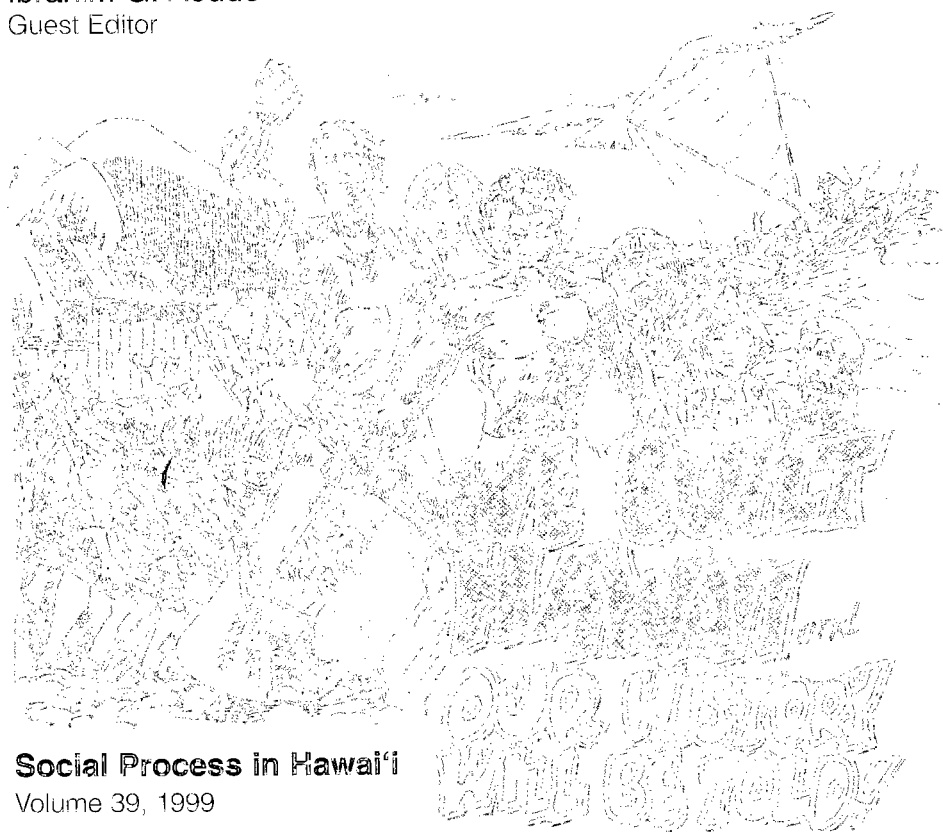


The Ethnic Studies Story: Politics and Social Movements in Hawai'i

Ibrahim G. Aoudé
Guest Editor



Social Process in Hawai'i
Volume 39, 1999

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Essays in Honor of Marion Kelly

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Department of Sociology
University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

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Volume 39

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Essays in Honor of Marion Kelly**

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University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

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No Marion Kelly

*Hiki mai ka hōkū 'ai 'āina
Ho'olehua ke 'au loa
Hiki mai ka wahine
Ke kama a Teanu Atu mai Tongareva mai
Ma o Waialua, 'āina kū pālua i ka la'i*

*Ua 'au 'ia 'oia i nā kai loa
I ka pae 'āina Hawai'i
A i ke Pakipika mānoa*

*He hoaloha o nā mamo a ke kipi
Nā mamo i ka halo o kua
Eia ka wahine
He 'a'ali'i 'oia kū makani
'A'ohe makani nāna i kula'i*

*Eia ka wahine
Eia ka makuahine
Eia ke kumu a'o
Eia ke kupuna aloha
E mau ana kona hana kūpono
o ka 'āina*

Aloha e, aloha e, aloha e

Composed and chanted in honor of Marion Kelly
upon the occasion of her receipt of the
Association for Asian American Studies
Distinguished Lifetime Achievement Award
June 26, 1998, Honolulu, Hawai'i
by Davianna Pōmaika'i McGregor

Photo by Jan Becket (1998)

Of Marion Kelly

The star ruling land rises (navigator's star)
The current runs strong and swift
The woman arrives
Child of Teanu Atu from Tongareva
Through Waialua in the calm

She traveled the distant seas
In the Hawaiian Archipelago
And the wide Pacific

Friend of the descendants of rebels (of Ka'ū)
Descendants in the gills of kua (shark 'aumakua of Ka'ū)
Here is the woman
She is an 'a'ali'i standing in the wind
There is no wind which can blow her over

Here is the woman
Here is the mother
Here is the teacher
Here is the beloved kupuna
May her good and upright work for
the land continue always

Love, honor, respect



Foreword

Kiyoshi Ikeda
Executive Editor

This issue represents a statement of how academic and community interests have come together in efforts to empower less privileged participants in the larger community to press for equality and equity. This journal continues to provide a setting for such narratives from students and participants of social processes in Hawai'i. The Ethnic Studies Program at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa has emerged and evolved in efforts to enable racial and ethnic populations impacted by larger global forces to develop modes of resistance and coping by providing a place for the gathering of histories from the members themselves as well as moving forward in protecting and enhancing the kinds of diversity which enriches the culture and social fabric of the larger community. The stories which are shared in this volume represent work in honor of Marion Kelly, who has been a scholar-practitioner of research and leadership in behalf of populations adversely dispossessed of use of land and livelihood by intent and by cumulation of less visible actions and forces.❖

Preface

Ibrahim G. Aoudé

This volume of *Social Process in Hawai'i (SPIH)* is dedicated to Marion Kelly, a founding member of the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa (UHM) Ethnic Studies who still teaches at the Department twenty-nine years later. It is only appropriate that *The Ethnic Studies Story* honors Marion, as this volume demonstrates the depth of her historical knowledge about land issues and her commitment to educating Hawai'i's people about their own history. As a defender of people's rights, she considers the establishment of the Ethnic Studies Program in 1970 one of the highlights in her ongoing career. The centrality and importance of the indigenous issue to social struggles in the Islands are expressed in her life's work, which makes her the preeminent anthropological authority of land tenure and use change in Hawai'i.

This volume is also a contribution to the development of an alternative analysis to the mainstream one that pretends to look "objectively" at social reality. However, the objectivity claimed by mainstream analysis is nothing but an interpretation informed by the dominant world view of those who hold political power. "Our History, Our Way," as reflected in the articles and short story here, shows that there is another interpretation of past events and futures, informed by another cosmology, more in tune with the interests of the vast majority of Hawai'i's population.

While this work is about *The Ethnic Studies Story*, it does not recount this story in any detailed chronological manner. Sifting through the Ethnic Studies archives in preparation for this volume quickly impressed upon this writer the formidable task of such an undertaking, which is important enough to merit a separate project.

The Editor and the Editorial Board tried to reinvigorate the original intent of *Social Process in Hawai'i* as a collaborative faculty-student effort. We have been somewhat successful in doing this. Three articles were written by three graduate students (Dudoit, from UH's English Department; Petranek and Witeck, both in UH's Political Science Department) who are also active members of the community. The copy editor is also a graduate student in Sociology.



SUPPORT UH ETHNIC STUDIES!

WE BUILT HAWAII and OUR HISTORY WILL BE TOLD!

WE WORKING PEOPLE OF HAWAII CULTIVATE THE LAND AND HARVEST THE SEA. WE BUILD EVERY HOME, HARBOR, AIRPORT AND INDUSTRY. THROUGH THE CENTURIES WE'VE FOUGHT LOSS OF LANDS, EVICTIONS, LOW PAY, UNEMPLOYMENT, AND UNSAFE WORKING CONDITIONS.

YES, WE WORKING PEOPLE STRUGGLED FOR AND BUILT HAWAII!

ALTHOUGH THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII WAS FOUNDED IN 1907--TO SERVE THE PLANTATION SYSTEM--IT WAS NOT UNTIL 1970 THAT A PROGRAM WAS FINALLY SET UP TO TEACH OUR MULTI-ETHNIC PEOPLES' HISTORY.

TODAY, STUDENTS IN ETHNIC STUDIES LEARN NOT THE FAIRYTALES OF A FEW BUSINESSMEN AND KINGS, BUT THE LITTLE KNOWN TRUTH ABOUT THE

MILLIONS OF US WHOSE LABOR MADE THE ISLANDS A GOOD PLACE TO LIVE OVER THE PAST 60 GENERATIONS.

UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATORS MADE TWO ATTEMPTS TO KILL THE PROGRAM.

TODAY, WE STUDENTS AND COMMUNITY PEOPLE FIGHT TO MAKE THE PROGRAM PERMANENT. FOR THE SAKE OF OUR PEOPLE AND OF THE FUTURE GENERATIONS, PLEASE GIVE THIS WINNING FIGHT YOUR ALL-OUT SUPPORT!

ATTEND THIS WED. DEC. 1 12:30 P.M. RALLY UH CAMPUS CENTER.

"OUR PEOPLE...SHOULD BE GIVEN EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO LEARN ABOUT THEIR OWN PEOPLES' RICH PAST."
Gov. John A. Burns, Address to the 1969 Legislature

The cover design was originally a drawing by Wayne Muromoto, a longtime supporter of Ethnic Studies and previous lecturer of the Japanese in Hawai'i course. It was made into a poster by John Kelly in the early 1970s. Li'ana Petranek suggested the flyer as the cover design.

Background information on Marion Kelly relied on a research paper by Charles H. Meyer, Jr., which he wrote in May 1996 for Anthropology 464 and from this writer's acquaintance with Marion Kelly since 1976.

Photographs were selected from the Ethnic Studies archives. The passage of time made it impossible to know their exact dates (although it was relatively easy to determine the year). It was also impossible to determine who took most of the photographs depicting the struggles of the 1970s. However, two of those photographs were taken by Ed Greevy in 1972, as the captions indicate. Finally, Marion's photograph included with the chant was taken by Jan Becket in 1998.

The importance of the Porteus issue allowed me to include David Stannard's report on Stanley Porteus' research to the Vice President of Academic Affairs at the UH as an article. The appendix includes two other testimonies on the Porteus debate given by the Department of Ethnic Studies and Marion Kelly respectively. Versions of two of the appendices and Stannard's article in this volume are on the UH Commission on Diversity's website: <http://www2.hawaii.edu/diversity/>.

Since its inception, *Social Process in Hawai'i* had no diacritical markings in its name except for volume 38. Because this volume (39) is about Ethnic Studies in Hawai'i, the Editor decided to spell the name of the Journal with diacritical markings.

Hawaiian words are italicized (and defined) on first mention only. Diacritical markings are used with Hawaiian words except in cases where the author's reference does not use them.

I would like to thank Professor Kiyoshi Ikeda, Executive Editor of *SPIH*, for his support in publishing this volume. My thanks also go to Professor Michael Weinstein, General Editor of *SPIH*, and the Sociology Department at the UH for agreeing to publish this volume.

I am indebted to Research Relations at UHM and the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Commission on Diversity for the grants awarded to this project. In

addition, Professor Kiyoshi Ikeda was gracious enough to extend a much-needed loan from the *SPIH* Fund. Finally, my thanks go to Richard Dubanoski, Dean of the College of Social Sciences, for his letter of support to secure the Research Relations funding.

I had the good fortune to work with superb individuals on the Editorial Board: Professor Beverly Ann Keever (Journalism), Professor Emeritus Robert B. Stauffer (Political Science), and Professor Franklin S. Odo (Assistant to the Provost, Smithsonian Institution). It was my pleasure to work with these scholars.

Special thanks go to Ulla Hasager for her hard work as Assistant Editor. She offered several excellent suggestions that have enhanced the quality of this volume. Ulla, furthermore, interviewed Soli Niheu and transcribed the interview that appears in this work.

Special thanks also go to Ida Yoshinaga for her excellent copy-editing work and for transcribing the talk given by Senator Bob Nakata to ES 381 (Social Movements in Hawai'i) students in November 1998.

It was a great pleasure to work closely with Mark Nakamura, who produced the camera-ready copy. His advice on layout and other crucial technical matters proved invaluable.

Many thanks go to Lucille Aono, Production Editor at the University of Hawai'i Press, for her valuable assistance on this project.

The large number of submissions made this volume bigger than had been originally anticipated. A skeleton crew with no release time from other academic duties, and time and funding constraints, delayed the production of this volume by several weeks. But if readers find this work useful in advancing knowledge on Hawai'i issues relating to politics and social movements, then the effort was well worth it.

Finally, on behalf of the Department of Ethnic Studies, I would like to thank Marion Kelly for agreeing to have us tell *The Ethnic Studies Story* in her honor. The road ahead is long and hard; but with individuals like Marion dedicated to making this world a better place, there is an excellent chance that peace and justice will triumph in the end.❖

Introduction to the Ethnic Studies Story: The Political Economic Environment

The anatomy of Civil Society is to be sought in political economy.

Karl Marx
*Preface to A Contribution to the
Critique of Political Economy*

The Ethnic Studies Story is about the social struggles of Hawai'i's people. It is their story, acted with passion that revealed the politics underlying the tourism society built in the 1950s and exposed discrimination in many aspects of social life against the lower sections of society. In those heady days of the "Democratic Revolution" and its political figures, modernization and economic growth became the main goals presumed to create an infrastructure supporting "first-class citizenship." Plantation society gave way to jet-age tourism, and the workers' movement became coopted into a new political alignment of Democratic Party politics. The way was paved for US capital to dominate the Islands' political economy and integrate the Big Five (Amfac, Castle and Cooke, C. Brewer, Alexander and Baldwin, and Theo Davies) into the structures of a new international economy.

Expansion of US capital into Hawai'i (and the Pacific) made possible the creation of a huge middle class and a new, multi-ethnic elite class. Long gone was the old *haole* (white) oligarchy with its authoritarian rule of the Islands, even though a majority of the ruling elite class remained haole and included the newly transformed, Big Five haole families. But many of these elite-class haole were liberal Democrats such as John Burns, Tom Gill, and Frank Fasi, who participated in the "Democratic Revolution" and the subsequent transformation of Hawai'i's society and economy.

The demise of Plantation Hawai'i as a consequence of global capitalist transformation, on the one hand, and the new political realignment locally, on the other, gave way to American culture and the values associated with it. Subsequent socio-political developments institutionalized American cultural

values and whole generations became socialized through them. These were the days of the "melting pot" mythology, which still lurks in many people's imaginations and which, in whole or part, still passes for one of the "truths" governing social relations.

The evictions that took place in the 1960s and the 1970s to pave the way for new real estate developments, such as in Kalama Valley, and the anti-eviction struggles these engendered belied the myth of the "melting pot." They also demonstrated the ethnic and class inequities resulting from capital investment that formed the infrastructure of a tourism society. A majority of Kānaka Maoli (indigenous Hawaiians), Pacific Islanders and Filipinos, who were largely working class or poor, derived little benefit from these developments. In fact, it can be cogently argued that the tourism society that replaced Plantation Hawai'i developed at the expense of those in the lower sections of society, especially the Kānaka Maoli.

Such developments in Hawai'i received sustenance and validation from an entire body of social theory that had little relation to social reality. Opposing viewpoints to the dominant paradigm were virtually absent in the academy. However, that reality was significantly altered by subsequent developments. The 1950s and 1960s witnessed significant changes in the global political economy that also expressed themselves in the US social arena. As a consequence of its triumph in World War II, the US extended its economic and political influence to Europe, primarily through the Marshall Plan and the US troops stationed there, and to the Pacific, through its occupation of Japan and colonization of the Philippines and other Pacific Islands. The US had no choice but to reconstruct Europe and Japan to insure a strong international capitalist system that could stand against the Soviet Bloc. The US became the leader of this new capitalist arrangement, especially after 1956 when it successfully parried the challenge by Great Britain and France to its dominant position after the latter two countries and Israel were forced to withdraw their invading forces from the Suez Canal Zone in Egypt.

The US used this dominant international position to press ahead with the Cold War. That war and US economic expansion overseas went hand in hand and required a solid home front which was not possible until the national political power structure agreed to abolish *de jure* discrimination against the various ethnic and national groups in the country. Opposition to this strategy came primarily from the southern local structures who were very comfortable

with their hold on power until the Civil Rights Movement began the long road towards black integration into the larger society. Simply put, *de jure* integration of minorities of color was the *sine qua non* for domestic stability, essential for the US economic push overseas, but the southern power structures decided to fight the social change demanded by the logic of capitalist development. The Civil Rights Movement, with its black leadership, had to fight for every gain it achieved.

The war in South East Asia (the "Vietnam War") complicated matters on the home front. Martin Luther King, Jr., was opposed to the war; he saw common ground between the struggles of the blacks and other minorities of color in this country and the fight against colonialism in Africa and Asia. The triumph of the Civil Rights Movement by the late 1960s, to end at least *de jure* discrimination, and the withdrawal of the US from Vietnam by 1975, were the price of power that the US ruling circles had to pay for internal stability. But global economic gains by US-based transnational corporations and high finance more than justified the price, and the Civil Rights Movement was prevented from going beyond a certain threshold designated by the ruling circles. Consequently, the push of Martin Luther King, Jr., to defend the rights of workers (both black and white) was met with stiff resistance by the national power structure just as the Watts Rebellion of 1965 was crushed by that same power, because it threatened to go beyond the goals of Civil Rights and move towards workers' rights.

Ethnic Studies in the Social Movement

Such was the national environment in which Hawai'i operated. The Islands also played a role in the war in South East Asia. Consequently, the anti-war movement grew here. This confluence of the international and national situations and local land and housing evictions, gave rise to a broad social movement in the Islands against evictions and for the assertion of a local identity, especially among the youth. The motion to establish an Ethnic Studies Program at the University of Hawai'i, was part of that movement. With the "melting pot" mythology breaking down in the Mākuā Valley and Kalama Valley evictions, the nascent social movement rejected the way in which Hawai'i's students had been educated about history, as seen through the eyes of the haole oligarchy, even though that oligarchy's rule had been destroyed. The Euro-centric perspective carried over to the newly formed local power struc-

ture, despite its ethnic diversity. In fact, that change was possible, because it conformed with the requirements of the global reach of the US. "First-class citizenship" could have been achieved only through the wedding of local social forces, who wanted to dismantle the old power structure, and US capital – and that natural wedding was cemented by a common world outlook anchored in Euro-centrism.

The struggle to establish Ethnic Studies at the University of Hawai'i had to confront the local power structure, as the latter was committed to modernization regardless of the price paid by communities not integrally tied to Democratic Party politics. However, elements of the local power structure, primarily based in the trade union movement, had an opening to argue that opposing an Ethnic Studies Program on campus was untenable, given the commitment of the new Democrats to equality among various ethnic groups. However, the establishment of the Ethnic Studies Program could not have happened without a fight. The local power structure was ultimately embarrassed into agreeing to a temporary program that it sought to contain, coopt or destroy. The Program was regarded as a threat to the dominant paradigm in higher education, which is based on a disciplinary philosophy, a positivist meta-theoretical commitment, and a functionalist separation between student and teacher. The paradigm serves the dominant economic powers and this was consonant with the establishment of the institution in 1907 as an agricultural college in the service of the plantation system and its power structure.

The Ethnic Studies Program had diametrically opposed commitments: It was interdisciplinary; it had a meta-theoretical commitment grounded in interpretive philosophy, and undergraduate students (in the role of Lab Leaders) who assumed considerable responsibilities in teaching and curriculum development; and it wanted to be of service to the lower sections of the multi-ethnic community rather than to the dominant power structure. Important research was conducted on the Bishop Estate, on interlocking directorates, on eviction struggles, on the nature of the tourism society. New courses were developed also in conjunction with this research on the political economy of Hawai'i. More research and courses were developed on the plantation experiences of the various ethnic communities and Kanaka Maoli history. Histories were told that had not been told at the premier institution of higher learning in the Islands. The Ethnic Studies Program broke the silence and the siege that a colonial mentality had constructed around the multi-ethnic and

multi-national society. The slogan of the movement, "Our History, Our Way," was implemented and, like a renaissance, generated much excitement among the student body at the University and brought about significant support from faculty members across campus who saw in Ethnic Studies a vehicle that effectively challenged the racism and the dominant paradigm at the University and in the larger community.

The fight to make the Program permanent in 1977 was successful primarily because of the long-lasting alliance between working-class and farming communities fighting evictions, on the one hand, and the Program, on the other. Members of the Program took active part in the struggles in Chinatown, Waiāhole-Waikāne, Save our Surf, and Ota Camp. Members of those struggles were also part of the Program.

It was in this political and social environment that Marion Kelly took a leading role in the struggle to establish Ethnic Studies. In that early period, Marion was a guiding force to the Ethnic Studies students and staff. She never compromised on matters of principle and kept her eyes on the prize: permanence for the Ethnic Studies Program at the University. She also helped design several courses such as ES 221 (Hawaiians); ES 320 (Hawai'i and the Pacific); and ES 350 (Economic Change and Hawai'i's People). She furthermore designed ES 340 (Land Tenure and Use Change in Hawai'i); and PACs 392 (Modern Polynesia), which she taught in Pacific Island Studies (subsequently cross-listed as ES 392). Marion's research yielded other benefits to the fledgling Ethnic Studies Program including according it academic credibility.

Marion's upbringing prepared her for the role that she was to play in that early period of the Ethnic Studies Program. Born in Honolulu on June 4, 1919, she grew up on the Waialua sugar plantation with her maternal grandparents through whom she learned humanitarian values. She deplored prejudice and discrimination, much of which she saw practiced on the plantation. Her father, William Greig Anderson, was a famous schooner captain and *sampan* fisherman. He and his wife, Thelma Anderson, often traveled in the Pacific. In 1934, Marion visited Fiji, Aotearoa (New Zealand), Rarotonga, and Tahiti with her parents. She first learned about the South Pacific and her Cook Island roots (her father was part Cook Islander) from such trips.

After graduating from Roosevelt High School, Marion enrolled at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa (UHM) and graduated with a degree in

business and economics in 1941. After graduation, she worked in Honolulu for organized labor, the AFL (American Federation of Labor) and then the CIO (Congress of Industrial Organization). After the war, she and her husband, John Kelly, whom she met in 1939 when both were young musicians, left for New York. Marion attended Columbia University to further her studies in economics. She wrote a paper for Dr. Karl Polanyi's Primitive Economics Seminar on subsistence economy and the indigenous Hawaiian relationship to the land. Marion had to ask her mother to send her whatever little information was available in Honolulu, as there was hardly any at the Columbia University library. This experience set her on a course to become the preeminent authority on land tenure and use change in Hawai'i. Her thesis on *Changes in Land Tenure in Hawai'i: 1778-1850* at the Pacific Island Studies Program at UHM, which gave her the Master's degree in 1956, is now a classic in the new school of critical history of Hawai'i. This school in recent years has made impressive progress with the works of many Kanaka Maoli scholars, examples of which are included in this volume.

Marion now teaches full time and has a full research agenda at the Department of Ethnic Studies where she is respected and loved by her colleagues for the service she is performing for Hawai'i.

The National Political Scene

The Ethnic Studies Program began institutionalization with the hiring in 1978 of Franklin Odo as its first permanent Director. This process occurred in the post-Civil Rights and post-Vietnam War period, a time of economic crisis in the US where "stagflation" (stagnation and inflation combined, a relatively recent term in bourgeois economics), brought into question many of the assumptions of that discipline. This was also the beginning of a backlash against Affirmative Action fueled by the economic crisis brewing.

The Reagan years were not far behind. Reaganism and Reaganomics dominated the American political and social scene for 12 years. The US imperial mission, expressed as "protecting our vital global interests," and the backlash that that role created around the world, fed national chauvinism. Anti-Arab and Anti-Iranian feelings heightened, especially after the Iranian revolution and the taking of hostages in Tehran, Iran's capital, in 1979. The 1983 explosion of the Marines barracks in Beirut, Lebanon, added fuel to the fire of national chauvinism. US citizens of Arab and Iranian origin or any one so mistaken were targets of hate crimes.

Reagan portrayed the international situation as though America was under siege, and as if he were the knight in shining armor with a plan to rescue America from the barbarians abroad and from the social and economic malaise at home. His strategy was two-pronged: First, hit them abroad, mining their harbors, invading their countries, creating and supporting armed opposition against enemy states, and conducting undercover military operations. Second, on the domestic level, blame the economic crisis on "big government," "big labor," and the "welfare queens," and protect "traditional values" against the onslaught of liberal ideas. Reagan, as a representative of the conservative wing of the ruling class, instituted supply-side economics, which emphasized cutting taxes for the rich and corporations and cutting expenditures for social services, while increasing military spending and deregulating government (which, in fact, was started under President Carter in 1978). All was done in the firm belief that the supply-side policies would create jobs, generate more tax revenues from workers, and reenergize free competition.

It is important to remember that Reagan passed his legislation through a Democratic-dominated Congress, a fact that underscores that Reagan's policies were regarded as essential to rescue capitalism from the crisis that befell the economy. The conservative and liberal wings of the ruling class were in disagreement on how to deal with the economic crisis; but they found much common ground, as the legislation that passed Congress so clearly indicates. Economic and social policies in the Reagan years resulted in relatively high rates of GDP (Gross Domestic Product) growth. But they also yielded high budget deficits that quadrupled the national debt, increased the number of the homeless, and toughened the criteria to qualify for welfare, food stamps and Medicaid. Furthermore, the assault on labor in the Reagan years had been systematic and resulted in fewer unionized workers and fewer benefits and lower wages for these workers. Those were the days of LBOs (leveraged buyouts), mergers, downsizing, and bankruptcies.

International Trends and Hawai'i's Political Economy

Labor in the Islands was affected adversely by these policies; as were people who relied on social services to maintain at least a poverty-level living standard. Measured by macro indicators, however, the Hawaiian economy had been doing very well, averaging more than 5% GSP (Gross State Product) growth rates.

The popular political mood in both the Islands and the continental US shifted to the right. In the 1980s, progressive social movements in the Islands subsided and became virtually non-existent, save for a few organizations, such as coalitions to fight against social services cuts in the federal budget and to protest increases in the military budget.

The effects of global competition wreaked havoc on the sugar industry in the Islands, and the 1980s witnessed the closing down of sugar operations and worker layoffs. In the face of this development, the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) could do no more than negotiate the best severance deals for workers affected or agree to concession packages to delay the inevitable shutdown. Oftentimes these agreements with the sugar companies necessitated government intervention to provide or guarantee loans for sugar operations. As a result of global competition, Hawai'i now has only three sugar operations left, and its pineapple industry has been eliminated.

Governor Ariyoshi practiced fiscal conservatism throughout his tenure. He also relied on a conservative-dominated Democratic Party, one that favored business over labor, but at the same time he was dealing with the leadership of the public union workers to ensure that labor would cooperate with government policies intended to shore up the profits of the corporate sector. Public sector labor leaders were willing to oblige so long as their workers received some wage and salary increases, however paltry those salaries may have been. Ariyoshi's biases against labor were apparent for all to see during the October 1979 United Public Workers' strike. He broke the six-week strike aided by a union leadership that grew increasingly unpopular with the rank and file.

Also significant were Ariyoshi's business and political connections with leading Republican figures such as Hebden Porteus even before he won the race for Lieutenant Governor in the 1970 Gubernatorial elections. George Cooper and Gavan Daws' *Land and Power in Hawaii* (Benchmark Books, Honolulu 1985) documents the connections among Democratic politicians, business, and labor pertaining to a considerable number of land deals made in the first 25 years of Democratic rule in the Islands.

When a 1983 *Forbes* article accused the state of Hawai'i of being anti-business, Ariyoshi took umbrage. Since statehood, overseas (including US)

investment made possible the expansion of the Hawaiian economy and tourism, which was one leg of the economic triad (the two others being military spending and agriculture) and took off to replace agriculture (sugar and pineapple) as the leading economic sector. However, business interests wanted all kinds of business regulations removed. Small business sided with corporate Hawai'i to ask that the state provided more incentives, such as lower taxes on business and a restructured worker's compensation package that favored the employer.

As the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s reached, or came close to, the end of their cycle, the Kanaka Maoli movement burst on the political scene with the landing on Kaho'olawe in 1976. A flurry of activities in Kanaka Maoli circles popularized the social struggle for indigenous land rights, and Kaho'olawe became the symbol for a gathering political force. The Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA), created by the 1978 Constitutional Convention, became the mechanism through which the state government kept a handle on the indigenous movement. The Constitutional Convention introduced new leaders of Kanaka Maoli descent, such as John Waihe'e, to the political scene. Waihe'e became Ariyoshi's Lieutenant Governor and later Governor for two terms (1987-1994).

Ethnic Studies Academic Development and the Political Environment

The institutionalization of the Ethnic Studies Program took place in this national and local political environment. In 1978, the Program had 3.75 positions and several lecturers who, with the help of Lab Leaders, taught a range of courses such as: "Introduction to Ethnic Studies," "Hawaiians," "Japanese in Hawai'i," "Chinese in Hawai'i," "Caucasians in Hawai'i," and "Filipinos in Hawai'i." Other courses about ethnic identity, immigration to Hawai'i, economic change, social movements, and Hawai'i and the Pacific were also taught in the 1970s.

Since its inception, the Ethnic Studies Program pioneered several innovative academic methods, primarily in the field of instruction, which, until today, Ethnic Studies has not received credit for, neither by the UH administration nor by the UH community as a whole. Today's buzz concepts of "interdisciplinary inquiry," "service learning," "peer teaching," and "community scholar in residence," have been integral to the establishment and development of

Ethnic Studies at the UH. In the early years, a considerable amount of research had to be undertaken to create new course materials that were not available in the academy, which, for a long time, had neglected to study and teach about Hawai'i's multi-ethnic, multi-national society from the perspective of those groups. Instead, the research and the teaching were informed by a Euro-centric paradigm whose meta-theoretical commitments intentionally neglected to integrate minorities into what passed for scholarship about their social and political interactions. Stanley Porteus' work remains a living example of the racism that still pervades the Euro-centric paradigm, however much that racism was concealed within layers upon layers of sophisticated academic jargon, and regardless of the seeming innocence/objectivity that such concealment bestowed on the paradigm.

A group of university students and individuals from the community, with the help of a few academics took it upon themselves to develop needed course materials. That group conducted archival and library research that gave substance to the slogan, "Our History, Our Way," which was the first real challenge in Hawai'i's academy to the Euro-centric paradigm. Of necessity, the research had to be interdisciplinary; several supporters were "community scholars;" and the concept of "peer learning/teaching" gave birth to the Lab Leader institution. As mentioned earlier, Lab Leaders were undergraduate students and individuals from the community who helped instructors in conducting research and teaching courses. Lab Leaders had been the link to the community as well. Students visited communities to learn more about their struggles against evictions, and they helped those communities by conducting research about the entity that the community had been confronting. They conducted research and action in the service of the community. Community people also came and addressed students in Ethnic Studies courses. These things were previously basically unheard of at the UH, and the Program had to experiment with them all, usually with the UH administration offering much criticism and no help. Instead of celebrating and encouraging the new paradigm in education, many on the UH faculty, prisoners to their own paradigm and smitten with what futurist Joel Baker calls, "paradigm paralysis," exhibited prejudices against the Program and wanted to see it expire.

Nevertheless, the Program continued with its interdisciplinary, University-community interaction. It also began to win increasing support from forward-looking faculty members, some of whom had been teaching in the newly

established New College/Survival Plus Program (of the late 1960s and early 1970s). Many of the students in this Program were also supportive of Ethnic Studies. It introduced innovations in teaching, but despite its name, it did not survive. It was unable to establish deep roots in the community.

By the time the fight arose for permanent status at the UH, the Ethnic Studies Program had developed a substantial support from faculty and students across campus. With such overwhelming support, the UH administration had to give in and, as mentioned before, permanence was achieved.

But permanence did not mean full support. The UH administration never saw fit to lend support to Ethnic Studies in the form of more positions so that more Ethnic Studies courses could be taught. Until March 1997, the Ethnic Studies Program (which became a department in June 1995) was housed in wooden temporary offices across from the Biomedical building on East-West Road. The move was ironically to another temporary wooden structure behind the Korean Studies Center.

Miriam Sharma was hired Interim Director for the academic year 1977-78 while a search for a permanent Director took place. As Director, Franklin Odo shepherded the Program through its institutionalization process from Fall 1978 until the early 1990s. In an era of political conservatism and Program permanence, the Program had to work within the academic system while remaining true to its original mission – "Our History, Our Way" – in teaching, research, and community service.

When the Ethnic Studies Program by January of 1990 increased its strength from 3.75 to 7.75 positions, it was not because of a magnanimous UH administration, but because of legislative action initiated by legislators in both houses supportive of the Program. Through legislative action also, the Lab Leader institution was funded to ensure its permanence as a core element of Ethnic Studies. The late State Representative Roland Kotani and Senator Brian Taniguchi were instrumental in securing those gains. Both lawmakers had been associated with the Program in the 1970s, and Representative Kotani had taught in the Program during the 1980s. Both understood the role the undergraduate Program played in higher education, and the future need for Ethnic Studies at the UH as an important part of a college education instrumental in discovering knowledge about inter-ethnic relations in a complex society.

The Hawai'i State Legislature demonstrated that, over the past few generations, it has understood Hawai'i's need for a UH research and teaching unit that can advance knowledge and educate the new generations about the Islands' heritage, struggles, and possible multi-ethnic future. In many ways, the Legislature had anticipated the much-touted current UH strategic plan with its Hawai'i and Pacific focus.

The Ethnic Studies Program's new positions allowed the consolidation of institutionalizing activities. The often-heard criticism that the instructors (most of whom had been part-time) did not have Ph.D.s, were finally silenced. Faculty began to publish in academic journals and some published books. Until then, only Marion Kelly had been in a position to conduct research as an Anthropologist at the Bishop Museum while teaching part-time at Ethnic Studies. Her groundbreaking research about Hawai'i's land tenure and use proved essential to the development of the curriculum and the academic standing of the Program.

Karl Marx once observed that men (and women) make their own history, not as they please, but within a given social and political economic setting. In the case of the Ethnic Studies Program, that setting took its toll. While the Program maintained and, in some ways, even deepened its connections with the community in the 1980s, that militancy was not there to the extent that it had been earlier. Though some may argue to the contrary, it could not have been otherwise. The Ethnic Studies Program reflected the times, but remained grounded in its academic research and teaching commitments to the concepts of class, ethnicity, race, nationality, and gender. There was always a faculty (primarily part-time instructors and lecturers) core in the Program who based their research and teaching on the political-economy framework and gave direction to Ethnic Studies. Marion Kelly has been indispensable in this regard.

*The 1980s were years of robust economic development. Foreign investment poured into the state, especially in the latter half of the decade, where it saw huge profits in tourism and real estate development. From 1986 to 1989, Japanese investment totaled \$5.2 billion compared with a total foreign investment of \$8.4 billion from 1970 to 1989 (Aoudé, in Michael Haas (ed.) *Multicultural Hawaii: The Fabric of a Multiethnic Society* Garland, New York 1998). According to *The State of Hawaii Data Book 1996* (Table 7.02) from*

1980 to 1989, tourist arrivals jumped from a total of 3,934.5 to 6,641.8 million visitors. In the same period, the GSP, measured in 1982 dollars, jumped from a total of 13,690.5 to 18,589 billion (Table 13.02). The same source (Table 7.25) records tourism's share of the GSP for 1989 at \$6,450.6 billion and direct and indirect jobs generated by tourism at 156,700. The total civilian labor force for that year was 525,000 (Table 12.06).

The Islands were again the site of important land and housing struggles. Some lecturers took advantage of those struggles to maintain the Program's ties with working-class communities. One such site was Ota Camp which fought evictions in 1974 and again was threatened by evictions from its Waipahu location in 1984. In 1974, the Ota Camp community, predominantly Filipino, had reached an agreement with the City according to which the community would be relocated, and after ten years its members would have the option to buy their homes. But in 1984, the City wanted to renege on its promise and evict the entire community. A few lecturers from Ethnic Studies, with the backing of the Program, went to render organizational support and advice about strategy to the community. Within a year, that fight was won through a combination of rallies, demonstrations, and legal action. A broad-based support from other communities and activists demonstrated to the City and governmental housing agencies that it would be best to honor previous commitments to the community.

Other housing struggles in Chinatown beginning in 1985 recalled some of the activity and protests of the 1970s. Again lecturers from Ethnic Studies, along with other community activists who had been previously associated with the Program, provided organizational support and advice on strategy. Those struggles were also successful. People Against Chinatown Eviction (PACE) prevailed on the City to reach an agreement with the developer to not evict tenants of Julie's Hotel (a small rooming house on Maunakea Street) but to reinstate them after renovations with a nominal (\$5) increase in their monthly rent. In another struggle, PACE was able to help organize the tenants of Smith-Beretania Apartments (a low-income apartment building on Nu'uuanu Avenue and Beretania Boulevard) to fight for their rights to stop tenants' abuse by management.

Faculty from the Program were active in, and Ethnic Studies supported, struggles such as Nukoli'i on Kaua'i; the anti-geothermal fight to protect the

rainforest on the Big Island; the return of Kaho'olawe to civilian use; and the Sand Island eviction fight. It is important to observe that in each of those struggles, the Kanaka Maoli issue was either the main or only component. The prominence of the indigenous issue reflected the qualitative shift in social movements in the Islands.

The housing and land struggles of the 1980s were also instrumental in preventing the Program from being devoured by the beast of conservatism, as Ethnic Studies was being institutionalized. This fact demonstrated the importance of agency (individuals and organizations as social agents of change) in maintaining a general direction of a movement or organization, however foggy and imprecise that may have been on account of immense structural changes in society.

Ethnic Studies, University of Hawai'i and Economic Crisis

The Program's consolidation by 1990 and the critical mass it achieved in faculty positions, allowed it to advance at a faster rate academically, achieving departmental status and offering a baccalaureate degree in 1995. In retrospect, it was propitious that the Program strengthened its position academically before Cayetano's stark revelations about the state budget in 1995 and his subsequent drastic budget cuts, which also included cuts in UH funding.

On the basis of research by Ethnic Studies faculty about Hawai'i's political economy, the department anticipated heavy budget cuts in the state budget on account of the state's over-reliance on tourism. The unlikelihood of scenarios propagated by the state machinery that a full-fledged high-technology sector would absorb the adverse effects of a declining tourist-based economy made for a pessimistic outlook. (Some of that research was published in 1993 in *Social Process in Hawaii: A Reader*, edited by Peter Manicas (McGraw-Hill, New York); and in 1994 in *Social Process in Hawaii* volume 35, edited by this writer).

No social movement exists that is capable of addressing the political effects of the economic challenges of the past several years. More importantly, a counter analysis to that of the mainstream is not sufficiently developed to point out the causes and the real culprits of the social and economic crisis

engulfing the Islands. Mainstream analysis ordinarily lays the blame on some unfriendly behemoth (such as "big labor" or "big government") and summons an invisible hand to do battle with it on behalf of business interests. Invariably, lobbyists on behalf of business recommend cuts in corporate income taxes, the General Excise Tax, and Worker's Compensation benefits. Business interests also call for more public funds to promote the visitor industry and to help attract foreign investment to the state.

Governor Cayetano's first term in office was devastating to lower- and middle-income wage earners and the un- and under-employed. He tried to minimize the negative effects of the economic crisis on business profits by slashing social programs and eliminating the state budget deficit. He also tried to stimulate the economy by spending \$1 billion on infrastructure and attracting foreign and US investment. I have elsewhere (in Haas 1998, mentioned above) written on Cayetano's economic strategy during his first term. Suffice it to mention here that his strategy is to stimulate the economy by diversifying the services sector (health care, education, banking, commerce, and insurance) and attracting high-technology firms. But all these ventures/adventures require huge incentives that could cost the state revenues sorely needed for social programs. In his second term, Cayetano promises more concentrated and aggressive plans to diversify the economy for the benefit of business. Tax cuts, eliminating "pyramiding," downsizing government, and a Kaka'ako technology park, are schemes to help subsidize business and create more opportunities for it through privatization.

Despite all Cayetano's support for business, right-wing free marketeers attacked his administration's policies. They wanted more privatization, more support for small business, more tax cuts, more cuts in Worker's Compensation benefits, more cuts in social services, more government deregulations, and more business subsidies. That such policies, if implemented, might create social upheaval along class and ethnic lines seem to be of no concern to those right-wing free marketeers. Fundamentally ideological, they attempt to fit social reality into the confines of their paradigmatic construct. In a globalized economy dominated by huge international corporations and financial institutions, those prisoners of their own paradigm still believe in the mirage of the free market and an economic world defined by small business. It seems that to them, life is all about supply and demand, and whoever gets in the way of a smooth curve and market equilibrium must be removed.

Consequently, workers and their unions become primary targets of those free marketeers.

The economic crisis in which Hawai'i finds itself has wreaked havoc on the University. While budget cuts were instituted at the UH before Cayetano took office in 1995, they were not as severe as those that occurred during Cayetano's first term in office. Whatever opposing social motion those cuts initially generated, its outer manifestations (rallies, marches, and speeches) quickly dissipated for a variety of reasons, including the perceived remoteness of the University from the community. In many ways, the community saw the University, especially the faculty, as essentially divorced from ordinary residents and their daily concerns. Cayetano was astute enough to play on that perception and isolate the thousands of University protestors from the community. Following the 1995 rallies and march to the State Capitol, Cayetano won the public relations battle in the media and the broad coalition against budget cuts in education became incapacitated.

Soon thereafter, talk about University restructuring filled these halls of learning. The UH administration, at Bachman Hall, couched the talk in terms of "autonomy," "excellence," "prioritizing," "Asia-Pacific focus," and "diversity." It launched a fund-raising campaign to alleviate the effects of the budget cuts, but also to show that the University can be, at least in part, financially autonomous. In 1998, the administration finally succeeded in achieving partial autonomy for the University, a first step, perhaps, towards more autonomy in the future.

No sooner than autonomy was secured, the discourse on "restructuring" transformed into a discourse on "rightsizing." The UH administration seemed intent on downsizing the University to its "right size." It would be interesting to travel in a time machine to see what this "rightsizing" might ultimately look like – which units/departments are "right" and which are "wrong."

All this downsizing, beginning with and driven by budget cuts, is implied (and sometimes stated) to be for the purpose of giving an active role to the University in uplifting the state's economy. But to understand why some are skeptical about that University role, one must see what limitations the movers and shakers in the state suffer in turning the economy around.

The main point that seems ignored or misunderstood in its implications but which is obvious to most people, is globalization. The term is on their lips to "fix"

the economy. They claim that their proposed remedies are necessitated by the mantra of globalization. They want Hawai'i to become more competitive vis-a-vis other countries and regions, especially in the Asia-Pacific theater. What is not up for debate with these "fixers," is whether the economic woes and their political and social effects are a consequence of development towards globalization. For social scientists interested in analysis of social phenomena, the question is critical. But such an analysis would again bring into question the main assumptions of capitalist development in the age of the transnational corporations and high finance. This questioning could become more serious in its political implications than earlier critiques because of the current crisis engulfing the global economy and its devastating effects on hundreds of millions of human beings world wide. Those effects were not present in the post-World War II period to the same extent as in the 1990s.

The recent gubernatorial race between Ben Cayetano and Linda Lingle was essentially a match about who could best serve business interests. Axiomatic in the debates was that serving those interests was Hawai'i's only salvation from the grips of the economic crisis. No other option was available on the political level and, ideologically, these voters had to operate within the free market paradigm. Because of socialization into this paradigm, most people apparently find it difficult to imagine a solution outside that paradigm. However, the irony is that free markets do not exist, and solutions based on non-existing entities will have to concoct them for an imagined world. The result: a bigger crisis caused by solutions not based on social and economic realities. Such solutions block the realities of transnational corporations, huge institutional investors, and huge currency traders. More importantly, there seems to be a disconnect between these economic theories and the effects of economic policies generated on their basis, on the one hand, and the consequences of such policies in the political arena, on the other.

In Hawai'i, economic and social policies driven by such an ideology yielded a series of devastating results, especially to lower-wage earners. The free-market argument claims that globalization requires competitive pricing with international purveyors of goods and services, the state offering tax and other incentives to international investors and venture capitalists, and state deregulation and privatization. The latter are extra elements that supposedly would not only lure new businesses to the Islands, but also support existing ones.

There has been no significant challenge to this line of thinking. Instead, the main contention was between the Cayetano Economic Revitalization Task Force (ERTF), constituted primarily from big business interests with a token representation from small business and labor, and extreme right-wing representatives of small business. Despite labor's presence on the ERTF, it subscribes to the same philosophy guiding the Cayetano administration.

Cayetano has promised that his second term will accomplish more of what he started in his first. It is significant that right after he won the election, Cayetano clearly enunciated that the narrow margin that put him on top was a wake-up call for the Democrats. This meant that the Democrats should be more in tune with the needs of business and move more boldly with privatization and downsizing government. That such drastic moves would further wreak havoc on lower-wage earners seems to be of no concern to initiators of capitalist policies. In the larger scheme of things, what matters, in the first place, is profitability, which, according to economic dogma, generates jobs and prosperity. What worked during capitalist expansion may not work under conditions of globalization. That a main characteristic of globalization is shrinking markets (despite the overvaluation witnessed in all major financial markets until Asia's financial chaos occurred) has not dawned on theoretical wizards and formulators of economic policy.

There is not much talk about the relationship between high-technology innovation in production and the delivery of services, on the one hand, and the loss of jobs, severe economic recessions (or even depressions), and the move to financial (and currency) speculation (which is primarily responsible for overvaluation on Wall Street and other markets), on the other. Instead, the misunderstood notion of globalization among planners is that Hawai'i's economic and social policies must adapt to the realities of globalization so that the local economy improves. If more of these policies are implemented, more people will become economically marginalized, and there will be an increased potential for a social movement in opposition to such capitalist policies. Opposition already exists around the state, and some sections of the Kanaka Maoli movement seem to be opposed to being coopted by the state government. While some individuals and organizations in those sections seem to believe that self-determination can be freely exercised under capitalism, others question this mode of thinking. An opposing political pole to capitalist policies does not yet exist, but so long as the economic and social situation

keeps deteriorating for more people, regardless of ethnicity and nationality, a large multi-ethnic, multi-national social movement is likely to develop.

What role can Ethnic Studies play in the changing political-economic context to remain of service to the larger community? This is the challenge that we immediately face and for which we are working on devising a strategy. We must consolidate our traditional ties and move forward to be of service to those who are marginalized by the effects of globalization in the Islands, regardless of their ethnicity or national origin.

Summary of Articles

This volume includes a section that highlights critical dates in the life of the Ethnic Studies Program correlating with two articles and an oral history about the Program. John Witeck's article locates the struggle for Ethnic Studies in the larger international, national, and local political context. It also shows the integral relationship between Ethnic Studies, on the one hand, and the larger student, anti-war, and anti-eviction movements, on the other.

Miriam Sharma's article also situates Ethnic Studies in the larger context, but concentrates more on its rise as a field nationally. Sharma compares the early period of the Ethnic Studies Program, up to 1978, with that of the 1980s and 1990s. She points out the challenges that Hawai'i and Ethnic Studies have faced in recent years and wonders which direction Ethnic Studies will take. Indications exist, she opines, that Ethnic Studies will continue to emphasize the class dimension, as it did in the mid 1970s, in its analysis of the multi-dimensional (ethnicity, race, nationality, class, and gender) society, as the class concept cuts across the other dimensions and integrates politics and economics.

Soli Niheu's oral history is the perspective of a long-time Kanaka Maoli supporter of Ethnic Studies dating back to the "People's Committee" days of the early 1970s. Niheu evaluates the Program's history interwoven with the history of Kōkua Hawai'i and other grassroots organizations. He also evaluates Ethnic Studies in the more recent period and discusses class and ethnic struggles and the importance of international alliances in social struggles.

Senator Bob Nakata's transcribed talk to ES 381 (Social Movements in Hawai'i) students about Waiāhole-Waikāne demonstrates the important role of ordinary people in protecting their own communities from maldevelopment

that clashes with the interest of the majority. This is a case study of social movement organization that shows the indispensable need for sound strategy and tactics to win a fight. It also shows the importance of leadership and democracy in organizing. Senator Nakata's talk is an empowering account to those who seek social change and development in response to ordinary people's interests.

Ah Quon McElrath's article discusses the development of race relations in the Islands through an account of labor history. Labor organizing became a central element in the development of our multi-ethnic society. McElrath reserves judgment on the future of race (and ethnic) relations in the Islands given the unpredictable nature and future direction of the many existing social variables.

David Stannard's article was originally a report requested by and submitted in 1997 to the University of Hawai'i Vice-President for Academic Affairs and the Advisory Committee formed to investigate whether the name Porteus should be removed from the Social Sciences Building at the UH. Stannard exposes the racism imbedded in Stanley Porteus' writings and recommends that the UH administration should not continue to honor racism by keeping Porteus' name on the building.

Kathryn Takara's article looks at discrimination along ethnic and class lines that was the hallmark of plantation Hawai'i. Frank Marshall Davis, a black journalist, was first welcomed to Hawai'i by the haole oligarchy. But because he threw his lot with the rising labor movement, doors began to close in his face. He remained defiant and exposed the injustices against the workers regardless of color or ethnic origin. Frank Marshall Davis' writings (both poetry and prose) remain a monument to defiance and courage against great odds.

Franklin Odo's article reminds us of the power of representation/misrepresentation of public history. His concentration on the museum as an "influential venue" of representation of public history provides a powerful argument that educators here in the Islands must pay more attention to. Odo's examples of the little-known, little-credited impact of Japanese American (and other Asian American) artists on American Abstract Expressionism and about World War II internment, indicates that much can be done by museums to remedy that situation. More importantly, national museum coverage of Japanese

American (and other minority groups) issues within Hawai'i is a "powerful tool" that enables Japanese Americans to be supportive of social justice issues impacting all groups in Hawai'i.

Ulla Hasager's article views indigenous rights and practices from an international comparative perspective, from which she analyzes the indigenous situation in Hawai'i. Hasager discusses some of those salient elements such as academe, governments, non-governmental organizations, and multinational businesses.

Davianna McGregor's article demonstrates the importance of research in the service of communities. Her case study underscores the clash between cultural practices and beliefs on the one hand, and geothermal energy development, on the other. McGregor discusses research methods appropriate for such an undertaking and the importance of history, including oral tradition, as recorded in chants, to her methodology.

Luciano Minerbi's article discusses contemporary Hawaiian management models based on the *ahupua'a* (land division from the mountain to the sea) concept. He also argues that it would be possible for the *ahupua'a* concept, based on Hawaiian conservation values, to have a significant role in contemporary planning.

Māhealani Dudoit's article deals with national resistance literature, which she situates in a legacy of Hawaiian resistance dating back to the 1870s. Her contribution connects the resistance literature of the past with that of the present.

Rodney Morales' short story is a unique depiction of ethnic relations in Hawai'i, which shows the absurdity of simplifying those relations to something as easily understandable and describable as state or federal statistics. These statistics, in themselves, are stereotypes or encourage stereotyping. We come in all shapes and colors and interact with one another in a multitude of ways. It is important to appreciate the complexities encountered in a multi-ethnic, multi-national society and to tolerate, if not respect, difference. Otherwise, our days might be "numbered."

Li'ana Petranek's article is an eclectic treatment of the multi-cultural subject. She references phenomenology, post-structuralism, and Marxism to illustrate the politics and complexities involved in the interpretation of the self.

Noel Kent's article is critical of the globalization myth as the salvation to Hawai'i's problems. He contends that the political economy of Hawai'i deteriorated because of globalization. As it caused more people to suffer and become marginalized, the ruling circles' response to the crisis can only exacerbate the problem. He calls for a people's democratic revolution to reverse the onslaught of globalization on ordinary people. Local and personal identities, Kent opines, are important in this regard.

Ibrahim Aoudé's article shows that the class dimension is central to resolving the main issues in Hawai'i's political economy. As such, the Kanaka Maoli movement and the incipient people's movement are integrally related; one cannot achieve its goals without the other. Social movements must take into account the political and economic realities that tie Hawai'i to the continental US as these movements begin to construct a theory of the Hawaiian revolution that can guide the people's movement in completing its tasks.

Finally, three appendices are included. The first demonstrates the long road that Ethnic Studies has traversed since 1970. The other two appendices are testimonies given in support of removing Stanley Porteus' name from the Social Sciences Building. The first is the testimony of the Department of Ethnic Studies and the other, of Marion Kelly. Both underscore the commitment of Ethnic Studies to fighting racism and discrimination in support of peace and justice in our Hawai'i. ❖

No Jam Da Program!

Ethnic Studies Highlights: 1969-1998 Our History, Our Way

Fall 1969 – Students and community supporters work with University of Hawai'i (UH) faculty to develop a proposal for an Ethnic Studies Program at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa (UHM) Campus.

January 1970 – The working group propose to the UH administration an Ethnic Studies Program focused on the primary immigrant ethnic groups and the Native Hawaiians, the indigenous people of Hawai'i.

June 1970 – The Ethnic Studies Program is established as a two-year experimental program with an allocation of \$50,000, for the 1970-71 academic year. Dr. Dennis Ogawa, now Professor at American Studies at UHM, is appointed director.

February 1972 – Ogawa resigns; Larry Kamakawiwo'ole, a Native Hawaiian and community supporter of Ethnic Studies, is appointed interim director.

February 1972 – President Cleveland sets up the Ad Hoc Committee on Ethnic Studies: Professors Stephen Boggs, David Cromwell, James Linn, Seymour Lutzky and Fritz Seifert. The committee is asked by Dean Contois to "make recommendations on the continuation of the Program, its organization, curriculum, personnel and governance."

March 21, 1972 – Over two hundred Ethnic Studies students march on Bachman Hall after seven hours of discussion with Chancellor Richard Takasaki go nowhere. Takasaki forms the Ad Hoc Advisory Committee (AHAC) on Ethnic Studies with a mandate to review all other committees' recommendations. The AHAC has five members each from faculty, students, and community people. Concerned students demand to select the student and community members of the committee, but their demand is rejected by Chancellor Takasaki.

Spring 1972 – A three-night sit-in results in the People's Committee being accepted as the review committee for Ethnic Studies.

April 20, 1972 – The College of Arts and Sciences Program and Curriculum Committee recommends that the “experimental status of the Ethnic Studies Program be extended for another two years.”

April 22, 1972 – The People's Committee of the Ethnic Studies Program rejects the recommendations of the College of Arts and Sciences. Instead, they demand that Ethnic Studies be made permanent.

Spring 1972 – The People's Committee proposes a curriculum and instructors for the Ethnic Studies Program and nominates Larry Kamakawiwo'ole as its director. A *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* article (5/18/72) comments that this was the “first time in the University's 65-year history that a joint faculty-student-community group had proposed a curriculum, director and staff for an academic program.”

May 3, 1972 – President Cleveland appoints Larry Kamakawiwo'ole director of the Ethnic Studies Program.

May 18, 1972 – Kamakawiwo'ole's appointment is blocked by UH Regent Clarence Chang and delayed for 20 days. Supporters suspect harassment of Ethnic Studies by the UH administration.

June 8, 1972 – Kamakawiwo'ole's appointment as director of Ethnic Studies is approved beginning July 1, 1972. Between July 1 and September 1, 1972, there is a series of program directors. Finally in Fall 1972, Davianna McGregor, a graduate student, is appointed interim director and remains in that position until the Fall of 1977. Meanwhile, the Ethnic Studies Program is reviewed, declared provisional and otherwise threatened, forcing it to keep fighting for its existence as these and other administrative constraints continue.

Spring 1973 – Ethnic Studies students organize the “Hawai'i Committee Against Racism and National Oppression.” Its members monitor UH Administrator Geoffrey Ashton's “Genetic and Environmental Bases of Human Cognition” study and declare it racist. Ashton was opposed to the Ethnic Studies Program.

1974 – Ethnic Studies spearheads a campaign to overturn the Board of Regents' decision to name the Social Sciences building after Stanley Porteus, a racist psychologist. The effort fails mainly because Ethnic Studies was embroiled in a fight for its own survival with the UH administration.

June 1975 – The Ethnic Studies Program is again given “provisional status” for the next two years and \$80,000 in funds for the fiscal years 1975-77.

October 8, 1976 – Threatened again with the loss of the program, over three hundred UH students rally to support the permanence for the Ethnic Studies Program.

October 20, 1976 – A rally and public hearing to defend Ethnic Studies is held. Several hundred supporters hear more than 35 speakers, including representatives from labor, community and campus organizations, as well as individual students and faculty members who testify for several hours in the Campus Center Ballroom in support of Ethnic Studies. UH administration representatives refuse to speak, or even to attend.

November 1976 – Chancellor Yamamura recommends Ethnic Studies be abolished.

November 8, 1976 – The People's Committee to Defend Ethnic Studies purchases a double-page ad in the student newspaper, *Ka Leo O Hawai'i*, to bring its demands for permanence to the attention of the University administration in “An Open Letter to the UH Administration.”

November 19, 1976 – An Ethnic Studies Program Rally is held in the Campus Center Courtyard. Two hundred Ethnic Studies supporters march to the administration building to confront vice-president Durward Long and Mānoa Chancellor Douglas Yamamura for an hour and a half. Ethnic Studies demands the program be made permanent. Members of the People's Committee declare vice-chancellor Geoffrey Ashton's reports a “gross distortion of fact” and “institutionalized racism.” Vice-president Long calls the People's Committee an “external” organization that will not be recognized by the university administration. Program supporters remind Long that university administrators are outsiders who come and go, while the people of Hawai'i continue to fight for what is right.

December 1, 1976 – Over two hundred students and supporters of the Ethnic Studies Program demonstrate at Bachman Hall for the second time in as many weeks. UH President Fujio Matsuda refuses to talk with Ethnic Studies supporters.

January 24, 1977 – Ethnic Studies Program submits an updated program review report to the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences.

April 25, 1977 – The UH Mānoa Faculty Senate Program and Curriculum Planning Committee and ASUH subcommittee submit a report that supports a permanent Ethnic Studies.

May 1, 1977 – The College of Arts and Sciences, Educational Policy and Planning Committee recommends making Ethnic Studies permanent.

May 2, 1977 – The *Honolulu Advertiser* editorial supports continuation of the Ethnic Studies Program.

May 6, 1977 – The UH Faculty Senate supports the Ethnic Studies faculty and a permanent interdisciplinary program in the College of Arts and Sciences.

May 12, 1977 – Dr. Yamamura enunciates the administration's position on Ethnic Studies: Status is "in abeyance," not provisional/not permanent. He recommends appointment of another "advisory" committee to "take over running the Ethnic Studies Program" and make "periodic progress reports."

May 16, 1977 – Monday 7:30 p.m. – The Ethnic Studies Support Committee meets at Webster Hall. They voice continued support for strengthening the Ethnic Studies Program at UH, for retaining the present staff, for adding one additional member and for appointment of Davianna McGregor as interim director.

May 18, 1977 – Wednesday, 1:30 p.m. – Defend Ethnic Studies/Make Ethnic Studies Permanent Rally is held at the Campus Center Courtyard.

May 18, 1977 – Wednesday, 2:00 p.m. – Ethnic Studies staff, students and community committee members present demands at the UH Board of Regents' meeting to make the program permanent and appoint the well-qualified staff for the school year 1977-78. The UH Board of Regents vote "permanence" for the Ethnic Studies Program and hires Miriam Sharma, an anthropologist, as its Interim Director.

July 1, 1978 – Dr. Franklin Odo is hired as director of the "permanent" Ethnic Studies Program.

Fall 1980 – The program faculty collaborate to publish the *Amerasia Journal* on Hawai'i issues (vol. 7, no. 2).

1990 – Ethnic Studies augments its faculty positions from 3.75 to 6.75.

March 2, 1991 – Ethnic Studies draws in the community to help plan the 21st anniversary celebration of the Program. The celebration is a huge success that helps renew many ties with the community.

1991 – One more faculty position is added to the Program for a total of 7.75.

June 1991 – The Program begins a series of steps in a concerted effort to develop a national and international academic reputation. Ethnic Studies hosts the 8th Annual National Conference of the prestigious Association for Asian American Studies (AAAS).

1991 – The Program develops a working relationship with the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs with headquarters in Copenhagen, Denmark.

1993 – The Program lends support to the Kanaka Maoli movement to hold Ka Ho'okolonui Kanaka Maoli, The People's International Tribunal, Hawai'i.

1994 – A Special Issue of *Social Process in Hawai'i*, volume 35: *The Political Economy of Hawai'i*, edited by Ibrahim G. Aoudé (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press) highlights and develops the role of Ethnic Studies as a contributor to the creation of knowledge about Hawai'i issues. Ethnic Studies supports the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs' publication of *Hawai'i – Return to Nationhood*, edited by anthropologists Ulla Hasager and Jonathan Friedman (Document 75; Copenhagen: IWGIA).

May 1995 – Ethnic Studies organizes the Ethnic Studies Community Conference, "Community Politics and Socio-Economic Issues in Hawai'i," convened by acting director Ibrahim G. Aoudé. The conference is a result of collaboration between Ethnic Studies and members of the community.

1995 – In two different actions, the Board of Regents transforms the Program into a degree-granting (January) department (June).

1995 – When the French government launches a 1995-96 series of Nuclear tests in Moruroa, Tahiti, the Department is instrumental in creating the Hawai'i Coalition Against Nuclear Testing, which enjoys broad community support. Since then we have kept close contact with Maohi in French Polynesia and in Hawai'i as well as with international peace organizations.

May 1996 – Ethnic Studies hosts the Association for Asian American Studies Joint Regional Conference in conjunction with the 25th Anniversary Celebration of Ethnic Studies.

December 1996 – A seminar on Hawai'i is organized by the University of Lund in Sweden. Faculty from Ethnic Studies are invited to speak in conjunction with their attending the European Society for Oceanists' Conference, "Pacific Peoples in the Pacific Century," in Copenhagen, Denmark.

1996 – Ethnic Studies faculty publish *Our History Our Way – An Ethnic Studies Anthology*, edited by Gregory Yee Mark, Davianna Pōmaika'i McGregor and Linda A. Revilla (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company), a comprehensive and popular textbook for Ethnic Studies.

1996 – Ethnic Studies is given an additional quarter faculty position. A total of 8 faculty positions allows the Department to hire a full-time faculty to teach the African American experience beginning in Fall 1997.

March 1997 – Ethnic Studies relocates to new temporaries at 1859 East-West Road after 27 years at its old location.

October 1997 – Franklin Odo officially resigns from Ethnic Studies after a three year leave without pay. UH administration takes away the faculty position. Total faculty positions decreases to seven. Ethnic Studies collaborates with Dr. Odo, now at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington DC, on projects related to the history of ethnic groups in Hawai'i.

Fall 1997 – Ethnic Studies joins fight to remove Stanley Porteus' name from the Social Sciences Building. The fight, spearheaded by Kanaka Maoli students and ASUH, is successful.

Fall 1997 – Ethnic Studies becomes part of the national Service Learning Project aimed at securing student learning through community involvement. The following year, the Honolulu site is recognized as the leading site in the national effort.

June 1998 – Ethnic Studies hosts the 15th National Association for Asian American Studies Conference. The Department begins a campaign to restore the lost faculty position with full support from the AAAS.

Ethnic Studies leads the successful effort within AAAS to rescind the Association's Award for Lois Ann Yamanaka's *Blu's Hanging*.

October 1998 – Ethnic Studies recovers the faculty position vacated by Franklin Odo and expects to hire a Japanese in Hawai'i and the US specialist in Fall 1999. Community support and a sound strategy were instrumental in convincing the UH administration to return the faculty position to Ethnic Studies.



Our hard work has succeeded in making the Department known nationally and internationally for its academic achievements. We have hosted several international scholars conducting research on Hawai'i. Ethnic Studies faculty conduct research of value to Hawai'i's people and thereby contribute to the discovery of knowledge in this interdisciplinary field. The Department continues to mentor students from the Continental US and across campus and to educate students about the history of Hawai'i's people and the important events that influence their lives. We also encourage students to participate in protecting those rights that the people have won over the years. We have won many battles, and we are still in the fight to secure a better future for Hawai'i's multi-ethnic multi-national people.

Education for Liberation!

An earlier version of this chronology appeared in the Ethnic Studies Program's newsletter, Special Anniversary Edition, March 2, 1991. It was revised and updated by Ibrahim G. Aoudé.



Marion Kelly addressing Ethnic Studies supporters (1972)

Photo: Ed Greevy



Students and community supporters discuss strategy (1972)

Photo: Ed Greevy



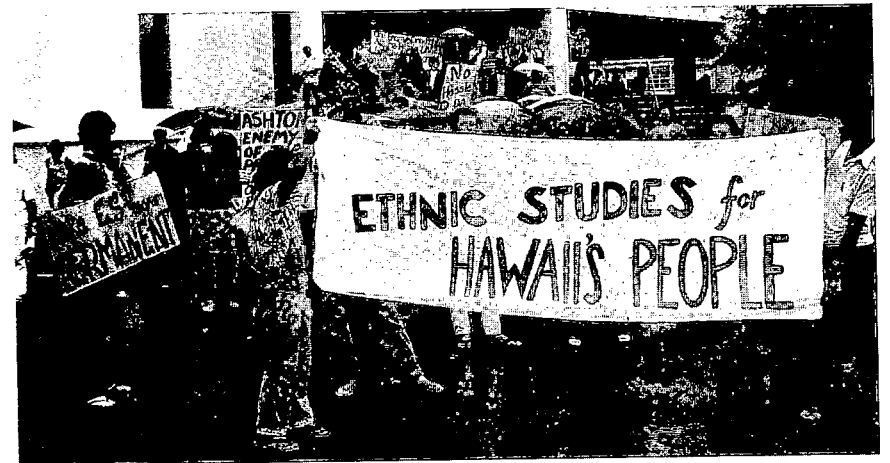
Rally in support of Ethnic Studies (1972)



Community supporters rally for Ethnic Studies (1972)



Supporters occupy Bachman Hall to demand Ethnic Studies become permanent (1977)



Supporters march to demand permanence for Ethnic Studies (1977)

The Rise of Ethnic Studies at the University of Hawai'i:

Anti-War, Student and Early Community Struggles

John J. Witeck

The 1960s witnessed the birth and development of the United States' student movement and its related phenomena in Hawai'i. This movement was also global, spurred on by the inconsistencies and inequities of modern society and by outrage towards the US war against the peoples of Indochina. In other industrialized capitalist countries, similar simultaneous youth-generated revolts arose – in France (witness the 1968 Paris youth and worker uprisings), Germany, Scandinavia, Italy, Australia, Aotearoa (New Zealand), Canada, and Japan. These movements were also deeply inspired by the lengthy, determined struggle of the peoples of Indochina for self-determination. The Vietnamese revolution overcame French colonial rule initially and, finally, by 1972, even with the loss of over two million Vietnamese, defeated US military intervention. Other movements for liberation in Africa, Central and South America, and Asia also sparked students' interest and gained wide support. The student movement globally became a significant, though generally disconnected, force (at the international level) in those heady times of dissent, protest, and uprising.

In the US and Hawai'i, college attendance swelled and a broader cross-section of youth went to college, where previously only clerics, educators, businessmen, aspiring professionals and the well-to-do were permitted. The GI bill, the rise of community colleges and the development of education as big business, were responsible for the growth of the diploma mill, which also sought to train students for new corporate and government jobs required by the *imperium*. The goal of such education also was to inculcate proper societal values in the young and aspiring who, during the Vietnam War era and its attendant military draft, could obtain student deferments against conscription by staying enrolled in colleges.

Once on campus, a growing number of students were able to see more clearly and to study more deeply the inequities and blatant contradictions in

society that led to wars such as the one in Vietnam and to racism and sexism in the US and Hawai'i. The draft system itself sent working-class and poor youths to war, while more advantaged youths could remain safely enrolled in college classes, enjoying student deferments.

Hawai'i's own history was a graphic example of US expansionism and military conquest. The situation of the original people of the Islands, the Kānaka Maoli, demonstrated the continuity of this assault and injustice. Yet tragically and ironically, many Hawaiian youths were among Hawai'i's casualties of the US war in Vietnam, in which over 50,000 Americans died.

Birth of the Student Movement

At the University of California at Berkeley campus in the early 1960s, the Free Speech Movement organized against administrators' efforts to ban campus speech and protests. It sparked a student movement which, inspired by the civil rights campaigns and protests in the US South, quickly spread around the US. The students also looked at US policy abroad, especially in Southeast Asia. Encouraged by progressive and critical faculty members, the students, through teach-ins and fora, became informed and began to conclude that the Vietnam War was racist and genocidal, and was undertaken by the US for imperialist and mercenary reasons in support of a corrupt regime in South Vietnam and in violation of the Geneva accords for the withdrawal of French troops from Indochina.

Many students were deeply influenced by the Civil Rights Movement of the time. When the upholders of law and order violently repressed even the most moderate efforts for change, trampling on voting rights demonstrators in Selma; harassing, jailing and even killing black leaders and student protesters (as at Kent State and Jackson State); and beating and gassing anti-war demonstrators at the 1968 Chicago Democratic Party convention, students responded in many ways. Some became cynical and despaired, or dropped out into youth culture, alternative lifestyles, and drugs. Others turned to acts of sabotage and counter-violence, like the Weathermen, while many turned to electoral and reform politics. Some became radical pacifists, opposed to war and all violence, while still others strived to find a deeper understanding of why the slaughter in Vietnam occurred and why racism against blacks and other

people of color was so ingrained and difficult to root out. It would also be fair to say that many students sampled some or all of the above, and went through various political ideologies, organizations, or personal responses, not necessarily in the same order or with the same ending point.

The more radical students eventually came up with, or were introduced to, systemic analyses often rooted in Marxism-Leninism, usually as amplified by Mao Tse Tung, China's revolutionary leader, or as exemplified by Che Guevara, hero of the Cuban revolution, or Ho Chi Minh, Vietnam's revolutionary leader. Study groups and revolutionary parties or movements became the order of the day, and Hawai'i became home to three or four of these parties in the early and mid-1970s, as they sought to give focus and form to the spontaneous protest of the late 1960s. These impulses and analyses also led them to appreciate Hawai'i's labor history, based in class struggle, and the role of Hawai'i's ethnic and working-class peoples in creating the wealth so inequitably distributed in the Islands. But this is getting ahead of the story.

“A Racist and Genocidal War”

The Reverend Martin Luther King's condemnation of the Vietnam War in 1968 as “racist” and “genocidal” led even more students to an anti-war position, especially when Dr. King was assassinated in April, 1968. At the University of Hawai'i Mānoa-campus, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) was formed in the fall of 1967 by this writer and other peace activists. SDS, formed nationally in 1961 after the release of its foundational document, the Port Huron Statement, initially emphasized youth and students as the vanguard for change for a more democratic, participatory society. It bluntly condemned US imperialism and the war in Vietnam, organizing the first national protests against it, and encouraged draft resistance. In Hawai'i, it opposed US military and CIA recruiting on campus, US Department of Defense contracts with the University, racist admission policies, and the lack of democracy and student voices in decision-making. In community actions and campus fora against the war, SDS joined with Educators for Peace, the Hawai'i Committee to End the War, and the Hawai'i Peace Council.

Some SDS members and other activists reacted to the slaying of Dr. King and rumors of the mobilization of Hawai'i's National Guard by burning their

draft cards, opting out of what they termed the “Selective Servitude System,” and joining in a student mass march on Governor John Burns at 'Iolani Palace. The Governor, who met the students, denied that the National Guard would be mobilized and sent to the ghettos of the US (where there were uprisings by black citizens) or to Vietnam. But a few days later, the 29th Brigade, based in Hawai'i, was called up, and the National Guard was mobilized for duty in Vietnam. This prompted more campus and community protests, draft-card burnings and the formation of both a new youth group, the Hawai'i Resistance, composed of draft resisters and draft-card burners, and a local support committee, called the Hawai'i Committee to Support Draft Resistance, formed by UH Professor Walter Johnson and his wife Bette. In those times, refusing induction, burning draft cards, or advocating draft resistance were felonies, so it took some commitment and courage to join these groups. But more than a few hundred joined and contributed to the support committee, and nearly 30 youths were in the Resistance.

When in late April 1968, the UH Board of Regents moved to implement the firing of Dr. Oliver Lee, a SDS and Resistance supporter, SDS, along with its ally the Associated Students of the University of Hawai'i (ASUH), organized a student sit-in at Bachman Hall, the UH administrative building. This coincided with the more publicized May 1968 SDS sit-in led by Mark Rudd at Columbia University in New York. The sit-in lasted a few days before mass arrests of over 120 students and faculty occurred. The mass arrests then triggered a more massive sit-in around the building, which kept it closed for nearly a week. The ten days of protest under the banner of Liberation Hall did not lead to Oliver Lee's reinstatement at that time, but did cause the formation of a Student-Faculty Union and the continuation of the struggle the following semester. (Within a year, threatened with loss of national accreditation by the Association of American University Professors (AAUP) and continued student and faculty pressure, the Regents were compelled to reinstate Dr. Lee. UH President Thomas Hamilton resigned).

The victory of the Bachman Hall struggle of 1968 and the escalating anti-war movement also led students to realize the need for broader community support. The students launched projects in the community and among other youth. Youth Action was formed with church support in 1969 following the

historic Church of the Crossroads sanctuary in which 37 GIs went AWOL in protest against the war. The GIs made public statements and stayed at three local churches for 37 days before authorities moved in to arrest them. Youth Action sought to raise and distribute seed monies to youth social change agents doing projects among youth and in schools and the community. By 1971, Youth Action had forged the Hawai'i People's Fund, which eventually replaced it in order to seek broader funding and a wider variety of projects for social change, justice and peace. Youth Action, like the Hawai'i Resistance, was part of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, formed in late 1970 after the May 1970 US invasion of Cambodia to push for an end to the war and to link the anti-war struggle to local issues of justice and equality.

Youth Action called the first Youth Congress of 1970 which brought youth delegates together from a wide spectrum of groups, both liberal and conventional. The delegates caught the community's attention with their resolution affirming that Hawai'i should be independent from the US and in favor of peace in Vietnam. The Youth Congress also urged struggle against the blight of overdevelopment in the Islands. A few weeks later, some of the youth delegates were roused to go to Kalama Valley and undertake the defense of its residents against development schemes by Kaiser and the Bishop Estate. This led to the famed two-year-long Kalama Valley struggle and the formation of Kōkua Hawai'i, a local peoples' cadre organization modeled after the Black Panthers and the Young Lords, US revolutionary black and Puerto Rican organizations respectively. The People's Coalition for Peace and Justice supported the Kalama Valley struggle and other campaigns against evictions and gross overdevelopment on O'ahu and other islands in which Kōkua Hawai'i involved itself and its cadres – Kahalu'u, Ota Camp (Waipahu), Niūmalu-Nāwiliwili (Kaua'i), 'Ewa, Waiāhole-Waikāne, Chinatown, and other communities. "People, Not Profits" was the slogan loudly chanted in protests, as the young activists joined with community residents of all ages to expose the lie in the myth that all change and development is "progress." The kindred and similar demonstrations of hundreds, even thousands, of youths in Save Our Surf (SOS – organized by John Kelly) against destruction of beaches and surfsites by these same forces of capitalist development occurred in these same years and often rocked the foundations of the new State Capitol building where rallies were often held.

