

CHAPTER IV

All-Consuming Cold War Debts:

Micronesian Poetics and the Legacies of Colonial Aid

“Troops in Pacific play Santa in world’s longest-running humanitarian mission.” With these proud words, the long-running American military publication *Stars and Stripes* publicized the yearly event known as “Operation Christmas Drop.”¹⁵² Unloading thousands of pounds of American goods onto remote Micronesian islands on Christmas morning, Operation Christmas Drop has served as an American military tradition since 1952, staging a continuous alchemy of U.S. benevolence and military policy in the region. Aid packages falling from the sky include canned food, toys, books, and other miscellaneous donations, dropped by the U.S. Air Force, who play Santa Claus. In a recent incarnation of this now long revered practice, on Christmas Day 2014, the aid drop included 3,160 pounds of canned goods—Spam and other treats such as medicine, fabrics, fishing equipment, and instant coffee—reaching *Stars and Stripes* reported, “about 35,000 people, some of whom rarely come into direct contact with people elsewhere in the world.”¹⁵³ The goods, collected from Anderson Air Force Base in Guam, an unincorporated

¹⁵²“Troops in Pacific play Santa in world’s longest-running humanitarian mission,” December 16, 2012, Charlie Reed. <http://www.stripes.com/news/troops-in-pacific-play-santa-in-world-s-longest-running-humanitarian-mission-1.200951> Dec 16, 2012. By Charlie Reed. Accessed April 1, 2015.

¹⁵³Air Force to drop tons of gifts on Pacific islands,” December 15, 2008, Teri Weaver. <http://www.stripes.com/news/air-force-to-drop-tons-of-gifts-on-pacific-islands-1.86160> accessed March 14, 2015.

territory of the U.S. and itself an island in Micronesia (in the Mariana Island chain), are dropped onto outlying islands and select atolls of Palau and the Federated States of Micronesia.¹⁵⁴

As photographic images from the National Archives illustrate, American servicemen sometimes actually wear the Santa costume for the festive event, adding not only a kitschy touch, but an extra layer of symbolism to the performance. In Figure 4.1 below, we see the image of a Santa-clad serviceman and his colleague standing beside the aid boxes, readying for the “delivery.”



Figure 4.1 Operation Christmas Drop 12/14/1990. From the National Archives, Still Pictures Files. Record Group 330, Series: Combined Military Service Digital Photographic Files, 1982 – 2007.

Operation Christmas Drop functions as a proud American military tradition and understandably so—for what organization would not want to take credit for such charity, such generous displays of giving? Annually featured in *Stars and Stripes* and, recently, on the social media accounts of the U.S. Air Force (including its website, Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube

¹⁵⁴ Operation Christmas drop 2015; Views from the Islands, Drops from the Heart,” January 12, 2016, Osakabe Yasuo. <http://japan.stripes.com/news/operation-christmas-drop-2015-view-islands-drops-heart>

channels), aggregated stories of this annual aid drop from these new media sources, extends a tradition that is celebrated proudly and uncritically. From the perspective of the American military, Operation Christmas Drop is perceived as a win-win proposition for both sides. The military appear as heroes, and Islanders, presented and spoken of as “in need,” are described as welcoming the help that the U.S. offers. It is a “great treat,” one of the leaders of the 2008 operation says of the aid drops, considering that “this drop is their connection to the outside world.”¹⁵⁵ If such a framing is true, then who would deny that dropping medicine and food from the sky is a good thing?

How are we to interpret this event and the images that help tell this narrative of uninterrupted humanitarian assistance? Why an airdrop? What does the superficial narrative of Operation Christmas Drop—as a site, event, and story—convey? Who is the story for and what does it fail to mention? What is another side to this story of generous humanitarian giving? After all, the idea of canned goods falling from heaven seems somewhat bizarre given that this is not a war zone and there is no danger that warrants supplies being parachuted down. The Air Force has the technological capability to actually land planes and deliver items on the ground; yet it continues to aerially drop these goods with parachutes. This chapter explores the complex answers to these questions, showing that in addition to the symbolic work of the airdrop, this humanitarian aid drop doubles as a training exercise for target accuracy,¹⁵⁶ which traces its roots

¹⁵⁵ Ibid. Teri Weaver.

¹⁵⁶ References to target “nailing their target” abound in news coverage, such as in “Troops in Pacific play Santa in world’s longest-running humanitarian mission,” December 16, 2012, Charlie Reed.

<http://www.stripes.com/news/troops-in-pacific-play-santa-in-world-s-longest-running-humanitarian-mission-1.200951>

“Operation Christmas Drop delivers relief to typhoon-stricken island,” Zachary Wilson, Published December 17, 2013. <http://www.af.mil/News/ArticleDisplay/tabid/223/Article/467766/operation-christmas-drop-delivers-relief-to-typhoon-stricken-island.aspx>

prior to 1952 to the dropping of both aid and weapons during World War II, and thereafter to nuclear and ballistic missile testing in the Marshall Islands.

The representation of a mobile U.S. Air Force as a benevolent savior flying high over a seemingly stagnant needy people below, as if Islanders never leave and are fixed in time, indexes the uneven power relations between giver and receiver in this equation. That the Air Force servicemen wear Santa suits is an irony as well, which performs an infantilizing and gendered form of benevolence. In the photo above (Figure 4.1), the U.S. plays the mature and masculine benefactor to a childlike, helpless, and even feminized Micronesia. And each year, as Santa/the U.S. flexes its wealth, power, and generosity through the scattering of holiday gifts to receptive Islanders below, the registered implication is that Islanders have been not “naughty” but “nice children” during the year.

The telling and reporting of the Christmas Drop event is a tradition that is largely reflective of the militarized framework from which it is produced. Images of benevolence and care are portrayed, while the context needed to understand why islands would need assistance in the first place is conspicuously elided. For instance, this telling obscures the reason for needing an aid drop at all. Is it just because these islands are so isolated? Where are the food and necessities within the Islands? Why would these islands, which at a glance look like a stock image of paradise, need parachuting cans of fish, luncheon meat, and toys? Indeed, many of the stories regarding Christmas Drop retell a similar rote story, but omit contexts and questions that would make the event fully comprehensible and knowable.

Looking at the photograph (Figure 4.1), taken in 1990 although circulated well past this date, we see the visual contrasts of a stunning turquoise blue Pacific Ocean, the glimpse of an island, and two military service officers—one dressed in typical fatigues and the other in a Santa

Claus costume, strapped into a harness. “Santa” is holding onto the sides of the airplane as the other man (in non-Santa dress) holds onto a pallet of Christmas Drop goods. Both men peer down below and await their target. The caption of the photograph, which comes from the National Archives, reads “Santa Claus[e] (CAPT. Mike d’Albertis, 605th Military Airlift Support Squadron) and STAFF SGT. Tony Thompson, loadmaster with the 21st Tactical Airlift Squadron, watch as a Christmas Drop container is parachuted toward its destination.”¹⁵⁷ The description continues, “The annual airdrop is a humanitarian effort providing aid to *needy islanders* throughout Micronesia during the holiday season, 12/14/1990.”¹⁵⁸ It is a simple description that mirrors the storylines of a number of Operation Christmas Drop reporting one would find in an official publication, which replays stereotypes of native neediness and non-self-reliance. The archival description also fails to capture any greater significance or detail behind this image and event.

The visual aspects of this image invoke the iconography of a large body of Pacific Islands representation within popular visual culture—from art history and the imaging of the Pacific in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries to the travel writings and televisual representations of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. As Margaret Jolly has said, the Pacific has been a site of desire for western imperial expansions, which included gendered representational histories and iconography that rendered the islands and their people as desirable, captivating, and welcoming of outsiders.¹⁵⁹ Pacific Islands have been central to the formation of knowledge in numerous

¹⁵⁷ Record Group 330: Records of the Office of the Secretary of Defense, 1921 – 2008; Series: Combined Military Service Digital Photographic Files, 1982 – 2007.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, emphasis own.

¹⁵⁹ See Ch. 4: “From Point Venus to Bali Ha’i: Eroticism and Exoticism in Representations of the Pacific” by Margaret Jolly; From Malinowski to Mauss, many European and American anthropologists have set the Pacific and Pacific Islanders as the paradigm for understanding the nature of man; in fact, the discipline owes its foundational knowledge to Pacific encounters, both real and imagined. Pacific Islanders were the test subjects of anthropological knowledge.

disciplines, notably anthropology, as these were sites believed to be in true “states of nature,” perfectly enclosed environments. Certainly, the beautiful contrast of colors found in Operation Christmas Drop could be taken from any stock image of paradise.¹⁶⁰ However, with this purportedly positive stereotype come converse negative stereotypes of lazy natives and colonial tropes of indigenous people in need of civilizing.

This photograph indeed traffics in circuits of imperial discourse and iconography. Laura Wexler, in *Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in an Age of U.S. Imperialism*, has shown that pictures, specifically photographs, can be deceiving, and that they carry an ideological component: “The institutions of production, circulation, and reception of photographs effectively discourage inquiry into how things got to be the way that they appear.”¹⁶¹ Quoting John Berger, Wexler notes that photography has an “ideological effect,” that constructs a framing of “reality.”¹⁶² Wexler formulates that photography plays “an integral part [in] the social construction of social knowledge.”¹⁶³

Curiously, this specific image has circulated widely outside of the archive. Embedded in multiple stories on Christmas Drop, it has traveled far and wide in subsequent years beyond the parameters of a Secretary of Defense image catalogue in the American National Archives. It has been repeatedly copied and pasted, standing in for any Christmas Drop story, regardless of the year. In a way, it has become a timeless, decontextualized image that has gained traction as *the* stock image of the event, a postcard almost in itself.¹⁶⁴ It is even attached to non-official blogs that support military efforts. For instance, the image is found within a 2015 blog dedicated to

¹⁶¹ Wexler, *Tender Violence*, 5.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Ibid, 22.

¹⁶⁴ “Operation Christmas Drop,” Ian D’Costa, Tactical Air Network. December 18, 2014. <http://tacairnet.com/2014/12/18/operation-christmas-drop/>

Santa Clauses in uniform, alongside multiple other images of Santa in military fatigues—some of which are very violent and graphic.¹⁶⁵ The copying and pasting, circulation, repurposing, and appropriation of this image, then, shows how far and wide this image has traveled, beyond the shores of Micronesian atolls and far removed from the people whose lives are touched by the event. The Operation Christmas Drop story simultaneously, with one fell swoop, sweeps colonialism, Cold War administration, and post-Trusteeship governance through the Compact of Free Association under the rug.

And yet, one may even argue that any attention to the story simultaneously brings to light the presence of U.S. militarism in Micronesia and invokes a geopolitical entanglement. By disavowing and decontextualizing the story every year—or just simply leaving out the details of the history of the U.S. military in Micronesia—the photograph at the same time brings an awareness of the engagement and constant intertwining of histories. It is just visible enough *and* conversely, invisible enough to be inadequate. If we look at the photo, the Santa Claus serviceman reaches out to the island, stretching forth his right arm to the blue waters and the snippet of island. This outstretched arm indexes an open-armed engagement, a benevolent gesture, a greeting to a receiver and perhaps a would-be debtor. Also, this presents a gesture to the audience of the photo to come and see these islands—the doorway and Santa mediating the relation between isolated islanders and the imperial subject.

That outstretched arm of Santa invokes gestures of imperial outreach and expansion to the feminized Pacific below. The gaze of the photograph moves from east to west as well, linking with popular iconography of expansion and interlocking with a discourse and ideology of

¹⁶⁵ For instance, see <http://thebrigade.com/2015/12/22/santa-claus-is-willing-to-fill-any-billet-31-photos/>. In this case, the image from Figure 4.1 is not properly identified as a part of Operation Christmas Drop and neither are any of the other Santas in fatigues captioned or identified; originally accessed on the brigade.com but migrated to <http://thehive.com/2015/12/22/santa-claus-is-willing-to-fill-any-billet-31-photos/>. Accessed again June 17, 2016.

Cold War paternalized care. And while Santa himself is conventionally conceived not as a benefactor, but as a saint of Western European origin who brings gifts to children who have been good, the connection between Santa Claus and good intentions are still evident. And Santa's dropping of goodies to the well-behaved children of Micronesia below exemplifies the paternalism—in policy and ideology—behind this staged annual event. The old man and little child; the mature master with the nascent colonial subject in incubation for civilized and independent futurity.

The relation captured in an image such as Figure 4.1 reveals a generosity and selflessness on the part of the Americans and an anticipated affect of gratitude on the part of Islanders. I argue that this image and iconography of a generous Santa Claus and the receptive child circulates an ideology of indebtedness. In other words, through this particular framing of a giver and taker relationship, *ad infinitum* through parallel analogues, a relation of indebtedness (wherein Micronesia is indebted to the United States for its generosity) is hereby circulated and ratified for global audiences.

Operation Christmas Drop serves as an example of the Cold War legacies that continue in Micronesia despite the dissolving of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Island status in the 1980s. It is part of the narrative that American state organizations tell and retell—that is, of a genericized “Micronesia” being in a state of perpetual need (that “they need us” and “we take care of them, those in need”—while simultaneously masking the circumstances of how that relationship was forged and eliding the benefits the United States receives from that forced “relationship.”

This chapter argues that U.S. Cold War projects of benevolence and militarized aid in the context of Micronesia are ultimately tied to projects of colonial violence, and that food,

specifically food aid, is an inextricable part of that colonial infrastructure. I contend that humanitarian aid and militarism are intimately linked. I continue to ask how this tradition of staged benevolence with cultivated legacies of debt gets engaged with and contended within the context of the former Trust Territories of the Pacific Islands.

The pompous act of gifting and staging such an event is not a coincidence, but coalesces into visible, obvious linkages between American militarism and proposed good will to maintain dominance—or at least bargaining leverage—in a site that has been dubbed “strategic” for national security since the close of World War II. The convergences of discourses—militarism and humanitarian aid, indebtedness and dependency, colonial administration and occupation—take on multiple meanings and valences. From the gifting practice and exchanges between the U.S. military and the people inhabiting these islands (people whose lives and lands are central to the American military) to thinking about the interpellation of islanders into a culture of relation and consumer practice, Operation Christmas Drop serves as a critical site of departure (and of contemplation) in contending with the enduring rhetoric, stagings or performances, and protracted Cold War legacies of colonial benevolence in a militarized Pacific.

Through an intertextual assemblage of cultural sources, this chapter examines Native Islander narrative sites that address legacies of humanitarian aid, from World War II’s “liberation,” to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands era (the TTPI 1947-86), to the present day, when many islands are independent states but fall under the Compact of Free Association agreement with the U.S., which has redefined both independence and colonial relations. I analyze Islander poetics to reframe top-down discourses of paternalized care and debt, pushing beyond the limits of imperial knowledge and discourse that the U.S. military deploys in events such as Operation Christmas Drop.

The literary sources I examine here include the work of Marshallese spoken-word poet Kathy Jetnil-Kijiner and Pohnpeian poet and author Emelihter Kihleng, contrasting these voices with state literatures and tracing the meanings of benevolence, liberation, and food assistance to expose counter-truths of Cold War rescue and tales of saviorhood. I juxtapose these pan-Micronesian poetic cultural productions with archival discourses (that is, the writers with the archive) in order to highlight discrepancies of framing and also to see what themes and concerns these texts generate.

Whereas my previous chapter on the Korean War examined legacies of debt to the United Nations and the U.S. military through memories of food and deliverance (from communism and starvation), this chapter examines discourses of American “liberation” in the context of Micronesian history, one which includes oceanic migrations in the wake of a “trust” administration and nuclear testing. Re-centering Pacific Islander voices, this cross-genre juxtaposition of state narratives with Native articulations allows for an open inquiry into the bounded legacies of humanitarian aid and militarism in the name of liberation and “peace.”

I now turn to Kathy Jetnil-Kijiner’s poetry to begin exploring alternative narratives to mainstream reportage and the U.S. imperial archive, to understand the underbelly of Operation Christmas Drop and to think about how Micronesians frame these stories.

Kathy Jetnil-Kijiner and a Poetics of Engagement

Born in Majuro in the Marshall Islands and raised in Honolulu, Hawai‘i, Kathy Jetnil-Kijiner is a spoken word poet and activist whose critical articulations provide invaluable insight into Marshallese experiences, collective memories, and concerns within a diasporic context. Renowned in recent years for her performances on climate change activism on the platform of

the United Nations, Kathy Jetnil-Kijiner's poetry speaks to the intersections of both global environmental concerns and local Marshallese worries about island ecologies. In her biggest exposure to date, Jetnil-Kijiner performed the poem "Dear Matafele Peinem" at the 2014 United Nations Climate Summit's opening ceremony. In it, she addresses her daughter and narrates a story about rising sea levels, the dangers of climate change, and worries in the Marshall Islands and in greater Oceania.¹⁶⁶ The poem's message is that of a mother and an accountable global community dedicated to not letting the baby, or her generation, down. It appeals to the United Nations community to think about the impact of rising tides on indigenous people not just as an intellectual social justice concern, but as a real matter of life and death to islanders.

Whereas this spoken-word poem was performed in a prestigious arena, in front of dignitaries such as UN Secretary General Ban Ki Moon and Hollywood celebrities calling for climate justice, her other poems traffic in much more democratic digital spaces, that is, on the web through her blog and YouTube channel. In many ways, Jetnil-Kijiner's works are a perfect point of entry for thinking about not just Marshallese concerns, but Micronesian history, literature, and cultural forms at various levels of engagement and access. Her poetic articulations present a counterpoint to the themes of benevolence and assistance as they contend with dominant state narratives. The juxtaposition renders visible the stark reality of Marshallese experiences of life under "liberation."

In a poem entitled "Hooked" (2013), Jetnil-Kijiner portrays a Marshallese elder thinking back on experiences from World War II, the "liberation" from Japanese occupation with the coming of Americans, and the health trajectory of a man in old age. Within the poem, readers find key markers of Marshallese history strewn through four stanzas as the old man's life unfolds

¹⁶⁶ This may be viewed on <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DJuRjy9k7GA> (the polished rerecorded version; accessed May 1, 2015) or <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L4fdxXo4tnY> (the live version with introduction).

in flashbacks. These vignettes are both insightful and critical provocations to think about the flashpoints of Micronesian history, memory, and the imbrication of the two. Note the importance of food in the poem below, such as Spam, Vienna sausages, ramen, and fish:

I.

After he felt the rain of bombs
that left puddles of silver shrapnel, slivers of
splinters where houses once stood and charred
bodies – both japanese and marshallese –
After he watched soldiers shoot
a woman's ears off
because her husband
was a deserter, an accused traitor,
After he watched his chief, strung up
by his ankles, beaten raw for stealing
from a dwindling supply of coconuts,
After fugitive nights, when fishing was banned,
when he'd slip onto the reef flat, breathless,
the moon curved, shining like
the outlawed fishhook, gripped tight
between his fingers
And after nights when even this
became dangerous, after the children
stopped asking for his stolen catch of fish,
after even they had withered away,
rows of ribs smiling
grotesque grins through skin

II.

After all of that
it must have seemed
heaven sent
a gift from God
this gift from the americans,
this shining tower
of food
placed before him
box after box after box
of canned spam, flaky biscuits
chocolate bars, dry sausages, hard candy and
bags and bags of rice all waiting
to be eaten

He remembers
he cried
it was so
beautiful

III.

Every day of the life he led after he remembers
that pile of food taller
than any building he had ever seen
He remembers it as he pops
open a can of vienna sausage, savors
the salty grease on his warm rice, the taste
of a filled belly
He remembers it as he slices spam, sizzling
hot on the pan, he remembers it
as he drizzles soy sauce
into a boiling pot of crispy ramen

IV.

And even after
his breathing
turns heavy
even after his joints protest the walk to the store
even after
the devious tingle trickled into his arms, even after
the doctors told him the leg
would have to go,
even then
he never
stopped
licking the grease
from his fingers
that still felt haunted
by the outlawed
hook.

V.

When his children asked him why
he wouldn't, couldn't listen, why
he kept eating the food his doctors
had prescribed against, even after
they begged
he merely

flexed
his restless
fingers.
He had been hungry.
He would never be hungry again.

The poem begins in the context of World War II on the shores of the Marshall Islands with bombs and hunger and an extreme sense of deprivation and desperation in the air. Some broad strokes of events tracked in this poem include Japanese colonialism dovetailing with World War II and the arrival of Americans, life under American administration, and growing old and ailing in health because of colonial dietary legacies. Looking closely at these four stanzas, we find a deeper significance to these events as well as several interlocking issues plaguing Marshallese today.

