Ōiwi literary device, which ku’ualoha ho’omanawanui identifies in one notable biographical description of Kalākaua that she translates as “Through his lineage and his birthing, the Chief, the King, was O’ahu, a swift and silent current” with “knowledge of people—from the ‘big current to the little current,” which means “from the most important to the most humble status of society.”¹¹

Following in this lineage of writing that joins peoples across time and space, we ask what might come at the confluences of Native Pacific and American studies and scholars.

Native Pacific Studies and American Studies

When approached by the editorial board of *American Quarterly* about coediting this special issue, “Pacific Currents”—and left to imagine the forms that an *AQ* collection with such a title might take—we decided to call for work at the intersections of Native Pacific studies and American studies, both diverse, interdisciplinary, and expanding fields. We felt that, as *American Quarterly* relocates its editorial offices into the mid-Pacific, as if it were marking (“taking the position of”) the Ship of American Empire as it slowly comes about (in new forms of gunboat diplomacy), it is more important than ever for American

studies to approach the “Asia Pacific turn” in relation to the varied standpoints that Native Pacific studies affords. Critically engaging America’s “pivot” toward “Asia-Pacific” as putatively “the world’s new center of strategic and economic gravity” calls for decolonial, anticolonial, and indigenizing approaches.¹² It is “decolonial” work in turning from the “colonial/postcolonial” dyad toward situated, praxis-oriented, alternative, and grounded forms of analysis. Candace Fujikane’s review essay of several recent collections, “Restoring Independence and Abundance on the Kulāiwi and ‘Āina Momona,” discusses contemporary ways to enact sovereignties, seen as “capacious,” and as both prior to and “as exceeding state forms.” In Bryan Kamaoli Kuwada’s poem “To Ea,” and his note on the poem’s composition, performing ea (sovereignty, breath, life) in the context of imperial violence elicits bravery and communal renewal (“the ea of the poet is community”) and moves with the currents of culture.¹³ Decolonial poetics struggles collectively, though everyday acts, against the pushdown of colonial frameworks. The work remains necessarily anticolonial as well, in the senses that colonialism and occupation in the Pacific Islands have not ended and continue to exact devastating tolls on Island peoples and environments. How and on what terms Native Pacific studies and American studies might join in working together within Oceania was the focusing question to which Hōkūlani Aikau, Diaz, Greg Dvorak, Kauanui, Craig Santos Perez, Dean Itsuji Saranillio, and Alice Te Punga Somerville responded in the forum section, and that question is at least implicitly at stake in all the work of this special issue.

We framed the issue, then, not in terms of how Native Pacific studies might be hosted within or juxtaposed in a disciplinary sense with American studies but in terms of what their meeting spaces potentially make visible: the issue builds on the substantial body of Native Pacific scholarship already produced and emerging in new forms within American studies contexts, which is often disaggregated and thus less visible. In so doing, we assume a version of American studies that, despite its political goodwill and activist energy, often lacks conversance with Pacific Islands material realities and the diverse modalities of Pacific scholarship. Engaging Oceanian intellectual traditions as frameworks excluded from both East–West philosophies, and from the concepts undergirding “Asia-Pacific,” might help American studies to better find its bearings within the idea of an Asia-Pacific that, in some definitions, now encompasses “more than half the global economy.” “Here is the future,” President Barack Obama and nearly every US government spokesperson in the last few decades has asserted about Asia-Pacific.¹⁴ Against such telescoped accounts of geopolitical common sense, Kauanui suggests in her forum contribution, “Imperial

Ocean: The Pacific as a Critical Site for American Studies,” that attending comparatively to distinct Island political statuses and their attendant legalities “can function as a civics lesson while providing insights into often-ignored principles at work in American studies.” These insights we see as moving in alliance with an American studies understood in terms of theoretical aspirations to contest exceptionalist logics (including “continental exceptionalism” as a disciplinary assumption);¹⁵ deconstitute the self-centering paradigms that structure American institutions and political languages; develop intersectional forms of activism that spread from the grass roots out; articulate domestic civil rights imperatives with (anticorporate) transnational social movements; and respond to the political and epistemological claims that Indigenous scholarship poses to its field imaginary. The articles in this special issue, clustered under three headings—“Crises of Signification,” “Rooted Routedness and Resistance,” and “Prefigurations”—suggest additional themes at the junction of “American studies” and “Pacific studies.”¹⁶

Connections between Pacific Islanders and Native Americans are pronounced today in the work of the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association (NAISA) and “global Indigenous” studies. These “big currents” intersect with the “little” ones in specific institutional exchanges and collaborations, such as Aikau describes in her forum contribution, “Following the Alaloa Kīpapa of Our Ancestors: A Trans-Indigenous Futurity without the State (United States or otherwise),” that recounts a visit to Kaho‘olawe made together by faculty and students of the University of Hawai‘i Indigenous Politics and University of Victoria Indigenous Governance programs. As David A. Chang demonstrates in “‘We Will Be Comparable to the Indian Peoples’: Recognizing Likeness between Native Hawaiians and American Indians, 1834–1923,” these Indigenous juxtapositions prefigure the contemporary turn toward comparative Indigenous studies.¹⁷ At the same time, while the pages of *American Quarterly* evidence an “Indigenous turn,” few collections in American studies contexts focus on Oceania as a complexly interconnected Indigenous space of its own singular kind.¹⁸ Doing so, we argue, might recover strong philosophical, epistemological, and ethical senses in which Oceanian and Pacific Islander thought stands conceptually between “transpacific” versions of the future developing on various sides of the ocean.¹⁹ As Somerville argues in the forum, in “Unpacking Our Libraries: Landlocked, Waterlogged and Expansive Bookshelves,” “the Pacific . . . suffers from being understood as a region in which research ‘content’ may be found, whereas research ‘practice,’ including critical or theoretical work, happen elsewhere.”

Important exceptions aside, a tendency remains within American studies to view the Pacific through Asia-Pacific or American-Pacific frameworks and theoretical models. The former, developed within such fields as Asian studies, diplomatic history, and Asian American studies, is often marked by slippages in which “Pacific” is either a synonym for (East) Asia or part of an Asia-Pacific formation, depending on the speech context; the latter tends to view the Pacific through the lens of a critique of US Empire.²⁰ Much of transnational American studies refers to “Pacific connections” or “transpacific bridges” without reference to any Pacific Island, or, if so, accounting Pacific Islands as transit and meeting places, in which the trope of movement originates externally.²¹ What Lisa Kahaleole Hall demonstrates (in “Which of These Things Is Not Like the Other: Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders Are Not Asian Americans, and All Pacific Islanders Are Not Hawaiian”) about the distortions (of data and identity) produced by the marginalizing-through-conflating power of Asia-Pacific in domestic US contexts (as well as by the conflation of some Pacific Island groups with others) has long been felt in Native Pacific studies as applicable to nearly every level of analysis, from trade and policy language to the arts. For Noelle M. K. Y. Kahanu, in her review essay of three concurrent exhibitions, “A MAMo State of Mind: Kanaka Maoli Arts and the Review of Three Concurrent Exhibitions,” a critical loss of aesthetic agency occurs for Kanaka Maoli and Oceanian artists when their work is curated within Asia-Pacific exhibitions.

Hall’s point that “all Pacific Islanders are not Hawaiian” raises a problematic dynamic from which this special issue is not free. This is the tendency, to take only the most egregious example—Hollywood cinema—to represent all Pacific Islands as Polynesian, or as versions of Hawai‘i. That the degree of Hawai‘i-centricism in this issue was unintended is not to suggest that it is coincidental either. This introduction itself is framed in terms of Kanaka Maoli concepts, partly because of the priorities of being grounded by the places where one writes from, but undoubtedly it pursues the lines it does as well because of paradoxical dynamics by which settler colonial institutions become hubs of anticolonial academic scholarship, and in their corridors “Calls for Papers” are more loudly heard in some places than others. If the “Call” did not elicit submissions representative of the desire within Oceanian thought to decenter any one position, it cannot effectively be balanced by a few remarks here. One part of the dynamic might, we surmise, be a reluctance of scholars of the Native Pacific to participate in (or situate their work within) projects framed in ways that position “America” as “setting the discursive limit” or as an “immutable

fact,” as Tiara R. Na‘puti and Michael Lujan Bevacqua argue in their contribution; setting such limits clearly runs the risk of reinforcing colonially imposed boundaries, including those by which Anglophone Polynesia is centered and Francophone Polynesia deemed out of linguistic reach, or Melanesians, Torres Straits Islanders, and the Aboriginal Peoples of Australia are positioned outside the disciplinary junction points, despite all the ways that the United States intervenes in those spaces as well. West Papua, for instance, remains under brutal colonial oppression through a process brokered with the support of the United States, and through the direct support of US companies.²² Against the state logics of settler colonies, Kanaka ‘Oiwī scholars, if centralized within and by “American” institutions when it comes to representing Oceania, reject that positioning and are purposefully critical of all imperial processes that either reduce Oceania’s diversity or promote hierarchies within it. For instance, a recent blog entry from Hinemoana of Turtle Island, a group of Indigenous Pacific feminist scholar/poet/activists living in California and Oregon (made up of five Kānaka Maoli and one Tongan) foregrounds the need to decenter Hawai‘i and Polynesia and to “always frame Native Hawaiian issues within a larger Oceanic framing.”²³ Likewise, in talking about the epistemological “abyss” separating Pacific Islanders and Americans “in how we view humanity,” Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo‘ole Osorio emphasizes Oceania as a community constituted by enacting connectivities.²⁴ In thus decoupling Islander perspectives from the logics of race/ethnicity relationships developed within settler colonial societies, the “nation-state is relegated to one strand of a matrix of relationships.”²⁵

