

characterized in chants as a small, fragile child of the goddess Hina, and is considered more in need of nurturing than the larger islands. Today, Moloka'i has a mixture of traditional subsistence farming, fishing, hunting, and gathering along with some homesteading, with produce entering the cash economy. Moloka'i is also the home of some of the first of the kua'āina who began to oppose the United States' control and abuse of the nearby island of Kaho'olawe, which many Hawaiians knew as a once sacred place.

Formerly used as a penal colony, Kaho'olawe has been seriously compromised by a number of factors: the natural vegetation cover has been destroyed by wind, rain, and introduced goats and sheep, and the landscape has been scarred as a result of US military bombing and artillery practice. Indeed, it is no wonder the island was considered dead—that was, until 1976, when two young men from Moloka'i succeeded in landing on the island and stayed hidden for two days; they witnessed the extent of the destruction, but they also unexpectedly felt the presence of a powerful spiritual force. From the kua'āina of Hana and Hawai'i island, they learned of Kaho'olawe's history as a "refuge for Native Hawaiian spiritual customs and practices, as well as a center for training [in] non-instrument long-range navigation" for the voyages between Hawai'i and Tahiti (253).

Most significantly, Kaho'olawe's original name, Kanaloa, the Hawaiian god of the ocean, was recovered. Restoration goals included the cessation of US ownership, the clearing of spent as well as live ordnance, and, finally,

the rebirth of Kaho'olawe as a living island. A big step toward the first goal has been taken with its conveyance to the state of Hawai'i. The second aim is too dangerous to ever achieve fully, but within "cleared" areas, revegetation and cultural activities are now taking place, in service of the third objective: Kaho'olawe is coming back to life. Knowledge about the ocean, bays, currents, and channels from kua'āina living on neighbor islands has enabled members of the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana to land and survive on the island as they work to restore shrines (heiau) and the soul of the island itself.

McGregor credits generations of kua'āina with keeping love and respect for the land alive by holding it in their hands, heads, language, and souls. With her extensively documented book, McGregor becomes one of them.

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Consequential Damages of Nuclear War: The Rongelap Report, by Barbara Rose Johnston and Holly M Barker. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2008. ISBN 978-1-59874-346-3, 296 pages, maps, illustrations, notes, appendixes, glossary, index. US\$27.95.

Consequential Damages of Nuclear War is an outstanding example of the practical use of anthropological research. Ten years in the making, the book is the result of a community study, conducted in the Republic of the Marshall Islands, that productively weaves together data from the

history of nuclear weapons testing, cultural knowledge, government documents, medical records, and—most importantly—the voices of individual Marshall Islanders. The point of convergence for these data is one of the cruelest chapters in United States history, namely the cultural genocide and environmental ruin of parts of the Republic of the Marshall Islands. The US government used some of the islands to test its nuclear weapons and the Islanders became both unsuspecting participants and victims in scientific experiments. This is a disquieting chronicle of the abuse of political power, perpetuated by lies and the energetic efforts of government officials to cover up their dishonorable tracks. Yet, by the time I reached the end of the book, harrowing as the history is, the main impression I had was overwhelming admiration for the Marshallese, whose heroic resistance, steadfast pursuit of justice, and eloquent voices provided steady anchors throughout the turbulent tale.

The authors have impeccable qualifications for carrying out their stated task, to tease out “the many and varied consequences of the US atmospheric weapons testing program in the Pacific, and to do so in ways that amplify the voice of Marshallese experience” (15). Barbara Rose Johnston is an environmental anthropologist with a background in biology. She is currently a senior research fellow at the Center for Political Ecology in Santa Cruz, California. Holly M Barker is an applied anthropologist who has worked with Marshall Islanders, both in the Pacific and the United States, for the past twenty years. Fluent in

Marshallese, Barker has conducted oral histories with some two hundred Marshall Islanders, several of whose narratives contribute the “voices” to the text.

A prologue lays out the entangled history between the United States and the Republic of the Marshall Islands. From 1947 to 1986 the United States administered the Marshall Islands as one of the six entities in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands established by the United Nations. From 1946 to 1958, the US government conducted 67 atmospheric nuclear weapons tests in the Territory (44 at Enewetak Atoll and 23 at or near Bikini Atoll). These tests unleashed the equivalent power of 1.7 Hiroshima bombs every day for twelve years, and created an unprecedented opportunity for US government researchers to investigate the effects of radiation exposure on both the environment and human beings. Although nuclear testing ended in 1958, scientific testing on the human beings who were affected by the radiation continued into the 1990s. To this day, many islands remain too radioactive for their former inhabitants to return. When the earliest bombs were detonated, the residents living nearby on the atolls of Rongelap, Rongerik, and Ailinginae were typically relocated to other islands. Yet, with the 1954 explosion of the Bravo bomb, the most powerful hydrogen bomb ever tested by the United States, the people of those same atolls living downwind of ground zero were intentionally left on their islands to provide scientists with more data about the effects of radiation exposure on people (45–46, 95, 100, 104–105, 113).

