

The book, reflecting back on the process, seems caught by these competing accounts, but the evident arbitrariness is ultimately trumped by the legitimacy given to the current situation and those who brought that situation to pass.

As Whitehead notes at points throughout the book, many of the people involved in the statehood movements should probably be better known now than they are. This is true, and *Completing the Union* is a useful first encounter with those people and with the topic in general. However, it is also true that many of the political questions that could be raised concerning the statehood movements should be raised in better, more critical ways.

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Kū'ē: Thirty Years of Land Struggles in Hawai'i. By Ed Greevy. Text and captions by Haunani-Kay Trask. Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 2004. vi + 170 pp. Illustrated. Photographer's notes. \$36.95 cloth

Ed Greevy's photographic essay represents a wonderful visual remembrance of the land struggles that occurred just as we started to walk—just as we came into the world. The voice of Haunani-Kay Trask guides us along the paths of those legacies we are a part of, both through lineal descent and political descent. Thus, while our relative youth and removal from the earlier struggles represented therein limit our understandings, this same position allows us to evaluate the effectiveness of the book to inspire future generations to carry on the works of its forbears into the 21st century.

Greevy got his start in documentary photography when he became active with Save Our Surf (SOS), a group of young surfers led by John and Marion Kelly, whose fight to protect beaches and stave off shoreline developments received national attention. After watching John Kelly snapping photographs at a 1971 rally at the State Capitol, Greevy decided to make his camera a tool for social and political action. From that point on, he showed up to as many rallies and protests as he could with lenses aimed at speaking truth to power. In 1981, Greevy collaborated with Haunani-Kay Trask, a prominent organizer, poet, and Hawaiian nationalist, on a captioned photographic exhibit put on by the Image Foundation at Ala Moana Shopping Center. Their collaboration continued in subsequent shows featuring Greevy's photos and Trask's text, the culmination of which is this book (an idea originally raised by John Dominis Holt after the 1981 exhibit).

The first 64 photographs (as well as the cover image) document the indi-

viduals, groups, events, and landscapes of anti-eviction and anti-militarization struggles on O'ahu, Kaua'i, and Kaho'olawe between 1971 and 1980. These pages pay special attention to a SOS/Kōkua Hawai'i (in support of Kalama Valley residents) protest at the State Capitol; Waiāhole/Waikāne Community Association (WWCA) demonstrations; PACE (People Against Chinatown Evictions) organizing; Nāwiliwili/Niumalu Tenant's Association activities; He'eia/He'eia Kea occupation of City Hall; Mokauea and Sand Island communities' battles to maintain subsistence fishing lifestyles; and efforts of the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana (PKO) to end military bombing of sacred lands. We look into the eyes of experienced and newly emerging community leaders (e.g., John and Marion Kelly, Stanford Achi, Soli Niheu, George Helm, Terrilee Keko'olani, Alan Nakasone, Wayson Chow); the elders that serve as the "backbone of the people's struggle" (p. 42) (e.g., the Kurisus, Tūtū Kawelo, Mrs. Matayoshi, the Teruyas, Auntie Emma Defries); and countless faces of ordinary people whose humble living conditions exhibit "[t]he dignity of the poor" (p. 68). Victories are unfortunately few (WWCA and He'eia/He'eia Kea) yet nonetheless inspiring.

