

Demilitarizing Hawai'i's Multiethnic Solidarity

Decolonizing Settler Histories and Learning Our Responsibilities to 'Āina

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In June 2017 we traveled from Hawai'i to Okinawa, as part of a delegation of seven women from Hawai'i to participate in the Ninth International Women's Network Against Militarism (IWNAM) Gathering. Hosted by Okinawan Women Against Military Violence, we met women from the Philippines, Guåhan, Puerto Rico, Japan, the United States, and South Korea, who for decades have been confronting militarism and organizing a network of women-led grassroots demilitarization movements across their nations.¹ We attended Irei no Hi (a memorial day commemorating the over two hundred thousand lives lost in the Battle of Okinawa) and visited a memorial site for Rina Shimabukuro (an Okinawan woman violently raped and murdered by a former U.S. Marine).² Thick humidity enveloped us as we held hands with elders at the front lines of an ongoing protest against the expansion of U.S. Camp Schwab Marine Corps Base at Oura Bay. Their warm grips evidenced their unwillingness to allow forces of imperialism and militarism to destroy their land and seas. Their unflinching recounting of the sexual violence and environmental destruction that has resulted from security agreements between Japan and the United States triggered memories lodged deep in our genealogies. We, a delegation of Kanaka Maoli, Okinawan, Japanese, African American, *Haole*,³ Chamorro, and Filipina women, attempting to represent a sovereign Hawai'i under U.S. occupation, were awakened by their courage. Their courage was fierce in the way it allowed us to share the pain and struggle of building movements against militarism, and for decolonization and economic autonomy. And, it was generous in the way it moved us to dance and sing joyfully with women from vastly different homelands.

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This paper is a collaboration between three settler women, Ellen-Rae Cachola,⁴ Tina Grandinetti,⁵ and Aiko Yamashiro,⁶ who are members of Women's Voices Women Speak (WVWS).⁷ We seek to describe the work of WVWS, a multiethnic collective of women on the island of O'ahu, Hawai'i, created after a group of women from Hawai'i attended the IWNAM's fifth meeting in Manila, Philippines, back in 2004. Since then, members of WVWS have worked to highlight Hawai'i's experiences of militarization at a local and international level, to build women's leadership to speak out against the gendered and environmental harms of militarization, and to uplift examples of alternatives to military dependence.

Our experience in Okinawa led us to reflect deeply on what it means for us, as settler women from Hawai'i, to be part of a collective that works with Kanaka Maoli⁸ to stand together for a sovereign and demilitarized Hawai'i. Kanaka Maoli scholar and sovereignty leader Haunani-Kay Trask was the first to articulate Asian settler colonialism in Hawai'i—explaining how Asian immigrants to Hawai'i have become complicit with the U.S. settler colony and its ongoing destruction of Native lands and life. As indebted activists and scholars a generation later, we use this paper to discuss how we practice solidarity against militarism by (1) revisiting and decolonizing histories of plantation solidarity that obscure ongoing violences of settler colonialism and occupation, (2) building and maintaining alternative transnational networks to militarism, and (3) engaging in transformative *huaka'i* (journeys or visits) to reconnect to *āina* in Hawai'i and in our ancestral places.

Honoring a critical genealogy of Kanaka resistance, we want to share how *āina* has taught us how to think about solidarity. Often defined briefly as “that which feeds,” including land and water, *āina* is a Kanaka concept that embodies a spiritual, cultural, dedicated, and mutually responsible ethic between land and people. Our *huaka'i* and demilitarization work teach us that our differing and unique relationships to multiple *āina* in Hawai'i and other homelands build our capacity to perceive and hold different historical traumas, contradictions, and possibilities. Our model of solidarity is also inspired by the work of queer women of color feminists and their theories of difference. As Black lesbian poet Audre Lorde wrote: “My fullest concentration of energy is available to me only when I integrate all the parts of who I am, openly, allowing power from particular sources of my living to flow back and forth freely through all my different selves. . . . Only then can I bring myself and my energies as a whole to the service of those struggles which I embrace as part of my living.”⁹

This paper describes how we endeavor to explore and deepen our relationships with our chaotic genealogies and mobilize them into political action.

To do this, we ask you to journey with us to sites in both Okinawa and Hawai'i, as we interrogate the frameworks we use to understand militarization and solidarity in Hawai'i. We begin in the sugar plantations of Hawai'i's past, where hegemonic narratives of multiethnic settler solidarity were born. Then we reroute and reconfigure those theories of solidarity through Kalama Valley and Kaho'olawe and the Kanaka-led movements of aloha 'āina (love of the land) that stood to protect them. Next we crisscross the Pacific and revisit the transnational genealogies of both the IWNAM and WWVS, exploring the DeTour methodology as a powerful form of huaka'i that exposes everyday geographies of militarism. Finally, we return to Okinawa, where we reflect on how these 'āina-based theories travel, how they help to expose the many contradictions we embody as colonized peoples living on Kanaka Maoli lands, and how they lead us to practices that help us support each other to feel more deeply into our ancestral connections and the *kuleana* (responsibilities) that arise from them.

GENEALOGIZING OUR ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORKS FOR MILITARIZATION IN HAWAI'I

Before introducing the work of WWVS and the IWNAM, we want to genealogize some of our analytical frameworks and very briefly contextualize militarization in Hawai'i. Our location in Hawai'i makes us uniquely positioned in the transnational web of power that maintains and projects U.S. empire around the globe. As host to the headquarters of the Pacific Command, the largest of the six unified military commands, Hawai'i plays an integral role in the global projection of U.S. imperialism. Kanaka 'Ōiwi scholar-activist Kaleikoa Ka'eo likens the military in Hawai'i to a giant *he'e*, or octopus; its brain nestled in the hills of Aiea at Camp H. M. Smith, the headquarters of the Pacific Command, its tentacles reaching across the Pacific and beyond.¹⁰

We follow many demilitarization scholars and activists who come before us in understanding militarism as a transnational network entwined with colonialism, white supremacy, and toxic masculinity. As Cynthia Enloe and other scholars have made clear, cultures of violence permeate many realms of everyday life, rendering the constant presence of and funneling of resources toward the military as normal and necessary.¹¹ Current scholarship on militarization continues to grapple with colonialism and militarism as racialized, gendered, and transnational processes. For example, the 2010 anthology *Militarized Currents: Toward a Decolonized Future in Asia and the Pacific*

highlights how militarized economies produced under U.S. and Japanese imperialism gender identities and sexual relations—through the masculinization of Asian¹² and Pacific Islander men¹³ into military service and the sexualization of women's labor through the comfort women system and prostitution industries.¹⁴ As our many different peoples move and impact each other in these transnational circuits, we reach for theories that can help alert us to all these complexities.

We pay special attention to militarism as a transnational phenomenon in the Pacific. Every two years, we see the global reach of militarism on full display during the Rim of the Pacific Exercises (RIMPAC). Hosted by the United States and held in Hawai'i, the RIMPAC exercises are the largest maritime war games in the world, hosted by the United States in Hawai'i. The most recent exercise brought twenty-six nations, forty-seven surface ships, five submarines, more than two hundred aircraft, and twenty-five thousand personnel to Hawai'i's lands and waters.¹⁵ Though the mainstream settler colonial state applauds RIMPAC as a \$52 million boost to the local economy, this masks the gendered, environmental, and economic costs of the games. RIMPAC creates an enormous boom for the sex industry and drives an increase in sex trafficking fueled by the militourism industry.¹⁶ EPA and Navy documents state that highly toxic chemicals are released into the marine environment as a result of sink exercises (SINKEX),¹⁷ conducted only 50 km offshore from families fishing and playing at the beach.¹⁸ Indigenous Pacific Islander feminist scholars like Haunani-Kay Trask and Teresia Teaiwa have brought these different analyses together, pointing out how Pacific Islands are feminized in order to be violated within colonial and militaristic projects.¹⁹

The 2016 textbook *Militarism and Nuclear Testing* documents the Pacific as having been deeply shaped by war and militarization—through decades of nuclear testing, the seizure of land and water for bases and harbors, the impact of Spanish, U.S., British, Japanese, and French colonialism on Islander economics, diet, and ways of life.²⁰ Oceanic organizing for demilitarization, like the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific, has powerfully tied opposition to nuclear weapons to opposition to colonialism.²¹ Colonial powers like the United States, France, the Netherlands, Germany, and Britain have imposed their security policies on Pacific Island lands and seas, transforming Indigenous homelands into military bases or nuclear-testing sites for the arms race. Furthermore, many “post”colonial nations have inherited these militarized nation-states, reproducing patterns of discrimination on minoritized groups. As Nancy Jouwe from West Papua states:

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I want to tell you about our current coloniser—Indonesia—and to remind you that colonisers do not just come from the North, from the so-called “First World”; that racists are not just white—they can have brown faces too. . . . Indonesia is a case in point. A colonial apparatus has been kept alive through a cruel military regime, the strongest military force in the southeast Asia and Pacific region. It has been engaged in the genocide of the people of West Papua, East Timor and Aceh.²²

