



**HT22 AT HAWAI'I  
STATE ART MUSEUM**

**ON VIEW THROUGH DECEMBER 3, 2022**

**SECOND FLOOR**

**HAWAI'I  
TRIENNIAL  
2022**

# PUBLIC PROGRAMS

## Art in Conversation

### A series of talks with contemporary artists and thinkers

Hawai'i Contemporary in partnership with Hawai'i State Art Museum (HiSAM) presents a series of conversations featuring artists in Hawai'i Triennial 2022 (HT22) and contemporary thinkers. Art in Conversation expands upon the artwork in HT22 with lively discussions and community engagement. The series coincides with HiSAM's Super Saturday, a free event for families, featuring performances and workshops.

Kindly sponsored by Engaging the Senses Foundation. With additional support for Pacific Sisters from Creative New Zealand, Hawaiian Airlines, and East-West Center.



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**HAWAI'I  
CONTEMPORARY**

**HAWAI'I  
STATE ART  
MUSEUM**



**ENGAGING THE SENSES  
FOUNDATION**

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**ARTS COUNCIL  
NEW ZEALAND TOI AOTEAROA**

**creative nz**

**HAWAIIAN  
AIRLINES.**



**EAST-WEST  
CENTER**

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### **SAT • JULY 16 • 2PM**

#### **ED GREEVY**

HT22 artist and photographer Ed Greevy talks with journalist Noe Tanigawa about his work, in particular his collaborations with the late Haunani-Kay Trask on the front lines of environmental and social justice movements in Hawai'i.

### **SAT • AUGUST 20 • 2PM**

#### **PACIFIC SISTERS**

Rosanna Raymond, Feeonaa Clifton and Suzanne Tamaki, members of the Aotearoa-based art collective Pacific Sisters, discuss their work for HT22, creating Niu Aitu, and exploring what Mana Atua/ Mana Akua means to them as Tagata Moana, as a wider expression of Mana Wahine.

### **SAT • OCTOBER 15 • 2PM**

#### **FILMMAKING IN HAWAI'I**

Filmmakers Justyn Ah Chong, 'Āina Paikai, and Sancia Miala Shiba Nash engage in conversation with HT22 artist Richard Hamasaki about their respective filmmaking practices and collaborations for Hawai'i Triennial 2022.

### **SAT • NOVEMBER 19 • 2PM**

#### **ART + ACTIVISM IN HAWAI'I**

Artists Sean Connelly, Nanea Lum, and Kauwila Mahi discuss the intersections of art and activism in their respective art practices with writer Sonny Ganaden. This conversation is a continuation of past social movements, bringing them to the present moment.

# HT22 ARTISTS

AT HAWAII STATE ART MUSEUM • SECOND FLOOR

## COLLABORATORS

Justyn Ah Chong and 'Āina Paikai

Amplified Poetry Ensemble (Matt Barnett, H. Doug Matsuoka, Shinichi Takahashi, Richard Hamasaki)

Dana Naone Hall

Thad Higa

'Īmaikalani Kalāhele

KEANAHALA

kekahi wahi (Sancia Shiba Nash et al.)

Colleen Kimura

Kōkua Hawai'i

Wayne Levin

John Pule

Rowland B. Reeves

Franco Salmoiraghi

Save Our Surf

Shinichi Takahashi

David Ulrich

Dietrich Varez

Mauaiaivao Albert Wendt

Wayne Kaumualii Westlake

## 'Ai Pōhaku Press

(Maile Meyer and Barbara Pope)

## 'Elepaio Press

(Richard Hamasaki and Mark Hamasaki)

## Ed Greevy and Haunani-Kay Trask

## Nā Maka o ka 'Āina

(Joan Lander and Puhipau)

## Jamaica Heolimeleikalani Osorio

## Piliāmo'o

(Mark Hamasaki and Kapulani Landgraf)

## Lawrence Seward

# Affirmation and Defiance: Artist Collaborations Against U.S. Empire in Hawai‘i

Ua haku ‘ia ke mele ‘o Kaulana Nā Pua e Ellen Kekoahiwaiakalani Wright Prendergast no kona kūpa‘a mau a ‘onipa‘a ho‘i ma ke kāko‘o piha i ka Mō‘iwahine Lili‘uokalani, a mai ia manawa nō a hiki loa i kēia mau lā, ‘o ia ho‘i he ho‘okahi haneli iwakāluakūmāiwa makahiki, he mau nō ka pono o ia mele iā kākou o kēia au e ne‘e nei. A ‘o “kākou” ho‘i nā mea e ‘ai pa‘a nei i ka pōhaku ‘ai kamaha‘o o ka ‘āina, he mea ia e hānai pono ‘ia ai ke kino me ka mau. No ‘ane‘i, kahi o ke kūpa‘a me ke kū‘ē, kēia hō‘ike‘ike pāheona.

He ho‘omau aku nō ia i ka hanana nui ‘o Hawai‘i Triennial 2022, *Pacific Century – E Ho‘omau no Moananuiākea*, he kūpa‘a a he kū‘ē ho‘i kēia hō‘ike‘ike i ke Aupuni ‘Amelika Hui Pū ‘Ia e noho hewa ana ma Hawai‘i ma o ke kaulona ‘ana i ka huliāmahi like o nā haku mele, nā mea kākau, nā mea kaha ki‘i, nā nea pa‘i wikiō, nā mea pa‘i ki‘i, nā pa‘i puke, nā pa‘i palapala, nā kumu a‘o, nā mea ulana lau hala, nā mea ho‘olālā, nā aloha ‘āina, a me nā pu‘ukani—nā mea ho‘i e ho‘opuka aku nei, “‘A‘ole”. He hō‘ole nō ia i nā ‘i‘ini kolonoio o ka po‘e malihini aloha ‘ole, he hō‘ole nō ho‘i ia i nā ho‘oilina ‘imepeliala a ua Aupuni lā a me kona noho hewa mau ma ka Moananuiākea.

Ma ka ho‘opuka aku, “‘Ae,” no ke komo piha ‘ana i kēia hō‘ike‘ike pāheona ma ka Hale Hō‘ike‘ike Pāheona o Hawai‘i, he hana nui ia a kēia hui e ‘auamo nei ma ka pale ‘ana i ka pono a me ke kīpaku ‘ana aku i ka hewa. A ‘ike ‘ia nō ho‘i ko ua po‘e nei komo ‘ana ma kēia ‘ano hana kūikawā ma ke ‘ano he hopena nui loa ma ka ‘imi ‘ana i nā pahuhopu nui loa.

Ma muli nō o ka hana nui o kēia mau hoaloha a me ko lākou mau hoa i kupu a‘e ai kekahi mo‘olelo hou a ko‘iko‘i ho‘i e pili ana i ke kū‘ē ma o ka pāheona, ka huliāmahi, a me ke kū‘oko‘a ma Hawai‘i. I ko kākou mahalo piha ‘ana i ka hana nui o kēia hui kupaiānaha, e mahalo like nō ho‘i kākou i ko kākou kauka‘i aku a kauka‘i mai a me ko kākou laulima like ho‘i ma ke aloha i ka ‘āina, ke kai, a me ka lani; nā kūpuna ho‘i ma nā kino lau like ‘ole—E ho‘omau no Moananuiākea!

Unuhi ‘ia e J. Hau‘oli Lorenzo-Elarco

One-hundred-and-twenty-nine years after Kaulana Nā Pua, composed by Ellen Kekoaoihiwaikalani Wright Prendergast in steadfast support of Mō‘īwahine Lili‘uokalani, was first sung throughout Ka Pae ‘Āina o Hawai‘i, many are still guided by its sentiments. Indeed, “we,” those who care about this place continue to eat stones, nourishing spirit food. It is from here, from a position of joyous affirmation and defiance, that this exhibition takes place.

A continuation of Hawai‘i Triennial 2022, *Pacific Century – E Ho‘omau no Moananuiākea*, this tribute endures in affirmation and defiance, as collaborations against U.S. Empire in Hawai‘i, centering on artists—poets, writers, painters, filmmakers, photographers, publishers, printmakers, educators, weavers, organizers, activists, musicians—who have said, ‘No’. No to settler-colonial desires in Hawai‘i, no to legacies of U.S. Imperialism and ongoing occupation in the Pacific.

In saying, ‘Yes’, and agreeing to participate in this exhibition at the Hawai‘i State Art Museum, this tireless intergenerational group of practitioners has taken advantage of an opportunity for further intervention. Their participation attests to the ways in which temporary and issue-oriented actions can be seen as part of long-term answers to long-term goals.

The work of these friends and their extended networks has helped shape one of the most important recent stories of artistic resistance, collaboration, and difference in Hawai‘i. As we honor this group’s intersectional efforts, may we continue to acknowledge our mutual interdependence and collaborate with care, across fluid identities and boundaries, in support of lands, seas, and skies; ancestors in their many forms and flows—E ho‘omau no Moananuiākea!

**Drew Kahu‘āina Broderick**  
HT22 Associate Curator  
Mānoa, Kona, O‘ahu • Ikiiki 2022



## 'Ai Pōhaku Press

Maile Meyer, b. 1957, Kailua, Ko'olaupoko, O'ahu; lives and works in Honolulu, Kona, O'ahu

Barbara Pope, b. 1951, Maunawili, Ko'olaupoko, O'ahu; lives and works in Maunawili

'Ai Pōhaku Press was established by community organizer Maile Meyer and book designer Barbara Pope in 1993, as an act of healing to mark the 100th anniversary of the illegal overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai'i. At its foundations, the press is an expression of the pilina that Meyer and Pope have with words, images, books, communities, one another, and Hawai'i. In support of the transformative potential of researching, writing, publishing, and reading, 'Ai Pōhaku Press contributes a study room to HT22. Within its permeable walls are an extensive selection of titles, some released by the press and others relevant to its ethos. The installation also features portraits of cherished elders and community leaders.

## 'Elepaio Press

Richard Hamasaki, b. 1952, Sapporo, Japan (U.S. Army base, decommissioned); lives and works in Kāne'ohe, Ko'olaupoko, O'ahu

Mark Hamasaki, b. 1955, Fort Belvoir, Virginia (U.S. Army base); lives and works in Kāne'ohe

'Elepaio Press (1976–), co-founded by brothers Richard and Mark Hamasaki, took shape during a cultural reawakening across Ka Pae 'Āina o Hawai'i and a lull for small-press publishing in Honolulu, O'ahu. 'Elepaio centered on the experiences of local and Indigenous artists—writers, poets, photographers, illustrators, and musicians. Active for nearly half a century, friendship remains the press' guiding principle, and its collaborative approach to publishing has generated a network of relationships spanning interconnected communities in Hawai'i and abroad. For HT22, 'Elepaio presents a selection of poetic and politically conscious projects with a focus on print and time-based media, from over fifty years of collaborations throughout Oceania.

