Island Studies & the US Militarism of the Pacific

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Abstract

Scholars have long argued for the importance of the ocean in island studies, but only recently have turned to the role of US naval forces in shaping how the ocean is territorialized. This paper examines the ways in which the US Navy has used many Pacific Islands to militarize their surrounding seas, and how these forces are expanding to the Indo-Pacific. I place these geo-politics in relation to the field of "critical ocean studies" which has fathomed the oceanic depths in relationship to submarine immersions, multispecies others, feminist and Indigenous epistemologies, and the acidification of an Anthropocene ocean. In this scholarly turn to the ocean, the concepts of fluidity, flow, routes, and mobility have been emphasized over other, less poetic terms such as blue water navies, mobile offshore bases (MOBs), high-seas exclusion zones, sea lanes of communication (SLOCs), and maritime "choke points." My paper argues that this strategic military grammar is equally vital for island studies in the Anthropocene. This essay turns to the relationship between global climate change, islands, and the US Navy, and examines Indigenous challenges to the militarism of the Pacific Islands in the work of Chamorro poet Craig Santos Perez.

Last summer (2018), the largest maritime exercise in history took place in the Pacific Ocean. Twenty-five thousand military personnel descended on the ocean area between the Hawaiian archipelago and southern California to participate in "war games," including nearly fifty naval ships, two-hundred aircraft, and five submarines. [**Slide 2:]** The 26th biennial Rim of the Pacific (RIMPAC) exercise was comprised of the military forces of twenty-five predominantly Pacific Rim nations, with the notable exceptions of China and Russia.[1] The theme of the five-week long RIMPAC 2018 was "Capable, Adaptive, Partners;" its purpose, according to the US Navy, is to "demonstrate the inherent flexibility of maritime forces" in regards to everything from disaster relief to "sea control and complex warfighting."[2] Past years have included exercises like sinking warships; this year's agenda lists amphibious operations, explosive ordinance disposal, mine clearance, diving and salvage work, as well as the live firing of anti-ship and naval-strike missiles.[3] While US imperial interests in the region have categorized the

largest ocean on our planet as an "American Lake," military incursion by the PRC into the Spratly Islands has increased the Pentagon's concern that the Pacific is rapidly becoming a "Chinese Lake" and incentivizing military build-up in the region.[4]

Scholarship in island studies has helped bring forward the relationship between land and sea, allowing us to examine the ways in which oceans have been territorialized by the US military, which coined the term "island hopping." Recently scholars have called for a "critical ocean studies" for the 21st century and have fathomed the oceanic depths in relationship to multispecies others, feminist and Indigenous epistemologies, and the acidification of an Anthropocene ocean. [5] (This is a shorthand reference to the scholarship of Stacy Alaimo, Phil Steinberg, Stefan Helmreich, and Astrida Neimanis)

This is a welcome move after decades of scholarship that positioned the ocean as an anthropocentric and colonial *aqua nullius*; a blank space across which a diasporic masculinity might be forged.[6] As such, the ocean has come into being as animated rather than inert backdrop.[7] In this recent scholarly turn to the ocean, the concepts of fluidity, flow, routes, and mobility have been emphasized over other, less poetic terms such as blue water navies, mobile offshore bases (MOBs), high seas exclusion zones, sea lanes of communication (SLOCs) and maritime "choke points." I argue that this strategic military grammar is equally vital for a 21st century critical ocean studies for the Anthropocene. Perhaps because it does not lend itself to an easy poetics, the militarization of the seas is underrepresented in scholarship and literature emerging from what is increasingly called the blue or oceanic humanities. This paper builds on previous calls for "a critical militarisation studies (CMS); one that weaves the complex histories of state violence in the region in relation to issues of ethnicity, indigeneity, gender and

sexuality." This vital demilitarization work, including the important contributions about anti-base militarism in Okinawa by Ayano Ginoza, informs my engagement with CMS as well as critical ocean studies.

Island studies scholars have been at the forefront in bringing a critical discourse about militarism into the academy. There is ample, in fact overwhelming visual documentation of the militarism of the oceans. In fact, the US Navy has long devoted their budgets to the visual reproduction of their military power at sea. [**Slide 4: Nuclear test]** This is evident in the spectacular photography and films of their nuclear weapons testing in the Pacific Islands between 1946-1962. Here is but one example taken from Operation Dominic, where the US launched 31 nuclear weapons in the Pacific Islands and their waters in the wake of the Bay of Pigs invasion. This particular one is of the 20-ton anti-submarine nuclear weapon named "Swordfish," fired in 1962 from the ship you see before you, the *USS Agerholm*.