The relating of the anti-war struggle to community and Hawaiian issues such as Kalama Valley was a significant advance. The demolition scenes in Kalama Valley in East O'ahu just across from Sandy Beach presented near mirror-images of daily devastation in Indochina minus the outright slaughter: homes burned or bulldozed, people rounded up, evicted, and made homeless. And Kaiser and its corporate tentacles were involved in both scenarios of devastation and uprooting. The racism behind the war and the evictions in Kalama became apparent. One Bishop Estate official in charge of the evictions even opined: "In the modern world, the Hawaiian lifestyle is and ought to be illegal." Such racism naturally spawned resistance and reaction, and gave fuel to the fire of nascent Hawaiian and local peoples' nationalism. Pae Galdera's Waimānalo community organization was also coming up with similar ideas. Kōkua Hawai'i, in the course of its Kalama occupation, began to expound such nationalism and also the need for a tactical separation from its white (*haole*) supporters. This was not unanimously accepted by all supporters, but many could see the reason for such a stance, given the media's tendency to blame "outside agitators" and to showcase *haole* with long hair in their photo coverage of the struggle. It seemed beneficial for the young local activists of Kōkua Hawai'i to have some autonomy to chart their own strategy and tactics and ensure that their efforts would be seen as a local people's response to ravages of foreign occupiers, capitalist institutions and developers.

Though Kōkua Hawai'i and the remaining valley residents like pig farmer George Santos lost in the final 1972 police raid on the valley, when they were arrested, though Kalama Valley yielded to golf course and subdivision developments along 'Ehukai Road, Kalama was a pyrrhic victory for the elite manipulators and beneficiaries of such "progress." The nonviolent protracted struggle there publicized the need for, and possibilities of, resistance, showed the lie within the "benevolence" of development, and alerted other communities to the resources available for just saying NO! Kalama signified the dawn of many more community struggles which eventually would forge into a Coalition against All Evictions, and also represented the militant birth pains of the Kanaka Maoli movement for sovereignty and self-determination.

Following the Cambodia "incurSION," and the May 1970 campus uprisings (that led to almost every campus in the US shutting down) and the many mass

rallies of SOS and Kōkua Hawai'i in the early 1970s, until the evictions at Kalama, movement activists tended to move away from mass formations and efforts, and began instead to organize into cadre organizations to do more study and analysis, and to form a more disciplined unit. Many of these organizations, especially among local activists in them, looked to Mao Tse Tung for inspiration on Third World insurgencies and answers to analyzing Hawai'i's own situation. The issue of the Hawaiian national question came to the fore, often lending more confusion than clarity to the issue and leading to more divisions than unity. But, in general, most of the cadre organizations of the left tended to support either Kanaka Maoli self-determination or the less strictly delineated notion of "local peoples' struggles."

Many of the former student activists now work daily in community organizing or service projects. Others moved to labor organizations, to link up with workers, either at worksites or in their communities, as Nixon-era inflation, wage controls, and rising rents and development threatened their families' well-being. The campus SDS had become enamored of the Progressive Labor line which held that creating a "student-worker alliance" was the main task, thus causing these activists to neglect building a campus base. Nor did they succeed in creating a labor base.

Other activists coming from the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice in the aftermath of the Vietnam War elected to form a Labor-Community Alliance (LCA) in 1972 to link unions and workers to vital community issues and vice-versa. There were many mass strikes in the community, especially in 1973-74: pineapple, sugar, teachers, telephone workers. LCA was successful in mobilizing support for these struggles and later in building support for community campaigns against evictions, such as the struggle of elderly residents in Chinatown, Honolulu, against redevelopment. A cadre organization called Third Arm, primarily local students, did the initial organizing work and succeeded in getting the residents together in a mass organization called People Against Chinatown Evictions (PACE). LCA and PACE attempted to get union support against such redevelopment which evicted elderly pensioners. LCA was usually more successful in rallying student and community support for labor struggles than in developing labor support for community struggles, especially on issues like the TH-3 freeway in which labor felt it had a stake.

"Our History, Our Way!"

By the late 1960s local activists on campus began expressing dissatisfaction with the standard curriculum and courses, criticizing the lack of Hawaiians and local people in UH teaching and administrative positions, and started advocating an Ethnic Studies Program. A Black Studies Program had been launched earlier, in the aftermath of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King's assassination, but there was no program to educate students about their history and their roots. Marion Kelly, a researcher then with the Bishop Museum, had written extensively on the alienation of lands from the Hawaiian people, and was a respected figure in study groups and demonstrations against the war and against evictions. She began as a lecturer in the fledgling Ethnic Studies Program in 1970 when it was first launched with a handful of inspired campus activists. She supported the movement to launch and preserve Ethnic Studies as did other community activists. These activists, who had contacts with ex-student activists in the larger community, called upon their friends and associates to rally community support as well for the students' demand for "Our History, Our Way." This struggle, after repeated rallies, attendance at Board of Regents' meetings, and numerous fora and some sit-ins, succeeded and the ES Program became permanent in 1977. ES enrollment reached 280 students by the fall of 1977, and attained nearly 400 enrollees by 1984 (*Ka Maka'āinana* 1984). Between 1972 and 1976, there were 26 students who majored in Ethnic Studies, and 73 between the years 1977 and 1984. The ES certificate program was approved in 1982.

Needless to say, the Program was always strapped for funds and short on positions, and almost annually had to engage in renewed battles to maintain their staffing and funding levels or to prevent the Program's termination. ES staff worked as a cadre, in close collaboration with one another, in developing materials and curricula which would reveal the true history of Hawai'i's peoples, especially the working people and communities, and would train youth to be agents of change. Courses routinely included requirements for students to involve themselves with a community and its efforts to preserve itself. Such students became researchers and assets to community residents and fostered even more good will toward Ethnic Studies. Consequently, residents from Waipahu's Ota Camp, He'eia Kea, Waiāhole-Waikāne, Kahalu'u, and Chinatown came to ES rallies and hearings and supported the often embattled ES staff and Program. And ES Program staff and students often

mobilized on campus or staged fora to discuss and support community eviction issues, such as those in Chinatown or Waiāhole-Waikāne.

In 1974, when the Regents and UH administration wanted to name the new Social Science building after Stanley Porteus, an academician whose writings and research were loaded with racist observations and motivations, the new ES Program launched a petition signed by two thousand students and faculty and staged a mass rally in April 1975, demanding that the Regents refrain from naming the building after Porteus. Though not victorious then, the ES Program today was involved in the struggle led by Hawaiian Studies students and the ASUH to remove Porteus' name from the building. It took courage and commitment for ES to wage such battles when its own fate and destiny were always in question.

Ethnic Studies also sponsored and supported fora bringing other Third World activists to the Islands. It published several volumes of the *Hawai'i Pono Journal*, which acquainted readers with working-class histories and heroes/heroines. It gathered research and materials on local history and communities, and organized them into a resource room. It helped community and student groups develop slide-shows and educational materials for use on and off campus. In all of this, Marion Kelly was often to be seen and heard from. She has been one of the leading spirits of the Program and the efforts it has helped spawn.

The legacy of the Ethnic Studies Program is an immense one, and its history is rich in research, publishing, recruitment and commitment. ES is certainly capable of writing its own history, in its own inestimable way. This paper sought to place the rise of the ES Program in the context of the heady days of the student and anti-war movements and the early community struggles against eviction. These movements helped to create the social, ideological and material conditions upon which Ethnic Studies was launched, and the ES Program replenished the community and labor movements with activists and ideas, resources and researchers. With its community and campus conferences, fora, flyers and publications, Ethnic Studies continues to be an important asset for all of us concerned with the movement for social justice, peace, equality and self-determination. ❖

Reference

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Ethnic Studies and Ethnic Identity: Challenges and Issues, 1970-1998

Miriam Sharma

This paper is written from the perspective of two different positions I held in connection with the University of Hawai'i Ethnic Studies Program. From 1977 to 1979, I served as Interim Director as well as a faculty member; from my experiences at that time, I will detail the history of the first eight years of the Ethnic Studies Program from its inception in 1970. Since 1979, however, I have not been directly affiliated with the Program. I utilize this distance to comment more generally about changes in the political and institutional "spaces"¹ that Ethnic Studies currently occupies at University of Hawai'i and raise broader issues currently discussed. The political space of Ethnic Studies – which it initially shared with the demands for many other ethnic studies and minority programs across the nation – represents an ideology that formed the context for its origins. This political space is rooted in the mid-to-late 1960s civil rights thrust of the Blacks as well as growing general student disaffection towards American involvement in Vietnam and Southeast Asia.

Three decades later, the contemporary national political space reflects the history of conservative backlash against affirmative action and open admission programs on US campuses, and the substitution of a deradicalized and deracinated "multiculturalism" in the face of antagonistic "culture wars" and the teaching of the canon on university campuses. Locally, the Hawaiian sovereignty movement as well as almost a decade of economic recession in the Islands demarcate new arenas of conflict.

There has been a transformation as well of the "designated space" for Ethnic Studies within the University of Hawai'i, marking the former's normalization and institutionalization. No longer concerned with fighting for its survival (though fighting for adequate positions and support remains), the Program shifted the terrain of its involvement in struggles in the community. The main intent of this paper is to present an historical analysis of the political and institutional spaces from which the Ethnic Studies Program began, situating

it both nationally and locally, as well as indicating how the contemporary period significantly differs and poses new challenges.

In the Beginning

The Program was conceived by a rising tide of ethnic militancy and connected to changing perceptions of ethnic identity leading to demands for academic programs that would broaden the knowledge beyond concepts of ethnicity as race or black-white relations. This marked the emergence of the Asian American movement and Asian American Studies as they arose on the West Coast, in places such as San Francisco State, Berkeley, and UCLA (to name a few), to which the Ethnic Studies Program was linked. During the civil rights struggle, the "hallowed university – long seen as the institution with the most enlightened race relations" – became a center and focus for intense racial conflict (Blauner 1972:256). Bitter confrontations occurred between largely white university administrators and professors, who viewed themselves as liberals committed to the civil rights goal of equality, and "Third World" (i.e., non-white or non-European) students (and to some extent faculty) over the questions of admissions policies and Ethnic Studies programs.² The first struggle resulted in an "open admissions" policy which to some degree succeeded in increasing the numbers of Third World minority students on campus.³ The second, and allied, struggle resulted in instituting various minority programs – the earliest were Black Studies, followed closely (depending upon the student population) by Chicano, Native American Indian, and Asian American Studies.

As these student demands evolved from the civil rights movement, they came to be regarded generally as a politicized "Third World movement" in their own right. In the broadest sense, initial demands for all Ethnic Studies programs were based on two major considerations. There was the growing awareness of the commonality of experiences of Third World people arising from colonial domination (especially as it was exemplified in Vietnam), as well as the common experiences of Third World peoples within the United States. Further, it was recognized that the history and present situation of such ethnic minorities were not adequately covered in existing courses and curricula within the school system, remaining, to a large extent, an "untold history." Lack of ethnic awareness and pride on the part of minorities was not uncommon.

Nor were continuing stereotypes perpetuated in an educational system which, itself, mitigated against the full and equal participation in our society of members of certain minorities (Sharma 1978:2-3).⁴

These programs arose across the country as a direct offshoot of the civil rights movement⁵ and were rooted in the contradictory perspectives of racism in America reached by (predominantly) white liberal professors and Third World students. The latter's perspective on racism led to questions of identity as well as to the search for a more radical interpretation of American society and the place of Asian Americans (as well as other non-white minorities) in it.

Perspectives on Racism and the Need to Define Identity

Struggles over Ethnic Studies centered around the issue of racism or the definition of the "race problem." The issue revealed cleavages and conflicting perspectives between white faculty and Third World students. The white faculty, as Blauner noted,

began with (and to a degree clings to) notions of the 1950s, that prejudice and discrimination lie at the heart of racial injustice, whereas Third World students conceive of racism as an overriding reality, a systematic process structuring the entire society and its institutions (1972:258; see also Franklin and Resnick 1973; Jacobs et al. 1971; and Steinfield 1970).

This conflict is crucial to understanding the rise and early directions of Ethnic Studies programs as well as the controversy surrounding them. For many liberals, racism was (and still is) an individual attitudinal matter; the Third World definition was a broader one, raising questions about the political, social, and historical forces present in America. It focused on society as a whole and on structured relations between people that reveal institutionalized racism, rather than on individual actions and personalities. At the time, most white scholars were still ill-at-ease in explaining a phenomena that – by the historical record of the dominant Anglo society's attempts – should have long disappeared from the American scene. Blauner (1992) perceptively noted that academia's general commitment to assimilation as the solution for racial and ethnic inequalities, and the associated tendency to describe distinctive values and lifestyles in terms of social class, resulted in a "color blind" ethos of the liberal ideology. We find a recuperation of this color-blindness in today's

espousal of multiculturalism which, while acknowledging difference, downplays history and race (see discussion, below).

The failure of the University to transmit knowledge about the Asian experience in America coalesced into a total indictment against institutional education as a legitimization of racialized thinking. A University of California, Berkeley, document, for example, noted that race was institutionalized in an educational system which

has utterly failed in terms of transmitting knowledge about the Asian experience, developing Asian self-awareness and leadership, and serving the needs and interests of the Asian community. Thus the University has not related itself to the entire society which it is obliged to serve. In fact, the conspicuous absence of courses on Asian-American history and experience in the University curriculum and in public education as a whole poses serious questions on the academic integrity and competence of University curriculum planners and institutional personnel, and reveals the pervasiveness and deep-rootedness of institutional racism in our society. The indictment of the University and education in general goes even farther. At all levels of the system one finds research and instructional materials that are biased in perspective and bear little or no empirical correspondence to the realities of the Asian community (University of California, Berkeley, Contemporary Asian Studies Division 1973:37).

Asian American Studies placed great significance on correcting errors of omission and distortion in presenting knowledge of Asians in America, so crucial to the formation of a positive ethnic identity. Perhaps somewhat ahead of their time in view of recent issues concerning globalism and transnationalism, the "Declaration of Principles" for Asian American Studies at the City College of New York stated that it was the "only university in the country to have Asian-American Studies as a major emphasis in a Department of Asian Studies" (1974:36). Included in these principles were the promotion of an awareness of the position of Asians as Asians in America and the provision of a proper world perspective to discuss the oppression of Asians by imperialist and colonialist powers of Europe and the United States and the related problems of racism and discrimination against Asians in the US. Another goal was to present an Asian perspective of Asian history – to re-analyze the early period of Asian struggle against Western subjugation, up to the current struggles of Asian peoples to set up independent modern states. Finally, they urged an

understanding of the common struggles of Third World peoples and the promotion of unity among Ethnic Studies departments, and, in a broader sense, among Third World students and communities through its course offerings, programs, activities and public standpoint (City College of New York 1974:36).

Implicit in the rise of Ethnic Studies programs was a concern over omissions of knowledge in the areas of racism, ethnic identity and pride, perspective, concern for community, Third World unity, and political struggle. The expression of these concerns met with strong resistance on the part of the academic establishment, and all such programs were the center of controversy and bitter struggle. Paradoxically, nowhere can the issues be better revealed than in the case of Hawai'i – long touted as the "melting pot" of the Pacific where peoples of many ethnic backgrounds live and work (to say nothing of marry) together, ostensibly in harmony.

Bringing It All Back Home

In the late 1970s, the population of Hawai'i was indeed unique among the fifty United States – although now, in the late 1990s, changes in the ethnic/racial character of the United States make it somewhat less so. State of Hawai'i statistics for 1980 and 1990 classify the population as follows:

	1980	1990
Japanese	24.9	22.3
White	33.0	33.4
Filipino	13.9	15.2
Hawaiian	12.0*	12.5*
Chinese	5.8	6.2
Korean	1.9	2.2
Black	1.8	2.5
American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut	0.3	0.5
Other and unknown	6.4	5.2

* It is widely believed that the US Bureau of Census, on whose data the above table is based, underestimate the number and percentage of Native Hawaiians in the population. The more likely figure is approximately 20 per cent (Office of Hawaiian Affairs 1998:10).

Source: DBEDT 1996:48, Table 1.29.

The student breakdown of the University of Hawai'i along ethnic lines for 1980 and 1998 was:

	1980	1998
Japanese	31.2	24.4
Caucasian	19.9	19.3
Filipino	5.9	9.6
Hawaiian	1.6	6.7
Chinese	9.6	11.6
Portuguese	0.6	0.6
Black	0.4	0.9
Korean	**	4.0
Pacific Islanders	**	1.6
Other Asian	**	2.5
Mixed Asian/Pacific Islander	**	4.3
Mixed (other)	5.4*	6.9
American Indian/Alaska Native	**	0.3
No report/unknown	23.6	2.0

* Including some part-Hawaiian.

** No information available for 1980.

Source: UH Statistics.

This multi-ethnic population was primarily a result of changes during the two hundred years since the West "discovered" the Islands for themselves with the coming of Captain Cook. Contact with the West brought about a revolutionary transformation from a subsistence economy of the Native Hawaiians to Hawai'i's incorporation as a colonial dependency within an expanding capitalist system (Kent 1971a, 1971b, 1977, 1993; Morgan 1948). This transformation was achieved by the decimation of the indigenous population and the alienation of their lands (Lind 1938; Kelly 1970). It was also accomplished by an attempted cultural genocide in which both American missionaries and merchants played parts.

After experimenting with provisioning, sandalwood trading, and whaling, Western migrants to Hawai'i finally found that maximum profit lay in covering the Islands with huge sugar (and later, pineapple) plantations. The period of 1852 through 1946 (with a lull between 1932 and 1946) marks the time that the

sugar industry imported into the Islands over 400,000 laborers, primarily Asian single men. The Japanese, Filipinos, and Chinese formed the largest groups. With the coming of postwar economic changes, Hawai'i's statehood in 1959, the tremendous construction boom of the sixties, and a "new kind of sugar" – the tourist industry – a large influx of people from the continental US threatened to drastically change the lifestyle of the Islands. On the eve of Third World student strikes across the nation, Governor John A. Burns openly expressed his fears about this threat at a meeting of the new 1969 Legislature. He remarked,

To be perfectly candid, I sense among some elements of our community – particularly those who are descended from our immigrant plantation workers – a subtle "inferiority of spirit," which is totally unwarranted and which becomes for them a social and psychological handicap in life. [...] They should be proud of their ethnic roots, of the riches and treasures of their Pacific and Asian cultures.

I submit further that they should be given every opportunity – even in our public school system – to learn more about their own people's rich past, to understand the sources of inspiration which motivated their fathers and their ancestors before them.

The undercurrent of uncertainty simmering beneath our affluent surface has been articulated in expressions of concern that Hawaii stands in danger of losing its unique character [...]

It gets at the very heart of the problem each individual faces in establishing his identity, in tracing his background and traditions, his cultural roots and his own historical significance, his place in society.

Governor Burns continued by making a plea for the preservation of the stories of Hawai'i's ethnic groups, necessary for the identity of their children, before such stories become scattered and lost.

A small group of campus and community people came together at the same time to propose an Ethnic Studies Program. Subsequently, and in conjunction with a legislative mandate, the Program began in July 1970. Dennis Ogawa, now a professor of American Studies at the UH, was the first director. Almost immediately, internal troubles and a hostile administration began to plague the Program, setting a pattern that was to characterize its

history for at least a decade. Miraculously, the Program survived due to the ability, dedication, and vision of a number of key personnel in the Program who, during its critical years, employed their talents to harness the support of students and the community in their fight for survival and for a meaningful Ethnic Studies Program.

Both in 1972 and in 1977, the administration attempted to ring the death knell of the Program. Both times, the Program mobilized large numbers of people from the student body and the community to demonstrate, sit-in, and testify for retention of an autonomous Program teaching "Our History, Our Way." The spring of 1977 finally marked the Ethnic Studies Program's transition from a "provisional" to a "permanent" University Program. The following academic year (when I joined), however, was fraught with an unprecedented scale of administrative harassment which sought to subvert the newly-made permanent Program. The following year saw the new hiring of the first full-time, tenure track director⁶ and a breathing spell from administrative hostilities. These would resurface again, however, over the years.

Between 1970 and 1978, conflict arose within the Program on three main occasions. More important to its early development and direction, however, was the high rate of staff turnover due to lack of tenure-track positions, instability in the Program's status, and the short-term commitments that most students could make. Further, many dedicated staff members left, because they felt that their work could be carried out more meaningfully in the community than within the University itself. A total of eight directors in as many years highlights the problem of staff instability that continued to plague the Program. Despite this, the Program definitely proved itself as a unique and viable academic endeavor.

Early Direction and Goals for the Ethnic Studies Program

Accompanying the shift in personnel and leadership was a concomitant shift in the Program's direction. This proceeded along two lines. With the ouster of the first director in 1972 and the establishment of a People's Committee on Ethnic Studies, the history and culture of Hawai'i's multi-ethnic population became primary. The director had attempted to make continental US experiences a priority (UH/ESP – University of Hawai'i, Ethnic Studies

Program n.d.:1; 1972a). The fight against institutional racism at the University also became a concomitant goal at that time (see Gladwin 1972). Second, there was a dramatic move towards developing activism and student participation in both community struggles and the running of the Program, as well as in defining program work and objectives (UH/ESP 1973:4). This latter concern became primary during 1974 to 1976 and resulted in the participation of staff and students in numerous Island struggles.

It is clear, from tracing goals of the Ethnic Studies Program during 1972 through 1978, that rectifying the aims of omission and instilling knowledge and pride of student ethnic identity remained primary. This knowledge was presented through a perspective on society different from that offered in traditional academic departments (as epitomized by the assimilationist approach of the American Studies Department). The 1972 statement from the People's Committee read, in part:

Until very recently, the whole public school system in Hawaii offered no systematically coordinated series of courses on the history, culture or current problems of any of the ethnic groups in Hawaii. What has been true of the public school system has also been true of the University of Hawaii. [...]

Many generations have grown up in Hawaii without learning anything about the traditions and history of their ancestors. [...] They [present school and university students] are, in many ways, a lost generation. They have no sense of identity, of pride in being themselves, little knowledge about the traditions, history and values of their respective ethnic groups. [...] In many of them this lack of self-knowledge has bred shame; in others, a deep-seated sense of frustration and anger. [...]

The Program is designed to instill in members of the ethnic groups living here a sense of intelligent pride in being themselves, in finding out who they are and how it is they have come to be in the position they are in today (UH/ESP 1972b).

This sense of a loss of identity among Island peoples – from the original Hawaiians through the laborers imported to work on sugar plantations and their descendants – was linked to the economic, political, and cultural dominance of the white elite that came to rule the Islands. Ernestine Enomoto, a senior at the University of Hawai'i majoring in American history in 1971, wrote

an article "Hawaii from Annexation: An Object of Cultural Colonialism?" This was published in the first volume of the Ethnic Studies Program's *Hawaii Pono Journal*. In it she stated, "becoming a desirable citizen meant more than being educated and Christianized," it meant being an Anglo-Saxon. The 1890s doctrines of social Darwinism and manifest destiny served to legitimize white supremacy over an inferior population in Hawai'i (1971:4-5). Enomoto pointed out the significance of a "well-established public education system" that contributed significantly to the process of assimilating foreigners into American culture." The "concept of Americanization demanded the absolute control of all phases of life by whites" (1971:9). She wrote further,

In specifying "cultural" colonialism, I suggest a dominating life style which subordinates those peoples. At the outset of Hawaii's annexation [indeed, before], such a cultural colonialism was intended. In order to accommodate the "entirely different race," Americans had to implant its [sic] values and principles in local soil. This is the common practice of the Americanization process which demands the surrendering of one's ethnic identity to a uniformity (Enomoto 1971:10).

The same issue of *Hawaii Pono Journal* also contains a lengthy and well-documented article on "The Myth of Chinese Success in Hawaii" by William Bun Chin Chang. At that time Chang (from Hawai'i and currently faculty at the Richardson School of Law) was a junior at Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of International Affairs and active in the Asian Youth Alliance there. He made a strong argument against the "traditional explanation" of the Chinese success which relates alleged success to ethnic characteristics. Instead, he showed how the Chinese were "allowed" to succeed to a point by the dominant white society in order to keep the Japanese from advancing. He further points out that the "ethnic character traits explanation of Chinese success breaks down when one compares the Chinese with the Japanese" (1971:70; cf. *US News and World Report* 1976). The articles by Chang and Enomoto clearly reflect concerns similar to those expressed in the Asian American movement on the continent as outlined above. They point to the commonalities marking Third World experiences in Hawai'i and elsewhere.

By 1973, the academic and activist roles of the Program were clearly established. Ethnic Studies Program saw itself as

born of struggle and the support given by community organizations, unions, students, and the general community. In fighting for the Program and in developing the Program, long hours and commitment have been expended. Because of this the Program has had a responsibility to fulfill.

On the one hand, the Program's role is educational; developing materials and analysis which critically examine situations and problems our people face: social, economic radical [sic], cultural, political, in terms of their historical development, and developing means by which this material is passed on to others. On the other hand, the Program has developed an active participation in the issues and struggles of the people of Hawaii (i.e. eviction struggles, improvement district struggles, labor support, etc.) (UH/ESP 1973:4, see also 1974, especially pp. 1-3).

The orientation that academics cannot be separated from the needs of the community became a firm principle. It was further enjoined that constant assistance to the community be offered, so that there would be a practical value to Ethnic Studies' work. Program activists and students went out into communities and aided in such eviction struggles as Niumalu-Nāwiliwili, Young Street, Waimānalo, Chinatown, and Old Vineyard. During the 1974-1975 academic year, political work within the Program continued to intensify, as activists joined the Waiāhole-Waikāne eviction struggle and the H-3 campaign to stop a cross-island freeway and gave support to University maintenance workers. Ethnic Studies activists played a key role at that time in mobilizing opposition to naming a new University social science facility after a man (Stanley Porteus) well-known for his racist writings on the people of Hawai'i (UH/ESP 1976:4, see also 1977:19 for a complete list of "community service and outreach").

Between 1970 and 1976, there was also a shift in the Program's emphasis from a sole concern with ethnic identity as an expression of cultural nationalism, to a broader concern that links class struggles in Hawai'i with those on the continent. These are viewed as parallel to larger struggles now waged in Third World countries against the forces of racism and corporate imperialism. This fact, in part, accounts for the unusual situation (by national standards) that *haole* (whites) were teaching and continue to teach in the Program and served on its staff, and that a "Caucasians in Hawai'i" course became part of the curriculum offering. An interview in the *Hawaii Observer* with Ethnic Studies

then-director Davianna McGregor-Alegado, states "all of Hawaii's ethnic groups (excepting the Hawaiians and Haoles) came to the Islands, first in response to a demand for cheap labor" (Shrader 1976:14). As they share in common this economic fact of their local origins, "their history is the history of a class and should be taught 'from the bottom up.'" It is, says McGregor-Alegado, not a history of kings and businessmen but of working and common people. The slogan which now represents this set of assumptions is "Our History, Our Way" (ibid.). The *Observer* interviewer concludes:

the Ethnic Studies Program is conspicuous less as a political entity than as an example of a particular approach to learning and teaching – an approach which de-emphasizes lectures, tests and grades, and which looks first for a way to involve the student personally in the issues under consideration. It seeks to employ teamwork rather than competition; and with its emphasis on first-hand experience, it defies the standard methods of evaluation (Shrader 1976:15).

Between 1974 and 1976, the Program came under attack from the administration for this type of work. The administration stated that a recognizable standard of scholarship had not been achieved. For its part, the Program maintained that much significant research had gone into curriculum development in a newly emerging field and that information gleaned from community work was a significant academic endeavor. In the fall of 1976, the Vice-Chancellor seized upon the ending of the provisional period to recommend Program dispersal after the Spring 1977 semester. During 1976-77, the Program undertook a massive "Instructional Program Review" and a massive campaign of student and community mobilization to succeed in gaining permanency for the Program. The work and discussion involved in completing the "Instructional Review" document became the basis for the major goals of the Ethnic Studies Program which had evolved since 1972. The Ethnic Studies Program, in 1978, was oriented to serving the needs of Hawai'i's multi-ethnic community by:

- Teaching Hawai'i's multi-ethnic people's historical and contemporary contributions and experiences in order to promote pride and appreciation of their own ethnic heritage and that of the diverse ethnic groups.
- Teaching common and working people's historical and contemporary contributions and experiences from their perspective.

- Teaching the value of community knowledge and experience and encouraging application of skills and knowledge of serving community needs.
- Helping students develop skills of critical analysis in order to make intelligent decisions on personal and social issues and problems and take affirmative action to resolve them in the interest of the general community (UH/ESP 1977:10-11,15).

After gaining permanency as a regular University program, Ethnic Studies attempted to develop more specific educational objectives consistent with their goals. Faculty and administrative reviews in 1977 identified critical areas of weakness in academic quality which had to be rectified to some degree before the next review took place in 1981. Secondly, the Program was plagued with a plummeting student enrollment – from a high of 569 in fall 1971 to a low of 254 seven years later. To some extent, this reflected a declining interest in the humanities and social sciences and a general University enrollment decrease. But it was also due to factors in the wider society which marked an end to the turbulent sixties and the search for self, and a change to a student body more concerned with getting jobs after college. Finally, the local situation changed somewhat in terms of numbers and types of community struggles. The Ethnic Studies staff was still dedicated to presenting a radical analysis of Hawai'i's past and contemporary condition and working in the community, but it was committed to doing this within a quality educational program which generated a working-class perspective on ethnic history and experiences. It recognized the need for more stable staffing, more courses, and much research yet to be done. As the 1970s drew to a close, the Program began to move towards a normalization of the institutional space it occupied in the University.

If much had changed from the time of the founding of the Ethnic Studies Program until 1978, even more momentous changes and struggles face the Program twenty years later. The intervening decades mark a transformation of the national and local scenes. The conservative backlash against affirmative action and open admission programs was transferred into the classroom where a muted "multiculturalism" substituted for vocal challenges to a Euro- and androcentric curriculum. The failure of the economic dream in paradise

and concomitant rise of the Hawaiian sovereignty movement, combined with a globalization that increasingly laps up against and erodes the Islands' shores, marks the terrain of new involvements and struggles for Ethnic Studies to address.

Facing the Challenges of Today

The Program's institutional space within the University has transformed considerably. Twenty years ago, it dug in to concentrate on building a strong base within academia. Indeed, Nakanishi and Leong's 1978 survey of Asian American Studies Programs, including Hawai'i, noted that

much energy was expended into maintaining programmatic and institutional resources, and undergraduate programs. Research, a major concern, tended to be historical in the form of oral histories or policy studies. [...] Teaching and program survival, due to administrative constraints, were the overriding concerns (Leong 1998:2).

During the second decade of the 1980s, such existing programs were already "grudgingly recognized" (ibid.). Tenure and promotion battles did occur (the more publicized one of Nakanishi at UCLA and Franklin Odo here at University of Hawai'i respectively), but this was marked by an "'increasing professionalisation' of the field in academic settings" (Takagi and Omi, from Leong 1998:3) which enjoined faculty to submit to the "publish or perish" guidelines of academic survival. While the harbingers of change were already apparent in 1977, with permanency granted to the Program, the situation is markedly different now. In 1995, Ethnic Studies became a department and at present eight faculty positions and several lecturers teach some 45 majors and 70 certificate students, while over 700 students take courses each semester. To some extent, these achievements mark a disjuncture in links to community issues.

More significant and pressing than the transformed institutional space of the Program, however, is the changed current political space that it occupies. One area of contention is the critical debates over reimagining the "canon" to offer a multicultural curriculum to all students, not just students of color. A conservative backlash against the 1960s civil rights and antiwar movements focused on what was seen as a radical left entrenched on college campuses

across the nation. From warnings about the estimated ten thousand Marxist professors (*US News and World Report* 1982, quoted in Wilson 1995:10) to Allan Bloom's tome about the decline and fall of the university, *The Closing of the American Mind* (1987), attacks came from without as well as within the University. Dinesh D'Souza popularized warnings about the threats of "Illiberal Education" as they worked themselves out in the politics of race and sex on campus (1986) while high government officials joined the bandwagon as well. For more than a decade, the state apparatus had been behind this attack as well. From Reagan to Bush, William Bennett to Lynne Cheney, and an increasingly conservative judiciary to the Republican Congress of the mid-nineties, the US turned to the right (Nelson 1997:35).

Education Secretary William Bennett railed against Stanford University's attempt to revise its curriculum to reflect a broader, multicultural perspective; Lynne Cheney, Chair of the National Endowment for the Humanities from 1986-1992,⁷ felt compelled to be "Telling the Truth" about how, "in the view of a growing number of academics, the truth was not merely irrelevant, it no longer existed" (1995:15-16). When demands for a changed curriculum could no longer be ignored, the response was an emphasis on multiculturalism -- but, as Nelson notes, there was a right and a wrong way to do "happy family multiculturalism." The right way from Cheney's perspective was to focus on select cultural traditions to celebrate, but to de-emphasize the historical record, refrain from negative comments about other groups, and avoid attacks on the nation-state. This was, in effect, a "cookbook of recipes for unchallenged coexistence" (Nelson 1997:35).

Even still, the reverberation of demands for an expanded curriculum, pressed by minorities, feminists, and the left, led to counterattacks on curricula changes and multiculturalism, along with attacks on feminism and affirmative action. It was, indeed, seen as a "closing of the American mind" with accusations of "political correctness hurled against those who, in the eyes of the Blooms, Cheneys, and D'Souzas, represented the barbarians at the gates and the end of western civilization" (see, for example, Kurzweil and Phillips 1994).⁸ The National Association of Scholars (NAS), formed in the late 1980s to counteract the perceived threat from the left in higher education, also attacked affirmative action as recently as 1996. NAS officials Stephen Balch and Peter Warren stated,

To the extent that scholars allow theories of social justice to drive their decision-making, they forfeit their special claim to insulation from the political process and hence to academic freedom. And this is especially true when these theories embody concepts such as group rights, which are conspicuously at odds with evaluating the intellectual merits of individual students, scholars, and ideas (quoted in Nelson 1997:81).

It is important to know that an affiliate, Hawai'i Association of Scholars, of the NAS also exists in Hawai'i. While low-key in its functions, it consists of faculty and students at UH.⁹ By 1996, the Marxist-on-campus scare seemed no longer a concern, NAS officials began to rally against the "high percentage of registered Democrats in humanities departments" (Nelson 1997:81) but were not notably perturbed about their lack in business, engineering, or economics departments.

As John Wilson notes, in his pithy analysis in *The Myth of Political Correctness*:

The attacks on feminism, affirmative action, and multiculturalism are linked by the fear of a changing culture. Traditional ideas are no longer merely accepted as the eternal truth but instead are challenged by new perspectives of the status quo. None of these new perspectives and controversial issues is immune from criticism. [...] The backlash against PC is part of the resentment against the many changes – institutional and intellectual – in American universities since the 1960s. [...] Conservative critics say that a return to the good old days – when few people went to college, feminism and multiculturalism did not exist, and *nobody caused trouble* – will restore liberal education to its former glory (Wilson 1995:158; my emphasis).

While Wilson may have overstated that the conservative attack on American universities succeeded "beyond their wildest dreams in discrediting the academic left" (1995:163-64), disillusionment and backtracking did occur. Respecting "cultural diversity" in the classroom meant facing up to limitations on the training and knowledge of teachers, as well as limitations on, or even loss of, "authority." Bell Hooks teaches students tactics of "transgression and resistance" and views education as "the practice of freedom" (1994:30), but notes the dangers these pose. "Indeed," she writes,

the idea that the classroom should always be a "safe," harmonious place was challenged. It was hard for individuals to fully grasp the idea that

recognition of difference might also require of us a willingness to see the classroom change – to allow for shifts in relations between students" (ibid.)

– and between students and teacher. Although she also notes that many professors "lacked strategies to deal with antagonisms in the classroom" (ibid.:131), this certainly remains a change to teaching beyond the "comforting 'melting pot' idea of cultural diversity, the rainbow coalition where we would all be grouped together in our difference, but everyone wearing the same have-a-nice-day smile!" (ibid.).

Here at the University of Hawai'i, it is imperative for Ethnic Studies to actively engage with these issues as they work themselves out in the classrooms and departments across campus. The struggle to incorporate a radical vision for teaching about minorities is often a diluted success, as it is often appropriated and taught as a depoliticized form of "multiculturalism." The presence of numbers of vocal Hawaiian, minority, and female students who increasingly confront ideas in the classrooms can lead to volatile situations which, while creating openings for real dialogue, are often mismanaged, ignored, or worse, stifled. "Our History, Our Way" is no longer exclusively the rallying cry of the Ethnic Studies, and the Department can no longer rest on the laurels that saw it in the forefront of struggles for progressive action and social justice. In 1974, the Ethnic Studies Program was a leader in the (failed) protest to rename Porteus Hall, galvanizing students and faculty across campus. After that, however, this issue lay dormant until 1997 when Native Hawaiian Students in the Associated Students of the University of Hawai'i governing body with broad-based support from the University community, succeeded in having the Board of Regents change the name of that Hall to the Social Sciences Building.

A vital and expanded Hawaiian Studies Program housed in its own building, with roughly 25 majors and 140 students taking its courses each semester, now rivals Ethnic Studies as representing the voice of local people. Perceptions of "local" identity became more ambiguous within the context of the Hawaiian sovereignty movement. Sovereignty for Kānaka Maoli (Indigenous Hawaiians) complicates any past meaning of the term that indicated "Hawaiians and the immigrant groups in general terms as people from Hawaii in distinction to whites from the mainland" (Okamura 1980:135). Okamura wrote about the "continuing significance of local identity" in the 1990s as a

counterpoint to external forces which threaten to overpower those who make the Islands their home and invite a feeling of powerlessness to direct the course of Hawai'i's economic and political futures (1994). However, this significance is tempered by assertions of competing nationalism.¹⁰ Increasingly, "native" and "local" struggles are differentiated and may conflict in the 1990s (Fujikane 1994). What role the Ethnic Studies Department constructively plays in these struggles and what coalitions this facilitates is yet to be seen. One indication of this is Aoudé's analysis of the need to place the self-determination struggle of the Kānaka Maoli¹¹ within the context of class interests reflected in both the local and the global economy, and the strategic alliances that must ensue (see Aoudé 1998 and this issue). Efforts such as these are clearly in keeping with the shift in the Program's emphasis, by the mid 1970s, from a singular concern with ethnic identity and cultural nationalism, to linking class struggles in Hawai'i and the continental US.

The Hawai'i of today is, in many respects, a different place than that in the early struggles for Ethnic Studies. The dream of a better life was tarnished by a decade-long economic decline marked by a "dependency" and "helplessness" that Kent eloquently describes in the long march of "Islands under the Influence" of outside forces (1993). Immigrants, tourists, foreign investors (both from Japan and the continental US), the continuing overweening dependence on tourism,¹² and a greater absorption into a globalized economy controlled by outsiders, exacerbated the marginalization of Hawai'i's people to external sources of power and control. All this occurred with the downward swing of both tourism and the Japanese economy since the crash of East and Southeast Asian economies in mid-1997. For many of our students, this meant a future somewhere else, as the "brain-drain" of bright, young talent to greener pastures continued.

Conclusions

In its origins, the Ethnic Studies Program emphasized a perspective on the history of local minority groups that reflected the understanding and feeling of the people whose history was studied. The goal was to provide an environment wherein students obtain required skills to solve community problems and prove effective agents of social change. Ethnic Studies was conceived with a future orientation, telling students, "This is where you came

from, this is where you are now, and this is where we can go." The emphasis was on producing minority scholars, professionals, and others who could return to their own communities to work, and not be a part of the "ethnic" brain drain. It hoped to produce individuals who could use the perspectives of their own cultures to analyze the problems of their communities and develop institutions and agencies that were culturally consistent with solutions to those problems. Linked to such programs across the nation, specifically that of Asian American Studies, it arose from the attempt to instill in individuals a consciousness of ethnic identity and respect, and stressed the need to understand the objective factors or processes at work in society that actively defined such self-identity.

In these many ways, Ethnic Studies departments/programs, both here and elsewhere, were the forerunners of what has become a movement toward multicultural or multivocal perspectives that enter into every aspect of every discipline. Today, however, with minority voices demanding to be heard from every corner, and awareness of ethnicity and "identity politics" so widespread, the Department faces new tasks. What is also highlighted here is that identities are multiply articulated and situationally determined; along with ethnicity, for example, there are considerations of gender and class. Leong calls attention to the need to

develop new "crossing strategies" to narrow the gap between public cultures and academic communities [to] cross the lines of race, gender, and class to form coalitions with those even more marginalized than we are – in international, national, and local struggles for civil, religious, immigrant, and workers' rights (1998:9).

Ironically, the "brain-drain" pushing local students off the Islands is due to the long recession the state seems unable to pull out of, rather than a desire to leave local communities. Under such economic pressures, the need to evolve longer-term strategies that will create coalitions of people working towards a better future is now more critical than ever. Bridging what may be a growing gap between "natives" and "locals" is a case in point. Building on a strong foundation of active struggle, and facing new challenges in the future, the Ethnic Studies Department is in a good position to refashion itself and emerge as an even more powerful voice for equality and social justice. ❖

Notes

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1. The idea of "spaces" is discussed by Russell Leong in his overview of "The Pathway of an Asian American Discourse" (1998:1). I do not deal here with the "discursive space" relating to analytical perspectives in the field, nor with the "transnational space" and its connections with global formations.
2. "Ethnic Studies" is used as a general term to cover all programs dealing with non-white minority groups in the US (e.g., Black Studies, Chicano Studies, Native American Indian Studies, or Asian American Studies). Some writers (Endo 1973:281) make a distinction between Black Studies Programs and Ethnic Studies. In Hawai'i, Ethnic Studies is used to cover the study of all ethnic groups from a working class perspective. This paper uses Ethnic Studies to refer to all such programs and then specifies Asian American Studies or Ethnic Studies at Hawai'i.
3. The case of City College of New York is one of the best documented (see e.g., City College of New York 1974; Gross 1978; Yanagida 1972). Asian Studies, Black Studies and Puerto Rican Studies were formed in 1971 as a result of the CCNY Third World Student Strike of 1969. It went from an "almost entirely white and predominantly Jewish" college in the sixties to the present multi-ethnic student population of "33 percent black, 21 percent Spanish, 12 percent Jewish, 11 percent Asian and diminishing percentages of Italians, Irish, Ukrainians, Serbo-Croatians and Slavs" (Gross 1978:13; see also Blauner's general discussion, 1972:264-68).
4. For example, see Chun-Hoon (1975). Media and literary representations of Third World peoples have also come under strong scrutiny and attack.
5. Wong states (1972:33): "During the late fifties to the middle sixties, Asian Americans were conspicuously absent from the various events of the civil rights movement. This is not to say that no Asian Americans were involved, but only that they had no organizations or coalition to draw attention to themselves as a distinct ethnic group." Endo also points out that blacks were the first to make demands for Ethnic Studies programs (1973:286). Uyematsu discusses the importance of the "black power" movement for the rise of "yellow power" and the questions raised regarding Asian American identity (1971).
6. Franklin Odo remained the director from 1978 until 1997 (although on leave in the final three years), when he resigned to join the Smithsonian Institution.
7. Four of Bush's nominees to the National Endowment for the Humanities Advisory Council of 1992 belonged to the conservative National Association of Scholars - UH branch (see Wilson 1995:12ff, and note 9 below).
8. "PC" is used to "refer to an ensemble that takes in various beliefs and causes, and often includes a rejection of the traditions of the West. Some aspects of these phenomena

are individually acceptable, but as a whole and especially in its extreme forms, this 'movement' has created a dogmatic and intolerant atmosphere in the universities and elsewhere in the culture that is hostile to the exchange of ideas and harmful to the education of students" (1994:7).

9. The current president of the Hawai'i chapter is James Roumasset, professor of economics. Its members subscribe to the NAS educational philosophy with its stand against campus affirmative action and sexual harassment policies.

The NAS works to enrich the substance and strengthen the integrity of scholarship and teaching, convinced that only through an informed understanding of the Western intellectual heritage and the realities of the contemporary world, can citizen and scholar be equipped to sustain our civilization's achievements. In light of these objectives, the NAS is deeply concerned about the widening currency within the academy of perspectives that reflexively denigrate the values and institutions of our society. Because such tendencies are often dogmatic in character, and indifferent to both logic and evidence, they also tend to undermine the basis for coherent scholarly dialogue. Recognizing the significance of this problem, the NAS encourages a renewed assertiveness among academics who value reason and an open intellectual life (National Association of Scholars 1997).

More information can be found at: <http://www.nas.org>.

10. Candace Fujikane speaks of "the anomalous status of Local Asians who are part of a non-Native Hawaiian, multiracial Local movement asserting its own cultural identity" (1994:24) in the face of "Native Hawaiian Nationalism."
11. Ibrahim Aoudé has been connected with Ethnic Studies since 1976, joined the faculty, full-time, in 1990, and is currently the Chair of the Department.
12. Despite all the writing on the wall and the downward slump in tourism - especially the affluent kind from Asia - the state still sinks more and more public expenditures into this mono-economy. A recent report produced by Hawai'i-based research sponsors and the World Travel and Tourism Council (1997) contains glowing projections for future tourist revenues, provided that "more money will have to be spent to protect Hawai'i's market share in tourism. More taxpayer money must be injected into Department of Business, Economic Development and Tourism (DBEDT) and the Hawai'i Visitors and Convention Bureau (HVCB), so that they can market Hawai'i to the rest of the world and particularly Japan (Roeder 1998:13; see his critique of the report).

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Huli:

Community Struggles and Ethnic Studies

Soli Kihei Niheu

The following is Soli Niheu's personal account of the history of the University of Hawai'i Ethnic Studies Program as part of the young political community from the early 1970s. It focuses especially on the Kanaka Maoli movement. Soli Niheu has been an active member of the indigenous rights and local land struggles since he, as a young man, returned from school in the continental US in the late 1960s. Also an early advocate for Pacific indigenous alliances, he has been the leading force in the Hawai'i contingent of the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific (NFIP) since the early 1980s.

Aloha mai,

My ancestral name is Hanalei welokiheiakea'eloa Niheu, Jr., of Ni'ihau. I went to school in America, in San José in the 1960s, where I was president of the Hawaiian Club. We tried to maintain cultural values and promote *nā mea Hawai'i*, Hawaiian things. There was a black students' union group, and I made many friendships with people from the Black Panther Party. My political journey began with the Greek philosophers Socrates, Plato etc., and Roman intellectuals, but also with Jesuit thinkers. I thank my philosophy teacher and my European literature teacher for opening my eyes to "democracy." I learned a lot. Engineering and philosophy were my fields.

Culturally speaking, I was not aware of our great Kanaka Maoli political thinkers such as Malo and Kamakau. I was not exposed to them until I came home. But I participated in some of the civil rights marches. I learned from Martin Luther King and, of course, from Gandhi. I was told by Janet Lai that if I believed in what I believed in, I should return home. And I did.

Coming Home

At the time I came home there were demonstrations at Bachman Hall, sit-ins [see articles by Witeck and Sharma in this issue]. That was my first exposure to political issues in Hawai'i. Linda Delaney was president for the

Associated Students of the University of Hawai'i (ASUH) at that time. We were protesting the war.

When I first came, these guys, Mervyn Chang and Ray Catania, were working with a group and putting out the political paper, *Hawai'i Free*, from a van. Chang approached me and asked if I were an undercover cop. And I looked at him: "Hi brah, you must be nuts!" That began my close friendship with Mervyn Chang. I also met Kehau [Lee]. She went to Cuba. So I approached Kehau and told her, "Gee, you go fight for the Cubans, and no fight for the Hawaiian people." I guess she just ignored me; she was politically trained by the House people of Tenth Avenue. They had a collective there called "the House." It was under the leadership of Herb Takahashi. Some of the others there were Pete Thompson, Diane Choy, and Gwen Kim. They had their Marxist study group.

The first Kanaka Maoli political struggle I was involved in was protesting a bill introduced in the State Legislature to take over Ni'ihau by condemnation and turn it into a park. That struggle was put forward by Pinky Thompson, the administrative aide to John Burns. With my family, I lobbied all the legislators against the bill, speaking on behalf of our 'ohana [extended family] from Ni'ihau. As a consequence, the bill was defeated. There was too much opposition. The Robinsons did not take a politically up-front profile; they just stayed in the background, while other people came forward to support them, like we did in the Kanalehe and Niheu 'ohana: Iliahi Kanalehe, cousin Donald, and his son. That was in 1969.

Kōkua Kalama and Ethnic Studies

The struggle to stop the eviction of farmers to make way for upper-class housing in Kalama Valley on O'ahu was closely related with changes in the Ethnic Studies Program. We formed the Kōkua Kalama in 1970. The leadership was provided by myself, Larry Kamakawiwo'ole, and Kalani Ohelo, whom I met at the 1970 Youth Conference. Kalani was a young, outstanding, vibrant personality from Pāloalo.

Ethnic Studies students devised the slogan "Our History, Our Way," and I can still see Al Abru – a fellow of Portugese descent – carry the sign and shouting. He became a well-known disc-jockey, and like many of the other students, he was also a member of Kōkua Kalama. We had them all: Korean,

Gwen Kim, Mary Choy, Linton and Dana Park; Japanese, Ko Hayashi and Lucy Witeck; Filipino, Ray Catania and Joy Ibarra, I think; Pake [Chinese], Carl Young; Kanaka Maoli, Roy Santana. Many Kānaka Maoli but mixed blood, locals, also participated.

On campus at the same time, a struggle went on, in regards to the Ethnic Studies Program. The director of Ethnic Studies was Dennis Ogawa, but because of conflict and in-fighting, eventually the people wanted Larry Kamakawiwo'ole to be the head of the Ethnic Studies Program. When Larry became the *alaka'i* [leader] for that struggle, he went out to the community to get support. He gave me a call, and he gave Kalani Ohelo a call, to at least talk story about the Program.

At the same time, there were Kehau, Jay Walbenstein, Linton Park, and, I think, John Witeck, who were involved in the Kōkua Kalama Committee, as I think it was called at that time. The Hayashis, Ko and Lori, were also involved. They took the initial fights; they got arrested first. Larry Kamakawiwo'ole of Ethnic Studies decided not only to support the Kalama Valley residents, but to take a leading role in that struggle. So we had this thing going on between Kōkua Kalama and Ethnic Studies.

This activity initiated the renaissance of Hawaiian self-determination and, in a certain respects, sovereignty, because we wanted the military out of Hawai'i. We wanted to control immigration; we wanted our lands to go back to our people. We wanted the multinational corporations to get out of Hawai'i; we wanted the Bishop Estate to fulfill its fiduciary duties to our people. In one of our meetings with the Bishop Estate, Ed Michaels said that Hawaiian lifestyle should be made illegal. That was a famous quote that we used in our papers. He was the PR man [for the developers] in Kalama Valley.

We organized the residents of Kalama and as a result, people like Moose Lui, Mama Lui, George Santos, and the Richards family (Black and Ann) played key roles in the struggle. We also had support from some of the local groups, aside from the House. One, for example, was a group called Concerned Locals for Peace with the family of Nick Goodness. Others were some church groups from Aina Haina and Niu Valley, and, of course, Marion and John Kelly also supported that struggle. Eventually more groups came to support.

One group, however – the Hawaiians – was rather hesitant to support us, because whenever the topic of Kalama Valley came up on the TV screen, too many *haole* [white people] were seen, especially the hippie type, carrying banners and stuff like that. It did not look like a Kanaka Maoli struggle. Some of us sat on the board of directors of the Hawaiians, a group started in July of 1970. It was the first statewide political demonstration by Hawaiians since the days of the Lili'uokalani protests and the Hawaiian Civic Club in the 1920s, I guess. The Hawaiians were the first group in contemporary times to question the state and its obligations towards our people. They felt that the Hawaiian Homes Commissioners were failing in their fiduciary responsibilities by allowing long-term leases for non-Hawaiians, like the Parker Ranch and countless others. Homestead land was also being used for schools and airports that had nothing to do with providing land for the people with the necessary *koko* [blood]. The Hawaiians put forward people like Jimmy Sablan and Georgiana Padeken. The group was primarily led by Pai Galdeira, a young fellow from Waimānalo. He was the *alaka'i* for that *hui* [group] and in several meetings with us, he pointed out that they could not support us, because whenever you mentioned Kalama Valley, there were too many *haole* holding signs.

First we decided that only Kānaka Maoli could be part of the leadership. Then we changed it to locals. In our public relations, the community groups would only show Kānaka Maoli and locals speaking on behalf of the organizations. And by local I mean those peoples who were oppressed by the plantation system, those whose ethnicity was Japanese, Filipino, Chinese, etc. The occupation had off and on four-hundred people, and a lot of support came from the white peace activists and environmentalists. Now the latter were asked to leave to ensure that the flavor was local. I think that was an important move on our part, and I must say that some of the whites understood the reasons and rationale – people like John Kelly and John Witeck, who were quite active, they understood – but some other people did not appreciate being asked to leave and displayed their frustration.

In Kōkua Kalama's first beginnings, the primary seeds were Kānaka Maoli. People like – besides myself, Kalani and Larry – Pete, Kehau Kaipo Lee, Lora Ellen Castle, and we must not forget, Edwina Akaka. She was also part of our group. A lot of the membership were students in the Ethnic Studies Program.

In 1971, we changed the name to Kōkua Hawai'i. One of the primary reasons for the name change was that we had to have a “global understanding.” In many of our study sessions we read about Mao, Marx, and Lenin, and in order to have Kōkua Hawai'i be proletarian, we had to change our criteria for leadership. We formed alliances with groups such as the Young Lords Party of New York, and IWK and other Chinese and Japanese groups out of San Francisco. They were oriented towards the teaching of Maoism, Marxism, and Leninism, and many of the teachers were young people like Juan Gonzales of New York.

At this time, we also managed to communicate with some of the indigenous people of Alaska, the Inuit. The reparations of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act were important to us, and we had a big conference at the Makiki Christian Church in Honolulu, inviting the Alaskan people to come over here. This was under the leadership of a group from the House collective.

Some of the leadership in Kōkua Hawai'i were House people, trying to come in and influence us with Marxism, Leninism, and all those types of things. However, when the time came for the eviction of the residents of Kalama Valley, a call was put forward by the leadership of the House collective not to participate in the boycott, not to get involved or arrested, but some of the people like Ko Hayashi and Pete and Gwen from the House broke the directive from their leader; they did come up to the Valley. Why they were supposed to stay out of the Valley, only Herb Takahashi, Mel Chang, and those guys would know.

The Ethnic Studies Program helped organize the China People's Friendship Association. There were tours between here and China in the 1970s. One of my degrees is in hotel management and tourism, and when they initiated a fundraiser to send people to China, it was quite clear to me that they were charging too much. Also, if they were going to charge that much for these tours, they should have provided more slots for indigenous peoples. This was a big issue. Some of our people went, though. Kalani Ohelo did go, and Edwin Richards from Hau'ula, who was married to Margaret Richards, who was active in the welfare rights organizing committee back in the seventies. Pete Tagalog went, because the organizers provided scholarships. There was a series of tours. It was important to expose some of our grassroots people to world issues. In China at that time, a lot of things were going on, so we felt the

need for people to gain first-hand knowledge. This was political education, to learn from what was happening in China. It was an excellent idea.

Land Struggles and Kōkua Hawai'i

Kōkua Hawai'i played a very important role, not only in the Ethnic Studies Program, but also in the Kanaka Maoli movement and in local land struggles. We were all over. So many struggles ... I do not see how we did it. All kinds of struggles, from PACE [People Against Chinatown Evictions], to He'eia Kea, Waiāhole-Waikāne, Nukoli'i, to Niumalu-Nāwiliwili. I would like to recognize some of the leadership in these struggles.

In Kalama Valley, people like the pig farmers George Santos and Otelo, Black and Ann Richards, and Moose and Mama Lui were some of the key figures. We were working with Jerry and his wife Rocky in He'eia Kea, fighting eviction by Hawaiian Electric. In Chinatown, we worked with Emile Makuakane, Charlie Minor, Duke Choy, May Lee, Oliver Lee, and others. They tried to evict people from one of the buildings there, so a call went out from Emile for Kōkua to come on down. So we went down there and supported the evictions. I got arrested, when we tried to stop the eviction by locking arms.

As people from outside, we could only do certain things. It is so important that we remember that the leadership in any struggle should be the people who are directly affected. As *malihini* [outsiders] we should know what our roles are, and not to try to take leadership, which would be wrong, because part of the process of self-determination is for people to freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social, and cultural development. To prevent centralized bureaucracy is one of the things we must strongly support.

Among the Hawaiians, we had people like Georgiana Padeken, who played a very important role. Others were Randy Kalahiki and Christine Teruya from Maui. From the Big Island, we had tons of people, among others Joe Tassell, Dixon Enos, and Boot Matthews. I mention these names to let people know that there were supporters out there who never received appropriate recognition for the sacrifices they made.

We originally had a committee in 1972 investigating landing on Kaho'olawe, but it was not until several years later that the first landing took place. In PKO

[the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana] you had the Helms, the Rittes, and Emmett Aluli, just to mention a few. From Moloka'i there was also Judy Napoleon. She was with the Hawaiians and with Hui Ala Loa, which was the beginning of Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana. There was a struggle with Moloka'i Ranch, regarding access to the west coast of Moloka'i, Kaluako'i, and all those places. I went there to support them.

Speaking about Moloka'i struggles, I think that Kōkua Hawai'i made a big mistake, because of a memo of the steering committee. I initiated a communication, inviting PKO to come to Kōkua Hawai'i if they needed to get information out. But unfortunately, we did not give enough support to PKO and Hui Ala Loa. We did not print some of their requests in our newsletter, *Kōkua Hawai'i*. The collective that was printing the paper decided 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. That is what I think. But then, others might say otherwise ...

We must not forget Joy Ahn. She has been in the movement for a long time. She was working for Patsy Mink, and when we first met her, we were quite impressed with her *mana'o* [thinking]. One of my obligations as a leader was to try to drag her into Kōkua Hawai'i. It was just a matter of going, "Hi, Sister, how about coming with us?" Her politics was clear already. It was not hard.

Speaking about people working with us, we had Jimmy and Rosanne Ng of Kona, whom I knew up in San José where I went to school with Jimmy. When they came back to Hawai'i, I was at the airport sending off our contingent, Kalani Ohelo and Edwina Akaka (commonly known as Moanikeala Akaka), off to the Black Panther Conference in Washington, DC. When I sent them off, here come Jimmy and Rosanne. Straight from there, we went to Kalama Valley. When Kalani and Edwina returned from the conference, they brought the idea of wearing berets, but some of us, me and Mary Choy for instance, refused to wear berets.

In the Niumalu-Nāwiliwili struggle in 1973, there was Stanford Achi. Here was a man who worked all his life, a hard worker, now threatened by eviction for resort development at Niumalu-Nāwiliwili. I think that without Stanford, his wife June Achi, and of course their daughter, Karen, we could not have done

it. The sacrifices they made as a family were just tremendous. With some of the students of Ethnic Studies, we went there as a unit, along with the John Kelly crew. John provided technical and organizing support. We won the struggle.

In the Waiāhole-Waikāne struggle, we worked with Bobby Fernandez, Bernie Lam Ho, Hannah Salas and her husband and their Guamanian contingency. Many Chamorro farmers and residents were involved. They were strong; it was beautiful. And, of course, Ike Manalo and some of the Filipino contingency were key persons. In the Ota Camp struggle, we had Pete Tagalog.

We were working with Tom Ebenez in the struggle to prevent eviction of the residents of Hālawā Mauka to allow H2 to go through. The state passed a bill that any time they removed people for a state project, they would have to pay them a certain amount, depending upon the number of members of the household and the number of rooms in their homes. That was the end result of that part of the Hālawā Mauka struggle. At the time, it was an important victory.

The Aloha Stadium struggles were even more interesting. The state government was always trying to divide us, and what they did in this case was to send Abraham Akaka [a well-known Kanaka Maoli minister] out to bless the Stadium with his Kamehameha Koa Bowl. But the residents of lower Hālawā, Kupi Palio, Shirley Nahoopii, and the rest of the 'ohana – I can't remember all the names, but the leaders were women – they confronted Akaka, and he put down his Kamehameha Bowl. He did not use his Kamehameha Bowl to bless the Stadium. Some of the workers got killed. In fact, even a safety inspector was run over by a cement truck. When some of the other workers died in accidents, Akaka suggested to give Kupi Palio a call and ask her to come down.

There was a movement called Stop the TH-3, and I remember the slogan was "Stop TH-3, for land and sea" – and that movement stalled the construction for years. The highway did not go through Moanalua Valley as planned; it was shifted to Hālawā Valley. John Dominis Holt supported our struggle, and he also provided financial assistance to many people in the sovereignty movement, including funding a tour to Aotearoa [New Zealand] for indigenous artists. The alliance of John and his wife Patches with the movement was one of the good things that came out of that struggle.

We formed this Hawaiian Stop All Evictions Coalition. All the leaders of community associations who were facing evictions, from Waiāhole-Waikāne to Ota Camp and Hālawā, a whole bunch of people came down, even from Nukoli'i. We had a big demonstration, a march to stop the H3 [freeway]. Paige Barber was involved, Tom Ebenez from Hālawā Mauka was a leader, and Kupi Palio and Shirley Nahoopii were from Hālawā Makai, the Stadium. They all came together.

I organized the first Apprenticeship Council in the Carpenters' Union, nationwide. We provided different levels of apprenticeship according to the numbers of years you have been an apprentice. I became the chairman of the council. When the question came up regarding the construction of the H3, the unions got together and had hundreds of workers showing support for H3 at a hearing at the City Hall. I spoke out against it, and that exposed me: how could I talk about being for the workers when here I was fighting against the freeway, a project which would provide jobs for hundreds of workers, carpenters, steel men, electricians, and masons? That was a contradiction as far as my being a union person, fighting for jobs. But I took the position that it was only a short-term solution; as soon as the job was done, they still would not be able to provide homes for our carpenters or people in the union. The people who were really "making out," when you looked at it, were the multinational corporations ... and they made the workers do the dirty work for them. Perhaps the overhead rail system would have been better, providing more jobs for a longer period of time, less disruption of the traffic flow, and less destruction of the environment.

When it really came down to it, I took the position for cultural rights versus workers rights, (proletarian rights). It is a hard choice under the capitalist system. When I did that, there too went my job opportunities as far as my working as a carpenter. I was "black-balled" and started getting all the dirty jobs, the dangerous jobs.

Our group was also involved in the Ad hoc Committee for a Hawaiian Trustee, in 1972 and in ALOHA [Aboriginal Lands of Hawaiian Ancestry] led by Louisa Rice and her son, Herbert DeMello, in 1972. Peggy Hao Ross returned home in 1972 and initiated the 'Ohana o Hawai'i. There was the Congress of Hawaiian People, in which Paige Barber was one of the leaders, and there was Home Rule with Fred Cachola, Hui Hānai and many others. In

the 1980s there was Hui Nā 'Ōiwi. We put on the first sovereignty forum 1985 and fought Waimānalo evictions that same year. In Waimānalo, there were two particular struggles that we participated in. One was the Waimanalo Plantation struggle under the leadership of Herb Takahashi and some of the people that he represented. We worked with Walter Kupau fighting the eviction there, and we preserved housing for the plantation community.

We also had the Waimānalo park eviction further down the road. Kalani Ohelo and Kamakea played a strong role there. So all these struggles were actually connected to Ethnic Studies. I got arrested twice from the beach park and then we went and occupied the Hawaiian Homes office, Georgiana's office, for two or three days. The guy who came to arrest me there with the State Law Enforcement Division was a carpenter whom I knew from the time that I organized the Carpenters' Apprenticeship Council. He was one of my supporters at that time.

Ethnic Studies and the People's Committee

I did not get involved with Ethnic Studies Program until 1970. Because of the problems with the program director at the time, we decided to support Larry Kamakawiwo'ole as director. It was quite obvious that he had *mana* [divine power, authority]. He was the type of person who was quiet and very effective. He was very intelligent, and because he was Kanaka Maoli, we went and supported him.

We formulated a leadership structure for Ethnic Studies with a People's Committee in order to get input from different perspectives. It had representatives from the faculty and student groups as well as from the community. It worked out pretty well, as a total effort. We showed a united front. In the People's Committee, we had a faculty contingent, of five people, the community contingent of five people, and the students. Some of the names of Ethnic Studies faculty were Kay Brundage, Ross McCloud, Pua Anthony, Marion Kelly, and Agnes Nakahawa-Howard. Representing the community were myself, Francis Ka'uhane, Roy Santana, Mary Choy, and I think the last one was Buddy Ako. Francis was with the group called the Hawaiians; Roy Santana, Mary Choy and I were with Kōkua Hawai'i; and Buddy Ako was with the Youth Center in Hau'ula. Some of the students I remember were Terri Keko'olani, Davianna McGregor, Guy Fujimura, and Mel Chang, and Pete Thompson.

Before we were officially recognized as a program in the College of Social Sciences under Dean Contois, the dean set up the Steve Boggs Committee to investigate the possibility of a permanent Ethnic Studies program. They had to have a separate group of faculty determine the validity of Ethnic Studies. Representing the administration were Dean Contois and Chancellor Takasaki. We had to convince the Board of Regents to support the program, and we succeeded because of persistence and because of the importance of the Ethnic Studies Program. At that time at the University, this was the only opportunity to learn the history from a native or from a people's point of view. There was no Center for Hawaiian Studies. In fact, one of the things that came out of the Ethnic Studies Program was an understanding of the necessity for Hawaiian Studies. This University can have a Korean Studies Center, all kinds of studies and programs -- and the University sits on ceded lands -- so why was there no Hawaiian Studies? Hawaiian was taught as a foreign language. Now we have both Hawaiian Studies and Ethnic Studies.

Independence and Self-Determination

Self-determination is the will of the people, but sometimes people are misinformed because of slick propaganda or false media coverage. Based upon this misinformation, they take positions that are contrary to the best interests of all people. One of my good friends in the Mormon church says that if a majority of people express delight for a certain thing, it does not mean that it is right. Using the example of cow dung, he said that even if it attracts a lot of flies, it does not mean that cow dung is good. What he was really saying was that just because a majority expresses a certain desire, like continuing the wardship of the United States (which at the present time, the polls indicate that the majority of people want to continue), this does not mean that this is the right way to go. I think that it is beginning to change, however. At the present time, it is getting fairly close to the fifty percent mark. That is why education is so important.

Self-determination is a catchword, and it is a positive word. But you have to be very careful. If people are not afforded the truth, the real history, they will voice the continuance of welfare from the colonizers. There is a difference between self-determination and independence. Self-determination is a cop-out for our case, particularly because we are colonized. Part of decolonization

is that we have to decolonize our minds. People who are not part of the processes of decolonization will end up in a worse position. So, when you talk about the native Hawaiian vote [in 1996] and a constitutional convention proposed by Hā Hawai'i [in 1998], it is kind of spooky.

Nuclear Free – and Independent – Pacific

We have played a very important role in the movement for self-determination and sovereignty in association with the Nuclear Free Pacific movement.

In 1974, or it might be 1975, there was conference in Suva, Fiji, for a Nuclear Free Pacific. The people who went there from Hawai'i were Pete Thompson, John Kelly, Auntie Peggy Hao Ross, and her husband. Auntie Peggy's husband was involved in the bombing of Bikini Island, and he got cancer from participating in that testing. The second conference was in Pohnpei, I think, and the third one was in Hawai'i in 1980. At that time, it was called the Nuclear Free Pacific (NFP).

The organizers down here were mostly peace activists. I got involved as the head cook; that was my beginning. One of the things that were upsetting was that the organizers were only allowing three delegates to represent Hawai'i. I took the position that because this was a once-in-a-lifetime thing, the fact that our people got a chance to be with people from all over the world to protest the nuclear build-up, and therefore, we should have more delegates. Bernard Punika'ia felt as strongly as I did that we needed more positions opened for Kanaka Maoli activists, and we met with the organizers on the steering committee at the American Friends Service Committee. We took a strong position, Bernard and I. Not all Kānaka Maoli felt that it was appropriate to take a certain line. But we insisted and finally said, "Look, if you don't give us more delegates, we are going to boycott this whole conference." I think they got the message. So they asked us, "How many delegates do you want?" "Oh, a dozen." What happened was that the organizing committee met separately to decide our request, and they were quite concerned, but Bernard and I stood fast. They came back with a counter-offer, a compromise. Politics, as defined by certain people, is the art of compromise. "How about five delegates?" Bernard and I left the room and went outside to discuss the counter-offer,

which we accepted kind of in a laughing way, because we exerted self-determination. We went back inside and told them that we accepted. But then they wanted five names, specific names. We told them, "No, we want five slots so we can allow people to rotate and be part of the delegation." We wanted people from the neighbor islands, people like Joyce Kainoa, Emmett Aluli, and Judy Napoleon to get a chance to participate. Then we had Angel Pilago and Edwina Akaka, and people like Ho'oipo DeCambra who was not a delegate, but helped with the cooking.

What happened at that conference was very, very important. We called for the indigenous peoples to caucus – to use a haole word – among ourselves. Those people who spoke at that meeting strongly believed that we should include independence as part of the movement in the Pacific. That was where people like Hilda Halkyard-Harawira, with the Maori People's Liberation Movement, and Liz Martin, with a group called Te Matariki, expressed strong feelings of including independence in a change of the name. The supporters for this change were primarily Kānaka Maoli, Maori, and Maohi (Tahitians) – those peoples who were involved in independence struggles. We also got support from the different island states' representatives, and of course from the Aborigines of Australia.

There were about half-half white people and indigenous people. After the caucus, we took the position to expand the name from NFP to NFIP. Some of the peace activists were kind of upset; they felt that they were "hijacked" (that was the exact word that they used) by some of the indigenous activists, such as myself. They knew they would look bad if they did not support us.

A lot of the times when we have struggles, the involvement of environmentalists and peace activists is a dead end for our people, because once their goals have been accomplished, they no longer support our indigenous struggles. They really don't, especially the Greenpeace people here in Hawai'i. Even some of the parts of the peace movement in Aotearoa call for nuclear free provisions, but when it comes to supporting Tino Rangatiratanga [sovereignty] for the Maori, they just slide into the background. We have support from some of the peace activists, though. We have good people like Bill Armstrong and others. Even within the black struggles, they are pushing for black rights, but when it comes to supporting Pacific rights, it becomes very

difficult for them. Other ethnic groups also compromise. They get what they want, and just compromise our rights – that is one of the main problems, even to today.

Our first main office of NFIP was here in Hawai'i. Then it moved to Aotearoa, and from there it moved back to Fiji. We do have an office in Sydney, but that office is primarily for the newsletter, *Pacific News Bulletin*. We were in limbo for a couple of years. There were complications between the head of the office who was a haole and some of the staff; the two could not get along, because the director offended the indigenous core group. We furthermore needed to share the responsibility with the rest of the Pacific, so we decided to move it to Aotearoa.

I have always been part of the independence movement, so in 1981 I did a three-month tour of the Pacific. One month in Aotearoa, one month in Australia, and one month in Tahiti. We got to meet a lot of people and created bonds that lasted for many, many years. In fact, the bonds have become very strong, even to the point where I became the Godfather of Hilda's daughter, whose Kanaka Maoli name is Aloha 'Āina. She was named after the association with Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana. Emmett Aluli is the Godfather of one of Hilda's other daughters. So we have been politically and personally allying with the Maori movement. They call it *Whanau, hānau* [to give birth]. The "f" is our "h," but they spell their "f" with a "wh." To this day, there are very close political and 'ohana type relationships between our peoples. This is the same way our people built alliances in the old days. In the art of politics, in order to prevent bloodshed, you offer women to be part of the other side, thus creating alliances. Kamehameha, for example, married a high-ranking chiefly woman to increase his mana and to make alliances with other groups.

I am still the alaka'i of NFIP Hawai'i, and my whole family has been very helpful. Kalama Niheu, one of my daughters, especially, is very active in the Pacific context. I was shocked when Kalama decided to become part of the struggle. We did not push her; we did not lecture her. She came upon it herself, she exercised her on self-determination. Her name carries ancestral obligations. Kalama was named after our participation in Kalama valley, but culturally, the valley's name, according to Mama Lui, was Wāwāmalu. Bishop Estate, the developers, changed the name.

Ka Pākaukau

In the late 1980s we did a lot of our work through Ka Pākaukau, the round-table, which had only Kanaka Maoli members. The original organization was the Pā Kaukau coalition. In Pā Kaukau, we had Nā 'Ōiwi o Hawai'i and 'Uhane Noa (Nihipali them). We also had Peggy Hao Ross, Steve Maldonado, Uncle Tom Maunupau, Kawaipuna Prejean, Puhipau, 'Īmaikalani Kalahahele, and of course myself. That was Pā Kaukau.

Our efforts in Ka Pākaukau were always to support the front-line struggles, and to provide them with information that would support the sovereignty and independence movement. We aimed to support the cultural rights and the right to exist in harmony with ourselves and our culture and with our people. And that is the role we have always taken, to make sure that people get informed as much as possible – to be aware that we are not isolated, that we can work together on a community by community basis, and that we do not need centralization of power. It is better to be community-based so that we can actually control our leaders and prevent them from going off on a tangent and start selling away our rights. In movements that have only one leader, that is often the beginning of the end. Even with Kamehameha, the centralized power contributed to the destruction of our people to a certain extent.

Look at the Bishop Estate now. We have Bernice Pauahi Bishop, who was a direct descendent of Kamehameha. Then she develops an institution now worth about fifteen to twenty billion dollars, a trust over which five trustees have control. You do not have to be a rocket scientist to know that they are not doing their fiduciary duty. That has to be pointed out. What is happening at Bishop Estate with members of a trust, the same thing happened in Aotearoa where trust boards totally sell out the rights of their 'iwi, their tribes. We have to be very careful with statewide associations, for example, the Hawaiian Civic Clubs, and even the State Council of Hawaiian Homestead Associations, SCHHA. We have to be very careful. Imagine, we have an institution that has a portfolio of over fifteen billion – they have more money than many countries. And they are responsible for the welfare of so many thousands of Kanaka Maoli beneficiaries. We know that they can do a better job! They have many good teachers up there, like Randy Fong, who has done an excellent job in educating not only young people through song and dance, but a lot of other people out there. They did a great Hō'ike [show] on the overthrow.

The Responsibility of the University Students and Faculty Today

It was good that the Ethnic Studies Program went the way it did. It was good, considering all the activities we participated in with the community struggles. It is very important to maintain contact with the community, and somehow I do not see that happening now. I may be wrong, but in all the major struggles in recent times that I have participated in, I have not seen a strong support from Ethnic Studies. The intent of the Ethnic Studies Program was to account for the true history of our peoples, whether it be Kānaka Maoli, or others. It is always important to maintain the right connections and get information from first-hand experience, and not to be isolated on the campus. Now I see a lot of the community contact happen with the Center for Hawaiian Studies students. They are out there, a lot of their students are involved in community struggles, involved in Ka Lāhui and very active on campus too.

The more exposure our struggles get, the more the movement for sovereignty and self-determination will move forward. However, it is most unfortunate that some members of our Kanaka Maoli intelligentsia cannot get along. We have some taking different positions. The differences among the leaders do affect the community, and we do not have enough time in our struggles with our "masters" to waste expertise.

