# Introduction

*Noelani Goodyear-Kaʻōpua*

> Free the waters and the land you stole from me.
> I don't wanna wait for anotha' minamina century,
> Because you owe it all, from the mountains to the reef.
> We gonna carry on, til our liberty—sweet sovereignty.
> Yeah, sweet sovereignty.
>
> —KAPALI KEAHI OF LAHAINA GROWN

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A constellation of land struggles, peoples' initiatives, and grassroots organizations gave rise to what has become known as the Hawaiian movement or the Hawaiian sovereignty movement. These Hawaiian movements for life, land, and sovereignty changed the face of contemporary Hawaiʻi. Through battles waged in courtrooms, on the streets, at the capitol building, in front of landowners' and developers' homes and offices, on bombed-out sacred lands, in classrooms and from tents on the beaches, Kanaka Maoli pushed against the ongoing forces of U.S. occupation and settler colonialism that still work to eliminate or assimilate us. Such movements established recognition of and funding for Hawaiian language instruction in public schools. They got the largest military in the world to stop bombing and begin the cleanup of Kahoʻolawe Island. They preserved, even if sometimes temporarily, entire coastlines or sections of various islands from being turned into suburban and commercial hubs. Because of Hawaiian movements like those documented in this book, water in Hawaiʻi is protected as a public trust; Indigenous cultural practitioners can continue to access necessary natural resources and sacred sites; white supremacy cannot go unchecked; and the unadjudicated claims of the Hawaiian Kingdom's descendants to our national lands and sovereignty still remain intact. There have, of course, been major losses too: highways built over burials and religious temples, the eviction of families from their ancestral homelands, and the alienation of communities from once-productive fishponds and taro fields. The stories gathered in this collection chronicle some of these gains and losses, and, in so doing, emphasize the active role Kanaka Maoli have played in the making of our own histories.

Our usage of the term "Kanaka Maoli" is itself a result of the movements discussed

in this book. In the late 1980s and 1990s, this way of self-identifying became more and more frequent, as the Native Hawaiian people asserted our distinctive identity in our own language. The reemergence of ancestral ways of describing ourselves also disrupts the racialized, U.S. legal definition of "native Hawaiian," which uses blood quantum measurements that do not emerge from Hawaiian culture. In this introduction and the larger collection, the authors use the terms "Kanaka Maoli," "Kanaka ʻŌiwi," or simply "Kanaka," "Maoli," or "ʻŌiwi," to refer to the autochthonous people of the Hawaiian archipelago—the original people who emerged from this place.[1] These terms indicate our genealogical relationship to the lands and waters of our islands and distinguish us from other residents.

What are the struggles, relationships, and strategies that gave rise to what has come to be known as the Hawaiian movement? What key tensions have formed its contours? Who are the people who have shaped Kanaka Maoli movements? What values, demands, strategies, and networks have they articulated, thus defining late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century Hawaiian politics? What lessons can we learn from their stories? In addressing these questions, this book brings together the voices of scholars, community organizers, journalists, and filmmakers who have led, participated in, or closely studied Hawaiian social movements. Most but not all of the writers are ʻŌiwi. The text is complemented by images primarily captured by Ed Greevy, a non-Hawaiian photographer who has worked in support of grassroots peoples' movements in Hawaiʻi by documenting various communities in struggle since the 1970s.

This volume includes a range of issues, communities, and individuals from across the archipelago. However, this book is not intended to be a comprehensive accounting of all the people, lands, and events that have composed the contemporary Hawaiian movement. There are many more stories to be told. We hope this book will catalyze new opportunities for retelling and reflecting upon the countless moʻolelo, or narratives, of Hawaiian movement during this period and beyond.

The essays and images in this book work toward two broad aims. First, this collection allows readers to see a multiplicity of claims and strategies that have emerged from Hawaiian movements to protect and revitalize lands, histories, language, and spiritual and economic practices. While the term "Hawaiian movement" is sometimes used, this dynamic force should not be seen monolithically. This book gathers a range of voices from the movement, recognizing the common commitment to restoring the collective well-being of the lāhui ʻŌiwi Hawaiʻi while also honoring the fact that a diversity of positions and perspectives is a mark of a healthy nation. In that regard, this collection resists knee-jerk criticisms that suggest Hawaiians cannot or should not have land and sovereignty because "they just cannot agree or get together." As a political goal and praxis, ea (see explanation below) is unifying while also open enough to allow for a robust expression of differences. This diversity should be celebrated. This book

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does not seek to romanticize late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century Hawaiian movements. A number of the essays take up the productive and sometimes paralyzing tensions that emerged within different conjunctures of people and agendas. In this way, the contributors present our words and images as evidence that Hawaiian life, land, and sovereignty persists.

Given the significant influence political, cultural, and intellectual Hawaiian movements have had on contemporary life in Hawaiʻi as well as in international Indigenous arenas, it is stunning that more books have not been written about the late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century movements for Hawaiian land and sovereignty.[2] Haunani-Kay Trask's *From a Native Daughter* (first published in 1993 and revised and republished in 1999) still remains the most widely known book on contemporary Hawaiian political movements even though the bulk of it was written about twenty-five years ago. More recent books, such as Ty Kāwika Tengan's *Native Men Remade* and J. Kēhaulani Kauanui's *Hawaiian Blood*, provide important, in-depth studies of particular aspects of Native Hawaiian cultural nationalist and political independence movements.[3] However, there remains a clear and dire need for Kanaka to narrate the fullness of our histories of twentieth-century resistance and resurgence, lest they be told by others or lost with time. Like the Hawaiian scholars, political leaders, and composers of the late 1800s and early 1900s, the contributors to this book intend to document the resistance of our generations for those to come, so that these histories may ground and inspire future decisions, actions, and identifications.

Second, this volume collectively explores the political philosophy and driving ethic of ea. Taiaiake Alfred, Kanien'kehaka (Mohawk) scholar and activist, has asked Indigenous people to consider, "How do we create a political philosophy to guide our people that is neither derived from the Western model nor a simple reaction against it?"[4] Ea can be seen as both a concept and a diverse set of practices that make land primary over government, while not dismissing the importance of autonomous governing structures to a people's health and well-being. In that vein, this book is divided into three parts—life, land, and sovereignty—each exploring and elaborating a different aspect of ea. Ea confounds arbitrary distinctions between politics and culture. It is a principle that includes both independence and interdependence. Most importantly, it is a way of living that has deep roots in Kanaka Maoli understandings of the nature of creation.

## *Ea: Life, Breath, Sovereignty*

The word "ea" has several meanings. As Hawaiian language and political scholar Leilani Basham argues, each utterance of the word carries all these meanings at once even when one meaning may be emphasized. Ea refers to political independence and is often translated as "sovereignty." It also carries the meanings "life" and "breath," among other

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things. A shared characteristic in each of these translations is that ea is an active state of being. Like breathing, ea cannot be achieved or possessed; it requires constant action day after day, generation after generation.

Unlike Euro-American philosophical notions of sovereignty, ea is based on the experiences of people on the land, relationships forged through the process of remembering and caring for wahi pana, storied places.[5] In that vein, the essays in this book trace a genealogy of the contemporary Hawaiian sovereignty movement through the vigorous efforts of people trying to maintain or restore their relationships with specific lands.

Ea, in fact, extends back to the birth of the land itself. Basham writes, "ʻO ke ea nō hoʻi ka hua ʻōlelo no ka puka ʻana mai o kekahi mea mai loko mai o ka moana, e laʻa me ka mokupuni."[6] Indeed, ea is a word that describes emergence, such as volcanic islands from the depths of the ocean. In looking to mele Hawaiʻi—Hawaiian songs and poetry—Basham points out that the term "ea" is foregrounded within a prominent mele koʻihonua, or creation and genealogical chant for Hawaiʻi: "*Ea* mai Hawaiinuiakea / *Ea* mai loko mai o ka po."[7] The islands emerge from the depths, from the darkness that precedes their birth. Basham argues that, similarly, political autonomy is a beginning of life.

While "ea" has long referred to political independence as well as to life itself, the term first became associated with state-based forms of sovereignty in the 1840s following the promulgation of the first constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom. In an era of increasing European and American imperialism, nineteenth-century Hawaiian leaders took domestic and diplomatic measures to stave off foreign encroachment by securing recognition of Hawaiian sovereignty under the dominant international system of nation-states, sometimes referred to as the Westphalian system.[8] After a rogue British captain claimed the islands for Great Britain in 1843, Hawaiian emissaries secured the restoration of sovereign government. King Kamehameha III famously proclaimed, "Ua mau ke ea o ka ʻāina i ka pono." Roughly translated: "The sovereignty of the land continues through justice and proper acts."[9] Hawaiian language and politics scholars such as Basham and Kaleikoa Kaʻeo have called our attention to the fact that the king did not reaffirm the sovereignty of the government (ke ea o ke aupuni) but rather the sovereignty and life of the land itself (ke ea o ka ʻāina), to which Kanaka are inextricably connected.[10]

Following this historic proclamation, the Hawaiian nation celebrated Ka Lā Hoʻihoʻi Ea as a national holiday annually beginning July 31, 1843. The first celebration, honoring Hawaiian independence, lasted over a week. That same year, British, French, and U.S. governments became the first Western powers to formally recognize Hawaiʻi's independence, and numerous treaties between the Hawaiian Kingdom and other states followed.[11] While these historical events and legal documents plainly demonstrate the centrality of Western notions of sovereignty to the changing definitions of

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ea, nineteenth-century Hawaiian writers also emphasized that the meanings of ea exceeded Westphalian notions of the sovereignty of a government.

