

Liberty University

**Malama Aina in Hawaii:
Unraveling the Legacy of the Post-World War II Land Sovereignty Movement**

A Dissertation Submitted to
the Faculty of the School of History
in Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

by

Rachel Lynn Sample

Lynchburg, Virginia

April 2024

Abstract

This dissertation undertakes a rigorous historical analysis to elucidate the intricate and enduring challenges surrounding the desecration of Native Hawaiian lands and culture. Drawing on a range of primary and secondary sources, as well as employing diverse methodological approaches, this study delves deep into the multifaceted factors that have shaped this longstanding issue within the context of Hawaii's history. Beginning with an exploration of the impact of Western legal strategies on land loss and cultural commodification among Native Hawaiians, this research investigates the historical processes that led to the separation of Hawaiians from their ancestral lands. It scrutinizes the ramifications of immigration patterns, particularly the influx of Caucasian settlers from the United States and subsequent Asian migration, which further exacerbated the disconnection between Hawaiians and their traditional territories. Furthermore, this dissertation scrutinizes the implications of Hawaii's statehood and its role in attempting to regain control over these valuable resources. It delves into the complex interplay of economic, political, and social forces that contributed to the marginalization and disenfranchisement of indigenous Hawaiians, especially in light of the consolidation of power by the Big Five Oligarchy and the imposition of martial law. Moreover, this study critically examines the complicity of corporate and governmental entities, particularly those entrenched in the tourism sector, in perpetuating land exploitation and commodifying Hawaiian culture for economic gain. It illuminates the deep-seated entrenchment of Hawaii's economy in tourism, which not only deepened the detachment of Native Hawaiians from their lands but also eroded their self-sufficiency and autonomy. Additionally, this dissertation investigates pivotal historical events such as the annexation of Hawaii by the United States in 1898 and its repercussions on indigenous Hawaiian communities. It analyzes the subsequent rise of Japanese influence post-

World War II and its impact on the cultural and political landscape of Hawaii. Furthermore, this study explores the resilience and resistance of Native Hawaiians through activism and cultural revitalization movements, including the Hawaiian Renaissance. It evaluates the efficacy of these movements in reclaiming and revitalizing indigenous Hawaiian identity and rights despite internal divisions and strategic differences. Through a meticulous examination of historical events, legal battles such as *Rice v. Cayetano*, legislative initiatives like the Akaka Bill, and collaborative efforts within coalitions like the Hawaiian Coalition of Native Claims, this dissertation contributes significantly to the scholarly understanding of Hawaiian sovereignty issues, land dispossession, cultural erosion, and the enduring quest for autonomy and justice within the broader historical discourse of Hawaii. This dissertation undertakes a rigorous historical analysis to shed light on the intricate challenges surrounding the desecration of Native Hawaiian lands and culture, with a particular focus on the notable failures of the sovereignty movement juxtaposed against the remarkable success of cultural revitalization efforts.

Contents

Chapter 1 – Introduction.....	1
The History of America as an Empire	4
Early Hawaiian History.....	6
Early European Contact and Colonialism.....	6
Annexation and Americanization	7
Cultural Renaissance and Sovereignty Movements.....	10
Decolonization	14
Pacific History	16
Cultural History	18
Native American History	20
History of Race and Ethnicity.....	22
History of Tourism.....	23
American Colonialism in the Pacific	24
Chapter 2 – Immigration Patterns and Sovereignty	31
Political Loss.....	36
Land in Hawaii.....	46
Race and Ethnicity in Hawaii	47
Labor History	51
Why Statehood.....	59
Hawaiian Culture	63
Hawaiian Celebrations	65
Chapter 3 – Hawaiian Land.....	71
Hawaiian's View of Land.....	71
Statehood Revisited	86
1978 Constitutional Convention	88
Chapter 4 – Tourism and The Hawaiian Economy	91
Chapter 5 – Hawaii and The U.S. Military.....	112
Nineteenth century Military Influence on Hawaii	114
Annexation.....	115
Interwar Period and the Big Five Oligarchy	116

Attack on Pearl Harbor	119
World War II.....	121
Post-World War II.....	123
Vietnam War Era	130
Chapter 6 – The Shift – Kalama Valley and the Bishop Estate.....	137
Protests Led by Locals	137
The Bishop Estate	142
Kalama Valley Evictions	145
Setsu Okubo	148
Chapter 7 – Protests that Culminated into a Movement.....	159
Bombing of Kahoolawe	160
George Helm.....	164
The Waiāhole/Waiākane Eviction	166
Hale Mohalu Evictions	169
Sand Island Eviction	171
Hilo Airport Protests	175
Makua Valley and the Military	178
Makapu’u Point.....	182
Chapter 8 – Fighting For Culture: Hawaiian Renaissance.....	187
The Hawaiian Renaissance	187
Education and Awareness	189
University of Hawaii and Ethnic Studies.....	190
Key Musicians	198
Cultural Practitioners	203
The Hawaiian Language Revival.....	206
Taro Field Farming	211
Loi Ponds	215
Wayfaring	217
The Hokulea and Mau Piailug	217
Mau Piailug.....	220
Hawaii Traditional Crafts	222
Chapter 9 – The Response.....	225
Hawaii's Legal Status	230

United Nations	234
Apology Resolution	237
Daniel K. Inouye	238
Key Sovereignty Groups.....	240
Mililani Trask.....	243
Hawaiian Separatists	248
Other Sovereignty Groups	253
The Peoples International Tribunal.....	254
Hawaiian Sovereignty Advisory Council	256
<i>Rice v. Cayetano</i>	261
The Akaka Bill.....	264
The Hawaiian Coalition of Native Claims	266
Conclusion	278
Bibliography	280
Primary Sources	280
Secondary Sources	292

Chapter 1 – Introduction

In early August 2023, wildfires erupted on the island of Maui and the town of Lahaina. This place holds deep cultural significance to the Hawaiian people and was once the capital of the Hawaiian Kingdom. The fire caused 99 confirmed deaths. Over 2,200 buildings were destroyed in this fire, including many historic landmarks of Lahaina. The estimated cost of damage is almost \$6 billion.¹ It proliferated in size and intensity when the wind pushed the flame through the region with dense neighborhoods. People in Hawaii were forced to evacuate with little to no notice, and because everyone was leaving simultaneously, there was bumper-to-bumper traffic. By 5:40 PM, the fire had reached the shoreline, and people began jumping into the ocean of Lahaina to escape the fire.²

After the fire, Native Hawaiians experienced not only deep grieving over the loss of life and homes but also a sense of safety "because our island is now turned into a cheaper commodity because there is nothing more important to save here, you have people coming in willing to buy burned out places."³ Because of preservation laws, Lahaina, having the historic buildings, acted as a sort of barricade against native land disputes. They halted any plans for large-scale development.⁴ Many Native Americans see the fires linked directly to colonization because Lahaina was once a rich wetland ecosystem. Still, when sugar plantation owners came to Hawaii, they illegally diverted water from their crops and the plantations that came also

¹ "Maui County Police Find Additional Remains, Raising Lahaina Wildfire Death Toll to 99," *ABC News* (The Associated Press: Archived from the original on October 20, 2023).

² Jack Gruesdale and Thomas Heaton, "Lahaina Emerges From 'Devastating' Fire as Relief Begins to Arrive," *Honolulu Civil Beat* (Archived from the original on August 10, 2023).

³ Jackie McKay, "Native Hawaiians Fear Maui Wildfire Destruction Will Lead to Their Cultural Erasure," *CBC News* (August 17, 2023).

⁴ Timothy Hurley, "Maria Lanakila Still Stands, but Waiola Church is Gone," *Honolulu Star-Advertiser* (August 11, 2023).

introduced non-native plant species for animal grazing, which helped fuel the fires. To see the realtors exploiting the wildfire devastation to generate wealth suggests the island's colonial history is repeating itself.⁵

The history of Hawaii, Hawaiian land, and native peoples explain why such fears resurfaced in this natural disaster. For centuries, Hawaiians have lost the rights to their land from colonial-minded settlers and tourists and lost pride in their unique cultural identity. “Malama Aina” in Hawaiian means to care for the ground, and to Indigenous Hawaiians, “Malama Aina” cannot happen without Hawaiian sovereignty. This dissertation examines the paradoxical trajectory of Native Hawaiian history, focusing on the intertwining themes of political failure and cultural resurgence. Through thorough historical analysis, it delves into the systemic challenges that led to political disenfranchisement and land dispossession, juxtaposed against the remarkable success of cultural revitalization movements in preserving indigenous identity and heritage.

By dissecting the impact of Western legal strategies, immigration patterns, and Hawaii's statehood, this study illuminates the barriers hindering indigenous sovereignty efforts. Despite these political setbacks, it highlights the resilience of Native Hawaiians through the transformative Hawaiian Renaissance, emphasizing the pivotal role of cultural activism in reclaiming rights and traditions.

Through a nuanced examination of historical events, this dissertation contributes to understanding Hawaiian sovereignty struggles and the enduring quest for autonomy. It

⁵ Darryl Fears, Allyson Chiu, and Elahe Izadi, "Hawaii Residents Fear 'the Next Catastrophe,'" *The Washington Post* (September 3, 2023).

underscores the power of cultural revitalization as a catalyst for indigenous empowerment within Hawaii's complex historical narrative.

Beginning collectively in the 1970s, Hawaiian consciousness rose to the extent of the desecration of their land, and Hawaiians began to organize and fight back.⁶ In the mainland USA during the 1960s, students organized on campuses and created change through mass protest, direct action, and civil disobedience. Hawaiians, educated on the mainland, brought those same New Left ideas to Hawaii.⁷ As Hawaiians regained their land and began to gain victories, pride in their cultural identity was again restored, though their push for land sovereignty largely failed. Ironically, the New Left strategies resulted in conservative cultural victories with little political success.

Malama Aina - is a Hawaiian phrase that means caring for and honoring the land. At one point, it was an endangered practice, but it is at the core of indigenous Hawaiian culture and guides Hawaii's current Hawaiian sovereignty politics. Post-WWII, Hawaiians were different from the previous generation of Hawaiians, who did not think they could do anything to change the status quo. As a case in point, Gary T. Kubota, born in Honolulu in 1949, was arrested with 31 other people in Kalama Valley on May 11, 1971, in an act of civil disobedience to protest the mass eviction of farmers and Native Hawaiians. His father fought in WWII and said his protests against the Vietnam War did not sit well with his father, Takao Kubota.⁸ Gary explained on the ideological generational divide, "We didn't talk for years," Kubota. It was not

⁶ Norman Meller and Anne Feder Lee, "Hawaiian Sovereignty," *Publius* 27, no. 2 (1997): 167–85.

⁷ Kawena Kubota, Koku Hawaii Oral History Project Interview by Gary T. Kubota, Honolulu, HI, conducted over months through email exchanges ending April 10, 2018.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1.

something that I could talk to him about." Kubota said his father "felt ashamed and betrayed by his son. All my life, I had been told by my father and uncles that when your government calls, you go. That's your duty."⁹ The story of Kubota was just one example of what this new generation of youth was up against as they protested not only the Vietnam War but in Hawaii, the government, the state, and later the country. Just like their New Left counterparts in the mainland U.S. at the same time, these protests were standing against the establishment.

The History of America as an Empire

Historians have articulated a spectrum of interpretations concerning the significant issues pertaining to Hawaii and its associated contexts. The history of America as an empire was stagnant until the late 1950s. Before this time, most mainstream historians said that the rise of the United States as a global power had a reluctant departure from an older tradition of continental isolationism and did not want to entangle itself with foreign governments. These works argued that the imperialism that did arise during this time was born from humanitarian and security concerns that were put on the United States by fascist communist and imperialist regimes. Direct American colonialism, interestingly, was heavily contested in high places of government in the early stages. Stephan Kinzer, author of *Overthrow: America's Century of Regime Change from Hawaii to Iraq*, argues that American Colonialism had three phases. Those stages were the Imperial Era, the Covert Era (Coup de Ta), and the Invasions.¹⁰ The Hawaiian kingdom was overthrown during the Imperial Era when America publicly seized lands for American dominion.

⁹ Kawena Kubota, Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project Interview with Gary T. Kubota, Honolulu, HI, conducted over months through email exchanges ending April 10, 2018.

¹⁰ Stephen Kinzer, *Overthrow America's Century of Regime Change from Hawaii to Iraq*, 1st ed. (New York: Times Books/Henry Holt, 2006), 65.

Some in Congress pushed back against this open and imperial era. Even President Cleveland saw it as morally wrong.¹¹ Some of this pushback was for the altruistic notion of "it not being suitable to topple an independent region," but there were also more nefarious reasons related to race and not wanting to compete with the non-white majority.¹² Revisionist efforts around this topic of history led to two different schools of thought on American imperialism, as described in historian James G. Morgan's book *Into New Territory: American Historians and the Concept of U.S. Imperialism*. In this work, he told of the two schools of thought, Wisconsin, and Marxist.¹³ The Marxist school argued that American overseas expansion was a result of capitalism, and the only way not to have this type of imperialism was to overhaul the total market system of the United States. On the other hand, William Appleman Williams, the most famous Wisconsin school of thought member, argued that the turn towards empire was not a crime but rather a tragedy. He claimed it was a case of good intention that went haywire.¹⁴ Both schools of thought still exist. In Morgan's work, he argues that the new left departed academia, went to the streets, and missed the opportunity to challenge the dominant Wisconsin interpretation academically.¹⁵

¹¹ Grover Cleveland, President's Message Relating to the Hawaiian Islands. December 18, 1893, to the Senate and House of Representatives (Washington: Gov't Printing Office, 1893), XVI.

¹² Allen H. Merriam, "Racism in the Expansionist Controversy of 1898-1900," *Phylon* (1960-), 39, no. 4 (1978): 369–80.

¹³ James G. Morgan, *Into New Territory: American Historians and the Concept of U.S. Imperialism*. (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2014), 66.

¹⁴ J. A. Thompson, "William Appleman Williams and the 'American Empire,'" *Journal of American Studies* 7, no. 1 (1973): 91.

¹⁵ James G. Morgan, *Into New Territory: American Historians and the Concept of U.S. Imperialism*. (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2014), 55.

Early Hawaiian History

Hawaiian history often incorporates oral tradition and indigenous knowledge, including chants, legends, and stories passed down through generations. These sources provide valuable insights into pre-contact Hawaiian society, culture, and belief systems. Early Hawaiian history carried the story not in written words but through chants in genealogies.¹⁶ They learned and accepted the old ways and histories through these chants. These chants showed them who they were and how they came to be.

Early European Contact and Colonialism

Studies in early European contact and colonialism explore the impact of European explorers, missionaries, and traders on Hawaiian society. They included introducing Christianity, establishing plantations, and the social and political changes accompanying colonization. When James Cook contacted natives in the late 18th century, the history of the Hawaiian people from the Western perspective began to infiltrate and dominate the islands and beyond. In the 1820s, missionaries arrived and put the Hawaiian language in written form to teach them to read the Bible in their language.¹⁷ After European contact, European voices wrote most of the history to tell the world who Hawaiians were. In one of the early encounters, in exchange for building a Hale (house), William Channing Woodbridge, a missionary, wrote down a geography book in their language for the naturally curious native Hawaiians. Woodbridge's writing and other histories of Hawaiians they read about themselves described Hawaiians as ignorant pagans who

¹⁶ Frederick B. Wichman, *Nā Pua Ali'i O Kaua'i: Ruling Chiefs of Kaua'i* (United States: University of Hawaii Press, 2003).

¹⁷ Lorrin Andrews, *A Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language*, notes by William de Witt Alexander, org. by Henry M. Whitney, (Honolulu: 1865) (United States: Island Heritage Publishing, 2003), 36.

were also lustful and cannibals.¹⁸ The maligned perception of Hawaiians began chipping away at how Hawaiians viewed themselves in the broader world. Hawaiian schoolchildren learned one history of their people at home: how their ancestors traveled thousands of miles on the sea, how they fished by the moonlight, and a completely different history of themselves at school.¹⁹ Frantz Fanon, psychologist and a political philosopher of the 20th century, wrote, "By a kind of perverted logic colonialism turns to the past of the oppressed people and distorts, disfigures, and destroys it."²⁰ He argued that the first step of the colonial process was through deculturation. This research will trace this deculturation process through primary sources, the 20th-century newspapers, government records, and oral history interviews of the Hawaiian people and settlers.

Annexation and Americanization

Studies in annexation and Americanization analyze the annexation of Hawaii by the United States in 1898 and the subsequent Americanization of Hawaiian society. This period saw the suppression of the Hawaiian language and culture in favor of American ideals.²¹ Hawaiian history scholars assist in the decolonization by voicing the indigenous interpretation of land, culture, politicians, and economics. Ethnic Hawaiians and the broader world made prior assumptions that Hawaiians were passive objects of global exploration. Throughout the annexation, through statehood, and beyond, Hawaiian history was confusing for natives because

¹⁸ William Channing Woodbridge and S. Whitney, *Hoikehonua* (United States: MeaPai Palapala a na Misionari, 1845), 12.

¹⁹ "In the beginning" Hawaiihistory.org. Info Grafik Inc. Archived from the original on December 20, 2014.

²⁰ Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Constance Farrington (London, England: Penguin Modern Classics, 2011), 210.

²¹ The Law Cited is Identified as Act 57, Sec. 30 of the 1896 Laws of the Republic of Hawaii.

it was not written in their language or from their understanding. They viewed themselves from the narratives presented at school and in newspapers that depicted them as not smart enough to rule their own country.²²

Hawaiians needed to be able to communicate their history and culture to their children for this identity to survive. The Hawaiians themselves made efforts to put Hawaiian history in written form. However, those who wrote these were still not pure history as these were written by Hawaiians who received a missionary (and American cultural) education.²³ At this time, there was also a deliberate push into the subconscious of the Hawaiian people that they were Americans. The U.S. president became an intentionally placed icon in Hawaiian literature and publications. For example, in 1907, Honolulu High School was renamed President William McKinley High School; William McKinley was the president in office during the annexation of Hawaii.

Other presidential names, such as Washington, Lincoln, Jefferson, and Roosevelt, became the names of schools on Hawaiian soil. To the Hawaiian children going to these schools, this left an indelible impression on their minds. In school, they did not learn their native history. They learned to memorize American presidents and U.S. state capitals.²⁴ These intentional acts by foreigners sought to erode the Hawaiian national identity. Hawaiians, the U.S. thought, could fold their culture into American culture.²⁵ Indoctrination was a form of cultural imperialism that

²² "Hawaiian People," *Lewiston Evening Journal* (July 15, 1898): 4.

²³ John Papa Li, *Fragments of Hawaiian History*, ed. Mary Kawena Pukui and trans. Dorothy B. Barrère (United States: Bishop Museum Press, 1983).

²⁴ Harry Rogers, "U.S Born Japs Must Be Yanks," *Rochester Evening Journal* (Sep 12, 1922): 9.

²⁵ "Hawaii is Celebrating an Important Anniversary," *The Gazette Times* (July 7, 1911): 5.

the United States often did that did not consider the unique native history and contribution to their self-determination.

This colonial history went further when Ralph Simpson Kuykendall, a haole and leading American historian of Hawaii, came to Hawaii in 1922 to lead the Hawaiian Historical Commission. He was a professor of history at the University of Hawaii Manoa. Published in 1938, 1953, and 1967, he wrote three volumes covering Hawaiian history called the *Hawaiian Kingdom*. Before Kuykendall, many of the written histories of Hawaii came from the perspectives of missionaries, traders, and foreign governments. Kuykendall sought to incorporate all three sources and relied heavily on the historical collection of Hawaii's territorial archives, library, and other museums. However, his is still a colonial perspective on Hawaiian history.²⁶ Another Colonial view was offered by Gavin Daws, a native Australian residing in Hawaii and a historian, filmmaker, and writer who wrote the book *Shoal of Time* in 1968.²⁷ These interpretations were simplistic in that Hawaiian history was a part of American history. These sources were pro-annexation, used English language sources, and sought to highlight Hawaii as wholly American. They replicated the European and American views without considering the Native Hawaiian viewpoint. They viewed Liliuokalani as deserving of being overthrown because of her and Hawaiians' inherent "backwardness. Houston Wood, in *Displacing Natives: The Rhetorical Production of Hawaii* (1999), noted that many 20th-century historians and scholars took this Cook centrism view of the Hawaiian Islands, and these historians were supposedly interested in Hawaiians.²⁸

²⁶ Ralph Simpson Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom* (United States: University of Hawaii, 1953), 75.

²⁷ Gavan Daws, *Shoal of Time: a History of the Hawaiian Islands* (New York: Macmillan, 1968), 16.

²⁸ Houston Wood, *Displacing Native Places: The Rhetorical Production of Hawai'i* (N.p.: University of Hawaii at Manoa, 1996), 23.

Cultural Renaissance and Sovereignty Movements

Contemporary scholars of Hawaiian history strive to offer a more genuine portrayal rooted in indigenous perspectives. Authenticity, in this context, pertains to narratives that reflect the viewpoints of the Hawaiian people. Prior historical accounts often overlooked Hawaiians as active participants in their own history despite their authenticity, according to the writers' perspectives. Modern historians of Hawaiian history attempted to contribute more authentically to the history. Hawaiians began to change their native history, and the history began to show the agency of their ancestors. In *A Power in the World: The Hawaiian Kingdom in Oceania*, historian Lorenz Gonschor argues that Hawaii was once the most significant power in Oceania and the country that other Pacific countries emulated and looked to for help.²⁹ Other scholars showed agency by examining Hawaiian language newspapers as a source of history. Noenoe Silva, a prominent Hawaiian Author, is an example of this. In her book *Aloha Betrayed* (2017), she said all the written sources in the Hawaiian language she translated, including newspapers, anti-annexation petitions, and genealogies, demonstrate a widespread resistance to American rule.³⁰ The Hawaiian language stopped being taught in schools for four decades. Because of that, the newspapers and other Hawaiian sources were primarily ignored. Noenoe Silva used the research methodology of reading what the Native Hawaiians wrote. With the resurgence of the sources translated into English, Hawaiians began to see themselves differently. Not ashamed but proud of their history and the fight that Hawaiians put up to oppose colonization.

²⁹ Lorenz Gonschor, *A Power in the World: The Hawaiian Kingdom in Oceania* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2019), 17.

³⁰ Noenoe K Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 15.

Marvin Puakea Nogelmeir, professor of Hawaiian language, wrote in *Mai Pa'a I Ka Leo: Historical voice in Hawaiian primary materials, Looking Forward and Listening Back* (2003), that Hawaiian history needs to be accurately derived from 19th-century voices. He said one must go further and use Hawaiian language newspapers that preserve their history's subtleties and Poly-rhetorical understandings, such as metaphors.³¹ David Chang, a professor of history at the University of Minnesota and a Native Hawaiian, offered one of these new perspectives. In his book, *The World and All the Things Upon It* (2016), he criticizes Daws and Kuykendall's assessment that the Hawaiian people were passive recipients of what the travelers and foreigners wanted to instill. Chang argues that they were a part of cultural exchange.³² Also, in *Aloha America: Hula Circuits through the U.S. Empire* (2012), Adria Imada argued that there was no consensual colonization. Hawaiians needed more time to be ready to extend Aloha to Americans as easily as perceived.³³ Moreover, in *Return to Kahiki: Native Hawaiians in Oceania* (2018), Kelani Cook argued that this accessible accommodation to the foreigner's belief was a fantasy of Hawaii. It was a colonizer's apologetics for American imperialism.³⁴

The cultural imperialism that replaced written histories sought to legitimize annexation in the eyes of Americans and native inhabitants and argued that the conquest of the Hawaiian people was for their benefit. According to native Hawaiian activist, educator, author, poet, and leader of the Hawaiian sovereignty movement Haunani-Kay Trask, Hawaiians did not benefit

³¹ Marvin Puakea Nogelmeir, "Mai Pa'a I Ka Leo: Historical Voice in Hawaiian Primary Materials, Looking Forward and Listening Back" (PhD diss., University of Hawai'i, 2003).

³² David A Chang, *The World and All the Things Upon It: Native Hawaiian Geographies of Exploration* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016). 14.

³³ Adria L. Imada, *Aloha America: Hula Circuits Through the U.S. Empire* 1st ed. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012), 41.

³⁴ Patricia Grimshaw, "Return to Kahiki: Native Hawaiians in Oceania," *Journal of American History*, vol. 106, (2019): 215.

from colonialism and tourism. The military and the State of Hawaii worked together in a "grotesque commercialization of everything Hawaiian and have damaged Hawaiians Psychologically."³⁵ She argued it cheapened the Hawaiian culture through tourism but physically destroyed the sacred lands, like in the example of the U.S. military bombing of the island of Kaho'olawe or the State of Hawaii serving as trustees the land meant for Native Hawaiians yet sold to the highest bidder of non-native peoples. This explored tourism and its imprint on the native peoples and lands of Hawaii, how businesses and people exploited Hawaiian culture and lands as a marketing device, and how tourism in the 20th century became the new sugar plantations because a cheapened culture could be sold, like sugar, to the foreign market hungry for a sensation of something different.³⁶ These frustrating experiences in this new post-statehood economy further built the resistance and the call for sovereignty.

In the latter half of the 20th century, after Hawaiian statehood, a Hawaiian renaissance began with Hawaiians who sought to reclaim Hawaiian lands. They wanted to stop the military and tourist industry's destruction of their land.³⁷ Noenoe Silva, a native historian, discovered that Hawaii was not a passive group that never resisted.³⁸ She argued that they always had a form of resistance. In her research, she discovered that a collection of 21,269 signatures that opposed the annexation was obtained by Hui Aloha Aina (Hawaiian Patriotic League) and sent to

³⁵ Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i*. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 197.

³⁶ Kealani Cook, *Return to Kahiki: Native Hawaiians in Oceania. Studies in North American Indian History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 6.

³⁷ "Native Hawaiians Want to Take Islands Back," *The Telegraph* (October 14, 1982): 14.

³⁸ Noenoe K Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 51.

Washington, D.C.³⁹ These signatures were significant because it was more than half of the native population then. This discovery became a contributing factor to the complete Hawaiian sovereignty movement.

Other leaders of the time, like Mary Kawena Puku, a significant historian and archivist, brought in the educational aspect of this modern identity movement.⁴⁰ She was half Haole, half Hawaiian, and, in their tradition of hannahai, was raised by her grandparents. Her grandparents taught her all the chants and histories of the Hawaiian people. She worked in the Bishop Museum for 25 years, writing many old histories and becoming the person people consulted on traditional Hawaiian culture.⁴¹ Though she received criticism for publishing these Hawaiian stories, she stood against the criticism by saying it was important for the younger generations in Hawaii to have them written down.⁴² She became a crucial educator for native activists in Hawaii's political and cultural renaissance.

Hawaiians began to organize and formally resist what they believed was the degradation of the lands they claimed were taken in an illegal conquest. They formed groups, the Democratic Party of Hawaii and ALOHA (Aboriginal lands of Hawaiian Ancestry). Along with analyzing the key figures and organizations involved in the desecration of lands, this work will also examine the response in the form of organized resistance and why those resistance movements

³⁹ Petition Against the Annexation of Hawaii; 1897; Petitions and Memorials, Resolutions of State Legislatures, and Related Documents, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations from the 55th Congress; Petitions and Memorials, 1817 - 2000; Records of the U.S. Senate, Record Group 46; National Archives Building, Washington, DC.

⁴⁰ Mary Kawana Puki, E. W. Hearting, and Catherine A. Lee, *Nānā i Ke Kumu* (United Kingdom: Hui Hanai, 2014), 17.

⁴¹ "Mary Kawena Pukui, Hawaiian Culture Expert," *The Evening Independent* (May 23, 1986): 9.

⁴² Lamont Lindstrom, "Selo! Selo! Bigfala Canoe." *The Contemporary Pacific* 12, no. 2 (2000): 564.

ultimately failed to have a resounding success. Hawaiian voices were beginning to emerge, offering a new perspective that empowered and inspired ethnic Hawaiians to view themselves as a power player in their history.

Haunani-Kay Trask was one of the most influential voices of the Hawaiian Renaissance of culture and language. In *From a Native Daughter* (1999), she criticizes Daws and Kuykendall's work as terrible examples of authentic Hawaiian cultural history. She said it was because they placed the progression of the Hawaiian people as linear and one that peaks and flourishes within a Euro-American culture.⁴³ Trask argued that historians who do not understand Hawaiian culture are simply writing about themselves, and the only authentic way to understand Hawaiian history is not to read the narratives of other foreign Western people. She said to put down the books and take up Hawaiian practices to understand Hawaiian history if a historian wishes to write about it.⁴⁴ Her book is considered an essential manuscript in understanding the modern sovereignty movement in Hawaii.

Decolonization

Virgilio Enriquez, professor of psychology and native son of the Philippines, and author of *Decolonizing the Filipino Psyche: Impetus for the Development of Psychology in the Philippines*, said colonization is more of a social process than a political process because governance over a people changes after the people themselves sufficiently changed. He defines the steps in which colonization occurs, including denial and withdrawal. In the case of Hawaii, when colonial people came upon those in Hawaii, they were looked at as people without culture

⁴³ Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 197.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 198.

or moral values, offering nothing of any social value.⁴⁵ This poor view caused indigenous people to withdraw from their own culture as they aligned more closely with the colonizing culture. Some residents stated that Hawaiians were passive about the takeover because they sought something better.

The next step, Enriquez argues, is destruction and eradication when colonizers take a bolder step and destroy any symbols or physical representation of indigenous culture.⁴⁶ After steps one and two occur, he argues that a series of belittlements happens when colonists take a stronger hold. The new legal system's legal institutions will bring traditional practices. Criminalization occurred when Hawaiians could not practice this traditional hula or speak their native language.⁴⁷ Step four is surface accommodation or tokenism. If any remnant of culture has survived the onslaught of the earlier steps. They are given token concessions, usually letting some of the older people rest and practice their tradition as a form of a token. In Hawaii, these were the few revered indigenous people who still retained knowledge of the old ways. Finally, the process of transformation and exploitation happens when remnants of the culture are celebrated as tokens of a time gone by. The indigenous culture is only allowed to flourish in the confines of the colonizer's permission, and the cultural remnants get exploited and used to export products or entertain tourists and visitors. This commodification occurred with the selling of Aloha in the form of tourism. Enriquez argues, "People who have undergone colonization are

⁴⁵ Sally Engle Merry, *Colonizing Hawai'i: The Cultural Power of Law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 4.

⁴⁶ Virgilio G. Enriquez, "Decolonizing the Filipino Psyche: Impetus for the Development of Psychology in the Philippines" eds. G. H. Blowers and Alison M. Turtle, *Psychology Moving East: The Status of Western Psychology in Asia and Oceania* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1987), 265.

⁴⁷ Mary Kawena Pukui, E. W. Haertig, and Catherine A. Lee, *Nana i ke Kumu (Look to the Source): Vol. 2* (Honolulu: Hui Hanai, 1979), 61.

inevitably suffering from concepts of inferiority about the historical or cultural social background they live in a colonial society which is a constant and overwhelming reminder of the superiority of the colonial society over that of the underlying indigenous one."⁴⁸ During colonization, Hawaii lost pride in its identity and land and started to regain its cultural identity.

Pacific History

Within the topical field of Pacific history, scholars viewed the Pacific Rim in three main categories: indigenous, critical empire, and connectionist histories. In indigenous history, scholars seek to reconstruct island culture, politics, and history to challenge and overturn the racist presumptions of colonizer history. They emphasize that rather than being discovered by Europeans, Islanders were discoverers. They were adapting navigators who resisted outside impositions. These interpretations are found in works like *The World and All the Things Upon It*, written in 2016 by native Historian David Chang.⁴⁹ Because of the lack of primary academic sources from indigenous perspectives, some natives rejected Western-derived notions and historical authority. They emphasize that the oral histories generated by native island people are the only history to be considered. An example of this is in the works of Haunani-Kay Trask.⁵⁰ The problem with this, however, can be a tendency towards romanticism of the past and even racist condescension. However, this scholarship remains a critical challenge to traditional scholarship on the Pacific Rim.

⁴⁸ Virgilio G. Enriquez, "Decolonizing the Filipino Psyche: Impetus for the Development of Psychology in the Philippines" eds. G. H. Blowers and Alison M. Turtle, *Psychology Moving East: The Status of Western Psychology in Asia and Oceania* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1987), 266.

⁴⁹ David A. Chang, *The World and All the Things upon It: Native Hawaiian Geographies of Exploration*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016.), 15.