The visual reproduction of the US military's destructive power over sea and airspace—the global commons-- continues today in their social media blitz about exercises at RIMPAC including their twitter feed. (**Slide 5 #ShipsofRIMPAC**). When it comes to the military, it seems that hypervisibility can produce invisibility. In this way the US military remains—to most of academia and certainly to the blue humanities-- hidden in plain sight.

Although marine biologists may point out that "every breath we take is linked to the sea" and that planet Earth is in fact "a *marine* habitat,"[8] another kind of planetary metabolism is equally constitutive-- American militarization of the oceans is foundational to maintaining the global energy supply that undergirds what Andreas Malm and Jason Moore have termed the Capitalocene.[9] Over sixty percent of the world's oil supply is shipped by sea and over twenty

percent of the Pentagon's budget goes to securing it.[10] Securing the flow of oil has been a vital American naval strategy—not to say "mission"-- since the 1970s.[11] In fact, some have warned that there is a "dangerous feedback loop between war and global warming" because the Pentagon, in securing its energy interests through extensive maritime and [**Slide 6]** overseas base networks--estimated at over 7,000--is the world's single largest consumer of energy, and the biggest institutional contributor to global carbon emissions.[12]

The US Navy and its associated air force emit some of the dirtiest bunker and jet fuels in order to secure the safe passage of maritime oil transportation; this energy in turn is consumed and emitted by the military in disproportionate rates to any nation.[13] This fuel cycle is common knowledge in military circles; in fact the Pentagon was exempted from all the major international climate accords *and* from domestic carbon emission legislation.[14] It should concern Anthropocene scholars and those in the emergent field of the energy humanities that "militarism is the most oil exhaustive activity on the planet."[15]

Transoceanic militarism—via sail, coal, steam, or nuclear-powered ships and submarines, has long been tied to global energy sources, masculinity, and state power. Hosted by the US Navy's Pacific Fleet since 1971, RIMPAC's oceanic war games have been a way to make visible what the 19th-century naval historian Alfred Thayer Mahan famously termed "the influence of sea power upon history." While Captain Mahan recognized the sea as a commons, and even as Quote "the common birthright of all people" (42), he spent his influential career advocating "the development of sea power" (43) for the United States which was critical to its 19th-century expansion into an "insular empire" spanning from Puerto Rico to the Philippines.[16] Mahan's political influence helped convince US leadership about the importance of sea and wind

currents in positioning Hawai`i as a vital naval base and coal refueling station as well as a bulwark against China.[17] The **{Slide 7}** 1898 annexations reflected the rise of American naval imperialism, where newly acquired colonies like Guam (Guahån) were administered by the US Navy as if the island were a ship. A few years later islands and atolls like American Samoa were claimed as essential to fuel the US military and ruled by the Navy as coaling stations. [18] From the [**Slide 8]** US annexation of Micronesia in 1947**,** creating the Trust Territory of the Pacific to the current US practice of claiming *permanent military exclusion zones* on the high seas in order to test weapons--nowhere has this sea power been more apparent than in the world's largest ocean.[19]

The Pacific Ocean as defined by geographers covers one third of the world's surface area (63 million square miles), but to the US military it extends all the way to the west coast of India, a nation that now participates in RIMPAC and represents the largest naval force in South Asia. Significantly, in spring 2018 the US military renamed its largest base, the Hawaiian-located Pacific Command, to the [**Slide 9]** "US Indo-Pacific Command**" (USINDOPACOM**) in recognition of its new maritime regime, which has expanded to 100 million square miles, or a stunning "fifty-two percent of the Earth's surface."[20] This is an unprecedented naval territorialism that was almost entirely overlooked in the press and has not yet factored in to any scholarly discussions of the Anthropocene or oceanic humanities.

Like the expansion into the Pacific Islands in the 19th century, the US Navy's inclusion of the Indian Ocean in their definition of the Pacific derives from strategies of energy security.[**Slide 10: Oil transit Choke Points]** There are five vital "sea lines of communication" (SLOCs) that connect both oceans through a lifeline of oil shipments from the Middle East.