In 1983, the governments of the United States and the Marshall Islands entered into a formal agreement in which the United States recognized the contributions and sacrifices made by the people of the Marshall Islands during the nuclear testing program. The US government accepted responsibility for compensation for loss or damage to property and person resulting from that testing. In 1988 the Marshall Islands Nuclear Claims Tribunal was established, which implemented a compensation program. In 1998, Public Advocate Bill Graham asked Johnston and Barker to advise the Nuclear Claims Tribunal “on culturally appropriate ways to value the damages and losses experienced by the people” (30–31). It was their collaborative, participatory research project that resulted in this book.

Following the prologue, in Part I the authors provide a brief introduction to their research methods and a summary of the findings of the Rongelap Report, exploring the environmental impacts of nuclear testing, contamination, and exile as experienced by the people of Rongelap, Ailinginae, and Rongerik atolls (43). A powerful photo essay follows, with pictures of mushroom clouds rising above people’s lands, human beings displaying evidence of devastating physical injuries, scientists carefully measuring radiation levels, children lining up for medical exams, and examples of the publicity materials created by the US Department of Energy designed to alleviate Marshallese concerns about the high rates of miscarriages and birth defects they were experiencing.

Part II focuses on the way of life

on the atolls prior to the testing program. The atolls that make up the Republic of the Marshall Islands comprise seventy square miles of land spread over one million square miles of ocean. Whereas outsiders look at the Marshall Islands surrounded by the vast Pacific Ocean and see few resources, Marshallese see valuable abundance (58). Not only do they see land as their “family,” but they also view the ocean as the provider of the bountiful marine resources that sustain them.

In Part III, the authors present the chain of events associated with the nuclear testing program. Because Marshallese people create songs to express difficult emotions, a poignant song is included that describes their reactions to being shunted from one doctor to another with their having little understanding of what was happening to them. They move from “Mr. Urine Collector” to “Mr. Call the Numbers or Names of People and Escort Patients to See Doctors in the Examination Rooms” to “Dr. Touching and Examining Both Internal and External Parts” (135). One Islander, Catherine Jibas, tells a particularly heartrending story. She says, “My second son, born in 1960, was delivered live but missing the whole back of his skull. . . . So the back part of the brain and the spinal cord were fully exposed. . . . You know, it was heart wrenching having to nurse my son, all the while taking care his brain didn’t fall into my lap” (146). From these Marshallese songs and narratives, it becomes clear that what happened during this cold war period is not a finished episode in US and Marshallese history, but rather

something deeply rooted that continues to dwell in the bodies and land of the Marshall Islanders.

A summary of damages, needs, and compensation is presented in Part IV, which includes creative recommendations made by Marshall Islanders. For example, they would like to honor various individuals—master navigators, builders, dancers, singers, fishers, weavers, healers, and so on—with a title and lifetime salary. These people would then be able to pass on their knowledge to the younger generation in schools and community centers (192–193). The last section, Part V, lays out various conclusions and recommendations.

Consequential Damages of Nuclear War is a meticulously researched and sympathetically presented report about a deplorable historical reality. Yet it offers much more than the facts; it is also an account about the value of truth and how history is made. Likewise, it is a model for how to document human rights abuse in a collaborative, participatory process, and then use this as cultural testimony in a legal case. Most significantly, it is also a celebration of the people of the Republic of the Marshall Islands as quintessential survivors and constructive advocates for human justice.

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Morning Comes So Soon. 2 DVDs (NTSC), 85 minutes, color, 2008. Written and directed by Aaron Condon and Mike Cruz; produced by Small Island Films and Youth to Youth in Health. Languages: Marshallese, Mandarin, and English, with English subtitles (also behind-the-scenes footage and special features). Available for purchase from www.bikiniatoll.com, Majuro. United States and Canada: US\$14.99; international: US\$22.99.

“Bwebwenato” storytelling and acting out dramatic tales is hardly a new phenomenon in the Marshall Islands, where communities often gather for church events or special celebrations to sing, dance, perform skits, and tell tales. In recent years, even Shakespearean plays combining Marshallese and Edwardian lore, in English and Marshallese, have become popular annual events. So it is no surprise that with the increasing accessibility and affordability of video technology, marrying bwebwenato with quality filmmaking was the next logical step.

Morning Comes So Soon was a joint project funded by UNESCO and conceived by Majuro’s “Youth to Youth in Health” program and directors Aaron Condon and Mike Cruz. This first feature-length film to come from the Republic of the Marshall Islands was a runaway hit when it premiered there in May 2008. The film eclipsed box office sales of Hollywood films and sold out to packed audiences night after night. In October 2008 it was shown at the Hawai‘i International Film Festival, where it also drew crowds and impressed audiences with not only its artistic filmmaking style