I would like to recognize Marion Kelly as part of the Ethnic Studies Department, as well as part of local land struggles, for the effort she makes in all the things she researches and writes of our fantastic culture and the beauty of our people. A lot of things that she writes provides important information as to our way of life. I also honor her for her long involvement in our movement, in the peace movement, and in the human rights movement. I appreciate her expression of support for our struggle, but also her criticisms—of which we had many. They make me stop and think, just like the phrase, "The dream of a slave is not freedom, but a slave of its own," which has proven true so often in liberation struggles in Africa and in South America, and can happen here in our struggles at home as well as struggles elsewhere in the Pacific.

I would like to stress that there is no one person, no one group, who will determine the political and economic direction of our peoples, and that it is the responsibility and obligation of all groups or individuals to fully understand

their or his responsibilities and obligation to our people in order to move forward. We have to know when to give and when to take, and we must be in contact with our peoples out in the communities as much as possible in a day-to-day existence. We must always support those groups that are *kū'ē*, resisting. We can have all those conferences, we can have all these demonstrations, but without working with our people on a day-to-day basis, it becomes difficult to reach the goal of obtaining independence or exercise self-determination in my lifetime.

This is my mana'o; some people might agree, and some might disagree. Every opportunity should be afforded to those people who disagree with what I have said to state their opinion.

In retrospect, the word mana comes into my mind, whether it applies to individuals, organizations or 'ohana. Your mana depends on your ability to influence people to move in the direction of self-determination. Part of the responsibilities of mana is that you would have to give your mana to others, so whatever work that you have done in the past – in moving the people in a direction of self-determination – must continue forever and ever. For what you have done in the past – and that and a buck won't buy you a cup of coffee – its rhetoric can provide a common cause only for so long. That is why we say in Ka Pākaukau: "Educate, ed-your-cate, edu-my-cate, *kūkākūkā* [discuss], *hele wāwae ka 'olelo* (walk the talk) and *kū'ē* (resist)." This is an off-shoot of Kōkua Hawai'i's principle of *huli*. What we said in the past was that *huli* means to discover the truth in which to overturn, in which to make things *pono* [in balance, righteous], in building a new society based upon our indigenous values. *Huli* means find the truth, but *huli* also means overturn, and *huli* is a new *kalo* generation that propagates new plants. ❖

*Excerpts from interview for Social Process in Hawai'i
by Ulla Hasager, March 1998*

The Struggles of the Waiāhole-Waikāne Community Association

Bob Nakata

Talk given to Ethnic Studies students in ES 381 (Social Movements in Hawai'i) course, on Monday, November 16, 1998.

Senator Bob Nakata discussed the Waiāhole-Waikāne struggle and the role of Ethnic Studies Students and teaching staff in that fight. The importance of leadership, democracy, strategy, and tactics in community organizing were highlighted.

Those elements, essential in any social struggle, reinforced one another to bring about a significant victory that now serves as a testament to the role of ordinary human beings as active agents of social change.

Coming Home to Development Struggles

Let me give you some personal history first. I'm assuming you folks have read about the Waiāhole-Waikāne struggle and know where the valleys are. I grew up one valley Kāne'ōhe side of Waiāhole-Waikāne, but in the days that I was growing up, the only elementary and intermediate school in the area was the Waiāhole School, so I went to school there. I worked in the taro patches from the age of six. Since then, I've moved on, but I want to go back to working in the taro patch. I have great respect for the Reppuns who got Ivy League education but are doing taro farming. I was highly skeptical that they would do it, but they have done it. So I grew up in that area and went to school in Waiāhole, and I was very familiar with that community.

After I went to seminary in New York City, where I did field placement and worked in Spanish Harlem – that was my introduction to community organizing work – I came home in 1972. I guess that's before most of you were born; I'm starting to feel old. When I had left Kahalu'u, it was really a rural area, with farms – pretty much a farming community. When I came back in '72 it was under a lot of development pressure – after statehood, the development of this island

spread out in all directions from Honolulu outward, and somewhere in the early 1970s, it got out to Kahalu'u. When I came home, I saw – when I was a teenager, I wasn't paying any attention to – these developers' movements that were happening in the state. While I was a teenager in the fifties and sixties, the City had come up with a development plan for Kahalu'u which billed it as a second city. What you see now in 'Ewa today was planned for Kahalu'u – the deep-draft harbor, the oil refineries, the resorts, the major sewage treatment plant, the major marinas, things like that, were all planned for Kahalu'u when I grew up.

Several groups had formed while I was on the mainland, who were working to stop these developments. So when I came home, I joined them and one of the major struggles was the H-3. But as I got involved, there was work cleaning up Kāne'ōhe Bay. We worked changing those development plans – specifically, there were several major developments that we stopped. There was a 1600 unit development plan on the back of Waihe'e Valley which we stopped, and several smaller ones. From that I got some of that training and experience on how to slow down or stop these kinds of developments, and that's where I became acquainted first with Pete Thompson, who was one of the Ethnic Studies instructors here, Terri Keko'olani and Kehau Lee. They spent a lot of their time out there in Kahalu'u with us – I'll refer back to that later. But in 1972-1973, as a result of the work I did in Kahalu'u, a planner told me, "Watch out for Waiāhole-Waikāne." We had gone through a planning process; I was going around to different parts of the community asking, "Okay, how do you want to see our community develop?" We were trying to be proactive – and developers were not cooperating.

Waiāhole-Waikāne

When I got to Waiāhole, in the summer of 1973, there were around 30 people at the meeting – normally only 10-12 people who would come to the meeting, that was all I wanted to get discussion going. But the reason why there were so many people in Waiāhole was that they were seeing surveyors coming up and down their roads and out of their fields, and there was an agricultural economist going around talking to people asking them their attitudes about development. From that meeting, I got to know Bobby Fernandez, who was a young fellow only 27-28 years old, on disability from

Hawaiian Electric, where he was a boiler mechanic, but he also happened to be the President of the PTA [Parents-Teachers Association], and the only person I knew who had any kind of leadership capacity in Waiāhole.

The first place we went to was the Land Use Commission where we found a letter from Mrs. Loy McCandless Marks, the owner of the property, and she had plans for 7,000 condo units in those two valleys, which at that time probably had 120 families, tenant farmers, Filipino laborers, and some Hawaiian families there. Then we talked to Life of the Land, which was one of the active environmental groups at the time. We talked to Legal Aid, which at that time, played a much higher role than it does now in terms of community struggles. We were checking things out, but we finally called a meeting in April of 1974, and we had meetings with the developers.

We later found out how much power we were up against – there were City officials and legislators, there were judges, there were labor leaders, all involved with the developers. The name of this development company was Windward Partners. We found out really quickly what we were up against.

When we called that first meeting, practically every adult in the community turned out, and many of the children also. One of the things I've learned from these kinds of experiences is that the more threatened people feel, the easier it is to get them organized. But they do have to have some faith that they can do something. The experiences that Kahalu'u felt then, those people had seen us win a number of smaller battles, so when we came in to help organize them in Waiāhole, they turned out. Bobby and I felt the whole weight of the community on us, expecting that we would be able to help them. We told them this was a struggle which all of us must participate in. There was a tremendous amount of fear. Most of the people were tenants on month-to-month leases. On a month-to-month lease, all you're entitled to is 28 days' notice and you're supposed to vacate. The tenants at that point refused to be leaders of that organization. The first steering committee meeting had people who were small landowners, Hawaiian *kuleana* owners (owners of small pieces of land), and there was one family – the Charlot family – if you don't know that family, it's the one of the artist who painted that mural on the UPW [United Public Workers] Hall. His son and daughter-in-law lived in Waiāhole, and they got involved. It was not a real representative leadership at that time; it was more middle-class, more secure people who became the leaders in that early period.

Now I had called Pete to come out; he had to go to China, but he sent a couple of other people to help. We were careful about who we involved there. Partly because, in my experience in Kahalu'u – and this is instructive for those of you who might want to get involved in this kind of community struggle – in those days, when the outsiders came in, they were so active that over time, the community leadership pulled away. This was especially so since the Ethnic Studies students were at a higher academic level, they knew how to go down to the City to check out the records and all that, and they'd come back and report. The community people would start to feel as if it wasn't their organization, and they pulled back. We didn't want to see that happen in Waiāhole, so we had just a few people come and Pete sent us a few students to help.

One of the first things we did was to have a demonstration downtown. We knew that the savings and loans were funding this development and we went down to demonstrate against them right in the middle of downtown, on Bishop Street. What we did differently from most of the other struggles going on at the time was that we took just residents – the normal procedure was for a lot of outside help, particularly students, to be there. While we were demonstrating, one of the students who went by yelled out, "Hey, where's your support?" At that point, we didn't want it and we didn't need it. We needed the people to stand up for themselves. And they did, but they also needed support.

At the same time, we had put together a slide show with Pete Thompson's help an excellent slide show. We trained the people themselves to take that slide show. They were going all over the place – into the schools, and to the unions, even if we were up against union leaders. Whatever civic groups wanted to hear about Waiāhole-Waikāne, we sent people to go and talk to them. And then we had a petition drive, and in 20 days, they turned out and they got 20,000 signatures. This was a community of people most of whom didn't have even a high school education – most of them had a junior high school education at the most. But this was their cause, their homes, and their livelihoods that were threatened; they had motivation to go out there and try to protect their own community.

There was a hearing in October of that year, 1974, with the Land Use Commission. That year was a very exciting and important year in the history of land use in Hawai'i; The Land Use Commission was doing something called the five-year boundary review – they actually had abandoned that since that

year because it provided a valuable forum for all kinds of communities across the state. The review was the time that all the developers would put their plans on the table. All the communities across the state knew at the same time what was happening not just in their communities, but in other communities. That's where Pete and the Ethnic Studies students played a very important role. They and several other groups connected all of these community struggles state-wide. They were sending people to Kaua'i, sending people here, sending people to Kona, to Maui, wherever these land struggles were happening. But the linkage was through Pete and the Ethnic Studies Program. That's the kind of role this Program played at that point in the struggle.

Strategies and Responses

We really worked at two things – the community, and leadership in charge. Before the hearing, there was an upheaval within the community association itself. Pete had been talking to a lot of non-farming tenants – Filipino families, and Hawaiian families who were not fighting and who actually were most at-risk. One of the slogans was “keep the land in agriculture,” but the tenants were not farmers, so they were very vulnerable. Pete and some others worked very hard with those tenants, saying, “You folks should be in the leadership of the association.” And I guess that would get everybody hyped up to do that: a group of them getting into one steering committee meeting, and demanded to be a part of the leadership, almost forgetting that several months earlier, they had refused to be a part of the leadership. But that was an important turning point, because, as it was, it was those tenants who would carry the struggles from that point on. The farmers turned out to be more conservative in the end and pulled back from the more radical actions that we had to do later on in the struggle.

One key thing happened shortly after that. I had never voted in the steering committee – I would get into the arguments and the discussions. Others from the outside had participated in the voting. One of the residents noticed that I hadn't voted on a key issue, and he asked, “Well Bob, what's your stand on this?” And I said, “I support what you're doing, and I support you in your struggle, but this is your community and your life, so I shouldn't be voting.” After that, all the outsiders stopped voting. And that was the key thing that kept the control of the struggle in the hands of that steering committee, the residents. We participated fully in the arguments, and there were times you'd

feel that some kind of physical fight would break out, the arguments were so intense, but that never happened, and the leadership really remained in the hands of that community.

The first major hearing we had, we turned out about a thousand of people, in King Intermediate School, from all across the island. Support groups from other struggles were there. While the hearing was going on, we had prepared 30-35 people to testify at the hearing. We said, “Look, you speak pidgin, but the Land Use Commission is made up basically of local people who will understand pidgin, so never mind – just practice and be ready to make your testimony.” We had a Japanese lady who couldn't really speak English very well, and probably was a bit little mentally out of touch with reality, Mrs. Matayoshi, but she wanted to testify, and her testimony was a gem to the valley. There was a Hawaiian lady maybe in her eighties who testified in Hawaiian, and we had someone translate for her.

We did those kinds of things – we had everybody ready, and we had rehearsed, but there was another group that was going around to all of these hearings with their bullhorns, megaphones, whatever, and literally taking over the hearings. We didn't want that to happen in ours, because we had spent so much time preparing. It's another example of how the leadership stayed in the community and a testament to Bobby Fernandez. Shortly after the hearing started, I noticed that the people on my right had a bullhorn, and Bobby was on my left. I tapped Bobby and I said, “Bobby, I think they're going to take over the hearing.” He immediately reached behind me and tapped the fellow on my right. And he just said, “We're in charge.” That was the end of that.

Things got a little rowdy in the hearing, though – a lot of emotions. We asked for a recess so we could calm down our supporters. We explained to them that we wanted the hearing to proceed because we had good testimony; everybody was prepared. The Chairman of the Land Use Commission was kind of worried about what would happen, he came out, and we told him, “Look, don't worry, we'll control the situation.” The hearing was reconvened, but what I didn't know was that the Chairman had agreed to let our group come in with their signs and circle the room once and chant, and then everything would be o.k. That's how it turned out, everybody coming in with all the signs and leaving. But as a result of that hearing, Windward Partners was turned down, 9 to nothing, by the Land Use Commission.

That organizing effort led to victory, but it was not a permanent victory. The landowners then sent in one of our present City Council people, John Henry Felix. Felix had been head of the Board of Water Supply, chief engineer or whatever it was – you know, chair of the board. Anyway, somebody called with an anonymous tip to Bobby Fernandez that Felix was a member of Windward Partners. At that point, we didn't know it. We called him on conflict of interest, and he resigned from the Board of Water Supply, and became openly the leader of Windward Partners. He came and started negotiating with the steering committee. And he was good as man as chief negotiator. But the developer was this man named Joe Pao, kind of infamous back in those days for ignoring anything environmental. He was really the power behind Windward Partners. He pulled John Henry Felix out of the negotiations two months after it started, which probably was a good thing for us, because John Henry Felix was working out a compromise which would've allowed the development of Waikāne but not Waiāhole. That was the foot-in-the-door tactic that he was using. But fortunately, Pao was too impatient to let the process go forward. He pulled John Henry out, and the negotiations came to a stop. They tried to get the redesignation of Waikāne by itself, and we were able to rally again and defeat that. That was in 1976, but the trouble was still not over after two years.

What happened next was that Mrs. Marks raised the rent – the rents were actually quite low. Some rents were proposed to be raised 700%, seven times. We went to court trying to stop people before then. We got people to refuse to pay the increase. We started collecting the rent money and put it into an escrow account. Almost everybody in the valley did that. Their next move then was to evict everybody from the valley and we were in court to prevent the eviction.

Remember now, at that point, all they needed was one months' notice and then you're out, but during the course of the struggle, we could see the people getting stronger and stronger. One of the chants in our demonstrations was "Hell no, we ain't moving." And the demonstrations would strike the people in this way – over the course of this struggle, you could almost see roots growing out of their clothes into the ground. They were getting that determined that they would not move out, and in this time period, when you were going to court, we had eviction drills. Later we had people surrounding the house with locked arms, and we called the media, in to demonstrate what we would do. There

were some discussions that, when you look back, sound kind of funny – what would we do if they came in from the ocean? We couldn't figure that one out. Then we were like, what if they come in with helicopters? My uncle was a farmer, and he took this suggestion seriously – I don't know how many others did – but one idea was to climb the roof. He said that, "If they come by the air, we go climb the roof." But the serious one was "What if they really do come, then what do we do?" There were long discussions about blocking all the roads leading up into the valley, but none of those things worked because there were people who lived on the ocean side of the highway. Finally, somebody suggested that you have to blockade the highway. Eventually, that is what was done.

In the court process, we kept losing – the District Court, Circuit Court – but when we lost at the Circuit Court, the judge said, "I'll let you stay on the land while your case proceeds to the Supreme Court if you will post bond," but he didn't say what the bond would be. He set another hearing at which he would set the bond price. There was a major meeting of the steering committee at that point, and the recommendation to what they called the general membership, the whole membership of the association, was not to post bond, no matter what it was. It was about this time of the year, when the holidays were coming up. The analysis basically was: here's Thanksgiving, Christmas, the New Year, and the opening of the Legislature, we are about as strong as we can be, let's bring it on now. That was the recommendation. We don't post bond, and bring on the confrontation. The vote was 39-36. There had been other things along the way where people gradually fell away, but that was the vote, and the 36 became inactive at that point, so the 39, the rest of them, continued the struggle. And this is where I have to give Bobby Fernandez a lot of credit, as a young man, 28, 29 years old, 30 at the most by this time – his closest friends were part of the 36, rather than the 39, and yet he continued the leadership of that association. He didn't let friendship stand in the way of what he knew had to be done. He had to take radical action to block the eviction. And it was serious, because a good friend of mine, was a woman, a sergeant at the police department, and she was the first to be in charge of the children – when the eviction happened, she was supposed to take care of the children at the Ko'olau Boys Home. On the police side, the plans were very serious. Bobby deserves a lot of credit for staying with the struggle and, in a sense, divorcing himself from his friends and continuing in the leadership.

Anyway, we got about 500 people into those valleys over New Year's weekend, because Mrs. Marks said that January 3rd was the eviction date. Five hundred people were camped up in the valley, some from outside who came in for support, to generate support from all kinds of people, including church groups. January 3rd, I think, was a Monday, and from that day, we saw that people were leaving, going back to work or whatever. I was instructed to call the Governor's Office – I was the liaison to the Governor's Office – and tell Governor Ariyoshi or his assistant that if he didn't step in to resolve the issue, we would bring everybody down to the Capitol Lawn and camp out there. They asked for a couple of days in which to try and work something out, and they started talking with Mrs. Marks.

But on the – I believe it was the 5th, Wednesday – we had CB radio operators working with us, and they were watching all the police stations. That week, we were meeting every night, late into the night, working on strategy. At about a quarter to eleven, or twenty to eleven, we got a call from the CB operators saying that the police were moving in, or moving out of the police station. We said, "Watch for a couple of more minutes, then call us back." They called and said, "They are coming." We put our plan into action – sounded the alarm, everybody went down Waiāhole Valley and blocked Kamehameha highway on both ends. It was kind of funny; I saw everybody going to Kāne'ohe side, nobody was going to Kahuku side. I went to Kahuku side and found one or two cars standing, with this trucker blocking one lane, and nobody blocking the other lane. I pulled my Volkswagen over and blocked that lane. Luckily, no car came along to ram it. We were there alone about 16 minutes before anyone else came, but all the action was happening on the other end anyway.

Finally, the police were able to convince us that it was a false alarm, that they weren't coming. We lifted the blockade at about 1:30 in the morning. The interesting thing was that we stood by Waiāhole Poi Factory, singing "Hawai'i Aloha" with our arms out, holding hands, and the drivers – you'd expect they'd be mad, being stopped for two, three hours – but they went by cheering us.

After that, the Governor finally really stepped in, and about a month later, announced that the state was purchasing Waiāhole, and the families could remain there. I'm looking at that: "The limits of what is 'possible' for you to do is restricted by the narrowness of your outlook" (a quote by Lenin written on the chalkboard in ES 381). If you have the guts to fight, you can do a lot of

things. I don't think when we started, that people dreamed that they would be blockading the highway, a federal crime, in order to preserve their rights to stay on the land.

Eventually, the Supreme Court, I forget on what grounds, did say that the people could remain. And they're still there, the families, they're still there, they just got their 55-year leases earlier this summer. It took a long time to wrap up the leases, but they had them.

Lessons in Political Mobilization

I mentioned several lessons along the way. In the organizing effort, there were four of us that I think were critical: Bobby Fernandez, Pete Thompson, Michael Hare, and myself. Bobby was the natural leader although he was the youngest of the tenants in the association. His instincts on what to do were really very good. I did mention that the sheriff actually called on January 3rd, the day of the eviction drill, he called ahead to say, "I'm calling, but I'm only delivering them [eviction notices], I'm not evicting you guys." He wanted to be sure of his own safety. When he called to say he was coming, we marched down Waiāhole Valley Road, more than 500 people marching down, we found the ladies were leading us with a chant, and somebody had been evicted. I don't realize the intensity of the emotions. The chanting helped because it released a lot of the stress and pressure, but it was just constant. All the way from where we were, the headquarters were 4 miles down the highway. The chanting was going on, and all the way to headquarters.

All of those kinds of techniques were important. Bobby was important. Pete was great not only for his research abilities and the energy that he had, but he's probably one of the more charismatic leaders this state has had over the last couple of generations, a tremendous talker. He was the one who, if anyone could be called a rabble-rouser in that group, he was, because he had a fine sense of how far to push so things wouldn't go too far. He always could pull back, that's important, to get out of there. As for my role, I was a minister, more like a good shepherd, trying to keep everybody together as long as we could. I think the four of us were critical. And teamwork is important, even in this kind of struggle.

One of the other important lessons that I mentioned earlier is that we really talked things out. There were a lot of disagreements within that steering

committee, but once a decision was made, because of the critical nature of the situation, everybody should stick behind it. Whether you agreed or not in the discussion, if a decision was made, stick behind it. There was tremendous unity in that struggle. From the larger perspective, I think that ended the development going down the coast from Waiāhole on down. Hopefully it ended almost forever – there will be houses built and stuff like that, but any major development, I'm hopeful, has stopped as a result of the stuff that we did in Waiāhole and Kahalu'u. All the things that I've mentioned to you, the deep-draft harbor and whatever, have been wiped off the maps now – the Windward Second City, the Kahalu'u Second City. I think it's a real credit to these people, especially in Waiāhole-Waikāne.

I think too that this serves as an inspiration for people across the state to stand up and fight the developers. In the eighties, there were golf courses; now we seem to be in a time where development is really down. I expect that when the economy in Asia picks up again, we're going to face development pressures again. I really believe that a lot of groups have formed now who can help to either block it or control it, so that this state remains a relatively good place to live.

There were elements of the Hawaiian community that came into this struggle, but because Waiāhole-Waikāne had Hawaiians, Filipinos, and Okinawan farmers, we didn't bill it as a Hawaiian struggle, although many Hawaiian groups did come in too. I'm not sure what the implications of all that are. We did build it very deliberately that way on a class basis and not as an ethnic struggle.

Excerpts from Replies to Commonly Asked Questions

About the Revolutionary Communist Party's (RCP) involvement in the struggle, Pete and others very close to him did become members of the RCP. The reaction of the people were very interesting; you would think that they would reject that. But they were feeling so isolated by the power structure that many of them said, "If this is what communism is, I want it too. (Or something to that effect). They're the only ones that care for us." That did play an important role, the discipline that they brought. I won't deny that they played a very important role.

But after this victory, they tried to use this Waiāhole-Waikāne struggle as a launching pad for other struggles, and it was about that time that Mao died. And to me anyway, they lost a little bit of perspective, and started pushing something they called the "Mao Memorial." And that's when they alienated themselves from the community. I'm not sure that people were safe now that they didn't have to depend on these people, or whether they actually pushed them out. The RCP may've lost touch with reality – that's my sense. That was a time when Pete lost that fine touch and took it one step too far.

I'm remembering an incident that happened, and in a sense, the RCP faction wasn't wrong – several years after the state purchased the land, something came up. Remember the state purchase was Waiāhole and not Waikāne. There were some discussions going on with what to do with Waikāne. The developers made an offer through Michael Hare, who was the attorney to all of them, and represents Bishop Estate frequently these days.

We have to give Mike his due; he left one of the biggest law firms in town and practically starved himself to work with us. He was in his early twenties, married with a young child, working as a night guard at one of the hotels to support himself, but very staunchly for the community. The important contribution he made is to tell us, "The lawyer is not here to keep you out of trouble; the lawyer is here to get you out of trouble." He said that in order not to inhibit the action.

But the approach was made too much on settlement on the Waikāne side. And one of the ground rules for the steering committee was that no-one talks to the other side alone. Mike violated that, and Pete was calling him on that violation. But the steering committee, maybe tired of the struggle, and maybe it was different circumstances, sided with Mike. An attempt was made at a resolution. Pete folks were kicked out. But there was no resolution, and two months ago, the City Council through Steve Holmes purchased Waikāne. So stray pieces kept falling in place years after the main struggle was over, but it still carries the impact. That community had different leadership a few years ago just on the waterfront; this time the leadership was with the Reppun brothers who back then [in the 1970s] were ostracized because they were outsiders coming in. Their friends were in that more moderate group of 36. Their leadership was not really accepted by the old-timers. But the Reppuns are the ones who carried the water fight.

It's a very interesting history. It almost makes me feel that even though I'm a Christian minister, there's a lot to the Hawaiian religion, the Hawaiian perception about natural power. Kualoa, a few miles down the road, and I've always felt that Kualoa does have a special power of mana. It's almost as if the mana emanating from Kualoa is helping protect that part of the land.

On overdevelopment in Kāne'ohe, those of us who acted in Kahalu'u didn't want to see Kahalu'u turn into something like Kāne'ohe. Kahalu'u had slowly developed as a rear guard action. Waiāhole is where it's at and we were going to stop it here. One of the earlier things we did in Kahalu'u was the flood control bridge in Kahalu'u. A friend of mine died when we were in a group fighting that flood control project. We knew we're going to lose, so our group called us traitors. We said, "Okay, we'll say yes if the bridge is only two lanes, and no high arch allowed," and the City agreed to that. I think we were right – the project was coming through anyway, because about fifteen out of sixteen groups in the community wanted it, and we were the only holdouts. So there's a history to that too.

The regional Native Hawaiian groups in Kahalu'u fighting development were doing it because they were protecting their kuleana. The development plans with a deep-draft harbor and all of that threatened their property – that's why they organized.

On the recent water rights struggle, having the land gives these people a stronger leg to stand on, but each time, the struggle seems as though it will go on forever. The three Reppun brothers, who have gotten into the water rights struggle (they speak fluent Hawaiian now), I think, are the next generation of leaders of that part of the island.

The Waiāhole-Waikāne struggle was hard to do but also very exciting, and very rewarding. And for me, the reward was not so much the victory on the land but to see the development of people like Bobby Fernandez, like Hannah Salas, the housewife, who, in the course of that struggle, became one of the sharpest and strongest political analysts and political leaders that I've ever seen. I tried to get her involved with bigger issues outside of Waiāhole, but that she didn't want to do.

At one point, we had a big benefit concert. Actually, that occurred in 1977, after the blockade. We wanted to raise money, so we had this concert, with all

kinds of Hawaiian entertainers. Traffic backed up from Waiāhole Poi Factory to the Wilson Tunnel. I know because I had to come here [Honolulu] to address a church group and take a Native American back out to Waiāhole.

The reason I believe the eviction never happened was that we generated so much support. They were going to use the National Guard in the eviction; the officers in the Kāne'ohe Police Station had made it very clear that they wouldn't participate in an eviction. There was a film crew that came up to Waiāhole and used that struggle as one part of a three-part documentary. One was in California, in the grape fields; the other was an Eskimo struggle up in Alaska. It was a big story; probably in Hawai'i the biggest movement since the labor movement.

On Cayetano's recent efforts to purchase the Waiāhole water ditch for \$9.7 million, we are trying to stop the bill. We were wondering if there was some kind of glitch so they couldn't purchase. We were heavily involved in the creation of the water struggle and the amendment to the state constitution. I sat on the original commission for seven and a half years, still just the beginning part of the Waiāhole ditch-digging. I could only serve two terms consecutively. I was off before the full-blown case started.❖

Transcribed by Ida Yoshinaga

Race Relations and the Political Economy in Hawai'i

Ah Quon McElrath

Ah Quon McElrath writes with authority on this subject having lived through and participated in many of the events of the twentieth century in Hawai'i. Ah Quon's experience and perspective are strengthened by her knowledge of Hawai'i's history.

The nature of race and ethnic relations in Hawai'i was and continues to be shaped by a number of key factors: (1) the 1778 landing of the English Capt. James Cook, and the subsequent trips of another Englishman, George Vancouver, and others which ended the isolation of the Hawaiian Islands; (2) the 1820 arrival of the New England missionaries with their varied religious and business interests; (3) the world-wide importation of nearly four hundred thousand indentured/contract laborers beginning in 1852 to work in agriculture; (4) the advent of labor unions (particularly after the 1935 congressional enactment of the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA)), especially the International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), now renamed the International Longshore & Warehouse Union, with its message of the right of workers to join a union of their own choosing, the strength of an industrial union open to anyone regardless of race, color, creed, and sex, and the importance of participation in the electoral process; and (5) events such as the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893 with the subsequent annexation in 1898 by the United States; the murder of a Caucasian youngster by a young Japanese in the 1920s; the rape/murder trial of five local young men, with the murder of one of the five by US Navy associates of the woman alleged to have been raped; the 1954 displacement of the decades-old power of the Republican Party by a Democratic Party invigorated by the activities of the returning soldiers of Japanese American ancestry (AJAs) and the utilization of ILWU voting strength which had manifested itself in successful political action; the granting of statehood to Hawai'i in 1959; and the 1965 congressional enactment of the Immigration and Nationality Act based on the philosophy of reuniting families by the elimination of the quota system for a system of preferences.

Historic Background

Cook's, Vancouver's, and others' journeys to Hawai'i introduced a completely different group of people and lifestyles to a Hawaiian chiefly system that ruled in a finely crafted hierarchy which defined personal and economic relationships.

These visits also introduced diseases for which Hawaiians had no immunity, one of the reasons for the rapid decrease in their numbers.

Many historians have accepted 300,000 as the number of Hawaiians in 1778, said to have decreased to half by the time of the missionaries' arrival in 1820; further, that by 1860, the Hawaiian population was said to have dropped to sixty-seven thousand, or about 22 percent of the 1778 number.

These journeys to Hawai'i, with the development of the sandalwood and whaling trades, hastened a change in the political economy. Wealth was measured not only in terms of personal and household items but also in the procurement of arms and gunpowder, the latter which altered power relationships among members of the Hawaiian ruling class.

The coming of trade afforded Hawaiians a world view and provided royalty and commoner alike the opportunity to venture beyond the confines of the eight inhabited islands of Hawai'i, Maui, O'ahu, Kaua'i, Moloka'i, Lāna'i, Ni'ihau, and Kaho'olawe. Moreover, the change in the political economy contained the seeds of converting Hawaiians to wage laborers, thus destroying communal, yet stratified, relationships with the ruling class.

When the missionaries arrived in 1820 under the auspices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, their primary interest, as it was in missions to other parts of the world, was to convert the indigenous people to Christianity. However, the needs of the missionaries to build the infrastructure to promote their religious activities, to grow food, and to get the printed word to converts thrust them into close relationships with the monarchy, thus easing the path to conducting their mission and to furthering their business interests.

The convergence of business attitudes – that wealth could be found in agricultural enterprises – and religious attitudes – that salvation from a lackadaisical life could be found in land ownership – culminated in the 1848

enactment of the “Great Māhele” (land division) among the king, government, and chiefs under the aegis of Kamehameha III and the Hawaiian legislature, with subsequent amendments which defined the rights of commoners to own land. Land, therefore, became a commodity, the concept of use right supplanted by property right, and the system of communal land thereby destroyed. Commoners might have been left with a land title, but possessed little else to make their way through a tortuous legal maze to insure water rights as well as access to fish, wood, and other materials for living.

Thus the rights of commoners were not fully resolved by the Māhele. Therein lay the major complaint of the Hawaiians who connected the loss of their identity and sovereignty to the loss of their land.

In the drive for wealth through agricultural pursuits, business interests insured converting Hawaiians in their subsistence economy to wage laborers by the passage in 1850 of an “Act for the Government of Masters and Servants,” which defined two types of workers – apprentices in the areas of “art, trade, or profession, or other employment” and those engaged “by the day, week, month, year, or some other fixed time, in consideration of certain wages” (Beechert 1985:42; quoted from the *Penal Code* 1850:170-77).

The declining native population and the lure of the outside world, e.g., riches from the California gold rush, meant that agricultural interests needed to look elsewhere for workers, other than through the control of “these people [who] are indolent” and whose “natural indolence [is such] that money alone, which could be afforded for labor, would not sustain a regular supply of labor” (Beechert 1985:41, quoted from a survey among missionaries conducted by Minister of Foreign Relations, R. C. Wyllie, in May 1846).

The minister of the interior, Gerrit P. Judd, and the minister of foreign affairs, Robert Wyllie, in their discussions with King Kamehameha III in 1847 anticipated the need for both land and labor even before the passage of the “Great Māhele” and the Masters and Servants Act (in the economic interests of businessmen). Among other things, it was noted:

I most respectfully urge your Majesty the policy of granting lands in the most liberal manner to all your subjects – of extending cultivation or grazing over your whole islands – of encouraging foreign labor whenever native labor is found to be insufficient for the quantity of land to be

cultivated, and of receiving kindly and liberally those foreigners of good character who may come (quoted from Beechert 1985:31).

The Act provided that a “person who has attained the age of twenty years” could “bind himself or herself [...] for a term not exceeding five years” (Sec. 1417; quoted from Beechert 1985:42). Although the Act provided measures to prevent abuses, the Penal Code was used widely to apply sanctions to workers who broke the provisions of their work contracts.

The Sugar Industry

Thus the Māhele and the Masters and Servants Act provided the impetus for business interests to build the sugar industry. Land and water were available and foreign laborers were assured through the efforts of organizations, the first of which was the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society, formed in 1850, replaced by the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association in 1895.

The first contingent of foreign workers consisted of nearly 200 Chinese who arrived on the *Thetis* in 1852 and were distributed to plantations on three islands. They had five-year contracts at \$3.00 monthly, including passage, food, and housing. Reaction to the Chinese workers was varied, despite the kingdom’s experiences with Chinese who had come to Hawai’i before 1852 to work on the island of Kaua’i as entrepreneurs and technicians. A few planters characterized them as “quarrelsome, passionate and inclined to ‘hang together.’” Others found them to be “industrious, skillful and thorough, and one Coolie in the field is worth, in my opinion, three natives” (quoted from Beechert 1985:63).

Following the first shipment of Chinese, nearly four hundred thousand workers were brought to the Islands from Japan, Portugal, the Pacific Islands, Germany, the Philippines, Korea, Russia, Spain, Puerto Rico, and Norway between 1852 and 1932, in addition to the last six thousand Filipinos in the first six months of 1946, to take care of the rising production on an increased number of sugar plantations as well as to furnish workers for the rapid development of the pineapple industry.

Labor importation was affected by several factors, all of which were defined by the need to maintain sugar’s profitability through expanded production.

These factors included: (1) the Civil War with its lure of a bonanza, with the cessation of cane growing in the South; (2) the Reciprocity Treaty of 1876 and its renewal in 1887 with the United States whose *quid pro quo* for a protected, profitable Hawaiian sugar industry was the use of O'ahu's Pearl Harbor as a military base against "any European or Asiatic power" which could become "a standing menace to all the vital interests of the United States on our Pacific shores" (quoted from Beechert 1985:79); (3) the annexation of Hawai'i by the United States in 1898 after the overthrow in 1893 of Queen Lili'uokalani, Hawai'i's last monarch, which invalidated the Masters and Servants Act and the Penal Code; (4) the Chinese Exclusion Act of the 1880s; (5) the complaints of non-Asiatic groups about their displacement from work by Asian workers, a condition induced by specific legislation such as the McKinley Tariff Act of 1891 which eliminated Hawai'i's preferential treatment and which resulted in layoffs of sugar workers who then migrated to the large towns to look for work; and (6) the vicissitudes of capitalist development.

Hawai'i's annexation as a territory by the United States served as a rallying point for the American Federation of Labor to organize workers in various crafts. However, most of these unions were confined to white skilled workers, as they were in almost all American Federation of Labor (AFL) unions on the mainland United States. Many of the AFL unions decried the concept of contract labor but railed against the "menace" of "Oriental" workers while calling for a living wage and decent working conditions.

The sugar workers, on the other hand, saw annexation as a means of rescinding their work contracts, and many individuals demanded return of their contracts from the employers' Action by workers before annexation consisted of their refusing to honor contracts or deserting their work places. Reports of the Chief Justice for the period 1876 through 1900 indicate there were more than forty-two thousand such cases on the civil calendar of the district courts of Hawai'i (compiled from data listed in Beechert 1985:48).

Working conditions may not have been as harsh as the worst plantations of the South during slavery, but there are innumerable reports of flogging, miserable living conditions, little medical care, rank discrimination, and long hours with little or no increase in compensation. There was also a lynching of a Japanese former contract worker by two field bosses (*luna*) and two white

shopkeepers in 1889 at Honoka'a (on the Island of Hawai'i) when he helped other Japanese contract workers.

Labor Struggles After Annexation

Although there were instances of group action on sugar plantations before annexation (mainly by Chinese workers), following annexation there were more such occurrences, especially on the islands of Maui and O'ahu.

The culmination of these sporadic actions took place subsequently in 1909, 1920, 1924, and 1937, and were primarily uni-racial group strikes conducted by either the Japanese or Filipino workers.

The 1909 strike of Japanese workers on the island of O'ahu was basically the work of intellectuals who presented well-documented reasons for their demands for wage increases and improvement in living conditions. The strike was lost when the planters recruited Chinese, Hawaiians, and Portuguese as strike breakers.

The 1920 strike of more than twelve thousand sugar workers was notable for the organization of the Associated Japanese Labor Union by the workers, patterned after the AFL structure, and for the collaboration of Filipino Higher Wages Association, which was helped by the AFL Labor Council that called for labor unity. Despite the assistance of Japanese community organizations, the strike was lost. Strikers and their families were beset by evictions, deaths caused by the influenza epidemic, the lack of coordination between the Filipinos and the Japanese, and the lack of experience in running a work stoppage of such great magnitude.

The 1924 strike of five thousand Filipino workers, with sporadic action from island to island, climaxed at Hanapāpē (on the Island of Kaua'i) when 18 strikers and four policemen were killed in armed conflict. Its leader, convicted of subornation of perjury, was allowed to leave Hawai'i for California with a parole. The eight-month strike highlighted the intra-ethnic conflict between the Visayans, the first Filipino laborers to be imported from the southern part of the Philippines, and the Ilocanos, whose importation began in the 1920s from the northern part of the country. Employers made much of this ethnic division, which reinforced their stereotypes of the Visayans as flamboyant spendthrifts

and the Ilocanos as hardworking and thrifty. This attitude is reminiscent of the intra-ethnic distinctions that were made between the Chinese Hakka and Punti, and the Japanese and Okinawan, and these groups' respective strengths and weaknesses.

The 1937 strike of sugar workers at the world's largest sugar plantation, Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar Co. (on the Island of Maui), was conducted in part by the leader of the 1924 strike who returned to Hawai'i in 1932 after experiences with Filipino agricultural workers in California. This strike of fifteen hundred men was under the aegis of the *Vibora Luviminda*, a name derived from a Filipino patriot known as *Vibora* (serpent) and the contraction of three main island groups of the Philippines – Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao.

Although this was the last racial strike in the Islands, it was notable because it took place in a Hawai'i where unions had organized as a result of the NLRA and had received charters from mainland parent organizations. Thus, the strike attracted the attention of mainland organizations such as the Communist Party, one of whose organizers helped to conduct the strike, and the International Labor Defense, whose attorney came to defend 11 strike leaders charged with conspiracy to kidnap, terrorize, and hold a fellow worker who irrigated the cane. The attorney not only challenged the ethnic composition of the jurors but also addressed workers on their constitutional right to organize into unions.

In the period up to this last ethnic strike, employers used contract workers from different countries to counteract the complaints and job actions of dissidents. Following the 1920 strike of the Japanese, the sugar industry attempted to make changes in federal immigration laws and policies to allow the importation of Chinese workers. All characterizations of the different ethnic groups brought to Hawai'i are distilled in their being tabbed like cattle, whose importation is no different from the importation of other commodities.

Two other strikes – this time of seamen and longshoremen, one on the island of Hawai'i which ended in the so-called "Hilo Massacre" in August 1938 and the other conducted by longshoremen at both Ahukini and Port Allen on Kaua'i from 1940 to 1941 (a 10-month strike and the longest in Hawaiian labor history) – brought workers from all ethnic backgrounds together on the picket lines.

Inter-Ethnic Cooperation Among Workers

During World War II, Hawai'i was ruled by martial law. Through a series of military orders, workers were frozen in their jobs and in their pay rates.

Workers, especially those on the sugar and pineapple plantations, were quick to see the discrimination against themselves compared to the so-called defense workers, most of whom were imported from the mainland. Although the majority of plantation workers were making far less than \$1.00 hourly, they saw defense workers making much more than them, for the same kind of work.

Japanese workers suffered additional discrimination. In addition to Executive Order 9066, which removed more than a hundred thousand Japanese citizens and non-citizens from the West Coast and Hawai'i to relocation camps, these workers could not be employed on the waterfront or on other defense installations.

When the ILWU in San Francisco was asked by Hawai'i's Longshore Local for help in organizing sugar workers, the ground was laid for the rapid sign-up of workers on all plantations (but one) to join one big industrial union with no criteria for membership.

Sugar planters segregated imported workers, single and married, into ethnic camps. This segregation has been variously interpreted – as a device to keep ethnic groups from fraternizing and discussing mutual employment problems, or as the need to give workers and families the chance to be with like individuals in a hostile environment.

For whatever the original reasons for segregation, the result was salutary. It offered workers and families the chance to retain their cultural identities – religion, language, and family ties. It also gave ethnic groups the opportunity to develop social organizations which endowed them with a group identity for mutual benefit. These were the *tanamoshi* and *kumiai* (lending and credit coops) of the Japanese; the *tong* for the Chinese; and the *barrio* and city identification of the Filipino.

Segregated camps made organizing much easier for the ILWU. Natural leaders were identified and supplied with union cards. Similar leaders were identified in work gangs and supplied with union cards. Within a few weeks, recognition was gained for the various locals of the ILWU, and a first collective bargaining contract was signed with the industry in 1945.

The 1946 sugar strike was the first industry-wide strike conducted in Hawai'i. On September 1, 1946, twenty-eight thousand sugar workers at 33 plantations struck. All told, about eighty-five thousand men, women, and children were affected by that strike.

Individuals and families were fed in soup kitchens with donated goods and the harvest of fishing and hunting committees. Almost all strikers served on committees designed to keep up morale, communicate with each other, work with community groups for support, man the picket lines, and to keep the children in school.

For the first time in the history of the labor movement, it was possible to win a strike with all the workers participating, regardless of ethnicity, job classification, or gender.

It is interesting to note that there was concern expressed on whether the large contingent of the six thousand Filipino workers who arrived in early 1946 and were assigned to sugar plantations would go on strike in light of the fact that many leaders of the strike were of Japanese ancestry. The answer of the newly arrived Filipino workers was: "We spent the last four years in the hills of our country, eating whatever we could dig up or catch. We can go through a lot more time without much food because we know what we are doing is right."

The second industry-wide strike was the longshore strike which began on May 1, 1949, when more than three thousand longshoremen struck all the ports in the territory. This strike was the crucible for Hawai'i's workers. It occurred at the dawn of the cold war. As with the sugar workers, longshoremen and their families were fed in soup kitchens and organized themselves into strike committees, but with the added chore of making contacts with creditors so they would not be evicted for non-payment of rent. Unlike the sugar workers who lived in company-provided houses (the industry agreed not to evict any sugar worker during the 1946 strike), longshoremen did not have that luxury.

Almost the entire community was against the striking longshoremen. Much of the press indulged in the wildest red-baiting. Women were organized into a broom brigade, which picketed union headquarters on a daily basis. Stories of dying chickens and ducks for lack of feed were prominently featured in the press. Tie-ins with Moscow were intimated in a series of "Dear Joe" letters in the morning daily. The reference was to Joseph Stalin.

When the strike was won in 157 days, the success of labor organizing was insured. Despite the virulent opposition, the workers themselves learned that only a union of an industrial nature with membership open to anyone, could be successful – meaning in this case, parity of wages and working conditions with their counterparts on the West Coast.

What came out of the two industry-wide strikes were the following: (1) workers could take control over their working lives; (2) workers became capable of conducting work stoppages, especially when all workers and their families were involved; and (3) workers exercised leadership and ran their own organizations without outside dictation.

Where Will We Go From Here?

Race relations in Hawai'i are affected by many other questions, some of which will be raised here. The end of the chapter on the rebirth of the movement for sovereignty is still in the offing, with many problems to be solved, including the acceptance by the rest of the population of sovereignty and its results.

The nature of immigration will determine the configuration of ethnic groups in Hawai'i. Will the concept of reuniting families which primarily affects Asian countries, with the exception of Japan, change the nature of Hawaiian politics, and, therefore, the direction of the political economy?

Will Hawai'i continue to be a state where no one ethnic group is the majority? If that is the case, will Hawai'i continue race relations without the explosive quality which characterizes relations in some areas of the continental United States? Instead, will there be a subtlety to what some have said is a society which does discriminate against certain ethnic groups?

Can we find answers in the cases which have been filed with government agencies on race discrimination? Does the fact that Hawai'i is still an affirmative action state mean that the state will continue to be free from the more obvious discrimination that occurs in other areas?

Can the labor movement continue to be a force to mediate cases of discrimination, or must it make basic changes in structure and philosophy to insure that all workers are treated equally? What are the factors in the

continued growth of worldwide capitalist development that might divide workers along racial lines?

The future is not clear; the present is uncertain; and the past has only limited answers to the problems we shall be facing in the next millennium.❖

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Honoring Racism: The Professional Life and Reputation of Stanley D. Porteus

David E. Stannard

In the Spring of 1998, the University of Hawai'i (UH) Board of Regents (BOR) voted to remove the name of former UH Professor Stanley D. Porteus from its place of honor on the Mānoa campus' Social Science Building. This was the culmination of more than two decades of on-again, off-again activism on the part of UH students and faculty – spearheaded in the end by the 1997-98 Associated Students of the University of Hawai'i (ASUH).

It was all done rather quietly. In the Fall of 1997, following an overwhelmingly supported ASUH resolution on the matter, UH President Kenneth Mortimer directed that a faculty-student committee be appointed to study Porteus' work and to reconsider the appropriateness of honoring him with a campus building in his name. That committee's report was issued in March of 1998. It recommended removing Porteus' name from the Social Science Building, but it carefully avoided any detailed discussion of his work, and thus it provided no in-depth rationale for the serious action it advocated.

Following in this line, Vice President for Academic Affairs Dean Smith conveyed the committee's report to the Board of Regents with his assent, but also with an accompanying brief introduction that denied that Porteus' work was – as ASUH and many scholars had long claimed – virulently racist and violent in its policy implications. Going one better than the substantively non-committal faculty-student committee, the Vice President's remarks actually served to deny and undermine the recommendation with which he was concurring – the recommendation that the Regents should take the extraordinary step of removing Porteus' name from the Social Science Building after two decades of its presence there.

After reading the committee's very brief report, and listening to the Vice President's short comments, some members of the Board seemed confused. Was Porteus a racist or not? Why were they being asked to take this important action on such flimsy grounds? In the end, the Board voted to approve the deletion of Porteus' name from the building, but the lack of any clear,

justifying statement on the part of the faculty-student committee, the Vice President for Academic Affairs, the UH President, or the Board of Regents led many people in the larger community to believe that the University had succumbed to the alleged contagion of so-called "political correctness."

A common misconception that soon appeared in print was that Professor Porteus' reputation had fallen victim to inappropriate and unjust standards – that his ideas on race had been conventional and well-received scientific opinion when he first propounded them, in the 1920s and 1930s, and that he himself had changed those opinions in later years. The discussion that ensued quickly became focused on whether or not it was fair to employ comparatively liberal present-day attitudes toward race when evaluating admittedly offensive research and writing that now was more than fifty years old.

This was a wrongheaded debate that was based on false premises – false premises resulting from the muddled official rationale in support of the name change. As the record clearly shows, Porteus was a lifelong professional racist. In his early political and scholarly life, in the 1920s and before, he was an anti-immigration activist and a crude advocate of eugenics, or the belief in socially mandated policies aimed at pseudo-scientific race "improvement." In his later years, up through 1970 and his last published writings and political involvements, he continued to hold these beliefs while publicly joining forces with an assortment of neo-Nazis and other white supremacists in advocating a variety of violently racist policies, including the coerced sterilization of African American women. Moreover, and contrary to what was becoming conventional wisdom on the subject, from as early as the 1920s onward, Porteus was thoroughly out of step with leading scientific thinking on matters of race, and his professional work on racial issues was for decades publicly dismissed as crackpot and dangerous by those authorities in the field who bothered to comment on it.

The university officials who, in the Spring of 1998, reported to the Board of Regents their recommendation that Stanley Porteus' name be removed from the UH Mānoa Social Science Building knew these facts. They had been provided with them in a series of professional reports and testimonies that formed the foundation for their recommendation. Why they timidly chose not to include them as accompaniment to their bland recommendation is the

subject for another analysis at another time – one concerned with such things as the lingering effects of psychological colonization and white supremacy in Hawai'i today, and the felt need to maintain the myth of Hawai'i as a racial paradise. But it is important that the record show why the University – when faced with reality – had no choice but to do what it did. There are important lessons to be learned about the history and contemporary status of academic racism in Hawai'i from a consideration of the career of Stanley Porteus, and the naming and un-naming of a UH building in his honor.

The pages that follow contain a report that I submitted, upon request, to the Vice President for Academic Affairs and the University committee considering the Porteus matter in December of 1997. I have been asked by the editors to publish it in this issue of Social Process, an issue honoring Marion Kelly, whose lifelong devotion to anti-racist struggles and to social justice in general stands in stark contrast to the commitment to racism and social injustice that marked Stanley Porteus' professional life for more than half a century. I am delighted to have this report appear in a publication dedicated to Marion and to her continuing efforts to make the world a better place.

A Report on the Proposed Renaming of Porteus Hall

On July 18, 1974, the Board of Regents of the University of Hawai'i voted in favor of naming the Social Science Building on the Mānoa campus in honor of Professor Stanley David Porteus. Between 1922 and his retirement in 1948, Porteus had been a professor at the University of Hawai'i. From 1948 until the time of his death in October of 1972, he held the title of Emeritus Professor of Psychology. In describing the scholarly accomplishments of Professor Porteus that justified bestowing on him so distinguished an honor, the Regents' statement gave particular emphasis to his 1926 book, *Temperament and Race*, "which," the Regents said, "has since become a classic in its field."

At the start of the fall semester of 1974 – less than two months after the Regents' vote on this matter – a group of students and faculty calling itself the Coalition to Rename Porteus Hall organized a large-scale effort to convince the Regents to remove Porteus' name from the building. The coalition wrote letters, held forums, and circulated petitions to advance their position. Like the

Regents, the Coalition also placed particular emphasis on Porteus' book, *Temperament and Race* – but unlike the Regents, they denounced the volume as a flagrantly racist attack on all non-white peoples, and as particularly insulting to the indigenous and non-white immigrant groups who, then as now, make up the overwhelming majority of the population of Hawai'i. Porteus, of course, had his defenders, and they spoke up in reply to the attacks.

For the remainder of the 1974-1975 academic year, the debate continued. On March 14, 1975 the Regents voted to reaffirm their decision to name the building in honor of Stanley Porteus. And, because the controversy persisted following their March decision, they stated their reaffirmation a second time at a meeting on May 15, 1975.

Throughout the next two decades the matter seemed settled, although it was not uncommon for students and faculty alike to refer to the building not by its formal name, but as "Racism Hall." Then, on October 20, 1997, the Associated Students at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa revived the issue and voted unanimously, with two abstentions (16-0-2), to urge the Board of Regents, once again, to rename Porteus Hall. Their enumerated reasons were many, but they all focused on the allegedly racist nature of Porteus' professional work and the particular inappropriateness of honoring such a person at a university with a student population that is 85 percent people of color – and a university that is officially committed to ethnic diversity and equal opportunity.

In response to the ASUH vote, On November 21, 1997, UH President Kenneth P. Mortimer notified the University community that he planned to "follow through on the ASUH proposal as expeditiously as possible," and he invited "as much input as possible from UHM students, faculty, staff and administration, as well as external constituents who may have an interest in the matter" (*Kū Lama* 1997:1).¹

The remainder of this report focuses on the charges and countercharges that arose on this matter in 1974-75, and that have come to the fore again today. Specifically, the report first examines the claim against Porteus that his major work, *Temperament and Race*, published in 1926, is a racist volume, and the contrary claim by Porteus' supporters that it is unfair to make this charge against a work that, they allege, was wholly consistent with prevailing

scholarly opinion at the time it was produced. Next, this report examines Porteus' scholarly career from the 1930s to the time of his final publications in 1969 and 1970. This is of particular importance in light of the claim of Porteus' critics that he displayed racist proclivities and biases for the entirety of his adult life – and the counterclaim of his defenders that he revised his opinions significantly after 1926. The report then concludes with a summary and recommendations.

Porteus' Writings Through and Including *Temperament and Race* (1926) and *The Maze Test and Mental Differences* (1933)

All the available written commentaries regarding the central document in the Porteus controversy agree on at least one point: contrary to the 1974 BOR description of *Temperament and Race* as "a classic in its field" (unless one defines that field as pseudo-scientific racism), for many years the book has almost universally been regarded as, at the very least, a scholarly embarrassment.

Temperament and Race is the principal volume on which Porteus' critics have focused their attention, leading them to conclude, as one of them has put it, that his work was such a "virulent contribution to the field of 'racial psychology'" that "in naming the University of Hawai'i's social science building after Stanley D. Porteus we have done a disservice both to our institution and to the people of Hawai'i" (BOR testimony of former UH Professor of Political Science Robert S. Cahill, May 15, 1975:2, 19; reproduced in Cahill 1998). The responses of Porteus' defenders have varied, but they do – in one way or another – invariably concede at least this particular point. Emeritus Professor of Psychology Ronald C. Johnson – a close friend of the Porteus family for many years, Porteus' most vigorous faculty supporter for more than two decades, presently an active defender of another UH-affiliated psychologist who is under investigation by a committee of the American Psychological Association for his own promotion of pseudo-scientific racism, and himself a researcher engaged in work on racial supremacy in cognitive functioning – admitted in his testimony before the Regents that Porteus' book *Temperament and Race* "is, in my opinion, a disaster" (BOR testimony May 15, 1975:5; reproduced in Johnson 1998).² In a 1974 editorial supporting Porteus, the

Honolulu Advertiser acknowledged that "it is hardly surprising that he once held views that today are considered racist." And in a laudatory 1991 biography of Porteus, including an assessment of his professional writings, his daughter-in-law Elizabeth Dole Porteus makes perhaps the most eloquent concession of all: silence. Not only does she not discuss *Temperament and Race* anywhere in her text, but she also *deletes* it from the otherwise exhaustive bibliography of his works printed at the end of her book, as though making believe it never happened will make it go away.³

The defense that Porteus' supporters mount against the charge (which no one denies) that *Temperament and Race* is a racist volume, is the claim that such social attitudes were conventional among psychologists and other scholars at the time that the book was published. Whether this by itself is an adequate defense is questionable. It is unlikely that the administration at, say, Brandeis University would agree to name a building in honor of a voluble and professional anti-Semite – Houston Stewart Chamberlain, for instance – so long as anti-Semitism was a common attitude among intellectuals at the time that he was publishing his anti-Jewish fulminations. But in any case, scrutiny of the text and of the state of relevant scholarship at that time reveals that Porteus' racial ideology was *not* consistent with scholarly opinion when *Temperament and Race* was published. Indeed, far from being a leader in the field of psychology, Porteus was out of step and distantly behind his more eminent colleagues on virtually every substantive scholarly issue that he addressed throughout his lifetime – becoming more and more remote from them as time went on, beginning, at the latest, in the early 1920s. To recognize this requires a brief review of his work up through the publication of *Temperament and Race* and a few years thereafter. (His subsequent writings will be treated in the second section of this report.) Although Porteus' earliest writings may not immediately seem relevant to the question at hand, knowledge of their content is essential for understanding the framework of thought that he would subsequently bring to bear in various writings on the matter of intelligence, "temperament," and race.

Stanley David Porteus was born in Australia in 1883. After graduating from secondary school, he became an apprentice teacher at several small rural schools in Australia, finally winding up in 1913, at the age of thirty, teaching at an institution for so-called "mentally defective" or "feebleminded" children.⁴

Eight years earlier, in 1905, the French psychologist Alfred Binet had published the first "intelligence test." Binet intended his test as a diagnostic instrument to identify school children whose intellectual growth was less than adequate. Once identified, Binet contended, such children should be put on a program of "mental orthopedics," to increase their intelligence. Importantly, for present purposes, Binet insisted that his test did not measure "inborn" or "innate" or "fixed" intelligence; indeed, as he had argued since at least the mid-1890s, he did not believe in the concept of fixed intelligence, which he called a "brutal pessimism" against which "we must protest" (Binet 1913:140-41; see also Binet & Henri 1895:411-15). In the United States, however, a handful of psychologists, in the words of Stephen Jay Gould, soon "perverted Binet's intention and invented the hereditarian theory of IQ. . . . They assumed that intelligence was largely inherited, and developed a series of specious arguments confusing cultural differences with innate properties."⁵

Halfway around the world, Stanley Porteus, working in a school for mentally retarded children located in an industrial suburb of Melbourne, agreed with those who contended that intelligence and other mental functions, such as "temperament," were capacities and characteristics that were predominantly inborn. Then he added an idea of his own. He decided (in "a flash of insight," as he later put it in his autobiography) that the fundamental characteristic of all the truly retarded children at his school lay in their inability to propose and to carry out long-range plans. With this in mind, he developed what he called his "maze test," modeled on the idea of the hand-drawn urban street maps that he routinely prepared for his students when sending them on errands in town. For the next half-century, until the time of his death, Porteus was obsessed with proving to the world the superiority of his maze test over all other intelligence tests. He was not very successful. The test never was used as widely as he had hoped and, as he admitted in 1959, on several occasions it was close to falling into disuse and losing "its psychological significance" altogether.⁶ But, whatever the discouragements, he never gave up on it.

Porteus at that time also was gripped by another obsession: measuring heads. He did this – measuring at least 10,000 of them in a few short years – in the mistaken belief that there was a correlation between large head size and large intelligence, and small head size and mental retardation. This was a

notion that was well over 100 years old by the time Porteus became engaged in his head-measuring mania. It had been started in the late eighteenth century by Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (the "father of craniology"), and it was an idea that had been thoroughly discredited in a famous scientific article by Franz Boas many years earlier, when it was shown to be nothing less than "preposterous," to use Thomas F. Gossett's word in his standard review of the literature. But that did not stop Stanley Porteus. So, for decades to come, at least into the 1950s, he continued to insist – against all the commonly accepted scientific opinion to the contrary – that a big cranium meant a big brain, which in turn meant a high intelligence.⁷ By itself, this shortcoming hardly renders Porteus ineligible to have a university building named after him, but it does demonstrate two fundamental aspects of his thinking that would mark his entire career and have direct bearing on the consistently racist nature of his research and writing: his unwavering belief in the largely physiological nature of intelligence, and his steadfast refusal to accept overwhelming scientific evidence that was contrary to the discredited ideology that drove his scholarship.

While still in Australia, Porteus had published several articles on education and the use of his maze device for the testing of "mental defectives." Because of this, his name began making the rounds in schools for the mentally retarded whose philosophies were in line with the hereditarian view of intelligence. One of these schools was the Vineland Training School for the Feeble-minded in New Jersey. This is the school referred to as "then a world leader in the field of mental testing and the study of the mentally retarded" by the UH Board of Regents in its July 1974 statement honoring Stanley Porteus. In fact, the Vineland School was the research home of H. H. Goddard, described by Stephen Jay Gould, in his seminal study of scientific racism, as "the most unobvious hereditarian of all . . . [who] used his unilinear scale of mental deficiency to identify intelligence as a single entity, and [who] assumed that everything important about it was inborn and inherited in family lines" (Gould 1981:160).

Goddard was the inventor of the term "moron." He regarded this newly created category of mental defective as composed of individuals who were higher on the scale of intelligence than "idiots" or "imbeciles," but actually of more danger to society because of their relative hierarchical proximity, in intellectual terms, to the "merely dull." (See, for example, Goddard 1912a).

Morons were dangerous, Goddard thought, because, like Porteus, Goddard at that time believed in a direct link between intelligence and immorality – criminals, alcoholics, and prostitutes were largely of moron-level intelligence, he claimed – and he further contended that both intelligence and immorality were imbedded in a person's biological heritage. In a phrase, both men believed, as historian of science Hamilton Cravens has put it, "that innate mental defect caused antisocial conduct," and that morons in particular – though able to function socially in many ways, most troublingly in their desire and ability to breed – "did not possess sufficient intellect to have developed a moral sense" (Cravens 1987:161,163).⁸

For some time, Goddard had been convinced that recent waves of immigrants, especially those from Mediterranean and Eastern European countries, were of inferior biological stock – an inferiority that threatened to pollute and, in time, to degrade the "quality" of the American population at large. In 1912, he published a lurid (and, as is now known, intellectually dishonest) book entitled *The Kallikak Family* (1912b) in which he purported to demonstrate once and for all the biological heritability of low intelligence and a related predisposition of people with low intelligence to lead lives of crime and social deviance. In Hamilton Cravens' words, the mythical "Kallikak family," in Goddard's disingenuous account, "was comprised chiefly of high-grade mental defectives who were *for that reason* criminals, degenerates, prostitutes, and other kinds of offenders" (Cravens 1987:164, emphasis added).⁹ This book – combined with subsequent works by the same author, such as *Feeble-mindedness: Its Causes and Consequences* (1914) and *The Criminal Imbecile* (1915) – created great excitement, not to say social panic, outside scientific circles and was a major influence on the rash of laws soon passed by the federal government and various states limiting immigration and directing the forced sterilization of purportedly feeble-minded persons.

Riding the crest of his public prominence, Goddard left the Vineland School for a much larger salary in March of 1918 as the head of the Ohio Bureau of Juvenile Research. The man selected as his replacement at Vineland was, not surprisingly, a person of like opinions – Stanley D. Porteus, lately of the Bell Street School for retarded children in Fitzroy, near Melbourne.

Porteus remained at the Vineland School for several years, although almost from the start he was spending a part of his time in Hawai'i, which he

had visited in the course of his initial trip to the United States, and to which he was determined to return. During his time at the Vineland School, however, he continued to publish work on his initial *idée fixe* – cranial capacity and intelligence – in addition to the supposed success of his maze test in locating the biological roots of such social problems as “Truant, Backward, Dependent and Delinquent Children,” “Social Mal-adjustment,” and “Mental Deviations,” to cite some titles from his writings of that time. He also was still collaborating with an Australian colleague – the infamous racist and eugenicist R. J. A. Berry – on the feeble-minded of Australia and what should be done with them. Berry and Porteus claimed that at least fifteen percent of the Australian population was feeble-minded. So dangerous was this menace, they argued, that it would be necessary to establish “a colony of segregation” to forcibly “eliminate” such people of “subnormal mentality” (quoted in Cawte 1986:48-49).¹⁰

In sum, Porteus was then convinced, as he would be until the day of his last published work more than a half century later, that low intelligence and dangerously deviant social behavior were causally interconnected, largely inbred, biologically heritable phenomena – and inbred and inherited with potentially predictable differentiability among the races and nationalities of the world.

By the early 1920s, however, Goddard – Porteus’ predecessor at the Vineland School – had joined the growing exodus of most prominent psychologists from this theoretical position, since it was increasingly recognized as pseudo-scientific. From his work with Florence Mateer at the Ohio Bureau of Juvenile Research, almost as soon as he left the Vineland School, Goddard embarked on a steady retreat from the central underpinnings of virtually all the work that had made him famous (or, in some circles, infamous): he now argued that “mental defect and antisocial conduct were independent of one another from a causative point of view”; he started emphasizing the importance of environment over heritability as a cause of both problems; and he began moving away from the notion that these matters were best studied by examining groups and their different “evolutionary pasts,” and toward the position that social deviance was best addressed by recognizing the personal experiences of individuals. As Hamilton Cravens remarks, “it had been the artificiality of social convention and scientific ideology that had created [the] concept of a natural hierarchy of superior and inferior groups in the nation-

population in the first place, whether such groups signified socioeconomic class, ethnic nativity, color of skin, religious identification, sex, or such categories as ‘delinquent’ or ‘genius’” (Cravens 1987:174-80). Now, however, Goddard – along with others in what Gossett calls the “Scientific Revolt Against Racism” of the 1920s – was in the process of completely reversing direction: “In effect the man who had become famous in the early 1910s for propagandizing that scheme [of scientific racism] was now turning it on its head, and loudly proclaiming that it was careless science and callous social policy” (ibid.).

Goddard, in the company of his most outstanding colleagues at the time, was in essence recognizing belatedly the wisdom of Alfred Binet’s warning, a decade and a half earlier, that the notion of inborn or inherited intelligence was both wrongheaded and a “brutal pessimism.”¹¹ Among the rapidly shrinking minority of psychologists who continued to disagree was Stanley Porteus. Two years after Goddard began publishing a series of articles demonstrating the futility of his earlier position, Porteus proceeded to resign his post at the Vineland School and to accept a permanent position at the University of Hawai'i. Ironically, Porteus’ new post was created, as Porteus himself recalled in 1969, because the UH’s “Dr. Arthur Andrews, professor of English, had read with fascination Goddard’s *Kallikak Family* [published ten years earlier], but was horrified to be told how neglect of the problem of the feeble-minded threatened to lead the nation to the threshold of ultimate disaster.” Here in Hawai'i, now swimming directly against the changing tide of mainstream scientific opinion nationally, Porteus remembered in his later years how, finally, and unlike elsewhere, “I could concern myself with groups rather than with individuals” (Porteus 1969:77,81).

Porteus readily admitted that his was now the minority opinion among professionals in his field. By the time he composed the opening words of the chapter entitled “Race Differences in Maze Performance” in his 1933 book *The Maze Test and Mental Differences*, he was openly acknowledging that most psychologists (whom he dismissed in that text as nothing but “race levellers”) had for years rejected his contentions regarding the innate inferiority of African Americans. But, he added in his defense, at least “the man in the street” agreed with him. “Even if all the psychologists were unanimous in holding the contrary view,” Porteus wrote, “he [the man in the street] would not be

convinced that the average negro is the intellectual equal of the average white." He continued:

It is possible that the attitude of many psychologists toward this question is influenced by their anxiety not to be found on the side on which so much popular prejudice is enlisted. Common opinion, however, even though ill-grounded in reason, is sometimes right, and the scientist must not feel averse to siding with the popular view if the facts point that way (Porteus 1933:101-02).

Never one to be overly anxious about being identified with "popular prejudice," from the start of his work in Hawai'i, Porteus had made it a point to see that the "facts" did indeed point his way. While a great deal of work was then proceeding elsewhere in the United States on the *individual* problems of mental retardation, previous efforts to study the possibility of ethnic or racial mental defectiveness had been hampered by increasingly effective scientific criticisms that the groups targeted for study varied so greatly in their social and educational backgrounds that comparison among them was inherently biased. In Hawai'i, however, Porteus claimed that all racial groups except whites lived in similar social conditions, and, since education was compulsory in the Territory, all groups enjoyed sufficiently equal opportunities (excluding, again, whites), so that any differences in intelligence or "temperament" that he could find among those groups were bound to indicate *fundamental* and thus permanent racial distinctions.

Porteus also came to Hawai'i, it is worth remembering, with two very strong convictions, even before he began his work here. The first conviction was that his maze test was superior to all other measures of human intelligence and ability – the opinion of the rest of the psychological profession to the contrary notwithstanding. His second conviction – also against the grain of prevailing and increasing professional opinion – was that deep and important "inbred" mental differences did indeed exist across racial lines, and that what now was needed was proof of this assumed fact. Hawai'i, he wrote, "provides a better proving ground for the hypothesis of racial differences than can be found elsewhere" (Porteus 1933:109).

Needless to say, Porteus found what he had come looking for. His approach was twofold: second-hand social observation and deployment of his maze test. Taking the second of these first, he and his assistants initially

gave the famous Binet examination – what he regarded somewhat presumptuously as his competitor's test – to different groups of local children. The children's intelligence, as measured by the Binet test, was as he put it "approximately equal" across racial lines. Then he gave them his own maze test and, to no surprise, the groups of children showed marked racial differences in measured abilities – differences, he simply asserted, that could not be "explained away" on the basis of "cultural or educational inequalities" (Porteus 1933; esp.:112-18).

From the moment that he first devised the maze test, as already noted, the key to Porteus' definition of superior intelligence and temperament was the ability of a person or a group to engage in long-range planning. Thus, he was especially pleased to note – with an astonishing scientific naïveté or ignorance or both – that the maze test's ranking of the races in Hawai'i correlated marvelously well with such other indices of "prudence and planning capacity" as home ownership and bank savings accounts. The absurdity of this sort of backwards logic may have reached its zenith with Porteus' methodological summary of what he had achieved with his research. He had proved the superiority of the maze test over the Binet test, he said, and his alleged "evidence" for its superiority was nothing more than the simple fact that whereas the Binet test had found an equality of ability among the races studied, the maze test had apparently identified distinctive gradations of racial-group inferiority – and racial-group inferiority due *not* to "cultural or environmental handicaps," he asserted boldly (and without evidentiary support) but to racially inherited and thus deeply embedded inferiority in "native ability" (Porteus 1933:123,134).

Bumbling and biased as this so-called research and its foreordained conclusions were, the maze test portion was actually almost sophisticated in comparison with the utterly preposterous findings of his work based on second-hand social observation. Here, Porteus was after something more than "intelligence" or "mentality": he was seeking to identify "differences in mental energy to which emotional, volitional and temperamental traits contribute" – "psychosynergic traits," he called them, which "we consider to have become engrained in racial character through heredity, environment interacting to select and perpetuate certain temperamental types" (Porteus & Babcock 1926:327).

Mimicking a procedure pioneered by Goddard years earlier, Porteus began this phase of his work in Hawai'i by selecting twenty-five supposedly knowledgeable "observers" of "the various [non-white] racial groups" in Hawai'i. In setting his example, Goddard had hastily "trained" a small team of women, beginning in 1913, who then visited Ellis Island and used their supposedly heightened intuition to *visually* select out of the groups of incoming immigrants those who represented "average" immigrant intelligence as opposed to those who were "normal" – the "average" immigrant presumably being of "subnormal" intelligence. After giving Binet tests to these so-called average immigrants, the hypothesis seemed proved: the women reported the astonishing fact that fully "83 percent of the Jews, 80 percent of the Hungarians, 79 percent of the Italians, and 87 percent of the Russians were feeble-minded" (Gould 1981:165-66).

Goddard's Ellis Island experiment was, of course, ludicrous. But at least the women who worked for him were "trained" (whatever that meant) and actually administered some sort of test to their subjects. Porteus' "observers" were neither given guidance nor even asked to interact with those on whom they were reporting. They simply relied on what they already ostensibly "knew" about the various non-white races in Hawai'i in providing Porteus with their opinions. All of the observers were white, sixteen of the twenty-five were plantation managers, and the rest were what Porteus described as "head workers of social settlements, plantation doctors, and several educationists." It was based on the reports of these people that Porteus devised what he proudly, and with what can only be called delusions of grandeur, christened his "Racial Efficiency Index" (Porteus & Babcock 1926:90).

The results of Porteus' investigation were actually a comical parody of scientific research – then as well as now. Taking what he admitted with understatement were "rough and ready estimates" of his subjects' racial characteristics and abilities, as provided by his "observers," Porteus then assigned spuriously precise quantitative equivalents to these observations, and proceeded to scale and graph them. Thus, on the measure of "prudence" the Chinese "scored" 4.28 compared with the Japanese average of 4.24, while on "tact" the Hawaiians did best, scoring 4.72 as opposed to the next-highest Chinese average of 3.96 – while the apparently utterly tactless Japanese came in last with 1.88, higher even than the frequently bottom-scoring Filipinos,

Puerto Ricans," and Portuguese, whose respective "scores" on "tact" were 2.3, 2.3, and 2.28 respectively. (The Filipinos and the Puerto Ricans generally "live with one another," Porteus wrote, "for the invidious distinction of being last on the list in almost all traits.") Moreover, as he put it in the most straightforward language, so as not to be misunderstood: "These traits evidently have an organic basis and are thus part of man's original endowment" (Porteus & Babcock 1926:96-97,324,339).

It is difficult to find words sufficiently contemptuous to describe this sort of mindless nonsense. But there is more. In his famously florid prose describing what the numerical rankings "meant," Porteus then produced the cascade of racist attributions of inherent intelligence and character that are by now well known to those even minimally familiar with his work: page after page – hundreds of them – describe, for example, "the inborn . . . submissive retrovert temperament" of the Chinese; the "racial immaturity" and "reasoning deficits" of the Hawaiians; the "absolute inferiority of the negro"; and the "lack of resolution and trustworthiness" of the Puerto Ricans – due in large part, he said, to their being "a hybrid of blood strains" that "out-Mexicans the Mexican." Of course, there also was the "aggressiveness and unscrupulousness" of the Japanese, who scored relatively high on tests of mental ability as young children, but who supposedly rapidly fell behind white people after the age of twelve. And the "educational retardation" of the Portuguese, who ostensibly were white – but who ranked next to last on this measure, barely beating out the Hawaiians – was of course attributable to their "considerable mixture of negro blood" and the suspicion that the Portuguese who migrated to Hawai'i were the descendants of "political and other prisoners." Then there was the "fermiivism" and "jungle fear" of the Filipinos, who also displayed their inborn inferiority by being remarkably "super-sensitive," Porteus quite seriously said, to such things as "the suggestion that [they] are in any way racially inferior." Filipinos also, according to Porteus, are "little addicted to reflection or to the inhibition of impulse," noting that in this regard they are "at the very opposite extreme from the taciturn, canny, long considering Scotchman" (Porteus & Babcock 1926:64; Porteus was himself, unsurprisingly, of Scots ancestry). And so on and so forth.

When all was said and done, Porteus totaled up and averaged the "scores" of all Hawai'i's non-white (including Portuguese) racial groups on his

Racial Efficiency Index. "Assuming 100 percent efficiency for the Caucasian other than Portuguese," he wrote ("assuming," that is, without any testing of non-Portuguese Caucasians at all), he calculated that the combined average score for all Hawai'i's non-white peoples was only 73.3. This was less than three-quarters of the presumed average score of white people. He was shocked – especially since "low social efficiency indices are thoroughly characteristic of the mentally defective and psychopathic" (Porteus & Babcock 1926:110-12).

Noting that "feeble-mindedness being a social condition, the ability to manage oneself with ordinary prudence, which is the distinctive mark of normality, is largely dependent on one's possession of resolution, planning capacity, resistance to suggestion, self control, stability of interest, and the ability to 'get along with people,'" Porteus wondered aloud about the disturbing situation he had uncovered in Hawai'i: "What then are the results if a community possesses a low average capacity in these important respects?" His answer was not hard to guess: inevitable "economic waste, poverty and shiftlessness and social dependency" – all of these traceable not to oppression and economic exploitation, of course, but to the inborn racial inferiority of Hawai'i's non-white citizens. Education might help some, he thought, but given the fundamental defectiveness of most non-white groups in Hawai'i, attempting to educate them was akin to "helping lame dogs over stiles, and when they are over they are still lame" (Porteus & Babcock 1926:112-14).

Although Porteus had flamboyantly derogatory things to say about all non-white groups in Hawai'i, he seemed especially disdainful of the capacities of Filipinos. The Philippines were then still under American control, but it was a far from unchallenged hegemony, so his comments were intended to be more than racially insulting. In enumerating the varied "racial defects" of the Filipinos – including "their distrust of each other, their instability of purpose, their lack of foresight and organizing ability" – Porteus warned that "if the traits that we have found to be characteristic of the Filipinos in Hawaii are also typical of the Filipino at home then we are forced to the conclusion that they are a long way from the stage of development at which they could be safely entrusted with self-government. A single glance at their list of racial defects should be sufficient to demonstrate the wisdom of this conclusion" (Porteus & Babcock 1926:68).