In 1871, the organizers of Ka Lā Hoʻihoʻi Ea turned toward educating a new generation about the meanings of ea and of this significant national holiday. In a public speech, Davida Kahalemaile asked, "Heaha la ke ano o ia hopunaolelo, 'Ka la i hoihoiia mai ai ke Ea o ko Hawaii Pae Aina'?" ("What is the meaning of this phrase, 'the day the ea of the Hawaiian archipelago was returned'?")[12] He answered this rhetorical question with the following list:

> 1. Ke ea o na i-a, he wai. 2. Ke ea o ke kanaka, he makani. 3. O ke ea o ka honua, he kanaka. . . . 4. Ke ea o ka moku, he hoeuli. . . . 5. Ke ea o ko Hawaii Pae Aina . . . Oia no ka noho Aupuni ana.
>
> 1. The ea of fish is water. 2. The ea of humans is wind. 3. The ea of the earth is the people. . . . 4. The ea of a boat is the steering blade. . . . 5. The ea of the Hawaiian archipelago, it is the government.

The fullness of meaning in Kahalemaile's words cannot be captured in English, but we can begin to see some of the ideas he was suggesting to his audience. Ea referred to the environment that sustains life for creatures such as fish or humans. Water and air provide the media in which we absorb the oxygen that gives us life. Ea, then, is essential for survival. It is the environment in which we thrive. In exchange, people help to make the earth healthy and productive. In that sense, ea refers to the mutual interdependence of all life forms and forces. Additionally, Basham observes that Kahalemaile shows how ea is like the tool that allows us to navigate and guide ourselves—the large steering paddle of a canoe or the rudder of a boat. The list culminates with the statement that the ea of Hawaiʻi is its independent government. The holiday celebrates the return of life to that government in the wake of a threat to its very survival. In this list, then, Kahalemaile emphasizes that ea is necessary for life and that political independence is necessary for the well-being of the Hawaiian people. Yet he also shows how the meanings of ea surpass state-based forms of sovereignty.

The onset of prolonged U.S. occupation beginning in 1898 brought an abrupt halt to the growth of Hawaiian national life. After a generation under the occupier's regime, the Hawaiian nationalist press was largely extinguished. Control of the national land base was wrested from the Hawaiian Kingdom. The Hawaiian language was banned. For most of the twentieth century Hawaiʻi did not have a single school in the islands that made the Indigenous Hawaiian language or culture central to its curriculum. Stories of Hawaiian resistance to American takeover were hidden, overwritten by American historical narratives fabricated to make people believe there was a legal merger between the Hawaiian Kingdom and the United States.

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But in the wake of the 1893 coup d'état by sugar businessmen backed by the U.S. Marines, Kanaka Maoli contested U.S. empire and called for the continuance of ea. In 1895, the *Buke Mele Lāhui* (book of Hawaiian national songs) was published shortly after a failed armed counterrevolution waged by Hawaiian loyalists against the white oligarchy that had claimed the government. One mele took the earlier proclamation by King Kamehameha III and framed it as a command: "E mau ke Ea o Hawaii i ka Pono."[13] The life and sovereignty of Hawaiʻi must continue in pono (justice, balance, goodness).

Almost five decades later, in 1941, Alvin Kaleolani Isaacs wrote a song that echoed the same sentiment. Like Kahalemauna's 1895 composition, "E Mau" ("Let's strive" or "Persevere") transforms Kauikeaouli's famous saying to future imperative tense:

E mau ko kākou lāhui, e hoʻomau
E mau ko kākou ʻōlelo, e hoʻomau
E mau ka hana pono o ka ʻāina
I mau ka ea o ka ʻāina i ka pono
I ka pono o ka ʻāina

Let's strive to keep our nation alive, let's strive
Let's strive to keep our language alive, let's strive
Let's strive to preserve the good of the islands
so that righteousness may continue to be with us
all that's good in the islands[14]

The song was a favorite of George Jarrett Helm Jr., a Hawaiian musician, public intellectual, and activist who became a leader of the movement to stop the U.S. Navy's use of the island of Kahoʻolawe as a bombing target.

Helm—a child of Molokaʻi Island who grew up on Hawaiian homestead land in Kalamaʻula—became a passionate community organizer in the mid-1970s, using his music as an organizing tool. Many elders first perceived him as a radical, until they heard him sing and speak to them in person. An eloquent orator and writer, Helm often sang and quoted "E Mau" as he talked to others about the importance of aloha ʻāina, loving the land, and the need to defend Kahoʻolawe and Hawaiian culture against further destruction by the U.S. military.[15] He and a handful of others from the Protect Kahoʻolawe ʻOhana (PKO) put aloha ʻāina into living practice when they landed on the island, placing their lives between the bombs and their ʻāina. These landings were acts of ea, and they are retold in this volume by Jonathan Osorio, another Hawaiian musician-scholar-leader.

Helm and other members of the PKO emphasized the need to make not only an anti-imperialist political stand but also to honor and use the places our kūpuna recognized as sacred and to protect a way of life based on sustenance from the land and ocean.

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Rally in the Valley, June 5, 1976. George Helm, a leader in the Protect Kahoʻolawe ʻOhana, sings at a rally in Waiāhole in support of residents protesting eviction.

During the fourth occupation of the island in January 1977, Helm wrote, "The breath in man is the breath of Papa (the earth). Man is merely the caretaker of the land that maintains his life and nourishes his soul."[16] Here ea, both breath and sovereignty, reflects not a supreme authority over territory but a sacred connection to the land requiring dutiful, nurturing care. It was this connection that moved Helm and others to action.[17]

The remainder of this chapter provides some historical context for the essays presented in this collection, while also giving the reader a glimpse of what can be found in them. In so doing, it also attends to some of the rhythms of late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century Hawaiian movements.

## *Land Struggles: From Kalama to Kahoʻolawe*

In post-1959 Hawaiʻi, hotels and resorts were becoming the new plantations. Newly built luxury homes and suburban sprawl accommodated the rush of U.S. American settlers in the years after the U.S. Congress declared Hawaiʻi a state within its union. These "developments" displaced people who continued to live "Hawaiian style," relying on land-based subsistence practices like fishing, gathering, and farming. Multiethnic

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Kōkua Hawaiʻi activists sit atop one of the last unbulldozed houses in Kalama Valley. Plainclothed police officers climb the ladder to remove them. On May 11, 1971, after a long standoff with the landowner, Honolulu police ended nearly a year of resistance that is often seen as the catalyst of twentieth-century Hawaiian movements. Photo courtesy of Edward W. Greevy.

working-class communities began to challenge the unfulfilled commitments of a post–World War II, local political establishment that had risen to power on promises of land reform.[18] Out of those land struggles, a Hawaiian nationalist consciousness reemerged, sometimes in tension with those who saw these contestations over land, culture, and power only through the lens of class struggle.

At Kalama Valley, for the first time in the twentieth century the landless who had been pushed around from place to place decided that they would stand up to the largest private landowner in Hawaiʻi, the Bishop Estate. Kalama Valley evictees like Moose Lui and George Santos were supported by Kānaka like Kīhei "Soli" Niheu, Kehau Lee, Kalani ʻOhelo, Larry Kamakawiwoʻole, Joy Ahn, and Pete Thompson of the Kōkua Kalama Committee. Together they pointed out the irony that an institution founded for Native Hawaiian students by a Hawaiian aliʻi (chief) was evicting Hawaiians and other local farmers in order to build high-priced suburban homes that most Kanaka could not afford. Their occupation of the valley, against bulldozers and snipers, taught other communities that they could similarly organize.

The activists in Kalama broadened their analysis beyond that specific battle to larger

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trends of alienation and structural violence that were happening throughout the islands. Taking a broader view, they transformed the Kōkua Kalama Committee into Kōkua Hawaiʻi to support land struggles around the islands.[19] Over the next several years, the founders of Kōkua Hawaiʻi stood in many of the struggles discussed in this book—Waiāhole-Waikāne, Niumalu-Nāwiliwili, Kahoʻolawe, Mākua, and Sand Island—as well as other antieviction struggles such as in Chinatown and Waimānalo. Davianna McGregor and Ibrahim Aoudé (chapter 2, this volume) describe the ways ethnic studies students and faculty from the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa organized to support many of these antieviction movements of the 1970s. The emergence of ethnic studies was intimately tied to the community organizing work of groups like Kōkua Hawaiʻi and others.