Militarization in Hawai‘i occurs on many fronts, infiltrating land, water, bodies, families, and imaginations. As of 2015, U.S. military bases occupy 236,303 acres, or roughly 5.7 percent of Hawai‘i’s total land area. On the island of O‘ahu, the most densely populated and militarized island, the military controls a full 22.4 percent of the land.²³ On Hawai‘i Island, the Pōhakuola Training Area (PTA) consists of 133,000 acres of land. These lands are occupied Hawaiian Kingdom government and Crown Lands, some of which were seized through a U.S. Presidential Executive Order in 1964²⁴ and some of which are leased to the army by the State of Hawai‘i for one dollar.²⁵ Military training has wreaked irreparable damage to Indigenous cultural, sacred, and archeological sites, as well as unique environments and endangered and endemic species, leaving behind failed cleanup agreements and ‘āina-turned-Superfund sites.²⁶ Disregarding the sacredness and health of Indigenous land has enabled decades of testing dangerous and controversial military technologies and chemical weapons, including the Stryker Brigade, the Osprey aircraft, Agent Orange, and depleted uranium. In terms of environmental justice, communities who live near training areas are disproportionately Indigenous and Pacific Islander, and have less socioeconomic and political power to bring to bear on instances of pollution and risks to public health.²⁷

In 2017 active duty military personnel and their dependents numbered 104, 238 in a population of 1.4 million. The overwhelming majority live on O‘ahu, where they make up 11 percent of the population. This figure increases if the veteran population and their dependents are accounted for.²⁸ Often, our communities don’t know how to support the demilitarization of Hawai‘i because many of us depend on and benefit from this system. The military, tourism, and the agricultural plantation economies have been overwhelmingly dominated by Hawai‘i’s settler economy. While the military disproportionately targets low-income youth and people of color for enlistment (specifically Filipinos, Pacific Islanders, and Native Hawaiians), tourism and the plantations have also recruited from these communities to work the lowest rungs of these industries.²⁹ The military’s huge budget enables it

to fund science and technology research within public education, creating knowledge for the purposes of surveillance and making war.³⁰ As WVWS, we challenge ourselves to create strategies of community-based movement building and resistance that do not leave behind our own families and friends in the military, and our complex individual lives. At the systemic and individual scale, how can we be accountable to each other's genuine safety and well-being?

REROUTING OUR RELATIONSHIPS BEYOND PLANTATION SOLIDARITY

We form our own practices of solidarity in constant conversation with different models we have inherited. Each story opens different horizons of possibility. In this section we will reckon briefly with one of these inheritances—a multiethnic solidarity based on overcoming plantation oppression—and explore its limitations in addressing militarization, occupation and settler colonialism.

The dominant story of solidarity in Hawai'i is a multiethnic story of plantation immigrants from China, Japan, the Philippines, Portugal, Korea, and Puerto Rico coming together to form a “local” working-class identity, in opposition to rich and powerful white plantation owners and businessmen. Ronald Takaki's 1983 publication *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii, 1835–1920* demonstrates the feeling of pride and nostalgia connected to this plantation solidarity. Moved to honor the hard work and courage of these ancestors, Takaki fictionalizes a scene in his prologue, writing, “In the midst of all the talking an old man, vividly recalling the mountains of cane he had cut and carried, proudly exclaims: ‘With my bare hands and caloused heart and patience, I helped build Hawaii.’”³¹ This flattened version of plantation solidarity erases historical complexities such as Hawai'i's status as an independent sovereign nation, Kānaka and immigrant resistance to the plantations, the importance of Kānaka leadership within Hawai'i's labor movements,³² and the ways immigrant plantation workers were recruited into settler colonialism.³³ Yet this model remains the dominant paradigm in Hawai'i politics and everyday life.

When meaningful conflict comes up in our communities, this paradigm is often used to try to dissolve dissent, with rhetoric like, “We are all local, we are all the underdogs, we have to stick together.” For example, during the mid-1940s–1950s, Helen Kanahale, a Kanaka Maoli union organizer of the ILWU (International Longshore and Warehouse Union), worked together with Harriet Bouslog, a lawyer of the ILWU from the continental United

States, to build a strong and diverse membership of unionized service workers. While the question of statehood was gaining momentum, Kanahele felt resentful of the way Bouslog used Hawaiian values like *‘ohana* (family) to build unity among diverse plantation workers but without giving meaningful support to Hawaiian sovereignty.³⁴ Joseph Iokepa Salazar describes a more recent iteration of this disjunction in his analysis of the construction of the Thirty Meter Telescope on Mauna Kea. He argues that liberal multiculturalism justifies construction on a *mauna* (mountain) sacred to Kanaka Maoli by presenting the telescope as an opportunity for education and jobs “for everyone.” This notion of “everyone” positions Kānaka Maoli as just one of Hawai‘i’s minorities, whose claims to the mauna should be set aside for the “common good” of the whole multiethnic state.³⁵

A feel-good version of plantation solidarity can also blind us to the militarization of Hawai‘i’s land and waters and to the ongoing occupation of a sovereign Hawaiian Kingdom. As demilitarization activist and scholar Kyle Kajihiro recounts, the Treaty of Reciprocity and “Bayonet Constitution” forced upon King Kalākaua in 1887 both ensured U.S. white sugar-planter economic dominance in Hawai‘i and took Waimomi / Pearl Harbor for exclusive use by the United States. After members of this plantation elite orchestrated the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893, Pearl Harbor’s key military significance was a major factor in the United States’ decision to unilaterally “annex” Hawai‘i at the start of the Spanish-American War.³⁶ The end of this war saw the United States expand its territories to include Guāhan, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines, all key to maintaining military presence in the Pacific. Kajihiro explains how militarization intersected with promises of inclusion within “colonial America.” For example, Japanese plantation descendant Daniel Inouye was recruited into the military during World War II as part of the famous Japanese American 442nd RCT / 100th Battalion. This community of mostly Hawai‘i-born descendants of Japanese immigrants was determined to prove their loyalty to the United States in the context of anti-Japanese racism and preemptive internment of their families through Executive Order 9066. Upon their return home, many of these young men rose to social and political power, and Inouye became one of Hawai‘i’s most powerful U.S. Senators, lobbying for federal funds to pay for military base expansion on O‘ahu and an interstate freeway to support transportation between these bases.³⁷

The 2008 collection *Asian Settler Colonialism*,³⁸ edited by Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Y. Okamura, levies a specific critique against (mostly) local Japanese, Filipino, and Korean residents, who recount a history of

“same struggle” within the plantation’s racist labor structure to cover over (our) complicity in the ongoing colonization of Kānaka and (our) rise to political, economic, and educational privilege at the expense of Native land and lives.³⁹ As Kathy E. Ferguson and Phyllis Turnbull, in their feminist and semiotic readings of militarism in Hawai‘i, wrote in 1995:

Benign metaphors of the “melting pot” or “rainbow” depend on collective amnesia to deny the political economies of immigration, the color-coded categories that marked some incoming bodies as entitled to conquer or convert, and others as destined to serve, or perhaps just to get out of the way. Hawai‘i’s much-praised multicultural present has its inception in international trade in bodies marked by their color for subordination.⁴⁰

The dominant model of plantation solidarity has failed to critique the settler colonial structures that overthrew the sovereign Hawaiian nation and assimilated immigrant descendants into racialized political power within the settler state. In this context WVWS works to bring more complex and “life-sustaining histories”⁴¹ to the surface through continually returning to our archives and elders for alternative memories to guide us forward.

The 1970s struggles for social justice in Hawai‘i—including anti-eviction struggles, the fight for ethnic studies, and Hawaiian language and cultural renaissance—both utilized and contested a simplified plantation solidarity. The multiauthored collection *The Ethnic Studies Story: Politics and Social Movements in Hawai‘i* narrates the 1970s community land and labor struggles as well as the grassroots effort to establish ethnic studies at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. In this volume, community activist John Witeck recounts tensions between the antiwar student movements and more land-based struggles over evictions and development in Kalama Valley, Waiāhole-Waikāne, Sand Island, and Chinatown.⁴² In the solidarity work of this time, there were important conflicts over whose voice should be at the forefront. For example, Haunani-Kay Trask writes that, initially, the anti-eviction struggle in Kalama Valley was articulated through “residency rights” associated with a local identity and was framed as a class struggle “in opposition to the development rights of property owners like the state, corporations, and private estates.”⁴³ But on-the-ground realities of Kanaka Maoli families being evicted from their ancestral lands within rural Kalama Valley to make space for middle- and upper-class subdivisions in what is now “Hawaii Kai” eventually made clear the need for a specifically Indigenous critique of settler colonialism.