The first stanza presents several key issues central to the poem and greater Marshallese history. The old man recalls witnessing a woman being violently disfigured by a soldier for betraying the colonial order and a local chief being beaten and publicly humiliated in his attempt to access coconuts. In addition, he remembers surreptitiously fishing during the war, a time when fishing was outlawed, to provide food for his family. The “outlawed hook,” referencing a ban on fishing, presents a significant cultural outlawing for Native Pacific Islanders. Impeding access to fishing impedes self-reliance and the ability to provide food for family. Wartime or not, this serves as a symbolic form of control and oversight over a community. The abuse of residents by Japanese military forces as well as the ban on fishing during the war introduce a snapshot of the restricted foodways for a certain generation of Marshallese.

In the second stanza, we see the arrival of the Americans and the “shining tower of food” brought with them (Lines 28-29). Foods such as Spam, biscuits, chocolates, sausages, and candies are present, which coincidentally constitute goods that continue to inform present day

diets. The literal “relief” goods in the poem, the “box after box after box” of rations and canned goods brought by the Americans, are described as “heaven sent” and “a gift from God” (lines 26-27). This is a crucial part that frames the narrative of American “liberation” in the Marshall Islands, food serving to build “trust” among Islanders, in contradistinction from the Japanese and relief goods being just that, literal relief for hungry people.

In the first half of the poem, the context of starvation and war set the stage for the loss of access to both food and food ways. Food is shown as scarce, with what little resources are available set aside for Japanese forces. This starvation tactic is a common wartime maneuver. One can think of rationing and the scarcity that ensues through limited supplies and production in martial contexts. Scholarship has shown that Japanese forces collected and allocated food supplies on the Island while the American naval strategy to defeat the Japanese including starving them out by cutting off supply lines.¹⁶⁷ The outlawing of fishing activates a martial law legacy under Japanese control, where islanders were ordered to give up food to the Japanese military, when all foods were considered “Japanese property.”¹⁶⁸ For example, in Jaluit (or Jalooj), the capital of the Japanese Mandate, food was rationed once a week with orders that locals “were not allowed to gather food for themselves, even from their own land, and it was considered a serious crime to be caught stealing food.”¹⁶⁹

In the second half of the poem, Parts III and IV shift years ahead to an undetermined time and place. The third stanza does not begin with “After” like the previous two, presenting a temporal shift. The rickety aches of old age and the loss of a limb mark the progression of time, as does the younger generation asking why the old man continues to eat as he does—the junk

¹⁶⁷ See Falgout and Poyer’s *Memories of War: Micronesians In the Pacific War* and Wash and Heine’s *Etto Ñan Raan Kein*.

¹⁶⁸ Walsh and Heine, *Etto Ñan Raan Kein*, 266.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 263.

foods—stubborn in his ways. Despite his ill health, he continues to eat the canned and processed American foods that have been seared in memory as part of “liberation.” In memory, the pile of food rises “taller than any building he had ever seen,” almost growing larger the further away he moves, temporally, from the event. The salty grease of meat and crispy texture of packaged noodles continue to fill his stomach years after the war has ended and he has been diagnosed with diabetes.

Though the illness is never named, the loss of a leg serves as a metonym for diabetes, a physical wound carried on the body, delineating where imperial interventions insidiously mark subjects. The physical dismemberment of limb(s) at the end of the poem parallels corporeal violence enacted by the Japanese military at the beginning, albeit with a different sense of protracted harm. The narration here of the loss of a limb, then—that is, a leg—to diabetes invokes another form of violence, a protracted biopolitical violence done to bodies, resulting in a legacy of disability through the diet of American liberation.

There is disability that ensues after American liberation, in the dietary aftermath of a life sustained on relief goods. This is a detail that is so rarely included in any celebratory stories of American benevolence. Indeed, there is substantial literature regarding health of Marshall Islanders and Micronesians writ large and Kathy Jetnil-Kijiner elsewhere touches upon this topic of medical ailments, specifically the staggering health statistics regarding diabetes, high blood pressure, gout, and the need for dialysis in Marshallese communities. A legacy of atomic testing in the Marshall Islands sustains this narrative of continued American aid, where nuclear fallout from the atomic testing from 1946-58 rendered these islands food deserts due to contamination. In the postwar Marshall Islands under U.S. administration as part of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (or TTPI from 1947-86), the land and waters became contaminated locally

produced foods were deemed unsafe or suspect. The atolls of Bikini, Enewetak, Utrik and Rongerik especially became fallout zones because of the nuclear tests.¹⁷⁰

The poem references illness while also invoking medical treatment by a doctor, who remains unidentified. Perhaps they are white, male, located in the U.S., or perhaps none of these. It is possible though that this could be a physician in Honolulu, specifically at Queen’s Hospital, Hawai‘i’s premier hospital, which services the entire Hawaiian islands and the greater Pacific Island region.¹⁷¹

The poem provides a conscientious and unveiled engagement with the legacy of U.S. “liberation” and a contemplation of the repercussions of such a legacy of intervention. The question emerges as to why Marshall Islanders would continue to eat such foods—Vienna sausage, Spam, canned fish—years long after the war, inter-generationally. Are they eating these salty and processed foods simply because aid policies and practices—such as Operation Christmas Drop—continue unabated?

While these ingredients are all seemingly rooted in feeding and nourishing hungry bellies during World War II, I contend that the U.S. used many of these delicious items to essentially “hook” Islanders onto the U.S. fishing pole of engagement, like the proverbial “hooking” of a new user-cum-addict by a drug lord, a way to bait and switch.

I read food in this poem as a metonym for American occupation and saviorhood.

¹⁷⁰ For history of nuclear testing, see Stuart Firth and Karin Von Strokirch’s “A Nuclear Pacific” in *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islanders* (1997), Holly Barker’s *Bravo for the Marshallese: Regaining Control in a Post-Nuclear, Post-Colonial World* (2004), Jane Dibblin’s *Day of Two Suns: US Nuclear Testing and the Pacific Islanders* (1989), and Teresia Teaiwa’s scholarship as well as documentaries on the nuclear free pacific movement, such *Niuklia Fri Pasifik* by Wombat Films, 1988. Film Also, *Etto Nan Raan Kein: A Marshallese history*, p. 323.

¹⁷¹ Queens Hospital in Honolulu is considered the “leading medical referral center in the Pacific Basin.” The hospital, along with others on Oahu, has a history of complications and noted cases of discrimination toward patients of the former TTPI. See for instance “Pacific Islanders protest treatment by isle hospitals,” July 6, 2001, Rosemarie Bernardo. <http://archives.starbulletin.com/2001/07/06/news/story10.html>
<http://queensmedicalcenter.org/about-the-medical-center>
<http://pidp.eastwestcenter.org/pireport/special/COFARreportFinal12-14-11.pdf> Accessed April 1, 2016

However, rather than portraying them as being directly equivalent (or reading food as saviorhood), critical subversions to such liberation framings appear throughout the poem. For even as the old man continues to eat the food that the doctor says is poisoning him, there is something holding out, a refrain of the old man; he does not speak and chooses not to respond to criticisms. The poem ends saying that, “He would never be hungry again” (line 77). But why is that, why isn’t he ever to go hungry again? This appears to be a very personal, affect-rooted response, as in an internal refusal to ever return to either a feeling or literal situation of starvation. To answer this question in another way is to contextualize the United States’ continuing efforts to feed Marshall Islanders in the wake of WWII, from the naval occupation after liberation 1945-51 to the decades to come with the Trust relationship 1947-86.

As noted in chapter two, the Marshall Islands as part of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands received large sums of aid and money, while even benefiting from Lyndon Johnson’s Great Society programs. Lunch, nutrition, and various welfare programs to combat U.S. poverty were applicable to the Trust Territories. This in many ways helped alleviate food surplus, while gaining trust among its colonial possessions. “He would never be hungry again” can then also refer to literal hunger, as one does not need to fear being hungry in the context of a foreign/domestic policy that sends surplus goods and American dietary largesse overseas as a way of solving problems that the U.S. helped create.

Kathy Jetnil-Kijiner’s “Hooked” grapples with the co-presence of militarism and an American food aid legacy. It contends with aid as a gift to address hunger and as a curse for its dietary repercussions, with both old and young folks alike sharing the inherited diets of U.S. liberation. One could even ask, what differentiates the annual Operation Christmas Drop from the “box after box” of Spam, Vienna sausage, and rice of the relief rations flooding the islands at

the close of World War II? How are these items related, these diets mirrored in one another, and what is the significance? This poem shows the trajectory of U.S. benevolence through food legacies in the twentieth century, showing the linkage between a relief ration and Operation Christmas Drop. The food aid policies of the Cold War started under Eisenhower, and continued and distributed through the revamped Food for Peace Program under John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson, then, show an uninterrupted stream of gift-boxes and towers of food intended for the Trust Territory Micronesian atolls.

In very clear moments, this poem is also reckoning with the idea that food requires land to grow it; for without it, you cannot have food or sustainability. So, in the context of war, or in the context of military confiscation of land, as was the case of the Marshall Islands during colonial occupation, WWII, and during the Trust Territory period, there were serious impediments to growing food and self-generating a community's own resources. Furthermore, if that land is bombed and nuclear fallout makes the natural environment toxic, that makes it only that much more difficult to break free from the food aid diet of biscuit, Spam, and flour. Research reports and journal articles in policy magazines that flagrantly ask why are islanders unhealthy and diabetic elide the linkages between where/when/how the U.S. is implicated within this framing. Militarism, agriculture, and food are all linked with the infrastructure of U.S. empire.

“Hooked,” like Kathy Jetnil-Kijiner’s other poems, presents a source of memory-and history-making that renders visible the flaws of military archival historical narrative and knowledge production. Through her work and through the juxtaposition of official discourses, we find a critique of circulating narratives reliant on state apparatuses. Her work and collaboration with scholars constitute a knowledge project. The history book *Etto Ñan Raan*

Kein: a Marshall Islands History, published in 2012 by Julianne Walsh and Hilda Heine, for example, presents a new site of knowledge production by Marshallese. Hilda Heine is not only Kathy Jetnil-Kijiner's mother, but is also currently serving as the first woman president of the Republic of the Marshall Islands. Several of Jetnil-Kijiner's other poems address Marshallese history and identity, such as "History Project" and "Lessons from Hawaii," which can be found on her blog, linked from YouTube.

In Jetnil-Kijiner's works, Marshall Islanders are portrayed as experienced, knowledgeable, insightful, and as always already diasporic and migrant. Moreover, her poetry supports the idea that cultural articulations are not bound by national and spatial boundaries, that the profoundest articulations and insights can be produced elsewhere and in relation to other communities, colonial mappings, and political circumstances. Marshall Islanders occupy many sites and relationalities, with communities not confined to the Marshall Islands, but extending to the Hawaiian Islands, U.S. mainland, and beyond. Their lives are mobile, contrary to the stagnant-needy-and-stuck-in-a-primordial-state-on-islands-in-the-middle-of-nowhere portrayal that recurs in top-down aid discourse. Kathy Jetnil-Kijiner speaks to the contradictory underbellies at both state and national levels of the attitudes and policies towards the Marshall Islands and Marshall Islanders. She confronts the under-addressed issues of discrimination and racism in Hawai'i, specifically against the negative stereotyping of "Micronesians," by taking local residents and state agencies to task.¹⁷²

This poem addresses the contradictions of U.S. benevolence through food legacies in the

¹⁷² Prejudice and xenophobia against migration from not only the Marshall Islands, but the Federated States of Micronesia to Hawai'i in recent years has been on the forefront of political and public discourse in the Hawaiian Islands, with the past governor even employing exclusive measures blocking access to healthcare, benefits, and more. I will return to anti-Micronesian sentiments in Hawaii at a later point. See also Chad Blair's piece in Civil Beat, "No Aloha for Micronesians in Hawaii" at <http://www.civilbeat.com/2011/06/11650-no-aloha-for-micronesians-in-hawaii/> "Lessons from Hawaii," is based on her experiences in Hawai'i.

twentieth century and links with other Micronesian literary and cultural critiques of American generosity and humanitarianism. The angle of experience presented Kathy Jetnil-Kijiner's work provides a window into thinking critically about Cold War history in Micronesia. In the next section, I turn to the history of the Trusteeship that allows us to think about the idea of food in many Micronesian literary texts and performances, not just in Jetnil-Kijiner's works alone. I look at this history to make sense of what I call "the receipts of rescue," or "the invoices of empire," which take inventory of the millions of pounds and innumerable towers of food that inform and fill the bellies of several generations.

"Micronesia" and the Trust Territory: Context, History, Archive

Combing through Operation Christmas Drop reportage and archival documents, I found a curious pattern in the way "Micronesia" and "Micronesians" are framed. Indeed, state narratives and dominant discourses of this region commonly known as "Micronesia" stereotypically present the islands and their people as both peripheral and pathologized. This narrative of scattered islands, peripherality and distance—far from sizable continents—emphasizes small-ness versus what late scholar and critic Epli Hau'ofa has called a more empowered and expansive Oceanic vision of "a sea of islands."¹⁷³ Often cut off in maps, the region of Oceania—which includes Polynesia, Melanesia, and Micronesia—and its people are spoken of as repeated victims, victims as the sole category of identity, of multiple colonial regimes. There was Spanish colonization starting in the sixteenth century, German occupation in the late nineteenth century, and Japanese

¹⁷³ In Epli Hau'ofa's seminal 1993 essay "Our Sea of Islands," the late Pacific scholar and author centered a discourse of inter-connectedness of Pacific Islands, articulating the linkages within Oceania, capsizing the myths of isolation and powerlessness.

and American occupations in the twentieth century. Since the American administration from the close of World War II in the Pacific, the region is also linked with Cold War legacies of nuclear testing and, in its wake, discussions of foreign aid dependency and medical attention through articulated discourses of paternalized care. And many islands and ethnic communities within Micronesia have been cut up, carved out, and disaggregated from cultural kinships through the colonial fault lines drawn up by outsider interests.

It seems that colonial histories are ever-present in the mere mention of “Micronesia.” Even in saying it, one invokes an imperialist naming and framing, as even the adjectival “micro” invokes the mapping of the Pacific by European explorers and geographical societies. “Micronesia,” “Polynesia,” and “Melanesia”—these three regions in the Pacific were cartographically charted and named by 18th century European explorers. While the term Polynesia (meaning, “many” islands) was coined by Charles de Brosses, Micronesia, meaning “little islands,” and Melanesia, meaning “black islands” (due to the dark complexion of Natives), were coined by Dumont D’Urville in an 1831 lecture to the Paris Geographical Society. The site known as “Micronesia” is a term denoting more than two thousand islands in the western Pacific, often called a sub-region, that comprises many island chains, some more culturally linked than others. It encompasses an area of expanse wider than the continental United States and includes the Mariana Islands (with both the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas as well as the Unincorporated Territory of the U.S., Guam, to the south), the Federated States of Micronesia (a nation in associated trust relationship with the U.S., often called “Micronesia” itself, which is made up of the states of Yap, Chuuk, Kosrae, and Pohnpei spread across the Caroline Island chain), the Marshall Islands (today, in associated trust relationship with the U.S.), the Republic

of Palau (also in associated trust relationship with the U.S.), the Republic of Kiribati (which include the Gilbert Islands and Tarawa), the Republic of Nauru, and even Wake Island.

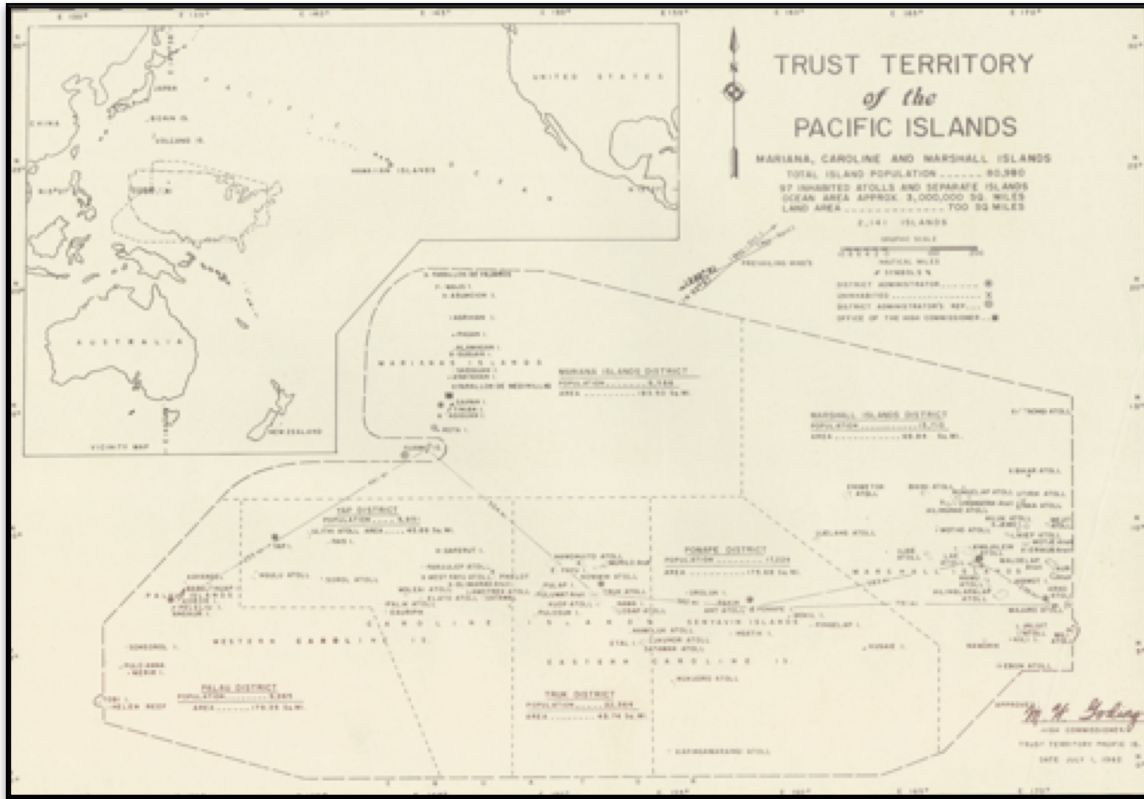


Figure 4.2 Map of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands

In *Remaking Micronesia: Discourses over Development in a Pacific Territory, 1944-1982*, historian David Hanlon explained that the terms “Micronesia” and “Micronesian” are “far more reflective of colonizing forces than of ethnographic realities,” but that, “nonetheless, their usage is difficult to avoid in a study that concerns itself in part with colonial knowledge, policy, and administration.”¹⁷⁴ As Hanlon explains, while the terms are fraught with the legacy of imperial powers’ mapping of the region and carving out of distinct political/legal/juridical lines

¹⁷⁴ Hanlon, *Remaking Micronesia*, 16.

in the service of colonial authority and power, Micronesia is also a useful and pragmatic choice of referent that can be critical in its usage. In short, it could be problematic in that it needs qualifiers and lumps so much together, but it is also useful and nearly unavoidable. Hanlon says the employment of Micronesia can be “anticolonial,” instead of “countercolonial.” The full quote cites the reason: “These normalizing labels were at times appropriated by the very people upon whom they were imposed to speak of share colonial histories and common developmental dilemmas. The subjugated thus addressed their rulers through the referents of colonization, but with purposes that could at times be countercolonial in nature. My decision to use the words ‘Micronesia,’ ‘Micronesian,’ and ‘Micronesians’ results, then, from a desire to acknowledge local manipulations as well as from more pragmatic stylistic concerns.”¹⁷⁵

Kathy Jetnil-Kijiner articulates the loaded undertones of an uncritical, flattened, and genericizing term “Micronesian.” Lumped together, there is no differentiation between Yapese, Chuukese, Pohnpeian, and Marshallese. In her 2011 poem “Lessons from Hawaii,” she writes:

It’s actually
NOT Micronesian
It’s Marshallese/Chuukese/Yapese/Pohnpeian
Palauan/Kosraean/Chamorro/Nauruan/Kiribati/¹⁷⁶

Kijiner’s point is that “Micronesian” is a generic catch-all for the diversity of Islanders from regions across the western Pacific, that the differentiation of histories, cultures, and identities is absent in its glossing. There is also the point, however, that there is significance in the solidarity the term represents and in Kijiner’s case, the racialization of the term “Micronesian,” specifically in Honolulu, presents possibilities of panethnic solidarities and alliances in countering the very stereotypes the terms “Micronesia” and “Micronesian” invoke. In this dissertation, I employ the

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ “Lessons From Hawaii” (2011); performance available on YouTube from 2013.
<https://jkijiner.wordpress.com/2011/04/13/micronesia-i-lessons-from-hawaii/>

terms “Micronesian” and “Micronesia” as pan-ethnic and transnational referents, recognizing that their usage reflects a broad diversity of cultural, historical, legal, and ethnic differences.

However, I also recognize the limitations and colonial baggage the term invokes.