⁵⁰ Cynthia G. Franklin and Laura E. Lyons, "Land, Leadership, and Nation: Haunani-Kay Trask on the Testimonial Uses of Life Writing in Hawai'i," *Biography* 27:1 (Winter 2004.): 222.

In the 1990s and beyond, the analysis of Pacific Rim history came to be called "critical empire history." This interpretation differs from indigenous ideologies and places the Pacific empire as a center of modern military industry and state-building in the U.S., Japan, and Europe. Work can be seen in this category by Paul Kramer in *Power and Connection: Imperial Histories of the United States and the World*.⁵¹ This work focuses on the nations of Japan and the U.S. They approach the problems and experiences in the Pacific with gender, culture, and politics. However, the problem with this framework is that arguments originate outside of the islands. While this work is sympathetic to the islander's claims, its danger is that it could become a type of colonizer history. It focuses its interpretation through the lens of problems of the U.S., Japan, and Europe, and not Native Hawaiians.

The third interpretation of Pacific history is connectionist, which flies under the same banner as global and transnational history. While the integration of all histories and how various nations interacted with each other is a topic historians must tackle, the problem with this interpretation is that when the focus is on global islanders' histories tend to fade into the background. Modern historians are seeking to take these various interpretations and consolidate them to create the possibility of having better conversations between Pacific histories. This research aims to add to the understanding of Hawaii by analyzing different arguments and perspectives from all three schools of thought.

⁵¹ Paul A. Kramer, "Power and Connection: Imperial Histories of the United States in the World." *The American Historical Review* 116, no. 5 (2011): 1350.

Cultural History

On culture, scholars mostly wrote off the importance of cultural history before the 20th century as historians were more likely to focus on geopolitical history. Pre-20th century, the idea of Manifest Destiny, however, shaped the ideology of many Americans and scholars.⁵² However, after the struggles of the 1930s and the Red Scare, historians started to reevaluate the doctrines of manifest destiny. At the same time, those working in anthropology started to look closer at culture and see it as an autonomous and complex way of life. Ruth Benedict's 1934 *Patterns of Culture* was a trailblazer of this new interest that later moved into historical scholarship.⁵³ Her book introduced the idea of cultural study to the mainstream. In it, she talked about primitive peoples and their great potential, purposes, and motivations. This cultural study allowed American readers to reflect upon their own culture. In her book, she defined culture as being a pattern of thought and action of a people group. Also, in 1938, Warren I. Susman wrote a series of essays called *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the 20th Century*.⁵⁴ These essays talk about how the lost generation of intellectuals and artists were able to repatriate themselves and discover their native grounds of scholarship with culture moving into the mainstream of academia. This resurgence of cultural interest in academia became the grounds for further cultural history in David M. Potters' book *People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and American Character*. In this book, he argued that American culture became what

⁵² Frederick Merk, *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History* (United States: Random House, 1963), 257.

⁵³ Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (United Kingdom: Houghton Mifflin, 2005), 58.

⁵⁴ Warren I. Susman, *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press 2003), 75.

it is because of an economy and culture of abundance.⁵⁵ He crafted this interpretation to celebrate the capitalist system's success in response to the Cold War. Potter went on to lead the American studies program at Yale, which was created and endowed to promote the virtues of free enterprise and capitalism.

In his book *Ideology as a Cultural System* in 1964, Clifford Geertz, a cultural anthropologist, argued that ideologies were culture transformers and switchboards, converting the paralysis of cognitive dissidence into the energy of collective mobilization.⁵⁶ This ideological shift was also the lens Bernard Baylin used in his book *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* in 1967.⁵⁷ In this book, Baylin reinterpreted the revolutionaries in a negative light, which also signaled a move away from David Potters' Cold War consensus interpretation. By the time the Vietnam War emerged, historians sought new models of cultural politics.⁵⁸ Also, there was a change in university demographics, with more ethnic and blue-collar students attending. These groups viewed the Cold War interpretation as outdated. This New Left shift moved away from focusing on the behavior of people in a people group to explain the culture and to the idea of the experience of a people group that creates culture.

History began to shift again in the 1980s with American studies scholar George Lipsitz's book *Class and Culture in Cold War America: A Rainbow at Midnight*. His book revealed the

⁵⁵ David M. Potter, *People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), 195.

⁵⁶ Dominick LaCapra, "Culture and Ideology: From Geertz to Marx," *Poetics Today* 9, no. 2 (1988): 377.

⁵⁷ Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992), 29.

⁵⁸ John McMillian and Paul Buhle, eds. *The New Left Revisited* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003), 3.

left's growing unease and the emergence of the Reagan-era conservative New Right.⁵⁹ The New Right culminated with Lynne Cheney, former chair of the National Endowment for the Humanities, arguing against state standards of history. She charged that "the standard's author pursued their revisionist agenda and no longer bothered to conceal their great hatred of traditional history."⁶⁰ This research seeks to add to the research gap by telling all sides rather than narrowly defining one protagonist and one antagonist in the Hawaiian Movement.

Native American History

On Native American scholarship, history began not with historians but with ethnographers and observers who wrote books about Indians and their way of life. People wrote about who lived in and traveled with native tribes like Henry Rowe Schoolcraft in the *American Indian: Their History, Condition, and Prospects* (1851).⁶¹ These types of histories were written from a top-down approach. They wrote about native people but were not written by natives. They were written from the perspective of how government and military officials dealt with the Indian situation. In these books, Native Americans serve primarily as the victims.

In 1954, interested scholars from various groups formed the American Society for Ethnohistory, which produced stories written from inside communities and tribes. This group of ethno historians like Wilbur Jacobs in *Diplomacy and Indian Gifts: Anglo-French Rivalry Along the Ohio and Northwest Frontiers, 1748-1763*. This book, written in 1950, argued the importance of Indians as tradesmen with the British and French and showed how they depended

⁵⁹ George Lipsitz, *Class, and Culture in Cold War America*, "A Rainbow at Midnight," (New York: J. F. Bergin, 1981), 96.

⁶⁰ Lynne V. Cheney, "The End of History," *The Historian* 57, no. 2 (1995): 454.

⁶¹ Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *The American Indians: Their History, Condition, and Prospects, from Original Notes and Manuscripts* (United States: Wanzer, Foot and Company [Buffalo, printed], 1851), 71.

on each other.⁶² In this interpretation, native Americans were not passive victims but agents and tradesmen. The New Left era of anti-established revisionist history also gave voice to the Native Americans as agents in their history as universities introduced the first Native American studies programs.⁶³ Revisionist history was also when Hawaii introduced its Hawaiian Studies programs in the University of Hawaii system.

In this wake of activism and the rise of political Indian identity, historian Hazel Hertzberg wrote *The Search for an American Indian Identity: Modern Pan-Indian Movements* in 1971.⁶⁴ This work listened to Indian voices and got an Indian perspective on native history.⁶⁵ Historians then began to look at Native Americans as individuals and heroes, such as in Hugh Dempsey's *Crowfoot Chief of the Blackfeet*.⁶⁶ In this revisionist era, historians in Native American studies like Laurence M. Hauptman wrote *Tribes & Tribulations: Misconceptions About American Indians and Their Histories*. His book attempted to confront the still-existing ignorance of the Native Americans.⁶⁷

⁶² Murray G. Lawson, "Review of Diplomacy and Indian Gifts: Anglo-French Rivalry along the Ohio and Northwest Frontiers 1748–1763," by Wilbur R. Jacobs. *The Canadian Historical Review* 31, no. 4 (1950): 427.

⁶³ Elizabeth Cook-Lynn, "Who Stole Native American Studies," *Wičazo Ša Review*, vol 12 (Spring 1997): 11.

⁶⁴ Hazel W. Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity: Modern Pan-Indian Movements* 1st ed. (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1971), 95.

⁶⁶ Hugh A. Dempsey, *Crowfoot Chief of the Blackfeet* 1st ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972), 63.

⁶⁷ Laurence M. Hauptman, *Tribes & Tribulations: Misconceptions About American Indians and Their Histories* 1st ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995). 62.

History of Race and Ethnicity

Race and Ethnicity are significant factors that define the Native Hawaiians' experiences. Scholars began to argue that race was the most crucial element of how various groups assimilated into the United States in the 1980s. It was also called whiteness studies. Whiteness scholars like Allegany Zander Saxton, in *The Rise and Fall of the White Republic: Class Politics and Mass Culture in Nineteenth Century, America* argued that the fundamental part of American life had been racial. This whiteness studies era also had critics who argued that explaining whiteness is an oversimplistic narrative, just like class formation and labor history are deemed.⁶⁸ Ethnocentrism, like racism, contributed to overthrowing the Hawaiian sovereignty and land. It was another means to justify the conquest of Hawaii. When the United States overthrew a country, it often did so with a denial of the unique histories and self-determination of the conquered peoples. It was not just a conquest of land, resources, and trade but a conquest of culture, identity, and an inherent belief that non-white people groups were inferior.⁶⁹ It was echoed in the poem of Rudyard Kipling's *White Man's Burden*, written in 1899. In this poem, he emphasizes that the moral obligation of a white imperialist nation was to civilize the non-white peoples of planet Earth and encourage their cultural, economic, and social progress through colonialism.⁷⁰ Ethnicity and race became a part of Native Hawaiians losing their identity and land, but it was only one part of a complex erosion of identity.

⁶⁸ Alexander Saxton, *The Rise and Fall of the White Republic: Class Politics and Mass Culture in Nineteenth Century America* (London, and New York: Verso Books, 2003), 81.

⁶⁹ Carolyn Gallaher, Carl T. Dahlman, and Mary Gilmartin, *Key Concepts in Political Geography* (United Kingdom: Sage Publications, 2009), 2.

⁷⁰ Rudyard Kipling, *The White Man's Burden: A Poem* (New York: Doubleday and McClure, 1899).

History of Tourism

Hal Rothman argues in *The Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West* brought prosperity to some people in areas of economic decline, but not everybody benefited. He also argued that with tourism, residents lose control of the place they live to outsiders and have lifestyle changes they do not want. He also talks about the alteration to the physical and cultural environment.⁷¹ Tourism was initially just for the nation's elite. However, through the development of railroads and other forms of travel like automobiles and highways, tourism became more accessible to the average person. Rothman says tourism served visitors ahead of residence, grafted a new power structure onto the community, and relegated most locals to lower levels of the economic ladder. He argued it linked the resort more closely to the nation than its local surroundings."⁷² He added that tourism development to the natives was a "process typical of colonialism in American history."⁷³ He carefully connects economic changes to social, cultural, and environmental alterations in his interpretation. This research will show the tourism industry's impact on the local Native Hawaiian population and how it helped prevent them from regaining sovereignty.

In 2001, historians David Roble and Patrick Long wrote 13 essays called *Seeing and Being Seen: Tourism in the American West*, further extending the history of tourism. In their interpretation, tourists are not superficial vandals, and host communities are not passive victims

⁷¹ Hal Rothman, *Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West* (Lawrence, Kan: University Press of Kansas, 1998), 48.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 67.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 67.

of the excessiveness of tourism.⁷⁴ Also, professor of English Lea Dilworth wrote in this collection of essays that the railroads and hotels defined the meaning of Indians and Hispanics for tourists in the southwest. Through oral history interviews, land leases, protests, court hearings, and personal correspondences, this research will show that tourism in Hawaii became complicated and deeply intertwined and contribute to Hawaiians being unable to regain sovereignty.

American Colonialism in the Pacific

American colonialism in the Pacific started with Hawaii. While the U.S. government did not initiate the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom, it was well-proven and instrumental in its annexation. Hawaii was overthrown by the children of missionaries, who stayed in Hawaii and set up sugar plantations, and profiteers who took advantage of the Native Hawaiian's ignorance of Western legal systems.⁷⁵ They bought large tracts of Hawaiian land after the great Ma'hele that allowed foreigners to purchase Hawaiian lands. Initially overthrown against the will of the vast majority of the native population, it was officially annexed into the United States during the Spanish-American War in 1898.⁷⁶ This idea of a former colony, the United States, now a colonizer, seems incongruous. Colonizer leanings at the end of the 19th century were spurred by the writings of naval officer Alfred Thayer Mahan in his 1890 book, *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History*. He argued that modern industrial nations should secure foreign markets for trade

⁷⁴ A. G. Coleman, Review of *Seeing and Being Seen: Tourism in the American West*, by D. M. Wrobel and P. T. Long. *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 102, no. 4 (2001): 536.

⁷⁵ "Survey of Missions of the Board: The Hawaiian Islands," *The Missionary Herald at Home and Abroad* vol. LXI. (January 1865): 9.

⁷⁶ Tom Coffman, *Nation Within: The History of the American Occupation of Hawai'i* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016), 315.

and marine protection for those trade routes.⁷⁷ Hawaii was an ideal location to secure an outpost of global trade domination in the United States for its strategic position in the Pacific, and the fall of the Hawaiian Monarchy seemed imminent. Americans thought that if they did not take it for themselves, it fell into the hands of Japan.⁷⁸

On the economic front, in 1894, the dilemma America found itself in was that it was producing considerably more goods than Americans could consume. President Cleveland's Treasury Secretary John Carlyle warned that the nation depends on its ability to sell surplus products for remunerative prices.⁷⁹ Even though American colonialism included spreading democracy, Christianizing heathen nations, building overseas military bases, and putting foreign lands under American control, it was not its primary objective. The main driving force for Americans in colonialism, it has been argued, was for America to gain access to foreign markets' resources and its investment potential.⁸⁰ James Cook and subsequent Western travelers spoke of Hawaii and Hawaiians as discovered, not as agents of discovery. In native stories, however, they spoke of when they discovered James Cook.⁸¹ In other words, they were not passive people but agents of discovery. This story and sense of agency became marred by dominant Western interpretations and a loss of Kanaka's native language.

⁷⁷ A. T. Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660–1783* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 94.

⁷⁸ John J. Stephan, *Hawaii Under the Rising Sun. Japan's Plans for Conquest after Pearl Harbor* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984), 80.

⁷⁹ Walter LaFeber, *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion 1860-1898*. (New York: Cornell University Press, 1963), 75.

⁸⁰ Stephen Kinzer, *Overthrow: America's Century of Regime Change from Hawaii to Iraq* (New York: Times Books, 2006), 76.

⁸¹ “Reminiscences of a Kama‘āina,” February 24, 1964. Submitted by Johanna N. Wilcox, March 31, 1964. Bishop Museum Archives.

Modern Hawaiians viewed their economy, built up by this establishment, as one that disenfranchised them and left them destructively dependent on outside sources for sustenance. Modern Hawaiians in this era viewed their land as essential to their identity and fought for their land rights first through protests, then through the state and federal courts, and finally through the United Nations. They fought for culture by developing an ethnic studies department at the University of Hawaii whose slogan was, "Our history, our way."⁸² They also fought for culture by bringing back the Hawaiian language and cultural practices on the verge of extinction.⁸³ Enrique then states that the path to decolonization starts with rediscovery, recovery, and mourning, which can happen interchangeably, followed by dreaming, which he says is the most crucial for decolonization.

Larry Kamakawiwoole experienced this in rediscovery in 1970 while working at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. He was asked to investigate the plight of Kalama Valley residents and farmers facing eviction at the hands of the Bishop Estate, the largest private landowner in Hawaii. He rediscovered, mourned, and then began to dream about a future of Hawaii for Hawaiians. He said of his former passive self, who accepted the way things were, "That all changed 360 degrees! People who knew me before did not know what to make of me. This quiet, no cause waves, mind your business boy was now the biggest troublemaker in town."⁸⁴ He and countless other Hawaiians had the same experience of awakening consciousness around this time when the Bishop Estate began to evict farmers from the Kalama Valley.

⁸² James Basset, "Hawaiians Demanding their Dues," *The Tuscaloosa News* (March 20, 1972): 8.

⁸³ Sam 'Olu Gon and Kawika B. Winter "A Hawaiian Renaissance That Could Save the World," *American Scientist*, vol. 107, no. 4 (2019): 232.

⁸⁴ Larry Kamakawiwoole, Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project Interview by Gary T. Kubota, Honolulu, HI, conducted over months through email exchanges ending December 4, 2018.

The Hawaiian sovereignty movement is a political and cultural campaign that aims to restore and promote the self-governance of the Native Hawaiian people of Hawaii. The movement has been gaining momentum in recent years, fueled by a desire to address past injustices and reclaim the unique cultural identity of the Native Hawaiian people. At its core, the movement seeks to redress the historical wrongs inflicted upon the Native Hawaiians, including the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893 and the subsequent annexation of Hawaii by the United States in 1898. In doing so, the movement advocates for restoring the independence of the Hawaiian Kingdom and establishing a sovereign Hawaiian nation. The Hawaiian sovereignty movement has been shaped and driven by various factors, including political, legal, cultural, and social forces.⁸⁵ Supporters of the movement come from diverse backgrounds and span different generations, united by a common goal of restoring the rights and dignity of the Native Hawaiian people. The movement has also sparked discussions on land rights, resource management, and cultural preservation issues. Despite facing opposition and challenges, the Hawaiian sovereignty movement continues to grow and evolve, with increasing numbers of Native Hawaiians and non-Native allies joining the cause.

Hawaii's history is multifaceted, with interpretations varying between traditional Hawaiian perspectives and Western narratives. Traditionally, Hawaiian history emphasizes the deep connection to the land, oral traditions, and the highly organized society predating European contact. Western interpretations often focus on pivotal events like Captain Cook's arrival in 1778 and the subsequent colonization, including the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893. Immigration has been a defining feature, with waves of Polynesians, Europeans, and Asians

⁸⁵ Joanne Frances Cunningham, *The Challenges Facing the Native Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement in Hawaii* (N.p.: Honors College of the University of Oregon, 2002).

shaping the islands' demographics. Sovereignty remains a contentious issue, rooted in debates over the overthrow and annexation by the United States, with ongoing efforts by Native Hawaiians to assert self-determination. Tourism emerged as a dominant economic force, alongside the presence of the US military, which has established bases and infrastructure, influencing Hawaii's development. Sites like Kalama Valley exemplify tensions over land use and development, often involving entities like the Bishop Estate, which manages vast Hawaiian lands. Throughout history, Hawaii has witnessed protests against military expansion, development projects, and efforts to protect cultural and environmental resources, culminating in movements for social and environmental justice. Native Hawaiians have led efforts to preserve and revitalize their culture, language, and traditions, responding to historical injustices through legal action, grassroots activism, and cultural revitalization initiatives. Their response reflects a diverse range of perspectives and strategies aimed at addressing contemporary challenges while honoring their cultural heritage. Understanding these complexities is vital to grasp Hawaii's rich historical tapestry and ongoing socio-political dynamics.

The current state of the Hawaiian sovereignty movement is splintered into over 300 factions, with little organization to implement change on a large scale. It has led to a quest that ultimately was not uniformly successful politically, but a catastrophic event like the Lahaina Fires reminds Hawaiians why the sovereignty movement started. Indigenous Hawaiians have had an eventual post-World War II experience with many political, social, and cultural events culminating in the Second Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement. While these movements energized the Hawaiians and restored pride in their ethnic identity, sovereignty movements lacked unity, which drastically reduced success politically. Some leaders in the movement continue to press forward to find creative ways to regain sovereignty through different legal paths, but evidence

points to it being a futile mission. Indigenous Hawaiians remain a conquered people in a conquered land, with no evident way forward in regaining Hawaiians. The act of taking the land, but simultaneously the taking of culture, was repeated from first contact until modern times to replace ethnic history, language, morality, and native identity. Still, as the natives regained their culture post-WWII, they became reinvigorated to fight against this usurpation and garnered ideas for ruling their sovereign nation.

While sovereignty movements ultimately failed to materialize politically, this work will examine the nuances as to why. It will analyze the effect immigration patterns had on Hawaiian identity, Hawaiian Culture and Land, The Hawaiian Economy, Land protests of the 1970s, and the Hawaiian Renaissance. The organizations and movements that arose as a result splintered into many groups.⁸⁶ However, there were two dominant ideologies: Nation within a Nation Sovereignty Groups and the Hawaiian Separatists Sovereignty Groups. The Nation within a Nation Sovereignty Group included ALOHA, The Nation of Hawaii, Ka Pakaukau, and Ka Lahui. Those groups included crucial leaders like Mililani Trask and Neil Blaisdell.⁸⁷ The Hawaiian Separatists developed groups such as the Nation of Hawaii with the leader Dennis Bumpy Kanahale and the Hawaiian Kingdom with leaders Keanu Sai and Kamana Beamer. While they made valiant attempts to regain their sovereignty through the state, federal, and eventually the United Nations, those efforts failed.⁸⁸ The Major protests that sparked change started with the Kalama Valley, Kalo'olawe, and Hilo Airport protests, which eventually led to the Apology Resolution on behalf of the United States to the Hawaiian people in 1993.⁸⁹ In this

⁸⁶ "Infighting Threatens to Stall Sovereignty," *Lodi News-Sentinel* (December 3, 1999): 7.

⁸⁷ "Natives Resent U.S. Takeover of Monarchy," *Youngstown Vindicator* (July 18, 1976): 24.

⁸⁸ "Hawaii," *Kentucky New Era* (May 29, 2006): 5.

⁸⁹ "Hawaiians Seek Payback for Overthrow of Monarchy," *The Argus Press* (December 12, 1999): 1.

resolution, the United States admitted fault for illegally acquiring Hawaii in its annexation. However, the apology resolution had no power to change the status of Hawaiian Statehood by issuing it.

Indigenous Hawaiians suffered first against two waves of immigration, Western insertion of legal tactics in governmental actions and regulation, the Hawaiian economy became too dependent on tourism, and the sovereignty movement failed because Hawaii was and still is too economically dependent on the U.S. military. Even so, energized by the Anti-Vietnam War protests happening in the 1970s, Hawaiians shifted from passively accepting how things were to actively protesting land evictions in the Kalama Valley. While there had been other protests before this time, Kalama Valley was the first protest put on by local Hawaiians. However, sovereignty movements did not gain structure until the Kolo'owale protests when Hawaiians were fighting local land evictions and shifted to fighting the United States of America. While the cultural Renaissance developed alongside the land protests and cultural expression was used as a form of Political Resistance, in the end, Identity Politics would not be enough to sustain the movement when faced with the abovementioned obstacles. The sovereignty movement is fragmented into over 300 sovereignty groups, sometimes leading to internal divisions, and caused challenges in presenting a unified front. Along with this, legal and political challenges to attaining sovereignty are too substantial, and the U.S. government has not shown a willingness to entertain the idea of any form of independence for Hawaii due to its strategic military and economic importance. While the political and cultural movements of the 1970s restored pride in Hawaiian ethnic identity, Indigenous Hawaiians remain a conquered people in a conquered land, with no apparent or evident path forward in regaining Hawaiian sovereignty.

Chapter 2 – Immigration Patterns and Sovereignty

The desecration of lands and culture concerning Native Hawaiians is a long-standing issue shaped by historical, economic, and political factors. Along with analyzing the key figures and organizations involved in the desecration of lands and culture, this chapter will examine how immigration and statehood further separated Hawaiians from their land. The land loss was brought about by Caucasian immigration from the United States; it was not able to be regained because of Asian migration, and statehood was an attempt to regain power.

Larry Kimura, often referred to as the grandfather of the Hawaiian Language, spoke of his experiences as a child in the 1930s going to Kamehameha Schools, "I was growing up in the territorial days where the political movement was to move Hawaii to become a state. So, there was this belief that all of us should grow up speaking English and try to be good Americans, to get educated and live the American Dream." He said, "I noticed that my classmates at the school weren't proud to be Hawaiian. And then Pearl Harbor was bombed, and it wasn't just Hawaiians being ashamed of being Hawaiian; it was everyone being ashamed of being ethnic, of not being American enough."¹ The message communicated to school children of that time was that even though they were Hawaiian and surrounded by Hawaiian music and culture, Hawaiian was not good enough. The only value was to be American. At the international tribunal held in 1993, Melissa Moniz said, "Anything Hawaiian was forbidden. I was taught that I had to behave as a white to get anywhere. My Hawaiians would always be second most of my life. I was ashamed of being Hawaiian."²

¹ Larry Kimura, Interview by Taylor Weik. *NBC Asian America*, NBC News, May 9, 2018.

² Tribunal Komike. *Interim Report, Kanaka Maoli Nation, Plaintiff Versus United States of America Defendant August 12- 21. 1993*. Pamphlet. (Honolulu: Ka Ho'okolokolonui Kanaka Maoli, 1993).

Another Hawaiian who was active in the 1970s protests, Larry Kamakawiwo'ole, spoke about the situation in Kama'aina schools, saying, "Although some of my classmates were fluent in Hawaiian, only English was spoken on campus. I recall my father telling me that when he attended school, students were physically punished when they were caught by school personnel for speaking Hawaiian on campus."³ As a child of both Hawaiian and Japanese parents, Larry Kimura spoke Hawaiian and Japanese but went to school and learned English. He said, "It [Pidgin] kept evolving and evolving, even as I was going to public school in Waimea. We all spoke Pidgin, but maybe not the same as during my father's time. It kept evolving, changing."⁴ Pidgin can still be heard in Hawaii today. It is a mixture of words from different languages and sounds like broken English.⁵ Pidgin was yet another infusion of immigrant influence integrating into Hawaiian culture and transforming it.

Larry Kamakawiwo'ole and Larry Kimura's experiences stemmed from the history of the Hawaiian language ban in 1896. Many elders told of being punished for speaking Hawaiian at school.⁶ After this, the Hawaiian language vanished in schools for the next four generations. Another push that removed the Hawaiian language was after the bombing of Pearl Harbor when the military took over. During martial law, the media was censored, and press outlets were only allowed to use English. In modern Hawaii, a dialect called Pidgin English developed when

³ Larry Kamakawiwoole, Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project Interview by Gary T. Kubota, Honolulu, HI, conducted over months through email exchanges ending December 4, 2018.

⁴ Larry Kimura, Interview by Taylor Weik. *NBC Asian America*, NBC News, May 9, 2018.

⁵ Larry Kamakawiwoole, Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project Interview by Gary T. Kubota, Honolulu, HI, conducted over months through email exchanges ending December 4, 2018.

⁶ "Hawaiian Education," Hawai'i State Department of Education, Ka 'Oihana Ho'ona'auao o ke Aupuni Hawai'i, last modified January 3, 2020. <https://www.hawaiipublicschools.org/TeachingAndLearning/StudentLearning/HawaiianEducation/Pages/home.aspx>

various immigrants and their children needed a way to communicate with each other. Also referred to as Hawaiian Creole English, it is a Creole language that has developed over time from a blend of English, Hawaiian, and other local languages spoken in Hawaii. Hawaii pidgin has its distinct grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation, which sets it apart from standard English.⁷ It incorporates elements of the Hawaiian language and words and expressions from other languages introduced to Hawaii over the years. Hawaiian Pidgin is an integral part of the local culture and identity.

To fully understand this Hawaiian sovereignty movement, it is crucial to understand the background of the Hawaiian people. This chapter does not seek to be an exhaustive resource on the experience of modern Hawaii but to lay the groundwork and provide an overview of how Hawaii found itself in its current predicament. It will seek to give context to those with little background in Hawaiian History, promote an understanding of how the monarchy was overthrown, explain why they voted on statehood, and briefly introduce Hawaiian culture and language. It will also discuss modern Hawaiian labor history, the racial and ethnic history of Hawaiians that is inextricably tied to its labor history, and how immigration patterns contributed to losing sovereignty and their inability to regain it.

In 1897, former Territorial Governor Lorrin A. Thurston wrote that white settlers in Hawaii understood their political dilemma as a contest, not between Kanaka and white settlers but rather between the white and the yellow race. He stated, “It is no longer a question whether Hawaii should be controlled by the Native Hawaiian, or by some foreign people; but the question

⁷ “Hawaii Will Add Pidgin English to National Supply of Dialects,” *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* (May 24, 1959): 1.

is, What foreign people shall control Hawaii?”⁸ Lorrin A. Thurston later became heavily involved in promoting tourism to attract a ‘desirable population’ to replace Native Hawaiians. No Japanese were counted in the 1866 Census in The Kingdom of Hawaii, but there were 70,036 Hawaiians and 2,988 Caucasians. By the year of Annexation, roughly 40 years later, in 1896, the population shifted from 31,019 Hawaiians to 32,000, and now 19,381 Japanese. At the same time, half of Hawaiians who intermarried after the decimation of their own culture from Western disease went from 983 in 1866 to 8485 in 1896.⁹ The intermarrying rate would significantly impact land ownership in Hawaii when Hawaiians of no less than 50% blood quantum qualify for Hawaiian Homelands discussed in subsequent chapters.

In *Between Two Empires*, Eiichiro Azuma asserts that the exodus of laborers from Japan to Hawaii coincided with some Japanese Imperialist thoughts that saw the western hemisphere as Japan’s frontier that should be settled.¹⁰ Azuma wrote that the Meiji government understood that to be considered a civilized nation, Japan had to “partake in the practice of colonization.”¹¹ While Japanese immigrants came to Hawaii for personal interests rather than as Imperial subjects of Japan, they looked at themselves as better than indigenous Hawaiians. For example, in a petition on April 9, 1893, less than three months after the U.S. military-backed overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom, they did not oppose it. Instead, they demanded that they should have

⁸ Lorrin A. Thurston, *A Handbook on the Annexation of Hawaii* (Michigan: A. B. Morse Company, Printers and Binders, 1897), 5.

⁹ Robert C. Schmitt. *Demographic Statistics of Hawaii: 1778-1965*. (Honolulu, 1968). Robert C. Schmitt. *Historical Statistics of Hawaii*. (Honolulu, 1977).

¹⁰ Eiichiro Azuma, *Between Two Empires: Race, History, and Transnationalism in Japanese America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 10–11; Akira Iriye, *Pacific Estrangement: Japanese and American Expansion, 1897–1911* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972), 84.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 86.

electoral participation in the government. The Japanese justified their inclusion by arguing that they were physical and intellectual equals of any of the other foreigners.¹² They were not championing the cause of restoring the monarchy.

After annexation, the Chinese in Hawaii also made a petition, signed by hundreds, seeking their right to vote in the new settler government.¹³ At the time of annexation, 13,733 Chinese were living in Hawaii.¹⁴ At the same time, in 1897, over 90 percent of the Native Hawaiian population opposed U.S. citizenship throughout the islands. The overwhelming majority of Hawaiians did not seek their incorporation into the settler state but instead opposed their forced inclusion as U.S. citizens. While the focus of this dissertation is not on colonial settlers in Hawaii from Asian countries, this topic is important to discuss because of the influence that Asian immigrants had in the further displacement and disposition of Native Identity and land sovereignty. The example above shows that while Hawaiians were fighting against annexation, the Asian immigrants and plantation workers were petitioning to vote.

The legacy of this settler colonialism is still evident in people like Benjamin Cayetano, who served as the fifth governor of the State of Hawaii from 1994 to 2002 and the first Filipino American to serve as a state governor in the United States. He said on Hawaiian sovereignty, “In my opinion, further pursuit of sovereignty was like the quest for the Holy Grail – an exercise in futility, an impossible dream...Many Hawaiian activists were prisoners of the revisionist history.”¹⁵ His outlook did not help the cause of indigenous Hawaiians, possibly because he,

¹² Kathleen Dickenson Mellen, Bishop Museum Archives, MS 19, Box 3.4.

¹³ “A Petition Signed by Several Hundred Chinese will be Presented to the Councils Today, asking that the Chinese in Hawaii be Given the Voting Franchise,” *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (May 17, 1894).

¹⁴ Thrum's Hawaiian Almanac and Annual.

¹⁵ Benjamin J. Cayetano, *Ben: A Memoir, From Street Kid to Governor* (Honolulu: Watermark Publishing, 2009), 445.

himself, serving in a high leadership position, was not Hawaiian. His stance, however, proved true as the sovereignty movement ultimately failed politically.

