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THE HAWAII REPORT

by Poka Laenui

I. INTRODUCTION

On January 16, 1893, American marines landed in peaceful Hawaii armed with Gatling guns, Howitzer cannons, double cartridge belts filled with ammunition, carbines and other instruments of war. The U.S. troops marched along the streets of Honolulu, rifles facing 'Iolani palace, the seat of Hawaii's sovereignty.

The following day, resident conspirators numbering 18, mostly Americans, sneaked to the back steps of a government building a few yards from where the American troops had purposely lodged the night before. There, Henry Cooper, an American lawyer and resident of Hawaii for less than a year, proclaimed that he and seventeen others were now the government of Hawaii. Calling themselves the "provisional government" and selecting Sanford Dole president, they were to exist for the explicit purpose of annexing Hawaii to the United States.

American Minister Plenipotentiary John L. Stevens, immediately recognized the "provisional government" as the government of Hawaii. He then joined in their demand that Queen Liliuokalani, the constitutional monarch of the Hawaiian nation or surrender under threat of war with the United States.

Under such threat, the Queen eventually capitulated, but not without protest. These are her words:

I, Liliuokalani, by the grace of God and under the constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Queen, do hereby solemnly protest against any and all acts done against myself and the constitutional Government of the Hawaiian Kingdom by certain persons claiming to have established a Provisional Government of and for this Kingdom.

That I yield to the superior force of the United States of America, whose minister plenipotentiary, his excellency John L. Stevens, has caused United States troops to be landed at Honolulu and declared that he would support the Provisional Government.

Now, to avoid any collision of armed forces and perhaps the loss of life, I do, under this protest, and impelled by said force, yield my authority until such time as the Government of the United States shall, upon the facts being presented to it, undo the action of its representative and reinstate me and the authority which I claim as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands.

Rather than undoing its actions, the United States continued in its conspiracy to deprive an independent people of their right to self-determination, forcing Hawaii to serve it as the command headquarters of its Pacific military forces as well as an important finger of the American economic hand reaching into Asia.

II. EARLY HISTORY:

Hawaii's ancestors journeyed throughout the vast Pacific, guided by stars, the rising sun, clouds, birds, wave formation, and flashing lights from the water's depth. They touched upon many lands including the most isolated land mass in the world - Hawaii.

They continued commerce with cousins of the south Pacific many years after arriving in Hawaii. They had infrequent contacts with Japan, Turtle Island (today "America") and other Pacific rim places. Hawaii remained virtually unknown to Europe until 1778 when James Cook, Captain of the British Navy's ships Resolution and Discovery arrived to find a highly developed Hawaiian society.

He was welcomed in friendship. In an unfortunate misunderstanding, Cook attempted to apply violence upon the Hawaiian people. He was dealt with in the same way, resulting in his blood flowing in the waters of Kealakekua Bay, Hawaii, ending his further journeying.

Soon after contact with Cook, Hawaii was cast into world attention and quickly accepted as a member of the international community. During the reign of Kamehameha I, (1779 - 1819), Hawaii was trading with China, England and the United States and dealing with other nations on a regular basis. On November 28, 1843 Great Britain and France joined in a Declaration recognizing Hawaii's independence and pledged never to take it as a possession. When the United States was invited to join this declaration, J.C. Calhoun, U. S. Secretary of State replied that the President adhered completely to the spirit of disinterestedness and self-denial which breathed in that declaration. "He had already, for his part taken a similar engagement in the message which he had already addressed to Congress on December 31, 1842."

By 1887, Hawaii had treaties and conventions with Belgium, Bremen, Denmark, France, German Empire, Great Britain, Hamburg, Hong-Kong, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, New South Wales, Portugal, Russia, Samoa, Spain, Swiss Confederation, Sweden and Norway, Tahiti, and the United States. Hawaii was a member of one of the first international organizations, the Universal Postal Union. Approximately a hundred diplomatic and consular posts around the world were established.

Immigrants from all parts of the world came to Hawaii, many renouncing their former national allegiance and taking up Hawaiian citizenship.

Hawaiian literacy was among the highest of the world. It had telephones and electricity

built into its governing palace, Iolani, prior to the U.S.'s "White House" had such technology. Multi-lingual citizens abounded. Hawaiian leaders had excellent comprehension of world and political geography, King Kalakaua was the first Head of State to circle the world in a visit of nations in his plan to weave a tapestry of international economic and political alliances to assure Hawaiian independence. By 1892, Hawaii was a vibrant multi-racial, multi-cultural nation engaged in intellectual and economic commerce with the world..

