Apocalyptica
No 1 / 2023
DOI: 10.17885/heiup.apoc.2023.1.24895

Jessica Hurley

The Pikinni Ghost: Nuclear Hauntings and Spectral Decolonizations in the Pacific

Abstract: In his 1962 account of US nuclear tests in the Marshall Islands Neil O. Hines described irradiation as a practice of haunting, figuring radiation as "the faint footprints of the Bikini ghost" (72). This essay takes up the different conceptions of the 'Bikini ghost' constructed by the US nuclear complex and by Indigenous ri-Ṃajeḷ to theorize nuclear decolonization in the Pacific as a mode of living with ghosts. The first part of the essay analyzes the 1957 return of the surviving members of the Roñḷap community to Roñḷap. In this repatriation the US was uncharacteristically concerned that the Native population would return to their ancestral lifeways; I read this concern as an attempt to exorcize the 'ghost' of radiation culturally in ways that could not be achieved physically, keeping alive the idea that radiation was non-apocalyptic at a key moment in Cold War nuclear debates. The second part of the essay analyzes Kathy Jetñil-Kijiner's 2018 video poem *Anointed* as a decolonial approach to nuclear ghosts. Built around the image of the cracking Runit Dome, *Anointed* stages the return of the nuclear past: the nuclear materials that are literally seeping into the present through the cracks in the containment dome, and the histories of mundanely apocalyptic colonial violence that these materials both figure and perpetuate. While Western models of (nuclear) haunting insist that the ghost must be exorcized or contained, however, Jetñil-Kijiner reclaims the haunted oceanscape as a site of relation within Marshallese epistemologies to produce a resurgent decolonial reality that includes nuclear ghosts in its practices of care.

Keywords: Native Pacific, nuclear colonialism, decolonization, Kathy Jetñil-Kijiner

On the island of Runit, between the enclosed lagoon of Ānewetak Atoll and the open Pacific Ocean, there is a crypt. Buried under a concrete shell, uncannily animate, are over 3.1 million cubic feet of highly radioactive materials: military hardware; nuclear weapon fragments; pulverized and toxified coral; irradiated soil and vegetation not only from the atoll oceanscapes destroyed by the United States' 67 nuclear bombings of the Marshall Islands but also from other Native lands on far-off continents (Rust 2019).[1] The Runit Dome was built by the US army and completed in 1980. The people of the atoll call it 'The Tomb.' Like every crypt, it is supposed to lay the past to rest, to seal off the baleful influence of past (mis) deeds and keep the present safe from those things done or left undone. And like every crypt it leaks.

The Runit Dome, cracked and leaking radioactivity into the surrounding lands and waters, is both a material object and a figure for the nuclear past, for what gets buried and what refuses to remain underground. Radiation itself captures the imagination for its agential capacity in spacetime, the refusal of radioactive materials to be bound in space and their ability to extend temporally across millennia that Joseph Masco has influentially called the "nuclear uncanny" (2006, 27). This uncanny, in the Western tradition that inherits it from the gothic, is often experienced as monstrous. Gabriele Schwab's recent *Radioactive Ghosts*, for instance, describes how "[if] this [nuclear] archive is ever opened, the ghosts buried there will haunt the distant descendants of humans as radioactive ghosts, inflicting damage and death, if not annihilation. It is as if they were vengeful ghosts, taking retribution for a violation of the earth in a far-distant past" (2020, 206). Traci Brynne Voyles similarly figures uranium through the vengeful dead, describing how "environmental and social ruin have turned the planet into a visceral kind of haunted house, a closed ecosystem haunted by cyborgs, ghosts, cannibals, zombies, and the dead" (2015, 215). The nuclear ghost, in these analyses, is in monstrous opposition to the human; something to be exorcized, beheaded, staked through the heart.

As Rebecca Hogue has recently argued, however, the framing of nuclear aftermaths as externalized monsters requiring violent retributions risks both abstracting and erasing the ongoing realities of nuclear harm (See Hogue 2021a).[2] In stark opposition to these violent retributions, the Marshallese poet Kathy Jetñil-Kijiner's 2018 video poem *Anointed* presents a very different set of possibilities for relating to the nuclear crypt. Filmed in collaboration with Dan Lin and the people of Runit, *Anointed* depicts Jetñil-Kijiner in relation to the 'Tomb' as she conducts an ancestral mourning ritual on its surface (Figure 1).

1 In 2019, the *LA Times* broke the story that the US had exported 130 tons of highly irradiated soil 1,300 miles from the Nevada test site to the Marshall Islands for interment in the Runit Dome. See Rust (2019).

2 The most familiar figure of the nuclear past emerging into the present is of course the monster or kaiju, in particular Gojira/Godzilla. See Hogue (2021a) for the twentieth-century nuclear monster and Cho (2018) for its twenty-first century, post-Fukushima iteration. The nuclear ghost, however, operates at a different scale and in a different affective register than the nuclear monster, making different demands on the present and requiring different solutions.

Figure 1: Kathy Jetñil-Kijiner and Dan Lin, "Anointed," 2018. 04:28.

In this essay, I consider the nuclear ghost through two different lenses: the Western nuclear gothic, which sees the ghost as something to be exorcised, and the Marshallese epistemology of relation with land-bound ancestor-spirits that holds irradiated lands, waters, and bodies as part of a Marshallese world that is not to be banished or excluded. Through an analysis of the US nuclear complex's writings about the Marshall Islands, I show how the narrative framework of the nuclear gothic led to devastating consequences for ri-Ṃajeḷ as the US forced them to live on irradiated atolls as a way of exorcizing the nuclear ghost. I then turn to an analysis of Jetñil-Kijiner's *Anointed* as an example of how ri-Ṃajeḷ have insisted on relating to the nuclear past within Marshallese epistemologies and ontologies as a way of decolonizing their relationships with the atoll oceanscapes and the nuclear pasts that they continue to manifest in the present. Taking up the historical and material burden of this legacy, Jetñil-Kijiner shows how, in Keith L. Camacho's words, "while the militarized cartographies of U.S. empire may continue to haunt us, the foundational and emerging works of Pacific Islander artists, poets, scholars, student activists, and many others are contributing to a transoceanic consciousness rooted in social and political justice" (2011, xxvii). Co-existing with the nuclear ghost as an ancestor-spirit rather than insisting on its exorcism, Jetñil-Kijiner and her collaborators imagine and demand a sovereign relation to histories of damage that works towards justice and decolonization in the present.