According to the US Navy website, "RIMPAC is a unique training opportunity that helps participants foster and sustain the cooperative relationships that are critical to ensuring the safety of sea lanes and security on the world's oceans."[21] Because the majority of oil exports are over water, US energy policy has become increasingly militarized and secured by the Navy, which is the largest oceanic force on the planet. Scholars such as Michael Klare have characterized the US military since the 2003 Iraq war "as a global oil protection service, guarding pipelines, refineries, and loading facilities in the Middle East and elsewhere."[22] US Naval spokespeople readily admit that RIMPAC is an exercise in "power projection," a political and military strategy to use the instruments of state power quickly and effectively in widely dispersed locations far from the territorial state. Others might use the term transoceanic empire, with the recognition that much of this (nuclear) power is also submarine. Fluidity, mobility, adaptability, and flux—all terms associated with neoliberal globalization regimes as well as the oceanic humanities—are also key terms and strategies of 21st century maritime militarism.

Postcolonial scholars recognize that Cold War politics reshaped academic funding channels, training and hiring, the formulation of departments (such as area studies), and even their vocabularies. Thus when the US annexed territories in Micronesia and put them in the hands of the Navy, academic funding was made available to anthropologists, including Margaret Mead, to study Pacific Islander cultures.[23] The rise of a 21st century oceanic humanities would benefit from an interrogation of how it may participate in, mitigate, or challenge larger strategic interests, examining how our current geopolitics shape academic discourse, not to say funding. Simon Winchester, writing in the early 1990s at the inception of

globalization studies, described what he called "Pacific Rising," noting that this oceanic turn – following the logic of transnational capital--was "quite simply" about "*power"* (27). And that power was represented, celebrated, and contested in the rise of globalization studies, Asia-Pacific studies, and indigenous Pacific studies, fields largely informed by new models, epistemologies, and ontologies of the sea.[24] (Of course I am referring here to Epeli Hau`ofa's vision of Oceania as a "sea of islands" and the work of Vince Diaz, Teresia Teaiwa, and many others who built on his work to imagine transoceanic mobilities).

While globalization studies of the late 20th century emerged in relationship to the rise of transoceanic capital and its flows of "liquid modernity, " to borrow from Zygmunt Bauman, we might raise the question as to how *21st century* articulations of an oceanic humanities and a turn to what some are calling "hydro-criticism" might be informed by larger geopolitical and geontological (or sea ontological) shifts.[25] Since the Obama era there has been a US "Pacific pivot" that includes transoceanic militarism as well as a trade treaty that, according to Robert Reich, entails "forty percent of the world economy."[26] The Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP)—critiqued as "NAFTA on steroids"--- includes an attempt to solidify transnational energy and sea-bed mining interests over state environmental protections.[27] [**Slide 11 Fortress Guam—red shading is military controlled]** Of course, its key security agents are naval forces, particularly evident in the highly contested military "mega buildup" on Guahån, one of the Navy's many "lily pads" and refueling stations that some American pilots refer to as "the world's largest gas station."[28] In a remarkable erasure of Indigenous presence, many militarized islands and atolls of American-occupied Micronesia have been referred to "unsinkable aircraft carriers" since the World War II era.[29] This is how militarized "ocean-space" is transformed into a "force-field," a

term Philip Steinberg uses to describe when the Quote "ideological value of sea power" merges with "the key role of a strong 'blue-water' fleet in troop mobility, naval warfare" in the quest towards the "domination of distant lands" (17).[30]

Building on CMS, we might think about island studies in terms of hydro-power, defined as energy, force, militarism, and empire. As we turn to new sites of planetary expansion, flow, energy, and fluidity we might ask, from the perspective of Anthropocene studies, where is the body of literature and scholarship responding to these global shifts in hydro-power? Where is the literary, artistic, and cultural critique of an aquatic territorialism of fifty-two percent of the Earth's surface?