The Trust Territories of the Pacific Islands (TTPI) refers to the geographic and political entity that the United States “acquired” at the close of WWII and formerly “administered” from 1947-1986 (roughly these dates; different island nations gained independence in years varying from the 1970s to 1990s). These islands specifically included the Marshall Islands, what is now the Federated States of Micronesia (which includes Pohnpei), Yap, Palau, and what is now the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (which includes Saipan). While Guam lies in the Mariana Island chain, it was not included in the TTPI arrangement, reflecting the fractured and uneven colonial histories of U.S. occupation and administration of Pacific Islands even within the same island chain, which Keith Camacho’s scholarship critically articulates. In *Cultures of Commemoration*, Camacho engages with the history of colonialism and distinct legacies between the Northern Marianas and the Southern Islands, home to the same Chamorro people.¹⁷⁷

At the close of WWII, the United Nations authorized these islands, all formerly occupied by Japan, (as Japanese Mandate) to be administered by the United States for an unspecified interim period that would then “ready” or prepare the people for self-determination. As former Japanese territories in the Pacific, Micronesia’s narrative consisted of being cared for by their liberators, the United States, under the supervision and council of the United Nations. Key terms such as “American liberation” over colonial administration and “development,” and “preparation” or “tutelage” in lieu of self-determination of territories deemed “strategic” to U.S.

¹⁷⁷ For histories of the Mariana Islands, I am indebted Vincente M. Diaz’s and Keith Camacho’s scholarship.

national interests were the buzz words of the Trusteeship. Indeed, in Chapter Twelve of the United Nations Charter, the International Trusteeship System is outlined for the “administration and supervision of such territories,” namely the TTPI for the United States.

In a most salient note, Article Seventy-six (of U.N. Charter Chapter Twelve) states the primary objects of the Trusteeship agreement as promotion of peace and security, as outlined in the very foundation of the United Nations. Specifically, the tenets include the following: 1) “to further international peace and security,” 2) “to promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence,” 3) “to encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion, and to encourage recognition of the interdependence of the peoples of the world”; and lastly 4) “to ensure equal treatment in social, economic, and commercial matters for all Members of the United Nations and their nationals, and also equal treatment for the latter in the administration of justice.”¹⁷⁸ The words *peace*, *security*, *progress*, *equality*, *human rights* are invoked here as much as they are peppered elsewhere in the U.N. Charter. And coming out of the nightmare of World War II, one gathers how this was drafted with the best intentions in mind, the primary goal being avoiding another humanitarian catastrophe. This is the language of the Trust relationship, defined as one of conservatorship, invoking all of the liberties and progress of modernity.

Yet, whereas most would consider the Trusteeship language hopeful and benign—perhaps almost utopic—one should also be wary of what follows this incessant invocation of security and uplift. That international peace and security are co-present with universalized

¹⁷⁸ United Nations, Chapter 12; can be found online at www.un.org.

invocations to human rights, justice, and freedom masks the violence that comes with colonial administration. The TTPI were administered by the Navy from 1947-51 (although the Navy had been there since the war)¹⁷⁹ and then subsequently the Department of the Interior¹⁸⁰ after 1951, until the end of the Trusteeship relationship.

Archival research on the United Nations shows a loosely defined and somewhat uneven relationship between the United Nations and the United States in the oversight of the TTPI. Records include numerous visiting reports, mission statements, and even annual summaries of “progress.” And oftentimes it is difficult to distinguish between the two governing agencies—the U.N. or the U.S. Navy, the U.N. visiting mission reports versus the colonial write-ups and surveys. The tone and texture of this literature sounds very much the same: describing uplift through benevolence and assistance. In fact, United Nations Day was celebrated in the TTPI (and even gets its holiday throughout the world to this day).

In one document, a primer or “script,” we find the importance of the Trusteeship Council for the understanding of Palauan children in the 1950s. Some of the words, such as “government,” are defined through a loosely veiled lesson on how some governments are yet “unfit for self-rule” or “not ready” for self-determination, echoing the language of the UN

¹⁷⁹ Indeed, the naval government even had a manual, a near copy of the Japanese colonial government with Stanford University even training colonial administrators. The TTPI Handbook (1948) was a tome. It was written and compiled at the School of Naval Administration (SONA) at Stanford University through the collaboration of naval and field officers, anthropologists and scholars. It reads like a CIA fact book, a true compendium of important information, with quick stats and figures, as well as nuanced details of Island geography, demography, Native customs, and more. Divided into nineteen chapters, the book provides useful information and historical context for U.S. administration of the TTPI. It is interesting to note that many of the notes and insights into colonially administering these islands were taken from the books of Japanese occupation. In fact, the handbook compiled at the newly formed Naval School of Administration at Stanford University in 1948 (to train military and civilian officials for colonial work), cited Japanese official literature constantly.

¹⁸⁰ The U.S. Department of the Interior is such a strange department of the U.S. federal government, known to house the Bureau of Indian Affairs. On its website, it claims its purpose is to use “sound science to manage and sustain America’s lands, water, wildlife, and energy resources, [honor] our nation’s responsibilities to tribal nations, and [advocate] for America’s island communities.” <https://www.doi.gov/whatwedo>

Charter (and frankly U.S. imperial vocabulary dating back from the Spanish American War regarding the Philippines).¹⁸¹

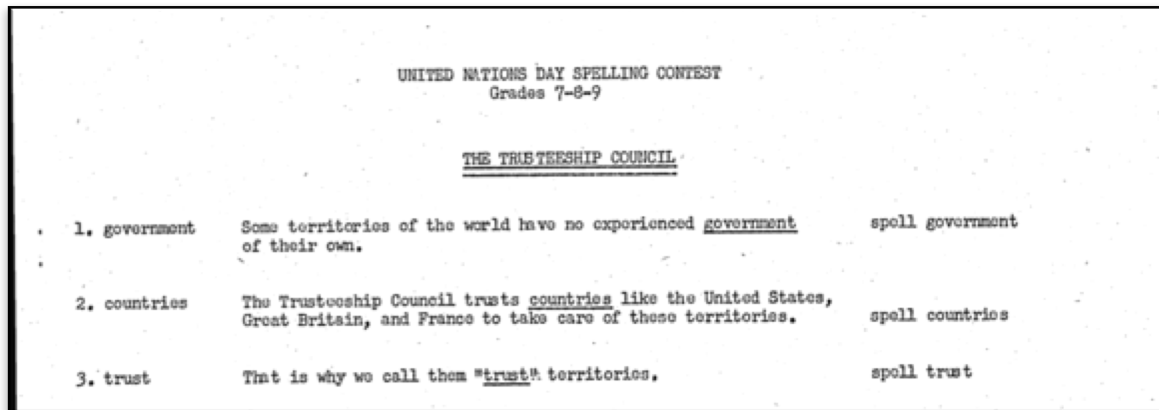


Figure 4.3 Image screen shot of “United Nations Day Spelling Contest, grades 7-8-9,” a primer for a United Nations spelling bee in Palau, October 24, 1956.¹⁸²

In the primer, the first spelling word is “government,” which carries the following definition: “Some territories of the world have no experienced *government*.” The second spelling word, “countries,” is used in this sentence: “The Trusteeship Council trusts *countries* like the United States, Great Britain, and France to take care of these territories.” And third, the accompaniment to the spelling word “trust” is “That is why we call them ‘*trust*’ territories.” For the latter word “trust,” it is surprising that this keyword pops up in different spelling prompts, and is accentuated with quotations and a stressed underline, perhaps to emphasize its significance

¹⁸¹ See Victor Mendoza’s *Metroimperial Intimacies* (2016) and Paul A. Kramer’s *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (2006).

¹⁸² From the University of Hawaii at Manoa’s Pacific Library, located in Hamilton Library Pacific Rare Folio. The “probable author” for this is Daniel J. Peacock, who worked for the Palau Department of Education. File is titled, “United Nations Day Spelling Contest, grades 7-8-9,” with the description, “Script for a spelling contest held on Oct. 24, 1956 at Palau Islands Intermediate School in honor of United Nations Day, a holiday celebrated annually in Palau during the trusteeship period. Terms and example sentences are designed to teach students about the United Nations, the U.N. Trusteeship Council, and the governance of the Pacific Islands Trust Territory.”

Location: UH Manoa: Hamilton Pacific Rare Folio-Library Use Only.

even more. Compounding this, the archival note accompanying this United Nations spelling bee primer says that UN Day was celebrated every year during the trusteeship period and that “terms and example sentences are designed to teach students about the United Nations, the U.N. Trusteeship Council, and the governance of the Pacific Islands Trust Territory.”¹⁸³

This document stands as both an informative piece of writing as well as an example of the kinds of archival materials housed in the archives of American imperial governance. The melded/indistinguishable/indiscernible character of United Nations literature and the documents of U.S. trusteeship governance highlight the ambiguity of colonial authorities and the interplay of rhetoric borrowed and employed in projects of modernity, in projects rooted in the foundational tenets of “trust,” “benevolence,” and “assistance.”¹⁸⁴

The “Trust” in Trust Territory

Absent from the Trusteeship relationship are the uses and benefits the TTPI offered the United States as a benevolent big brother, which included the uses of the islands for military purposes that continue today with the presence of bases and missile testing sites. The United States’ administration of the Trust Territories of the Pacific Islands was a colonial project, wherein the sovereignty of peoples and nations lay in the hands and approval of the United Nations and United States.¹⁸⁵ The language employed regarding these former Japanese

¹⁸³ A common event, UN Day on October 24th is celebrated worldwide. For instance, growing up, my parents’ generation celebrated UN day in Korea to commemorate the benevolence of the United Nations as an international humanitarian and peace organization, with ties to the WWII and the Korean War.

¹⁸⁴ For general UN history, I am indebted to Eduard Luard’s impressive multi-volume study: *A History of the United Nations*, Vol. 1 and 2 (1982, 1989) and Pak, Chi Young’s *Korea and the United Nations* (2000). UN Day continues to be celebrated around the world. For instance, it just celebrated its 70th anniversary in 2015. See the festivities and press release, which is obviously Korean-influenced. <http://www.un.org/en/events/unday/2015/events.shtml>

¹⁸⁵ Given that the TTPI are taken from the Japanese Mandate after Japan’s loss in World War II, the language of the UN and U.S. regarding the transition from Japanese to American rule seems a benevolent venture and a natural step.

possessions replicated the colonial rhetoric employed elsewhere, which reflected the fundamental belief that “independence” and “self-determination” were concepts Islanders were not ready for.¹⁸⁶

The American interim government and administration of the TTPI were premised on foundations of national security, liberal governance, and U.S. self-interest, sold through a rhetoric of protectionism and aid to “liberated” Micronesians. United Nations Visiting Reports, for instance, referred to the U.S. as the TTPI’s “brother’s keeper”¹⁸⁷ and typical reports would end with assessments like “Backwardness has not been overcome” and that “the trusteeship theory is designed to protect and help non-self-governing peoples, not to exploit them.”¹⁸⁸

Important to understanding invocations of trust, security, and peace in the United Nations and United States military discourse is that the TTPI were continuously referred to as “strategic.” This “strategic” quality is what quintessentially informs the trust/trusteeship relationship. The literature of the U.S. military, United Nations, and the U.S. Secretary of the Interior—the imperial discourse from which I cull—attest to and index the desire of U.S. acquisition of this most necessary “western border.” In fact, in the very first page of the Trust Territory Handbook, the colonial manual for the naval occupation (from 1947-51) states Micronesia’s importance

The “strategic Trusteeship” sounds very diplomatic, and the terms that appear in United Nations literature sound very diplomatic, but one must wonder, who was negotiating this strategic Trusteeship in the first place? The recently formed United Nations, the U.S. congress, the U.S. Navy? Yes, yes, and yes, but Islanders, no.

¹⁸⁶ The language of “not fit for independence,” for example, has been the same rhetoric used to implement policy through occupation and tutelage—euphemisms for colonial projects—in the Philippines, Haiti, Vietnam, Guam and others in which the United States intervened through military and civilian imposition. Scholars whose work I link here include Mimi Nguyen, Yen Le Esperitu, Paul Kramer, Mary Renda, Keith Camacho and Tina Taitano Delisle.

¹⁸⁷ From page 9 of a 1953 United Nations mission report, prepared by the TTPI High Commissioner Elbert D. Thomas. From February 17-March 9, 1953, this report provides not only a factual and pragmatic report, but a window into how the trusteeship relationship was envisioned and enacted more than sixty years ago. It reads like a report summary, including the highlights of conditions of the region, notes on progress, and issues of concern; the same visiting report 1953 UN mission report, p. 10.

¹⁸⁸ Typical of United Nations visiting reports, the 1953 report closed with a call for peace of the world and an expressed concern for the welfare of Micronesian people; p.13, last paragraph of Visiting Report in 1953.

outright: “To the United States, the primary significance of the islands is their obvious role in relation to security of its western borders.”¹⁸⁹

The mission of world peace is the forwarded main purpose behind the United Nations’ conferral to the United States, whose purported obligation of care is “to administer the government in the interest of the native peoples,” though not without the caveat of having “rights in the islands as well as responsibilities.”¹⁹⁰ The interim period of guidance is fraught with imperial implications of control, of resources, and of strategic self-interest, and these state narratives go hand-in-hand with the official historiography of the United States Navy’s occupation.

Pacific Studies scholar Teresia Teaiwa points out the irony in the word “Bikini,” how the first thing that often comes to mind is a woman’s two-piece bathing suit rather than the atoll in the Marshall Islands, from which the two-piece bathing suit was named. She traces the story of the two bikinis and the reasons for the hypervisibility of one and the invisibility of the other as a phenomenon resting on the concept of *militourism*, “by which military or paramilitary force ensures the smooth running of a tourist industry, and that same tourist industry masks the military force behind it.”¹⁹¹ She argues that the military and tourist industries work “in almost perfect tandem” through “flatten[ing], tam[ing], and render[ng] benign the culture of militarism,” with one of the main articulations of this concept resting on the hyper-visibility of women’s bodies—and access to them—while masking the politics of a military presence and making nuclear testing invisible.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹ This quote is taken from the first page, second paragraph, of Chapter One, “General Introduction,” of the *Handbook on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands; A Handbook for Use in Training and Administration*. (Prepared at the School of Naval Administration, Hoover Institute, Stanford University, 1948).

¹⁹⁰ This language is taken from the UN Charter and from a visiting report of 1953.

¹⁹¹ Teaiwa, “Reading Paul Gauguin’s *Noa Noa* with Epeli Hau’ofa’s *Nederends*: Militourism, Feminism and the ‘Polynesian’ Body” in *Inside Out*, 251.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 252.

From 1946 to 1958, the U.S. military exploited the Marshall Islands for a series of nuclear tests, then seen as the way to maintain global dominance through military capability. The atolls of Bikini and Enewetak, in particular, were cordoned off and designated “the Pacific Proving grounds,” where the U.S. detonated over sixty nuclear tests. These tests dislocated Islanders and rendered a vast area of the Marshall Islands a nuclear fallout region. For instance, for “Operation Crossroads” on Bikini Atoll in 1946, the U.S. required the participation of Bikini Islanders to give up their lands for “the good of mankind.”¹⁹³ In 1954, a fifteen-megaton nuclear bomb—at that point, the most powerful bomb ever to be detonated—was dropped on Bikini Island for purported military scientific testing.¹⁹⁴ Despite anger and sadness over the destruction of these islands, U.S. nuclear testing persisted in the region during the Eisenhower administration (1953-61), when the Cold War was at its hottest in regard to atomic testing.

What ensued were decades of protest, migration, and resettlement within the Marshall Islands and abroad. A separate section of the Compact of Free Association even addresses the nuclear testing and its repercussions on U.S. medical services and access. The horrors of nuclear testing and nuclear weapons are indescribable, and there is a lot of literature that addresses the nightmare of military technology and weapons, reactions to atomic testing,¹⁹⁵ and even the rerouting of Marshallese to places like Ebeye and Kwajalein atoll.

Historian Stewart Firth has pointed out that the Soviets at least confined weapons testing within their own borders, whereas the “Americans, British, and the French resorted to distant colonies where populations were sparse and the political costs minimal.”¹⁹⁶ By “minimal,” I believe Firth means minimal to the Europeans, not to the people who inhabited these Islands.

¹⁹³ Dibblin, *Day of Two Suns*, 20-21; Jack Niedenthal, *For the Good of Mankind*, 255.

¹⁹⁴ Dibblin, 24.

¹⁹⁵ Stewart Firth, “A Nuclear Pacific” in *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islanders*, 324-58.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 324.

While the U.S. bombed Bikini and Enewetak Atolls in the Marshall Islands, the British tested on Christmas and Malden Islands (as well as parts of Australia where Aboriginal inhabitants resided), and the French tested on Moruroa and Fangataufa Atolls in the Tuamotus, which they held onto after the war as their own territory in French Polynesia. It is not a coincidence that all these testing grounds in the Pacific were colonial sites where “Islanders were politically subordinated to the nuclear powers.”¹⁹⁷

The stories of nuclear fallout and dislocation of Marshall Islanders, who were forced to resettle elsewhere for decades due to the American Trusteeship system, continue to haunt the pages of Marshallese history. Numerous oral histories, documentaries, and critical ethnographies and scholarly studies have been published in recent decades, chronicling the tragedy and injustice caused by this transgression of U.S. “trust.” Here, I link with this scholarship, refraining from repeating the same narratives, being cautious of over-sensationalizing suffering. Many of these studies—Dibblin, Niedenthal, Barker, the Walsh and Heine textbook *Etto Ñan Raan Kein*—discuss the environmental and medical aftermath of the tests, which include illnesses such as thyroid cancer, leukemia, and diabetes. How do we understand the meaning of “trust” in this context? And how does this reframe imperial knowledge reportage?¹⁹⁸

In the National Archives at College Park, nuclear testing and Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands searches lead to disappointment and unsatisfying partially-told narratives with flagrant missing puzzle pieces and so many silences. Here we find boxes upon boxes and files upon files of fragmented and one-sided tales. For instance, it is disappointing that a number of

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ There is a large body of scholarship and writing about U.S. nuclear testing in the Marshall Islands and European testing in the Pacific. I am indebted to the documentaries such as *Radio Bikini* and *Home on the Range*, Jane Dibblin’s *Day of Two Suns*, and Stuart Firth’s chapter on Nuclear Testing in the Pacific in the *Cambridge History of the Pacific Islanders*.

the materials related to the 1940s and 50s nuclear tests remain classified. Archival files denoting “protests” are only noted within petitions to the United Nations, pleas for increased oversight of the U.S. governance of the Trusteeship. These petitions appeal to a politics of sensibility and respectability, instead of showcasing genuine anger and frustration regarding how people lived and fought. Trying to find a piece of resistance literature in the archive, one must read against the grain as well as question what it is that is housed in the archive itself. For instance, are short paragraphs within visiting reports, a sort of preamble to a visiting report to the TTPI regarding land claims. Eisenhower’s briefs and cabinet papers show very little concern and regard for Islanders’ well-being, only national security interests. At the national archives in College Park, “protest to nuclear testing” files revealed these were in response to Americans hearing about animal testing (that is, animal right activists were upset that there were scientific experiments on living organisms exposed to nuclear blasts and radiation), not on the impact to islanders or communities in surrounding atolls. That the archived correspondence reveal only concerns for the well-being of animals, but not Marshallese people, is truly baffling.¹⁹⁹

The context of American liberation and transfer of trusteeship from Japanese control at the close of World War II is a critical maneuver in naming and narration. It includes nuclear testing, which is justified in Manichean logic, that then funnels into a Cold War ethos—the ill/logic that the ends always justify the means.

The concept of militourism that Teaiwa brings so saliently to our attention becomes the paradigmatic phenomenon for which so many slippages and elisions may be applied in regard to the Micronesian Islands in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. A mere glance at the Trust

¹⁹⁹ NARA, College Park. RG 374 Records of the Defense Threat Reduction Agency; Entry 49 Boxes 214-223 “Protest Letters and Petitions 1946.”

Territory administration here highlights the contradictions between discourse and reality, purported intentions and real actions. We see that the trusteeship was really a protracted military occupation that allowed for nuclear testing and fallout, which then impacted the livelihoods of Marshall Islanders. Visible in this series of events is how food is used as a leverage. I contend that food, specifically the militarization of food and food assistance, is a critical element of imperial infrastructure. Food is central—it is part of liberation narratives, of the occupation and administration of the U.S., and of continuing relations of engagement such as Operation Christmas Drop. Food aid is a response to the environmental devastation enacted by the U.S. through its atomic tests. It is also the unhealthy boxes upon boxes of assistance the U.S. provides, which quietly poison the Micronesians in a continued cycle of aid.

While historical records, the U.S. military, and foreign policy reflect a dedication to political uplift, critiques of such policies and even “postcolonial” writings coming out of the TTPI speak to the complexity of the TTPI’s past and future. Now I turn to the work of another Micronesian poet, whose writings help showcase cracks in the narratives of benevolence that accompanied the trustee relationship.