In addition to its outright racism, this pessimistic summary (based on "data" that were nothing more than the subjective comments of white plantation overseers, it must not be forgotten) is a classic example of what historian George M. Fredrickson has described as the nineteenth century "pseudo-Darwinian conception that the contest of human races entailed a 'struggle for existence' leading to the survival or dominance of 'the fittest.'" This "late Victorian shibboleth," Fredrickson adds, "helped to rationalize the notion that in some instances, especially where Europeans were faced with large populations of racial 'inferiors,' it might be necessary to rule the latter with a firm hand and deny them access to full citizenship" (Fredrickson 1981:188).

Of course, Porteus was not writing in the "late Victorian" period, although like the "pseudo-Darwinians" of that era he too was fond of describing the ongoing "ceaseless racial struggle for dominance that no number of platitudes about brotherly love will obviate . . . [the] struggle for dominance [that] is by no means waged on equal terms." Nor did the draconian prescriptions regarding the sorts of political and social policies that Porteus wished to see following from his racial categorizations stop with Filipinos. For others (particularly the Japanese) he suggested a policy of "rigid exclusion from Canada, the United States, and Australia" – all of these being, in his words, "lands that belong to the white race by right of peaceful conquest." "Nordic strongholds," was what he approvingly called North America and Australia, lands that must be kept under the dominance of what he also liked to refer to as people of northern European "natio-racial" ancestry, lest they otherwise succumb to the "race suicide" that is an inevitable consequence of allowing immigration by inferior peoples (Porteus & Babcock 1926:327,335-36).

For other "inferior" groups, a carefully orchestrated policy of confinement and sterilization was the answer. Although Porteus frequently expressed approval of the ideas of Madison Grant (at the time the leading and most extreme racist ideologue in the United States), he considered extreme Grant's proposals for a massive, Nazi-like sterilization campaign to be "applied to an ever-widening circle of social discards, beginning always with the criminal, the diseased and the insane and extending gradually to types which may be called weaklings rather than defectives and perhaps ultimately to worthless race types" (Grant 1922:51).

Porteus did agree with Grant that something should be done to eliminate "the heaviest handicap that western civilization still carries" – the "humanitarian impulse . . . towards preserving and perpetuating the unfit." But in contrast to Grant, Porteus contended that mandatory sterilization should not be carried out wholesale against particular races, but only against "defectives with anti-social tendencies who cannot be institutionalized, and the worst types of sex offenders." Needless to say, if certain racial groups happened to have an especially high proportion of their members who appeared to possess these or other related predispositions (as allegedly was revealed in depth by the psychological testing Porteus was carrying out in Hawai'i), then those groups would be much more disproportionately affected than others by his forced sterilization plan. But, of course, that would be an "inadvertent" consequence, merely reflecting the realities of racial difference. While, in the end, such a plan would "by no means rid the world of its troubles," Porteus admitted, it would at least "provide a small measure of directed selection which may partly take the place of that natural selection which medical science, both curative and sanitary has largely overcome" (Porteus & Babcock 1926:331-33).

This is only a small sampling of the grossly offensive and dangerously racist propaganda that flowed from Porteus' pen in the name of "scientific research," mostly during the 1920s and early 1930s. Previous criticisms of Porteus and proposals that his name be removed from the UH Social Science Building, have focused almost entirely on this period of his life and on the writings reviewed here, especially *Temperament and Race*. This has led defenders of Porteus, as noted earlier, to claim that such criticisms are flawed for two reasons: first, they are said to be misplaced because Porteus allegedly was only expressing the conventional scholarly wisdom of his day; and second, they are said to be unfair because in time Porteus supposedly changed his mind about these matters. Here, we will examine only the first of these defenses, holding scrutiny of the second defense for the second part of this report.

In 1933, Stanley Porteus turned fifty years of age. The claim that during the preceding decade, the work of this supposedly mature scholar reflected the professional opinion of his time is *false*. Indeed, from the very start of his career, Porteus was clumsily out of step with conventional wisdom within his claimed profession – beginning with his head-measuring obsession and his

false belief that cranium size correlated with intelligence, a long-discredited notion that he claimed legitimacy for at least half a century after it had been abandoned by most serious psychologists.

In addition, the bulk of the work that he did in attempting to compare the supposed racial intelligence and personality characteristics of non-white people in Hawai'i was published in his book *Temperament and Race* in 1926 – and immediately it was denounced by professional reviewers in the leading scholarly journals for, among other things, its confused and contradictory uses of such terms as "race," "intelligence," and "temperament" (a distinct liability for a book with that title); its overall poor scholarship; and its ignoring (or being ignorant of) the work of other scholars and of a vast body of well-established scientific fact. As the reviewer for the *American Journal of Psychology* warned in 1928, at the conclusion of a withering review, Porteus' work demanded attention, but only because it "may do much harm to the development of psychology" (Peterson 1928; also see reviews and commentaries by Pinter 1927 and Hankins 1927).

This was a typical reaction to his supposed scholarly research *at the time that it was published*. That is hardly supportive of the spurious claim that his research and writing at the time was in the mainstream of scholarly opinion, nor does it come close to confirming the UH Regents' statement of July 18, 1974 that *Temperament and Race* is "a classic in its field."

Indeed, as noted earlier, at the beginning of his chapter on "Race Differences in Maze Performance" in the 1933 volume *The Maze Test and Mental Differences*, Porteus *himself* acknowledged that, in its assumption of inborn "negro inferiority," his work was fundamentally at odds with the overwhelming opinion of psychologists at the time. These were the mainstream and leading professionals whom he dismissed by curtly referring to them as mere "race-levellers" and saying that he preferred what he presumed to be the racially prejudicial but more accurate opinion of "the man in the street" (Porteus 1933:101-02). But in fact, on even this point Porteus may have been wrong – at least if a national opinion poll released seven years later had any relevance to attitudes at the time Porteus was writing. This poll, published by the National Education Association, showed that when a cross-section of the nation was asked, "Do you think that the same amount of tax money should

be spent in this state for the education of a Negro child as for a white child?" Southern whites were split evenly in their responses, while Northern whites responded in the affirmative by a nearly nine to one margin (report by Myrdal 1962:893-94). In contrast with the opinions of what Porteus regarded as benighted "men in the street," whose thinking he had called "ill-grounded in reason" – and who strongly supported equal educational opportunity for all races – Porteus had written with much sarcasm and cruelty in *Temperament and Race* that money spent on schooling for Filipinos, like that expended on "the idiot or the imbecile," as he noted elsewhere (Porteus & Babcock 1926:307), was essentially money wasted (op.cit.:69-70). Indeed, he added, more than wasted, money spent on the education of such people, pushing them beyond their low native intelligence levels, was likely to produce nothing but "malcontents" (ibid.).

What is important to realize here is that the 1920s and the early 1930s was a time of enormous growth and change in the field of the psychology of race. One survey of the 1927 volume of *Psychological Abstracts* demonstrated that the overwhelming majority of work published in that year – the year immediately after Porteus' *Temperament and Race* was published – "explicitly rejected genetic explanations [for racial differences in intelligence], insisting instead that differences in scores of racial groups were most likely attributable to differences in a range of environmental and experiential factors" (Cahill 1998:10). In point of fact, and directly contrary to the false claims of Porteus' would-be defenders, the dominant scholarly opinion being formed at this time was a rapidly growing reaction *against* pseudo-scientific racism of the Porteus variety. Centered around the work of people like Franz Boas and Otto Klineberg, the majority opinion of leading professionals reflected the assertion of Boas in 1927 that "all our best psychologists recognize clearly that there is no proof that intelligence tests give an actual insight into the biologically determined functioning of the mind" (1927:681).

Even writers who earlier had been identified with ideas similar to Porteus' were by this time publicly abandoning them en masse. Goddard continued his dramatic turn, begun around 1920, away from his earlier positions on group intelligence and the biological heritability of mental and social character. By 1928 he was happily admitting that he had "gone over to the enemy" and now

fully supported environmental explanations for observed race differences (1928:224). Others joined in. C. C. Brigham, who at one time claimed, like Porteus, that Nordic immigrants were of a superior "race" to southern Europeans, had completely reversed himself by 1930. Writing in the *Psychological Review*, he noted that "comparative studies of various national and racial groups may not be made with existing tests," adding that "in particular one of the most pretentious of these comparative racial studies – the writer's own – was without foundation" (1930:165). The following year, in his book *Race Psychology*, Thomas Russell Garth reported on his findings after an exhaustive survey of the existing literature. While admitting that he had begun the project with "a silent conviction" that he would find "clear-cut racial differences in mental processes," all the evidence led him to conclude that "there are no sure evidences of real racial differences in mental traits," adding that "it is useless to speak of the worthlessness of so-called 'inferior peoples' when their worth has never been established by a fair test" (1931:211).¹²

Examples of this sort could be cited for pages on end. The only remaining question is *why* this dramatic change in scholarly opinion occurred during the 1920s. Thomas Gossett has an answer:

The shift of the scientists and social scientists with regard to race did not occur because of any dramatic or sudden discovery. Racism had developed into such a contradictory mass of the unprovable and the emotional that the serious students eventually recognized that as a source of explanation for mental and temperamental traits of a people it was worthless. Once this point was accepted, the top-heavy intellectual structures of racism began to topple, one after another (Gossett 1965:430).

But Stanley Porteus remained unconvinced. Never a figure of true eminence in his field, now – following the publication of *Temperament and Race* – he was reduced to consorting with cranks and other eccentrics on the fringes of scholarship, sharing his bitter complaints with them about "race-levellers" and "race suicide" and the like. He clung to his dogma of a hierarchy of racial ability and social fitness – of the "natio-racial" inferiority of non-whites and non-Nordics – even as the rise of Nazi Germany was demonstrating to the world what the ultimate political consequences of such thinking might be. And, to his shame, he defended that discredited dogma for the rest of his life.

Psychosurgery, Eugenics, and *The Mankind Quarterly*

We have seen that the first defense of Porteus against charges of racism – the claim that his work, however offensive in the present, was consistent with scholarly opinion and attitudes at the time that it was published – is baseless and contrived. It is time now to turn to the second major line of defense: the assertion, to quote Professor Ronald Johnson, that “Porteus changed mightily in his opinions between 1926 and the time of his death” (1998:6), along with the allied assertion, as expressed in a 1974 *Honolulu Advertiser* editorial, that his views on race need to be viewed “in the light of his magnificent total record.”

In *Temperament and Race* and elsewhere, Porteus repeatedly referred to the largely innate and “organic” nature of intelligence and temperament, while at the same time making sweeping attributions regarding the mental capacities and character traits of specific races and nationalities. It was because of these beliefs that he feared diluting the bloodlines of those “Nordic strongholds” of North America and Australia by the large-scale immigration of less mentally endowed races and nationalities and by unchecked birth rates among inferior peoples already living within those lands. To permit free immigration was to court “race suicide,” he warned (Porteus & Babcock 1926:339). Unlike the infamous Madison Grant, however, who concluded his violently racist *Passing of the Great White Race* on a pessimistic note, blaming the racial “altruism” of the United States for driving the white race “toward a racial abyss” (1922:263), Porteus found grounds for optimism. “It may be true, it unfortunately is true,” he wrote in the final paragraph of *Temperament and Race*, “that the more intellectual stocks are losing ground, numerically speaking, through voluntary birth control” (Porteus & Babcock 1926:351). “However, he believed, the means were at hand to assure ‘race survival,’ and thus, ‘we need fear no racial competition, no rising tide of colour, if we can conserve our existing strength’ (ibid.)” (“We” and “Our” in every case of course refers to white people, specifically those of Nordic ancestry: it never seems to have occurred to Porteus that anyone else might be reading his work).

The term for what Porteus was advocating is “eugenics.” The word was coined in 1883 by Francis Galton, who defined it as “the science of improving

the stock,” adding that the eugenics movement should aim to give “the more suitable races or strains of blood a better chance of prevailing speedily over the less suitable” (1883:24). A more recent writer puts what in time became “the eugenics movement” in sharper historical focus. Eugenics, writes Sheila F. Weiss, is

a political strategy denoting some sort of social control over reproduction. In the interest of ‘improving’ the hereditary substrata of a given population, this supposed science seeks to regulate human procreation by encouraging the fecundity of the allegedly genetically superior groups (‘positive eugenics’) and even prohibiting so-called inferior types from having children (‘negative eugenics’) (Weiss 1987:1).

Recent research by German and American historians has shown how closely allied and mutually supportive American proponents of eugenics and Nazi race propagandists were during the 1930s, the decade leading up to the Holocaust. As Stefan Kühl points out in his 1994 book, *The Nazi Connection: Eugenics, American Racism, and German National Socialism*, racism was “at the core” of the American eugenics movement. Some American eugenicists openly praised Hitler and expressed admiration for the Nazi sterilization laws, while others – sensing the dangerous extremes to which affairs were heading in Germany – became more circumspect. But overall, notes Kühl, within the international eugenics movement, “no other country played such a prominent role in Nazi propaganda” as did the United States. And central to that propaganda campaign were such pseudo-scientific writings as H. H. Goddard’s *The Kallikak Family* (Kühl 1994:37,40).

Of course, by this time Goddard (who lived until 1957) had long since abandoned his eugenicist views and the scientifically discredited notions that undergirded them: belief in the biological and hereditary nature of intelligence and feeble-mindedness, and the sweeping attribution of mental abilities and inabilities to entire nationalities and races. But Stanley Porteus was still at it. After a trip to Australia, to assess the racial intelligence and temperament of Aborigines (or “Australids,” as he called them), in 1934 he headed for Africa, where he administered his maze test to the so-called “Bushmen” of southern Africa. These were people who had suffered so terribly from white violence that they appeared to be on the verge of extinction, and were at that time being herded into reserves where they might survive as “living fossils.”¹³ After

administering the maze test, Porteus found that his African subjects possessed an average mental age of precisely 7.56 years (Porteus 1937:257).

Prominent scholars in the field now understandably regarded much of Porteus' work to be worthy of ridicule. Thus, the leading American student on the subject of "race differences," Otto Klineberg of Columbia University, in 1935 had some fun at Porteus' expense by pointing out the incredible cultural ignorance and personal insensitivity Porteus displayed when conducting his maze experiments – such as, in his study of Australian Aborigines, his including "among his subjects one convicted murderer whose test performance was complicated by the presence of a chain on his leg and a police constable standing over him with a gun" (Klineberg 1935:156). Indeed, Porteus' work is among those most singled out by Klineberg as representing the failure of some writers still to accept the clear scientific evidence "that there is nothing in the brain or blood of other races which justifies our ill-treatment of them," adding that "every single one of the arguments used in order to prove the inferiority of other races has amounted to nothing" (op.cit.:348-49).¹⁴

But Porteus soldiered on, publishing work on "racial group differences in mentality" as late as 1939.¹⁵ This, of course, is the year that Germany invaded Poland, thus initiating the Second World War. Eugenics lost what few scraps of scientific credibility it still had at that time. And even among the American eugenics advocates who remained true to the cause, as Stefan Kühl points out, relations with "German racial hygienists began to cool in the late 1930s," in large part because of "gradual recognition by the public and the scientific community that anti-Semitism was at the core of Nazi race policy" (1994:97-98). Not that the American eugenics movement was not thick with anti-Jewish sentiment – it was. But "with the increasing American criticism of the anti-Semitic policy in Nazi Germany, it became difficult even for mainline eugenicists to support Nazi race policies openly and to maintain close relationships with their German colleagues" (ibid.).

For the next two decades the eugenics movement in the United States went into hibernation, damaged by its earlier association with Nazi scientists and propagandists who had provided scholarly justifications for what became the systematic extermination of millions of innocent people. Porteus turned to writing novels and informal essays – which, of course, themselves were filled

with racist comments and stereotypes.¹⁶ Then, much to his relief, he found another and more socially acceptable outlet for deployment of his maze test: psychosurgery, in particular the rising interest during the 1950s in prefrontal lobotomies. And when that fad passed, he found uses for the maze test in experimenting on psychiatric patients who were being treated with tranquilizing drugs, especially chlorpromazine (see Porteus 1959 for discussion).

But the anti-eugenics mood of Americans did not last forever. And in July of 1960 a new publication appeared in Britain and the United States dedicated to the eugenicist agenda. Its name was *The Mankind Quarterly*, a publication of the Pioneer Fund – a foundation that was formed by Harry H. Laughlin and Frederick Osborn in 1937 to support Nazi Germany's racial policies and to import that ideology to the United States. Laughlin was an unrelenting activist in the campaign to initiate a massive sterilization campaign against "undesirables" of every sort, describing himself as a "racial hygienist" dedicated to ridding the country "of the burden of its degenerate members." In 1936 Laughlin received an honorary degree from the University of Heidelberg, upon the specific recommendation of Carl Schneider, a leading scientific advisor in the Nazi campaign for the extermination of handicapped people. As for Osborn, more of the same: publicly praising the Nazi eugenics program as the "most important experiment which has ever been tried," he described the massive German sterilization program as "apparently an excellent one" and, with Laughlin, got the Pioneer Fund to finance national distribution to American high schools of a Nazi propaganda film entitled *Erbkrank* ("Hereditary Defective") that celebrated the forced sterilization of mental defectives and moral degenerates, and claimed that "Jews were particularly susceptible to mental retardation and moral deviancy" (Kühl 1994:24-25,48-49,87).

Thus, when the Pioneer Fund got behind the launching of *The Mankind Quarterly* in 1960, it was no surprise that its list of editors and advisors read like a "Who's Who" of what UH historian Idus Newby has called "The Field Marshalls of Scientific Racism." The journal's editor was a Scotsman, one Robert Gayre (listed on the masthead as "R. Gayre of Gayre" who also liked to refer to himself by what he called his official title, "The Laird of Nigg"). Gayre was a longtime associate of Nazis, a champion of apartheid in South Africa and white rule in Rhodesia, who had been arrested in Britain under the Race Relations Act for distributing materials "likely to stir up racial hatred," and who

had testified in court on behalf of the British Racial Preservation Society by "offering his expert opinion that blacks are 'worthless'" (Newby 1967:91-117, see also 118-45; Lane 1995:126; Linklater 1995:142-43; Sautman 1995:209).

The Associate Editors and Advisory Board of the *Quarterly* were cut from the same cloth. They ranged, among numerous others of like background, from Henry Garrett, a former pamphleteer for the White Citizens' Councils, to Corrado Gini, the leader of fascist Italy's eugenics movement under Mussolini; from R. Ruggles Gates, a scientist-poser singled out in a 1948 issue of the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* as not merely a "racist," but a "super-racist" (1948:385-87), to Count Otmar Freiherr von Verschuer, a leading race scientist in Nazi Germany whose one time assistant, Joseph Mengele, Auschwitz's reviled "Angel of Death," used to send him sample body parts (including pairs of eyes) from his experiments on prisoners in the death camps. And so on and so forth – on down to and including one Stanley David Porteus, Emeritus Professor of Psychology at the University of Hawai'i (Lane 1995:126-27; Kühl 1994:102-03).¹⁷

From the opening pages of its very first issue to the present (it is still being published), *The Mankind Quarterly* has produced a non-stop stream of proudly racist and anti-Semitic propaganda – alleging, among other things, that African blacks possess the same level of intelligence as mentally retarded European children; that the various races in the United States should be forced into separate geographic enclaves to prevent interbreeding; that racism is a natural and "virtuous" inborn human trait, designed by nature to prevent race mixing; that the idea of equality is a nonsensical, communist-inspired notion, particularly supported by Jews, who, since their "persecution" by Hitler, have become "greatly oversensitized . . . toward anything which smacks of racial distinction" – and much more.¹⁸

Also, it is important to point out that no sooner had its first issue appeared than numerous reputable scientists, writing in legitimate scholarly journals, attacked *The Mankind Quarterly* for its reprehensible use of false scholarly trappings to thinly conceal a blatantly racist, anti-Semitic, and at times even pro-genocide agenda. In 1961, writing in *Man*, the journal of Britain's Royal Institute of Anthropology, G. Ainsworth Harrison noted that "few of the contributions [to the new journal] have any merit whatsoever," most of them

being "trivial and third rate" – "no more than incompetent attempts to rationalize irrational opinions" (1961:163-64). Harrison concluded by expressing his "earnest hope" that "*The Mankind Quarterly* will succumb before it can further discredit anthropology and lead to even more harm to mankind" (ibid.). In that same year the prestigious American journal *Current Anthropology* carried an extraordinarily detailed attack on the *Quarterly*, entitled "'Scientific' Racism Again?" by the distinguished Mexican anthropologist Juan Comas, who expressed his "profound concern" over the recent appearance of *The Mankind Quarterly*, with its "racist orientation" that harked back to a time before "the downfall of Nazism and Fascism" (Comas 1961). And again in 1961, in *Science*, the journal of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Santiago Genoves denounced the *Quarterly* for "distorting facts" and attempting to use "science, or rather pseudoscience, to try to establish postulates of racial superiority or inferiority based on biological differences" (Genoves 1961).

Of course, care must always be taken to avoid unfair attributions of guilt by association. It is always possible that one or more of the persons whose name appeared on the journal's inaugural masthead became involved with this racist enterprise by accident – not knowing what he was getting into. And, indeed, that is what at least one original member of *The Mankind Quarterly's* advisory board, the Yugoslav anthropologist Bozo Skerlj, said had happened to him. So he resigned, publicly stating that he had become a member while unaware of what he called the journal's "little concern for facts" and its "racial prejudice," a matter of particular concern to him, he said, since he had been a prisoner in Dachau. When *The Mankind Quarterly's* editor refused to print his letter of resignation from the Advisory Board, Professor Skerlj had it and an appended commentary published in *Man*, so concerned was he that "the widely circulated association of my own name and status with this editorial policy could, as I see it, reflect in an adverse way on my personal and professional integrity" (Skerlj 1960:163-64).

Unlike Bozo Skerlj, Stanley Porteus correctly did not feel that his integrity was compromised at all by his public association with this instantly infamous racist journal. Indeed, Porteus defended *The Mankind Quarterly* against attack and happily stayed on as an enthusiastic advisor until the day that he died. From the very beginning he was one of the journal's most productive

contributors on such predictable matters as inborn racial and ethnic group differences, as measured, of course, by his now long-moribund maze test (an article that subsequently received wide distribution by the Mississippi White Citizens' Councils (see Newby 1967:87)) and on the backwardness of Australian Aborigines (Porteus 1960, 1961a, 1962, 1964, 1965a).

In the first of his *Quarterly* articles, which appeared in the journal's premiere issue, Porteus went out of his way to express regret that the rise of Hitler had made "the climate" for this sort of work "unfavorable" for such a long time—a theme often replayed by *Mankind Quarterly* editors and authors during its early years. And in his defense of the *Quarterly* from Juan Comas' attack in *Current Anthropology*, he conceded that low intelligence can occur among all races ("obviously, since imbecility can occur in both Australian Aborigines and Whites," he wrote, "the lowest racial levels are equivalent"), but whites alone inhabit the high intelligence zones, or at least so he said he would believe "until, of course, there appears an aboriginal Shakespeare or Einstein or even a few Edisons" (Porteus 1961b:327, emphasis added).

Other Porteus contributions to the *Quarterly* resulted from a collaboration with A. James Gregor (born Gimigliano), at the time a young assistant professor of philosophy at the University of Hawai'i. Gregor was also, writes I. A. Newby, "in many respects [the] most distinctive of the prominent scientific racists" of the moment, and he was already a productive contributor of articles to such pro-fascist and eugenicist publications as Oswald Mosley's *The European*, Corrado Gini's *Genus*, and *Eugenics Review*. A member of *The Mankind Quarterly's* Advisory Board, like Porteus, Gregor had distinguished himself on several counts, including his arguing in print that "racism" is a natural and beneficial human trait, and openly admitting an intellectual kinship with the ideas of European fascists, demonstrating in particular a friendship for Nazi race doctrines (Newby 1967:121-29).¹⁹

After publishing an appreciative essay on Porteus' maze test in *The Mankind Quarterly*—asserting its "enormous potential value in the study of group differences in mentality" (1962:199)—Gregor joined Porteus on a trip to Australia where he administered the test at an Aboriginal settlement about two hundred miles north of Alice Springs (Porteus 1962). Although the results showed a relatively high level of mental ability among these rural "Australids,"

at least when compared with recent age-level scores of between 7.44 years and 9.63 years found among "jungle tribes in India," in the Qualitative Test the Aborigine score was barely in the range of an earlier-tested group of Honolulu juvenile delinquents (Porteus & Gregor 1963). This led Porteus to conclude that the prospects for Aborigine "assimilation" into white Australian society were dim (Porteus 1964, 1965b:220)—a finding that no doubt was greeted happily by his research collaborator, who long ago had insisted that "racial harmony will come only when whites and Negroes agree to live together—separately" (Newby 1967:124).

Returning, then, to the question of guilt by association: to cite Stanley Porteus' association with *The Mankind Quarterly* in the 1960s and early 1970s as evidence of his persistent scientific racism and his sympathy for racist eugenics is no more a case of guilt by association than is pointing out the fact that David Duke was a member of the Ku Klux Klan. Both men were open and active and ardent supporters of organizations and ideas that were dedicated to white supremacy and to the urging of physical separation of the races and/or assault upon the bodies of people of color.

Porteus' activism in the 1960s and early 1970s on behalf of the resurrected eugenics movement, and his support for racist ideas in general, was not limited to his work with *The Mankind Quarterly*. He continued to publish ideologically racist essays in pro-eugenicist volumes (Porteus 1967)—such as one anthology that introduces itself by condemning the anti-racist program of UNESCO as "a veritable bible for egalitarians" and opens with a list of edifying quotations from leading scientific racists to the effect that human beings are not, in fact, all of the same species; that any man who believes in racial intermarriage should "be prepared to marry his daughter for example to an Australian aboriginal"; that "arguments for racial equality" are "positively harmful"; and that race-mixture inevitably leads to "the production of physiologically inefficient individuals" and "less harmonious and well-balanced types" (Kuttner 1967:xvii,xxiv-xxvii).

The editor of this volume, which included a contracted piece by Porteus on "Ethnic Groups and the Maze Test," was Robert E. Kuttner, a well-known racist, anti-integration political activist, and the president of the International Association for the Advancement of Ethnology and Eugenics (IAAEE). Al-

though, as Stefan Kühl points out, in the post-World War Two era most eugenicists had turned to calling themselves “population scientists,” “human geneticists,” and the like, to avoid association with the taint of Nazism, some, like Kuttner, were proud to be associated with the term eugenics (Kühl 1994:105). So was Stanley Porteus, who was pleased to serve as one of America’s leading scientific racists (along with his then-collaborator, A. James Gregor) on the Executive Committee of the IAAEE – the single organization, in Idus Newby’s words, writing in 1967, that “has done more than any other ‘scientific’ body in the country to facilitate the use of science and scientific literature by segregationists and anti-Negro racists” (Newby 1967:119,129).

There is not space here to recount all the other racist endeavors and associations of Porteus during the very decade before the Board of Regents saw fit to name the Social Science Building after him. But it is worth noting at least that he became an official advisor to the Foundation for Education on Eugenics and Dysgenics – the racist organization put together by William Shockley to promote his ideas on the biological inferiority of black people and on the need to pay “bounties” to poor black women who would agree to let themselves become sterilized. And it is noteworthy that one of Porteus’ final articles, published only four years before his being honored by the UH Board of Regents, was an effort to explain the alleged “ethnic group retardation” of people who live near the equator (that is, Africans, Polynesians, and other dark people) by attributing their supposed intellectual deficits to the “extreme speed of the rotational spin” they endure as inhabitants of the outer edge of the earth as it turns on its axis – compared with the more comfortable “medium” rate of rotational speed experienced by white people who live in the temperate zones (Porteus 1970).²⁰

If we can learn to understand this “ethno-cyclotronic” phenomenon, Porteus wrote with hopeful anticipation in 1970, perhaps “the Africans in the USA would not be averse to returning to Africa if only it could become a better environment.” Indeed, he thought that wholesale “remedial re-distribution of global populations” might be a good idea. As for his adopted home, Hawai’i, he was not sanguine, noting that its location “just on the margin of the tropical belt...may be a handicap,” and suggesting that, since its indigenous population was obviously mentally inferior (like the Filipinos, he wrote elsewhere at

this time, the Hawaiians “have lived too long in the tropics to attain toughness of mental fiber”) “those of [the University of Hawai’i’s] alumni who have shown creativity may have brought their mental energy with them (Porteus 1970; see also 1969:85).

This, of course, was as crackpot and wildly racist a set of ideas – and as out of tune with the mainstream of science at the time – as was his head-measuring obsession of a half century earlier. But these strange notions did at least possess the virtue of consistency: like all of his life’s work, they were directed toward explaining why people who weren’t white, like him, were so defective, so deficient, and so depraved.

He was not alone in this, of course. At the end of his 1969 autobiography, Porteus singled out one person in particular with whom he had always found himself “strongly allied” regarding “the principle of racial differences.” That person was Henry E. Garrett – a one-time White Citizens’ Council activist who testified against school integration before the US Supreme Court on the grounds that black people are genetically inferior, and the author of the earlier-cited article in the first issue of *Mankind Quarterly* (of which he was one of the chief editors) on the great damage done by belief in the equality of humankind – a communist-inspired idea, he wrote, promoted largely by Jews who, since the rise of Hitler, had become overly sensitive on matters of racial distinction (Garrett 1960).

This was Stanley Porteus’ self-described “strong ally” on “the principle of racial differences.” Was Porteus a racist? Here is the world’s most widely accepted and straightforward definition of racism, from the 1967 UNESCO Statement on Race and Racial Prejudice: “Racism falsely claims that there is a scientific basis for arranging groups hierarchically in terms of psychological and cultural characteristics that are immutable and innate” (cited in Kühl 1994:3). It’s as if it were written with Porteus’ work specifically in mind. *Of course* Porteus was a racist – and he was one throughout all of his professional life. A racist and much more – a promoter, as well, of eugenicist ideas that at times were potentially genocidal, according to the United Nations definition of genocide, which includes “public incitement” toward “imposing measures intended to prevent birth” within “a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group” as one of the Genocide Convention’s prohibited acts.

Two final points are worth making, because they are likely to be cited in support of Porteus by his defenders. The first of these concerns the fact that Porteus was fond of describing his position on the matter of inherent racial inferiority as occupying the "middle ground" between extremes. But what were those extremes? Like his compatriots at *The Mankind Quarterly*, his "middle ground" or "middle position" was one stipulated as being between the "Nazi doctrine of racial superiority" and the allegedly equally wrongheaded reigning ideology of "racial egalitarianism" (*The Mankind Quarterly* 1961:82). That is hardly the conventional golden mean. As for Porteus' related admission late in his life that the hereditary racial differences supposedly uncovered by his maze test were "slight," he was insistent on adding that "this does not mean that they were insignificant" (Porteus 1969:79-80). As with "athletic contests," he added, so with race: "the team that wins consistently is the best, even though the margin of victory may be small" (ibid.). And, as his maze testing allegedly showed, "Anglo-Saxons" were consistently the "winner" (Porteus & Babcock 1926:293).

The final possible last-minute defense that Porteus' supporters might offer is the fact that, following World War Two, Porteus frequently referred to his quite obviously racist writings as not supportive of the idea of racial inferiority and superiority, but only of racial *difference*. This assertion invariably is belied by his larger thesis promoting hierarchical, inbred, and even spuriously quantified racial "rankings" within which it is always embedded, but more than that it needs to be pointed out that this was the official line of pseudo-scientific racists in the post-Nazi era who, as Newby points out, sought "to avoid the appearance of overt racial bigotry" (1967:98). It is a canard with an ancestry that harks back to the middle of the nineteenth century, when the proslavery polemicist Samuel Cartwright, wanting to denigrate blacks as inferiors but also to justify their being put to forced hard labor, promoted the idea of their mental inferiority existing in *contrast* with their (in some respects) superior physical bodies (cited and discussed in Hoberman 1997:145). Indeed, the idea is traceable back even further than that—at least to the mid-sixteenth century, when the Spanish magistrate in Peru, Juan de Matienzo, justified the enslavement of the native peoples of the Andes because "such types were created by nature with strong bodies and were given less intelligence, while free men have less physical strength and more intelligence" (cited in Stannard 1992:219-

20). And it has a contemporary provenance as recent as David Duke (Hoberman 1997:152-53).

Whenever Porteus claimed that his work was devoted to studying race differences rather than inequalities, he simply was spouting the approved damage-control slogans of the editors of *The Mankind Quarterly*, who insisted as a matter of policy that while they "rejected racial egalitarianism," they did not, "on the other hand, subscribe to doctrines of racial superiority or inferiority," claiming only that "in respect of some characters various stocks will be superior to others, and in other cases inferior" (1961:80-81). It just so happens, they then noted, that the areas in which whites are superior include the higher mental faculties of reason and logic and organization, while blacks (or as they put it "Melanoids") and other darker skinned peoples excel in such areas as "humor, music, art, ability to live a communal life and existence (as distinct from the competitive form of civilization which the Caucasoids tend to erect), feeling for emotional religious expression, or physical ability in boxing, running, and much else" (ibid.).

Henry E. Garrett, Porteus' self-described "close ally" regarding the "principle of racial differences," enjoyed arguing (in words that echo Porteus' own on numerous occasions) that "the weight of the evidence favours the proposition that racial differences in mental ability (and perhaps in personality and character) are innate and genetic," while efforts "to help the Negro by ignoring and even suppressing evidences of his mental and social immaturity" are misguided at best (Garrett 1960:257). But this same man, again like Porteus, persisted in maintaining the falsehood that he was not speaking of racial inferiority or superiority, but only of the unique abilities possessed by whites to "create a modern technical society," such as the ability "to think in terms of symbols—words, numbers, formulas, diagrams" (Newby 1967:100). As for non-whites, and especially blacks, their areas of superiority are such that—to cite a more recent recipient of the Pioneer Fund's fascist largesse—they most closely resemble Neanderthals (Rushton 1995:233).

Conclusion and Recommendations

There is no question that Stanley D. Porteus is, by any measure, not deserving of having a building on any university campus named in his honor. Porteus' *sole* possible claim to professional or scholarly distinction is

the pseudo-psychological work to which he devoted his life, the work that is undeniably racist in its near-entirety, and the work that was *recognized* as wrongheaded and racist by his more eminent peers throughout the whole of his academic career.

From the time that he left the Vineland School for the Feebleminded in 1922 to take up residence at the University of Hawai'i until his final days in the 1960s serving as a director of various violently racist and eugenicist organizations (while still, to the end, writing shoddy and at times nearly lunatic "explanations" for the alleged mental defectiveness of non-white, non-Nordic peoples), Porteus' work was at intellectual and ethical odds with both emerging and mainstream scholarship. Largely ignored, reviled, or ridiculed by leading scholars in his field, much of his work, understandably, was published by marginal or even vanity presses.

There is not a single legitimate reason why Stanley Porteus should be honored by having a respectable university name a building after him, and there are compelling reasons why his name should be removed from the UH Social Science Building as soon as possible. Since Porteus' only professional activities of significance were as a pseudo-scientific racist and as an activist on behalf of the post-Nazi era eugenics movement, having a building at UH Mānoa named in honor of him is inherently a major statement of institutional support for racism – it can be nothing else – and an insult to the majority of students on this campus and the majority of citizens in the state of Hawai'i. Honoring Professor Porteus with a building in his name is no less outrageous or morally offensive than would be the naming of a building on a predominantly Jewish campus after a professional anti-Semite. Or the naming of a building on a predominantly African American campus after a lifelong anti-black racist ideologue.

At the time of his death, Stanley Porteus was a socially prominent man in Honolulu, with friends and family in high places in the business and political communities. It is apparent that the Board of Regents, in naming the Social Science Building for Porteus, was guided by the efforts of influential family members and associates of the recently deceased emeritus professor to have this honor bestowed on him. It also is evident that the BOR did little or no research of its own on Porteus' professional life or work.

But years have passed, and now we know better. It is time to change the name of Porteus Hall. Other universities have done it. At the University of Colorado at Boulder a number of years back it was discovered that the man whose name had always adorned the main administration building – David Nichols, the principal founder of the university – had been an advocate of mass murdering the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians. The Colorado Regents promptly removed Nichols' name from the building and renamed it Cheyenne-Arapaho Hall. At this moment, at Virginia Tech in Blacksburg, Virginia, a specially-appointed committee is deciding whether to remove from a dormitory building the name of a once esteemed professor of electrical engineering – who, it turns out, was a leader of the local Ku Klux Klan a century ago.

Examples of similar name changes abound. And not always for reasons such as this. There once was a time, for instance, as many on this campus will recall, when the words Thomas Jefferson Hall were emblazoned in large letters across the top of what is now called the Imin Center on East-West Road.

Although certainly the name UH Porteus deserves to be stripped from the Social Science Building immediately, it may be possible to make the change more positive than negative by agreeing from the start as to what the new name of the building should be. Some on campus have been urging the adoption of the name "Lili'uokalani," in part because of the dearth of both Hawaiian and female names on campus buildings, and in part because the dignity with which Queen Lili'uokalani carried herself during the extraordinarily trying times of governmental overthrow and annexation represents behavior most deserving of honor. And the timing would be felicitous, since 1998 is the centennial of Hawai'i's annexation by the United States.

If such a transition can be effected gracefully, with ceremonial emphasis on the positive re-naming, rather than the removal of Stanley Porteus' name, so much the better. If not, the name Porteus must still be removed from the building with all possible haste. Every day that it remains represents another day in which the powers that be at the University continue to tolerate a gross racial offense against the majority of students, an affront to the humane sensibilities of everyone, and an implicit insult to the very motto of the University itself. ♦

Notes

1. References to BOR statements are from Regents' minutes of the relevant meetings. For more information on the history of this debate, see files in the UH Department of Ethnic Studies Resource Room and Document Series 5, *Testimony on Renaming Porteus Hall*, compiled by the Center for Research on Ethnic Relations, UH Social Science Research Institute, on file in the Hamilton Library Hawai'i-Pacific Collection.
2. Professor Johnson's closeness to the Porteus family is discussed in Elizabeth Dole Porteus, *Let's Go Exploring: The Life of Stanley D. Porteus* (1991:172-73). The comment on Johnson's current efforts to rehabilitate the reputation of another UH-affiliated psychologist who has been accused by professional colleagues of racism (and more) refers to his defense of Raymond B. Cattell; the best review of Cattell's work is Mehler (1997:153-63). Johnson's own work on the racial bases of intelligence includes a brief article written with Craig Nagoshi, "Cognitive Abilities Profiles of Caucasian v. Japanese Subjects in the Hawaii Family Study of Cognition" (1987:581-83). This piece is cited in an essay on the recent turn of some racist scholars toward the notion of there being two master races, Europeans and East Asians; see Sautman (1995:216n42).
3. The excision of *Temperament and Race* from the bibliography in Elizabeth Dole Porteus (1991) is evident on page 187.
4. For this and other general biographical data on Porteus, see E. D. Porteus (1991) and S. D. Porteus (1969).
5. For brief discussions, and references to these citations, see Gould (1981:146-58); and Lewontin et al. (1984:83-85).
6. See discussion in the Preface to Porteus' *Maze Test and Clinical Psychology* (1959). We will return to this matter later.
7. Porteus' extraordinary commitment to pursuing the alleged link between head size and mental ability is recounted in E. D. Porteus (1991:32-33,39). Porteus was still embarked on this dead-end venture decades after Franz Boas and others had demolished the notion as absurd. For Porteus' continued efforts to make long-out-of-date craniological linkages as the years went by, see, for example, his books, *The Matrix of the Mind* (1928:450), and *The Porteus Maze Test and Intelligence* (1950:111). Boas' famous series of demonstrations that there is no validity to the notion began before the turn of the twentieth century, at least as early as his article "The Cephalic Index" (1899). The quotation from Thomas Gossett regarding Boas' work making "all attempts to classify races on the basis of craniology so impossible as to be preposterous" – although Porteus was still at it fully half a century later – is in his *Race: The History of an Idea in America* (1965:421).
8. The title of Cravens' piece, "Applied Science and Public Policy: The Ohio Bureau of Juvenile Research and the Problem of Juvenile Delinquency, 1913-1930" (1987) refers to the fact that, upon leaving the Vineland School in 1918, Goddard became the director of the Ohio Bureau of Juvenile Research. For Porteus' views at this time, see his "Mental Tests for the Feeble-minded: A New Series" (1915:200-13), where he discusses the alleged failure of the Binet test (as compared with his own maze test) to measure the multiple social and moral dimensions of intelligence "which count so much in the individual's adjustment to the complexities of daily life," including "instability of temperament, peculiar emotional conditions, general unreliability and lack of sense of proportion and the fitness of things."
9. On the dishonesty of certain data produced and discussed in *The Kallikak Family*, see again Gould (1981:168-71).
10. See the bibliographies of Porteus' writings for this time printed in Porteus (1969:262-67) and E. D. Porteus (1991:188-90).
11. See, for instance, publications by Goddard at this time (1920a, 1920b, 1920c, 1921), reversing positions he had taken previously.
12. All of these works are cited and discussed in Gould (1981:172-74,191-92,232-33); and in Gossett (1965:424-26).
13. For an important analysis of the historical collaboration of scholars in the racial politics of South Africa, and in their help with the oppression – and near-extirpation – of the "Bushmen," or San peoples of southern Africa, see Gordon (1992), esp. pp. 147-54 for discussion of the time when Porteus did his work among the San.
14. For other references to Porteus in this volume (Klineberg 1935), see pp. 81, 91, 155, 159-62, 171, 180, 279, 282, 289.
15. See, for example, Porteus (1939). I am grateful to Professor Barry Mehler, Director of the Institute for the Study of Academic Racism at Ferris State University, for this and several other bibliographical references.
16. See especially Porteus (1947) for page after page of anti-Japanese racist propaganda that is only partly attributable to wartime xenophobia.
17. For more extensive discussion of both Mengele and Verschuer, see Lifton (1986:337-83, esp. pp. 339-58).
18. This last contribution appears to be something of an editorial policy statement, since it represents a theme that repeatedly recurs in the pages of the journal, and since it is the work of one of its two senior editors, Henry E. Garrett, and was published in its opening volume (1960:253-57).
19. Subsequent to Newby's discussion of his work, Gregor took unsuccessful legal action in an attempt to have *Challenge to the Court* (Newby 1967) removed from circulation.
20. Publication of this piece "was kindly supported by a grant from the University Foundation." Porteus' alliance with and support for Shockley is mentioned in "Defendant's Exhibit 110," in Shockley's lawsuit against the *Atlanta Constitution*. The material was submitted by Shockley himself. Though hardly a story that would be picked up by the

national media, the Bay Area press, where Shockley lived and worked, did cover the formation of Shockley's eugenics organization and Porteus' signing on as an early advisor. See, for example *Berkeley Gazette* (1970). Again, I am grateful to Professor Barry Mehler for this reference.

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Frank Marshall Davis in Hawai'i: Outsider Journalist Looking In

Kathryn Waddell Takara

Frank Marshall Davis (1905-1987) was a journalist, poet, expatriate, and resident of Hawai'i for almost forty years. As an outsider looking in, he functioned as a significant voice in documenting the progress of social movements in Hawai'i from a plantation- to a tourist-based economy.¹ In his weekly column, "Frank-ly Speaking," in the union newspaper the *Honolulu Record*, he acted as a commentator on the impact of the union movement on the plantation economy in the post-war Honolulu scene. As a major national journalist and former editor of the Associated Negro Press (ANP), Davis was able to analyze the changing configurations of ethnic groups, class structures and strategies of control. His keen observations of the imperialist forces and his subsequent fall in status due to his outspoken editorials seem a paradox in what he described as a "postcard paradise." His was a voice that inspired and threatened. His uniqueness as a black journalist and his middle-class status showed that Hawai'i was indeed one of the few places in the 1940s and 1950s where blacks held roles other than those of agricultural or service workers in a multi-ethnic setting.

Blacks in Hawai'i had a certain fluidity between several ethnic groups, which afforded Davis a unique platform from which to observe and discuss the consequences of the economy. He wrote of the parallels of laws and influences between the southern plantation system and plantations in Hawai'i, as well as parallels between blacks and Hawaiians. His insight into colonial techniques and strategies for dividing the minorities/oppressed groups, his ability to see beyond the binary racism so common in the continental US, and his documentation of discrimination and racism in Hawai'i, are a testament to Davis' role as a significant voice and witness in the historical process of Hawai'i's economic development, inter-group relationships, and changing social consciousness.

Before and After Arrival in Hawai'i

The obvious question is why a prominent African American writer and intellectual would choose to go to the Territory of Hawai'i in 1948 and not to Europe, Russia, or Africa, like so many of his black compatriots. Most

African Americans were leaving the Islands after the war to return to their African American communities. Davis was arriving. Why? The local Hawai'i newspapers thought they knew. In December 1948, several articles in the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* and *Honolulu Advertiser* announced the imminent arrival of Davis and his Caucasian wife Helen, then their delay, and finally their belated arrival. Several were accompanied by photos of the two. The press presented Davis as a successful journalist, and as a poet and a recipient of a 1937 Julius Rosenwald Fellowship. The newspapers wrote contradictory stories on the purpose of their trip. "Executive Editor of ANP Is Due Tonight" (*Honolulu Advertiser* 1948a) says that Davis "is in Honolulu for a visit that will combine a vacation with business[, that he] is planning a story on racial groups in the Islands [and that] Davis also plans to visit army and navy posts." "Negro Press Executive Here" (*Honolulu Advertiser* 1948b) says that Davis "is here on an inspection and vacation tour of the islands [and] will tour army and navy installations and other territorial institutions." "Davis Considers Hawai'i Advanced in Democracy" (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin* 1948) says the Davises are in Hawai'i "for a visit of not less than four months. Davis will write a series of articles on his observations of the island scene and also will work on a book of poetry which he hopes will capture the spirit of the Islands in verse." But the photo caption accompanying the article says the Davises are "in Honolulu for an indefinite visit." Davis' wife was presented as an artist, writer, and executive editor of a national press agency, who planned "to do watercolors of the islands during her stay."

Other citizens of Honolulu, however, knew that Davis was more than a civic figure. Henry Epstein, a local labor leader familiar with Davis' mainland reputation said in an interview just before Davis' death,

What I remember about Frank was that he was a very prominent and well-known black poet who was very highly respected in Chicago. You'd see his picture once in a while on the society page of the Chicago newspapers and when they had fund raisers for progressive organizations in Chicago, if Frank Marshall Davis was coming you had a real attraction, a prominent person that would help bring people into the event. [...] You saw him in what's now called civil rights affairs. [...] I don't think Frank was recognized as the prominent person that he was back in Chicago (*Rice and Roses* 1986(2):1,5).

Epstein was right. In Hawai'i, few people accorded Davis the status and respect that was his due, partly because they were unfamiliar with his past, and partly because it was a time when people were afraid to take risks under the shadow of McCarthyism.

Davis' own reasons for coming to Hawai'i were less overtly political. In an interview shortly before his death for the television series *Rice and Roses*, he recounted how the internationally famed singer Paul Robeson – whom he knew from Chicago and the progressive movement there – influenced him to come to Hawai'i: "[Robeson] had been over here the previous year on a concert set up for the International longshoremen's & warehousemen's Union (ILWU). And he was telling me how much he liked it and he said he was going to come back every year. He never did show up again. But anyway, he was instrumental in helping me to form my desire to come over" (*Rice and Roses* 1986). The welcome proved to be impressive. When the Davises first arrived, the extensive media coverage made them feel accepted. They were stopped on the street and warmly greeted by many local residents. He and his wife were offered rides when waiting for a bus, and were invited to dine at the Willows, which refused to serve most African Americans at that time. Davis in short sensed that Hawai'i would be a relaxed and friendly place to live. He said in an interview, "Within a week I had decided to settle here permanently, although I knew it would mean giving up what prestige I had acquired back in Chicago where I was now appearing each year in *Who's Who in the Midwest* and had been told by the editors that in 1949 my biography would be included in *Who's Who in America*" (Davis 1992:323). Clearly, Davis was willing to sacrifice a great deal to escape the tensions and demands of his experiences on the Mainland, for he concluded that "the peace and dignity of living in Paradise would compensate for finding a way other than as a newspaperman to make a living" (*ibid.*).

In certain ways, Hawai'i was a welcome change. Davis, for instance, marveled that he had many white friends in the Islands:

I was somebody who came from the same general environment and over-all background. At first it was shocking to hear Caucasians tell me what "we" must do when, on the Mainland, they would likely say "you people." Many whites of considerable residence here are as bitter about racism as any of us and are glad to live in a place where overt prejudice

is not customary. I have known *haoles* [whites] to go back home for a long visit but return ahead of schedule because they couldn't stand the attitudes of their old friends (1992:317).

But Davis almost immediately came to realize that some of these "strong friendships with many *haoles*" developed because he was not Asian, and in fact, his anomalous position as an African American in Hawai'i would become the source not only of his own sense of Hawai'i as both a multi-ethnic and colonialist culture, but also of his outspoken sympathies and opinions in print, which would markedly affect his own life in the Islands. And yet, because he felt that, with his arrival in the Islands, he had at last found dignity and respect as a man, as a human being, Davis proved slow to complain. He had resolved that even politics was never to take this dignity away from him again:

The ILWU and the Honolulu Record

His expectation that he could not support himself through his writing soon proved accurate. Although when he arrived in Hawai'i, his welcome led him to assume that finding a job would not be difficult, especially with all of his experience and expertise in journalism, he quickly discovered his mistake. When he tried to get a salaried job with a large local daily, word had apparently gotten around that Davis was pro-labor, and the newspaper that was supported by the Big Five (American Factors, Theo H. Davies, Alexander & Baldwin, Castle & Cooke [Dole], and C. Brewer and Co.), ignored him. The word was in fact correct, for Davis' initial contacts within Hawai'i all had extremely strong ILWU ties. Paul Robeson's own Hawai'i acquaintances, which he passed on to Davis, insured that "when I came over, one of the first things that I got involved with – well, I met all the ILWU brass, Jack Hall and all of them, and I went – they had both of us over to various functions for them – Harriet Bouslog was also a good friend" (*Rice and Roses* 1986(5):29-30; see Beechert 1985:227). Davis soon realized that he had arrived at a very important moment in Hawai'i labor history. The huge ILWU strike was imminent, pitting labor against the Big Five. For Davis, this was the kind of political ferment and struggle between the powerful and powerless that he thrived upon:

When we arrived in 1948, the Big Five had an iron grip on island economy. Organized labor led by the ILWU with Jack Hall at the helm was still

struggling to break its hold. Groups of Oriental businessmen were forming cooperatives and attacking from another angle (Davis 1992:313-14).

On the eve of the famous ILWU strike of 1949, the big issue was wage parity. Labor (non-white) was demanding from management (white) equal pay with workers on the West Coast. The white executives and employers were starting to fight back against the union, and even their wives organized the "broom brigade," an anti-labor group to oppose the strike (see Zalburg 1979:250-55). The wives named themselves *Imua*, a Hawaiian word which means to move forward, and they tried to convince the wives of the striking workers to side with management and join a presumed better life. They also launched a publicity campaign supported by the commercial newspapers accusing the ILWU of threatening to starve the people of Hawai'i with the impending strike, because much of the food came from the United States.

Davis and his wife both publicly aligned themselves with the ILWU. In response to the "broom brigade," Helen picketed with other labor wives. This did little to endear them to the power elite in the islands, who controlled public images. As Ah Quon McElrath recalls,

Generally, the community didn't look upon trade unions with a great deal of love and affection. Besides which the Izuka² pamphlet about Communism in Hawai'i had just been issued so there was fuel added to the fire which had started during the 1946 strike when they said that outsiders were coming in and taking over [...] Hawai'i and destroying the sugar industry as well as the pineapple industry (*Rice and Roses* 1986(24):1).³

Since as Davis recalls, "Not too long before my arrival, all Democrats were tarred with this same brush by the ruling Republican clique" (1992:323). His problems multiplied when it became clear that there were concerted efforts to brand him an outside instigator, and even a communist. "The local establishment, which evidently had been given a file on me by the FBI, flipped," Davis recalls, "I was a Communist and a subversive and a threat to Hawai'i" (ibid.).

The ILWU sought to unify the workers and encouraged them to transcend their diverse ethnicities and cultures:

When the ILWU started organizing [...] they were advised that they must have an inter-racial leadership or the ILWU would not charter them or would not help them organize. [...] This spirit of all the people working

together is what built up the ILWU and it's what gave them a lot of strength. (*Rice and Roses* 1986(2):9).

And one of the strongest and most sustaining forces for this strength and solidarity would prove to be a publication which Davis' previous experience made him perfectly suited to help.

In speaking of the origins of this paper, Epstein notes:

The *Honolulu Record* was started by Koji Ariyoshi and Ed Robo with the help of the ILWU and the idea was to have an independent newspaper which was friendly to the labor movement and could present the other side of the news. [...] They had a lot of articles that you wouldn't read anyplace else (*Rice and Roses* 1986(2):1,5).

Davis himself recalls that even before he left for Hawai'i, "[Robeson] and Bridges who was head of the ILWU and the CIO in the Pacific Region,⁴ suggested that I should get in touch with the *Honolulu Record* and see if I could do something for them" (*Rice and Roses* 1986).

When Davis became a columnist for the *Honolulu Record*, the newspaper was just beginning to document the imminent strike of the ILWU and the subsequent breaking up of the monopolistic power of the Big Five over the various immigrant labor groups, including the Japanese – who were the most powerful and radical – Chinese, Filipinos, and Portuguese. As Davis later commented in an interview:

During this time when there was this controversy between the ILWU and the Big Five firms, I was obviously on the side of labor [...] and the strike was something that was opposed by virtually all of the haoles of importance around here and many of the oriental business men [...] who had a vested interest in keeping things going with the Big Five (*Rice and Roses* 1986(9):52).

Davis observed how the ILWU publicized itself through a daily radio program and labor newspapers such as the *Honolulu Record*. It offered a pro-labor viewpoint to answer the conservative *Advertiser*, the *Star-Bulletin*, and a radio show by celebrity DJ Akū. Davis, with his vanguard ideas and deep understanding of class struggle, and his ability to discern the local ethnic struggles and exploitation, was quick to become a writer for the *Honolulu Record*. Or in his own words, "Not long after arriving in Hawai'i, I began writing

a regular weekly column for the *Honolulu Record*, supported mainly by the ILWU membership, and was openly friendly with its leadership" (Davis 1992:323). This was hardly a career move, since "The *Record*, of course, was not financially able to add me to its payroll" (ibid.). But Davis felt an affinity with Koji Ariyoshi and Ed Rohrbough, "who were its editorial mainstays" (ibid.). Because the *Honolulu Record* was created to provide an alternative perspective to the news, Davis found it to be the medium through which he could critique the socio-political structure of the Territory of Hawai'i and keep in touch with the common people. Therefore, when Ariyoshi offered him a column, which became known as "Frank-ly Speaking," Davis couldn't resist.

Davis as Columnist

What Davis brought to the *Honolulu Record* was an acute sense of race relations and class struggle throughout the United States and the world. In his column, for instance, Davis openly discussed imperialism and colonialism. He compared Hawai'i with other colonies and attacked the press for its racist propaganda. He identified and connected the non-white people of different cultures and colors as victims of exploitation. One "Frank-ly Speaking" column dated January 12, 1950 states:

To the people of Hawai'i, Africa is a far-away place, almost another world. And yet in many ways it is as close as your next door neighbor. The Dark Continent suffers from a severe case of the disease known as colonialism which Hawai'i has in a much milder form. The sole hope of the dying empires of Western Europe is intensified exploitation and continued slavery of African workers through US money and munitions. There are strikes in Africa against the same kinds of conditions that cause strikes in Hawai'i.

Maybe you think of Africans as black savages, half-naked, dancing to the thump-thump of toms-toms in jungle clearings, if you think of them at all. You may have gotten your impressions through the propaganda of press, radio and films, intended to sell the world on the idea that Africans are inferior and backward. It comes from the same propaganda mill that sells Mainlanders the idea that Japanese and Chinese and Filipinos and other people of different cultures and colors are also inferior and backward (1949-52 II(25):8).

More typically, though, Davis drew on his own experiences on the mainland. He often grounded his critiques by referring to contradictions between social practice and American constitutional ideals. In one column dated Jan. 19, 1950, for example, Davis writes that we "should bring the Bill of Rights back to life in our constitution":

It has been a casualty of the cold war, yet it is as important today as it was when it was first framed. For, to paraphrase Lincoln, we have come to the evil day when none but the supporters of our bi-partisan foreign policy are entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That is not the kind of democracy Washington and Jefferson built in the young days of our nation; it is a dictatorship of thought absolutely repugnant to our national traditions. Let Hawai'i lead the way back to Americanism (1949-52 II(26):8).

His eye for class analysis, and his former experience with institutional racism, led him to discern quickly the exploitative role of big business and landowners in the lives of the ethnic non-white minorities. He had already written an editorial on the Massie case (Chapin 1996) when he was living in Chicago, so he knew that Hawai'i residents experienced virulent episodes of racism. Once in Hawai'i, he soon recognized various ways racism permeated throughout society. He became familiar with the subtle forms of discrimination, and on occasion the more blatant ones as well; for example, the segregated housing facilities at Pearl Harbor, and particularly Civilian Housing Areas 2 and 3 (see Takara 1990:202). He learned about the hostilities between Okinawans and Japanese, and various other inter- and intra-ethnic group prejudices and discrimination (Davis 1992:314).

He observed the discrimination in certain bars and restaurants, and the reluctance of the territorial legislature to pass a Civil Rights law, because by passing such a law the myth of Hawai'i as a racial paradise would be shattered (Davis 1992:313). Soon, within his columns, he was speaking about these matters. He attacked big business, the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) witch hunts, thought control, the loyalty oath, fascism, the Smith Act, white supremacy, Jim Crow, the War Machine, imperialism, racism and prejudice, reactionaries, discrimination in the selection of Supreme Court appointees, dictatorships, and ultra-conservative wealthy people. He ex-

posed unemployment, land and housing problems, blacklisting, and the exploitation of minority groups. He espoused freedom, radicalism, solidarity, labor unions, due process, peace, affirmative action, civil rights, Negro History week, and true democracy; to fight imperialism, colonialism, and white supremacy. He urged coalition politics. He called for people to investigate the real threats to democracy, such as big business interests, repression, censorship, thought control, the war machine, anti-communist hysteria, unemployment, reactionaries and fascism, segregation and racism. He called for the ordinary person to fight for democracy, to revise the land and tax laws. He exhorted the people of Hawai'i to wake up from indifference, to challenge police brutality, to support democratic politics, to gain economic power from land reform.

In speaking of his writing and influence, Ah Quon McElrath notes in an interview:

[H]e wrote some very prescient articles about race relations in Hawai'i and given the fact that Frank, a black married to a white, had come from that kind of situation in Chicago, it's utterly amazing how he was able to size up the race relations here in the [...] Territory of Hawai'i. As a matter of fact in the first article that he wrote, I have the date here, January 13, 1949, he talked about Anglo-Saxon culture being not better, but different from Hawaiian culture, Japanese culture, Chinese culture, and he talked a little bit about the typical reaction of the whites to different cultures [...] started a whole series of articles on race relations. As a matter of fact, one of his articles ended with this phrase. "These beautiful islands can still chart their own future." I'm not sure that Frank would agree that the future which we have since charted has been a good one or a bad one (*Rice and Roses* 1986(24):3).

Nor was the course he charted a particularly comfortable one for himself, since it so clearly revealed the racial underpinning of so many supposedly "social" or "economic" problems. As McElrath recalls:

Indeed, during this period most whites, commonly called *haole* in Hawai'i – descendants of missionaries, merchants, and/or landowners – had a colonialist attitude, and looked down on the local Hawaiian people and immigrants who worked for them. Class and ethnicity were well-defined and obvious (*Rice and Roses* 1986(24):3).

Epstein noted, "When I first came to Hawai'i, my understanding was the banks had dual salary schedules and that Haoles had one rate of pay and local people had another. I don't know whether it was justified by classification or how they covered it up but it was commonly accepted" (*Rice and Roses* 1986(2):2).

Traditionally, haole were discouraged from seeking employment in subservient roles and were permitted neither to work as laborers on the vast sugar and pineapple plantations, nor for the most part to join the trade unions. Management kept the different ethnic groups in segregated housing areas with discriminatory salary schedules, playing one group against the other. Davis himself was certainly cognizant that the whites were still in control in Hawai'i, "the acting governor at that time was Governor Ingram Stainback, a native of Tennessee, and his unofficial attitude often coincided with that of the many southern whites imported to work for the military" (1992:313).

Davis was very familiar with how civil rights issues often worked themselves out in racial terms. He relentlessly focused on the socio-economic and political problems which he observed and could expertly analyze due to his twenty years of newspaper experience, labor union work, familiarity with global politics, and many years of experience browsing thirty-five newspapers a day. Moreover, Davis was used to hostility from the white community; he had always been an outsider, a *malihini*. He was not easily thwarted. He was not intimidated by the FBI – although his influence was diluted by its discriminatory practices and harassment – since he had previous experience with it in Chicago at the ANP, where he had developed a strategy for giving them misinformation (*Rice and Roses* 1986(5):28). "I was vice-chairman of the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee," Davis recalled, "and so the Civil Rights Congress was in existence when I came over here. And we were, the local civil rights chapter, was affiliated with the Civil Rights Congress, which was another thing which did not sit well with the powers that were" (*Rice and Roses* 1986(6):34).

Not surprisingly, such activities were not appreciated by the establishment in Hawai'i. Though welcomed at first, when Davis turned his past experience on present-day Hawai'i, those in power became upset. This was especially the case when he advocated the creation of a union or committee of the various ethnic groups, often by illustrating how in the United States

African Americans had worked together with other groups in coalition politics to get things done. The result, predictably, was accusations of anti-haole bias and hatred:

In my column I tried to spell out the similarities between Afro-Americans and local people and local leaders thought my fight against white supremacy meant I was anti-white. I opposed any and all white imperialism and backed the nations seeking independence following World War II. I so incensed members of the White Power Structure that I became the constant radio target of an anti-labor organization known as IMUA, formed to combat the long waterfront strike in 1949, and whose membership was overwhelmingly haole. Even the two dailies were not above taking occasional potshots at me (1992:323-24).

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, many who were opposed to the status quo were also considered Communist, but such labeling did not deter Davis from continuing his path as a social realist, a militant voice in a gentle land. In a remarkably brave move, he even attacked the HUAC for failing to investigate flagrant abuses of democracy such as restricted housing, and for wasting its time by protecting the interests of big business. In his "Frank-ly Speaking" column, dated December 28, 1949, he notes:

The Hawai'i un-American Activities Commission has an excellent chance to break with tradition and win respect for such investigations, by probing the activities and programs of powerful groups that use color, religion or national origin as a basis for denying equality to all.

The matter of restricted housing should be thoroughly aired and those who perpetrate this evil practice should be forcefully exposed. Naturally, it would hit some of the Territory's most influential persons, many who dominate our economy. Is the commission willing to step on big toes or will it confine its investigations to the weak and powerless?

Restrictive housing covenants hit the majority of the Territory's population, since most are non-haole. In the year that I've been here, I have been blocked by this evil and totally un-American practice. Twice it came up when I sought rental units; last week it was raised again as I contemplated purchase of a home in an area off Kaneohe Bay Drive. It was Castle leasehold property and restricted, I was told. And so the deal was off (1949-52 II(22):16).

And yet, it was precisely because such exposés and attacks seemed to be targeting the white power structure that Davis was able to serve as a spokesman for many who were neither white nor African American. Davis wrote about this phenomenon – appreciatively, but with clear insight as well:

Despite propaganda spread by southern whites imported to work for Uncle Sam during World War II and the unofficial attitude of the territorial administration then headed by Governor Stainback, a native of Tennessee, local people generally were ready to accept Afro Americans at face value. Of course many had strongly warped ideas, drawn from traditional stereotypes perpetuated by press, movies and radio, but in the final analysis they based attitudes on personal relationships. I soon learned many Japanese went through a sizing up period when blacks moved into a predominantly Japanese neighborhood or they came in contact at work, but when they decided to accept you it was on a permanent basis, not as a fair weather friend. Dark Hawaiians tended to dislike Afro Americans as a group (many lived in mortal fear white tourists would mistake them for Negroes) but developed strong friendships with individuals; Hawaiians are traditionally warm and outgoing (1992:314).

From very early on he felt this Hawaiian support after he invested in property on the windward side of O'ahu – first in Kaha'u'u, then in Hau'ula where the family remained for seven years with the addition of several children. Davis seemed to feel welcome in Hau'ula – and only moved to the leeward Kalihi Valley in 1956 for its convenience and proximity to hospitals, schools, and work in Honolulu. He recalls:

For seven years Helen and I lived at Hauula, a predominantly Hawaiian village on the ocean some 31 miles from Honolulu. When I began driving daily to town and back, local boys who knew my schedule often waited beside the highway, sometimes for as long as three hours, to flag me down and ask questions about their personal lives, explaining, "you're not haole so I know I can trust you." In Hauula I joined the Democratic precinct club, virtually ran the organization and was sent to the state convention by the predominantly Hawaiian membership who told me that since I was educated and articulate, I could speak for them (1992:316).

When Davis became well-known for his writing for the *Honolulu Record*, he found this support only increased:

I found that many of the people around here [...] were quite [...] on my side. And I would sometimes be in my car, and I would stop at a light and, this was after I was writing this column for the *Honolulu Record*, [...] an Oriental businessman [...] would tell me that he recognized me from my picture which accompanied my column, and he'd say, "You know, you're writing exactly what I would say if I could. I just don't know how to say it." So therefore I got a lot of friendships which grew that way. (*Rice and Roses* 1986(9):52).

So too did support from less likely sources – all because the implications of Davis' writing did point out the haole dominance in Hawai'i. His columns later had the effect of getting him customers for his paper and office goods business, since Asian businessmen appreciated that he had defied "the big haoles."

With this kind of support, and with the examples of experience, Davis came to advocate reform measures which either took years to achieve, or are still challenges for the state. Land reform laws⁵ were finally enacted in the 1960s to resolve some of the problems which Davis addressed and spoke out about in the 1940s and 1950s. And his comments on the nature of Hawai'i's agricultural economy, and the future it must move toward, sound very familiar today, at a time when such issues as lease-to-fee conversion and sovereignty for Hawaiians are so centrally a part of public discourse. One column dated January 19, 1950, for instance, states that

Provision should be made for breaking up the big estates which control so much of this territory and force Hawai'i to depend upon a sugar and pineapple economy. Small independent farmers need to have access to land at a reasonable fee so that they can engage in diversified farming and thus make the people less at the mercy of the shipping industry and importing monopolies for food. For we have reached a period in our history when not only political and social rights need to be spelled out, but economic rights as well. (1949-52 II(26):8).

Other Modes of Comment: Poetry

One of the most important sources of information about Davis' positions during this time comes from poetry written long after his columns in the *Honolulu Record*. Of several poems about Hawai'i, two are exceptional – "Tale of Two Dogs" and the still unpublished "This is Paradise" – because Davis

addresses the class and ethnic problems in Hawai'i. In those two poems, he focuses on the exploitation of the indigenous Hawaiians and immigrant workers by the haole oligarchy.

"Tale of Two Dogs" attacks United States imperialism in a historical poem about the sugar and pineapple industries:

Then the Strangers came;
They loosed their chained terriers
Of pineapple and sugar cane;
Sent them boldly into the yard
To sniff with eager green noses
At the sleeping old.
Long since
Pine and Cane
Have taken over the front lawn.
Snapping impatiently at obstructing ankles;
They run between
The tall still legs of the motionless mountains
As if they originated here
And the silent ancients
Were usurpers.
Here in this cultivated place
Growing the soft brown rose of Polynesia
The dogs have scratched
Digging for the buried pot of cash returns
Killing the broken bush
Under the flying dirt
of greed and grief.
There is none so patient
As a tired mountain drowsing in the sun;
There is no wrath so great
As that of a mountain outraged
Destroying the nipping dogs
Loosed on the front lawn
By the Strangers
(Davis 1987:4-5).

The accusatory voice, the exposure of the raw power of the usurpers, and the suggestion of revenge make this poem powerful, especially in contrast with the ancient silence of the motionless mountains.

"This is Paradise" is an epic five-section poem. Davis offers an ironic travelogue in which a superficial tourist from Iowa might find a quaint, exotic paradise peopled with friendly, peaceful, prismatic natives content to serve. In the second section of the poem, he reveals the "soiled slip" of the real Hawai'i behind the props and stage setting: "Captain Cook . . . sweeping over the old way / inundating the ancient gods / flooding the sacred soil of custom and tradition" (1986:n.p.). He speaks of the missionaries as "magicians, the conjure men of Christianity / placed the vanishing cloth of Mother Hubbards on the women / Then whoosh and presto / Nudity into nakedness." He points to the irony that: "Now that it was uncivilized to kill by spear or club, guns became a symbol of progress" and at the end of Part II he writes:

The missionaries came with Bibles
The heathen natives had the land
Now the natives are no longer heathen,
They have the Bible and Jesus
and in this equitable trade –
This oh so reasonable swap
The missionaries got the land. . . .
(Davis 1986:n.p.).

In Part III, Davis begins his critique of the Big Five: "Under the manure of the missionaries / sprouted the Big Five / Time was / When the Big Five had God on their payroll. . . . But that was before the Union" (1986:n.p.). He proceeds to describe the struggle between the ILWU and the Big Five; the plain people finally become freed from fear but still remain victims of poverty.

In Part IV, Davis speaks lovingly of the ethnic mix of the inhabitants of the island but adds irony. A haole tourist from Birmingham "Went home after two days of his intended month: / 'You can take these Goddamned islands,' He told friends in Dixie / And shove them up your ass / I don't like Hawai'i – / Too many niggers there" (1986:n.p.). Davis points out the divisive irony of color as a dark Hawaiian speaks to a lemon-light Negro using the expression "boy" in describing his best friend who was an African American in the army. Later

Davis uses Asians in the poem to ridicule the "funny kind names" of the haole. The more subtle problems of miscegenation are addressed when two haole parents referring to the Japanese bride of their son say "It's all right to sleep with 'em / But for Christ sake / Why do you have to marry 'em?" The bride subsequently returns to the Islands.

In another ironic passage, the Keakana family goes to the beach on the weekend to fish, "And the tourists from Topeka riding around the island in the prancing buses smile pinkly and murmur: 'How quaint, how carefree the Hawaiians are, not a worry in the world, nothing to do but loaf and fish just like their ancestors'" (1986:n.p.). Davis finishes the vignette with the comment that John Keakana weighs his fish to sell and to eat in order to "stretch monthly pay within \$40 of what the social scientists call necessary for minimum health standards." Davis reveals the low standard of living and poverty which a typical Native Hawaiian family might be confronted with in contrast to the tourist-oriented, technological society in which they find themselves in modern times, and in contrast to their original relationship to the land in the Islands.

In Part V of "This is Paradise," Davis satirizes the cliché that there is no race prejudice in Hawai'i, creating imaginary scenes where skin color and ethnic identity are equated with attitudes of superiority and inferiority:

One week in the country,
And the navy wife phones her landlord:
"Across the street
Lives a bunch of dirty Hawaiians;
Next door on our right
A family of lousy Japs;
On the other side
A house full of slant-eyed Chinks;
And in front of us
On our very same lot
A white bitch married to a nigger –
I want our rent money back"
(1986:n.p.).

Davis ruthlessly exposes the color line in Hawai'i and the racism in Paradise brought by the white Americans, and for that he did not find, or in the case of this poem did not even seek, an audience.

Davis' Hawai'i Legacy

Was there any way that Davis, as an African American man in Hawai'i, could remain unconventional, radical, and defiant in the face of strong political and economic machines, and be financially successful? Was there any way to maintain his political views and aggressive nature and prosper with no allegiance to a power base in the community? The answer is an unequivocal no. Unfortunately, no significant African American community existed in Hawai'i to provide Davis with emotional and moral support; and an expanded audience and market for his writing. Also, because he was still concerned with the issues of freedom, racism, and equality, he lacked widespread multicultural support. Many islanders felt economic issues were more important – or they simply dared not challenge the system again after the strike, and risk their jobs, security, and well-being, since most had come to Hawai'i as immigrants and had only recently moved into a tenuous middle-class status.

One can only imagine Davis' frustrations at his inability to become a successful writer in Hawai'i after his promising beginnings in Atlanta and Chicago. He rarely complained, but he must have felt incomplete, if not bitter, when he found dignity but not freedom to develop his potential and lead the distinguished life to which he was accustomed. Considering the controversial subject matter of Davis' writing, it is little wonder that some whites looked askance at his presence in the Islands. He worked quietly, he wrote even when he no longer published his writings, and he talked with those who came to visit him – always seeking to present the truth of his vision, confident that social justice and human dignity would finally prevail. Indeed, despite his radical rhetoric, Davis was optimistic that good relations between ethnic groups could and would lead to a better world.

Davis was a pioneer in Hawai'i in the sense that he was a tireless witness recording the race and class history of his time, thinking of himself not as a local person, but rather as an expatriate who found a community which accepted him, and a personal level of human dignity and peace which he treasured. If Davis did not succeed financially, why did he not succeed in the literary arena and gain status and renown? Did Davis eventually tire of carrying the race struggle and protest message on his shoulders, or did he simply carry his battle to another level? Although certainly not "successful" in the tradi-

tional, capitalistic sense of the word, could the life of Davis be said to end in defeat? What constitutes defeat?

It can be argued that Davis escaped defeat like a trickster, playing dead only to arise later and win the race, although the politics of defeat were all around him. If society seemed to defeat him by denying him financial rewards, publication, and status, he continued to write prolifically. He stood by his principle that the only way to achieve social equality was to acknowledge and discuss publicly the racial and ethnic dynamics in all their complexity situated in an unjust society. He provided a bold, defiant model for writers to hold on to their convictions and articulate them.

His testimony remains. The social criticism and perceptive analysis are just as relevant today when the conditions of exploitation continue to thrive, and deprive many people of color, minorities, and the poor. ♦

Notes

1. For further information on the labor movement and transition of Hawai'i to a tourist-based economy, see Beechert (1985:225,285).
2. Ichiro Izuka was a Longshore leader on Kaua'i at Port Allen in the ILWU strike. For further information, see Beechert (1985:278,282).
3. For further information on McElrath's role in the Hawai'i Labor Movement, see Zalburg (1979:60,283).
4. For further information on Harry Bridges, the ILWU, and the CIO in the Pacific Region, see Beechert (1985:228).
5. For further discussion on the Land Reform Laws and the Maryland Bill, see Cooper and Daws (1985:405,411).

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Hawai'i's Japanese Americans and National Public Representation

Franklin Odo

Public history, including art history – and specifically public history in museums – is only one of the influential venues through which we derive our sense of our collective "place" in society. Certainly television and film as well as formal schooling are more important in terms of direct impact on social perceptions of ethnicity, race, and gender. But in spite of considerable shifts in recent museum leadership attitudes, museums themselves continue to be regarded as temples of truth and beauty, arbiters of objective history and aesthetic sensibilities.

