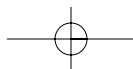
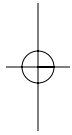
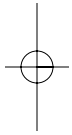




THE SUPERFERRY CHRONICLES



ALSO BY JERRY MANDER

Paradigm Wars: Indigenous Peoples' Resistance to Globalization, with Victoria Tauli-Corpuz (2007).

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NOTE ABOUT THE COVER:

The goddess on the cover, *Mamala the Surfrider*, drawn by Mayumi Oda, is a Hawaiian chiefess known for her extraordinary surfing prowess. She is also a *kupua*, a nature-spirit capable of magically assuming any form.

Using her many gifts, she prevails over her foes.

THE SUPERFERRY CHRONICLES



*Hawaii's Uprising Against Militarism,
Commercialism, and the Desecration of the Earth*

KOOHAN PAIK AND JERRY MANDER



With Contributions from
Hannah Bernard, Joan Conrow, Daniel Hempey,
Lance Holter, Gary Hooser, Kyle Kajihiro, Michael Shooltz,
Teri Shore, Philip Taubman, and Haunani-Kay Trask.

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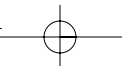
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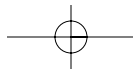
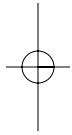
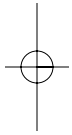


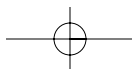
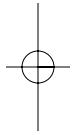
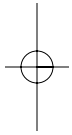
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Introduction





Chapter One



SUPERFERRY, THE MOVIE

Jerry Mander

I AM ONE OF FEW CONTRIBUTORS to this book who does not live in Hawai'i, though I have spent a great deal of time there over the past several decades. Being on the mainland, however, provides me the chance to see how the rest of the country reacts to events in our fiftieth state. With a *blank stare*. Recently, for example, I was in New York at a party at the home of a well-known literary editor. I saw old colleagues and friends there. One of them greeted me this way:

“Hey Jerry, what are you working on these days? We haven’t seen a book from you in a long while.”

“Actually I am working on a book now, about the Hawaii Superferry.”

(Blank stare) “What did you say? Hawaii what?”

“The Hawaii Superferry. Maybe you haven’t heard about it. It’s this gigantic, high-speed aluminum ferryboat, and they’ve started running it between the islands there. It’s such a scam and lots of people are furious. There are really big protests.”

“But ferries are good, no? People don’t have to get on planes. That’s a good thing.”

“Well, yeah, I really love ferries, but not *this* one—it runs forty miles an hour in shallow water with these big catamaran blades slic-

ing through zones teeming with whales and turtles, and the company will not slow it down. It's an environmental nightmare, and it also carries hundreds of cars out to these little islands that are choking from traffic already, and it moves all kinds of bad bugs and animals like mongoose—that eat up everything in sight—and anyway, it's owned by this really scary New York military-finance guy, John F. Lehman, one of the most aggressive, right-wing *neocoon* war-promoter militarists, who worked for Nixon and Reagan and now McCain.”

“Are airlines run by nicer people?”

“Well, no, maybe not, but look, there's all this weird scheming and double-dealing going on, including outrageous legal manipulations by the governor—who's got her eye on national office—and Senator Inouye is involved, and they've been *refusing* to do environmental impact reports, and it looks like it may all really be about a big military buildup of these kinds of boats in the Pacific to get ready for future battles with China, about who dominates the coastlines of Asia. People need to *know* about all this.”

“Jerry, for chrissakes, you sound like some kind of paranoid, coffeehouse, antimilitary freak, like Dennis Kucinich or Chomsky or Ellsberg or somebody.”

“Yes, well, they would probably get the idea right away. Maybe I should tell them.”

“Come on, Jerry, it's Hawai'i! It's all about vacations and condo timeshares. Who cares? Nobody really lives in Hawai'i; it's not like New York or L.A. or D.C. Come home. Get back in the action.”

“I *am* in the action. Hawai'i is the center of the Pacific. We're staring at Asia there! China, India, Korea, Japan, the Philippines, Australia. That's the future. *That's* where the action is, about trying to save the local environment, and about control of the Pacific—the military is everywhere in Hawai'i. In the next two decades these issues will get bigger and bigger. Where it's located, all the action passes through Hawai'i. And a lot of people there get that. They see

this Superferry thing as a part of the problem; part of a whole century of corporate and military intervention and takeover in Hawai'i, and they're up in arms, and doing these really moving protests, like when the ship actually got blocked from entering the port—by *surfers*! It's amazing. We shouldn't ignore this. We should get behind it.”

* * *

Maybe the story would be most convincing as a movie, a big Hollywood blockbuster. A movie in the spirit of *Michael Clayton* or *Wall Street* or *Syriana*. It has everything—high-level corporate arrogance; deep governmental collusion and deception; military maneuverings to prepare for a Pacific conflict the public knows nothing about; a sharp female governor, Republican, with passionate ambitions, eager to make compromising deals with power to get ahead; a few brave whistle-blowers inside government agencies who see what's going on and speak out about it; some smart local investigative reporters and bloggers trying to dig up the real story; grave dangers to the environment that are swept under the rug; direct connections to the upper levels of the Bush administration; and *scores* of fiery, colorful activists of all stripes, from surfers to small businesspeople, to Native Hawaiian elders.

And it has that one really powerful, right-wing character, the wealthy founder of a New York investment company that deals only in megamilitary projects. He's a former secretary of the Navy under Ronald Reagan, and in that role he ardently fought against peace deals and fiercely advocated for winnable nuclear war strategies. Now he's the prime mover of a local Hawai'i ferryboat enterprise, 6,000 miles away! *Why? Why on Earth is he doing this?* He enters the story midway, quickly buys his way to the reins of control, hooks the project to his military contacts, and drives off the naïfs who thought they were just running a normal, neighborly service. They were slowing him down.

But all this scheming? Just for a local transport business?

Then, suddenly, *uprising*—a peoples' revolt. The public gets wind of the bigger story. They realize the degree to which their charming governor, who has been hawking the project with all her might, is *also* embedded in the wheelings and dealings and has