'The Bikini Ghost'

Between 1946 and 1958, the US detonated 67 nuclear weapons on the Marshall Islands. Each weapon released more radioactivity than the bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. As "tests," the official function of these bombings was not to wage war — although "undeclared nuclear warfare," as Masahide Kato has argued, was waged — but to gather data (1993, 339). The institution responsible for gathering data about the biological impact of radiation on oceanic ecosystems was the Applied Fisheries Laboratory (AFL), a lab established at the University of Washington in 1942 as part of what would soon be named the Manhattan Project in order to study the potential impact of plutonium toxicity from the soon-to-be-opened Hanford plutonium processing plant on the piscine life of the Columbia River. Under the direction of the fish biologist Lauren R. Donaldson the AFL became a major part of the US nuclear testing complex in the Pacific after the end of World War II, designing and conducting the major experiments that would examine the movement of radiation through the Pacific environment and track its effects on atoll ecosystems in the Marshall Islands. In 1962, the laboratory's administrator-publicist Neil O. Hines published an institutional biography of the AFL, translating the memories, memos, and scientific reports of a scientific laboratory into a narrative account of the lab's experiences and findings in the Pacific. Written for a general audience, *Proving Ground: An Account of the Radiobiological Studies in the Pacific, 1946–1961* combines accounts of scientific processes with narrative tropes from the Robinsonade to the Pacific adventure story to the mid-century spearfishing report to paint a multilayered picture of how the US nuclear complex perceived the Marshall Islands and their Indigenous inhabitants; and how those perceptions shaped the decisions made by the colonial powers, including the laboratory itself.

The nuclear ghost makes its first appearance, for Hines, during the first return of the AFL to the Marshall Islands after the 1946 Operation Crossroads test series at Pikinni Atoll, the first post-war nuclear detonations and the first to be conducted at the US's new colonial holdings in the Pacific.[3] While the first detonation, Test Able, was somewhat smaller and more contained than expected, the second, Test Baker, was larger and more messy, dispersing highly radioactive water, soil, and pulverized coral over much of the atoll. As part of their initial report on the biological impact of the test, the AFL recommended that follow-up studies be done at Pikinni the following year "to further the studies of population changes and provide information on genetic problems" (Hines 1962, 48). The resur-

3 For the colonial structure of the Strategic Trust Territory designation see Bahng (2020).

vey was approved, and on July 1, 1947 the Bikini [sic] Scientific Resurvey team sailed from San Diego aboard the USS Chilton (57).

In his summation of their findings, Hines deploys the figure of the nuclear ghost to describe the uncanny lingering of radiation within the atoll's ecosystem:

> If the atoll were considered as a whole, reassurance was there. On the floor of the lagoon, beneath the former target center, lay half a million tons of radioactive mud. But on the islands and reefs and in the waters of the lagoon—even where there existed a mysterious turbidity—life still appeared to thrive and flourish. Even where the faint footprints of the Bikini ghost could be detected they apparently were being dimmed by sun and wind and water. Tiny hermit crabs continued to haul their shells across the sands, making small traces. Big blue and brown coconut crabs stalked as usual through the fallen husks on Namo Island or stared in beady solemnity from the recesses of their burrows amid the roots of palm trees (72).

In Hines's account, the "Bikini ghost" is situated in a specific relationship to both the past and the future. Like more traditional ghosts, the ghost of radiation is the trailing aftereffect of past (mis)deeds; Pikinni is haunted by an invisible, agential being that can be perceived only by the traces it leaves behind, the "faint footprints" in the sand and water. In the nuclear gothic imaginary, as with other forms of ecogothic that figure environmental violence through "gothic slippages in time (with past and present meeting through the built environment) and in agency (with land and infrastructure taking on uncanny powers and abilities to act)," Pikinni is the haunted house and radiation is its resident ghost (Evans 2021, 446). In this sense, the Pikinni ghost could be interpreted through the lens of existing ghost theories: as Schwab and Voyles argue it is the trace of past nuclear violence, and following the hauntologies developed by Jacques Derrida and Avery Gordon it could be seen as a call for responsibility towards that historical violence, with the footprints of radiation functioning as the "seething presence" (Gordon 2008, 8) of the past in the present, a presence that calls us to "some responsibility, beyond all living present, within that which disjoins the living present, before the ghosts of those who are not yet born or who are already dead" (Derrida 1994, xviii).

Hines's framing of the temporality of the nuclear ghost, however, produces quite a different set of conclusions about the call of historical responsibility. For Gordon, "[being] haunted draws us affectively, sometimes against our will and always a bit magically, into the structure of feel-

ing of a reality we come to experience, not as cold knowledge, but as a transformative recognition" (2008, 8). For Hines, however, and for the nuclear complex more broadly, addressing the nuclear ghost requires not transformation but continuity. The most striking thing about Hines's moment of nuclear gothic is how efficiently it evokes both the presence of the nuclear ghost and its exorcism — an exorcism that is figured as both natural and inevitable. It is not historical responsibility that is required to exorcize the nuclear ghost; Hines does not conclude that the US nuclear complex is required by the ghost's presence to clean up the radiation lingering in the landscape, or to stop detonating nuclear weapons to prevent the raising of more such ghosts. Rather, time and nature are imbued with the power to settle nuclear ghosts. It is "sun and wind and water" that will "dim" the ghost to nothing over time, and it is the normalcy of nature's creatures that limn the limits of the ghost's power of transformative disruption. As long as "hermit crabs continued to haul their shells across the sands" and "coconut crabs stalked as usual through the fallen husks" (Hines 72), the AFL and the nuclear complex in which it is embedded can treat radiation as "cold knowledge," data to be studied rather than a revenant producing "transformative recognition" of the AFL's complicity in nuclear harm (Gordon 8). As long as things figured as natural and temporally uninterrupted continue "as usual," in other words, the US nuclear complex can evade the call of responsibility and justice coming from the nuclear ghost (Hines 72).