American studies itself has for decades developed a critique of various forms that American imperialism takes in the Pacific, in terms of both its military cultures and how American representational practices stereotype Islanders and prime US citizens toward tacit acceptance or open complicity with imperialist nostalgia and militarism, as in the jingoistic fantasy of the recent Hollywood film *Pacific Rim*. What such critique discovers, where Native perspectives are considered, are complex lines of resistance within Islander participation in American popular culture that might look complicit or assimilative, such as participation in hula circuits, hapa haole musical tours, rodeos, or NFL football.²⁶ In “‘Strangers in Our Own Land’: John Kneubuhl, Modern Drama, and *Hawai‘i Five-O*,” Stanley Orr shows the lengths to which an acclaimed industry writer like John Kneubuhl, of American Samoa, perforce had to go to evade the de facto Hollywood censoring playbook in order to give voice to critical commentary of American colonialism in the Pacific. The teleplay of an early episode of *Hawaii Five-O*, “Strangers in Our Own Land,” Orr argues,

anticipates Kneubuhl's future as "Oceania's foremost postcolonial dramatist," a current that flows into the work of his niece, Victoria Nalani Kneubuhl, whose work is taken up in Joyce Pualani Warren's reading.

Native Pacific scholars, artists, and activists, whose ranks are growing in the U.S. academy and elsewhere, speak a clarifying language about the stakes in maintaining the integrity of Island epistemologies, positionalities, and interdependencies while recognizing their complexities within changing frameworks, including centuries of "transpacific colonial" enmeshment, movement, and cultural exchange.²⁷ Oceanian artists have continued to both protest and creatively refigure these dynamics, and the pervasive orientalist, kitschy, and "antiblack" representational practices that Dan Taulapapa McMullin anatomizes in his "100 Tiki Notes." For McMullin, the kitsch of tiki culture in particular remains a complex heritage that Island artists alternately inhabit and evade, even as the "colonization of Polynesian Bodies change[s] from desire to war," with gendered images from Dwayne "The Rock" Johnson to Moana, the newly crowned animated Disney princess. In "Tiki in Hell," the multilayered image of the cover to this issue, a puppetlike tiki figure, in the author's words, "wanders alone" through what looks like a rim of fire, spotted with bleached islands.

The practice of Native Pacific studies itself, we emphasize, while always strongly anticolonial and antiracist, has never been organized around relations to the United States or any of the other regional hegemon that have laid claim to islands and ocean swaths in Oceania, or that continue directly and indirectly to occupy or exercise power over Indigenous Pacific lands and waters.²⁸ In the foundational works of Albert Wendt, "Toward a New Oceania" (1976), and Epeli Hau'ofa, "Our Sea of Islands" (1993), which established important spatial and temporal coordinates and structuring metaphors for Native Pacific studies, the United States is provincialized, if it enters the frame at all. This is largely because much of the Native Pacific never endured direct US colonization: in the senses that one speaks of an "American Pacific," as Greg Dvorak notes in his forum contribution, "Oceanizing American Studies," one could speak as well of a "Japanese Pacific," a "French Pacific," a "German Pacific," an "Australian Pacific," as well as other models that are not based around imperial relationships.²⁹

At the same time, if Native Pacific studies is necessarily, at heart, discontinuous with or problematically situated within and against the ongoing elaborations of the United States and its critique, it is also now uncannily inside and outside the United States, of and not of it. This has resulted in many new cultural situations, such as that of the community of seven thousand Marshallese

who migrated to Springdale, Arkansas, and whose efforts to have a voice and engage Americans, while remaining connected to traditions, take place through acts of what Jessica Schwartz describes as “Marshallese cultural diplomacy.” Through performing modified traditional songs in their new environment, “Marshallese movements—musical, bodily, social, and political—in Springdale become extensions and negotiations of their home(s).” There are currently so many Islanders living on the West Coast of America that it has begun to be referred to among Islanders as the East Coast of the Pacific.³⁰

If one takes together the areas in Oceania over which the United States currently exercises jurisdiction or projects military force (the “American Pacific” of Hawai‘i, American Samoa, Guam, the Northern Mariana Islands [CNMI], the three Compact of Free Association [COFA] nations of the Federated States of Micronesia, Palau, and the Marshall Islands), or the vast swaths of oceans over which the United States claims custodianship, and the places where the census group “Pacific Islander Americans,” including groups never subject to US colonialism, such as Māori, Tongans, Fijians, Western Samoans, now maintain diffuse yet strong communities within continental spaces (which might be called “Pacific America”), the interfaced areas cover a considerable portion of the earth and can be seen as an increasingly charged space for regarding major currents in global political and cultural thought. These interconnected spaces, in Craig Santos Perez’s remapping contribution to the forum, might be characterized as an immense terripelago, a fluid model that regards continents as themselves large and moving islands. In “Transterritorial Currents and the Imperial Terripelago,” Perez foregrounds multiple registers in which the “territorialities” in question are not captured by the conventional distinctions of “land” and sea, and how “currents of territoriality” (which shift over time) possess “the power to move (and remove) populations and resources, thus transforming global and local political patterns.” Archipelagoes model subterranean contiguities and undercurrents that extend to the conceptual: as Brian Russell Roberts suggests, “archipelagic” formations are “repeating insular forms whose recursions are discursively ordered” in relation to heuristics.³¹

In suggesting the value for American studies of engaging with Native Pacific studies as a field in its own right, we emphasize how work that prioritizes the well-being of Pacific places and peoples (holding itself accountable to Islander communities) can provide at once a powerful ethical and philosophical base, an organizing framework, and positions from which to organize. This is to some degree missing, or not the objective, in much of the historical work about the Pacific that takes on the challenge of trying to describe the region

as a whole without recourse to “a unifying narrative,” as the carefully plural titles of several recent books suggest. In his afterword to the collection *Pacific Histories: Ocean, Land, People* (2013), edited by David Armitage and Alison Bashford, Matt Matsuda suggests that, beyond the difficulties presented to historians by the immensity of the Pacific, attempts to see the region as a coherent system have long foundered on disciplinary boundaries as much as geographic ones: “for generations ‘Pacific Studies’ as a field has developed through the multiple domain of specialists: Asian studies experts who did not necessarily share perspectives with researchers in Oceanian and Pacific Studies, who in turn might be unconcerned with the work of Americanists or distant from the world-system approaches of many global historians.”³²

One form scholarship has begun to take at the junction of American (ethnic) studies and Native Pacific studies, reflected in the work of this collection, is an emergent interest in connectivities between Natives and “ethnic” migrant groups.³³ Keith Camacho has called for a Pacific Islander studies intervention that aligns with the intersection of Native Pacific and American ethnic studies, and Diaz argues that Native Pacific studies gains by acknowledging its “structuration” in relation to ethnicity and other “determinations of the[ir] disciplines.”³⁴ In scenes of what has been termed “alternative contact,” the colonizer/colonized or “first contacts” model is de-emphasized in preference for recuperating senses repressed within colonial histories in which Indigenous and ethnic groups share histories, in ways that prefigure contemporary possibilities for coalition. In the cross-field work of “indigenous peoples and others,” Paul Lai and Lindsey Claire Smith aim to “shake loose new possibilities for critical, interpretive, and activist interventions.”³⁵ Recognizing the complexity of Oceanic movements and intersecting histories reveals sources of contemporary relations that are generally mediated by the terms of colonialism, Christianity, and labor relations. Kealani Cook’s “Ke Ao a me Ka Pō: Post-Millennial Thought and Native Hawaiian Foreign Mission Work” emphasizes the roles that Islanders played in the nineteenth century in attempting to spread the version of Christianity promulgated by the American Board of Foreign Missionaries. The involvement of Native missionaries in violent processes of cultural transformation in Micronesia suggests one historical coordinate for Hawaiian–Micronesian antagonisms in the present; current ethnic studies projects look to positively intervene in or transform these by drawing on deeper Indigenous currents or undercurrents that precede colonialism. Alfred Peredo Flores follows this carefully historicized and transformative line of understanding. In “No Walk in the Park’: US Empire and the Racialization of Civilian Military

Labor in Guam, 1944–1962,” Flores moves from a discussion of comparative racializations formed at the junction of US corporations and the military in postwar Guam to discovering moments when Filipino and Chamorro workers were able to find common cause.³⁶

Such historical confluences are situated ambivalently within a field that at once corresponds with postnational models, such as the Black Atlantic, or what Jace Weaver has recently written about as the Red Atlantic, or hemispheric or comparative Americas models, while supporting movements for Islander sovereignties and holding a healthy suspicion for the ways that “Western gurus render nationalism disreputable just in time to deprive emergent nations of its legitimacy,” as Partha Chatterjee suggests.³⁷ As Damon Salesa argues in relation to “Travel-Happy Samoa, Samoan Migration, and a ‘Brown Pacific,’” movement and self-determination are neither incompatible with or tied to the current order of colonially created states.³⁸ This is not to say that connections to land do not remain central, but that notions of precolonial “sovereignty” relied on authority being constituted in and through mobility and culturally articulated networks. Hau’ofa’s vision is often compared with Paul Gilroy’s in the *Black Atlantic*: both propose alter-modernities to Enlightenment totalizations; underscore the creativity of minor, vernacular, mixed languages and perspectives; and emphasize the complexity of culture and the connectivities across the artificial borders that colonialism created. However, Hau’ofa celebrates the importance of land, sea, genealogical, and kinship ties within Indigenous Pacific thought and commits to an epistemological view in which connections to a village are maintained in movement through reciprocities.³⁹ In the longer view, while the forms of movement change in relation to colonialism and new modes of travel, the content for Hau’ofa and Salesa in important senses has not: “The resources of Samoans . . . are no longer confined to their national boundaries. . . . this is as it was before the age of Western Imperialism.”⁴⁰ This might be thought of in terms of “the routedness of indigenous travel through the ‘rootedness’ of indigenous knowledge,” as Diaz reformulates the roots/routes dynamic in his forum contribution, “Native Pacific Studies and the Illinois Debacle: Indigeneity at the Edge of Nationalist Belongings and the Limits of Signification.”