In her landmark article "The Birth of the Modern Hawaiian Movement: Kalama Valley, Oʻahu," Haunani-Kay Trask describes the ways the discourse shifted through the 1970s, from land struggles in Kalama to Kahoʻolawe:

> The Hawaiian Movement began as a battle for land rights but would evolve, by 1980, into a larger struggle for native Hawaiian autonomy. Land claims first appeared, as in Kalama Valley, as community-based assertions for the preservation of agricultural land against resort and subdivision use. By the mid 1970s, these claims had broadened to cover military-controlled lands and trust lands specifically set aside for Hawaiians by the U.S. Congress but used by non-beneficiaries.
>
> Justification for these claims had also expanded. In the beginning of the decade, the rallying cry was "land for local people, not tourists." By 1976, the language of protest had changed from English to Hawaiian, with emphasis on the native relationship to land. The cultural value of Aloha ʻĀina (love of the land) was to characterize the demands of protesters into the 1980s. By then, the Movement had branched out politically to link up with American Indian activists on the mainland, anti-nuclear independence struggles throughout the South Pacific, and international networks in Asia and at the United Nations.[20]

In some cases, this shift from focusing on class-based land struggle to Indigenous cultural resurgence happened quite organically. For instance, Jacqueline Lasky documents the ways an antieviction movement in Waiāhole-Waikāne morphed into a struggle for the water necessary to farm kalo, the elder sibling and traditional staple food of Kanaka Maoli (chapter 1). After the victory of a multiethnic coalition of tenant farmers and other residents against eviction by a wealthy landowner, Waiāhole taro farmers shifted toward remedying the taking of tens of millions of gallons of water per day from streams that could feed loʻi kalo. This protracted movement inspired and connected with efforts on other islands to maintain or restore loʻi and to revitalize ecological health by replenishing streams with the water that had been taken for industrial sugar production. The

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George Santos was a pig farmer who became one of the most vocal residents resisting eviction from Kalama Valley. He warned of two problems that would change Hawaiʻi: a flood of affluent settlers from the U.S. mainland seeking high-cost homes, and a resulting loss of agricultural lands. 1970.

battles over water on Maui Island, discussed in chapter 9 by D. Kapuaʻala Sproat and chapter 10 by Pauahi Hoʻokano, were informed and inspired by the Waiāhole water struggle. As Sproat argues, it was ultimately these movements that helped protect water as a public trust for all people in Hawaiʻi.

However, there were also times when the shift in focus from class struggle to Hawaiian nationalism was painful. For Kōkua Hawaiʻi, tension developed between hard-line Marxists, who emphasized the need to build a working-class, proletarian movement, and emergent Hawaiian nationalists, who were asserting the need for Native Hawaiian leadership, for cultural revitalization, and for recognition of the distinctive genealogical relationship that Native Hawaiians have to the islands. Kīhei "Soli" Niheu writes that during the PKO's early occupations of the island in protest of U.S. Navy bombing, he initiated communication "inviting PKO to come to Kōkua Hawaiʻi if they needed

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“People Not Profits.” In the 1970s, Michael McCormack announced plans for a massive condominium and marina project that would have destroyed the He‘eia wetlands and fishpond. In August 1975, He‘eia residents and supporters occupied Honolulu city and county offices for three days and nights. This photo was taken shortly after they were successful in gaining a conversation with the city planning director. Activists pictured include (from left to right): Lorna Omori, Mike Kido, Antonio Andres, Susan Wagner, Kitty Bartel, Jo Patacsil, Tony Bartel, and Joy Ahn.

to get information out.” When the PKO responded with requests to disseminate their material, some Kōkua Hawai‘i members were opposed. According to Niheu, “We did not print some of their requests in our newsletter, *Kōkua Hawai‘i*. The collective that was printing the paper decide[d] against providing technical support. They condemned PKO’s material as ‘cultural nationalistic.’ I was so angry. That was a conflict between the cultural and Marxist perspectives, and we were too dogmatic.”[21] The efforts to stop the bombing of Kaho‘olawe Island were organized explicitly around the assertion of distinctively aboriginal relations to land, which other “locals” do not have. This was an important change from the earlier ways the Kalama Valley struggle had been waged.

As Jonathan Osorio suggests in chapter 6, the PKO’s longevity can be seen as a triumph of an “indigenous movement devoted to the realization of what are, essentially,

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non-western aims" over Western liberal ideologies.[22] More than just a challenge to Western liberalism, Kīhei Soli Niheu's analysis also reminds us that the PKO and other Kanaka Maoli cultural resurgence initiatives pushed against the Western radical tradition as well. Still, such ideological engagements have been and continue to be necessary. As Anne Keala Kelly's portrait of two houseless Hawaiian women warriors that opens this collection reminds us, in no uncertain terms: an Indigenous movement without a class analysis can be vapid in terms of its ability to produce meaningful change.

## *Culture Is Political, Politics Are Cultural*

Hawaiian social movements have been, at their core, about protecting and energizing ʻŌiwi ways of life: growing and eating ancestral foods, speaking the native language, renewing relationships through ceremonies, making collective decisions, and simply remaining on the land. As "life," ea encompasses the cultural, the political, the economic. In observing the rhythms of Hawaiian movement over time, one sees peaks—or catalytic events—when the arbitrary boundaries between activities represented as merely cultural (such as hula or voyaging) and those cast as political (such as land rights protests or sovereignty rallies) are blurred. When people explicitly assert the ways cultural practice is political, and political movement is cultural, Hawaiian social movements leap forward.

In 1976, the same year that a boat holding nine people made its first landing on Kahoʻolawe, the double-hulled waʻa (canoe) named Hōkūleʻa made its first voyage from Hawaiʻi to Tahiti, led by Satawalese master navigator Mau Piailug. More than just a successful scientific experiment or an exercise in cultural wayfinding, Hōkūleʻa became an icon for the renewal of Indigenous Oceanic pride and faith in ancestral knowledges. For Kanaka ʻŌiwi, the canoe's success was an in-your-face redemption against dominant narratives framing Hawaiians as incapable and inconsequential. Loretta Ritte connected her own involvement in the movement to stop the bombing of Kahoʻolawe to the symbolic power of Hōkūleʻa's travels: "Everybody told me Hawaiians were stupid, Hawaiians were lazy, Hawaiians were good for not'in'. That's how I grew up, raised on Kauaʻi. That's what they told us Hawaiians." It was against this backdrop of racism that the vision of the Hōkūleʻa approaching the island of Molokaʻi, to which Loretta had moved in her young adulthood, refreshed and inspired her. "When the Hōkūleʻa came and you see this magnificent ship coming in and [*her voice slowed and dropped to a hush*] there's no engine, there's no noise, only Hawaiians—hoooooh [*she shook her fist above her head then opened her palm over her heart, patting it several times*]—it was awesome. . . . [It was] a strong opening of the eyes of who we were as people."[23] Within months, Loretta became one of four individuals who crossed the channel between Molokaʻi and

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Kahoʻolawe to make the second landing in protest of the U.S. Navy's desecration of the island. What "opened people's eyes," she said, was the synergy of ostensibly purely cultural initiatives, like the Hōkūleʻa's voyages, with movements viewed from the outside as simply political, such as the PKO.

Both Kapā Oliveira (chapter 3) and Kekailoa Perry (chapter 12) similarly demonstrate the direct connection between the sovereignty of an Indigenous people and the health of their language. "Our identity, culture, and worldview pour forth from our Native language," Oliveira writes. She describes the multipronged approach that Hawaiian language educators have taken over several decades to build comprehensive educational systems and family support networks to revitalize the Native language, showing the ways that political organizing was necessary to establish these programs. Perry focuses on the specific tactics employed by a group of university students who sought to normalize the use of the Hawaiian language, against both blatant and subtle forms of institutional racism. The efforts to revitalize the Hawaiian language have been an indispensable part of Hawaiian movements of ea.

Following the spread of Hawaiian language immersion schools across the archipelago in the late 1980s and early 1990s, another group of Hawaiian cultural educators became explicitly politicized. In "Kū i ka Pono: The Movement Continues" (chapter 5), Manu Kaʻiama narrates the story of ʻĪlioʻulaokalani, the coalition of hālau hula (schools of Hawaiian chant, dance, and associated knowledges) that came together amid state efforts to regulate Hawaiian customary gathering practices out of existence. When ʻĪlioʻulaokalani held its first vigil at the capitol building in 1997, hundreds of trained dancers and chanters used their cultural skills as forms of political critique and opposition. Thousands more learned and voiced a small repertoire of basic oli (Hawaiian chants) as part of the Kū i ka Pono marches through downtown Honolulu that Kaʻiama describes. Comparing the early 1970s antieviction struggles, as at Kalama Valley, to the early twenty-first-century mobilizations of Hawaiian communities, one notices a growing sophistication in Hawaiian cultural-political expressions.

Tengan's essay closes part I by offering a *kiʻi* (image, likeness) of Sam Kahaʻi Kaʻai. Kaʻai, who learned the art of wood carving from his kūpuna before the Hawaiian cultural renaissance of the 1970s, crafted the kiʻi that sat upon the Hōkūleʻa on its first voyage. As Tengan describes, Kaʻai has purposefully used Hawaiian cultural arts—both material and martial—as a means to unify and move the lāhui (nation, people) forward. In pursuing excellence in ancestral arts, Tengan suggests, "the ancestors came into our world, [and] we too stepped into theirs." This intergenerational exchange has given potency to ʻŌiwi cultural-political practice.