Christian Missionaries Arrive

Early in its exposure to the western world, Hawaii became the focus of Christian zeal. The first flock of missionaries arrived from Boston in 1820. Many remained establishing homes and families and were welcomed into Hawaiian society. They became a strong influence over the people.

Over time, many missionary children left the pulpits of the church, entering business and politics. After several decades, an alliance of missionary offsprings and developing business interests arose. Growing and selling sugar developed as its principal interest. Land, labor and market became major concerns. Political and social control became means to meeting those concerns. They called themselves the "missionary party."

Land Assault

The missionary party drastically changed land relationship with the people. Formerly land was under the care of the ruling chiefs. They allotted the use of the lands to their sub-chiefs who reallocated the remaining lands to their supporters. By 1839, these distributions were revocable only for cause. (Bill of Rights of 1839) Land "ownership" in the Western sense did not exist. Land was an integral part of the life of Hawaii along with the air, sunlight, winds, waters and the people. None of these parts were to dominate the other. This was a basic philosophy of existence for Hawaii's early inhabitants.

Under the influence of the missionary party, however, less than thirty years after missionary arrival, this land relationship was overturned. Land was parceled out in fee simple estates along the traditions of England and the United States. Foreigners could now be landowners in Hawaii.

Labor Assault

Much of the indigenous people refused to work at low plantation wages. The missionary party influenced immigration policies, importing laborers to perform the exhausting sugar plantation work upon the lands now controlled by them. The sugar industry spread across Hawaii with easily available lands and cheap imported labor.

Market Assault

With land and labor under control, the missionary party applied itself to the last step in this commercial cycle - securing a market for their sugar. The United States was the logical market. It was geographically closer to Hawaii than any other market. Most in the missionary party were citizens of the United States and had been in constant communication and trade. The U.S. military was hungry for a naval armada in the Pacific and so a willing partner for close relationships with Hawaii.

To secure the American market, the missionary party saw two alternative solutions; reciprocity agreements or annexation. Reciprocity would permit Hawaiian sugar importation into the United States duty free. In return, products would be imported into Hawaii duty free. However, reciprocity agreements were temporary. Annexation offered greater security. Under annexation, Hawaiian sugar would be considered permanently domestic rather than foreign, thus not subject to tariff as it entered the American market.

Initial reciprocity arrangements between Hawaii and the United States were tried but did not last long. The United States soon wanted more than just an exchange of trade rights. It wanted sovereignty over Pearl Harbor to extend its commercial and military arm into the Pacific.

King Kalakaua and Queen Liliuokalani under attack

Kalakaua, previously elected Hawaii's Mo'i (ruling sovereign) (1874 - 1891), refused to cede Pearl Harbor. The missionary party attacked Kalakaua by slander, rumors, and attempts at his life. They accused him of being a drunk and a lover of heathenism since he attempted to revitalize the hula and preserve the religious practices of his ancestors. They branded him a womanizer. His character and his activities were continually berated in the press. Yet, the people rallied around him and remained loyal in the face of these attacks. The missionary party, so intent on wresting power from Kalakaua, chose among five conspirators by lot to murder him. The one selected became so horrified of his selection that he refused to act.

Following numerous attacks upon his reputation and high esteem, the missionary party secretly formed a league, armed themselves and forced the King at gun point to turn the powers of government over to them. In 1887, Kalakaua signed the "bayonet" constitution, the name reflecting the method of adoption. This constitution stripped Kalakaua of power.

With the missionary party in power, they granted the United States exclusive right to use Pearl Harbor, receiving in return an extension of 7 years the existing reciprocity treaty which was soon to have expired. The sugar market was temporarily secure.

Kalakaua died in 1891 in San Francisco on a trip to recuperate from illness advanced by the activities in Hawaii. Rumors still abound in Hawaii that his death was caused by the missionary party's agents in the United States. Liliuokalani succeeded him.

Quite soon upon the accession of Queen Liliuokalani, she received a petition of two-thirds of the voters imploring her to do away with the bayonet constitution and return the powers of government to the Hawaiian citizens. By January 14, 1893, she completed a draft of a new constitution and informed her cabinet of her intention to institute the constitution immediately. She was persuaded by the cabinet, which, under the bayonet constitution, was controlled by the missionary party, to put off the constitutional change for a short time. She acceded to this request. Members of her cabinet rushed to report the Queen's intentions to leaders of the missionary party.