Understanding the continuity of 'nature' and those things figured as 'natural' as a key part of exorcizing the nuclear ghost and silencing its call for justice allows us to make sense of one of the most cryptic sets of decisions of the US's occupation of the Marshall Islands: the 1957 return of the ri-Roñļap to Roñļap, and the subsequent refusal, when the ri-Roñļap realized that they were being injured by the radiation on the atoll, to evacuate them to a safer place. As I have argued elsewhere, the US nuclear complex saw itself as settler-colonizing the Marshall Islands through its nuclear tests on the oceanscape (Hurley 2022). In this context, occupation of the land/ocean and "elimination of the native" go hand in hand as the settler colony seeks to build over Indigenous reality with its own (Wolfe 2006, 387); in the Marshall Islands, occupying the oceanscape with military installations and suburban housing or with nuclear radiation both serve the same function, rewriting the oceanscape as properly American rather than Marshallese (Hobart 2021; Hurley 2022). And yet Roñļap came to serve a very different function for the US, as rather than embracing the transformation of the atoll from Marshallese to American the US insisted on its restoration to a Marshallese way of life.

Roñḷap — or more specifically its Native inhabitants, since US personnel were evacuated immediately — was evacuated two days after it had been horrifically irradiated by the detonation of the US's first thermonuclear weapon during the Bravo test in March 1954. In June 1956, even though the island was at that point still considered too radioactive for human inhabitation, the Los Angeles architects Holmes & Narver were authorized to start drawing up plans to rebuild the Native village. At this point, the District Administrator of the Trust Territory had already completed a report outlining "the housing and other community needs of the Rongelapese people on their return" (Hines 1962, 234–5). In July of the same year, Holmes & Narver personnel, representatives of the Trust Territory administration, and members of the native council visited Roñḷap "to consult on the sites of the new living areas and on plans for dwellings and community facilities, including a new chapel to replace the dwellings destroyed by fire" (235). In February 1957 permission was given by the AEC to repatriate the ri-Roñḷap; construction was completed in June, and the surviving members of the Roñḷap community (plus new children) were returned to Roñḷap on June 29, 1957.

This historical outline gives the bare-bones account of the repatriation, but it fails to capture the obsessive nature of the combined Atomic Energy Agency-Trust Territory-AFL attempt to make ri-Roñḷap be "native" to the island again. When AFL returned to Roñḷap in the spring of 1958, they recorded, with some concern, that "coconut cultivation was not yet re-established on the old basis. Neither breadfruit nor papaya was available[.] [...] Domestic animals and fowls were still in short supply. The native diet was [...] supplemented by supplies of C rations provided under the auspices of the Trust Territory" (251). Hines describes a distinctly awkward scene in which AFL personnel "gathered samples of native food materials from land and water — coconut, pandanus, arrowroot, squash, and morinda on land, and the giant clam, coconut crab, land hermit crab, shore crab, snail, reef fish, and pelagic fish in the lagoon — and [...] attempted to establish in the Rongelapese an understanding of the need for continued periodic attention to themselves as individuals and to the environment in which they lived" (251). The AFL approaches the repatriation of ri-Roñḷap here as some form of 'rewilding,' in which the ri-Roñḷap must be reminded of what the "native food materials" are and instructed in how to inhabit their home environment (251).

When ri-Roñḷap failed to somehow move back in time, as if it were possible to undo three years of exile, forced medical experimentation, and living in close quarters with the US nuclear complex, it was a source of extreme anxiety for both the AFL and the colonial administrators in

charge of the Trust Territory. Hines reports that in 1958 the High Commissioner of the Trust Territory, Delmas H. Nucker, had "substantial" concern that "the three years of medical care and enforced dependence at Majuro had deprived the Rongelapese of opportunities and incentives to care for themselves, and the months since their return, in which they continued to receive supplementary foods such as rice and C rations, had demonstrated that they still were far from ready to attempt to make their own way on the old basis" (254). By July of 1959, things were even worse:

> two years after their repatriation, it was evident that the Rongelapese as members of a community group were not moving as rapidly as had been expected toward readjustment to 'normal' atoll life. A measure of this delay was the failure of their agricultural production to supply sufficient food for the population. The use of supplementary supplies of C rations and rice had been protracted, necessarily, far beyond the original calculation. Trust Territory agricultural specialists were giving all possible aid to the effort to increase production of coconut, papaya, pandanus, and breadfruit, the atoll staples, but still production lagged. The mood of the Rongelapese was not now unhappy; it was, rather, one of weariness with attentions that seemed never to end[.] [...] They were not ready, or did not know how, to take charge of their lives again (258).

While the toxification and enclosure of traditional foodstuffs and their replacement with highly processed Western goods has had a terrible impact on Marshallese health, as it has for people in Native nations in North America, this has not traditionally been seen as a problem for the settler colonial state. For the AFL, however, this is a crisis that must be addressed; a crisis so extreme that even the AFL, whose budget and professional identity relied on being able to extract data from the Pacific, agreed to a year-long moratorium on visits to Roñļap in the hope that ceasing interactions with outsiders would allow ri-Roñļap to return to their "natural" state and "take charge of their lives again" (258).

To some degree, this concern can be laid at the door of the nature of the Trust Territory designation under which the US had control of the atolls. The legal fiction of the Trust Territory, first designed after World War I to avoid decolonizing German colonial holdings, did not officially allow for colonialism as permanent occupation; rather, the role of the occupying nation under the UN mandate was to "guide" the people of the Marshall, Caroline, and Mariana Islands towards self-government. This mandate "'committed' the United States to fostering the political, eco-

nomic, social, and education advancement of the islands" (Hanlon 1998, 52). The US thus had a fuzzily defined (to the point of irrelevance, as the use of the islands for nuclear testing demonstrates) "caretaking" mandate for the Marshall Islands within which rendering them uninhabitable may have been a bad look.[4] Yet the language of advancement could have provided a very different approach towards the repatriation of ri-Roñļap, as it did with regard to the Indigenous nations of North America and indeed in the rest of Micronesia. In North America the "civilizing mission" was the direct obverse of the restoration of Roñļap, with genocidal infrastructures from the residential school to the adoption system designed to force Indigenous people out of their lifeways (described as "backwards") and into what the colonizers saw as Western modernity. In the Marshall Islands, meanwhile, the discourse of development was fully underway on other atolls; by the 1970s, for instance, the island of Kuwajleen in Kuwajleen Atoll had been fully transformed into an American suburb serviced by a Marshallese community living in slum conditions on neighboring Ebeye, with this transformation seeming to be perfectly in accord with the progress narrative of the civilizing mission granted by the UN mandate. When so much of America's colonizing impetus is to force Native peoples into 'modernity'—including by removing them from their land and replacing their access to traditional foods with the equivalent of C rations—the Trust Territory designation cannot fully account for the nuclear complex's obsession with getting ri-Roñļap back onto Roñļap and restoring them to their 'normal' way of life.