Despite the defeat of the Kalama Valley antieviction movement, this spark ignited other community fights for land in the second half of the 1970s. These struggles were being articulated explicitly through “the assertion of indigenous Hawaiian claims as historically and culturally unique in Hawai‘i.”⁴⁴ Fighting for the sacredness and demilitarization of Kaho‘olawe was a key moment in the growing movement for Hawaiian identity and sovereignty, and one modern birthplace of the political use of “aloha ‘āina,” a deep love *for* and *with* ‘āina.⁴⁵ Beginning in 1976 a group of Kānaka Maoli calling themselves the Protect Kaho‘olawe ‘Ohana (PKO) began a series of legal maneuvers, community building, and, critical to their success, government- and military-authorized landings where many young Kānaka would risk their lives to occupy, protect, and be with Kaho‘olawe. The U.S. military had seized Kaho‘olawe in 1941 for live-fire training and target practice, and over the next fifty years, it became the most heavily bombed island on earth. The PKO’s efforts were critical to bringing an end to the bombing in 1990. Though the lands were returned by the military to be held in trust for a sovereign Hawaiian government, there still remain unexploded ordnance, a cracked aquifer, and generations of work to restore the island to abundant life. Today, Kaho‘olawe continues to serve as a powerful *kumu* (teacher, source), as a place to learn about refuge, navigation, and healing, to go to connect and be transformed. Kanaka historian and activist Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo‘ole Osorio writes, “Those Kānaka who go to the island to work, study, or practice our culture and religion . . . are affected in deeply meaningful ways, observing in the punishment and neglect dealt to the island a corollary to their own lives. The island’s survival is an inspiration to ho‘omau—to endure, to continue.”⁴⁶

Today, aloha ‘āina is a ubiquitous and central guiding principle to everything from demilitarization and sovereignty protests, to educating youth in Hawaiian charter schools, to *mālama ‘āina* work (restoring and caring for ‘āina—e.g., community work days to build fishpond walls; to weed, build, or plant taro patches; or to clear invasive plants). Kanaka scientist Mehana Blaich Vaughan elegantly describes her methodology of aloha ‘āina: “‘Āina as source, ‘āina as people, and ‘āina as ongoing connection and care.”⁴⁷ As an Indigenous value and practice, it often requires courage to live out, as aloha ‘āina inherently resists militarized systems. Aloha ‘āina also inherently resists settler colonialism in Hawai‘i, connecting us instead with a long history of insisting upon political sovereignty. As Kanaka political scholar Noenoe K. Silva has documented, aloha ‘āina is similar but not analogous to the idea of patriotism. Reflecting on Hawaiian statesman Joseph Nāwahi’s writings about aloha ‘āina in the nineteenth-century Hawaiian-language newspaper *Ke*

Aloha ʻĀina, Silva insists upon this practical politicization: “Aloha ʻāina, then, meant more than an abstract or emotional love for the ‘one hānau’ (birth sands). For Nawahi and the other poʻe aloha ʻāina,⁴⁸ it meant that people must strive continuously to control their own government in order to provide life to the people and to care for their land properly.”⁴⁹ The Kanaka Maoli demilitarization struggle’s focus on aloha ʻāina, tied to restoring Hawaiian sovereignty and sacred relationship to land, is crucial to our own decolonization within the settler state cultures that socialized us to see ʻāina as property.

THE FORMATION OF WOMEN’S VOICES, WOMEN SPEAK (WVWS)

Though none of our younger members participated in the Kahoʻolawe landings, our *kupuna* (elder and source) and *alakaʻi* (leader), Terrilee Kekoʻolani, was a young woman on the fifth landing in 1977. Aunty Terri was also a key organizer in the foundation of Ethnic Studies at the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa. But WVWS has also been deeply shaped by the transnational interactions facilitated by the IWNAM. In this section, we give a brief history of the formation of the IWNAM, WVWS, and the theories of change mobilized by each organization.

The IWNAM

The International Women’s Network Against Militarism was born out of a Peace Caravan of Okinawan women that traveled through major U.S. cities to bring attention to the rape of a twelve-year-old girl by U.S. Marines, and the long history of sexual violence and environmental damage caused by war and militarization in their islands. The connections forged during that caravan led to the first meeting of the IWNAM in Naha, Okinawa, in 1997. The IWNAM discussions have foregrounded the sexual violence of national security agendas. For example, the Okinawan delegation has documented a long history of rapes connected to the U.S. military presence from World War II until the present century,⁵⁰ and the Filipina delegation is led by and organizes women who have been drawn into the sex industry surrounding U.S. military bases.⁵¹ These delegations have informed WVWS’s analysis of militarism as a gendered violence that impacts our bodies, communities, and lands. In contrast, centering women’s experiences can help radically redefine our notions of security.

Centering women’s experiences of violence has helped the Network to work toward a gendered critique of militarism that pursues *genuine security* rather than national security. In 2002 the IWNAM meeting in Okinawa

took place concurrently with the G-8 Global Economic Summit in Naha City. In their final statement for that meeting, the IWNAM wrote:

The notion of “national security” on which G-8 policies are based will never achieve genuine security because of the militaries reaping enormous profits for multinational corporations and stockholders through the development, production, and sale of weapons of destruction. In addition, militaries maintain control of local populations and repress those who oppose this economic system that depends on deep-seated attitudes characterized by greed, fear, domination, and objectification of “others.”⁵²

Women for Genuine Security, the U.S.-based partner of the IWNAM, elaborates on what the principles of genuine security mean: ranging from “building a strong personal core” to work across differences, to “redefining manhood,” to “creating relationships of care” for youth, to “ending all forms of colonialism and occupation.”⁵³ These words represent everyday, personal and collective strategies to undo the ways that militarized culture socializes us into domination and competition.

WWWS

WWWS was founded after Terrilee Kekoʻolani, Julia Estrella, Bernadette “Gigi” Miranda, and Ellen-Rae Cachola traveled from Hawaiʻi to the Philippines in 2004 to attend the fifth meeting of the International Women’s Network Against Militarism (then called the East Asia-US-Puerto Rico Women’s Network Against Militarism). This huakaʻi to the Philippines revealed a potential way to deepen conversations between Kānaka Maoli and Filipinx by thinking about the ways that U.S. imperialism suppressed both Hawaiian and Philippine independence, while remaining attentive to the specificities of these historical oppressions. While Hawaiʻi was illegally annexed into the United States, the Philippines was underdeveloped as a resource-exporting nation, and both became hosts to U.S. bases. In Olongapo, Philippines, this early group of Hawaiʻi delegates met with former prostituted women organizing small businesses so local women could gain other forms of livelihood other than work in the sex industry. They met Madapdap communities demanding the cleanup of toxic waste left behind at former U.S. Clark Air Force Base due to the diseases and deformities contracted from the contaminated aquifer. They met elder women of Mapanique demanding reparations for the sexual torture they experienced in the Japanese comfort women system during World War II.

After the IWNAM meeting in Manila, it became clear that continued communication and relationship building was needed among Filipinos, Kānaka Maoli, and broader Hawai'i community members to learn more about our different homelands and different ways our sovereignties have been violated and histories suppressed, in both Indigenous and immigrant-settler communities. The IWNAM modeled how women of different backgrounds could come together to engage in cross-cutting, intersectional discussion. The IWNAM gatherings facilitated international collaborative research and education about long-standing colonial statuses and joint military security treaties that have forged violent connections among our nations. Back in Hawai'i, we organized community and academic forums and teach-ins to increase public awareness on militarization as an international, local–global problem. This work continues to lead toward more nuanced and insistent calls for solidarity and coalitional demilitarization organizing. Over the years, WVWS has sought to apply this model of gathering diverse voices on a more local scale, and our membership expanded to include women of Hawaiian, Korean, Okinawan, Japanese, Haole (Caucasian), African American, Vietnamese, Chamorro, Mexican, and mixed descent. Members have traveled to San Francisco in 2007, Guåhan in 2009, and Puerto Rico in 2012 for the subsequent IWNAM gatherings.

Theories of Change

The IWNAM's concept of genuine security follows a theory of change that believes in the everyday capacity of people to create new worlds. Rather than focusing on formal governance structures that tend to define diplomacy in international spheres and can be prohibitively resource-intensive for members of civil society, genuine security encourages us to find alternative paths to change by valuing the social resources that we have available.⁵⁴ We find this everyday practice of living alternatively similar to contemporary theories of *ea* and Indigenous resurgence. The IWNAM provides an international forum in which we can find value and learn from each other's experiences in living and resisting militarism. Through this sustained exchange, opportunities for coalitional work to confront the he'e of transnational militarism emerge. The focus on building strong personal relationships in this international space is central to the work of the IWNAM, the work of WVWS in Hawai'i, and to a gendered practice of genuine security. Through talking with our elder activists in the IWNAM, we learn from their decades of experiences that patriarchal, male-led organizing focused on the politics of truth and efficiency relegates women, queer, and gender nonconforming

organizing practices to the margins. In contrast, their experience of women-led and queer women-led organizing has been characterized by listening and building relationships with others, as a means of building cooperation and shared knowledge.⁵⁵

In the 2017 IWNAM meeting, we cried and laughed and danced together, sharing heartache as well as reasons for hope. These gatherings create “strong heart-connections” that maintain bonds and commitments beyond diplomacy and across vast distances and histories.⁵⁶ Through these bonds, we develop a sense of responsibility to each other and to other places because we are able to see that our diverse struggles are connected not only through the global workings of militarism but also through these meaningful relationships. Japanese delegate Kozue Akibayashi wrote, “My understanding is that the security of people can be created by people’s connection, which is an alternative to nation-to-nation relationships. What I want to think about now is what women can do in the process and how women can be connected to each other.”⁵⁷ Moreover, for us younger delegates at the 2017 IWNAM meeting, it was deeply moving and meaningful to see our elders from the Philippines, Okinawa, Korea, the United States, Puerto Rico, and Guåhan in strong friendship with each other. Witnessing bonds forged over many years of genuine security work helped us believe that peace through deep love and respect between our homelands is possible. These intergenerational relationships give us a feeling to strive for when we return home and take the information from these Network gatherings to educate and organize people in our communities toward a transnational peace.