Photographs 65–82 cover the period of 1982–2001 (though primarily the years of 1990–1998). This section marks the shift (first signaled by PKO assertions of Aloha 'Āina and Sand Island residents' claims to ceded lands) from class-based and multi-ethnic struggles over tenancy-rights to the Hawaiian cultural nationalist struggles over indigenous rights to land, culture, history and sovereignty, especially in opposition to federal, state, and private institutions. Aside from one photograph on Moloka'i, all the images focus on organizing that took place on O'ahu (though supporters from other islands were present at such events, which also impacted the entire archipelago). These pages feature protests at the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum and the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa (UHM), acts of defiance in the face of bulldozers at a women's *heiau* that lay in the path of the H-3 highway, centennial marches contesting the legality of the 1893 overthrow and 1898 annexation, and the individuals and families involved in anti-eviction and anti-military struggles at Mākua. We see the faces of community leaders and organizers such as Mililani and Haunani-Kay Trask, Kekuni Blaisdell, Puanani Burgess, Kawaiipuna Prejean, Judy Napoleon, John Dominis Holt, Setsu Okubo, Sparky Rodrigues and countless others who go unnamed. The last image of the book returns us to a 1973 Niumalu/Nāwiliwili Tenant's Association meeting on Kaua'i and imparts a final message of determination and hope with "fists raised, but smiles all around" (p. 159).

The book serves as an important complement to—and perhaps entree into—a growing body of academic, literary, artistic and filmic treatments of community organizing since the 1970s. A very partial list includes: *The Ethnic*

Studies Story: Politics and Social Movements in Hawai'i: Essays in Honor of Marion Kelly (see Ibrahim G. Aoudé, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 1999); *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i* (see Hau-nani-Kay Trask, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999); *Autobiography of Protest in Hawai'i* (see Robert H. Mast and Anne B. Mast, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996); *Hawai'i: Return to Nationhood* (see Ulla Hasager and Jonathan Friedman, eds., Copenhagen: International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, 1994); *He Alo A He Alo: Face to Face: Hawaiian Voices on Sovereignty* (see Honolulu: American Friends Service Committee, 1993); *Mālama: Hawaiian Land and Water* (see Dana Naone Hall, Honolulu: Bamboo Ridge Press, 1985); *Ho'ihou'i Hou: A Tribute to George Helm and Kimo Mitchell* (see Rodney Morales, ed., Honolulu: Bamboo Ridge Press, 1984) and numerous documentary films produced by Nā Maka o ka 'Āina. Significantly, many of the above texts utilize Greevy's photographs.

It is important to note that to *kū'ē* (resist, oppose, protest) is not a new, isolated, or singular response to survival in these islands. In *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (2004), Noenoe Silva's analysis of discourses of resistance in Hawaiian-language newspapers since 1861 and the anti-annexation petitions of 1897–1898 is a testimony to our people's sustained ability to make our voices heard throughout the generations (see Noenoe Silva, Durham: Duke University Press, 2004). Davianna McGregor's forthcoming book (UH Press) based on her 1989 dissertation, *Kūpa'a i ka 'Āina: Persistence on the Land*, attests to the tenacity of the *kua'āina* (rural Hawaiians) to *persist* over the years so that their future generations would be prepared to *resist* the exploitative maneuvers of the State in the 1970s. Finally, Lynette Hi'ilani Cruz examines the multiplicity of ways that contemporary Hawaiian communities work to maintain "right relationships" between people, gods, and land in her 2003 dissertation, *From Resistance to Affirmation, We Are Who We Were: Reclaiming National Identity in the Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement 1990–2003*.

What is unique about this book is the potential for the images to portray those excesses and overflows of meaning that are frequently lost in written texts. Greevy's photographic skills are superb. The composition and tonal quality of his portraits add texture to the people and events and portray the strength of each individual represented. In many of his images, the composition is balanced for unsettling times and events. Specifically, photograph 43 of Billy Molale captures the complications of the land struggles on Mokauea in 1975. Molale's position at the boat's helm forces the viewer's eye to the houses burning in the background on Mokauea Island. The open expanse of the sky and the whiteness of the clouds are in stark contrast to the dark grey to black plumes of smoke from the fire that draws the viewer's eye down to

the burning homes. While we can only see Molale's face looking forward, there is one passenger looking back. This image evokes Lilikalā Kame'eiehiwa's explanation that "the past is referred to as *ka wā mamua*, or the time in front or before . . . as if the Hawaiian stands firmly in the present with his back to the future, and his eyes fixed upon the past, seeking historical answers for present-day dilemmas" (see Kame'eiehiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā e Pono Ai?* Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992, p. 22). This particular image represents how the past is not always glorious, but remains fraught with complications. This highlights the question: Where does each of us look to understand the history of Hawai'i?