Political Loss

The first immigration pattern that contributed to Hawaiians' inability to remain sovereign was from the U.S. For centuries, the islands of Hawaii were ruled by warring factions. In 1810, King Kamehameha unified all Hawaiian Islands into one royal kingdom. In 1826, Hawaii signed the Hawaii United States treaty.¹⁶ This unification had opened trade with the United States. This treaty affirmed friendship between the two nations, and American ships were admitted into the ports for trading purposes.¹⁷ However, nowhere in the treaty does it state that the United States respected the sovereignty of the Hawaiian Islands. Not perceiving threat was likely because, in 1826, Hawaiians did not feel threatened by annexation or colonialism by the United States. The first immigration pattern that contributed to the inability of Hawaiians to remain sovereign was caused by the U.S.¹⁸ Possibly, this assertion was made because the initial families who came were missionaries. In speaking of the situation of annexation in 1899, an observer noted, "The Yankee missionary, Bible in hand, came in 1820, Christianized the land, and made it good for the white man to live in. The Yankee missionary's descendants, still keeping the Bible beside them, but keeping also an eye on the main chance, found material profit where their ancestors had harvested rich spiritual wealth. Then, still with the Bible in one hand and an eye on the rain

¹⁶ Treaty between Hawaii and the United States Signed: December 23, 1826, at Oahu Signatories: Hawaii (Sandwich Islands) and United States.

¹⁷ "Hawaii-United States Treaty – 1826 Articles of Arrangement with the King of the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii)," signed at Honolulu on December 23, 1826. *Hawaiian Journal of History* vol (1983).

¹⁸ "Tales from Hawaii: A Naval Officer from the Sandwich Island Talks," *Kentucky New Era*, 1 (May 11, 1893).

chance, they brought the islands, with all the verdure and richness, and laid them in our hands, a fair gift.”¹⁹

With the infusion of these Caucasians and their influence on policy, the traditional Hawaiian monarchy was overthrown in favor of a constitutional monarchy. Eventually, the monarchy was abandoned in favor of a government elected by a small group of enfranchised voters. At that time, the Hawaiian monarchy was retained as the ceremonial head of the government. David Kalākaua was the last king of Hawaii, ruling from 1874 to 1891. In 1885, following a tradition of treaties favoring the United States, he signed a trade reciprocity treaty with the United States.²⁰ The Reciprocity Treaty, also known as the Treaty of Friendship, Commerce, and Navigation, was a historic agreement that marked a significant turning point in the economic and political relationship between the Kingdom of Hawaii and the United States. Signed on January 30, 1854, the treaty was a testament to the growing importance of trade in the mid-19th century and the shifting balance of power in the Pacific.²¹ Under the treaty's terms, the United States agreed to allow duty-free access to its markets for certain Hawaiian goods, including sugar, rice, and molasses. At the same time, Hawaii decided to grant the United States access to its ports to refuel and resupply its vessels.²² This mutual exchange of trade benefits was intended to foster greater cooperation and goodwill between the two nations and promote Hawaii's economic development.

¹⁹ Elizabeth Archald, “Residence of Claus Spreckels,” *The Day*, Jan 25, 1899, 2.

²⁰ Justin S. Morrill, *Hawaiian Reciprocity Treaty* (Washington: Govt. Print. Off., 1875).

²¹ “Annexation and Reciprocity,” *Arizona Weekly Journal* (March 21, 1894), 1.

²² John E. Searles, *A Few Facts Concerning the Hawaiian Reciprocity Treaty*. (Washington, D.C.: T. McGill and Co., Law Printers, 1886).

The Reciprocity Treaty profoundly impacted Hawaii's economy, which was heavily reliant on the export of sugar. This free-trade agreement allowed sugar to be sold tax-free to the U.S. market.²³ With duty-free access to the lucrative American market, Hawaii's sugar industry flourished, and many local farmers and entrepreneurs became wealthy overnight.²⁴ However, the treaty had controversy. Some Americans felt that Hawaii was given preferential treatment under the treaty, while others saw it as a stepping stone toward eventual annexation. In any case, the Reciprocity Treaty remained in effect for several decades, shaping Hawaii's history and setting the stage for its eventual annexation by the United States in 1898.²⁵

By 1887, when the Reciprocity Treaty was renewed, the Kingdom of Hawaii was overrun by white landowners, missionaries, and businesspeople. The king promoted Hawaiian culture and traditions, but Hawaiian sovereignty suffered. U.S. sugar plantation owners came to dominate the politics of the islands.²⁶ In a news article written in 1898 regarding Americans moving to Hawaii from the mainland for business, the author warned, “So far as cane lands and sugar cultivation are concerned, there is practically no opening except for large capitalists, and for few, if any, of those. This field is occupied by those who, for 40 years, have been developing this industry and extending and consolidating their interests.”²⁷ These plantation workers had been entrenched in the Hawaiian economy for forty years at the time of annexation.

²³ “New Hawaiian Constitution,” *The Hawaiian Gazette*, July 7, 1887, Hawaii Digital Newspaper Program University of Hawai'i at Manoa Library.

²⁴ “Production Of Hawaiian Sugar: Large Islands Are Rapidly Developing Under American Guidance,” *The Pittsburg Press*, Jan 12, 1912, 5.

²⁵ “Hat Hawaii Wants. Proposal For Reciprocity and a Guarantee of Independence,” *Boston Evening*, Nov 19, 1889.

²⁶ “Workers are Seized by Wanderlust, Stop on the Way to the U.S.,” *The Spokesman-Review*, May 13, 1908.

²⁷ “Labor and Trade in Hawaii,” *Meriden Daily Republican*, Nov 21, 1898, 40.

The presence of these Caucasians also impacted social and economic life – the landholding system changed, and many aspects of traditional culture were prohibited, including teaching Hawaiian and performing the native Hula dance. When they lost their political power, their cultural traditions were banned. On July 6, 1887, a militia affiliated with the Hawaiian League, a group of non-natives, mostly U.S. businessmen, formed a political party opposed to the king. Under the leadership of Lorrin Thurston, they threatened King Kalakaua. He was forced to sign a new constitution stripping him of his power and many Native Hawaiians of their rights.²⁸ It also replaced the cabinet with non-native politicians and businesspeople. The new body became known as the "Bayonet Constitution" because Kalākaua signed it under duress.²⁹

When King Kalākaua died in 1891, his sister Lili'uokalani succeeded him. Though she introduced a new constitution to restore her power and Hawaiian rights, she became Hawaii's last monarch. Her move was countered by the "Committee of Safety," a group of non-native U.S. businessmen and politicians with sugar interests.³⁰ Led by Sanford Dole, they had monetary reasons for doing so – they feared that the United States established a tariff on sugar imports, endangering their profits. They wanted to protect Hawaii's free-trade status. The United States was the major importer of Hawaiian agricultural products.³¹ Supported by John Stevens, the U.S. Minister to Hawaii, and a contingent of Marines from the warship U.S.S. Boston, the Committee

²⁸ "She Protests Princess Kaiulani Lands on American Soil," *The Clinton Weekly*, March 3, 1893.

²⁹ "Hot Shot Stevens, 'A Broadside at Cleveland and Secretary,'" *Biddeford Weekly Journal*, (December 22, 1893): 2.

³⁰ "Honolulu: Dole and Willis. Corresponds in Provisional Government," *Newburgh Daily Journal*, (January 9, 1894): 1.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 1.

overthrew Queen Lili'uokalani in a bloodless coup on January 17, 1893. The Committee of Safety proclaimed itself to be the Provisional government.³²

Nevertheless, Minister Stevens recognized the new government without permission from the U.S. State Department and proclaimed Hawaii a U.S. protectorate. President Benjamin Harrison signed a treaty of annexation with the new government. However, before the Senate could ratify it, Grover Cleveland replaced Harrison as president and withdrew the treaty.³³ Dole sent a delegation to Washington in 1894 seeking annexation. Instead, President Cleveland appointed special investigator James Blount to investigate the events in the Hawaiian Islands. The Blount Commission found that Lili'uokalani had been overthrown illegally and ordered the American flag be lowered from Hawaiian government buildings.³⁴ The Blount Report provided a detailed account of the events leading up to the overthrow of Queen Lili'uokalani in 1893. The report he submitted concluded that the overthrow was illegal and that the United States played a substantial role in the affair. The report highlighted the involvement of American troops and the collaboration of U.S. Minister John L. Stevens in the coup, which impacted public opinion in the United States and beyond regarding the annexation of Hawaii.³⁵ The Blount report also played a significant role in the writing of the Apology Resolution.

Even with the Blount report, Queen Lili'uokalani never regained power. Sanford Dole, leader of the Committee of Safety and the president of the Provisional Government of Hawaii,

³² "Public Land Policy in Hawaii: An Historical Analysis," Legislative Reference Bureau (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1969).

³³ "President Cleveland Would Keep the Annexation Treaty in his Trousers Pocket," *Daily True American*, March 13, 1893, 4.

³⁴ James Henderson Blount and the United States Congress House, *Foreign Relations of the United States. Appendix 2: Affairs in Hawaii* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1895).

³⁵ "Blank Cartridges the Blount Report Execution," *Lewiston Evening Journal* (November 23, 1893): 4.

refused to turn over power. Dole argued that the United States had no right to interfere in Hawaii's internal affairs.³⁶ The Provisional Government proclaimed Hawaii a republic –the Republic of Hawaii in 1894, with Dole as its first president. The overthrow of Lili'uokalani and the imposition of the Republic of Hawaii were contrary to the will of Native Hawaiians. There had been a series of rebellions by Native Hawaiians since the imposition of the Bayonet Constitution in 1887. On January 5, 1895, during the "Wilcox Rebellion," an armed revolt was suppressed by the Republic of Hawaii forces.³⁷ The leaders of the uprising were imprisoned along with Queen Lili'uokalani. It was not until the 1970s, however, that Hawaiians were reminded of how they stood against the United States in protests. They lost their fight to remain sovereign.

At this time, Japan thought of intervening and taking advantage of their relationship with Hawaiians to usurp this new government and inject themselves, but those plans ultimately became fruitless. In a telegram to Foreign Minister Shigenobu Okuma, Hoshi had urged the following course of action: "I submit my plan, which I believe to be the only possible means of a frustrating scheme of Hawaiian annexation, that is, our occupation of that Island by dispatching, without any delay some powerful ships under the name of reprisal, taking advantage of present relation between Japan and Hawaii."³⁸ Hoshi's plans, however, were not followed through, and the American Coup continued. In March of 1897, William McKinley was inaugurated as President of the United States. McKinley was in favor of annexation, and the change in leadership was soon felt. On June 16, 1897, McKinley and three representatives of the

³⁶ "The Hawaiian Provisional Executive Denies America's Involvement," *The Daily World*, January 14, 1894, 1.

³⁷ "Revolution in Hawaii," *Providence News*, January 21, 1895, 2.

³⁸ John J. Stephan, *Hawaii Under the Rising Sun. Japan's Plans for Conquest After Pearl Harbor* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984), 17–18.

government of the Republic of Hawaii – Lorrin Thurston, Francis Hatch, and William Kinney – signed a treaty of annexation. They did this being United States citizens and not citizens of Hawaii, yet presumptuously speaking on Hawaii's behalf. In Queen Lili'uokalani's autobiography *Hawaii Story by Hawaii's Queen*, she wrote of these Pseudo-Hawaiians, "When I speak of the Hawaiian people, I refer to the children of the soil, the native inhabitants of the Hawaiian Islands and their descendants. These people are not and never were Hawaiians." Even though some held positions in the monarchy they swore to uphold, they retained their American birthright. Even with this, President McKinley submitted the treaty to the U.S. Senate for ratification.³⁹

However, Queen Lili'uokalani and her fellow citizens successfully protested by petitioning Congress. Two Hawaiian groups, Hui Aloha 'Aina and Hui Kulai'aina, one group for men and one for women, organized a mass petition drive.⁴⁰ They hoped that if the U.S. government realized that most Native Hawaiian citizens opposed annexation, the move to annex Hawaii would be stopped. Between September 11 and October 2, 1897, the two groups collected petition signatures at public meetings held on each of the five principal islands of Hawaii. The Hui Aloha' Aina (translated as the Hawaiian Patriotic League) petition – marked "Petition Against Annexation" and written in both the Hawaiian and English languages – was signed by 21,269 Native Hawaiian people. That was more than half of the 39,000 Native Hawaiians and

³⁹ Joint Resolution of July 7, 1898, Public Resolution 55-51, 30 STAT 750, to Provide for Annexing the Hawaiian Islands to the United States; 7/7/1898; Enrolled Acts and Resolutions of Congress, 1789 - 2011; General Records of the United States Government, Record Group 11; National Archives Building, Washington, DC.

⁴⁰ Petition Against the Annexation of Hawaii; 1897; Petitions and Memorials, Resolutions of State Legislatures, and Related Documents, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations from the 55th Congress; Petitions and Memorials, 1817 - 2000; Records of the U.S. Senate, Record Group 46; National Archives Building, Washington, DC.

mixed-blood persons reported by the Hawaiian Commission census for the same year.⁴¹ The discovery of these petitions became known to the general Hawaiian people when a Hawaiian researcher and activist, Noenoe Silva, discovered them in the national archives in the 1990s when writing the book *Aloha Betrayed*. In her book, she refutes the long-held idea that Native Hawaiians passively accepted the erosion of their culture and loss of their nation, showing that they actively resisted political, economic, linguistic, and cultural dominations.⁴² Hawaiians did not realize their ancestors fought and petitioned to keep their queen and land. The rediscovery of these positions further fueled the sovereignty movement.

On December 6, 1897, four delegates, James Kaulia, David Kalauokalani, John Richardson, and William Auld, arrived in Washington, DC, with the 556-page petition. That day, as they met with Queen Lili'uokalani, who was already in Washington lobbying against annexation, the second session of the 55th Congress opened. The delegates and Lili'uokalani planned a strategy to present the petition to the Senate. The delegation and Lili'uokalani met Senator George Hoar, chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, on the following day.⁴³ On December 9, with the delegates present, Senator Hoar read the petition's text to the Senate. It was formally accepted. The next day, the delegates met with Secretary of State John Sherman and submitted a formal statement protesting the annexation to him. The representatives met with many senators in the following days, voicing opposition to the annexation. By the time the delegates left Washington on February 27, 1898, only 46 senators were willing to vote for annexation. The treaty was defeated in the Senate.

⁴¹ "Canvass Of Nations Many Hawaiians Pin Their Faith," *The Deseret News*, March 18, 1898, 5.

⁴² Noenoe K. Silva, "I Kū Mau Mau: How Kānaka Maoli Tried to Sustain National Identity Within the United States Political System," *American Studies* 45, no. 3 (2004): 9.

⁴³ "Native Hawaiians Protest," *Clinton Mirror*, December 18, 1897, 2.

Just a few months later, after the first defeated treaty, however, events immediately brought the subject of annexation up again. On February 15, 1898, the U.S. Battleship Maine exploded in Havana Harbor in Cuba. The ensuing Spanish-American War, which took place in the Philippine Islands, established the argument that the Hawaiian Islands would be strategically valuable as a mid-Pacific fueling station and naval installation. A report in the *Baltimore Sunday Newspaper* in 1898 read, "If anyone fails to see the vast importance and incalculable value of the Hawaiian Islands to us as a naval station and general halfway house between San Francisco and Manila, he is not to be regarded as amenable to reason." Additionally, it said, "The American people and their representatives do see those things, and it is to be believed, will speedily act upon them."⁴⁴

The pro-annexation forces in Congress submitted a final joint resolution proposal to annex the Hawaiian Islands, which required only a simple majority vote in both houses. The majority vote eliminated the two-thirds majority needed to ratify a treaty, and as a result, the necessary support was in place. House Joint Resolution 259, 55th Congress, second session, known as the "Newlands Resolution," passed Congress and was signed into law by President McKinley. On July 7, 1898, the United States officially annexed the Hawaiian Islands. It was said at the time, "The annexation of Hawaii was earnestly desired long before there was thought of war. The war has merely served to emphasize the desirability of doing the thing which was decided upon in time of peace."⁴⁵ Emphasizing that the Spanish-American War was a convenient excuse to annex Hawaii since it had already been decided before the war. Sanford Dole became the first governor of the Hawaiian Territory. Queen Lili'uokalani, speaking of this takeover, "It

⁴⁴ "We Want Hawaii," *Sunday Herald*, May 27, 1898, 18.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 18.

had not entered into our hearts to believe that these friends and allies from the United States, even with all their foreign affinities, would ever go as far as to overthrow our form of government seize our nation by the throat and pass it over to an alien power."⁴⁶ Again, their movement to remain sovereign failed.

In a last, unsuccessful attempt to return control of her homeland to Native Hawaiians, Queen Lili'uokalani sent a letter of protest to the U.S. House of Representatives. She stated that her throne had been stolen and that any U.S. efforts to annex Hawaii without the due process of law would be unacceptable, but this came to nothing. Queen Lili'uokalani chose not to fight to avoid further bloodshed. She "yielded her authority to the forces of the United States... because she recognized the futility of a conflict with such a formidable a power."⁴⁷ In other words, in their naivety in allowing the immigration of Caucasians from the U.S. on such a large, they were to be completely taken advantage of by the government they represented. Through these events, Native Hawaiians lost all control of their land and, along with the land, parts of their identity and culture because they lost their ruling voice in the ground. In her book *Hawaii Story*, Queen Lili'uokalani said, "The voters of this great and good nation are too free from suspicion. They have no idea how they have been deceived or how much more they can be deceived. The poor Hawaiians are strangers on their native soil and have been excluded from their halls of legislation."⁴⁸ When speaking of the old Hawaii, Elizabeth Archald, a guest visiting Hawaii, said in 1899, "The native Hawaiians generally prefer a monarchy. I suppose there is no doubt of that. I talked to an old native Hawaiian the other day. He took off his hat and showed me his white

⁴⁶ Lydia Paki Liliuokalani, *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen, Liliuokalani* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1898), 368.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 354.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 361.

head-a handsome old head it was, too--while he raised his eyes to heaven and affirmed his love for the queen.⁴⁹ As a territory, Hawaii had little power in the U.S. government, holding only one non-voting representative in the House of Representatives.⁵⁰ The territory status allowed wealthy white plantation owners to import cheap labor and export their products to the mainland with low tariffs. These landowners used their power to keep Hawaii in territorial status, and this immigration pattern contributed to their loss of sovereignty and eventual inability to regain it.

Land in Hawaii

It is important to understand the specifics of Hawaii's racial and ethnic diversity. Hawaii is a state with a rich cultural heritage and a diverse population. The state's history and identity, shaped by the concepts of land and race, played a fundamental role in its development. This local identity and culture are distinctly different from the Native Hawaiian culture.⁵¹ The Native Hawaiian people have a strong spiritual connection to the land called *aina*. *Aina* encompasses the physical land, natural resources, plants, and animals that sustain life. The land is more than just a commodity to be traded for the Hawaiians; it is the foundation of their identity and a source of pride and strength. The arrival of Europeans in the late 18th century marked the beginning of a long period of colonization.⁵²

⁴⁹ Elizabeth Archald, "Residence of Claus Spreckels," *The Day*, Jan 25, 1899, 2.

⁵⁰ Governor of Hawaii (Territory), *Annual Report of the Governor of Hawaii to the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington, D.C.: Gov't Print. Office, 1901-1904).

⁵¹ "Hawaii Faces Identity Crisis Hawaii Faces Identity Diverse," *The Sun*, December 28, 1971, 7.

⁵² Kauanui J Kehaulani, *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), 17.

Immigrants from various countries, primarily the United States, Japan, and the Philippines, were brought to Hawaii to work on the sugar plantations.⁵³ This immigration, combined with the devastating effects of western diseases on the Native population, led to a decline in the Native Hawaiian population and the loss of their ancestral land through unjust laws and policies. Land ownership in Hawaii remains a contentious issue, as many Native Hawaiians fight to regain control of their ancestral lands. The restoration of traditional land management practices and the protection of the environment has led to many protests and movements.

In addition to land, race has also played a significant role in Hawaii's history and culture. The state has a unique ethnic makeup, with the majority of the population being of Asian descent. This blending of diverse cultures has resulted in a vibrant society with a rich tapestry of traditions and customs.⁵⁴ However, racial discrimination and prejudice have also been a part of Hawaii's past, particularly against Native Hawaiians and other indigenous peoples.⁵⁵

Race and Ethnicity in Hawaii

"Native Hawaiian" only refers to the island's indigenous people. The non-indigenous people of Hawaii are considered locals or Kamaaina (translated in English to a child of the land). Ethnicity includes background, ancestry, and traditions. It is more important than race because it dictates social interactions in Hawaii. People in Hawaii identify as a specific ethnicity, such as

⁵³ *The Filipino Student*, Filipino Students in American (Association) (United States: Berkeley Calif., 1912-1914), 14.

⁵⁴ "Hawaii Faces Identity Crisis Hawaii Faces Identity Diverse," *The Sun*, December 28, 1971,1.

⁵⁵ Michael Haas, *Institutional Racism: The Case of Hawaii*. (United Kingdom: Bloomsbury Academic, 1992), 27.

Samoan, Filipino, Chinese, or Hawaiian, instead of black or white (by race) as they do on the U.S. mainland.⁵⁶

During the second half of the 19th century and early 20th century, sugar planters brought in many immigrant workers. Initially, the workers were Native Hawaiians, Chinese, and Portuguese. However, a mass migration of Japanese began in 1885, and for a large portion of this time until the 20th century, Japanese workers dominated the plantation.⁵⁷ In 1853, indigenous Hawaiians comprised 97 percent of the islands' population. By 1923, their numbers had dwindled to 16 percent; the most significant percentage of Hawaii's population was Japanese.⁵⁸ The need for workers brought many migrants to the islands.⁵⁹

The Hawaiian Islands, once made up solely of Native Hawaiians, experienced their first immigration wave with Caucasians, then later with the Chinese and Japanese. However, with the U.S. territory expanding after the Spanish-American War, the immigration of Puerto Ricans and Filipinos into the islands became much more accessible. In 1965 (six years after statehood), the Immigration Act that barred the restriction of certain nations from being able to immigrate to the United States was lifted.⁶⁰ This act brought an even more significant influx of Southeast Asians into Hawaii.

⁵⁶ Jonathan Y. Okamura, *Ethnicity and Inequality in Hawai'i* (United States: Temple University Press, 2008), 35.

⁵⁷ "Menace Hordes of Japanese Plantation Laborers Pouring into Hawaii," *Youngstown Vindicator*, May 24, 1899.

⁵⁸ Robert C. Schmitt, *Demographic Statistics of Hawaii, 1778-1965* (United States: University of Hawaii Press, 1968), 27.

⁵⁹ American Sugar Industry. (United States: n.p., 1912): 36.

⁶⁰ United States Code Title 8 (United States: Gov't Print. Off., 1977): 559.

Hawaii is the only state where people who identify as Asian Americans are the largest ethnic group. These demographics were a significant concern with southern segregationist members of Congress in discussing the issue of statehood. The Japanese population in Hawaii in 1953 comprised 40.4 percent of the population.⁶¹ In, *The Menace of Hawaiian Statehood*, the author quotes the United States Supreme Court case of *Farrington versus Tokushige*: "It is a matter of common knowledge that the Japanese do not readily assimilate with other races, especially with the white race."⁶² Race relations, though, have always been different in Hawaii than in the mainland U.S.

For example, race relations between the service members stationed in Hawaii, both black and white, were not the same as the mainland U.S. and Jim Crow South in the early to mid-20th century.⁶³ Locals who understood the islands sometimes had the upper hand over black and white service members simply because they knew the culture and were familiar with the landscape.⁶⁴ Locals in Hawaii focus on ethnicity more than race, and an example of how Hawaiians view ethnicity rather than race is that Native Hawaiians referred to a blonde-haired, light-skinned, blue-eyed girl as Hawaiian if her name sounded Hawaiian.⁶⁵ While modern struggles for Native Hawaiian sovereignty came under fire for promoting alleged unfair racial preference for Native Hawaiians to Hawaiians, it is a matter of political status and self-

⁶¹ Eleanor C. Nordyke, *The Peopling of Hawaii* (United States: East-West Center, 1977), 136.

⁶² Drew Linard Smith, *The Menace of Hawaiian Statehood* (United States: Free Men Speak, Incorporated, 1957), 1.

⁶³ "The 50th State," *Lawrence Journal*, March 14, 1959, 3.

⁶⁴ Beth Bailey and David Farber, "The 'Double-V' Campaign in World War II Hawaii: African Americans, Racial Ideology, and Federal Power," *Journal of Social History* 26, no. 4 (1993): 817.

⁶⁵ Bliss Kaneshiro, Olga Geling, Kapuaola Gellert, and Lynnae Millar, "The Challenges of Collecting Data on Race and Ethnicity in a Diverse, Multiethnic State," *Hawaii Med Journal*, vol. 70, no. 8, (Aug 2011):168.

determination, not an unfair racial preference, because it was the immigration patterns that helped contribute to the loss in their sovereignty.

Plantations were the primary generator of jobs until the mid-20th century. This economic order brought about by the plantations transformed the islands into a broadly racial and ethnic mix of many people groups. Plantation culture took root in Hawaiian society and formed the basis of all political and economic power between 1922 and 1959. As more immigrants moved into the islands, Native Hawaiians comprised a smaller percentage of the population. At this time, Hawaiians needed more understanding of the significant governmental issues behind the scenes. They did not know what came upon them with annexation or what it even meant. They just tried to continue to live and flourish in their cultural traditions like they always did.⁶⁶ They saw the ethnic makeup of their surroundings shifting and changing, but they could still, in many cases. The Hawaiian Sugar Planter Association (HSPA) recruited Filipinos, Puerto Ricans, and others to keep wages low, further complicating race relations.⁶⁷ Over the years, the association worked tirelessly to promote the growth of the sugar industry by advocating for favorable trade policies, lobbying for better infrastructure, and investing in research and development. Its legacy is a testament to its remarkable impact on the Hawaiian economy and society. They kept these new immigrants at lower wages and even in separate camps. Keeping them in separate camps by their ethnic groups led to a natural antagonism between different ethnic groups.⁶⁸ It would not be until the children and grandchildren of the plantation workers arose to consciousness in the 1970s that they began to see the complete picture of what took place.

⁶⁶ “Hawaiian Vanishing America,” *Reading Eagle*, April 10, 1968, 13.

⁶⁷ “Commentary,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, January 8, 2007, 13.

⁶⁸ Joanna Poblete, *Islanders in the Empire: Filipino and Puerto Rican Laborers in Hawaii* (United States: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 46.

Labor History

In Hawaii, politics and culture constitute only one aspect of its narrative; labor history also holds significant importance. Plantation culture took root in Hawaiian society and formed the basis of all political and economic power because, between 1837 and 1868, sugar industry production skyrocketed in Hawaii, going from 4,000 pounds to 17 million pounds yearly.⁶⁹ The plantation labor system established an ethnic hierarchy in Hawaii from American sugar planters. Early in Hawaiian Plantation history, each group entering the islands could eventually work off the plantation. When this occurred, a mass migration of the Japanese began. At that point, the Japanese comprised a large portion of the workforce. However, the Hawaiian sugar planter's association eventually began to recruit Filipinos, Puerto Ricans, and others to keep wages low.

During the mid-1800s to the mid-1900s, Hawaii underwent a significant transformation as it became a plantation society centered around the sugar and pineapple industries.⁷⁰ The plantation workers worked under grueling conditions. This cultural melting pot created a unique society with its traditions, customs, and local identity. Many of the laborers brought to Hawaii from Asia were on a three-year contract and, after, would be sent back to Hawaii. There was fear among the sugar planters at annexation as to where they would get their labor once the Asians were deported, as this type of labor system would have been illegal under United States law. In reading through many news articles about annexation, it appeared, at this time, that Caucasians liked Hawaiians for their amiability, but at the same time regarded them as indolent. One early visitor noted, "They are an obliging set, adapting themselves to everybody and every situation.

⁶⁹ Carol MacLennan, "The Mark of Sugar. Hawai'i's Eco-Industrial Heritage," *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung* 29, no. 3 (109) (2004): 37.

⁷⁰ "Diversification of Crops in Hawaii," *The Mount Airy News*, February 20, 1942, 7.

They celebrate from pure courtesy and love of diversion the national holidays of every foreigner.”⁷¹

After the influx of cheap Chinese labor and the subsequent racial stereotyping and violence in the mainland United States, legislation was passed, including the Chinese Exclusion Act Of 1882.⁷² In addition, when the Japanese made inroads in California's agriculture by producing 10 percent of the state's total agriculture, legislation came about in the form of the Alien Land Law of 1913, which barred Japanese ownership of land.⁷³ Another law that enacted hostility toward the Asian population on the mainland was the Cable Act of 1922. The Cable Act stripped any American woman of citizenship who married an Asian immigrant. In the 1922 *Ozawa* Case, The United States Supreme Court ruled that naturalization laws did not apply to Asians.⁷⁴ Then, finally, in 1934, the Tydings-McDuffie Act excluded Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Indian, and Filipino immigration into the U.S.⁷⁵ During these exclusion acts on the mainland U.S., Hawaii did not experience the same restriction because it was a territory, not a state, and did not have to abide by the same laws. They continued to import cheap labor from these countries. Asian workers in Hawaii could garner an advantage in Hawaii they did not have access to on the U.S. Mainland at the time.

⁷¹ Elizabeth Archald, “Residence of Claus Spreckels,” *The Day*, Jan 25, 1899, 2.

⁷² An Act to Execute Specific Treaty Stipulations Relating to the Chinese, May 6, 1882; Enrolled Acts and Resolutions of Congress, 1789-1996; General Records of the United States Government; Record Group 11; National Archives.

⁷³ Alice J. Scott, *The Alien Land Law of 1913 and Its Relation to Japanese Immigration* (United States: Columbia University, 1929).

⁷⁴ The Cable Act at 20 (United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2014).

⁷⁵ Tydings-McDuffie Law, Being Public Act No. 127 of the United States Congress, Approved March 24, 1934: Including Amendments to the Ordinance Appended to the Constitution of the Philippines Proposed by the National Assembly, Including the Act of Congress of the United States of August 7, 1939. (Philippines: Bureau of Print., 1940).

While there was more opportunity for Asian workers to advance in Hawaii, that did not negate the racism they experienced. In 1909, seven thousand sugar plantation workers protested the racial hierarchies of the plantations. They also protested in 1920, and in 1924, the Hanapepe Massacre in Kauai ended up with 16 Filipino sugar workers striking and being killed by police.⁷⁶ However, nobody was ever convicted for this crime due to "evidence insufficient to warrant an indictment against any person or group of persons."⁷⁷ The struggles immigrants faced during the plantation era coincided with struggles Hawaiians faced concerning race and being at the bottom of the power structure.

According to the racial groups tested for their mental ability conducted in the early 19th century, races were at the top, followed by Asians, then Polynesians (including Hawaiians), and lastly, African Americans and Native Americans at the bottom. This deficit approach to psychology would later allow Asians, particularly Japanese, to enter the power structure ahead of Native Hawaiians during the democratic revolution. While Asians were being stratified in Hawaiian society, there were tensions, stereotypes, and generalizations about Hawaiians. Nobody expected them to last more than four days of striking as they were thought too easygoing. G. Stanley Hall, the founder of organized psychology as a science and profession and a national leader in education, wrote about Native Hawaiians in 1904 as part of his multivolume work on adolescence. He referred to the Hawaiians as "similar to other tropical races, and Hawaiians did not suffer from ignorance but rather from weakness of character, idleness, and the vices it breeds." He described Hawaiians as behaviorally lacking control, morally inert, and

⁷⁶ "Commentary: Hanapepe Massacre," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, January 8, 2007, 13.

⁷⁷ William Puette, *The Hilo Massacre: Hawaii's Bloody Monday, August 1, 1938* (United States: University of Hawaii, College of Continuing Education and Community Service, Center for Labor Education and Research, 1988).

sluggish.⁷⁸ His characterization of Hawaiians was the predominant view of indigenous people in psychology, and these stereotypes heavily influenced research methodology and interpretations of empirical findings.⁷⁹ The idea of the lazy Hawaiian held, though, and this negative stereotype damaged Hawaiians' image of themselves.

In another strike, dock workers in Hawaii suffered from red-baiting and unrelenting attacks by the powerful alliance between the local media and corporate powers of the day.⁸⁰ It was pivotal in developing the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) and labor unity for the modern labor movement. They argued for higher pay like their West Coast counterparts, who did the same job and worked for the same company. This strike marked a last-ditch effort attempt by the Big Five (the group of five companies that dominated Hawaii, discussed later) to break the strength of organized labor. During the Cold War between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, proponents of U.S. capitalism attacked unions or any form of solidarity as un-American and a mortal threat to private profit.⁸¹ These attacks targeted militant unions like the ILWU, and ILWU members were singled out, and union leaders were branded members of a communist conspiracy.⁸² While these strikes benefited the local population, including some Hawaiians, they reinforced the idea of who Hawaiians are: a mixed group of many cultures.

⁷⁸ *Handbook of Psychology, History of Psychology*. (Germany: Wiley, 2012), 547.