Rebalancing Language in the Moana Nui

We, the peoples of Moana Nui, connected by the currents of our ocean home, declare that we will not cooperate with the commodification of life and land as represented by APEC’s

[Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation's] predatory capitalistic practices, distorted information, and secret trade negotiations and agreements.

We invoke our rights to free, prior, and informed consent. We choose cooperative trans-Pacific dialogue, action, advocacy, and solidarity between and amongst the peoples of the Pacific, rooted in traditional cultural practices and wisdom.

E mau ke ea o ka aina i ka pono. A mama. Ua noa.

—Moana Nui Statement (November 2011)

The concept of balance, based on interdependence, is a Native Pacific concept that shares family resemblances across the region and is clustered with other concepts. In “Militarization and Resistance from Guåhan: Protecting and Defending Pãgat,” Na‘puti and Bevacqua describe “inafa’ maolek” (to make things good for each other) as a principle of restoring balance and as a communitarian concept around which Chamoru activists organized against the Department of Defense’s plans to use Pãgat, a sacred village site on Guam’s northeast coast, as a live firing range.⁴¹ In Hawai‘i the concept of pono, and the question “Pehea lã e pono ai?” (how will we become pono?) might be taken as the structuring question of contemporary approaches to restore governance in Hawai‘i.⁴² Among the many meanings of pono are “well-being,” “righteous,” “moral,” “goodness”; trying to become pono is often a process worked out through dialogue, as the practice of “ho‘oponopono.” It is a way to restore balance, related to that of being in a sustainable balance with the land. Were “pono” to be substituted for the word “justice,” it would force a rewriting of the colonial legal system and a reconceptualization of the logic that drives and seeks to regulate neoliberal policy in Oceania.⁴³ Thus it is no surprise that the Moana Nui Statement would, in proclaiming Pacific solidarity against transnational exploitation, end with the statement “E mau ke ea o ka aina i ka pono,” or “Let the sovereignty/life/breath of the land continue in pono.”⁴⁴ By “rebalancing” or “pivoting,” the US government means something different from the search for pono in the sense understood by Native Pacific studies. In rolling out the concept of rebalancing, Tom Donilon began with an economic analogy: the United States had “over-invested” elsewhere, and it was time to shift the investment to the Pacific, as if it were a matter of balancing accounts.⁴⁵ “Invest” in this context (shifting resources into Asia-Pacific from the Middle East) referred to “militarization,” so that “balance” seemed to function as a euphemism for the “containment” of China and for the State Department fear of any Asia-Pacific that might develop independently of US auspices, seen as an “incipient Chinese lake.”⁴⁶ In this economy, “cheque-book diplomacy” (building stadiums or donating aid in return for influence in United Nations

fora) needed to be “balanced” by US “security” and surveillance, in the name of protecting fisheries and trade routes (or against terrorism, or diseases, or disaster preparedness). What remains largely invisible behind this talk are the varied histories through which Pacific peoples have repeatedly been “liberated” and “captured” in the same gesture. The ongoing fight for legitimacy, or budgetary support of appropriations for projects in Oceania, amounts to a war within representation over the areas that Native Pacific Islanders call home, fought through a set of catchphrases, some of them repeated over a century, that hide, distort, naturalize, speak the language of *fait accompli*, or euphemize culturally and environmentally devastating processes.⁴⁷

It was against the corporate values that Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) and the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) represent, that in November 2011, Pacific activists, scholars, and cultural practitioners gathered for three days in Honolulu in a conference named after the Great Ocean—Moana Nui. Participants included speakers and delegates from Hawai‘i, Belau (Palau), the United States, Philippines, Rapa Nui (Easter Island), Guåhan (Guam), Okinawa, Japan, Australia, India, China, Russia/Siberia/Mongolia, Vanuatu, and Aotearoa/New Zealand (among other Oceanic nations), suggesting a conversation that foregrounded Pacific peoples, places, and priorities.⁴⁸ The meeting was organized to coincide and give counterpoint to the agenda of the twenty-one countries whose representatives were meeting in the islands for the APEC forum, as the World Social Forum is meant to counter the World Economic Forum in Davos, not just by protesting, but by imagining that “another world is possible.” In hosting APEC, the Obama administration sought to project the renewed economic and military might of “America’s Pacific Century.” This “forward posturing” made visible what Setsu Shigematsu and Keith Camacho call the “militarized currents” of empires in Asia and the Pacific, where “militarization operates across temporal and spatial boundaries, as contemporary military technologies are informed by past and projected imperialist imperatives.”⁴⁹ Indeed, the highways and streets of Honolulu were lined with military vehicles and private security details assigned to the visiting dignitaries.

The Moana Nui conference, on the other hand, presented an alternative view of community and place.⁵⁰ Attendees arrived at the “Moana Nui Statement” after three days of intense debate and strategizing over the region’s future, and they offered the statement as both protest and prayer when they joined an anti-APEC demonstration march on the streets of Waikīkī. Moana Nui participants found in the ocean currents a force of connection, one that could facilitate “cooperative trans-Pacific dialogue, action, advocacy, and soli-

parity.” Moana Nui was not framed in terms of nation-states, but a recurrent theme was the dangers that the military and consumer society—as expressions of the “American way of life”—pose to all life in Oceania. For Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo‘ole Osorio, the language is symptomatic of states of political consciousness: using terms like “inclusion and access when talking about improving the society and making it more just,” he argues, “presumes . . . that the resources of the world can never be assumed to be shared—that purposeful actions like laws and policies must be devised in order to make certain some kind of sharing takes place.”⁵¹

During the week of the APEC and Moana Nui conferences, an event took place that seemed to encapsulate the costs of American jurisdictions in Oceania and the ways that “racial” and “Indigenous” frameworks intersect in the Islands. On November 5, 2011, Christopher Deedy, a federal special agent of the Bureau of Diplomatic Security, shot and killed Kollin Keali‘i Elderts, a Hawaiian man, during an altercation in a Waikikī McDonalds. In the trial it came up that Deedy had been told by another federal marshal on board the plane to Honolulu that the word “haole” (now generally heard as “Caucasian”) was like the “n-word,” and that local and Hawaiian people hated haole. Primed for violence, by all testimony drunk after a night of barhopping (Deedy refused a breathalyzer), and carrying a loaded firearm while off duty, he claimed that he used lethal force because his life was in danger. The echoes with the Trayvon Martin case were pronounced (George Zimmerman successfully employed a similar defense), and the handling of the high-profile case highlighted for many in the Islands how the currents of US “race” politics and “civil rights” frameworks flow toward settler eliminations. At the same time, as many noted, emphasis on Deedy’s “racial” predisposition deflect from the fact that a federal agent shooting a Kanaka Maoli is an act of colonial violence: Pacific migrants to the United States undergo ethnicization, but Elderts did not migrate anywhere. He was not shot as an American ethnic minority but as a Native person in occupied territory.

The outrage over the shooting and the trial suggested, in addition to anger and grief over the loss of Elderts’s life, an understanding of the devaluing of Native lives as an extension of the antiblackness of American imperialism, in which people of color are presumptively criminalized and subject to violence or incarceration in the name of security. The murder seemed to duplicate the inverted logic by which the state arrogates to itself the right to “defend” or provide “security” through aggressive policing, engaged in with impunity, which undergirds foreign policy and postures of forward deployment.⁵² These

dynamics are secured through legal systems that have aggressively replaced traditional legalities and that continue to attack legalities designed to protect Native rights, all over the “American Pacific”; in Hawai‘i the transformation of the legal system, which slowly insinuated itself, criminalizing and disciplining specific behaviors associated with Indigenous lifeways, and transforming basic relations to land and traditional governance, had taken on “racial” overtones long before the illegal overthrow of the kingdom. The Deedy case has resulted in two mistrials so far; he remains employed by the Department of Defense.

Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders today are disproportionately incarcerated; further, Islanders are perforce now subjects and agents of legal frameworks. Over time they can come to seem—in matters of military and policing, as in legal arenas—to be willing participants, enmeshed in the system and dependent on benefits (medical, pension) and protections in highly gendered ways.⁵³ As Maile Arvin in “Still in the Blood: Gendered Histories of Race, Law and Science in *Day v. Apoliona*” tellingly argues, blood quantum laws both directly affect Kanaka Maoli “entitlements” to homestead lands and pit Kānaka Maoli against one another as legal subjects.⁵⁴ Arvin’s layered reading of the case shows Kānaka Maoli as simultaneously “calling the law on themselves” and calling the law on laws that have been set up to “foreclose decolonial justice at their very roots.” In these and other ways, US racial thought is at once internalized and contested within Island communities, as in situations facing Islanders as internal migrants, such as Micronesians in Honolulu. As Joakim “Jojo” Peter details in his interview, “COFA Complex,” health provisions written into treaties with the US government have repeatedly been violated, and Micronesians must now become legal activists for basic care, often to survive ailments caused by US nuclear testing in the region, a story deliberately suppressed, as Beverly Keever documents in *News Zero: The New York Times and the Bomb*. Peter’s insistence that “we are not immigrants” references the structured ignorance around the statuses and treaty relations that Islands have entered into with the United States.⁵⁵ COFA citizens can fight in the military and not have health care; unemployed people pay for health plans. Chamorus suffer extensively from PTSD and have underfunded mental health facilities and programs. Neither can vote for the president, who sends them as members of the military to war. The trap of recognition, of course, is that to argue for expanded “coverage” would be at the cost of Island autonomy.⁵⁶

These junctions of American studies and Native Pacific studies call for layered analytic frameworks in which the critique of the antiblackness of the US carceral system (civil rights, domestic social justice frames), and the

killing of Kollin Keali'i Elderts (settler colonial frames), along with the incarceration and human rights abuses in Palestine that resonates in the islands (transnational and settler colonial frames), may find ready alliances. At the 2014 rallies against antiblackness in Honolulu, protestors continued to carry pictures of Elderts alongside pictures of Michael Brown and Eric Garner, and several wore Palestinian kaffiyeh. As Rob Shilliam shows of the adaptation of Black Panther strategies throughout the Pacific during the 1970s to fit specific circumstances, there is a long history of Islander critiques of systemic racism that connect antiblackness and settler colonialism, and that can be read back from the Pacific into African American studies in terms of clarifying relations of systemic racism and Indigenous dispossession. In looking at how Māori rearticulated African American thought in a Māori context, Shilliam suggests as well how black nationalist thought in the United States might reconfigure itself in relation to Native critiques of settler colonialism.⁵⁷

The Climate of the Conversation: Crisis and Creativity

We are not drowning, we are fighting,

—Pacific Climate Warriors (350 Fiji)

All of these things . . . that separate us — independence, federal recognition, Christian [ity], Hoomana Kahiko [Hawaiian religion], all these different politics—the one thing that's going to bring us together is aloha 'āina.

—Andre Perez, testifying about Mauna Kea before the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, April 8, 2015

Most of the essays in this special issue, in direct or indirect ways, address “crises”—rifts in the “climate” of culture—that have faced Pacific peoples in different guises for centuries. In the current moment, with the sea rising catastrophically around low-lying atolls and increasingly powerful and frequent storms, sorrow for those most affected, as well as a resolve to fight, resound throughout the Islands; the climate of the conversation recurrently references climate change as material fact, the latest existential threat, and a rallying point. As Mike Hulme argues, in global thought the climate crisis has reached the point where it is “not ‘a problem’ waiting for ‘a solution’” but an “environmental, cultural and political phenomenon” that necessarily “is reshaping the way we think.”⁵⁸

Whether or not it has caused ruptures in Pacific Islander thinking, climate discourse as it is brought into the Islands echoes and extends the long history of discourses of vulnerability and threatened extinction, from “salvage

anthropology” to “fatal impact” to notions that globalization spells death to small cultures and languages. (The latter, in some quarters, is thought to be as dangerous to Pacific lifeways as climate change.) One might ask who and what it serves to again think of Islands as symbols of dying worlds, avatars of dying institutions and toxic (eco)systems. J. Hillis Miller, for instance, deplors the “rapid meltdown of the ‘humanities’ in our colleges and universities, as we in the humanities become more and more like one of those Pacific islands about to be inundated by rising ocean waters.”⁵⁹ In this analogy from a former president of the Modern Language Association, climate change and the effects of neoliberal economics stream together. In a perverse way, the analysis is correct and characteristic of the connective logics of recent state discourse about the region, in which in a few leaps climate change can become an argument for the need for greater military, disaster preparedness, and ratifying the TPP as an expression of “our shared values.”⁶⁰

In this “climate” of structured and motivated slippages, as Diaz argues, Native Pacific studies’ articulation with anticolonial struggle can too easily place it in the crosshairs of a Zionist and neoliberal pushback (as instanced by the Steven Salaita affair), in which Islander perspectives are again belittled, threatened with enclosure, and afforded diminished academic purchase. Against this, Diaz posits forms of Indigenous “vernacular flourish,” which must be “indefatigable” in interposing languages within coloniality that resist their own appropriation by the Right and the Left. Such languages, in a time when first world polluters are being compelled to recognize themselves as active agents of “nature” in altering the climate of things, might extend the reach of Indigenous resourcefulness in “wreak[ing] havoc” on colonial frameworks.

Indigenous assertions (in scholarship, activism, and creative modalities) that the physical world cannot be separated from culture have begun to resonate in new ways within decolonial thought. Margaret Jolly follows these currents of thought into the Pacific, exploring the importance of the nondistinction between nature and culture in Oceania to the steps that Islanders are taking to respond to climate change and the host of interlinked issues. As many note, Islanders have not caused the climate crisis that threatens them, and climate change exacerbates inequality; at the same time, Jolly observes a subversive tension between “positions of victimhood and resistant agency.”⁶¹ Out of these movements are coming powerful Oceanic ethical arguments against the logic of “balancing” the needs of great powers with the rights of the comparatively few and of the need within the region for solidarity between islands large and small, high and low.

As several essays in this special issue emphasize, concepts of land and land use—and the system of laws and “protections” that develop out of those concepts—contrast with the ways that Indigenous epistemologies view the relation between humans and the physical world: in the Hawaiian context, *‘āina* (“that which feeds”) is inclusive of land, sea, and skies, and is regarded as an ancestor. To be an “*‘āina*-ist,” as Kamanamaikalani Beamer formulates it in arguing for the union of “culture and ecosystem,” ought not to be confused with “environmentalism” as that term is generally understood: “A movement built on Aloha *‘Āina* would distinguish itself in crucial ways from a movement focused on conserving nature as distinct from human interaction.”⁶² In social movements around Oceania, one recurrently hears the call to turn from accumulative to sustainable models, from economic quick-fixes to grassroots use of cultural frameworks and innovation. As is clear in Na‘puti and Bevacqua’s discussion of Pāgat, environmental movements become political platforms and occasions for cultural renewal as well.

In this context, the new Oceanic studies may be well-intended attempts to transcend historical differences in the name of a common threat to humanity, but when not articulated with Native Pacific studies can have the effect of erasing struggles in and around the islands for sovereignty and stewardship of resources. In fact, as Elizabeth DeLoughery argues, views of the sea “as a route away from the territorialism of the nation-state” tend to “overlook how the world’s oceans have become militarized by the state,”⁶³ and how ocean resources (fisheries, seabeds) are coming under the jurisdictions of first world powers. This is in keeping with what Mary Dudziak and Leti Volpp call a pervasive construction of legal “borders”: “There are borders . . . throughout the ocean. They mark a nation’s territorial waters, a sovereignty of currents and of sea life. The boundaries around U.S. territorial waters are not outlined by physical structures . . . there are words on a page.”⁶⁴ Legal debates stretch to what will happen to the resources of islands whose peoples become climate refugees, as they have been refugees of nuclear testing.

In his contribution to the forum, “The Insurrection of Subjected Futures,” Dean Itsuji Saranillio references Naomi Klein’s hope that, against the history of disaster capitalism, concerns over catastrophic climate change might become a “galvanizing force for humanity, leaving us all not just safer from extreme weather, but with societies that are safer and fairer in all kinds of other ways as well.”⁶⁵ For Saranillio, this involves finding in the spreading crises of global capitalism new opportunities for turning “settler colonialism against itself” or for creating “conditions for cultivating non-capitalist relations and planting

the seeds for Indigenous economies to reemerge in new ways.” Seeds are both a literal battleground—as in articulated struggles against the GMO industry’s drive to control the whole world’s seeds—and as a productive metaphor for intergenerational processes, increasingly recognized in terms of claims that the future makes on the present.⁶⁶ Across educational sites, Noelani Goodyear-Ka’ōpua describes “an emergent ‘ecopedagogy’ movement that calls critical educators to analyze and oppose the spread of neoliberalism and imperialism that has precipitated monumental ecological crises and to . . . ‘foment collective ecoliteracy.’”⁶⁷

Many of the major social, political, and artistic movements in contemporary Oceania have been and remain directly or indirectly devoted to protecting the physical environment: we note in particular the blockade of the Auckland Harbour, the antinuclear movement and demonstrations in Tahiti, and the Protect Kaho’olawe’s showdown with the US Navy over the bombing of Kaho’olawe, as flashpoints, each of which was accompanied by major renaissances in arts and culture. Antimilitarism is often explicitly concerned with the environment, as with destructive development.⁶⁸ Concerns over climate change are calling forth art all over the region, from the Samoan choreographer Lemi Ponifasio’s dance concert, “Birds with Sky Mirrors,” to the Kanaka Maoli mixed-media artist Joy Lehuanani Enomoto’s “Diasporic Waters” to multimedia dramatic performances, such as *Moana: The Rising of the Sea*, written and produced by Vilsoni Hereniko and choreographed and directed by Peter Rockford Espiritu, to the poetry of spoken-word artists such as Kathy Jetnil-Kijiner about the effects of climate change in her home in the Marshall Islands. Such artists bring visibility to climate change and aim to alter the tone and directions for discussions about what it means to “protect” the environment, and how feeling the issues can help people in choosing the kinds of protections they want and the philosophies that guide them. The arts in particular—containing within them modalities of theorizing the region and insisting on the value of the currents that connect Islanders—challenge the means and ends of external “protections” and the directions of climate change discourses.