As a result, museums continue to be important influences in shaping social attitudes. Many people do go to museums, at the least for the mandatory field trips in elementary grades, but also for a wide variety of personal reasons. And those who do attend regularly tend to be individuals and groups with considerable authority, including teachers leading these field trips, who validate and authenticate interpretations provided by the museums. It is useful to recall that, while students may go to museums only a few times in their careers, teachers do so on a regular basis and are exposed repeatedly to this particular influence.

Other opinion-shapers, including those in the media and the ranks of society's leaders, absorb and transmit museum notions of beauty and value as well as historical truth through interlocking networks of community councils such as chambers of commerce, school boards and ethnic associations. Thus, museum representations are critical sites that help define who and what make up our society and how we came to be the way we are. And as the struggle for cultural hegemony heats up, control of history-making apparatuses becomes increasingly important. Museum board members or public officials who allocate funding, then, tend to take their responsibilities and power very seriously. At the national level, continual assaults on the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) demonstrate the fervor of the antagonists to cut funding of the arts. Vicious controversies involving the Smithsonian Institution over the 1995 Enola Gay exhibition ratcheted the debate up by more than a few notches (Kurin 1997).

The history of Hawai'i's Japanese Americans (JAs) is one part of the total story of these Islands because of the enormous impact this group has had for the past 115 years, as well as its continuing importance in contemporary society. There are two important ways in which this story may be contextualized. The first is within the rapidly growing field of national Asian Pacific American (APA) studies. The second is within the more localized, but related, space of Hawai'i itself. In the context of the national history of Asian Americans or APAs, little attention has been directed to the complex and critical issues involved in the history of Japanese Americans in Hawai'i. A review of the general texts covering the field reveals this gap (Chan 1991; Takaki 1989). A quick look, for example, at the political, business, religious, academic, and philanthropic leadership among APAs illustrates the point that Japanese Americans are still of critical importance in spite of their relative decline in total APA numbers.¹ For national JA concerns, the Hawai'i community is becoming more, rather than less, important. The Japanese American National Museum, based in Los Angeles, recognized this fact with two recent exhibitions. One, on JAs in the Kona coffee industry on the Big Island, was followed by a major venture chronicling the entire history of the ethnic group in Hawai'i. The latter opened at the Bishop Museum in October 1997, entitled "From Bento to Mixed Plate. Americans of Japanese Ancestry in Multicultural Hawai'i."

It is important to remind ourselves, at this point, that the APA rubric is entirely constructed; there is no logical rationale for lumping together peoples and societies from this immense portion of the earth, Asia and the Pacific, including most of its water and land masses as well as the vast majority of its populations. One reason is, of course, the fact that this is a leftover, catch-all, category of people of color, after accounting for Native Americans, peoples from Latin America, and from Africa. But it is a bewildering and complex congeries of societies, linked by no common language, no common belief system or religion, no common traditions, no common foods; not rice, not tubers, not other grains. What unites us is the need for the federal decennial census to count people in aggregates.²

The aggregates themselves, however, suggest we should pay attention. While APAs in 1970 comprised less than one percent of the population, with less than one million individuals; we are now about just over three percent, perhaps 10 million people, clustered overwhelmingly in metropolitan areas

and disproportionately important in California and Hawai'i, and increasingly so in urban areas like Seattle, the New York City-northern New Jersey region, as well as Atlanta, Houston, Minneapolis, and other cities. Along with Latinos, APAs form the fastest growing [in percentage terms] racial group in the nation. The national responses to issues of immigration and affirmative action, to take only two of the more intensely debated issues of contemporary times, illustrate the volatile and critical nature of this grouping (see, for example, Matsuda and Lawrence 1997).

Within the local context of social conditions in Hawai'i, a critical assessment of the place of JAs is surely a matter of great import. This is an ethnic group that continues to be influential in the voting booths, legal ranks, public schools, and in government offices as well as small- and medium-sized businesses. They also now serve as high-ranking officers in all branches of the military and in the local corporate structure. How JAs respond to the Native Hawaiian sovereignty movement, for example, will be crucial, even recognizing that this is a community far from monolithic in any respect. But how Japanese Americans respond to struggles for human rights among other groups often relies on a personal sense of reciprocity or comfort with these issues as their own group faced them. Thus, as with all groups, the public representation of JA experiences and heritages is exceedingly important. And how JAs are presented – not just in Hawai'i, but on the national level – becomes increasingly salient as the world shrinks and policy continues to be formulated away from Hawai'i's shores (Kent 1993).

One example should suffice: redress payments and formal apologies were provided to over a thousand individuals who were detained in concentration camps on the continent or in various locations in Hawai'i. But it required extraordinary research efforts to document the racist nature of the World War II treatment of Hawai'i's Japanese Americans to convince the US Justice Department that over hundred individuals deserved presidential apologies and \$20,000 payments even though none had been interned.³ While the research took place in Hawai'i, this victory would not have been possible, in my judgment, without a national effort, including a significant base in Washington, DC (Hohri 1984). The following sections will illustrate the ways in which national institutions and perspectives dealing with Japanese American heritage/experiences have challenged long-standing views.⁴

There is general appreciation in Hawai'i's art world of JA artists as significant contributors, especially in the period after World War II (Morse 1997:183-85). What has not been appreciated, however, is the impact they and other Asian American artists had on the national and international phenomenon known as American Abstract Expressionism. In 1997, the Jane Voorhees Zimmerli Art Museum at Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey, opened an exhibition entitled: *Asian Traditions/Modern Expressions: Asian American Artists and Abstraction, 1945-1970*. In the catalogue for this exhibition, Philip Dennis Cate, the Director of the museum, insisted: "Almost from its inception, Abstract Expressionism inspired claims that it represented the first truly indigenous American art movement of consequence and that its sources are purely American, essentially unaffected by other international trends, whether contemporary or historical" (1997:7). Cate noted that claims from this perspective distorted history by ignoring European antecedents and, perhaps more importantly, the involvement of dozens of significant Asian American artists. "That most of these Asian American artists have been neglected in studies of twentieth-century American art suggests that race rather than artistic achievement was one criterion for historians, especially when it came to defining an 'American' art form" (ibid.). Many art enthusiasts will know of Isamu Noguchi, the internationally renowned sculptor, and perhaps of Kenzo Okada; but most know of American Abstract Expressionism through the works of artists like Mark Tobey, Jackson Pollock, Franz Kline, Robert Motherwell, Mark Rothko, and Adolph Gottlieb, who are described as pathbreakers in technical, compositional and formal terms. There are, however, dozens of Asian American artists whose works both reflected and helped shape the direction of Abstract Expressionism. Some are well-known in Hawai'i art circles: second-generation *nisei* like Satoru Abe, Isami Doi, Ralph Iwamoto, Sueko Kimura, Tetsuo Ochikubo, Tadashi Sato, and Toshiko Takaezu were active contributors to the movement.

Perhaps this should not be surprising, given the fact that the techniques and perspectives deemed innovative in Abstract Expressionism had been applied for centuries in East Asian art; some of these elements were incorporated into the art of the *nisei* and other Asian American artists of Japanese, Chinese, and Korean descent in the 1945-1970 period. Among the qualities considered advanced and new are the following:

gestural methods (for example, the "flung ink" manner of *sumi*); frequent restriction of color range often to only black and white; calligraphic imagery, free linearism, and aggressive or rapid brushwork; highly asymmetrical compositions, often with large areas of empty space; atmospheric or flat fields of color; spontaneous approaches to artmaking that includes the acceptance of accidental effects; and the notion of the act of painting as a self-revelatory event, psychically and sometimes somatically charged with, and implicitly linked to, the artist's emotions (Wechsler 1997:11).

These are qualities immediately familiar to those who have appreciated art from East Asia. And there is the constant, underlying foundation of a Chinese writing system, itself extremely abstract, that became the formal symbol of both intellectual achievement and aesthetic refinement. These *nisei* artists are of a generation that almost universally received training in both language and calligraphy – whether as a matter of course in language schools in Hawai'i or through their own search for artistic "roots" in Japan (see, most recently, Okita 1998). Their individual and collective impact on the American Abstract Expressionism movement was important; their backgrounds as Hawai'i Japanese Americans formed a vital part of that capacity to influence their generation of artists.

Interestingly, these artists, who consciously interwove traditional Asian cultural practices with modern American trends, who deliberately sought out ways in which to bridge the cultures, have not been particularly honored by either mainstream society or by their own ethnic communities. As Philip Cate remarked, "race" is surely a factor for the mainstream, but what about their own communities? I would argue that, in the period under question, 1945-1970, the immediate post-World War II quarter of a century, most Asian American community leaders defined progress in terms of assimilation, defined then as the discarding of traditional cultural baggage. As a result, the inclusion of Asian elements, however skillfully blended into American modernity, was problematical. The next quarter century, between 1970 and 1995, were years of intense ethnic revival on campuses and historical societies/museums. Perhaps the major focus of that period was to explore and validate the depth of our "Americanness" – largely to counter the racist stereotypes of Japanese and other Asian Americans as perpetual foreigners. Shelves of articles and

books were written to demonstrate the length of time we have been here; the individuality of our experiences; our involvement with labor movements, literary activities, film and culture, radical political movements, and entrepreneurial activities. In this context, there was little room for those who were plumbing the depths of their Asian cultural heritages.

Now, however, times are changing. As a result, the voices within Japanese American historical representations are also shifting. The major waves of influx of Asian immigrants after the 1965 immigration act's reforms brought significant differences. While many of the newcomers in the 1970s and 1980s were refugees from Southeast Asia, many more were physicians, nurses, researchers, scientists, academicians, from East and South Asia as well as Southeast Asia. Many came with training and financial resources – Asian Indians, for example, are the most highly educated ethnic group in the United States. And, now, travel is convenient and fast, communication is instant; soap operas from last week's TV series in Seoul Korea are in today's video stores in Flushing, Queens, in New York City. Today's "Americans" no longer feel it quite so necessary to distance themselves from the "old" countries, wherever they may be. So, today, we are more prepared to embrace the fascinating stories of these Asian American artists who helped shape the course of American Abstract Expressionism through their conscious use of Asian artistic traditions. The exhibition, *Asian Traditions/Modern Expressions: Asian American Artists and Abstraction, 1945-1970* may not transform mainstream art criticism or sensitize critics to the multiple ways in which Japanese American or other artists of color might be considered, but it should alert us to the interesting ways in which, historically, old cultural traditions always bear seeds of innovation.

Arguably the most important public history exhibition interpreting Asian Americans in a mainstream venue is *A More Perfect Union: Japanese Americans and the Constitution*. It has been about a decade now since the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of American History unveiled its major exhibition commemorating the 200th anniversary of the Constitution of the United States. That such an exhibit would feature the violations of multiple sections of the Constitution by the US government was an astounding achievement, one that required considerable vision and courage on the part of the museum director, Roger Kennedy, and the curator, Tom Crouch. I recall

Crouch showing me his file of hate mail, including death threats he had received, even before the public could see the exhibition (source: personal visits and conversations, 1988).

For many Asian Americans, not only Japanese Americans, World War II became the defining watershed between an unmitigated experience of exclusion and racism, and a much more positive, if ambivalent, postwar period of becoming America's poster group for minority self-improvement. This was a gross oversimplification of history, but there were certainly elements of truth to be found in this interpretation. Nowadays, JAs have been called the "Model Minority." This has become shorthand for a once-despised group that used its own internal cultural strengths and favorable historical conditions to overcome prejudice and racism in a positive fashion, succeeding in, as one popular and immensely influential essay published in 1966 put it: "outwhiting the whites" (Petersen 1966). The unfortunate subtext, however, was a non-too-subtle dig at the "other" immigrant minorities and indigenous peoples who continued to be mired in poverty and problems. So, in one sense, World War II became the crucible in which the souls of JAs were tried and their characters formed. After all, nearly 120,000 JAs, two-thirds of them American citizens, were detained for periods varying from days to over five years, in America's concentration camps.

Of course, there was the anomalous and disquieting fact of the nearly 160,000 JAs in Hawai'i, only a thousand were sent into these camps, followed by a similar number of family members. The remainder continued to live and work in the only piece of American real estate seriously attacked by Japan, one potentially a site for enemy invasion – but that is another story. Hawai'i was also the origin of most of the men later honored as combat troops in Europe, in the 100th Infantry Battalion and the 442nd Regimental Combat Team.⁵ Six thousand others served as interpreters and translators in the Military Intelligence Service or in OSS units, or were detached to allied forces like the British in India. They were truly a secret weapon that may have helped end the war a great deal sooner than otherwise possible.

A More Perfect Union juxtaposes the stories of JA heroism in the military with the concentration camp experiences. There is little visible to mitigate the irony of ethnic-combat heroism drawn from a population forcibly detained behind barbed wire because of their ancestry. It is not clear, from the exhibit,

that all of the volunteers and draftees who formed the 100th and the men who volunteered in 1943 for the 442nd were from Hawai'i, where mass arrests and detainment did not occur. It is possible, as a result, to misread one possible "lesson" from the exhibit – that JAs consciously and disproportionately offered up their bodies out of the camps. But the exhibit does spend time on the controversial topic of the several hundred young men, in the camps, who refused to report for induction when the draft was applied to them in 1944. From this vantage point in time, it seems reasonable that at least a few JAs would resist the draft until they and their families were accorded the same democratic processes as available to non-JAs in the general public. At the time, the confrontations between the resisters and the government, as well as with their own ethnic leaders, were intense and bitter, but this tone does not emerge very well. An overall impression that might mislead, then, one to thinking that there was relative harmony within the JA community during this traumatic experience.

Another aspect of intra-ethnic divisions was the movement to secure redress in the 1970s and 1980s. That struggle culminated in the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, signed into law by Ronald Reagan in August of that year. Although most claims for redress and appeals following rejection have been settled, including those of many Japanese Peruvians who were kidnapped from their homeland and removed to camps within the US, the unresolved cases will continue to trouble our political and moral consciences. This is necessarily a messy business, but the exhibition should explore it as part of the historical record (Bunch 1995:32; Kurin 1997:71-82). And, to be sure, if the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of American History weighs in on the side of one particular interpretation, this would be a highly significant move, coming from an "objective authority."

The inclusion of JA experiences within the national discourse of history and art history within the last decade has created space for the reconsideration of major institutions – the functioning of the United States Constitution and the formation of American Abstract Expressionism within modern American art history. If allowed appropriate appreciation in Hawai'i, national museum coverage might provide a powerful tool to enable Japanese Americans within Hawai'i to respond more generously and proactively to the struggles of all groups for social justice. ♦

Notes

1. The *National Asian Pacific American Political Directory* (1996), for one example, lists over three hundred APA names, many Japanese American, for 1996.
2. For lucid presentations on the demographic aspects, see LEAP and UCLA Asian American Studies Center (1993); for the most recent compilations, see "The APA Population Report; A Special Statistical Supplement Incorporating the Latest Findings From the U.S. Census Bureau" (*Asian Week* 1996).
3. In the 1990s, a series of efforts resulted in successful claims for redress for dozens of Hawai'i JAs who were not interned but were removed from homes or jobs based on their ancestry (Bill Kaneko 1996).
4. Most Japanese American art history has moved in other directions: Karin Higa's important exhibition and catalogue (1992), for example, insists on validating the artists in their own contexts; Kristine Kuramitsu follows in a similar vein (1995). Here, I wish to suggest that these artists need to be interpreted in other ways as well.
5. There is an entire shelf of books documenting this part of JA history. See, for good bibliography, Niiya (1993).

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Indigenous Rights, Praxis, and Social Institutions

Ulla Hasager

Since time immemorial, Hawaiians have accessed and gathered resources of the land and sea.

ʻĪlio'ulaokalani, brochure (1997)

The State of Hawai'i Constitutional Convention of 1978 added the following paragraph to the Constitution of the State of Hawai'i, clarifying the traditional rights of the indigenous people of Hawai'i, which had been already codified into written law for the past 160 years.

The State reaffirms and shall protect all *rights, customarily and traditionally exercised for subsistence, cultural and religious purposes* and possessed by ahupua'a tenants who are descendants of native Hawaiians who inhabited the Hawaiian Islands prior to 1778, subject to the right of the State to regulate such rights (Article XII, Section 7, State Constitution, quoted from State of Hawai'i, Supreme Court (hereafter SC) 1998:19).

In 1995, the State of Hawai'i Supreme Court ended a series of rulings, gradually broadening the understanding of access and gathering rights of native Hawaiians. When the court confirmed traditional and customary access rights in the so-called *PASH/Kohanāiki* ruling, it drew a strong reaction; especially among realtors, real estate owners, and developers who urged lawmakers to clarify and control these rights. Legislators have since repeatedly introduced bills to define and contain native rights, perhaps to accommodate critics. In November 1998, the so-called Hanapi case brought the first Supreme Court ruling narrowing native rights.

Adverse reaction to court confirmations of already existing rights and long-term practices of an indigenous people has counterparts in other first world-countries. Development and exploitation of the resources in areas occupied by indigenous peoples are dramatically increasing – not in the least because modern technology eases access to these often-remote areas and their resources, such as oil in Alaska and uranium in Australia. When some indigenous peoples successfully employ the court systems (supported by

civil disobedience) to protect their resources and time-honored rights, citizens – both non-indigenous and indigenous – grow aware of the indigenous rights that their own national laws supposedly protect. This awareness can create negative sentiments, ranging from fear and scape-goating to efforts to contain the already-established protection of indigenous rights under the western-style (“modern”) property laws.

In first world countries, court protection of indigenous rights often depends on common law and on a few paragraphs in the national constitutions mentioning these rights as parts of other law complexes – most often land laws. The basis for establishing these rights in Hawai'i is proof of some version of “customary and traditional” rights “exercised for subsistence, cultural and religious purposes” (SC 1998:19).

This article looks at how the above series of court rulings interpreted traditional and customary rights in Hawai'i, especially the most recent case, from an anthropological point of view to identify what these concepts mean in practice to different peoples and agencies, including the academic establishment. The focus will be on access and gathering rights, which in fact are inseparable from many other rights, such as the right to religious freedom, burial rights, and historic preservations rights (MacKenzie 1991, Part IV:211-77). Kanaka Maoli rights will be compared to the status of native rights of the Australian Aborigines/Torres Strait Islanders. As with Kanaka Maoli rights, the native rights of these peoples also take the right to exclude others from one's property out of the so-called bundle of rights which comprise western-style private property laws.

Codification of Traditional Hawaiian Rights

Today, native Hawaiian rights are protected by the State Constitution as noted above and by other provisions of federal and state law. In 1996, the Kanaka Maoli historian, Davianna McGregor, who frequently serves as an expert witness in court cases, identified a basic framework for the defense of traditional and customary rights in an article entitled “An Introduction to the *Hoa'āina* and Their Rights.” She found that the rights of *hoa'āina* (the cultivators, lit., friends of the land) are rooted in “the customs, practices and rights of the original and still primary social unit of the Hawaiian people; the *‘ohana*” (extended family). The *‘ohana* family system “encourages sharing of

household and subsistence activities” and connects “generations from the past, the present, and the future,” leaving to the living generation “the responsibility of respecting and continuing family and cultural traditions” (McGregor 1996:2-3).

The basic land division, the *ahupua'a*, is of central importance to traditional and customary rights claims, as we will see below. An *ahupua'a* was generally a pie-shaped piece of land, stretching from the mountains, *uka*, out into the ocean, *kai*, to the reef. Within this area, almost all the needs of the *maka'āinana* were supplied (Kelly 1997:1). This is the basis for the general *mauka-makai* orientation (towards the mountain, towards the sea) of Kānaka Maoli and other residents of Hawai'i, even today.

During the 1840s and 1850s, the traditional Kanaka Maoli system of undivided use right to land and resources was challenged by the development of a the western system of divided or individual private property rights. The transformation was initiated in the so-called Māhele (“Division”) of the lands of the Kingdom of Hawai'i. The intent was to end the many different levels of stratified society, in which access was available to all on the same areas of land held in trust by the *ali'i nui* (high chiefs). The original policy of a tripartition of the land to the government, *ali'i* (chiefs), and *maka'āinana* (commoners) (Territory of Hawai'i 1929:3) resulted in less than twenty-nine thousand acres for all the *maka'āinana* and lesser chiefs in *kuleana* awards (lots of land that the *hoa'āina* obtained title to). More than ninety-nine percent of the lands were allotted to the *ali'i*, the *mō'i* (king), and the government. However, all lands were subject to the rights of the *hoa'āina*, “native tenants.” The landowners of these lands, therefore, were held responsible for maintaining the rights of the *hoa'āina*, basically the right of access, “access to the resources that sustain life, culture, environment” (Kelly 1998:3). The *kuleana* awards were too small for survival without traditional rights.

Two-and-a-half years after the Māhele, the Kuleana Act of 1850 attempted to clarify the rights of the “native tenants.” According to the Privy Council Record, the King (Kauikeaouli) inserted into this Act Article 7 “as a rule for the claims of common people to go to the mountains, and the seas attached to their own particular lands exclusively,” thereby providing access to resources outside the boundaries of small plots of land, because “a little bit of land even

with allodial title, if [the people] be cut off from all other privileges would be of very little value" (quoted from "Life with PASH!" 1997(I):006b). Article 7 reads in its entirety:

When the landlords have taken allodial titles to their lands, the people on each of their lands, shall not be deprived of the right to take firewood, house timber, aho cord, thatch, or ti leaf, from the land on which they live, for their own private use, *should they need them*, but they shall not have a right to take such articles to sell for profit. *They shall also inform the landlord or his agent, and proceed with this consent.* The people also shall have a right to drinking water, and running water, and the right of way. The springs of water, and running water, and roads shall be free to all, *should they need them*, on all lands granted in fee-simple: Provided, that this shall not be applicable to wells and water courses which individuals have made for their own use (August 5, 1850; quoted from Territory of Hawai'i 1925:2112; emphasis added).

The words italicized in the above quote were later deleted. However, except for the heading, first sentence and a few typographical changes, this article is preserved in today's Hawai'i Revised Statutes (HRS) Chapter 7-1 (State of Hawai'i 1985). Furthermore, since 1892, it has been written into kingdom, territory, and state law, successively, that the codex of law builds on common law, "except as otherwise expressly provided" by constitutions and laws, "or fixed by Hawaiian judicial precedent, or *established by Hawaiian usage*" (State of Hawai'i 1985: Chapter 1-1; emphasis added).

The Constitutional Convention of 1978, which created Article XII, Section 7, intended, according to McGregor's analysis of the proceedings (1996:11-12), for this article to remove the limits on what could be gathered, according to HRS 7-1. The constitutional amendments also provided for establishing criteria and procedures for regulating water use in Hawai'i, which eventually resulted in the State Water Code of 1987. The Water Code contains a section on "Native Hawaiian water right" which specifies "traditional and customary rights of ahupua'a tenants": "Such [...] rights shall [...] include, but are not limited to, the cultivation or propagation of taro on one's own kuleana and the gathering of hihiwai, opae, o'opu, limu, thatch, ti leaf, aho cord, and medicinal plants for subsistence, cultural, and religious purposes" and that these rights "shall not be diminished or extinguished by a failure to apply for or to receive a permit" (State of Hawai'i 1989: Section 174C-101, (c) and (d)).

Traditional and Customary Kanaka Maoli Rights in the State of Hawai'i Supreme Court's Rulings

Over time, traditional and customary rights have been specified – broadened or narrowed – through court cases. A series of rulings by the Hawai'i Supreme Court since 1982, have been especially concerned with Hawai'i's constitutional mandate to protect these rights:

- *Kalipi v. Hawaiian Trust Co., Ltd.*, 1982 (hereafter *Kalipi*);
- *Pele Defense Fund v. Paty*, 1992 (hereafter *Pele Defense Fund*);
- *Public Access Shoreline Hawai'i v. Hawai'i County Planning Commission*, 1995 (hereafter *PASH/Kohanaiki*); and
- *State of Hawai'i v. Alapai Hanapi*, 1998 (hereafter *Hanapi*).

The question of native Hawaiian access rights was central to all these cases, especially the questions of who could access which lands. The table below illustrates the development over the years in the rulings with respect to these two key questions.

Summary of Native Hawaiian Rights in Recent Supreme Court Cases¹

Year	Court Case	Degree of Land Development	Whose Rights
1982	<i>Kalipi</i>	Undeveloped	Native Hawaiians residing within the ahupua'a
1992	<i>Pele Defense Fund</i>	Undeveloped	Native Hawaiians from the same and neighboring ahupua'a
1995	<i>PASH/Kohanaiki</i>	Not fully developed	All native Hawaiians and perhaps others
1998	<i>Hanapi</i>	Not fully developed and not zoned residential	All native Hawaiians and perhaps others

Below is a short summary of each ruling with a focus on traditional and customary rights. The *Hanapi* case is treated in most detail, since the other cases are better known (see also McGregor's article in this volume).

Kalipi, 1982

William Kalipi, Sr., denied unrestricted access to gather for subsistence and medicinal purposes, sued the owners of two Moloka'i ahupua'a. He had a house lot in 'Ohia ahupua'a and an adjoining taro field in Manawai ahupua'a (SC 1982:3).² he claimed native Hawaiian kuleana rights under HRS 1-1 and HRS 7-1, supported by the language reserving kuleana for ho'a'aina (ibid.:4). His claims were rejected, because the court decided that the traditional purpose of the ahupua'a was to secure all the resources needed for a subsistence life style within its boundaries (ibid.:6-7), and therefore residents had no need to access other ahupua'a. The Kalipi 'ohana had lived in the ahupua'a in question until 1975.

The ruling in *Kalipi* recognizes that the State of Hawai'i has a constitutional mandate to protect traditional and customary native Hawaiian rights. It cannot argue for extinguishing traditional rights simply because they might be inconsistent with "our modern system of land tenure" (SC 1982:4). The courts must assure that "lawful occupants of an ahupua'a [defined as persons residing within the ahupua'a], [...] for the purpose of practicing native Hawaiian customs and traditions, [may] enter undeveloped lands within the ahupua'a to gather those items enumerated in [HRS 7-1]" (ibid.: 7-8; emphasis added) – subject to governmental regulation. The court did acknowledge a potential existence of rights beyond the ones listed in HRS 7-1.

The "undeveloped land" requirement was imposed, according to the logic that exercise of traditional gathering rights on fully developed property "would conflict with our understanding of the traditional Hawaiian way of life in which cooperation and non-interference with the well-being of other residents were integral parts of the culture" (SC 1982:9, emphasis added). In a footnote in the *Kalipi* ruling, the court makes it clear that the access and gathering rights "do not prevent owners from developing the lands" (SC 1982:8n2).

Pele Defense Fund, 1992

Claiming breach of the ceded lands trust,³ the Pele Defense Fund in December 1985 sued the Board of Land and Natural Resources and Campbell Estate for a land exchange of public for private lands, undertaken between the two parties in Puna, Hawai'i Island. The public lands of Wao Kele 'O Puna

Natural Area Reserve and other Puna lands (approximately 27,800 acres) were exchanged for about 25,800 acres of Campbell Estate lands at Kāhauale'a, Puna (SC 1992:584-85). Furthermore, the Defense Fund asserted that Campbell Estate and the three geothermal companies were excluding native Hawaiians from their constitutional rights to access and gather on the exchanged lands (SC 1992:584-85) in violation of the State Constitution's Article XII, Section 7.

The breach of trust claim was dismissed by the court because it transgressed the statute of limitation. Other important issues raised in this case were the right to sue under the Admission Act, Section 5(f), and the question of sovereign immunity. The court *did* consider the claim of constitutional violation of access rights, because this claim did not depend on the land exchange.

The court opinion in the *Pele Defense Fund* case written by Justice Klein upheld the 'Kalipi rights,' but added that, "[u]nlike Kalipi [who based his claims on land ownership], PDF members claim [native Hawaiian] rights based on the traditional access and gathering rights of native Hawaiians in the Puna region" (SC 1992:618-19). Analyzing the intentions behind the Article XII, Section 7, the court concluded that "[n]ative Hawaiian rights [...] may extend beyond the ahupua'a in which a native Hawaiian resides" (ibid.:620-21).

PASH/Kohanaiki, 1995⁴

Nansay Hawaii in 1990 filed for a Special Management Area (SMA) Permit with the Hawaii County Planning Commission (HCPC) in order to develop the coastal zone area of the ahupua'a of Kohanaiki, which is north of Kailua-Kona on the island of Hawai'i. The company planned to use the 450 acres of shoreline area for a "destination resort": two hotels, 330 multiple family residences, a golf course, restaurants, and other amenities to their development. At the ensuing hearing in September 1990, a public interest organization called Public Access Shoreline Hawaii (PASH) and Kanaka Maoli Angel Pilago requested a contested case hearing regarding the permit. HCPC rejected the request in November, claiming that PASH and Pilago did not have "standing" (special interest) in a contested case. At this time it also granted Nansay the SMA permit. PASH and Pilago took the matter to the Circuit Court, which in turn instructed HCPC to hold the contested case hearing. Nansay and HCPC thereafter took the case to the Intermediate Court and eventually to the

Supreme Court (Native Hawaiian Advisory Council, "Summary of the Kohanaiki Decision," July 1997, reprinted in "Life with PASH!" 1997(I):001-02).

The ruling involved the question of traditional and customary rights and has been called the strongest statement in Hawaiian courts relating to native Hawaiian rights. The essence of the ruling was that any Kanaka Maoli has the right to exercise traditional and customary rights on lands that are "less than fully developed" regardless of the ahupua'a of residence. It criticized *Kalipi* for ignoring Kanaka Maoli practices and being too concerned with the private property concept. It also instructed that the state must not attempt to regulate native Hawaiian rights out of existence (SC 1995:passim).

The *PASH/Kohanaiki* decision instructed the Hawai'i County Planning Commission that it is, as are all state agencies, required to take actions to protect native Hawaiian traditional and cultural rights. The ruling stated that the terms "native," "Hawaiian," and "native Hawaiian" are not legally defined, neither in the statutes or through legal history. The decision also did not endorse the federal 1921-definition from the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, which uses a fifty percent blood quantum requirement. The developers and county urged the court to use this definition. On the contrary, the decision stated that "those persons who are descendants of native Hawaiians who inhabited the islands prior to 1778 and who assert otherwise valid customary and traditional Hawaiian rights are entitled to [constitutional] protection regardless of their blood quantum" (SC 1998:24). It left open in the ruling whether non-Kanaka Maoli descendants of the kingdom of Hawai'i and non-Kanaka Maoli 'ohana members can legitimately claim native Hawaiian right (SC 1998:24,24n8).

PASH/Kohanaiki examined the legal developments of land tenure in Hawai'i and concluded that "the issuance of a Hawaiian land patent confirmed a limited property interest as compared with typical land patents governed by western concepts of property" (quoted from SC 1998:20). "Limited property interests" was not defined, but it was made clear that one limitation of the property rights would be to allow access for "constitutionally protected native Hawaiian rights, reasonably exercised" (SC 1998:20). The court decisions suggested to examine the degree of development, including current uses of the property, to determine whether the exercise of constitutionally protected native Hawaiian rights on the site would be inconsistent with modern reality (SC 1998:26).

Community Response to the PASH/Kohanaiki Ruling

The *PASH/Kohanaiki* ruling created a considerable concern and activity among some business men and lawyers. The concerns were that the ruling would have far-reaching negative consequences for outside investment, that property value would decline, causing tax revenues to decrease and that this would lead to an increased tax burden or cutbacks in social services, which again would cause increasingly polarization of the residents along ethnic lines (see for instances testimonies reprinted in "Life with PASH!" 1997(I):032-36). With these dire predictions in mind, land owners, title companies, developers, and others urged the State Legislature to assure title to land and pass laws that would identify protected native rights and limit the ways they could be exercised. Each successive legislative session since the ruling has accordingly seen attempts to define and restrict the concept of "native Hawaiian rights" (ibid.).

One such attempt came in January 1997 with Senate Bill 8 (SB 8) and House Bill 1920 (HB 1920), both of which specifically addressed the *Kohanaiki/PASH* decision, and in fact both bills contained provisions going against the Supreme Court ruling. Because the issues in these bills continue to surface in state politics and as a typical reaction provoked by the Supreme Court ruling, SB 8 will be discussed in some detail.

The purpose of SB 8 was "to provide private landholders with reassurance regarding the status of their title while preserving rights of native Hawaiians to continue to engage in traditional and customary practices on undeveloped lands" (State of Hawai'i 1997:1), again limiting the lands in question to the "undeveloped" level of pre-*PASH/Kohanaiki* rulings. The bill suggested a *personal* certificate of registration with the Land Use Commission (LUC) for practitioners of native Hawaiian rights who would have to prove their ancestry as well as show that the area in question traditionally had been used by their ancestors before November 25, 1892 (State of Hawai'i 1997:4). Such provisions, if adopted, would severely limit the number of people, in the present and the future, who would be able to access a few well-defined areas.

SB 8 of course offered definitions, both of "traditional and customary" and "undeveloped land." The former meant "reasonable Hawaiian activities and usage which predate November 25, 1892, [...] handed down and uniformly

practiced by native Hawaiians on the specifically identified undeveloped land to further their culture and religious beliefs" (State of Hawai'i 1997:2-3).

Undeveloped land was taken to mean parcel of land "upon which a building, structure, or other improvement does not exist or for which a permit or approval has not yet been obtained. [...] Improvements include, without limitation, sidewalks, pathways, paved trails, golf courses, fairways and greens, recreational playing fields, and the installation of utilities" (State of Hawai'i 1997:2-3).

This is not the place to go into details with these two bills, but the over-all effect of them could have been to severely limit access to the few, well-defined areas that are not yet "developed," and in effect extinguish native rights.

The Kanaka Maoli community was outraged and responded with a unified protest, culminating in an extremely powerful and moving over-night vigil, led by 'Ilio'ulaokalani's *kumu hula* (hula teachers), in the Capitol court yard in April 1997. Senator Malama Solomon, who had been one of the supporters of the bill, eventually tore up a copy of it publicly in order to symbolize its withdrawal. SB 8 had politicized yet another aspect of Hawaiian culture for all to see, and initiated a dynamic addition to the leadership in the broad-based Kanaka Maoli rights movement.

A quick look at the "stakeholders" shows that the people supporting the bill at hearings before the Senate Committees on Water, Land and Hawaiian Affairs and Transportation and Intergovernmental Affairs in February 1997 were, as could be expected, land owners, business men, realtors, title companies, and some state agencies, including the State Attorney General's office (which, however, had concerns that some of the bill's provisions could be "burdening" the exercise of Article XII, Section 7 gathering rights"; Testimony of the State Attorney General, 2/4/97, p. 4; reprinted in "Life with PASH!" 1997(1):041b). Opposing the bill was a wide array of environmental and Kanaka Maoli organizations, *kumu hula*, and University of Hawai'i professors (see "Life with PASH!" 1997(1):028,043-68).

The following year, Representative and Chair of the House Committee on Hawaiian Affairs Ed Case introduced the so-called Autonomy Bill, subsuming all Hawaiian rights and assets, including Kaho'olawe and those of Office of Hawaiian Affairs and Department of Hawaiian Homeland, under one "Native

Hawaiian Trust Corporation." The Kanaka Maoli community compared the Autonomy Bill with the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971,⁵ providing an important warning against the corporation structure. Also this bill was almost uniformly rejected by the Kanaka Maoli community and withdrawn.

"PASH" became the theme of several conferences and meetings. In mid-1997, a Pash-Kohanaiki Study Group was created by the Legislature to look into, among other things, how to minimize social conflict as a result of the PASH ruling, how to create a better balance, how to solve the issue of liability, and how to protect the title transformation process. In December 1997, the Native Hawaiian Bar Association, the William S. Richardson School of Law and the Native Hawaiian Advisory Council jointly sponsored a one-day conference with the title, "Life with PASH!" The conference was held at the Sheraton Waikiki Hotel and had a – for Kānaka Maoli – steep entrance fee of fifty dollars. The list of more than thirty presenters ranged from the State Attorney General to *kumu hula* Victoria Holt-Takamine, one of the outstanding personalities behind the unified Kanaka Maoli rejection of SB 8. The accompanying two-part collection of resources added up to 396 pages.

While the legislature has so far been unsuccessful in its attempts to limit the *PASH/Kohanaiki* ruling by law-making, the courts have started dealing with cases referring to the ruling. The *Hanapi* ruling of November 1998 showed a narrowing of the concept of native Hawaiian rights.

Hanapi, 1998⁶

Alapai Hanapi and his wife Louise are native tenants of the ahupua'a of 'Aha'ino of Moloka'i. They have lands seaward of land owned by Honolulu-based lawyer Galiher and his wife. In the course of altering their property, the Galiher's graded and filled an area near two fishponds, which Hanapi's family had been taken care of for generations. The latter filed a complaint with the US Army Corps of Engineers, which ruled that Galiher had in fact committed a so-called wetlands violation and instructed him to restore the area to its original state. Hanapi was present during the restoration, and on the third day he was arrested for trespass (SC 1998:2-3).

According to Alapai Hanapi, he and his family conduct a subsistence life style that is based on the resources of the ahupua'a. They "subsist off the

water, the fishpond, the ocean, the springs[,] and also the mauka side." As native tenants, they claim a constitutionally protected right to access the mauka lands for "gathering reasons [and] religious purpose[s]". (SC 1998:9). But the Hanapis also feel that they have a "moral responsibility and obligation to protect [the] natural resources" and that was the reason they were present during the restoration process. They were "gathering for religious purposes to start the healing of the land before the machines came in" (SC 1998:10).

On November 20, 1998, in an unanimous decision which, as in the *PASH/Kohanaiki* and the *Pele Defense Fund* rulings, was written by Justice Robert Klein (SC 1998), the Hawai'i Supreme Court affirmed the Moloka'i District Court's ruling of 1995. The ruling convicted Alapai Hanapi of a "criminal trespass in the second degree," and fined him \$100. The court found that Hanapi had failed to "show" his rights as a native tenant, which could have extended him the privilege of gathering rights on Galiher's property.

Hanapi did not feel that the district court had heard his defense. To prove his case, he had determined that he only needed to present "credible evidence," because his defense against the trespass charge was that his presence at Galiher's property was a constitutionally protected activity" (SC 1998:13). It was in his opinion the prosecution that should bear the burden of proof (ibid.). According to Justice Klein (citing a list of federal cases involving First Amendment rights; SC 1998:15-19), this would have been correct in a criminal case, but not when a constitutionally protected activity is involved, "it would be unduly burdensome to require the prosecution to negative any and all native Hawaiian rights claims regardless of how implausible the claimed right may be" (SC 1998:17-18).

The burden of proof was therefore "squarely placed" on Hanapi, who was not prepared for anything but establishing "credible evidence" through his own and his wife's "kama'aina testimony," that he was practicing his native Hawaiian rights at the time of arrest and that Galiher, in fact was guilty of a "wetlands violation" as found by the US Army Corps of Engineers. He did not bring any expert witnesses which the court tacitly suggested might have helped him create an "adequate foundation" connecting his claimed right to "a firmly rooted traditional or customary native Hawaiian practice" (SC 1998:28-29). The court mentions that over the years it has accepted so-called

kama'aina witness testimony as proof of *ancient* Hawaiian tradition, custom, and usage, but clearly recommends "putting forth specialized knowledge" which may come from expert testimony (ibid.).

In cases that builds on constitutional rights, the normal procedure is to file a motion to dismiss the criminal charge. Hanapi did not do this, which was an "understandable error" when you appear *pro se*, according to Justice Klein's opinion, so the "trial court begrudgingly allowed Hanapi to testify in support of his constitutional claims" (SC 1998:19) and on Galiher's wetlands violation. According to Klein's summary of the case, the District Court dismissed the constitutional claim as a Circuit Court matter after Hanapi had advised the court that he was trying to establish his rights as a native tenant (ibid.:22). The Supreme Court concluded that the district court's errors were harmless (ibid.:23).

It is of special importance in this connection to look at the court's opinion and arguments concerning establishing the existence of traditional or customary native Hawaiian practice and to understand on which grounds Hanapi's claims were rejected. The Supreme Court advised:

In order for a defendant to establish that his or her conduct is constitutionally protected as a native Hawaiian right, he or she must show, at minimum, the following three factors. First, he or she must qualify as a "native Hawaiian" within the guidelines set out in *PASH*. [...] Second, once a defendant qualifies as a native Hawaiian, he or she must then establish that his or her claimed right is constitutionally protected as a customary or traditional native Hawaiian practice. [...] Finally, a defendant claiming his or her conduct is constitutionally protected must also prove that the exercise of the right occurred on undeveloped or "less than fully developed property" (SC 1998:23-27).

As noted above some "customary and traditional native Hawaiian rights" are codified in Hawai'i's constitution and in the Revised Statutes, but other traditional and customary practices, which are "not specifically enumerated in the constitutions or statutes," may also be the basis for valid claims (SC 1998:25). Hanapi's claim of stewardship and healing/restoration of lands could therefore be considered "ancient traditional or customary native Hawaiian practice" (SC 1998:27). However, quoting the 1977 *Zimring* case stating that "usage must be based on actual practice" and not assumptions or

conjecture," the courts found that Hanapi "assumed" this right instead of establishing it: "Hanapi did not offer any explanation of the history or origin of the claimed right. Nor was there a description of the 'ceremonies' involved in the healing process. Without this foundation, the District Court properly rejected, albeit inartfully, Hanapi's claim of constitutional privilege" (SC 1998:29).

Hanapi's claim that Galiher's property was undeveloped was not contested by the court, but the degree of development of Galiher's land was really of no interest to the courts in this ruling, because it already had rejected Hanapi's native Hawaiian rights claim (SC 1998:27n11). However, it was this part of the ruling that caught the interest of the news media, because the court chose to modify the *PASH/Kohanaiki* ruling and held that

if property is deemed "fully developed," i.e., lands zoned and used for residential purposes with existing dwellings, improvements, and infrastructure, it is *always* "inconsistent" to permit the practice of traditional and customary native Hawaiian rights on such property. In accordance with *PASH*, however, we reserve the question as to the status of native Hawaiian rights on property that is "less than fully developed" (SC 1998:27).

An analysis of the excerpt from the transcripts of the District Court ruling (quoted in SC 1998:5-9) shows the inherent problem in addressing traditional and customary rights in a western legal system. This entire case is a story of two parties speaking different languages – in a setting completely defined by one of the parties.

It seems to be a common misconception in Hawai'i that the State of Hawai'i is the only place where the "bundle of rights" defining private property does not contain the right to exclude others from one's property. This is not the case, however. In other first world countries, we find parallel patterns demonstrating the conflicts between private land owners or lessees and the indigenous peoples, followed by court cases and publicity, leading to negative reactions from some non-indigenous factions of the society. One example is the Swedish Saami people, who have a right to herd reindeer on certain privately owned as well as on public lands (Jonsson 1998). Another example is the Australian Aborigines which have the right to use lands leased by the

government to others for cattle ranching and mining. As pointed out by several Kānaka Maoli, the parallel between the so-called *Wik* case of Australia and the *PASH/Kohanaiki* ruling of Hawai'i is striking (see for instance Niheu 1998:21-22, discussing the importance of protecting land and resources for indigenous health). The situation of the Aborigines and the "Wik Ten-Point Plan" is summarized below.

Ten Points to "Clarify" Native Rights

Native title (common law rights and interests) for Australian Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders (now comprising less than one percent of the total population of Australia) have only been codified and supported by law for a little more than twenty years, and in practice less than ten years. A federal Aboriginal Land Rights Act (1976) was slow to be implemented in territorial legislation. And Australia did not legally recognize native title until the High Court's *Mabo v. Queensland* decision in 1992. Until then, the terra nullius doctrine had been ruling on the basis of the fiction that Australia was a land without owners, when the British first took it over in 1788 (Tonkinson 1997:2). The judges in the Torres Strait case recognized that native title to land survived the Crown's annexation of Australia, but they also held that "native title had been validly extinguished over the vast majority of areas where most non-Indigenous Australians now live and work" and therefore the ruling does not threaten private property (ATSIC 1993).

In December 1996, the Australian High Court (supreme court) made a decision in the so-called *Wik* case, which is named after the indigenous people of western Cape York Peninsula. The court found that the indigenous native title rights continue to exist on the pastoral lands even when they are leased (by primarily white settlers and foreign corporations) from the Australian government. Some of the cattle stations there are as large as the country of Belgium. The Court found, however, that native title rights, including rights to subsistence hunting and fishing and traditional ceremonies, could only be honored if they did not interfere with the operations of the cattle stations and other present uses by the lessee. In spite of this, the ruling recognizing native title rights created a strong adverse public reaction.

In response, the Prime Minister created the *Wik Ten-Point Plan* which essentially extinguished native rights. Opposition in the Senate forced Prime

Minister Howard to repeatedly introduce the legislation, which finally was passed in his third try in 1998. The Aborigines were not consulted on this legislation, even though it abolished "in all but name" the native title rights recognized in the above-mentioned court cases of 1992 and 1996 ("Hard Times for Aboriginal Australia" 1998:1-2). The amendments to the native title legislation "legitimises the biggest land grab since 1788," because it allows pastoral leaseholders to develop "their" lands. It includes the requirement that all native title claimants have to (re)register their claims under stricter rules than previously before a Native Tribunal. It also abolishes water and air native title rights ("Hard Times for Aboriginal Australia" 1998:1).⁷

Prime Minister Howard and other leading politicians are now actively promoting the notion that Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders threaten the land rights and national development of all Australians (Jull 1998:19). In the elections in October 1998, 750,000 people voted for Pauline Hanson's "One Nation" party which distinctively builds its following around racist policies, aimed at eliminating affirmative action for Aboriginal peoples and even questions the concept of "Aboriginality" ("Hard Times for Aboriginal Australia" 1998:1). Pauline Hanson in June 1998 claimed that the United Nations Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (see below) will "tear the heart out of our country and deliver that heart to one of our very smallest minority groups" (quoted from Dodson and Pritchard 1998:10).

The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC), a parallel to the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA), seems also to be under attack in an attempt to "disempower indigenous leadership on a national level" ("Hard Times for Aboriginal Australia" 1998:2) – even though ATSIC is, as is OHA, being criticized by the grass roots for not being the voice of the "self-determining aboriginal people" (ibid.).

The Australian government's indigenous policies have earned Australia the dubious honor of being the first western country to be asked by the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination to explain (by mid-January 1999) how the amendments to the Native Title Act under the Wik Ten-Point Plan fit with the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination of which Australia was one of the earliest signatories ("Hard Times for Aboriginal Australia" 1998:2).

Indigenous Rights and Living Traditions

The reactions to the increased legal consolidation and publicity about indigenous rights within nation-states have counterparts in the international policies regarding indigenous rights. Much of the energy within the United Nations' present forum for standard-setting indigenous rights, seems to focus on defining and registering native rights, thereby limiting and controlling their scope. The indigenous caucus at the first meeting of the so-called Inter-Sessional Working Group in November 1995 protested these efforts:

[A]ny effort to define who or what are Indigenous Peoples are seen as further attempts to dispossess and take away our inherent right to be. [...] It has been constantly reaffirmed by Indigenous Peoples that to define membership, identity and status must be pursued by Indigenous Peoples without external interference. It is our concern that for States to now seek to define who we are amounts to such an interference. [...] The old adage that "the namer of names is the parent of all things", has been a recurrent source of denial and dispossession of Indigenous Peoples. We would urge [...] not to maintain that appropriation by others which has so sadly marked our past (United Nations 1995).

The United Nations has in several documents venerated indigenous peoples as keepers of biological and cultural diversity, and this fact is an important justification for a recognition of their need for special protection under the human rights law (Hasager 1996:97ff). The UN Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, for example, bases its position on the recognition that "there is an urgent need to respect and promote the inherent rights and characteristics of indigenous peoples, especially their rights to lands, territories and resources" (United Nations 1994). This respect for indigenous knowledge, cultures and traditional practices contributes to sustainable and equitable development and proper management of the environment. Indigenous peoples in their cultural diversity, thus, have something to teach the rest of the world, regarding the protection of biological diversity – which most people agree is important.

The United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity of 1993 obliges its signatories to "respect, preserve and maintain knowledge, innovations and practices of indigenous and local communities embodying traditional lifestyles

relevant for the conservation and sustainable use of biological diversity' (Article 8) and to "protect and encourage customary use of biological resources in accordance with traditional cultural practices that are compatible with conservation or sustainable use requirements" (Article 10; quoted from McNeely 1997:186-87). However, it is well known among indigenous peoples that it is easier to raise support (and funds) for protection of pandas, whales (Kemf 1997), and seals (Lynge 1992) than for indigenous peoples.

The ideological and rhetorical celebration (by the United Nations, some national governments and many NGOs) of indigenous peoples as experts in sustainability, preserving the past history as well as the future of humankind is contradicted by the actions of some of these same agencies and organizations and of powerful economic and political interests of (multi)national corporations, international trade agreements, and even some non-profit organizations. For many indigenous peoples, "development is a negative concept because it is frequently used as an excuse to deprive [them] of their livelihood" (Gray 1997:295). If indigenous peoples lose their resource base, they also lose the possibility for sustaining themselves in the way that is the basis for their culture (McNeely 1997:178). Cultural genocide can be a consequence of environmental exploitation.

Governments often do not recognize the importance of subsistence activities for indigenous peoples, neither for cultural nor for physical survival. This lack of recognition or insight means that legislation is often not created to protect the resources needed. In Hawai'i, for example, the Governor's Moloka'i Subsistence Task Force concluded that Kanaka Maoli families living on that island rely on subsistence activities for a significant portion of their foods, and in order to force law protection of the needed resources, especially in the face of upcoming development projects, the Task Force felt obligated to call for recognition of subsistence as an economy (Matsuoka et al. 1994:4-14).

With regard to their chances of cultural survival and the bigger picture of justification for existence as peoples entitled to collective rights, indigenous peoples have yet another front to fight to protect their resources. What could be potential allies, sometimes turn out to obstruct the efforts of the indigenous peoples. Some "keepers of nature and culture" (environmentalists, zoologists, botanists, and a wide range of archaeologists, anthropologists and other

officially recognized experts) contest the "sustainable expert" identification of indigenous peoples. Of course, any broad generalization will have exceptions, but as Sponsel (1992) points out, the proportions of the environmental damage done by different groups of humans speaks its own language. However wrong, the idea prevails that indigenous peoples are the only peoples who have to justify themselves by being good and useful. It is, as we saw above, a demand that can be very powerful in forming local policies and thereby determining the everyday living conditions of indigenous peoples.

In Hawai'i, an often repeated allegation contesting the ecological noblesse of the Kānaka Maoli is the claim that their forefathers killed off the flightless birds, once inhabiting the islands (see Sponsel 1992:28-29). Davianna McGregor has commented on this fact on several occasions. She seems to accept the thesis, but sees it as an important mistake from which her Kanaka Maoli ancestors learned their lesson.⁸ However, the theory blaming the Kānaka Maoli for eradication of the birds has been seriously challenged by some experts (cf. Dye and Tuggle 1998; and M. Kelly, personal communication). This is a classic example of knowledge about the past: we assume a certain relationship between a set of facts, until new facts appear that we have to take into consideration.

That the issue of the death of the flightless birds was actually raised by an archaeologist at a meeting discussing the implication of *PASH/Kohanaiki* ruling, illustrates the problematic role of expert witnesses. Another archaeologist, at the same meeting, contested the concept of hunting as a traditional right, arguing that in ancient times pigs were not hunted. They were domesticated. Pig hunting did not become part of Kanaka Maoli subsistence life style until a substantial amount of imported pigs of the western type had gone wild and were roaming the forests (Kramer 1971:180-206). Therefore, the archaeologist argued, pig-hunting could not be a traditional and customary right.

Nevertheless, to Kanaka Maoli hunters on Moloka'i (personal communication; Hasager 1996) and Hawai'i Island (Dawrs 1996), hunting is a traditional and customary practice and an integral part of their cultural identity and subsistence activities. It follows the patterns and unwritten laws of access and gathering mauka, in the mountains. It is necessary that the courts – and expert witnesses – acknowledge that culture and tradition are not static.

Culture, tradition, and even the past are always changing. The recognition of this fact has major implications for indigenous peoples and constitutes a challenge to the responsibility of social scientists, especially those who serve as expert witnesses. Haunani-Kay Trask, in an article criticizing mainly the field of anthropology, explains this important point:

[W]hat constitutes "tradition" to a people is ever-changing. Culture is not static; nor is it frozen in objectified moments in time. [...] the Hawaiian responsibility to care for the land, to make it flourish, called *mālama 'āina* or *aloha 'āina* [...] has persisted into the present. What has changed is ownership and use of the land [...]. Asserting the Hawaiian relationship in this changed context results in politicization. Thus, Hawaiians assert a "traditional" relationship to the land not for political ends, [...] but because they continue to believe in the cultural value of caring for the land. That land use is now contested makes such a belief political. The distinction is crucial because the Hawaiian cultural motivation reveals the persistence of traditional values, the very thing Linnekin [an anthropologist] claims modern Hawaiians have "invented" (Trask 1993:168).

The writings and testimonies of academia today play major roles in court cases trying to prove "traditional and customary rights" (cf. the "Hindmarch Affair," discussed by Tonkinson 1997). The anthropological past unfortunately has several examples showing how the works and testimonies of anthropologists have done damage to the future of indigenous peoples (Bodley 1982; see also Trask 1993:161-78). Indigenous peoples are well aware of this fact today, and anthropologists increasingly have to account for their research, not only within academia, but in the face of indigenous peoples and their growing concern with cultural property rights (cf. Greaves 1995). A scientific quest for and claim to a "true" history can be quite damaging to indigenous peoples in the process of establishing their native rights. Conclusions about prehistory and existence, or not, of certain traditions based on absence of evidence should be treated with great caution. In this connection, it is also important (especially perhaps for social scientists) to consider the timing of publication and the potential political implications that the information contained in the studies might have in the future.

Malia Akutagawa, who at the time of the SB'8 hearings in February 1997 was a University of Hawai'i law student, showed in her testimony against the bill how traditional and customary rights are part of our life today.

I am [first] and foremost [...] a Hawaiian and kua'aina of Molokai. We on Molokai not only talk about Hawaiian traditional, customary, religious and subsistence practices – we live it. We are people who *malama 'aina*, or care for the land. It is [...] the sweat of our brow, bent backs, and bare feet placed firmly on the ground which make us kua'aina. Each time we touch the earth and *malama*, we affirm our connection to 'aina as our 'ohana, our ancestor from whose bosom we are nourished. The kua'aina of Molokai have never forgotten their familial ties with the 'aina. Molokai is an island of 7,000 people with the highest unemployment rate in the nation; yet no one is homeless, no one is starving. The reason is this – we continue to live a traditional, subsistence lifestyle. We continue to maintain traditional 'ohana practices such as sharing food caught or cultivated with those, especially kupuna, who no longer can fish, hunt, and gather (Testimony, at Public Hearing for SB No. 8, Relating to Land Use; reprinted in "Life with PASH!" 1997(1):045-47).

Stewardship, which was basically what Hanapi tried to establish as his traditional and customary right performed on Galiher's land, has a strong support in the international movement for indigenous rights. There is ample evidence by Kanaka Maoli researchers supporting a claim for stewardship as a "traditional and customary" native Hawaiian practice (Trask 1993:168; McGregor 1996:passim; Akutagawa 1997(1):045). It is clear that stewardship cannot be limited by the randomly imposed borders of modern private property. It involves total eco-cultural systems (Kemf 1997; Hasager 1997). Kelly already made this clear thirty years ago, when she showed that it was necessary to preserve all of Kaloko fishpond as part of a total system in order to preserve its cultural as well as its subsistence importance (1971).

A growing body of research regarding indigenous peoples and the environment, recognizes the seriousness of protecting native rights. Indigenous territory is not only bits and pieces of land and water, it is often – as with total-ecological systems, or cultural landscapes – the collective memories of peoples, so "[w]ithout the collective access to and control of the territory, indigenous appropriation (individual or collective) becomes aimless" (Dahl 1998:3). Therefore, indigenous peoples fought hard for Articles 25 and 26 in the Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples:

25. Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and strengthen their distinctive spiritual and material relationship with the lands, territories,

waters and coastal seas and other resources which they have traditionally owned or otherwise occupied or used, and to uphold their responsibilities to future generations in this regard.

26. Indigenous peoples have the right to own, develop, control and use the lands and territories, including the total environment of the lands, air, water, coastal seas, sea-ice, flora and fauna and other resources which they have traditionally owned or otherwise occupied or used. This includes the right to the full recognition of their laws, traditions and customs, land-tenure systems and institutions for the development and management of resources, and the right to effective measures by States to prevent any interference with, alienation of or encroachment upon these rights (United Nations 1994).

These paragraphs combined with Article 30 that defines indigenous rights to "determine and develop priorities and strategies for the development or use" of their lands and resources, could obviously have far-reaching consequences for native rights should the Declaration be passed with these provisions intact.

When Kānaka Maoli claim customary and traditional rights, it is part of preserving their cultural identity and history as a people. ♦

Notes

In the research I have conducted in relation to land issues in Hawai'i over the last fifteen years, I have been fortunate to be inspired by the writings and close rapport of Professor Marion Kelly, who always generously shares her knowledge and complex analyses in ways everybody can understand.

1. For a State Department of Land and Natural Resources training session regarding native tenant rights under *Kalipi*, *Pele Defense Fund* and *PASH/Kohānaiki*, Deputy Attorney General Linnel T. Nishioka (1998) summarized these rights in a simple model, which she presented at the Hawaiian Historical Society's Teachers' Conference, October 1998. The table shown here is an expanded version of her model, still extremely simplified, but with the *Hanapi* case added.
2. *William Kalipi v. Hawaiian Trust Co.*, P. M. Petro, R. R. Searle, E. F. Shaner, L. A. Meyer, E. Wond, S. Pedro and State of Hawaii, Department of Land and Natural Resources/Christopher Cobb. December 30, 1982. Ōhia consists of East Ōhia's 366 acres of "largely undeveloped" lands owned by the State of Hawai'i, and West Ōhia's 326 acres of undeveloped lands used for hunting and cattle grazing, owned by Wond and Pedro.

Manawai comprises 588 acres "largely undeveloped" land owned by Petro, Searle, Shaner, Meyer and Hawaiian Trust Co., primarily used for hunting and raising cattle (SC 1982:3).

3. *Pele Defense Fund v. W. Paty, M. Kealoha, D. Ing, L. Zalopany, J. Arisumi and H. Arata/Board of Land and Natural Resources; the Estate of James Campbell, F. E. Trotter, W. H. McVay, P.R. Cassidy and H. Cornuelle/Campbell Estate Trustees; True Energy Geothermal Corp., True Geothermal Drilling Co. and Mid-Pacific Geothermal, Inc.*, September 28, 1992.

"Ceded lands" are those state-controlled lands which are the remains of the Crown and Government Lands of the Kingdom of Hawai'i. In 1898, when Hawai'i was annexed by the United States, these lands were "ceded" by the so-called "Republic of Hawai'i" to the US, who "ceded" them back to the new State of Hawai'i in 1959, according Section 5(f) of the Statehood Admission Act. These lands are supposed to be held in trust for the general public and for the native Hawaiians and are administered by the State Department of Land and Natural Resources (DLNR) (MacKenzie 1991:26-42). The DLNR is responsible for administering public lands and preserving the "unique natural resources" of the Natural Area Reserves System (NARS). Part of the state lands exchanged with Campbell Estate was NARS lands (until 1987), which could only be alienated because of "imperative and unavoidable public necessity" (SC 1992:587). Part of the area in question had already been designated "geothermal resource zone," and a development permit had been granted. These actions were unsuccessfully contested in court by Palikapu Dedman of the Pele Defense Fund in 1987 (ibid.).

4. *Public Access Shoreline Hawaii and Angel Pilago v. Hawai'i County Planning Commission and Nansay Hawaii Inc.*, August 31, 1995.
5. Native corporations have been tried previously under federal law. The 1971 Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act is one example, which in the seventies inspired the land claims of ALOHA, the Aboriginal Lands of Hawai'i Association. Over the years, however, it has become increasingly obvious that the corporation structure has led to poverty and landlessness for a substantial part of the Alaska natives and left huge areas of land controlled by the government and open to exploitation (Moore 1997).
6. *State of Hawai'i v. Alapai Hanapi*, November 20, 1998.
7. As an example of the federal government's policy, the federal government issued a permit to the mining corporation, Energy Resources of Australia (ERA) to mine uranium in Jabiluka (Northern Territory), surrounded by Kakadu National Park and owned by the Mirrar people. Cogema, the French government nuclear company, owns 7.75% of ERA. There are Japanese shareholders (and contractors) and the world's largest hardwood woodchip company, North Ltd., owns 60% of the shares ("Jabiluka action alert" 1998:12). Kakadu National Park is listed as a World Heritage site for both natural and cultural reasons (one of only twenty such sites worldwide; "Hard Times for Aboriginal Australia" 1998:2).

8. This suggestion has been reiterated on several occasions, for instance at a meeting at the Bishop Museum, February 27, 1996, "Reaffirmation of Hawaiian Access Rights: an analysis of the [PASH] Ruling." At this meeting, Judge Heen from the Intermediate Court of Appeals presented the ruling, and Dr. McGregor analyzed it in a socio-cultural context (Hasager 1996:88-91).

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Research in Action: Ethnohistory of Puna

Davianna Pōmaika'i McGregor

Praxis: exercise or practice of an art, science or skill.

Praxis distinguishes Ethnic Studies from the long-established disciplines of the social sciences. Ethnic Studies faculty are committed to placing research at the service of the community and challenging students to examine and analyze contemporary issues of concern to Hawai'i's ethnic communities from diverse perspectives.

The clash between the beliefs, customs, and practices of Hawaiian descendants of Pele (Hawaiian goddess of the volcano) and the developers of geothermal energy is one of the issues which drew upon the resources of Ethnic Studies faculty and students.¹ The issue evolved as the federal and state governments partnered with private corporations to clear the largest remaining lowland rainforest in Hawai'i for geothermal wells and power plants. In response, Hawaiians filed several civil suits, organized religious ceremonies in the volcanic rainforest, produced documentary films and joined with environmentalists in public protests.

A key turning point in the struggle was a ruling by the US federal court that an Environmental Impact Study (EIS) was required for the project to proceed. Where proposed development projects funded by the federal government affect native peoples, new historic preservation laws mandated the inclusion of a cultural impact study in the EIS. Thus, for the first time since the passage of the new laws, a cultural impact study was conducted for native Hawaiians in Hawai'i.

The First Cultural Impact Study on Native Hawaiians

University of Hawai'i faculty from the Ethnic Studies Department, the Department of Urban and Regional Planning and the School of Social Work were contracted to conduct the study.² The team drew upon the individual skills and experiences of their faculty and developed a multi-method approach for the study.

The study conducted a literature search on native Hawaiian cultural, religious, and subsistence customs, beliefs, and practices. A special review of the Pele chants for the affected districts was conducted in order to identify significant sites and cultural use areas. Place names and *ōlelo no'eau* (descriptive proverbs and poetic sayings) for the districts were gathered for insight into the landscape and natural resources of the district. Native Hawaiian *‘ohana* (large extended families) and cultural groups likely to be affected by the proposed geothermal project were interviewed. These informants were asked to identify areas of subsistence, cultural, and religious use on a topographical map of the district. The data gathered were analyzed and organized into a report on the customs, beliefs, and practices of the Puna Hawaiians.

The study proved significant on two levels. First, the information gathered for the final report, *Native Hawaiian Ethnographic Study for the Hawai'i Geothermal Project Proposed for Puna and Southeast Maui* (Matsuoka et al. 1996) factored significantly in a civil suit, *Pele Defense Fund v. Paty [Pele]* and helped establish an important precedent for the recognition of native Hawaiian access rights (Supreme Court of Hawai'i 1992).

Second, as the first cultural impact study conducted for a native Hawaiian community, the study serves as a template for the conduct of such future studies.

Native Hawaiian Access Rights

In the *Pele* civil suit, the Pele Defense Fund claimed that the exchange by the Hawai'i state government of the Wao Kele O Puna Forest Reserve with Campbell Estate for the lands of Kahauale'a would deprive Hawaiians in Puna of their traditional access to the forest for hunting and gathering for subsistence and cultural purposes. Ethnic Studies professor Davianna Pōmaika'i McGregor submitted an affidavit based upon ethnographic research and key informant interviews with hunters and gatherers who were part of Hawaiian *‘ohana* in the Puna district. Citing the affidavits of Dr. McGregor, Puna resident and hunter, Clarence Hauanio, and Puna resident and gatherer, Emily Naeole, the Hawai'i State Supreme Court ruled that members of Hawaiian *‘ohana* in the Puna district customarily hunted and gathered in the Wao Kele O Puna Forest.

Moreover, the Supreme Court ruled that Hawaiians in the district not only hunted and gathered in their own *ahupua'a* (land division and natural resource system) of residence, but also hunted and gathered in adjoining *ahupua'a*.³

The Hawai'i State Supreme Court first dealt with the subject of native Hawaiian gathering rights in *Kalipi v. Hawaiian Trust Co. [Kalipi]* (Supreme Court of Hawai'i 1982). In that case, the Supreme Court held that such gathering rights are derived from three sources— Chapters 7-1 and 1-1 of the Hawai'i Revised Statutes (1985), and Article XII, Section 7, of the State Constitution.⁴ In *Kalipi*, the court held that lawful residents of an *ahupua'a* may, for the purposes of practicing native Hawaiian customs and traditions, enter undeveloped lands within the *ahupua'a* to gather the five items enumerated in HRS 7-1.

The Supreme Court ruling in *Pele Defense Fund v. Paty* expanded significantly upon the rights established in *Kalipi* (Supreme Court of Hawai'i 1995:10). In *Pele*, the court explained that *Kalipi* allowed only the residents of an *ahupua'a* to exercise those rights on undeveloped lands within the *ahupua'a*. However, the record of the 1978 Constitutional Convention which promulgated Article XII, Section 7, of the Hawai'i State Constitution led the court to believe that the provision should not be narrowly construed. Accordingly, the court held that "Native Hawaiian rights protected by Article XII, Section 7, may extend beyond the *ahupua'a* in which a Native Hawaiian resides where such rights have been customarily and traditionally exercised in this manner" (Supreme Court of Hawai'i 1992).

The Supreme Court ruling in *Pele* ultimately led to an even broader interpretation of native Hawaiian access rights in a sixty-one page ruling in *Public Access Shoreline Hawai'i and Angel Pilago v. Hawai'i County Planning Commission and Nansay Hawaii, Inc. [PASH/Kohanaiki]*. In this decision, the court placed an obligation upon state agencies to "protect customary and traditional rights to the extent feasible under the Hawai'i Constitution and relevant statutes." Moreover, the court ruled that access is only guaranteed in connection with undeveloped lands, and that preservation of those lands is not required; however, the state does not have the "unfettered discretion to regulate the rights of *ahupua'a* tenants out of existence" (see McGregor 1996).

Thus, the first cultural impact study on the impact of the Hawai'i Geothermal Project on native Hawaiians demonstrated that such research can be a powerful instrument in the service of the community. This fact was demonstrated when the information gathered in that study was included as expert witness testimony and proved pivotal in the State Supreme Court's decision to allow gathering rights of native Hawaiians to extend beyond the ahupua'a in which they reside.

The Significance of Cultural Impact Studies

The Hawai'i Geothermal Project ethnographic study also provides a template for the conduct of future cultural impact studies. Such studies are looked to as a means of fulfilling the obligation of state agencies to protect native Hawaiian customary and traditional rights under the *PASH/Kohanaiki* ruling of the Hawai'i State Supreme Court. Environmental and Hawaiian organizations, such as the Ahupua'a Action Alliance and the Native Hawaiian Advisory Committee, have drafted and supported legislation which requires the conduct of Cultural Impact Studies as part of every Environmental Impact Study. In response, the Office of Environmental Quality Control (OEQC) has drafted guidelines for the conduct of Cultural Impact Studies under the Environmental Impact Study process (James 1991). Given this initiative by the OEQC, cultural impact studies will likely become an integral part of environmental impact studies.

This article uses examples from the Puna section of the native Hawaiian ethnographic study for the Hawai'i Geothermal Project to identify and describe the key elements of an ethnohistory of a district when conducting a cultural impact study.

Ethnohistory and Puna

The ethnohistory of the land begins with an examination of the traditional cultural significance of the district. The place names for the district and the 'olelo no'eau for which the area is famous should be found and interpreted. Descriptive chants for the area should be researched, translated and interpreted. These provide valuable insights about the cultural resources and features for which the area is known and thus the overall role of this area in the traditional cultural practices and customs of Hawaiians.

For example, *puna* means "well-spring." Hawaiians observed, "Ka ua moaniani lehua o Puna / *The rain that brings the fragrance of the lehua of Puna*" (Pukui 1983: 172, number 1587). This 'olelo no'eau refers to the forests of Puna, which attract clouds to drench the district with many rains, refreshing and enriching the Puna water table, and sustaining the life cycle of all living things in Puna. While the Puna district does not have running streams, it does have many inland and shoreline springs continuously fed by rains borne upon the northeast tradewinds.

A place's traditional *mo'olelo* (myths and legends) within its respective districts record what the Hawaiian people observed as the place's primal natural elements and its important natural and physical features and natural resources. They provide, in a story form, a description of the natural environmental setting in which early Hawaiians settled and established themselves. The primal natural elements were depicted as manifestations of Hawaiian deities. The myths and chants relate which natural elements dominated the landscape and the lives of the early Hawaiians.

In his introduction to *Ancient Sites of O'ahu*, Edward Kanahale explained the relationship of myths about various deities to *wahi pana* (sacred places) throughout the Islands.

As a native Hawaiian, a place tells me who I am and who my extended family is. A place gives me my history, the history of my clan, and the history of my people. I am able to look at a place and tie in human events that affect me and my loved ones. The concept of *wahi pana* merges the importance of place with that of the spiritual. My culture accepts the spiritual as a dominant factor in life; this value links me to my past and to my future, and is physically located at my *wahi pana* (James 1991).

Reviewing the traditional proverbs, chants, and legends of an area allows the reader to understand the overall cultural significance of important places within the district. Sources can be found in places like the Bishop Museum Archives and the Hawaiian Collection at Hamilton Library.

For example, the chant "Ke Ha'a La Puna I Ka Makani," translated by Pualani Kanahale, elaborates on the primal elements and features of Puna which Hawaiians celebrate in all legend, chant, and *hula* (traditional Hawaiian dance) (Kanahale 1992).⁵

Ke Ha'a La Puna i Ka Makani

1. Ke ha'a la Puna i ka makani
Puna is dancing in the breeze
2. Ha'a ka ulu hala i Kea'au
The hala groves at Kea'au dance
3. Ha'a Ha'ena me Hōpoe
Ha'ena and Hōpoe dance
4. Ha'a ka wahine
The woman dances

"Ke Ha'a La Puna" is the first recorded hula in the Pele and Hi'iaka saga. Hi'iaka performed a hula to this *mele* (chant) to please her older sister, Pele. The chant describes the northeast tradewinds' interaction with the *hala* (pandanus) forests which historically dominated the landscape of Puna.

Hā'ena, Hōpoe, Kea'au, Nanahuki and Puna are the land sections or land features mentioned in the hula. Puna is the district in which these places are found. Puna is also the land section that inspires hula creation because of the natural movements of waves, wind and trees.

Puna is a center of regenerative power. It is the easternmost district of the Hawaiian islands, the land where the sun first rises. It is the district where the volcano continuously creates new land, and new vegetation comes to life on this newly formed land.

Precontact History

In conducting a cultural impact study, one must delve into the record of human settlement and the use of natural resources in the district. Research by archaeologists, anthropologists and ethnographers over the past thirty years suggest that the pre-contact period need to be looked at in five distinct eras.⁶

The first period dates between 0 and 600 AD. Based on current subsurface archaeological research on each of the islands, the dates that settlements were established on various islands are continually adjusted, to reflect evidence of settlement earlier and earlier within this period.

Migrations from Polynesia, particularly the Marquesas, continued through the second era. Between 600 and 1100 AD, the population in the Hawaiian Islands primarily expanded from natural internal growth on all of the islands. By 1100 AD, the existing inhabitants of the Hawaiian Islands shared common ancestors and a common heritage. Moreover, these inhabitants had developed a Hawaiian culture and language uniquely adapted to the islands of Hawai'i, thus making them distinct from other Polynesian peoples. The social system was communal and organized around subsistence production to sustain 'ohana.

The third period, between 1100 and 1400 AD, marks the era of long voyages between Hawai'i and Tahiti, introducing major changes in the social system of the Hawaiian people's nation. The chants, myths and legends record the voyages of great Polynesian chiefs and priests, such as the high priest Pā'ao, the *ali'i nui* (high chief) Mo'ikeha and his sons Kiha and La'amaikahiki, and the high chief Hawai'i Loa. Traditional chants and myths describe how these new Polynesian chiefs and their sons and daughters gradually came to rule over the land, appropriating it from the original inhabitants through intermarriage, battles and ritual sacrifices. The high priest Pā'ao introduced a new religious system that used human sacrifice, feathered images and walled-in *heiau* (places of worship). The migration coincided also with a period of rapid internal population growth. Remnant structures and artifacts dating to this time suggest that previously uninhabited leeward areas were settled during this period.

The fourth period dates from 1400 through 1600. Voyaging between Hawai'i and Tahiti ended. As a result of the external influences introduced by the migrating Polynesian chiefs and priests, and internal developments related to the geometric growth of the population, sophisticated innovations in cultivation, irrigation, aquaculture and fishing were implemented. These innovations were applied in the construction of major fishponds, irrigation systems and field cultivation systems. Such advances resulted in the production of a food surplus which sustained a developing stratification of Hawaiian society into three basic classes—*ali'i* (chiefs), *kāhuna* (priests), and *maka'āinana* (commoners). Oral traditions relate stories of warring chiefs, battles, and conquests resulting in the emergence of the great ruling chiefs, who controlled entire islands, rather than portions of islands. These ruling chiefs organized

great public works projects that are still evident today. For example, 'Umi-a-Liloa constructed taro terraces, irrigation systems, and heiau throughout the Island of Hawai'i, Kiha-a-Pi'ilani developed the Ala Nui (main trail) on Maui and Ke Ala A Ka Pūpū (shell pathway) on Moloka'i, Ma'ilikukahi established his rule over O'ahu.

In the fifth period, during the century preceding the opening of Hawai'i to European contact in 1778, the Hawaiian economy expanded to support a population of between 400,000 and 800,000 people.⁷ The social system consisted of 'ohana who lived and worked upon communally held portions of land called *'ili* within the ahupua'a natural resource system. These families – the building blocks of the Hawaiian social system – were ruled over by the stewards of the land: the chiefs, along with their retainers and priests.

Sources of information about these periods include chants, myths, legends and *mo'okū'auhau* (genealogies). The four Hawaiian scholars – David Malo, Samuel Kamakau, John Papa I'i, and Kepelino – also provide accounts of this period based upon their oral histories. Abraham Fornander's collection of Hawaiian antiquities and folklore is also important. Most recently, archaeological reports, most of which were conducted as part of environmental impact studies in conjunction with proposed development, contain a lot of information about these periods. Matthew Spriggs published an inventory of these reports, which are available at the State Historic Preservation Department.