⁷⁹ "History of Labor in Hawai'i," Center for Labor Education and Research, University of Hawai'i-West O'ahu, last modified March 1, 2024, <https://www.hawaii.edu/uho/clear/home/HawaiiLaborHistory.html>.

⁸⁰ "The Great Hawai'i Dock Strike," (Ulu'ulu: The Henry Ku'uualoha Giugni Moving Image Archive of Hawai'i).

⁸¹ "Harry Bridges Pro-Communist," *Ludington Daily News*, February 20, 1974, 3.

⁸² John S. Ahlquist, Amanda B. Clayton, and Margaret Levi, "Provoking Preferences: Unionization, Trade Policy, and the ILWU Puzzle," *International Organization* 68, no. 1 (2014): 33.

Amidst this Hawaiian political and economic period, it's notable that the Republicans maintained a firm grip on power. Hawaii's political landscape underwent a significant transformation over the years, leading to its status as a predominantly single-party Democrat state. The shift from a Republican stronghold to Democratic dominance can be attributed to various historical, demographic, and socio-political factors.

In the early to mid-20th century, Hawaii experienced Republican dominance, with the GOP holding significant influence in both local and national politics. This era was characterized by the presence of influential Republican leaders and a political environment that favored the party. However, the dynamics began to change with Hawaii's statehood in 1959. As the population grew and diversified, new social and cultural considerations started influencing political preferences. One pivotal factor in Hawaii's political evolution was the changing demographic composition.⁸³ The state's population became more diverse, with a substantial increase in Asian and Pacific Islander communities. These demographic shifts played a crucial role in shaping political ideologies, as the Democratic Party was perceived as more inclusive and representative of the diverse population.⁸⁴

The rise of local issues and concerns also contributed to the Democratic Party's ascendancy. Hawaii's unique challenges, such as issues related to land use, native rights, and environmental conservation, resonated with the Democratic platform. The party positioned itself as an advocate for social justice, environmental protection, and the rights of indigenous

⁸³ "Hawaii Goes to Polls in First State Election," *St. Petersburg Times*, July 28, 1959, 2.

⁸⁴ *Asian Americans [3 Volumes]: An Encyclopedia of Social, Cultural, Economic, and Political History [3 Volumes]* (United States: ABC-CLIO, 2013), 435.

communities, aligning with the priorities of the evolving electorate.⁸⁵ Furthermore, the Democratic Party in Hawaii successfully capitalized on grassroots organizing and community engagement. Grassroots movements gained momentum, mobilizing voters around shared values and common goals. The party's efforts in building strong local networks and fostering connections within communities helped solidify its support base.

However, the Republican Party in Hawaii faced internal challenges and struggled to adapt to the changing political landscape. Infighting, ideological divisions, and difficulties connecting with the diverse electorate contributed to the party's decline.⁸⁶ As a result, the Democratic Party became the dominant political force, securing victories in local and statewide elections.

However, while the Republican party was still in charge, the Big Five plantation owners financed the Republican political campaigns to keep them in power. The Hawaii Big Five was a group of five major companies that played a crucial role in the economic development of Hawaii during the early 20th century.⁸⁷ These companies were Alexander & Baldwin, American Factors (now known as Amfac), Castle & Cooke, C. Brewer & Co., and Theo H. Davies & Co. They were all established in the 19th century and were involved in various industries such as sugar, pineapple, and shipping. Alexander & Baldwin, for example, was primarily engaged in the sugar industry and was one of the largest landowners in Hawaii. The influence of the Hawaii Big Five on Hawaii's economy and culture was significant. They controlled most of Hawaii's land,

⁸⁵ Tom Coffman, *Catch a Wave: A Case Study of Hawaii's New Politics* (United States: University Press of Hawaii, 1973), 123.

⁸⁶ *Culture and Society in the Asia-Pacific* (United Kingdom: Taylor & Francis, 2005), 93.

⁸⁷ Statehood for Hawaii: Hearings Before the Subcommittee Pursuant to H. Res. 236. January 7 - January 18, 1946 (United States: n.p., 1946): 794.

resources, and industries during their time, which gave them tremendous power and influence.⁸⁸ These Caucasian businesses and landowners greatly stratified the native and immigrant populations. However, when the Democratic party in Hawaii took off, the Japanese moved to the top of the ruling elite on the islands.

As the union labor strength grew, unions were able to assist the Democrats in securing the takeover of both houses of the state legislation after a 54-year dominance of Republicans.⁸⁹ Labor unions broke up the racial oligarchy that kept Hawaii stagnant politically and transformed it into a multiracial democracy in 1954. Since then, unions have been able to control politics firmly. Once again, immigration patterns further alienated Hawaiians from their land and contributed to their inability to regain it. The Republican Party in Hawaii after WWII reflected the broader Republican party nationally. It became the conservative party of business, not the party of conserving culture, because of military, economic development, demographic shifts, and migration.⁹⁰

After the overthrow, annexation, and subsequent statehood of Hawaii, East Asians elevated their socioeconomic statuses.⁹¹ They utilized their families' stories of hardship and experiences of racism during the plantation era and World War II to garner support for their economic and political endeavors. Consequently, East Asian politicians began to utilize their positions in power to pass legislation that increased their capital accumulation through the

⁸⁸ Hearings, Reports, and Prints of the House Committee on the Judiciary (United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968), 58.

⁸⁹ Gary G. Aguiar, *Party Mobilization, Class, and Ethnicity: The Case of Hawaii, 1930 to 1964* (United States: Universal Publishers, 1997), 136.

⁹⁰ Mary C. Brennan, *Turning Right in the Sixties: The Conservative Capture of the GOP* (United States: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 45.

exploitation of land, undermining native sovereignty movements, rights, and cultural traditions.⁹² This form of settler colonialism became yet another obstacle in the way of Native Hawaiians.

The land was now flooded with immigrants and a significantly smaller indigenous people group, and they brought along with them a foreign understanding of life when compared to Native Hawaiians. Hawaiians were island people, people of the land, pushed out first by the immigration of Caucasians and pushed out a second time by the rise in Japanese political dominance. They faced a rapidly changing Hawaii, which they could no longer recognize as home.⁹³ Hawaii—an emblem of sovereignty, identity, and resistance against external control. During this era of Hawaiian politics and economy, the Republicans wielded considerable influence, shaping both governance and cultural norms. However, this political landscape cannot be divorced from the broader context of colonization, which laid the foundation for power dynamics and cultural shifts. Indeed, the imposition of colonial rule not only affected political structures but also profoundly influenced Hawaiian culture and labor relations. As colonization progressed, labor exploitation became intertwined with broader socio-political agendas, exacerbating tensions over land ownership and resource control.

⁹² Momiala Kamahale, “Īlio‘ulaokalani: Defending Native Hawaiian Culture,” in *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2008), 80.

⁹³ “Pure-Blooded Hawaiians Are Becoming Scarcer,” *St. Joseph News-Press*, April 11, 1968, 1.

Why Statehood

Some residents began to push for statehood in an attempt by natives and those living on the islands to regain some political voice and representation. These residents wanted the same rights as U.S. citizens living in one of the 48 states.⁹⁴ They wanted a voting representative in Congress and the right to elect their Governor and judges, who were currently appointed.⁹⁵ Fear and economics became the pull for statehood and became even more assertive on both sides of the Pacific. As a territory with limited power and voice, Hawaiians thought they fared better as a state. In 1935, in the mainland U.S., the momentum for statehood accelerated because there was the possibility of a tariff on the continental United States on sugar imports. Congressional legislation and the powerful sugar lobby got behind the statehood cause once those duty-free sugar imports were threatened to end.⁹⁶

Interestingly, the segregationist southern delegates fought against statehood over the ensuing years and argued that Hawaii should be given back its sovereignty.⁹⁷ It was not, however, because they had goodwill towards the Hawaiians. It was because, according to the Lawyer Drew L. Smith, writing in *The Menace of Hawaiian Statehood* (1957), "it is the blood of Europe that went into the settling of America, and the greatness that has been attained will be

⁹⁴ Honolulu Record Publishing Co., Ltd, *The Navy and the Massie-Kahahawai Case: A Timely Account of a Dark Page in Hawaiian History Worthy of Study* (Honolulu: Honolulu Record Pub. Co., 1951), 5.

⁹⁵ Certificate of Election of Joseph Farrington, November 16, 1942; Records of the U.S. House of Representatives, RG 233; National Archives, Washington, DC

⁹⁶ Ann K. Ziker, "Segregationists Confront American Empire: The Conservative White South and the Question of Hawaiian Statehood, 1947–1959," *Pacific Historical Review* 76, no. 3 (2007): 440.

⁹⁷ Drew Linard Smith, *The Menace of Hawaiian Statehood* (United States: Free Men Speak, Incorporated, 1958)

perpetuated only so long as that unity of blood remains substantially unimpaired." They did not want statehood because Hawaiians were not Caucasian.⁹⁸

On the other hand, many residents in Hawaii wanted statehood because of the fear of military rule caused by the unrest of the Massie Case. Many residents at the time remembered annexation personally and how everything was stripped from them suddenly. They were afraid it would happen again, so they pushed for statehood as a level of protection.⁹⁹ In the Massie case, on September 12, 1931, Honolulu resident Thalia Massie, a young white woman from a privileged background, reported she had been assaulted and raped repeatedly by a group of Hawaiian men. In this case, within hours, based on dubious evidence, police had five suspects in custody, which included one person mix of mixed Chinese and Hawaiian origin, two of Japanese descent, and two Native Hawaiians. The men were tried two months later before a multiracial panel of jurors, but the trial resulted in a hung jury.¹⁰⁰

Shortly after the mistrial, Thalia Massie's husband, Navy Lieutenant Tommy Massie, her mother (a Washington DC socialite, Grace Fortescue), and two other Navy men kidnapped and fatally shot one of the defendants, 20-year-old Joseph Kahahawai. The four then stood trial for second-degree murder and were found guilty of manslaughter.¹⁰¹ They received a sentence of 10 years of hard labor; however, the territory governor, Lawrence Judd, who had massive public pressure on him from an outraged white press and politicians, commuted the sentence to an hour. If the four accused were convicted and served time, "An effort was being made...to strip Hawaii

⁹⁸ "Nearly Thirty Years Past," *The Wood County Herald*, September 14, 1900, 8.

⁹⁹ "Hawaii May Get Martial Law Honor Murder Causing Much Feeling," *The Telegraph-Herald*, January 12, 1932, 1.

¹⁰⁰ "Boycott Jurors," *Spokane Daily Chronicle*, May 3, 1932, 11.

¹⁰¹ "Honolulu Jury will Gather," *San Jose News*, Friday, January 15, 1932. 46.

of all autonomy. The Territorial legislature and city council would have been wiped out. There would have been no elections for anything. It had been a complete dictatorship. That was the threat from Congress, the military, and the president's cabinet."¹⁰² This immigration pattern that brought the military to Hawaii contributed to Hawaiians losing sovereignty and their eventual inability to regain it after statehood closed any possible avenue to return to territory rule.

Over the next 30 years, the Territory of Hawaii worked to achieve statehood. The legislature sent multiple proposals to Congress, including a joint resolution requesting statehood in 1903, only to be denied.¹⁰³ Other answers were similarly ignored. In 1937, a congressional committee found that Hawaii met all qualifications for statehood and held a vote on statehood. Although this resulted in a vote in favor of statehood, the attack at Pearl Harbor paused all talks as the Japanese population in Hawaii came under suspicion by the U.S. government. Hawaii's territorial delegate Joe Farrington, elected in 1942, revived the battle for statehood after the war.¹⁰⁴ While the House debated and passed multiple Hawaii statehood bills, the Senate did not vote on them. Hawaiian activist groups, students, and political bodies sent letters endorsing statehood, hoping to spur Congress into action.

In the 1950s, Congress combined Hawaii's statehood bid with Alaska, and Congress ultimately decided to grant statehood to Alaska, a then-Democratic-leaning territory, in early 1959.¹⁰⁵ With this new Democratic state, Congress was now open to giving the then-Republican-

¹⁰² Lavonne Leong, "The Crime that Changed the Islands," *Honolulu Magazine*, March 8, 2010.

¹⁰³ Joint. Res. 1 of the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii, August 15, 1903; Records of the U.S. House of Representatives, RG 233; National Archives, Washington, DC.

¹⁰⁴ Certificate of Election of Joseph Farrington, November 16, 1942; Records of the U.S. House of Representatives, RG 233; National Archives, Washington, DC.

¹⁰⁵ "Alaska Becomes 49th State," *The Washington Observer*, January 5, 1959.

leaning Hawaii statehood to restore political balance. Finally, in March 1959, a Hawaii statehood resolution passed the House and the Senate, and President Eisenhower signed it into law. That June, the citizens of Hawaii voted on a referendum to accept the statehood bill.¹⁰⁶

On August 21, 1959, President Eisenhower signed the official proclamation admitting Hawaii as the 50th state, marking the end of over half a century of work for Hawaiian statehood.¹⁰⁷ Some may ask why Hawaiians inevitably pushed less aggressively for independence than other territories like the Philippines, which was annexed to the United States in 1898. The Philippines was a much larger area than Hawaii, and there would have been no way to Americanize such a large population and land mass in any reasonable timeframe. Hawaii was much smaller, with an even smaller native population remaining after Western contact. It was, therefore, much easier to Americanize.¹⁰⁸ In addition, prior to statehood, there were clear limitations on political opposition to military policies. The actions of the Territorial government were tempered by the background threat of a military-led commission government and by an understanding that the military could ultimately gain Congressional approval of almost any action by cloaking it in the mantle of national defense. The interests of the Territory would almost certainly be forced to yield to the "National" interest if matters had to be brought to a vote. In addition, dissident opinion within Hawaii was tightly controlled by a closely interlocked social and economic power structure. Dissent was possible, but it carried costs that few were willing or able to pay.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ "Hawaii Voting Today on Statehood," *Spokane Daily Chronicle*, June 27, 1959, 2.

¹⁰⁷ "Hawaii Becomes 50th State," *Daytona Beach Sunday News*, March 13, 1959, 2.

¹⁰⁸ "Americanizing Hawaii," *The Cambridge City Tribune*, January 22, 1903, 5.

¹⁰⁹ Kiyoshi Ikeda, Michael G. Weinsten, Gerard Sullivan, and Gary Hawes, eds., "The Political-Economy of Hawaii," *Social Process in Hawaii*, vol 31 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984/1985): 33.

Hawaiians eventually regained pride in their cultural identity as they regained their political efficacy in post-WWII Hawaii. Though their attempt at total land sovereignty ultimately failed, the rebirth of their Hawaiian culture was a positive result of that time in understanding how Native Hawaiians lost power. It was first essential to address this so the reader could understand the framework of Hawaii's contemporary sovereignty movement.¹¹⁰ Having established Hawaii's political history, this dissertation will now show who the Hawaiians are culturally to understand the people behind the sovereignty movement better as political connections to the United States are not the only issues behind the sovereignty movement.

Hawaiian Culture

Hawaiian culture's lifestyle and sustainability model was to care for the entire community. Native Hawaiians created land divisions called Ahupua'a to manage the island resources and provide for their island communities. The care for their land promoted a culture and way of life that helped them to find their identity as Native Hawaiians. The Ahupua'a consisted of a slice of land shaped like a piece of pie, and it started on the top of the mountain and went outward into the sea. It often followed the boundary of a stream.¹¹¹ The traditional boundary marker of the Ahupua'a was heaps of stones or other natural landmark items. Hawaiians depended on each other in these land divisions and shared the result of their labor. They asked permission from another land division before taking their resources, and a system of checks and balances ensured resources were managed efficiently and could be used by all.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ "Americans Will Always Lead in the Pacific," *Neihart Herald*, February 19, 1898, 2.

¹¹¹ Patrick Vinton Kirch and Marshall Sahlins, *Anahulu: The Anthropology of History in the Kingdom of Hawaii, Volume 1: Historical Ethnography* (United Kingdom: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 36.

¹¹² Ibrahim G. Aoude and Marion Kelly, *The Ethnic Studies Story: Politics and Social Movements in Hawaii - Essays in Honor of Marion Kelly* (United States: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), 18.

On their Ahupua'a, Hawaiians viewed the Ka Wai, or water, as the foundation of all natural resources, so caring for their water is essential to life. In Hawaii, the word kuleana is used to describe one's responsibilities. Each family member in a Hawaiian Ohana clearly understood their kuleana, which made everyone connected and privileged to care for and protect the land and the community. Hawaiians have a deep connection to their land. Ahupua'a is the aina or land where they were born and raised and translated to those who feed. As a result of this living system, they had a set of treasured values, including respect, cooperation of many hands, and stewardship, which resulted in pono. Pono means doing right by each other or righteousness.

Other cultural practices include hula, a complex art performed for religious purposes, genealogy, mythology, and historical events. It is a sacred pursuit and involves rigorous training and technical skill.¹¹³ Hawaiian academic knowledge is passed on by teachers called Kumu, who carry on advanced wisdom from a long lineage of masters. Hula was originally not meant to be a spectacle and was often performed privately. In Hawaiian, Malama Aina means taking care of the land and upholding Hawaiians' strong connections with their land.¹¹⁴ The land was respected, and it was considered a profound privilege or duty to care for it. Everyone, including future generations, could thrive on the island's natural resources in return for being great stewards. Today in Hawaii, farmers are still driven by this ethos when they farm taro and care for fishponds. The concept of Malama Aina is the core of the indigenous Hawaiian culture and guides current sovereignty politics in Hawaii.

¹¹³ Houston Wood, *Displacing Natives: The Rhetorical Production of Hawai'i* (United States: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1999), 100.

¹¹⁴ "Native Hawaiians Study Commission: Report on the Culture, Needs, and Concerns of Native Hawaiians," (United States: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1983), 628.

Hawaiian Celebrations

With the indigenous population dwindling and the push to all things statehood and American while incorporating many Asian immigrants, Hawaiians began to develop some festivals to try and promote the Hawaiian culture. The connection of this section to the Hawaiian sovereignty movement lies in how these festivities represent a form of cultural resistance and assertion of indigenous identity in response to the historical and ongoing impacts of annexation and Westernization. By commemorating and safeguarding their indigenous heritage through these celebrations, Hawaiians assert their right to self-determination and challenge the dominance of Western influences, thereby aligning with the broader goals of the sovereignty movement to restore political autonomy and cultural integrity to Hawaii.

These festivals and events were developed to commemorate indigenous Hawaiians of Prominence who helped the Hawaiian People.¹¹⁵ These celebrations are also meant to restore the image of being Hawaiian and strengthen Hawaiian Identity. Some famous modern celebrations of Hawaii's history and culture include the Prince Kuhio celebration, the Merry Monarch Festival, The King Kamehameha celebration, and the Prince Lot Hula Festival. Prince Kuhio was a Hawaiian Prince in the early 20th century and was often called a citizen Prince. Prince Kuhio is best known for his political career, during which he advocated for the rights of Native Hawaiians. He served as a delegate to the United States Congress from 1903 to 1922, where he worked to secure land for Native Hawaiians and to establish Hawaiian homesteading programs.

¹¹⁵ “Native Hawaiians Study Commission: Report on the Culture, Needs, and Concerns of Native Hawaiians,” (United States: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1983).

He was also instrumental in the passage of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1921, which set aside land for Native Hawaiians to live on and cultivate.¹¹⁶

In addition to his political work, Prince Kuhio was a prominent businessman and philanthropist. He founded the Hawaiian Civic Club movement to promote Hawaiian culture and traditions. He also established the first Hawaiian bank, the First Hawaiian Bank, and the Kamehameha Schools, which provided education to Native Hawaiian children. Prince Kuhio passed away on January 7, 1922, at 50. He is remembered as a champion of Native Hawaiian rights and a key figure in Hawaiian history.¹¹⁷ Though Prince Kuhio is sometimes represented as an unthinking puppet of the Republican Party, it is clear from his speeches and writing in this campaign that he risked the anger of his supporters to join the Republican Party to benefit his people.¹¹⁸ In his speech, for instance, he said, “I will try to show my people that we can work for the benefit of Hawai‘i in Washington” and “concerning the position I have taken in recent days...(it is) for the progress of the land and prosperity of the Hawaiian People across this entire land.”¹¹⁹

The Merry Monarch festival honors the legacy of King David Kalakaua, the Last King of the Hawaiian Islands, who inspired a perpetuation of Native Hawaiian traditions, language, and art.¹²⁰ King David Kalakaua was a prominent figure in Hawaiian history, serving as the last

¹¹⁶ Congressional Record: Proceedings and Debates of the Congress (United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1960): 6934.

¹¹⁷ Frances Reed, *Prince Jonah Kuhio Kalanianaʻole, 1871-1922* (United States: Hawaii State Library System, Centralized Processing Center, 1974).

¹¹⁸ Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, 1920: Hearings on H.R. 13500. (United States: n.p., 1921): 37.

¹¹⁹ Lori Kuulei Kamae, *The Empty Throne: A Biography of Hawai‘i’s Prince Cupid* (Honolulu: Topgallant, 1980, Ke Aloha Aina Aug.–Dec. 1902.), 17.

¹²⁰ Helena G. Allen, *Kalakaua: Renaissance King* (United States: Mutual Pub., 1995), 238.

reigning monarch of the Kingdom of Hawaii. He was born on November 16, 1836, and succeeded William Charles Lunalilo as King of Hawaii on February 12, 1874. During his reign, he became known for his efforts to preserve and promote Hawaiian culture and traditions and for his interest in modernizing the kingdom.

King Kalakaua was a strong supporter of the arts, and his reign was marked by a cultural renaissance that saw a revival of traditional Hawaiian music, dance, and language. He founded the Royal Order of Kamehameha I, which is dedicated to preserving Hawaiian history and culture. In addition to his cultural pursuits, King Kalakaua was also interested in technology and modernization. He was the first monarch to circumnavigate the globe.¹²¹ During his travels, he met with several heads of state and learned about new technologies such as the telephone and electricity. Upon his return to Hawaii, he worked to bring these technologies to the kingdom, and he is credited with introducing the first telephone, electric lights, and other modern amenities.¹²² King Kalakaua remained committed to maintaining Hawaii's independence despite his efforts to modernize the kingdom. He traveled extensively to Europe and Asia, seeking to establish alliances and secure recognition of Hawaii as a sovereign nation. Unfortunately, his efforts were unsuccessful, and Hawaii was annexed by the United States in 1898. King David Kalakaua passed away on January 20, 1891, leaving a legacy of cultural revival, modernization, and a commitment to preserving Hawaii's independence. The festival to commemorate him is named the Merry Monarch Festival because of his love of dance and music, and his nickname was the "Merry Monarch."¹²³

¹²¹ "Pacific Constitutions: Proceedings of the Canberra Law Workshop VI" (Australia: Law Department, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, 1982): 32.

¹²² *Electric Light and Power* (United States: Winston, Incorporated, 1947), 94.

¹²³ Elizabeth Buck, *Paradise Remade: The Politics of Culture and History in Hawai'i* (United States: Temple University Press, 1994), 161-162.

The Prince Lot Hula Festival is a commemorative event that venerates Prince Lot Kapuaiwa, who subsequently assumed the throne as Kamehameha V, reigning from 1863 to 1872. Prince Lot Kapuaiwa, also recognized as Kamehameha V, served as a distinguished Hawaiian monarch during the specified period. He was born on December 11, 1830, in Honolulu, Hawaii, and was the grandson of King Kamehameha I, the founder of the Kingdom of Hawaii. During his reign, Prince Lot Kapuaiwa was known for preserving Hawaiian culture and traditions. He also sought to strengthen Hawaii's independence by establishing diplomatic relations with other countries. Prince Lot Kapuaiwa was also interested in modernizing the kingdom. He introduced a new constitution in 1864 that expanded voting rights and established a bicameral legislature. He also established the first public library in Hawaii, and he was a patron of the arts. Despite his efforts to modernize the kingdom, Prince Lot Kapuaiwa could not prevent its eventual annexation by the United States. The festival named in his honor was first established in 1978. This festival was established to honor his legacy and continue his work preserving Hawaiian culture.

The commemoration of the King Kamehameha celebration serves as a testament to the enduring legacy and historical significance of King Kamehameha the Great, widely regarded as Hawaii's paramount figure, celebrated for his multifaceted roles as a hero, warrior, statesman, and the foundational sovereign of the Kingdom of Hawaii. Born in 1758 and passing away on May 8, 1819, King Kamehameha I is revered for his pivotal role in consolidating the Hawaiian Islands under a unified domain and instituting a centralized governance structure. His upbringing within the court of his uncle, Kalani'ōpu'u, provided the fertile ground for his development in the arts of warfare and leadership, culminating in his emergence as a formidable warrior chief in his own right.

In 1795, Kamehameha I launched a campaign to conquer the other Hawaiian Islands and establish a unified kingdom. He succeeded in this goal in 1810, when he conquered the island of Kauai and established the Kingdom of Hawaii. He then established a centralized government, with himself as the absolute ruler. Kamehameha I is remembered for his wise leadership and efforts to promote peace and prosperity in the kingdom. He established laws to protect the rights of his subjects and encouraged the development of agriculture and trade. He also welcomed foreign traders and missionaries, who helped to modernize the kingdom.¹²⁴ Kamehameha I passed away on May 8, 1819, and was succeeded by his son, Kamehameha II. He is remembered as a powerful leader who played a crucial role in shaping Hawaiian history and culture.

Originating in Honolulu in 1872, the Festival for King Kamehameha commemoration evolved into an annual event of notable cultural and sociopolitical import within Hawaii. This enduring tradition not only paid homage to the historical figure of King Kamehameha I but also served as a lens through which to analyze the evolving dynamics of Hawaiian identity and collective memory. The focal point of the celebration, the statue draping ceremony, symbolized more than mere reverence; it encapsulated the ongoing negotiation of power, authority, and cultural representation within Hawaiian society. Through the act of adorning the monumental effigy of King Kamehameha I with intricately crafted floral lei, participants engaged in a complex ritual of cultural reaffirmation and communal solidarity.

In their push to resurrect Hawaiian heroes, some controversy emerged regarding King Kamehameha. Some used the term brown nationalism to describe the focus on the king. During his reign, few had good things to say about him. Governor Kekuanaoa, in 1841, said, “In the reign of King Kamehameha, we were not taught to respect the rights of others. We abused the

¹²⁴ *The Sunday Magazine* (United Kingdom: n.p., 1882): 820.

maimed and the aged, and the chiefs oppressed the poor without mercy.”¹²⁵ According to William L. Abbott at the University of Hawaii, the only reason the vision of King Kamehameha was regenerated was because "the leadership of the brown race felt that people needed to gain self-respect." The remade image of King Kamehameha portrayed him as a benign lover of an adoring people. William Abbott later said in a follow-up to the original report, "Hawaiians should replace the statue of King Kamehameha in Washington with a Hawaiian liberal like Honolulu's first mayor Joseph Fern, who taught his fellow Hawaiians to organize for collective action and demand their rights as human beings. Little is talked about today of the brutality of King Kamehameha as he united the islands into one."¹²⁶ The emphasis instead is on the fearless leader who brought order.

Nevertheless, these festivals and cultural heroes have been essential for the Hawaiian people in regaining their cultural heritage, identity, and respect for their ethnicity. Seeing the resurrected image of a once disliked figure like King Kamehameha for the sake of brown nationalism, William L. Abbott at the University of Hawaii said, "Hawaiians, like everybody else, have needs of identity, self-respect, freedom, and a living income... nationalism has failed them. They have nothing to lose by organizing along interracial lines to confront the rest of us with their demands."¹²⁷ For Hawaiians, however, it was those immigration patterns that helped contribute to the loss of sovereignty and their inability to regain it.

¹²⁵ "Hawaiian Nationalism Trapped in a Mystique," *The Nation*, February 3, 1969. From Library of Congress, 146.

¹²⁶ Annual Report of the Ohio State Board of Agriculture. (United States: n.p., 1894): 481.

¹²⁷ "Kamehameha I and Human Nationalism," *Honolulu Advertiser*, March 11, 1969, From Library of Congress.

Chapter 3 – Hawaiian Land

The desecration of lands and culture concerning Native Hawaiians is a long-standing issue shaped by historical, economic, and political factors. Along with analyzing the key figures and organizations involved in the desecration of lands and culture. This chapter will examine how Hawaiians view land and how statehood and the Hawaiian homelands further desecrate the land. Western insertion of legal tactics took away land from native Hawaiians. While the 1921 passing of the Hawaiian Homeland Commission (HHC) and the 1978 Constitutional Convention were meant to remedy this loss, those attempts were incremental and inefficient.

Hawaiian's View of Land

The physical ties between Hawaiians and land are reaffirmed at birth and death by planting newborns' afterbirth and umbilical cord. In 1914, noted anthropologist Martha Beckwith visited Pu'uloa. She observed places with umbilical cord mounds. She wrote in her notes, "Here is a large pahoehoe mound used as a depository for the umbilical cord at the birth of a child. A hole is made in the hard crust, the cord is put in, and stone is placed over it. In the morning, the cord has disappeared; there is no trace of it. This ceremony ensured a long life for the child."¹

This practice served as recognition of their unique relationship to the land.² The relationship is also reinforced when a person's body dies and is planted. At death, burying this deceased person back in the land brings the relationship full circle. A famous Hawaiian proverb that is also on the state seal says that the life of the land is the life of the people. Hawaiians to

¹ Martha Beckwith, "Fieldnotes," *Hawaiian Sources Collection* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Library, No date), 384.

² Kenneth Emory et al. *Natural and Cultural History Report on the Kalapana Extension of the Hawaii National Park*, vol. 1, Cultural History Report. Typescript, (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Library, 1959), 13.

this day see a dynamic, intimate relationship with the reciprocal nature of caring for the land, as the land cares for its people (much like a family bond).³

Land holds profound importance to Hawaiians due to its intrinsic connection to their cultural identity, history, and sovereignty. In traditional Hawaiian culture, land, known as 'āina, is viewed as more than just a physical resource; it is considered a sacred entity, intricately tied to the well-being of the people and the perpetuation of their way of life. Land serves as the foundation for Hawaiian spirituality, providing sustenance, shelter, and a sense of belonging to the land and ancestors.

The significance of land to Hawaiians is deeply intertwined with the sovereignty movement, which seeks to restore political autonomy and self-governance to the indigenous people of Hawaii. The dispossession of land through colonization, including the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893 and subsequent annexation by the United States, has been a central grievance fueling the sovereignty movement. The loss of land not only resulted in the undermining of traditional Hawaiian governance structures but also led to the exploitation of natural resources, environmental degradation, and the marginalization of native Hawaiian communities.

In response to these injustices, the sovereignty movement advocates for the return of ancestral lands, recognition of indigenous rights, and the preservation of Hawaiian culture and identity. Land serves as a focal point for asserting sovereignty, as control over territory is essential for self-determination and the revitalization of traditional practices. Moreover, the struggle for land rights is intricately linked to broader social justice issues, including economic inequality, access to resources, and the protection of indigenous rights.

³ Winona LaDuke, *All Our Relations: Native Struggles for Land and Life* (United Kingdom: South End Press, 1999), 116.

In genealogy, ancestral ties include people and the spiritual and natural worlds of their land since their belief system says that the same beings birthed all things. Hawaiians' genealogical chants reveal Hawaiian orientation to the world about them, particularly their land and the control of their land. For much of the 19th century, Hawaiian culture was attacked as immoral and uncivilized, encouraging Native Hawaiians to assume the shame of being Hawaiian.⁴ Despite the stigma ingrained by the first half of the 20th century, some families kept cultural knowledge alive when it was not fashionable to be Hawaiian. Some families kept the language and the culture moving. Previous generations were made to feel like what they had was worthless, and Hawaiians had nothing of significance to offer. Based on tourism and the military, Hawaiian identity in the post-plantation Hawaiian economy eroded along with land rights. Hawaiian identity is connected to their ancestral homeland. Despite the strain on these ties with population decimation and displacement, multicultural mixing, and migration, the place is still the critical connection linking Native Hawaiians to each other and their indigenous heritage.

Native Hawaiians were the first discoverers of the Hawaiian Islands in the Pacific Ocean. They developed complex resource management systems and sophisticated knowledge bases and skills to survive on the remote islands with limited resources. Religious beliefs of Native Hawaiians tie the islands to their creation story and the genealogy of the land, gods, chiefs, and people intertwined with one another.⁵ Historically, the Hawaiian Islands were divided into four chieftains until King Kamehameha first consolidated them through conquest. During this time in

⁴ Hawaiian Native Claims Settlement Act: Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, House of Representatives, Ninety-fourth Congress, First Session, on H.R. 1944. (United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975): 257.