Following the IWNAM, WVWS holds a vision of peace and demilitarization in the principles of genuine security:

The physical environment must be able to sustain human and natural life

People’s basic needs for food, clothing, shelter, health care, and education must be guaranteed

People’s fundamental human dignity should be honored and cultural identities respected

People and the natural environment should be protected from avoidable harm⁵⁸

Though these values resonate with Indigenous-led movements in Hawai‘i, our collaboration with Kānaka, and learning from them about ‘āina and ea, deepen our understanding of these principles. We understand ‘āina, or “that which feeds,” as land and ocean ecosystems that have developed over time

immemorial in reciprocal relationship (in daily practice, in ceremony, in story and song and language, in technology) with Kānaka to become a mutually sustaining and healthful relationship.⁵⁹ Our learning of Hawai'i's demilitarization history helps us to understand 'āina as whole relationships when people and 'āina are not divorced, but inextricable. In our international solidarity work we ask, How can we have right relations among our different 'āina that are not about warmaking or exploiting/exporting people and resources?

We understand ea as a much more capacious concept of genuine sovereignty, including and exceeding political nation-state sovereignty. Often translated as life, breath, and rising,⁶⁰ ea is an organizing principle in Hawai'i for Kanaka Maoli sovereignty, interdependence, and lifeways, often happening at the grassroots level and refusing settler colonial state processes of recognition and reconciliation or, as activist and educator Noelani Goodyear-Ka'ōpua has described, overflowing them: "May four hundred, four thousand, forty thousand, four hundred thousand visions for Hawaiian independence bubble up and burst through."⁶¹ As a multiethnic and international group for demilitarization, we ask, how do we honor and nourish 'āina and ea across our diverse genealogies?

DETOURS: CONTRADICTIONS AND KULEANA

Through her own activism, Auntie Terri has emphasized the importance of physically going yourself to connect community, struggle, and people. The method of huaka'i helps us to learn a solidarity that is guided by genealogy, kuleana (responsibility), as well as unknown transformation. As Aikau, Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, and Silva write: "The term 'kuleana' suggests obligations and privileges but can also name the very relationship out of which such obligations and privileges might grow. . . . One's life kuleana is shaped by her or his family history and relationships to specific lands and waters."⁶² By "going ourselves" to the places that we call home, we cultivate our relationships to place, bring 'āina into our thinking about solidarity, and find paths toward our kuleana along the way.

Auntie Terri and Kyle Kajihiro have developed this idea into a unique demilitarization methodology of the DeTour. To extend peace education to a broader public beyond the school walls, Kyle Kajihiro and Terri Keko'olani spearheaded their DeTours to denaturalize the military occupation of Hawai'i and center Indigenous histories and herstories of Hawai'i.⁶³ For example, in contrast with official Pearl Harbor tours that celebrate U.S. occupation, the DeTour guides lead groups through these same militarized places while

telling alternative stories that unsettle how the military-tourism complex keeps the military “hidden in plain sight.”⁶⁴ Since 2004 DeTours have educated over one thousand locals and visitors on O’ahu.

In an article about the important work of these DeTours, Vernadette Vicuña Gonzalez and Laurel Mei-Singh describe DeTours as connectivity: “DeTours and related efforts traverse the localized hauntings of a global history of war and displacement. They convey the interlocking, nonlinear nature of time, recognize spaces shaped by loss, and also enact the resurgent songs, projects, and texts that imagine possible collective futures.” In this article, genealogy is interpreted in both the Foucauldian sense, as a method for revealing the “unstable assemblages” of history, as well as the Kanaka Maoli sense of *mō’okū’auhau*, “a method, practice, and way of knowing that maps the web of relations that shape kuleana, or collective responsibility to place.” They quote Kajihiro explaining that genealogy is messy and that his travel to meet with activists across the world has taught him that genealogy is also about mutual exchange and reciprocity. In this sense, genealogy encompasses an ethics and method that can address multiple perspectives, hold a larger story of interlocking oppression, and “breathe life into multiple and overlapping projects for decolonization, demilitarization, and Kanaka Maoli self-determination.”⁶⁵

While settlers do not have the same genealogical connection to Hawai‘i, this does not dismiss us from kuleana, though it does complicate paths toward finding and fulfilling it. Acknowledging and reckoning with this messiness is critical to building more just relationships between Indigenous peoples and settlers, who themselves may identify as Indigenous peoples thrust into diaspora. For instance, in her deeply personal work, Hokulani Aikau has written about Mormon Kanaka Maoli settlers in Utah who are still practicing their Hawaiian cultural values but have not yet built relations to the Skull Valley Goshute people, Indigenous to the place they now reside. She contends that while Indigenous diasporas can preserve and practice their own cultural traditions abroad, they also have a responsibility to connect with the Indigenous peoples whose lands they have come to settle, to intervene upon, rather than reinforce the colonial structure that brought them there in the first place.⁶⁶

In 2015 WVWS members Ellen-Rae and Terri designed a new DeTour of Waikiki to explore the possibility of mutual exchange and reciprocity when dealing with incommensurable⁶⁷ differences between Kanaka Maoli and immigrant-labor genealogies in Hawai‘i. This DeTour probed the question of how the military creates economic partnerships with local populations

in order to create military dependency.⁶⁸ Set in urban Waikiki, the DeTour engaged high school teenagers, whose parents work in the hotel industry, and the Local 5 hotel workers union, to walk through the history of militarization that underlies touristic Waikiki. It focused on illuminating the ways in which globalization and empire displace peoples from one colonized/militarized place while simultaneously recruiting them into the lowest rungs of the settler colonial economy as racialized laborers in another place. This process means that monuments of militarism and capitalism—hotel chains and military bases—are scattered across their ancestral lands, and the lands of Kanaka Maoli.⁶⁹ The DeTour highlighted destruction of the *ahupua'a*⁷⁰ food system at the coastline of the Mānoa Valley watershed to create the real estate for Waikiki's tourism and military installations; it also told the story of immigrant women workers resisting sexual harassment at the federally owned Hale Koa hotel. Stopping at the Hale Koa Hotel served to highlight a possible point of unity, where hotel labor organizers and Kanaka Maoli-led demilitarization activists could engage with each other and discuss what an economy of genuine security could look like if demilitarization was linked to a worker's rights and an anti-sexual harassment agenda.⁷¹ The development of this mutuality depends on transnational understandings of Hawai'i's linkage to a network of places transformed into nodes for military and corporate expansion.

Chandra T. Mohanty writes that it is “the very co-implication of histories with History that helps us situate and understand oppositional agency.”⁷² By moving across *‘āina* physically, and traversing histories of displacement and survival intellectually, the DeTour foregrounded the ways that Kanaka and immigrant genealogies are different but entangled. Kuleana asks us to foreground that difference by considering our positionality through our relationship to *‘āina*. Encouraging diasporic settlers to listen to Kanaka understandings of land requires confronting our positionalities within the local settler state and mapping the structures of imperialism that connect stories of displacement and diaspora to stories of Kanaka Maoli resistance in occupied Hawai'i.⁷³ To foreground these histories both in ancestral homelands and in diasporic locations is to understand the (dis)embodied violence that characterizes settler colonies today.⁷⁴ This awareness prepares the diasporic settler to follow transnational paths that connect their own ancestral lands to the lands they now reside in, while also recognizing the incommensurability of decolonization.⁷⁵ How do we then use this awareness to enact our responsibilities to the different lands we call home, in our fight to end colonialism and militarism?

HUAKA'I AND TRAVELING THEORIES OF SOLIDARITY

Engaging with the IWNAM and confronting the transnational realities of imperialism and militarization pushes us to think more deeply about the importance of 'āina-based solidarity and the complexities of this practice. How do diasporic activists connect with our own homelands? How do we turn this 'āina-based solidarity toward places beyond Hawai'i, now that we know how deeply these islands are implicated in the projection of U.S. military violence around the globe? How do we change and transform ourselves, our theories, our analyses, when we huaka'i to other places?

Our huaka'i to Okinawa allowed us the opportunity to see how aloha 'āina as a framework of solidarity travels beyond Hawai'i. As a multiethnic delegation of women, six settlers and one Kanaka Maoli, we aimed to represent a sovereign Hawai'i in transnational conversations about demilitarization and learn from other people's visions of futures beyond militarism. In many ways this journey helped us expand our political identities and our mapping of the imperial formations constantly at work in Hawai'i. Where U.S. imperialism travels across the Pacific through a "transit corridor" that connects military bases and testing sites, WVWS traveled across the Pacific on a huaka'i. Connecting with women from Okinawa, as well as delegates from the Philippines, South Korea, the United States, Guåhan, Japan, and Puerto Rico, enabled us to connect the cartographies of militarism in each of our places and create a more expansive map of power and resistance. Building upon the idea of reciprocal relationships between people and land, our meeting also enacted a mutual exchange, in which we grew a shared commitment to learn from and fight with each other.