Mr. Thurston, Mr. Dole and U.S. Minister Stevens

It is important to identify two men in particular who were at the head of the missionary party. Lorrin Thurston was the grandson of one of the first missionary, Asa Thurston. Sanford Dole was the son of Daniel Dole, another early missionary. As early as 1882, Lorrin Thurston had already exchanged confidences with leading American officials on the matter of Hawaii's takeover. In fact the United States Secretary of the Navy assured Thurston that the administration of Chester A. Arthur would look with favor upon a takeover in Hawaii. In 1892, in another visit to the United States, Thurston again received the same assurance from the administration of Benjamin Harrison.

When Thurston received word of the Queen's intention, claiming she had no business attempting to institute a new constitution by fiat, he, along with twelve others, formed a "Committee of Public Safety" and arranged an immediate visit to the American Minister plenipotentiary in Hawaii, John L. Stevens to conspire for the overthrow of Liliuokalani.

Little convincing was necessary for Stevens was already one of the foremost advocates for a U.S. takeover of Hawaii. Appointed in June, 1889 as the U.S. Minister plenipotentiary, he arrived in Hawaii on September 20 of that year and regarded himself as having a mission to bring about annexation of Hawaii to the United States. His letters to Secretary of State James G. Blaine, beginning less than a month after his arrival reflect his passion to take Hawaii for the United States.

After three years of encouraging taking Hawaii, he writes on March 8, 1892, for instruction of how far he may deviate from established international rules and precedents in the event of an orderly and peaceful revolutionary movement, setting forth a step by step prediction of future events.

In later letters he argued that those favoring annexation in Hawaii are qualified to carry on good government, "provided they have the support of the Government of the United States." He continued, "[H]awaii must now take the road which leads to Asia, or the other, which outlets her in America, gives her an American civilization, and binds her to the care of American destiny. . . .To postpone American action many years is only to add to present unfavorable tendencies and to make future possession more difficult."

He called for "bold and vigorous measures for annexation. I cannot refrain from expressing the opinion with emphasis that the golden hour is near at hand. . . . So long as the

islands retain their own independent government there remains the possibility that England or the Canadian Dominion might secure one of the Hawaiian harbors for a coaling station. Annexation excludes all dangers of this kind."

Thus, when Thurston met with Stevens on January 15, 1893, the "golden hour" was at hand. It was agreed that the United States marines would land under the guise of protecting American lives (the missionary parties'). The "missionary" party would declare themselves the "provisional government." This puppet government would immediately turn Hawaii over to the United States in an annexation treaty. The missionary party would be appointed local rulers of Hawaii as a reward. The United States would obtain the choicest lands and harbors for their Pacific armada.

The landing of the U.S. marines is now a matter of history. The queen yielded her authority, trusting to the "enlightened justice" of the United States, expecting a full investigation to be conducted and the U.S. government to restore the constitutional government of Hawaii.

On January 18, 1893, the day after Liliuokalani yielded, the "provisional government" forbade any of the Queen's supporters from boarding the only ship leaving Hawaii, rushed off to Washington to obtain annexation. By February 16, 1893, a treaty of annexation was hurriedly negotiated, signed and presented by President Harrison to the United States Senate for ratification.

Mr. President Grover Cleveland

However, Grover Cleveland replaced Harrison before the Senate voted. Meanwhile, the Queen's emissaries managed to sneak to the United States travelling as businessmen and upon reaching Washington plead with Cleveland to withdraw the treaty and conduct the promised investigation.

James H. Blount, formerly the Chairman of the House Foreign Relations Committee, was appointed special investigator. After several months of investigation, Blount exposed the conspiracy. Cleveland subsequently addressed Congress declaring:

By an act of war, committed with the participation of a diplomatic representative of the United States and without authority of Congress, the Government of a feeble but friendly and confiding people has been overthrown. A substantial wrong has thus been done which a due regard for our national character as well as the rights of the injured people requires we should endeavor to repair. . . .

[Liliuokalani] knew that she could not withstand the power of the United States, but believed that she might safely trust to its justice. [S]he surrendered not to the provisional government, but to the United States. She surrendered not absolutely and permanently, but temporarily and conditionally until such time as the facts could be considered by the United States [and it can] undo the action of its representative and reinstate her in the authority she claimed as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands.

In summarizing the events, Cleveland wrote:

The lawful Government of Hawaii was overthrown without the drawing of a sword or the firing of a shot by a process every step of which, it may be safely asserted, is directly traceable to and dependent for its success upon the agency of the United States acting through its diplomatic and naval representatives.