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*Sovereign Visions: Independence or Nation within a Nation?*

By the late 1970s and 1980s many Hawaiian movement leaders who had emerged from earlier land struggles and cultural revitalization initiatives were articulating an explicitly nationalist agenda and calling for sovereign control of a national land base. Over the next few decades two parallel streams developed within the Hawaiian sovereignty movement. One sought some measure of justice within existing structures of the U.S. government. This has included a nation-within-a-nation approach, which seeks U.S. federal recognition of a domestic-dependent, reorganized, and ethnically defined Hawaiian nation. The other stream fundamentally questions the jurisdiction and authority of the United States in Hawaiʻi and has emphasized the independence of Hawaiʻi as a country unto itself. Over the last twenty years, proponents of Hawaiian independence have further refined this position by proposing at least two possible avenues within international law: (1) decolonization through reinscription on the United Nations list of non-self-governing territories, and (2) deoccupation through protocols governed by international laws regarding occupation. To better appreciate the differences between the nation-within-a-nation and independence approaches, one needs a basic understanding of the history of the Hawaiian Kingdom's national lands.

The vast majority of the lands controlled by the state of Hawaiʻi and the U.S. Department of Defense in the islands are the Hawaiian Kingdom's Crown and Government lands that were seized at the start of the U.S. occupation in the 1890s.[24] Of the 4 million acres that make up the islands, 1.8 million comprise these two classes of seized Hawaiian national lands. The two separate inventories of lands became commingled. Just over twenty years later, the U.S. government threw a crumb to benefit "native Hawaiians." In 1921, the U.S. Congress set aside 200,000 acres—a tiny fraction of the 1.8 million acres of seized Hawaiian national lands—for a beneficiary class defined by a 50 percent blood quantum. Thus the statute came to define "native Hawaiian" in those fractionalizing terms.[25] In 1959, the U.S. federal government transferred the remainder of lands that did not get reserved for U.S. military usage or for the Hawaiian Homelands trust to the newly formed state of Hawaiʻi. Under the 1959 Admissions Act, section 5(f) designated these lands as a public trust that should serve five purposes.[26] One of these purposes was "the betterment of the conditions of native Hawaiians." The national lands of the Hawaiian Kingdom, which remain under the control of the United States and the state of Hawaiʻi, continue to be sites of contestation.

In the late 1970s, building on the momentum of earlier community-level struggles, the Council of Hawaiian Organizations and Alu Like sponsored several "Pūwalu sessions" that brought together hundreds of individuals and representatives of different Hawaiian associations. Many ideas about how to improve the collective conditions of the Hawaiian people came out of these sessions. One strand emphasized holding the

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state government accountable to its legal mandate to use the public lands under its control to benefit Hawaiians. A fiery leader from Waiʻanae, Adelaide "Frenchy" DeSoto represented her district in the 1978 Hawaiʻi State Constitutional Convention and rose to chair the Hawaiian Affairs Committee. She championed the initiative to create an office within the state system that is intended to receive 20 percent of the revenues from the Public Lands Trust (since the betterment of native Hawaiians is one of five purposes laid out in the Admissions Act). As a result, the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) was established in 1978 to utilize the income derived from the Public Lands for the benefit of native Hawaiians and to hold title to any property conveyed to that entity.[27]

At the same time though, many Kānaka were concerned to push further than simply holding the settler government responsible for its historical neglect of trust responsibilities under its own laws. People began to challenge the very legitimacy of U.S. and Hawaiian state governments on Hawaiian soil in the first place. Vogeler's essay traces contemporary legal challenges to U.S. legitimacy back to attorney Pōkā's 1978 motion to dismiss a case brought by the state of Hawaiʻi against Wilford "Nappy" Pulawa (chapter 11). The same year that OHA was founded to work within the settler state system, Laenui was arguing: "We are not American citizens, we are citizens of the nation of Hawaiʻi, and we refuse to dignify the court by entering a plea." Outside the courts, protests at places like Sand Island on Oʻahu brought to light the buried history of the Hawaiian Kingdom lands. Puhipau's self-portrait, "The Ice Man Looks Back at the Sand Island Eviction," recounts the way Sand Island was both a place for him to rediscover an ancestral relationship with the ocean and a means to discover the history of his country's suppressed independence. After their arrest for resisting the state's eviction of Sand Island residents in 1980, Puhipau and his two brothers, Bobby Henriques and Walter Paulo, retained Pōkā Laenui to represent them based on the argument that the United States had no jurisdiction over these lands.

Like Puhipau, more and more people began to remember the Hawaiian Kingdom lands as such and to refer to them as sovereign lands or simply Hawaiian lands. Building consciousness about the history, status, and health of these lands provided a critical piece in the development of Hawaiian sovereignty discourse. Hawaiian homesteaders pushed for the right to sue the settler state government for breach of trust obligations, and this initiative developed into one of the largest Hawaiian sovereignty organizations—Ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi (KLH)—which in 1987 established its own constitution, government structure, and master plan for reviving the nation.[28] Mililani Trask served as the Kiaʻāina or head of KLH for eight years during its heyday. Ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi was composed of individual citizens, Kānaka who supported working within a U.S. federal recognition framework as well as those supporting independence from the United States. However, the dominant approach within the organization was to first seek U.S. recognition and then to gain control of the public trust lands.

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Beyond KLH, independence leaders that rose to prominence throughout the 1980s and into the early 1990s, such as Skippy Ioane and Kekuni Akana Blaisdell, rejected reconciliation approaches and argued for nothing less than full autonomy and the reestablishment of Kanaka ties to ʻāina. Perry, in "Makeʻe Pono Lāhui Hawaiʻi: A Student Liberation Movement" (chapter 12), discusses the ways a student-led organization theorized and operationalized an independence-inflected Hawaiian nationalist discourse. According to Perry, an active participant in that student movement, "Makeʻe's manifesto defined sovereignty as having 'complete independence and self-government. No sub-status or affiliation with the United States.'" Perry traces a genealogy of their revolutionary praxis not only to Hawaiian mentors but also to public intellectuals and activists such as Edward Said, Frantz Fanon, Malcolm X, and Black Panther Party leaders like Kwame Ture and Assata Shakur. He reflects on some of the ways Makeʻe Pono tried to prevent and deal with the kinds of internal challenges that underresourced, radical activist organizations often face, and in so doing he shows how the praxis of ea can be enriched by an international exchange of ideas and explicit group commitment to self-reflection.

One thing that both independence and nation-within-a-nation advocates agreed upon was the need to build a broad, popular movement of educated Kanaka who could exercise their right to informed self-determination. The massive organization of the lāhui in the 1990s required popular education and consciousness-raising based on sound research. Not only academics but people of all vocations were striving to remedy a century of historical miseducation. In 1992, a year before the centennial remembrance of the 1893 armed invasion and coup against the Hawaiian Kingdom government, forty Hawaiian organizations joined together with the goal of reeducating themselves and the broader public about the historical basis for Hawaiian claims for sovereignty. Taking the name Hui Naʻauao, a "group seeking wisdom or enlightenment," they led hundreds of educational workshops on Hawaiian history, self-determination, and different models of sovereignty.[29]

Then in 1993 several key events and texts brought popular consciousness and politically engaged Hawaiian scholarship to new heights.[30] In January, Kānaka from across the archipelago gathered to honor Queen Liliʻuokalani and the Hawaiian nation in a series of events taking its name from the queen's motto, "ʻOnipaʻa," to remain steadfast. A five-act dramatization over three days reenacted the events of 1893 at or near the actual sites. The ʻOnipaʻa observance culminated with the largest known march in Honolulu's history. An estimated 20,000 people converged at ʻIolani Palace, the Hawaiian Kingdom's seat of government. During a series of speeches on the palace grounds, Professor Haunani-Kay Trask urged the audience to remember, "We are not American! We are not American! We will die as Hawaiians! We will never be Americans."

In building momentum toward 1993, Trask and her colleagues at the University of

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On January 17, 1993, in the largest known protest of Kānaka Maoli and supporters in history, roughly twenty thousand marched through Honolulu to ʻIolani Palace. Thousands remained at the palace bandstand for speeches and music throughout the day.

Hawaiʻi at Mānoa's Center for Hawaiian Studies had also worked in conjunction with the activist-filmmaker duo, Puhipau and Joan Lander of Nā Maka o ka ʻĀina to produce the documentary film *Act of War: The Overthrow of the Hawaiian Nation*.[31] The film debuted that year, and it chronicled the historical events surrounding the 1893 overthrow and 1898 annexation, making the findings of Hawaiian historians and political scholars like Trask, Jonathan Osorio, and Lilikalā Kameʻeleihiwa available to a broad audience. The year 1993 also saw the release of Trask's internationally renowned book, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawaiʻi*, which powerfully critiqued various aspects of life and politics in Hawaiʻi including corporate tourism, academic exploitation, the suppression of Native epistemologies and histories, and contract archaeology that has allowed the destruction of significant Hawaiian burials and other sites.[32]

Later in the summer of 1993 Nā Maka o ka ʻĀina documented the ten-day People's International Tribunal, Ka Hoʻokolokolonui Kānaka Maoli, which traveled to five islands

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At the January 17, 1993, ʻOnipaʻa events, Haunani-Kay Trask roused the crowd that gathered to remember the 1893 invasion of the Hawaiian Kingdom and to protest its ongoing effects.