Amitav Ghosh raises similar questions in tracing out the relationship between energy, petrocapitalism, narrative, and the Anthropocene. In *The Great Derangement*: *Climate Change and the Unthinkable,* he builds upon his earlier observation that, given the ways in which the world economy is undergird by oil, it's peculiar that there have been so few "petrofiction" novels. Nearly twenty-five years later, he asks why, in an era of disastrous climate change, we see so few literary responses that take on its global, disastrous scope.[31] While he focuses exclusively on what he calls "literary fiction" (7), I believe Ghosh's observations are relevant to calling attention to the lacuna in oceanic studies scholarship and literary production about US militarism more broadly. Ghosh concludes that the European novel—which I would add was developed at the advent of an industrialism fueled by the labor and resources of the colonies--conceals "the exceptional" in order to promote "regularity" and thus naturalize bourgeois life (17). This development narrowed the scale of "serious fiction" (11) to an anthropocentric focus as well as a time scale that cannot account for the *longue durée* (59). Thus when faced with

catastrophic climate change, or nonhuman agency, the European-derived novel has difficulty engaging the "uncanny intimacy of our relationship with the nonhuman" (33). [**Slide 12]** He raises a provocatively maritime question: "Are the currents of global warming too wild to be navigated in the accustomed barques of narration?" (8)

Of course, no other region on the planet has been so deeply engaged with oceanic and maritime metaphors as Indigenous Pacific Islander studies, which has drawn extensively upon the image of the voyaging canoe as a vessel of the people and metaphor for navigating the challenges of globalization and ongoing colonialism.[32] Ghosh may had come to different conclusions if he had extended his analysis to Indigenous, feminist, and/or postcolonial fiction, which often challenge the human/nonhuman binary of western patriarchal thought and which often depict historical and ongoing violence against non-European, non-normative others as precisely that which prevents access to the "regularity" of bourgeois life. (In fact, his own insightful novels might be placed in this postcolonial critique). However, his analysis is particularly valuable for thinking about a history of silence and erasure when it comes to telling stories about the energies that undergird global capitalism—and, I'd add global militarism—in "the preserves of serious fiction" (11).[33]

In the time I have remaining I want to turn to Chamorro author Craig Santos Perez, who has written extensively about the voyaging canoe metaphor in the wake of transoceanic militarism, and might be the only poet on the planet to turn to the RIMPAC exercises and inscribe their impact on both human and nonhuman ocean ecologies. While his medium is experimental poetry rather than the realist novel, his challenges to western binary thinking, the

uniformity of traditional genre, and the separation of militarism from the transoceanic imaginary have much to say about decolonizing both genre and the broader Pacific, or Oceania.

Author of a multi-book project entitled [**Slide 13]** ***from unincorporated territory*** **(**a reference to the political status of Guahån), Perez is the winner of a PEN award and Quote, "imagines the blank page as an excerpted ocean, filled with vast currents, islands of voices, and profound depths." [34] Like other Indigenous poets from Oceania, a term Hau`ofa famously suggested as more representative of the flows of the region than the "Pacific," Perez has positioned his poetry as an oceanic vessel.[35] As you can see in the series of book covers, he juxtaposes images of Indigenous voyaging and fishing traditions (particularly in *Hacha* and *Saina*) over the aerial gaze preferred by US military photographs. This juxtaposition in terms of thematic, color, and vision between Chamorro and military life only changes in his latest collection*, lukao*, which gives us a submarine world as viewed by his infant daughter.

Perez's work has plumbed the depths of an oceanic imaginary, particularly visible in his epic 2016 World Oceans Day "eco-poem-film" entitled "Praise Song for Oceania" where he engages the ocean as origin, breath, body, mother, and absorber of plastic waste. This is a long poem perhaps fittingly so for its oceanic topic. In framing the permeability between humans and the ocean and their mutual accountability, the speaker begs forgiveness for:

> our territorial hands
> & acidic breath / please
> forgive our nuclear arms
> & naval bodies /[36]

Drawing inspiration from a range of poets and scholars who've inscribed a transoceanic imaginary—including Hau`ofa---Perez concludes in praise of "our most powerful metaphor […]/ our trans-oceanic/past, present & future/flowing through our blood/."[37] This *embodied* ocean—represented in the concluding sound of a heart beat--- foregrounds mergers between the human and a planetary nonhuman other which are naturalized (as breath, mother) and are also violent ("our nuclear arms").