But for the notorious predilections of the United States Minister for annexation, the Committee of Safety, which should be called the Committee of Annexation, would never have existed.

But for the landing of the United States forces upon false pretexts respecting the danger to life and property the committee would never have exposed themselves to the pains and penalties of treason by undertaking the subversion of the Queen's Government.

But for the presence of the United States forces in the immediate vicinity and in position to afford all needed protection and support the committee would not have proclaimed the provisional government from the steps of the Government building.

And finally, but for the lawless occupation of Honolulu under false pretexts by the United States forces, and but for Minister Stevens' recognition of the provisional government when the United States forces were its sole support and constituted its only military strength, the Queen and her Government would never have yielded to the provisional government, even for a time and for the sole purpose of submitting her case to the enlightened justice of the United States.

[T]he law of nations is founded upon reason and justice, and the rules of conduct governing individual relations between citizens or subjects of a civilized state are equally applicable as between enlightened nations. The considerations that international law is without a court for its enforcement, and that obedience to its commands practically depends upon good faith, instead of upon the mandate of a superior tribunal, only give additional sanction to the law itself and brand any deliberate infraction of it not merely as a wrong but as a disgrace.

Cleveland refused to forward the treaty to the Senate as long as he remained President. Liliuokalani was advised of the President's desire to aid in the restoration of the status existing before the lawless landing of the United States forces at Honolulu if such restoration could be effected upon terms providing for clemency as well as justice to all parties. In short, the past should be buried and the restored government should reassume its authority as if its continuity had not been interrupted. The Queen, first protesting that such a promise from her would constitute an unconstitutional act and was therefore beyond her powers to grant, later acceded to the demands

for general amnesty upon the return of the powers of government.

The Provisional Government was immediately informed of this decision and asked to abide by Cleveland's decision, yielding to the Queen her constitutional authority; to which it refused. In doing so, they protested Cleveland's attempt to "interfere in the internal affairs" of their nation, declaring themselves citizens of the Provisional Government, thus beyond Cleveland's authority. A short time before, they had relied upon their American citizenship and thus justified the landing of U.S. marines to protect their lives!

Cleveland, though filled with principled words, left the U.S. troops in Hawaii's harbors to protect American lives.

The Puppet Government Changes Clothes

The "provisional government" was under international criticism for being a government without the support of its people, existing, in fact, without even a constitution or other fundamental document to afford even the appearance of legitimacy. Faced with the predicament of an American administration which would not condone the conspiracy, yet would not abandon American lives in Hawaii evidenced by the remaining American war ships in Honolulu Harbor, they devised a plan to restructure themselves to appear as a permanent rather than a provisional government. When a new American president came to office, the "permanent" government would place the conspiracy back on course.

A constitution giving them permanence and validity had to be drafted. Dole, acting as President of the Provisional Government, announced a constitutional convention of thirty seven delegates, nineteen, selected by him, and the remaining eighteen elected. The candidates and voters for these eighteen positions were first required to renounce Queen Liliuokalani and swear allegiance to the provisional government. Less than 20% of the otherwise qualified voters participated in their election.

A "Constitutional Convention" was held. A document substantially as submitted by Dole and Thurston was adopted. The constitution of the "Republic of Hawaii" claimed dominion over all lands and waters of Hawaii. It claimed all citizens of Hawaii automatically its citizen. Foreigners who supported the new regime could vote; citizens loyal to the Queen could not; and because the Japanese and especially the Chinese supported Liliuokalani, they were, as a group disenfranchised. Further, only those who could speak, read and write in English or Hawaiian and explain the constitution, written in English, to the satisfaction of Dole's supporters could vote.

On July 4, 1894 while Americans were celebrating their independence day by firing their cannons from their war ships in Honolulu Harbor, Dole, proclaimed the Constitution and thus the "Republic of Hawaii" into existence.

Liliuokalani had allegedly lost her throne for considering altering the constitution by fiat. Now, circumstances having altered the players, the conspirators invoked the name of liberty and

did substantially the same thing.

McKinley: Slight of Constitutional Hand

When William McKinley replaced Cleveland as President, Dole's group rushed to Washington to complete the conspiracy. With a "Constitution" in hand declaring they governed Hawaii, the "Republic of Hawaii" ceded "absolutely and without reserve to the United States of America all rights of sovereignty of whatsoever kind in and over the Hawaiian Islands. . ." A "treaty of annexation" was signed.