Migratory Priests and the Chiefs of Puna

Using the Puna ethnography as an example, one finds that Hawaiian historian Samuel Kamakau provided a brief account of how the high priest Pā'ao migrated through Puna, Hawai'i, in the third period between 1100 and 1400 AD. Kamakau wrote:

Puna on Hawai'i island was the land first reached by Pā'ao, and here in Puna he built his first *heiau* for his god Aha'ula and named it Aha'ula [Waha'ula]. It was a *luakini* [large heiau where human sacrifice was offered]. From Puna, Pā'ao went on to land in Kohala, at Pu'uepa. He built a *heiau* there, called Mo'okini, a *luakini* (Kamakau 1991:100).

According to Kamakau, the Island of Hawai'i was without a chief when Pā'ao arrived in Hawai'i. Evidently the chiefs of Hawai'i were considered *alii*

maka'āinana (commoner chiefs) or just commoners, *maka'āinana*, during this time (Kamakau 1991:100). Pā'ao sent back to Tahiti for a new ruler for Hawai'i, thereby ushering in a new era of ruling chiefs and *kāhuna* for the Hawaiian archipelago. The new ruler was Pili-ka'aiea, from whom King Kamehameha I eventually descended. Kamakau, Fornander and Thrum place Pā'ao in the eleventh century.

The Ruling Chiefs of Puna

Puna's political history throughout the period of the ruling chiefs is bound up with the fortunes of the ruling families of Hilo and Ka'ū. No single family emerges as the one whose support the chiefs seeking power had to depend upon for success. Thus, the political control of Puna did not rest upon conquering Puna itself, but rather upon control of the neighboring districts of Ka'ū and Hilo (Barrere 1959:15).

Nevertheless, there are two notable Puna chiefs in this era, Hua'a and 'Imaikalani, both identified as enemies of high chief 'Umi-a-Liloa and killed by him and his warriors.

The chiefs and priests conspired with 'Umi-a-Liloa, Hākau's half-brother, and killed Hākau. Hākau's death left 'Umi in possession of Hāmākua. The chiefs of the remaining districts of Hawai'i declared themselves to be independent of 'Umi. 'Umi conquered those chiefs who resisted him and reunited the districts of the entire island under his rule. Hua'a, the chief of Puna, was conquered by 'Umi-a-Liloa. Kamakau offers this account:

Hua'a was the chief of Puna, but Puna was seized by 'Umi and his warrior adopted sons, Pi'i-mai-wa'a, 'Oma'o-kamau, and Ko'i. These were noted war leaders and counsellors during 'Umi's reign over the kingdom of Hawaii. Hua'a was killed by Pi'i-mai-wa'a on the battlefield of Kuolo in Kea'au, and Puna became 'Umi-a-Liloa's (1992:17-18).

Puna on the Eve of European Contact

On the eve of European contact, Puna seemed to have enjoyed a brief resurgence of semi-autonomous rule. Two generations after Keawe, in the time of Kalani'opu'u, I-maka-koloa became powerful enough to warrant the wrath of high chief Kalani'opu'u.

Again, Kamakau offers an account:

Ka-lani-'opu'u the chief set out for Hilo with his chiefs, warriors, and fighting men, some by land and some by canoe, to subdue the rebellion of I-maka-koloa, the rebel chief of Puna. [...] The fight lasted a long time, but I-maka-koloa fled and for almost a year lay hidden by the people of Puna. [...] "Go with your god," said the chief. Puhili went until he came to the boundary where Puna adjoins Ka-'u, to 'Oki'okiaho in 'Apuā, and began to fire the villages. [...] When one district (*ahupua'a*) had been burnt out from upland to sea he moved on to the next [...] thus it was that he found I-maka-koloa where he was being hidden by a woman *kāhu* on a little islet of the sea. [...]

I-maka-koloa was taken to Ka-lani-'opu'u in Ka-'u to be placed on the altar as an offering to the god, and Kiwala'o was the one for whom the house of the god had been made ready that he might perform the offering. [...] Before he had ended offering the first sacrifices, Kamehameha grasped the body of I-maka-koloa and offered it up to the god, and the freeing of the tabu for the heiau was completed (1992:108-09).

The stage was therefore set for the usurpation of Kiwala'o as heir to his father, high chief Kalani-'opu'u, by Kamehameha, in the period after European contact.

Contact and the Evolution of the Monarchy

The next distinct period of research for the cultural ethnographer is the relevant district's history of change in the use and tenure of the lands. The responses of the Hawaiian people to contact and change after 1778 were divergent and largely influenced by the individual social and economic roles they played in society. The acceptance or rejection of Western culture was largely the prerogative of the ruling class of ali'i.

By 1840, King Kamehameha III transformed the government into a constitutional monarchy, having signed a Bill of Rights in 1839 and a Constitution for the Kingdom of Hawai'i in the following year. Ka Māhele (The Land Division) in 1848 established a system of private land ownership which concentrated 99.2 percent of Hawai'i's lands among 245 chiefs, the Crown, and the Government. Less than one percent of the lands were given to 28 percent of the people, leaving 72 percent of the people landless. In 1850, over

the protests of Hawaiians, foreigners were given the right to own land. From that point on, foreigners, primarily Americans, continued to expand their interests, eventually controlling most of the land, sugar plantations, banks, shipping, and commerce of the Islands (Kuykendall 1980; McGregor 1985).

Control of the Crown and Government lands changed with the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893. The Republic of Hawai'i opened lands for 999 year homesteads under the 1895 Homesteading Act. By 1898, there remained only 1.8 million acres out of the original 2.4 million acres of Crown and Government lands. The Republic of Hawai'i ceded these 1.8 million acres to the US government without any compensation to, or consent from, the Hawaiian monarchy or the Hawaiian people, and without a referendum.

Puna at Contact and under the Monarchy

Again, Puna's ethnohistory provides an excellent example of the kinds of sources available to reconstruct the history of the land and the traditional and customary uses by native Hawaiians of its natural resources. The documents include the journals of explorers and missionaries, government records of the Kingdom of Hawai'i such as the census, tax records, indices of land awards, the record of Native Testimony to the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles, the Boundary Review Commission proceedings and Thrum's *Hawaiian Annual*.

The surgeon, David Samwell, and Lieutenant King, British officers on Cook's voyage, provided the first written accounts of Puna. King wrote:

On the southwest extremity of Opoona the hills rise abruptly from the sea side, leaving but a narrow border, and although the sides of the hills have a fine verdure, yet they do not seem cultivated (quoted from Beaglehole 1967:606).

Samwell observed:

Many people collected on the Beach to look at the Ship [...] many Canoes came off to us [with] a great number of beautiful young Women (quoted from Beaglehole 1967:1156).

The first missionary to journey through Puna was William Ellis, in 1823. In his published journal, he described the natural resources available to the

residents of the district and some of their living conditions, subsistence and exchange practices.

Kaimu is pleasantly situated near the sea shore, on the S.E. side of the island, standing on a bed of lava considerably decomposed, and covered over with a light and fertile soil. It is adorned with plantations, groves of cocoa-nuts, and clumps of kou-trees. It has a fine sandy beach, where canoes may land with safety; and, according to the houses numbered to-day, contains about 725 inhabitants (Ellis 1963:196).

[W]e reached Kaau [Kea'au], the last village in the division of Puna. It was extensive and populous, abounding with well-cultivated plantations of taro, sweet potatoes, and sugar-cane; and probably owes its fertility to a fine rapid stream of water, which, descending from the mountains, runs through it into the sea (Ellis 1963:212).

The district of Puna is distinguished as one of the least awarded private lands from the 1848 Māhele and Kuleana Act. Only 19 awards of private land were made in the entire district. Of these, 16 awards were made in large tracts to 10 chiefs who lived outside of Puna, and three small parcels were granted, to commoners Baranaba, Hewahewa and Haka (Territory of Hawai'i 1929).

The small number of land awards was not because Puna had a small population. In 1854, four years after the Kuleana awards were granted, the estimated population for Puna was 2,702 (Hawaii Mission Children's Library 1854). Moreover, the 1858 tax records for Puna shows that 894 males over the age of 20 paid poll taxes in Puna ten years after the deadline for filing for land awards (Hawai'i State Archives 1858).

An examination of the possible reasons why almost the entire population of Puna did not enjoy the benefits of the Māhele and Kuleana Act lends an understanding of why Hawaiians living in the district remained outside of the mainstream of Hawai'i's economic and social development. First, Puna was isolated from the mainstream of economic, social and political developments. It is possible that the Hawaiians in Puna were not aware of the process or did not realize the significance of the new law. Second, it is possible that the Puna Hawaiians did not have a way to raise the cash needed for the land surveys, which cost between \$6 to \$12. Wages at the time were normally between 12 1/2 cents and 33 cents a day. However, there were few wage-earning jobs in

Puna. Cash would have to be raised from selling extra fish or other products, which was difficult given the subsistence living of many Hawaiians. Third, at least some Puna Hawaiians filed their land claims after the deadline. In an 1851 petition to the legislature, several Puna residents asked to be issued land grants without penalty, as they had filed their claims after February 14, 1848 (Allen 1979).

Under the Māhele, the bulk of Puna lands were designated as public lands either to the monarchy, as "Crown" lands or to the government of the Hawaiian Kingdom.⁸

With the break-up of the traditional land and labor system by the establishment of private property, Hawaiians were pushed into the market economy to earn cash to purchase, lease, or rent land and to pay taxes. In Puna, the primary resources for commercial sale were the coastal fisheries, salt, *pulu* (the hairy fibers from the *hāpu'u* fern), *'ohi'a* timber, and open land for cattle and goat grazing.

Isaac Davis traveled around Hawai'i to conduct an assessment of the Crown lands. Of the Crown lands in Puna, he wrote in 1857:

Apua; Ahupuaa in Kau, I do not know the extent of this land, not at the sea shore, but, on making observation, there is a lot of stone on that land, Kapaakea's man told me that salt is the only product on this land, but it is very little. And I called the natives to lease it, but there was no one wanted it, and no one made a reply (Hawai'i State Archives 1857).

Pulu processing became an industry in Puna in 1851. Pulu is the soft, downy material which covers the shoots of the *hāpu'u* (tree fern). It was used for mattresses, pillows, and upholstery. At its peak in 1862, Hawai'i exported 738,000 pounds of pulu worldwide to San Francisco, Vancouver, Portland and Australia. It sold for 14 to 28 cents a pound. A total of \$103,000 to \$207,000.

In 1860, Abel and C. C. Harris and Frank Swain leased the ahupua'a of Pānau for the *hāpu'u* on the land. Kaina and Heleluhe requested government leases on Lae'apuki and Pānauiki. Kaina maintained two pulu picker camps, one near Makaopuhi Crater and the other near the present Keauhou Ranch Headquarters. Pulu was collected, processed, and dried at these camps and then hauled down the *pali* (steep hill) on mules to Keauhou Landing.

In an article in 1929, Thomas Thrum suggested that the pulu industry broke up homes and dispersed the Hawaiians:

The sad part of the story lies in the fact that the industry caused homes in various sections to be broken up, the people moving up into the forests to collect the pulu. In many cases whole families were employed, who provided themselves with rude shelter huts meanwhile, to live long periods at a time in damp, if not actually rainy quarters, without regular and proper food, that resulted in colds and illness (1929:82).

In June 1873, the Boundary Commission conducted hearings to settle the boundaries of the privately held lands in the ahupua'a of Kea'au in the district of Puna. Uma, a native Hawaiian born at Keauhou in Kea'au "at the time of the return of Kamehameha I from Kaunakakai, Molokai," provided testimony which included descriptions of the natural features and resources in the area and the activities of Hawaiians in the district.

I have always lived there and know the boundaries between Keaau and Waikahekahe. My parents pointed them out to me when we went after birds and sandalwood. Waikahekahe Nui joins Keaau at the sea shore at Kaehuokalioa [sp.], a rock that looks like a human body [...] thence the boundary runs mauka [upland] to a place called Koolano, the pahoehoe on the North side is Keaau and the good ground where cocoanut trees grown is on Waikahekahe. In past days there was a native village at this place. Thence mauka to Haalaaniani (Ke Kupua) when the old road from Kalapana, used to run to Keaau thence the boundary runs to Wahikola'e, two large caves, the boundary runs between them thence mauka, to another cave called - Oliolimanienie, where people used to hide in time of war. [...] Keaau on the Hilo side of the road running mauka, thence to Kikihui, an old Kauhale [living compound] for bird catchers, thence to Hoolapehu, another old village, thence to Alaalakeiki, which is the end of Waikahekahe iki and Kahaualea joins Keaau. This place is at an old Kauhale manu [birdcatcher's compound]. [...] from the Hilo Court House to the Government School house, thence mauka to KeeKee, Kauhale kahi olona [olonā fiber combing compound] in Olaa, the boundary is a short distance from the Government road, on the South East side [...] the sea bounds Keaau on the makai side, ancient fishing rights, including the Uhu which was konohiki fish extending out to sea (Hawai'i State Archives 1914).

In Puna, Joseph Nawahi, a founder of the Hui Aloha Aina (Hawaiian Patriotic League) had a strong following of royalists. On May 23, 1893, four months after the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, the Reverend Rufus A. Lyman, patriarch of the Lyman Estate which now owns substantial landholdings in Keahialaka and Kapoho, wrote to his colleague, M. Whitney in Honolulu, suggesting that the Provisional Government open up Government and Crown lands for homesteading by Hawaiians as a means of winning the support of Hawaiians and undermining the influence of Nawahi in the district. He wrote:

Here in Puna there are only three Crown Lands Ola'a, Kaimu and Apua next to the Kau boundary. The Govt. lands are scattered all through District, and large tracts near the villages especially Opihikao, Kamaili, Kehena, and not under lease. And there are quite a number of young men there with families who own no land, who will probably remain in Puna and cultivate coffee, kalo, oranges, etc., if you get them settled on land they can have for homes for themselves. Nine of them have commenced planting coffee on shares for me. Puna has always been Nawahi's stronghold, and I want to see his hold on natives here broken. And I think it would help do it, if we can show natives here that the Govt. is ready to give them homes, and to improve the roads.

In 1894, the Provisional Government set up the Republic of Hawaii, which instituted a program of opening up Government lands for homesteading under the Land Act of 1895. In Puna, as Lyman had predicted in his letter to Whitney, homestead grants were quickly purchased and the land cultivated for coffee. Coffee acreage expanded from 168 acres in 1895 to 272.5 in 1899 in Ola'a and Pāhoa (Thrum 1895, 1899).

Territorial Years

From 1900 through 1959, Hawai'i was governed as a territory of the United States. The history of the land and its traditional and customary uses by native Hawaiians throughout this period can be augmented by oral history and key informant interviews.

During the territorial years, an elite group of Americans, who were the owners and managers of what was called the Big Five, had monopoly control over nearly every facet of Hawai'i's economy.⁹ They controlled the sugar

plantations, shipping, banking and commerce. At the turn of the century, irrigation systems, such as the Waiāhole Ditch system on O'ahu, transformed the land and displaced many Hawaiian taro farmers dependent upon the free flow of the water.

The Crown and Government lands were managed by the territory of Hawai'i as the Ceded Public Lands Trust. In 1921, the Hawaiian Homelands Act was passed. Under this act, the US Congress set aside 200,000 acres of the Ceded Public Lands Trust for exclusive use by native Hawaiians for homesteading. Annual reports of the territorial Governor to the President of the United States describe the condition and status of the ceded public lands and the Hawaiian homelands.

During this period, close to half of the native Hawaiian population did not assimilate into the developing mainstream economy. Instead, they remained in remote valleys and isolated rural pockets, providing for their large families through subsistence farming and fishing. During this period, a major distinction internal to the Hawaiian community evolved between urban Hawaiians, who assimilated and accommodated to the socio-economic system dominated by the American elite, and rural Hawaiians or *kua'āina*¹⁰ who remained in the back-country areas, maintaining a traditional Hawaiian way of life.

World War II ushered in major changes in the social, economic, and political life of the Islands. Many Hawaiians left their rural enclaves to join the service or to work in high-paying military jobs in Honolulu. The military were also stationed in rural areas throughout the Islands.

Puna under the Territory of Hawai'i

Puna remained a rural district throughout the territorial period. Economic development centered near the scarcely populated inland forest areas around the towns of Pāhoa and 'ōla'a. A multi-ethnic plantation community also developed in and around these towns as immigrant Japanese, Puerto Rican and Filipino laborers were imported to work on the developing sugar plantations. Hawaiian families, however, continued to live in small isolated villages along the coastal areas in lower Puna, particularly around Kalapana.

The ethnohistory of Puna for this period draws upon documents from the territorial government; visitor guide books; magazines; newspapers; mono-

graphs such as E. S. Craighill Handy's *Native Planters in Old Hawai'i* and documents in the Hawai'i Volcano National Park Headquarters Library. Oral history and key informant interviews (such as the Kalapana Oral History Project and interviews by Russell Apple) are important sources of information about the lifestyles and livelihoods of the Puna Hawaiians. Table 1 (below) indicates changes in the Puna population for the following years:

Table 1: Census of Puna 1900 to 1960

1900.....	5,128
1910.....	6,834
1920.....	7,282
1930.....	8,284
1940.....	7,733
1950.....	6,747
1960.....	5,030

Source: Matsuoka et al. (1996:57; Table 7).

The Puna Sugar Company was established in 1900 in Kapoho. The lowland forest was cleared for cane fields and railroads were built. Puna Sugar expanded around Pāhoa and 'ōla'a.

At the turn of the century, coffee was still an important agricultural industry in Puna. The Shipman family, a major landowner in the district, ran the Shipman Ranch in Kea'au. The pineapple industry was started for export to California. In 1908, the Hawaiian Mahogany Company erected a lumber mill in Pāhoa and sent out its first shipment of 20,000 'ōhi'a (native tree) log ties to the Santa Fe Railroad. In 1910, the company became the Pāhoa Lumber Mill and obtained cutting rights to 12,000 acres of Territorial Forest in Puna. (Skolmen 1976).

Economic development in the district during the territorial years centered at 'ōla'a, with a ranch and a sugar plantation, and around Pāhoa with the 'ōhi'a and *koa* (largest native tree) lumber operations. Lower Puna was described as remaining predominantly a traditional Hawaiian subsistence area. In a visitor's guide book, *The Island of Hawaii*, Henry Walsworth Kinney provided the following descriptions of Kaimū and Kalapana:

At the beach the road enters first the village of KAIMU, exclusively

Hawaiian, with a large grove of cocoanut trees surrounding a fine semi-

circular sand beach. [...] Less than a mile further on, westwards, lies the village of KALAPANA, one of the largest Hawaiian villages in the Islands. There are no white inhabitants, and only a couple of Chinese stores. [...] KALAPANA still supports quite a large population, and is a very pretty village, having, like all the Puna coast villages, a fine growth of coconuts, puhala and monkeypod trees (Kinney 1913:77).

According to the Kalapana Oral History Project transcripts, the majority of the food of Hawaiians in Puna throughout the territorial period continued to be home-produced. *Uala* (sweet potatoes), *kalo* (taro), and *'ulu* (breadfruit) were the main staples. Seafood, especially fish, *'opihi* (limpet) and *limu* (seaweed) were the main proteins. Chickens, pigs and cattle were raised. Pigs and goats were hunted, and the meat was usually smoked. Some households kept cows for milk and even made butter. When cash was earned, special items from the store, such as flour, sugar, tea, coffee and rice could be bought.

Sweet potato was usually grown around the home. Families also grew chili pepper, onion, and sometimes pumpkin, watermelon, tomato or cucumber. Families in Kalapana usually had a taro patch up in the hills, sometimes three or more miles from their houselots. E. S. Craighill Handy wrote that in 1935 when he toured Puna to appraise the old native horticulture, "One energetic Hawaiian of Kapa'ahu had cleared *'ohi'a* forest, at a place called Kaho'onoho about 2.5 miles inland, and had a good stand of taro, bananas, and sugar cane in two adjacent clearings" (Handy, Handy and Pukui 1972:541).

Pigs were allowed to run free. To keep pigs tame and near the home, Hawaiians fed them sweet potato vines and tubers after papayas, mangos, or breadfruit were harvested. Each family had its own way of marking its pigs by notching or slitting the ears or cutting the tail. Some pigs went wild and wandered up the Kilauea mountain, even above the zone where the families cultivated taro. These were hunted with dogs.

In 1932, a new force entered the lives of the Kalapana people. The Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park, urged on by the Governor's office, the Hawai'i County Board of Supervisors and prominent citizens, proposed expanding the park to include all of the land from 'Āpua over to Kaimū Black Sand Beach. The people in Kalapana strongly opposed the proposal. Russell Apple interviewed Edward G. Wingate, who served as superintendent of the Hawai'i Volcanoes

National Park, at the time of the proposed acquisition. Wingate said that he supported the Hawaiians in Kalapana and felt it was wrong of the Federal Government or the park service to dispossess the Hawaiians of their homes, their land, and their traditional way of life. A compromise was reached. The Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park would expand to include the six ahupua'a of 'Āpua, Kahue, Kēalakomo, Pānaunui, Lae'apuki and Kamoamoā, parts of Pūlama and Poupou, and Keauhou in the Ka'ū district. However, the lands from Kalapana over to Kaimū were deleted from the extension proposal.

Under the New Deal, federal programs created new jobs for Kalapana men. The federal government funded a county project to improve Kalapana Park and various roadbuilding projects in Puna. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) established a camp for young single men at Volcano. They cut trails, built stone walls, and were trained in carpentry skills. As military construction expanded in Honolulu in preparation for a war with Japan, Honolulu became a boom town, attracting workers from the mainland and from the neighbor islands. Many from Kalapana moved there on the eve of the war (Langlas 1990:92-94).

World War II had a profound effect on Hawai'i. In Puna, those who remained behind were made to fear a Japanese invasion by sea. The coastline was watched and guarded by soldiers stationed in the Kalapana area. Observation points were set up at Panau and at Mokuhulu. The beach at Kaimū and Kalapana was strung with barbed wire to stave off an enemy landing. Initially the Kalapana people were not supposed to go through the wire, but eventually the soldiers let the people crawl through to fish or collect seafood at the beach. There was a nightly curfew, and blackout curtains were used, because not a single glimmer of light was supposed to be seen.

There were 100 to 150 soldiers stationed in Kalapana who rotated every three months. Some camped in tents on Kaimū beach and Kalapana beach, some lived in the school cafeteria, and others in the gym and the priest's house at the Catholic Church.

During the war, men still grew taro, but many were already in their sixties. With the end of the war, they were getting too old to grow taro and make *poi* (taro paste). Many younger men had left during the war. Those remaining in Kalapana got jobs on the outside, thus leaving little time for taro cultivation.

During the thirties fewer canoes went out to catch 'opelu (mackerel scad). The last canoe which went out from Kaimū was that of Simon Wai'au Bill. When he got too old, in the late 1930s, no more went out. Younger men were busy going to school or going out to work to learn the technique of catching 'opelu. A couple of canoes from Kalapana continued going out even after the war. Eventually, a boat ramp was constructed at Pohoiki, east of Kalapana, and the canoes were replaced by motorboats.

Other forms of subsistence production continued after the war, such as pole-fishing from shore, gathering limu, 'opihi and crab or raising stock. Hunting of wild pigs remained an important source of meat. Native plants were gathered for herbal teas and medicine.

Statehood

Statehood stimulated unprecedented economic expansion in Hawai'i. The number of hotel rooms more than tripled, and the number of tourists increased fivefold within the first ten years. Pineapple and sugar agribusiness operations were phased out and moved to cheaper labor markets in Southeast Asia. The prime agricultural lands which remained were developed into profitable subdivision, condominium, and resort developments.

Changes to the rural and agricultural areas concerned all of Hawai'i's local people. However the Hawaiian community, because of its traditional concentration in rural pockets, were especially affected.

Historically, the special relationship of Hawaiians to the land and their spiritual ancestors remained strongest where foreign penetration and the market economy was the weakest. Traditional Hawaiian beliefs, customs, and practices were part of the day-to-day lives of the people in these districts. These districts offer rich resources for understanding the continuity of Hawaiian subsistence, culture and religion.

The social significance of traditional Hawaiian rural communities for the perpetuation of native Hawaiian society may be compared to a phenomenon in nature. Botanists who study the natural rainforest in the area of the active Kīlauea volcano have observed that eruptions which destroy and cover up large areas of forest lands, leave little oases, *kipuka*, of native trees and plants in their wake. From these natural *kipuka* come the seeds and spores for the

eventual regeneration of native flora upon the fresh lava. For contemporary Hawaiians, traditional Hawaiian rural communities are cultural *kipuka* from which Hawaiian culture can be regenerated and revitalized in the contemporary setting. The Puna district of Hawai'i is such a cultural *kipuka*.

Puna, a Twentieth-Century Cultural Kipuka

The Hawaiian community of Puna, particularly the lower part, remains distinct, geographically, culturally, and socially. There is still a significant group descended from the first families who migrated to and settled in the district. They have a strong tradition of perseverance in a district that has constantly changed and evolved. There is also a growing number of young Hawaiian families moving into Puna from Hilo, Honolulu, and other neighbor islands. Most have moved into the non-standard subdivisions which opened up in the district beginning in 1958. In 1980, 1,334 Hawaiians lived in Puna, out of which 75 percent or 1,001 resided in Lower Puna. Between 1980 and 1990, the number of Hawaiians in Puna nearly tripled to 3,953.

Native Hawaiian residents in the district supplement their incomes from jobs or public assistance by engaging in subsistence fishing, hunting, and gathering for the households of their 'ohana. The fishermen, hunters and gatherers utilize and exercise their traditional access to the ocean offshore of the Puna district and the adjacent mauka forest lands. This forest area affords access to middle elevation plants and resources for Hawaiians who live in each of the ahupua'a of the Puna district.

Native Hawaiians of the district utilized the forests of Puna from generation to generation to gather *maile* (shrub with shiny fragrant leaves), fern, 'ie'ie (climber), 'ohi'a and other such native plants for adornment, weaving, and decoration. They also gathered plants such as *ko'oko'olau* (beggar ticks), *māmaki* (small native tree), and *noni* (Indian mulberry) for herbal medicine.

Due to the alteration and degradation of low and middle elevation forests in other parts of the Island of Hawai'i and the public status of the forests in Puna, Hawaiians from other parts of the island and from O'ahu also regularly gathered *liko lehua* (red leaves), maile, fern, 'awa (kava), and other native plants for hula and *lā'au lapa'au* (traditional Hawaiian herbal healing) purposes from this forest.

A survey of the role of hunting in the Kalapana-Kaimū Hawaiian community under the University of Hawai'i departments of Geography and Anthropology and the School of Public Health in 1971 revealed that hunting in the forests mauka of Kalapana-Kaimū, which would be the Puna Forest Reserve, was an important part of subsistence for the Hawaiian households of the area. Despite the fact that there were not hunters in every household, many households benefited from the hunting activities, because the meat was shared among extended family members and friends (Bostwick and Murton 1971).

In 1982, the US Department of Energy commissioned a study by the Puna Hui 'Ohana, an organization of Hawaiian families in Puna. The 1982 survey by the Puna Hui 'Ohana of 85 percent of the adult Hawaiians in lower Puna (351 out of 413 adult Hawaiians) showed that 38 percent of those surveyed engaged in traditional subsistence hunting in the adjacent forests. It also showed that 48 percent of those surveyed gathered medicinal plants and 38 percent gathered maile in the nearby forests for household use.

Informant interviews, conducted in 1994 with older and younger Hawaiian families in the district, likewise revealed the ongoing continuity of subsistence farming, fishing, and gathering and the associated cultural customs and beliefs.

A wealth of knowledge is still kept alive and practiced by living generations of Hawaiian families in Puna. Moreover, this living culture is constantly undergoing growth and change.

Conclusion

The ethnohistory of a district such as Puna can be developed from a wide variety of written sources. Such an ethnohistory provides an important foundation and reference point for understanding Hawaiian customs and practices.

Nevertheless, cultural impact studies, to be complete, need to go beyond the written record and include interviews with key informants who are members of Hawaiian 'ohana and traditional *hālau* (cultural groups) who live in the area and have established a relationship of stewardship for the cultural and natural resources of the area.

For Puna, rich ethnohistorical written sources were complemented by interviews and focus group discussions and participatory mapping with Hawaiian families, members of *hālau*, and other cultural groups. All the information gathered was combined into the final report on the impact of geothermal energy development on the cultural beliefs, customs, and practices of Puna Hawaiians.

Eventually, the gathering and hunting rights of Puna Hawaiians were recognized by the Hawai'i State Supreme Court, and the Hawai'i Geothermal Project was discontinued. ♦

Notes

1. McGregor (1993) reviews the issues of contention between the Pele practitioners and the advocates of geothermal energy.
2. Oak Ridge National Laboratory received the contract to conduct the Environmental Impact Study. Professor Jon Matsuoka of the School of Social Work; Professor Davianna Pōmaika'i McGregor of the Ethnic Studies Department; and Professor Luciano Minerbi of the Department of Urban and Regional Planning, all from the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa (UHM), were contracted to conduct the Cultural Impact Study. They in turn contracted Pualani Kanahele of the Hawai'i Community College Hawaiian Studies Department; Marion Kelly of the Ethnic Studies Department, UHM; and Noenoe Barney-Campbell, a lab leader in the Ethnic Studies Department, UHM, to assist in the research (Matsuoka et al. 1996).
3. This summary of the actions of the Hawai'i State Supreme Court regarding native Hawaiian gathering and access rights is taken from the *PASH/Kohanaiki* ruling. In footnote 34, Justice Klein wrote: "These arguments are supported by the affidavits of Dr. Davianna McGregor, an Assistant Professor of Ethnic Studies at University of Hawai'i at Manoa, and Emily Naeole and Clarence Hauanio, PDF [Pele Defense Fund] members of more than 50% Hawaiian blood and residents of Maku'u and Kalapana, ahupua'a abutting Wao Kele O Puna" (Supreme Court of Hawai'i 1995).
4. Chapter 7-1 of the Hawai'i Revised Statutes (State of Hawai'i 1985):

Where the landlords have obtained, or may hereafter obtain, allodial titles to their lands, the people on each of their lands shall not be deprived of the right to take firewood, house-timber, aho cord, thatch, or ki leaf, from the land on which they live, for their own private use, but they shall not have a right to take such articles to sell for profit. The people shall also have a right to drinking water, and running water, and the right of way. The springs of water, running water, and roads shall be free to all, on all lands granted in fee simple; provided that this shall not be applicable to wells and watercourses, which individuals have made for their own use.

Article XII, Section 7, in the State Constitution (State of Hawai'i 1978):

The State reaffirms and shall protect all rights, customarily and traditionally exercised for subsistence, cultural and religious purposes and possessed by ahupua'a tenants who are descendants of native Hawaiians who inhabited the Hawaiian Islands prior to 1778, subject to the right of the State to regulate such rights.

Chapter 1-1 of the Hawai'i Revised Statutes (State of Hawai'i 1985) provides that:

The common law of England, as ascertained by English and American decisions, is declared to be the common law of the State of Hawaii in all cases, except as otherwise expressly provided by the Constitution or laws of the United States, or by the laws of the State, or fixed by Hawaiian judicial precedent, or established by Hawaiian usage.

5. The following translation and interpretation of the chant is excerpted from the report by Ms. Kanahele with her permission.
6. These periods are discussed and summarized by Kirch (1985) and Chun and Spriggs (1987). Other sources for dating these periods are Fornander (1916-20); Beckwith (1970); Kamakau (1964, 1976, 1991, 1992) and King Kalākaua (1973).
7. The estimate from Cook's voyage was 400,000 (Beaglehole 1967). Recent studies by David Stannard (1989) place the pre-contact population as high as 800,000.
8. Seven lands in Puna were left unassigned during the Māhele - Kahue, Huluna-nai, liliioa, Kaunaloa, Ki (B), Keekee, and Keonepoko 2. In 1888 it was decided that these would be Government lands (Allen 1979).
9. The Big Five are, C. Brewer, Theo H. Davies, Castle and Cooke, AmFac, and Alexander and Baldwin (Fuchs 1961; Kent 1983; Lind 1968).
10. "Kua'āina" is translated in the Pukui/Elbert *Hawaiian Dictionary* (1986) as person from the country. It means the backbone of the land. These are the people who bent their back, toiled and sweat to care for the land and now stand upright to protect the natural resources of the land.

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Indigenous Management Models and Protection of the Ahupua'a

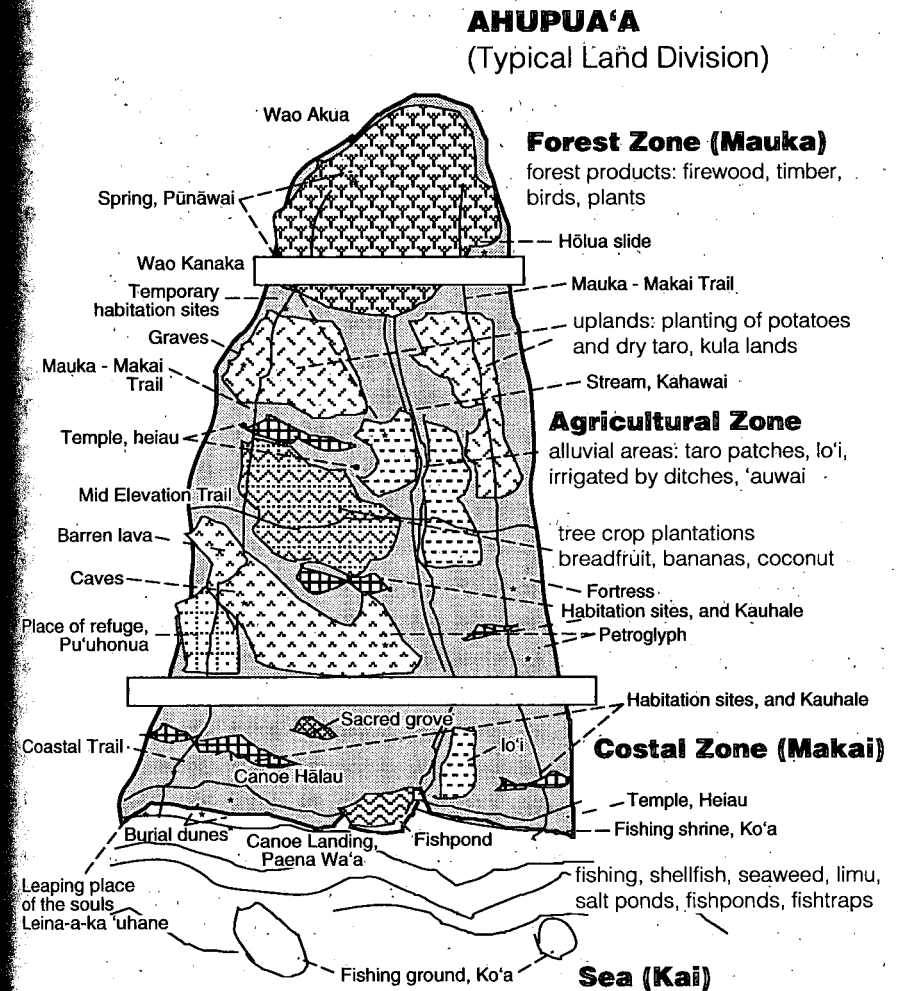
Luciano Minerbi

This article discusses Hawaiian contemporary management models based on the *ahupua'a* (land division from the mountains to the sea) concept (figure 1). It notes that Hawaiian resistance is concomitant with growing population and tourism pressure in Hawai'i. It describes Hawaiian conservation values, the traditional *ahupua'a* concept and its possible role in contemporary planning. The core of the article provides examples of *ahupua'a* management models on various islands.

On Moloka'i, the *ahupua'a* concept inspired a master plan in 'Ualapu'e with ecological zones and informed an islandwide community effort to protect subsistence resources. This notion led to the formulation of environmental approaches and government decentralization that enhance indigenous management of subsistence fishing areas and ancient Hawaiian fishponds.

On Hawai'i and Maui, grassroots Hawaiians, settling on Hawaiian Home Lands, have formalized master plans that are consistent with traditional practices and environmental protection. These plans propose an indigenous building code and the *ahupua'a* concept. Such ideas are gaining more support in the community. The article concludes that the value of these management models is to promote indigenous autonomy, Hawaiian rights, and to contribute to the economic recovery in Hawai'i.

Some Hawaiians object to the term "subsistence" because of its negative connotation of a sub-level type of living; instead, they see subsistence – more appropriately – as a preferred lifestyle, a way of life, and a vehicle to perpetuate the culture of their ancestors. They rather use the term "traditional practice." However, subsistence has a positive and encompassing meaning when defined, as in the case of Moloka'i, as "the customary and traditional uses [...] of wild and cultivated renewable resources for direct personal or family consumption as food, shelter, fuel, clothing, tools, transportation, culture, religion and medicine; for barter, or sharing, for personal or family consumption and for customary trade" (Matsuoka, McGregor and Minerbi 1994:2).



Luciano Minerbi (1998)

Figure 1. Ahupua'a (Typical Land Division). Variations exist in the character of windward and leeward or valley or plateau ahupua'a of the same island and among ahupua'a of the bigger and smaller islands; yet one should be mindful of the many resources and cultural uses to be found in these districts. The drawing is not to scale, and it does not necessarily represent all the size, number, and location of cultural use and area resources. Much more is there!

Historical Background

Population Pressure and the Hawaiians

The protection of Hawaiian culture and the island environment requires indigenous management approaches in a situation where the Hawaiians are a minority in their own islands now inhabited by 1,108,229 people. Hawaiians are a sizable population reaching 138,000 (12.5%) in 1990, according to the U.S. Census, or of 205,000 (18.8%), according to the State of Hawai'i Department of Health Survey. Full-blooded Hawaiians are about 8,000 people (Office of Hawaiian Affairs 1994:8-14).

The population pressure in Hawai'i is great. The State of Hawai'i continues to plan land and infrastructure expenditures for a population level of 1,435,500 and 11.5 million tourist arrivals by the year 2010 (Minerbi 1994a:147). Immigration results in structural changes altering people's ways and the landscape in the Islands. It is then urgent to protect Hawaiian culture, lifestyles, and subsistence resources while Hawaiians creatively engage landowners, developers, new residents and the government to recognize Hawaiians claims. There is a whole history of Hawaiians – and local people – resisting inappropriate development. Out of these struggles, indigenous management models have emerged (Aluli and McGregor 1994; Field-Grace 1994; Machado 1994; Minerbi 1994b:1-14; Nā Maka o ka 'Āina 1994).

Hawaiian Conservation Values

Hawaiian management approaches are compatible with an island way to access the resources of the land and the sea, to permit an *'ohana* (extended family) and an *aloha 'āina* (love of the land) based lifestyle in the rural areas where Hawaiian culture has endured, bypassed by the plantation and the ranching economy. These Hawaiian rural communities are the cultural *kīpuka* (oases) from which the Hawaiian culture regenerates, as the native trees of the *kīpuka* propagate and, in time, re-establish the forest on the lava flow (McGregor 1993:49).

Hawaiian traditional conservation and management values are based on the respect of nature; regulation of land regime and access to resources; an indigenous knowledge base; search for balance and harmony with nature, and taking care of the land. These approaches are nurtured when Hawaiians

are "guardians" of their ancestral places and do manage their land base. Traditional customs provide detail on what these values are, what they mean, and how they are carried out in practice. There are specific Hawaiian conservation values linked to a conception of nature as sacred and kin to the *Kānaka Maoli*, the Hawaiian people according to Burrows (in Minerbi, McGregor and Matsuoka (eds.) 1993:93-94):

- *Mana'o'i'o* (faith, respect for nature)
- *Kapu* and *noa* (sacred and profane)
- *'Ike* (knowledge)
- *'Āina* (that which feeds)
- *Lōkāhi* (unity, balance, harmony)
- *Mālama 'Āina* (caring for the land)

Many Hawaiian values are still cherished and the family religion persists, including the cult of ancestors, *'aumākua*, and the family sacred *pōhaku* (stones). Pele, Laka, and Lono cults endure; Makahiki rituals are also performed. As Hawaiians have opportunities to take care of the land, indigenous practices flourish. These developments are part of the so-called "Hawaiian renaissance," an enduring Hawaiian lore: language, dance, religion, subsistence, and restoration of Hawaiian structures and places.

There is a set of coexisting factors that explain the Hawaiian renaissance. Many Hawaiians have always practiced their culture and subsistence ways in their rural ancestral lands. Other Hawaiians have learned traditional ways in their childhood, even if life-cycle events may have kept them away from these practices for some time. Many urban and rural Hawaiians have maintained their family relations so that learning of Hawaiian lore has been perpetuated in the network of kin between generations. There has been increasing networking among Hawaiian activists, scholars, intellectuals, politicians, and Hawaiian practitioners. There has been a continuity, a formalization, and an expansion of teaching Hawaiian things through formal programs, projects, visits to Hawaiian sites, and the restoration of ancestral places involving people of various age groups. These endeavors have provided access even to non-Hawaiians, particularly in the field of education. There has been a major effort to more accurately teach Hawaiian history; to explain the Hawaiian perspective and fight for Hawaiian rights. There is now a body of excellent video documentation on Hawaiian projects and struggles.

The Ahupua'a Concept

The Hawaiian *moku* (islands) were divided in ancient times in large districts called *mokuoloko* (island divisions; inner areas), or *'āpana* (a piece) or *'okana* (portion), or *kalana* (released). The ahupua'a (*ahu* (altar), *pua'a* (pig)) was a smaller political subdivision used for the purpose of taxation or share-cropping among the *ali'i 'ai ahupua'a* (the chiefs who eat the ahupua'a) and the *maka'āinana* (commoners, the eyes of the land), the people residing in the district and taking care of the land (Handy et al. 1972:46-49). The ahupua'a and its water was managed by the *konohiki* (the land agent of the chief). Ideally the ahupua'a were wedge-shaped districts dividing the island radially and running from the upland to the ocean.

The island was so divided to ensure that the ahupua'a would provide to the *maka'āinana* access to its many resources, according to three major ecological zones: 1) firewood, timber, birds, and plants of the forest in the "*mauka* (mountain) zone"; 2) planting of potatoes or dry taro field cultivation in the upland, and planting of irrigated taro *lo'i* (pond fields) served by *'auwai* (ditches) in the alluvial lowland areas of the *kahawai* (streams) and tree crop plantation such as breadfruit trees in the "agricultural zone"; and 3) fishing and shellfish, *limu* (seaweed) and salt gathering on the reef, including fish management in the many types of fishponds in the "coastal zone." Hawaiians had specific names for these places such as the *wao akua* (spirits' forest), the dwelling place of the gods and *wao kanaka* (men's forest) where the tree-fern grows and where people farmed (Pogue 1978:10-12).

The ahupua'a was further divided into *'ili* or *'ili 'āina* (strips of land), assigned to the 'ohana. The 'ili could be all of one piece, *'ili pa'a* (complete), or it could be *'ili lele* (separated, leaping) with pieces of land both near the sea and in the mountains. The intent was to provide the 'ohana with access to the resources of the *mauka* and *makai* (seawards) zones, including planting opportunities for wet taro, dry taro, sweet potato and yam, within the ahupua'a. The 'ohana then had a continuity of residence, cultivation and connection with the land within an ahupua'a, that was passed on through generations. In certain cases, when resources existed only far away, an 'ohana would have access to certain pieces of land located in another ahupua'a. It is because of their persistence on the land for generations that many Hawaiians feel

comfortable in taking the initiative for cultural restoration in their own ahupua'a. On the other hand, they may be reluctant to do so for other districts; they feel that it is up to those Hawaiians residing there to decide. What emerges is a strong sense of identity with the place of residence based on the knowledge of its resources.

This view calls for an environmental management model decentralized at the level of the ahupua'a, that requires the formation of a decision-making system based on the networks of 'ohana of that district. Within the 'ohana itself there are many ideas regarding the proper localization of activities within the ahupua'a. Conceivably knowledgeable elders would state what is *pono* (right) according to tradition. But they would leave the younger couples to decide how to handle matters that might affect their future. A way in which Hawaiians can foster ahupua'a based planning is to establish 'ohana councils for all the ahupua'a, including also those districts where non-Hawaiians reside or own land.

There is a recent precedent for these councils. Burial Councils have been set up by the State Burial Law passed in 1990. The Burial Councils are an example of government-decentralized decision-making at the island level, involving respected Hawaiian community leaders who are experts in cultural affairs. While the Burial Councils have islandwide jurisdiction, they are restricted to Hawaiian burial concerns; the 'ohana councils instead could be based geographically, ahupua'a by ahupua'a, and embrace all cultural practices. In fact Ahupua'a Councils are being established in Wai'anae. Hawaiians are able to assess the environmental conditions and the general character of the area, including the *wahi pana* (noted, celebrated places), thus influencing site use. Additional steps include archaeological surveys and records, and reviews of oral history, land documents and plans such as those, notable ones, summarized below.

The Moloka'i Case Study

Ahupua'a-Based Planning on Moloka'i

The plan for the 'Ualapu'e ahupua'a on Moloka'i, encompassing 1250 acres, recognized the ahupua'a in its cultural and ecological dimensions. The

plan addressed East End residents' traditional lifestyle and looked at small-scale sustainable economic activities. It investigated the ahupua'a in its mauka-makai zones and plant habitats. It noted the changes over time from planting to pasture and shift in settlement patterns. It called for the management of archaeological sites, restoration of production of the taro patches and the fishponds, increase in agricultural production, tree crops and reforestation. The plan proposed control of soil erosion by abandoning use of the uplands for pastures and suggested proper sanitation in existing residential areas. It mapped the location of what was considered suitable development projects to be undertaken within the three ecological zones of the ahupua'a: a coastal zone for small businesses and aquaculture development and planting; and two mauka zones for planting and for soil erosion control (Wyban 1990). Such a plan is consistent with a Hawaiian conception of planning because of the desire to protect ancient sites and to locate new activities that would employ local people by ecological zones.

Protecting Hawaiian Subsistence

Government decentralization may result in the indigenization of resource management. On the island of Moloka'i, there was concern for the decline of subsistence resources, and community pressure led to the setting up of a Governor's Task Force in 1993 to look at subsistence policies on Moloka'i (Matsuoka, McGregor, Minerbi and Akutagawa 1994:4-14). The Task Force used a multi-method approach. It administered a random sample telephone survey of Moloka'i residents; it conducted focus groups with Hawaiian subsistence practitioners in five communities; it concluded each community meeting with a participatory exercise to map the location of subsistence sites to protect; it conducted a focus group with commercial fishermen; it met monthly for one year to review findings; it developed recommendations and presented them to a community-wide meeting. The Task Force concluded that the decline of subsistence resources was due to inappropriate development, monocrop agriculture, and ranching. Commercial fishing and hunting was excessive, making over-harvesting of marine resources a significant problem. People from other islands were competing over the use of resources on Moloka'i.

A random sample telephone survey conducted on Moloka'i in 1994 indicated that 28% of the food was acquired through subsistence. Hawaiian families obtained more of their food through subsistence activities than families of other ethnic groups, about 38%. It was concluded that subsistence was important for cultural and practical reasons and as a means to obtain good food not readily available. The prevailing concern was about diminishing subsistence resources for future generations. Community-wide acceptance of traditional Hawaiian subsistence values and practices would be key to restoring a balance. There was a need then to teach and practice Hawaiian environmental principles to have subsistence and commercial users take more responsibility for what they do (Matsuoka et al. 1994:43,61-64).

Hawaiian subsistence principles for Moloka'i include "do not take too much," and "replant" into the wild or "restock" bays, streams, and fishponds to increase fisheries resources. It was found that customary Hawaiian access to subsistence sites needs to be restored. Conversely, access to certain sites can be regulated. Vehicles can be restricted with gates to allow only foot trails, ensuring that one takes out only "what one can carry" in one's hands from sensitive areas. The action plan proposed by the Task Force called for improved access and protection of subsistence areas, education on how to gather, amendments to fishing rules and appointment of a Moloka'i Subsistence Advisory Committee.

Community-Based Subsistence Fishing on Moloka'i

The response of the State of Hawai'i Legislature was Act 271 (1994), that created a process for designating "community-based subsistence fishing areas." Hui Mālama o Mo'omomi, an association of Hawaiians from the Ho'olehua Homestead area, sought such designation for Mo'omomi Bay on the north-east shore of Moloka'i, because commercial harvesting by non-residents was depleting the fishing resources of the bay. The purpose was to sustain conservation activities through native Hawaiian practices in an area of 847 acres in collaboration with government agencies (Hui Mālama o Mo'omomi 1995:17-18). There was a perception that community representatives can be involved in monitoring and enforcement, relieving the government of such costs. The plan called for: (a) sharing of management tasks; (b) training of community volunteer resource managers to monitor fishing activities; and (c)

education of novice fishermen in sustainable fishing methods. Basic themes included: (a) marine species' life cycles; (b) knowledge of fish behavior and aggregation, recognition and protection of *ko'a* (fish houses); (c) code of fishing; (d) spirituality and kinship with nature; (e) holistic understanding of the environment (Hui Mālama o Mo'omomi 1995:5,20-26, App. E).

In conclusion, the rich subsistence resources on Moloka'i are diminishing because of the pressure exercised by off-island people and those Moloka'i residents who do not follow the traditional practices. There are multiple issues to address: dealing with off-island people, Moloka'i residents, and commercial and subsistence fishermen. A proposal called for the government to educate and regulate off-island sportsmen and commercial fishermen, and for the Moloka'i community to deal with the Moloka'i residents.

Under this proposal, kapu can apply to certain types of fish, or to juvenile fish, or to certain periods of time, such as during the spawning seasons. Kapu can also be applied to a geographic area per a specific period to replenish the fishing stock and protect marine organisms and their habitat. The question is the culturally appropriate type of enforcement of the kapu. Hawaiians prefer to not criminalize offenders, not levy fines, but exert peer pressure, persuasion, and education. They consider important the authority of the *kūpuna* (elders) in enforcing the kapu through appropriate ways to make restitution to the community by the kapu breakers. Regulatory power of the state must first be devolved to the community level.

Fishpond Restoration on Moloka'i

There are about 74 ancient Hawaiian fishponds and fishtraps on Moloka'i. Many can be restored for historic, cultural, spiritual, and economic reasons, and for the perpetuation of subsistence practices. In 1992, a strong community support for this restoration was instrumental in the formation of the Governor's Task Force on Moloka'i Fishpond Restoration. The Task Force concluded that there were difficulties for 'ohana groups to access, repair, and use the fishponds that are owned by the state or by private landowners. Restoration requires complex and expensive permits and lease agreements. The Task Force, therefore, recommended the establishment of a Moloka'i Fishpond Commission to ensure coordination to restore two fishponds per

year, starting with two demonstration projects, Kahinapōhaku and Honouliwai (Wyban 1993). Stewardship was to be entrusted by the state to ahupua'a tenants (also called *hoa'āina*, friends of the land) or those who have established customs, use, practices, and traditional rights of access. It was further recommended to streamline the permit system to favor fishpond restoration.

Differing views existed between Hawaiians and government agencies. Hawaiians wanted to restore fishponds through 'ohana based initiatives; to use modern equipment for silt removal and repair of the stonewalls; to reinforce and expand the stonewalls; and to remove the mangroves (a non native plant). Government agencies were concerned about protecting the "pristine conditions" of the ancient ponds; the on-site navigable rights; the bird habitats; the water quality and beach public access. In February 1995, the Department of Land and Natural Resources (DLNR) granted a Master Conservation District Use Application permit to 12 state-owned fishponds that stood the test of restorability for wall footprint, availability of rocks, silt, habitat, and navigational servitude (University of Hawai'i, Department of Urban and Regional Planning 1993:288). This permit spelled out the tasks that the 'ohana group must undertake for the reconstruction and operation. In addition Housing Bill no. 1763 (State of Hawai'i 1995) exempted the Hawaiian fishponds from the Environmental Impact Law, subject to certain modalities. The bill required DLNR to assist in the permit and restoration process and the Department of Health to process water quality certification expeditiously.

Promoting Subsistence Homesteads

King's Landing (Hawai'i) and the "Kanaka Code"

A Federal-State Task Force in July of 1982 recommended to Department of Hawaiian Home Lands (DHHL) alternative development models to "on-grid" infrastructural development and to traditional county subdivision to accelerate granting leases on raw lands to DHHL beneficiaries (Ka 'Ohana o Kahikinui 1993:2). But in June 1995, there were still 27,545 Hawaiian applicants statewide.

Some Hawaiian groups had already settled on their own on DHHL lands at King's Landing, Keaukaha Tract II, South of Hilo on the Big Island, taking

advantage of the anchialine ponds, the fishing and the gathering of *'opihi* (shellfish) and limu. But they were served eviction notices by the DHHL in the late 1970s and early 1980s. However, in 1984 they were able to sign a "right of entry" agreement. To obtain a land lease, Mālama ka 'Āina Hana ka 'Āina (MAHA), the community association of the sixteen families living there, developed a Hawaiian vision of land use and subsistence occupancy. This plan entailed fostering Hawaiian culture, protecting Hawaiian sites, sustaining ecological balance, engaging in substance education, and obtaining long-term leases.

The plan called for alternative homesteading, aquaculture development and a land bank for community-based economic activities on 800 acres of land. It codified an approach to family and community self-sufficiency based on the skills of current residents and it proposed a "Kanaka Code" (People's Code) as an alternative to county standards. Inspiration came from the historical knowledge of the wahi pana in the area, off-grid systems, and low technologies. The proposed land uses were more detailed than the state zoning and consistent with Hawaiian practices. Homesteaders would attain self-sufficiency gradually going through various development phases. Guidelines addressed allowable uses, proper siting, monitoring of activities, management, and enforcement to protect the integrity of the ponds while allowing non-harmful uses.

Kahikinui (Maui) and the "Kuleana Program"

In 1993, Ka 'Ohana o Kahikinui, an Hawaiian group of about 45 people on Maui, developed in 1993 a land use plan to manage and restore the land of DHHL in Kahikinui in South Maui that the 'ohana had occupied for some time. The ahupua'a of Kahikinui owned entirely by DHHL with many historical, cultural and subsistence resources (Matsuoka, McGregor, Minerbi, Kelly, Barney-Cambell and Kanahale 1996). The 'ohana objective was to settle DHHL beneficiaries with long-term leases and to involve them in taking care of the land. The plan of the 'ohana was significant because it was based on the ahupua'a and on the 'ohana concepts. The 22,800 acres of DHHL were planned according to the mauka-makai ecological zones of the district (Ka 'Ohana o Kahikinui 1993:4-6):

- The Forest Zone (7300 acres).
- The Reforestation and Horticultural Zone (2000 acres).
- The Pastoral Lots Zone (4000 acres).
- The Self-Sufficiency Homesteads (4000 acres).
- A Community Center Area (500 acres).
- A Makai Access Area (250 acres).
- A Cultural Land Management Zone (4500 acres).

The land use proposed by the 'ohana allowed every homesteader access to the mauka-makai resources of the ahupua'a. It differed from the one prepared by the DHHL consultants that would have located the homesteads in only one part of the parcel, 2500 acres, with a substantial middle portion, 6,000 acres, reserved for general leases to outsiders, thus reducing the amount of land available to Hawaiians. The mauka portion of the parcel would have been allotted to forest reserves for 8600 acres. The cultural resources area, 5700 acres, would have been used for future homesteads, thus encroaching on the integrity of the coastal archaeological sites. The agency, against 'ohana desires, left open the specific location of the homestead use and general lease use throughout 500 acres (DHHL 1993). In 1994, DHHL, while still reviewing the 'ohana plan, granted, subject to indemnification to avoid liability, a "right of entry" to the 'ohana to practice Hawaiian culture and protect native plants. Meanwhile some progress had been made on road clearing, survey and staking of lots, building some homes and issuing a 15-year license to the Living Indigenous Forest Ecosystem (LIFE) group to manage a most innovative ecosystem reforestation program mauka on 5000 acres at Kahikinui. This program included water catchment using the lingering clouds at higher elevation, enclosures of native plants, eradication of non-native weeds, and elimination of feral goats (Kahikinui Forest Partnership Working Group 1995:6-11).

In 1993, DHHL discussed the conceptual approval of the proposed Kuleana and Lailima Programs (Soon 1994). The Kuleana Program, inspired by the Kanaka Code, allowed beneficiaries on the waiting list to choose raw land, with no infrastructure and only a coarse road provided for access; the Lailima Program allowed beneficiaries to select raw land and provide their own infrastructures, but had them commit up front financial participation. The Kuleana Program awarded 99 year leases to homestead applicants without

any modern or other conventional "on-grid" utilities. It needed a community-based process to operate within the DHHL guidelines for including health and safety, building standards and lease agreement provisions. Homesteaders were to build their own homes, furnish their own water, energy, communication, and waste disposal via septic systems and dry composting toilets. Lot sizes ranged from 2 to 20 acres, with one dwelling per lot plus one additional 'ohana housing unit. *Kauhale* or dwelling compound for the extended family was permitted; lessees could develop their own standards via a community-based process to include protection of native plants, flora, fauna, and archaeological resources. Wherever possible, land-use development was to be consistent with government requirements and ahupua'a principles. Minimum project size was 300 acres (DHHL 1995).

An opinion by the State Attorney General recommended that the government not approve the Kanaka Code, probably because of liability concerns; but that the homestead association could link-up with a licensed architect to sign off the project's health and safety standards. The homestead association could then administer its own permit system, monitoring compliance of individual members, without having the county and the DHHL involved in the process. The government seemed now more open to community-based plans, but the burden to develop culturally compatible and affordable solutions remained the initiative of Hawaiians.

Protection of the Ahupua'a and of Hawaiian Rights

There are many Hawaiian groups focusing on the restoration of the ahupua'a, and the idea is gaining support. A statewide Ahupua'a Action Alliance also advocates the protection of the island environment. This grassroots coalition of environmental and Hawaiian organizations is in partnership with the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund's Hawai'i office. Their approach is public education, political action and litigation. The effort is on restoring the balance between Hawai'i's fragile coastal and watershed environments and their inhabitants (Eoff 1995). There is also a Hawaiian characterization of the task: through the ahupua'a runs the life-blood of the 'āina – water. No water, no life for the 'āina. No water, no *mana* (power) in the ground – the god *kalo* (taro) is not nourished. No water, no consecration (the *hi'uwai* ceremony). Stream wellness is for sacredness and balance ... So ahupua'a signifies wholeness,

wellness – a microcosm of the balance between Wākea (heaven) and Papa (earth) (Cruz 1996).

An understanding of Hawaiian customs, practices and indigenous rights in the context of the ahupua'a is also required in the application of the law in Hawai'i. These rights are only partially addressed by State of Hawai'i laws. Nevertheless, there are several laws recognizing Hawaiian rights for subsistence, cultural and religious purposes. The Hawai'i State Constitution and the Hawaii Revised Statutes (HRS) affirm the state's obligation to protect ahupua'a tenants' rights. These rights address a limited number of gatherings, the right to water use, and the right of access. Access includes use of ahupua'a trails, mauka-makai trails, mid-elevation trails and shoreline and circle-island road trails. The HRS underlines that Hawaiian usage has precedence over the Common Law of the State, recognizes ahupua'a tenants' rights to include taro cultivation and propagation on one's own *kuleana* and the gathering of *hīhīwai* (snail), *ōpāe* (shrimp), *o'opu* (fish), limu, thatch, ti leaf, *aho* cord, and medicinal plants. The HRS also protects unmarked burial sites (Territory of Hawaii 1900; State of Hawai'i 1988, 1990).

The State of Hawai'i Supreme Court in the Kalipi Case (1982b) ruled that an ahupua'a tenant may enter underdeveloped lands within the ahupua'a to gather. In the Pele Case (1992), it extended Hawaiian gathering rights outside the ahupua'a of one's residence where such rights have been customarily and traditionally exercised. In 1993, in the Public Access Shoreline Hawai'i (PASH/Kohanaiki) Case, the Intermediate Court ruled that government agencies must establish whether gathering rights were exercised on a property that might be developed and should explore ways to preserve these rights (while avoiding harm). The Hawai'i Supreme Court (1995) upheld this ruling. Religious rights are protected by the Hawai'i Constitution (State of Hawai'i 1989), but the State of Hawai'i Supreme Court posed stringent tests to establish infringement on religious practices (1982a), and significant harm on the practice (1988). Water rights include "appurtenant or kuleana water rights" for former taro land adjacent to natural water courses and "riparian rights" for other land near natural water courses. These rights "run with the land." Those who qualify for Hawaiian Home Lands have special rights recognized in the HRS. The State of Hawai'i Water Code also recognizes the Hawaiian water rights (McGregor 1996; McGregor, Murakami and Lafaele 1993:113-52).

Conclusions

Population pressure and immigration are changing both Hawaiian ways and the island environment. More protection can be achieved with Hawaiian conservation values and planning ideas based on the integration of traditional ahupua'a district planning with modern watershed and ecological planning. Hawaiian groups and organizations have proposed or pioneered such integration on certain sites of the Hawaiian islands for the protection of subsistence resources and practices, for the creation of marine sanctuaries, for the restoration of fishponds, for the planning and restoration of the ahupua'a, and for the settlement of Hawaiian homesteaders and 'ohana groups. Concepts of indigenous planning and indigenous codes, departing from current government rules, have emerged and are now being re-visited by the government or the courts.

The determined and relentless exercise of Hawaiian cultural practices by individuals and 'ohana groups in spite of many odds, and the support given to them by coalition organizations, have certainly engaged the public and private sector to some extent.

The State of Hawai'i's belated response in the cases described above is a limited recognition of Hawaiian lifestyles and rights and a way to minimally accommodate Hawaiian concerns. However, Hawaiians are obtaining some form of recognition and they are benefiting from decentralization of decision-making in these projects. To the extent that such lifestyles are carried out, they are also an exercise of indigenous autonomy and human rights, and can be supported and replicated in many places. In the end, Hawaiian customary and subsistence rights should be recognized as pre-existing "easements" to be respected on properties regardless of the stage of land development. Encouraging Hawaiians to develop affordable, technologically appropriate, culturally compatible, environmentally sensitive homestead projects should be an attractive and basic element in the economic recovery of Hawai'i. These solutions can, in fact, be models for sustainable development in other parts of the world. ♦

Note

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Against Extinction:

A Legacy of Native Hawaiian Resistance Literature

D. Māhealani Dudoit

Mo'okū'auhau (Genealogy)

Davianna Pōmaika'i McGregor once wrote that during the 1970s, when the Hawaiian movement was "emerging," some *kūpuna* (elders, grandparents) denounced the political activism of the *ōpio*, the younger ones. They said it was "un-Hawaiian." McGregor questioned whether it was really true that no legacy of Hawaiian resistance existed, that instead Hawaiians had either passively or enthusiastically accepted the changes to the culture and the Islands (McGregor 1985:44).

The decade of the 1970s is popularly recognized today as a time when modern Hawaiians began to come into their own. We had undergone the pressures of assimilation and somehow remained loyal to our "Hawaiianess," as different as we were from our *mākua* (parents) or *kūpuna*. One of those differences did seem to be our belligerency, our haole contentiousness, our outspokenness. Most of us had been raised to be *'olu'olu* (polite, courteous), to show *aloha* (kindness, love), to be generous. We had been raised to obey our parents. How could we therefore be so un-Hawaiian in our Hawaiianess?

The apparent contradiction did not stop the political activists of the 1970s. They carried within them the fire of conviction. They also began to carry the deepening knowledge that they were, indeed, perpetuating a legacy of resistance. Hawaiian resistance has taken many forms, from the defiant and wrathful ways of Pele to the stubborn continuation of traditional practices. McGregor herself, along with others, went on to develop a form of resistance that claimed the status of nation for the Hawaiian people. In her research, she traced the legacy of Native Hawaiian nationalism to the 1870s, where she recognized "the beginning of an organized and persistent nationalist movement aimed at preventing the American takeover of Hawai'i" (1985:45). McGregor concentrated firstly on electoral political resistance, defined by the actions of Hawaiian politicians of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and royalists such as Robert Wilcox (the most famous leader of the

Counterrevolution of 1895, popularly known as the "Wilcox Rebellion"); and secondarily on the *māka'āinana* (commoner, citizen) petitions of the 1840s, five decades earlier.

I would like to flesh out that genealogy to include other evidence of a Hawaiian nationalist movement in the form of a "resistance literature" by Hawaiians, while at the same time recognizing that further evidence is being rapidly uncovered by Hawaiian scholars in their research into Hawaiian and English-language documents. This article only continues to add to the genealogy of resistance which others have already traced in part, and in no way pretends to have located more than a fraction of its whole. I also do not pretend to understand completely the significance or ramifications of this genealogy.

Resistance Literature

The phrase "resistance literature" was first coined and popularized by Barbara Harlow to apply to the broad spectrum of narrative, poetic, and analytical writings produced by resistance and national liberation movements in their struggles against repressive forms of ideological and cultural production (Harlow 1987:xvi,29). Such writings carry the potential to wrest back from the repressive authorities the control over cultural production. Harlow quotes Hugo Blanco, who worked as a political organizer in Peru, about the use of paper as a means of cultural and political oppression: "There is a famous saying: *Qelqan riman* (What is written is what is heard). We fight this fetishism to the death. And one of the ways to fight it is precisely to show the peasant that, just as the enemy has *his* papers, so do we have *our* papers. To the paper that contradicts the reason and logic of the peasant, we counterpose [sic] the paper that bears that reason and logic" (Blanco in Harlow 1987:12).

When writing was first introduced by the missionaries to the Hawaiians in the 1820s, it was rapidly embraced, to the point that the Hawaiian nation in the last century was quite possibly the most literate nation in the world. I am convinced that one of the central reasons for this phenomenon was that Hawaiians understood the magic and power of language. One of the most well-known of Hawaiian proverbs, for instance, goes: *I ka 'ōlelo ke ola; i ka 'ōlelo ka make*, "In the word, there is life; in the word, there is death." But words were subsequently used by foreigners to trick and rob Native Hawaiians of their land and political power. As with the Indians of Peru, the foreign *palapala* (a Hawaiian word that means "document" or "writing of any kind") became the

currency of power and crushed the Natives through the courts, the Legislature, the offices of commerce and land distribution. Until today, distrust of the palapala runs deep.

Yet the palapala has also come to be wielded in the struggle for liberation to help us grapple with the ambivalence of our cultural identity. John Dominis Holt, in his book *On Being Hawaiian* (1974a), explains this ambivalence as arising from the near, but not complete, extermination of Hawaiian culture:

Always, here in the land of our ancestors, we are psychologically captive to the spirit of the past. The harsh legacy of early observers, who endlessly shouted the myth of superiority of their beliefs over those of Hawaiians, we must constantly live down. [...]

The weight of classic mores and beliefs (not as potent, nor as functional anymore, as they were in the time of the kapu system, the chiefs, the kahuna, and the heiau) is nonetheless a burden that Hawaiians must still bear. We are inescapably the heirs to this welter of tradition, whether we like it or not. Some of us try to understand it – to accept and keep those aspects of tradition which we like, and discard the rest. Many of us are confused. We do not know how to think about the past, even if we have some glint of knowledge of what happened then. [...]

Hawaiians in Hawaii are inescapably a part of the living tissue of island history. In some respects, it is a terrible burden. We are, to some extent, the walking repositories of island antiquity: living symbols of a way of life long dead, but which strangely persists in shaping the character of life in the fiftieth state (Holt 1974a:17-18).

Holt was writing in the 1970s, the beginning of that period of political activism that many people mistook for an "invented" Hawaiianess. But Holt had his finger on the heart of the movement: an acceptance in these islands of what Hawaiians call our *kuleana* and the necessity to work our way out of our confusion to a more lucid understanding of ourselves as modern Hawaiians. That the word "kuleana" denotes both privilege and responsibility, as well as the actual plot of land upon which we subsist, is not mere coincidence. Our "inescapable" link to the land as part of its "living tissue" is, I would argue, the driving force of the Hawaiian movement.

McGregor recognized that force when she wrote:

The 'āina of Hawai'i including the ocean and environment is important to Hawaiians primarily because it provides us with the basic neces-

sities of life – food, shelter, recreation and economic livelihood. However, it is also important to us as the source of our mana, the spiritual strength that we experience when working in harmony with the life forces of nature. Moreover, control of our 'āina is a critical measure of our political sovereignty and the potential to determine our future as a people. Our ancestors were put to rest within the 'āina and their spirit lives on in the remnants of their house sites, ko'a, heiau, lo'i terraces and burial sites – places of 'ohana life, work, recreation and worship (McGregor 1985:44).

Because many believed that it was only in the last few decades of the struggle against US imperialism that the term *aloha 'āina* ("love of the land") was first articulated, critics such as anthropologist Jocelyn Linnekin claim that it has been "invented" by modern Hawaiians as a slogan, as opposed to a "real" cultural value, for the purpose of political maneuvering in struggles over competing claims to land (Linnekin 1983). In her book *From A Native Daughter* (1993), Haunani-Kay Trask takes Linnekin to task for misapprehending Hawaiian culture: "Hawaiians assert a traditional relationship to the land not for political ends, as Linnekin argues, but because they continue to believe in the cultural value of caring for the land. That land use is now contested makes such a belief political" (Trask 1993:168). Linnekin is not alone in seeing modern Hawaiians as "invented" in their cultural beliefs of self, however. Nor is that view confined to non-Hawaiians, as McGregor discovered when Hawaiian kūpuna in the 1970s criticized the "un-Hawaiian" behavior of Native Hawaiian political activists.

Voices of the Maka'āinana

Although, as McGregor points out, Hawaiian nationalists first organized themselves in electoral politics in the 1870s in order to resist the American takeover of Hawai'i (1985:45), the maka'āinana petition movement of the 1840s reveals an earlier period of Hawaiian nationalism. An organized opposition to the loss of Hawaiian nationhood in the sense of political sovereignty was first given voice in these petitions. They were written in response to the proposals of Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III) to adopt a more Western form of government in the way of a constitutional monarchy in order to gain the respect, and subsequent protection, of the imperialist powers. Up to then, conflicts with foreigners had characteristically been resolved through gunboat diplomacy, under whose terms the Hawaiian government was

invariably forced to concede property and commercial rights to foreigners. In 1843, a British Captain by the name of George Paulet had actually forced Kauikeaouli to cede the Islands to Great Britain (Kuykendall 1938:210-19). Hawai'i's independence was only restored with the help of an American challenge to the British just short of open conflict (ibid.:219-21), making Hawaiians keenly aware of the precariousness of their political sovereignty.

In a petition from Kona, Hawai'i, to Kauikeaouli in 1845, the admonition contained in all the petitions against selling *'āina* (land) to foreigners is elaborated upon in a way that explicitly links political sovereignty to love for the land:

There is aroused within us love and reluctance to lose the land, with love for the chiefs, and the children, and everything upon the land. We believe we will soon end as homeless people. Therefore we kiss the soil of the land and petition you at the legislature. [...] We think that the land is not for the foreigner, only for us, the true Hawaiians. [...] Do not give laws covenanting to give away our own Hawaii. There is the entry [*puka*; sic] where the foreigners get into the body [*opu*; sic] of our own Hawaii. [...] Perhaps they all will say, "We are true Hawaiians, therefore it is not your land. [...] We are naturalized Hawaiians, therefore the land is ours, not yours, because you are brown skinned and we are white!" ("Petitions" 1985[1845]:55-56; this and other petitions quoted in this paper were published in English translation).

The maka'āinana perceived a difference between the loyalties of "true Hawaiians" and "naturalized Hawaiians" to the Native government. "In times of war," they ask, "will they die together with us, the true Hawaiians? They will run, perhaps, and not stay and help us true Hawaiians. They will not wish to die with us all, and give their lives, and their dollars to the war" (ibid.:56). At the same time, the maka'āinana recognized those foreigners who had been in Hawai'i a long time and who "understand the nature of the Hawaiians [and who] are like us, [unlike] the foreigners who acquire wealth" (ibid.:57). The maka'āinana were clear about the ephemeral nature of monetary wealth compared to the natural wealth of the land. They continue:

The earth continues to receive its wealth and its distinction every day. There would be no end of worldly goods to the very end of this race. But, the money from the sale of the land is quickly ended, by ten years' time. Listen to the voice of wisdom announcing to you in this petition: Withhold

[*aua* – be stingy; sic] the land as it is very valuable. Withhold the people and the independent government and the rule of the King over Hawaii from the foreigners (ibid.).

The Hawaiian Nationalist Press

The maka'āinana petitions of the 1840s are testimony to the radical changes confronting nineteenth-century Hawaiians. Helen Chapin, in her work on the newspapers of Hawai'i, describes the nineteenth century in the Islands as a time when a "non-literate, memory-based culture was rapidly displaced by codified laws, written constitutions, historical data, and newspapers" (Chapin 1984:49). One of the changes instituted by Kauikeaouli was the legislation of freedom of speech and the press. By the middle of the century, "the earlier goal of universal literacy in Hawaiian took a new direction, with English becoming the medium of business, government, education, and diplomacy" (ibid.). American Protestant missionaries brought the first printing press with them, and ran off their first publication in Hawai'i in 1822, a schoolbook in Hawaiian. Books, pamphlets, and government documents followed, including a Hawaiian translation of the Bible. The first newspaper in Hawai'i was produced in the missionary Lahainaluna school in 1834. From then to 1850, the American Protestant missionaries ran the only Hawaiian-language press, in the last decade producing bilingual papers in response to a growing English-language readership.

At mid-century, secular newspapers in English appeared representing the haole elite (a combination of missionary, planter, and business interests). The first major newspaper of this kind was the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, started in 1856 by Henry Whitney, a descendant of the original Protestant mission. It is still published today as the *Honolulu Advertiser*, until recently also by descendants of early Protestant missionaries. The two newspapers were both commonly referred to as the *Advertiser* (Chapin 1996:53). Among the *Advertiser's* original editors were W. R. Castle, W. C. Wilder, W. N. Armstrong, and Lorrin A. Thurston, men who had engineered the Bayonet Constitution, the overthrow of the monarchy, and the annexation of Hawai'i.

Twenty-six years after the establishment of the *Advertiser*, Whitney also began the *Daily Bulletin*, which eventually became the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, the second major twentieth-century newspaper. These newspapers, along with other minor English-language secular newspapers, opposed the Hawai-

ian government, itself represented primarily by the *Polynesian* and the *Hawaiian Gazette*. The *Polynesian* was begun in 1840 by James Jackson Jarves and adopted by Kūikeyouli in 1844 so the King could "explain his positions directly to the foreign community" (Chapin 1996:26). It survived until 1864, a year after which the *Hawaiian Gazette* became the government paper until it was dropped during the Kalākaua era and taken up by the haole elite, who "mercilessly sneered at and maligned Kalākaua's policies and his personal character" (Chapin 1984:61).

The year 1861 marks the beginning of a "vernacular Hawaiian language press," when Hawaiian-language newspapers appeared that were edited by Native Hawaiians, and that "spoke directly for native Hawaiians" but which were not controlled by the government or Protestant missionaries (Chapin 1996:59). Most of these 70 newspapers were produced between 1861 to 1900 by Native Hawaiians and their haole allies, and were opposed to the haole elite or missionary-controlled newspapers. "The unifying thread through 40 years, although the papers held diverse opinions," Chapin writes, "was a growing sense of nationalism; that is, a devotion to the interests of Hawaii as an independent nation" (Chapin 1984:67). Although most were royalist and opposed to American annexation, some "when the Monarchy's survival seemed doomed, adopted alternative positions" (ibid.). They were "more than just crusading organs," for they also contained stories, advertising, illustrations, and – something unique to Hawai'i – legends, *mele* (chants), and genealogies (ibid.). Many even had English sections for those not fluent in Hawaiian.