In only ten years of publishing, Perez has provided an ongoing critique of 21st century transoceanic militarism, and offers a rendering of a military that is hidden in plain sight. Since the beginning of his *from unincorporated territory* series, (*[hacha]* in 2008), Perez has critiqued the history and depiction of Guahån as a strategic naval base, as "USS *Guam*," and has framed his poems as Quote "provid(ing) a strategic position for 'Guam' to emerge" from colonial and military hegemony. As such, he draws extensively on Indigenous voyaging traditions to poetically contest and mitigate the US Navy, reshaping what Ghosh has called the "accustomed barques of narration." **Slide 15** The cover of *from unincorporated territory [saina]* **(**2010) juxtaposes a drawing of a Chamorro voyaging canoe, or sakman, above a photograph of the aircraft carrier, USS *Abraham Lincoln*, leading smaller naval ships in their patrol of the Indian Ocean in 2008.[38] Although the world ocean has been partitioned into discrete national and international territories via the United Nations Law of the Sea (UNCLoS), the Navy considers each of its aircraft carriers "four and a half acres of sovereign US territory."[39]

Of course, the USS *Lincoln* is the infamous ship from which **Slide 16** George W. Bush declared "Mission Accomplished" in May 2003 after the ship launched "16,500 sorties from its

deck, and fired 1.6 million pounds of ordinance from its guns" the previous month during Operation Iraqi Freedom.[40] For complex reasons, Pacific Islanders continue to serve in disproportionate numbers in US military campaigns, lending nuance to the juxtaposition of these two different maritime vessels of sovereignty in which Chamorro claims are tied to Indigenous sovereignty as well as US patriotism.[41]

Perez's four books of poetry focus on US Naval colonialism in Oceania, particularly in Guahån where it occupies one third of an island that is only 30 miles long (as we saw in the previous slide).[42] In his most recent book, *from unincorporated territory [lukao]* (2017), he turns directly to the RIMPAC exercises of 2014. Thus Perez shifts the focus from the US Navy to the larger RIMPAC alliance, calling attention to the ways in which *transnational* militarism across the Indian and Pacific Oceans reflects a new era of hydro-politics**. Slide 17** For example, the US military's publication "*A Cooperative Strategy for 21st Century Seapower*" emphasizes a closer relationship between agencies, such as between the Navy, Coast Guard, and Marines, as well as international alliances that are also evident in the Department of Defense's "*Climate Change Adaptation Roadmap.*" Both call for a new era of HADR or Humanitarian Assistance/Disaster Relief operations because global warming is considered a threat multiplier.[43] It is well known that the commander of what was formerly the largest US Naval base (USPACOM), Admiral Locklear, declared climate change the biggest security threat to the Pacific in 2013.[44] Since then US Naval officers have argued for a Quote "war plan orange for climate change" which involves more HADR operations in other countries because Quote "these overtures may increase US access and these nations' receptiveness to hosting temporary basing or logistics hubs in support of future military operations."[45] Hence we have a call for larger RIMPAC activities, a 25%

increase of ships to the Middle East, and a 60% increase in ships and aircraft by 2020 to the new ocean known the Pentagon as the "Indo-Asia-Pacific."[46] These are the military hydro-politics for the Anthropocene. (**slide 18 poemap**)

Perez's RIMPAC poem weaves together the fluid intimacy between mother and newborn daughter alongside the larger scale militarism of Oceania**. Slide 19** The poem is entitled "(first ocean)" and its epigraph reads "*during the rim of the pacific military exercises, 2014;*"

(first ocean)
during the rim of the pacific military exercises, 2014

~
when [neni] was newborn, [you] rinsed
her in the sink // pilot whales, deafened

by sonar, are bloated and stranded
ashore \\ now [you] bathe her in the tub,

clean behind her ears, sing "my island
maui," written by your dad // his ashes

scattered in the pacific decades ago
\\ when [we] bring [neni] to the beach

for the first time, [you] secure her
to your chest and walk into the sea \\

what will the aircrafts, ships, soldiers,
and weapons of 22 nations take from [us]