⁵ Native Hawaiians Study Commission: Report on the Culture, Needs, and Concerns of Native Hawaiians. (United States: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1983): 47.

the 19th century and afterward, two significant changes devastated the Native Hawaiian's ties to their land.

The first change was Hawaiians becoming a minority in their homeland by being deeply afflicted by western diseases. There are estimates that there were up to a million Native Hawaiians on the land before western contact, but by the end of the century, only 40,000 Aboriginal Hawaiians remained alive. At the same time, the immigrant population gained steadily in number, including whites who outnumbered Hawaiians. By the early 1900s, Native Hawaiians comprised only about one-fifth of the state population.⁶

The second devastating change was the Western insertion of legal tactics in governmental politics used to acquire land, contributing to the failure of Hawaiians to regain Hawaiian sovereignty. Hawaiian artist and activist John Kelly said, "While we looked to the heavens for their gods, they stole the land beneath our feet."⁷ They exploited cultural beliefs and land as collective property. Most Aboriginals did not understand the concept of owning private land or that they had to claim their private ownership of their land formally.⁸ White foreigners, primarily missionaries and businessmen, rapidly bought up the property where Native Hawaiians lived and worked, forcing them to move elsewhere in most cases. However, the relationship of Hawaiians to their lands is integral to their identity and cultural survival.⁹

⁶ Robert C. Schmitt, *Historical Statistics of Hawaii* (University Press of Hawaii, 1977), 11. See also, U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population*, PC80-1-A13, October 1981.

⁷ S. M. Kana'iaupuni and N. Malone, "This Land is My Land: The Role of Place in Native Hawaiian Identity," *Race, Ethnicity, and Place in Changing America*, vol. 3, January 1, 2010, 287.

⁸ Diane C. Drigot, and Muriel B. Seto, *Ho'ona'auao No Kawai Nui* (United States: Environmental Center, University of Hawaii, 1982), 2.

⁹ John C. Smart and Michael B. Paulsen, eds., *Higher Education: Handbook of Theory and Research: Volume 27* (Netherlands: Springer Dordrecht, 2012), 339.

The islands are intertwined with Hawaiian identity in complex and intimate ways. The concept of place connecting people to their identity reflects the broader understanding found throughout the Pacific voyaging societies and shares similarities with other Native American and aboriginal cultures. The diverse mix that comprises Hawaii's modern state complicates the questions of identity for the Hawaiian host culture. As with most cultures, the characteristics of a place: its location, social and ethnic composition, physical features, and history can have profound symbolic and practical effects on identity and the identification process. With that said, it is a notable experience for a person to grow up in Hawaii, and it affects the identity process of all its diverse residents. However, the unique characteristic is that Native Hawaiians will always have their genealogical connection to Hawaii as their ancestral homeland, and no other group residing in Hawaii has this claim.

A land division process in the mid-19th century that created private land ownership in Hawaii was called the Great Ma'hele, which means to divide and share. In this system, the king retained his private land, and the remainder became divided into thirds between the government, the chiefs, and the native tenants.¹⁰ The Ma'hele, which occurred in 1848, was a pivotal event in the history of the Kingdom of Hawaii.¹¹ It involved a land division and distribution system that addressed the ongoing issues related to land ownership and use in the islands. Before the Ma'hele, land in Hawaii was primarily held under the traditional land tenure system known as the Ahupua'a, which divided the land into pie-shaped sections that ran from the mountains to the

¹⁰ S. M. Kana'iaupuni and N. Malone, "This Land is My Land: The Role of Place in Native Hawaiian Identity," *Race, Ethnicity, and Place in Changing America*, vol. 3, January 1, 2010, 288.

¹¹ Records and Briefs of the United States Supreme Court. United States: n.p., 1832., 125.

sea.¹² Under this system, the chiefs held ultimate authority over the land and allocated its use to their subjects based on their needs.

However, with the arrival of missionaries in the islands, the Ahupua'a system began to clash with the Western notion of private land ownership. The missionaries saw the traditional system as a barrier to developing a modern, capitalist economy, which required a distinct property rights system. On the other hand, the chiefs were reluctant to cede control over their land, which they saw as a critical source of power and prestige. The Ma'hele was an attempt to find a compromise between these two competing interests. It involved a complex process of surveying and mapping the land, after which the Hawaiian monarchy transferred ownership of certain lands to private individuals.¹³ The goal of the Ma'hele was to create a system of private land ownership that would be compatible with the Western legal framework while preserving the traditional rights of the Hawaiian people. The Ma'hele had positive and negative consequences for the Hawaiian people. On the one hand, it allowed for the development of a market economy and the growth of a commercial class, which brought new resources and opportunities to the islands. On the other hand, it resulted in the loss of land for many Native Hawaiians, who had relied on the Ahupua'a system for their livelihoods.

The Ma'hele caused battles over the crown lands that have never been resolved. Regarding the differences between the crown lands and the lands of the Hawaiian Government, Queen Lili'uokalani said, "Even the best-informed citizens of the United States do not

¹² Jon J. Chinen, *The Great Mahele: Hawaii's Land Division of 1848* (United States: University of Hawaii Press, 1958), 17.

¹³ Patrick Vinton Kirch and Marshall Sahlins, *Anahulu: The Anthropology of History in the Kingdom of Hawaii, Volume 1: Historical Ethnography* (United Kingdom: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 132.

understand the difference."¹⁴ During Hawaii's annexation, the provisional government expropriated the Queen's private lands without compensation. The federal government then ceded the sovereignty of the Hawaiian lands to the United States. Even though the land belonged to the Queen as her private property, not the territory of Hawaii, the Hawaiian government and crown lands were reduced from 2.5 million acres to about 1.8 million acres by 1898.¹⁵ The public trust land that is heavily disputed is crown land from the Hawaiian Kingdom. When the monarchy's land was converted to private property by the king, it was meant that this be set aside to provide a source of income and support for the crown. When Hawaii was overthrown, the government merged the crown and government lands, and about 1.8 million acres were ceded to the United States.

In 1921, the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act was passed to combat the people's deteriorating economic and social conditions. The Hawaiian Homes Commission Act was a federal law that was enacted in 1921 with the specific goal of creating a federal land trust for Native Hawaiians. This trust consists of approximately 200,000 acres of land leased to eligible Native Hawaiians for various purposes, including residential, agricultural, and pastoral use. The Act was a response to the ongoing struggles of Native Hawaiians, who had been dispossessed of their lands and denied access to affordable housing for many years. By creating the trust, the federal government sought to provide a means for Native Hawaiians to secure their futures and build their communities.

¹⁴ Memorial of Queen Lili'uokalani concerning the Crown lands of Hawaii; 12/19/1898; Petitions and Memorials Referred to the Committee on the Territories of the 55th Congress Regarding Hawaii; Petitions and Memorials, 1825 - 1946; Records of the U.S. House of Representatives, Record Group 233; National Archives Building, Washington, DC.

¹⁵ Hawaiian Native Claims Settlement Study Commission: House of Representatives, Ninety-fifth Congress, First Session, on S.J. Res. 4 ... H.J. Res. 526 Honolulu, Hawaii, July 6, 1977, Wailuku, Maui, Hawaii, July 7, 1977 (United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977): 246.

The Department of Hawaiian Homelands was established to oversee the trust, ensuring it is administered effectively and equitably to benefit eligible beneficiaries. The department also was meant to provide services to beneficiaries, including assistance with leasing, homeownership, and community development. The Hawaiian Homeland Commission (HHC) set aside 203,000 acres of land to benefit Hawaiians of at least 50 percent Hawaiian ancestry measured by blood quantum. In 1959, the Hawaii Admission Act transferred those 1.4 million acres of government and crown lands to the state.¹⁶ At this point, the State of Hawaii took over the administration of the Hawaiian homelands. However, there were suspicious circumstances behind the origination of the HHC. Between 1917 and 1921, the leases were due to expire on about 26,000 acres of the territory's best lands.¹⁷ Those pushing for a plan to rehabilitate Hawaiians and planners seeking to reform the home-steading laws joined together and took the matter to Congress. While its passage benefited Hawaiians, Section 5 stated that sugar planters could keep the prime leased land and real estate, which could not be sold to generate revenue for Native Hawaiian rehabilitation.¹⁸ In other words, the best and most profitable real estate in Waikiki, for example, was inaccessible to Hawaiians.

Rehabilitation was supposed to occur by returning the people to their land. However, before the Act was passed, there were arguments against who would be considered Hawaiian, and this is where the 50 percent blood quantum compromise came about. So, with the sugar planters retaining the land lease on the prime areas for farming and irrigation, those Hawaiians of 50 percent blood quantum who did qualify for land were only offered what could be considered

¹⁶ "Native Hawaiians Resettle Barren Land Going Home:" *Eugene Register-Guard* March 17, 1997, 2.

¹⁷ Administration of Native Hawaiian Homelands: August 10, 1989, Wailuku, Maui (United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1990): 226.

¹⁸ *Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, 1920*. Honolulu: Dept. of Hawaiian Homelands, 1976.

as wasteland or land needing a massive investment of irrigation canals to make farming on the land possible. While the revenue from the sugar planters on the leased land should have been enough profit to provide this irrigation on these desolate lands, no serious attempt was ever made, and homesteaders who did get a tract of land were only given the option of a \$3,000 loan which was not sufficient to provide the infrastructure to farm it.¹⁹ This lack of serious attempts to reclaim wastelands was another example of Hawaiians being pushed out from their ancestral homelands with policies that were on the outside and meant to profit outsiders. On paper, it was meant to rehabilitate natives, but it chiefly benefited the Big Five and plantation owners.

In the years leading up to statehood, the United States served as a trustee of the Hawaiian homeland. However, during those years when the land should have been given to natives, the land was made available for public use by federal and territorial agencies (through executive actions) and not given to Native Hawaiians for homesteading.²⁰ No compensation was given to the trust for using those lands; many were leased for one dollar and included a contract of 75 years. Furthermore, upon statehood, when the state served as a trustee of the lands, the state of Hawaii did not identify all Hawaiian homelands that constitute the trust's assets. It has also not accurately accounted for the revenues of the land associated with the trust and has not maintained auditable financial records and statements.²¹

Since 1936, the governors of the territory and state of Hawaii have issued 28 executive orders affecting the use and control of over 30,000 acres of land. These lands were transferred to

¹⁹ United States Code: Supplement. United States: Office of the Law Revision Counsel of the House of Representatives, 1940, 619.

²⁰ "Breach of Trust, Native Hawaiian Homelands: A Summary of the Proceedings of a Public Forum. United States: The Commission," 1980, 16.

²¹ Marilyn Mitsuo Vause, *The Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, 1920: History and Analysis*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1962), 65.

other uses, and no compensation was ever made to the trust for these uses, nor were any lands of equal value ever exchanged for these withdrawals as required by the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act.²² It could be a case of record keeping with information not meant to be traced for the sake of closed-door agreements or simply a matter of gross negligence. Either way, this Western insertion of legal tactics in governmental politics used to acquire land contributed to the failure of Hawaiians to regain Hawaiian sovereignty.

When Hawaii became a state, items written into the state constitution carried several aspects from the colonial era. Those colonial carryovers included highly centralized formal government institutions, state ownership of illegally confiscated crown lands, and the provision of a Hawaiian homes program. While the crown lands were to be incorporated into the state government, a section on the Land Trust stated that they were to be used for specific purposes. Those trust revenues were to support public schools and improve Native Hawaiians' conditions. However, because the revenue distribution among these specific purposes was not specified, it generated much legal litigation. The crown lands became a symbol for many Hawaiians of how their property rights to their land had been lost and taken by the colonial political order imposed by the U.S. when it absorbed the previously independent Kingdom.²³ In evaluating the Hawaiian and Western views of land, Mililani Trask explained, "In Western ways, you talk justice. You go to court for justice, but people live in hurtful ways to others and the earth. They don't see that

²² *Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, 1920*. Honolulu: Dept. of Hawaiian Homelands, 1976, 14.

²³ Governor's 1968 Public Information Committee. Information Booklet of Hawaii's 1968 Constitutional Convention, (1968).

they're doing something unjust as long as it is defined as legal."²⁴ In contrast, Hawaiians view contrasts land as a reciprocal relationship: if you take care of the land, it will take care of you.

However, not all Hawaiians believed there was corruption in developing the Hawaiian Homelands. One perspective came from grassroots native organizers who disagreed with the assumption that Caucasians from the U.S. Mainland were the cause of the loss of Hawaiian sovereignty. Around 200 protesters gathered at the state capitol in the fall of 1970, and Native Hawaiian and activist Larry Kamakawiwo'ole said, "You must know who the [real] enemy is. Read Hawaiian history. You already had an inhumane system before the coming of the white man." He argued that Hawaiians were sold out by their fellow Hawaiians and that the chief ruling class were dictators and tyrants. He said that when the Hawaiian monarch was overthrown, the ordinary people were passive because "they were looking for something better."²⁵ The common Hawaiian at the time had little understanding of what was happening during the overthrow. While some enjoyed some of the benefits the foreigners brought temporarily, they would not know they would soon lose their homelands and way of life.

The Democratic Party during the 1970s-1980s wielded considerable political influence, while the Republican Party had a more limited presence. Democratic leaders, including Governor George Ariyoshi, engaged with issues concerning Native Hawaiian land. He supported policies to preserve and protect Native Hawaiian cultural sites, negotiated land use agreements with indigenous communities, and advanced initiatives for indigenous rights and sovereignty. For example, in the latter part of 1973, Senator Inouye convened a subcommittee on commerce and

²⁴ Tribunal Komike. *Interim report, Kanaka Maoli Nation, plaintiff versus United States of America defendant August 12- 21. 1993*. Pamphlet. (Honolulu: Ka Ho'okolokolonui Kanaka Maoli, 1993).

²⁵ Buck Donham, "The Hawaiians Tell Woes in Meeting Capitol," *Star-Bulletin*, October 6, (1970), 2.

tourism in Hawaii to investigate Japanese investment. Ariyoshi's testimony centered on optimizing the benefits of investment. He proposed the encouragement of joint ventures while discouraging speculative or quick-profit investments. At the time, the Japanese were heavily investing in Hawaiian land. He emphasized the importance of respecting Hawaii's traditional culture through new ventures. He advocated for a majority of the resulting workforce, from junior to high-ranking positions, to hail from Hawaii. Additionally, he urged Japan to diversify its investments beyond real estate into other industries, something they had been historically reluctant to do. Essentially, he spoke from Hawaii's self-interest while diplomatically supporting continued Japanese investment and offering advice to Japan.²⁶

In the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives, Democrats like Daniel Inouye and Patsy Mink played pivotal roles in federal legislation concerning Native Hawaiian land rights, advocating for measures to return ancestral lands to Native Hawaiian control, secure federal recognition for indigenous entities, and allocate funding for Native Hawaiian programs. Kaliko Chun, a native Hawaiian activist, stated before Congress and in front of Minks, "Representative Mink, for a very long time, worked for the rights of our people. On behalf of my family and my father and my mother, I am here to say, thank you to you."²⁷ She went on to say, "my father worked with you, Patsy Mink, to accomplish the Kolokohani Bill, which was essentially to protect Hawaiian rights and to show immensely how our rights, how we live them, how we see that goes from the land to the ocean, all of our gathering rights, and how we live with the earth,

²⁶ Tom Coffman, *The Island Edge of America: A Political History of Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003), 280.

²⁷ Native Hawaiian Federal Recognition: Joint Hearing Before the Committee on Indian Affairs, United States Senate, and the Committee on Resources, United States House of Representatives, One Hundred Sixth Congress, Second Session, on S. 2899 (United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2001), 111.

the sky, and all the elements, and crafted a good bill.”²⁸ Conversely, the Republican Party's involvement in Hawaii politics was limited, and their interactions with Native Hawaiian land were less pronounced due to their minority status and the dominance of Democrats in Hawaii's congressional delegation.

Western insertion of legal tactics in governmental politics used to acquire land contributed to Hawaiians' failure to regain Hawaiian sovereignty and to the poverty of Indigenous Hawaiians. Hawaii has a high poverty rate. In fact, according to data from the U.S. Census Bureau, the overall poverty rate in Hawaii is higher than the national average.²⁹ The ethnic group that is hit the hardest by poverty in Hawaii is Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders, who suffer from a poverty rate that is significantly higher than other ethnic groups in the state. The reasons for this disparity are complex and multifaceted. One contributing factor is the high cost of living in Hawaii, which is driven up by factors such as the state's isolation, limited land availability, and increased demand for housing brought about by tourists who want to settle and the military bringing in a constant stream of new residents. As a result, many residents struggle to afford necessities such as housing, food, and healthcare.³⁰ Whites, Japanese, and Chinese have generally maintained higher education and familiarity with college application processes. They have done this more successfully than their counterparts, like Native Hawaiians, Filipinos, and other Pacific Islanders. Whites and older generations of Chinese and Japanese are

²⁸ Native Hawaiian Federal Recognition: Joint Hearing Before the Committee on Indian Affairs, United States Senate, and the Committee on Resources, United States House of Representatives, One Hundred Sixth Congress, Second Session, on S. 2899 (United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2001), 112.

²⁹ Native Hawaiian Housing and Homelands: Hearing Before the Committee on Indian Affairs, United States Senate, One Hundred Fourth Congress, Second Session, on Housing Needs of Native Hawaiians, July 3, 1996 (United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1996), 355.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 315.

also statistically more educated in Hawaii due to the middle-class status they achieved compared to Filipinos, Native Hawaiians, and Pacific Islanders.³¹

Another factor that has contributed to their poverty is the historical and ongoing marginalization of Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders. The legacy of colonization, forced displacement, and cultural suppression has contributed to a lack of economic and educational opportunities for these communities. This colonial legacy, in turn, has led to a cycle of poverty that is difficult to break.

After 1920, Hawaii faced increasing pressure for school segregation due to the inability of private schools to accommodate all Caucasian children, leading to a majority of Japanese and Chinese students in public schools. However, implementing segregation by race proved unfeasible due to extensive interracial marriages and the opposition of the Hawaiian and Portuguese communities, which comprised the majority of voters. In response, the Territory established "English Standard" schools that required students to pass English entrance exams for admission, creating a dual school system. Initially, these schools contributed to racial segregation and discrimination against Orientals and full Hawaiians, depending on the school's location, while also perpetuating class and social distinctions. Yet, over time, these distinctions lessened, and by 1947, more Japanese students than Caucasians attended these schools. Despite their impact, only a minority of Hawaii's children experienced the English Standard system, reflecting its limited reach within the broader educational landscape.³² Native Hawaiians, in the effects of colonialism, remained in a continual cycle of land disposition and homelessness. Twenty-four

³¹ Meyer Weinberg, *Asian-American Education: Historical Background and Current Realities* (United Kingdom: L. Erlbaum Associates, 1997), 277.

³²"Hawaii's Pidgin English Sparks Education Debate," *The Albany Herald*, November 28, 1999, 9.

percent of people experiencing homelessness on Oahu and 35 percent of neighboring island homeless were deemed chronically homeless.³³ Though colonialism occurred over a century ago, the long-term impacts are still seen. Hawaiian cultural attachment to their land was not the only reason for their unbridled defense of their sovereign claims. The manner in which other Americans laid legal claims to island property, purchased large parcels and then developed real estate for business purposes also caused deep resentment among Native Hawaiians. Yet, the native cultural conservatism did not easily combine with equally traditional western property rights to achieve native goals.

Dancette Yockman was 16 years old when she and her family were evicted from the Kalama Valley; after that time, she went through long periods of homelessness; she said in an interview with John Kabuta, “Give us back our Hawaiian Homestead lands. It is ours. It was never the state of Hawaii's. The ceded land is ours. Don't they know they are stealing? Somebody should put the law against them. I've waited for 40 years for Hawaiian Homestead farmland, and they tell me no more land. There's plenty of land. They've given outsiders the farmland. That's not right. They're treating us Hawaiians like second-class citizens when they should be taking care of us. They should make life affordable. Period.”³⁴

³³ Ka Mana O Na Helu, “We Count Because Everyone Matters: Bridging the Gap Homeless Point-In-Time Count,” Report, January 26, 2020.

³⁴ Dancette Yockman Interview, Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project Interview by Gary T. Kubota, Honolulu, HI, conducted over months through email exchanges ending December 4, 2018.

Statehood Revisited

National politics and unadulterated racism are sometimes to be blamed for the long delay of Hawaii's entry. Evidence of the racial connection in the postponement of Hawaii becoming a state can be seen in votes for the 1957 civil rights bills.³⁵ The same senators who voted against Civil Rights also voted against Hawaii's admission vote. Advocates of Hawaiian statehood spoke highly of the islands as a paragon of racial harmony. Their favorable testimony to Congress said of their high intermarriage rates, the expected incidence of mixed-race ancestry, amenity or tolerance, and mutual respect between different ethnic groups. Oren E. Lono, Secretary of Hawaii in 1948, said in hearings before the Subcommittee on Territories and Insular Affairs, "The spirit of racial harmony, which has been recognized and commended by every Congressional investigating committee and which characterizes every phase of her life, would alone justify her plea for statehood. This quality would make her star in the American flag--the forty-ninth--a star of the first magnitude."³⁶

However, how they saw the intermixing as a positive thing and a great example horrified conservative white southerners who demanded statehood should be rejected. The people against statehood in Congress also believed that these "mongrelized people" who made up the majority of Hawaii were not only incapable of appreciating the heritage of American democracy but also directly threatened its survival.³⁷ Simply put, segregationists believed democracy had been

³⁵ Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960, 1964, 1968 (as Amended Through the End of the 96th Congress): Voting Rights Act of 1965 (as Amended Through the End of the 96th Congress). (United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1981).

³⁶ Statehood for Hawaii: Hearings Subcommittee on Territories and Insular Affairs on H.R. 49 and S. 114. Jan. 5-9, 14-17, 19-20; April 15, 1948. (United States: n.p., 1948), 206.

³⁷ Congressional Record: Proceedings and Debates of the Congress. (United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), 34.

created, nourished, and sustained by individuals from a Western European Protestant background, and accordingly, Hawaii could never assimilate.

There was also the presumption about race, culture, and democracy that came from the conviction that nonwhites were more susceptible to manipulation by communist agitators during the Cold War. The white conservatives commonly saw the hand of communism behind any social reform or civil rights activism, so they also deployed the same race-baiting tactics against statehood.³⁸ These southern segregationists wanted Hawaii to be reclassified as an entirely foreign country, subject to all regulations of immigration to the United States, and they wanted Hawaii residents to be designated as aliens.³⁹ Ironically enough, these southern conservatives were ahead of their time as sovereignty advocates. Even with those in Hawaii embracing the Western ways by pushing for statehood, they were still not fully embraced due to preconceived ideas and prejudice.

Many Native Hawaiians alternatively argued that Hawaii was pushed forward to become a state during the 1950s because the United Nations had listed Hawaii as a non-self-governing territory with the United States as its trustee. This designation meant a few options for the United States in its dealings with Hawaii. First, they had to hold a plebiscite vote among the territory's inhabitants.⁴⁰ In that vote, residents would be given three options: to become a part of the trustee nation, become a state, or remain a territory. The third option was for independence, which meant no longer being a territory of the United States and returning to be an independent

³⁸ Donald T. Critchlow and Nancy MacLean, *Debating the American Conservative Movement: 1945 to the Present* (United States: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2009), 140.

³⁹ Statehood for Hawaii: Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Territorial and Insular Possessions of the Committee on Public Land House of Representatives, Eighty-first Congress, First Session, on H.R. 49 and Related Bills. March 3 and 8, 1949. (United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1949).

⁴⁰ "Hawaii Ballots For Statehood," *The Washington Reporter*, June 29, 1959, 5.

sovereign nation. However, when the plebiscite vote was held in 1959, the United States government bent the rules, and the ballot only had a choice between statehood and remaining a territory." Activist and former OHA Trustee Poka Laenui said the referendum ballot only gave two options: "Yes" to become a state or "No" to remain a territory.⁴¹ There was no third choice to become independent."⁴² Sovereignty activists appealed to the United Nations to review the unlawful vote the United States provided to Hawaii for Statehood, but that strategy was ineffective.

1978 Constitutional Convention

In 1978, Hawaii held a constitutional convention to address issues with its state constitution, which had remained unchanged since its adoption at statehood in 1959. The convention was attended by 102 delegates from diverse backgrounds, including elected officials, community leaders, and citizens. The delegates were tasked with proposing amendments to the constitution to better reflect the changing needs of the state and its people.⁴³ Over several months, the representatives engaged in extensive discussions and debates to develop a new constitution. One of the convention's critical goals was to establish a Bill of Rights that protected the individual freedoms of Hawaii's citizens. Another critical aspect of the new constitution was its recognition of Native Hawaiian rights and culture. The constitution established protections for Native Hawaiians, including the establishment of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA), which is tasked with managing and protecting Hawaiian lands and resources.⁴⁴ The HHC would no

⁴¹ R. Kosaki, "Constitutions and Constitutional Conventions of Hawaii" *Hawaiian Journal of History*, 12 (1978): 120.

⁴³ "Hawaii Where Land Is Everything," *Daytona Beach Morning Journal*, July 26, 1983, 7.

⁴⁴ "Hawaiians Taking Greater Role in Saving Their Lands," *The Bulletin*, December 26, 1980, 50.

longer be in charge. The OHA is a state government agency created for the welfare of Native Hawaiians. It is a semi-autonomous entity that operates independently from other state agencies. The agency's goal was to improve the quality of life for Native Hawaiians, and it was responsible for managing and administering Native Hawaiian trust lands.

These trust lands generate revenue that OHA uses to fund various programs to support the Hawaiian community and promote arts, music, dance, and other aspects of Hawaiian culture. OHA also manages several cultural sites and landmarks throughout the state. It mandated that the State of Hawaii promote Hawaiian culture, history, and language and provide a Hawaiian education program in the schools.⁴⁵ In addition to establishing the OHA, the Constitutional Convention made the Hawaiian language one of the two official languages of Hawaii. At this time, Native Hawaiians got an essential measure of self-government, or more than they had since the annexation, though sovereignty would not ultimately be achieved. When the OHA was formed, Hawaiians elected OHA Hawaiian trustees to administer the trust programs and proceeds benefiting the Hawaiian community. However, in 2000, in the case of *Rice versus Cayetano*, the United States Supreme Court ruled that restricting voters for OHA trustees solely to those of Hawaiian ancestry violated the 15th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.⁴⁶ Unlike Native Americans, who can make rules and elect voting members of that ancestry, the court ruled that OHA elections were nothing more than state elections.⁴⁷ In other words, Hawaiians of

⁴⁵ Troy J.H. Andrade, "Belated Justice: The Failures and Promise of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act," *American Indian Law Review* 46, no. 1 (2021): 3.

⁴⁶ "High Court Gets Hawaiian Rights Issue. Arguments: A Debate," *Eugene Register-Guard*, October 4, (1999), 3.

⁴⁷ *Rice v. Cayetano*, 528 U.S. 495, 2000. The opinion of the court written by Justice Kennedy stated, "Yet, again, such details are irrelevant to the court, for "Hawaii's argument fails on more essential grounds ... [i.e.] the demeaning premise that citizens of a particular race are somehow more qualified than others to vote on certain matters. That reasoning attacks the central meaning of the Fifteenth Amendment." They made these claims without fully understanding the nuances of the Native Hawaiian history.

Hawaiian ancestry would not be the sole determiners of what should be done with the revenues of the Land Trust meant to benefit them. According to this decision, Hawaiians "need to accept that they are a people group overcome by civilization and the circumstance of history."

However, land holds immense symbolic and practical significance to Hawaiians, serving as both a tangible asset and a symbol of resilience in the fight for sovereignty and cultural preservation.

The restoration of land rights and the recognition of indigenous sovereignty are fundamental goals of the sovereignty movement, reflecting the deep-rooted connection between land, identity, and self-determination in Hawaii. Western legal tactics in governmental politics contributed to the failure of Hawaiians to regain Hawaiian sovereignty when *Rice versus Cayetano* made it clear in the Supreme Court that Native Hawaiians could not decide what was done with their trust lands. This result showed that even the gains made in the political and cultural realm for native Hawaiians, Identify Politics failed as a means to impact the power native Hawaiians hoped to yield. The desecration of lands and culture concerning Native Hawaiians is a long-standing issue shaped by all of these historical, economic, and political factors.

Chapter 4 – Tourism and The Hawaiian Economy

The desecration of lands and culture concerning Native Hawaiians is a long-standing issue shaped by historical, economic, and political factors. Along with analyzing the key figures and organizations involved in the desecration of lands and culture. Corporate and government entities involved in the tourism sector wielded substantial influence in perpetuating land exploitation and commodifying Hawaiian culture for financial gain. Hawaii's economy, deeply entrenched in tourism, exacerbated the detachment of Native Hawaiians from their ancestral lands, eroding their self-sufficiency and complicating efforts toward regaining autonomy over these resources.

In 1969, the Bank of Hawaii conducted a study that revealed statehood and other elemental forces propelling Hawaii through its most prosperous decade. Another force in prosperity was increased military spending after statehood, which grew by 100 percent. Hawaii's economy transformed from a sugar mill and military outpost to a tourist and military outpost. Tourism became integral to Hawaii's economy, and the government intentionally made it that way. William F. Quinn was appointed governor of the territory of Hawaii by Dwight D. Eisenhower from 1957 to 1959. When Hawaii became a state and held an election, he was also appointed as the first elected governor in the State of Hawaii in 1959.¹

Quinn saw the sugar plantation economy dwindling and knew they needed to build up state revenue. He helped Hawaii to become a booming tourist economy. In an oral history interview with him given by the Hawaii Political History Documentation project in 1988, he discussed the push to make tourism prosperous. He said the neighboring islands were dying

¹ Message of Governor William F. Quinn to the Members of the Legislature, State of Hawaii, First General Session, February 15, 1961. (United States: n.p., 1961).

while Oahu was very prosperous but that "266 pineapple plantations were being closed with a 13 and 14 percent unemployment rate on every neighboring island."² Determined to do something about it, he decided in the near term to fix the dying economy with tourism.

To understand the dilemma that Quinn faced, it is important to understand the history of the Hawaiian Economy. After 1898, the years following the annexation, the U.S. started a period of significant military expansion in Hawaii. The construction of the naval base at Pearl Harbor was underway, and other defense bases were being developed. Many of the island's present-day landmarks, such as Fort Shafter, Fort DeRussey, Fort Ruger, and Schofield Barracks, were established before World War I. During this period, the local business community exerted considerable political pressure to increase the military presence on the islands. In 1905, both the Chamber of Commerce and the Merchants Association of Honolulu lobbied Congress to provide additional funds for military development. The Chamber recommended that Congress appropriate \$150,000 for "additional fortifications" at Honolulu and Pearl Harbor.

The merchants' organization called for "an increase in the number of men to be stationed here." They emphasized that military needs were among "the most pressing requirements of the mercantile community."³ The business community's enthusiasm for an increased military presence was partly due to the expectation that Pearl Harbor would be available for commercial and military use. They believed that just as the Navy had maintained facilities at Honolulu Harbor without displacing private shipping, Pearl Harbor would also be available for civilian

² Tape No. 17-1-1-88 Oral History Interview with William F. Quinn, by Chris Conybeare and Daniel W. Tuttle, Jr., Honolulu, HI, February 11, 1988.

³ "Historical Vignette 096," The Honolulu District US Army Corps of Engineers U.S. Army Corps of Engineers Headquarters, accessed February 1, 2024, <https://www.usace.army.mil/About/History/Historical-Vignettes/General-History/096-Honolulu-District/>.

shipping once dredging and other improvements were completed. In July 1910, a representative of Backfield & Company inquired whether Pearl Harbor was ready to accommodate ships of the American-Hawaiian and Matson lines. Rear Admiral Rees, commandant of the Naval Station, replied, "It is believed that it will be the Government's policy to maintain the Entrance Channel at Pearl Harbor open to commercial traffic in time of peace."⁴ He suggested that company representatives consult with the Navy's civil engineers to determine whether their ships could maneuver in the newly dredged channel. After the consultations, the civil engineer updated the commandant on the matters discussed.