Rather, the crisis experienced by the nuclear complex on Roñļap stems from the fact that, for them, the uninterrupted continuity of "natural" life was required in at least one location in order to prove that the nuclear ghost could and would be settled on its own. We can see in the nuclear complex's writings here the enormous investment in (re)producing the ri-Roñļap as 'natural' beings: first they have to be coded as part of 'nature' (obviously drawing on hundreds of years of Western perceptions of Pacific Natives as being a part of their tropical environment)—hence, no C rations—and, as such, the nuclear complex must be able to demonstrate that their 'natural' lives have continued undisrupted over the apocalyptic rupture of nuclear bombing. The nuclear ghost, like other ghosts, figures time out of joint; only the placid, unchanging continuity of the sun and the sea, the coconut crab, and the hermit crab, and finally the ri-Roñļap can exorcize it and silence its calls for justice. Roñļap thus developed a totemic power for the US nuclear complex, one which would bind the US to keeping ri-Roñļap on Roñļap whether they wanted it (as in the runup to the 1957 repatriation) or not (as when the US refused to evacuate the Roñļapese in

4 Image being the important thing here, since the US had complete sovereign power over the TTPI which could not be challenged by the UN or any other nation (Hanlon 1998, 52).

1984 after the appalling health impacts of living on an irradiated atoll had become apparent, abandoning them on the radiotoxic island until they were rescued a year later by the Greenpeace ship *Rainbow Warrior*). In a rare exception to how the settler colonial state normally perceives land, Roñļap was remarkably non-fungible: ri-Roñļap had to return to this atoll and they had to live upon it in the traditional way.[5]

Of course, the story of the return to Roñļap looked very different from a Roñļapese perspective. In addition to the illnesses caused by the radiotoxic environment, the irradiated nature of the atoll also disrupted the customary traditions that the AFL and the Trust Territory administrators so desired to see restored. In an interview with Joanne Barker in 1999, Mike Kabua described how radiation distorted the "social roles" that structured Marshallese society (Barker 2004, 77):

> *Iroij* visits to Rongelap after 1957 were difficult. The people were required to give food to their *iroij* even when the food was contaminated, such as coconut crabs, because of the cultural importance. People didn't want to give contaminated food to the *iroij*, but they had to. By the same token, the *iroij* didn't want to accept the contaminated food, but had to. The *iroij* was scared of eating coconut crab, but it is so important to give coconut crab to the *iroij* that the *iroij* could kick people off the land for not giving it to him. The people were also afraid the *iroij* would reject the food (Barker 2004, 77).

From the AFL's perspective, the completion of the customary gift of food to the iroij would be a shining example of ri-Roñļap "taking charge of their lives again" and the continuity of human-ecological practice uninterrupted by unfortunate past events like thermonuclear bombings (Hines 258). Kabua's account, however, shows a cultural practice that has become inhabited by the nuclear ghost: the presence of radiation haunts every step in this traditional exchange such that even when the required steps are undertaken, the meaning attached to the ceremony cannot but be changed by the historical-environmental rupture that has irrevocably altered reality for ri-Ṃajeļ. Where the AFL sees continuity, Kabua describes the rupture that the nuclear complex must disavow if they are to continue their business in the production of nuclear ghosts.

And disavow they did. When AFL returned to Roñļap after the moratorium on visits, they were delighted to find that "the eighteen months of respite from examinations and surveys apparently had permitted further restoration of attitudes and community activities characteristic of earlier years" (Hines 1962, 293). Hines's temporal construction demonstrates the

5 My analysis here resonates with Rebecca Hogue's account of the "nuclear normalizing" at work in the US's biomedical communications with ri-Ṃajeļ (2021b).

nuclear complex's investment in Roñļap: they sought to transport the reality of "earlier years" through time into the present, such that the event of the bombing and its production of nuclear hauntings is eliminated from the timeline when it comes to peoples' lived experience. A community that has survived a traumatic event and a long cohabitation with an occupying force in altered form is not enough; the community must be 'restored' to its prior state. Here we can see a variation on the transpacific process described by Erin Suzuki in which a US focus on healing Japanese hibakusha bodies worked to erase Marshallese voices "and the evidence of colonial violence enacted on their bodies [...] from emerging discourses around global nuclear power" (2021, 34); in this instance, rather than the turn to what Lisa Yoneyama has called "nuclear universalism," it is a weaponized form of cultural specificity that works to invisibilize nuclear injury and colonial responsibility in the Marshall Islands (Yoneyama 1999, 15). As with the flora and fauna of the atolls, the appearance of unaltered, uninterrupted, non-apocalyptic human life on Roñļap was a necessary alibi for the nuclear complex, one which would keep alive the idea that nuclearization could continue without responsibility for its consequences, for the ghosts that it would produce and their call for justice.

The nuclear ghost, Schwab writes, marks a "double haunting:" a "haunting from the past [...] and a haunting from the future" (Schwab 2020, 17). In the nuclear age, we are haunted by past nuclear events as well as the threat of the nuclear events to come, including the transgenerational bodily harms set into motion by the nuclear events of the past. Schwab argues that one of the most impactful results of this double nuclear haunting has been "a persistent epistemology of deceit and denial [that] causes most people to live their lives in a mode of *as if*—they live *as if* the danger of the plutonium economy were a thing of the past, or they live *as if* there still were a sustainable shared world free from the threat of nuclear annihilation" (2022, 17). The context of nuclear settler colonialism in the Marshall Islands makes this *as if* visible as itself a power relation: we may all be forced to live in the psychic state of splitting and denial indexed by the *as if*, but some of us, especially in this case the Marshallese, are forced to live in highly radiotoxic environments in order to sustain the denial and splitting of those who irradiated them. Those who live atop the Tomb, who cannot but be consciously aware of the past irradiations threatening their personal and intergenerational futures, are forbidden the work of mourning as an integral part of the colonial enterprise that forces them to live there in the first place. The exorcism of the nuclear ghost is central to the ongoing operations of the nuclear complex, which enacts its own distance from nuclear haunting by forcing colonized and formerly

colonized peoples into intimacy with it. Reckoning with the nuclear ghost, doing the work of mourning, thus becomes not solely an act of historical responsibility for those engaged in nuclear colonialism, but also an important aspect of nuclear decolonization.