Realizing the "treaty" would not get the 2/3 Senate approval required of the U.S. Constitution, the conspirators circumvented that requirement and settled for only a joint resolution of Congress. The Newlands Resolution of July 7, 1898 was passed.

Following this congressional resolution, the United States assumed authority over Hawaii. It soon established the government of the "Territory of Hawaii."

As these events were happening, Liliuokalani engraved her plea to the American people:

Oh, honest Americans, as Christians hear me for my down-trodden people! Their form of government is as dear to them as yours is precious to you. Quite as warmly as you love your country, so they love theirs. [D]o not covet the little vineyards of Naboth's so far from your shores, lest the punishment of Ahab fall upon you, if not in your day in that of your children, for "be not deceived, God is not mocked." The people to whom your fathers told of the living God, and taught to call "Father," and whom the sons now seek to despoil and destroy, are crying aloud to Him in their time of trouble; and He will keep His promise, and will listen to the voices of His Hawaiian children lamenting for their homes. (Liliuokalani p.373-374)

Her plea fell on deaf congressional ears.

And so we find the closing of the chapter of Hawaii as a free and unoccupied nation. Hawaii was now to undergo years of American brainwashing, colonization and military occupation. These were to be the pay-off years for the conspirators.

III. THE RECYCLING OF HAWAII 1900 - 1959:

Hawaii underwent traumatic changes affecting every aspect of life. Sanford Dole was appointed territorial governor. He provided government positions and lucrative government contracts for friends. Monopolies in shipping, finance and communications developed. The Big Five, a coalition of five business entities, all finding their roots in the missionary party controlled every aspect of business, media and politics in Hawaii. Beginning with sugar, they took steps to control transportation, hotels, utilities, banks, insurance agencies, and many small wholesale and retail businesses. When they teamed up with McKinley's Republican Party and the United States Navy, there was virtually nothing left unexploited. And while doing so, they propagated the myth of the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race.

A massive brainwashing program was begun to convince Hawaiians that the United States was the legitimate ruler and that the Hawaiians were no longer Hawaiians but Americans.

The term Hawaiian was redefined as a racial rather than a national term. Large numbers of citizens of Hawaii were identified no longer as Hawaiians but as Chinese, Korean, English, Samoan, Filipino, etc. The divide and conquer tactic was employed even among the Hawaii race, when Congress defined "native Hawaiians" (at least 50% of the aboriginal blood), entitled to special land privileges while depriving others of lesser "blood."

Children were forced to attend American schools and there taught to pledge their allegiance to the United States, trained in the foreign laws, told to adopt foreign morality, to speak no language but the foreign (English) and adopt the foreign (American) lifestyle. Official government proceedings was to be conducted in English and not the Hawaiian language. In the schools and college campuses, the language of Hawaii was found, if at all, taught in the foreign language departments.

The customs and traditions and even the cultural names of the people were suppressed in this recycling effort. The great makahiki celebrations honoring Lo, an important god of peace, harvest, agriculture and medicine were never observed or mentioned in the schools. Instead, Christmas was celebrated with plays and pageants. People were coaxed into giving children American names having no ties with our ancestors; names which described no physical substance, spiritual sense or human mood; names which could not call upon the winds or waters, the soil or heat; names totally irrelevant to the surroundings.

The arts and sciences of Hawaii's ancestors were driven to near extinction. The advanced practice of healing through the medicines of plants, water or massage or just the uttered words were driven into the back countryside. The science of predicting the future through animal behaviors, cloud colors, shapes and formations of leaves on trees were discounted as superstitions and ridiculed as old folks tales. The Hawaiian culture was being ground to extinction.

Transmigration took place. The United States controlled immigration. Hawaii witnessed a tide of Americans bringing with them a barrage of cultural, moral, religious and political concepts. Hawaiians were "persuaded" into mimicking their ways, idolizing their heroes, and adopting their living styles. As Americans infiltrated, they took choice jobs with government agencies and management positions with business interests. They bought up or stole through the manipulation of laws applied by them much of the lands and resources of Hawaii. They gained power in Hawaii, controlled greater chunks of the economy, controlled the public media, entrenched themselves in politics, and joined in the brainwashing of the Hawaiians to believe they were Americans.