IMAGES [from left] — Installation view: 'Ai Pōhaku Press, *Reading Room*, 2022, Hawai'i State Art Museum (HiSAM), HT22. Photo: Christopher Rohrer. / Installation view: 'Elepaio Press ("Huli," 1979, concrete poem in vinyl, from *Westlake: Poems by Wayne Kaunualii Westlake (1947–1984)*, 2009, University of Hawai'i Press), HiSAM, HT22. Photo: Christopher Rohrer. / Installation view: Ed Greevy and Haunani-Kay Trask, selections from *Kū'ē: Thirty Years of Land Struggles in Hawai'i* (2004) and "Into Our Light I Will Go Forever," poem in vinyl, from *Night Is a Sharkskin Drum*, 2002, University of Hawai'i Press, HiSAM, HT22. Photo: Drew Kahu'aina Broderick. / Installation view: Nā Maka o ka 'Āina, *Na Wai E Ho'ōla I Nā Iwi – Who Will Save the Bones?*, (1988), screening room, 2022, HiSAM, HT22. Photo: Christopher Rohrer.



## Ed Greevy

b. 1939, Los Angeles; lives and works in Makiki, Kona, O'ahu

## Haunani-Kay Trask

1949–2021, San Francisco; lived and worked in Honolulu, Kona, O'ahu

Brought together by their shared concerns for justice, Haunani-Kay Trask and Ed Greevy worked together weaving an ongoing story of resistance that culminated with the publishing of *Kū'ē: Thirty Years of Land Struggles in Hawai'i* in 2004. Consistent with their intersectional approach, the co-authored publication historicizes demands for increased self-determination in Native/non-Native communities. Through image and text, those who oppose overdevelopment, ongoing dispossession of Native Hawaiians, and desecration of cultural heritage and environmental resources across the archipelago are brought sharply into view. Trask and Greevy's friendship and working relationship endures as a testament to the importance of mobilizing in solidarity to protect people and place, while acknowledging cultural differences.

## Nā Maka O Ka 'Āina

Joan Lander, b. 1947, Cumberland, Maryland; lives and works in Wai'oma'o-Pālahulu, Ka'ū, Hawai'i

Puhipau, 1937–2016, Keaukaha; lived and worked in Honolulu and Ka'ū, Hawai'i

Nā Maka o ka 'Āina (The Eyes of the Land), an independent video production team formed by Joan Lander and Puhipau, emerged from the social and environmental justice movements that spread across Hawai'i during the 1970s and persist to this day. Together, Lander and Puhipau documented and perpetuated Hawaiian culture, history, language, art, music, dance, environment, and the politics of independence and self-determination in Hawai'i, Moananui, and elsewhere. As part of HT22, Nā Maka o ka 'Āina presents some of their most important documentaries, which have aired on television in Hawai'i, Aotearoa, Japan, Mexico, U.S., Canada, and Europe, including *A Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific* (1983), *Pele's Appeal* (1989), *Kaho'olawe Aloha 'Āina* (1992), *Act of War—The Overthrow of the Hawaiian Nation* (1993), and *Mauna Kea—Temple Under Siege* (2005).



## Jamaica Heolimeleikalani Osorio

b. 1990, Pālolo, Kona, O'ahu; lives  
and works in Mānoa, Kona, O'ahu

Jamaica Heolimeleikalani Osorio is a Kanaka 'Ōiwi wahine poet, artist, activist, and educator deeply committed to perpetuating her language, culture, community, and home. Following in the footsteps of her father, Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, a guiding voice for many, she has played a vital role on multiple fronts in advancing intergenerational stories of Native Hawaiian excellence, diplomacy, and resistance across the Hawaiian archipelago and beyond. Her poem *When I Think of Ea*, composed and recorded for HT22, acknowledges the influence of family, speaks of political freedom, and stresses the importance of what we offer back to our lāhui.

## Piliāmo'o

Mark Hamasaki, b. 1955, Fort  
Belvoir, Virginia (U.S. Army  
Base); lives and works in  
Kāne'ohe, Ko'olaupoko O'ahu

Kapulani Landgraf, b. 1966,  
Pū'ahu'ula, Kāne'ohe, O'ahu; lives  
and works in Pū'ahu'ula

Piliāmo'o (1989–) is the collective name for photographers Mark Hamasaki and Kapulani Landgraf's shared practice. Rooted in the particularities of place, Piliāmo'o's visceral project *Ē Luku Wale Ē: Devastation Upon Devastation* (1997–) documents the construction of the H-3 highway and its destruction of cultural, agricultural, historical, and environmental places of significance. Peopleless, their photographs foreground absence, erasure, and the marks inflicted on lands and waters of the valleys. Consciously employing and subverting the formal language of early twentieth-century American landscape photography and land-surveying traditions, Piliāmo'o replaces sublime landscapes and mapped territories with their emotional responses to scenes of devastation while mourning what has been lost forever in the name of progress.

IMAGES [from left] — Installation view: Franco Salmoiraghi, selections from *Tortured Metal, Broken Stone*, 1993–94, hand-altered photographs on metal, Hawai'i State Art Museum (HiSAM), HT22. Photo: Drew Kahu'aina Broderick. / Installation view: Jamaica Heolimeleikalani Osorio, *When I Think of Ea*, 2022; demonstration posters, 1976–2022, HiSAM, HT22. Photo: Drew Kahu'aina Broderick. / Installation view: Piliāmo'o, *Ē Luku Wale Ē*, 1997–, HiSAM, HT22. Photo: Drew Kahu'aina Broderick. / Installation view: Lawrence Seward, *Seward Sun*, 2021, HiSAM, HT22. Photo: Christopher Rohrer.





## Lawrence Seward

b. 1966, Honolulu, Kona, O'ahu;  
lives and works in Kuli'ou'ou,  
Kona, O'ahu

Lawrence Seward is an artist and artworker who casually and calculatedly deploys tropical kitsch aesthetics to interrogate notions of 'Paradise.' For HT22, he envisions Hawai'i in 12 years with *Seward Sun*, a free newspaper available at custom stands across the south shore of O'ahu. Dated 2034, the tabloid comprises a mix of sensational articles and images sourced from family and friends, as well as stories familiar in present-day Hawai'i—international luxury real estate developments built upon Hawaiian lands, military fuel leaks contaminating the water supply, and sand dredging for eroding beaches. The lead story chronicles the downfall of New Dawn Island, an imagined manmade tropical resort island, where the wealthy sought to evade the ravages of pandemics and the demands of daily life.

# E HO'OMAU NO MOANANUIĀKEA

## Native/non-Native Artist Collaborations Against U.S. Empire in Hawai'i

Drew Kahu'āina Broderick

I write from a place of refuge, near Koa Gallery, nested within Kapi'olani Community College, in the presence of Lē'ahi, on the southern slopes of the island of O'ahu, in United States-occupied Hawai'i. It wasn't long ago, in January 2020, that I was sitting here, in this same place, with Aunty Manu and Aunty Ngahiraka, sharing a meal and talking story on a warm and stormy afternoon. Many lives have passed since then and many worlds have come and gone too, interrupted and unrealized in the wake of a global COVID-19 pandemic. Spikes in hate crime and rising social justice movements bring additional layers of meaning to this ongoing and unevenly distributed moment of social distancing, quarantine, isolation, and death. Coming together, exchanging breath, and supporting caring connections across different identities and boundaries feel as important and dangerous as ever—outcries from communities cannot be ignored, our lives are dependent on one another.

*Pehea ko piko?* <sup>[1]</sup>

*How is your center, your life-source, your family?*

Competing worldviews have energetically intersected for centuries in Ka Pae 'Āina o Hawai'i, the Hawaiian archipelago, at a piko of Moananuiākea, a navel of the Pacific. During certain moments over the past fifty years, these convergences have generated the necessary conditions for productive Native/non-Native coalitions and collaborations to take place against U.S. Empire and its legacies at work throughout the island chain.

I deploy the terms 'Native' and 'non-Native' in this text, despite the limitations of such a binary and the essentialized positions it enforces, to call attention to a specific form of artist collaboration against the U.S., both its state and federal governments. From where I stand, in Hawai'i, 'Native' encompasses all Kānaka 'Ōiwi, Kānaka Maoli, Native Hawaiians, while 'non-Native' refers to all non-Native Hawaiians living in the archipelago.

This essay is reprinted from *Pacific Century—E Ho'omau no Moananuiākea* (Honolulu: Hawai'i Contemporary, 2022), the catalogue published on the occasion of Hawai'i Triennial 2022. Available from booksellers worldwide; for more information, see [hawaiicontemporary.org/ht22-catalogue](http://hawaiicontemporary.org/ht22-catalogue).

1. 'How is your navel [a facetious greeting avoided by some because of the double meaning]?', Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1957), 302.

2. As Trask has written elsewhere, 'For us, as dispossessed Natives, the simple definition of our Hawaiian people and what comprises our work becomes a daily project of decolonization. The first task is the never-ending reclamation of our indigenous place as Hawaiians; we challenge "American" colonialism through vigilant assertions of our Native origins.' For further explanation see: Haunani-Kay Trask, 'Decolonizing Hawaiian Literature', in *Inside Out: Literature, Cultural Politics, and Identity in the New Pacific*, eds Vilsoni Hereniko and Rob Wilson (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1999), 170.

3. Mahalo e Paul B. Lyons (1958–2018). I am indebted to the work begun in your affective article 'Wayne Kaumualii Westlake, Richard Hamasaki, and the Afterlives of (Native/non-native) collaboration against Empire in Hawai'i' and continued in 'Lunchtime at the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum: Notes on Working Friendships among Natives and Non-Natives and Imperial Anglo-Americanism in Territorial Hawai'i (1900–1959)'. Indeed, as you note, paraphrasing Leela Gandhi's work in *Affective Communities: Anti-Colonial Thought, Fin-de-Siècle Radicalism, and the Politics of Friendship* (2006), collaborative friendships 'between Natives and Settlers in an occupied or colonized place' offer a 'powerful critique of both the colonial state and its pure negation in forms of anti-colonial nationalist thought.'

4. For additional information on this 'convocation of proud tribes' and the 'long, slow, open-ended efficiencies of coalition' see: Mari J. Matsuda, 'Beside My Sister, Facing the Enemy: Legal Theory out of Coalition', *Stanford Law Review*, vol. 43, no. 6 (1991): 1183–92.

This essay began in January 2021 in anticipation of Hawai'i Triennial 2022, *Pacific Century—E Ho'omau no Moananuiākea*, a curatorial collaboration between Melissa Chiu, Miwako Tezuka, and myself, and takes guidance from the vital work of Native Hawaiian leader Haunani-Kay Trask (1949–2021). More specifically, it considers Trask's varied attitudes on Native/non-Native coalitions and relationships, both personal and professional, in order to address the transformative potential of long-term Native/non-Native artist collaborations for long-term goals in Hawai'i and elsewhere.<sup>[2]</sup>

To do so, I reflect on four such collaborations, all participants in HT22: *Seaweeds and Constructions* ('Elepaio Press), an art and literary publication founded in 1976 by Richard Hamasaki, Wayne Kaumualii Westlake (1947–84),<sup>[3]</sup> and Paul L. Oliveira; Nā Maka o ka 'Āina, an independent video production team active since 1982 and comprised of Joan Lander and Puhipau (1937–2016); Piliāmo'o, a photography collaborative formed in 1989 between Mark Hamasaki and Kapulani Landgraf; and 'Ai Pōhaku Press, a publishing house established in 1993 by Maile Meyer and Barbara Pope. Each of these Native/non-Native artist collaborations share a commitment to friendship and to decolonizing and indigenizing efforts; they set out to imagine a new Hawai'i and take action—through literature, film, photography, publishing, and community organizing—to bring about its fruition.