The long histories of “conservation” as another moment of “capture,” in the name of mitigating the destruction brought by first world countries, is giving rise to complex scenes of regional resistance. As Na’puti and Bevacqua argue, “protecting Pāgat” has involved bringing lands under further layers of colonial jurisdiction. In what he considers “an old story in the Pacific,” David Hanlon describes how “the externally determined need for preservation” of sacred and culturally vital sites can even seem to require “formal coloniza-

tion.”⁶⁹ When it comes to the ocean, the recent establishment of enormous marine preserves can be seen as what Craig Santos Perez terms “blue-washing,” forms of “protection” that place submerged lands, reefs, atolls, and deep waters “under federal control.” These means of conservation may genuinely protect the wilderness, but in the same gesture they remove Island peoples from land and seas and from active relations in cultivating or watching over it. As Perez continues, “The public may no longer be allowed to fish in these ‘protected’ areas because it might affect the fragile ocean ecosystem, yet the military can conduct weapons training and testing.”⁷⁰

In the current lightning-rod case of whether to allow breaking ground on the \$1.4 billion Thirty-Meter Telescope (TMT) on Mauna Kea (also referred to as Mauna a Wākea, or Mountain of the Sky Father Wākea), the story of Lake Waiau located at the summit is telling. Named after the female deity Waiau (a combination of *wai*, “water,” and *au*, “current”), the highest lake in the Pacific (and one of the highest alpine lakes in the world) is regarded as a sacred place of the gods and a repository of the piko (umbilical cords) for ‘Oiwi families. In 1882 the dowager queen and high chief ‘Emmalani Kaleleonālani Naea Rooke, an opponent of American imperialism, journeyed to the mountain to ceremonially bathe in the waters of Waiau in what No‘eau Peralto describes as a political and cultural act of “transformation, renewal, and rebirth.”⁷¹ Contemporary Kānaka have followed in Queen Emma’s footsteps and returned to this piko (summit and center) to defend its spiritual and ecological sanctity. After numerous challenges during the 2000s to the University of Hawai‘i and the state’s plans to construct additional telescopes beyond the thirteen already present, developers of the TMT applied in 2010 for a permit to build in the conservation district.⁷² Between 2010 and 2013 Waiau mysteriously fell to less than 2 percent of its original surface size, which led to new concerns over the impacts of climate change; however, by May 2014 it had regained 75 percent of its volume⁷³—just as the latest round of legal challenges to the TMT ramped up. The fact that the sacred lands in question are already under the care of the Department of Lands and Resources, and on ceded/seized lands,⁷⁴ and that agreements were in place and repeatedly abused, has not protected them from development in the name of science and progress.

As we finish writing this introduction, a groundswell of opposition has led protectors of the mountain to prepare for a second round of arrests as Governor David Y. Ige’s “time-out” on construction comes to an end. Earlier this spring, the TMT’s unwillingness to await the resolution of pending lawsuits led people to block the road along which construction equipment moves,

resulting in thirty-one arrests on April 2. In progressive circles, from international activist organizations such as Idle No More to the Socialist Worker, the issue foregrounds questions about the legitimacy of state apparatuses to adjudicate unsettled land rights and address ecological concerns, and Mauna Kea has become iconic of the disrespect that settler colonialism and neoliberal capitalism show for Indigenous cultures. In a May 26 press conference on the Mauna Kea crisis, Ige announced his decision to authorize moving forward with building the TMT, opening with a call for the people of Hawai'i to adhere to "our core values," and to "act always with aloha."⁷⁵ The governor's own speech act—his sense that he could call on citizens to "act with aloha" while in the act of authorizing the desecration of a place sacred to Kanaka Maoli—is a striking performance of "the extent to which aloha functions like a state ideology," as Stephanie Nohelani Teves argues in this issue. Against Ige's hailing, members of Mauna Kea Hui and other Aloha 'Āina put out "a call to stand with us in kapu aloha."⁷⁶ State and International media have framed the issue as a faceoff between progress and Kanaka Maoli spirituality, portrayed as an atavistic attachment to the past. In "We Live in the Future, Come Join Us," Bryan Kamaoli Kuwada clarifies that Hawaiians are not against the telescope but against where it is slated to be built, and against the "short-sighted model of progress" that building there implies: a loss of reverence for people, places, and the environment that misleads the public into thinking that "unrestricted development is the highest and best use of the land."⁷⁷

At any level, including Oceanian insider positions most enmeshed in US politics, Pacific Islanders do not want to have policy decisions made for them when it comes to how to respond to climate change, or how and when to provide technological fixes, or in general what happens in their own backyards. And they do not want to see climate policy as something separable from the domains of culture. On March 22 the congressional representative from American Samoa, Aumua Amata Coleman Radewagen, blasted the administration for "environmental colonialism." After an appeal to improve stagnant funding (for Veterans Affairs and educational support), she reminded Esther Kia'āina (head of the Office of Insular Affairs) of the Amata family's political legacy of striving for "self-government in the islands" within the structures of insular status. She spoke of Samoans as "Nationals" who owe allegiance to the United States, but would not trade their customary land rights for full US citizenship.⁷⁸ Amata then turned to the issue of conservation: "There is no one in this room who is more of a conservationist than I am. The people have sent me to Washington to conserve and preserve our heritage, our customs, our

traditions and, yes our resources—both human and natural.” Specifically, she objected to the building of a protective seawall without proper consultation with American Samoans. As illustrative of the ways that Samoans regarded the importance of consultation, and would resist being dictated to in the name of environmentalism, she referenced a California study underway about the environmental effects of barbequing and warned Kia’āina that were the government to try to tell Samoans that they could not barbeque in their own backyards, it would be “severely testing the limits of our people’s tolerance.”⁷⁹

In thinking about “Pacific currents,” and the directions that they are pulling, including under, two ‘ōlelo no‘eau stand out. The first is a warning of the dangers of greed and the social breaches and distances it encourages: “Kō ke au iā Hala‘ea” (“The current carried Hala‘ea away”). As Mary Kawena Pukui glosses the passage, this is “said of one who goes out and forgets to return” and references the story of fishermen rebelling against the selfish Ka‘ū chief Hala‘ea by overloading his canoe with the excessive amount of fish he was demanding from his people: “The chief, his canoe, and his fish were swept out on the current and never seen again. This current, which comes from the east and flows out to sea at Kalae, is known as Ke au o Hala‘ea.”⁸⁰ As Native Pacific studies and its allies seek new waters and catches with American studies, scholars, activists, and artists of the Moana Nui must remain committed to the pono of Oceanic lands, seas, and peoples—big and little. And if despite our best efforts we start to get pulled out, we would do well to heed Brother Noland’s advice: “Stay calm, think clearly and don’t waste energy fighting or resisting the current. . . . Swim out of the current parallel to the shoreline, feeling for that gap or opening in the water where you can turn to swim toward the shore.”⁸¹

The second ‘ōlelo no‘eau was invoked in a June 6, 1896, editorial letter that appeared in the nationalist newspaper *Ka Oiaio* (*Truth*), edited by John Ailuene Edwin Bush: “Aia nō i ke kō a ke au” (“Whichever way the current goes”), which Pukui succinctly explains as “time will tell.”⁸² Here currents in Pacific time have a voice. Bush, an early leader in the Hui Aloha ‘Āina (Hawaiian Patriotic League) who had been jailed for his role in the planned counter coup against the Republic of Hawai‘i,⁸³ cited the saying in reference to letters written by two pro-royalist haole, who had long decried and lobbied against the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom: Bush did not think that it was words like those of Theophilus Davies (author of *Letters upon the Political Crisis in Hawaii* [1894])—ethical and legalistic appeals—that would bring about the restoration of pono, implying that it would take something more rooted in the epistemology of ocean and land that was being transformed even

as it was being carried forward. He wrote, “He au keia o ka holomua a me ka malamalama, a o ka hana o keia manawa o ke kai pu ana me ke ko a ke au,” which can be translated as “This is a period of progress and enlightenment, and the task of this time is to move along with the current.” Though on the surface this statement might look fatalistic and assimilationist, deep undercurrents of Indigenous thought flow through concepts such as malamalama (“the light of knowledge,” as Kealani Cook explains in his essay in this issue). We know also that going with the “au” (both “time” and “current”)—seen in that moment as technological modernity and wrested forms of governance—may be only a short-term strategy until the “gap” to return to a shore of alternative modernities is found. Native Pacific and American studies are powerful but not overdetermining currents that have the ability to variously connect and to sweep away. How will Islanders and Islands—inclusive of Turtle Island (North America) and its peoples—move at the points of their convergence? Only time will tell.

Notes

Mahalo to Stacy Nojima and Mari Yoshihara for guiding us through the process of putting together this special issue, and Fata Simanu-Klutz and Bryan Kamaoli Kuwada for consultation on language matters.