// "i wish she could've met my dad," [you] say \\
schools of recently spawned fish, lifeless,

spoil the tidelands // is oceania memorial
or target, economic zone or monument,

territory or mākua // a cold salt wind surges

\\ [we] shiver like generations of coral reef

bleaching

The poem intersperses the Navy's ecological damage to all oceanic creatures—human and otherwise--with his newborn daughter's first immersion in the ocean. The use of parentheses in the poem's title invokes a placental or bodily enclosure of the infant, perhaps reminding the reader—like the conclusion of "Praise Song for Oceania"—that "our briny blood" connects us to the sea and our first placental ocean.[47]

The poem traces out the baby's first introductions to water by her mother in Hawai`i, moving from being rinsed in the sink, to a bath, to immersion in the sea. Each watery rinsing, bathing, and cleaning is juxtaposed to the repercussions of naval militarism: "pilot whales, deafened/by sonar" emerge "bloated and stranded/ashore" (17). The speaker wonders "what will the aircrafts, ships, soldiers,/ and weapons of 22 nations take from [us]." In response, we learn of the loss of the child's grandfather, whose ashes were "scattered in the pacific decades ago," as well as the death of "schools of recently spawned fish" that lie in the tidelands, "lifeless" (17). It has been widely reported that whale strandings and other animal deaths increase during and after RIMPAC exercises.[48] The poem concludes with a haunting question: "is Oceania memorial/or target, economic zone or monument/territory or mākua."[49]

Mākua is the Hawaiian word for parent but also refers to the highly contested military reservation at Mākua Valley on O`ahu, a place in Kanaka Maoli stories where humans originated, yet is now where sacred Hawaiian sites and endangered species have been regularly bombed since the 1920s.[50] The poem calls attention to the ways in which the militarization of

Oceania causes a rupture in the responsibilities of the mākua to the child, a rupture in the kuleana or chain of responsibility that connects all living and beings and matter. The collection as a whole, by telescoping between the ordinary and the catastrophic, maternal intimacy and a militarized world ocean, brings together the very components that Ghosh notes are central to our understanding of the Anthropocene, yet so difficult to narrate in (western) Anglophone prose. Perez demonstrates the "uncanny intimacy of our relationship with the nonhuman" as Ghosh describes it (Ghosh 33), and raises vital questions about intergenerational survival and responsibility.

The 2014 RIMPAC "war games" invoked by the poem led to the [**Slide 20]** widespread devastation of marine wildlife and a 2015 ruling by a Federal judge that the US Navy exercises, especially the use of explosives and sonar, were endangering millions of marine mammals.[51] The court determined that there was a "breathtaking assertion" by the US Navy that their oceanic exercises "allow for no limitation at all," in terms of time, space, species, or depth, and that there was no justification for needing "continuous access to every single square mile of the Pacific."[52] Moreover, in a critical –if not cleverly literary—ruling, federal Judge Susan Oki Mollway determined: **Slide 21**

> Searching the administrative record's reams of pages for some explanation as to why the Navy's activities were authorized by the National Marine Fisheries Service ("NMFS"), this court feels like the sailor in Samuel Taylor Coleridge's "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner" who, trapped for days on a ship becalmed in the middle of the ocean, laments, "Water, water, every where, Nor any drop to drink."[53]

(Judge Mollway, I discovered, was an English major at UH.)

A critical ocean studies for the Anthropocene would bring together geopolitics with the literary and, like the poet Craig Santos Perez and Judge Mollway, narrate them in ways that mutually inflect and inform each other. While the recent oceanic turn has produced scholarship that presses our understanding of the ontological fluidity of our oceanic planet, a vigorous engagement with naval hydro-politics, a critical militarization studies, would help us better articulate and imagine a demilitarized future.