Emelihter Kihleng and a Poetics of “The Liberated”

In the poem “Destiny Fulfilled” (2008) we find a very different story from that told in the state narratives by the U.S. and U.N. encountered so far in this chapter. Written by Emelihter Kihleng, a Pohnpeian poet and educator who was born on Guam but grew up moving between Guam, her native Pohnpei (located in the Federated States of Micronesia), and Hawai‘i, this poem contends with the histories of colonialism in Micronesia and the United States’ ongoing

imperial endeavors beyond the shores of the western Pacific. Her collection of poems, *My Urohs*, published in 2008 through University of Hawai‘i Press, was heralded as the first book of poetry written by a Micronesian author in English.

From the tropes of American “liberation” to the ironies of contemporary U.S.-led projects of freedom through war, Kihleng’s poetics reverberate with the colonial concerns specific to the U.S. and Pacific Islands. The poems serve as a sounding board of critique in the diasporic spaces of entangled imperialisms and indigeneity. Her poems also touch upon issues of diasporic connections and kinship, American culture, Native conscriptions into U.S. wars, and the legal limbo of Micronesian “immigrants” in the United States. Some of her work, like Kijiner’s, also speaks to the anti-Micronesian racism found in places like Hawai‘i, where diaspora from the former TTPI meets the “postracial asylum” of “America’s democratic promise” in a place such as Honolulu, resulting in what scholar Jodi Byrd calls colonial *cacophony*, which she defines as a competing simultaneity, as a butting of discourses and diverging of interpretations of spatiality and historical oppressions.²⁰⁰

The poem “Destiny Fulfilled” begins with the narrator ticking off a list of items included in a care package sent from Honolulu to a desert war zone, “mailed to my childhood friend in Tikrit, Iraq for Christmas” (p. 6, l. 5). The care package includes: “1 box Maui Caramacs,” “1 box Hawaiian Host Chocolate Covered Macadamia Nuts,” “1 2005 Hawaii calendar,” and “1 Destiny’s Child *Destiny Fulfilled* CD.” The poem continues:

the CD a small distraction from falling bombs
i’ve thought about the hit song “Soldier” being on a CD
titled Destiny Fulfilled
wherein women are described as needing thug soldiers
to protect them
soldiers who “carry big things if you know what I mean”
my friend is a petite soldier

²⁰⁰ Byrd, xxxiv,xxxvi

she is a citizen of the Federated States of Micronesia
“freely associated” with the United States of America
she could die for America
our friendly thug soldier
that continues to decrease its Compact Aid
to its “Coalition of the Willing” Island Nations

this thug soldier has already shot down
young Micronesian lives like hers
1 Palauan, 1 Pohnpeian, 1 Yapese, 2 Chamorros
with thousands more stationed across Oceans
fighting for a foreign freedom

and meanwhile, the Marshallese,
Jimmy Mote, was just released
from Carver County jail
wrongly imprisoned by homeland security
for trying to get a North Dakota state id

the smiley thug soldiers keep recruiting
on Saipan, Majuro and Palau
brown islanders signing away their freedom
on islands seized by “liberation”
60 years before

I ponder these statistics as
she sends me email forwards
about “friends vs. best friends”
postcards that read
“On Patrol: Operation Iraqi Freedom”

is she the same woman
I met when we were 7?
Neighbors in our small kousapw of Saladak
On the island of Pohnpei during those
Carefree kool-aid, ice kehki, and mango days
We never heard of distant lands called Afghanistan and Iraq
Our futures never given thought

(pp. 6-7)

The poem muses on the deployment of the narrator’s childhood friend from Pohnpei who now serves in the U.S. military in a foreign war of another nation’s making. The “thug soldier” of the United States recruits brown bodies to execute its latest iteration of martial acts, here the post-

9/11 “War on Terror.” The Micronesian casualties at the time of writing include Chamorros, Palauans, Yapese, and Pohnpeians, many of whom are not even citizens of the nation for which they are dying. As one of four states of the Federated States of Micronesia (or FSM, which also includes Yap, Kosrae, and Chuuk), Pohnpei has been in an associated trust relationship with the United States since 1986 as spelled out through the Compact of Free Association (COFA).²⁰¹ An amendment to the trust relationship that preceded it, the Federated States are classified as a sovereign nation that remains in an associated trust with the U.S.—as a willing partner, now negotiating the terms of the “trust” relationship with the U.S., where people can maintain their national affiliations while traveling and living abroad in the United States.²⁰²

The Compact of Free Association was a written document and binding legal agreement between the U.S. and the administered TTPI of Micronesia, excluding Saipan and the Northern Marianas, that established the relationship of free association between a newly independent Federated States of Micronesia, the Republic of Marshall Islands and the U.S. This document outlines the legal definitions and tradeoffs between the parties, which included military access for the U.S. in Micronesian territories in exchange for money, social benefits, and non-visa access and residency of Islanders anywhere in the U.S.²⁰³

The poem’s reference to “Jimmy Mote” in the fourth stanza invokes the singular scenario of America’s insular empire, specifically the legacy of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands’

²⁰¹ Compact documents can be found online. Accessed April 1, 2015 <http://uscompact.org/about/cofa.php>

²⁰² People of the FSM are not automatically granted U.S. citizenship, unlike those born on Guam or Saipan. Chamorros and other residents from Guam, an unincorporated territory, and the Northern Mariana Islands, a commonwealth of the United States, are classified as American citizens through the Organic Act of 1950 and a 1975 referendum respectively. It is similar and different in American Samoa, where a large number of Islanders serve in the U.S. armed forces. Citizenship is not automatic, but applied for, and people are classified as “U.S. nationals,” much like Filipinos from 1898-1946.

²⁰³ This caused a giant immigration loophole, a point to which I will return. In short, the terms included that the U.S. provides FSM with economic assistance, defense, and “other services and benefits” while FSM grants the U.S. military access while denying that to other nations.

legal definition of Islanders as “non-immigrants” in the wake of the Compact of Free Association. Jimmy Mote is a Marshall Islander who was detained and imprisoned for eight months after an attempt to renew a North Dakota state driver’s license.

By COFA agreement, he has access to travel, work, and reside indefinitely in the United States and have access to American federal programs, without losing Republic of Marshall Islands nationality.²⁰⁴ The people of North Dakota’s DMV and immigration office did not know that Marshall Islanders are allowed to travel and reside for an indefinite period of time in the U.S. without a visa or green card; the only ID required for movement needed is a Republic of Marshall Islands passport. The curious case of Jimmy Mote became a rallying cry for Marshallese and other islanders subject to COFA agreements caught in a political and legal limbo in a context where their legal status is rendered invisible by American imperial amnesia and agencies that are not equipped with the language and legibility of recognition. Jimmy Mote’s case presents the inadequacy and confusion of the “immigrant/non-immigrant” or “citizen/alien” binary that frames discussions on inclusion and belonging, when the legal-political categorizations are much more complicated.

The Oxford English Dictionary defines liberation as “the action of liberating (esp. from confinement or servitude); the condition of being liberated; release” and secondarily as “The action of freeing a region or its people from an oppressor or enemy force; the result of this.” In Kihleng’s poem, however, “liberation” is put in scare quotes, highlighting the tongue-in-cheek irony of how liberation is employed in the context of U.S. foreign policy usage: as an invocation

²⁰⁴ Whereas people born on Guam, an unincorporated territory since 1950, and the Northern Marianas, a Commonwealth since 1975, are automatically born as naturalized U.S. citizens, islanders from the remaining Trust Territories such as the Marshall Islands, the Federated States, and Palau are not; however, the latter maintain a singular relationship to the United States wherein they may retain their national citizenships, but can travel, reside, and settle freely within the U.S.—no visa or green card required.

and rallying cry in contexts of war interventions. The connotation is that the “liberation” of Micronesia was “seized” sixty years before, therefore denoting a colonial euphemism, not liberation as outlined in a dictionary.

The choice of “seized” invokes capture and containment, a conquering, and a taken-by-force event that undercuts the very notion of liberation. Here the language and trope of liberation is disclosed to be a lie, yet liberation reemerges sixty years after the close of WWII in another humanitarian mission of exporting freedom by force (i.e. war). The narrator of the poem highlights the irony of juxtaposing “the liberated,” now working in tandem with the “liberator” for a project of American freedom. Her friend, or “the petite soldier,” fights for the “thug soldier,” participating in a “liberation” project for the next generation of petite soldiers to come in Iraq. The recycling of liberation and its returning iterations in the context of the post 9-11 War on Terror, here through the invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan, highlights the recurring ironies and contradictions of American benevolence.

The critique of liberation that I trace here is indebted to the scholarly interventions of Vince Diaz’ essay, “Deliberating ‘Liberation Day’: Identity, History, Memory and War in Guam,” as well as Keith Camacho’s work on thinking about commemoration within the Mariana Islands in *Cultures of Commemoration: The Politics of War, Memory, And History in the Mariana Islands*. Both scholars trace how “liberation” informs historiography in Guam and Saipan—that is, in the politically distinct though culturally akin Unincorporated Territory of Guam and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands.²⁰⁵

Liberation operates successfully and gains traction with the framing narrative of rescue: of the U.S. rescuing the Pacific Islands of Micronesia (Marshall Islands, the Marianas, and so on)

²⁰⁵ Camacho, 10, 11.

from the Japanese military occupations and colonialism, from starvation, and even afterwards, from itself (as infant states not ready for independence). Diaz, who cites scholars and witnesses of the American arrival in the Marianas, notes the activation of “an indigenous code of indebtedness, obligation, and reciprocity” that survived the postwar era, even throughout colonial administration, while noting the absence of the “very histories (in the sense used by Jameson) whose repression forms the bases for the narrativization of official discourses.”²⁰⁶

In a similar vein, Craig Santos Perez’ work brings the contradictions of U.S. imperial governance to light as well, while highlighting indigenous articulations of Chamorro identity, culture, and arts. A poet and 2015 American Book Award winner for the book series *from unincorporated territory*, which addresses U.S. militarism, insular empire, and Chamorro indigeneity identity head-on, Santos Perez presents a critical and artistic breakthrough in contending with the legacies of imperial intervention, contradictions, and food cultures. These writers present insightful critiques of the militarized culture of the Marianas and the U.S. and challenge the structures of militarism that inform historiographic narratives such as “liberation” and other framings.

In Kihleng’s poem, we find an inversion of the Christmas Drop through a Native narrator, sending a care package (a Christmas care package perhaps) to her friend, a Pohnpeian, in Tikrit, Iraq, a city and a country made famous in recent years as the place where Saddam Hussein was found and captured in December of 2003. This was Hussein’s hometown, to which he returned and where he was found in a hiding cell when he was captured and executed by the U.S. The layers of imperial sediments and the expanse of mapped coordinates of this poem showcase an assemblage of colonial hauntings and the insane intricacies of imperial circuits.

²⁰⁶ Diaz, “Deliberating ‘Liberation Day’: Identity, History, Memory and War in Guam,” 162, 160.

What circumstances brought a Pohnpeian woman to Tikrit to fight a war for the United States, a war in which many Americans would not even consider fighting? The conscription of labor and movement of bodies into the American army is a phenomenon widely known within Pacific Islander communities and (even continental communities of color), as a way to gain upward mobility and financial security.

Aside from disclosing another side of trust, benevolence, and assistance, the poem offers a moment to ponder pressing questions such as what will happen to the people of Iraq—another “liberated people”—in a generation or two? Even if the United States does not colonize Iraq in a traditional sense (as in European models or even in settler removals), it does not mean that the event and memories surrounding “liberation” are anything less than colonial and will not return to haunt those who will be in associated trusts and alliances to come.²⁰⁷

Conclusion

American benevolence in the context of the histories and narratives that we find within Micronesian poetics cannot be separated from U.S. food and assistance policy, tied with colonial administrative duties, from the 1940s onward.²⁰⁸ The agricultural surpluses that became liberation food aid and trust territory “foreign” aid of the 1950s to the 1980s resurface in Micronesian literary forms in the 2000s. As outlined in my introduction to this dissertation and chapter two, food aid constitutes a discourse of Cold War ideology that impacts the lives of people not only within the network of foreign allies, but also within its “domestic” trusteeship

²⁰⁷ It’s ironic that Iraq, where ancient Mesopotamia lies, has been called “the cradle of civilization.” The United States civilizing the birthplace of civilization.

²⁰⁸ This is outlined in the introduction of the dissertation.

relations. Food takes on a significant role within American benevolence and becomes a metonym not only for liberation, but just also protracted violence and dispossession, dietary ailments, and bodily harm.

Examining these poetics and the alternative reading practice they generate, we find the narratives and iconography of U.S. benevolence to be a highly flawed and deeply problematic performance. If we think about Operation Christmas Drop now, a fuller panorama and detailed portrait emerges as to what is happening beyond the parachuting gifts of boxed food and toys. Just as ridding American storehouses of agricultural surplus and keeping U.S. farmers afloat are not tantamount to benevolence, neither are the U.S.'s accounting practices. The U.S. is not Santa Claus, because the widely accepted image of Santa is one of a generous saint, giving freely. The U.S., however, takes account of all that it has given—the numbers, the volume, the parachuting aid drops. U.S. is known to save images of itself as a hero, as a Santa Claus, giving further testament to how the United States leverages, negotiates, and “hooks” relations. This is done through an effort that is self-conscious and ever concerned with its public image. The records and archives present a reminder of owed gratitude and indebtedness, something to consider as we read these texts across digital, print, and media contexts.

Micronesian poetics, at times generations removed, present a curious intellectual intervention. These indigenous Marshallese and Pohnpeian cultural articulations, by and large, reframe the story of benevolence and aid as one not of pure liberation, but violence and colonialism. Kijiner's poetry shows how food aid legacies directly affect the body through illness. Her poetics reframes justice as also environmental, as an island-centered and indigenous issue taking hold of imperial contentions and framings. And whereas many of the food items listed in “Hooked” sound like junk foods—canned goods, with far off expiration dates—these

items are a foil for the real bulk of food aid and infrastructural development the United States committed to Micronesia and its Cold War allies in Asia and the Pacific Islands. It is not only the Spam and corned beef, but also the flour, milk, grains, and FEMA relief goods from the years of “trust” governance. Kihleng’s poem shows the tongue-in-cheek nature of “liberation” and how it is a farcical naming of the colonial structure it elides. In true theorization of Epeli Hau‘ofa’s “Sea of Islands,” the poems perform a paradigm shift in terms of knowledge and discourse formations. Such poetics are critical to the centering of Micronesian histories and voices, while simultaneously splintering the United States’ imperial narrative.

The poetry discussed here serves as a provocation for thinking about the contradictory messages of the United States at a national level, cracking the veneer of polished narratives used as covers for colonial agendas from the early days of the Cold War to the present day. These literary and activist contributions provide critical interventions in reframing dominant narratives of trust, benevolence, and assistance while simultaneously drawing attention to the problems of imperial amnesia that the U.S. perpetrates.

Looking at these two contemporary poems from Jetnil-Kijiner and Kihleng, we also find uncomfortable truths that we can challenge and push even further. What does it mean for a Marshallese to perform a poem at the very organization that is partly responsible for her country’s colonial administration? Why is it that the United Nations gets a free pass in colonial and imperial matters? As an overseeing agency, internationally and utopically envisioned, the U.N. seems to be widely understood to be a benevolent association with the cleanest of records—holier than holy, sacred for its commitment to world peace and security. This is, in fact, only a partial truth. That the U.N. had a hand in the construction of that Trust relationship and held oversight in American colonial governance are ironies that should not go unnoticed. This is

a place where scholarly intervention can reframe how we view certain diplomatic organizations as part of the Manichaeic Cold War framing—as good, bad, holy, evil—that has yet to dissolve to this day.

As the long argument of my dissertation shows, I gravitate towards the messiness of colonialism, the non-binary formulations and articulations, the uncut and creased edges of imperial realities: an appeal to the UN to address climate change when that very organization gave the green light (or pass) in the U.S. takeover and desecration of islands; the fact that within a couple of generations, as in Kihleng’s poem, it is a Pohnpeian soldier who is fighting the War on Terror for Uncle Sam, and the notion that the narrator of the poem is sending the care package, mailing goods to a friend who is serving in Santa Claus’ war. The profoundest ironies are found in imperial state infrastructures of violence. The U.S. folds and interpellates its imperial subjects into the machinery of its own militarized empire in an all-consuming grotesque horror story.

This chapter presents my critical reading of literary texts in the shadow of official discourse and state archives that contend with competing historiography, narrative, and truth claims. This narrative begins with United States’ Trusteeship relationship, or a relationship of “trust” between itself and the islands. However, that trust meant many different things and was lopsided in its power relations, wherein the United States dictated the terms of postwar development, health, and longevity in multiple facets: politically, economically, environmentally, and biopolitically. “Trust,” then, became a mask for the benefits the U.S. received in this trusteeship. While the U.S. presented itself to the world as a savior and benevolent benefactor for Micronesians “orphaned” in the wake of Japanese colonialism and perceived to inhabit a stunted modernity, these “liberators” used the islands for the military

benefits and geopolitical advantages that turned the islands into a key asset for U.S. Cold War domination.²⁰⁹

“Trust” was built by the benevolence the U.S. bestowed on the islands in the form of financial development and aid policies. My research has shown that the form this benevolence took was in the guise of food aid, and it is this assistance that became a currency or touchstone in both state and literary documents. Indeed, benevolence is militarized through food. I find this evident throughout the continuous restaging of Operation Christmas Drop, where food is dropped as a token for islanders in an annual military ritual that reflects the trust/trusteeship relationship. Although not evident at first glance, the benevolence shown in Operation Christmas Drop is inextricably bound with militarism and colonialism. And as much as the United States criticizes other nations about whitewashing histories and striking things off the record, the U.S. is notorious at keeping the public in the dark on matters of colonial legacies, except when humanitarian aid is concerned, as the U.S. will stamp its name on gifts, especially its Christmas presents.²¹⁰

²⁰⁹ Much of this part builds off scholarship by Bruce Cumings, David Hanlon, Paul Lyons, Chris Connery, Odd Westad, and other scholars of Cold War of Asia and the Pacific Islands.

²¹⁰ This was critical to all PL 480 food aid, that it must be labeled as being from the U.S.

CHAPTER V

Hunger, Thirst, and the Biopolitical in Native Hawaiian Writing:

Capsizing American Cold War Benevolence

Since the nineteenth century, U.S. political rhetoric pertaining to the Hawaiian Islands reveals an undisguisable colonial desire. At the turn of the century in particular, discourse around Hawai‘i’s annexation and inclusion to the United States were redolent with themes of need as well as imperial longing. Regarding the Islands, President William McKinley once remarked to his cabinet secretary George Cortelyou: “We need Hawaii just as much and a good deal more than we did California. It is manifest destiny” (1898). As scholarly monographs and the queen’s own memoir has shown, the overthrow of Queen Liliuokalani in 1893 and the loss of the kingdom were widely misrepresented in news media and print circulations across the U.S. as well as in Hawai‘i.²¹¹ The underlying ideologies of literary and visual narrative are critical in this articulation of representation politics. For instance, historian Helen Chapin’s inaugural study on the role of newspapers in the shaping of Hawai‘i’s history reveal the complicit role of print culture in the political battleground of late nineteenth century Hawai‘i. In *Shaping History: The Role of Newspapers in Hawaii*, Chapin offers a genealogy of newspapers in the Islands, beginning with the missionary presses in Honolulu and Maui’s Lahainaluna Seminary to the struggle for print supremacy by the turn of the century in the circuit of secular presses. Her study discloses the tightly connected sphere of news publishers and their ties to notable figures in the

²¹¹ See, Lili‘uokalani’s *Hawaii’s Story by Hawaii’s Queen* (1898); Noenoe K. Silva’s *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (2004).

“Hawaiian League,” or the oligarchy, which deposed the Hawaiian nation in 1893.

In a visually striking representation of Hawai‘i in the drawing included below, we find a racialized, gendered, and capitalized representation of the Islands. This image was used as the cover art for the March 1893 issue of *Paradise of the Pacific*, a long-running publication that served as an unofficial “ambassador” of the Hawaiian Islands that aimed towards a highbrow readership off-island. Marketed as a travel directory and manual of sorts for readers curious about Hawai‘i, the journal-turned-magazine provided useful information about getting to and from Hawai‘i from the U.S. continent and served as a directory for places to stay and shop, while also offering ethnographic material that—while informative—narrated Hawai‘i and its cultures in exotically romantic ways. Commissioned by the notable nationalist monarch, King David Kalākaua, *Paradise of the Pacific* ran from 1888 to 1966 when it changed its name to *Honolulu Magazine*. In many ways, this publication corroborated a colonial agenda, once the political hands of power had shifted. These early issues provided sanitized information and romanticized imagery that circulated alongside various travel publications of the Islands, providing a steady stream of literary and factual tourism for the would-be visitor and settler.