1. We use ‘Ōiwi, Kanaka ‘Ōiwi, Kanaka ‘Ōiwi Maoli, and Kanaka Maoli interchangeably for “Native Hawaiian” or “Indigenous Hawaiian.” Kānaka is the plural form of Kanaka. On language and translation issues, including the use of italics for Hawaiian words, see Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 13, 37.
2. Brother Noland (Conjugacion), *The Hawaiian Survival Handbook* (Honolulu: Watermark, 2014), 6, 144.
3. *Ibid.*, 10, 17.
4. Mary Kawena Pukui, *‘Ōlelo No‘eau: Hawaiian Proverbs and Poetical Sayings* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1986), 24.
5. Teresia K. Teaiwa, “L(o)osing the Edge,” *The Contemporary Pacific* 13.2 (2001): 343. On Native Pacific cultural studies, see Kauanui in the forum section of this issue, note 1. Our concern is the articulation of Native Pacific studies with American studies, without the imperative toward a triangulation of cultural studies, which was a focus of that issue. See Vicente M. Diaz and J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, “Native Pacific Cultural Studies on the Edge,” *The Contemporary Pacific* 13.2 (2001): 315–42.
6. See also Noelani Puniwai’s study of the integration of Indigenous and local knowledge of ocean currents into models of seascape management: “Ike I Ke Au Nui, Me Ke Au Iki: Complex Social and Physical Seascapes of Hawai‘i Island” (PhD diss., University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, 2015).
7. On kaona as a reading method, see Noelani Arista, “Navigating Uncharted Oceans of Meaning: Kaona as Historical and Interpretive Method,” *PMLA* 125.3 (2010): 663–69.
8. Definitions of Hawaiian words are checked against the *Hawaiian Dictionary*, available at wehewehe.org; this includes both the Pukui–Elbert and Andrews dictionaries.
9. *He Pule Hooolaa Alii: He Kumulipo no Ka I-amamao a ia Alapai Wahine* (Honolulu: Hui Pa‘ipalapala Elele, 1889), 1.

10. Lili'uokalani, *The Kumulipo: An Hawaiian Creation Myth* (1897; rpt. Kentfield, CA: Pueo Press, 1978), 1.
11. Joseph Moku'ōhai Poepoe, *Ka Moolelo o ka Moi o Kalakaua I* (Honolulu: n.p., 1891), 5, as cited and translated in ku'ualoaha ho'omanawanui, "Ka Li'u o ka Pa'ākai (Well Seasoned with Salt): Recognizing Literary Devices, Rhetorical Strategies, and Aesthetics in Kanaka Maoli Literature," in *Huihui: Navigating Art and Literature in the Pacific*, ed. Jeffrey Carroll, Brandy Nālani McDougall, and Georganne Nordstrom (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015), 256, 262.
12. Hillary Clinton, "America's Pacific Century," *Foreign Policy*, October 11, 2011. On "de-coloniality," see Walter D. Mignolo, "Epistemological Disobedience, Independent Thought and De-Colonial Freedom," *Theory, Culture, and Society* 26.7–8 (2009), 1–23.
13. Joanne Barker argues that sovereignty, as a concept rooted in Western and Christian epistemologies, is "notoriously generalized" as Native uprising against colonial pushdown (Barker, ed., introduction to *Sovereignty Matters: Locations of Contestation and Possibility in Indigenous Struggles for Self-Determination* [Omaha: University of Nebraska Press, 2005], 1–32). Kevin Bruyneel argues that "sovereignty is not a gift that the US can give" (*The Third Space of Sovereignty* [Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007], xiv). Kuwada and Fujikane both reference the discussion of ea in Noelani Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, introduction to *A Nation Rising: Hawaiian Movements for Life, Land, and Sovereignty*, ed. Noelani Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, Ikaika Hussey, and Erin Kahunawaika'ala Wright (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 1–35.
14. "Remarks by President Obama to the Australian Parliament," November 17, 2011, www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2011/11/17/remarks-president-obama-australian-parliament. Obama has been referred to in policy circles as "America's first Pacific President," because he grew up in Hawai'i and Indonesia. Setting the terms and tone for many speeches given within his administration, Obama claimed that "our new focus on this region [Asia-Pacific] reflects a fundamental truth—the United States has been, and always will be, a Pacific nation. Asian immigrants helped build America. . . . From the bombing of Darwin to the liberation of Pacific islands, from the rice paddies of Southeast Asia to a cold Korea Peninsula, generations of Americans have served here, and died here—so democracies could take root; so economic miracles could lift hundreds of millions to prosperity." See also Hillary Clinton, remarks at the Pacific Islands Forum Post-Forum Dialogue, US Department of State, August 31, 2012: "We too, of course, are a Pacific Nation." For this speech and others made during Clinton's 2012 visit to the Pacific region, see samoa.usembassy.gov/tarotonga.html.
15. Brian Russell Roberts, "Archipelagic Diaspora, Geographical Form, and Hurston's *Their Eyes Were Watching God*," *American Literature* 85.1 (2013): 122. See also Roberts and Michelle Stephens, "Archipelagic American Studies and the Caribbean," *Journal of Transnational American Studies* 5.1 (2013): 1–20.
16. On "Crisis of Signification," see Jodi Byrd, quoted in Diaz's contribution to this issue; Diaz develops as well the concept of rooted rootedness as interplay between roots and routes.
17. See Chadwick Allen, *Transindigenous: Methodologies for Global Native Literary Studies* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012). Jodi Byrd discusses the conceptual liability in United States' contexts of comparative ethnic work conflating statuses, while emphasizing how the state holds the "judicial means to make 'Indian' those people and nations" who "stand in the way of their military and economic desires" in ("Arriving on a Different Shore: US Empire at Its Horizons," *College English* 41.1 [2014]: 174–81).
18. Curtis Marez, preface to *American Quarterly* 62.3 (2010): v–vi.
19. See Keith L. Camacho, ed., "Transoceanic Flows: Pacific Islander Interventions across the American Empire," special issue, *Amerasia* 37.3 (2011). This work was contextualized by David K. Koo and Arnold Pan, then editor and associate editor, as an attempt to "force those working within Asian American Studies to question and rethink what delineates and shapes our own field" ("To Our Readers: Relearning the American Pacific," *Amerasia* 37.3 [2010], vii); and see Setsu Shigematsu and Keith L. Camacho, eds., *Militarized Currents: Towards a Decolonized Future in Asia and the Pacific* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010). In a series of essays and introductions, Rob Wilson turns the term *Asia Pacific* inside out vis-à-vis a reimagined "American Pacific," and toward alliances among local and Indigenous writers in Hawai'i, Oceania, and Asia (in particular East Asia). See Rob Wilson, *Reimagining the American Pacific: From South Pacific to Bamboo Ridge and Beyond* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000).

20. In 2010 Teresia Teaiwa argued that Asian studies wanted little to do with Pacific studies, and that “in the United States of America, Pacific Studies is finding relevance through being articulated with American Studies and/or Asian American Studies” (“For or before an Asia Pacific Studies Agenda? Specifying Pacific Studies,” in *Remaking Area Studies: Teaching and Learning across Asia and the Pacific*, ed. Terence Wesley-Smith and Jon Goss [Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2010], 113n). When US leaders or government representatives talk policy in relation to the Asia-Pacific region, the Pacific drops out of the discussion, except in the form of a recent claim that the United States speaks as a Pacific nation and is thus historically already part of Asia-Pacific (none have gone so far as to declare the United States an Asian Nation). When US representatives talk with Pacific leaders, on the other hand, the Pacific is recognized as a region with its own organizational structures (Pacific Forum nations), and the United States represents itself as a neighbor claiming to share fundamental values.
21. For instance, the table of contents of *The Routledge Anthology of Asian American and Pacific Islander Literatures* (2014) suggests the gap between what the linkage of Asian American and Pacific Islander in different formulations promises and generally delivers. A recent issue of the *Journal of Transnational American Studies* referred to “Pacific connections” as transnational relations to Asia, without ever in its introductions or articles mentioning any Pacific Islands. An essay review in *American Quarterly* discussed five “Transpacific” monographs, mentioning only Hawai‘i among Pacific places, as a way station of Asians on the way to North America. Names are left off these examples, as the intent is less to criticize particular authors and editors than to point out the pervasiveness and ease with which “Pacific” continues to be used when “Asia” is the sole or primary referent. On central problematics in the field of Asia and Pacific representation, see Hsuan Hsu, “Guåhan (Guam), Literary Emergence, and the American Pacific in *Homebase* and *from unincorporated territory*,” *American Literary History* 24.2 (2012): 281–307.
22. US-headquartered Freeport-McMoRan operates the world’s biggest gold mine in West Papua and has, through various channels, supported the repressive Indonesian regime; in Papua New Guinea, the \$19 billion Exxon Mobil natural gas project, subsidized in part by the US government, is considered responsible for a catastrophic landslide that killed twenty-seven people.
23. “From a Pacific-Turtle Island Muliwai,” www.morethantwominutes.com. Hinemoana of Turtle Island includes Liza Keanuenuokalani Williams, Lani Teves, Fuifuilupe Niumetolu, Maile Arvin, Kēhaulani Vaughn, and Natalee Kēhaulani Bauer.
24. Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo‘ole Osorio, “All Things Depending: Renewing Interdependence in Oceania,” in *Huihui: Navigating Art and Literature in the Pacific*, ed. Jeffrey Carroll, Brandy Nālani McDougall, and Georganne Nordstrom (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2015), 211.
25. See Alice Te Punga Somerville, *Once Were Pacific: Māori Connections to Oceania* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), xxiii, in reference to the logic by which the settler colonial state creates divisions between Māori and Pacific Islanders.
26. On the dynamics by which American Samoans gain mobility through sport as a “complex crystallization of imperial legacies,” see Fa‘anofa Lisaclaire (Lisa) Uperesa, “Fabled Futures: Migration and Mobility for Samoans in American Football,” “Global Sport in the Pacific,” ed. Fa‘anofa Lisaclaire (Lisa) Uperesa and Tom Mountjoy, special issue, *The Contemporary Pacific* 26.2 (2014): 284; see also Vicente M. Diaz, “Tackling Pacific Hegemonic Formations on the American Gridiron,” *Amerasia* 37.3 (2011): 90–113. For ways in which Kanaka Maoli circulated in the United States, see Gary Y. Okihiro, *Island World: A History of Hawai‘i and the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009); and Adria Imada, *Aloha America: Hula Circuits through the U.S. Empire* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009).
27. Annamaria Shimabuku defines transpacific colonialism as being “caught between two colonial powers,” as in the case of Okinawa between Japanese and US colonialism. See Shimabuku, “Transpacific Colonialism: An Intimate View of Transnational Activism in Okinawa.” *The New Centennial Review* 12.1 (2012): 131–58.
28. For an intimate genealogy of the field, see Teaiwa, “L(o)osing the Edge.”
29. For essays on transoceanic exchanges among Indigenous groups in Asia and Asian American contexts, see Greg Dvorak and Miyume Tanji, eds., “Indigenous Asias,” special issue, *Amerasia* 41.1 (2015).
30. The press release for the current art exhibition at the Oakland Museum, “Pacific Worlds,” refers to “turning the familiar idea of California as the western frontier on its head and re-positioning the State as ‘the East Coast of the Pacific’” (www.museumca.org/exhibit/pacific-worlds).