Putting our genealogies in conversation with each other, we were able to come away with a more comprehensive view of the ways that militarism operates to bind us in shared oppression while also often making us complicit in the oppression of others. For example, we learned that base closures in Okinawa resulted in troop relocation to Guåhan and how American discourses fomenting fear of North Korea impacted the movement for peace on the Korean peninsula and threatened missile attacks on Guåhan and Hawai'i. We watched a film called *Host Nation*⁷⁶ that showed how military presence in the Philippines and South Korea builds upon economic inequality between them and creates entertainment and sex trafficking industries that export Filipino women around South Korean–U.S. bases. As we compare experiences of militarization, we uncover the threads that bind and tangle our struggles so that we are unable to un-see our kuleana to one another. This

expansive spatial politics is counterhegemonic because it challenges the idea of our island homelands as nothing more than strategic nodal points for the projection of empire, instead connecting our places together in a tapestry of resistance both international and intergenerational.

Our huaka'i to Okinawa also taught us more about how we might deepen settler solidarity with Kanaka struggles by listening to Okinawan ancestral lands and interrogating the devastating violences that led families to leave. The four Okinawan WVWS delegates used this huaka'i not only to attend the gathering but also to reconnect with family and honor ancestors killed in war. On the third day of the conference, delegates traveled to Henoko, the epicenter of the antibase movement in Okinawa. Locals have been successfully holding off this base expansion for over twenty years, and have held daily protests since construction commenced in April 2017.⁷⁷ The women of IWNAM had the privilege of joining a flotilla of protestors in Oura Bay. We watched as kayakers crossed the buoy marking the construction zone and were apprehended by Okinawa Defense Bureau (ODB) officials, all while a large construction crane continued to drop concrete blocks onto the shoreline. At one point, two members of the Hawai'i delegation were given the opportunity to address the ODB workers and other protestors. Over a loudspeaker, Aiko wove connections between Hawai'i and Okinawa, "We thank the Okinawan people for protecting this place because we know it's the same ocean. In Hawai'i we say aloha 'āina, and when we say aloha 'āina we mean we love the land, and we love the ocean because we know we are connected, and we need it." Then, she knotted those connections together, firmly, when she called out across the water, "Aloha 'āina!! Aloha 'āina! Aloha 'āina!"

Reflecting on that experience later, Tina Grandinetti writes, "In that moment on Oura Bay, aloha 'āina—that battle cry, that declaration of love—suddenly allowed me both a deeper understanding of my positionality and a connection to my own ancestral lands, through the love that I learned in Hawai'i. Though the violence of militarism and the insidiousness of imperialism had deprived me the privilege of knowing what an Uchinaanchu connection to land means, the steadfastness of Kanaka Maoli resistance had granted me one small avenue through which to experience this connection on my own. Along with the familiarity of militarization, colonialism, and violence, came the familiarity of love, responsibility, and commitment."

While the capacity to travel to ancestral homelands is not a privilege shared by all people living in diaspora, we can create opportunities for others to make these journeys as powerful exercises in decolonization and

demilitarization that reroot us in ancestral lands, allow us to interrogate the forces that uprooted us, and show us that these forces work across borders. The following is an excerpt from a collaborative poem written by our members at a retreat before the trip to Okinawa:

We need to go ourselves
 so we can believe
 our mothers
 until we can't un-see
 our connections
 how to fight for
 not against⁷⁸

In going ourselves, walking upon the lands of Uchinaanchu ancestors, visiting memorials to lives lost in war, grieving victims of military sexual violence, standing with Okinawans on the front lines at Camp Schwab Marine Corps Base, Henoko, we saw transnational strategies of militarization enacted in both Hawai'i and Okinawa—forces to fight against. But we were also connecting with what we fight *for*—land, family, and meaningful relationships with each other.

TRANSITIVE SOLIDARITY IN PRACTICE

Unlike models of solidarity that are focused on an end result or a common enemy, our huaka'i to Okinawa taught us the importance of solidarity as a process and practice of transformation. For each of us, recognizing the seemingly endless reproduction of violence within our geographically disparate homelands triggered a grieving process. At various times throughout the conference, each member of our delegation seemed to experience what felt like a breaking, but what Ellen-Rae referred to as an “opening.” Ellen-Rae’s own experiences at the Network meeting in the Philippines (her ancestral homeland) in 2004 helped her to prepare for the historical, political, and emotional intensity of the gathering in Okinawa. She thinks of this feeling as an opening to suppressed historical memories that can clarify who one is and what one could do next to continue where ancestors left off. “Opening” resonates in many ways with Rubén Gaztambide-Fernández’s conception of solidarity as a transitive practice: one that requires action, change, and the willingness to be transformed. Gaztambide-Fernández quotes Chela Sandoval to argue for a commitment to transitive solidarity in which people

in relationships of solidarity are “deploying an action that re-creates the agent even as the agent is creating the action—in an ongoing, chiasmic loop of transformation . . . the only predictable final outcome is transformation itself.”⁷⁹ This process of transformation can be scary; it unearths intergenerational wounds, it highlights our complicity in the abandonment and oppression of others, it exposes us to realities of violence, and it thrusts us into a story that has no clear ending. And yet it can also open us up to alternative futures through expanding our kuleana.

In her work on Indigenous feminisms, Dian Million emphasizes the importance of recognizing colonialism as a felt, affective relationship. Our delegation's willingness to embrace this very visceral reaction to violence and allow it to shape our analysis and understanding of militarization constitutes what Million refers to as “felt theory,” which takes seriously the affective ways that colonialism (and in this case imperialism and militarization) *feels* to those whose lives and homelands are affected by it. For example, for those of us with Okinawan ancestry, it was the first time we were reconnecting with Okinawa as political and community organizers. We saw footage of dead bodies being dragged from caves during World War II and visited places where thousands of bodies were buried and the waters were turned red. We went to the towns some of our families lived and live in to witness the ways they daily twist and mold their bodies to make room for the U.S. military. We felt devastation echoing through our bones.

Million argues that beyond acknowledging the felt realities of colonialism, the value of felt theory is that it enables a “move to ground a present healing in a past properly understood, felt, and moved beyond.”⁸⁰ Yet while *huaka'i* help us to experience and feel our past and present, we learned that taking time with our feelings is a tumultuous journey. Rachel Flowers has powerfully critiqued the idea of healing as a singular, linear process to be moved through and past, arguing that this notion can work to discipline and hierarchize Indigenous women's emotions, including well-justified anger.⁸¹ Rather than thinking of healing as a solution to complete and achieve, how can we instead build practices that help us support each other as we feel more deeply into the anger, joy, contradictions, and kuleana that arise out of our ancestral connections?

As WVWS, holding nightly check-in circles was one way to practice solidarity as a process.⁸² These circles were facilitated loosely around the questions, How are you feeling? What support do you need? Even if the feelings were unfinished or embarrassing, we endeavored to share them. In this sense, the work of check-in circles is political because militarism and

heteropatriarchy teach us to value “rationality” over feeling. Many of us had experienced a protocol of check-in circles back home in Hawai‘i. We were used to saying how we feel and invoking the power and memory of an ancestor we bring with us.⁸³ One of our delegation members, Joy Lehuanani Enomoto, described the IWNAM check-ins as “ancestral check-ins.”⁸⁴ This description highlights the intergenerational nature of the traumas and violence we were confronting.

Our nightly check-in circles were an important space to practice supporting each other as we felt the power of our diverse ancestral connections, and the breaking open of old wounds. Reflecting later on a moment when a delegate with Okinawan ancestry began to heavily cry, Ellen-Rae shared: “I wanted to tell her: have the courage to let all of that flow. It’s a healing pain; feel it because that is the willpower coming forward. The willpower to feel it, the willpower to respond to it.” Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg activist, artist, and scholar Leanne Simpson describes Indigenous resurgence not as healing, but as refusal and creation: “I am interested in processing the trauma of ongoing colonialism, so that I can continue to refuse it and to generate within my own life, family, and community a nation that my ancestors would recognize as their own. My ancestors are right here, with me, with those yet unborn, and our job is to generate an Nishnaabeg present. The spiritual world is at the base of that. I’m interested in having a profound relationship with that world, but I’m not interested in healing.”⁸⁵ Her words and Indigenous praxis inspire us to continue to stay with the intensity of confronting historical and ongoing trauma and help us remain dedicated to creating relationships among ourselves and our ancestors that refuse to replicate colonial and militarized violences.

At the same time, WVWS has not been immune to the challenges of intercultural organizing in Hawai‘i. Within WVWS, there has been internal and interpersonal conflict such as disagreements with how and who gets to represent and tell the story of Hawai‘i, competition around authenticity and identity in activism with questions like Who is deeper in the struggle? or Who does militarization hurt the most? These kneejerk questions emerge when there is a wearing down of souls from the nonstop physical, political, and intellectual capacity necessary when confronting many levels and directions of violence. There is also a desire to respect one another in the face of cultural and intergenerational differences within age, race, class, and gender hierarchies. More so, these tensions emerge from a process of unfolding our feelings, analyses, and voices in ways that are learning to be responsible and accountable to ourselves and to each other, when we have been previously

socialized to be competitive or ignorant of one another. These stories of conflict are deeply important to us; we choose not to tell them all here because these stories are sacred, belong to more people than us three authors, and deserve their own commitment. Not all stories of solidarity are public, we realize; they are earned through the work of building and maintaining relationships.