Resignifying the Tomb

The work of mourning as an act of nuclear decolonization is foregrounded in a recent work by Kathy Jetñil-Kijiner, a Marshallese poet and activist whose spoken and written works have done a great deal to bring the entwined realities of nuclearization, climate change, and colonialism in the Marshall Islands to a global audience. The Marshall Islands' most well-known contemporary artist, Jetñil-Kijiner rose to global prominence after performing her poem "Dear Matafele Peinem" at the 2014 UN Climate Summit. She went on to publish the first book of poetry by a Marshallese author, *Iep Jāltok: Poems from a Marshallese Daughter*, in 2017, as well as cofounding the environmental and climate justice organization Jo-Jikum. In *Anointed* (2018), Jetñil-Kijiner, in collaboration with photographer Dan Lin, returns to the nuclear histories that she first addressed in purely written form in *Iep Jāltok*. Through the tensions and rifts between the oral, aural, written, and visual components of representation made possible by the video poem as a form, Jetñil-Kijiner approaches the Tomb and the nuclear ghost from a position grounded in the historical, spatial, and epistemological specificities of the Marshall Islands, revealing the ongoing nature of the harm obscured by the processes of denial and splitting imposed by nuclear settler colonialism while also insisting on the possibility of a decolonized relationship to that harm. In *Anointed*, the nuclear ghost's capacity to call for justice is restored through the reincorporation of the ghost itself into Marshallese lifeways.

Anointed opens with a black screen displaying the words "After WWII the United States tested 67 nuclear weapons in the Marshall Islands" (Jetñil-Kijiner and Lin 2018). The sound of the ocean plays over the dark screen and the small white text, attuning the sensorium of the viewer to an aural register that is shaped by the ocean and challenging the authority and ability of the Anglophone written word on the screen to capture the reality of Marshallese experience. While the poem is in English (and Jetñil-Kijiner has written with sorrow elsewhere of her limited fluency in Marshallese), the opening frames thus evoke the difference between Marshallese and Western conceptions of the relationship between language and the natural world. In Marshallese vocalized morphemes are imagined as

capturing the reality of the environment in sounds, in contrast to Western languages that are imagined as arbitrary sounds that mediate the world without being inherently connected to it; in Marshallese, "voices pick up the sounds of the environment and persons retain their environment and lineage by voicing Marshallese sounds properly" (Schwartz 2016, 8). In *Anointed* the ocean is the voice that first speaks, offering an unabstracted voice and a representation of the world in which the Pacific is a live and active storyteller of its own narrative even as that narrative has been written over by the history of nuclear testing as shown in the written text.

Like the "radiation language" described by Barker (2004, chapter 6), in which new terms and phrasings to describe the experience of nuclearization are developed in Marshallese as an act of resistance to the interpretations of the nuclear experience imposed on ri-M̧ajeļ in English, Jetñil-Kijiner's foregrounding of the voice of the ocean itself rejects Anglophone nuclear-colonial epistemologies and centers the ocean as a site of meaning-making. Nature ceases to be that which exorcises the ghost, an object manufactured by the US whose continuity will absolve the nuclear colonizer of any responsibility for the harm committed. It becomes instead a speaking voice and source of authority within a Marshallese epistemology, capable of carrying its own truth about histories of nuclear harm and speaking back to the erasure of historical harm. Invisible yet audible, the ocean embodies the nuclear ghost that the West's best efforts have failed to exorcise — and the demand for justice that, like the ghost itself, refuses to pass on.

In the following sequence, *Anointed* models a Marshallese approach to the nuclear ghost haunting the oceanscape. At the beginning of the poem proper, the extradiegetic sound of the ocean becomes an intradiegetic sound as the first visual shot of the film appears (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Jetñil-Kijiner and Lin, "Anointed." 00:15.

The shot is filmed from eye height from the middle of an outrigger canoe looking out across the open prow; no other people on the ship are visible, but we can see the sail, the rigging, the sky, the wave patterns, and the way that the canoe is moving across them. The shot thus places us in the position of the helmsman during a long ocean voyage, the one who "had to keep his eyes on the riggings, the stars, the wave patterns, and the weather signs while others slept in relative comfort" (Stone et al. 2000, 4). This placing evokes the Marshallese term *juumummej*, which translates to 'stand awake.' According to Donna K. Stone, Kinuko Kowata, and Bernice Joash, "Marshallese use this in circumstances requiring concentration, alertness and a sense of responsibility for the welfare of others" (4). Placed in the position of the navigator of the outrigger canoe, a position and a technology that is central to Marshallese cultural identity and a cultural resurgence of place and sovereignty on the ocean (Genz 2018), the viewer is interpellated within a Marshallese world where history, cosmology, place, and epistemology come together to call forth what will be necessary to approach Runit: focus, attention, and "a sense of responsibility for the welfare of others" (Stone et al. 4). Just as the previous sequence differentiated Marshallese conceptions of sound, land, and meaning from those of the West, so this shot distinguishes a Native Pacific approach to Runit defined by care and responsibility from the nuclear complex's approach to the atolls defined by appropriation, exploitation, and human suffering. While the words of the poem are marked by a sense of destruction and loss: ("Will I find an island / or a tomb?" [Jetñil-Kijiner and Lin]), the visual language of the canoe journey establishes a Marshallese framework of care within which this loss will be incorporated.

This disjunction between the words of the poem and the aural and visual components of the film continues throughout the text, building a layered, shifting, and sometimes contradictory aesthetic that captures the complex histories and dialogic presents of life in the nuclear contact zone. While some textual moments match the mood and content of the sound and visuals (as when Jetñil-Kijiner narrates the legendary burning of a village after a child is given a smoldering brand by Letao accompanied by visuals of detonations at the Pacific Proving Ground and the roaring sound of the bombs), the text of the poem tends to offer a darker and less mutable reality than that proposed by the film. Early in the poem, for instance, Jetñil-Kijiner speaks the lines: "There will be no white stones to scatter around this grave. There will be no songs to sing" over the image of an empty woven basket. And yet, as the film progresses, we see Jetñil-Kijiner conduct the ritual of placing white stones on the "grave" of the Runit Dome (Figure 3), and after the end of the poem the film continues

for almost another minute and a half with the instrumental sound that underscores the end of the poem giving way to footage of the ri-Runit songwriter Helina Kaiko singing "A Song for Runit" beneath written information about the present state of Runit, the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, and the film's credits. English, the language of nuclear colonial occupation, is thus associated with claims about how things will unchangeably go, while the images and sounds of ri-Ṃajeḷ honoring Runit contradict these futural foreclosures.