31. Roberts, "Archipelagic Diaspora," 122. In *Routes and Roots: Navigating Caribbean and Pacific Islands Literatures* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), Elizabeth DeLoughrey attends both to the literal circuitries between the Caribbean and the Pacific and to the applicability of archipelagic, relational, and tideolectic theories to Oceania.
32. Matt K. Matsuda, "Afterword: Pacific Cross-Currents," in *Pacific Histories: Ocean, Land, People*, ed. David Armitage and Alison Bashford (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 326–27. In Matsuda's *Pacific Worlds*, the Pacific region is best viewable as "multiple sites of *trans-localism*, the specific linked places where direct engagements took place and were tied to histories dependent on the ocean" (5). The approach echoes the turn in American studies, noted by Carolyn Porter, in which a "web of contact zones has increasingly superseded 'the nation' as the basic . . . frame for analysis" ("What We Know We Don't Know: Remapping American Literary Studies," *American Literary History* 6 [1994]: 470). While "Pacific" and "Oceania" continue to be used as synonyms, one might observe in recent historical works a sense that Oceania refers to the three "nesias," while the Pacific refers to a region that includes a number of "rim" countries, in particular "Asian" Island-states, Philippines, Indonesia, Taiwan, and Japan, as having linguistic and cultural ties, and trade circuitries that predate the period of empire and the colonially created tripartite division of Oceania into subregions.
33. Approaches to this emerging "field" were modeled at the recent conference "Our Future, Our Way Conference: Directions in Oceanic Ethnic Studies," Ethnic Studies Department, University of Hawai'i, March 13–14, 2015. However, a conference participant, Damon Salesa, noted senses in which "ethnic studies" signifies differently within an Americanist context and might not be a meaningful rubric in several Pacific contexts.
34. Keith L. Camacho, "Old Sea, New Routes: Filipinos, Pacific Islanders, and the American Empire"; and Vicente M. Diaz, "From 'One History, One Way,' to 'Our Future, Our Way' (By Way of a Rant about Star Compasses)" (papers presented at the Oceanic Ethnic Studies Conference, Ethnic Studies Department, University of Hawai'i, March 11–14, 2015). See John R. Eperjesi on the Philippines as part of an unmappable American Pacific: "One would need a map designed by a Situationist to capture the complex arrangements that make up the multiple insides and outsides of the American Pacific" (*The Imperialist Imaginary: Visions of Asia and the Pacific in American Culture* [Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 2005], 14).
35. Paul Lai and Lindsey Claire Smith, eds., "Alternative Contact: Indigeneity, Globalism, and American Studies," special issue, *American Indian Quarterly* 37.1–2 (2013): 409. Curtis Marez describes another effect of this as imagining "alternative connections between Indigenous and American Studies" (preface, vi). See also Cari M. Carpenter and K. Kyoejin Yoon, "Rethinking Alternative Contact in Native American and Chinese Encounters: Juxtaposition in Nineteenth-Century Newspapers," in special issue, ed. Cari M. Carpenter and K. Kyoejin Yoon, *College English* 41.1 (2014), who show in juxtaposing images of Asians and Native Americans how "proximity in newsprint is not a coincidence, but a reminder of their symbolic and literal relationships" (8).
36. On joining Asian and Samoan, and Hawaiian and Filipino, along the lines of labor, see Joanne Poblette-Cross, "Bridging Indigenous and Immigrant Struggles," *American Quarterly* 62.3 (2010): 51–52. On comparative racialism, see Shu-mei Shih, "Comparative Racialization: An Introduction," *PMLA* 123 (October 2008): 1347–62. On issues of labor and human rights in the CNMI, see Keith L. Camacho, "After 9/11: Militarized Borders and Social Movements in the Mariana Islands," *American Quarterly* 64.4 (2012): 685–713.
37. Lawrence Buell on Chatterjee's *Nation and Its Fragments*, in foreword to *Environmental Criticism for the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Stephanie LeMenager, Teresa Shewry, and Ken Hiltner (New York: Routledge, 2011), xvi.
38. Damon Salesa, "Travel-Happy Samoa, Samoan Migration, and a 'Brown Pacific,'" *New Zealand Journal of History* 37.2 (2003): 171–88.
39. Hau'ofa, *We Are the Ocean: Selected Works* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 27–40. See Francis X. Hezel on Micronesian systems of exchange, *Making Sense of Micronesia: The Logic of Pacific Island Culture* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2013).
40. Hau'ofa, *We Are the Ocean*, 35, quoted in Salesa, "Travel-Happy Samoa, Samoan Migration, and a 'Brown Pacific,'" 171.
41. The DOD has, at this writing, released a statement of plans to open live fire ranges on Pagan Island and Tinian Island in the CNMI.

42. On the concept of pono, see Lilikala Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Lands and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992), 184.
43. The aims of the Trans-Pacific Partnership (to level trade conditions) diametrically oppose Pacific senses of legal diversity and communal curatorship as grounded in culture. One of the quandaries of an American studies envisioned as outside its traditional frames has been to imagine alternative structures of law. Donald Pease argues that “the structured injustice at work in these spaces call for the instituting of post-national regulatory agencies and international courts of justice that have not yet emerged” (“American Studies at a Crossroads: A Conversation with Donald Pease, Robyn Weigman, and John Smelcer,” 2012, www.ragzine.cc/2011/12/discourse-american-studies). One direction this might take is toward recognizing that places have their own customary legalities, especially around intergenerational responsibilities, including title to land.
44. This is a variant of the Hawai'i state motto, appropriated from the motto of the Hawaiian Kingdom: “Ua mau ke ea o ka 'āina i ka pono.” While the state, following Mary Kawena Pukui, translates it as “The life of the land is perpetuated in righteousness,” the original utterance of the statement by Kūikeyouli (King Kamehameha III), upon the restoration of Hawaiian sovereignty (Lā Ho'ihō'i Ea) following a five-month British occupation, would be better translated as “The sovereignty of the land continues as is just” and clearly also referred to sovereignty. See Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 37.
45. “Press Briefing by National Security Advisor Tom Donilon,” June 8, 2013, www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2013/06/08/press-briefing-national-security-advisor-tom-donilon. See also Leon Panetta, “The U.S. Rebalance toward the Asia Pacific,” Shangri-la Dialogue, Singapore, 2012, www.iiss.org/en/events/shangri-la%20dialogue/archive/sld12-43d9/first-plenary-session-2749/leon-panetta-d67b.
46. Armitage and Bashford, *Pacific Histories*, 20. See Ron Crocombe, *Asia in the Pacific: Replacing the West* (Suva, Fiji: University of the South Pacific IPS, 2007). Recent papers from regional think tanks conclude that at this point the showdown in the Pacific remains largely economic and geopolitical. See Jenny Hayward-Jones, “Big Enough for All of Us: Geostategic Competition in the Pacific Islands,” May 2013, Lowy Institute for International Policy; and Joanne Wallis, “The South Pacific: Microcosm of Future US-China Competition?,” *E-International Relations*, September 19, 2012, www.e-ir.info.
47. Contemporary US representatives consistently echo Alfred Thayer Mahan at the turn of the twentieth century. See Holger Droessler, “Whose Pacific? U.S. Security Interests in American Samoa from the Age of Empire to the Pacific Pivot,” *Pacific Asia Inquiry* 4.1 (2013): 58–65.
48. www.moananui2011.org (accessed June 12, 2015).
49. Setsu Shigematsu and Keith L. Camacho, eds., *Militarized Currents: Toward a Decolonized Future in Asia and the Pacific* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).
50. Candace Fujikane, “Asian American Critique and Moana Nui 2011: Securing a Future beyond Empires, Militarized Capitalism, and APEC,” *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 13.2 (2012): 18.
51. Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, “All Things Depending: Renewing Interdependence in Oceania,” in *Huihui: Navigating Art and Literature in the Pacific*, ed. Jeffrey Carroll, Brandy Nālani McDougall, and Georganne Nordstrom (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015), 211.
52. On the “joint fictions of security and paradise” (tourism and the military), see Vernadette Vicuña Gonzalez, *Securing Paradise: Tourism and Militarism in Hawai'i and the Philippines* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013), 8. Sally Engle Merry documents nineteenth-century laws targeting Hawaiians as instruments of remaking social and gender relations in *Colonizing Hawai'i: The Cultural Power of Law* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).
53. See Teresia Teaiwa, “What Makes Fiji Women Soldiers? Context, Context, Context,” and Cristine Taitano DeLisle, “A History of Chamorro Nurse-Midwives in Guam and a 'Placental Politics' for Indigenous Feminism,” both in “Gender and Sexual Politics of Pacific Island Militarisation,” ed. Vincent Bascara, Keith L. Camacho, and Elizabeth DeLoughrey, special issue, *Intersections: Gender and Sexuality in Asia and the Pacific* 37 (March 2015).
54. For a critique of the Hawaiian Homestead Commission Act as shifting attention from sovereign entitlements to land toward rehabilitation, which differs from Arvin's discussion of homesteaders as feeling “more entitled” than other Hawaiians, see J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008).
55. This recalls the discussion around Sonia Sotomayor, who was repeatedly discussed as the child of immigrants, although as Puerto Ricans her family members had been US citizens since 1898. See Ben