## From short-term coalitions to long-term collaborations

Native Hawaiian nationalist, educator, political scientist, author, and poet Haunani-Kay Trask critiqued the framework of Native/non-Native coalitions in an impassioned speech at the 1990 Women of Color and the Law Conference<sup>[4]</sup> hosted by Stanford Law School in Palo Alto, California. At the request of the conference organizers, Trask focused on her personal experiences with coalition-building. Her oration was subsequently revised and published as 'Coalition-Building between Natives and Non-Natives' in the *Stanford Law Review* (1991).

In the opening paragraph, Trask introduces herself as a 'descendant of the Pi'ilani line of Maui and the Kahakumakaliua line of Kaua'i [...] as an indigenous woman, as an American-subjugated Native, as part of a non-self-governing people—Hawaiians—and as a Polynesian member of the pan-Pacific movement for

5. Haunani-Kay Trask, 'Coalition-Building between Natives and Non-Native', *Stanford Law Review*: 1205.

6. Included in this publication included on p. 219 is a reprint of another essay by Trask, 'Politics in the Pacific Islands: Imperialism and Native Self-Determination', first published in 1990 and later featured in *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i* (Monroe: Common Courage Press, 1993).

7. Trask, 'Coalitions Between Natives and Non-Natives', *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i*, 247.

8. Trask, 'Coalitions Between Natives and Non-Natives', 255.

9. Trask's dedication to Stannard in *Light in the Crevice Never Seen*—"for the blue-eyed devil and all our years"—further attests to her aloha. *Light in the Crevice Never Seen* (Corvallis: CALYX Books, 1994), 62–63. Also printed in *Ho'oma'anoa: An Anthology of Contemporary Hawaiian Literature*, ed. Joseph P. Balaz (Honolulu: Ku Pa'a Incorporated, 1989).

self-determination.' After acknowledging her genealogical and geographical connections, Trask provides a history of Hawai'i and addresses coalition-building in the islands. She writes:

*The politics of coalitions in Hawai'i are very telling. They reveal the separateness of Native peoples' histories from settler histories, and the resulting conflicts that arise when Natives and non-Natives work together. This is especially striking in the area of Native claims, including cultural claims as the first people of the land.*<sup>[5]</sup>

Two years later, Trask included a revision of the article 'Coalitions Between Natives and Non-Natives' in her highly influential, albeit polarizing, book *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i* (1993).<sup>[6]</sup> In the introductory remarks preceding the updated version she notes that the original was accepted for publication 'only after heated and prolonged debate between *Law Review* members who thought the article anti-white and those who thought it reflected the truth of our experience as Hawaiians and as people of color.'<sup>[7]</sup> Later in the text, Trask writes:

*This brings me to some hard-won understanding. For Native peoples controlled by America, coalitions with non-Natives must be temporary and issue-oriented. We need to see such coalitions as immediate means to an immediate end, not as long-term answers to long-term goals.*<sup>[8]</sup>

A year after *From a Native Daughter*, Trask released her first book of poetry, *Light in the Crevice Never Seen* (1994). A testament to her fluidity of thought and nuanced stance on meaningful Native/non-Native dynamics, she included a searing but tender poem to her partner David Stannard. At the time, the two worked together at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Trask a professor in the Hawaiian Studies Program and Stannard a professor in the American Studies Department. Trask's aloha for Stannard shines forth in 'Love Between the Two of Us', with all of its ferocity, vulnerability, and radical inclusivity.<sup>[9]</sup>

I.

because I thought the *haole*  
never admit wrong

without bitterness  
and guilt

without attacking us  
for uncovering them

I didn't believe you

I thought you were star-crossed  
a Shakespearean figure  
of ridiculous posturing

you know, to be or not to be  
the missionary rescue team  
about to save  
a foul, 'primitive' soul

with murder  
in its flesh

II.

we all know *haole* 'love'  
bounded by race  
and power and the heavy  
fist of lust

(missionaries came  
to save  
by taking)

how could I possibly believe?

why should any Hawaiian believe?

but it is a year  
and I am stunned  
by your humility  
your sorrow for my people

your chosen separation  
from that which is *haole*

10. Ibid., 10–11; *Ramrod*, no. 4 (1983): 23–24.

11. Prior to Kū'ē, several of Greevy's photographs appeared in Trask's *From a Native Daughter* and the duo collaborated on a 1981 exhibition organized by the Image Foundation at Ala Moana Center. For further reference see: Haunani-Kay Trask and Ed Greevy, *Kū'ē: Thirty Years of Land Struggles in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 2004).

12. Richard Hamasaki, 'Singing in Their Genealogical Trees: The Emergence of Contemporary Hawaiian Poetry in English' (Master's thesis, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Honolulu 1989), 3.

13. after the poetry reading

for W. S.  
Merwin  
  
Shaking hands  
  
with 'The Poet'  
  
I held my tongue . . .

Wayne Kaumualii Westlake, 'after the poetry reading', in *Poems by Wayne Kaumualii Westlake 1947–1984*, eds Mei-li M. Siy and Richard Hamasaki (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), 236.

14. In 1977 'Elepaio Press began collaborating on publishing projects in addition to *S&C*, including *7 Poems/8 Photographs* (1977), *Mana: 'Hawaii Edition'* (1981), *E Nā Hulu Kūpuna Nā Puna Ola Maoli Nō* (1987), *Poems and Lyrics: Aloha 'Āina Concert* (1988), *From the Spider Bone Diaries: Poems and Songs* (2001), and *Poems by Wayne Kaumualii Westlake 1947–1984* (2009).

15. *S&C* was entirely self-funded apart from no. 3, April 1977, which was partially funded by the Hawai'i State Foundation on Culture and the Arts (itself partially funded by the National Endowment for the Arts).

16. Hamasaki attributes this lack of opportunity to the 'narrowly focused media' of 'insular, colonial educational systems'. In 1980, four years after launching *S&C* as a means of introducing, beyond mere tokenism, a significant body of Hawai'i's literature into the state higher-education system, Hamasaki and Westlake co-founded a course that would become 'Ethnic Literature of Hawai'i' for the Ethnic

I wonder at the resolve  
in your clear blue eye

III.

do you understand  
the nature of this war?<sup>[10]</sup>

A decade after *Light in the Crevice Never Seen*, Trask and friend Ed Greevy—an independent documentarian, activist, and self-described *haole*—historicized intergenerational efforts for increased self-determination in Native/non-Native communities with the publication of *Kū'ē: Thirty Years of Land Struggles in Hawai'i* (2004). The co-authored work includes a series of black and white photographs by Greevy and accompanying captions by Trask. Through image and text, the two show and tell a story of solidarity and resistance against ongoing dispossession in Hawai'i.<sup>[11]</sup> A selection from *Kū'ē* is included in HT22 in recognition of Trask and Greevy's long-term Native/non-Native creative alliance which culminated with the book, inspiring many along the way and to this day.

### Seaweeds and Constructions/'Elepaio Press

Around eight decades after the U.S. military-backed coup against Mō'īwahine Lili'uokalani of the Hawaiian Kingdom, engagements over Hawaiian self-determination and governance reached another turning point. In January 1976, members of the islands-wide grassroots organization now known as the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana (the 'Ohana) slipped past U.S. Coast Guard patrols and reoccupied the island of Kanaloa Kaho'olawe. 'Target Island', as it was popularly known, had been used extensively since the 1940s by the U.S. Navy for live-fire testing and training operations. The 'Ohana was committed to reclaiming the island, protecting it from further devastation, and envisioning a future rooted in cultural and environmental remediation and revitalization. These collaborative actions, imbued with aloha 'āina, galvanized a growing cultural reawakening that reshaped life across the Hawaiian archipelago.

Energized by this cultural resurgence and in response to a lull in small-press publishing in Honolulu, in 1976 writers Richard Hamasaki, Wayne Kaumualii Westlake, and Paul L. Oliveira began collaborating on an art and literary publication titled *Seaweeds*

Studies Program at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Richard Hamasaki, 'Introduction', *Poems by Wayne Kaumualii Westlake 1947–1984*, xxii; 265.

17. Westlake closes his gendered commentary by stating matter-of-factly that his only regret was 'that more Hawaiian-blooded women didn't choose to contribute.' Conscious of the harsh conditions that Native writers faced, especially Native Hawaiian women, the editors eventually invited Dana Naone, one of the contributors to 'Wahine O Hawai'i', to join the editorial group.

18. Wayne Kaumualii Westlake, 'Introduction', *Seaweeds and Constructions*, 'Wahine O Hawaii', no. 4 (December 1977): 4.

19. Inspired by S&C, in 1979 Balaz founded the imprint Iron Bench Press. In 1980 he began self-publishing annual literary magazine *Ramrod*, which ran for eight issues until 1987. For an in-depth discussion of Balaz' poetry see, Hamasaki, 'Singing in Their Genealogical Trees', 107.

*and Constructions* (S&C). Oliveira introduced Hamasaki to Westlake's poetry in 1974<sup>[12]</sup> and Hamasaki met Westlake later that year in Mānoa, O'ahu, at a reception for a visiting poet.<sup>[13]</sup> In 1975 Westlake and Hamasaki started teaching in the Hawai'i Poets in the Schools Program and by April 1976 S&C was in circulation. Self-published by 'Elepaio Press (1976–),<sup>[14]</sup> an imprint imagined by the S&C group and founded with Hamasaki's brother Mark, the journal was distributed in small print runs limited by a shoestring budget,<sup>[15]</sup> with seven issues produced from 1976 to 1984.

S&C collated a wide range of representation—prose, poetry, drawings, prints, photographs, chants, and songs—from a network spanning interconnected communities of family, friends, and friends of friends. Each issue helped alleviate the dearth of publishing opportunities for artists, writers, and arts organizers in Hawai'i, especially those interested in decolonial and indigenous expressions.<sup>[16]</sup> Considering the scene of contestation and resistance throughout the Hawaiian islands and Oceania in the 1970s and 1980s—demonstrations in support of Indigenous recognition, self-determination, and governance; direct action against military occupation; and solidarity marches against mass evictions and for a nuclear-free and independent Pacific—S&C played an additional crucial role in circulating urgently needed counter-narratives from the ground up.