Figure 3: Jetñil-Kijiner and Lin, "Anointed." 03:36.

With this tension between the language of the poem and the images and sounds of the film, Jetñil-Kijiner and Lin challenge the inflexibility of signification imposed on the Marshall Islands by the settler colonial nuclear complex. For the nuclear complex, as we saw with the repatriation of the ri-Roñḷap, the power to fix land, ocean, and people in time and space and determine what they would mean was a crucial part of nuclear colonialism. It was this power over signification that both demanded the return to Roñḷap and insisted that this return meant that it was possible to continue "as usual" after a thermonuclear bombing. In the poem, the Runit Dome, itself, comes to stand in for this fixed historico-spatial signification: "Plutonium ground into a concrete slurry filled your hollow cavern. You became tomb. You became concrete shell. You became solidified history, immoveable, unforgettable."

And yet *Anointed* establishes a more active and more flexible relationship to this "immoveable, unforgettable" history site for ri-Ṃajeḷ, asking "How shall we remember you?" to suggest that how the Runit Dome will become incorporated into the stories that compose Marshallese concep-

tions of the world is still an open question (Jetñil-Kijiner and Lin). The tensions and contradictions between the poem's verbal, visual, and aural languages also work to hold this question open, suggesting the inability of nuclear settler colonialism to maintain its signifying power over the Marshallese oceanscape even as the Runit Dome stands as an eternal monument to its attempts to do so. The nuclear colonial processes of denial and splitting demand that the world be fixed as a singular 'as if,' removed from the multiplicity and ongoingness of Indigenous worldmaking processes. *Anointed* reclaims Runit as a site that is still open to relation, to being part of a Marshallese world. The nuclear ghost that haunts the Tomb is rendered apprehensible, no longer disguised by the stunning natural beauty of the atoll. And yet unlike in the USian (nuclear) gothic, where the past is "something lapsed or outlived," the ghost is not brought into sight merely to dispel it, to consign it to the past where it belongs (Fiedler 1960, 115). Rather, the tomb becomes a site of mourning within a Marshallese epistemology where the dead become not ghosts, but ancestor-spirits.

At the launch of *Anointed* at da Shop bookstore in Hawai'i, Jetñil-Kijiner and Lin described approaching the Runit Dome as like "visiting a sick relative you never met" (Frain 2018). This approach situates the dome within Marshallese epistemologies in which "land is the lifeblood of the people; it is treated as a family member, and it is sacred and represents the living spirits of both the ancestors who took care of it and future generations that will continue the synergistic relationship" (Barker 2019, 366). *Anointed* does not pretend that Runit is well, but nor does it treat damaged land as disposable or consign it to the past. Rather, the oceanscape of Runit is treated as a "sick relative," an irreplaceable individual whose illness is real and whose sickness imposes a responsibility of care upon you as a family member. In Marshallese ghost theory, ancestor-spirits are inherently locational such that environments become ancestral as they become hosts to the non-corporeal past (Carucci 2019, 46). Treating the contaminated oceanscape as an ancestor-spirit thus incorporates the irradiated atoll into Marshallese kinship structures: no longer a rupture of Marshallese lifeways, but something that can be incorporated into the continuity of Marshallese life. As Aimee Bahng writes of the poem, "there can be healing to remember beyond death" (2020, 62). The leaking Tomb demands not, or not only, better sealing and containment to exorcise more completely the leakage of the past into the present. Rather, the Tomb and its ghosts require the work of mourning: the gathering of white stones into the basket, the scattering of stones upon the grave. In performing these rituals for the Tomb, rituals that are traditionally performed on the graves of the ancestors in order to maintain the connection between the past and the

present, Jetñil-Kijiner resignifies the nuclear ghost as an ancestor-spirit whose relationality must be respected; a relation that might be improved, but that should not be severed.[6]

Anointed thus radically transforms the temporality through which the nuclear complex is able to imagine the nuclear ghost as something exorcised, something confined to the past. For the nuclear complex, time is linear and the past is unreachable; it is the ideal Tomb, where what is forgotten can truly be lost. The narrative energy of the nuclear gothic comes from the fear of the return of the repressed, that this temporal containment might fail. In *Anointed*, however, Jetñil-Kijiner models a very different relationship to the nuclear past. When Jetñil-Kijiner addresses the island, asking "who remembers you beyond your death?" (2018), the film presents the answer (figure 4): it is the people of the island who remember.

Figure 4: Jetñil-Kijiner and Lin, "Anointed." 02:27.

The poem collapses the time of loss, of absence, and the time of the now, of presence. There are moments where this collapse is more aligned with traditional notions of the nuclear uncanny and the vengeful ghost, as when the camera lingers on a ri-Runit woman's deformed hands while the narrator cites the linear temporality of the exorcised ghost promised by the nuclear scientists: "*It's not radioactive anymore / Your illnesses are normal / You're fine. / You're fine*" (italics original). More frequently, though, the presence evoked by the film defines a Marshallese time of what Gerald Vizenor calls survivance (2010): the ongoing reality of a Marshallese sovereignty that stands against loss, as when over the narrator's descriptions of that which has been lost—"[y]ou were a whole island, once. You were

6 For the connection to ancestors through the grave ritual see Barker (2004, 70–71). Carucci discusses how non-corporeal spirits are to be worked around rather than exorcised in the Marshall Islands (2019).

breadfruit trees heavy with green globes of fruit whispering promises of massive canoes" — the camera shows those heavy fruits in the present, shows Marshallese children embraced by the ocean, shows the canoe. The ongoing power of the past to harm the present is a truth, and a bad one. But *Anointed* insists that it is not the only way that the past continues into the present. Marshallese sovereignty and relatedness to the oceanscape also figures the co-presence of past and present, and it is by developing a sovereign kinship relationship to the past — not by adopting the Western logic of the past's disposability and the nuclear gothic's figuring of the past as fearful revenant — that the film imagines the creation of an ongoing Marshallese world.