There were sizeable tourist locations on Oahu but none on neighboring islands. He gathered 15 people, including financiers, contractors, planners, and architects, to study the neighboring island territory and find the best tourist destination areas. It was called the *Tourist Destination Area Study*.⁵ The study identified several tourist destinations and potential places on the neighboring islands that attracted tourists. However, since there were no roads or water to many of those places, Quinn "started my capital projects agenda to use state efforts to develop the roads, and in some cases, harbors or airports, whatever was necessary, to try to open up these areas." Reflecting on his effectiveness in building infrastructure to support tourism, he said, "Moreover, look around the State today, and everyone [of them] has been developed."⁶ The study done by the Bank Hawaii reported in the 1969 study that the neighboring had only 15 percent of the hotel rooms in 1960 and increased in 1969 to 35 percent. The report also said that Honolulu

⁴ *Social Process in Hawaii* (United States: Department of Sociology, University of Hawaii at Manoa, 1985), 28.

⁵ "Tourist Destination Area Study Now Under Way," United States: The Office, 1959.

⁶ Tape No. 17-1-1-88 Oral History Interview with William F. Quinn, by Chris Conybeare and Daniel W. Tuttle, Jr., Honolulu, HI, February 11, 1988.

had grown into a major metropolitan center from the easygoing headquarters of the plantation society.⁷ This growth occurred at a very rapid pace after statehood. It was so closely intertwined with the livelihood of Indigenous Hawaiians that it hindered their ability to regain sovereignty because of the effects of tourism on their land.

While tourism ultimately caused a negative effect on the Hawaiian sovereignty movement, some Hawaiians also saw the tourism industry primarily benefits large corporations and outside investors, with a limited share reaching local communities and Native Hawaiians.⁸ Sovereignty could provide an opportunity to address these disparities and create more inclusive economic systems. Focusing on local industries, agriculture, renewable energy, and promoting Hawaiian-owned businesses could build a more sustainable and resilient economy. Another aspect of the tourism industry that sovereignty proponents often discuss is the representation of Hawaiian culture.⁹ They express concerns that portraying Hawaiian culture in marketing materials and tourist attractions can perpetuate stereotypes or distort indigenous Hawaiians' true history and traditions. It didn't take long for people to become alarmed over the unchecked growth. In the 1970s, more and more people were voicing concern about both the impact of tourism on local life and the over-reliance on one industry.

The speed at which tourism took over Hawaii's economy was nothing short of breathtaking. When Hawaii became a state, tourism was the fourth-largest industry in the islands lagging behind military spending, sugar production and pineapples. By 1976, it was number one.

⁷ Shurei Hirozawa, "Hirozawa's Business," *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*, 1969, 3.

⁸ Hawaii Tourism Impact Plan, vol. 1 - Statewide Tourism in Hawaii, 1972.

⁹ Paul G. Craig, *The Future Growth of Hawaiian Tourism and Its Impact on the State and on the Neighbor Islands* (United States: Economic Research Center, University of Hawaii, 1963), 95.

By 1978, it was bigger than the other three industries combined.¹⁰ By regaining sovereignty, proponents argued that there would be greater control over how Hawaiian culture is represented and shared with visitors. Doctor Hitch, senior vice president and research director of the first Hawaiian bank, reported, "Statehood gave Hawaii more free advertising and promotion than could have been bought with a billion-dollar budget."¹¹ As previously discussed, the Hawaiian plantation economy dominated Hawaii and remained a major agricultural exporter because of its uniquely tropical climate until the mid-20th century. Then in 1959, the same year Hawaii became a state, Pan Am launched its first jet service from the West Coast. Other airlines followed suit. Changes in federal regulations in the late 1960s allowed more airlines to launch routes to Hawaii. Airfares plummeted. Tourism exploded.

Around statehood, the economy diversified, with tourism and military defense becoming the two largest sectors. James Mak, a professor emeritus of economics at the University of Hawaii who has written extensively about the history of tourism in Hawaii, said, "Hawaii's economy was dominated by the sugar industry and — a bit ironically in hindsight — tourism was seen as a way to diversify the economy" He went on to say, "There was also a more sinister reason for developing tourism."¹² The Moana Hotel, which opened in 1901, was Waikiki's first luxury hotel. Hawaii's sugar plantations were drawing heavily on workers from China and Japan, and the white business owners who had only recently overthrown the Hawaiian monarchy were

¹⁰ Jessica Terrell, "Will Hawaii Finally Be Able to Break Its Dependence on Tourism?" Honolulu Civil Beat October 12, 2020

¹¹ Shurei Hirozawa, "Hirozawa's Business," *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*, 1969, 3.

¹² "History," Hawaii Visitors & Convention Bureau accessed April 7, 2024, <https://www.hvcb.org/about-hvcb/history/>.

concerned that the islands were becoming too Asian.”¹³ He argued, “Tourism was viewed as a way to attract more white people to Hawaii and change the ethnic makeup of the islands, Mak says. The idea was that white tourists would come to Hawaii from the United States, see what a wonderful place Hawaii was, and decide to stay. The first real efforts to create a tourism industry date back to 1892, when a group of business owners, some of whom were involved in the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom a year later, formed the Hawaiian Bureau of Information. The bureau was short-lived, but a decade later, many of those same power brokers established the Hawaii Promotion Committee, this time with financial backing from the territorial government to pay for offices and magazine advertisements abroad.

On May 14, 1902, W. C. Weedon successfully persuaded a group of Honolulu businessmen to finance his efforts to promote the Territory of Hawai‘i on the Mainland. Although initially met with resistance from influential sugar planters, this initiative commenced under the auspices of the Chamber of Commerce and the Merchants Association. Weedon's proposal involved conducting lecture tours and presenting a 'magic lantern' show for a fee of \$100 per month over six months. Visual representations, such as stereopticon images, were deemed effective in conveying Hawai‘i’s allure to potential visitors, alongside firsthand accounts from those who had experienced the islands. Weedon embarked on a journey to San Francisco equipped with these visual aids, aiming to portray Hawaii’s people and landscapes authentically.¹⁴

¹³ “History,” Hawaii Visitors & Convention Bureau accessed April 7, 2024, <https://www.hvcb.org/about-hvcb/history/>.

¹⁴ Ibid.

While there had been prior attempts at tourism promotion, notably with the Hawai'i Bureau of Information in 1892, these efforts had not been sustained. However, with Hawai'i's transition into a territory, a surge in tourism occurred around the turn of the century, marked by the establishment of hotels like the Moana Hotel in 1901.¹⁵ Despite initial setbacks, such as the bubonic plague in Honolulu in 1899-1900, tourism rose again, with cities like Los Angeles anticipating an influx of tourists. Weedon's strategy was to entice travelers in California to extend their journeys to include a visit to Hawai'i.

An article in the Pittsburg Press in 1901 said of Weedon and his tours, "W. C. Weedon will lecture this evening on Honolulu at First Christian Church on the Hawaiian Islands, the Paradise of the Pacific. The characteristics of the people and the different points of interest will be debuted with 100 stereopticon views. The Rev. W. C. Weedon spent 36 years in the islands, and he illustrates his Lecture with Limelight pictures."¹⁶ Capitalizing on the growing interest in Hawai'i, Weedon's promotional efforts garnered substantial attention on the West Coast, leading to packed audiences and a keen interest in learning more about the islands. This success prompted Weedon to request literature from Hawai'i to further educate potential visitors about the island's attractions. At the same time, thanks to popular writers like Mark Twain and Robert Louis Stevenson, Hawaii became more well-known.¹⁷

Recognizing the potential of tourism, the Merchants Association proposed a permanent tourism promotion bureau in July 1902. Funding for such endeavors was secured through various means, including a portion of shippers' tonnage taxes. Despite initial legislative hesitations,

¹⁵ "Major Renovations Bring Upscale Class to Waikiki Beach," *The Press-Courier*, Jul 8, 1990, 22.

¹⁶ *The Pittsburg Press*, Nov 13, 1901, 11

¹⁷ "Once Popular Pacific Tales Back in Print," *Kentucky New Era*, Apr 28, 1987, 4.

support for tourism promotion grew, culminating in the establishment of the Hawai'i Promotion Committee in 1903. In a message of congratulations, the secretary of Hawaii, Henry F. Cooper, wrote to the president in 1903 regarding the newly installed telegraphic line, "We all believe that the removal of the disadvantage of isolation will prove a strong factor in the upbuilding of a patriotic and progressive American commonwealth in these islands."¹⁸ Showing a desire to connect mainlanders to Hawaii, and the disregard of the Native population in their consideration. They simply wished to make the islands, which, only ten years before this time, Hawaii was a sovereign nation with a still living queen.

Over time, tourism promotion expanded significantly, with initiatives like the radio program Hawai'i Calls in 1935 becoming iconic in attracting visitors. World War II temporarily halted tourism, but efforts resumed post-war, leading to the formation of the Hawai'i Visitors Bureau in 1945 and innovative campaigns like Aloha Week in 1947. A Travel writer named Frank Scholes wrote of the event, "In October, you see, they have Aloha Week, and it lasts all month. That may sound confusing, but it's the sort of thing that happens out there where the trade winds blow, for there's still a sort of easy-going magic about the islands that doesn't yet fit the mainland mold. Perhaps it's the year-round summer, the balmy languorous nights, the breath of exotic blooms. But in Hawaii, the hard sell gets a little soft around the edges, and making a buck doesn't seem so all-important."¹⁹

Tourism grew slowly but steadily in the early 20th century. Regular steamship service to the West Coast helped grow a small but steady flow of travelers. In the 1920s, the wealthy and powerful Walter Dillingham bought 230 acres of land in Waikiki and helped push through a plan

¹⁸ New Cable to the Sandwich Islands is Being Kept Busy Today. *Spokane Daily Chronicle*, Jan 2, 1903, 2.

¹⁹ Far Away Places with Frank Scholes, "*The Calgary Herald*, Aug 1, 1970, 24.

to develop the area into the “Venice of the Pacific” by constructing the Ala Wai Canal. The canal was an environmental disaster but helped grow Waikiki into a dream destination for well-heeled travelers in the Jazz Age.²⁰ The 1920s and 30s are often considered the golden age of Hawaiian tourism because there were only two hotels in Waikiki. Most visitors arrived by sea during this time, so the number of people coming to Hawaii stayed relatively low.²¹ In these golden years of tourism, the industry had not yet dominated the island economy. In 1935, the popular radio show *Hawaii Calls*, recorded at the Moana Hotel, played Hawaiian Music directly into the living rooms across the United States. As the listeners spent their afternoons listening to the Hawaiian singers, they imagined themselves on the surf and sand at the beach of Waikiki.²² This listening was the first form of commodification of Hawaiian culture to be exported to a larger audience. The first nonstop flight between Hawaii and the West Coast would be accomplished in 1927, but a scheduled airline service took nearly another decade. In the early days of Hawaiian tourism, most tourists traveled on board Matson Line passenger ships that were purposely built for the growing Hawaiian tourism trade. The Matson Lines took a long time to get to Hawaii. A one-way trip took four days, so a minimum trip to Hawaii would be at least two weeks.²³ In 1959, the year Hawaii became a state, fewer than 250,000 visitors came to Hawaii. By 1969, that number

²⁰ Jessica Terrell, “Will Hawaii Finally Be Able to Break Its Dependence on Tourism?” Honolulu Civil Beat October 12, 2020

²¹ Lynn Blocker Krantz, Nick Krantz, and Mary Thiele Fobian, *To Honolulu in Five Days: Cruising Aboard Matson's S.S. Lurline* (United States: Ten Speed Press, 2001), 75.

²² Geoff Alexander, *America Goes Hawaiian: The Influence of Pacific Island Culture on the Mainland*. (United States: McFarland, Incorporated, Publishers, 2019), 93.

²³ “Sail Matson for A Complete Hawaiian Vacation,” *The Calgary Herald*, October 17, 1959, 3.

had jumped to a million and a half. By 1980, Hawaii was hosting nearly 4 million tourists a year.²⁴

The advent of reliable jet transportation after World War II changed Hawaiian tourism forever. The affordable jet flights drew tourists from around the globe, and Hawaii subsequently experienced a building boom. Pan Am Airways sent the first regular service flight, the Hawaii Clipper, to Hawaii from California.²⁵ It was a once-weekly flight that started in 1936, and then in 1939, Pan Am introduced a more extensive Boeing 314 route with onboard accommodations like a lounge and sleeping berth.²⁶ In 1944, Pan American Airlines had a virtual monopoly on overseas flights from the United States. The Civil Aeronautics Board held hearings that broke apart the Pan Am monopoly on overseas flights after World War II. Tourism began to boom on the islands when other airlines, such as United Airlines and the Northwest Alliance, started flying to Hawaii.²⁷

Faster, cheaper travel played a big role in marketing Hawaii to the masses. Between 1960 and 1970, the cost of a plane ticket to Hawaii dropped by nearly half. The excitement over statehood and a national push during the Cold War toward embracing Asia and Asian culture in the United States also helped promote tourism.²⁸ As the United States tried to jockey for power in Asia, Hawaii's multiracial society was heavily promoted as a way to improve an international

²⁴ Jessica Terrell, "Will Hawaii Finally Be Able to Break Its Dependence on Tourism?" *Honolulu Civil Beat* October 12, 2020

²⁵ "Three Clippers Busy on Airways Across Pacific," *Berkeley Daily Gazette*, October 19, 1936, 30.

²⁶ "Hawaii by flying clipper--Pan American Airways System," photograph in Library of Congress (Hawaii, ca. 1938).

²⁷ "Hawaii Stepping Quickly into World of Statehood," *Lewiston Morning Tribune*, June 8, 1963, 30.

²⁸ Jessica Terrell, "Will Hawaii Finally Be Able to Break Its Dependence on Tourism?" *Honolulu Civil Beat* October 12, 2020

image tarnished by Jim Crow-era segregation in the South.²⁹ It also boomed with television shows like "Hawaii Five-O," creating positive associations with Hawaii. The characters, storylines, and overall portrayal of Hawaii contribute to a positive image, making viewers perceive it as an appealing and desirable travel destination.³⁰

Unlike typical tourists, however, some wealthy visitors from the U.S. mainland wanted to live in Hawaii and not just visit. This pattern of tourists becoming residents resulted in the rapid urbanization of Hawaii, which led to Native Hawaiians and locals being evicted from the leased property they lived on.³¹ The evictions became the catalyst of the sovereignty movement. The land was needed to accommodate the rapid increase in commercial and residential property needs. These evictions later catalyzed the sovereignty movement and the second Hawaiian Renaissance. Tourists who only come to visit and leave provide revenue that is now an integral part of the economy and livelihood for Hawaiians.

While tourism has been good for the economy in some ways by providing jobs, it has caused damaging effects on the environment through water shortages, overcrowding, rising sea levels, elevated sea surface temperatures, and microplastics on the beaches. The social impact of tourism led Hawaiian grassroots organizations to have a negative view towards visitors because of the disruption tourists cause to the natural land. An inevitable contention between developers of tourist areas and Native Hawaiians resulted. Native Hawaiians believed the land should not be transformed into commercial or residential development, and the loss of their environment has

²⁹ Jessica Terrell, "Will Hawaii Finally Be Able to Break Its Dependence on Tourism?" *Honolulu Civil Beat* October 12, 2020

³⁰ Karen Rhodes, *Booking Hawaii Five-O: An Episode Guide and Critical History of the 1968-1980 Television Detective Series* (N.p.: McFarland, Incorporated, Publishers, 2011), 11.

³¹ "Hawaii Pays the Price for Growth," *The Morning Record*, August 18, 1969, 4.

led to native activists like Haunani Kay Trask being severely critical of the influx of tourists in her writing and speeches. She termed it the "Prostitution of Hawaiian culture." Speaking directly to potential visitors in her book, *from a Native Daughter*, she writes, "Let me just leave this thought behind you. If you are thinking of visiting my homeland, please don't. We don't want or need any more tourists, and we certainly don't like them."³² Alternatively, natives who pushed for more significant tourism believed that the only alternative to not developing the land for tourism was for natives to become dependent on government aid. She also founded and produced *First Friday*, a monthly public access television program in 1986 to highlight political and cultural Hawaiian issues. She is considered to have written the foundational text of indigenous rights in her book *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawaii*, published in 1993. She was a 1984 research fellow at the American Council of Learned Studies and a fellow at the International Institute of Human Rights. She also represented The United Nations working group on indigenous people in Geneva.

The New Left movement in the mainland United States encouraged Trask to become an activist. While earning her degree in Chicago, she actively supported the Black Panther movement and engaged in student protests during the Vietnam War. She said that her experiences as a graduate student showed her how capitalism and racism sustained each other. Trask opposed tourism in Hawaii and the presence of the U.S. military, which are the two leading economies in Hawaii. She spoke out against the Akaka Bill because she believed the legislation was an injustice to Native Hawaiian people. After all, it allowed the United States government to control the Native Hawaiian governing structure, land, and resources without

³² Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i*. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 66.

recognizing Hawaii's sovereignty. She also challenged the traditional understandings of Asian Americans, particularly Japanese, because she believed that the Japanese also practiced settler colonialism.³³

Haunani-Kay Trask significantly contributed to Hawaiian studies, and the broader struggle for indigenous rights has been immeasurable. In *From A Native Daughter*, she wrote, “Our story remains unwritten. It rests within the culture, which is inseparable from the land. To know this is to know our history.” She also wrote, “I break the ideology of happy natives, which makes me dangerous.”³⁴

Her work has inspired countless others to take up the cause of sovereignty for the Hawaiian people. The Center for Hawaiian Studies, located at the University of Hawaii, is an academic department that offers a comprehensive program of study and research focused on Hawaiian culture, language, history, and politics.³⁵ The center's faculty comprises scholars and experts in their respective fields dedicated to advancing knowledge and understanding of Hawaiian culture and its significance to the world. The center's courses cover various topics, including the Hawaiian language, art, music, religion, and social systems. Through these courses, students deeply understand Hawaiian culture and its unique global contributions. Moreover, the center conducts groundbreaking research on various aspects of Hawaiian culture, such as the traditional Hawaiian land tenure system, the history of Hawaiian sovereignty, and the revival of traditional Hawaiian practices and knowledge. The center's research has been crucial in

³³ “Native Hawaiians,” *Toledo Blade*, March 1, 1987, 52.

³⁴ Haunani-Kay Trask and Kamakakūokalani Center for Hawaiian Studies, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai‘i*, Revised ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1999).

³⁵ Haunani-Kay Trask, *We are Not Happy Natives - Education and Decolonization in Hawaii* (United States: in-D, 2001).

advancing the understanding of Hawaiian culture and informing public policy decisions related to Hawaiian issues. Finally, the center engages in extensive community outreach programs to promote greater understanding and appreciation of Hawaiian culture. These include cultural festivals, workshops, and conferences that bring together scholars, community leaders, and the public to learn about and celebrate Hawaiian culture. The center's efforts are vital in preserving Hawaiian culture and passing it on to future generations.

Larry Helm, brother of the activist George Helm, said in a statement when pushing for tourist development on Molokai, "As a concerned citizen of the United States of America, the state of Hawaii, and the community of Molokai, I have seen Molokai's psychological and economic growth almost diminish because of a faction on this Island that has created a "no growth" attitude and a feeling of dependency on the government."³⁶ He said, "Yes, to a certain degree, I agree with environmental issues, historical and Hawaiian sites, but let us not abuse these issues to stop economic growth -for Molokai."³⁷

Another concern is the effect of tourism on water. In Hawaii, tourism is generated from hotels near the beaches. This area experiences very little rainfall, and hotel guests use much water per person. This use of water for commercial purposes has led to several droughts throughout the islands, as these facilities use significantly more water than the average resident of Hawaii.³⁸ Scholars will still need to conduct more research to determine whether there is any correlation between the drought on the island of Maui in August 2023 and the devastating wildfires that destroyed Lahaina.

³⁶ Larry Helm, "Molokai's Future," *Honolulu Advertiser*, October 9, 1984, 3.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.

³⁸ "Got Water," *The Dispatch*, July 13, 2006, 12.

The need for perfect conditions for visitors, which requires massive upkeep, also damages the landscape. At the same time, tourists degrade this same environment faster than residents alone. Another environmental factor caused by tourism is the increase in infrastructure building, which leads to the depletion of natural landscapes. Hawaii has a delicate ecosystem and natural ponds are destroyed in construction projects.³⁹ These projects throw off the natural flow of the ecosystem. Nearly 60 percent of Hawaii's plant and animal species are endangered from the loss of animal habitats and the diverse flora that gives Hawaii its beauty.⁴⁰ The environmental damage caused by trash from the influx of people led to Hawaii banning single-use plastic and Styrofoam on a county-by-county approach. The beaches in Hawaii are becoming filled with debris and, especially, plastics. This debris affects the natural environment and the economy because visitors come for sandy beaches and beautiful water. The pollutants, trash, or plastics on the beach decrease the appeal of Hawaii as a vacation destination.

Hawaiians underwent a diaspora because of the rising cost of living and the high demand for land in Hawaii.⁴¹ The land is also being torn up to accommodate millions of tourists. In turn, burial sites and temples are being destroyed. Almost every major resort development has been on some culturally significant site. The higher costs to ship goods across an ocean may be further increased by the requirements of the Jones Act, which generally requires that goods be transported between places within the U.S., including between the mainland U.S. west coast and Hawaii, using only U.S.-owned, built, and crewed ships. Jones Act-compliant vessels are often more expensive to build and operate than foreign equivalents, increasing shipping costs. While

³⁹ "Spirit Of Aloha May Ebb If Tourist Boom Increases," *Sarasota Journal*, August 23, 1967, 26.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁴¹ "Land Means Everything in Hawaii," *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*, July 24, 1983, 73.

the Jones Act does not affect the transportation of goods to Hawaii directly from Asia, this type of trade is nonetheless not common; this is a result of other primarily economic reasons, including additional costs associated with stopping over in Hawaii (e.g., pilot and port fees), the market size of Hawaii, and the economics of using ever-larger ships that cannot be handled in Hawaii for transoceanic voyages. Therefore, Hawaii relies on receiving most inbound goods on Jones Act-qualified vessels originating from the U.S. West Coast, contributing to the increased cost of some consumer goods and, therefore, the overall cost of living.⁴² Critics of the Jones Act contend that Hawaii consumers ultimately bear the expense of transporting goods imposed by the Jones Act.⁴³ When representative Case was asked about his take on the Jones Act that impacts cargo to/from the Mainland, he said, “I don't like it - and there are two reasons it is a detrimental regulated monopoly: 1) It increases the cost of all goods coming into the islands - an estimated \$3,000/per family a year; and 2) It hurts exports - mainly cattle and ag products - raising the prices to the point of being unprofitable.”⁴⁴

An example is on Kauai, where 22 acres of traditional burial ground were relocated to just one acre of property. Rather than this being a respected site, this site was used to draw tourists into the resort. Tourism also negatively affects Hawaiian wildlife. For example, interacting with marine species in their natural habitat is a popular tourist draw, but it harms the ecosystem. These tourist audiences include dolphin viewing, swimming, snorkel dive tours, whale watching, charter fishing, and other marine activities. Operators and clients were seen

⁴² John Dunham and Associates, “Quantifying the Cost of the Jones Act to Hawaii,” *Grassroot Institute of Hawaii Policy Brief* (United States: Honolulu, 2020): 3.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁴⁴ “Representative Case Checks In,” *The Dispatch*, Aug 28, 2003, 9.

dumping food scraps, feeding fish, trampling coral, and harassing marine life.⁴⁵ Because of this, more plants and animal species are endangered or extinct in Hawaii than elsewhere.

It would be catastrophic to halt tourism in Hawaii altogether because it is crucial to the economy and the top industry. Tourism is a significant economic driver in Hawaii, contributing significantly to the state's gross domestic product (GDP). The money tourists spend on accommodations, dining, activities, and shopping directly boosts the local economy.⁴⁶ The tourism industry employs a substantial portion of Hawaii's workforce. Due to the demand generated by tourists, jobs are created in hospitality, travel, entertainment, and related sectors. Also, many small businesses in Hawaii, such as local shops, restaurants, and tour operators, depend heavily on tourism.⁴⁷ These businesses cater to the needs and preferences of tourists, creating a vibrant local economy.

The cultural appropriation aspect of Hawaii is what Native Hawaiians find offensive about the tourist industry. They think Hawaiian culture and local area history are misrepresented because the workers frequently lack education. Tourism selectively preserves certain traditions and art forms but fails to explain and support their deep values. There is a commodification of authentic Hawaiian cultural values and practices. Actual practitioners of traditional Hawaiian culture are not attracted to the tourist business mainly because they are uncomfortable selling Aloha.⁴⁸ Moreover, while Native Hawaiians are dependent on tourism for their livelihood, it is

⁴⁵ *Hawaii Magazine* (United States: Fancy Publication, 1995), 3.

⁴⁶ "Wary Travelers Turn to Hawaii for Security," *Lawrence Journal-World*, August 20, 1986, 14.

⁴⁸ Keiko Ohnuma, "'Aloha Spirit' and the Cultural Politics of Sentiment as National Belonging." *The Contemporary Pacific* 20, no. 2 (2008): 368. Because of those factors and the negative impact tourism caused, there has been a push to promote ecotourism, nature, and culture-based tourism that supports the well-being of communities. Cultural tourism refers to a tourist activity in which visitors' essential motivation is to learn, discover, experience, and consume the tangible and intangible. Cultural attractions and productions add to tourist destinations; in this case, tourists could visit Hawaii and get educated about native cultural traditions without harming the land.

not Native Hawaiians who benefit from this wealth; it is foreign investors. The struggle has continued for Hawaiians as many see no practical escape from the need for tourism financially while being stuck with the problems that tourism brings. Tourism was initially meant to diversify Hawaii's economy. Instead, it became Hawaii's economy. Since the 1970s, attempts to wean Hawaii off its dependence on visitors have mostly fallen flat. "By the late '60s, early '70s, there are all these reports on 'What do we do about the fact that people are losing the aloha spirit?'" Miller-Davenport said. "You can see this kind of creeping resentment." They were pressured to keep their Aloha spirit despite continuing to lose ground.

Many Hawaiians perceive they are being exploited as tourist artifacts by the wealthy. Hawaiian culture, put on display, became a marketing tool cheapening its sacredness.⁴⁹ Tourists inadvertently, most of the time, exploited Hawaiian culture with practices like the Hula. Traditionally, through tourism, Hula, an ancient dance form with deep spiritual meaning, has become an ornamental dance. Lehua Lopez, a Native Hawaiian cultural anthropologist, said that cultural appropriation and cultural cannibalism may be defined as the buying, selling, and consuming of other people's cultural artifacts, images, values, and beliefs, as well as the sacred sites without the permission of the culture being used."⁵⁰ Along with cheapening their culture, tourism has also provided fewer opportunities and less space for Native Hawaiian traditions. Native Hawaiians have also been forced to forget their roots and adjust to living in a highly visited area.

⁴⁹ "Hawaiian Senator Visits Here; Tells of Tourist Expansion," *The Virgin Islands Daily News*, June 5, 1962, 2.

⁵⁰ Tribunal Komike. *Interim report, Kanaka Maoli Nation, plaintiff versus United States of America defendant August 12- 21. 1993*. Pamphlet. (Honolulu: Ka Ho'okolokolonui Kanaka Maoli, 1993).

Like sugar and pineapple, the military and tourism followed the pattern of westernized land stewardship that has alienated Native Hawaiians and their cultural need to access land. It has been argued that individual Hawaiians did not own their land, so they have technically not suffered any loss. However, this is inaccurate, as Hawaiian indigenous tribes did not fully grasp the Western concept of owning land. It was a foreign idea for those, like Native Hawaiians, who practiced cultural stewardship. Alienating Native Hawaiians from accessing their land is a cultural tragedy for them.

Planning for an economy dominated by tourism also undermines community-based planning by Hawaiian communities.⁵¹ In Hawaii, the state government participates heavily in tourism marketing and historically has not sought a balance between tourism and other community-based island-appropriate sustainable activities. Regarding Native Hawaiian efforts to regain greater sovereignty and political self-control, tourism dilutes sovereignty efforts by helping to brand Hawaii as American. Tourists' exposure to this one side of Hawaii has led many tourists to not understand or sympathize with Hawaiian sovereignty.⁵² Another negative impact of tourism is the increase of challenges to existing Native Hawaiian status rights and entitlements, including shoreline access and programs serving non-native Hawaiians. In response to an article on Tourism, a Maui artist said, "The entitlement, lack of any empathy or respect for the aina, people, wildlife, culture, history, and environment is more than appalling, it is near

⁵¹ James Mak, *Developing a Dream Destination: Tourism and Tourism Policy Planning in Hawaii* (United States: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008).

⁵² Gaye Chan and Andrea Feeser, *Waikiki: A History of Forgetting and Remembering* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006), 134.

criminal. Suppose tourism is not managed if extractive tourism continues to deplete and overrun. There will be no more so-called "golden goose."⁵³

From the 1970s to the 1990s, the Democratic Party dominated the political landscape in Hawaii, holding key leadership positions at both the state and federal levels. Governors such as George Ariyoshi, John Waihe'e, and Benjamin Cayetano led the state during this period, overseeing Hawaii's tourism industry, which was a significant driver of the state's economy.

These Democratic governors worked to promote tourism through various initiatives, such as marketing campaigns, infrastructure development, and support for the hospitality sector. They recognized the importance of tourism in generating revenue, creating jobs, and supporting local businesses. Thus, they engaged with tourism stakeholders to address issues such as sustainable growth, cultural preservation, and visitor experience.

While the Republican Party had a limited presence in Hawaii politics during this time, some Republican leaders at the state level may have also supported efforts to promote tourism and boost the economy. However, their influence was comparatively smaller due to the Democratic Party's dominance in Hawaii. Republican leaders may have advocated for pro-business policies, tax incentives, and deregulation to attract investment and stimulate tourism-related industries.

Overall, both Democratic and Republican leaders in Hawaii recognized the significance of tourism as a vital economic engine for the state during the 1970s to the 1990s. They interacted with the tourism industry by implementing policies, allocating resources, and fostering partnerships to support its growth and sustainability, ensuring that Hawaii remained a premier

⁵³ "Hawaii Doesn't Want Visitors Right Now, or Ever, here is Why," *Tai Swim Co.*, April 1, 2023.

destination for visitors while balancing the needs of local communities and preserving the state's natural and cultural heritage.

Tourism is a double-edged sword in Hawaii, both a blessing and a curse, because it has brought prosperity to some areas of economic decline, but not all benefited. With tourism, residents often lose control of their region to outsiders, are forced into unwanted lifestyle changes, and sometimes have unexpected alterations to their physical environment. That said, not all tourists are superficial vandals, nor are all host communities suffering excesses. It has been argued that across the board, all places change, and tourism, although it may speed up the rate of change, does not create the process of change.⁵⁴ Still, Native Hawaiians sense the need to put the brakes on an economy predominantly based on tourism. The sovereignty movement has failed partly because its economy is too dependent on tourism. The tourism industry primarily benefits large corporations and outside investors, with a limited share reaching local communities and Native Hawaiians, and the lack of input by native Hawaiians has taken them out of the decision-making process as a stakeholder. The desecration of lands and culture concerning Native Hawaiians has been a long-standing issue shaped by historical, economic, and political factors. Corporate and government entities involved in tourism played significant roles in land exploitation and the commodification of Hawaiian culture for profit.

⁵⁴ David Wrobel and Patrick Long, eds., *Seeing and Being Seen: Tourism in the American West* (United States: Center of the American West, University of Colorado at Boulder, 2001).

Chapter 5 – Hawaii and The U.S. Military

The desecration of lands and culture concerning Native Hawaiians is a long-standing issue shaped by historical, economic, and political factors. Corporate and government entities involved in the U.S. military played significant roles in land exploitation and the commodification of Hawaiian culture for profit. The annexation of Hawaii by the United States in 1898 resulted in the marginalization of indigenous Hawaiians, leading to their separation from ancestral lands, consolidation of power by the Big Five Oligarchy, imposition of martial law, and the subsequent rise of Japanese influence post-World War II, collectively disenfranchising and displacing native Hawaiians from their cultural and political heritage.