Such a question is never easily answered. As with *all* histories, this text is incomplete, biased, and forgetful (see Robert Borofsky, ed., *Remembrance of Pacific Pasts: An Invitation to Remake History*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000). Though the title promises "thirty years of land struggles in Hawai'i," almost 80 percent of the book focuses on just one decade (1971–1980). Nearly 90 percent of the pictures were taken on O'ahu, and Kaua'i was the only other island that had somewhat significant representation in its eight photographs (Judy Napoleon's is the single photograph taken on Moloka'i, and the pictures of George Helm and the PKO were taken on O'ahu). The absence of other islands and struggles makes more sense when considering Greevy's comments, "I never go where I'm not known" (p. 162) and "Kaua'i had the most aroused and organized anti-eviction groups of any neighbor island [during the 1970s]" (p. 165). Wayne Muromoto, who reviewed the book for *The Hawaii Herald* (1/7/05), also notes that in the 1980s "Greevy had to pull back from running off to cover each and every struggle in order to work and support a family" (p. C-6). Given these factors, one can better contextualize this book and its focus.

We must also recognize the fact that we receive the images in *Kū'ē* twice refracted—once through Greevy's camera lens and again through Trask's textual frames. Some of the captions even feature statements in quotation marks that might be interpreted as direct quotes from the individuals pictured. Such a reading, however, is called into question when one notices that Ellen Wa'alani's quote (p.25) comes with the only citation in the book (from *We the People of Niʻuhalu-Nawiliwili: Our Lifestyle and Environment*, 1973). Thus it is more likely that the other quotes are instances of Trask taking poetic license to (albeit effectively) convey particular messages that may arise from the images. For those who come to the text with little knowledge of the histories or personalities pictured in *Kū'ē*, we recommend both reading Greevy's notes at the end of the book and looking to other sources (such as those cited above) that provide first-hand accounts from other people who were also "there" (including those places that are not equally represented in this book).

Wayne Muromoto, who was there (even if peripherally), states that for him, the book is a call to “recapture some of that spirit of idealism again,” and “For younger readers, this book demonstrates the need for them to get involved in social and political activism.” (p. C-8). Yet the question arises: What *kind* of social and political activism? In an era of identity politics, is a renewal of class-based Marxist politics even possible? Can or should the two (or more) modes of activism be articulated such that class-consciousness emerges without severing the bonds of indigeneity, culture, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, environmental stewardship, and so forth? Although no clear answers are presented, the final image of the book seems to suggest that we may still learn much from the Niumalu/Nāwiliwili Tenants’ Association of 1973.

In order for this book to truly *speak* to us, we must not only listen, but we must also *speak back*. For *Kū‘ē* to transcend its fate as just another coffee table book on display at local Borders and Costcos everywhere, it must compel us to enter into new dialogues with the authors and one another. Documentary photographers from Hawai‘i, Maui, Moloka‘i, Kaho‘olawe, Lana‘i, and Ni‘ihau may want to answer Greevy’s call to produce popular visual history of their own islands. Others may offer additional images from the last 30 years (as well as before and after). In lieu of their publication, we may think about alternate/internet spaces to strike up imaged discussions, such as one between Ian Lind’s “Old kine pictures” (1965–1980) website <<http://www.ilind.net/oldkine.html>> and “Ed Greevy’s Photograph Collection” on <<http://ulukau.org/>> (both accessed 3/31/05). At the interpersonal and intergenerational level, we could ground our politics (or at least our understanding of the historical trajectories of politics) in the experiences of those that precede us, all the while building bridges with our allies around us in hope that future generations will carry on after us. Though our future may seem uncertain, we can draw strength from the faces and stories in *Kū‘ē* that remind us that we are all connected through genealogies of people and place that, if honored, will continue to instruct and inspire us.

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