The first of these nationalist papers to be edited solely by Native Hawaiians was *Ka Hoku o Ka Pakipika* (Star of the Pacific), started by David Kalākaua before he became king. Kalākaua would come to be known as the "editor king" by his subjects because of the number of publications he would eventually support (Chapin 1984:67). The major concern of *Ka Hoku o Ka Pakipika* was the loss of population and survival of the Hawaiian race. The paper actively supported the expression of Hawaiian culture and the use of the Hawaiian language, and "considered itself a voice for the 'common people'" (ibid.:68). Only weeks after the birth of *Ka Hoku o Ka Pakipika*, Henry Whitney began another newspaper to run simultaneously with his *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, the Hawaiian language *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* (The Independent Newspaper), which in its 66 years of publication was "the longest-running and most

successful Hawaiian-language journal" (Chapin 1996:54). Whitney also liked to claim that the *Advertiser* was "independent and free," but in fact what he meant was that it was "free" of government, but not haole-elite, control (ibid.:53).

Ka Nupepa Kuokoa was popular among Native Hawaiians who otherwise largely rejected the establishment press, even reaching a circulation (of 5,000) that was far beyond that of the *Advertiser* (Chapin 1996:57) because it was a rich source of Hawaiian culture. Yet Whitney, like many of his haole contemporaries, still looked down on Hawaiians as inferior and pagan. He possessed a "love for the Islands and the Hawaiian language [but] contempt for Hawaiians" (ibid.). *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* held to the same loyalties as the *Advertiser* and "illustrated a widening gap between mission interests and those of Native Hawaiians and showed the political, economic, and racial mazes of the century's last decades" (Chapin 1984:53). *Ka Hoku o Ka Pakipika* openly accused Whitney of being "rich and well-situated" and his *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* of being the voice of haole businessmen (ibid.:68). According to Chapin, Whitney was a contradictory and complicated personality. "The single unifying thread in him was a total belief in American culture and values" (ibid.:54), even boasting in his reminiscences that the *Advertiser* "was independent in politics always, but an ardent advocate of annexation to the United States" (ibid.:54).

On the eve of the overthrow, nationalist newspapers like *Ka Oiaio* (The Truth) and *Ka Makaainana* (the Citizen, or Commoner) appeared. Many newsmen, such as Robert Wilcox, were also insurrectionists struggling to restore the old Constitution, which was more favorable to Native Hawaiians. After the overthrow, the haole oligarchy tried to stifle the opposition by bringing libel suits against the nationalist newspapers and their Hawaiian and haole editors and printers. Another wave of libel and conspiracy suits followed the Counterrevolution of 1895, resulting in imprisonment of several nationalists. One of these nationalists was Joseph Nawahi, who criticized Kalākaua and Lili'uokalani, but who was committed to Hawaiian independence. Nawahi ran *Ke Aloha Aina* (The Patriot) with his wife, Emma, until his death in 1896. Emma continued the newspaper until the turn of the century. Robert Wilcox and his second wife, Theresa Laahui Cartwright, also formed a husband-wife team and ran several newspapers, including the post-annexation *Home Rule Republika*, which promoted the election of Wilcox as the Territory's first delegate to Congress.

Chapin identifies the nationalist newspapers as the leaders in the fight for Hawaiian independence in the 1880s and 1890s. It was this press, she says, "that laid the foundation for the arguments for Hawaiian sovereignty that would reemerge in the late 20th century" (Chapin 1996:59). Although the nationalist press contained a diversity of views, they shared several basic themes in opposition to the haole-elite newspapers: "one, a conviction that Hawaiians knew what was best for themselves; two, an awareness that the decline of the Native population was a serious matter; three, an insistence that Hawaii remain an independent nation; four, a deep respect for the monarchy; and five, a great love for their land" (ibid.:61).

Mele Aloha 'Āina

The themes of the Hawaiian nationalist press were also expressed artistically in the form of nationalist songs written in response to the overthrow and Counterrevolution. One of the more well-known compilations of nationalist songs was the *Buke Mele Lahui* (Book of National Songs, 1895), which was compiled by F. J. Testa, editor of the pro-royalist *Ka Maka'āinana*, from songs that had been printed and circulated in several Hawaiian-language newspapers. According to musicologist Amy Stillman, in "History Reinterpreted in Song: The Case of the Hawaiian Counterrevolution," the songs repeatedly express the hope for the eventual restoration of the Hawaiian monarchy (Stillman 1989:5). The values of "pride (*ha'aheo*), love of land (*aloha 'āina*), and glorification of the chiefs" are invoked (ibid.: 13), values which were intensified following the monarchy and reintensified following the Counterrevolution.

The first song in the book is "Mele Aloha Aina." Stillman writes that "*aloha 'āina* was a sentiment which pervaded Hawaiian poetry. Poems and songs about *aloha 'āina* were called *mele aloha 'āina* or also *mele lāhui* (national songs), as in the title *Buke Mele Lahui*" (1989:17).

"Mele Aloha Aina," also known as "Mele Ai Pohaku" (Stone-Eating Song), "was a statement of rebellion," according to Eleanor C. Nordyke and Martha H. Noyes in "Kaulana Nā Pua: A Voice for Sovereignty" (1993:27). Soon after the haole oligarchy established the provisional government, they issued a mandate for all government workers to sign a loyalty oath. Many people resisted, including members of the Royal Hawaiian Band. They approached

Mrs. Ellen Keho'ohiwaokalani Prendergast, a celebrated Hawaiian poet and lady-in-waiting to the Queen (Patrinos 1995:87). Eleanor Prendergast, Ellen's daughter, describes the way the band approached her mother in her rose garden at her home in Kapālama: "We will not follow this new government," they asserted. "We will be loyal to Liliu. We will not sign the *haole's* paper, but will be satisfied with all that is left to us, the stones, the mystic food of our Native land." So they begged her to compose their song of rebellion" (Nordyke and Noyes 1993:38).

According to John Charlot, as a song of protest between Hawaiian and western culture, "Mele Aloha Aina" has no precedent (Charlot 1985:27). The song draws attention to the palapala, "a word used bitterly by some Hawaiians to describe the rules established by an alien culture to favor its own members" (ibid.). The palapala is *'ānunu* (greedy), and the enemy would *kū'ai hewa* (wrongfully sell out) the Natives' *pono sivila* (civil rights). Hawaiians, on the other hand, do not *minamina* (cherish) the *pu'ukālā* (hill of dollars) of the capitalist provisional government. Hawaiians instead *kūpa'a ma hope o Lili'ulani* (stand firm in support of the Queen).

"Mele Ai Pohaku" still exists as a popular song a century later, now called "Kaulana nā pua," after the first line of the song. It has been recorded by a wide variety of musicians, including Jack DeMello, Marlene Sai, the Hawaiian Nation, Peter Moon, Ozzie Kotani, Keola Beamer, Palani Vaughn, The Brothers Cazimero, and Don Ho; and in 1964 was performed by Noelani Mahoe and Ka'upena Wong at the Newport Folk Festival (Noyes 1993:23). It has also continued to be danced, once by Iolani Luahine in a black *holokū* (dress; ibid.). In January 1993, during the centennial observance of the overthrow of Queen Lili'uokalani held at Iolani Palace, "Kaulana nā pua" was sung at the opening ceremony as a renewed commitment of loyalty to the sovereignty of Hawai'i.

Home Rule

One of the most widely respected leaders of the Hawaiian opposition in the late nineteenth century was Joseph Nawahi. Soon after the overthrow, he formed the nationalist party Hui Aloha Aina and with his wife, Emma, founded the nationalist paper *Ke Aloha Aina*. Emma Nawahi was one of the leaders of Native Hawaiian women activists, the topic of Noenoe Silva's "Kū'ē! Hawaiian Women's Resistance to the Annexation" (1997). Hui Aloha Aina had

a women's branch of 11,000 members (Silva 1997:8). In one of their announcements published in *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui*, they send out a call to women of the Hawaiian nation to come to a meeting to discuss the work of tending to (aloha 'āina) the continued independence of the islands ("no ke kuka ana no na manao aloha aina, me ka hiipoi ana i ke kuokoa mau o keia Pae Aina," *ibid.*). Silva, who does her own translations of Hawaiian-language texts, offers these insights to the term "aloha 'āina":

I have translated "aloha aina" as "*patriotic*" here, which is how the Hui itself translated its name: Hui Hawaii Aloha Aina as Hawaiian Patriotic League. However, like many sayings in Hawaiian, aloha 'āina has a multitude of layers of meaning, and the word "patriotic" is not an exact fit. [...] These aloha 'āina convictions are not merely feelings of love or pride; they also require action, as can be seen in the next phrase, "me ka hiipoi ana i ke kuokoa mau o keia Pae Aina." The word hi'ipoi means "*to tend, feed, cherish, as a child*" (Pukui & Elbert 1986). In other words, the women plan to "*tend to*" the continued independence of their nation (Silva 1997:8).

Silva elucidates the way the traditional value of aloha 'āina was being linked to political sovereignty as a response to the threat posed by the annexationists to *ka lāhui Hawai'i* (the nation of Hawai'i). Amy Stillman explains that same link in regard to the *Buke Mele Lahui*:

It is not surprising that nationalism would intensify among the Hawaiian people as political polarization increased, aggravated by the power struggle between royalists and annexationists. The Hawaiian poets were adhering to pre-existing values of attachment to the land: The degree to which they expanded it, however, to embrace all of the Hawaiian islands as one political unit, was unprecedented in poetry. National consciousness was a necessity only as the Hawaiian nation was striving to maintain its endangered sovereignty as it was in the late 19th century. The texts in the *Buke Mele Lahui* are evidence that poets were using traditional poetic means to reflect this emerging concern (Stillman 1989:19).

With the annexation, the key players in the Hawaiian nationalist press reorganized their efforts around the new nationalist issue of "home rule" (Chapin 1984:72). According to McGregor in her dissertation, "Kupa'a i ka 'Aina: Persistence on the Land," one of the most active organizations was the Native Hawaiian Home Rula Kuokoa, or Independent Home Rule Party; which

arose out of the alliance of Hui Kalaiaina, Hui Aloha Aina, and several royalist Hawaiian political clubs who had formed at the time of the overthrow to oppose the provisional government, restore the monarchy, and protest the annexation (McGregor 1989a:201). The delegates from the royalist clubs had been called together from various districts throughout the Islands to redefine their purpose in light of the annexation, when the last hope for the restoration of the monarchy was extinguished in most Hawaiian minds, including the Queen's. The clubs were asked to decide if and how to use the new voting franchise that left Native Hawaiians with two-thirds of the votes in the Territory (a franchise that had been unsuccessfully fought against in Congress by the haole oligarchy). Up until annexation there had only been one party – the Annexation Party – which had since split into the Republican and Democratic parties. The delegates were asked whether they should align with either party, form an independent party, or "stand aloof" (*ibid.*:202-03) and not exercise the privilege to vote.

The decision to establish the Independent Home Rule Party was unanimous, and the alliance proceeded to form a platform dedicated, among other things, to opening up homesteads in the ceded public lands; encourage education, farming, and commercial development; oppose monopolies; oppose efforts to restrict the voting privileges of Native Hawaiians, and encourage the importation of Americans as laborers (McGregor 1989a:205). One of their major goals was to strive for statehood, which they believed would provide the greatest opportunities to exercise political power, because the Hawaiian majority could then elect the governor and congressional delegates of their choice (*ibid.*:205-06).

Although Hawaiians did join the two major parties, McGregor says that "voting for the Home Rula Kuokoa candidates was portrayed to be a matter of love and loyalty to one's country and countrymen and a stand for Hawaiian independence. It was a vote against the haole elite who had overthrown the Hawaiian monarchy" (1989a:205). However, the party's delegate to Congress, Robert Wilcox, soon discovered that an independent party would not be taken seriously in a two-party national Congress. The power of the Home Rule Party declined after 1904, when Prince Kūhiō left the Home Rule Party (along with other Hawaiian leaders) and made an alliance with the former enemy, the haole Big Five, through the Republican Party. Kūhiō hoped that Native Hawaiians would gain more clout in Congress and more political and

commercial employment positions (ibid.:222-23) while the Republican Party hoped to gain more Native Hawaiian votes (ibid.:217). Kūhiō concentrated much of his effort on the homesteading program, intended to lift urban Hawaiians out of their impoverished conditions and put them back on the land. In 1920, he succeeded in establishing the Hawaiian Homes Commission. But haole politicians maneuvered to designate only the very poorest of lands for homesteads, and the department charged with its operation never seriously attempted to fulfill its stated objectives.

Contemporary Native Hawaiian Political Activism

The period between passage of the Hawaiian Homestead Act and the political activism of the 1970s is marked by a general absence of visible Native Hawaiian political activity. McGregor attributes this to a certain degree of appeasement, since many Hawaiians now held government positions, or were connected to friends and relatives who did (1980:32). She adds, however, that a greater factor can most likely be attributed to the systematic process of assimilation in the compulsory schools, including the official banning of the Hawaiian language (ibid.:33). The legacy of resistance was increasingly replaced by a new legacy of shame, where Hawaiian culture was denigrated or outright outlawed and Hawaiians were "stereotyped as lazy low-achievers" (ibid.). Many Hawaiians retreated or remained in remote rural communities, further away from the racist haole government, where they could stay connected to the 'āina and to traditional practices (McGregor 1989a:468-70). But many who moved to urban areas found they lacked the educational and social skills to compete for good jobs (ibid.:473). The acceleration of tourist, commercial, and industrial development after statehood in 1959 led to an increased assault on Hawaiian communities, including evictions of Hawaiians from leased lands slated for development, the pollution of fishing grounds, the diversion of stream waters, the cutting off of traditional access rights, the destruction of forest habitats, the annihilation of ancient burial grounds and settlements, and the loss of property from foreclosures brought on by the inability to pay property taxes (ibid.:474).

By the 1970s, the principal factor that gave rise to the Native Hawaiian movement was the impoverished living conditions of Hawaiians compared to other ethnic groups in Hawai'i (McGregor 1989b:85). World War II and then

statehood (once thought to be a way to gain more political influence) had only opened the door to more foreign influence. The Democratic Party took power in the 1950s and replaced Hawaiians with Japanese in government and commercial positions. Rural Hawaiians moved to the city. Many Hawaiians moved to the continent because life was too expensive in the Islands. The ideology of US patriotism waged psychological warfare on Hawaiian consciousness. Compulsory education denigrated Hawaiian culture. The development boom of the 1960s assaulted the 'āina in unprecedented ways. The prophecy contained in the maka'āinana petition of the 1840s was coming true of Hawaiians being made into a homeless people as the government adopted western ways.

The 1960s was also the era of the great social movements in America regarding civil rights, Native Americans, and Vietnam. The movements inspired a new cultural and political consciousness among Hawaiians. In the 1970s, a grassroots movement began to coalesce around land rights issues, simultaneous with a "cultural renaissance" of Hawaiian music, dance, language, and traditions.

The period also marks the beginning of what Haunani-Kay Trask believes is "the greatest outpouring of Native literary creativity since annexation" (Trask forthcoming:17). The outpouring – focused on Hawai'i and composed by Hawaiians – is set apart from colonial literature "by ancestry, form, and subject" (ibid.:1) and is underscored by "Native resistance [...] partly as a result of the nationalist political movement that has been growing in our islands since the 1970s" (ibid.:7). Trask writes of this outpouring as covering a wide spectrum of new and old forms, but all celebrating certain nationalist themes. While musical composition in Hawaiian has flourished, a Hawaiian nationalist literature has also been appearing in Hawaiian and English, including pidgin English. Embracing scholarship, fiction, poetry, essays, and other work, this budding field reflects certain common themes: celebration of Hawai'i and her Native people; preservation and re-invigoration of things Hawaiian (*nā mea Hawai'i*), resistance to the destruction of the natural beauty of Hawai'i; and demands for restitution of the Hawaiian lāhui or nation (ibid.:8). Trask includes Native Hawaiian orature and other forms of non-written artistic creativity in this body of creativity. At the same time, she points to the necessity for Native Hawaiians to publish: "Publishing for the indigenous writer, then, is not only an

ambitious dream, as it is for most writers. It is a necessary struggle against extinction" (Trask 1984:81).

John Dominis Holt, whom many recognize as one of the great pioneers of contemporary Hawaiian literature written in English, began publishing his work in 1964, when he was nearly fifty years old. Holt had perceived an intellectual and artistic absence in Hawai'i, and attributes it to the "rat race of change" that left no time to develop our intellectual and artistic capacities (Chock and Manabe 1981:6). His first published statement was *On Being Hawaiian* (1974a), a reaction to a local news article that had angered him. He submitted the piece to the same newspaper, but they returned it to him, "unwanted" (ibid.:7). Holt decided to publish it himself. Trask says that the book "was a harbinger of Hawaiian renaissance yet to come" (Trask forthcoming:24). In it, Holt writes:

We have been wronged cruelly and now we ask that we be given back what is ours: our self-respect, the right to be ourselves as Polynesians of today [...] the right to win back our lands.

We will devote ourselves to the preservation of heritage as it relates to land. [...] We must lead in the fight to prevent rivers of concrete and steel ravaging the unspoiled wilderness of sacred valleys. We must stop leaving it to other people to do the grueling ugly work of righting vested interests in further despoliation of ancestral lands; the earth of our forefathers (Holt 1974a:9).

Besides becoming the first of his generation to write and publish a significant body of creative literature in English that reveal a pervasive concern for his Hawaiian heritage, Holt also established his own press in 1974 – Topgallant Publishing Company – under which he published his own works and those of other Native Hawaiian writers. His play "Kaulana nā pua" was originally performed in 1971 and published in 1974. Holt's intention was to express the kind of Hawaiian thoughts and feelings about the political events of the nineteenth century leading to the overthrow that had until then been "blindly ignored" (1974b:vi).

Novels and collections of stories followed and, when Holt was sixty, so did his first poems. His long poem, *Hanai*, a tribute to Lili'u which Richard Hamasaki notes is the longest contemporary published poem in English written by a Native Hawaiian (in Holt 1986:9), became another stone in the

foundation of the modern literature. Holt explains that the title refers first to Lili'u, who was "affectionately called hanai among court circles, because of her hanai relationship to Paki, Konia, and their daughter Bernice Pauahi Bishop" (ibid.:51). Furthermore, the ancient and widely used practice of *hānai* (adoption) allowed for social advancement and strengthened the relationship between people. The title therefore also draws attention to the Queen's relationship of *hānai* to "ka lahui ka po'e Hawai'i" (the Hawaiian people; ibid.). Holt bases Hawaiian nationalism on the link between political sovereignty and love of the land as a *hānai* relationship when he writes:

As we grow up, our consciousness and identity about who we are as Hawaiians is fed, nurtured and shaped by the bitter knowledge of the loss of our sovereignty as a people when our Queen was overthrown by American settlers backed up by U.S. marines. In our na'au, deep within each of us we feel pain, anger, hurt, because we do not have control over the resources of our 'aina to provide for the welfare of our people (Holt 1986:51).

Holt finds in the history of resistance to the changes that eventually "strangled" the Kamehameha and Kalākaua dynasties (ibid.:68-69) a source of inspiration, and concludes by explicitly stating his own political position: "We look to all of our ali'i and kupuna as we work for our future as a people – not to restore a monarchy, but to attain control over our 'aina so that we can provide for the welfare of our people, as Hawaiians for Hawaiians" (ibid.:70). These words recall the position of the Hawaiian nationalists who in 1874 ran for political office under the slogan of "Hawaii for the Hawaiians" and won control of the Legislature.

The outpouring of creativity by contemporary Hawaiians is illuminated by several anthologies which for the first time partially or exclusively feature Native Hawaiian writers and editors: *Mana* (1981, edited by Wayne Kaumuali'i Westlake and non-Hawaiian ally Richard Hamasaki); *Mālama, Hawaiian Land and Water* (1985, edited by Dana Naone Hall); *Ho'omānoa* (1989, edited by Joseph Balaz); and the *Aloha 'Āina* special issue of *Hawai'i Review* (1989, edited by Chenoweth). Literary journals featuring Hawaiian writers also began to appear, including *Ramrod*, *Seaweed and Constructions*, *Kapa* (later *Hawai'i Review*), *Hapa*, *The Paper*, *Bamboo Ridge*, *The Chaminade Literary Review*, *Kaimana*, and *Mānoa*.

In his master's thesis, "Singing in Their Genealogical Trees: The Emergence of Contemporary Hawaiian Poetry in English" (1989) Richard Hamasaki examines the works of Dana Naone Hall, Wayne Kaumuali'i Westlake, and Joseph P. Balaz; whom he identifies as the first contemporary Hawaiian poets published in English who have produced a significant body of literature. Their works as poets, literary editors, and teachers demonstrate a movement from "apparent non-regional and non-Hawaiian themes toward a more explicit Hawaiian consciousness" (Hamasaki 1989:3), a theme unique to modern literature in English. The three poets are significant because although their works represent a relatively small number in a growing body of Native Hawaiian poets writing in English, "the three have been major catalysts and contributors to the development of contemporary Hawaiian literature" (ibid.:41).

While all three poets are landmarks in the legacy of Native Hawaiian resistance, Dana Naone Hall is the one most explicitly associated with themes of nationalism, mostly having to do with the resistance to the desecration of ancient Hawaiian grave sites and traditional access rights to land and sea on the island of Maui, where she lives. Her most well-known and most frequently cited pieces are "Hawai'i 89" (1989) and "Ka Mo'olelo o ka Alanui" (1985). In "Hawai'i 89," which she dedicates to her daughter Leahi, Hall laments the changes brought by development. The *lo'i kalo* (taro pond fields) have been replaced by graves of immigrants and fields of sugar cane. *Pili*-grass *hale* (houses thatched with pili grass) are replaced by houses with "window frames out of joint and towel racks hung crooked on the walls." Tourists indulge in fantasies of Hawai'i, "when gods and goddesses walked the earth," while people sleep homeless on the beaches. But despite the changes and loss, something enduringly Hawaiian and transformative abides:

All night, Kānehekili
flashes in the sky
and Moanonuikalehua changes
from a beautiful woman
into a lehua tree
at the sound of the pahu.

It's true that the man
who swam with the sharks
and kept them away
from the nets full of fish

by feeding them limu kala
is gone,
but we're still here
like the fragrant white koki'o
blooming on the long branch

like the hairy leafed nehe
clinging to the dry pu'u
like the moon high over Ha'ikū
lighting the way home.
(Hall 1989:75-76).

In "Ka Mo'olelo o ke Alanui" (1985:147-48) Hall recalls the long history of the Mākena road, first built 400 years ago by Kiha'api'ilani, "who spread his cape over Maui." Over the centuries, the road would "catch the falling sound / of the runner's feet" as messages were carried past "petals of cliffs opening in mist." Offerings to Lono would be placed on the *ahu* along the road during the Makahiki. Later, cattle crossed the road and "hands / exchanged things over the counters" of the one store. Now, the people are being told the road will be closed (to build a hotel). "Those who propose it / don't know that the road is alive." By cutting off the road, they will sever the relationship between the land and the people, and bring death and sterility. The sacredness and vitality of the land the developers ignore is expressed in the last stanza:

At night,
when the island is deep
in the crater of sleep,
across the channel
the mo'o
raises its head
one eye reflecting the moon.
(Hall 1985:148).

Both poems envision the land as alive and in active, ancestral relationship to the Native people. The sovereignty of both land and people are co-dependent.

Haunani-Kay Trask is another Native Hawaiian activist-writer, whose most famous works are her book of essays *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i* (1993) and her collection of poems *Light in the Crevice Never Seen* (1994), although she is even more well known for her fiery

oratories. Trask, who was groomed by her family for political activism, always knew that she had "a historical mission" (Chapman 1997:A4). She says that her main mission was the creation of the new Center for Hawaiian Studies building at the University of Hawai'i in Mānoa. "The university for a long time was a completely colonial bastion," Trask says. "We've changed that a bit. That's our beacon for Hawaiians. The best achievement of our program is not just that we continue to speak and publish and teach, but that we got the building. The building is very important" (ibid.:B2).

Trask has had more than a few confrontations with the University establishment over her blunt political statements. The University at times has even tried to silence her in a way not unlike the attempt by the *haole* oligarchy of the last century to silence the opposition expressed in the Hawaiian nationalist newspapers. Trask's uncompromising nationalism does not seem compatible with the beauty and lyricism that have come to be expected from poetry. One of her most discussed poems, "Waikiki," begins:

all those 5 gallon
toilets flushing
away tourist waste
into our waters

Waikiki home
of *ali'i*
sewer center
of Hawai'i

8 billion dollar
beach secret
rendezvous for
pimps

Hong Kong hoodlums
Japanese capitalists
haole punkers

condo units
of disease
drug traffic
child porn
(Trask 1994:60).

But Trask's poetry, as writer Tino Ramirez points out, "fleshes out her politics with history and myth, and memories, scenes and loved ones from her own life" (Ramirez 1994:F6). For Trask, "the whole Hawaiian movement is poetic. *Aloha aina* (love for the land) is poetic" (ibid.). She attributes the source of her angry poems to her outrage over the destruction to the 'āina when she says, "The same source of the anger is the source of beauty. For me, the land is the most inspiring thing, but when you see the [new trans-Ko'olau] freeway, it's horrendous. It's an outrage and it inspires outrage" (F6).

The explosion of Native Hawaiian creativity has also embraced the performing arts in ways that cover a wide spectrum between traditional and multicultural forms. One of the most common sites of Native Hawaiian resistance is music. Protests against the loss of land and a Hawaiian way of life came to be popularly expressed in what might be called protest songs that many believe began in the late 60s, but which Hawaiian scholars are discovering represent a much longer legacy of resistance through song. Some of the more familiar contemporary protest songs are Jerry Santos' "Ku'u Home o Kahaluu"; the late Israel Kamakawiwo'ole's "Hawai'i 78"; Sudden Rush's "'Oni Pa'a." On the jacketcover of Sudden Rush's first CD, *Nation on the Rise* (1995), the rap group states its purpose as "to educate people of the history and culture of the Kingdom of Hawai'i." Their cut "'Oni Pa'a" (sung in both Hawaiian and English) expresses feelings found in all their songs: "Unite, unite! Don't listen to the government (*ho'ohui, ho'ohui mai ho'olohe i ke aupuni*). / They like build another street [...] / After they destroy a heiau. / Listen that's what's wrong. / Take care of the land, take care of the people (*mālama i ka 'āina, mālama i ka po'e*), / Take care each other."

'Onipa'a (Stand Firm)

The contemporary Native Hawaiian nationalist movement has often been accused of an inability to unite. That view fails to recognize that although we may differ in our strategies and personalities, we all nonetheless are fighting for the same goal: to protect our culture and land and the sovereignty that guarantees that protection. This was demonstrated most visibly during the 1993 gathering at 'Iolani Palace on the anniversary of the overthrow of the Hawaiian kingdom under the theme 'Onipa'a, stand firm. Contemporary Native Hawaiian nationalists realize that as long as the struggle continues to

protect the 'āina and the kuleāna of Native Hawaiians to the 'āina, the Hawaiian nation will continue to exist.

In the petition from Kona addressed to Kauikeaouli in 1845, the maka'āinana wrote that it offered the people the means and "the time [in which] we can all discuss pleasantly with you [King Kauikeaouli]" ("Petitions" 1985:57). As they try to come to grips with the turmoil in the Islands caused by the haole, they point out to the king that "We are divided amongst ourselves. An independent race according to our own nature" (ibid.:57). I think it is not surprising that an independent people should strive for their independence as a people. Nor is it surprising that Hawaiians should have called forth their tremendous powers of spiritual and intellectual expression through words in their struggles to protect their kuleāna. For precisely in our struggle to preserve our political sovereignty and our relationship to the land do we struggle against our extinction. ❖

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The State Statistician (a short story)

Rodney Morales

As he lay bleeding on the grass near the newly constructed walkway along the Magic Island Lagoon in the 217th year of colonization, the state statistician couldn't help but realize that he had been the 1233rd victim of aggravated assault, which would put the number 70 ahead of last year, and, as he realized the potential for something grimmer, he winced at the thought of being another DOA, especially since he had spoken to a State Senate committee just a week earlier and had proudly stated while sitting next to the Honolulu Police Chief that the rate of homicides had gone significantly down.

The thought made him laugh.

But even small sniggers hurt and he stifled further thought on the matter as he accounted for his wounds.

Ribs, broken and bruised. A battered face – cheeks puffed up; a tooth gone, spat out; two others loose; nose, bleeding still, the blood covering his tank top and hands; eyes most likely blackened, as each thundering blink indicated. Then there was the headache from the blow above his left temple. Skinned knees. Maybe some internal bleeding, from all those punches. And, oh god, that kick to the groin.

What did the guy say? *You all right?* Then a knee, when his defenses were down, squarely in the nuts.

I'll live – that was his agonizing assessment. *But do I want to?*



The red sun's dip into the ocean had been slow, resolute, stunning. The state statistician had eased his slow jog up the twenty-degree incline and had come to a standstill to maintain full retina burn and see the elusive green flash.

Then, rather than straining to finish his jog in his new, fresh-out-of-the-box pair of Nike Air Structure Triaxes, rated number one by *Consumer Reports* in the coming twilight, he opted to walk and breathe in the unpolluted air.

He was considering recent reports on Honolulu's outrageous cars-per-capita rate when he heard a woman scream. Without thinking, the state statistician ran toward the sound. Others were running there, too. *Three-hundred and fifty-three, one every twenty-point-seven hours, so far this year*, he remembered as he ran. And those are only the reported ones. No data on *attempted rapes* either.

Four men had gotten to the scene the same time he did. One of them, noticeably white, kicked the perpetrator in the head. The perpetrator had been beating up on this woman. Both he and the victim were Polynesian, the state statistician noted. Not Hawaiian, though. Three thousand eight hundred Tongans, almost ten thousand Samoans, he enumerated – then there's a trickle of Fijians (Melanesians, really – or not really?), those from the Eastern Marshalls and the Northern Marianas ... most of them recent arrivals. Parents too busy chasing that elusive American Dream to maintain close family ties. End result: lost children – a generation in transition.

Initially, the matter seemed to have been resolved by that quick kick in the head inflicted by the haole – who was, besides the state statistician, the only other white guy there. The state statistician and a guy of undeterminate local identity – undoubtedly mixed – helped the woman to her feet. Her shirt was torn open. She wore no bra. She didn't seem to care. She only said,

He's – he's crazy ...

While her attacker was saying, as he pressed his palm to the spot that had been kicked, then looked at this hand to see if there was blood, "Dis one domestic dispute, fuckah. She my girlfrien'. She been flipping out on crack. I was, I was jes' tryin' fo' get her undah control –"

"He's lying," the woman said to the state statistician and the local of hybrid identity. "He's drunk."

The state statistician guessed that the woman had a better handle on the truth. Her attacker sounded drunk. He slurred his words. He leaned, like that miscalculation of a tower in Italy ... The woman, on the other hand, seemed coherent, sober.

"Get out of here," he told the woman.

"Yeah," the polyethnic man said. "Get away. Call the police or something."

She hobbled off.

Meanwhile the attacker had gotten engaged in ridiculous argument with the haole man who had kicked him in the head.

"Why you kick me fo'? I was only tryin' fo' help her."

"Help her, my ass," one of the guys there muttered.

By now there were five-point-five guys standing around the attacker –

another local had entered the fray. This one seemed to have spent a good part of his life in the gym. He wore a blue bandanna on his head, and showed more pecs and washboard abs than the also well-built attacker. He didn't hesitate to confront him.

"Eh, I heard the girl scream. I woulda done the same t'ing, too."

The perpetrator was in his face. "Why he ... why he had to kick me fo'?" He turned to the haole. "Hey, I wanna kick you in da head. Let me kick you in the head." He moved toward him. The well-muscled guy pulled him back.

Then the attacker was again in the face of the brown and muscled guy. "I jes' like kick him in da head."

"Eh. Back off." The guy with the blue bandanna held an arm out, his other arm cocked and ready to strike if necessary.

"What? You goin' hit *me* now?"

"Jes' back off." Then he put his arm down. "Look. Jes' get outa here. Before –"

"Befo' what?" Though drunk, this woman-striking man of Polynesian ancestry was sobering up to the fact that he was outnumbered and, more glaringly now, outmuscled. He would have beat up on the haole – had it been one-on-one. But it clearly wasn't. And the state statistician knew that he and the others would have jumped in and changed the odds severely if he had tried. It didn't seem necessary now.

"Whe' she went?" he finally said, distracted. He began to wander off. "Whe da fuck she went?" And off he stumbled. The matter dropped. Just like that.

The state statistician and the other supposed rescuers looked at each other, exchanged a few comments regarding the souring state of matters

around the park and around the state, which the state statistician knew would be reflected in the numbers he'd have to present to the legislators next year.



"If I live," he mumbled, embracing the pathos, the pain, the incongruous stupidity of it all. He wiped his nose and noted that the bleeding had finally stopped.



He had been alone contemplating the scenario that had unfolded (and then refolded) when a mini-truck driven along the jogging path approached him. A drunken voice shouted, "Dass the fucking haole who wen' kick me."

Oh shit. Mistaken identity. There were no accurate calculations in this area. The margin of error would be prohibitive.

And out of the truck they poured. One had an iron pipe, the pipe that was to break a few of his ribs.

But mostly it was punches.

"I not da guy, I not da guy," he remembered saying, futilely, trying in desperation to at least *sound* local. *I don't want to be a fucking statistic*, he remembered thinking.

The blow to the head finally knocked him out. When he awoke he didn't know how much time had passed. And when the aches kicked in he wished he were still out cold. Then a young, fresh-out-of-high-school local, came up to him, and said, "You all right?" and offered his hand. Pain screamed out from his ribs as he grabbed the hand. The young man tried to lift him up. Upright, in a sitting position, was as far as he got. Then the young man asked if the state statistician had any money. He had none on him; his wallet was locked in his car, which might've even been towed away by now for authorities must have closed the parking lot. "No money? You fuckah." He kicked the state statistician in the groin.

The state statistician rolled over in agony, and could only moan in astonishment as this young punk began to yank his new shoes off. *What are*

you doing? Are you crazy? the state statistician managed to say over the pain as the young man slinked off, carrying one shoe in each hand.



Only a week ago, he had sat next to the Japanese police chief before a mostly Asian Senate committee – reflective, he knew, of the political success of Japanese and Chinese descendants of immigrants. The state statistician wasn't the token haole there by a longshot, however, for two committee members were white, as was three-fourths of the audience, who flaunted the luxury to practice democracy by attending committee meetings on a work day. As he sat there he noted the absence of Polynesians. Except for the security guards near the door.

He had once spoken on this very absence to faculty members at the University of Hawai'i. It was a seemingly sympathetic crowd – liberal, white, well-adjusted. At that time he chuckled (though now he winced) ... at the *separation from*, at the irony of leaving the subject out of the exchange, at his anomalous status of having been raised in such a nearby yet distant world.

He had grown up in the working class town of Kalihi, and, like the popular haole governor of yesteryear, he had grown up decidedly local. Sure there were fights and name calling but it was the same all around. The thing was, they all played together, partied together, grew up together, attended the same schools, ate at each other's houses, crashed in each other's beds, in a community where the doors didn't need to be locked – as data that compared then and now convincingly proved.

He grew up poor. His family had been poor. A poor, local-haole family. His dad had been a lowlife who practically lived in pool halls and bars, who spent all his money on gambling and booze, and who, to the everlasting comfort of his mom, died young and left a good clean corpse.

As a student the state statistician didn't do so bad, and from an early age he showed a penchant for numbers. It may have begun with baseball. In his head he could calculate not just batting averages, but homeruns-to-at-bats ratios, a lefty hitter's chances against a southpaw – when the same-side hitter is trying to pull the slow curve or near-fast change that might really be a sinking slider. ... He could gauge the increased odds as far as stealing second when you've got the shortstop stepping to plug the hole into left ... and he knew from

early on the futility of ignoring the take sign, even when the third base coach is an idiot ...

He couldn't wait for the weekly statistics in the Saturday afternoon paper. So he tabulated them daily, carrying box scores in his folder, crunching figures that mattered to him and him only while the numbers on the board the teacher scrawled were so much chalkdust.

Later he took note of matters unresponsive to numbers. For one, he got into the habit of taking note of the little resistance he met with in his academic endeavors, and of how sliding safely into the world of college and quadratics and function keys was for him a natural thing; whereas, those he grew up with encountered surprising obstacles: disingenuous teachers and counselors, mostly middle-class Asian and liberal haole, who advised them to take occupational courses like shop and/or get ready to serve military careers; and just-below-passing SAT scores, which did nothing to explain their street smarts ... For them (they had become a *them*), it seemed, there was an unwritten code of limited options.

And now they were delivery men, construction workers, bus drivers, unemployed. A few were in prison. Was it all because of a little more melanin, a surface darkness? They appeared to be victims of statistical evidence they themselves never paid attention to, statistical evidence the state statistician (now that he was the state statistician) compiled through the years, in an increasingly uninvolved way, leaving any further commitment for others, for some wiser group of administrators, who, in the green flash of the retina burn of one silver sunrise in the distant future, would finally note the slant of the playing field ...

But reality kept intruding and in the throes of cynicism he began referring to himself as half a man, for being so inadequate, so half-assed in his following through on his stated desire for change. *If it had touched me closer*, he had come to admit. *If it had been me, instead of numbers-out-there*, if I had been the one laid off, if I were the one falsely arrested, or looked at in funny ways in elevators, or caught noting the similarity between my face and that of the man on the wanted poster or the similarity in height and weight to the Suspect - Local Male described in the newspaper's *Police Beat*, I would have -

Would I have?

When the state statistician computed his taxes (itemizing was a breeze for him; he collected receipts like baseball cards) guilt made him want to claim half a deduction. *I don't really deserve this*, he'd tell himself, as he added up his neat pile of documented expenditures in anticipation of a glorious refund. But he'd take it anyway.

Until now he never thought to check off "Blind."

But now he lay, near the Magic Island Lagoon, the moon full and bloody, and someone who at first appeared to be a werewolf approached him, carrying a stick of some sort. When he noticed that it was a spear, he thought of the Marchers of the Night, the dead warriors who during nights of the Makahiki preseason carried torches in procession on ancient trails, whether or not these trails were now cut into by houses, shops, or had been covered by roads. *Oh god, kill me already. Let it be over.*

"You all right?" The suspect was male, Polynesian, six-foot-two, muscular. He carried a speargun and a bucket.

The state statistician, curled in an almost fetal position, cringed.

"Buddy, you don't look all right. I better get an ambulance."

His elbows pressed against his ribs, his hands pressed against the sides of his face, he managed to say, "Maybe I can walk."

"Uh-I don't think so." The man put the spear and bucket down. "Let me carry you."

"No, please. ... My ribs -"

"Let me get help, then."

"Please. Don't leave me alone. They ... they might come back."

The bearded, tall Polynesian of undeterminate upbringing stood and gazed beyond, toward the parking lot (or was it the shopping center less than a half mile away, or the mountains, a few miles further?), as if in gazing there was some answer. Perhaps he too was helpless in that moment, wondering how to deal with this ... logistical problem. Yet the state statistician was already comforted, already glad that the ordeal seemed near its obligatory end; he knew that for better or for worse he'd live, and that his days were no longer numbered. ♦

Ethnic Identity, Identity Politics and the Trouble One Will Have in Constituting an Identity

Li'ana M. Petranek

Society, community and family are precisely those species forms in which the actual person brings her actual content to existence, objectifies herself, and leaves behind the abstraction of person quand meme.

Karl Marx (with a gender substitution)
Historische Kritische Gesamtausgabe

Rrrring.

"Hello."

"Who is this?"

"Well, I don't know. Well, I mean I'm not really sure."

"YOU MEAN YOU DON'T KNOW WHO YOU ARE!!!!?"

WELL GET LOST!!!!"

Slamm!

That is where I am ... lost, still lost.

I thought I was Hawaiian. Everyone thinks I'm Hawaiian. But I'm really not sure of what Hawaiian is. Who am I, really? Am I supposed to have an ethnic or a national identity? If I have to go to war, I should know whose side I'm supposed to be on, right?

My mother was *haole*. I, however, certainly don't look *haole*. No way. I'm told I look Hawaiian. But I'm not. My father was pure Hawaiian, but he was my stepfather. My "real" father, whom I never met, was pure Filipino. My oldest sister is half Czechoslovakian. Should I rail against the Soviet Union, now Russian Republic, for its sins of the past? My younger sister is half Hawaiian, perhaps I should shout, "DOWN WITH US IMPERIALISM AND ITS COLONIAL DESIGNS IN THE PACIFIC!" But some say I'm not Hawaiian. So should I be

fighting that war? I have pure Filipino brothers and sisters here in Hawai'i and in the Philippines. Should I be a soldier in the New People's Army or an activist in the United Filipino Council of Hawai'i?

Someone said to me (a nationalist, I think), "You're Filipino. You should go back to where you came from." That's absurd. I never went to the Philippines until I was twenty-three years old. Actually, I can even say I'm indigenous Hawaiian since I was born and raised in Hawai'i. That is the popular understanding of "indigenous": "produced, growing, living or occurring naturally in a particular region or environment" (Merriam-Webster 1996:592). Then there is the other half of me which is German, Austrian, Hungarian, and Italian. And some people say I'm not "indigenous" and certainly not "Hawaiian."

So what am I?

I guess you could say I'm confused because I'm still trying to figure out the above as an "unreason of ideological misrecognition" (Bhabha 1990:304). And of course, I don't recognize very much in this "narrative ambivalence of disjunctive times and meanings" (ibid.). But my problems have only just begun. If I want to designate "a people as one" and locate myself in this cultural identity, I will most likely be "poised on the brink" of "profound cultural undecidability" (Fanon 1969, in Bhabha 1990:304) with a loss of identity – necessarily so, since there is a symbolic process which must be redefined through which an imaginary culture, community, or nation will become "a subject of discourse" and "an object of psychic identification" (Kristeva 1986, in Bhabha 1990:304). Some people call this malaise "splitting subjects" with "fading signifiers." If this is true, I could be completely "zoned" out since whatever identity I choose or am designated with will create these "totalizing boundaries" that I might have to see some sort of physician to have removed.

What, pray tell, do the "tribe of interpreters" with their "traveling theory" have in store for me (Bhabha 1990:293)? Will it be a "contingency" with the "instability of an order raised to the status of essence" (Lefort 1986 in Bhabha 1990:298)? Will I still have a moment of "becoming designated" (Poulantzas 1980 in Bhabha 1990:299) by myself? Do I have to go through those "three moments" that Hegel (1967:22-24) talks about before this presentation or "representation" of myself is "naturalized" through the "negativity" of the

freedom of the will and posited as a "content" that has traversed the universality and particularity of space and time, to establish an individuality that my friends could kindly refer to as an outrageous "concept?"

Identity Phenomenology

The will's activity consists in annulling the contradiction between subjectivity and objectivity and giving its aims an objective instead of subjective character, while at the same time remaining by itself even in objectivity.

G. W. F. Hegel
Hegel's Philosophy of Right (1967:32-33)

Viewed from the heights of reason, all life looks like some malignant disease and the world like a madhouse.

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe
Italian Journey, 1786-88 (1989)

I thought I really didn't have much choice or that much of a role in determining my identity. That, however, was before I explored the role of the "will" in Hegel's righteous philosophy (*Philosophy of Right*; 1967). I like Hegel, regardless of some of his blind spots. Actually he, Marx, and Lacan are some of my favorite philosophers. I love them. I also love Bhabha, Foucault, Althusser, Barthes, Kristeva, Spivak ... whom else can I say I love before getting myself into trouble? Going back to Hegel, his identity treatment is a bit complicated, and I don't know if I can make it through the whole ordeal. A lot of it is oxymoronic. But when you get to the "third moment," some could say it is precisely at *that* moment when *jouissance* (bliss) is discovered (well, I should say *experienced*), and it is like having a philosophical orgasm, if there is such a thing. Wow, it's great to know who you really are! That was wonderful!

Ecstasy however, does not come easy. Your third moment may be "true," but it must be "thought" speculatively. Your third moment would also be a point in time in which you wouldn't want your "Understanding to advance precisely because it would call this concept "inconceivable" (Hegel 1967:24). That is because the "third moment" would be a function of the logic of purely Speculative philosophy ... "The innermost secret of speculation, of infinity as

negativity relating itself to itself, this ultimate spring of all activity, life and consciousness" (ibid.).

Getting there will take you through a journey of thought where you will experience what Hegel describes as "the freedom of the void." This "negative" location is the locus through which all things come into being, the point of death, abolition, and transcendence, ... "only in destroying something does this negative will possess the feeling of itself as existent" (1967:22). As unwilling as one may be in actualizing being into existence (from nothingness), as Hegel describes it, "Actuality leads at once to some sort of order, to a particularization of organizations and individuals alike" (ibid.), and it is "precisely out of the annihilation of particularity and objective characterization that the self-consciousness of this negative freedom proceeds" (ibid.). In this process, the will as motivator determines itself in what Hegel calls the "first" and "second" moments. These determinations are constructions of "individuality" or what Hegel refers to as the self-determination of the ego. "As individuality returning in its determinacy into itself, it is the process of translating the subjective purpose into objectivity through the use of its own activity and some external means" (ibid.:24).

The "first" moment is one of "individuation." It is one-sided and determinate. "In the first place, anyone can discover in himself ability to abstract from everything whatever, and in the same way to determine himself, to posit any content in himself by his own effort; and similarly the other specific characteristics of the will are exemplified for him in his own consciousness" (Hegel 1967:21). This moment is not what Hegel would call the "concept" or what could be referred to as "concrete universality" (another oxymoron). Since your first moment is an abstraction (from anything and everything), it is "defective" and "finite"; "[b]eing abstraction from all determinacy, it is itself not without determinacy; and to be something abstract and one-sided constitutes its determinacy, its defectiveness, and its finitude" (ibid.:23). In other words, you are not who you think you are.

The "second" moment is negativity and cancellation. It cancels the abstract negativity of the first moment (universality) with determination (particularity) by itself or by something else. It is an "explicit positing" (Hegel

1967:22) of what was implicit in the first moment... "particularization reflected into itself" (ibid.:24) as content.

Taken independently, the two above moments are actually "false," since Hegel feels they are only moments of the "Understanding." You are not who you really are until your will is a "self-mediating activity," a return into itself – the third moment – a will "for itself" as opposed to a will "in itself."¹ It is the unity of these two moments through the self-mediating activity of the will that enables the self-determination of the ego. This is the process in individuation, what Hegel refers to as "particularity reflected into itself and so brought back to universality" as "individuality." "This unity is individuality [...] the concept itself" (ibid.:23-24).

Lacan (1977:140) has an interesting and amusing formulation of this process which is somewhat descriptive of the negative dynamics involved in apprehension²: "This means that the analyst intervenes concretely in the dialectic of analysis by pretending he is dead, by cadaverizing his position as the Chinese say, either by his silence when he is the Other with a capital O, or by annulling his own resistance when he is the other with a small o. In either case, and under the respective effects of the symbolic and the imaginary, he makes death present."

Dying to be Somebody

Nothing seems more obvious than who or what is a people. Peoples have names, familiar names. They seem to have long histories. Yet any pollster knows that if one poses the open-ended question 'what are you?' to individuals presumably belonging to the same 'people,' the responses will be incredibly varied, especially if the matter is not at that moment in the political limelight.

Immanuel Wallerstein
in Balibar and Wallerstein
Race, Nation, Class (1991:71)

I think I've already died too many times trying to reinvent myself. My mother said to tell everyone I was "cosmopolitan." But that didn't go over very well. "Cosmopolitan? You mean like the magazine?" "Yeah, sure." My mother also said I was a renegade and that she was going to report me to the authorities.

Am I suffering from what Bhabha (1990:299) calls "the hermeneutic of worldliness" (in reference to Said 1983). Or could it be what Bhabha describes (using Jameson 1986) as "situational consciousness" (ibid.:292)? Some might simply dismiss me and say that I had a "radical maroonage" (Baker 1987, in Bhabha 1990:296). But then Freud could probably explain this in complex time as a "repression of cultural unconsciousness," which is an "uncertain state of cultural belief" in which the "archaic emerges in the midst of margins of modernity" and this, he would say, was the result of "some psychic ambivalence or intellectual uncertainty" (Freud 1955, in Bhabha 1990:295). I've always been uncertain about my identity, still am, so I can expect in double time to not only be splitting, but to also be "encapsulated in a succession of historical moments" (Poulantzas 1980:113) which will produce an irreversible history as I carry out in this abysmal state of affairs, wrapped up in a "movement of individualization and unification" (Poulantzas 1980:113) and marching along a path that would parallel with the constitution of a people-nation which I am trying to identify with.

This ultimate moment of becoming designated in some sort of nation space (where ideally, "no political ideologies could claim transcendent or metaphysical authority for themselves" (Bhabha 1990:299)) can only be realized if essence is made visible (ibid.:302, referencing Althusser 1972), and, I am "alive to the metaphoricity of the people" (ibid.:293) of my imagined communities. Then of course, those totalizing boundaries (actual and conceptual) which I earlier spoke of, could be erased with my counter-narratives that would interrupt "those ideological maneuvers through which imagined communities are given essential identities," and I could come back to a place where "the difference of space returns as the sameness of time" (ibid.:300). That may all be possible, providing I don't have an "interrupted address" or don't become historically disoriented, or worse, suffer from the ideological effects of historicism.

Perhaps all of that would be better than being historically irrelevant. However, I am reluctant to go there, especially when my "being designated" is dependent upon "a kind of social ellipsis" (Williams 1980, referenced in Bhabha 1990:299) whose transforming power actually rests upon me being historically displaced. I've had too many interrupted addresses, too many

disjunctive temporalities, and far too many ambivalent boundaries while occupying the margins of my also ambivalent temporality.

This cultural, social, and political instability could, of course, be attributed to my dear mother. She kept making these incessant "escape from the madding crowd" moves when I was younger – from Ka'a'awa to Mōloka'i, to Ka'a'awa again, then to Hilo, and then, ironically, to Waikiki. I am just joking. This disjunctive behavior on her part was all very understandable if you consider that she herself was an exile from the Big Apple who came to Hawai'i to be the Hawaiian she fell in love with on the Hawaii Calls radio broadcasts that summoned her from the mainland. I guess you could say that I "became" where I was and that left me with that "profound cultural undecidability" blues and no location to really call "home," since I was always being relocated.

How long do you have to live somewhere before you can say you are from there? How little haole do you have to be to say you are not haole? How much Filipino do you need to be a Filipino? Do you need Hawaiian to be a Hawaiian? What is a Hawaiian?

Deconstructing Identity

The Other is, therefore, the Locus in which is constituted the I.

Jacques Lacan
Ecrits (1977:141)

Is there a metaphysics of presence that I haven't come to grips with yet, or am I supposed to piece together a content from the fragments of material existence and the biology of race? Is there a biology of race?²³ What is ethnicity?²⁴ Am I supposed to define it as genealogical make-up, or is it culture?²⁵

I cannot say that being Filipino and haole actually constituted my identity. I never thought of myself as "Filipino" or "haole" when I was experiencing a mostly "Hawaiian" culture. Also, I may or may not have experienced Hegel's three moments at one time or another, but probably mostly the first two since my Understanding seems to interfere with the freedom of the void. I tried getting past this identity noise in my Kundalini yoga classes but even *om namo*

guru dev namo couldn't take me to a place where I could be "thought" speculatively, although I felt a lot better afterwards. So perhaps I should explore some other technologies to interrogate the self. Hmm, perhaps Foucault's genealogical practices and some other members from the poststructuralist tribe of interpreters could provide some answers.

Genealogy (as a form of theoretical analysis), informs us that intelligence is a human "practice," that there is no reification of the "self" or such a thing as an "authentic" model of identity. You have no stable subjectivity. You are totally imprinted. If you want to find out who you are and "produce" some sort of meaning to your life, you have to be situated in a particular time and place to receive meaning since, as Foucault puts it, "the discursive field is, at a specific moment, the law" (Foucault 1991:63).⁶

As a "subject," you are a recipient of social meaning. What is outside your self is the greater whole that conditions and interacts to make your being coherent and sometimes incoherent but mostly opaque. Society can be described as the domain of practice, the spatiality in which you, the "center," inclined subject, objectifies your de-centered self. But beware, in deconstructing yourself you have to be cognizant of the unstable nature of signification (that's a transitory identity marker), the subject is "split" and always in process, there are discursive boundaries that set the limits to who you are in any point in time, you are not "sovereign," but dependent, not an "absolute origin," but a "function ceaselessly modified" (Foucault 1989:61), and you'll have to trace the activity of signifiers moving in two layers to get a "momentary fix" on your identity.

Be advised that "there is always a structural distance between theory and the real" (Poulantzas 1980:22), so interpreting who you are might require another technique called "distancing" or "defamiliarization" (Tomashevsky), which you may or may not be able to acquire if you are too subjective. Perhaps you could use your computer to do a virtual reality scenario and then do some phenomenological feats like jumping in and out of philosophy so that you could have an identity, but it would be an identity, alas, with no history. And remember, with no history, you cannot be a "coherent" subject. If your identity is a structural homology, would the text that is written into you be a "transindividual mental structure" (Seldon 1989:38) of spatial practices?

Exploring the Problematic Geography of Identity Markers

No one can quite articulate the space she herself inhabits. My attempt has been to describe this relatively ungraspable space in terms of what might be its history. I'm always uneasy if I'm asked to speak for my space – it's the thing that seems to be most problematic, and something that one really only learns from other people.

Gayatri Spivak.
The Post-Colonial Critic (1990:68)

"Self-determination should probably be carried out from a location where we can extend the definition of a geographical point of reference and discuss the physical, ontological, phenomenological, structural, post-structural, and whatever configurations of one's identification. Some people feel that it is advisable or perhaps politically correct to resurrect and reify your cultural and national configurations. I guess for me, however, it would be more useful to interrogate what Spivak (1990:72) refers to as "the ethico-political agenda that creates such a differentiation," since one could say that the "construction of peoplehood" (Wallerstein 1991:71-85) is a difficult concept to resolve, logically and historically. This is especially so if people cannot agree on what constitutes this concept of a "nation" or are in disagreement about what processes within an historical system were the dominant determinants that produced this concept of a "nation." I should probably revisit and interpellate my friend Bhabha to see if we can plot a narrative of identity utilizing his methodology in "DissemiNation."

Since I really cannot say, "I'm a Filipino," or "I'm a haole," or "I'm a Hawaiian," it seems that all I really can say that seems to be the "truth" is, "I come from Hawai'i." Does this make me a "native" of Hawai'i and a national of a Hawaiian nation?

According to Bhabha, "nationness"⁷ is also a "form of social and textual affiliation." There is a series of "complex strategies" of "cultural identification and discursive address" that operates in the name of a people in a nation that make them the "immanent subjects and objects of a range of social and literary

narratives" (Bhabha 1990:292). Bhabha speaks of "disjunctive representation" and the "language of ambivalence" and makes reference to Althusser's oxymorons (ibid.:294) where there is "space without places, time without duration." He speaks of metaphor, the "landscape of the inscape" and the "problematic boundaries or modernity" as they are enacted in the "ambivalent temporalities of the nation space." He draws upon Goethe, Gellner, Barrell, Bakhtin, Lefort, Said, Poulantzas, Fanon, Kristeva, Derrida, et. al. Now I find myself even more uncertain about the truth of my identity and its locality and especially this concept of a nation after being exposed to the complex variables involved in its "dissemiNation." In this "unruly time of national culture" (as Bhabha puts it), the present is constructed by surmounting "the ghostly time of repetition." The task of constructing the burdensome and trivial details of a "national time and space for identification purposes," as Goethe painstakingly did in his *Italian Journey, 1786-88* (1989) will not bring me home even if I employ mediation, transcendence, and redemption in double time. I'll be so busy preparing for the journey that I'll never get to the nation in time. So I might as well go back to what I thought was home and start "unpacking" and "recover" from a journey I never should have gone on in the first place.

Whose Historical Material Are You?

A being which does not have its nature outside itself is not a natural being and does not share in the being of nature. A being which has no object outside itself is not an objective being. A being which is not itself an object for a third being has no being for its object i.e. it is not objectively related and its being is not objective [...] A non-objective being is a non-being. [...] For as soon as there exists objects outside myself, as soon as I am not alone, I am another, another reality from the object outside me. For this third object I am thus an other reality than itself, i.e. its object. [...] As soon as I have an object, this object has me for its object.

Karl Marx
Critique of Hegel's Dialectic
(in Bottomore, 1963:207-08)

It would be difficult for me to determine if the codes that are being "interpellated" above are a structuration that activates my life-time signifiers, the text of my story, or a revelation of the structure in the text. Am I ready for

the objectification and dismemberment that would allow this critical distancing? This is a serious attempt to capture a body, a rogue identity in search of an ethnicity and a nation to call my own, someplace I can call "home." Is that what I should be looking for? Do I need an ethnicity to define who I am? Does an ethnic identity express who I really am? Or (this is a phenomenological trick), does writing about this express who I really am?

Barthes is remembered as saying that when writers express themselves, they are only drawing upon what is "already written."⁸ Should I translate this "already written" notion into a culture that is already written, to an ethnicity in a culture that is already written, to an identity that is already written in a culture that was written by the cultural police (the very authorities I am trying to circumvent in construing this identity)?

Wallerstein (1991:78) asks a good question: "Why does anyone need an identity?" I think I need an identity so that I don't get confused with other people. But it seems that there is more to it than that. Spivak (1988:105-06) notes that the will to explain is a "symptom" of a desire to have a self and a world: "These presuppositions assure our being. [...] On a more specific level, every explanation must secure and assure a certain *kind* of being-in-the-world, which might as well be called our politics."

Wallerstein refers to identity as a "past." It is this "pastness," this "mode," or "tool" or "central element" that persuades us to act in certain ways, that we use against each other, a socialization of individuals, a maintenance of group solidarity, an establishment or challenge to social legitimation. "Pastness therefore is preeminently a moral phenomenon, therefore a political phenomenon, always a contemporary phenomenon" (Wallerstein 1991:78-79). He also maintains that the content of pastness is always changing, that the social past is written "in soft clay," and that races, nations, and ethnic groups are "inventions of pastness" (ibid.).

I grew up in Ka'a'awa. My mother had us dancing hula from the age of seven. In my teens, I performed professionally as a Polynesian dancer. I play the ukulele and sing Hawaiian songs. When I was thirteen, we moved to Moloka'i and lived next to a Filipino family. That was where I was introduced to Filipino culture. I started eating Filipino food, going to the chicken fights

every Saturday and Sunday, and helping my "nana" (my adopted Filipino aunty) sell her *kan'kaneng* (Filipino mochi rice sweets).

My father was a construction worker. I will never forget the times when he would wake up at 4:00 in the morning to hitch-hike to work. He worked so hard to support us. I always loved and respected him for all that he did to keep us going.

My mother was a wise-cracking New Yorker who grew up in the Bronx. She was sick of the city and the "concrete jungle," so my aunties in New York said she just up and left, sold everything and came to this "island paradise" she had read and heard so much about. Then she moved out to, of all places, Ka'a'awa in 1949. That was REAL isolation at that time. There was only one taxi that covered the whole North Shore. It left in the morning and came back in the evening. If you missed that and had to get to town, you had to, as my mother called it, "flag down a car" when it came by.

My father was in and out of work, depending on the weather. We never had very much and sometimes barely had enough to eat when he was out of work. We were poor, really poor. The kids in the neighborhood always looked after one another, so if there wasn't food at our house, I would eat at someone else's house. Everyone in Ka'a'awa was more or less in the same boat except for some of the people on the *makai* (seaward) side of Kamehameha Highway with whom we never really came in contact. I really had no "class consciousness" of my social standing at that time. Life was pretty much the same wherever we went in Hawai'i - to Moloka'i, to Hilo.

When I go back to my roots and try to construct an ethnic or a cultural identity, a location, a form necessarily based in social and textual affiliation, it seems like my narrative is intersected with a multi-layering of cultural formations and social processes, a disjunctive construction with no real representative authority. This probably gives me an opportunity, or maybe a responsibility, to choose to be who and what I am. But I approach this with hesitancy, since I have conflicting loyalties and I do not want to betray my haole mother. And too, my validity could be contested. I could say I am no authority on the subject. And yet, I am the only authority on the subject. I am, shall we say, the "object" of representation.

Overdeterminism⁹ in the Process of Identity

The space I occupy might be explained by my history. It is a position into which I have been written. I am not privileging it, but I do want to use it. I can't fully construct a position that is different from the one I am in.

Gayatri Spivak
The Post-Colonial Critic (1990:68)

Perhaps we should now go to Waikiki to gaze upon the "social-historical horizon" and visit with the "speaking subject" to sort out or discover this particular subject as practice and process. My impression is that there is a morphology that constitutes this body or that exists wherein, in which this body operates as an agent in search of meaning and an identity. You could say that there are a multitude of fragments that piece together this identity. There may seem to be no inherent unity to this puzzle, and yet a picture evolves that shapes what some may call the essential "truths"¹⁰ of my existence.

Structuralist theory explores how meaning is produced in text (the text being my life story). The rules that we apply in exacting meaning – conventions, patterned from, equivalences, figurative transformations, etc. – are all methodologies I could employ in normalizing this life and recuperating meaning. They may or may not have something to do with the five codes¹¹ that Barthes (1975) developed – hermeneutic, semic, symbolic, proairetic and cultural – that might have to be "delayed," "jammed," or "equivocated" in my day-by-day (*la quotidienne*) accounts that are "eye-like windows" into a world of my own making, interpreter-written and revealing a personality acutely aware of signification along the way.

Significations like the time when Marion and John Kelly came to my Oceanography 101 class in the early 1970s with their Save Our Surf slide show that made me forever aware of the fragile ecosystem and the precious resource that is our ocean. Significations like the time my mother started screaming when my dad came home from work, his face covered with tar from a construction accident, his body injured and hurting. But he got up the next day to go to work, because in those days, there was no sick leave or workers' compensation, it was a job he was lucky to have, and we needed to eat and

pay the rent. Signification's like when my "nana" would take me to visit her friends at Maunaloa camp, and I noticed how lonely all her compadres were, with no wives and no children, and all their relatives and family back in the Philippines whom they could never afford to see; yet these "tatas" were always so happy to see us, so generous and so kind, silent about a plantation system that had denied them an important part of their existence.

These significations are the subjective/objective material formations that defined my reality by contingency.¹² It seems to me that they had more to do with defining who I am than the Czechoslovakian surname I carry or the Filipino, Austrian, Hungarian, German, and Italian descent from which I supposedly am derived. It was this overdetermination in the process of becoming, these signifiers translated into reality, these positivities within a void, those discontinuities marking the spaces of being and carving out a consciousness shaped by structural limitations and social inter-relations. It is the history of this human experience in active relationship to a structure in dominance and those indispensable and precious "others" whom I coincided with along the way. This is what constituted the elements of individuation I call Li'ana.¹³ Here is where I was "self" determined. Here, in Hawai'i, my home. This, is the "politics" of identity. ♦

Notes

1. The two above "moments" of determination and differentiation are what Hegel would call a "positive" apprehension by the "Understanding," a notion of "in itself" (Fichte and Kant) and the level of philosophical inquiry in which someone like Schopenhauer (1814) approached this subject. As such, the will was presented as "naturalized" and as a representation of being: "I have greatly extended the range of the concept 'will.' [...] Will used to be recognized only where it was accompanied by cognition and where, therefore, a motive determined its expression. But I say that any movement, shaping, striving, being, that all these are manifestations, objectivizations, of the will, in that it is the 'in itself' of all things, i.e. that which remains of the world if one disregards the fact that it is our imagination" (Schopenhauer, quoted in Safranski 1987:205).

Hegel takes this inquiry a step further, into the negative dimension of what he refers to as the task of "Speculative" philosophy. This intervention employs a "why" in the analysis and a "how" and "where" in which the relevance of its right is constructed or perceived. Consequently, with Hegel's method of analysis, proof of the nature of the will and its "freedom" can only be established in a chain of philosophical inquiry that moves from positive (in itself) Understanding to negative (for itself) Speculation.

2. One could also perceive this conceptualization of the "other" as a "structure and process of objectivity itself" (Weber 1995:43) where "in the order of the transcendental genesis of the object" (as Heidegger describes it, in Weber 1995), the object (other) is the ontological representative of the subject.
3. Most scientists are now saying that races are not distinct biological categories created by inherited genes. Advances in molecular biology and genetics point out that race is not so much a product of genes as it is a product of random genetic mutations and the environment. In one study done by Kenneth Kidd, a Yale geneticist, it was discovered that more variations on DNA levels occurred within a single African population than in all non-African peoples. John Moore, an anthropologist at the University of Florida, also points out that even skin color is the result of variant genes and that people "can go from black to white, or white to black in 10,000 years" (Boyd 1996).
4. Wallerstein (1991:78-79) presents another definition of race, nation, and ethnicity. He describes race as a "genetically continuous" group, a nation as an "historical socio-political" group, and ethnicity as a "cultural" group. But even these so-called explanations, he recognizes as "peoplehood constructs," "inventions of pastness," and "contemporary political phenomena." Note: the scientists referenced above would obviously disagree with his explanation of "race."
5. Even what some identity theorists refer to as those "primordial phenomena" (Marcus 1992:312) we usually associate with certain cultures (rituals, traditions, kinship systems, etc.) are recognized as ethnographic descriptions and explanations that "can no longer in and of themselves serve as grounding tropes" (ibid.) in a transcultural world subject to "global creolization processes" (ibid.:311) and on the level of the particular, a culture of lived local experience, cross-cutting interests, and "paradoxical diversity" (ibid.).
6. As mentioned earlier, I love Foucault, and I like a lot of what he says. However, as with too many poststructuralists, the socio-political/historical context is minimized, dismissed or ignored in favor of the discursive field where language reigns preeminently. It would only be fair to say however, that with Foucault as opposed to many others in this genre, there is a great amount of interest in the social, political and historical. This interest is primarily a fascination with its archeology and the micro-physics of power, rather than an exploration and indictment of inequality and oppression.
7. "Nationness" and "nationalism" are viewed by Bhabha as two very distinct phenomena. In discussing nationalism, Bhabha notes that "the language of national belonging comes laden with atavistic apologues" (Bhabha 1990:293). He references Gellner's point (in Bhabha 1990:294) that "the cultural shreds and patches used by nationalism are often arbitrary historical inventions" and objects to what he refers to as "the historical certainty and settled nature of that term" (Bhabha 1990:292). In conjuring the term "nationness" as opposed to "nationalism," Bhabha attempts to privilege the ambivalent, disjunctive, and myriad temporalities of a nation space rather than its rigid and contrived historicity where "imagined communities" are given "essentialist identities" (ibid.:300). The problem with Bhabha though (although I still really like him), is

that he neglects the tension within the spaces that people occupy. He is so wrapped up in deconstructing a nation that the dialectics within the hierarchical and binary structuring of his disseminating nation are overshadowed by his earnest and elaborate descriptions of temporality.

8. Barthes maintains that when writers express themselves, they are drawing upon the immense dictionary of language and culture which is "already written." "Difference" is not a result of uniqueness, but of textuality, each text referring differently to what is "already written" (Seldon 1989:80). Ironically, although Barthes eschews what is believed to be a structuralist interpretation of language, this could be interpreted as a post-structuralist's extreme dependency upon structuralism (language).

Textuality also has an agency component that is unique so the process cannot be so fixed and one-sided. The "already written" is always being written and rewritten and that is being determined not only by textuality but also by creativity (agency). Just as we are social beings, shaped by the fabric of society, our agency within society has a role in constructing our social being, and our language. Individuality must also have a role in creating and defining existence (reality), or there would be no individual perception and expression, no change or development, only the tyranny of what is already written and the textuality that makes the difference. The wealth of knowledge, and with it the production of words, theories, and stories, are a verisimilitude of the participatory and creative role of subject and object (language/symbolic expression/objectification of subject). Barthes sometimes reads like a Hegelian, formalized and restructured by a chimerical invention called language where language is considered to be the "origin," where one does not exist "prior" to language.

There seems to be a dialectical duality escaping him: Language is a symbolic form of objectifying and expressing our being, and it is *through* language that our being is objectified. In that sense, you could say that there is no state in which we are separated from language since we need language (or, as Marx expresses it, our work) to express/objectify ourselves, and in that expression/objectification, teach us our definition. But I do not think that we should kill the author (creator) and substitute the object as primary. Who and whose work created language in the first place? Did it, could it really have existed outside and before the subject as the "Word?" Get real. Barthes is a really interesting guy, but I must say that this Idealism is annoying.

9. Overdeterminism is an expression that attempts to describe the complex multifaceted dynamic of dialectical and historical materialism and, in that process, to distance and distinguish it from Hegelian dialectics. Although Althusser (1993) utilizes this terminology, and it is commonly attributed to him, he states that he is not "particularly taken" by it. He is simply borrowing it from other disciplines (linguistics and psychoanalysis) "in the absence of anything better," to use "both as an *index* and as a *problem*," since the terminology "enables us to see clearly" the difference between a Marxist understanding of dialectics and a Hegelian contradiction which is a complex production of cumulative *internalization* that is only apparently an *effective overdetermination* (1993:101). As Althusser describes it, overdetermination designates the reflection of its contradiction, its situation, in the structure in dominance of the complex whole. "It

is not just its situation 'in principle' (the one it occupies in the hierarchy of instances in relation to the determinant instance in society, the economy) nor just its situation 'in fact' (whether, in the phase under consideration, it is dominant or subordinate), but *the relation of this situation in fact to this situation in principle*, that is, the very relation which makes of this situation in fact a 'variation' of the - 'invariant' - structure, in dominance, of the totality" (ibid.:209).

According to Althusser, all that becomes "equivocal" are not products of the "first-comer among empirical pluralities, at the mercy of circumstance and 'chance,' their pure reflection, as the soul of some poet is merely that passing cloud." It is quite the contrary. Once contradiction ceases to be univocal (having a fixed meaning or role), it reveals itself as overdetermined "determined by the structured complexity that assigns it to its role [...] complexly-structurally-unevenly-determined" (1993:209).

10. I say "truths" with quotation marks and trepidation, since one has to be very careful when using such absolutes. Foucault (1989:248), maintains that "truth" is a "problematical" relationship of self-to-self and that of saying the truth. We would have to look at how the "experience" of truth was formed in the link between the relationship to self and others. Foucault believes that it is in this locus you discover that knowledge and truth are power-related practices. If one is in search of the "truth," one should also look at the history of relationships that thought maintains with what may be perceived to be the "truth," and one will also discover, in the words of Edward Said (1989:67), that truth becomes "a function of learned judgement."

There are others, Nietzsche for example, who characterizes the "truth" as "a mobile army of metaphors," "illusions" or "errors" but there are also people like Adorno who maintain that "as the reflection of truth, appearances are dialectical; to reject all appearances is to fall completely under its sway, since truth is abandoned with the rubble without which it cannot appear" (Jay 1973:181-82).

Dialectical and historical materialism teaches us that the only absolute is the absolute of change. No one really has a handle on the "truth" if it is in motion and worse, always being interpreted, especially by so-called figures of authority and institutions. So if one wants to be a good revolutionary (which should be the only correct thing to be), one should be mindful of the words of Max Horkheimer, who points out that "truth" can only be "a moment in correct praxis; he who identifies it with success leaps over history and becomes an apologist for the dominant reality" (quoted from Jay 1973:83).

11. Barthes interpretation of texts is somewhat different than what is commonly referred to as a "structuralist" perception (Seldon 1989:78-79). With Barthes, there is no one structure in language. He sees our own language operating as a metalanguage (a second-order discourse) interrogating the object-language (first-order discourse) and also maintains that our metalanguage could be interrogated as well by another metalanguage. As readers experiencing/interpreting text, we activate one or more of the infinite voices of the text. There is a multitude of fragments (with no inherent unity) that exist within a text that we piece together with what Barthes refers to as the grid of "five codes." The hermeneutic code is the enigma that arises whenever discourse

commences. The semic code is connotation. The symbolic code has to do with polarities and antithesis. The proairetic code refers to the basic sequential logic of action and behavior and the cultural code references the common fund of "knowledge" produced by society (Seldon 1989:80-82).

12. I am speaking to what could be referenced as an "anti-descriptivist" approach (Laclau in Zizek 1991:xiii) in determining what constitutes identity beyond the descriptive features of objective being/reality.
13. Here, I would like to quote George Marcus (1992:326), who has a particular description of identity I find both appropriate and appealing: "Constructed and migrating through a grid of sites that constitute fragments rather than a community of any sort, an identity is a disseminating phenomenon that has a life of its own beyond the simple literal sense of inhering in particular human agents at a particular site and time. Its meanings are always deferred in any one text/site to other possible loci of its production through the diverse range of mental associations and references with which any human actor can creatively operate, literally through the contingencies of events, and sometimes through an explicit politics for or against the establishment of identities in particular places."

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Notes on Globalization as Salvation:

The Myth That Never Dies

Noel Jacob Kent

For Marion Kelly, a dear friend and colleague who once, at Black Point in 1966, helped me survive the currents and who has, in various ways, kept me afloat ever since.

In his 1997 State of the State speech, Governor Ben Cayetano's prescription for economic recovery emphasized government support for building a "major regional shopping center" in Kaka'ako, pumping ten million dollars into the Hawai'i Visitors Bureau, reducing taxes on hotels, and pursuing the notion of Hawai'i as "The Health Care Center of the Pacific."

The following year, faced with deepening economic crises both in Hawai'i and East Asia, and shortfalls of public revenues, Cayetano's State of the State promoted a radical set of Reaganomics-like policies featuring sweeping changes in tax, funding, and regulatory policies.

All of these policy initiatives serve one end: To bind Hawai'i more tightly to the global economic system. What was crystal clear was the Cayetano administration's absolute belief in the commandment "globalize and thou shalt prosper."

Of course, globalization as a panacea for Hawai'i's ills is an old story. Back in the sixties, Governor John Burns proclaimed the Islands' future to be as the "hub of the Pacific," a leader in research, development, and innovative technologies. To wit, his 1964 remark that "I believe that today we have a great destiny. We are the people who are going to bridge East and West" (*Honolulu Advertiser* 1/19/1964).

Burns and his successors encouraged the massive infusions of capital from North America and the Pacific Rim that drove Hawai'i's transformation from plantation backwater to modern state. This peaked between 1987 and 1990, when general US economic prosperity, surplus Japanese yen soaking up Island hotels and businesses, and the infusion of California capital and

tourists, helped stoke a sizable economic and speculative boom (Kent 1993:190-92).

In an attempt to halt economic downspin Cayetano and his circle have pushed the globalization strategy relentlessly. Special tax breaks were promoted for Hawai'i corporations involved in export operations. There were gubernatorial trips to Tokyo to convince the Japanese to send larger amounts of their devalued yen this way. To facilitate more Asian investment, the State has had Hawai'i designated as a Regional Center Authority able to offer (mostly to capitalists from Taiwan and China anxious to get money out of their countries) permanent residence for as little as half a million dollars invested. Buy a gas station or a restaurant, and you've got it made (see DBEDT 1997).