At the state of Hawaii Democratic Convention of 1956, University of Hawaii student M.L. Kilgore helped manage the passage of an amendment that dealt with the need to diversify the Hawaiian economy. The goal of the amendment was for Hawaii to achieve greater self-sufficiency. The original wording of the amendment "rechanneled resources towards peaceful enterprises and away from the military," but that language was deleted. The platform committee chair rose to speak in favor of adopting the amendment with the "extremely objectionable wording" now removed. That incident with Kilgore drove home the lesson that the military is sacrosanct in Hawaii.¹

The military is the second most significant industry in Hawaii. Despite its destructive presence, Hawaii's sovereignty movements failed because Hawaii is too dependent on the U.S. military. In Hawaii, there cannot be resistance to military order because local people interact with the military in many ways, which affects more than just taking a position for or against the

¹ M. L. Kilgoew, n.d. "How Much Butter from How Many Guns?," Unpublished paper (Department of Political Science, University of Hawaii)

U.S. military presence. The National Guard in Hawaii funds students going to the University of Hawaii. Some small local businesses depend on military customers, and the Pearl Harbor shipyards employ more than 4,000 civilian workers.² The military, one of the state's biggest employers and with bases sprawled across the islands, has provided jobs, housing, health benefits, and a way to see the world that otherwise would elude many Hawaiians. Hawaiians, along with other Pacific Islanders, make up a disproportionate number of Army recruits.

When Hawaii was seized nearly overnight at annexation, the U.S. occupation ushered in a period of unprecedented military expansion. Hawaii is one of the most militarized places on the planet. The military controls five percent of the total land in Hawaii. On Oahu, the most populous island, the military controls 22 percent of the island's land. In Hawaii, the military has 21 service installations, eight training areas, 26 housing complexes, and 19 bases and operating stations of various uses.³ The US Pacific Command encompasses one-fifth of the total U.S. active-duty military force, and military expenditures are the second most significant financial contributor to the economy. Like tourism, the Hawaiian Islands became dependent on the resources the military brings to the island.⁴

The military bases in Hawaii provide jobs for thousands of residents. Both civilian and military personnel are employed in various capacities, from administrative and support roles to specialized technical positions. Also, in Hawaii, the U.S. military spends billions of dollars annually on salaries, goods, and services. This spending stimulates economic activity in housing,

² Kathy E. Furguson and Phyllis Turnbull, *Oh, Say, Can You See: The Semiotics of the Military in Hawai'i*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 95.

³ Kimo Kahoano and Carole Kai, *The History of the Military Bases in Hawaii* (Honolulu, Hawaii: Hawaii Stars Presents Inc., 2012), 13.

⁴ *The Role of the Military in Hawaii's Economy* (United States: First Hawaiian Bank, 1993), 7.

retail, and hospitality sectors.⁵ The path forward for sovereignty for Hawaiians went back to a place where they provided their sustenance and wealth instead of being economically dependent on these two outside funding sources (military and tourism), resulting in a disempowering effect on the Indigenous population by making them dependent on outside forces.

Nineteenth century Military Influence on Hawaii

In the 19th century, the U.S. recognized the strategic importance of Hawaii as a coaling station and naval base. The military first came to Hawaii in 1814, and 1867 capped a permanent rotation of warships.⁶ Pearl Harbor was a desirable port because it had deep water and repair facilities, and Schofield barracks had extensive training and housing facilities.⁷ General John M. Schofield and Lieutenant Colonel Burton S. Alexander came to Hawaii disguised as tourists in 1873. They secretly surveyed the land for a suitable naval port for the needs of the United States.⁸ They found Pearl Harbor, and Schofield referred to it as the key to the central Pacific Ocean and the gem of the islands. Schofield and Alexander's May 8, 1873 report found that "with one exception, there is no harbor on the islands that can be made to satisfy all the conditions necessary for a harbor of refuge in time of war. This is the harbor of 'Ewa,' or 'Pearl River,' situated on the island of Oahu, about 7 miles west of Honolulu."⁹ They gained the use of this harbor during the Reciprocity Treaty of 1875.

⁵ "Dependent On Military Hawaii Boom Now Just Mild Rumble," *St. Petersburg Times*, July 22, 1962, 21.

⁶ Alfred Thayer Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660-1783* (United Kingdom: Little, Brown, 1918), 12.

⁷ William Richards Castle, *Hawaii Past and Present* (United States: Dodd, Mead, 1917), 32.

⁸ Candace Fujikane and J.Y. Okamura, *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawaii* (United States: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), 171.

⁹ Jessie Kratz, "Facial Hair Friday: John McAllister Schofield," *Pieces of History* (National Archives, November 5, 2021), 3.

Annexation

Following the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893, the islands were annexed by the United States in 1898. The annexation strengthened the U.S. military's position in the Pacific, and Hawaii became a critical naval and military outpost. In 1900, the construction of the Pearl Harbor Naval Base began. Other forts, such as Fort Armstrong, Fort Ruger, Fort Shafter, Fort Debussy, Fort Weaver, and Schofield Barracks, soon followed.¹⁰ Most major inland waterways and adjacent lands were also brought under military control, notably Pearl Harbor and Kaneohe Bay.

With annexation, the United States saw Hawaii as a strategic military asset. McKinley and his successor, U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt, expanded the military presence in Hawaii and established several key bases, some still in use today. Roosevelt was a big believer in having a strong navy and a forceful military existence outside of the US mainland. He believed this would serve great strategic importance in wartime and was very keen on using Hawaii as one of these military footholds. He saw Hawaii as a very vital location in the Pacific in terms of American interests. Roosevelt, along with Alfred Mahan, a friend and naval officer, shared the same ideology.¹¹ By 1906, the island of Oahu was being fortified at the coastlines by constructing a "Ring of Steel," a series of gun batteries mounted on steel coastal walls. Some territorial installations established during this time were Camp McKinley, Fort Kamehameha, Pearl Harbor Naval Station, Fort Shafter, Fort Ruger, and Schofield Barracks.

¹⁰ Annual Report of the Secretary of War. (United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1916).

¹¹ Warren Zimmermann, *First Great Triumph: How Five Americans Made Their Country a World Power* (United States: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2004), 418.

Interwar Period and the Big Five Oligarchy

In the years between World War I and World War II, the U.S. continued to build up its military infrastructure in Hawaii. Army installations, such as Schofield Barracks and naval facilities at Pearl Harbor, played crucial roles in the defense of the Pacific. These bases were followed by airfields at Bellows, Hickam, and Kaneohe in the 1930s. In the early days, the Big Five Oligarchy of Hawaii allied with the military establishment.¹² The Big 5 Oligarchy comprised five major corporations in Hawaii that dominated the local economy during the late 19th and early 20th centuries: Castle & Cooke, C. Brewer & Co., Theo H. Davies & Co., Amfac, and Alexander & Baldwin. Castle & Cooke began as a department store in Honolulu and diversified into various business activities, including the sugar industry. It acquired Theo H. Davies & Co. and became a significant player in the pineapple industry, owning the famous Dole brand. Brewer & Co. was a shipping and mercantile company that partnered with Castle & Cooke and expanded its operations to the Hawaiian Islands. Theo H. Davies & Co. was a trading company that focused on the Pacific and was acquired by Castle & Cooke. Amfac was a general merchandise store that diversified into agriculture, shipping, and sugar production, managing several plantations. Alexander & Baldwin was a partnership that established and operated sugar plantations and expanded into real estate, shipping, and other industries. It played a vital role in the development of Matson Navigation Company. Together, they made up the big five that dominated Hawaii.

¹² Franklin Odo, *No Sword to Bury: Japanese Americans in Hawaii During World War II* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004), 118.

In 1941 the Eagan Report came out and reported the Big Five Oligarchy had total control of every aspect of Hawaiian life.¹³ In the confidential report by National Labor Board Regional Director E. J. Eagen of Seattle Washington, he alleged that five big corporations controlled the political and economic life of Hawaii with the co-operation of the Army and Navy. Eagen reported. "If there is any truer picture of Fascism anywhere in the world than in the Hawaiian Islands, then I do not know the definition of it."¹⁴ Eagan was sent to the islands to direct Labor Board cases there in 1938. His report was submitted then to his superiors and said military officers had accepted free passage from Hawaii to the West Coast to *investigate labor leaders." and that their "reports were submitted to representatives" of the companies. He also said, "Some Army and Navy officers are extensively entertained and put under obligation to the powers-that-be," He also stated that He said this group controls the hotels, transportation, telephone, and wireless facilities and handles practically every item purchased or sold in the islands.¹⁵ "Evidence in the report showed that in at least one case shows that the Big Five controlled the police department for anti-union purposes."¹⁶ The Eagan memorandum alleged, "The majority of the members of the Legislature were also under the domination of the Big Five. They had total and absolute control and no oversight or accountability because they had breached every form of power on the island. It was not until the process of unionizing workers for the historic sugar

¹³ Howard Brett Melendy, *Hawaii, America's Sugar Territory, 1898-1959* (United States: Edwin Mellen Press, 1999), 251.

¹⁴ E.J. Eagen, and U.S., House Committee on Labor Board and Wagner Act. *Report of E.J. Eagen on the Hawaiian Islands*, 1940.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ E.J. Eagen, and U.S., House Committee on Labor Board and Wagner Act. *Report of E.J. Eagen on the Hawaiian Islands*, 1940.

strike of 1946 that the oligarchic families in Hawaii who had gone unchallenged for almost a century began to break apart.

Because of the total domination that the Big Five had for almost 100 years, Native Hawaiians did not have the power to go against the militarization of Hawaii.¹⁷ Historian Lyndall Laundauer, author of *Pearl: The History of the United States Navy in Pearl Harbor*, inferred that militarization of the islands has been a marriage of toleration, rather than the more obvious colonizer-colonized relationship. She argued, for example, 'the Hawaiian people are supportive of their neighbors, the U.S. Navy, that the Navy is a 'good neighbor to the citizens of Hawaii, and that 'both the Navy and Hawaii benefit' from the U.S. Navy presence at Pearl Harbor. To support these assumptions, she goes on to list the supposed financial and economic benefits of the U.S. military presence in Hawaii.¹⁸ She however does not account for the equal loss of land, and other factors such as pollution, that is very important to many indigenous Hawaiians.

With the Big Five in power, their relationship with the military and the importance of Hawaii's strategic defense spending multiplied. The United States government considered whatever nation commanded Hawaii controlled the Pacific and thought no other nation would attack the United States until it had seized Hawaii. They invested in Hawaii because they believed the U.S. Navy and Air Force, operating from the bases on Oahu, could fight a defensive or offensive war in the Pacific. Newspapers globally reported that at Pearl Harbor, millions of dollars were scheduled to be spent in 1941 (before the attack) to expand the Navy yard

¹⁷ See Also, The Massie Case in Clarence Darrow Digital Collection, University of Minnesota.

¹⁸ Lyndall Landauer and Donald Landauer, *Pearl: The History of the United States Navy in Pearl Harbor* (South Lake Tahoe, CA: Flying Cloud Press, 1999), 349.

facilities.¹⁹ They also reported that when completed, the facilities and other improvements would add to the U.S. Navy that Pearl Harbor would be the best-equipped naval service station in the world.²⁰ Another factor that made Hawaii strategically valuable is that it is the only naval base around, which may be described as a circle of 4000 miles in diameter without anywhere touching. No other power but the United States had a naval base within that circle, and the U.S. wanted to invest more in it for that reason.

Attack on Pearl Harbor

Even with all of the defense spending and build-up, on December 7, 1941, the Imperial Japanese Navy launched a surprise attack on the U.S. Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor. The attack led to the United States' entry into World War II. The military infrastructure in Hawaii was significantly damaged during the attack, but it served as a rallying point for the war effort. The large Japanese population in Hawaii became suspects to the United States. The bombing of Pearl Harbor brought justification to bring Hawaii under military discipline and control.²¹ During World War II, Hawaii experienced a significant further influx of defense spending as the United States sought to fortify the islands and establish them as a crucial military outpost in the Pacific. The attack on Pearl Harbor highlighted the vulnerability of Hawaii to potential enemy attacks, and substantial resources were allocated to strengthen its defenses. A substantial portion of defense spending in Hawaii went into building and expanding military infrastructure. The

¹⁹ "America's Valuable Bases Hawaii Outpost of Defense," *The Age*, Mar 1, 1941, 6.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 6.

²¹ Alben William Barkley, Pearl Harbor Attack: Hearings Before the Joint Committee on the Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack, Congress of the United States, Seventy-ninth Congress, First [-second] Session, Pursuant to S. Con. Res. 27 (United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), 2692.

expansion included constructing and fortifying airfields, naval bases, coastal defenses, and other strategic installations.

After the attack on Pearl Harbor, extensive funds were allocated for the repair and rebuilding of damaged naval facilities, ships, and aircraft.²² The goal was to restore Pearl Harbor to operational capacity as quickly as possible. The deployment and maintenance of many U.S. military personnel in Hawaii required funding for their training, housing, and support. Troop buildup in Hawaii was a critical component of the overall defense strategy in the Pacific. Hawaii was a logistical hub for the Pacific Theater, necessitating substantial investment in transportation, supply depots, and infrastructure to ensure a smooth flow of troops, equipment, and supplies to and from the islands.²³ Given the strategic importance of Hawaii, radar and surveillance systems were developed and deployed to enhance early warning capabilities against potential aerial and naval threats. These technologies received funding to improve the islands' defense posture. In addition to military infrastructure, funds were allocated for civil defense measures to protect the civilian population. Civil defense measures included air raid shelters, blackout procedures, and other measures to enhance the islands' resilience against potential attacks.

The influx of defense spending had a significant impact on Hawaii's economy. The construction and maintenance of military installations created jobs and stimulated economic activity, boosting the local economy.

²² Henry T. Conserva, *Earth Tales: New Perspectives on Geography and History* (United States: Author House, 2001), 213.

²³ "Consider Pearl Harbor as Greatest Naval Base in the World," *The Windsor Daily Star*, Dec 7, 1942, 13.

World War II

Hawaii became the base for U.S. military operations in the Pacific during World War II. The islands served as a base for launching and supporting operations in the Pacific Theater. While martial law and concentration camps were planned and in the works for years before the attack, it was quickly implemented after the bombing.²⁴ The Japanese had to become superpatriots because they had no choice. The Japanese determined patriotism as total subordination to the will of the United States leaders and the quiet acceptance of inequality. This anti-Japanese reaction led many Japanese men to enlist in the U.S. military to prove their loyalty to the United States.²⁵

Fearing another attack from without or within from the Japanese, Territorial Governors Joseph Poindexter and Ingram Stainback declared martial law, stripping themselves of administrative powers. Martial law led to the suspension of the territorial constitution, dissolution of the legislature and supreme court, and the enforcement of military law on all residents of Hawaii. Military Government Formation: Major General U.S. Army Judge Advocate General's Corps played a significant role in forming the military government. General Walter Short appointed himself military governor on December 7, 1941, assuming control at 'Iolani Palace. However, he was relieved of duty on December 17 and charged with dereliction of duty for poor preparations before the Pearl Harbor attack.

Under martial law, the military governor controlled every aspect of Hawaiian life. As military and FBI agents rounded up suspected spies and “suspicious persons,” the army imposed

²⁴ Thomas H. Green and Judge Advocate General's School. *Martial law in Hawaii December 7- April 4, 1943*. Manuscript/Mixed Material (S.I.: s.n., between 1946 and 1971)

²⁵ Harry N. Scheiber, Jane L. Scheiber, and Benjamin Jones, “Hawaii's Kibei under Martial Law: A Hidden Chapter in the History of World War II Internments,” *W. Legal Hist.* 22 (2009): 1.

a strict curfew. Habeas corpus was suspended, the military took control of labor, and trial by jury was temporarily abolished. More than 2,000 people were arrested in the first 48 hours alone. Hawaii would remain under military rule for almost three years. Some controls included fingerprinting residents over the age of six, imposing blackouts and curfews, rationing food and gasoline, censoring news and media, censoring mail, prohibiting alcohol, setting business hours, and managing traffic and garbage collection. Violations of these regulations led to punishment without appeal by military tribunals.²⁶

There were conflicts and turf battles between federal Departments of War, Justice, and Interior, with the Justice Department playing a mediating or flip-flopping role. The military courts were accused of bias against civilians. These cases involved detained, naturalized Germans and tested the military's suspension of habeas corpus. U.S. District Judge Metzger subpoenaed General Richardson in August 1943 to explain why the detainees were held without charges. However, the situation was complicated, and the prisoners were eventually released outside of Hawaii.²⁷ All of this infighting led to a further breaking down of the Big Five power structure, as well as a deeper stratification of race and ethnic roles in Hawaii. While many Japanese separated themselves as superpatriots, and would eventually lead in the Democratic Revolution, native Hawaiians, remained politically in the background of Hawaii during the war.

²⁶ Harry Scheiber, *Bayonets in Paradise: Martial Law in Hawai'i During World War II* (United States: University of Hawaii Press, 2016), 2.

²⁷ Amanda Tyler, *Habeas Corpus in Wartime: From the Tower of London to Guantanamo Bay* (United States: Oxford University Press, 2017), 217.

Post-World War II

After the war, the military presence in Hawaii continued to grow as the U.S. sought to maintain a strong presence in the region. The Cold War era saw a continued buildup of military facilities in Hawaii. The islands played a crucial role in the U.S. strategy to contain the spread of communism in the Pacific. Joint Base Pearl Harbor-Hickam was established, combining air and naval operations. Some of these facilities continued to be used for military purposes, contributing to the islands' ongoing strategic significance. Returning home, many Japanese Americans who served as superpatriots used the GI Bill to acquire higher education and entered Hawaiian politics and business. These Japanese Hawaiians included Spark Matsunaga, Governor George Ariyoshi, and Bishop Estate Trustee Matsuo Takabuki. These second-generation Japanese, who were now highly educated war veterans, rose to power in government during the Democratic Revolution in Hawaii in 1954.²⁸ This new shift of the Democratic party officially ousted the Big Five hold on power and dominance, though it would take several more decades for the power to dematerialize. Native Hawaiians were on both sides of the Revolution; they were in a social limbo at the time, having less power and rights than residents of European descent but more than residents of East Asian descent. Older Native Hawaiians tended to fear the change further declined their status, while youths embraced the prospect of gain by ousting the status quo.

Activists claim the Japanese rise to leadership in Hawaii was a second colonization process that took land and power from Native Hawaiians. In her book, *Settlers of Color and "Immigrant" Hegemony: "Locals" in Hawai'i*, Haunani-Kay Trask wrote, "The Japanese Know that they, as a group, benefited from the dispossession of Hawaiians Justice for us required,

²⁸ Jonathan Y. Okamura, *From Race to Ethnicity: Interpreting Japanese American Experiences in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2014), 46.

among other things, an end to Japanese Democratic Party control over Hawaiian lands and waters."²⁹ To Trask, the only way for the Japanese to truly support Hawaiian sovereignty would be to get behind and support native groups in which natives are in charge. At the same time outside investors from Japan began to make significant cooperate investments into Hawaii Real Estate.³⁰

The Hawaii Democratic Revolution was the political and social movement that emerged in Hawaii during the 1950s and 1960s. The movement was driven by a desire to challenge the entrenched power structures of the State's ruling elite and promote a more progressive agenda. The movement gained traction among Hawaii's working-class population, who had long been marginalized by the State's conservative, Republican-dominated establishment. The Hawaii Democratic Revolution profoundly impacted the State's political development, eventually transitioning from a traditional, pro-business political landscape to a more liberal, Democratic-leaning one.

The new Japanese-dominated leadership in Hawaii, brought about with the help of Govender George A. Burns, also formed a partnership with the U.S. military. They embraced defense spending as a welcome alternative to the prior economy based on plantations. Senator Daniel Inouye significantly contributed to this growth.³¹ Inouye was a war hero, became the first U.S. Representative for the State of Hawaii in 1959, and was elected as a Senator in 1962. He brought an enormous supply of federal resources to the State. As the chair of the Senate

²⁹ Haunani-Kay Trask, "Settlers of Color and 'Immigrant' Hegemony: 'Locals' in Hawaii," *Amerasia Journal* 26, no. 2 (2000): 8.

³⁰ "Japanese Investors Find a Paradise in the Pacific" *Pittsburg Post-Gazette*, Jan 26, 1981, 3.

³¹ "The Hard Man from Hawaii," *New Straits Times*, August 6, 1987, 56.

Appropriations Committee, between 2009 and 2012, he brought over \$14,000,000,000 to Hawaii. Today, Hawaii still receives a massive amount of federal military spending.³²

Although Hawaii state senators speak of the need to repatriate the lands to Native Hawaiians, their collaboration with the U.S. military and voting record show they did the opposite. After an investigation by the Star Honolulu Advertiser, it was reported, "Hawaii's members of Congress voted for at least six laws authorizing the federal government to sell dozens of excess properties to private parties rather than offering them to a Hawaiian trust established to repatriate the land."³³ It said, "In one must-pass military spending bill spanning more than 500 pages, lawmakers slipped in a single sentence that helped a handful of nonprofits to acquire the land. In another, they added language that effectively put the need for military housing ahead of the need for housing Hawaiians."³⁴ For Haunani Trask, even though her father was in leadership at the beginning of the Democratic Revolution, Democratic leaders in the Senate have failed in their role to help the cause of Native Hawaiians.

Hawaii's delegates consistently supported the expansion of the military troops and infrastructure. Military land policies in the islands were effectively muted at this time. In one sense, it can be argued that the Democrats accommodated themselves to the newly emerging political economy of the lands. In the first five decades of this century, plantation agriculture was the center of the economy. However, defense spending became the dominant economic factor during the 1950s, and by 1960, it accounted for a larger share of the islands' income than sugar

³² Peter Cohn, "Earmarks in Senate Bills Favor Small States, Retiring Senators," *Roll Call*, August 3, 2022, 12.

³³ Rob Perez, "Millions of Dollar's Worth of Land. Congress Helped Make Sure the Debt Wasn't Paid," *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*, May 7, 2021.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

and pineapple combined. The Democratic political "machine" benefited directly from its association with the militarized economy. Local contractors, who provided essential financial support for Democratic candidates over the years, have been among the chief beneficiaries of military spending in the Islands. Hundreds of millions of dollars have been spent on military construction projects in Hawaii in recent years. Senator Inouye's favored position on the Military Construction Subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee ensures that the flow of dollars will continue. In turn, these interests and union members working in civilian defense jobs comprised a potent lobby for continued high military appropriations. Thus, the military draws its principal support from those with immediate pecuniary interests in the prevailing pattern of defense spending. The Democratic "establishment," in turn, buttresses its political power by continuing to deliver defense dollars to the islands'.

The economic dependency on the military has kept it tightly bound into the social fabric of locals. However, the contention between Native Hawaiians and the military involves issues posed to their land, environment, and cultural survival. On land, they lost substance and cultural resources. The military has also caused contamination of the air and water, toxic waste, unexploded ordinance, and radiation. Erik Seize, a civil rights attorney in Hawaii, said in a statement, "The U.S. military has done whatever it needed to dominate and exploit these islands for its larger purposes. They needed a naval base [so they] took an important fishing area. Need a place for bombing prep practice. Take the whole island. We need to practice artillery fire. Take two or three valleys, no environmental impact studies, of course."³⁵ At annexation, the military took 1.8 million acres of national and crown lands of the Kingdom of Hawaii. The military has

³⁵ Tribunal Komike. *Interim Report, Kanaka Maoli Nation, Plaintiff Versus United States of America Defendant August 12- 21. 1993*. Pamphlet. (Honolulu: Ka Ho'okolokolonui Kanaka Maoli, 1993).

used this land, but it has been semi-trusted. In 1959, when Hawaii became a state, the military kept control over 180,000 acres of these ceded lands, and the rest was reverted to the State as trustee.³⁶ At the same time, 30,000 acres were returned to the State and then immediately leased back to the military for 65 years.³⁷ The rent for most of these leases was only one dollar for the lease term. This land the military is on is referred to as "stolen land" by many Native Hawaiians because 54 percent of military land in Hawaii is on this leased land.

The transition from native land issues to Democratic capitalization involved a nuanced recognition of the historical struggles of indigenous communities and the political dynamics surrounding their activism. Democrats, particularly in the latter half of the 20th century, began to align themselves with indigenous communities and incorporated their concerns into broader progressive agendas. This strategic move not only appealed to indigenous voters but also signaled a commitment to social justice and inclusivity, resonating with a broader base of supporters. Furthermore, the rise of New Left tendencies in the 1960s and 1970s exerted significant influence on Democratic politics, pushing the party to adopt more progressive platforms and policies. The New Left's emphasis on social justice, grassroots organizing, and intersectionality provided additional support and solidarity for indigenous communities in their struggle for land rights and sovereignty.³⁸ This intersectional framework highlighted the interconnectedness of indigenous struggles with other marginalized groups, amplifying their voices on the political stage and shaping contemporary progressive agendas.

³⁶ "Real Hawaiians Demand Land," *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*, May 13, 1973, 53.

³⁷ "Military Buildup Increases in Hawaii," *The Robesonian*, August 23, 1972, 1.

³⁸ Luigi Pellizzoni, Emanuele Leonardi, and Viviana Asara, eds., *Handbook of Critical Environmental Politics* (United Kingdom: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2022), 484.

During the 1970s to the 1990s in Hawaii, Democratic Party leaders held sway over the political landscape, occupying key positions at both the state and federal levels. Governors such as George Ariyoshi, John Waihe‘e, and Benjamin Cayetano led the state during this period, overseeing interactions with the military on various fronts. With Hawaii's strategic importance as a hub for military operations in the Pacific, these Democratic governors collaborated with military officials on matters ranging from disaster response coordination to the management of state National Guard units. In the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives, Democrats like Daniel Inouye, Spark Matsunaga, Patsy Mink, and Neil Abercrombie played influential roles in advocating for Hawaii's military interests and securing federal funding for military projects in the state.

In 1987, the U.S. Pacific Fleet initiated a proposal aimed at improving accessibility to Ford Island by suggesting the exchange of 122 acres of Navy land on Oahu for funds necessary to construct the Ford Island Bridge and replacement warehouse facilities. This concept gained traction, and by 1988, Hawaii Governor John Waihee had expressed interest in negotiating an agreement to implement it. The endeavor received further support and guidance from U.S. Senator Dan Inouye, culminating in the enactment of special legislation, Section 127 of Public Law 101-148, in 1989. This legislation specifically authorized the Navy to transfer the identified property to the State of Hawaii in exchange for the requisite funds for building the replacement facilities and bridge. The process underscores a collaborative approach between federal and state authorities to enhance infrastructure and operational capabilities within the region.³⁹ This exchange brought land possession back to Hawaii, from the U.S. military.

³⁹ *Navy Civil Engineer* (United States: Naval Facilities Engineering Command, 1996), 16.

While the Republican Party had a limited presence in Hawaii politics during this time, Republican leaders at the state level and in Congress engaged in similar interactions with the military, albeit with less influence due to the Democratic Party's dominance in the state. Overall, both Democratic and Republican leaders in Hawaii worked alongside military officials to address issues relevant to the state's significant military presence, including defense spending, infrastructure projects, environmental concerns, and the socioeconomic impact of the military on Hawaii's communities.

Defense spending became the dominant economic factor during the 1950s, and by 1960, and accounted for a larger share of the islands' income than sugar and pineapple combined.⁴⁰ The Democratic political "machine" benefited directly from its association with the militarized economy. Local contractors, who provided essential financial support for Democratic candidates over the years, had been among the chief beneficiaries of military spending. The military drew its principal support from those with immediate pecuniary interests in the prevailing pattern of defense spending. The Democratic "establishment", in turn, buttressed its own political power by continuing to deliver defense dollars to the islands. The shift from Republican to Democrat did little to stop the continued militarization of Hawaii.

The post-statehood period in Hawaii showed a significant long-term decline in the military's role. First, tourism has replaced defense spending as the dominant force in the islands' economy. Fueled by corporate investment from around the world, tourism overtook defense as the state's most prominent industry in 1972. While the direct income generated by defense and tourist expenditures were approximately equal in 1970, tourism grew twice as fast over the following decade. The continued growth of tourism will further reduce the state's dependence on

⁴⁰ *Social Process in Hawaii* (United States: Department of Sociology, University of Hawaii at Manoa, 1985), 38.

defense spending and inevitably create additional pressures for transferring lands from military to civilian use. The military in Hawaii continued to be strongly interwoven into every aspect of Hawaiian life and economy.

Vietnam War Era

During the Vietnam War, Hawaii served as a staging area for military operations in Southeast Asia, and indigenous Hawaiians continued to lose more land. The islands were essential logistical and support centers for the U.S. military during the conflict. Also, in 1983, a federal-state task force saw that the military illegally seized roughly 13,000 acres from Hawaiian homelands through presidential executive orders.⁴¹ This land that could have been used for housing Hawaiians was now used by the military to store ammunition and house a radio communications complex. The violence the military has caused by destroying or altering natural and cultural resources and blocking access to military-controlled areas led to native Hawaiians losing a means of food production, natural resources, cultural sites, and the acquisition of things like minerals and medicinal plants. Hawaiians view land as a place that feeds.⁴² In contrast, the Western colonial view of real estate should be bought, sold, and used at one's discretion.

On the environment, the military left many environmental disasters that have yet to be grasped fully. In the book *Poisoning the Pacific: The U.S. Military's Secret Dumping of Plutonium, Chemical Weapons, and Agent Orange*, Japan-based journalist Jon Mitchell speaks of the statistics of chemical, nuclear, and biological poisoning and pollution across Southeast Asia and parts of the Pacific by the U.S. and Japanese militaries. For example, "in 1965 and 1966, the

⁴¹ Federal State Task Force on the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act Report to the United States Secretary of the Interior and the Governor of the State of Hawaii. Honolulu, HI (August 15, 1983).

⁴² "Military Growing in Hawaii," *Rome News-Tribune*, August 23, 1972, 6.

U.S. military sprayed bacteria over Oahu to simulate a biological attack. In 1969, Deseret Test Center Test 69-32, a U.S. Air Force F-4 Phantom jet southwest of Oahu, sprayed five Navy tugboats using two germs."⁴³ The military contamination and cleanup Atlas for the United States in 1995 saw 405 military-contaminated sites designated for cleanup in Hawaii.

Some environmental damage that the island experienced included jet fuel oil leakage, organic solvents, and oil in the groundwater on Pearl Harbor, Hickam Air Force Base, and other military sites. It also included radioactive waste, the destruction of native ecosystems by live fire training, high-powered radio facilities emitting electromagnetic radiation, nerve gas testing and disposal, and sonar tests that harm marine animals.⁴⁴ It is said that low-income families in Hawaii are at the most significant risk. The military in Hawaii attempts to mitigate some environmental damage by saving endangered species or preserving some land from mass development, compared to land damage caused by hazardous material and unexploded ordinances that are too expensive to clean up and render that land unsuitable for living.

Aside from environmental damage, a problem with having an economy so dependent on the military is that the military might lose interest in the strategic value of Hawaii and pull bases and resources from the island. There needs to be an alternative self-sustaining revenue for Hawaiians. In *Ka Mana O Ka Aina*, A Bulletin of the Pro Sovereignty Working Group, Native Hawaiians Spoke out against having the U.S.S. Missouri homeported in Hawaii in 1989. Proponents of the idea said it brought jobs. However, the bulletin argued, "the Navy brings in its labor force along with their dependents all these newcomers Navy and civilian alike will

⁴³ Jon Mitchell, *Poisoning the Pacific: the U.S. Military's Secret Dumping of Plutonium, Chemical Weapons, and Agent Orange* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2020), 75.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 75.

compete for existing housing, and this will force up the already impossible level of rent for the poorest of our people none of whom can be expected to get these new jobs."⁴⁵ Instead of pulling from the local population to fill these jobs, the military brought in active-duty military members and their families to further strain Native Hawaiians.

Table 1-Direct Income from Major Export Industries, 1910-1975 (In Millions of dollars)⁴⁶

Year	Values of Sales/Agriculture		Expenditures	
	Sugar	Pineapple	Defense	Visitors
1910	43	2	-	-
1915	60	6	-	-
1920	146	29	-	-
1925	67	34	-	7
1930	62	38	-	9
1935	64	34	-	8
1940	55	46	45	12
1945	65	27	-	-
1950	117	102	147	24
1955	142	116	262	55
1960	118	119	351	131
1965	166	127	430	225
1970	188	139	639	595
1975	366	137	983	1,270

The Bank of Hawaii researched the impact of the military on the state economy and found that despite the difficulty in measuring economic and social costs, the military population tends to offset the cost of its presence in a way that others cannot.⁴⁷ The Hawaiian bank argues that the military history in Hawaii has an innocent economic contribution rather than a colonizing presence. They argued that Hawaiians should continue to build on their heritage as an

⁴⁵ "Native Hawaiians Speaking out against having the U.S.S. Missouri" Ka Mana O Ka Aina: A Bulletin of the Pro Sovereignty Working Group. (1989).