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in the archipelago gathering testimony from people on their own lands.[33] The story of the tribunal is told in this volume by its convenor and members of the organizing committee, Kekuni Blaisdell, Nalani Minton, and Ulla Hasager. Additionally in 1993, Hawaiian independence leader Puʻuhonua "Bumpy" Kanahele organized a fifteen-month occupation of Kaupō beach in Waimānalo, Oʻahu. The occupation not only emphasized the historical and legal bases for an independent Hawaiian nation, but also underscored the real, material needs of Kanaka Maoli for homes and for ʻāina. Kanahele also spoke in numerous communities about the need for an economic foundation for meaningful Hawaiian sovereignty. In 1993, even the U.S. government recognized that "the indigenous Hawaiian people never directly relinquished their claims to their inherent sovereignty as a people over their national lands to the United States, either through their monarchy or through a plebiscite or referendum." Popularly known as the *Apology Resolution*, U.S. Public Law 103-150 did not, however, return any lands or powers of government to the Hawaiian people.

In the years following 1993, advances were made in shifting the terms of popular debate in Hawaiʻi, in peeling back decades of misinformation, and in winning some localized struggles. By the time Noenoe K. Silva published her 2004 book *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*, Kanaka could confidently assert that our ancestors had never relinquished their sovereign claims and had in fact urged, "E kue loa aku i ka hoohui ia o Hawaii me Amerika a hiki i ke aloha aina hope loa" (Protest forever the annexation of Hawaiʻi until the very last aloha ʻāina).[34] Silva's reflective memoir in this volume (chapter 14) recounts the journey of the 1897 anti-annexation petitions back home to Hawaiʻi from Washington, DC. Nicknamed the "Kūʻē petitions," the stacks of paper moved many Kānaka toward the independence side of the sovereignty movement spectrum, as individuals came forward to look at and touch the signatures of their ancestors who expressed their absolute opposition to Hawaiʻi's incorporation into the United States. The petitions were successful in their own time, as the U.S. Congress never ratified a treaty of annexation of Hawaiʻi. And they catalyzed Hawaiian independence discourse at the turn of the twenty-first century.

Kūhiō Vogeler asserts in "Outside Shangri La" (chapter 11) that as Hawaiian independence discourse evolved into the early 2000s, "occupation theory" began to shed light on the specific legal status of Hawaiʻi as a country under prolonged, belligerent occupation. Scholars could now provide a detailed evidentiary basis for the legal arguments that Laenui had made twenty-five years earlier.[35] Vogeler further argues that occupation discourse has begun to supplant analyses that describe the Hawaiian situation in terms of colonialism and indigeneity. In a biographical style, he tracks Hawaiian historian Kanalu Young's journey toward deoccupation discourse.

In the last ten years, some scholarship utilizing occupation theory to analyze Hawaiian sovereignty has proposed throwing out the language of colonialism altogether, arguing that prolonged occupation and colonization are two mutually exclusive statuses under international law.[36] The legal clarifications made by Sai, Vogeler, and others may not require dispensing with an analysis of colonialism, however, which is more than just a legal status but a set of social relations. Consider: it is important to name an incident of harmful force by one individual against another as assault and battery in a court of law. But that does not preclude using other language to describe, heal from, and analyze the manifold repercussions of that beating. Likewise, one might consider that a prolonged U.S. occupation of Hawaiʻi enables the ongoing hegemony of a settler society—settler colonialism—with varying aspects and effects.

Kanaka Maoli continue to assert both national and Indigenous identities. In "Resisting the Akaka Bill" (chapter 15), J. Kēhaulani Kauanui illustrates the complex terrains Kanaka Maoli must face when asserting both a national independence claim and an Indigenous, genealogical rootedness in the national lands of the Hawaiian Kingdom. She illustrates what is at stake when notions of indigeneity are hemmed within U.S.

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domestic law and politics. Kauanui provides a critical analysis of the Native Hawaiian Government Reorganization Act, commonly known as the Akaka Bill, which would give Native Hawaiians U.S. federally recognized status similar to Indian tribes and would fundamentally weaken Hawaiian claims to national independence, which have never been relinquished. Whereas a domestic dependent "reorganized governing entity" would consist only of registered Native Hawaiians, the Hawaiian Kingdom was historically composed of a multiethnic citizenry, with Kanaka ʻŌiwi having particular protections. The activists about whom she writes clearly state that Kanaka Maoli are not "an indigenous people of the United States." Rather, they assert both Hawaiian national identity as citizens of the Hawaiian Kingdom and a distinctively Native identity as the original people of this land. These independence advocates realize that a future, functioning independent Hawaiʻi would be a multiethnic nation that would have to reckon with the fact that Kanaka ʻŌiwi have become a numerical minority in our own country.

Leʻa Kanehe describes biological dimensions of colonial practices in "Kūʻē Mana Māhele: The Hawaiian Movement to Resist Biocolonialism" (chapter 16). She argues that Indigenous people are dealing with invasion at the level of not only governing apparatuses but also cells, the building blocks of life. Explaining different types of incursion into the biological makeup of our bodies and lands, Kanehe argues that "biocolonialism in Hawaiʻi is an extension of the United States' invasion of our Kingdom in 1893." Indeed, "Hawaiʻi has had more plantings of experimental biocrops than anywhere in the United States or the world, truly making our islands an international and national sacrifice zone." Kanehe weaves her own analysis with critiques and narratives of active resistance from Kanaka attorneys, farmers, and educators, positing Ea ʻĀina, or food sovereignty, as perhaps one of the most important aspects of Hawaiian movements in the present.

### *Complicity and Guarding Against It: Remaining on the Land*

Debates over both U.S. federal recognition and the planting of genetically modified crops on Hawaiian lands are different iterations of a recurring question in Hawaiian movements: When and to what extent does one work within the very power structures that oppress us? Where is the line between pragmatism and complicity? As many of the chapters demonstrate, people engaged in various struggles for life, land, and sovereignty have had to decide when to negotiate with and when to stand in direct opposition to settler state and corporate authorities that benefit from the denial of Hawaiian rights. The authors show us how different individuals and communities have dealt with these difficult questions.

Anne Keala Kelly's essay features two women, Marie Beltran and Annie Pau, and their incisive views on the conditions of their own houselessness through a politicized

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Hawaiian lens. Each lives on the beaches of Oʻahu for different reasons, but both women display a kind of courage against state removal that, Kelly asserts, permitted marches do not. Her words call us to ask whether working within state institutions benefits or marginalizes those ʻŌiwi who are the most vulnerable (but also sometimes the strongest) among us. Simply by staying on the land, Marie and Annie provide examples of how powerful, and how dangerous, it can be to resist settler colonial logics of elimination and removal. For Kelly, the master's tools can never fully dismantle the master's house.

The portraits (and self-portraits) of Hawaiian elders Puhipau, Nani Rogers, and Puanani Burgess each take up this question of how to negotiate with the system without being completely changed by it. Puhipau writes of how he and other Sand Island residents made every attempt to work with state officials. And yet state forces turned people's homes to "smoking rubble." They went to court and then to the legislature to try and establish recognition of Hawaiian rights to be on the land, but to no avail. At that point he stopped letting his life's work be about negotiating with or reacting to the state. Instead he has spent the last three decades changing popular consciousness through film. Similarly, Nani Rogers has used radio to build networks and spread awareness. When ʻāina is threatened, such as the desecration of iwi kupuna (ancestral bones) in Naue, Kauaʻi, by a haole landowner with permission from the state, she will kūʻē, stand in direct opposition.

Puanani Burgess reflects on the physical and emotional threats of negotiating with state and corporate interests. Her early involvement in trying to minimize the "West Beach development"—known today as Ko Olina and, most recently, the site of Disney's Aulani resort—drew ire from those who wanted to preserve the coastline and those who wanted to build over it. However, the settlement reduced the allowable development size and resulted in funding community programs such as Kaʻala Farms. The experience of the controversies turned her life toward peace-building initiatives.

Several of the chapters also show that when communities put land at the center, they have been willing to use an array of nonviolent strategies to protect ʻāina and ʻŌiwi relationships to lands: lobbying government officials, picketing landowners, blockades, lawsuits, and negotiated contracts for usage. In chapters 9 and 10, "A Question of Wai" and "Aia i Hea ka Wai a Kāne?," Sproat and Hoʻokano each describe water struggles as active efforts to restore streams and kalo (taro) cultivation. Sproat provides a historical and legal framing for understanding water struggles in Hawaiʻi, charting connections between the cases of Waiāhole and Nā Wai ʻEhā (literally "the four waters" of central Maui). Her chapter demonstrates the importance of working through the existing legal system both to restore specific streams and to protect the broader Hawaiian principle that the common people and the natural watersheds need free-flowing water. Hoʻokano's chapter on struggles in East Maui also demonstrates that even when favorable decisions have been made by state authorities to restore some water to streams,

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that water is not always released and is still diverted to the benefit of corporate interests. Kalo farmers have been forced to physically ensure that water is released on a consistent basis. Legal battles within the settler state system, while important, cannot be seen as the sole or ultimate answer. Communities must exert vigorous measures of accountability upon state and corporate powers, and this often requires being on the land so as to attend to any changes in the quality and quantity of various resources.