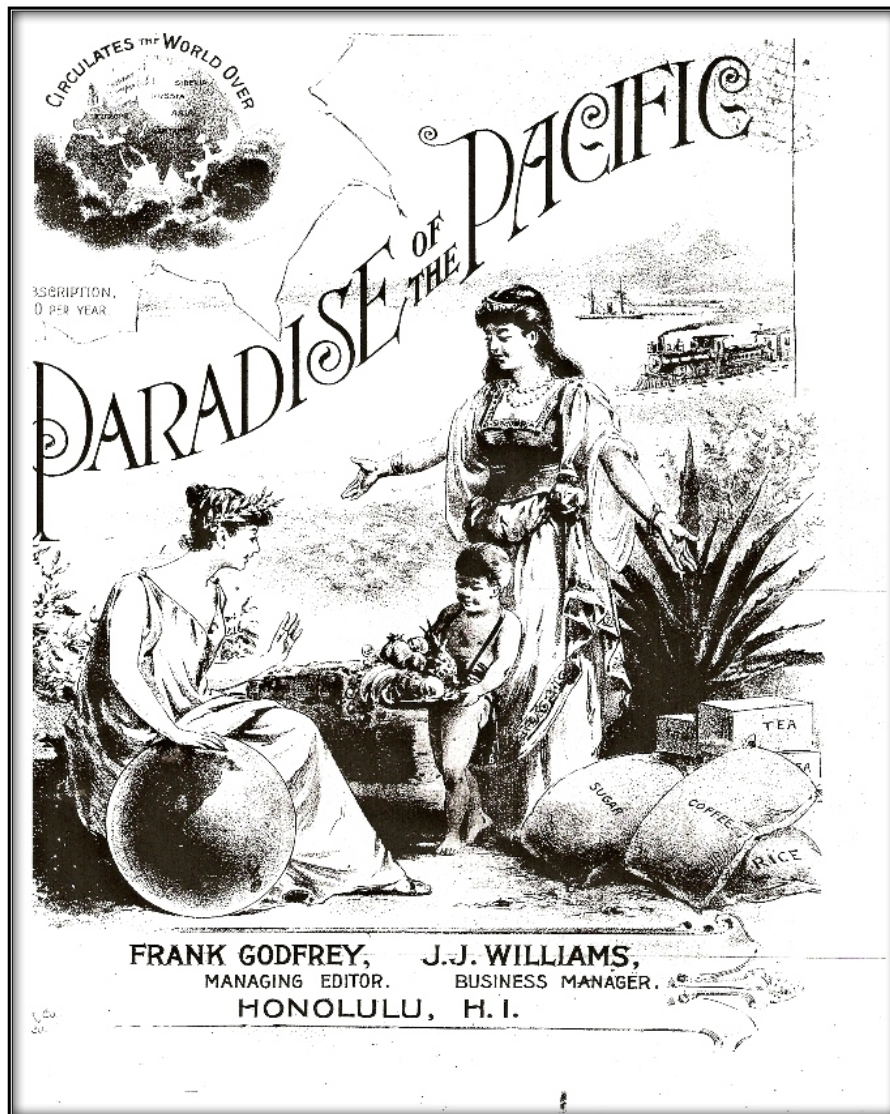


Figure 5.1 Cover art of *Paradise of the Pacific*. Date: March 1893

Here we find Hawai‘i imaged as an inviting place, a site of progress, modernization, and “ripe,” just as the fruits represented in the cover art, for political inclusion. There are two women, the one on the right with dark hair and open arms, presumably Hawaiian, extending her offerings towards the other, presumably white, woman, who rests her hand gently on a globe. Meanwhile a dark-haired child, read as Hawaiian, holds a basket of exotic fruits and presents an offering to the white woman, who with the Greco-Roman, neoclassic adornments and

laurel/wreath in her hair, stands in for western civilization and progress, i.e. the United States political body. The dark-haired, open-armed woman presents an Orientalized Hawaiian woman, her draped dark clothing resembling something out of stereotypical Euro-American representation of a harem, offering sacks of food. These foods that are offered are notably highly desired colonial commodities such as “coffee,” “sugar,” “rice,” and “tea” all non-native to the Islands—to a poised and steady white America. The ship at bay and the railroad in the background serve as *mise en scène* props indexing the progress, capitalist expansion and arrival of American modernity in Honolulu.

It should not be lost on the reader that 1893, marks the year of the overthrow, and this publication ran a mere two months since the Queen’s deposition. The message behind this gendered political image is that of a willing and compliant feminized land. The Pacific figures as an open-armed woman that welcomes white outsiders, unquestioningly receiving them and adopting them as her own. As a point of comparison, this representation of the Hawai‘i—as the site of paradise of the Pacific—mirrors the images of the American West gendered as female. Highlighting the historically gendered representations of land in the U.S. imaginary, feminist critic Annette Kolodny calls attention to the recurring idea of the land as “essentially feminine—that is, not simply the land as mother, but the land as woman,” with all the qualities of “Mother, Mistress, Virgin.”²¹² Anne McClintock in *Imperial Leather: Race Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest* has articulated this very clearly when she writes that “women served as the boundary markers of imperialism, the ambiguous mediators of what appeared to be—at least superficially—the predominantly male agon of empire.”²¹³ This phenomenon of feminizing land

²¹² Annette Kolodny, *The Lay of the Land: Metaphor as Experience and History in American Life and Letters*, 4, 150.

²¹³ Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest*, 24.

or terra incognita, reflects “from the outset, a strategy of violent containment.”²¹⁴ Hawai‘i in this scene is not only represented as a willing woman, as ripe fruit ready for the picking and political inclusion to the continental United States, but also Hawai‘i serves as a food paradise and commodity exporter of epic proportions. By the late nineteenth century, the sugar industry had grown so big and so profitable that this era was signaled by the common phrase “Sugar is King.” More than any other commodity, sugar became the greatest catalyst for change in the islands from the 1860s to the turn of the century. With the whaling and sandalwood trade’s boom years behind in the early nineteenth century, the future of the island’s prosperity was seen to lie in agricultural production, from sugar and then eventually to pineapple.²¹⁵ As Mark Twain heralded in his 1866 writings for the *Sacramento Union*, Hawai‘i was positioned to become the new satellite sugar colony for the United States, to supplant the American South.²¹⁶

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ for a great article on pineapple, see: Laura E. Lyon’s “Dole, Hawai‘i, and the Question of Land Under Globalization.” In *Cultural Critique and the Global Corporation*, edited by Purnima Bose, Laura E. Lyons and Christopher Newfield, 64-101: Indiana UP.

²¹⁶ Hawai‘i’s critical role in supplying sugar to its American neighbors during the Civil War, for instance, highlighted the profitability and desirability of these islands lands for both American capitalists in Hawai‘i and those on the continent.



Figure 5.2 1923 *Los Angeles Times* Puff Piece by Lorrin Thurston touting the Abundance of Agriculture, Food, and Industry in Hawaii.

The idea of Hawai‘i as a food paradise has been consistent with marketing of the islands for outside visitors and serves as an underscored point of pleasure for tourism. Exotic foods—fruits, vegetables, and nuts—and the marketing of these serve as flashpoints even three decades later in 1923, in another major print publication, the *Los Angeles Times*. Presented in a similar fashion, a drawn image of Hawai‘i underscores the natural beauty, harvest, and again the modernity of the islands. “Industry,” “Progress,” “Shipping,” “Climate,” “Agriculture” are highlighted, as well as the words and image of a “Sugar Mill”. A basket of produce, amidst fauna and drawn waters, showcase nature’s blessings in the Islands for travelers and would-be

investors. Lorrin Thurston's name alone suggests a mucky colonial invocation, as he was one of the main combatants in the overthrow and deposing of the sovereign Native Hawaiian nation.²¹⁷

In a twist of irony, Hawai'i is now a large importer of food, rather than an exporter, despite its great natural resources of soil, water, and year-round growing capabilities. Much of this is due to the development of certain economies at the expense of agricultural dedication. From 1960-2005, agricultural lands in the state have shrunk from 2.6 to 1.3 million acres. The dedication to building the tourist industry, construction and urban development, alongside military development and acquisition of public lands have plagued agricultural and sustainability issues in Hawai'i. Scholars such as Kyle Kajihiro, Vernadette Gonzalez, Kathy E. Ferguson and Phyllis Turnbull have traced the hold of military acquisitions of large tracts of land.²¹⁸ Today, Hawai'i has numerous bases and serves as the home of U.S. Pacific Command (USPACOM), whose website states it protects and defends the U.S., its territories, allies, partners, and "promotes regional security and deters aggression..." and, "is prepared to respond to the full spectrum of military contingencies to restore Asia-Pacific stability and security." U.S. Pacific Command encompasses oversight ranging from India to Antarctica.²¹⁹

My research from the second chapter on food aid uncovered the intimately bound links between food surplus and American Cold War benevolence. I have shown that it is no coincidence that technologies of American agriculture from the Eisenhower era influenced farm

²¹⁷ In her memoir *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen*, Lili'uokalani chronicles that story the of the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in January in 1893, an illegal coup d'état aided and abetted by the help of U.S. marines from Pearl Harbor. The tensions between her and the mostly white American cabinet members, the majority of whom belonged to a political elite with ties to the sugar industry. This group of men went on to form a coalition, calling themselves the Hawaiian League that championed anti-royalist Republicanism and annexation to the United States all couched within a progressive rhetoric of independence from a purportedly "savage" monarchy. For this history, see *Hawaii's Story* and also Noenoe Silva's *Aloha Betrayed*.

²¹⁸ See Vernadette Gonzalez's *Securing Paradise: Tourism And Militarism In Hawai'i And the Philippines*, Kyle Kajihiro's "Resisting Militarization in Hawai'i" from *Bases of Empire*, and Kathy E. Ferguson and Phyllis Turnbull's *Oh, Say, Can You See?: The Semiotics of the Military in Hawai'i*.

²¹⁹ <http://www.pacom.mil/>

management, crop production, and the management of its bounty as American foreign aid, through the PL 480 and PL 875 pipelines and that in turn, these legislative measures have had an indelible impact on indigenous food culture, international relations, and colonial leverage in Korea and Micronesia. This fifth and final chapter examines the biopolitics of the Cold War American inclusion of Hawai'i into the nation through policies of benevolence and incorporation into the union. The cultural and literary expression by Native Hawaiian writers challenge the narrative of benevolence, revealing the underbelly of American largesse and generosity as a hallow rhetoric. The representational divide between mainstream national publications and indigenous cultural forms as well as the archives and these lived realities, underscore the hunger left in the wake of American security and abundance.

I examine how Cold War discourses and biopolitics shape the interlocking articulations of indigeneity, sovereignty, and food in literary and cultural productions by Native Hawaiian artists, scholars, and activists. I analyze the works of Wayne Westlake's Waikiki poems, Haunani K. Trask's poetry, and Alani Apio staged performance *Kamau*, as these literary works challenge narratives of Hawai'i as an uncorrupted paradise through the harsh living conditions in a state overrun by the tourist and military industries in the wake of statehood. I follow figurations of hunger in their works, arguing that it serves as a critical trope that links up with larger critiques infrastructures of colonial power. Whether it is the practice of eating a meal, the matter of putting "food on the table," or the question of food security in the islands, the cluster of concerns around food politics in their work underscores the role that hunger plays in the telling of an alternative narrative of state discourses and popular culture. Hunger serves as a dominant theme in these cultural expressions, indexing not only a literal hunger, but a desire that cannot be quenched.

Far from a mere trope, hunger also serves as a site of analysis and an optic of critique, which provides a lens through which to view dire life and death colonial conditions and biopolitics in the context of Hawai‘i. I employ the concept of biopower by way of Michel Foucault, as his articulations of power expand upon the concept of a sovereign who dictates “the right to take life or let live.”²²⁰ Power is also constituted by the ability to administer, control, subject, and regulate life and populations.²²¹ Bound with war and the technologies of war, the biopower of the Cold War or the “atomic age” is what Foucault calls “the power over life,” which involves not just who gets to live and who gets to die but the health or discipline of the body, the “*anatomo-politics* of the human body and the *regulatory controls: a biopolitics of the population*.”²²² Indeed, it includes issues such as “birthrate, longevity, public health, housing, and migration.”²²³ I find Foucault’s work particularly useful because it lays bare the workings of power over life and death and the power in our current colonial present. Surveying representational literary hungers offers a way to recast and reevaluate American benevolence in Hawai‘i and beyond. However, as critics have noted, Foucault’s theorization of power has left little in terms of clarity regarding agency and resistance.²²⁴ In what ways can powers be resisted, undermined, and reframed?

While Hawai‘i’s statehood was touted to the outside world as a celebratory event of U.S. multiculturalism and diversity—critical to the story of the liberal Cold War narrative—many scholars have shown how this move cemented Hawai‘i’s colonial relationship with the United States at the expense of Hawaiian sovereignty. Scholars such as Haunani Kay Trask, Noel J.

²²⁰ Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 136.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, 137.

²²² *Ibid.*, 139.

²²³ *Ibid.*, 140.

²²⁴ Hardt and Negri, *Commonwealth* (2009), 56-63.

Kent, Dean Saranillio, and Angela Krattiger have articulated how Hawai‘i’s new status of statehood created an even tighter bond with the United States in its new political inclusion, but at the same time this status only deepened its colonial dependence on its benefactor—deepening rather than altering the colonial relationship. Economic development and the rise of the tourist industry shaped the postwar landscape of the Islands, where a reliance economic industry and capital came from outside forces.

The writings I focus on in this chapter come after statehood (post-1959), a period of global Cold War concerns marked by a dynamic of communist fears and anticommunist policies, obsession with national and global security and its conjunction with military defense investments, and the simultaneous push for Pax Americana in Asia and the Pacific Islands, with Hawai‘i serving as a linchpin for national security in the region. Specifically, the writers I feature in this chapter are indigenous Native Hawaiian authors who write with a politically critical view of U.S.-Hawaii relations.

Survival in Waikiki: Westlake Poems

Born in 1946 on the island of Maui and educated on Oahu, Wayne Kaumualii Westlake was one of the most prolific Native Hawaiian poets of the twentieth century. Born right after the close of WWII at the onset of the Cold War, Westlake witnessed Hawai‘i’s transition from an American territory to a state, an event he lamented. A critic of U.S. colonial meddling at home and abroad, he applied for (and received) conscientious objector status when he was drafted for the Vietnam War. He went on to become a staunch critic of U.S. military testing in the Hawaiian Islands. As a student, Westlake wrote prolifically while also working blue-collar jobs in

janitorial work and construction.²²⁵ By 1975, he was participating in many poetry readings and collaborating in a poetry-in-the-schools project throughout Honolulu. Active in the arts, Westlake, along with colleague and fellow writer Richard Hamasaki, went on to cofound the first literature course in ethnic studies at the University of Hawaii-Mānoa that centered on the literature of Hawai‘i by local and indigenous authors.

Westlake was an advocate of Hawaiian sovereignty, that is of Hawai‘i and Hawaiians having sovereign status in relation to the United States, and his writings and activism reflected this politics. Most significantly, in the mid-1970s, he became active in Native Hawaiian land struggles against U.S. military testing, particularly with the Protect Kahoolawe Ohana (or, PKO), an organization that laid the foundational arguments against the United States Navy’s desecration of the island just off of Maui. One of Westlake’s most significant findings and contributions was the discovery of Hawaiian petroglyphs on Kahoolawe, indexing the sacredness of the island as a site of ancient Hawaiian civilization and culture—a key point in arguing against the U.S. military’s continued bombing of the island for target practice, which had been going on since WWII.²²⁶

Among Westlake’s works, I have chosen to spotlight a few of his Waikiki poems, collected as “Down on the Sidewalk in Waikiki (1972-73).”²²⁷ These poems previously published in the small Hawai‘i literary publication *Ramrod* in 1980.²²⁸ Unlike the beaches and beauty we see in popular culture depictions of Waikiki, Westlake’s poems convey a sense of the

²²⁵ He left the islands in the 1960s to study at the University of Oregon, only to drop out and later re-enroll at the University of Hawai‘i, in the early 1970s, pursuing a degree in Chinese studies.

²²⁶ See preface/bio of *Westlake* in *Westlake Poems*, edited by Hamasaki and Siy.

²²⁷ 1971-2 or 1972-3; the anthology and bibliography cite two different dates.

²²⁸ Published in 1980, *Ramrod* (p. 270); While he translated ancient Taoist Chinese poems, nineteenth century Japanese haikus, as well as published in small presses throughout the islands and on the continent, only a single chapbook was published by the time of his death—and by a small press at that. His works were only anthologized and compiled in 2009, by his widow Mei-Li M. Siy and friend/collaborator Richard Hamasaki through the University of Hawai‘i Press, making his writings finally readily available.

desperation and the depravity of working in the tourist economy. As a janitor, he is literally cleaning feces, mopping blood, and wiping away grime. He reveals the dirt and squalor that is part and parcel of such an economy. He engages in this line of work for survival.

Waikiki is shown as a site of capitalist exchange devoid of meaningful human connections, a place where above all, money trumps everything. In the poem, “The Name of the Game,” the message could not be clearer. The poem opens with the speaker, Westlake/the janitor, smelling blood, and ends with a scene of being paid ten dollars to clean up the mess. A vignette from the poem conveys the scene of desperation:

THE NAME OF THE GAME
IS PROFIT!
down on the sidewalk
in waikiki:
crazy guy all doped up
went right thru the
plateglass window
hungry, starving
for some BREAD

didn't find anything²²⁹

There are no markers of vacation bliss and island paradise. Instead we see death, a flash of a man high on drugs, and a reference to hunger with the words “hungry, starving,” closing with the image of bread. The line “The name of the game is profit” is repeated twice in the poem, highlighting that “the game” is capitalism. In contemporary Hawai‘i, in this capitalist economy, labor is exchanged for capital, which has become required for the acquisition of food. I view the description of the crazy guy as “hungry,” “starving for some bread,” and not being able to find any as significant. However, this formula of exchange produces imbalances, inequalities, and uneven distributions of wealth between those who produce and save capital and those who do not

²²⁹ Westlake, 143.

or cannot, between those who are able-bodied and able to labor and those who cannot, or choose not to do so. This is widely apparent if one even so much as walks around Waikiki. With Westlake's work, we find the gritty details cementing the image of such a scene.²³⁰ The poem concludes THE NAME OF THE GAME:

the janitor, i took it
out of my mind
and went straight to a place
called HELL
and spent it...²³¹

Ten dollars will only be spent and needed again tomorrow, to pay for other bills and life expenses. This cycle of labor, payment, and endless Sisyphean repetition presents a struggle for survival in Waikiki. Throughout this poem, we find recurring themes of struggle, hunger, and the enervation of a dead-end capitalist culture that ensconces Waikiki. We also find discrepancies of wealth between visitors and Native workers, juxtapositions of stark realities between hotels and homeless. The narrator cleans up after the affluent and mobile tourists, stuck in a tourist economy as one who literally maintains cleanliness by wiping the blood from the scene.

From scenes of loneliness to alienation amongst crowds of people, hunger to largesse and gluttony, Waikiki—like the idea of Hawai'i as a militarized paradise—is the epitome of contradictions. In another Waikiki poem, "Cracked," the speaker/Westlake refers again to that insatiable "Monster, Waikiki," a site from which he must flee.²³² Wayne Westlake's poem "The Devil of My Life" reflects frustration of the narrator and gives voice to the struggles of living in Hawai'i. As represented here, living in Hawai'i and working in Waikiki is no vacation, but an uphill battle, requiring vigilance in the face of a seemingly daily moral annihilation:

²³⁰ See David Harvey's *The New Imperialism* and Ellen Meiksins Wood's *Empire of Capital* for literature on capitalism breeding inequality.

²³¹ Westlake, 145.

²³² *Ibid.*, 148.

got an expensive
habit to
 maintain
you know,
something
 called Life

so i have to
go to
 work every day
down on the sidewalk
 in Waikiki:

like a young punk monkey
facing a giant ape
every morning
i face off Waikiki

and when i meet
that Joe Paradise
in the heart of
the concrete jungle
I'LL SPIT
IN HIS FACE!

giant monster
sick and evil
WAIKIKI
i never win
leave there
every morning
SCREAMING
 RUNNING
the Devil of my Life
 hungry again
snapping
 at my heels!

These confrontations with Waikiki leave the narrator of this poem feeling frustrated, angry, and a
“giant monster... hungry again.”²³³ More than a battle, life in Hawai‘i is shown to require

²³³ Ibid., 162.

negotiations with one's self, at the expense of respect and dignity, in order to accomplish nothing more than the proverbial paying of bills under capitalism's wheel. Moreover, it is a poem about survival in a difficult place.

The reader can imagine the vicious cycle as represented in "The Devil of My Life," or the idea that one needs to make a living, i.e. to make money, to go on living. While this capitalist formula can be seen on the one hand to make sense; on the other, one wonders how this dead-end job could ever satiate any internal, spiritual hunger? Or in other words, one could ask what *kind* of hunger *is* satiated in such a scenario? Westlake invokes hunger in multiple ways throughout the poems collected under "Down on the Sidewalk in Waikiki (1972-73)." Hunger figures as the narrator who is hungry, as the monster/devil who hungers after his life, as emblematic of the recurring cycle of consumption and destruction—of hunger and pacification—the endless feeding upon and engulfing of empire (made) manifest. The reference to "The Devil of my Life" which is "hungry again," even reads like an analogy to a drug or a bookie in the context of a gambling addiction, a black hole continuously sucking surrounding matter into a void of eternal bankruptcy and debt.