International tourism continues to be viewed as the ultimate savior. An outsized convention center was erected near Ala Moana. When direct Japan-to-Kona flights were held up by the federal government, Cayetano desperately lobbied the US Transportation Secretary. The Kona airport was expanded to accommodate direct flights from Japan and other global points. The Hawai'i Visitors Bureau heavily promotes the Islands in western Europe. In May 1998, the State pitched in \$3.3 million to host the Miss Universe contest with the view of enhancing Hawai'i's image as an international resort destination.

Is the basic assumption here valid? Will more intense globalization benefit Hawai'i's people? Or rather, is the global system's domination over us at the root of much of our current *pilikia* (trouble)?

Globalization's Costs

Looking back over thirty years, we realize how monumental the long-term costs of globalizing Hawai'i have been. These include an economy slavishly dependent upon continuing overseas investment and beneficent economic conditions abroad. An unstable, generally low-wage tourism industry now generates a third of all jobs and a quarter of total economic activity (see Department of Business, Economic Development and Tourism [DBEDT] 1995, 1996). In 1998, the grossly uneven development of Hawai'i's economy with its swollen tourism sector, minuscule industry, and declining economic diversification, seems more characteristic of a third-world tourism economy than a first-world developed one.

So even amidst the 1987-90 boom, large sections of the local working and middle class were squeezed by a high cost-low wage economy. Multiple job holding was endemic. The boom fueled astronomic price rises in an already-inflated housing market.

Overseas capital gained a chokehold on the critical tourism/land development sector. US and Japanese companies traded luxury hotels around like kids swapping baseball cards. The late eighties witnessed Japanese corporations taking over restaurants, insurance firms, and shopping centers (Kent 1993:192-94).

So Hawai'i marched to the drumbeat of transnational capital under the likes of Indonesian "global dealmaker" Sukarman Sukamto, an active figure in banking, real estate, and the construction of the Hawai'i Convention Center. In the usual transnational pattern of leveraging political power in local political processes, Sukamto became a skillful player in Hawai'i politics (Jokiel 1996).

Nothing has revealed the pitfalls of gambling on globalization more than the collapse of the boom in 1991 and the ensuing seven-year economic crisis. Between 1992 and 1995, economic growth was marginal (DBEDT 1993-96; Brandt 1997). A ballooned-up construction industry flattened. Tourist arrivals plunged. Areas on the Big Island and Kaua'i experienced something resembling full-scale economic depression.

Downturns had occurred before. What was unprecedented was that the US economic expansion starting in 1993 did not (as it had in the past) spearhead new growth. In short, Hawai'i was paying the price of being a one-crop, tourism/land development economy dependent upon badly depressed overseas economies. The plummeting of Hawai'i's fortunes found transnational businessmen like Sukamto abandoning the Islands for the more dynamic Asian economies. New Japanese investment in Hawai'i plunged with Japan's recession-racked economy and the weakened yen.

After major recent layoffs in plantation agriculture, energy, hotels, financial institutions, and shipyards, people are understandably more insecure about their jobs than ever. Thousands of positions are disappearing each year, many of the second and third jobs needed by hardpressed families to support vaguely middle-class lifestyles. A single week in February 1998 found the venerable Liberty House department store chain and Bank of Hawai'i

announcing permanent layoffs amounting to six hundred and seventy jobs (*Honolulu Advertiser* 2/19/1998). Personal bankruptcies are busting records. Meanwhile, the State experiences a widening income chasm, along with the shrinking of the authentic middle class and the growth of poverty. Economic failure intensifies out-migration – the State's population diminished by 14,000 in 1997 (*Honolulu Advertiser* 3/19/1998).

Globalization has become synonymous with transformed local consumption habits, such as the sanctification of mega-malls as the new universal place of worship. In Hawai'i, the logic of this process is to cannibalize that last bastion of the local economy, retail business. Since the early nineties, mainland "Big Box," large-discount, mass merchandisers Kmart, Wal-mart, Costco, etc., seeking new profit frontiers, have entrenched themselves here and in the process bankrupted local retailers who could not match their aggressive merchandising and pricing policies (*Hawaii Herald* 1997; *Honolulu Advertiser* 9/6/1995).

Because the logic of globalization processes is to reward the rich and overseas-connected and punish the poor and locally oriented, capital protects itself by making working people more vulnerable. The logic of globalization becomes the internal logic of locally-based firms. So powerful Island businessmen like Bank of Hawai'i CEO Lawrence Johnson and Richard Kelley of the Outrigger Hotels boost profits by using the new telecommunications revolution to adopt globalistic corporate strategies of labor cost-cutting, outsourcing labor, and restructuring, downsizing, and laying people off (*Hawai'i Business* 1996:12-15).

The Bank of Hawai'i transfers its merchant services to Phoenix, and Outrigger Hotels moves reservations to Denver. The local Bank of America does loan-processing in California, Matson Navigation its customer service in Phoenix, Aston Hotels its reservations in Dallas, and GTE Hawai'i its accounting on the mainland. Management jobs for locals, perhaps even more than entry-level ones, are being lost in such outsourcing. This accentuates the severe shortage of decent family-wage jobs (*ibid.*).

The upshot: Hawai'i now is enmeshed in the same *moral crisis* that afflicts so many other areas hooked on global capitalism. People can no longer make sense of, much less respond to, the massive changes impacting their lives. There is a sense of bewilderment and fear about the future and radical

disconnection from the past. Time-honored social and family values wither under day-to-day pressures. This moral crisis gets played out in the startling rise in local out-migration to such curious destinations as Las Vegas, and in the upsurge in violent and property crime. Race and ethnic issues erupt on every question from promotions in the Kaua'i Police Department and Bishop Estate leasehold policy, to police brutality in Palolo and the matter of which immigrant gang – Samoan or Filipino – is to be supreme in the Kalihi public housing projects.

The Business/State Offensive

In swallowing the globalization mantra hook, line, and sinker, the Cayetano administration, like those before it, closed off its policy options. From New Zealand to Sweden, the logic of globalism forces governments anxious to serve local corporations and attract overseas investors to shrink public services and protection for workers. So in Hawai'i, too, Cayetano dumped the Hawai'i Democratic Party's historic commitments to mildly progressive government and adopted unabashedly pro-business policies.

One notes the nineties' corporate doublespeak – "reengineering," "restructuring," "downsizing," "privatizing" – employed by Cayetano administration officials. Like a true-blue conservative Texas Republican, Seiji Naya, the Director of the State's Department of Business, Economic Development and Tourism, blamed the State's commitments to business regulation and social welfare for economic problems (*Honolulu Advertiser* 5/5/1996; *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* 7/22/1997). The Governor notes the necessity for eliminating State regulatory commissions and cutting restrictions on business. During the 1998 Legislature, the Governor's office pushed strongly for dismantling the existing regulatory regime (source: political informants).

And using the cover of a State fiscal "crisis," the Cayetano administration carried out an assault on social services for the poor, and against the living standards of working people and State workers. State agency and non-profit social service providers have been sharply cut back. In 1995, six hundred and five government workers were laid off and hundreds of other positions eliminated. The University of Hawai'i, already operating on an anemic budget, was, after \$58 million in initial cuts, told to trim \$14 million more. In 1998, the University took a five-percent (or \$13 million) additional cut. Given a fifty-percent increase in tuition, UH's historic mission as purveyor of higher

education to all is now imperiled. Retirement benefits have been cut for new State and County workers, while future retirees' medical coverage was cut in half. The deepening of the fiscal crisis in early 1998 pointed to the elimination of a host of social service programs, hiring freezes, and public employee wage cuts (*Honolulu Advertiser*, 3/7/1998, 3/11/1998).

Cayetano's creation in July 1997 of the Economic Revitalization Task Force became the linchpin in the new assault by globalization interests. Its composition was dominated by the downtown Honolulu corporate elite, led by bank CEOs Johnson and Walter Dods, hotelman Richard Kelley, and others in the Big Business-international sector in Hawai'i. *Honolulu Advertiser* publisher Larry Fuller, in on the planning sessions, boasted how the Task Force was chosen to "represent a cross-section of decision makers" centered around "those who run the largest businesses and financial institutions" (Fuller 1997). Virtually identical to Cayetano's political bankrollers, the Task Force represented an offensive by major capital in Hawai'i to protect its levels of capital accumulation by shifting public costs elsewhere and eviscerating governmental regulation.

In fact, the Task Force package – substantially cutting income taxes and corporate taxes, increasing the general excise tax from 4% to 5.35%, more than doubling State dollars for tourism promotions and abolishing the State Land Use Commission – mimics Reagan's supply-side economic strategy of the early 1980s. That strategy had the impact of shifting income from the middle class to the rich, forcing cuts in basic programs for the poor and working class, and massively increasing the federal deficit (Sawicky & Baker 1996:1).

Given the historic failure of supply-side programs (which are in essence bribery of economic elites) to ignite real economic growth, the credibility of these Task Force recommendations quickly eroded. In response to a host of critiques, the Bank of Hawai'i and others launched an intensive lobbying campaign and a well-funded media propaganda blitz. When the State Senate in April offered its own more modest tax package, the Governor announced his forceful opposition (*Honolulu Advertiser* 4/14/1998).

One telling critique was that the Task Force package will simply not provide genuine economic stimulation. Economist Nick Johnson, for instance, in his "State Fiscal Project" analysis, writes that not only would tax cutting not

positively impact economic growth, but any help it does provide "is likely to be offset by the economic damage wrought by the spending cuts necessary to keep the state budget in balance" (Johnson 1997:n.p.; see also Bartik 1996).

This is extremely relevant since the estimated shortfall of \$200 million (Task Force figures) in State revenues generated by the new tax regime certainly means a further reduction in State welfare and educational services, disproportionately affecting working class and poor residents. The class bias is also quite clear in the distribution of tax benefits: Johnson argues that "the highest-income taxpayers" will receive the "largest dollar benefits and [...] largest benefits as a percentage of income" from the personal income tax cuts. Given recent State tax legislation, low income taxpayers "may actually see an increase in their personal income taxes compared with the years before 1995" (Johnson 1997:1-3).

In sum, the Task Force package is calculated to make Hawai'i more attractive for a new round of globalization by:

1. transferring the tax burden and impact of the State's revenue crisis onto the backs of local working- and lower-middle-class people and small business.
2. eviscerating the State regulatory environment to reduce the socially responsible costs of old and new capital.
3. radically increasing State expenditures to support tourism promotion.

The public hue and cry against the Task Force Program resulted in its major components being largely rejected by the 1998 legislature. But it remains the instrument of choice of political elites in the Democratic and Republican parties. During the 1998 election, Republican candidate Linda Lingle's campaign platform for rejuvenating Hawai'i's economy could have been taken verbatim from the Task Force Report. Unquestionably, the 1999-2003 Cayetano administration will promote a similar plan.

So political failure is accentuating Hawai'i's slide towards becoming a place where the rich use "free markets" to wax wealthier and isolate themselves from the chaos around them, while poorer citizens grow more hopeless and bitter, where ethnic and class tensions escalate. Rather than the "hub of the Pacific," the Islands now bid to become "the retail hub of the Pacific," as Asian tourists shop at Ala Moana and Waikēle for Gucci, Louis Vuitton, Chanel

and buy "American lifestyle" goods, and mainland retailers like Neiman Marcus and Nordstrom's arrive to service their needs. What Hawai'i derives from this: more low-end, retail jobs.

The experience of the Hawaiian Islands is thus a lousy advertisement for globalization. What gets confirmed here are the charges eloquently voiced by critics like David Korten and Deborah Sklair that globalization really means transnational corporations operating without responsibility or accountability to workers or the public, corrupting local government, and reducing citizenship to pigging out at the malls. As Korten (1995), a political economist with extensive experience in the Asia/Pacific region and the author of a number of books critiquing contemporary development, notes: "A global economy is inherently unjust, unstable, and unsustainable" (Korten 1995).

What is crucial is validating local and personal identity in the face of overseas capital and protecting peoples and cultures from globalization processes. This means empowering liberating and humanistic localistic values and structures. Localism as a social movement arose during the 1970s in reaction to the growing threat posed by "mainlandization." It held up the banner of "the righteousness of the land," "Ka 'Āina I Ka Pono," and the value and integrity of local place, local cultures. Unfortunately, the symbols of localism were appropriated and manipulated (then conveniently ditched) by cynical political opportunists like John Waihe'e. But the very ruthlessness of today's globalization, its overreaching agenda of undermining local cultures and imposing conformity and docility, will unleash resistance, reinvigorate localism, and give it new force. The various flickers of resistance to globalistic development that one sees at places like Waimea in Kaua'i, South Point on the Big Island, and O'ahu's North Shore are evidence.

The grand objective would be a grass-roots democratic revolution committed to greater equality, to reversing the dangerous trend towards greater class polarization, to investing in human resources, to guaranteeing a livable wage to everyone who wants to work, and to believing that a genuine social safety net is a critical foundation for a stable society. The function of the State government must be to provide a modicum of protection and security from the inherent chaos of international markets. Needless to say, a sovereign Hawaiian nation must be a centerpiece here.

We should explore the possibilities of making a "subsistence track" a genuine option for a sector of the population desiring it. Rather than the endless quest for more economic "growth" and more tourists, the focus needs to be on community-based and innovative economic development, and on utilizing a grass-roots, democratic, regulatory regime which advantages public over private goods, to make Hawai'i-based and overseas corporations instruments of *our* development. None of this will happen without the painstaking, issue-by-issue building of a broadbased political coalition of citizens devoted to transforming Hawai'i. ♦

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Hawai'i: Strategic Considerations for Social Struggles

Ibrahim G. Aoudé

This article will argue that in the age of a highly globalized capitalist system, Kānaka Maoli (indigenous Hawaiian people) self-determination cannot be fully exercised without linking it to the class question. Further, the needs and aspirations of the multi-ethnic, multi-national working class in Hawai'i can only be fully addressed on the basis of indigenous self-determination, especially considering that a majority of Kānaka Maoli belong to the middle and lower levels of the working class.

In addition, because Hawai'i is both economically and politically part of the United States, major challenges confront the indigenous social movement in developing strategies in pursuit of self-determination. Finally, the people's movement, at the center of which is the Kanaka Maoli movement, faces the task of constructing a theory of the Hawaiian revolution that can guide the people's movement in completing its tasks.

The Global Context and Hawai'i's Economy

At this stage of development of Hawai'i's social struggles, it is important to recognize that a general systemic crisis is upon us, exacerbated by ruling-class policies favoring capital over labor and attacking the livelihoods of workers, regardless of ethnicity.¹ Before the 1998 Asian financial and economic meltdown, which confirmed and deepened the crisis, Hawai'i experienced its own economic malaise. By 1990, Japanese investment in the state declined considerably. From a level of \$150 million in 1985, Japanese investment reached \$1 billion in 1986 and \$4 billion in 1990. In 1991, however, it declined to less than \$2 billion (Bank of Hawai'i 1993). By 1995, with a total foreign investment in Hawai'i of less than \$500 million, Japan's share was less than \$250 million (Cayetano 1996:12). In addition, tourist arrivals declined considerably from their 1990 level and, despite recent growth, did not return to their previous levels (Bank of Hawai'i 1996:41). The main causes for this decline were the 1990 Gulf crisis, the recession that plagued the Japanese

and North American economies, the 1991-1992 recession in the Islands, and slow economic growth ever since (Bank of Hawai'i 1996).

It has been extremely difficult to devise plans to extricate Hawai'i from its economic doldrums and achieve relatively high rates of economic growth through diversification, largely because capital assigned the state a specific role (a tourist attraction) in the international division of labor since the late 1950s. Former Governor John Waihe'e's efforts to diversify the economy yielded insignificant results and did nothing to lift the economy from the recession of the early 1990s. Waihe'e's attempts at economic diversification were reminiscent of those of his predecessor, George Ariyoshi. In various ways, both tried to influence corporate decision-making to create a high-technology sector in the Islands. But as Herbig and Kramer (1994) demonstrate, it was rather impossible to do so because, among other things, it would take over a generation to create the infrastructure necessary to establish a high-technology sector. The Islands essentially can only sell tourism, and whatever else they sell is, in large measure, tied (directly or indirectly) to tourism.

We now witness a major push by the state government to diversify the economy around tourism (Cayetano 1996). Aside from being a contradiction in terms, this effort tacitly recognizes the "locked-in" (Aoudé 1995) position to which the transnational corporations, through the international division of labor, have relegated the Hawaiian economy.² Cayetano's proposals to spend \$1 billion in 1997-98 on construction were passed by the 1997 Legislature. The Convention Center opened in June 1998 for (hardly any) business. The state and the business sector attempt to cultivate new tourist markets, including a niche for health tourism. The State Tourism Authority, created in July 1998, promised \$60 million in earmarked state funds and, charged with promoting Hawai'i as a tourist destination, is the most recent indication that no real diversification is sought, despite serious attempts at luring high-technology investment. Nor is the economy rebounding, despite this mass infusion of construction and tourism promotion funds. Indeed, Cayetano, changed the entire economic diversification discourse, whose subtext was a recognition of previous public policy failures (Cayetano 1996). In October 1997, Cayetano created an Economic Revitalization Task Force (ERTF), which proposed sweeping reforms that included the following: (1) tax reductions; (2) strength-

ening the competitive position of the tourist industry; (3) deregulation; (4) achieving preeminence in key areas at the University of Hawai'i; (5) autonomy for individual schools; (6) efficiency in government delivery of services; and (7) resolving Kanaka Maoli self-determination issues (ERTF 1997).

The systemic general crisis of capital now expresses itself in the political arena.³ In the past few years, federal and state policies threw hundreds of people out of the safety net. Even before this eventuality, the majority of Kānaka Maoli occupied the lower levels of the working class along with the majority of Filipino workers. This situation may be surmised from examining the median family incomes of major ethnic groups. Crane and Okinaka (1992:60) show the following for 1980: Chinese, \$23,859; Japanese, \$23,209; Caucasians, \$20,823; part-Hawaiians, \$16,445; Filipinos, \$16,361; Hawaiians, \$11,997. "Hawaiians," "part-Hawaiians" and Filipinos (along with Samoans, Tongans and other Pacific Islanders) essentially comprise the core of the working class. Barringer (1995) also demonstrates the lower status of Kānaka Maoli in terms of educational and economic indicators. These trends continued in the late 1990s (see Okamura 1998).

Cayetano's policies in response to the economic crisis thrust thousands of people into social struggles. In January 1997, government employees threatened to take strike actions, should there be no change in governmental fiscal policies affecting them. In addition, on April 9, 1997 several hundred individuals rallied against legislative budget cuts that the Legislature was considering. The *Honolulu Advertiser's* William Kresnak (1997) reported that the State Senate planned to cut \$400 million from Cayetano's proposed \$11.5 billion biennial state budget. It is interesting to note that although Cayetano showed his displeasure with the severity of these proposed cuts, his 1997 launching of the Economic Revitalization Task Force indicated that he had no choice but to shore up profits through privatization, tax cuts, and other such pro-business policies. His rationale is by now a mantra: "Kick-start" the economy.

But even if this kick-starting can be accomplished in the face of contradictory, global economic realities challenging to the plans of the state "movers and shakers," it can only be done at the expense of middle- and lower-income workers.⁴ Ruling class policies, as expressed by the Cayetano administration

and the State Legislature, further exacerbate social struggles. A classic example of this is the Native Hawaiian Autonomy Act, introduced by Representative Ed Case during the 1998 state legislative session, but "died" because of Kanaka Maoli political pressure (*Honolulu Advertiser* 1998). The Act was designed to control and liquidate Kanaka Maoli rights, apparently in fulfillment of an Economic Revitalization Task Force prescription. Despite its seemingly innocuous intent, the Act also had the potential of unnecessarily pitting Kanaka Maoli rights against the rights of other ethnic and nationality groups in the Islands.

Kānaka Maoli and Hawai'i's Multi-Ethnic Society

Hawaiian history clearly demonstrates that the deep oppression and exploitation of the *maka āinana* (commoners) go as far back as the early traders (Kelly 1994a; 1994b). Kanaka Maoli (primarily *maka āinana*) alienation from their land definitely dates back at least to the *Māhele* (land division) of 1848 (Kelly 1994a; Kame'eleihiwa 1992; Buck 1993) and is integrally linked with the imposition of capitalism, originally through a *haole* (foreigner) oligarchy and more recently, through a multi-ethnic (though primarily *haole*) bourgeoisie tied, as it is, to national and international capital (Kent 1993; MacLennan 1979).

Kānaka Maoli comprise roughly twenty percent of the population in Hawai'i. A sizable number of the rest of the multi-ethnic population suffers from the same social ills that afflict a majority of Kānaka Maoli; namely, poverty, unemployment, drugs, and crime (Barringer 1995; Crane and Okinaka 1992). Actually, many Kānaka Maoli seem to have more in common with the poorer sectors of the working class than they do with the Kanaka Maoli elite, some of whom merely pay lip service to the notion of Hawaiian self-determination.

In Hawai'i's multi-ethnic class society, the social dimensions of ethnicity, class, gender, nationality, and skin color interact to produce immediate interests responsible for the political and social stands that individuals take. Consequently, simplistic one-dimensional analyses will not capture the salient intricacies of the present moment in social struggles. More importantly, strategies for social transformation based on one-dimensional analysis could prove disastrous to the social and political movements that inevitably emerge

as a response to the current attacks to which the capitalist system subjects its workers. The task of movements is to intervene and make sure that members of this multi-ethnic society recognize that they ultimately share common interests that run counter to the ruling class'. Without understanding these contradictions, no movement for social change can have a clear vision of how to reach its goals.

Hawai'i's history of workers' struggles against the haole oligarchy is full of examples of how movements based solely on ethnicity or race have been disastrous to workers (Beechert 1985, 1998; Takaki 1983).⁵ However, such movements are useful to the ruling class that does not want to see opposition-building along class lines and across other social dimensions.

Movement for Kanaka Maoli Self-Determination

The Kanaka Maoli movement for self-determination, currently at the forefront of Hawai'i social struggles, has become a force on the political scene. However, the multi-ethnic ruling class moved quickly to contain the movement in subtle and not-so-subtle ways. With every advance of the movement, threats and opportunities presented themselves. Therefore to navigate with skill through these treacherous political waters requires a multi-dimensional, holistic, strategic approach on the part of the Kanaka Maoli movement. Such an approach calls for a reappraisal of strategy, especially at this time when the ruling class and its state, through the Hawaiian Sovereignty Elections Council (HSEC), passed "the Hawaiian vote" in the Fall of 1996. HSEC, originally HSAC (Hawaiian Sovereignty Advisory Commission), was appointed by Governor Waihe'e and devised a "plebiscite" that was opposed by a sizable number of Kānaka Maoli who saw it as a way to effectively liquidate the Kanaka Maoli right to self-determination.⁶

The first stage of the Kanaka Maoli movement that began in the mid-1970s developed to a point where an unprecedented number of Kānaka Maoli became politicized, and numerous Kanaka Maoli organizations arose. An examination of the various groups' positions on sovereignty points out the many political and philosophical differences that exist among them (Dudley and Agard 1993). The most politically significant among those organizations are the following: Ka Lāhui Hawai'i, the Pro-Kanaka Maoli Independence Working Group (PKMIWG), The Nation of Hawai'i, Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana

(PKO), and the Free Association on the Big Island. In addition, the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA), an arm of the state, and HSEC (which metamorphosed into Hā Hawai'i) were created to contain or otherwise co-opt the efforts of those organizations to chart a different course in achieving their purported goal: sovereignty. Whether these organizations call for independence as the PKMIWG does, or for a solution within the United States (nation within a nation), as Ka Lāhui Hawai'i does, no organization in either category seems to have a strategy capable of achieving a solution in the interest of that majority of the Kānaka Maoli that is an integral part of the multi-ethnic, multi-national working class.⁷

Ka Lāhui Hawai'i has an elaborate, highly developed political organization with thousands (twenty thousand according to Ka Lāhui) of members. However, despite being the most successful organizer among these organizations, Ka Lāhui has been unable to rally enough Kānaka Maoli in support of its political goals. A case in point is the "success" of HSEC in delivering "the Hawaiian vote" despite a heroic campaign by Ka Lāhui, the PKMIWG, and other organizations to oppose the vote. Nor has Ka Lāhui been able to generate a critical mass support among non-Kānaka Maoli. The PKMIWG has not followed a mass organizing strategy, and it remains essentially an educational, advocacy group. The other organizations mentioned above also have not fared any better.

However, it is important to note the outstanding victories achieved by the Kanaka Maoli movement. The Public Access Shoreline Hawai'i (PASH) State Supreme Court decision of 1995, which essentially affirms and protects indigenous traditional rights, and the Kanaka Maoli community mobilization to defeat the Native Hawaiian Autonomy Act, are two such victories. These victories were possible because of Kanaka Maoli community involvement that included *hula halau* (hula schools) and other cultural organizations and they point out the need to continue to reach beyond the existing movement to draw in others who ordinarily are not thought of as "in the movement." They also give hope that the Kānaka Maoli movement could still develop a strategy in the interest of poor working-class Kānaka Maoli. Before addressing important considerations for the Kanaka Maoli movement in its attempts to mobilize the largest segment possible of Kānaka Maoli and non-Kānaka Maoli, it may be useful to analyze briefly the different stages of social struggles in Hawai'i.

Stages of Social Struggles in Hawai'i

In the contemporary period there seems to be three distinct stages of social struggles.⁸ Since statehood, Hawai'i has experienced two of these stages; we are now in the third stage. In each stage, social movements expressed developing political and economic transformations.

First Stage: Multi-Ethnic Anti-Eviction and Anti-War Struggles

Tourism development and concomitant real estate speculation necessitated evictions of working-class and farming communities. In turn, those communities organized in their own defense. With the initial expansion of the economy from 1959 until the late 1960s, the first stage of social struggles developed in 1966-67 (also the beginning of the anti-war movement), but became more sharply focused from 1969 with the advent of major anti-eviction struggles such as Mākua Valley and Kalama Valley.⁹

It is important to note that the make-up of the anti-evictions social movement was multi-ethnic and preponderantly "local" as opposed to haole. The contemporary anti-war movement, though largely haole-led, also had a multi-ethnic composition, and these two movements interacted frequently, especially within the student component of these movements.¹⁰

The main characteristic of this stage, which ended in 1980, was its defensive posture. As a consequence of its defense against the evictions and the war in Vietnam, the struggle to develop an ethnic studies program on the University of Hawai'i, Mānoa campus took on an offensive character. But no sooner than the Ethnic Studies Program had won a foothold on the UH campus in 1970, was it compelled to fight for its own survival against a University administration accustomed to running the University as its own plantation. The Program finally won permanent status in 1977. The fight to maintain the Ethnic Studies Program on the UH Mānoa Campus was indicative of the defensive character of this first stage, also defined by the anti-eviction fights.

Second Stage: The Struggle for Kanaka Maoli Rights

Ordinarily, overlap occurs between stages of social struggles, because, as the main consequences (success or failure) of a stage unfold, that particular stage fades away while another begins. The second stage of

Hawai'i's social struggles began with the occupation of Kāho'olawe in 1976 and lasted until 1995. In the mid-1970s, an emerging core of activists whose main, if not only, concern was Kanaka Maoli issues came to the fore. Their goal later developed into organizing and educating Kānaka Maoli to assert their collective right to self-determination. Separating Kānaka Maoli from other social struggles was a necessary phase that the movement went through. Some Kanaka Maoli activists who had developed politically in social movements of the first stage also participated in social struggles of the second. The main characteristic of this stage was its offensive strategy and its essentially anti-military orientation ("stop the bombing"), which underscored the contradictions between an indigenous movement and an imperial power.

It is instructive to note that the ruling class moved quickly to co-opt the struggle, primarily through the 1978 Constitutional Convention that included some Kanaka Maoli activists, such as former Governor John Waihe'e, Walter Ritte (one of the first two people to occupy Kāho'olawe), and Frenchy DeSoto (currently an Office of Hawaiian Affairs trustee). The ConCon created the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA), an arm of the state, to channel the movement in an acceptable direction.

However, social and political contradictions militated against co-optation of the Kanaka Maoli movement through OHA. In fact, the movement enjoyed enough room to grow and become more militant, as evidenced by the founding in 1987 of Ka Lāhui. This organization presented itself as an alternative to OHA and has been instrumental in the political education of Kānaka Maoli. The one-hundredth anniversary of the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy presented an opportunity for a show of force by Kānaka Maoli and their supporters. More than 15,000 rallied at 'Iolani Palace, an impressive gathering unprecedented in recent Hawai'i politics.

Third Stage: Co-optation and Disorientation

Governor Cayetano's election in 1994 ushered in what will be referred to here as the third stage that began in 1995.¹¹ The ruling class' onslaught on the workers and the poor through budget cuts marks this stage, whose main characteristic is again defensive, but with an added ingredient that differentiates it from the first. This main ingredient is the presence of both a Kānaka

Maoli and multi-ethnic core of experienced activists, many of whom emerged out of the social struggles of the first stage.

In this third stage, the ruling class succeeded (through HSEC) in directing the Kanaka Maoli movement on a certain trajectory that left Kanaka Maoli grassroots organizations in a predicament, trying to determine their next steps. This temporary disorientation is a normal occurrence in any social struggle, especially after large-scale maneuvers on the part of the ruling class to corral and contain the movement.

The ruling class' co-optation of the Kanaka Maoli movement, especially through its state machinery (and its "Native Hawaiian" organs) was facilitated by the absence of: (1) a developed, anti-capitalist, multi-ethnic social movement; and (2) a strategy and tactics that unite the movement for self-determination.

A revitalization of social struggles at this juncture can only occur on a basis that expresses the political-economic realities of this stage. This concern leads to a preliminary discussion of strategic considerations for the movement.

Strategic Considerations in Social Struggles

At this stage of social struggles the Islands are at a crossroads. Much depends on the grassroots movement's analysis of the global economy and the political situation locally, nationally, and internationally. It is incumbent, therefore, on a leading core of Kanaka Maoli and non-Kanaka Maoli activists to study social motion and put forth an analysis to be utilized as the basis for a strategy that can accomplish the goals of the Kanaka Maoli within the context of a larger developing people's movement. Within such an analysis certain realities and considerations need to be taken into account to arrive at a winning strategy.

A main strategic consideration for the Kanaka Maoli movement, in all of its organizations, is whether it recognizes clearly the relationship of Kanaka Maoli to the rest of the Islands' population.¹² Kanaka Maoli activists may object to the idea of placing their movement within a larger multi-ethnic people's movement on the grounds that Kanaka Maoli concerns differ from those of the latter. They

may advocate that their movement be part of a national or global indigenous movement. But it is important not to lose sight of the actual conditions in which Kanaka Maoli are located. Indigenous movements world wide are being co-opted (the Maori and Australian Aboriginal situations being two Pacific examples). The reality also is that the goals of the Kanaka Maoli movement cannot be achieved without significant, active support of the rest of the population, which is eighty percent of the total. A question arises: What are the goals of this movement, and what sections of the population would support its achievements?

Movement goals need to be established through an historic analysis of the Hawaiian social formation. This analysis lends itself to an holistic political-economic framework. Available analyses (Fuchs 1961; Kent 1993; Takaki 1983; Beechert 1985, 1998) demonstrate that a multi-ethnic society had been formed during the plantation era. Fuchs (1961) and Kent (1993) show that post-World War II structural changes in the Hawaiian social formation had been brought about primarily through the struggles of the multi-ethnic working class in a new global environment characterized by expansion of US capital into the Pacific. It is important to note that the working class both in the Islands and on the US continent was co-opted by the capitalists, but not all workers benefited equally from this arrangement. On the continent, for example, 35 percent of the workers were organized in unions while the rest was left unorganized and worked for lower wages. Here in the Islands, as mentioned earlier, it is the Filipinos and Kanaka Maoli who comprise the majority of the lower sections of the working class (Okamura 1998).

We must remind ourselves that Kanaka Maoli suffer from an historic crime perpetrated against them beginning two hundred years ago and exacerbated by the post-1954 socio-economic and political structures designed without any sensitivity to the right of Kanaka Maoli to self-determination. In their majority, they also suffer from the same ills (albeit to a larger degree because of their special historic circumstances) as the rest of the working class, especially its lower sections. The relationship between the loss of indigenous land on the one hand, and unemployment, homelessness, and discrimination that the Kanaka Maoli experience, on the other, is more recognizable now than ever before.

Because of the similar social conditions, there is a material basis to work for unity in the struggles of Kānaka Maoli and non-Kānaka Maoli. Potential support for the self-determination movement could conceivably come from both Kānaka Maoli and non-Kānaka Maoli if the movement begins to speak to issues that link the fight for self-determination with the fight for the immediate and long-term interests of poor sections of the working class, irrespective of ethnicity or nationality. Already there exists among the multi-ethnic population a majority support for "Hawaiian sovereignty" (Wiles 1996), which, however, is not clearly defined. But support of an even vaguely understood concept of sovereignty by a majority of Hawai'i's population is a recognition of the principle, however nebulous.

Non-Kānaka Maoli are welcomed as citizens (albeit with no voting rights) in Ka Lāhui. But that is not the same as the movement consistently putting forth why it would be in the interests of non-Kānaka Maoli, especially workers, to support Kanaka Maoli self-determination. Nor is it the same as posing the problem along class lines within an anti-capitalist framework. Given the Islands' encounter with the capitalist west, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to realize self-determination within capitalism in a manner consistent with the interests of the majority of Kānaka Maoli.

Another related strategic consideration has to do with the role and place of the Kanaka Maoli movement in the larger context of social struggles in the Islands. It would be politically self-defeating for the movement to dismiss those other struggles, which, by implication, would mean dismissing the interests of the non-Kanaka Maoli population.

This latter strategic consideration flows from the first. The role of the Kanaka Maoli movement in Hawai'i's larger social struggles is vital. That role need not mean subsuming Kanaka Maoli organizations in a larger, multi-ethnic, grassroots movement. Kānaka Maoli must maintain independent grassroots organizations that speak specifically to the historic crimes perpetrated against them. But this need not imply either that there should be no grassroots or other organizations of mixed ethnicities. In fact, such organizations already exist in the form of trade unions, for example. In addition, Kanaka Maoli movement might not want to work among haole and other ethnic or nationality groups to educate them; but it is incumbent upon the movement to

clearly spell out why it would be in the interest of the poor sections of the haole and others to support Kānaka Maoli in exercising their right to self-determination. This approach calls for joint efforts among Kānaka Maoli, haole, Asian, and other Pacific Islanders in Hawai'i to work for common goals, at the heart of which is Kanaka Maoli self-determination.¹³

The political and economic realities of today's Hawai'i bring us to yet another strategic consideration that may be framed in the form of a question: What is the relationship between social struggles in Hawai'i and those in the continental United States? The question leads us to a beginning analysis of the larger environment in which Hawai'i exists.

One must recognize the integral nature of political and economic relations that tie the Islands to the continental United States as a first step toward devising a strategy with a fighting chance of achieving the goals of the Kanaka Maoli movement. The economic crisis savaging the multi-ethnic, multi-national working class in the continental United States, is the same one wreaking havoc on workers here in the Islands. National and international capital are the enemies of both the continental United States' worker and the Hawai'i one.

In the contemporary period, the capitalist class forged alliances to secure its position in the Island.¹⁴ Therefore, it is all the more necessary for the Kanaka Maoli movement and non-Kanaka Maoli activists to begin forming new alliances here in the Islands and the continental United States. What has been accomplished thus far is quite remarkable, given the stage of social struggles that Hawai'i has experienced until recently,¹⁵ and we now need strategic thinking on a different level to reflect these new political requirements. Failure to do so could catch the movement by surprise, should a spontaneous upsurge in social struggles develop without political leadership to see it safely to its goals.

Grassroots Kanaka Maoli organizations with exclusively Kanaka Maoli membership need not be separate from other multi-ethnic grassroots (tenant and workers) associations. Class politics, which takes other social dimensions into account, make it imperative to build a multi-ethnic, multi-national political organization of revolutionaries in the various grassroots organizations that would comprise a developing social movement.

Conclusion

The preliminary discussion presented in this article points out a need to build a theory of the developing Hawaiian revolution based on historical analysis. The question here is whether the struggle for self-determination can be waged successfully by Kānaka Maoli for the benefit of the poor sections of the indigenous population, in isolation from the social struggles of the rest of the population here in the Islands and the continental United States.

The capitalists' strategic field is national and global. The tactics utilized in the fulfillment of their strategic goals rest on a solid bedrock of national and global economic and political power. A movement for self-determination will have to devise a strategy on a level capable of countering these colonial and global capitalist strategies.

Framing the issue, as some Kānaka Maoli do, in terms of whites versus Kānaka Maoli plays into the hands of enemies and leaves workers in the Islands (regardless of their ethnicity) perplexed as to where the Kanaka Maoli movement relegates them in the scheme of things. Instead, the larger social movement should expose as counter productive the framing of the issue along color lines.

Also, because of economic and political linkages with the continental United States, it is not possible to complete the tasks of the Hawaiian revolution without full support from the movement against capital taking shape in the continental United States.

An analysis of Kanaka Maoli self-determination that does not incorporate the larger picture in reference to transnational and global capital implies a mechanistic separation that is unrealistic and contrary to the laws of social motion. Concomitantly, any theory of the Hawaiian revolution will have to incorporate Kanaka Maoli self-determination since Kānaka Maoli are an integral part of the larger society. ♦

Notes

1. I have previously discussed the political economy of Hawai'i in detail (1998).
2. For more discussion on Hawai'i's place in the international division of labor, see Kent (1993). Recession and slow growth, especially since 1990, point out a slippage in tourism revenues, because of competition from other tourist destinations. It may be argued that the international division of labor is being revised in such a way that already had eroded the Islands' tourist markets and left nothing to make up for the decline.
3. For a discussion of the general crisis, see Peery (1993).
4. The 1998 Hawai'i State Legislature passed several bills that were clearly anti-worker and anti-poor. For example, HB 2749, HD1, SD1, CD1 (Tax Restructuring House Bill) lowered the top bracket's tax rates from 10 to 8.25 percent and the Personal Income Tax by 25 percent over four years. This action lowered revenues and provided a rationale for the state to cut its budget, which, in fact, HB 3033, HD2, SD2, CD1 (State Operating Budget House Bill) accomplished. The bill cut the General Fund by 3.4 percent (from the last fiscal year's level) to \$2.99 billion. The net effect of such moves are fewer services for middle- and low-income households.
5. Not until the formation of a labor movement united along class lines, especially after the 1940s, were such struggles able to achieve material gains for the multi-ethnic, multi-national working class. The International Longshoremen and Warehousemen Union (ILWU) was the union credited with uniting workers across ethnic and nationality lines.
6. The 'plebiscite' terminology was later changed, to "Native Hawaiian vote." The change, however, did not placate the opposition, which believed that the right to self-determination could still be liquidated. For more on the "Native Hawaiian vote," see, for instance, Kelly (1996) the *Coalition Newsletter* (1996); and the Kānaka Maoli Tribunal Kōmike (1997). More recently, HSEC metamorphosed into Hā Hawai'i, "a not-for-profit, 501c3 Hawaiian corporation dedicated to encouraging self-determination for the Hawaiian people by ensuring that a Native Hawaiian Convention becomes a reality" (Hā Hawai'i 1998).
7. While it may be argued that realizing self-determination (and sovereignty) would be in the interest of working-class Kānaka Maoli, the fact remains that there is no strategic thrust to engage working-class Kānaka Maoli as workers fighting for their immediate (and long-term) interests in the context of the struggle for self-determination. The movement has no literature that relates how self-determination and class interests might be intertwined, but class-conscious activists have been addressing class issues. This fact makes one optimistic that, in the long run, the working-class perspective could become dominant in the Kanaka Maoli movement.
8. Dividing social struggles into stages is a recognition that history is not linear, but is subject to qualitative breaks. These breaks may be referred to as eras, epochs, or stages. Stages, for example, may be different from one another because of differing characteristics, social forces, or goals of the movements in each stage. Any charge that

dividing social struggles into stages is mechanistic fails to differentiate between a mainstream social science understanding of stages, which is not grounded in historical materialism, and that which is. The latter understanding is based on multi-dimensional analysis of society in a holistic manner.

9. Periodized here are the stages of social struggles, not the economy. Ordinarily, a lag exists between political-economic transformations and social movements developing as a result of such transformations.
10. Discussion with John Witeck, an activist in the anti-war movement in Hawai'i, on Saturday, May 30, 1998.
11. Although 1998 was a Gubernatorial election year, to the movements, it is of little consequence that Linda Lingle lost the race to Governor Cayetano. The political-economic situation is likely to deteriorate, given the indications transmitted from the global economy and the ensuing political instability. Whether social struggles then would enter a fourth stage during Cayetano's second term depends largely on how the movement develops.
12. The Zapatistas serve as a counter example. They are at once both an indigenous and non-indigenous movement, recognizing that self-determination for Chiapas' indigenous people cannot be divorced from the struggles of the rest of the Mexican population. The Zapatistas especially see the commonality of interests between the achievement of their indigenous rights and that of the rights of the lower sections of Mexican society. Consequently, they have raised issues of democratization and human rights for all of Mexico. They condemned and rose up against global capitalism and its manifestations (the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA); the World Bank; etc.). The Zapatistas are currently the actual leaders of the Mexican revolution and have succeeded in staving off all US and Mexican governmental attempts to isolate and then crush them. For more on the Zapatistas, see for example Bardacke et al. (1995); and the Commission for Democracy in Mexico's homepage (1998).
13. Haunani-Kay Trask is opposed to coalitions with haole (or other) organizations (1993). Those coalitions, however, were attempted with thoroughly bourgeois organizations. Alliances envisioned here are with anti-capitalist social movements. Further, successful alliances/coalitions can only occur on the basis of respect for the organizational independence of the Kanaka Maoli movement.
14. The new Democratic Party in Hawai'i and American capital came together to do away with the plantation economy and the haole oligarchy, but ended up paving the way for the penetration of American capital under a new division of labor.
15. Cooperation and exchange visits take place between Kanaka Maoli organizations and Native American groups as well as other indigenous movements, especially in the Pacific. However, in the third stage of social struggles, it is also important to connect with the incipient people's movement in continental United States. Such groups as the National Welfare Rights Union, National Union of the Homeless, and Women Economic Agenda Project come to mind.

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Hawai'i students and the larger community in the nature of ethnic relations and conflicts in the United States and in selected global areas; (3) prepare academic specialists in ethnic studies for graduate study and university teaching; (4) prepare academic specialists in ethnic studies for teaching at the primary and secondary levels; (5) support the diffusion of ethnic studies materials into inter-disciplinary curricula at various levels; and (6) help understand the nature of ethnic conflict in Hawai'i and elsewhere and provide resources that contribute to the attainment of social justice and peace.

In order to fulfill this mission, the Ethnic Studies Department has structured its curriculum to cover the relevant areas. ES 101 provides a general overview of the ethnic studies field with selected case studies of the United States and Hawai'i; there is a range of "200" and "300" level courses which focus on the specific histories of Hawai'i's prime ethnic groups; topics courses at the "300" and "400" levels deal with critical areas such as teaching ethnic studies, land tenure systems, field research, immigration, ethnic identity, ethnic and racial relations in the United States and elsewhere. Ethnic Studies faculty are active in the community outside the university in giving lectures and conducting workshops and seminars on ethnic studies topics. A current departmental initiative is the College of Continuing Education 500 course, "Bridging Cultural Differences in the Classroom," being taught to public school teachers in conjunction with the Department of Education.

The Ethnic Studies Department has always been innovative in preparing our majors and certificate holders for careers in the field. We continue to operate a rather unique undergraduate lab leader program and also regularly teach three ES 101 sections within the Freshman Seminar Program. This contributes toward providing students with genuine classroom and leadership experience.

The Department has continued to develop its Resource Center which serves as a library of basic national and international publications on race, ethnicity and class for use by the faculty, students and community. It also contains files of newspaper clippings related to local community issues such as land and housing, immigration legislation, the Native Hawaiian sovereignty movement and impact of economic development and change. There are pamphlets, leaflets, and other materials dating from 1970 to present which chronicle recent social movements in Hawai'i. These resources have been used by faculty in other departments, schools and colleges, including English, Education, Social Work and Urban and Regional Planning, as well as researchers from state, city and county, the East-West Center and visiting researchers from other United States universities and overseas.

The Field

During the 1970s and 1980s, Ethnic Studies as an academic discipline experienced extraordinary development both in the United States and internationally. Over one hundred departments and programs now exist at colleges and universities in this country, including more than thirty Asian/Pacific American Studies programs. The University of California Berkeley was the first to offer a Ph.D. program in ethnic studies. Other departments, such as San Francisco State University, offer a Masters program. There is a score of reputable scholarly journals that focus upon various subjects relating to ethnic studies. Nationwide networks of ethnic studies scholars have emerged, deeply involved in creating a new discourse about the nation's continuing ethnic evolution. Given the critical nature of ethnic

dilemmas in the United States and other nations, ethnic studies scholars and the field they represent have achieved a striking respectability in the academy and relevance in the policy-making arena.

The Academic Program

The Ethnic Studies Department is an interdisciplinary unit with emphasis on undergraduate education. Initiated in 1970, Ethnic Studies combines traditional and contemporary methodologies with new perspectives on issues of race, ethnicity, and class. The focus is Hawai'i with its rich legacy of multi-ethnic heritages, but the research, teaching, and service components also involve the United States as a whole and comparative studies of societies around the globe.

Ethnic Studies provides introductory and advanced courses on theories and practices of ethnicity, race, and class. The program also offers courses on the history and experiences of specific groups, including African Americans and Native Americans. Among groups in Hawai'i, Hawaiians, Caucasians, Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, and Koreans are subjects of separate courses. There are also courses dealing with central subjects such as ethnic identity, land tenure, social movements, and labor history.

Students may earn a BA or the Certificate in Ethnic Studies. Graduates have gone on to successful work in public service, social service, business, law, labor organization, education, and other fields that require sensitivity to people and their backgrounds.

Requirements for the Bachelor of Arts in Ethnic Studies

- A. Students applying to major in Ethnic Studies should have a cumulative grade point average of 2.0 or better.
- B. Students wishing to major in Ethnic Studies will be required to complete three courses (9 credits) in ethnic studies with a minimum grade of B in each course as a prerequisite to their admittance into the Ethnic Studies major program. The nine (9) credits to be completed are to be selected as follows: three (3) credits of ES 101 (Introduction to Ethnic Studies); three (3) credits from area B; and, three (3) credits from area C (see "The Curriculum," below).
- C. Ethnic Studies majors are required to complete 30 credits of Ethnic Studies course work; and six (6) credits in cognate social science courses. A cumulative GPA of 2.75 in Ethnic Studies courses is required in order to graduate.
- D. ES 380 must be completed by all Ethnic Studies majors as part of the 30 credits of Ethnic Studies course work.
- E. The six (6) credits of cognate courses must be in the social sciences.

Requirements for the Certificate in Ethnic Studies

A student may obtain a Certificate in Ethnic Studies after completing 18 credits with a "B" average and no lower than a "C" grade in any course selected from "The Curriculum," as follows: (1) Category A; (2) Any two courses from category B; and; (3) Any three courses from category C. Students who wish to take ES 380 (Category E) need to select two (2) courses from "The Curriculum" Category C, instead of three (3).

The Curriculum

- A. ES 101: Introduction to Ethnic Studies (3)
- B. 12 credits dealing with the history and dynamics of the various major ethnic groups
 - ES 221 Hawaiians (3)
 - ES 305 The African American Experience I (3)
 - ES 306 The African American Experience II (3)
 - ES 330 Japanese in Hawai'i (3)
 - ES 331 Chinese in Hawai'i (3)
 - ES 332 Caucasians in Hawai'i (3)
 - ES 333 Filipinos in Hawai'i (3)
 - ES 335 Koreans in Hawai'i (3)
 - ES 338 The Original Americans: Indians (3)
- C. 12 credits that focus on the history, theories and problems of ethnic groups and ethnicity within the framework of social, economic and political change
 - ES 301 Ethnic Identity (3)
 - ES 310 Ethnicity & Community in Hawai'i (3)
 - ES 320 Hawai'i & the Pacific (3)
 - ES 340 Land Tenure & Use in Hawai'i (3)
 - ES 348 Teaching Ethnic Studies in Higher Education (3)
 - ES 350 Economic Change & Hawai'i's People (3)
 - ES 360 Immigration to Hawai'i/US (3)
 - ES 365 Pacific/Asian Women in Hawai'i (3)
 - ES 370 Ethnic Literature of Hawai'i (3)
 - ES 381 Social Movements in Hawai'i (3)
 - ES 392 Change in the Pacific: Polynesia (3)
 - ES 399 Directed Reading/Research (3)
 - ES 410 Race, Class, & the Law (3)
 - ES 420 American Ethnic Relations: Politics & Economy (3)
 - ES 430 Plantation Studies (3)
 - ES 455 Topics in Comparative Ethnic Conflict (3)
 - ES 492 Politics of Multiculturalism (3)
 - ES 493 Oral History: Theory & Practice (3)
 - ES 495 Hawaiian Labor History (3)
- D. Six credits of any related courses in the College of Social Sciences: Sample courses are Anthropology 486 (Peoples of Hawai'i), Political Science 380 (Hawai'i Politics), and Sociology 456 (Race and Cultural Contacts in Hawai'i). For any related courses to apply toward the total number of required credits, they must be approved by an Ethnic Studies undergraduate advisor.
- E. Three credits of ES 380: Field Work in Ethnic Studies (3)
- F. A total of 36 credits is required for the Baccalaureate in Ethnic Studies.

Appendix B.1

Testimony in Support of Removing Porteus' Name from the Building at 2424 Maile Way

Department of Ethnic Studies

In 1975, the Ethnic Studies Program was at the forefront of the effort to stop the Board of Regents from naming the social sciences building, then under construction, "Porteus Hall." Ethnic Studies faculty and students advocated the selection of a more appropriate, culturally sensitive name. Our point was a simple one: the University should not name halls of learning after racists like Porteus. Now, twenty-three years later, the ASUH (Associated Students of the University of Hawai'i) has brought the issue again to the forefront. At its October 30, 1997 Steering Committee meeting, the Department of Ethnic Studies voted unanimously to support the student body in its efforts to remove the Porteus name from the building at 2424 Maile Way.

Individuals and groups opposing the name change then and now argue that Porteus was not a racist, but rather expressed prevailing views of his time; that critics often cite text out of context from one book, *Temperament and Race* (1926), and do not look at his entire body of work; and that while he had relied on the plantation elite for his information, that he himself had been "gentle" and "well-meaning."

Our response to such lame rationalizations is as follows: (1) Porteus chose to depend on the views of the plantation elite in conducting his social inquiry; a *faux pas* for a scientist ostensibly interested in advancing knowledge; (2) a cursory look at Hawai'i's history clearly demonstrates the racism, class bias, and divide-and-rule tactics and strategy of the ruling plantation elite; (3) those views and practices which Porteus chose to associate with had been the unjust views of the ruling elite; (4) when plantation workers waged struggles against those responsible for the miserable conditions of their existence, culminating in a multi-ethnic workers' movement that succeeded in emancipating the workers from those miserable conditions, Porteus chose to be on the other side of this fight; (5) while *Temperament and Race* has the most objectionable and despicable views on various ethnic groups and nationalities, *Porteus Maze Tests* (1965) includes unflattering views on women; (6) Porteus never renounced the views expressed in his 1926 book, standing by them till the end - despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary; and (7) while the workers' movement was opposed to the prevailing racist views and plantation system, as the Abolitionists had been to the prevailing racism and institution of slavery in the antebellum South, Porteus chose not to be an abolitionist, but to support the exploitative, repressive and racist plantation system.

Retaining the Porteus name, which should not have been selected for any building at this University in the first place, would be a slap in the face of the struggles that Hawai'i's people went through to rid themselves of a decaying plantation system. The Department of

Ethnic Studies urges the University of Hawai'i to do the right thing and rename the social sciences building to reflect the aspirations, struggles, and history of Hawai'i's people.

Thank you very much.

Ibrahim G. Aoudé, Chair
March 4, 1998

Appendix B.2

Testimony at the Hearing on the Name Change for the Social Sciences Building

Marion Kelly

My name is Marion Kelly. I am a member of the teaching staff of the Ethnic Studies Department at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Ethnic Studies first spoke out nearly 24 years ago (1974-75) on the issue of naming the Social Sciences Building.

Supporters of former UH professor Stanley Porteus have argued that in his writings, Porteus merely expressed the thinking, racist or not, that was prevalent in the Islands during his lifetime, and what he wrote merely expressed the accepted sociology of the times. Yes, it was racist, and racism was rampant in Hawai'i during the heyday of the plantations. Racist theories were also accepted in certain schools of social sciences. However, that does not make it right today.

We know, for example, that certain social science theories supported Hitler. I would like to believe that we would not, today, allow the name of a proponent of such theories be placed on a building on the University of Hawai'i campus. If my memory serves me well, we lost thousands of our young men in a world war against this white supremacist kind of thinking. For the Regents of the University of Hawai'i to name a building for a racist, after all we went through in World War II, could be described as a victory for those among us who support racism.

However, I want to share with you some of the things about racism in Hawai'i that I have learned as a result of being raised on a sugar plantation, attending public schools here on O'ahu, being an undergraduate and a graduate student at this University, taking a dozen anthropology classes, studying the history of Hawai'i and, finally, serving as a member of the teaching staff in the Ethnic Studies Department since it began as a Program nearly 29 years ago.

Among other things, I have learned that Hawai'i has a long history of racism. From the arrival of the first westerners from England, racism has been apparent in the treatment of the Kānaka Maoli (indigenous Hawaiians) as lesser human beings or even as less than human. When he lost his life, Captain James Cook was trying to kidnap High Chief Kalani'ōpu'u (Beaglehole 1967:1194). This was outrageous treatment of the high chief of the Island of Hawai'i, who had been so friendly to him (ibid.: 1170-1171, 1188), and whose people had sent canoes loaded with fresh vegetables daily to each of Cook's ships for the entire eighteen days they were anchored at Kealahakua Bay. Cook's Surgeon, and poet, Sāmwel's journal of the stay in Hawai'i clearly indicates the generosity and hospitality with which the Kānaka Maoli welcomed Cook and the people on his ships. A selection from his journal reads:

Dec. 13th. Standing to Windward to get round the Island; some Canoes came off the Shore to us with Hogs, Plantains &c. As the Indians understand now that Provisions are what we chiefly want from them they bring them off in great plenty every Opportunity (quoted from Beaglehole 1967:1154).

Or again, in the extended description of Kanaka Maoli society that Samwell entered in his journal after leaving Kealakekua Bay the first time, on February 4, 1779, he wrote about the great wealth of food produced by the Kanaka Maoli cultivators of the soil:

The Island [of Hawai'i] produces abundance of Breadfruit, Plantains, Taro-root, sweet potatoes, a few Yams & Cocoa nuts, all very good in their kind. (39 Puncheons of Pork salted in the two Ships since we arrived off this Island besides the Consumption of fresh pork since that time.) (ibid.:1188).

On numerous occasions, Samwell recorded other acts of Kanaka Maoli generosity: "some Canoes come off to the Ships daily with a few Hogs & Roots, enough to supply our present Consumption" (ibid.:1229).

No, the playing field was not level during that visit, nor did the Noble Savage myth temper the behavior of American traders, who followed the British explorers. The massacre of more than a hundred innocent Kānaka Maoli off the coast of Olowalu, Maui, in 1790, by American trader Simon Metcalf is a tragic example (Kuykendall 1968:24).

There is evidence of other traders treating Kānaka Maoli as less than human beings during the sandalwood trade. Thousands of people were sent into the mountains to cut, strip and carry on their backs thousands of tons of sandalwood to harbors throughout the Islands to be loaded on the trade ships (Ellis 1917:227,273,277,295,298-299). Sometimes entire ships were offered in return for sandalwood, but more often than not, the ships exchanged in the sandalwood trade already were no longer seaworthy and had rotten bottoms. A few actually sank in the harbors before the required sandalwood could be gathered to pay for them (de Freycinet 1978:35,88,111n41,114n47-49). Cheating traders are just another form of unbridled exploitation of the indigenous people and their resources, just another type of racist behavior endured by the Kanaka Maoli population in those early times.

Racism was also rampant among the missionaries from New England. The American Calvinist leader Hiram Bingham left writings that provide us with what was on the minds of the missionaries upon meeting Kānaka Maoli, as they boarded the *Thaddeus* on its first stop in the Islands near Kawaihae, Hawai'i.

Bingham wrote: "Can these be human beings!" (Bingham 1847:81).

Missionary Bingham was not asking a question. He was making a statement and for emphasis, ended the words with an exclamation point.

Bingham's report of this first meeting makes it clear that the sight of so much bare brown skin shocked the missionaries. Kanaka Maoli men wore only a brief *malo*, or loincloth, and the women a waist-to-knee *pā'ū* (skirt). Their response was to label Kānaka Maoli as savages, barbarians, uncivilized, and non-human. The missionary women very quickly sewed a gown for Ka'ahumanu to cover her "exposed" body (Thurston 1934:32-33).

Have you walked along Waikīkī beach lately? I have. Recently, I meandered down the beach among the bodies, both male and female, that are stretched out on the warm sand in their G-string swim suits. That which was used to judge Kānaka Maoli negatively, used to call them savages for exposing so much brown flesh, and used to create a false characterization that condemned Kānaka Maoli as forever incapable of possessing any moral values, is now acceptable behavior among the members of one of the highest levels of our modern society, the leisure class, most of whom are Caucasians and Asians who willingly expose

themselves to the sun and the world on our beaches, trying to change the color of their white flesh to a nice warm brown. Of course, these are the people who bring money into our Islands. When tourists don't come with money, our leaders are sad. They widen our beaches, so more visitors can lay, nearly naked, on the sand under our tropical sun with our approval. What a contradiction! Some would say this is not a contradiction, but merely a matter of profits, or good, smart business acumen. Yes, we have had a change of mind. We can look back and say, "My, how narrow-minded they were then, but there is no reason why we have also to be so narrow-minded." Yes, these are different times, and we are listening to a different drummer.

Returning to 1820, we find that Reverend Bingham continued to share his inner thoughts about those Kānaka Maoli he had just met for the first time at Kawaihae. He wrote:

How dark and comfortless their state of mind and heart! How imminent the danger to the immortal soul, shrouded in this deep pagan gloom! Can such beings be civilized? Can they be Christianized? (Bingham 1847:81).

If, for one minute, we imagine that this kind of thinking was an aberration among American missionaries, let us look at another American missionary, who arrived three years later, but reiterated similar thoughts when he wrote the following:

[Our] first sight of these degraded creatures was almost overwhelming: their naked figures, wild expression of countenance, their black hair streaming in the wind as they hurried the canoe over the water with all the eager action and muscular power of savages, their rapid and unintelligible exclamations, and whole exhibition of uncivilized nature, gave to them the appearance of being half-man and half-beast, and irresistibly pressed on the thoughts the query – "Can they be men – can they be women? Do they not form a link in creation, connecting man with the brute?" (Stewart 1839:70).

In fact, this type of racist mind-set was the prevailing attitude of most of the Americans – missionaries, traders and merchants – who sought and subsequently gained control of Kanaka Maoli land, water and political power (Kuykendall 1968:278-98). They and their progeny introduced and controlled the market economy of the Islands with their take-over of Kānaka Maoli land for water-hungry sugar plantations (Lind 1938:162-86). First, most of the *maka'āinana*, the cultivators of the soil for the subsistence of themselves, their families and their chiefs, were relieved of the use of their land. This was done by new laws that privatized land ownership and made land available for purchase.

Under the Māhele process, approximately 70 to 75% of the adult Kanaka Maoli males did *not* get a piece of land on which they could plant crops and feed themselves and their families. This monstrous injustice was carried out with the sanction of and by the missionaries, Rev. William Richards (Kuykendall 1968:159ff), Dr. Gerrit P. Judd (ibid.:210) and their American lawyer, William Little Lee, who was hired by them to do the job (ibid.: 244). Lee also shows his hand in his preface to the *Penal Code of the Hawaiian Islands, Passed ... 1850*, he authored for the Hawaiian Kingdom when he wrote that his aim was:

to prepare a system of laws equally well adapted to the native and foreign portions of our community, – one not too refined for the limited mind of the former, and yet enough so to meet the wants and capacity of the latter (Kingdom of Hawai'i 1850:iii).

By 1850 these men wrote the laws that made it legal for foreigners to own land such as "An Act To Abolish the Disabilities of Aliens to Acquire and Convey Lands in Fee Simple" (Kingdom of Hawai'i 1850:146-47). This Act was passed on July 10, 1850, while the law that

permitted the Board of Commissioners to award *kuleana* (small pieces of property) to Kānaka Maoli commoners was not passed into law until August 6, 1850 ("An Act Confirming ... Granting to the Common People Allodial Titles ... and Certain Other Privileges"; *ibid.*: 202-04). These laws resulted in many Kānaka Maoli having no land and no place to go.

Those who became landless, because they were not awarded their claims, or because they failed to register their claims in the limited time available, were literally forced into slavery by foreigners by virtue of the Vagrancy Law, which was part of the Penal Code, passed in 1850 ("Vagrants – Disorderly Persons"; Kingdom of Hawai'i 1850:91-92).

The Vagrancy Law states that "Any persons who having no visible calling" or who qualified for other reasons, such as "Any person who neglects his calling or employment, misspends what he earns and does not provide support for himself and his family" or "Any person who is a dangerous or disorderly person" etc., can be jailed and put to work for "not less than six months, nor more than two years, [when] he shall be discharged" (Kingdom of Hawai'i 1850:91-92).

I found it very interesting that in his forward to the *Penal Code*, Lee thanked his lawyer friends in Boston and Louisiana for their help in providing him with examples of laws on their books.

I am greatly indebted to the labors of the commissioners appointed to prepare a penal code for Massachusetts, as given in their report, and also to those of Mr. Livingston in the penal code of Louisiana. From both of these able works I have borrowed largely (Kingdom of Hawai'i 1850: iii).

We must remember that Lee obtained these penal codes in the late 1840s, and the United States of America still had more than twenty years to go before it embarked on a terrible war to rid itself of slavery, that is, the private ownership of one person by another. In the American colonies and later in the US states, slaves were not even considered to be human beings, but were the chattel of their masters. Many US states allowed slavery, and some had laws in support of slavery. However, as we know, the war that ended slavery in the US did not eradicate racism. Kānaka Maoli with their brown skin were fair game for racist foreigners, both before and after the American Civil War, especially after their land, their source of livelihood, was taken.

Apparently the Vagrancy Law was not providing the sugar plantations with enough slave labor, so the people in power instituted a land tax against those Kānaka Maoli who were lucky enough to have been awarded a small *kuleana*. These represented somewhere between 25% and 30% of the adult male population. The tax had to be paid in money that was the "current coin of the Kingdom," not in pigs or mats or *kapa* ("An Act Abolishing the Payment of Taxes in Produce"; Kingdom of Hawai'i 1850:168-69). As no *maka'āinana* was awarded land, the produce of which he took to market (Kingdom of Hawai'i 1850:203, Sec. 6), his source of cash was limited in the extreme. If he somehow managed to have something to sell, the cost of a vender's retail permit was \$50 a year (Kingdom of Hawai'i 1859:18, Sec. 57). Foreigners who were working in the government, busily turning the majority of the people into slaves, demanded their pay by the government be in dollars, not in *kapa* or fish or coconuts. So, Kānaka Maoli had to find jobs in order to get the money to pay their land tax. And, of course, the plantations were there, waiting for them.

Non-payment of the land tax caused the government to re-possess tax-delinquent *kuleana* and auction them off to the highest bidder. Of course, the only people with the money to make bids were the foreigners. If the *kuleana* awardees were able to hang on to their *kuleana*, perhaps someday they could return, die and be buried there. How convenient to have sugar plantations that provided jobs: cutting down the forest, plowing thousands of acres of land, planting the sugar cane, and digging the ditches to divert water from the taro gardens to the sugar cane fields. Some *kuleana* land owners had to seek other means to feed themselves when the water, which was needed to grow subsistence crops on their land, was taken by commercial sugar plantations.

To retain ownership of their land, awardees would sometimes have to leave their *kuleana* and perhaps live with relatives close to a town where they might get work that provided money to pay the land tax. The displaced persons sometimes went to the nearest harbor to work on the docks, loading sugar. Some signed up as crew members on ships. However, in 1850, a law prohibited natives from leaving the Islands without permits ("An Act To Prohibit Natives from Leaving the Islands"; Kingdom of Hawai'i 1850:154-55).

By 1850, the foreigners were forging ahead with their ideas of commerce and trade, but they needed more man-power to build the infrastructure. They needed to have roads constructed for the ox-carts to take bags of sugar to the docks so they could be loaded on ships. As mentioned above, the Vagrancy Law apparently did not provide sufficient slave labor for what the foreigners needed. So a Labor Tax was developed. This tax law permitted the governors of each island to "assess at their discretion, a distinct labor tax for roads, bridges and other public works of the kind, on all taxable male subjects of the King [...]. Provided, that said governors do not require more than twelve days labor yearly from each person, liable to this tax" (Kingdom of Hawai'i 1850:193-94; from "An Act Relating to the Labor Tax on Roads and Like Public Works").

In addition to the Vagrancy Law and the Labor Tax Law, the missionary-guided government developed a school tax of "two dollars for the exclusive support of common schools" to be paid annually (Kingdom of Hawai'i 1850:138). Moreover, if a family's child or children "shall persist in forsaking their schools," they may be arrested and "a fine not exceeding five dollars [inflicted] upon the parent or guardian, or one dollar upon the child" (*ibid.*:139).

And as if that were not enough difficulty for Kānaka Maoli, the group in-power in the government instituted a law called "Adverse Possession" (Lee 1991): If the owner of a parcel of *kuleana* land were forced to live elsewhere, but had faithfully paid his taxes and thus believed that he was protecting his ownership of his *kuleana* land award, he was not necessarily correct. Plantations and ranches sometimes expanded their land holdings to surround *kuleana*. If such plantations then planted sugar cane on unguarded *kuleana* land, or if such ranches ran cattle on unguarded *kuleana*, and claimed to have done so for twenty (20) years, they could legally claim the land as theirs, according to the law. Thus were expanded the numbers of Kānaka Maoli who were made landless, landless in their own homeland. At this point in telling this history the word *genocide* comes to my mind.

The racist plantation owners and their cohorts in the government soon completely took over the running of government of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Many of these were *haole* (white foreigners, including several prominent descendants of the American missionary families).

In 1887, they forced the so-called Bayonet Constitution on Kalākāua. It had the immediate effect of disenfranchising 95% of the Kanaka Maoli people by placing property and money requirements on all voters to elect members of the House of Nobles. The 1887 Constitution also provided those elected to the House of Nobles with the power to control the King and the laws. Of course the vast majority of people with money and land by this time were the foreigners, and they voted their own people into both houses of the Legislature. For all intents and purposes, the foreigners, including many missionary descendants, took over the running of the government of the Kingdom of Hawai'i.

And again, if that were not enough, then, in 1893, with their friends and supporters, including armed American Marines, these missionary descendants and foreign businessmen collapsed the kingdom and took over political control of the Islands. They already had economic control.



I was brought up on a sugar plantation, and very early on, I learned the plantation ethnic-class system: American white plantation manager, Scotch or German white department superintendents, Portuguese white field bosses, and then the workers, the people who were not "white" and who were brought here to labor in the sugar cane and pineapple fields for a pittance. They were on the bottom of the system. It was said that they were born to labor in the sun because their skin was not white. "If God had intended white people to labor in the fields, he would have made them with dark skin" was an accepted social theory.

Yes, I have to admit that as a racist university professor, Professor Porteus gave status to the policies of the sugar plantation owners and others who carried out their racist policies on the job. His so-called "research" provided a theory that was acceptable to the racist plantation owners and their cohorts. But, it seems to me that by the time the Social Sciences Building was constructed and named, the idea that the people of particular races (the white races) are born superior and other people (the non-white races) inferior by the fact that they did not have the proper genes, had long since been abandoned. The superiority of "white" was no longer accepted, certainly by the end of World War II, if not before. At least for much of the population of the Islands, and, as a matter of fact, for much of the world, this was the case.

Apparently, in Hawai'i, there were some dead-water pockets of power-wielders among us. There were those who could set their white racial superiority in concrete by naming a building in honor of the man who gave their racist policies intellectual status. They were accessories to the crime of blatant racism and possibly of genocide.

Isn't it time to call a halt to racism on the campus of the intellectual leaders of our island community? We, the teachers, talk to our students, who are of all colors of the rainbow, and all ethnic groups, and we tell them that if they work hard, do their assignments, get good grades, they will go far. Are we lying to them? No, we are not. But the monument named Porteus Hall is a monument to racism, a blight on our intellectual integrity. Let's get honest. Rename it Freedom Hall.

The alternative, of course, is that the Board of Regents still clings to the tenets of racism and wishes to make their beliefs look scientific by retaining the name of a pseudo-scientific intellectual on the Social Sciences Building on the campus of the highest educational institution in the Islands, the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.

It was twenty-four years ago when the University student body, professors, and community members petitioned the Board of Regents of the University of Hawai'i to change the name of this building. The record is clear. They refused. They upheld the racist tradition that white society insists upon, thus continuing to assert that it is superior and will always be superior. As long as racists have the power in their hands, they will continue to assert their superiority. It will take the persistent efforts of strong-willed, honest, decolonized minds to right the wrong that was done so long ago.

Marion Kelly
Associate Professor
Ethnic Studies Department
March 4, 1998 (rev. July 5, 1998)

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Contributors

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Noel Jacob Kent has been with the Ethnic Studies Department at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa since 1972. He teaches courses in ethnic and racial relations and political economy. His research interests currently include analyzing the influence of critical decisions made a century ago on American life today and the issue of the non-incarceration of Hawai'i's Japanese during the Second World War.

Ah Quon McElrath retired as a social worker from the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 142 in December, 1981. The ILWU is the largest private sector organization in Hawai'i (22,000 members) and is the first and only trade union to have a social worker on its staff. Ms. McElrath now serves as a member of the Board of Regents of the University of Hawai'i.

Davianna Pōmaika'i McGregor is an Associate Professor of Ethnic Studies at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa offering courses on Hawaiians, identity, and race relations. A historian of Hawai'i and the Pacific, her research focus is the perpetuation of Hawaiian subsistence, culture and spirituality in rural Hawaiian communities such as the island of Molokā'i, the district of Puna, and the ahupua'a of Ke'ānae-Wailuanui.

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Rodney Morales is the editor of *Ho'i Ho'i Hou: a tribute to George Helm and Kimo Mitchell* and the author of the short story collection, *The Speed of Darkness*. Two time Grand Prize winner of the *Honolulu* magazine fiction contest, his recent publications include an article on Hawai'i's literature in *Multicultural Hawai'i*, edited by Michael Haas, and "Starting from Scratch," a short story, in *Hybolics*.

Bob Nakata is a Methodist minister, community organizer and physicist. He won elections to the State Senate in 1998, and served two consecutive terms in the State House of Representatives in the early 1980s.

Soli Kihei Niheu is a Kanaka Maoli activist, who has been part of the indigenous movement of Hawai'i for more than thirty years, and the leader of the Hawai'i contingent to the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific since the early 1980s. He is a carpenter by profession.

Franklin Odo is Counselor to the Provost at the Smithsonian Institution, directing the Office of Asian Pacific American Studies since 1997. Until then he was a professor of Asian American Studies with research interests in Japanese Americans and public history at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.

Li'ana M. Petranek is a lecturer at the Ethnic Studies Department at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. She was born and raised in Hawai'i. Li'ana is a doctoral candidate at the UH's Political Science Department and is also a flight attendant at Hawaiian Air. She is ex-officio of her union local, the Association of Flight Attendants, and has been active in both labor and housing issues.

Miriam Sharma is Professor of Asian Studies at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. She has carried out research on the Filipino community in Hawai'i as well as extensive anthropological fieldwork in India. She teaches about development, contemporary Asia, gender, colonialism, tourism, and India from a broad, interdisciplinary perspective. Among her many other interests is participation in outrigger canoe paddling.

David E. Stannard is a Professor of American Studies at the University of Hawai'i-Mānoa. He received his Ph.D. from Yale University and has been awarded Guggenheim, Rockefeller, and American Council of Learned Societies research fellowships. His publications include numerous scholarly articles and five books: *Death in America*, *The Puritan Way of Death*, *Shrinking History*, *Before the Horror*, and *American Holocaust*.

Kathryn Waddell Takara, Ph.D. in Political Science; MA in French, has been a lecturer and an assistant professor of Ethnic Studies at the University of Hawai'i for twenty years. She was a lecturer in French at Windward Community College and has served as a consultant and visiting fellow at East-West Center at the University of Hawai'i. Her love for poetry and social activism have taken her as far as China, where she spent the summer of 1998 teaching and writing at the University of Qingdao.

John J. Witeck was born in Washington, DC, and obtained his BA in Government & Foreign Affairs from the University of Virginia where he was active in the Civil Rights movement. He came to Hawai'i in 1967 for graduate school, organized Students for a Democratic Society and other youth, anti-war, and community groups including Youth Action and People's Fund. He has a MA in Political Science and P.D. in Secondary Education (Social Sciences). He worked as a union staff member for 26 years and is currently in the Ph.D. program at the University of Hawai'i in Political Science. He has been a longtime supporter of Ethnic Studies at the University of Hawai'i.

Social Process in Hawai'i

Editorial Policy

Social Process in Hawai'i is a journal published by the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Department of Sociology with the objective of disseminating to scholars, students, and the community the results of outstanding social science research on the people and institutions of Hawai'i.

Since this journal's inception, the Department of Sociology has taken the view that the communities in Hawai'i offer a rich and varied opportunity for observing the interplay of social processes which maintain stability and provoke social change. It is our hope that the journal might stimulate social research in Hawai'i; provide materials for instruction of students, and enhance the understanding of the community among those who live and work here.

With the support of the Andrew W. Lind *Social Process in Hawai'i* Fund, we welcome suggestions and submissions for special issues (thematic edited works, small monographs) in addition to occasional issues of a more general character. Contributions are encouraged from University faculty, graduate and undergraduate students in Sociology and other disciplines as well as other knowledgeable persons in the community. Preference will be given to research based upon sound methodologies and systematic evidence. Articles should employ a mid-level of writing and minimize technical terms. The presentation of complex statistical techniques should be kept to a minimum, and where used, should be accompanied by a clear textual description of the technique and its results.

Manuscripts are evaluated by the editors and other referees. Editors may occasionally solicit manuscripts, but in general most selections will be from among unsolicited manuscripts.

Authors interested in submitting manuscripts for consideration should send three copies to SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII, Department of Sociology, Porteus Hall 247, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Honolulu, HI 96822. The following guidelines should be observed in preparation of the manuscript:

1. Due to space limitations, short articles are preferred. Manuscripts should not exceed 15 double-spaced pages. Photographs, charts and graphs are welcome.
2. Preparation of copy and the format for references should follow the guidelines of the AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW. In case of unusual problems, consult the Editor.
3. Manuscripts submitted to the journal should be of final draft quality; the editor reserves the right to make minor editorial changes.
4. The University of Hawai'i guidelines for allocating credit for research and writing should be observed.