Jonathan Osorio (chapter 6) and Kalamaoka'āina Niheu (chapter 7) illustrate the importance of building 'Ōiwi structures, even when working within or against the occupying state's systems. Both describe community struggles against the myriad violences caused by the militarization of Hawaiian lands. Both underscore that the demilitarization movements centered on each of these places have been about restoring 'ohana (extended family) relationships and processes. Each of these communities grounded their decision-making processes about when and how to negotiate with the settler state by putting the health of the 'āina and the 'ohana at the center. Niheu argues that U.S. military occupation has worked to destroy the Hawaiian 'ohana system, which is fundamental to Hawaiian health. She details the ways the formation of the Mākua Village Council, comprising those living on the beach, helped bring families together. Similarly, Osorio suggests that the self-identification and purposeful structuring of the Protect Kaho'olawe movement as an 'ohana, rather than an association, has contributed to its longevity and success.

Another core aspect of Hawaiian demilitarization efforts at Mākua and Kaho'olawe has been the restoration of these 'āina as pu'uhonua, or places of refuge and respite. While a pu'uhonua welcomes anyone, it is stewarded by a purposefully constructed extended 'ohana, or community, that can include but is not limited to blood relations. Organizations such as the PKO and the Mākua Village Council are examples of contemporary, nonstatist, 'Ōiwi forms of governance. When the PKO negotiated the 1980 Consent Decree with the U.S. Navy, it did so only after tremendous time, energy, consultation, and prayer had been put toward building the land-based, Indigenous governance structure of the 'ohana. Thus we see how ea is distinct from Western iterations of sovereignty specifically because of the continuous renewal of land-based, familial relationships requiring mutual care.

Expanding upon genealogical relationships between Kanaka Maoli and land, No'eau Peralto's portrait of Mauna a Wākea (more commonly known as Mauna Kea) grounds current controversies over construction on the highest peak in the Hawaiian archipelago. Recent struggles have been waged over the proposed expansion of University of Hawai'i–affiliated and corporate-funded astronomical observatories, such as the massive Thirty Meter Telescope complex. Peralto has stood firmly against any further industrial development of the mauna (mountain), yet he focuses here on sharing stories that will ground the reader in the cultural and historical significance of the 'āina, so

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that people can make informed decisions about whether or not to be complicit with the construction of more telescopes on this sacred land and watershed. His essay draws on mele—a Hawaiian poetic form of mapping, storytelling, and honoring—to illustrate the long, genealogical relationship between Hawaiian chiefs and specific wahi pana (storied places) on this mountain. Ultimately, his portrait reminds us that our lands are in fact living ancestors.

### *The Photography of Ed Greevy and the Politics of a Non-Indigenous Ally*

Another persistent question that this book explores is the relationship between Kanaka ʻŌiwi and non-Hawaiians in these movements. People of different ethnic backgrounds have asked, "What should my role be in Hawaiian movements? If Hawaiian sovereign government became functional again, where would I fit in?" Given this concern, it is helpful and necessary to tell a little of Ed Greevy's story. Ed's photographs are featured throughout this collection. A settler and ally of peoples' movements in these islands, Ed visited Hawaiʻi for the first time in 1960. He was among the many U.S. tourists, students, and settlers who flowed into the islands after U.S. President Eisenhower declared Hawaiʻi the fiftieth state in August 1959. A young adventurer from a working-class background in Southern California, Ed spent most of the winter and spring of 1960 in the waves on Oʻahu's shores, and he was hooked. He returned to finish college in Long Beach but dreamed of returning to Hawaiʻi to surf and perhaps become a surf photographer. When he graduated in 1962 he wanted only two things: to buy a high-quality camera and an airplane ticket back to the islands. Within a year or two, he was able to purchase a Nikon thirty-five millimeter camera. But the search for work led him in the opposite direction from Hawaiʻi to New York, where his sister lived. Ed turned his kitchen into a darkroom and became the editor and chief photographer for *Competition Surf* magazine, taking advantage of the spread of surfing to the northeast and Florida shores from Hawaiʻi via the U.S. West Coast.

By the 1960s, the launch of jet travel had made it significantly easier and less expensive for American tourists and settlers to get to Hawaiʻi, and so Ed finally made his way back to the islands in 1967, this time to stay. He spent a year and a half doing some freelance photography for a California-based surf magazine, as well as a few other commercial projects. Then one of Ed's editors asked him to find out about an activist group called Save Our Surf (SOS), which had been making waves even beyond the islands. The group had gained a reputation for organizing to protect surfbreaks from environmental damage by urban and suburban expansion.

By chance the next day, while buying film in a Waikīkī photography store, Ed saw a hand-drawn poster about the state of Hawaiʻi's planned Kūhiō Beach widening project. Save Our Surf was calling people to come out and oppose the state's plan, which

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Ed Greevy making an adjustment to a Linhof 4 × 5 camera in 1967. Photo courtesy of Edward W. Greevy.

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threatened the area known as Queen's Surf, Canoes, and Baby Queen's. Additionally, the poster highlighted the way rapid development plans were poised to impact sites all along the coast: "Of 143 surfing sites from Koko Head to Pearl Harbor, 110 are scheduled to be destroyed under present State plans . . . Speak up now—or wipeout forever!"[37] At the bottom of the poster was a name, John Kelly, and a phone number. Ed called John that night, and his life's course changed.

Within the week, Ed was sitting at an SOS meeting at the home of John and his wife, Marion Kelly. A group of surfers in their teens and early twenties was there planning for a protest at the state capitol against the beach widening project, which would have particularly impacted an area known as a safe training ground for kids learning to surf. Ed was taken aback by their energy and political awareness:

> All these young kids were spending a lot of time and energy on this particular project, and then they were also talking about other issues: The Kalihi community had no public parks whatsoever. . . . They were talking about the sewage pipe that runs two miles out from Sand Island, concerned about effluent washing back on beaches. This group at the Kellys' house was just amazing! About fifteen or twenty kids . . . full of enthusiasm! When their treasurer read the treasury report, they had less than ten dollars in their bank account! I'm thinking, any group whose treasury only has ten dollars and is planning a big event where they need a

John Kelly raises a fist at an antievictions rally at the Hawaiʻi state capitol building on March 31, 1971. His organization, Save Our Surf, organized for public beach access from the Honolulu airport to Portlock and for an end to the dumping of raw sewage into the ocean off Sand Island, where many surfed and fished. Kōkua Hawaiʻi members stand in the background. Their slogan "Huli!" means to overturn.

> lot of leaflets printed is not going very far . . . but they didn't seem worried about the money. They knew how to raise the money they needed, and they knew how to organize.[38]

Ed began attending weekly SOS meetings at the Kaimukī Public Library, thinking to himself, "I wanna see how far these folks can go." Within a few months he started helping to document SOS events, taking photographs so that organizers could focus on other responsibilities.

Through these early collaborations with SOS and the related land struggles, Ed's approach to photography fundamentally changed. He came to realize how his skills and the resources to which he had access could be of strategic use to people whom he saw as simply fighting to survive and to maintain a good way of life on their own lands. In terms of photographic technologies, the early 1970s was a qualitatively different time than the 2000s. Very few people had access to high-quality cameras, photo paper, or darkrooms. The relatively low-cost Kodak Instamatic series, introduced in 1963, had made cameras more accessible but the images were still nowhere near the quality of

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professionally produced prints. Because Ed had been doing some commercial jobs, he could print black and white photos of exceptional clarity at various sizes up to four by eight feet. Such images—the kind that typically only corporations or wealthy individuals could afford—could be powerful organizing tools. Ed began to see how he, as a haole settler, could help grassroots community groups with few financial resources have the kind of representational power that only developers and other wealthy interests had previously enjoyed.

Ed remembers one particular case when this realization came into sharp focus. Plans had been put forward to develop a tourist resort at Kaimū Beach on Hawai'i Island. Developers had publicly asserted that there were no surf spots at Kaimū, in hopes of avoiding widespread opposition to the development by those on O'ahu who were not familiar with the remote rural area on the archipelago's easternmost island. However, John Kelly and other sos members had been to Kaimū and had taken photos at the beach there. Ed took John's negatives and blew up one of the images. Ed recalls, "At the next hearing on O'ahu, when the developers tried to say there was no surf at Kaimū, sos members held up a huge print of three young residents having a great old time on a wave there." From that time on, Ed found much deeper satisfaction in supporting community groups and families seeking to maintain their own ways of life than he knew he ever would have found as a commercial surf photographer. Instead of taking photos of "underpaid Hawaiian women dressed in hula costumes for the tourist industry," he could capture the strength and dignity of the men, women, and children who were being ousted from their homes by that very industry and the waves of settlers, of which he too was a part.

Ed learned from John and Marion Kelly, among others, that there was a different way to be haole in Hawai'i.[39] He began going on volunteer jobs for a handful of progressive and radical presses on O'ahu. His goal was to capture "the people's perspective" for the people themselves, in ways they could use for their own political struggles. In describing his approach, Ed says that he "never went cold into a community." Rather, he always accompanied an organizer or resident who already had an established relationship of trust within the communities where he was invited to shoot, and he was often connected to these folks through the Kellys.