The military turned Hawaii into its Pacific fortress converting Pearl Harbor from a coaling and fueling station to a major naval port. It bombed valleys and took a major island for its exclusive use as a target range. At will it tossed families out of homes, destroying sacred Hawaii heirlooms and built instead naval communication towers emitting radiation and ammunition depots hiding nuclear weapons. It declared martial law at will, violating the U.S. constitution, and imposed military conscription over Hawaiian citizens.

Freedom of trade was stopped. The U.S. Congress assumed control over foreign relations. Hawaiians could buy only American goods or foreign goods the U.S. approved. The Big 5 controlled all shipping!

Every aspect of Hawaii was Americanized. Military show of strength was constant. Trade was totally controlled. Education and media was regulated. The secret ballot was a farce.

Hawaii, that melting pot of cultures, races, languages and lore changed from a reality to an advertisement slogan for politicians and merchants.

IV: HAWAIIAN STATEHOOD 1959:

Finally, after three generations of brainwashing, "Hawaiians" were given the opportunity to be equal Americans! The United States placed the following question to the "qualified" voters in Hawaii: Shall Hawaii immediately be admitted into the Union as a State?

"Qualified" voters were Americans who were residents of Hawaii for at least 1 year. The U.S. provided the vote for thousands of American citizens brought in through its transmigration program, through military assignments, and through generations of socialization of Hawaiian citizens. Those who resisted the American domination and insisted on their Hawaiian citizenship could not vote.

In its posing the "statehood" question so adeptly, the U.S. government simply foreclosed any real choice of "determination" by limiting Hawaii to either remaining a territory of the United States or becoming a "State" within its union. The question, "Should Hawaii be free?"

was never asked.

The Americans chose Statehood overwhelmingly.

V: U.S. UNDER INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS: THE UNITED NATIONS

In 1946, under the charter of the United Nations at Article 73, the United States was charged with an obligation to transmit to the U.N. information on territories held by it under a colonial type arrangement ("Non-Self-Governing Territories"). Hawaii was listed as such a territory, along with Alaska, American Samoa, Guam, Panama Canal Zone, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. When these territories reached a full measure of self-government, the reporting requirement was fully met. Self-government was reached when a territory

- (a) Emerged as a sovereign independent State;
- (b) Free association with an independent State; or
- (c) Integration with an independent State.

In 1953, the United States reported to the United Nations that Puerto Rico had chosen a status of association with the United States, thus concluding the U.S. obligation to Puerto Rico as a non-self governing territory and to the U.N. for yearly status reports.

After the Hawaii Statehood vote, the U.S. reported to the U.N. that Hawaii's constitutional status had changed and that it was now a state of the United States. The communiqué to the U.N. related that a special election was held on June 27, 1959 in which the proposition "Shall Hawaii immediately be admitted into the Union as a State?" was adopted. The communiqué did not describe the events leading up to the U.S. takeover and control of Hawaii nor did it discuss the fact that only U.S. citizens were allowed participation in that referendum. Upon this communiqué, the U.N. General Assembly by Resolution 1469 (XIV) expressed an opinion that Hawaii effectively exercised the right to self-determination and had freely chosen its status as a state of the Union. The U.S. was thus relieved of further responsibility to report to the U.N.

As the 1960s began, the international movement toward decolonization had a major boost. The United Nations, dissatisfied with the poor record of decolonization of its member states, adopted its Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In it, the U.N. declared:

- *All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.*
- *Immediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or color, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence*

and freedom.

The U.N. established a special committee to oversee the progress by metropolitan countries in the decolonization of their territories.

In the 1980s, that special committee received repeated reports that the United States committed a fraud against the United Nations by reporting that the people of Puerto Rico had freely chosen association with the United States while in reality, tens of thousands who supported independence had been victims of systematic discrimination and persecution by the United States. In 1984, 1985, 1986 and 1987, the special committee reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence, expressing its hope that the people of Puerto Rico may exercise without hindrance its right to self-determination, with the express recognition of the people's sovereignty and full political equality in conformance with its prior resolution of decolonization.

Growing International Awareness In Hawaii

The promotion of decolonization by the U.N., especially in the more recent period, has not been lost to the people of Hawaii. Other events, closer to home, impacting upon Hawaiian awareness of international rights are the emergence of independent Pacific nations.