Westlake's gritty, street-wise persona here sounds as if he were living in an urban space such as Los Angeles or New York. The scene, therefore, can be jarring for readers who think of Waikiki as a beach of white sand and beautiful turquoise waters, the stock image of many a Hawai'i postcard. What then accounts for this visual/imaginary gap between the hungry monster and the paradise beach get-away? Travel brochures and tourism bureaus only show the glossy images of a place, emptied of the social and political realities for locals and indigenous communities who call a place home. The Hawaiian Islands are no exception to this, as dominant representations typically showcase a slideshow of beautiful beaches, luxury hotels, lush green

landscape, and even bikini-clad women. Native Hawaiians, if depicted at all, are often projected in a sepia glow of the past or in an act of culturally commodified performance, such as with Native Hawaiian women dancing the hula.

In the realm of contemporary popular culture, there has been a constant stream of televisual and filmic representations of the islands that cast it as a place for rest and relaxation for soldiers and itinerant travelers—as a multicultural paradise. These films and TV programs present the islands as a getaway for excitement, typically for white male protagonists. Cultural productions that circulate such a narrative include the following: Elvis' *Blue Hawaii* (1961), *Hawaii Five-O* (1962-80) and its CBS *reboot Hawaii Five-O* (2010-present), *Magnum PI* (1980-88), *Fifty First Dates* (2004), *Forgetting Sarah Marshall* (2008), *Just Go With It* (2011), *The Descendants* (2011), and *Aloha* (2015). Many of these “getaway movies” and military heroism films elide the historical specificity of Hawaii's colonial history and, at times, even distort events for a national narrative of triumph, Michael Bay's 2001 film, *Pearl Harbor* being a prime offender.

These filmic and televisual representations portray Hawai'i not only as a site of adventure, escape, and excitement but also as a multiracial melting pot with Native Hawaiians serving as non-threatening, assimilated, or *en route* to being assimilable subjects of American governance—both reflecting the promise of American democracy. Among these media portrayals are rarely tales of horrid social conditions and insights into a history of genocide and colonial conquest. And these images and imaginings are merely a continuation of imperial representations of the islands dating back centuries, as dominant literary representations have also been projected by white male travel writers, beginning with English navigator Captain James Cook.

Native Hawaiians have a rich tradition of literary and oral storytelling that goes back before the arrival of westerners such as Cook (1778) or the advent of print culture with the arrival of American missionaries (1820). In fact, Kānaka Maoli writing and oratory was forged through chants, songs, poetry, and other indigenous historical and literary genres, passed down for generations before Captain Cook ever “discovered” the islands for western trade.²³⁴ And yet, the pens and sketches of itinerant and mostly male and white travelers have been *the* lens through which literary and visual forms have been accessed for centuries—through travel journals, missionary letters, and magazine publications circulating the world. For instance, when American audiences think of the Pacific in the nineteenth century, canonical American literary names like Herman Melville, Mark Twain, Robert Louis Stevenson, Jack London, and even Charles Warren Stoddard come to mind—all travel writers who spent considerable time in Hawai‘i. One can say that their American-ness, and literary canonization, were indebted to their Pacific travels and observations.

As for Cold War fiction set in the Pacific Islands, one of the most widely recognized writers is James A. Michener, author of such notable works *Tales of the South Pacific* (1947) and *Hawaii* (1959), the latter publication coinciding with the Islands’ admission into the union. In tandem, scholars such as A. Grove Day were integral in lionizing authors traversing the Pacific and even canonizing them under the category of “Pacific literature.”²³⁵ As American and literary studies scholars Christina Klein, Paul Lyons, and Rob Wilson have incisively noted in their works on Cold War cultural productions and representations of the Pacific, Hawai‘i has been cast as a site of exceptional racial harmony during the years following World War II as well as

²³⁴ Kanaka Maoli is used in this dissertation interchangeably with Native Hawaiian.

²³⁵ For these literary criticisms and historiography, I am indebted to scholars Rob J. Wilson, Susan Najita, Paul Lyons, Vilsoni Hereniko, Epeli Hau‘ofa, as well as Paul Sharrad and Elizabeth DeLoughrey.

throughout the Cold War. Christina Klein notes that “Hawaii proliferated throughout popular culture in travel essays, advertisements, and movies,” contributing to “the postwar fascination with all things Polynesian”²³⁶). For instance, in Midwest the Tiki craze was all the rage in places such as the Midwest, where tropical island theme lounges proliferated.²³⁷ American studies scholar Angela S. Krattiger, argues that culture served a critical role in constructing the contradictory narrative of Hawai‘i being a site of both anti-imperialism and military occupation.”²³⁸

Wayne Westlake’s poetics then reflect a stark contrast to American popular representations of Hawai‘i, showing a critique, rather, of the dire social and life conditions for Native Hawaiians in the wake of statehood engendered by U.S. colonial structures such as tourism, militarism, and the Pax Americana of the Cold War political. These poetics present a critical commentary on life in Hawai‘i under American benevolence, revealing the labor and violence that ensued with economies of tourism, militarism, and statehood. Furthermore, the gendered labor economies shown in Waikiki’s tourism—with Native men serving janitorial roles and women serving as visual spectacle—challenge Cold War discourse of U.S. benevolence, saviorhood, and rescue, in turn, resignifying the relationship between these two political entities.

Gender and Colonialism in Haunani-Kay Trask Poetry—1980s, 1990

Wayne Westlake’s less-than-appetizing depictions of Waikiki are echoed in the works of like-minded activist, scholar, and poet Haunani-Kay Trask. In select entries from *Light in a*

²³⁶ Klein, 245.

²³⁷For my exposure to this phenomenon, I am indebted to Kiri Sailiata.

²³⁸ Krattiger, *Hawaii’s Cold War: American Empire and the 50th State*, 31-32.

Crevice Never Seen (1999), Trask portrays Native Hawaiians as being a significant component of the tourist industry, albeit at their own gendered and sexualized expense. Instead of men working as janitors, women are spotlighted as cultural performers, dancing for Kodak hula shows and showcasing a commodified version of the Native Hawaiian dance.²³⁹ Seeing it as a form of cultural prostitution, she critiques the gendered and sexualized labor Native women perform while also highlighting the colonial violence in consuming such images. Her critique spotlights how Native women's bodies are consumed in various ways—culturally, visually—while they work jobs to survive. Both Westlake and Trask write about Waikiki and the role of Hawaiians in the tourist economy. Trask's poems portray vivid imagery of hunger and an insatiable thirst that come with living under the conditions of empire.

Haunani-Kay Trask is considered a critical voice within anti-colonial struggles (for indigenous self-determination) as well as a heroine of radical scholarship in Hawai'i and in both Native Studies and American Studies. A proponent of Native Hawaiian sovereignty and decolonization, she helped shift dialogues of colonialism in the 1990s and 2000s and helped bring international attention to the colonial plight of Native Hawaiians within a context of neocolonial and settler relations. Her appeal and work with the United Nations brought further recognition to the status of indigenous Hawaiians on an international platform of Native rights. Her writings and activism span decades from the 1970s-now and her critical indigenous and feminist scholarship provides incisive critiques of the gendered and colonial performativity nexus of the tourist and colonial economy of Waikiki.

²³⁹ Although not all hula forms are sacred. See Amy Ku'uleialoha Stillman, "The Hawaiian hula and legacies of institutionalization," *Comparative American Studies An International Journal*, 5:2, 221-234, July 18 2013.

Trask's poems address concerns of "cultural prostitution," which she theorizes in her critical writings, specifically that of Hawaiians in the service and tourist industry who "clean their rooms, sell them artifacts, and smile for a living."²⁴⁰ In the chapter "Lovely Hula Hands: Corporate Tourism and the Prostitution of Hawaiian Culture" in *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i*, Trask blasts corporate tourism that entices indigenous peoples to work against their own political interests in the service of colonial structures. She links historical representations of Hawai'i as the figuratively feminine Native woman for outsider consumption and conquest, not unlike like the image I examined at the beginning of this chapter. Hawai'i, like a lovely woman, is there for the taking."²⁴¹

A recurring theme, throughout both her scholarly and literary work is the importance of land. The word for land, 'āina, which translates as "that which feeds," is a critical issue within discussions of sovereignty and decolonization. The loss of land by U.S. colonial annexation, military takeover of the crown lands, and the rise of fee simple privatization land tenure routed from the nineteenth century, serve as key points in the history of native dispossession—that of land and resources.²⁴² 'Āina is also central to Hawaiian epistemology and understanding of the world. This word also invokes the act of feeding and nourishment, the land feeding people. In the *Kumulipo*, the genealogical chant of the Hawaiian creation story that tells of the origins of the

²⁴⁰ Trask, *From a Native Daughter*, 106.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 136-7, 144.

²⁴² As historian Lilikalā Kame'eiehiwa articulates in *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, the Māhele, or "the division" as it is translated, of 1848 was the event that "transformed the traditional Land system [in Hawai'i] from one of communal tenure to private ownership on the capitalist model" (Kame'eiehiwa 8). Or, to put it more simply, the Māhele was the start of dividing and offering fee simple lands in Hawai'i, offering foreigners the opportunity to purchase large tracts for commercial and agricultural use. The magnitude of this event cannot be emphasized enough. With the Māhele came great disadvantages of large scale dispossession for Native Hawaiians. Whereas in the traditional communal land tenure system, Native Hawaiians of different classes from the ali'i (the chiefs) to the maka'āinana worked as stewards of the land, the transition to a capitalist mode of land tenure transformed the fabric of everyday lives for all living in the islands, yielding more power and an imbalance that largely benefited American planters and business, particularly in sugar and pineapple.

universe, Hawaiians are descendants of the taro plant it being the first-born child of Wākea, sky father. The relationship of this husbandry between people, land, and food within Hawaiian linguistics and epistemology is interwoven and inextricable. However, as seen in these contemporary poetic articulations, land has shifted from a source of food to now a capitalist-defined source of money and resource extraction. Land has become real estate, hotel rooms, and a tourist trap, with the employment scene overrun by tourism.

In Trask's poem "Waikiki," we find juxtapositions of savory food with spiritual hungering alongside sights of toilets flushing, taro gardens, and STDs:

all those 5 gallon
toilets flushing
away tourist waste
into our waters

Waikīkī home
of *ali'i*
sewer center
of Hawai'i

8 billion dollar
beach secret
rendezvous for
pimps

Hong Kong hoodlums
Japanese capitalists
haole punkers

condo units
of disease
drug traffic
child porn

AIDS herpes
Old fashioned
syphilis
gangland murder

gifts of industrial

culture for primitive
island people
in need

of uplift discipline
complexity sense
of a larger world
beyond

their careful *taro*
gardens chiefly
politics, lowly
gods

Waikīkī: exemplar
of western ingenuity
standing guard against

the sex life
of savages

the onslaught of barbarians

There are two images that I want to bring the reader's attention to in this poem, in the opening stanza and the closing stanza. The poem opens with a reference to toilets flushing image of tourist excrement, a sea of sewage channeling out into the Pacific waters. It then goes on to describe all the dirty and disgusting things that happen in the high-rise condominiums that merit the term "sewage" and moral decrepitude. The sound of five-gallon toilets invoke the dispelling of human waste, the digested matter flushing throughout the pipelines and the industrial waterways out of Waikiki. Whereas the shadow of hunger proved the specter in Westlake's Waikiki poems, here we see the opposite is true—that of revolt and nausea. There is a distaste and a disgust in this scene. The poem ends with a reference to savages and barbarians, terms often used as a placeholder for indigenous peoples in colonial writings of the wild frontier. Here, however, they are evoked in a reversal—as references to the visitors or tourists who come to

Waikiki and participate in the scene of violence, sexual deviancy, and sewage of tourism's underbelly.

Waikiki, "home of ali'i," references the cultural importance of Waikiki before it became a tourist spot. Invoking a far-reaching history of the site of Waikiki; aside from being a U.S. military hotspot and a tourist avenue, it used to be a place for Native Hawaiian royalty. And prior to that, it also functioned as a taro patch and fishing pond for food cultivation. Waikiki translates as "spouting waters," which references the streams and irrigation network of waterways that once thrived in the area. The invocation to rich cultural past with royal significance juxtaposed to "sewer center" serves as a jarring image of dissonance.

As in Westlake's writing, there is an undercurrent of thirst and hunger, as well as disgust, in Trask's poems that goes beyond the physical. The hunger, for Kaho'olawe, a sacred island which the U.S. military used as a prime testing site beginning in WWII. In Trask's work, Native Hawaiians are presented as craving not simply food, or "the fish and buttered clams" served at tourist spots, but as seeking a spiritual nourishment—having a need to reclaim the 'āina, specifically Kaho'olawe.

In the poem "Thirst," the Native sovereignty struggle for political self-determination and protest come to the fore because it is directed at Kaho'olawe, the famous sight of protest and struggle against the U.S. military from the 1970s, 80s, and 90s.²⁴³ In "Thirst," note the aridness, the heat, and the thirst from a parching sun:

for Kaho'olawe

²⁴³ For PKO scholarship and Westlake's important contribution to Kaho'olawe history, see the papers of George Helm, Dina El Dessouky's "Indigenous Articulations of Identity and Island Place in Contemporary Kanaka Maoli and Ma'ohi Literatures" (UC Santa Cruz, PhD dissertation, 2012), and also the PKO website. <http://www.protectkahoolaweohana.org>

barrenness enters
a wooden lance
splitting sheathes
with the hardened
gleam of lust

we are parching
in the glare
our kernels grizzled
by a strutting sun

we are combustible

This poem lays testament to the intersection of metaphoric hunger with real hunger, to the presence of spiritual and physical thirst within an arid island made infertile by militarized force.²⁴⁴ Here we find the image of barrenness—of lifeless-ness, infertility—followed by a wooden sword breaking through a casing. The desiccation by both sun and man-made violence offers critical commentary on what transpired on Kahoolawe and the subsequent activism of Native Hawaiians in the 1970s and 1980s (which Trask and Westlake were active in). This was one of the most significant political actions taken by Native Hawaiian activists in the twentieth century to protest U.S. military testing. The continuous bombing of the island since World War II, an island deemed sacred to Native Hawaiians, yet one seen as vilifiable through continuous bombings in the fight for Cold War military readiness, Kaho‘olawe presents a site of reclamation from the U.S. military’s and governmental dispossession.

The hunger of Westlake’s 1970s Waikiki speaks intertextually to invocations in Trask’s Waikiki poems of the 1990s. The trope of hunger reveals the connective living conditions for many Native Hawaiians within Waikiki, which often symbolizes a catchall for the imbrication of tourism, militarism, and capitalist exploitation where Native labor and images of compliant

²⁴⁴Trask, *Light in a Crevice Never Seen*, 47.

Natives are central to the success of Waikiki as a tourist destination. Trask's poetics gesture to how sustainability was once a way of life—that land stewardship was interwoven with the philosophy of being a commoner, that land and person with intricately define in and in relation with the other. The word for person or commoner, *maka'āinana*, means “people who attend the land.”²⁴⁵ The story of self-sustainability has roots separate from and not wholly reliant on imperial dependency.

What Does It Mean to Be Hungry? *Kāmau* and *Kāmau A'e*

In Alani Apio's two plays, *Kāmau* (1994) and its sequel *Kāmau A'e* (1998), readers catch a glimpse of the life of a Hawaiian family trying to survive on Oahu. The main character, Alika Kealoha, works at a tour company and serves as a guide to mainland tourists providing textbook history of Hawai'i that elides any colonial violence and story of dispossession. His cousin, Michael Kawaipono Mahekona, is a fisherman, and serves as a contrast to Alika. Michael fishes in the family's ancestral fish pond behind Alika's home, where they raise their niece “Stevie,” in place of her father, cousin George, who has committed suicide. In my reading, the primary tension within the story is that the Kealoha and Mahekona men are at odds about how to “put food on the table.”

Alika, the main breadwinner, sees making a living giving tours to mainland tourists as the avenue to social and economic survival. However, he is viewed by his cousin Michael as not “getting” the bigger picture. Michael also wants to put food on the table, but by maintaining access to their family's fishing pond. The parable of “give a man a fish and feed him for a day, or

²⁴⁵ Pukui and H. Elbert, *New Pocket Hawaiian Dictionary*, 90.

teach a man to fish and feed him for a lifetime,” is suggested throughout this narrative and its sequel. The spirit of Alika’s deceased mother visits him and echoes the message: “If I teach you to fish it won’t feed you for a lifetime—We don’t live in that world anymore. You need to know how to live in this world.”²⁴⁶ Meanwhile, the sustainability of Michael’s vision is also thwarted by the acquisition of the family’s fishing pond by the major hotel that employs Alika, an act that puts their differing worldviews regarding nourishment at odds.

In a scene where Michael speaks directly to Alika about not leaving the house or fishing beach despite the hotel corporation’s wishes, he outlines why staying is so important:

‘Lika-boy, us Hawaiians, we been fishing in deese watas fo’ how many centries. All youa kupunas, all da people dat made you, dey all lived and breed chru da ocean. We came hea on da ocean. When you in da ocean, you wit’ youa ‘ohana. Whea we get ouwa food from? And’ ouwa parents—how dey wen feed demselves? And ouwa parents’ parents? An’ all ouwa ‘ohana right down da mo‘o’s back from when da mo‘o’s firs when climb onto da lan’ ...²⁴⁷

Here, Michael traces the ocean as the provider for all that sustains life. Not just their parents, but their grandparents, elders, and teachers, for generations all the way back to the beginning of evolution (when the mo‘o, or lizard) stepped onto dry land.

Both Alika and Michael have a burden to carry. The title of the play, *Kāmau*, means to carry on or carry the burden forward, and each has a different burden.²⁴⁸ In the sequel, *Kāmau A‘e*, we see the continuation of the two men’s tensions over how to carry on the burden. Michael’s burden is to continue the tradition of fishing and protecting the family’s fishing shrine (their ko‘a), as well as to maintain cultural pride through acts of resistance to corporate development and colonial erasure. Indeed, in the sequel he even befriends people in a

²⁴⁶ Apio, *Kāmau*, 20.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., 31. The dialogue is written in pidgin, or Hawaii creole English (HCE). For scholarship on “pid-lit,” see Joe Balaz, Rodney Morales, Richard Hamasaki, and Susan Najita.

²⁴⁸ *Kāmau A‘e*, means “carrying on,” as translated in the text by Apio, 3.

sovereignty organization.²⁴⁹ Echoing a similar dialogue between Michael and Alika, we find Michael raising the point once again that hunger cannot be satiated with the kind of labor Alika is doing: “Dat (pointing to the Hotel) may put food on youa tables now, but it don’t feed ouwa souls—it pits us one against another.”²⁵⁰

While these plays by Apio index a critique of tourism, albeit in a very nuanced way through the staging of critical dialogue between two equally passionate characters. Apio renders Alika’s decisions as navigating his own brand of biopolitical survival, rather than showcasing his actions as “sellout” moves. Is working as a tour guide any less Hawaiian than working the lo‘i or fighting for access to the family’s fishing pond? And Michael’s honorable actions of protecting family land—their beach, their fishing pond—only garners more sympathy as he is criminally punished for his actions. The setting of Waikiki and stage of a tour bus provide for a powerful tour de force when seeing the finale of Alika returning to work for the tour company. Literary critic and scholar Paul Lyons notes that “Hawaiian writers are often drawn to forms of antitourism,” or “counter-narration” as a way of seeking *pono* or balance within a context of colonialism and a representative history of Pacific orientalism.²⁵¹ These are themes being fleshed out and articulated in Apio’s plays.

Alika does not want to fish. He longs for trips to Las Vegas and wants to send his niece (and hānai daughter) Stevie to a mainland college; he likes being Hawaiian and American and expresses a love for Big Macs. While Michael, a fisherman, having been incarcerated for nine years between *Kāmau* and *Kāmau A’e*, is still so thirsty and hungry for a more spiritual nourishment that a 9-5 job cannot provide him. He wants to reconnect with his family’s fishing

²⁴⁹ *Kāmau A’e* 26.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 60.

²⁵¹ Paul Lyons, *American Pacificism*, 191.

pond, to plant some kalo in a lo‘i, and be challenged in a way that his tūtū taught him. He craves kūlolo (taro coconut pudding) over McDonald’s. The food cravings associated with each character reflect their dreams and aspirations. Invocations to food and feeding are strewn through these two plays: Alika just wants to feed his remaining small family: himself, Michael, Stevie, and Stevie’s mother (their cousin, George’s widow). Ironically, the Hawaiian security guard who tries to evict Michael from the beach later states himself that he just wants to feed his family, too.