One of Ed's early assignments with sos was to help with a neighborhood survey in Kahalu'u and Waiāhole, rural communities in Windward Coast valleys on O'ahu. The photos were to be used as part of a community-developed report that could counter the slick, proposed plans for suburban and commercial development that wealthy investors were putting forward. Shortly thereafter, he photographed for a similar people's counterstudy of land use in Niumalu, Kaua'i. Through such projects, Ed came to know Native Hawaiian leaders of community-based struggles, such as Stanford Achi of the Niumalu-Nāwiliwili Tenants Association or Emile Makuakane of the People against

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Chinatown Evictions. He befriended Kānaka Maoli who started at the university and branched out to support multiple antieviction and anti-imperialism struggles, such as Pete Thompson, Terri Keko'olani, Joy Ahn, Kīhei "Soli" Niheu, and Haunani-Kay Trask. Ed also worked with non-Hawaiian organizers, some of whom were residents practicing subsistence ways of life—such as George Santos in Kalama Valley—and others who advocated a broader agenda of leftist politics—such as printer Ray Catania, and writer George Cooper.[40] His relationship with the Kellys was perhaps the most central influence on his photography, and he recalls learning as much from Marion's scholarly interests in Indigenous Hawaiian subsistence traditions as from John Kelly's deep involvement in on-the-ground organizing.

From these friendships and the injustices he witnessed firsthand, Ed developed a lasting commitment to supporting Hawaiian people and culture. Photographing communities in struggle, he reflects, "was a way for [him] to learn and develop [his] own understanding." In capturing images of people clinging to subsistence livelihoods or fighting for their ancestral homes, surf breaks, streams, and farming and fishing lands, Ed emphasizes that his photographs are not meant to capture "a people or way of life passing into oblivion." Rather, he hopes his images illustrate the persistence of people remaining firmly in the present against powerful forces of dispossession and erasure. He also intends these images to show that there are alternatives to what he describes as the "insane greed and destructiveness of capitalism and mainstream Euro-American culture":

> Hawaiian culture has a lot of important lessons to teach the rest of the world about how to get along with nature so as not to destroy the natural surroundings for the future; how to have a different attitude about land that is not about making it a commodity, making money by exploiting it. Instead, take care of it and it will take care of you. . . . Hawaiians are not the only ones to have that understanding, but it is mostly Indigenous cultures that can teach that lesson to a world that has been dominated by Western thinking about land and riches, and getting ahead with no real concern about what is being damaged and destroyed in the process.

In short, Ed still believes that "capitalism is the engine that is destroying the world," and he believes that the ancestral wisdom gifted to Kanaka Maoli and other Indigenous peoples may help humankind think about how to create economic and social systems that can carry us all into the future.

In keeping with this anticapitalist philosophy, Ed has given an inestimable number of hours of his time and countless prints of his art freely over the last four decades.[41] He has developed a reputation in the Hawaiian community for his generosity. The photographs contained in this book are only a tiny fraction of the tens of thousands of images

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Joy Aulani Ahn, a Kanaka Maoli demilitarization and anti-imperialism activist, hands out fliers about the Stryker Brigade in Waikīkī, March 19, 2005. At the time, the U.S. Army had announced a land grab for training these light-armored vehicles built for urban warfare. Joy began her activism when the Kalama Valley struggle erupted in 1970 and remained an ardent supporter of revolutionary movements in Hawaiʻi and beyond throughout her seventy-four years.

in his full collection. This book also benefits from the generous sharing of images by professional and amateur photographers Franco Salmoiraghi, Kalei Nuʻuhiwa, Bryna Storch, and Michael J. Puleloa. In looking at the written texts and the images together, we hope that the reader will see and feel some of the ea—the life, the breath, the independent and interdependent spirit—of Hawaiian movements and the people who have lived them.

## *Conclusion*

In the last two decades there has been a backlash against Hawaiian movements. Some settlers have pushed further to eliminate Native difference through the courts. In her book *Haoles in Hawaiʻi*, Judy Rohrer describes this flurry of lawsuits "attacking native programs, entitlements, and preferences wherever they are found, including targeting OHA directly, the Department of Hawaiian Homelands, and the Kamehameha Schools admission policy giving preference to Hawaiian students."[42] In one of the most significant cases, Harold F. Rice, descendant of a white American missionary settler family, challenged the constitutionality of Hawaiian-only voting in OHA elections.[43] The plaintiff framed Hawaiians as a racial minority, rather than an Indigenous people or a national group with collective rights, and he argued that the voting provisions were racially discriminatory under the U.S. Constitution. The U.S. Supreme Court found in Rice's favor and opened elections for OHA trustees to all Hawaiʻi residents.[44]

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In the introduction to *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life*, Candace Fujikane describes how *Rice* and the cases that followed it operate according to what Patrick Wolfe has described as a settler logic of elimination that erases Native difference, so as to further extend settler access to land, rights, and power: "Settler lawsuits claim that in an American democracy Hawaiians' indigenous rights to land and resources jeopardize democratic ideals. . . . In the most egregious of ironies, settlers proclaim that Native Hawaiians are depriving them of their civil rights, but they do so in order to use the argument of equal rights to take from Natives their rights and resources as indigenous peoples."[45] For instance, with the *Rice* decision, the small measure of electoral control over resources Kanaka Maoli could collectively exercise within the settler state system was immediately dissolved. The decision powerfully demonstrated the limits of asserting ea within settler state frameworks.

In light of the failure of the Akaka Bill to make it through the U.S. Congress thus far, the Hawai'i state government passed in 2011 its own version of a recognition bill—Act 195 "First Nation Government Bill"—which set up a process to create a roll of eligible Native Hawaiians who could then form a governing entity subordinate to the state of Hawai'i and U.S. sovereignty.[46] Like its federal-level counterpart, the act makes no provision for the return of land nor would it impact the U.S. military's use of Hawaiian lands.

Moreover, given the state of Hawai'i's efforts to exert sovereign authority over the Public Lands Trust, it seems unlikely that any significant amount of those lands would be transferred to a new "First Nation governing entity." For instance, in 1994 OHA and four private individuals filed suit against the state of Hawai'i, asking for an injunction against the state's sale or swap of any lands within the Public Lands Trust until the issues of sovereignty and title over the Hawaiian national lands could be resolved.[47] The case went all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court, which took on the question of "whether the Joint Resolution to Acknowledge the 100th Anniversary of the January 17, 1893, Overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii strips the State of Hawaii of its authority to sell lands ceded to it by the federal government until it reaches a political settlement with Native Hawaiians about the status of those lands."[48] In essence, the Court's decision stated that despite U.S. Public Law 103-150—the 1993 resolution in which the United States apologized to the Hawaiian people and acknowledged that the Hawaiian people and government never relinquished their sovereignty or national lands to the United States—the United States and state of Hawai'i still had sovereign authority and absolute title to those stolen lands. Adding insult to injury, when plaintiff Jonathan Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, a Hawaiian historian and contributor to this volume, refused to settle the case, the state moved to disqualify him on the basis of blood quantum. The state attorney general's official position was that Osorio has no standing because he has "less than 50 percent blood quantum"—and therefore is not legally native Hawaiian.

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Given these attempts to further entrench the settler state's claim to and power over lands in the archipelago, to exclude Kānaka who have asserted the collective political rights of Hawaiian nationals to these ʻāina, and to contain and co-opt movements of Hawaiian sovereignty within a U.S. frame, it seems as important as ever to remember the legacies of struggle that recent generations of Kānaka have undertaken for life, land, and sovereignty. In looking to the past, we inform the decisions and commitments that will shape our futures. The contributors to this volume believe that the need for Hawaiian movements of ea is as great as ever.

The trajectory of the Hawaiian movement, as told by this collection, shows that it continues to be necessary to work on multiple fronts—to build highly localized land-based struggles and to articulate these grounded movements in a larger call for national resources. The moʻolelo also tell us that political autonomy may be a baseline minimum for the restoration of functional ea, but it is also only one piece of the puzzle. As many of the chapters in this volume suggest, the scope and complexity of the issues require ʻŌiwi and settlers to continuously and constructively engage in conversations and decision-making processes because the problems cannot be solved or swept under the rug even if full sovereignty, pseudo-sovereign government reorganization, or some other state-initiated settlement is achieved. Like breathing, the work of ea will continue on and on.

NOTE ON LANGUAGE: All glosses and translations included in this collection have been generously provided by the authors of individual essays. Translations never completely convey the richness of cultural meanings. Additionally, the interpretive nature of translation has at times had damaging effects on Hawaiian communities, as in other Native communities around the world. Thus, we suggest you take each gloss and translation as an opportunity to do further research or approach other Hawaiian-language specialists to supplement the interpretations provided in this book.

Following Hawaiian and Indigenous studies scholars, we chose not to italicize Hawaiian words because that marks them as foreign. In a book by and about Hawaiian people, the Hawaiian language is essential, and we avoid "other-ing" the language. This may require a bit of extra work on the part of those unfamiliar with the Hawaiian language. But we hope this additional effort reminds readers that the Hawaiian struggle cannot be easily known and understood through reading alone.

Throughout this text, we use the kahakō (macron) and the ʻokina (glottal stop) when using the Hawaiian language, except when quoting text that was originally printed without these markings. Additionally, in a few instances, the authors or photographers have specifically preferred not to use these markings so as to allow for a more open reading of the possible meanings denoted by a word.

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## *Notes*

Epigraph: Lahaina Grown, "2000 Years," on *Lahaina Grown* (musical recording), 3:05–3:48.