Beginning with Fiji in 1970, the Pacific Ocean saw the explosion of independence, marking the Pacific map with new nations such as Nauru, Tuvalu, Kiribati, Western Samoa, Papua New Guinea, Cook Islands, Niue and Vanuatu. After a 10-year lull since the independence of Vanuatu, we have seen the emergence of American territories of Micronesia into full nationhood. In September 1991, the Republic of the Marshall Islands and the Federated States of Micronesia became members of the United Nations. The struggle of the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas for greater clarity in its relations to its former colonial ruler, the attempt by the Republic of Belau to achieve independence without U.S. military presence, and the developing demands in Guam to application of international standards of self-determination, leading to the right to select emergence as a sovereign independent nation are all struggles not lost to the Hawaii public.

Before the demise of the Soviet Union, the emergence of the nations of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, previously fully integrated into the Soviet Union, but within a few months, welcomed into membership of the United Nations, are experiences, which also add to the debate of Hawaiian sovereignty and self-determination.

These international activities reflecting a world momentum toward self-determination challenges the belief that once becoming a member of the union of the United States, no state may secede from that union.

Cultural rejuvenation

This international awareness has been coupled with a renewed sense of defiance against further cultural suppression of Hawaii's indigenous culture. During the 1960s, Hawaii witnessed the unfolding drama in the U.S. of the black struggle for equality, including the riots in Watts, the marches and the bus boycotts, the voter registration drives, and the massive rallies in Washington D.C. The American Indian Movement's activities also caught the attention of Hawaii. The Vietnam War, however, soon overshadowed the Black and American Indian movements. Many Hawaii citizens became directly involved in that war. By the end of the 1960s, a changed attitude towards the U.S. government had come about. Its image was tarnished.

Many in Hawaii came out of the 1960s with greater sensitivity for racial identity and pride in the cultural heritage of Hawaii. There came a greater willingness to challenge governments, either individually or in organizations.

Hawaiian music was taking on new vigor. Hula halaus (training schools and repositories of the Hawaiian dance) gained wider prestige and membership, canoe clubs became more popular, interest in the Hawaiian language took hold, as well as practice in the natural medicines of Hawaii, and familiarity with Hawaii's history. Hawaiian names were being used prominently and with greater insistence in the public. People of many different races in Hawaii joined this cultural rejuvenation.

Land for native Hawaiians soon became another focus of contention. Kalama Valley on Oahu and the eviction of farmers there sparked a wave of challenges to the system. The movement to protect the island, Kaho`olawe, from military bombing expanded the target of protest to the previously "sacred" military establishment.

A plethora of new Hawaiian organizations came into being. The issue of Hawaiian sovereignty and self-determination was a natural outgrowth of the disenchantment with Hawaiian social and economic conditions. The combination of all of these factors brought about a new consciousness of injustice - the denial of the Hawaiian nation.

By the second half of the 1970s, the sovereignty challenges were being made more explicit. In a highly publicized trial of a reputed Hawaii underworld leader, the jurisdiction of the State Courts to sit in judgment over a Hawaiian citizen was raised as a defense. The Blount Report, President Cleveland's address to Congress, the Newland's Resolution annexing Hawaii to the United States, and other historical documents and events were made part of the case record. Wide public attention was given to the case. Following that, the attorney challenged the authority of the United States District Court to force him to participate as a juror on the argument that he was not a U.S. citizen but a Hawaiian. Soon after, the evictions of predominantly native Hawaiians from Sand Island, followed by evictions at Makua Beach, than at Waimanalo, all challenged the jurisdiction of the courts to try Hawaiian citizens.

Those eviction cases reflected another direction of growing Hawaii consciousness. The "ceded lands", originally lands in the inventory of the government of Hawaii and those owned

by the "Crown", subsequently ceded to the United States by the Republic of Hawaii, was challenged as nothing more than stolen lands. In the Makua Beach eviction case, before a packed courtroom, the State's expert witness, when asked to trace the title of those lands stated it was simply state policy that for those lands, no such tracing was necessary. The court then ruled that the evidence was conclusive that the Republic of Hawaii had proper title of these lands to cede them to the United States.

The Office of Hawaiian Affairs

As part of the awakening of Hawaii to the consciousness of historical injustice, at least to the native Hawaiians, the people of Hawaii ingrained in the State constitution in 1978, the Office of Hawaiian Affairs. The creation of OHA marked a first in organizational representation for the native Hawaiians. Indeed, it appears to be a unique response to indigenous peoples throughout the world.

Unlike the Office of Maori Affairs of Aotearoa (New Zealand) or the Office of Aboriginal Affairs of Australia and the Bureau of Indian Affairs of the U.S.A., the trustees of OHA are directly elected by the indigenous people. As a result, in theory at least, they are answerable to no one but their Hawaiian constituents.