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[1] Brazil was invited but withdrew, reducing the number to twenty-five. China was "disinvited" due to its territorial expansion in the South China Sea. See "RIMPAC 2018 Begins."
[2] "U.S. Navy Announces."
[3] "U.S. Navy Announces."
[4] Hayes, Zarsky, and Bello, *American Lake*. On China, see Forsythe, "Possible Radar" and the essays collected in Prabhakar, Ho, and Bateman, *The Evolving Maritime Balance*.
[5] "Critical ocean studies" and "sea ontologies" are explored in DeLoughrey, "Submarine Futures." This article is in conversation with important work by Steinberg and Peters, "Wet Ontologies"; Alaimo, *Exposed*; Helmreich, "The Genders of Waves"; and Neimanis, *Bodies of Water*. See also the recent edited collection Hessler, *Tidalectics*.
[6] This is a larger argument taken up in relation to the British maritime (and shipwreck) fiction as well as more recent black Atlantic discourse in my *Routes and Roots.*
[7] See Bélanger and Sigler, "Wet Matter."
[8] Earle, *Sea Change*, xiv and NOAA biologist, Nancy Foster, quoted in Earle xiv.
[9] The term was first used by Andreas Malm and then developed out farther by Jason Moore and Donna Haraway. See Malm, *Fossil Capital*; Moore, *Capitalism in the Web of Life*; and Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble*.
[10] Liska and Perrin, "Securing Foreign Oil."
[11] See Secretary of the Navy J. William Middendorf III's 1974 address to the Rotary Club of San Francisco, who argued "It is the mission of the US Navy to protect the sea lanes for the transport of these critical [energy] imports. And it is the mission of the US Navy to render a political and diplomatic presence in the world today in support of our national policy." In Middendorf, "World Sea Power," 241.
[12] Lawrence, "US Military is a Major Contributor"; Hynes, "Military Assault on Global Climate"; Sanders, *The Green Zone*. On the estimation of the number of US military bases (many of which are top secret) see Johnson, *Nemesis* and Lutz, *The Bases of Empire*. While Lutz calculates at least 1,000 overseas bases, the Department of Defense itself declares it has over "7,000 bases, installations, and other facilities" in its 2014 Climate Change Adaptation Roadmap.
[13] Sanders, *The Green Zone*.
[14] The Pentagon was given an exemption from reporting its carbon emissions at the Kyoto Convention on Climate Change. See Hynes, "Military Assault on Global Climate," and Neslen, "Pentagon to lose emissions exemption."
[15] Hynes, "Military Assault on Global Climate."
[16] Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power*. On the history, see Thompson *Imperial Archipelago*.
[17] See Adomeit, "Alfred and Theodore Go to Hawai`i." Mahalo to Anne Keala Kelly for this reference and her kokua regarding *the naval history of Hawai`i.*
[18] The US Navy also ruled American Samoa from 1900-1951 which catalyzed the Mau protests. See David A. Chappell, "The Forgotten Mau: Anti-Navy Protest in American Samoa, 1920-1935,"

in *Pacific Historical Review* Vol. 69, No. 2 (May, 2000), pp. 217-260. My thanks to my colleague Keith Camacho for his insights on US Naval rule in the Pacific Islands. On resistance to militarism in the Pacific see Shigematsu and Camacho, *Militarized Currents*. Warren Bello's article in that collection describes US presence in the Pacific as "a transnational garrison state that spans seven sovereign states and the vast expanse of Micronesia" (310) and points out that the US Navy was the main force behind the acquisition of Hawai`i, Guam/Guahan and the Philippines (315). On the Indigenous responses to American and Japanese militarism in the Marianas see Camacho, *Cultures of Commemoration*, and Camacho, *Sacred Men*. See also Craig Santos Perez's preface to his first volume *from unincorporated territory [hacha]* for the Chamorro historical context.

[19] On the weapons testing zones see Van Dyke "Military Exclusion and Warning Zones."

[20] "United States Indo-Pacific Command."

[21] "RIMPAC is the world's largest international maritime exercise." *U. S. Navy*, http://www.cpf.navy.mil/rimpac/2014/ (accessed August 3, 2018).

[22] Klare, "Garrisoning the Global Gas Station."

[23] Terrell, Hunt and Gosden, "The Dimensions of Social Life." This is discussed in DeLoughrey, *Routes and Roots*, 104-105.

[24] Key texts that used the ocean as a trope for globalization include Connery, "The Oceanic Feeing," and Hau`ofa "Our Sea of Islands." These two edited collections were critical to shifting US literary and cultural studies to the Pacific.

[25] Bauman's liquid metaphors for globalization (in *Liquid Modernity*) are discussed in DeLoughrey, *Routes and Roots,* 225-226, and in Helmreich, *Sounding the Limits of Life*, 102**.** Elizabeth Povinelli has coined the term "geontologies" (in *Geontologies*) which I've developed into "sea ontologies" (in "Submarine Futures"). On wet ontologies, see Steinberg and Peters, "Wet Ontologies."

[26] Reich, "Trans-Pacific Partnership."