In our circles we also grappled with the ever-present question of the value and role of settler solidarity in movements for Indigenous self-determination. How can we say we are representing a sovereign Hawaiian nation when our delegation is made up of six settlers and one Kanaka? As Trask has argued, while settlers can be allies in decolonization, Native peoples must be in control of the sovereignty process.⁸⁶ At the same time, we found that sharing our different struggles and positions in the circle built our capacity for political backbone as well as transformation. Often we would spend time recognizing each other for something someone shared that inspired another to do the braver thing, or move in a way we didn't think possible. That allowed us to value each distinct member, and to move with more agility as a group within the IWNAM, and in our political responses to militarization. It also built each person's ability to analyze situations with more nuance and attention to the complexity of our many different genealogies. For settler delegates, when we go to these meetings and say we stand for a sovereign Hawai'i, we publicly ally ourselves with the Kanaka members of WWWS, and with the broader Hawaiian movement. By naming and denaturalizing the ongoing military occupation of Hawai'i in public forums, in conversations with the Okinawan and Japanese press, and with other delegations, we challenge the colonial conditions that have repressed meaningful solidarity between Kanaka Maoli and immigrant settler communities in Hawai'i. We hope our work strengthens diasporic settlers' commitment to support Kanaka Maoli leadership and self-determination by making clear the ways that we enter into the settler colonial relation, and the ways that our different homelands are impacted by networked structures of global violence. We also hope our work helps bridge stronger exchanges where we can learn together how to protect our different homelands. The strong emotions and bonds formed in our huakai'i process continue to strengthen our willpower to commit larger acts of refusal and creation through continued political organizing in Hawai'i.

Check-in circles were also a way to acknowledge and stay with the sense of incommensurability that arose as we learned of the many axes of struggle and domination. As Tuck and Yang write, "Decolonization 'here' is intimately

connected to anti-imperialism elsewhere. However, decolonial struggles here/ there are not parallel, not shared equally, nor do they bring neat closure to the concerns of all involved—particularly not for settlers.”⁸⁷ As WVWS, we still struggle with the challenge of how to build stamina and commitment to the daily ongoing demilitarization work after the huaka‘i is over. There is danger in commoditizing or fetishizing the emotional intensity of the huaka‘i as a glamorous trip experienced with an endpoint, or as a settler move to innocence. Settlers can feel intense emotions in the ancestral places we are from and then become numb to these feelings back in Hawai‘i, where settler colonialism is normalized and operating to our benefit. In Hawai‘i, we feel this fracture in relationship with Kānaka who cannot escape the urgency of seeing their familial and ancestral homelands being hurt or destroyed.

CONCLUSION

Since our huaka‘i to Okinawa, WVWS has worked to act upon the transnational ‘āina-based solidarities we experienced together and with the IWNAM. Though our huaka‘i invigorated and inspired us, we returned home and were reminded that the demilitarization movement in Hawai‘i, while steadfast, remains small. Our communities are deeply targeted by, and implicated in, militarism. This drove home the need to continue to educate ourselves and our communities in compassionate and compelling ways and commit to sustained community movement building. The transformative experience of the huaka‘i helped us grow as leaders able to hold space to invite more of our community, with all the complexity and fullness of their different genealogies, into the heavy process of demilitarization. WVWS spent the first half of 2018 organizing a larger demilitarization coalition among different Hawai‘i-based social justice groups to respond to RIMPAC in a more concerted and strategic way than recent years past. This included a multi-issue media campaign, protests, letter writing to legislators, community education talks, and creative arts workshops around genuine security and genuine sovereignty. Our experience with the IWNAM and organizing against RIMPAC 2018 helped develop our skills around coalition work and sharpened our understanding of our unique role in building a larger and more diverse demilitarization struggle.

WVWS also organized a huaka‘i in 2018 to Pōhakuloa on Hawai‘i Island, as a way to become more responsible to an ‘āina we talked about in our presentations at the IWNAM forums.⁸⁸ We continue to refine and explore the practice of the DeTour and the huaka‘i, built on the understanding that

we have to go ourselves to be transformed by many homelands, many ʻāina. Rather than flattening our differences, ʻāina-based solidarity demands we act on the kuleana that grows out of our complicated and tangled relationships to places that feed us. We learned that genealogy is an intimate, visceral, and reciprocal process, and exploring, carrying, and politicizing these tough contradictions is what deepens our ability to do transformative community work. Like the back-and-forth exchange of breathing, we travel to refuse the violent ways we are connected and instead bring the power of our genealogies with us to activate new connections that sustain each other's life. As Auntie Terri shared on our huaka'i to Pōhakuloa: "We have to huaka'i so we can haku our struggles together." *Haku* is a verb meaning to weave or braid, as a lei for a beloved person or place. Haku reminds us that this process of solidarity—of connecting with each other—is not just a strategy to win but also a way of increasing meaning and love in our lives. Moreover, we understand our value in this struggle as non-Kānaka, as diverse and scarred, as we each hold ʻāina dear to us that we refuse to let go.

ELLEN-RAE CACHOLA (Department of Ethnic Studies, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa), is an Ilocana diasporic settler born and raised on Maui, Hawai'i. Her paternal grandparents came to Maui to work on the plantation fields of Maui. She is cofounder of Women's Voices Women Speak, an O'ahu-based community group that fosters dialogue among immigrant and Indigenous women on issues of militarization in Hawai'i and Oceania. She is also part of Decolonial Pin@y-Hawai'i, a group of diasporic Filipin@s committed to demilitarization, decolonization, healing, and creative liberation. With Decolonial Pin@y, she collaborated in the formation of the Hawai'i Committee for Human Rights in the Philippines in 2018. Her work focuses on creating narratives to build deeper relations among Filipinos, Kanaka Maoli, other Asians, and Pacific Islanders beyond the colonial stories, toward one that connect each of us to our ancestral strengths, to carry out specific responsibilities to realize anti-imperial, decolonial futures.

TINA GRANDINETTI is a biracial Uchinaanchu woman, born and raised in Mililani, Hawai'i. As a graduate student, her research focuses on the intersections of settler colonialism, urban development, and decolonial placemaking in Hawai'i. As an activist, she has been involved in grassroots movements toward a demilitarized Hawai'i. Recently, she has worked to more deeply understand her responsibilities as a diasporic Uchinaanchu and a settler ally and to nourish transnational solidarity against imperialism and toward

decolonial futures. In 2019 she joined two other Indigenous women activists for Oceania Rising: Peace Pivot to the Pacific, a speaking tour that aimed to build solidarity between demilitarization movements in Okinawa, Hawai'i, Guåhan, and the Pacific Northwest.

AIKO YAMASHIRO (University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, and Women's Voices Women Speak) is trying to learn and live decolonizing poetry, genuine security, aloha 'āina, and Okinawan dance, and discover how to take care of many homes and loved ones. Her families were raised in Kāne'ōhe, Pu'unēnē, Yanbaru, and Agaña Heights. She is grateful to work with, travel with, and be transformed by Women's Voices, Women Speak, and to learn from these folks that demilitarization requires dedication and courage over oceans and generations. More of Aiko's writing on plants, solidarity, and decolonial love can be found online at Ke Kaupu Hehi Ale.

NOTES

1. The names of the groups are: Women for Genuine Security (United States), Consciousness in Action (Puerto Rico / Vieques), Okinawan Women Against Military Violence (Okinawa), Independence/Decolonization Task Force & Prutehi Litekyan/Ritidian (Guåhan), Philippine Women's Network for Peace and Security (Philippines), Du Rae Bang and the Ganjeong Village, Jeju Island (Korea).

2. According to Cachola et. al., these IWNAM site visits act as "pilgrimages, acts of memory-making that serve as entry points to surface and grieve repressed memories of colonialism and the traumas of war." Ellen-Rae Cachola et al., "Women Working across Borders for Peace and Genuine Security," *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice* 22, no. 2 (2010): 167.

3. The term *haole* typically denotes whiteness and is used to refer to people of European descent, although the word formally refers to anyone of foreign descent. For more, read Judy Rohrer, *Haoles in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2010).

4. Ellen-Rae is granddaughter to Ilocanos who settled on Maui to work in the sugar plantations. She is a cofounder of WVWS and facilitates decolonial learning as an archivist and educator.

5. Tina is a PhD student interrogating settler colonial urban development in Hawai'i. Her mother is Uchinaanchu and grew up in Kin, Okinawa, adjacent to Camp Hansen.

6. Aiko is a daughter of Guåhan and a granddaughter of Japanese and Okinawan immigrants to Hawai'i. She is a poet and PhD student of literature and decolonial community building in Hawai'i.

7. We are grateful to the folks in our organization for their strength, dedication, care, and creativity. This paper does not speak for all of them but reflects how the three of us understand what we've learned together. Thank you to Kasha Ho

and Kelsey Amos for their help in drafting our 2017 WVWS Country Report, some of which is shared here. And a special thanks to the other members of our delegation: Kasha, Joy Enomoto, Kim Compoc, and Lisa Grandinetti. We are so grateful to have shared this huaka'i with you.

