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Paradoxes of Hawaiian Sovereignty: Land, Sex, and the Colonial Politics of State Nationalism. By J. Kēhaulani Kauanui

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**Author**

Gushiken, Gregory Pōmaika'i

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citizens of the continent and would outlive the pose and pack of the federal government” (29–30). Through the peripatetic form of *Native Tributes*—the characters move ceaselessly in both story and imagination, riding trains, walking, and finally boarding a ship back to Europe at novel’s end—the novel refuses to heed settler-colonial limits imposed on Indigenous peoples.

The novel amplifies this vital message of transmotion through Basile’s and Aloysius’ own journeys across land and ocean and across acclaimed Modernist artistic movements. After the Bonus Army rout, the brothers head to New York City where they engage with canonical writers such as John Dos Passos, whom Basile and other Native veterans criticize for his fictional remove from combat. More widely, like *Blue Ravens*, *Native Tributes* inserts and asserts Indigenous artists as shaping forces of modernism, long located in settler imagination as the opposite of Indigeneity. Akin to Philip Deloria’s book about his great-aunt, a Dakota artist (*Becoming Mary Sully: Towards an American Indian Abstract*, also reviewed in this issue of *AICRJ*), Vizenor makes visible the indigeneity of modernity. And like *Indians in Unexpected Places*, Deloria’s consideration of Indigenous presence in the modernist era, Vizenor’s novel does not simply indigenize modernism in unexpected places, but also claims those places, in the United States and Europe, as always Indigenous.

Susan Bernardin

Oregon State University

**Paradoxes of Hawaiian Sovereignty: Land, Sex, and the Colonial Politics of State Nationalism.** By J. Kēhaulani Kauanui. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018. 296 pages. \$99.95 cloth; \$26.95 paper; \$26.95 electronic.

In *Paradoxes of Hawaiian Sovereignty*, J. Kēhaulani Kauanui writes compellingly of what she terms the paradoxes of Hawaiian sovereignty—the biopolitical contradictions of the Hawaiian Kingdom, the formerly autonomous independent nation-state that was annexed by the United States in 1898. Kauanui, whose previous work at the interstices of law, indigeneity, and colonial biopower is foundational to critical Hawaiian studies, expands her scope of analysis in *The Paradoxes of Hawaiian Sovereignty* to pressing questions of decolonization. Principally, Kauanui aims to “demonstrate how white American notions of property title, state sovereignty, and normative gender relations and sexuality become intimately imbricated in aspirations for Hawaiian liberation and in mobilizing available categories for acknowledging Kanaka distinctiveness” (3). In an ambitious project that aims to come to terms with state violence and its paradoxical aims of protecting the national body of Hawaiian sovereignty, Kauanui’s endeavors in this book speak to her deep investments in Hawaiian studies, Indigenous resurgence, and her own work in the Hawaiian sovereignty movement.

The ways in which these vectors of power become imbricated is what Kauanui terms to be the paradoxes of Hawaiian sovereignty—that, to preserve sovereignty, *ali‘i* (chiefs) “enacted forms of colonial biopolitics—paradoxically keeping imperialism at

bay by introducing Christian edicts that likely matched what European powers would have introduced themselves if any of them had formally colonized Hawai'i" (19). In other words, through the control of gender and sexuality through various legal impositions that transformed "Indigenous kinship practices in a way that imposed patriarchal norms" (13), the "radical restructuring of Hawaiian society as a protective measure against Western imperialism became a form of colonial biopolitics linked to the regulatory power of Hawaiian state racism in the early nineteenth century" (21). As Kauanui contends, the imposition of the nation-state that is the Hawaiian Kingdom was predicated upon the regulation of Hawaiian sexuality, gender, race, and, building upon Foucault, the general management of life by the state.

Another important concern that Kauanui brings to the fore is the development of Kingdom nationalist discourses and the attempted implementation of US federal policy that would organize a Native Hawaiian governing entity. Importantly, Kauanui contends with how "Kingdom nationalists . . . tend to avoid an analysis of colonialism . . . because they presume that to talk about colonialism in Hawai'i is to legitimate Hawai'i as a former U.S. colony rather than an occupied state and thus see the two in binary form" (63). Through her discussion of Kingdom nationalists and the foreclosures they impose in their claim of Hawai'i as only occupied and not colonized, Kauanui points out that this discourse "becomes a battle over international law, rather than one focused on the white supremacist practices and policies that are part and parcel of the colonial subordination of Kanaka Maoli" (66). Indeed, framing the independence of Hawai'i as wholly legal, not social and political, forecloses the possibility of considering subordinated sectors of Hawaiian society, particularly nonheterosexual and woman-identifying people.