Issues one to three of S&C, published without any accompanying editorial remarks, featured work from a cohort of young-upstart repeat contributors, including Hamasaki, Westlake, Oliveira, Black Dog (a.k.a. Michael Among), Robert Lamansky, and Wing Tek Lum, as well as artwork by Shinichi Takahashi and Wayne Muromoto. By issue four (December 1977), titled 'Wahine O Hawaii', S&C had matured considerably. 'Wahine O Hawaii' included a foreword by Hamasaki, an introduction by Westlake,<sup>[17]</sup> and contributions from '26 women artists of Hawai'i', among them Mari Kubo, Dana Naone, Keiko Butts, Cathy Song, and Kimie Takahashi.<sup>[18]</sup>

The journal's network of frequent contributors grew substantially with issue five (April 1978) to include Ray Jerome Baker, Gary Pak, John Kelly, Dietrich Varez, and Joseph P. Balaz.<sup>[19]</sup> In parallel, the editors became more outspoken on cultural and political issues. This is perhaps best illustrated through the issue's inclusion of 'Kahoolawe: Chants, Legends, Poems, Stories by Children of Maui', compiled by Westlake, and its editorial comments referencing Mō'i David Kalākaua's 'great renaissance of Hawaiian literature, art and music in the midst of growing foreign

20. Richard Hamasaki, 'Editorial', *Seaweeds and Constructions*, no. 5 (April 1978): 2.

21. Richard Hamasaki, 'Foreword', *Seaweeds and Constructions*, 'Anthology Hawaii', no. 6 (1979): 6.

22. Hamasaki, in *Poems by Wayne Kaumualii Westlake*, xxiv.

23. Wendt's seminal essay 'Towards a New Oceania', first published in 1976 and later reprinted in *Seaweeds and Constructions*, 'A Pacific Islands Collection' (1984) and interspersed with illustrations by 'Imaikalani Kalāhele, is included in this publication on p. 199.

24. Hamasaki, correspondence with the author, February 23, 2019.

25. Ibid.

26. *Mana*, 'Hawaii Edition', vol. 6 no. 1 (1981).

Hamasaki as executive producer. As with each of the previous projects, the film gave new life to Westlake's poetic legacy.

27. From 1972 to 1973, while working as a janitor in Waikiki, Westlake wrote a collection of poems, in his words, 'to keep from going insane...'. Written under the pen name Kamalii Kahewai, this collection, published posthumously as 'Down on the Sidewalk in Waikiki' (DOTSIW) in *Poems by Wayne Kaumualii Westlake 1947–1984* (2009), co-edited with Westlake's partner Mei-li M. Siy, has served as an enduring source of inspiration for the Hamasaki brothers, 'Elepaio Press, and many of their collaborators over the years.

Building on the momentum generated by this publication, Hamasaki produced an album reinterpreting DOTSIW through music, *Down on the Sidewalk in Waikiki: Songs from Wayne Kaumualii Westlake's Poems* (2013). The 26 soundtracks that comprise the album feature 'musicians and poets from Aotearoa to Argentina, from the Pacific Northwest to Guam, the east and west coasts of the U.S. to the Midwest, and here in Hawai'i' who gave sound and voice to one of Westlake's poems 'in a genre and style of their choosing'.

In 2014, Hamasaki organized the group exhibition *Down on the Sidewalk in Waikiki: The Westlake Art Invitational* at Gallery 'Iolani, Windward Community College, in Kāne'ohe, O'ahu. Inspired by the book and album, the exhibition, which marked thirty years since Westlake's passing, honored his friend's life and labors. Contributors, myself included, were asked to select a specific poem

intervention upon his native peoples.'<sup>[20]</sup>

Following the release of issue five, the editors abandoned the journal's biannual schedule to restructure their focus and approach. 'In the future', Hamasaki wrote in the foreword to issue six (1979), 'Anthology Hawaii', '*Seaweeds and Constructions* will appear as a series of anthologies. However, due to an unpredictable future, the expense of printing, and the productivity of Hawaii's artists and writers, we will vary each publication and our timetable accordingly.' In addition to freely anthologizing the extensive literary and artistic heritage of Hawai'i, the editors were becoming increasingly dedicated to articulating the 'international consciousness of the art and literary activity' in the Hawaiian archipelago.<sup>[21]</sup> As such, issue six marked a turning point in the journal's voyage and included work by Ian Lind, Haunani-Kay Trask, Mike Moriarty, Kathryn Brundage Takara, Joseph Stanton, and Kimo Zablan, along with its regular contributors.

Initially guided by internationally informed local concerns, by issue seven (1983; 1984), 'A Pacific Islands Collection', S&C found itself immersed in resurgent transregional flows. Expanding on 'Anthology Hawaii', 'A Pacific Islands Collection' anthologized previously published Indigenous authors from Cook Islands, Niue, Western Samoa, Tonga, Fiji, Aotearoa New Zealand, Vanuatu, Solomon Islands, and Papua New Guinea, and juxtaposed their writing with work by Native/non-Native artists from Hawai'i. As Hamasaki notes, it was 'a collaboration that would eventually lead to unprecedented networking between artists of Hawai'i and their counterparts throughout Oceania.'<sup>[22]</sup> Reprints of texts by numerous authors, including Epele Hau'ofa, Donald Kalpokas, Celo Kulagoe, Pio Manoa, Evelyn Patuawa-Nathan, Eti Sa'aga, Subramani, Konai Helu Thaman, Makiuti Tongia, and Albert Wendt,<sup>[23]</sup> were presented alongside artwork by Ed Greevy, Joseph P. Balaz, Dietrich Varez, 'Imaikalani Kalāhele, and others.

'A Pacific Islands Collection' strengthened a larger Oceania-based network of relations. Moreover, it was entirely dependent on the movements of these same communities, stories, and material cultures throughout Moananuiākea. Regarding the impetus of the issue, Hamasaki cited the inspiration of artist and designer Colleen Kimura:

From 1978 to 1980, Colleen Kimura (of Tutuvi, a local clothing company) served in the Peace Corps in Fiji. Upon her return, she gifted me copies of Papua Pocket Poets series (1967–1975) (inspired by City Lights' Pocket Poets series and affiliated with the University of Papua New Guinea), *Mana: A South*



from DOTSIW and produce a new work in direct response to it.

In 2019, expanding on the book, album, and exhibition, the short narrative film *Down on the Sidewalk in Waikiki* was released, directed by Justyn Ah Chong and written by 'Āina Paikai, with Hamasaki as executive producer. As with each of the previous projects, the film gave new life to Westlake's poetic legacy.

28. A year after Westlake's passing and the journal's ending, Hamasaki wrote a poem for his friend and mentor:

When winds bend the tips of  
branches  
and salt air lingers on the tongue,  
with voice never faltering,  
steady in the eye of the sun.

Listen for a while,  
in the night that surrounds all our  
days,  
to he who wears the sea like a malo,  
wrapping the ocean around.

As ulu grows branches for leafy  
shade,  
and fruits for voyages home,  
listen to our ancestors speaking,  
and to those who know ways to heal.

Finish what has been started,  
placing one stone then another,  
to never again be defeated,  
and begin rebuilding shelter.

For he who wears the sea like a malo,  
gathers about him infinite inspiration,  
as we continue a journey within,  
that empties the heart of sorrow.

Richard Hamasaki, 'For He Who Wears the Sea Like a Malo', *Ramrod*, no. 6 (1985): 43. In 2001 Hamasaki's poem for Westlake was reprinted as part of an exhibition catalogue for *Nā Maka Hou: New Visions in Contemporary Hawaiian Art* (2001). The poem also featured prominently in Kapulani Landgraf's installation *Make I Ke Kai Hohonua* (2000), included in the exhibition.

29. James Albertini, Sharol Ku'ualoha Awai, Tomas Belsky, Roberta Bennett, Marie Alohalani Brown, Gene Burke, Daycia-Dee Chun, Richard L. Deleon, Alika Desha, William K. Freitas, Patricia Green, Desmon Haumea, Flora Hookano, Keli loane, Maxine Kahāuelio, Ana Kaho'opi'i, Mahea Kalima, Kaliko Lehua Kanaele, Pualani Kanaka'ole Kanahele, Deborah Lee, Donna Leong, Daniel Li, Carmen Lindsey, Linda Leilani Lindsey-Ka'apuni, Abel Lui, Likookalani Martin, James Nani'ole, Luana Neff, Deena Oana-Hurwitz, Edleen Peleiholani, Renee Price, Hawley Ann Reese, Loretta Ritte,

*Pacific Journal of Language and Literature*, and other small-press publications from the Pacific. I then shared these with Westlake and, as a result, 'A Pacific Islands Collection' was conceived.<sup>[24]</sup>

By way of Kimura, the S&C editors were able to establish connections between small-press publishing initiatives abroad. After receiving Kimura's gift, Hamasaki and Westlake reached out to Marjorie Tuainekore Crocombe, a founding editor of *Mana*, *A South Pacific Journal of Language and Literature*, and to members of the South Pacific Creative Arts Society who were teaching at the University of the South Pacific, Fiji.<sup>[25]</sup> The society gave their full support and encouragement to S&C, leading to the materialization of two collaborative publications, *Mana*, 'Hawaii Edition' (1981),<sup>[26]</sup> and the aforementioned S&C issue, 'A Pacific Islands Collection' (what would be the final issue of S&C).

As S&C was growing, generating literary and artistic currents to nourish an emerging transoceanic counter-public, the publication suffered an insurmountable loss. In 1984 Wayne Kaumualii Westlake died from injuries sustained in a car crash on the island of Hawai'i. Devastated, Hamasaki and Oliveira decided to dissolve the journal. Before dispersing, the two reprinted a second edition of 'A Pacific Islands Collection', dedicated in memory of Westlake.<sup>[27]</sup> Despite its sudden and unexpected ending, *Seaweeds and Constructions* endures as a memorial to friendship—sweat, tears, waves of emotion, salt water to salt water.<sup>[28]</sup>

## Nā Maka o ka 'Āina

On July 18, 2019, thirty-nine peaceful protectors,<sup>[29]</sup> many kūpuna, beloved elders, among them, were arrested by State of Hawai'i law enforcement officers for their ongoing efforts to halt the construction of the Thirty Meter Telescope (TMT) International Observatory and stop further desecration of Maunakea. The group had positioned themselves across Mauna Kea Access Road, blocking the only available route for construction equipment to reach the sacred summit, inspiring the words of self-identified Kanaka Maoli wahine artist, activist, and scholar Jamaica Heolimeleikalani Osorio: 'Control the road, control our destiny'.<sup>[30]</sup>

Maunakea, Mauna Kea, Mauna a Wākea is a place of cosmological significance on Moku o Keawe, Hawai'i Island. The dormant shield volcano, which rises over 4,000 meters above sea level to touch the skies and stretches over 5,000 meters to the depths of the ocean floor, exists as a pathway between

Walter Ritte, Raynette Robinson, Damian Trask, Mililani Trask, John Turalde, Noe Noe Wong-Wilson.

30. See p. 177 of this publication for a timely discussion between Osorio and Matsuda on cultural/political/social/environmental justice in Hawai'i and abroad.

31. This call had been sounding across the archipelago since Lanakila Mangauil successfully interrupted the live-streamed groundbreaking ceremony on October 7, 2014.

32. Dr Manulani Aluli Meyer, in *Mauna Kea—Temple Under Siege*, Nā Maka o ka 'Āina (2005).

33. Dr Pualani Kanaka'ole Kanahale, in *Mauna Kea—Temple Under Siege* (2005).

34. Lander has shared the origins of the name Nā Maka o ka 'Āina: 'The eyes of the land, Puhipau came up with that. Maka'āinana is another version of that. Those are people who tend to the land. So, we figured through the eye of the camera, we would be tending to the issues concerning the land and people of Hawai'i.'