8. In this paper, we refer to Indigenous autochthonous people of Hawai'i interchangeably as Kānaka Maoli, Kānaka, Kānaka 'Ōiwi, Hawaiian, or Native Hawaiian.

9. Audre Lorde, "Age, Race, Class, and Sex: Women Redefining Difference," in *Sister Outsider* (New York: Crossing Press, 1984), 121.

10. Kyle Kajihiro, "The Military Presence in Hawaii," *Haleakala Times*, May 8, 2007, <http://www.islandbreath.org/2007Year/17-peace&war/0717-17HawaiiMilitarism.html>.

11. See, for example, Kathy E. Ferguson and Phyllis Turnbull, *Oh, Say, Can You See: The Semiotics of the Military in Hawai'i* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995); Kyle Kajihiro, "Resisting Militarization in Hawai'i," *The Bases of Empire: The Global Struggle against US Military Posts*, ed. Catherine Lutz (New York: New York University Press, 2009), 299–331; Cynthia Enloe, *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

12. Insook Kwon, "Masculinity and Male-on Male Sexual Violence in the Military: Focusing on the Absence of the Issue," in *Militarized Currents: Toward a Decolonized Future in Asia and the Pacific*, ed. Setsu Shigematsu and Keith L. Camacho (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 251–76.

13. Michael Bevacqua, "Uncomfortable Fatigues: Chamorro Soldiers, Gendered Identities and the Question of Decolonization in Guam," in Shigematsu and Camacho, *Militarized Currents*, 147–80. See also Teresia Teaiwa, "Articulated Cultures: Militarism and Masculinities in Fiji during the Mid 1990s," *Fijian Studies: A Journal of Contemporary Fiji* 3, no. 2 (2005): 201–22.

14. Aida Santos, *Let the Good Times Roll: Prostitution and the U.S. Military*, ed. Sandra Pollock Sturdevant and Brenda Stoltzfus (New York: New Press, 1992).

15. William Cole, "26 Nations Participating in Upcoming RIMPAC War Games," *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*, May 30, 2018, <http://www.staradvertiser.com/2018/05/30/breaking-news/26-nations-participating-in-upcoming-rimpac-war-games/>.

16. Lei Kaholokula, "Demand for Prostitution Increases in Honolulu while RIMPAC Is in Town," *Island News KITV4*, June 28, 2018, <http://www.kitv.com/story/38525684/demand-for-prostitution-increases-in-honolulu-while-rimpac-is-in-town>.

17. Laura Zippel, "A Sinking Ship: EPA Regulation of the Navy Training Program SINTEX under the Ocean Dumping Act and the Toxic Substances Control Act," *Washington Journal of Environmental Law and Policy* 3, no. 2 (2013): 267–95.

18. See Cole, "26 Nations."

19. Haunani-Kay Trask, "Lovely Hula Hands': Corporate Tourism and the Prostitution of Hawaiian Culture," in *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i*, 2nd ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 136–47; Teresia Teaiwa, "bikinis and other s/pacific n/oceans," *Contemporary Pacific* 6, no. 1 (1994): 87–109.

20. Joseph H Genz, et al., *Militarism and Nuclear Testing*, vol. 1 of Teaching Oceania Series, ed. Monica LaBriola (Honolulu: Center for Pacific Islands Studies, University of Hawai'i, 2016). For an example of a demilitarizing textbook that brings

together Pacific and Atlantic struggles, see Deborah Wei and Rachael Kamel, eds., *Resistance in Paradise: Rethinking 100 Years of U.S. Involvement in the Caribbean and the Pacific* (Philadelphia: American Friends Service Committee, 1998).

21. See the documentary *A Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific*, Nā Maka o ka 'Āina, 1983.

22. Nancy Jouwe, "Ethnocide Is Not 'Unity,'" in *Pacific Women Speak Out for Independence and Denuclearisation*, ed. Zohl de Ishtar (Christchurch, N.Z.: Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (Aotearoa), 1998), 59–60.

23. Department of Defense, *Base Structure Report—Fiscal Year 2015 Baseline: A Summary of the Real Property Inventory* (2015), 44, <https://www.acq.osd.mil/eie/Downloads/BSI/Base%20Structure%20Report%20FY15.pdf>.

24. "Executive Order 11167—Setting Aside for the Use of the United States Certain Public Lands and other Public Property Located at the Pohakuloa Training Area, Hawaii," The American Presidency Project, <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=106264>.

25. "Pohakuloa Court Ruling: State Breached Trust in Lease to Army," Big Island Video News, April 3, 2018, <http://www.bigislandvideonews.com/2018/04/03/pohakuloa-court-ruling-state-breached-trust-in-lease-to-army/>.

26. Anne Keala Kelly, dir., *Noho Hewa: The Wrongful Occupation of Hawai'i* (Kuleana Works, 2010), <https://nohoheha.com/about/>.

27. Kalamaoka'āina Niheu, Laurel Mei Turbin, and Seiji Yamada, "The Impact of the Military Presence in Hawai'i on the Health of Nā Kānaka Maoli," *Pacific Public Health* 13, no. 2 (2007): 172–79.

28. "2017 State of Hawaii Data Book," Hawaii: Department of Business, Economic Development and Tourism (2017), <http://files.hawaii.gov/dbedt/economic/databook/db2017/section01.pdf>.

29. To see an example of grassroots counterrecruitment work in Hawai'i, visit 8o8truth2youth, <http://www.8o8truth2youth.org/>.

30. Students are also prepared to compete in national STEM and cybersecurity research, like the "Cyber Patriot's National Youth Cyber Defense Competition." See, for example, "Leilehua High School JROTC Students Advance as Finalists in National Cyber Defense Competition," Hawaii State Department of Education, March 3, 2017, <http://www.hawaiipublicschools.org/ConnectWithUs/MediaRoom/PressReleases/Pages/Leilehua-High-JROTC-.aspx>.

31. Ronald Takaki, *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawai'i, 1835–1920* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1983), 2.

32. For just one example, see the story of Native Hawaiian labor organizer Harry Kamoku, who built a broad-base movement during the Hilo Dock Workers' Strike, which in turn influenced the Great Sugar Strike of 1946 that resisted the hegemony of the Big Five. The Big Five were the five major corporations that controlled the agricultural industry, political power, and lands in Hawai'i in the early twentieth century. They were Castle & Cooke, Alexander & Baldwin, C. Brewer & Co., American Factors (Amfac), and Theo H. Davies & Co. One source to start with would be Tremaine Tamayose, *Brothers under the Skin* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Center for Labor and Education Research, 1989).

33. A much longer and exceedingly more nuanced version of labor history can be found in Edward Beechert, *Working in Hawaii: A History of Labor* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1985). Though he doesn't use the framework of settler colonialism, Beechert's analysis opens a lot of questions about racial solidarity and migrant/Native solidarity within a class struggle and the making of a capitalist society. Beechert also critiques Takaki's text as being "dramatic" and not dealing with the actual complexity of plantation labor movements. Edward Beechert, "Review of *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawai'i, 1835-1920*," *American Historical Review* 89 (June 1984): 857. We argue that the drama of Takaki's story holds a lot of sway in everyday life and politics in Hawai'i, especially as we get further away from the lived experience of that moment.

34. Diskin Monahan and Megan Elizabeth, "Hawai'i's Twentieth Century Working Women: Labor Feminists in Their Own Right," PhD diss., Fordham University, 2015, 7-9, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1660199252>.

35. The current 2019 movement to Protect Mauna Kea has revealed the hegemonic multiethnic liberalism of the State of Hawai'i again at work, as Governor David Y. Ige, of Okinawan descent, has authorized state actions to interfere, dismantle, and disrupt the presence of ki'ai (protectors), who seek to prevent the construction of the Thirty Meter Telescope on the summit of Mauna Kea, on Mauna Kea Access Road. Joseph A. Salazar, "Multicultural Settler Colonialism and Indigenous Struggle in Hawai'i: The Politics of Astronomy on Mauna a Wākea." PhD. diss., University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 2014, 72-73.

36. Kyle Kajihiro, "Resisting Militarization in Hawai'i," in *The Bases of Empire: The Global Struggle against US Military Posts*, ed. Catherine Lutz (New York: New York University Press, 2009), 299-331.

37. Kyle Kajihiro, "The Militarizing of Hawai'i: Occupation, Accommodation, and Resistance," in *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 170-94.

38. First published as a 2000 special issue of *AmerAsia*, this volume was inspired by a 1997 International MELUS Conference address by Haunani-Kay Trask and the later article "Settlers of Color and 'Immigrant' Hegemony: 'Locals' in Hawai'i."

39. Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Y. Okamura, eds., *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008).

40. Ferguson and Turnbull, *Oh, Say, Can You See*, 28.

41. Teresia K. Teaiwa argues for the importance of life-sustaining histories alongside destructive ones, in "bikinis and other s/pacific n/oceans."

42. John J Witeck, "The Rise of Ethnic Studies at the University of Hawai'i: Anti-war, Student, and Early Community Struggles," in "The Ethnic Studies Story: Politics and Social Movements in Hawai'i," special issue of *Social Process in Hawaii* 39 (1999) 10-18.