Kauanui takes up this important discussion of what she calls "savage sexualities," delineating the ways in which it is claimed—from the time of Kamehameha III in the nineteenth century through the continued claims of Hawaiian Christians today—that we are "better off now" with knowledge of and adherence to Christian morals that foreclose "savage" precolonial sexualities (179). In this section, she draws on Caribbean sociologist M. Jacqui Alexander's concept of "erotic autonomy" to postulate that Kanaka erotic decolonization in relation to land is a necessary approach to the paradoxes of Hawaiian sovereignty. Decolonization in this sense must necessarily approach the axis of gender and sexuality because, as Kauanui outlines, it is precisely at this regulation of life and intimacy that the coloniality of the Hawaiian nation-state comes to fruition.

Ultimately, Kauanui advocates for "nonstatist forms of Indigenous Hawaiian sovereignty" which she finds in the term *ea*, broadly defined as "life," meaning that which does not need Western sovereignty and its biopolitical underpinnings to flourish, under which gender and sexuality become primary axes of control over Hawaiian bodies to create colonial sovereignty (200). In other words, Hawaiian decolonization must exceed the limitations of colonial sovereignty. Kauanui's praxis for Hawaiian decolonization lies in her statement that "By navigating the binaries wrought by these histories, the Hawaiian people can refuse recolonization by resisting the allure of state sovereignty models" (195). Indeed, lest Hawaiians fall into the trap of reenacting

biopolitical regimes intent on our eradication, we must think intently about how the nation-state and its attendant choreographies of domination entrap us in colonial discourses and settler futurities.

*The Paradoxes of Hawaiian Sovereignty* enters the conversation of Hawaiian studies at a crucial moment where there is a push for nuance that accounts for queer, diasporic, and other unthought Hawaiian subjectivities. As much as Kauanui's book advocates for the decolonization and independence of the Hawaiian people as a whole, she is particularly attendant to the ways in which the liberation of *māhū* (commonly translated as "third gender" peoples), women, and queer Kanaka Maoli must be foregrounded in discourses of decolonization in the Hawaiian Islands. Indeed, short of waiting for "after the revolution" to end the everyday state violence against LGBTQ+ and *māhū* Kanaka Maoli, Kauanui implores us to consider what demanding decolonization centered around ending violence against LGBTQ+ and *māhū* Kanaka Maoli might mean in the broader construction of colonial biopolitics and the way it reifies settler colonial control of the Hawaiian Islands.

The limitations of *The Paradoxes of Hawaiian Sovereignty* lie precisely in the opening Kauanui creates for discussions of resurgence, refusal, and decolonization. As Kauanui herself notes, her reliance on English language archives and her specific *kuleana* (relational responsibility) to Hawai'i as a diasporic subject demarcate the limitations of her writing (31). However, it is precisely through the Indigenous ethic of *kuleana*, which falls into her framing of "Indigeneity as Resurgence [that] promotes the kind of action . . . for a transformative movement that has the potential to liberate both Indigenous people and Settlers from colonialism," that she creates an opening for the next generation of Hawaiian scholars to answer her call to imagine a future that remakes "indigeneity without the reliance on juridical regimes of power" (201). Because *kuleana* delineates a responsibility or a burden that is shared, in centering Indigeneity-as-Resurgence Kauanui's project calls us to continue to work of interrogating these paradoxes, whether we encounter them in the depths of the Hawaiian language archive, or in the throes of activist-ethnographies not yet written.

Gregory Pōmaika'i Gushiken  
University of California, San Diego

**Proud Raven, Panting Wolf: Carving Alaska's New Deal Totem Parks.** By Emily L. Moore. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2018. 252 pages. \$39.95 cloth; \$29.95 paper.

Today a traveler to southeast Alaska is likely to visit at least one of the six totem pole parks constructed between 1938 and 1942 as part of the efforts of the New Deal's Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) to provide work for Native Americans, as well as to promote a United States heritage that included those of Indigenous people. This project removed decaying poles from uninhabited villages, restored or replicated them, then erected them in parks nearer to population centers. US Forest Service employees