[27] Wallach, "NAFTA on Steroids," and Solomon and Beachy, "A Dirty Deal."

[28] Brooke, "Looking for Friendly Overseas Base." On "lily pads" and "forward operating locations" see Lutz, *The Bases of Empire*, 20, 37. See also Natividad and Kirk, "Fortress Guam."

[29] See Norris, "The Air Assault on Japan," 86.

[30] Steinberg, *The Social Construction of the Ocean*.

[31] Ghosh "Petrofiction"; in *The Great Derangement* he argues "if certain literary forms are unable to negotiate these torrrents [of climate change chaos] then they will have failed—and their failures will have to be counted as an aspect of the broader imaginative and cultural failures that lies at the heart of the climate crisis" (8).

[32] Hau`ofa, *We are the Ocean*; Jolly, "Imagining Oceania"; Clifford *Routes*. Diaz & Kauanui have argued that the "Pacific is on the move," understood in terms of tectonics, human migration, and a growing field of scholarship in "Native Pacific Cultural Studies," 317; I've built on these works in *Routes and Roots*, which makes an argument for a "transoceanic imaginary" (37). On the oceanic turn and its lack of engagement with indigenous Pacific studies, see Te Punga Somerville, "Where Oceans Come From."

[33] I have in mind Māori author Keri Hulme, whose poetry-fiction collection *Stonefish* imagines multiple scales for the Anthropocene. This is discussed in my "Submarine Futures" essay and expanded in *Allegories of the Anthropocene*.
[34] "The Page Transformed."
[35] Hau`ofa, *We are the Ocean*. I explore the oceanic vessel metaphor in Pacific and black Atlantic literature in greater depth in *Routes and Roots*.
[36] Perez and Chong, "Praise Song for Oceania." See also Perez, "Chanting Waters."
[37] Hau'ofa has argued that "the sea is our pathway to each other and to everyone else, the sea is our endless saga, the sea is our most powerful metaphor, the ocean is in us." (*We are the Ocean*, 58).
[38] Perez, *from unincorporated territory [saina]*. The photo is drawn from Wikipedia https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:US_Navy_080905-N-7981E-845_The_aircraft_carrier_USS_Abraham_Lincoln_(CVN_72)_leads_a_formation_of_ships_from_the_Abraham_Lincoln_Strike_Group_they_transit_the_Indian_Ocean.jpg
[39] See Lutz, *The Bases of Empire*, 4.
[40] Sanders, *The Green Zone*, 60.
[41] See the introduction and essays collected in Bascara, Camacho, and DeLoughrey, "Gender and Sexual Politics."
[42] See Camacho and Monnig, "Uncomfortable Fatigues," 158.
[43]Mabus et al., "Cooperative Strategy for 21st Century Seapower," and Department of Defense, "2014 Climate Change Adaptation Roadmap."
[44] Bender, "Chief of US Pacific forces."
[45] McGeehan, "A War Orange for Climate Change."
[46] Mabus et al., "Cooperative Strategy for 21st Century Seapower."
[47] Earle, *Sea Change,* 15.
[48] Fergusson, "Whales beware."
[49] Perez has long written about the ocean, militarism, ecology, and indigeneity. See his "Eco-poem-film" "Praise Song for Oceania" and "Chanting the Water," written "in solidarity with the water protectors at Standing Rock."
[50] Activist groups such as Mālama Mākua and Earthjustice have brought the military to court to halt the bombing, at least for the time being. On the militarism of Hawai`i and Mākua in particular, see Anne Keala Kelly's powerful film, *Noho Hewa: The Wrongful Occupation of Hawai`i*. See also Keala Carter's 2018 update, "U. S. army wants to resume live-fire training."
[51] "Court Rules Navy Training in Pacific Violates Laws."
[52] Conservation v. National Marine Fisheries, 6876 (Hawai'i District Court, 2013). https://earthjustice.org/sites/default/files/files/2013-12-16NAVYSonarComplaint.pdf.
[53] Conservation v. National Marine Fisheries Civ. No. 13-00684 SOM/RLP; Natural Resources v. National Marine Fisheries, Civ. No. 14-00153 SOM/RLP (Hawai'i District Court, 2015). https://earthjustice.org/sites/default/files/files/2015-3-31%20Amended%20Order.pdf.