43. Haunani-Kay Trask, "The Birth of the Modern Hawaiian Movement: Kalama Valley, O'ahu," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 21 (1987). For more on this struggle, see Gary Kubota, *Hawaii Stories of Change: Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project* (N.p.: Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project, 2018).

44. Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 67.

45. See Rodney Morales, ed., *Ho'ihō'i Hou: A Tribute to George Helm and Kimo Mitchell* (Honolulu: Bamboo Ridge Press, 1984); and Walter Ritte and Richard Sawyer, *Nā Mana'o Aloha o Kaho'olawe* (Honolulu: Aloha 'Āina o Nā Kūpuna, 1978) for more grassroots stories about the Kaho'olawe struggle.

46. Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, "Hawaiian Souls: The Movement to Stop the US Bombing of Kaho'olawe," in *Nation Rising: Hawaiian Movements for Life, Land, and Sovereignty*, ed. Noelani Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, Ikaika Hussey, and Erin Kahunawaika'ala Wright (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2014), 157.

47. Mehana Blaich Vaughan, "He Lei Aloha 'Āina," in *Kanaka 'Ōiwi Methodologies: Mo'olelo and Metaphor*, ed. Katrina-Ann R. Kapā'anaokalāoekoala Nākoa Oliveira and Erin Kahunawaka'ala Wright, Hawai'i inuiākea Series no. 4 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2016), 43.

48. People who live and act as aloha 'āina.

49. Noenoe Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2004), 142.

50. This document was shared with us at the 2017 IWNAM gathering, put together by Okinawa Women Act Against Military Violence.

51. Lina Hoshino and Gwyn Kirk, dirs., *Living along the Fenceline*, Many Threads, 2010.

52. International Women's Summit, 2000, "Final Statement of the International Women's Summit to Redefine Security," *Development Bulletin*, no. 53, 96–97, http://iwnam.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/6_Conference-Statement-Okinawa-2000.pdf.

53. For a longer elaboration, see Women for Genuine Security, "What is Genuine Security?" www.genuinesecurity.org.

54. Though many delegates do push for governmental and policy changes, many also cannot afford the financial cost of lobbying at the UN level and cannot compete with the collusion of militaristic states in the Security Council.

55. Though we don't focus on queerness in this paper, we think it important to point out that much of the IWNAM leadership and much of our own membership identify as queer or gay or nonbinary, and WVWS currently is exploring ongoing debate within our group about the precision of the word "women" in our name.

56. Cachola et al., "Genuine Security," *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice* 22 (2010): 164.

57. Kozue Akibayashi, "Okinawa Women Act Against Military Violence: A Feminist Challenge to Militarism," PhD diss., Columbia University Teachers College, 2002, 124.

58. For a longer definition with more examples, see our blog, *Women's Voices Women Speak*: <http://wvws808.blogspot.com>.

59. These definitions of 'āina and ea come from our experiences learning from and working with many Kānaka and many 'āina, as well as scholarship. For a starting point in print, see the anthology of essays and photos titled *A Nation Rising: Hawaiian Movements for Life, Land, and Sovereignty*.

60. For just one example of the imaginative possibility of ea, we are guided by the 1871 speech by Davida Kahalemaile beginning “He ea o ka i’a, he wai” (The ea of the fish is water). For a discussion of this speech and poetry it inspired, see Bryan Kamaoli Kuwada, “Reflecting on Ea,” *American Quarterly* 67, no. 3 (2015): 577–81.

61. Goodyear-Ka’ōpua, Noelani, “Independent Hawaiian Futures: Bring on the EA-rator,” Ke Kaupu Hehi Ale, August 15, 2015, <https://hehiale.wordpress.com/2015/08/17/independent-hawaiian-futures-bring-on-the-ea-rator/>.

62. Hokulani Aikau, Noelani Goodyear-Ka’ōpua, and Noenoe K Silva, “The Practice of Kuleana: Reflections on Critical Indigenous Studies through Trans-Indigenous Exchange,” in *Critical Indigenous Studies: Engagements in First World Locations* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2016), 163.

63. Tina Grandinetti, “In the Shadow of the Beast,” Flux, April 3, 2014, <http://fluxhawaii.com/in-the-shadow-of-the-beast/>.

64. “Hidden in plain sight” is an analysis of militarization in Hawai’i that Kyle often shares during DeTours, and he attributes it to Ferguson and Turnbull’s work, *Oh, Say, Can You See*. Ferguson and Turnbull in turn attribute this metaphor to Kathleen Kane.

65. Laurel Mei-Singh and Vernadette Vicuña Gonzalez, “DeTours: Mapping Decolonial Genealogies in Hawai’i,” *Critical Ethnic Studies* 3, no. 2 (2017): 185, 186.

66. Hokulani Aikau, “Indigeneity in the Diaspora: The Case of Native Hawaiians at Iosepa, Utah,” *American Quarterly* 62, no. 3 (2010): 477–500.

67. Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, “Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor,” *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education and Society* 1, no. 1 (2012), <http://decolonization.org/index.php/des/article/view/18630>.

68. See Ian Lind’s work for a focused analysis of the connection between militarization and economics in Hawai’i, in “Ring of Steel: Notes on the Militarization of Hawai’i,” *Social Process in Hawai’i* 31 (1984/1985): 25–48. See Vernadette Vicuña Gonzalez’s book for a discussion of the “perfect partnership” between militarism and tourism: *Securing Paradise: Tourism and Militarism in Hawai’i and the Philippines* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press), 2013.

69. Ellen-Rae Cachola, “Reading the Landscape of Settler Colonialism on the Southern Coast of O’ahu,” *Feral Feminisms* 4 (2015): 60, http://www.feralfeminisms.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/ff_Reading-the-Landscape-of-U.S.-Settler-Colonialism-in-Southern-O%ca%bbahu_issue4.pdf.

70. An *ahupua’a* is a land division that extends from the uplands to the sea. It is one division in a broader system of political, land, watershed, and resource management.

71. Ferguson and Turnbull, *Oh, Say, Can You See*; Cachola, “Reading the Landscape.”

72. Chandra Talpade Mohanty, *Feminism without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2003), 116.

73. Cachola, “Reading the Landscape,” 52.

74. Cachola, 60.

75. Tuck and Yang, “Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor,” 31.

76. Kwoon Lee, dir., *Host Nation* (Cinemadal, 2016).

77. We are saddened to update that after twenty-two years of grassroots protest, the concrete finally began being poured into the bay in December 2018. Yet the

people are not giving up. We encourage you to take some time to learn more about this struggle.

78. These lines of poetry came out of a WVWS retreat in February 25, 2017, before the trip to Okinawa. A group of about a dozen women gathered for the day in Mau-nalua, O'ahu. This retreat started with a common exercise for our group: sharing personal reflections on "why we do this work" of coming together to talk about militarism and resistance. As the women shared one by one, Aiko Yamashiro took notes of words being said and later wove them into a poem, posted on our blog here: <http://wvws8o8.blogspot.com/2017/03/because-we-have-chosen-each-other.html>. This poem reflected a collaborative historical timeline of our lives, about how our lives have been affected by militarism, how we see how our homelands have impacted each other, and how we all have stories of suffering and strength. A version of the poem was shared in Okinawa in June 2017 as part of the cultural-exchange ceremony.

79. Rubén A. Gaztambide-Fernández, "Decolonization and the Pedagogy of Solidarity," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education and Society* 1, no. 1 (2012), <http://www.decolonization.org/index.php/des/article/download/18633>.

80. Dian Million, "Felt Theory: An Indigenous Feminist Approach to Affect and History," *Wicazo Sa Review* 24, no. 2 (2009): 53–76, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40587781>.

81. Rachel Flowers, "Refusal to Forgive: Indigenous Women's Love and Rage," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education and Society* 4, no. 2 (2015): 32–49.

82. Mahalo Reyna Ramoleta gave us this teaching about caring for each other during deep learning.

83. One example of this teaching comes from the work of the Kanaka-led space at Ho'oulu Āina. You can learn more about this community organization at www.hoouluaina.com.

84. All quotes from WVWS members in this section come from personal communication with Aiko, and are represented here with their permission. We thank them for sharing their words with us.

85. Shannon Webb-Campbell, "Decolonizing Love: A Q&A with Leanne Betasamosake Simpson," *Overcast*, June 21, 2016, <https://theovercast.ca/national-aboriginal-day-profile-the-amazing-leanne-betasamosake-simpson/>.

86. Haunani-Kay Trask, "Settlers of Color and 'Immigrant' Hegemony: 'Locals' in Hawai'i," *Amerasia Journal* 26, no. 2 (2000): 1–24.

87. Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor," 31.

88. Almost five times the size of Kaho'olawe, Pōhakuloa is a large section of land being used by the U.S. Army for live-fire training since World War II. Currently, Kānaka and allies are protesting the bombardment of sacred and cultural sites in the area, the lack of access, and the use of DU (depleted uranium). For more information about our trip, see "Women Activists Visit Hawai'i Island, Draw Connections between Militarized Pacific places," *Hawai'i Independent*, February 28, 2018, <http://hawaiiindependent.net/story/women-activists-visit-hawaii-island-draw-connections-between-militarized-pa>.