Anointed's process of production also serves as a practical example of how a resignified, decolonized relationship with the past can provide a framework and opportunity for building a decolonized Marshallese lifeworld. At the launch of *Anointed*, Jetñil-Kijiner and Lin described how "the voyage included community discussions with elders and a writing workshop with the youth. Since the story of the dome is not usually a 'happy one' the gatherings and workshops served as a method for the people to tell their stories not covered in the media or reported in US government documents" (Frain 2018). *Anointed* is a work written in collaboration with and in relation to both Runit Island and the people of Runit. In this way it counts as a form of Marshallese knowledge, which is formed from *jitdam kapeel*, "an intricate understanding of these connections and relationships — of the spaces that connect people in complex and overlapping genealogies and social hierarchies" (La Briola 2006, 12). Within jitdam kapeel, the world is a web of persons in relation to each other — persons including people, islands, lagoons, and oceans — not only synchronically, but also diachronically, as the importance of genealogy builds a world composed of social webs that stretch backwards and forwards across time.

Where the nuclear complex seeks to create nuclear ghosts in perpetuity on the assumption that it can then consign them to the past, then, *Anointed* emerges from and works to perpetuate a world that, while haunted by the nuclear ghost, refuses to render it disposable. As a spoken word event, the poem participates in a long tradition of oral performance in the Native Pacific that is designed to "establish an actively dialogical relationship with the audience;" to facilitate "intersubjective relationships" which, as Michelle Keown emphasizes, "can involve the dead as well as the living" (2018, 40). In its collectivity and its approach to Runit, including the Tomb, as a relative, it insists that even an oceanscape that has been seeded with nuclear ghosts can be decolonized, can be a space for what

ri-Ṃajeḷ call *ippān doon*, togetherness across time as a practice of survival and freedom (Schwartz 2012, 12). In *Anointed*, we see figures of isolation such as Jetñil-Kijiner standing alone on top of the Runit Dome. But we also see Jetñil-Kijiner recuperating the dome as a space of ippān doon by conducting the graveside ritual with which one would mourn a relative, rejecting the nuclear complex's logic of containment and its use of splitting as a psychic fixative, and reincorporating it into the relational web of the Marshallese world.

As I have argued in relation to Māori nuclear kinship, to claim a kinship relation to nuclear things is to claim a sovereign relation to them that stands in opposition to colonial powers' attempts to appropriate nuclear as well as other forms of sovereignty to themselves (Hurley 2018, 33). Kinship is a sovereign mode of social-environmental organization that, as Jeffrey Sissons has argued, "provides a foundation for cultural resistance to the rational operation of state power" (2005, 33). As such, reframing the nuclear ghost through the lens of kinship serves to actualize an Indigenous reality against the imposed reality of nuclear settler colonialism. Across the Pacific, Indigenous writers from Jetñil-Kijiner to the Māori author James George to the Chamoru poet Craig Santos Perez and the Native Hawaiian novelist Kiana Davenport have used their writing to incorporate nuclear things into Indigenous kinship structures, storying the world anew to build an alternative world within which nuclearization can be understood as part of Indigenous lifeways. As a form of antinuclear worldmaking, the assertion of kinship with haunted nuclearized environments serves as what Sasha Davis has defined as "a form of activism bent not just on rhetorically challenging power but also on territorializing an alternative regime of power in space" (2020, 47); as Erica Violet Lee (Cree) writes of taking up the responsibility of care for wastelanded landscapes and bodies: "It is here I understand that love and law are one and the same" (Lee 2016). Caring for the nuclear ghost as a sick relative, as Jetñil-Kijiner frames it in *Anointed*, is both an act of love and law, love *as* law, a law that stakes its own claim to the irradiated lands and waters of the Marshall Islands and that in so doing enacts a process of nuclear decolonization.

Through its recomposition of relations with the nuclear ghost as ancestor-spirit, *Anointed* recreates the Tomb as a place where Marshallese law and kinship structures are actively resurgent, countering the eliminationist settlements of nuclear settler colonialism and its attempt to exorcise the nuclear ghost with vibrant and ongoing practices of Native Pacific sovereignty. As I write, the US is, once again, refusing to honor its ongoing responsibility for the ongoing harms of nuclear testing in the

Marshall Islands by claiming a strict division between the past and what comes after it, repeating its assertion that the (extremely limited and as yet unfulfilled) compensation scheme set up in the Compact of Free Association between the US and the Marshall Islands settled "all claims, past, present, and future" that might be made by the lingering presence of what we are calling here the nuclear ghost (Kyodo News 2022). The assertion of the ongoing, relational presence of the nuclear ghost not only counters such a claim, but does so within a decolonial framework that insists on the vibrancy and power of Marshallese sovereignty and its capacity to claim justice. In *Anointed*, as in Marshallese struggles for nuclear justice more generally, the work of mourning, banned for so long by the nuclear complex as it sought to expel the harm of thermonuclear bombing from consciousness, becomes an ongoing relationship with the past that provides the ground, like other ancestors, on which a future might be built. Fusing their antinuclear decolonial critique with their ongoing care for the Tomb, Jetñil-Kijiner, Lin, and the people of Runit turn to the desperate call of *Anointed*'s lyrical 'I'—"[t]here must be more to this than incinerated trees, a cracked dome, a rising sea, a leaking nuclear waste with no fence, there must be more than a concrete shell that houses death" (2018)—and answer: *there is. There is.*

Jessica Hurley is Assistant Professor of English and affiliate faculty in Native American and Indigenous Studies at George Mason University. She is author of *Infrastructures of Apocalypse: American Literature and the Nuclear Complex* (University of Minnesota Press, 2020), which was awarded the Association for the Study of Literature and the Environment book prize and shortlisted for the Association for the Study of the Arts of the Present book prize. Her work has appeared in *American Quarterly*, *symplokē*, *Comparative Literature Studies*, *American Literature*, and *Extrapolation*, among others. She is currently working on a new book project, *Nuclear Decolonizations*.

Bibliography

Bahng, Aimee. 2020. "The Pacific Proving Grounds and the Proliferation of Settler Environmentalism." *Journal of Transnational American Studies* 11 (2): 45–73.

Barker, Holly M. 2004. *Bravo for the Marshallese: Regaining Control in a Post-Nuclear, Post-Colonial World*. Belmont: Wadsworth Pub.