For additional information see, kekahi wahi, 'Artist Conversation with Joan Lander, Drew Kahu'āina Broderick and Taylour Chang', Hawai'i Contemporary Art Summit, 2021, unpublished.

realms, connecting generations, backwards and forwards, across a vast expanse. Since the mid 1960s, this mountain ancestor has supported a growing cluster of international observatories—currently twelve facilities comprise one of the most scientifically productive sites for astronomy worldwide.

As thousands of kia'i arrived, responding to the 2019 kāhea for collective action to protect Mauna a Wākea and stop telescope construction, hundreds of thousands of supporters from near and far also appeared online to stand guard over ancestral slopes.<sup>[31]</sup> A movement surged across tectonic plates and fiber-optic cable—'Kū Kia'i Mauna!'—rising like a mighty wave, garnering local support and global attention. Reignited, the fires of intergenerational resistance fueled what is undoubtedly the largest Kanaka cultural resurgence of the twenty-first century. Pule, marches, mele, sit-downs, oli, roadblocks, hula, and sign-waving in firm support of life-sustaining 'āina are once again common occurrences archipelago wide.

In 2005, nearly a decade and a half before the Kū Kia'i Mauna movement, Nā Maka o ka 'Āina, an independent video production team composed of Joan Lander and Abraham 'Puhipau' Ahmad (1937–2016), released the feature-length documentary *Mauna Kea—Temple Under Siege*. The film, which took six years to produce, centers on many of the concerns that continue to be expressed today around the cultural importance of this mauna, and on the embodied knowledge of many Native Hawaiian leaders, especially wāhine who continue to take a stand.

In the opening minutes of the film, Manulani Aluli Meyer, a community educator specializing in Indigenous epistemologies and pedagogies, offers the following insight: 'Mountains inspire us fundamentally. They are not just a physical element in our 'āina, they are a way of behaving. They teach us how to live.'<sup>[32]</sup>

Later in the film, revered kumu hulu and cultural consultant Pualani Kanaka'ole Kanahale speaks to the meaning of the mauna in its totality: 'What we need to learn about Maunakea', she says, 'is not only at the top of the mountain. We need to include the whole mountain which is from the top all the way down. What the Hawaiians call kuahiwi and kualono and wao akua, wao kanaka, all of these different land areas have different life-systems within them.' 'So, the least we can do', she concludes, 'is give them our aloha and give them the space they need to survive.'<sup>[33]</sup>

Since 1982 Nā Maka o ka 'Āina<sup>[34]</sup> has documented stories of Hawai'i, Oceania, and the Pacific in full support of Native Hawaiian and Indigenous struggles for 'physical, cultural, and

35. Lander, conversation with the author, October 12, 2020.
36. Ibid.
37. kekahi wahi, 'Artist Conversation with Joan Lander', 2021.
38. Ibid.

political survival.'<sup>[35]</sup> Through nearly one-hundred documentary and educational programs aired on public and commercial television stations in the islands and abroad, the team gives voice and face to Hawaiian culture, history and sovereignty, language, and teaching and learning, as well as the spirit of the land and environment.

Lander and Puhipau began collaborating after meeting in a voice-recording session for the *Sand Island Story* (1981), produced by Windward Video.<sup>[36]</sup> At the time, Puhipau was an advocate for a group of residents forcibly evicted from their homes on O'ahu at Sand Island in January 1980, and Lander was working for a Honolulu-based film company called Videololo. In discussing their respective roles, Puhipau used to say, half-jokingly, 'She's the eye [the camera person] and I'm the ears [the audio recordist]'.<sup>[37]</sup>

Brought together by the potential of media in education, in their early days the duo relied heavily on small-format video, a technology instrumental to the democratization of television during the 1970s and 1980s. Representation of historically marginalized communities was increasing, change was on the airwaves and in the classrooms, and individuals, groups, and organizations were claiming the camera for themselves—we will be seen, we will be heard. Nā Maka o ka 'Āina's modest scale of production is reflected in their films released throughout the 1980s. Lander comments affectionately on these initial years:

*The programs that really worked out the best were the ones that there was no funding for. We were just doing it because it needed to be done. And, always, everything worked swimmingly whenever we were doing that kind of production. [...] We were not just some team that came in from outside for a day or two and then left. You know, we lived with people [...] And, we became just a part of the 'ohana.*<sup>[38]</sup>

Nā Maka o ka 'Āina's grassroots approach is evident in numerous films: *A Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific* (1983), which looks at an oceanwide movement towards independence and denuclearization; *Waimānalo Eviction* (1985), a raw portrayal of a group of houseless Native Hawaiians who take a passionate stand for their rights as a community; *Pacific Sound Waves* (1986), a compilation of music from Hawai'i and the Pacific that celebrates love for the land and amplifies cries for justice; *Ho'āla Hou—A Look to the Future* (1987), a program on the re-emergence of an

39. Puhipau, 'To Heal a Nation', in *He Alo Ā He Alo (Face to Face): Hawaiian Voices on Sovereignty*, (Honolulu: American Friends Service Committee, 1993), 156.

40. Dr Kekuni Blaisdell (1925–2016), convener of Ka Ho'okolokolonui Kānaka Maoli, Peoples' International Tribunal Hawai'i, provides context in *The Tribunal* (1994), produced by Nā Maka o ka 'Āina. Dr Blaisdell declares, '1959, at that time, we Kānaka Maoli of Ka Pae 'Āina, were on a list, at the United Nations, of non-self-governing territories eligible for decolonization. What does that mean?'. He continues, 'That means that the United States was supposed to prepare to get out, to go home! That's what it means. So, the United States was required by Article 73 of the United Nations' Charter to prepare us for us to decide on our own political status.' Mililani Trask, Kia 'āina, Ka Lāhui Hawai'i, elaborates further, 'What were the real facts underlying statehood? Who controlled that statehood plebiscite? Who put together the ballot? First, there's the question of whether or not the population freely consented to statehood. Was it an informed consent? Did they know that under international law that was applicable at the time that they had a right to have a choice for independence, for commonwealth, the free associated status? I think clearly, when you take a look at the record, the answer has to be no.'

41. A highly decorated military hero serving in the 442<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Regiment, a segregated unit of Americans of Japanese Ancestry, during World War II and Hawai'i's first member of the U.S. House of Representatives (after statehood in 1959), Inouye became one of, if not the, most powerful political figure in the history of the State of Hawai'i, serving in the U.S. Senate from 1963 until his death in 2012. See: *Daniel K. Inouye: An American Story*, DVD (2004).

Hawaiian worldview, hosted by artist and philosopher Sam Ka'ai; *Kapu Ka'ū* (1988), honoring the lives of the people of Ka'ū, a remote and rugged district on the southern flanks of Mauna Loa, Hawai'i Island; *Nā Wai E Ho'ōla i Nā Iwi—Who Will Save the Bones?* (1988), an emotional take on protecting ancestral remains against resort development in Honokahua, Maui; *Contemporary Hawaiian Artists* (1989), focused on Native Hawaiian artists and their chosen media; and *Pele's Appeal* (1989), illuminating the battle between geothermal development interests and those committed to Pele's elemental forms as expressed at Kīlauea's East Rift Zone on Hawai'i Island.

As Joan Lander and Puhipau developed relationships with organizations and institutions, increased funding meant higher production values, seen in their films of the 1990s: *Auhea 'Oe e Ke Kumu* (1990), a story of teachers and students helping to revive the Hawaiian language through Pūnana Leo, immersion preschools; *Ahupua'a, Fishponds, and Lo'i* (1992), highlighting Hawaiian systems of land use, resource management, and food security; *Kaho'olawe Aloha 'Āina* (1992), a call for care of Kaho'olawe, a culturally, politically, and militarily significant island in the Hawaiian archipelago; *Act of War—The Overthrow of the Hawaiian Nation* (1993), an historical documentary on the events of 1893 when armed U.S. troops from the *U.S.S. Boston* landed at Honolulu in support of a treasonous *coup d'état* against the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Queen Lili'uokalani; *The Tribunal* (1994), edited from twelve days of proceedings in 1993 when Ka Ho'okolokolonui Kānaka Maoli, Peoples' International Tribunal Hawai'i, tried the United States and the State of Hawai'i for crimes against Native Hawaiians; *Stolen Waters* (1996), a look at taro farmers' and long-time residents' efforts to reclaim stream waters of Waiāhole that were appropriated by sugar plantations in the early twentieth century; and *Mākua—To Heal the Nation* (1996), chronicling displaced families' fight for a place of refuge on the western tip of the island of O'ahu devastated by the U.S. Army.

For over three decades, Nā Maka o ka 'Āina actively and deftly resisted cultural erasure by increasing access to information and establishing a record of events—all in support of a more just future for the people of Hawai'i. Puhipau embraces this process of revitalization clearly in the short text 'To Heal a Nation', published in *He Alo Ā He Alo (Face to Face): Hawaiian Voices on Sovereignty* (1993):

*Time heals many things and situations. If given the time,*

42. In 1956 U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower signed into law the National Interstate and Defense Highways Act. The era of the Interstate had begun. Championed by the proud patron of America's military-industrial complex, this network of roadways was proposed as a means of rapidly transporting troops, munitions, and supplies across large areas of the country. It was also meant to prevent economic recession by keeping the nation's industries operating smoothly and steadily. The creation of a large federal trust fund designated exclusively for highway construction meant that roadways built by individual states to federal specifications and connected to the larger Interstate System would receive ninety per cent of their funding from the federal government. Over sixty years later, this concrete network spans over thousands of paved kilometers, crisscrossing Indigenous lands and waters.

43. Dennis Kawaharada, 'Introduction', in *Ē Luku Wale Ē: Devastation Upon Devastation*, (Honolulu: 'Āi Pōhaku Press with the Native Hawaiian Education Association, 2015), xiii.

*most things and situations will heal themselves.*

*Time is eternal, change is constant. That is, in a period of time, changes constantly take place.*

*Chaos is order and time proves that. Chaos is constant, order is constant, change is constant and time is constant.*

'Because this is so', Puhipau continues, 'we will again experience Hawaiian sovereignty and independence.'<sup>[39]</sup> Through community oriented documentary filmmaking, Nā Maka o Ka 'Āina gave time to the situation of Hawai'i—marked its constant change, created order from chaos, and advanced Hawaiian sovereignty and independence.

### Piliāmo'o

In 1963, in the wake of the Admission Act of 1959,<sup>[40]</sup> Hawai'i Governor John A. Burns and Hawai'i U.S. Senator Daniel K. Inouye<sup>[41]</sup> conceived of Interstate H-3. First presented to motorists of O'ahu as a solution to the island's traffic problem, H-3 proponents claimed the highway would speed up travel and reduce congestion on other major roadways. The project's underlying purpose was to establish a strategic link between two U.S. military bases on O'ahu:<sup>[42]</sup> what are now known as Joint Base Pearl Harbor-Hickam at Pu'uloa, Wai Momi, on the leeward side of the Ko'olau Range; and Kāne'ōhe Marine Corps Base at Mōkapu Peninsula, on the island's windward side.<sup>[43]</sup>

Construction of the H-3 commenced in 1972 on both sides of the Ko'olau before being temporarily stopped by legal challenges brought against the state for violating the National Environmental Policy Act's requirement for all federally sponsored projects initiated after 1970 to issue an Environmental Impact Statement. Leading this resistance, especially in the early years, was longtime activist, philanthropist, and patron of the arts Frances 'Patches' Damon Holt (1918–2003). Together, Damon Holt and her husband John Dominis Holt IV (1919–93), a writer, publisher, and genealogist, spoke out in support of preserving Native Hawaiian cultural heritage, resources, and environment threatened by the freeway's development.