OHA is still seen, however, as an organization of limited scope, unable to grasp the full sense of decolonization simply by the fact that its very existence is dependent on the colonial constitutional regime in Hawaii. Furthermore, it is based upon a race constituency and therefore unable to expand to the full inclusiveness of the potential Hawaiian citizens. Its recent position on Hawaiian sovereignty is to have it or another similar entity be treated by the colonial government as a tribal nation as it treats the American Indian nations.

Re-emergence as a Sovereign Independent Nation

Today, there is a growing vision of Hawaii as an independent nation, rejoining the ranks of other nations of the world.

Within this vision, the question of citizenship and residence within this Hawaiian nation would be settled not by racial extraction but by one's "relationship" to Hawaii - measured by some standard of acculturation, avowing singular loyalty to Hawaii, ancestry from Hawaiian citizens prior to the American invasion of 1893, etc. The native Hawaiians position in this nation is still being considered. Some possibilities are:

- 1) A weighted voting system within an electoral process for public officials such that the native vote in total would not be less than 50% of the total votes cast;
- 2) A bicameral legislative body in which the native Hawaiian voters would have exclusive rights to select the members of one body;

3) The creation of a Council of Customs, Protocol and `Aina (land) controlled by the native Hawaiians in which certain matters are fully within the control of this council;

4) Special provisions for land rights, access and gathering rights, and other rights recognized by developing international organizations such as the International Labour Office and the United Nations.

Many more challenges to U.S. rule in Hawaii are coming to public notice. In the schools, children are refusing to join in the morning pledge of allegiance to the United States, to stand for the "national" anthem, etc. Others are refusing to file tax returns or to pay income taxes. More and more people charged with criminal offenses are denying the jurisdiction of American courts over them. A groundswell of people protests is being felt in Hawaii. This groundswell has even impacted the Hawaii State Legislature. The joint houses of the legislature stated:

RECOGNIZING THE YEAR 1993 AS THE 100TH YEAR SINCE
THE OVERTHROW
OF THE INDEPENDENT NATION OF HAWAII

Whereas, the year 1993 holds special significance for everyone who has been a part of Hawaii over the last 100 years for it marks the century point after the United States military committed the first overt act to overthrow the independent nation of Hawaii; and

Whereas, the Legislature recognizes the increasing discussions and debate here in Hawaii and at the Congress of the United States of the consequence such an overt act of military aggression against a peaceful and independent nation has to the citizens and descendants of that nation today; and

Whereas, the Legislature believes that the proper status of Hawaii's indigenous people within the political regime of the State of Hawaii and the United States of America has still not reached its final stage and is still in the process of evolution; and

Whereas, the Legislature recognizes the even broader issue of the proper status of all people, irrespective of race, to exercise the right to self-determination; and

Whereas, the Legislature believes that the full range of consideration of Hawaii's people's rights and freedoms must be completely explored in order to bring about harmony within Hawaii's society; . . . now, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED by the House of Representatives of the Sixteenth

Legislature of the State of Hawaii, Regular Session of 1991, the Senate concurring, that the Legislature determines that the year 1993 should serve Hawaii as a year of special reflection to the rights and dignities of the native Hawaiians within the Hawaiian and the American societies; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Hawaii Legislature determines that the year 1993 be a special time for Hawaii, not only for special reflection of native Hawaiians, but for questioning the present and future role of people of every race who today constitute the "Hawaii society"; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Legislature encourages the promotion of debate revolving around the future of Hawaii as a Pacific Island society, within or without the United States of America; (underline added)

VI: SUMMARY:

History records no event in which the Hawaiian citizens were able to exercise self-determination after the U.S. marines landing in 1893. Following the American invasion of 1893, there have been a series of events to create a fiction of legitimate governance over Hawaii, under a pretense of a change of power. The missionary party converted into the Committee of Public Safety which became the Provisional Government with the help of the U.S. military. The Provisional Government later called itself the Republic of Hawaii, taken by the United States of America and renamed the Territory of Hawaii. Statehood status was the most recent sham "democracy" in Hawaii. Throughout this series of activities, the same men remained in power under different names. Hawaiian citizens were simply denied self-determination every step of the way.

The quest for independence is being rekindled in Hawaii at an extremely rapid rate, fueled by international and regional events as well as a rediscovery of cultural pride, historical appreciation and a greater understanding of the principles of decolonization and the possibilities for Hawaii. 1993 and the years following will be important times for Hawaii.