These characters show a range of interpellations into this tourist, economic, and tightly claustrophobic world. Remarkable in Apio’s writings is the nuance and complexity given to the characters, as well as their aloha for each other, despite their differences in politics and worldview. Neither views tourists as “the enemy,” both view them as just not knowing the truth—ignorant, like many Americans—meaning they are unaware that the hotel in which they are staying has been aggressive in acquiring the adjacent land. This ignorance of the tourist characters highlight the national imperial narrative more canonical than any text—that of imperial amnesia within the United States. Michael and Alika are not cast as opposites either. Instead of a reductive conflict between “the radical” and “the sellout,” the two plays present both men as navigating structures of power in ways that address the hunger and thirst each seeks to satisfy. Their differing viewpoints reveal a complex navigation of indigenous identity in a way that recognizes the complex realities of living in today’s Hawai‘i.

Conclusion

With these texts, indigenous authors foreground critiques of U.S. militourism by highlighting the various struggles of Native Hawaiian life. My reading here reveals how tropes

of hunger are found across these texts—from Wayne Westlake, Haunani-Kay Trask, and Alani Apio. These writings show a stark contrast to the polished films and literary adaptations people often see of Hawai‘i in American popular culture. In each of their works, critiques of militarism and the colonial infrastructure that engenders the labor economies are found as well as the subsequent lives of struggle. Each writer engages with Native Hawaiians’ interpellation into the tourist industry, showing that working in the spaces of Waikiki is done so out of a biopolitical needs to acquire the means to feed themselves. The expression “putting food on the table” proves a common thread, that people need to make a living doing unfulfilling work in order to survive. These narratives show the afterlives of colonial annexation, touted as U.S. assimilation.

This chapter has examined the ways in which the Cold War crystallized in Hawai‘i by contextualizing works of three author-activists whose work exceed and transgress static conceptions of indigeneity, identity, and relations to U.S. empire. Within their texts, I specifically focused on tracing instantiations of hunger and invocations of food, as both metaphor and a very real phenomenon exploring the ways in provisions to sustain life are imagined and performed. Food, hunger, and privation are central to these works of Hawaiian literature, and this chapter disentangles this in a context of colonialism.

The Cold War legacies that resound in these literary expressions articulate pressing concerns of Hawai‘i’s food dependency in a state that imports 90% of its food, a staggering statistic considering that these islands were a self-sustaining archipelago prior to American colonialism.²⁵² Food assistance, at a biopolitical level, I argue, has been and continues to serve as a vital part of Hawai‘i’s colonial relationship with the United States.

²⁵² “Increased Food Security and Food Self-Sufficiency Strategy.” October 2012 Report by Office of Planning, Department of Business Economic Development and Tourism in cooperation with the Department of Agriculture, State of Hawaii. The problem with this figure is that since statehood, this figure has teetered in the high numbers, meaning dependency of food imports is not a new phenomenon, but has roots dating back to the territorial period.

In Hawai‘i, one is often confronted with the insecurity of food and resources during times of natural disaster and disaster preparedness. For instance, whenever there is a hurricane warning, an impending tropical storm, a tsunami, or even a stevedore’s strike, panic ensues, with people stocking up on basic supplies such as food, water, and toilet paper, often emptying the shelves of retailers within twenty-four hours. This vulnerability of the islands—which lie some 2000-plus miles from the shores of the U.S. mainland—index how critical the issues of imports/exports and food dependency are in this context. These insecurities are not symptomatic only of today, but can be traced back to the early 20th century as well as the decades from the 1940s onward. Archival research of print journalism, news stories, and op-eds reveal evidence of similar sentiments and less-staggering statistics from the 1920s to 1970s, a period covering the broad political shifts in the islands from territory to statehood.²⁵³ As shown in chapter one, telegrams in the 1950s and 1960s between the territorial governor and President Eisenhower’s cabinet in Washington D.C. showcase interactions between federal and territorial administrations on the disaster relief negotiations through PL 875 and sustained promises of emergency assistance. Such relief measures, I argue, present a critical formulation of the way the United States handles “aid” within the confines of its own imperial domain. PL 480, or Food For Peace, and its cognate policies of assistance were then mapped onto and made available to Hawai‘i, a territory from 1898-1959, and surplus distributed in the form of disaster relief as political leverage. Federal surplus assistance came to the islands with the passing of Congressional legislation in December of 1941, after the bombing of Pearl Harbor when the Islands were under

²⁵³ There has been a constant fear of strikes, shipping woes, and food shortages before and after WWII and even after WWII, WWII. Much emphasis in popular media was on rationing and food shortages, stockpiling foods. Cold War and Statehood years. There’s a vacillation between shortages/scarcity/insecurity around food and the image of Hawai‘i being a major food producer in terms of commodity goods like sugar, coffee, nuts, and pineapple, but also fish.

martial law. As stated in chapter two, while the bombing of Pearl Harbor is noted within the national imaginary as the starting point of the United States' entrance into WWII, it also marks the funneling of federal surplus into the islands. Congressional legislation in late December of 1941 allowed for the Federal Surplus Commodity Corporation, which allocated funds for the supplying of food to the Territory of Hawai'i.²⁵⁴

Legal and state narratives only provide one version of the story, that of humanitarian assistance and U.S. benevolence within its own territorial borders. The archives and public federal laws disguise the colonial violence of assistance. Invocations of hunger and concerns about a need to put "food on the table" in contemporary Hawaiian literature offer a counternarrative, one that reflects the "squeezed" context of food security in the wake of statehood. Furthermore, it reflects the Cold War migrations and militarized cultures of communities. This vulnerability, during times of crisis or near crisis, can be juxtaposed with the burgeoning food scene in the islands. By food scene, I am not only speaking of the emergence of "foodie" culture in the wake food fairs and "pop-up" restaurant stalls in Honolulu, but also the increasing awareness of food politics in Hawai'i around the fight of GMOs, agricultural land fights (surrounding the loss of agricultural land over Rail and housing development in central Oahu), fight over water rights (on Maui), as well as discussions on sustainability throughout the islands.

I highlight these critiques as a way of drawing attention to thinking about power in a both within and beyond Foucault's framework biopolitics and the regulatory controls of power's technology and architecture.²⁵⁵ That is, it is critical to consider the power as a fluid and architectural in a material and psychic sense. It escapes and exceeds authoritarian and top-down

²⁵⁴ Bennett "Hawaii's Food Situation." *Far Eastern Survey*, Vol. 11, No. 16 (Aug. 10, 1942), 174.

²⁵⁵ Foucault *History of Sexuality Volume, I*, 139.

definitions. Rather, thinking of the conditions of food assistance in addition to the parallel issue of food insecurity and the bodily sensation of hunger allows for a reevaluation of the ways in which power are manifested and justified.

I see hunger operating as a currency in maintaining this colonial relationship—that is, it is hunger that keeps colonial relations intact and envelops Native and non-Native subjects into its machinery. The bodily hunger presents the corporeal necessity that requires nutrients, calories, food and water for basic survival; the spiritual hunger hinges on dissatisfaction, disempowerment, and the inability to create a sustainable future within the infrastructure allowed within this economy. The physical thirst is the need for water, which is plentiful in the islands; however, the spiritual thirst I find strewn throughout these different texts index the internal desiccation for many Native Hawaiians in a political context of U.S. hegemony. The power of the literary, then, is instrumental in revealing this history.

CHAPTER VI

Conclusion

By the end of World War II and the Cold War years that followed, the United States devoted billions of dollars in food and resources to generous acts of giving. Such benevolence demonstrates part of the “problem” named by then-presidential candidate Donald Trump when he claimed that the U.S. is paying everyone’s bills: “We are losing billions and billions of dollars.”²⁵⁶ Referencing South Korea, but also Japan—Trump invokes an image of the U.S. paying other nation’s bills, coopting it for a conservative right-wing rhetoric, while eliding the fact that the U.S. serves its own interests in purported acts of generosity and care. Particularly regarding the “gifts” of bases abroad and military defense in a U.S. foreign policy context, the U.S. acts in its own interests versus the altruistic benefit of other nations, as articulated in the critical scholarship of Katherine Moon, Catherine Lutz, and Cynthia Enloe.²⁵⁷ As of 2017, the Trump presidency has announced cuts to foreign aid as part of the fiscal budget.²⁵⁸ For instance,

²⁵⁶ First 2016 presidential debate at Hofstra University, Sep 26, 2016.

²⁵⁷ In the case of South Korea, which he invoked as one who benefits from American security troops, this is completely false. As historian William Stueck has commented, this is not true, that in fact South Korea pays over \$800 million a year for U.S. security forces and that the agreement between the two nations benefits both parties. The idea of bases and security being “gifts” to nations comes from Catherine Lutz’ *Bases of Empire: The Global Struggle against U.S. Military Posts* (2009).

²⁵⁸ “US foreign aid expected to be biggest casualty of Trump’s first budget,” Ben Quinn, Feb. 27, 2017 https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2017/feb/27/trump-first-budget-us-foreign-aid?CMP=oth_b-aplnews_d-1
“Trump Budget Cuts International Food Aid Program, Halts Funding For Clean Water In Rural Areas” P.J. Huffstutter and Jo Winterbottom, March 16, 2017. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/trump-budget-food-clean-water-funding_us_58ca1297e4b0ec9d29d8a9a1
“The Daily 202: What Trump’s giving to charity -- or lack thereof -- foreshadowed about his presidency” By James Hohmann April 21, 2017. *Washington Post*.

the 2017 budget plan cuts various USAID programs, including Food for Peace, Title II, primarily in places like Africa. Former president George W. Bush (2000-2008) has spoken on this topic in a recent NPR interview, saying that such cuts would encourage terrorism and threaten national security. While the political discourse no longer centers on the threat of encroaching communism, the logic continues to circulate in the neo-Cold War era that food aid will result in peace or that the absence of food aid will breed terrorism.

*

The archives show benevolence is everywhere, through the invoices and receipts, the cataloguing of food stuffs, PL 480 discourse, and federal relief legislation. Yet one may wonder considering this surplus history whether true benevolence can originate from unwanted overproduction. If what the U.S. so selflessly gives away is both unwanted and unneeded, this unquestionably changes the way American generosity must be viewed, as it casts a shadow on these gifts of assistance and aid. I view U.S. food assistance through policies as not simply political performances in benevolence and humanitarianism, but also as a colonial tactic and technology of war. Assistance, security, and aid—all seemingly cloaked in a benevolent gesture—are imbricated within an imperial infrastructure and utilized as a means for political leverage. This dissertation has shown that U.S. technologies of war are employed at “home,” within U.S. borders, within the territories of administration, and within strategic spaces for purposes of diplomatic, military, and political leverage. The invisibility of assistance domestically and the visibility of aid in foreign contexts challenge us to consider the conditions that make “help” and “generosity” legible. Aid is an exercise of the power and technology of war

within colonial governmentality.

Just as starvation is a tactic of war, archives are also a technology of empire. If the United States tabulates its donations and archives its receipts while expunging other state documents, we must consider these part of the American national narrative.²⁵⁹ Regarding history and empire, Edward Said has argued that “narrative is crucial” and “nations themselves *are* narrations.” He writes:

The main battle in imperialism is over land, of course; but when it came to who owned the land, who had the right to settle and work on it, who kept it going, who won it back, and who now plans its future—these issues were reflected, contested, and even for a time decided in narrative. . . . The power to narrate, or to block other narratives from forming and emerging, is very important to culture and imperialism, and constitutes one of the main connections between them.²⁶⁰

The idea that receipts and invoices constitute a national narrative challenges readers to think critically of archives of foreign policy and diplomatic relations and reconsider what constitutes hegemonic cultural forms.

Italian political theorist Antonio Gramsci articulated that hegemony operates through a critical mass of consent, rather than agreement in the form of active participation or through a participatory democratic process. This phenomenon suggests that states or empires are not only all-consuming entities, monolithic and ghastly, but instead operate in a way that renders “it” (empire, its structures, its cultures) as consumable and even digestible, particularly under conditions of economic and biopolitical survival. Empire achieves hegemony through not a top-down process, but a multidirectional one, full of surprising articulations, the oddest of contradictions, and ever-repeating colonial amnesias within the state. Edward Said’s articulation of hegemony similarly states that it is “not a question of a directly imposed regime of

²⁵⁹ National archives only save around 2% of government materials. Thank you to Monica Kim for this curious bit of information.

²⁶⁰ Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, xii-xiii.

conformity,” but rather, “a system of pressures and constraints by which the whole cultural corpus retains its essentially imperial identity and its direction.”²⁶¹ Because humanitarian assistance holds sacred moral ground, the justifications of assistance through the veil of benevolence and care render violence invisible. And this—in turn with food policies, aid, and the politics of hunger—continues to shape hegemony.

My dissertation, *Consuming Empire: Food Aid, Hunger, and Benevolence in the Cold War Asia and Pacific*, has traced Cold War legacies of imperial intervention in Asia and the Pacific through a close reading of literary texts and an extensive archive of official documents from the United Nations, the United States military, and American policy. My contention is that U.S. colonialism does not always wear a ghoulish mask, but instead often dons the visage of tenderness and care. My dissertation considers these factors in an examination of the Cold War, arguing that narratives of liberation and food politics go together in understanding the grasp of U.S. empire in the Asia and the Pacific Islands—a linchpin of national and global security—which remains militarized and a hotbed of contestation to this day.

Asian and Pacific Islander narratives animate the life of the “indebted,” and reveal a range of affect from that of gratitude to ingratitude to even anger and disgust. Responses are complex, uneven, and not representative of entire communities. Differences of generations, locations, experiences, as well as the intersectional constitutions of gender, class, and relational contacts all inform the layers of narrative diversity and tones of remembrance that frame the past and present. Despite the gratitude that the United States has cultivated through sustained reminders and commemorations of benevolence, the debt that the U.S. owes others has never been acknowledged or repaid.

²⁶¹ Ibid., 323.

To be critical of such a continued legacy of benevolence can be seen by many, especially those who are, in fact, grateful or who may be in need of assistance, as ungracious behavior. Raising a critical voice to the United States' generosity comes across as complaining about something that one should be thankful for—that is, biting the hand that feeds you. To this, I say that if we are to receive candy from a seemingly kind stranger, would we not raise an eyebrow and wonder what ulterior motives are at work in providing such a gift—especially from someone so scrooge-like in their accounting practices?

In these five chapters, I have traced an imperial circuitry of Cold War legacies of food aid. In chapter two, “American Food Aid as an Imperial Discourse: Humanitarianism, ‘Surplus,’ and the Cold War,” I examined various branches of U.S. aid, showing how agricultural surplus transformed into Cold War food assistance, whereby one undesirable problem in the U.S. was re-signified as benevolent foreign aid. Through PL 480 or Food for Peace, PL 875, and various emergency assistance pipelines, food aid became imbricated with ideologies and policies of anti-communism, development, and political partnership in sites of Asia and the Pacific Islands with popular representations echoing such sentiments. Furthermore, I argued that the saving of American archival “receipts of rescue” provides a window into the hoarding, calculating, and ungenerous diplomatic undercurrent in U.S. foreign relations. Chapter three, “The Korean War and the Debts of Food: Negotiations of Benevolence in Cultural Forms” engaged with contemporary Korean and Korean American articulations of war in literary and filmic modes. I contend that these cultural sites perform critiques and render visible that which the archive does not. Specifically, I contend that food becomes the dominant metonym for “America,” and, in this particular economy, I argue that food makes sexual violence more bearable for the already vulnerable Korean women. The exploitative sexual economy and U.S. food aid to Korea are

mutually constitutive. Chapter four, “All-Consuming Cold War Debts: Micronesian Poetics and the Legacies of Colonial Aid,” underscores the contradiction behind dominant narratives of Micronesia and U.S. dependency. I contend the U.S. performs a continuous amnesia-building through visible and highly staged acts of “gifting” to the region. Specifically, the yearly recurring event of Operation Christmas Drop, I argue, is packaged and framed as a holiday gift drive that both performs and sanitizes U.S. colonial violence of Cold War nuclear testing, TTPI governance, and the continued use of military bases. Micronesian literature reflects on such issues of invisibility, critique, and disarticulation within American empire. In chapter five, “Hunger, Thirst, and the Biopolitical in Native Hawaiian Writing: Capsizing American Cold War Benevolence,” I put forth the argument that American benevolence within the legal framework of statehood operates in ways that render colonialism invisible, despite the struggle engendered by the militourized economy of the state. Food assistance, then, in Hawai‘i through disaster relief, welfare (EBT or SNAP benefits for food, i.e. food stamps), and other “benefit” programs are no longer considered foreign aid or colonial assistance after 1959, though resources arrive from the very same surplus and agricultural infrastructure that donate or “dump” food abroad. I argue, too, that Native Hawaiian literature underscores the predicament of hunger, socio-economic insecurity, and violence within this context of American benevolence through incorporation.

**

A Pacific crossroads of intersection between indigeneity and non-indigeneity, Hawai‘i is a place where imperial re-routing and migrancy come face-to-face in everyday life in Honolulu.

For Asians and Pacific Islanders whose histories have been impacted by U.S. military intervention, Hawai‘i has become a veritable Ellis Island for the movements of people crisscrossing the grid of U.S. empire across Asia and the Pacific during the Cold War. Asian American, Pacific Islander, and Native Hawaiian literatures reflect these very dynamics of what literary and Native studies scholar Jodi Byrd calls *cacophony*, a phenomenon when diaspora collides with settler colonialism.²⁶² To arrivants and settlers, Honolulu serves as the epitome of a “postracial asylum,” where subjects are enveloped “into the fold of the democratic state on the premise of inclusion, emptied of an indigenous presence or disavowing that presence as the fundamental ontology of America’s democratic promise.”²⁶³ Furthermore, Honolulu is a place of contradictions where social conditions and tensions among Natives, settlers, and arrivants are rarely portrayed in the realms of filmic, televisual, and literary popular culture. In such a setting, narratives of tension and connection abound in Honolulu.

In a poem by Emelihter Kihleng titled “Korean Store” (2008) overlaid colonial legacies in Hawai‘i abound. The items listed in the Korean shops of Honolulu read like a list of food stuffs imported from military shipments to the Trust Territories and South Korea: Spam, Vienna sausage, and Coca Cola. The poem gives voice to Micronesians traversing the network of U.S. empire, but also serves as a testimony to the very real tensions of colonial legacies and lived realities among Natives, settlers, and arrivants who contend with imperial amnesias and state narratives of inclusion. The amnesia or lack of recognition here is a place to pause. This is

²⁶² In *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism*, Byrd defines cacophony as the “discordant and competing representations of diasporic arrivals and native lived experiences...that vie for hegemony within the discursive, cultural, and political processes of representation and identity that form the basis...of biopolitics” (xiii). Settlers, Native Hawaiians, and “arrivants” live amongst each other in Hawaii, that fiftieth state of the union, many times at odds and misunderstandings of each other. “Arrivant” is term Byrd employs (via Caribbean poet Kamau Brathwaite) which describes a third category between the binarized colonizer and colonized (indigenous) subject, specifically those “people forced into the Americas through the violence of European and Anglo-American colonialism and imperialism around the globe” (xix).

²⁶³ Ibid.

moment where we can recognize the distinct migrations to Hawai‘i that map onto Native Hawaiian land, a site of a different, yet shared colonial conquest by the United States through national expansions of borders and military extension. Diplomatic and legal histories provide great insights into understanding these different identities and Asian and Pacific narratives shed light on the lived realities of migration between and within the grid of U.S. empire and their shared currency of food aid culture. While colonial relationships between the U.S. and “mother” countries are different for each community with differing political relationships, I argue that a shared culture of militarism unites and underlies these different communities. However, like the memories people carry, the stakes are also different for people living within such close colonial proximities.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ahlberg, Kristin L. *Transplanting the Great Society: Lyndon Johnson And Food for Peace*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2008.
- Ahn Junghyo, *Silver Stallion: A Novel of Korea*. New York: Soho Press, 1990. First published in Seoul in 1986.
- Alexander, Sidney Stuart. *The Marshall Plan*. [Washington]: National Planning Association, 1948.
- Apio, Alani. *Kāmau*. Honolulu: Palila Books, 1994.
- . *Kāmau A 'e*. Honolulu: Palila Books, 1998.
- Bennett, M. K. "Hawaii's Food Situation." *Far Eastern Survey*, Vol. 11, No. 16 (Aug. 10, 1942), pp. 173-175 Published by: Institute of Pacific Relations.
- Barrett, Christopher B. and Daniel G. Maxwell. *Food Aid After Fifty Years: Recasting Its Role*. London: Routledge. 2005.
- Barclay, Robert. *Melal: A Novel of the Pacific*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002.
- Barker, Holly M. *Bravo for the Marshallese: Regaining Control in a Post-Nuclear, Post-Colonial World*. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Thompson Learning, 2004.
- Belasco, Warren James. *Food: The Key Concepts*. Oxford: Berg, 2008.
- Borofsky, Robert, ed. *Remembrance of Pacific Pasts: An Invitation to Remake History*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000.
- Byrd, Jodi A. *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011.
- Byrd, Jodi A. and Michael Rothberg. "Between Subalternity and Indigeneity," *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, 13:1, 1-12. 2011.
- Camacho, Keith L. *Cultures of Commemoration: The Politics of War, Memory, And History In the Mariana Islands*. Honolulu: Center for Pacific Islands Studies, School of Pacific and Asian Studies, University of Hawai'i, Mānoa, 2011.
- Campbell, I. C. *Worlds Apart: A History of the Pacific Islands*. Christchurch, N.Z.: Canterbury University Press. 2003.
- Campbell, Timothy C. *Biopolitics: A Reader*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2013.
- Chan, Sucheng. *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History*. Boston: Twayne, 1991.