The H-3 had originally been planned to cut through Moanalua Valley on the leeward side of the Ko'olau Range. In 1970,

44. In 1987 the HDOT awarded a pair of non-bid, open-ended contracts to the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum for archaeological services, in an attempt to address the grievances of various communities—cultural and environmental—while fulfilling federal requirements. Archaeological assessment advanced alongside the H-3's path. The government contract also stipulated that all preliminary findings were to be kept confidential and that the state would make this information available to the public only after the highway's completion. The final report was not publicly released until 2007, nearly a decade after the H-3 opened.

45. As told to me on several occasions by Hamasaki and Landgraf, the story goes something like this: in the photolab at Windward Community College' while developing negatives the two noticed that they had both photographed the same subject. After recognizing their dedication to documenting the valleys' transformations, Landgraf suggested that they take on the name Piliāmo'o and work together.

46. Richard Hamasaki, 'Foreword', in *Ē Luku Wale Ē: Devastation Upon Devastation*, ix–x.

47. Excerpt from an artist statement by Piliāmo'o shared with the author on December 3, 2017.

48. In 1986, before the burial of Kukuiokāne, Mayor of Honolulu Frank Fasi, an opponent of the H-3, staged a mock funeral for the Interstate project on the lawn of City Hall. According to one account, Fasi, dressed in a clerical collar and standing over a coffin and tombstone that read 'H-3 R.I.P.', pronounced the freeway officially dead in front of a crowd of reporters, stating, 'We are gathered here today to commit the remains of H-3.' In contrast to the claims of Fasi's political spectacle, some recall this a funeral 'not for H-3's death but its rebirth', as it gave fuel to both Gov. Ariyoshi and Sen. Inouye's dying fire. Floyd K. Takeuchi, 'Fasi: I come to bury H-3, not praise it', *The Honolulu Advertiser*, (24 July 1986): A12.

in anticipation of the Interstate, Damon Holt strategically formed the Moanalua Gardens Foundation, pre-emptively preserving the valley—land her family had acquired and cared for—as a place of cultural and environmental significance. A year later, Moanalua Gardens Foundation, Ha'ikū Village Community Association, Life of the Land, and Moanalua Valley Community Association came together as the Stop H-3 Association.

After extensive litigation, the coalition's efforts paid off when the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit ruled that under federal law Moanalua was entitled to protection due to the presence of historical sites of cultural significance. Unfortunately, Stop H-3's 1976 court victory led to a more destructive path of construction than the highway's initially proposed alignment. Four years later, the Hawai'i Department of Transportation (HDOT) approved a rerouting of the H-3 to avoid Moanalua Valley. The infrastructure project would slice through the next available valley instead, doubling the total estimated cost. The approximately 24-kilometer scenic defense highway, first budgeted at \$250 million, eventually received \$1.2 billion in federal funds. In order for the H-3 to cut through the rural valleys of North Hālawā and Ha'ikū, it was exempted, without precedent, from environmental law (Section 4(f) of the Department of Transportation Act of 1966) by a rider on a 1986 appropriations bill.<sup>[44]</sup> Pule, demonstrations, oli, marches, sit-ins, and campaigning would follow.

Beginning in March of 1989, photographers Mark Hamasaki and Kapulani Landgraf collaboratively documented the terminal stages of construction of the H-3.<sup>[45]</sup> While crews accessed worksites in the cabs of heavy duty machinery that included trucks, dozers, scrapers, loaders, excavators, tractors, rollers, and backhoes, Hamasaki and Landgraf arrived on foot, carrying their equipment—tripods, large-format cameras, sheet film, and light meters—on their backs. As the two worked to take accurate meter readings, focus their lenses, and expose film to light; state-contracted workers chopped, stripped, drilled, excavated, blasted, relocated, compacted, and leveled the valleys around them.<sup>[46]</sup>

Landgraf and Hamasaki photographed the project under the name Piliāmo'o until November 1992 when they were temporarily barred from accessing the site by state representatives from the HDOT. In spite of this, they returned, continuing their work into the late 1990s. Over the course of eight years, as ridgelines were flattened, green hāpu'u ferns (*Cibotium menziesii*) severed, and exposed earth ran red, Piliāmo'o constructed a kū'ē-archive, a

49. The photographic essay *Ē Luku Wale Ē: Devastation Upon Devastation* makes visible many historical sites of cultural significance that were never officially acknowledged by the state. In many instances, Piliāmo'o's work—given the moratorium limiting access to all of the artifacts and samples unearthed and collected across over a hundred and fifty sites during the H-3's construction—serves as the only publicly available material evidence of these cultural sites, produced during the brief moment between their rediscovery and subsequent destruction.

50. In 1961 Thurston Twigg-Smith, a fifth-generation settler descended from some of the first American missionaries to Hawai'i and grandson of Lorrin A. Thurston, a Committee of Safety founder and architect of the illegal U.S. military-backed overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom, took over the now-defunct *Honolulu Advertiser*. It is significant that Twigg-Smith's grandfather also founded the Hawaiian Bureau of Information which 'acted as a kind of media arm', as Dean Itsuji Saranillio has written, 'of the campaign aiming to shape Hawai'i's image through advertising as a means to facilitate both tourism and white settler colonialism.'

Dean Itsuji Saranillio, *Unsustainable Empire: Alternative Histories of Hawai'i Statehood* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2018), 32–33. Shortly after inheriting the company, Twigg-Smith converted the central lobby of the headquarters into a venue for the display of contemporary art. This venue would become The Honolulu Advertiser Gallery. Given the issues at stake in Piliāmo'o's work, it is particularly important to note that in 1962, under the leadership of Thurston Twigg-Smith and George Chaplin (longtime editor of *The Honolulu Advertiser* and former editor of the *Pacific Stars and Stripes*), the newspaper publicly endorsed U.S. Senate candidate Daniel K. Inouye. As mentioned above, Inouye, a decorated military hero and the son of Asian settlers in Hawai'i, is often credited as ensuring the H-3's successful completion.

counter-archive, of thousands of photographic documents.

From this kū'ē-archive, Piliāmo'o composed several photographic essays, including *Before Luluku, After Ha'ikū* (1989–90), *He au Ko'olau lā* (1989–91), and *Ē Luku Wale Ē: Devastation Upon Devastation* (1989–97). Today, their work provides historical counter-evidence to official stories and statements issued by spokespersons for the State of Hawai'i during the H-3's creation. It refutes those official stories and statements which denied the existence of cultural and historical sites of significance:

*Photographs are about the past. They capture our emotional response to the visual world with such clarity and reality that, to us, they become the perfect illustrative record. The images in these photographs cannot be recaptured; the landscape is so altered. Natural features and cultural sites have been buried or destroyed.*<sup>[47]</sup>

By photographing the H-3's construction along the major 'ili of Kāne'ohē—Kalāheo, Halekou, Ho'oleina'iwa, Kū'ou, Kahuali, Luluku, Punalu'u Mauka, Kea'ahala, Pailimukele, and Ha'ikū—and the ahupua'a of Hālawā, Piliāmo'o documented the accompanying destruction of wahi pana, storied places, and the likely irreversible disruption of environmental resources that lay in the highway's planned path. These included but were not limited to the desecration of sacred spaces such as Kukuiokāne heiau, which currently rests beneath the Kāne'ohē Interchange,<sup>[48]</sup> the severing of past, present, and future means of agricultural production, an example being Luluku's extensive complex of lo'i, irrigated terraces; the diverting of numerous stream flows; and the deforestation and flattening of fragile habitats. The artists' photographic considerations of absence and erasure foreground the precarious persistence of Hawai'i's heritage, resources, and environments.<sup>[49]</sup>

To counter the public opening of the H-3 in December of 1997, James 'Jay' Jensen (1950–2017)—then chief curator of the now permanently closed Contemporary Museum in Makiki Heights, Honolulu—organized an exhibition of Piliāmo'o's efforts. Also titled *Ē Luku Wale Ē: Devastation Upon Devastation*, the photographs were shown at the former Honolulu Advertiser Gallery, located within the corporate headquarters of *The Honolulu Advertiser*, then the largest daily newspaper in Hawai'i.<sup>[50]</sup> To open the exhibition, educators Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa and Keali'i Gora spontaneously chanted a kanikau, a dirge, of four paukū, verses,

51. Two years later the paukū appeared in print. For further context see, Kapulani Landgraf, 'Ē Luku Wale Ē: Devastation upon Devastation', 'ōiwi: a native hawaiian journal, (1998): 137–42.

52. Hamasaki, 'Foreword', *Ē Luku Wale Ē: Devastation Upon Devastation*, xi.

53. Landgraf, 'Ē Luku Wale Ē: Devastation upon Devastation', 'ōiwi: 138.

written in 'ōlelo Hawai'i by Landgraf.<sup>[51]</sup>

More than eighty framed selenium-toned silver-gelatin prints were displayed on white walls with a common bottom line, thus formally legible to a 'Western gaze'. However, the titles of individual works were, for most viewers, inaccessible: appearing in pencil, handwritten directly on the mat of each photograph in 'ōlelo Hawai'i and without English translation. Privileging 'ōlelo Hawai'i was a crucial aspect of Piliāmo'o's protocols for making and displaying their work, and for transmitting its layered messages. The exhibition offered multiple ways of accessing and extracting meaning; each requiring different cultural knowledge, responsibility, accountability, and care.

Almost two decades after the exhibition, 'Ai Pōhaku Press in association with the Native Hawaiian Education Association published *Ē Luku Wale Ē: Devastation upon Devastation* (2015). The book presented a selection of over 120 photographs by Piliāmo'o, introduced through texts by Richard Hamasaki and Dennis Kawaharada, accompanied by an expanded eleven paukū version of Landgraf's kanikau (in 'ōlelo Hawai'i and English), and supplemented with a collection of primary source materials from *The Honolulu Advertiser*, *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, and other newspapers.