1. In our usage of Kanaka/Kānaka, "Kānaka" is a countable plural form. It is not used for an indefinite plural, but rather when the actual number can be estimated. "Kanaka," the singular-generic form, refers to an individual person or to the whole class of people. It is also the form that is used when the word is employed as an adjective, such as "Kanaka scholars." Our usage in this text is guided by Hawaiian language experts Noʻeau Warner and Noenoe K. Silva, but the editors take full responsibility for any mistakes.

2. Some important texts on late twentieth-century Hawaiian sovereignty movements by Native authors include Sai, "American Occupation of the Hawaiian State"; Sai, "Slippery Path towards Hawaiian Indigeneity"; Beamer, "Na Wai Ka Mana?"

3. Tengan, *Native Men Remade*; Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood*.

4. Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness*, xvii.

5. For further reading in Hawaiian and Indigenous studies on the relationships between place, power, and Indigenous conceptions of sovereignty, see Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places*; Deloria, *The World We Used to Live In*; Barker, *Sovereignty Matters*; Andrade, *Hāʻena*; Beamer and Duarte, "I Palapala No Ia Aina"; Basham, "Ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi"; Kikiloi, "Rebirth of an Archipelago"; Bacchilega, *Legendary Hawaiʻi and the Politics of Place*; Moreton-Robinson, "I Still Call Australia Home"; Moreton-Robinson, *Sovereign Subjects*; Somerville, *Once Were Pacific*.

6. Basham, "Ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi," 50.

7. Basham, "Ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi," 51, emphasis added.

8. The Westphalian system of states is often traced to 1648, when the major European powers of the time signed a treaty called the Peace of Westphalia. The nation-state emerged as the primary political institution for negotiating international relations, with the idea that one state would not intervene in another's internal affairs and that the interests of the state supersede the interests of any individual citizen or group within that state. The notion of Westphalian sovereignty is marked by these ideas of exclusive, territorial integrity, the centrality of the state form, and the principle that states should recognize one another's autonomy.

9. This translation disrupts the more popularly known version, adopted as the state government's motto in 1959: "The life of the land is perpetuated in righteousness." That translation empties out the historical context of Hawaiian Kingdom sovereignty and the longer lineage of ʻŌiwi autonomy in these islands.

10. Basham, "Ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi," 54.

11. The Hawaiian Kingdom entered into international treaties with countries such as Belgium, Denmark, Russia, Samoa, and Spain, as well as the United States, France, and the United Kingdom. For a fuller listing and discussion, see Sai, "American Occupation of the Hawaiian State."

12. D. K. Kahalemaile's speech was printed in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, August 12, 1871, 2, and is quoted in Basham, "Ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi," 60.

13. Kahalemauna, "Mau Hawaii i ka lanakila," in *Buke Mele Lahui*, ed. F. J. Testa (1895), 15; quoted in Basham, "Mele Lāhui," 161.

14. While we might translate the lyrics differently, we include here the translation as it appears in two sources: at Huapala, an online Hawaiian music and hula archive compiled by Kaiulani Kanoa Martin, http://www.huapala.org/E/E_Mau.html (accessed June 10, 2011), and in Morales, *Hoʻihoʻi Hou*.

15. Morales, *Hoʻihoʻi Hou*.

16. Morales, *Hoʻihoʻi Hou*, 55.

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17. See, for example, Walter Ritte's description of the motivations behind the 1970s landings on Kahoʻolawe in "The Essence Was Aloha ʻAina" (video), Moʻolelo Aloha ʻĀina, November 9, 2010, http://moolelo.manainfo.com/2010/11/the-essence-was-aloha-aina/. In this interview he states that the essence of the whole movement was love for the land, aloha ʻāina.

18. Cooper and Daws, *Land and Power in Hawaii*.

19. Trask, "The Birth of the Modern Hawaiian Movement"; Niheu, "Huli"; Kido, "Becoming Local."

20. Trask, "Birth of the Modern Hawaiian Movement," 126–127.

21. Niheu, "Huli," 49.

22. For examples of other Indigenous social movements that have challenged Western liberal ideologies and settler colonial states, see Smith and Warrior, *Like a Hurricane*; Swain, *Oka*; Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness*; Alfred, *Wasáse*; Moreton-Robinson, *Sovereign Subjects*; Harris, *Hikoi*; Allen, *Blood Narrative*; Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou*; Marcos, *Our Word Is Our Weapon*; Marcos, *Ya Basta!*

23. Loretta Ritte, interview by the author, June 2009. Video clips of this and other oral history interviews with early Kahoʻolawe activists can be found at the Moʻolelo Aloha ʻĀina project website, http://moolelo.manainfo.com/.

24. Van Dyke, *Who Owns the Crown Lands of Hawaiʻi?*

25. Kauanui provides a detailed historical analysis of this fractionalizing 50 percent blood rule and the 1921 Hawaiian Homes Commission Act. Through a detailed analysis of the congressional hearings at which various versions of this measure were debated, she argues that the colonial project of racializing Hawaiians in the name of "rehabilitation" marginalized Kanaka Maoli entitlements to land and sovereignty. Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood*.

26. These lands are frequently referred to as the "ceded lands," a moniker which many Kanaka Maoli oppose since the lands were illegally taken from, not given or legally transferred by, the Hawaiian Kingdom.

27. For many years, the state of Hawaiʻi did not follow its own law and failed to contribute the 20 percent in public land trust revenues to OHA. In 2008, the state negotiated a proposal to settle past due revenues through a package of cash and land, valued in total at approximately $200 million. The deal was completed in April 2012, when Governor Neil Abercrombie approved the conveyance of ten parcels in Kakaʻako (just outside downtown Honolulu) to OHA.

28. Trask, *From a Native Daughter*.

29. Nā Maka o ka ʻĀina, *Hui Naʻauao*; Vance, *Hui Naʻauao*; Hawaii Sovereignty Advisory Council, *Preliminary Report of the Sovereignty Advisory Council*.

30. Nā Maka o ka ʻĀina, *Hui Naʻauao*; Nā Maka o ka ʻĀina, *The Tribunal*; Nā Maka o ka ʻĀina, *Act of War*; Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*; Trask, *From a Native Daughter*; Kameʻeleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*; Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*; Young, *Rethinking the Native Hawaiian Past*; Dudley and Agard, *A Call for Hawaiian Sovereignty*; American Friends Service Committee, *He Alo ā He Alo*.

31. Nā Maka o ka ʻĀina, *Act of War*.

32. Trask, *From a Native Daughter*.

33. Nā Maka o ka ʻĀina, *The Tribunal*.

34. This quote comes from Kaulia's speech in 1897 at the ʻIolani Palace. See Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 147.

35. Sai, "American Occupation of the Hawaiian Kingdom"; Vogeler, "'For Your Freedom and Ours.'"

36. See Sai, "American Occupation of the Hawaiian State"; Sai, "Slippery Path towards Hawaiian Indigeneity"; Beamer, "Na Wai Ka Mana?"

37. A digital copy of this flier, as well as numerous other posters, pamphlets, and other SOS organizing materials, can be found at the SOS digital archive: http://digicoll.manoa.hawaii.edu/sos/.

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38. Ed Greevy, interview by Noelani Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, Mānoa, Oʻahu, April 15, 2012.

39. Judy Rohrer has taken up this question extensively in her book *Haoles in Hawaiʻi*. She argues for a vigorous understanding of Hawaiian history so as to "begin to imagine how we might become haole in different, and hopefully better, ways. We have to know where we have been to know where we are going" (10).

40. George Cooper is particularly well known for his book *Land and Power in Hawaii: The Democratic Years*, coauthored with Gavan Daws. The book exposed the ways "the Democratic Revolution" in post-1959 Hawaiʻi did not lead to the kind of redistribution of land and wealth for which many supporters of that movement had hoped. Rather, there was a transfer of power and wealth from a predominantly white, Republican oligarchy during the territorial era to a new Democratic political establishment. The book documents the ways public officials used their offices to reap personal financial benefit.

41. Ed donated a large number of his photos to an open-source Hawaiian resource website, Ulukau. This collection can be accessed at Ed Greevy's Photograph Collection, Ulukau: The Hawaiian Electronic Library, http://ulukau.org/apo/cgi-bin/edgreevy.

42. Rohrer, *Haoles in Hawaiʻi*, 87.

43. Participation in OHA elections had previously been restricted to anyone who could trace their ancestry to the Indigenous people who resided in Hawaiʻi prior to 1778, the first recorded date of European arrival in the islands.

44. *Rice v. Cayetano* (98-818) (146 F3d 1075, reversed). Kauanui points out that "Hawaiians were in a fraught position, with no direct voice in the case, even though it was central to Hawaiian concerns." See Kauanui, "Precarious Positions," 7.

45. Fujikane, "Introduction," 15.

46. For text of the bill and its legislative history, see the 2011 session archive at Hawaii State Legislature, http://www.capitol.hawaii.gov/.

47. Initially, when the state had proposed a land swap of the Leialiʻi tract on Maui Island, OHA asked that a disclaimer that would preserve any Native Hawaiian claims to this land be included. This request was made on the basis that the tract is part of the Crown lands of the Hawaiian Kingdom and the political and legal questions over the cession of these lands to the United States remains in question. Thus OHA and the other parties sought to preserve Native Hawaiian interests in these lands until final determination of the larger issue of sovereignty and the status of the Hawaiian Kingdom's national lands.

48. *State of Hawaii v. OHA, et al.*, no. 07-1372. Argued February 25, 2009. Decided March 31, 2009.

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