- Chong, Kelly H. *Deliverance and Submission: Evangelical Women and the Negotiation of Patriarchy in South Korea*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2008.
- Chung, Young-Iob. *South Korea In the Fast Lane: Economic Development and Capital Formation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Clapp, J. 2012. *Hunger in the balance: the new politics of international food aid*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Clay, Edward J. *Food Aid Reconsidered: Assessing the Impact on Third World Countries*. London: Cass in collaboration with the European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes, 1991.
- Costigliola, Frank, and Michael J. Hogan. *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*. Third edition. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- Connery, Christopher. "Pacific Rim Discourse: The U.S. Global Imaginary in the Late Cold War Years" in *Asia/Pacific as Space of Cultural Production*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1995.
- Cumings, Bruce. *The Origins of the Korean War*. Seoul, Korea: Yuksabipyungsa, 2002.
- . *The Korean War: A History*. New York: Modern Library, 2010.
- Cwierotka, Katarzyna J. 2012. *Cuisine, Colonialism and Cold War: Food in Twentieth Century Korea*. London: Reaktion Books.
- Denman, Vicki M. and Kathryn G. Dewey, "Food self-sufficiency in Micronesia: Effects of a nutrition assistance programme on agricultural production." *Food Policy* (journal) June 1992.
- Department of the Interior. *Report Prepared by the High Commissioner for the United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands*. By the High Commissioner E. D. Thomas and Staff. Honolulu, Hawaii. February 6, 1953.
- Diaz, Vicente. *Repositioning the Missionary: Rewriting the Histories of Colonialism, Native Catholicism, and Indigeneity in Guam*. Honolulu: Pacific Monograph Series 24, University of Hawaii Press. 2010.
- . "Deliberating "Liberation Day": Identity, History, Memory and War in Guam." *Perilous Memories: the Asia-Pacific War(s)*. Durham [N.C.]: Duke University Press, 2001.
- . "To P or Not to P: Marking the Territory Between Asian American and Pacific Islander Studies," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 7/3, pp. 183-208. 2004.
- Diaz, Vicente M., and J. Kēhaulani Kauanui. "Native Pacific Cultural Studies on the Edge." *The Contemporary Pacific*. 13.2 (Fall 2001): 315-41.

- Dibblin, Jane. *Day of Two Suns: US Nuclear Testing and the Pacific Islanders*. New York: New York, New Amsterdam, 1989.
- Dirlik, Arif. "The Asia-Pacific Idea: Reality and Representation in the Invention of a Regional Structure." *What's in a Rim? Critical Perspectives on the Pacific Region Idea*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 1998
- Enloe, Cynthia. *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. London: Pandora, 1989.
- . *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
- Eperjesi, John R. *The Imperialist Imaginary: Visions of Asia And the Pacific In American Culture*. Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College Press, 2005.
- Falgout, Suzanne, and Lin Poyer. *Memories of War: Micronesians In the Pacific War*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008.
- Fenkl, Heinz Insu. *Memories of My Ghost Brother*. New York: Dutton, 1996.
- Ferguson, Kathy E. and Phyllis Turnbull. *Oh, Say, Can You See?: The Semiotics of the Military in Hawai'i*. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1999.
- Firth, Stewart and Karin Von Stokirch. "A Nuclear Pacific." *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islanders*, Eds. Denoon, Firth, Linnekin, Meleisea, and Nero. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality Volume One: An Introduction*. Vintage Books ed. New York: Vintage Books, 1990.
- Foucault, Michel, and James D. Faubion. *Power*. New York: New Press, 2000.
- Fujikane, Candace and Jonathan Okamura, Eds. *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008.
- Fujitani, Takashi. *Perilous Memories: the Asia-Pacific War(s)*. Durham [N.C.]: Duke University Press, 2001.
- Fulton, Bruce. *Silver Stallion* (review). *Journal of Korean Studies*, Volume 8, 1992, pp. 223-226 (Article) Published by Center for Korea Studies, University of Washington.
- Gallicchio, Marc S. *The Unpredictability of the Past: Memories of the Asia-Pacific War in U.S./East Asian Relations*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2007.

- Gewertz, Deborah B., and Frederick Karl Errington. *Cheap Meat: Flap Food Nations in the Pacific Islands*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010.
- Goldstein, Alyosha. *Formations of United States Colonialism*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2014.
- Gonzalez, Vernadette Vicuña. *Securing Paradise: Tourism and Militarism In Hawai'i And the Philippines*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2013.
- Gramsci, Antonio, and Joseph A. Buttigieg. *Prison Notebooks*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1992.
- Hall, Stuart. "Cultural Studies and Its Theoretical Legacies." *Cultural Studies* (1992). --. *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*. London: Routledge, 1996.
- . *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. London: Sage, 1997.
- . "Gramsci's relevance for the study of race and ethnicity" (1996) in *Critical Dialogues*
- Hanlon, David. *Remaking Micronesia: Discourses over Development in a Pacific Territory 1944-1982*. Honolulu: Hawaii, University of Hawaii Press, 1998.
- Hardt, Michael, and Antonio Negri. *Commonwealth*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009.
- Harvey, David. *The New Imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Hau'ofa, Epeli. "Our Sea of Islands." In *A New Oceania: Rediscovering Our Sea of Islands*, edited by Epeli Hau'ofa, Eric Waddell, and Vijay Naidu, 2–16. Suva: School of Social and Economic Development, University of the South Pacific in association with Beake House. 1993.
- . *We Are the Ocean: Selected Works*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008.
- . *Corned Beef and Tapioca: A Report on the Food Distribution Systems in Tonga*. Centre for Applied Studies in Development, University of South Pacific, Suva, Fiji in association with Australian National University, Canberra, 1979.
- Hereniko, Vilsoni and Rob Wilson, Eds. *Inside/Out: Literature, Cultural Politics, and Identity in the New Pacific*. Boulder, Colorado: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 1999.
- Hitchcock, William I. "The Marshall Plan and the creation of the West" in *Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. 154-174.
- Hong, Christine Jean. *Legal Fictions: Human Rights Cultural Productions and Pax Americana in the Pacific Rim*. UC Berkeley. PhD Dissertation. 2007.

- Howard, Keith. *True Stories of the Korean Comfort Women: Testimonies*. London: Cassell, 1995.
- Hoskins, Janet. *Transpacific Studies: Framing an Emerging Field*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014.
- Higuchi, Wakako. *The Japanese Administration of Guam, 1941-1944: A Study of Occupation and Integration Policies, With Japanese Oral Histories*. Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2013.
- Ho, Jennifer Ann. *Consumption and Identity in Asian American Coming-of-age Novels*. New York: Routledge, 2005.
- Huston, James A. *Guns and Butter, Powder and Rice: U.S. Army Logistics in the Korean War*. Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 1989.
- Johnson, Chalmers. *Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire*. New York: Holt, 2000. Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. 25th Anniversary ed. New York: Vintage Books, 1979.
- . *The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy, and the End of the Republic*. New York: Holt, 2004.
- Jolly, Margaret and Lenore Manderson Eds. *Sites of Desire, Economies of Pleasure: Sexualities in Asia and the Pacific*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.
- Kame'eleihiwa, Lilikalā. *Native Lands and Foreign Desires*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1992.
- Kamehiro, Stacy L. *The Arts of Kingship: Hawaiian Art and National Culture of the Kalākaua Era*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009.
- Kaplan, Amy and Donald E. Pease, Eds. *Cultures of U.S. Imperialism*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1993.
- Kauanui, Kēhaulani J. *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity (Narrating Native Histories)*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009.
- Keller, Nora Okja. *Fox Girl*. New York: Viking, 2002.
- Kerr, James Edward. *The Insular Cases: The Role of the Judiciary In American Expansionism*. Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1982.
- Kihleng, Emelihter. *My Urohs*. Kahuaomānoa Press: Honolulu, Hawaii, 2008.
- Jetnil-Kijiner, Kathy *Iep Jaltok: Poems from a Marshallese Daughter*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2017.

- Kim, Dong Choon. *The Unending Korean War: A Social History*. University of Hawaii Press, 2009.
- Kim, Elaine H. *Dangerous Women: Gender and Korean Nationalism*. New York: Routledge, 1998.
- Kim, Jodi. *Ends of Empire: Asian American Critique and the Cold War*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010.
- Klein, Christina. *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945- 1961*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003.
- Ko, Dorothy et al. *Women and Confucian Cultures In Premodern China, Korea, And Japan*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.
- Kolodny, Annette. *The Lay of the Land: Metaphor as Experience and History in American Life and Letters*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1975.
- Kramer, Paul A. *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, And the Philippines*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.
- Krattiger, Angela S. "Hawaii's Cold War: American Empire and the 50th State." Ph.D., University of Hawaii, Honolulu, 2013.
- Ku, Robert Ji-Song and Martin F. Manalansan IV and Anita Mannur, Eds. *Eating Asian America: a Food Studies Reader*. New York: New York University Press, 2013.
- Ku, Robert Ji-Song. *Dubious Gastronomy: The Cultural Politics of Eating Asian In the USA*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014.
- Lee, Jin-Kyung. *Service Economies: Militarism, Sex Work, and Migrant Labor in South Korea*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010.
- Leffler, Melvyn P. and Odd Arne Westad, Eds. *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Lewis, George H. "From Minnesota Fat to Seoul Food: Spam in America and the Pacific Rim." *The Journal of Popular Culture*. Vol. 34, Issue 2, pp. 83-105. Fall 2000.
- Lie, John. *Han Unbound: The Political Economy of South Korea*. Stanford University Press, 1998.
- Liem, Ramsay. "History, Trauma, and Identity: The Legacy of the Korean War for Korean Americans" *Amerasia Journal* 29:3 (2003-2004): 111-129.

- Luard, Evan. *A History of the United Nations. Volume 1: The Years of Western Domination 1945-55*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982.
- Lutz, Catherine, Ed. *The Bases of Empire: The Global Struggle against U.S. Military Posts*. New York: NYU Press, 2009.
- Lowe, Lisa. *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1996.
- . *The Intimacies of Four Continents*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2015.
- Lyons, Paul. *American Pacificism: Oceania In the U.S. Imagination*. New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Massa, Jean M. "Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act: Public Law 480". Originally published in *South Dakota Law Review* 31 S. D. L. REV. 383 (1986) pp. 383-393.
- Mannur, Anita. *Culinary Fictions: Food in South Asian Diasporic Culture*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010.
- Mbembe, Achille. "Necropolitics" in *Public Culture* 15 (1): 11-40. Duke University Press, 2003.
- McAlister, Melani. *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, And U.S. Interests in the Middle East, 1945-2000*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.
- Mendoza, Victor. *Metroimperial Intimacies: Fantasy, Racial-Sexual Governance, And the Philippines In U.S. Imperialism*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2016.
- Moon, Katharine H. S. *Sex Among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S.-Korea Relations*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.
- Morales, Rodney. "Literature," in *Multicultural Hawaii: The Fabric of a Multiethnic Society*, ed Michael Haas. 107-129. New York: Garland Publishing, 1998.
- Najita, Susan Y. *Decolonizing Cultures in the Pacific: Reading History and Trauma in Contemporary Fiction*, 2006.
- Ngai, Mae M. *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America*. New paperback edition / with a new forward by the author. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2014.
- Nguyen, Mimi Thi. *The Gift of Freedom: War, Debt, And Other Refugee Passages*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2012.
- Niedenthal, Jack. *For the Good of Mankind: A History of the People of Bikini And Their Islands*. 2nd ed. Majuro, Marshall Islands: Bravo Publishers, 2001.

- Office of Planning, Department of Business Economic Development and Tourism in cooperation with the Department of Agriculture. "Increased Food Security and Food Self-Sufficiency Strategy." October 2012. State of Hawaii
- Olopai, Lino M, and Juliana Flinn. *The Rope of Tradition: Reflections of a Saipan Carolinian*. Saipan: Northern Mariana Islands Council for the Humanities, 2005.
- Osorio, Jon Kamakawiwo'ole. *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002.
- Pak, Ch'i-yōng. *Korea and the United Nations*. The Hague: Kluwer Law International, 2000.
- Park, Joo Hyun and Jung Kyu Suh. "The Subaltern Speaks: Silver Stallion as the Rhetorical Space for *Yanggongju*." *한국비교문학회*, <비교문학> 49권0호 (2009). 261-280.
- Park, Seung Woo and Gary P. Green. 1994. "Agrarian transformation and colonialism: an historical-comparative study of Korea and the Philippines." *International Journal of Sociology of Agriculture and Food* 3:142-166.
- Park, Seung Woo and Gary P. Green. 1995. "Agricultural restructuring and capitalist industrialization: the cases of South Korea and the Philippines." *Kasarinlan: A Philippine Quarterly of Third World Studies* 11:103-148.
- Ruttan, Vernon W. *Why Food Aid?* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.
- Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. 25th Anniversary ed. New York: Vintage Books, 1979.
- . *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Knopf, 1993.
- Saranillio, Dean. "Seeing Conquest: Colliding Histories and the Cultural Politics of Hawai'i." Ph.D., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor 2009.
- Sayward, Amy L. *The Birth of Development: How the World Bank, Food and Agriculture Organization, And World Health Organization Changed the World, 1945-1965*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 2006.
- Santos Perez, Craig. *From Unincorporated Territory [saina]*. Richmond, Calif.: Omidawn pub., 2010.
- ., *From Unincorporated Territory [Hacha]*. Kaneohe, HI: TinFish Press, 2008.
- See, Sarita Echavez and Angel Velasco Shaw, Eds. *Out of the Archive: Process and Progress*. New York, 2009.

- Schapsmeier, Edward L. and Frederick H. Schapsmeier. "Eisenhower and Agricultural Reform: Ike's Farm Policy Legacy Appraised." *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology*. Vol. 51, No. 2 (Apr., 1992), pp. 147-159.
- . *Ezra Taft Benson And the Politics of Agriculture: the Eisenhower Years, 1953-1961*. Danville, Ill.: Interstate Printers & Publishers, 1975.
- . *Encyclopedia of American Agricultural History*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1975.
- Schnepf, Randy. "U.S. International Food Aid Programs: Background and Issues." *Congressional Research Service*. September 14, 2016
- Sharrad, Paul. *Readings in Pacific Literature*. Wollongong, Australia: New Literatures Research Centre, University of Wollongong, 1993.
- Shigematsu, Setsu and Keith L. Camacho, Eds. *Militarized Currents: Towards a Decolonized Future in Asia and the Pacific*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010.
- Silva, Noenoe. 2004. *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*. Duke University Press.
- Smith, Andrea. "Heteropatriarchy and the Three Pillars of White Supremacy" in *The Color of Violence: the INCITE! Anthology*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2016
- Stueck, William. "The Korean War" in *Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. 266-287.
- Stanford University. School of Naval Administration. *Handbook on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands: A Handbook for Use In Training And Administration*. Washington, D.C.: Navy Dept., Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, 1948
- Takaki, Ronald. *Strangers from a Different Shore: a History of Asian Americans*. Updated and rev. ed., 1st Back Bay ed. Boston: Little, Brown, 1998.
- Teaiwa, Teresia K. "Bikinis and Other S/pacific N/oceans." *Militarized Currents: Toward a Decolonized Future in Asia and the Pacific*. Shigematsu, Setsu and Keith L. Camacho eds. 15-31. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2010.
- . "Native Thoughts: A Pacific Studies Take on Cultural Studies and Diaspora." *Indigenous Diasporas and Dislocations*. Graham Harvey and Charles D. Thompson, eds. 15-35. London: Ashgate, 2005.
- . --. *Militarism, Tourism and the Native: Articulations in Oceania*. PhD dissertation, University of California at Santa Cruz, Santa Cruz, 2001.
- . --. "Reading Paul Gauguin's *Noa Noa* with Epeli Hau'ofa's *Nederends*: Militourism, Feminism and the 'Polynesian' Body." *Inside Out: Literature, Cultural Politics, and Identity in the*

- New Pacific*. Vilsoni Hereniko and Rob Wilson, eds. 249-264. Boulder, Colorado: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999.
- Thompson, Lanny. *Imperial Archipelago: Representation and Rule in the Insular Territories under U.S. Dominion after 1898*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2010.
- Trask, Haunani-Kay. 2000. "Settlers of Color and 'Immigrant' Hegemony: 'Locals' in Hawai'i" *Amerasia Journal* 26(2): 1-24.
- . *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i*. Monroe, ME: Common Courage, 1993.
- . "Fighting the Battle of Double Colonization: The View of a Hawaiian Feminist." *Renaissance in the Pacific* 4:1 -67, 1989.
- . *Light in the Crevice Never Seen*. Corvallis, Oregon: Calyx Books, 1994.
- . *Night is a Sharkskin Drum*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002.
- Van Alstyne, Richard Warner. *The Rising American Empire*. [1st ed.] Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1960.
- Wallerstein, Michael B. 1980. *Food for War-Food for Peace: United States Food Aid in a Global Context*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Walsh, Julianne. *Etto Nān Raan Kein: a Marshall Islands History*. Honolulu, Hawai'i: Bess Press, 2012.
- Westad, Odd Arne. *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Westlake, Wayne Kaumualii. *Westlake: Poems*. Eds. Siy, Mei-Li M. and Richard Hamasaki. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2009.
- Wexler, Laura. *Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in an Age of U.S. Imperialism*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. Published in 2000.
- Williams, William Appleman. *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*. New ed. New York: W.W. Norton, 1988.
- Wilson, Rob. *Reimagining the American Pacific: From South Pacific to Bamboo Ridge And Beyond*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2000.
- . *Asia/Pacific As Space of Cultural Production*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1995.
- Xu, Wenying. *Eating Identities: Reading Food In Asian American Literature*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008.

Yoneyama, Lisa. *Cold War Ruins: Transpacific Critique of American Justice and Japanese War Crimes*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2016.

Yuh, Ji-Yeon. *Beyond the Shadow of Camptown: Korean Military Brides in America*. New York: New York University Press, 2002.

Online Sources

CQ Almanac (Congressional Quarterly; CQ Press, Online Edition)

“Farm Surplus Disposal.” In *CQ Almanac 1954*, 10th ed., 02-120-02-124. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, 1955.

“Surplus Disposal.” In *CQ Almanac 1956*, 12 ed., 02-489-02-492. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, 1957.

“Foreign Aid Funds.” In *CQ Almanac 1963*, 19th ed., 288-97. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, 1964.

Archives Consulted

National Archives at San Bruno, CA

Record Group 126: Office of the Territories

Dwight David Eisenhower (DDE) Presidential Library, Abilene, Kansas

Dwight D. Papers as President (Cabinet Series); 1953-61 Ann Whitman File; DDE Diaries; Legislative Meetings

White House Central Files, Official File, 1953-61

Records as President, White House Central Files, 1953-61 Official File

DDE Staff Files: Clarence Francis, Arthur Minnich Papers, Fred Seaton Papers

Merlo J. Pusey Papers

National Archives and Records, Kansas City, MO

RG 161 Records of the Commodity Credit Corporation

National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD.

Record Group 16: Office of the Secretary of Agriculture

RG 111: Records of the office of the Chief Signal officer (Motion Picture Films from the Army Library)

Record Group 313: Records of Naval Operating Forces

Record Group 330: Records of the office of the Secretary of Defense

Record Group 338: Records of U.S. Army Operational, Tactical, and Support Organizations (World War II and Thereafter).

RG 374: Records of the Defense Nuclear Agency

RG 554: Records of General Headquarters, Far East Command, Supreme Commander Allied Powers, and United Nations Command

University of Hawai‘i,

The Hawaiian & Pacific Collections at Hamilton Library

Films

Carras, Anthony. *Operation Bikini*. 1963. Film.

Galbreth, Michael. *Home on the Range*. 2009. Film.

Stevens, Lesley. *Niuklia Fri Pasifik*. 1988. Film.

Stone, Robert. *Radio Bikini*. 2003. Film.

Warheit, Vanessa. *The Insular Empire: America In the Marianas*. 2010. Film.

Yun, Che-gyun. *Ode to My Father (Kukche Sijang)*. 2014. Film.