Taken together, the iterative project *Ē Luku Wale Ē*, consisting of a kū'ē-archive, photographic essay, kanikau, exhibitions, and a publication, ritualizes the unfinished processes of mourning and repair. What was once disturbed cannot be restored. As vehicles rumble through North Hālawā and Ha'ikū, Piliāmo'o's lament continues to resonate—lifted up by winds, above the valleys, poured down by rains, into the bays—ensuring that what has come to pass in the wake of construction will not be forgotten.<sup>[52]</sup>

*Ho'i mai lā kini o ke akua noho i kama;  
hālāwai nā 'uhane i ka ua Ko'olau  
ua mihi aku ua mihi mai.  
E kani'uhū ana puni ke kuahiwi,  
hiki lā, puka lā, 'oni lā, loa lā, kela lā.  
Kelakela pali kahakea o Ko'olau,  
kū i luna i ka luku wale.  
Pa'a 'ole i ke 'ālana moku.  
Kau 'eli'eli kau mai, kau 'eli'eli ē.*

*The gods return, multitudinous, to dwell in the cliffs;  
in the rains of Ko'olau, the spirits gather,  
grieving everywhere, remorseful throughout.  
Echoing through the mountains,  
it comes, it rises, it moves on, it broadens, it extends forth.  
Lofty are the inaccessible cliffs of Ko'olau,  
rising high in the slaughter.  
Ceaseless is the devastation of the island.  
Digging, turning over, seeking the past.<sup>[53]</sup>*



54. For further detail see: *KŪ'Ē Petitions: A Mau Loa Aku Nō*, (Honolulu: Kaiāo Press, 2020); Noenoe K. Silva, 'The Antiannexation Struggle', in *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*, (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2004), 123–63; and 'Kanaka Maoli Resistance to Annexation', *ʻōiwi: a native hawaiian journal*: 59–64.

55. In early March of 2021, the Hawai'i State Teachers Association, as approved by its Board of Directors, supported a call to change the name of McKinley High School and remove the statue erected in his honor from the school grounds. Ultimately the House Education Committee deferred action on House Resolution 148 and House Concurrent Resolution 179 after testimony from both sides. This recent incident is a reminder of the work that remains to be done.

56. 'Joint resolution to acknowledge the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the January 17, 1893 overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii, and to offer an apology to Native Hawaiians on behalf of the United States for the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii', U.S. Public Law 103–150 (107 Stat. 1510).

## 'Ai Pōhaku Press

In the immediate aftermath of the American-backed coup against the Hawaiian Kingdom on January 17, 1893, mele lāhui, nationalist songs, were composed in steadfast support of Mō'iwahine Lili'uokalani and the nation. These songs of rebellion embodied a collective statement of affirmation and refusal—affirming the sovereignty of Hawai'i and refusing to pledge allegiance to the self-appointed Provisional Government.

Nearly four years later, in December 1897, choruses of refusal reached a crescendo when Hui Aloha 'Āina, composed of two Hawaiian nationalist organizations (a men's branch and a women's branch), successfully petitioned to oppose the annexation treaty pending ratification by the U.S. Congress. However, the resulting victory of the Kū'ē Anti-Annexation Petitions was short-lived.<sup>[54]</sup>

Before the turn of the twentieth century, U.S. Congress moved to annex the islands by joint resolution. While a treaty must be ratified by a two-thirds supermajority of the Senate, a resolution requires a simple majority vote. In July of 1898, at the tail end of the Spanish-American War, Hawai'i was forcibly acquired by order of U.S. President William McKinley<sup>[55]</sup> and the Kingdom's territory occupied for its strategic geopolitical position under the Newlands Resolution.

In 1993, fifteen thousand Native Hawaiians marched to Iolani Palace, 'E 'onipa'a kākou', to commemorate the one-hundredth anniversary of the events of 1893. Ten months later, U.S. President Bill Clinton signed an Apology Resolution which admitted to the 'active participation of agents and citizens of the United States and further acknowledges that the Native Hawaiian people never directly relinquished to the United States their claims to their inherent sovereignty as a people over their national lands, either through the Kingdom of Hawaii or through a plebiscite or referendum.'<sup>[56]</sup>

'Ai Pōhaku Press was established this same year by Maile Meyer—my mother, and founder of Native Books and Nā Mea Hawai'i—and book designer Barbara Pope and editor Nelson Foster (Foster left the islands in the mid 1990s). The name of the press is a direct reference to 'Kaulana Nā Pua' (Famous are the Flowers), a patriotic song composed in 1893 by Ellen Kekoahiwaiakalani Wright Prendergast.

Lady-in-waiting to Lili'uokalani, Prendergast was moved to write the rebellion song at the request of former Royal

57. For further information on the song, see, Eleanor C. Nordyke and Martha H. Noyes, 'Kaulana Nā Pua', *The Hawaiian Journal of History*, 27 (1993): 27–42; and Amy Ku'uleialoha Stillman, 'Aloha Aina: New Perspectives on "Kaulana Nā Pua"', *Hawaiian Journal of History*, 33 (1999): 83–99.

Hawaiian Band members, most of whom were on strike, having refused to sign oaths of allegiance to the Provisional Government. Prendergast wrote 'Kaulana Nā Pua' on February 10, 1893, less than a month after the coup that unseated her close friend and Queen. As author Eleanor C. Nordyke and artist Martha H. Noyes note, 'Kaulana Nā Pua' was known by other names as well, including 'He Lei No Ka Po'e Aloha 'Āina' (A symbol of affection for the people who love their land), 'Mele Aloha 'Āina' (Patriot's Song), and 'Mele 'Ai Pōhaku' (Stone-eating Song).<sup>[57]</sup> Reproduced below are Prendergast's five verses for sovereignty:

<i>Kaulana na pua a Hawaii Kupaa mahope o ka Aina Hiki mai ka Elelea a ka lokoino Palapala anunu me ka pakaha</i>	<i>Famous are the children of Hawaii Ever loyal to the land When the evil-hearted messenger comes With his greedy document of extortion</i>
<i>Pane mai o Hawaii Nui a Keawe Kokua na Hono a Piilani Kakoo mai Kauai o Mano Pau pu me ke one o Kakuhihewa</i>	<i>Hawaii, land of Keawe answers Piilani bays help Mano's of Kauai lends support And so do the sands of Kakuhihewa</i>
<i>Aole e kau kuu pulima Maluna o ka pepa o ka Enemi Hoohui Aina kuai hewa I ka pono Kiwila a o ke kanaka</i>	<i>No one will fix a signature To the paper of the enemy With its sin of annexation And sale of native civil rights</i>
<i>Aole makou e minamina I ka puu kala a ke Aupuni Ua ola makou i ka pohaku I ka ai kamahao o ka Aina</i>	<i>We do not value The government's sums of money We are satisfied with the stones Astonishing food of the land</i>
<i>Mahope makou o ka Moi A kau hou ia i ke Kalaunu Haina ia mai ana ka puana No ka poe i Aloha i ka Aina</i>	<i>We back Liliuokalani She will be crowned again Tell the story Of the people who love their land<sup>[58]</sup></i>

In the spirit of Prendergast's biting lyrics and poetic lines of resistance, 'Ai Pōhaku Press takes its name from her mele lāhui and honors the children of Hawai'i by contributing to longstanding efforts to re-establish Native Hawaiian rights. Meyer and Pope put it plainly, 'We'd rather eat stones, that was always our orientation, we're not going anywhere, we know where we stand, this press is how we affirm our connectivity to this place.'<sup>[59]</sup>

58. First printed without an attribution of authorship under the title 'He Inoa No Na Keiki O ka Bana Lahui' in the Hawaiian-language newspaper *Hawaii Holomua* on March 25, 1893. The version of the song that appears here was published as 'He Lei No Ka Poe Aloha Aina' under the pen name 'Miss Kekoaoahiwaikalani' from 'Puahaulani Hale' in *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui* on May 12, 1893. In keeping with its original format, it has been reprinted here without diacritical marks. John E. Bush, *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui*, May 12, 1893, 3.

59. 'Ai Pōhaku Press, conversation with the author, January 28, 2021.

One of Ai Pohaku's first titles, *Kaho'olawe: Nā Leo o Kanaloa*, was released in 1995; five years after U.S. President Bush Sr. issued a memorandum to discontinue use of Kaho'olawe, the smallest of the eight main Hawaiian islands and a manifestation of Kanaloa, as a weapons bombing range. *Nā Leo o Kanaloa* gathers together extensive mele, oli, and mo'olelo in 'ōlelo Hawai'i with English-language translation. These textual resources, which give voice to Kaho'olawe, are presented alongside photographs of the island taken by four allies—Wayne Levin, Rowland B. Reeve, Franco Salmoiraghi, and David Ulrich—throughout the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. The songs, chants, stories, and photographs are contextualized through a foreword by Noa Emmett Aluli, one of the original members of the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana, the organization responsible for filing a civil suit in U.S. Federal District Court—Aluli et al. v. Brown (Civ. No. 76-0380)—which eventually resulted in the halting of all live-fire exercises.

In the years following *Kaho'olawe: Nā Leo o Kanaloa*, 'Ai Pōhaku Press carried on the cause of aloha 'āina, publishing a string of socially engaged and culturally responsive titles, including: *Nā Mamo: Hawaiian People Today* (1996), biographies of ten contemporary Hawaiians by writer and media educator Jay Hartwell, with photographs by Kapulani Landgraf; *Ho'oulu: Our Time of Becoming* (2003), collected early writings by Indigenous epistemologist Manulani Aluli Meyer; *Nā Wahi Kapu o Maui* (2003), black and white photographs with accompanying poetic texts in Hawaiian and English documenting sacred places of Maui by Kapulani Landgraf; *Ē Luku Wale Ē: Devastation upon Devastation* (2015), photographs by Piliāmo'o of the construction of Interstate H-3, with a kanikau by Landgraf, foreword by Richard Hamasaki, and introduction by Dennis Kawaharada; a reprinting of *Māori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary* (2015), which positions Maori, Tahitian, Samoan, Tongan, Hawaiian, Raratongan, Marquesan, Magarevan, Paumotan, and Morimori languages in relation to one another, as collected by Edward Robert Tregear in 1891; and *Life of the Land: Articulations of a Native Writer* (2017), a book of poems, essays, letters, and reports written by poet, activist, and organizer Dana Naone Hall.

Working closely with artists, writers, linguists, philosophers, cultural practitioners, educators, organizations, and communities, 'Ai Pōhaku demonstrates the importance of sustaining long-term relationships. Since its humble beginnings—two friends sharing a desk in a living-room office of a small house

60. bell hooks, 'marginality as site of resistance', in *Out there: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures*, eds Russell Ferguson, Martha Gever, Trinh T. Minh-ha, Cornel West (New York: New Museum of Contemporary Art and Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1990), 341. hooks' essay is included in this publication on p. 215.

61. For Haunani, Ed, Richard, Wayne, Paul, Joan, Puhipau, Mark, Kapu, Maile, Barbara—Aloha mai no, aloha aku.

on Aupuni Street in Kapālama, Kona, O'ahu—'Ai Pōhaku Press has supported publication projects rooted in Hawaiian worldviews and resistance against settler-colonial paradigms.