- Norton, "It's Racism: The Five US Colonies," *Counterpunch*, March 13–15, 2015, www.counterpunch.org. For more on the constitutive role of structures of ignorance in American studies work in Oceania, and the need to take responsibility for one's ignorance, see Paul Lyons, *American Pacificism: Oceania in the U.S. Imagination* (New York: Routledge, 2006).
56. See Glenn Sean Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014), and Elizabeth A. Povinelli, *The Cunning of Recognition: Indigenous Alterities and the Making of Australian Multiculturalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002).
 57. See Rob Shilliam, "The Polynesian Panthers and the Black Power Gang: Surviving Racism and Colonialism in Aotearoa New Zealand," in *Black Power beyond Borders*, ed. Nico Slate and Joe Trotter (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013). See also Shilliam, *The Black Pacific: Anticolonial Struggles and Oceanic Connections* (London: Bloomsbury Academic Press, 2015).
 58. Mike Hulme, *Why We Disagree about Climate Change: Understanding Controversy, Inaction, and Opportunity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), quoted in Margaret Jolly, "Futures Past or Foregone? Horizons and Rifts in Conversations about Climate Change in Oceania" (paper presented at "Pacific Futures: Past and Present," University of Otago, Dunedin, June 18–21, 2014).
 59. Tom Cohen, Claire Colebrook, and J. Hillis Miller, eds., *Theory and the Disappearing Future: On de Man, on Benjamin* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 75.
 60. John Kerry, speech, East-West Center, University of Hawai'i, August 13, 2014 (www.eastwestcenter.org).
 61. Jolly, "Futures Past or Foregone?"
 62. Kamanamaikalani Beamer, "Tūtū's Aloha 'Āina Grace," in *The Value of Hawai'i 2: Ancestral Roots, Oceanic Visions*, ed. Aiko Yamashiro and Noelani Goodyear-Ka'ōpua (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014), 13.
 63. Elizabeth DeLoughery, "Heavy Waters: Waste and Atlantic Modernity," *PMLA* 125.3 (2010): 705.
 64. Mary L. Dudziak and Leti Volpp, "Legal Borderlands: Law and the Construction of American Borders," introduction to "Legal Borderlands: Law and the Construction of American Borders," ed. Mary L. Dudziak and Leti Volpp, special issue, *American Quarterly* 57.3 (2005): 593.
 65. Naomi Klein, *This Changes Everything: Climate Change vs. the Climate* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2014), 7.
 66. Mililani Trask describes modification of taro as "genetic manipulation of our genealogy." See Trask, *Facing Hawai'i's Future: Essential Information about GMOs* (Koloa, HI: Hawai'i Seed, 2012), 75–76. The book opens with another layer of meaning for the word "au," in a section titled "O Ke Au Mua, O Ke Au Nei," ("From the Knowledge Deep within until the Knowledge of the Present Time") (6).
 67. Noelani Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, *The Seeds We Planted: Portraits of a Native Hawaiian Charter School* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), 36.
 68. See, for instance, Kapulani Landgraf, "Ponoīwi: An Installation"; photographs by Landgraf and Mark Hamasaki, in *E Luku Wale E/Devastation upon Devastation* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 2015); Hsuan Hsu, *Representing Environmental Risk in the Landscapes of US Militarization*, exhibition, 2014, Rachel Carson Center for Environment and Society / LMU Munich.
 69. David Hanlon, "Nan Madol on Pohnpei: The Future of Its Past," in *Made in Oceania: Social Movements, Cultural Heritage and the State in the Pacific*, ed. Edvard Hviding and Knut M. Rio (London: Sean Kingston, 2012), 132.
 70. Craig Santos Perez, "Blue-Washing the Colonialization and Militarizing of 'Our Ocean,'" *Hawai'i Independent*, June 26, 2014.
 71. Leon No'ēau Peralto, "Portrait: Mauna a Wākea: Hānau ka Mauna, The Piko of our Ea," in Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, Hussey, and Wright, *Nation Rising*, 238.
 72. "Timeline of Events," KAHEA: The Hawaiian-Environmental Alliance, kahea.org/issues/sacred-summits/timeline-of-events.
 73. Star-Advertiser Staff, "Disappearing Lake Waiau Is a Mystery to Scientists," *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*, November 9, 2013, www.staradvertiser.com/newspremium/20131109_Disappearing_Lake_Waiiau_is_a_mystery_to_scientists.html; Jeff Gillies, "Scientists Seeking Old Photos of Shrinking Lake Waiau, Hawaii's Only Alpine Lake," *Environmental Monitor*, May 1, 2014, www.fondriest.com/news/scientists-seeking-old-photos-shrinking-lake-waiiau-hawaiis-alpine-lake.htm; Associated Press, "Lake Waiau Water Levels Almost Back to Normal," *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*, May 31, 2014, www.staradvertiser.com/news/breaking/20140531_Lake_Waiiau_water_levels_almost_back_to_normal.html?id=261402071.

74. Ceded lands were national lands of the Hawaiian Kingdom that are presently controlled and held in trust by the state of Hawai'i. The contested nature of US sovereignty leads many 'Ōiwi to assert that these lands were never "ceded" by the Hawaiian government but were instead illegally seized by the United States. For more on this history, see Jon M. Van Dyke, *Who Owns the Crown Lands of Hawai'i?* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007). The desire to build on places that Indigenous people hold sacred is perhaps not coincidental; all over the Pacific, for instance, churches were built over the remains of marae (places of worship), bespeaking an understanding that these places have mana.
75. For Ige's prepared remarks, see governor.hawaii.gov/main/governor-iges-transcribed-mauna-kea-story/.
76. On "kapu aloha," see Manulani Aluli Meyers, "Kapu Aloha for Maunakea, a Discipline of Compassion," hilo.hawaii.edu/news/stories/2015/04/13/kapu-aloha/. See also Hinemoana of Turtle Island's discussion of kapu aloha and aloha 'āina in contrast to the settler erasures in the film *Aloha*, in "On Cameron Crowe's Aloha and Indigenous Pacific Films We Actually Recommend." Blogpost on *Muliwai*, June 16, 2015, morethantwominutes.wordpress.com/2015/06/16/on-cameron-crowes-aloha-and-indigenous-pacific-films-we-actually-recommend/.
77. Bryan Kamaoli Kuwada, "We Live in the Future, Come Join Us," *Ke Ka'upu Hehi 'Ale*, hehiale.wordpress.com. This is a collective blog of Hawai'i-based writers, artists, and scholars dedicated to a poetics of decolonial critique.
78. On the simultaneous absence of a strong grassroots movement for independence in American Samoa and "strong nationalism that identifies as Samoans," see Dan Taulapapa McMullin, "The Passive Resistance of Samoans to U.S. and Other Colonialisms," in Barker, *Sovereignty Matters*, 109.
79. Aumua Amata, "Amata Blasts Administration's 'Environmental Colonialism,'" press release, March 19, 2015, <https://radewagon.house.gov>.
80. Pukui, *Ōlelo No'ēau*, 196.
81. Brother Noland, *Hawaiian Survival Handbook*, 18.
82. "He Olelo," *Ka Oiaio*, 1.109, 1; Pukui, *Ōlelo No'ēau*, 10.
83. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 138. Silva notes that imprisonment appeared to have "tamed [his] spirit," as he was "never again as outspoken" as he was earlier (193).



‘O Waiau, kēlā wai kapu i ka piko o Wākea. (Waiau, that sacred water at the piko of Wākea.) This image of Lake Waiau was taken by No‘eau Peralto in March 2014, when the waters were starting to return again after dropping to historic lows in 2013. Image courtesy of No‘eau Peralto.