Barker, Holly M. 2019. "Unsettling SpongeBob and the Legacies of Violence on Bikini Bottom." *The Contemporary Pacific* 31 (2): 345–79.

Camacho, Keith L. 2011. "Transoceanic Flows: Pacific Islander Interventions across the American Empire." *Amerasia Journal* 37 (3): ix–xxxiv.

Carucci, Laurence Marshall. 2019. "Beyond the Corporeal and Concrete: Framing Interactions with Spirit Beings in Marshallese Worlds." In *Haunted Pacific: Anthropologists Investigate Spectral Apparitions across Oceania*, edited by Roger Ivar Lohmann, 41–62. Durham: Carolina Academic Press.

Cho, Yu-Fang. 2018. "Remembering Gojira/Godzilla: Nuclearism and Racial Reproduction in America's Asia-Pacific." In *Racial Ecologies*, edited by LeiLani Nishime and Kim D. Hester Williams, 220–33. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Davis, Sasha. 2015. *The Empires' Edge: Militarization, Resistance, and Transcending Hegemony in the Pacific*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.

Davis, Sasha. 2020. *Islands and Oceans: Reimagining Sovereignty and Social Change*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.

Derrida, Jacques. 1994. *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning, and the New International*. New York: Routledge.

Evans, Rebecca. 2021. "Geomemory and Genre Friction: Infrastructural Violence and Plantation Afterlives in Contemporary African American Novels." *American Literature* 93 (3): 445–72.

Fiedler, Leslie A. 1960. *Love and Death in the American Novel*. New York: Stein and Day.

Frain, Sylvia C. 2018. "Pacific Nuclear Activist-Poet Tells Stories through Culture – and Her Latest Poem." *Pacific Media Centre*. April 17, 2018. https://pmc.aut.ac.nz/articles/pacific-nuclear-activist-poet-tells-stories-through-culture-and-her-latest-poem.

Genz, Joseph H. 2018. *Breaking the Shell: Voyaging from Nuclear Refugees to People of the Sea in the Marshall Islands*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Gordon, Avery. 2008. *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Hanlon, David. 1998. *Remaking Micronesia: Discourses over Development in a Pacific Territory 1944–1982*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Hines, Neal O. 1962. *Proving Ground: An Account of the Radiobiological Studies in the Pacific 1946–1961*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Hobart, Hi'ilei Julia. 2021. "Atomic Histories and Elemental Futures across Indigenous Waters." *Media+Environment* 3 (1): np. https://doi.org/10.1525/001c.21536.

Hurley, Jessica. 2018. "The Nuclear Uncanny in Oceania." *Commonwealth Essays and Studies* 41 (1): 95–106.

Hurley, Jessica. 2022. "Nuclear Settler Colonialism at Sea, or How to Civilize an Ocean." *American Quarterly* 74 (4): 969–995.

Hogue, Rebecca H. 2021. "Oceans, Radiations, and Monsters." *Critical Ethnic Studies* 7 (2): np. https://doi.org/10.5749/CES.0702.09

Hogue, Rebecca H. 2021. "Nuclear Normalizing and Kathy Jetñil-Kijiner's 'Dome Poem.'" *Amerasia Journal* 47 (2): 208–29. https://doi.org/10.1080/00447471.2022.2033583.

Jetñil-Kijiner, Kathy and Dan Lin. 2018. "Anointed." https://www.kathyjetnilkijiner.com/dome-poem-iii-anointed-final-poem-and-video/.

Kato, Masahide. 1993. "Nuclear Globalism: Traversing Rockets, Satellites, and Nuclear War via the Strategic Gaze." *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 18 (3): 339–60.

Keown, Michelle. 2018. "War and Redemption: Militarism, Religion and Anti-Colonialism in Pacific Literature," in Keown et al (eds), *Anglo-American Imperialism and the Pacific: Discourses of Encounter* (New York: Routledge), 25–48.

La Briola, Monica. 2006. "Iien ippān doon = This time Together: Celebrating Survival in an 'Atypical Marshallese Community.'" MA Thesis, University of Hawaii at Manoa.

Lee, Erica Violet. 2016. "In Defence of the Wastelands: A Survival Guide." *GUTS*. November 30, 2016. http://gutsmagazine.ca/wastelands/.

Masco, Joseph. 2006. *The Nuclear Borderlands: The Manhattan Project in Post-Cold War New Mexico*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Kyodo News. "Marshall Islands to Receive U.N. Support over Nuclear Legacy." *Kyodo News+* October 8, 2022. Accessed October 19, 2022. https://english.kyodonews.net/news/2022/10/e2a640256dao-marshall-islands-to-receive-un-support-over-nuclear-legacy.html.

Rust, Susanne. 2019. "How the U.S. Betrayed the Marshall Islands, Kindling the next Nuclear Disaster." *Los Angeles Times* November 10, 2019. https://www.latimes.com/projects/marshall-islands-nuclear-testing-sea-level-rise/.

Schwab, Gabriele. 2020. *Radioactive Ghosts*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Schwartz, Jessica A. 2012. "A 'Voice to Sing': Rongelapese Musical Activism and the Production of Nuclear Knowledge." *Music and Politics* 6 (1): 1–21.

Schwartz, Jessica A. 2016. "Matters of Empathy and Nuclear Colonialism: Marshallese Voices Marked in Story, Song, and Illustration." *Music and Politics* 10 (2): 1–16.

Sissons, Jeffrey. 2005. *First Peoples: Indigenous Cultures and Their Futures*. London: Reaktion Books.

Stone, Donna K., Kinuko Kowata, and Bernice Joash. 2000. *Jabōnkōnnaan in Ṃajeḷ: Wisdom from the Past: A Collection of Marshallese Proverbs, Wise Sayings & Beliefs*. Majuro, Marshall Islands: Alele Museum, Library & National Archives.

Suzuki, Erin. 2021. *Ocean Passages: Navigating Pacific Islander and Asian American Literatures*. Philadelphia, Temple University Press.

Vizenor, Gerald Robert. 2010. *Manifest Manners: Narratives on Postindian Survivance*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Voyles, Traci Brynne. 2015. *Wastelanding: Legacies of Uranium Mining in Navajo Country*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Wolfe, Patrick. 2006. "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native." *Journal of Genocide Research* 8 (4): 387–409.

Yoneyama, Lisa. 1999. *Hiroshima Traces: Time, Space, and the Dialectics of Memory*. Berkeley: University of California Press.