## E ho'omau kākou

One-hundred-and-twenty-eight years after Mele 'Ai Pōhaku was first sung throughout Ka Pae 'Āina o Hawai'i, many are still guided by its sentiments. As we go on eating stones, with joy and defiance, I deliberately write on an edge of continental discourses. To inhabit the margins is to embrace radical possibilities: these 'space[s] of refusal, where one can say no to the colonizer, no to the downpressor', are vital, for they nourish a capacity to resist.<sup>[60]</sup>

This tribute centers on artists—poets, writers, filmmakers, photographers, publishers, educators, organizers, activists—who have said, 'No'. It is dedicated to those who have refused settler-colonial desires, and who have resisted legacies of Imperialism in the Pacific in both overlapping and diverging ways for nearly half a century. The decision to call attention to historical and present-day Native/non-Native artist collaborations against U.S. Empire within the context of the inaugural Hawai'i Triennial 2022, a new addition to an ever-expanding global circuit of biennials and triennials, is intentional. In saying, 'Yes', and agreeing to participate in this international art event, this tireless intergenerational group of artists has taken advantage of an opportunity for further intervention. Their participation attests to the ways in which temporary and issue-oriented actions can be seen as part of long-term answers to long-term goals.

Haunani-Kay Trask, Ed Greevy, *Seaweeds and Constructions* (Richard Hamasaki, Wayne Kaumualii Westlake, and Paul L. Oliveira), Nā Maka o ka 'Āina (Joan Lander and Puhipau), Piliāmo'o (Mark Hamasaki and Kapulani Landgraf), and 'Ai Pōhaku Press (Maile Meyer and Barbara Pope) will likely be lesser known, perhaps even unknown, to many triennial goers—residents and visitors alike. And yet the work of these friends and their extended networks has helped shape one of the most important recent stories of artistic resistance, collaboration, and difference in Hawai'i. As we honor this group's intersectional efforts, may we continue to acknowledge our mutual interdependence and collaborate with care, across fluid identities and boundaries, in support of lands, seas, and skies; ancestors in their many forms and flows—E ho'omau no Moananuiākea!<sup>[61]</sup>

# Ka Hale Hō'ike'ike Hana No'eau o ka Moku'āina 'o Hawai'i

Waiho like ke Alanui Hōkele me ke Alanui Beretānia, a ua kapa 'ia pēlā ma muli o nā hōkele li'ili'i like 'ole a me nā hale noho ho'omaha e kū ana ma kēlā me kēia kapa o ke alanui i nā makahiki 1850. Ua 'ike nō nā kānaka puni inu lama i kahi e huli ai ma ke Alanui Hōkele. Ma hope o ka paio nui 'ana ma ke kūkākūkā 'ana o ka 'Aha'ōlelo, ua ho'oholo ke Kuhina Kālai'āina o ke aupuni e kūkulu i kekahi hōkele i ho'omalua 'ia e ke aupuni, he \$120,000 ka lilo, ma ke kihi alanui o Likeke me Hōkele. Ua kapa 'ia ua hōkele lā 'o ka Hawaiian Hotel a ua hemo kona 'īpuka i ka makahiki 1871. Ua nanea nā malihini noho i ka ho'okipa maika'i 'ana ma lalo o nā limahana kama'āina o ia hōkele.

Ua noho ka wahine Beretānia, 'o Isabella Bird, ma ka Hawaiian Hotel, he huaka'i 'o ia ma nā 'āina like 'ole o ka honua, a pa'i aku nei 'o ia i kona mo'olelo huaka'i honua, a kākau 'o ia penei, 'he hōkele maika'i loa nō ia no ka lehulehu ma Honolulu, ua nui kona hoihoi no nā 'ano malihini like 'ole e noho lā i laila: nā luina 'Enelani me 'Amelika nō, nā 'ohana 'ona hui mahi 'ai, nā kāpena moku 'ō koholā, a me ka po'e 'imi olakino maika'i no Kaleponi nō.' Ma loko o ka mo'olelo o Bird, ua li'ili'i kona ha'i 'ana no nā kama'āina i noho a kipa i ua hōkele lā ma ia wā, a 'ōlelo 'o ia ma muli o ka mana'o o ke aupuni e hilina'i nui ma luna o ka 'oihana malihini huaka'i, 'pēlā e hiki mai ai nā malihini a me kā lākou kālā i ke aupuni mō'i nei.' Ua pau ka Hawaiian Hotel i ka 1917 a hemo maila kekahi hōkele nui hou a'e, 'o ka Royal Hawaiian Hotel, ma Waikīkī, a 'o ia ka 'elua o ka hōkele kahiko loa e kū mai nei i Honolulu nei.

I ka 1928, ua wāwahi 'ia ka hale Hawaiian Hotel mua a kūkulu 'ia e kekahi hale hou ma ke 'ano kaila Spanish Mission ma kona wahi a kapa 'ia 'o ka Army and Navy Y.M.C.A. 'O ia kekahi o nā hōkele i nui loa ai nā hana ma O'ahu, a ua mālama 'ia nā hana ma ia hale no nā koa pū'ali koa, a mālama 'ia nā huaka'i māka'ika'i nō kekahi ā puni ka mokupuni, mālama 'ia nō ho'i nā pa'ani like 'ole me nā hālāwai pule nō, akā, kōkua 'ia nō ho'i nā hana puni kolohe kekahi ma ka 'ao'ao 'Ewa o ke Alanui Hōkele.

Ua kū'ai ka Moku'āina 'o Hawai'i i ka hale Army and Navy Y.M.C.A. i ka makahiki 2001 me ka mana'o e ho'ololi nui i kona 'ano he hale hō'ike'ike hana no'eau hou. I ka 1967, 'elua makahiki ma hope o ka ho'okumu 'ana o ka 'aha'ōlelo o ka moku'āina i ka 'oihana Hawai'i State Foundation on Culture and the Arts, ua kū'ai ka moku'āina i ka mea hana no'eau mua loa no ka waihona Art in Public Places. Ua ho'omau ke aupuni i ka ho'āhu i nā hana no'eau i hana 'ia e nā kupa Hawai'i a me nā kama'āina nō o ka 'āina, akā, 'a'ohe wahi e hō'ike'ike ai i ua mau mea lā ā pa'a ihola ka Hale Hō'ike'ike Hana No'eau o ka Moku'āina 'o Hawai'i i hemo i ka 2002 no ka hō'ike'ike i nā mea e mahalo ai nā kama'āina.

He mana'o hou ka 'ume 'ana i nā kama'āina mai ka wā mai i ho'omaka ai e hana pūnana nā Manu o Kū (Gygis alba), he manu 'ōiwi o ka 'āina, ma kekahi lānai o ka hale. I ka makahiki 1961, ua noho pūnana ho'okahi pa'a Manu o Kū ma Honolulu nei a ua nui nō ka po'e i mana'o he kokohe nō a pau loa ia manu i ka nalowale. I kēia manawa, mai ia pa'a manu mua loa mai, ua ulu ka nui o ia manu ā piha he 2,000 a 'oi, a 'ike 'ia nā Manu o Kū he nui nō i ke kīkaha me ka māpu ma 'ō ma 'ane'i o ke kaona. Pēlā e lana ai ka mana'o e 'olu'olu ai ka mana'o o nā kama'āina e kipa i ka hale hō'ike'ike a me kēia kū'ono o Honolulu. Sarah Kuaiwa

# Hawai'i State Art Museum

Hotel Street runs parallel to Beretania Street and was aptly named for the small hotels, boarding houses, and inns that began lining the street in the 1850s. Travelers in search of spirits and entertainment knew to look on Hotel. After much debate, the Hawaiian Kingdom government's minister of interior decided to proceed with a plan to build a government-run hotel at the cost of \$120,000 on the corner of Richards and Hotel Streets. Named the Hawaiian Hotel and opened in 1871, guests enjoyed the hospitality and care taken by the establishment's local staff.

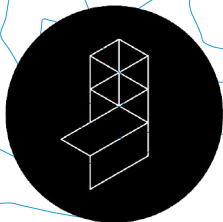
British explorer Isabella Bird was a guest of the Hawaiian Hotel and published a review in her travelogue, writing, it is a 'great public resort of Honolulu made lively by the other visitors staying there: English and American naval men, planters' families, whaling captains, health seekers from California.' In her commentary, Bird makes little reference to locals living and visiting the hotel at the time, noting that the government plan to lean heavily into tourism would 'bring strangers and their money into the kingdom'. The Hawaiian Hotel closed in 1917 and a grander version, the Royal Hawaiian Hotel, opened in Waikiki, now the second-oldest surviving hotel in Honolulu.

In 1928 the original Hawaiian Hotel was torn down and replaced with a new Spanish Mission-style building called the Army and Navy Y.M.C.A. One of the most consistently busy hotels on O'ahu, programs at the building were geared specifically toward visiting servicemen and included sightseeing tours around the island, organized athletics, and religious services, but they also provided easy access to the illicit activities offered on the 'Ewa-side of Hotel Street.

The State of Hawai'i acquired the Army and Navy Y.M.C.A building in 2001, and the intention of the space changed significantly with plans for a new art museum. In 1967, two years after the state legislature established the Hawai'i State Foundation on Culture and the Arts, the state purchased its first work of art for the Art in Public Places Collection. Despite steadily amassing work made by Hawaiian artists and artists of Hawai'i, a dedicated space to exhibit acquisitions didn't exist until the Hawai'i State Art Museum fulfilled this need when it opened in 2002, finally displaying works from a growing collection for locals to enjoy.

The shift in welcoming kama'aina, residents of Hawai'i, perhaps culminated when a pair of Manu o Kū (Gygis alba), an Indigenous Hawaiian bird species, began nesting on one of the balconies. In 1961 only one pair of Manu o Kū were found living in Honolulu and many feared the bird was near extinction. Now, from that original pair, the population has grown to over 2,000 and many are seen darting throughout the city. The re-establishment of the species cultivates hope that locals will also feel welcome and re-acquaint themselves with the museum and this corner of Honolulu. **SK**

## Hawai'i Contemporary



**Hawai'i Contemporary** (formerly Honolulu Biennial Foundation) is a nonprofit organization that connects communities from across our islands, the Pacific Ocean, and beyond. We cultivate cultural alliances to present the **Hawai'i Triennial** every three years, an exhibition that celebrates contemporary art and ideas. The multi-site Triennial is complemented by year-round public, education programs and preceded by an international **Art Summit** of artists, curators, and thinkers, contributing to a robust arts ecosystem in Hawai'i nei.

**Hawai'i Triennial 2022, *Pacific Century – E Ho'omaunalo Moananuiākea***, addresses legacies of an American twentieth century while turning to a very different twenty-first century; one dominated by Pacific political powers and cultural concerns. The citywide exhibition—curated by curatorial director Melissa Chiu (executive director, Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden) and associate curators Miwako Tezuka (associate director, Reversible Destiny Foundation) and Drew Kahu'āina Broderick (director, Koa Gallery, Kapi'olani Community College)—features 43 artists and art collectives from Hawai'i, Asia-Pacific, and beyond and was on view at seven locations across on O'ahu, February 18–May 8, 2022. / For more information, visit [hawaiicontemporary.org](http://hawaiicontemporary.org).

**Special mahalo** to Kahi and Diana Ching, of K&D Signs and Graphics, for their excellent work and dedication to HT22.

Artists, curators, Hawai'i Contemporary, and friends at the opening weekend celebration of Hawai'i Triennial 2022 at Iolani Palace, Honolulu, February 18, 2022. Courtesy of Hawai'i Contemporary. Photo: Brandyn Liu.





**HT22**

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