⁴⁶ Robert C. Schmitt, *Historical Statistics of Hawaii* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1977), 165.

⁴⁷ "Hawaii Research Backs Tourism," *The Spokesman-Review*, April 17, 1969, 40.

island whose economy is substantially based on the military.⁴⁸ There is a general fear that the economy would collapse if the military were to leave Hawaii, so naysayers against the military policy are often judged as harmful and disorderly. There are tightly woven threads of militarization into the social fabric of Hawaii. The military order brought, most poignantly during martial law, can cause residents to view other forms of charge, such as the order from Native Hawaiians, as disorderly, inefficient, messy, and lacking competence, further hindering the support that Native Hawaiians could be influential leaders as a sovereign territory. While pockets of resistance have always been present, in the 1970s, when urbanization brought through tourism and the military began encroaching on rural communities, major land struggles erupted. Native Hawaiians had no other choice but to push back. In this push, more communities came together to resist collectively, aided by young local activists who took inspiration from other new left events happening during the same period on the mainland and in other parts of the world. What began as a pushback against land loss and cultural destruction became a massive sovereignty movement that included a complete cultural renaissance. As they strengthened their cultural identity, they were further inspired to reclaim their land and sovereignty.

The reason for the failure of the sovereignty movement is nuanced, with many factors contributing. Indigenous Hawaiians suffered first against two waves of immigration: Caucasians from the U.S. mainland and the second from Asians from countries like Japan and the Philippines. These immigrants competed with the indigenous population for both resources and power. The second assault on native Hawaiians' sovereignty was the Western insertion of legal tactics in governmental actions and regulations. These tactics were used to acquire land initially and later contributed to the failure of Hawaiians to regain it. Third, the Hawaiian economy

⁴⁸ James R Hosek, Aviva Litovitz, and Adam C. Resnick, *How Much Does Military Spending Add to Hawaii's Economy?* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 2011).

became too dependent on tourism, and the tourist industry primarily benefited large corporations and outside investors, with a limited share reaching local communities and native Hawaiians. Fourth, despite its destructive presence, the sovereignty movement failed because Hawaii was and still is too economically dependent on the U.S. military. Even so, energized by the Anti-Vietnam War protests happening in the 1970s, Hawaiians shifted from passively accepting how things were to actively protesting land evictions in the Kalama Valley. While there had been other protests before this time, the Kalama Valley land evictions and protests caused a shift in both in the force and directionality towards the sovereignty movement.

Understanding the consequences of Hawaii's connection to the US military required a multifaceted analysis that transcended mere acknowledgment of the military's presence or the militarization of the state. While it was undeniable that Hawaii's strategic location in the Pacific made it a pivotal hub for US military operations, the ramifications extended far beyond the physical deployment of troops and equipment. Delving deeper into this subject unveiled a tapestry of political, environmental, and cultural implications that profoundly shaped the Hawaiian Islands and their inhabitants. Initially, it was crucial to recognize the geopolitical significance of Hawaii as a strategic outpost for projecting American power across the Asia-Pacific region. This strategic importance facilitated the establishment of numerous military installations, ranging from naval bases to airfields, which fundamentally altered Hawaii's socio-political landscape. However, beyond the geopolitical calculus, the enduring presence of the US military in Hawaii engendered a host of interconnected consequences that merited scrutiny. From environmental degradation stemming from military exercises and toxic contamination to socio-economic disparities exacerbated by the military-industrial complex, Hawaii grappled with multifaceted challenges that intersected with its indigenous heritage and cultural identity.

Moreover, the pervasive militarization of Hawaii engendered a fraught relationship between local communities and the military apparatus, with issues of land dispossession, cultural appropriation, and social displacement underscoring the complex dynamics at play. Thus, examining Hawaii's connection to the US military necessitated a nuanced understanding that encompassed not only the physical manifestations of militarism but also its far-reaching ramifications on politics, ecology, and culture within the archipelago.

With all of the background leading up to this point, the blueprint was set for a major disruption in politics and culture. The main argument of this dissertation will now trace how individual Hawaiians were affected by annexation on issues interacted in light of the sovereignty movement. It will now shift gears to focus on the movement itself its leaders and its accomplishments and failures.

The Vietnam War played a pivotal role to later eviction protests. Throughout the war's escalation, Hawaii emerged as a crucial logistical and strategic center for the US military, witnessing a surge in military spending as bases, training grounds, and staging areas proliferated across the islands. This heightened military presence exerted a significant influence over Hawaii's socio-political landscape. However, as the Vietnam War garnered increasing criticism from an outspoken anti-war movement, Hawaii's facilitation of the war effort came under scrutiny. Local activists, inspired by the nationwide anti-war sentiment, began challenging the militarization of their communities and the disproportionate burdens imposed on Hawaii's residents. This dissent against militarism served as a catalyst for broader social movements, including protests against evictions and land dispossession driven by military expansion. Consequently, the Vietnam War era not only witnessed escalated military spending in Hawaii but also catalyzed a burgeoning resistance movement that profoundly influenced the island's socio-

political dynamics. The desecration of lands and culture concerning Native Hawaiians is a long-standing issue shaped by historical, economic, and political factors, along with analyzing the key figures and organizations involved in the desecration of lands and culture. Corporate and Government Entities involved in the U.S. military played significant roles in land exploitation and the commodification of Hawaiian culture for profit.

Chapter 6 – The Shift – Kalama Valley and the Bishop Estate

The corruption within the Bishop Estate trust and the mass eviction of locals from leased land ignited a resistance movement supported by educators like Setsu Kuba, who emphasized the importance of civic engagement for young Hawaiian students and groups like Kokua Hawaii organizing activist efforts. This shift toward activism ultimately catalyzed the Hawaiian Renaissance, a cultural and political awakening that sought to reclaim and revitalize indigenous Hawaiian identity and rights. The response was the form of organized resistance in the form of activist groups that engaged in non-violent protests, legal battles, and educational campaigns to raise awareness and challenge desecration practices.

Protests Led by Locals

When asked if his father's mental illness shaped him into an anti-war activist, Gary T. Kubota, a member of the activist group Kokua Hawaii, replied, "Yes." Born in Honolulu in 1949, Kubota was arrested with 31 other people in Kalama Valley on May 11, 1971, in an act of civil disobedience to protest the mass eviction of farmers and Native Hawaiians. He said of the effects of his father, who is of Japanese ancestry and served in WWII, "As a teenager, I felt like I was living with a ticking bomb in the family house long after the war had ended...and no one knew how to disarm it. Government officials seem more into military parades."¹ He went on to say that while his father and other Japanese Americans helped win the war, the history books gave little acknowledgment to them. Seeing the disarming effects the war had on his father, "I felt because

¹ Larry Kamakawiwoole, Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project Interview by Gary T. Kubota, Honolulu, HI, conducted over months through email exchanges ending December 4, 2018.

of this kind of institutionalized racism, guys in my generation were going to face the same racist thing again by fighting in Vietnam. I wasn't going to do it."²

Kubota's conscientious objector status put him on a path of questioning the politics and institutions in the United States. While attending the University of Hawaii in 1967, he remembered seeing "Hawaiians and Filipinos in disproportionate numbers into the military, while they were somehow restricted from entering colleges, where they could receive a student deferment from the draft."³ To him, this was another form of institutionalized racism. When he dropped out of the University of Hawaii after completing his sophomore year, he thought he would be assigned to some alternative draft service, resist, and then spend time in jail. This situation is when the issue with the Kalama Valley came up. He said, "It seemed like if I was going to jail for resisting alternative service in a war that was thousands of miles away, I might as well get arrested for an injustice occurring in my backyard."⁴

The May 1971 arrests of those protesting evictions in the Kalama Valley marked a shift in assumptions of land ownership when locals like Kubota, inspired by movements happening on the mainland and in protesting the Vietnam war, began raising questions about public land policies that evicted the poor to make way for the wealthy and increase homelessness. Until then, tenants and farmers facing eviction usually moved to the next valley. However, farmers like

² Larry Kamakawiwoole, Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project Interview by Gary T. Kubota, Honolulu, HI, conducted over months through email exchanges ending December 4, 2018.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

George Santos, who had moved multiple times, were tired of being evicted and had run out of options in east Oahu.⁵

In Hawaii, the anti-war movement intersected intimately with native religious practices, forging a unique synergy that reflected the islands' cultural heritage. Native Hawaiian activists, deeply rooted in their spiritual connection to the land, mobilized to protect sacred sites threatened by military activities associated with the Vietnam War. These sites held profound significance, embodying ancestral ties, deific reverence, and ecological harmony. Traditional Hawaiian religious ceremonies and rituals became integral components of anti-war protests, symbolizing a spiritual imperative to defend sacred lands from desecration. Indigenous spiritual leaders and practitioners infused demonstrations with oli, hula, and ho'oponopono, imbuing resistance efforts with a distinctly Hawaiian ethos of peace, unity, and cultural resilience. Interfaith collaborations among activists from diverse religious backgrounds further enriched the movement, fostering dialogue and mutual support while honoring Hawaii's spiritual diversity. Environmental activism, intertwined with anti-war sentiments, underscored indigenous principles of 'āina stewardship and interconnectedness, framing activism as a sacred duty to protect and honor the land. Through their participation, Native Hawaiians revitalized traditional religious practices, reclaimed cultural autonomy, and asserted the intrinsic value of indigenous knowledge systems in shaping a more just and peaceful future for Hawaii and beyond.

Kokua Hawaii spearheaded the movement and had several retreats where people had the opportunity to get to know each other and work out a plan of action. Their meetings broadened the local's experience of Hawaiian history and culture. Kokua Kalama was born in the summer of

⁵ Helen Geracimos Chapin, *Shaping History: The Role of Newspapers in Hawaii* (United States: University of Hawaii Press, 1996), 341.

1970 as a small group of activists determined to support the Kalama Valley residents in their eviction struggle.⁶ The group evolved into Kokua Hawaii, an organization of community organizers who helped to successfully fight evictions at Waipahu's Ota Camp in 1972, in Kalihi-Pālana a year later, and in He'eia Kea and Waiāhole-Waikane in 1975.⁷ They frequently visited Native Hawaiian Kahuna Sammy Lono's place in Haiku and learned about Ahupua'a and kuleana rights and his fight to maintain his culture. Kabuto said, "Sammy had been through a long, successful legal battle to protect his access rights to his land and ancestral home in Haiku in the 1960s. He was also exercising his religious rights in growing and using 'Awa as part of Native Hawaiian rites in defiance of federal drug laws."⁸

Native Hawaiian religious rites later played a crucial role in federal courts, allowing Native Hawaiians access to Kahoolawe, an island then occupied and used for military purposes. John and Marion Kelly also influenced Kabuto from the University of Hawaii. He said, "We were studying Marx, Lenin, and Mao and reading the Blount Report about the illegal overthrow of the monarchy. Kabuto was also moved by reading about Japanese American labor strikes in Hawaii in 1909 and 1919-1921, described by Hawaii Pono author Lawrence Fuchs.⁹ Through these readings and discussions, those involved in the movement became a conduit for a new way of looking at Hawaii's history. Before police began arresting people that May Day in 1971, Kokua Hawaii organizers asked non-local white demonstrators to leave because the coalition

⁶ Ibrahim G. Aoude and Marion Kelly, *The Ethnic Studies Story: Politics and Social Movements in Hawaii - Essays in Honor of Marion Kelly* (United States: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), 45.

⁷ Larry Kamakawiwoole, Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project Interview by Gary T. Kubota, Honolulu, HI, conducted over months through email exchanges ending December 4, 2018.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

wanted to demonstrate that the protests were about local people fighting against evictions of poor and working people.¹⁰ Kubota said, "It was about empowering and restoring pride in minority communities and working-class groups and respecting lifestyles in Hawaii."¹¹

Lili'uokalani, Hawaii's last Queen, wrote, "The cause of Hawaii and independence is larger and dearer than the life of any man connected with it. Love of country is deep-seated in the breast of every Hawaiian, whatever his station."¹² Central conflicts in post-WWII Hawaii occurred and created change. Movements that began to take steam in the 1960s were spearheaded by Native Hawaiian activists who were critical of the issues affecting modern Hawaiians. They were over issues including the island's urbanization and commercial development, corruption in the Hawaiian homelands program, and the appropriation of native burial grounds and other sacred spaces. Statehood transformed the Hawaiian economy. Hawaiian communities at statehood were already economically exploited and culturally suppressed, but many Hawaiians were still able to live how they had always lived during the plantation-dominated era. However, during the 1960s, they were besieged by the rapid development of their agricultural areas.¹³ They had initially retained many traditional practices like fishing and taro farming. However, they were now under threat of extinction by urbanization and all forms of development, which was perceived by Hawaiians as a final attempt to get rid of their ancestral homelands and all things Native Hawaiian.

¹⁰ Larry Kamakawiwoole, Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project Interview by Gary T. Kubota, Honolulu, HI, conducted over months through email exchanges ending December 4, 2018.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Lydia Paki Liliuokalani, *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen, Liliuokalani* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1898).

¹³ *The Hawaiian Journal of History* (United States: Hawaiian Historical Society, 1987), 18.

Figuratively, in post-1959, hotels and resorts became the new plantations after the U.S. declared Hawaii a state within its Union.¹⁴ A rush of Americans coming to live in Hawaii. These developments displaced the Native Hawaiians who had continued to live Hawaiian style. Hawaiian style is land-based sustenance that includes farming, fishing, and gathering. During the 1960s, working-class communities began challenging the local political establishment that promised land reform. Out of these struggles, Hawaiian national consciousness reemerged.¹⁵ With the awakening of their people's problems, they stood their ground against further separation from their land and culture. As they succeeded in regaining their rights to their land, water, burial grounds, and other cultural practices, their identity as Hawaiian people was also strengthened.

The Bishop Estate

The Hawaiian sovereignty movement that began the cultural Renaissance started with the Bishop Trust Estate, also known as the Bishop Estate. The Bishop Estate was a pivotal part of the fight Hawaiians would make at Kalamā Valley. In 1845, Hawaiian land ownership legislation was created. For the first time, Hawaiian lands could be bought and sold to private owners. This Great Ma'hele created a land Commission and divided all the King's land into a joint ownership between the King and the royal government. Most of the land that belonged to the royal government was not sold to ordinary Hawaiians but to Western missionaries and owners of land trusts, including what eventually became the Bishop Estate. At present, 55 percent of the land in

¹⁴ Adria L. Imada, *Aloha America: Hula Circuits Through the U.S. Empire* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012), 156.

¹⁵ Jocelyn Linnekin and Lin Poyer, eds., *Cultural Identity and Ethnicity in the Pacific* (United States: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), 270.

Hawaii is owned by around 17 significant landowners. The largest of which is the Bishop Estate, a tax-exempt charitable trust.¹⁶

The Bishop Estate was created in 1884 at the request of Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop. She was the great-granddaughter of King Kamehameha the Great, the founder of the Kingdom of Hawaii. The Bishop Estate is an impressive private charitable trust established in the late 19th century through the last will of Princess Bernice Pauahi, Bishop of the Kamehameha Dynasty. The Trust manages a substantial endowment and supports education for Hawaiian children and other charitable causes in Hawaii. Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop was set to become the Queen but refused, but she left a trust when she died. The initial funding of the Trust included 10 percent of the Kingdom of Hawaii's land mass, including all of Waikiki. She dedicated this land to the benefit of the Kamehameha schools.¹⁷ The princess knew that education would be the key to restoring her people, so in an enduring act of aloha, she left them a precious gift upon her passing in 1887: over 363,000 acres of ancestral land. She instructed the trustees of her estate to use the land to educate her people.¹⁸

Specifically, the Bishop Estate provided grants and scholarships to support Hawaiian students and educational institutions, as well as funding for community organizations and cultural initiatives that promoted the well-being of the Hawaiian people. The primary value of the Estate land was to keep it and not sell it. At this time, leasing became a popular way to sell land through a lease temporarily, but it limited the ownership to a predetermined number of years. Subsequently, when a leaseholder purchases land, they have the right to occupy

¹⁶ “Bruce Dunford, Heats on for Trustees of Hawaiian Estate,” *The Free Lance-Star*, Sep 15, 1997, 3.

¹⁷ “Hawaiians Cling to Royal Past,” *The Telegraph-Herald*, August 3, 1972, 12.

¹⁸ Will of Bernice Pauahi Bishop (October 31, 1883), in re Estate of Bishop, Probate No. 2425 (Haw. Sup. Ct. 1884) (filed in Certificate of Proof of Will and available from the Hawai‘i State Archives).

temporarily and possess the dwelling; however, they do not own the ground when the lease is terminated. The structures on the leased land become the property of the property owner. For most of its life, the Bishop Estate was land-rich and cash-poor.

In the 1950s and 1960s, most of this land was leased to farmers who grew crops and built small living structures. The structures on the leased land became the property owner's property when the lease was up. Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop's will eventually caused several controversies, the first of which was evicting farmer tenants from leased land to sell to wealthy developers.¹⁹ In addition, the will directs that trustee be elected by the Supreme Court, which at the time meant the Kingdom of Hawaii; however, these Supreme Court justices continued to select board trustees through the Republic, Territory, and State period until the late 1990s. Furthermore, despite the government requiring that the income be spent towards the schools, less than one percent of the estimated value of the Trust has been paid towards the schools per year, or roughly \$70,000,000.²⁰

Another topic with the Bishop Estate that came under criticism was that trustees were highly compensated, averaging about \$900,000 annually. They argued that this was within the set compensation. Initially, the income from the Trust was low because the land was kept rather than sold, and the lease rents were also low. However, with the policy change, the estate increased in its income as laws governing leasehold residential land had changed. Large amounts of money flowed into the estate by selling Bishop Estate land at a very high cost.²¹ This money

¹⁹ "Tourists Invade Land of Polynesian Kings," *The Windsor Star*, October 20, 1979, 61.

²⁰ Samuel P. King and Randall W. Roth, "Erosion of Trust: Hawaii's Bishop Estate: A Cautionary Tale of Mismanagement at a Charitable Organization.," *ABA Journal* 93, no. 8 (2007): 48.

²¹ "Hawaii Is Jumping but Losing Aloha Spirit," *Pittsburg Post-Gazette*, November 28, 1974, 30.

ballooned the salaries of the trustees, who were controversial figures in politics and political insiders.

There were also scandals involving trustees who made unlucky investments and were later bailed out of the investment with trust money.²² The Internal Revenue Service began investigating the Trust after exposure to the corruption. It threatened to take away its nonprofit, tax-exempt status because of its mismanaging, insider profiteering, and low education expenditures, which the Trust was initially established to protect against. The state of Hawaii prosecuted some trustees and successfully got them to leave through judicial decisions or resignations.²³ In the 1980s, trustees challenged Hawaii's right to force them to sell lots to people who own houses on estate land. However, gradually, they began to allow some developers and homeowners to buy lots, although its critics say they need to be faster and at a higher price.

Kalama Valley Evictions

One of the conflicts that stemmed from the Bishop Estate policies was land leased to Hawaiian farmers in the Kalama Valley. Henry J. Kaiser moved to Hawaii in the 1950s and developed Hawaii Kai on the southern coast of Oahu. The Kalama Valley was next to Hawaii Kai and was an existing working-class community for locals. In the 1950s, the city and county of Honolulu leased the Kalama Valley land to a group of families who wanted to establish a community and build their homes. Because of the significant increase in housing costs, many farmers who had been previously evicted from other zones redesignated for redevelopment lived

²² Samuel Pailthorpe King, Msgr. Charles Kekumano, Walter Meheula Heen, Gladys Brandt and Randall Roth, "Broken Trust: The community has lost faith in Bishop Estate trustees, in how they are chosen, how much they are paid, how they govern," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, August 9, 1997.

²³ "Hawaii Trust Wields Unusual Power," *National Edition*, July 17, 1983. A version of this article appears in print on July 17, 1983, Section 1, Page 30 of the National Edition.

in the Kalama Valley. Over the years, the residents of Kalama Valley developed a close-knit community and formed a unique way of life. However, in the late 1960s, the land was sold to the Bishop Estate, already one of the largest landowners in Hawaii.²⁴ The Trust had plans to develop the area into a luxury resort, meaning the current residents had to be evicted.

In 1968, the Bishop Estate told the residents of Kalama Valley (over 200 families) that they had to leave before July of 1970 because the valley was rezoned from agricultural to urban land. While some families left the valley when demolition began, others did not. The Native Hawaiian residents of Kalama Valley resisted eminent domain and eviction to protest the condemnation of their land for residential and commercial development. Ed Michael, an executive who carried out orders to evict Native Hawaiian residents of Kalama Valley and raze their homes, declared: "In today's modern world, the Hawaiian lifestyle should be illegal."²⁵ The protest is widely acknowledged as the beginning of the Hawaiian sovereignty movement, modeled on the U.S. civil rights movement, seeking Native Hawaiian recognition for identity, lands, and rights leading to the Hawaiian Renaissance.

Based on his experience organizing resistance at Kalama Valley, local Larry Kamakawiwo'ole said, "Before the Kalama Valley struggle, families got evicted and left. I believe we had to change the 'no cause waves, just leave your homes' attitude. People with eviction notices should do it like the sun rises every morning. It is a part of living in Hawaii. This mindset had to change."²⁶

²⁴ Ibrahim G. Aoude and Marion Kelly, *The Ethnic Studies Story: Politics and Social Movements in Hawaii - Essays in Honor of Marion Kelly* (United States: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), 14.

²⁵ "Kalama Valley Struggle," *Free People*, special issue, 1971. The Kokua Kalama Committee published a newsletter about the Kalama Valley struggle.

²⁶ Larry Kamakawiwoole, Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project Interview by Gary T. Kubota, Honolulu, HI, conducted over months through email exchanges ending December 4, 2018.

In an oral history interview, George Cooper, a student at the University of Hawaii and protester, said, "I was so amazed when I first learned of the Kalama struggle that an entire valley of people was being evicted all at once and by a trust set up to benefit Hawaiian children. I was similarly amazed as I learned about other mass eviction situations in Hawaii and environmental destruction in such a precious place."²⁷ As protesters arrived to prevent their removal, three were arrested. After this, rallies began to be organized at the Hawaii state capitol, but little came from them. However, as more protesters moved into the valley, they outnumbered the original leaseholders. Moose Lou and George Santos, two of those evicted, along with Larry Kamakawiwo'ole, Joy Ahn, and others, formed the Kakua Kalama Committee in response. Together, they pointed out the irony of the Bishop Estate, founded to help Native Hawaiian students, now evicting Hawaiians and other local farmers.²⁸ These evictions were done so developers could build high-priced suburban homes, which these Native Hawaiians could not afford. This was the point that identity politics in Hawaii among Hawaiians firmly took root and would continue to guide the sovereignty movement going forward.

One of those arrested at the Kalama Valley Protests was Clyde Maurice Kalani Ohelo. He stated in an oral history interview with Larry Kabuta, "Elementary school was the first place where I experienced racism. During those days, to be a Hawaiian meant you were in the lowest class of people, primarily because we were construction workers, service workers. Everything that the Filipinos do today, we used to do then. Everything the Koreans and other immigrants did now, we did. The stereotype kept us at the bottom. GK: What was the stereotype? KO: One day,

²⁷ George Cooper, Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project Interview by Gary T. Kubota, Honolulu, HI, conducted over months through email exchanges ending December 25, 2017.

²⁸ Clyde Maurice Kalani Ohelo, Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project Interview by Gary T. Kubota, Honolulu, HI, conducted over months through email exchanges ending December 25, 2017.

my first grade teacher—she was Japanese—said, “Kenji and Nakamurasan, when you boys grow up, you boys will be good students and you boys will become lawyers and doctors. Kalani, when you grow up, you will be. . . one great truck driver.” I didn’t want to be a truck driver because of my physical condition. I looked at her and I said, “I don’t wanna be a truck driver.” “What do you wanna be then?” she asked. “I wanna be a lawyer too,” I said. She goes, “No, no, no, no, no. You cannot be a lawyer because Hawaiians are not lawyers. They’re truck drivers.” After that day, I hated her. She just wanted to put her foot on me and think that I was gonna let it go.²⁹

No. Every day, I had a question for her. “How come the rich. . . these people gotta be considered to be richer than our people because we lived in different locations even though it’s only right across the street? My mom works. My dad works. How come they cannot have enough income to live across the street.” So, I asked her, “How come?” She said, “I told you. Because you folks are Hawaiians.”³⁰

Setsu Okubo

While Kalama Valley was a place where the underpinnings of identity politics rooted in the movement, it was also landmark beginning in so many ways for so many people. The following will illustrate how many people in the sovereignty movement came from this event. Kehau Lee Jackson was arrested on July 9, 1970, as one of several persons protesting the eviction of Kalama Valley residents prior to the formation of Kokua Hawaii. He was among the minorities who helped to shape the curriculum of the University of Hawaii’s Ethnic Studies Program when it was in its initial stages of development in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

²⁹ Tom Coffman, *I Respectfully Dissent: A Biography of Edward H. Nakamura* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2012), 50.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 49.

For the Hawaiian people, it was the beginning of emboldened self-determination. Jackson stated that what made him active in the Kalama Valley was an interest that he started in high school. His social studies teacher at Roosevelt High School was Setsu Okubo. She influenced generations of students who became more active and aware of politics and their civic duty.³¹ In her teaching, she taught seniors a class called American Problems, which was about history, social history, government, and democratic practice. Jackson said about Okubo, "Many people, parents, and conservatives—even among the faculty—didn't like her style. She encouraged students to "open their eyes." In an unapologetic style, she would bring in people like (anti-Vietnam War activists) John Witeck and Ko Hayashi to speak to the students about what was happening around them—the war, the resistance, and significant issues of the day.³² In an oral history interview conducted by the University of Hawaii, Jackson said, "She was key in providing social education for many kids. She was very radical compared to all the other teachers because she talked about Vietnam and raised social issues, challenging us to think for ourselves and act."³³ Setsu expected the kids to stand up and say something, be something, and was a significant influence on many of the activists, both at school and at large. He said, "She did not want you to be something in terms of getting a good job. She wanted you to be something in terms of being a good citizen, in the sense of being aware of what is going on politically and

³¹ Tom Coffman, *I Respectfully Dissent: A Biography of Edward H. Nakamura* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2012), 49.

³² Kehau Lee Jackson, Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project Interview by Gary T. Kubota, Honolulu, HI, conducted over months through email exchanges ending December 25, 2017.

³³ Ibid.

socially and making a stand of some kind."³⁴ Okubo wanted her students to be able to argue their side and not accept the "norms" without question.

Setsu Okubo also had a great influence in the life of another Kalama protest leader, Gary Gill also. He discusses in the *Autobiography of Protest in Hawaii*: "I was in the eleventh grade when I took her class in international affairs and Asian studies. In her first lecture, she described an evil nation in the world that took over other nations, dominated their economies, controlled the people, caused poverty, and was a threat to democracy around the world. And then, with her pointer, she slammed the map on the wall and said, 'And this country is the United States of America.' That made a mark in my memory." Setsu Okubo had her students read about the Long March, Maoism, contemporary politics, and Communist China. She exposed her students to the ideas of American imperialism and colonialism, and always from an economic perspective, which was radical at the time. Students were excited because, for them, "for the first time, world politics started to make sense." They learned there was a reason for wars, other than they just happened, and there was an economic and political reason that could be understood. At the same time, one of her brothers was very much engaged in the new left movement in the United States, and he recruited her and some of her friends into radical, revolutionary political activism.³⁵

Mary Whang Choy, the wife of prominent Korean American physician Duke Choy, was a Honolulu socialite actively involved in her church and became a community activist. She was arrested in Kalama Valley on May 11, 1971, protesting the eviction of farmers and Native

³⁴ Kehau Lee Jackson, Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project Interview by Gary T. Kubota, Honolulu, HI, conducted over months through email exchanges ending December 25, 2017.

³⁵ Robert H. Mast, *Autobiography of Protest in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996), 15.

Hawaiians.³⁶ Her arrest in Kalama Valley raised eyebrows but lent dignity and legitimacy to a group of young Kokua Hawaii activists struggling to bring attention to social injustices. She served on the steering committee of Kokua Hawaii. She was an organizer of the 1993 Kanaka Maoli Tribunal, established to pass judgment on participants of the 1893 overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy.³⁷ Patsy Mink, U.S. Representative for Hawaii, got involved on behalf of her constituents concerned about these evictions. In August of 1970, she received a response from the president of the board of trustees of the Bishop Estate, Richard Lyman, concerning these evictions. He argued that the people causing the commotion about the evictions were outside individuals who were more interested in publicity than helping the people and that they disseminated half-truths with little foundation.³⁸ However, to the locals, this land struggle was more than a misrepresented story. It was a breaking point for them to see they could organize and fight back.

Reverend Larry Kamakawiwo'ole, a leader in the Hawaiian land struggle, declared, "Like the American Indians, our lands were stolen, and our culture ravished; our people have been abused, neglected, and oppressed for too long. It is time for the Hawaiian people to rise and struggle for liberation and social justice."³⁹ There were small protests before this time. However, they had never organized into a more significant movement as they did in the Kalama Valley. The state also received pushback regarding the Kalama Valley, especially from Governor John

³⁶ Roberta Chang and Wayne Patterson, *The Koreans in Hawaii: A Pictorial History, 1903-2003* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003), 127.

³⁷ Patti and Shelley Choy, Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project Interview by Gary T. Kubota about Mary Choy, Honolulu, HI, conducted at Zippy's Restaurant in Kalihi on November 30, 2016.

³⁸ Richard Lyman's Letter to Patsy Mink, August 28, 1970.

³⁹ "The Purpose of the Bishop Estate," *The Honolulu Advertiser*, Wednesday, April 21, 1971.

A. Burns. He was a prominent political figure in Hawaii who served as the state's governor from 1962 to 1974. He was from Montana and moved to Hawaii in 1923. Burns was governor in the state's transition from a U.S. territory to a state, and his administration oversaw many significant initiatives, including the establishment of the University of Hawaii's medical school and the creation of the Hawaii State Foundation on Culture and the Arts.⁴⁰ After leaving office, Burns continued to be involved in Hawaiian politics and was known for his commitment to economic development. However, in his push for economic development, he clashed with the progress in the Kalama Valley.

When Burns received letters from those concerned about the evictions, he replied matter-of-factly in a letter. He wrote, "It seems you that you feel the Bishop Estate has no right to evict the people in question. We have a government of laws without which we had little semblance of order but might well revert to a sort of caveman ruled by force."⁴¹ He said, "It is too bad so many well-meaning people got involved in a situation where their efforts could serve no useful purpose to anyone."⁴² He made it quite clear to his concerned constituents that he perceived the disruption at the Kalama valley as a fool's errand. During this time, mainland newspapers in New York were also reporting on these evictions. Knowing that Senator Patsy Mink had a soft heart for the Native Hawaiian people, Mrs. Ann Chow of New York wrote a letter to Mrs. Mink saying, "It is shameful that the Bishop Estate evicted the Hawaiians from the land and the Kalama valley, how is it that Hawaii's government for so long has done nothing to protect that

⁴⁰ Michael Haas, *Politics and Prejudice in Contemporary Hawaii* (United States: Coventry Press of Honolulu, 1976), 169.

⁴¹ John Burns, *Letter From John Burns to Dianne Linda, dated October 16, 1972*. From Library of Congress, *The Patsy Mink Papers*.

⁴² *Ibid.*

poor Hawaiians? Nothing has been appropriate for them. I know Hawaiians very well. They are good people."⁴³

Interestingly, she wrote out of concern from New York about the Kalama Valley struggle. Criticism that the activists of the Kalama Valley struggle just wanted fame and were using this situation for self-promotion. They were criticized, especially since they were not even residents of the Kalama Valley. However, what they did was bring attention to the plight of Native Hawaiians.⁴⁴ The Kalama Valley eviction struggle was one of the first major protests against evictions, and the valley now has luxury homes, a golf course, and small commercial areas. The evictions were a contentious and emotional topic in Hawaii's history, and many people consider that the Bishop Estate's actions were unjust and insensitive to the residents' needs and rights. However, the good that came out of this struggle was the formation of the Kakua Kalama Committee. It later changed its name to Kokua Hawaii. Kokua Hawaii would be involved in other land struggles, including Waiahole-Waikane, Niumalu-Nawiliwili, Kahoolawe, Makua, and Sand Island, as well as anti-eviction struggles in Chinatown and Waimanalo.⁴⁵ While this Hawaiian movement began simply as a battle for land rights, it evolved into a much larger struggle for Native Hawaiian autonomy. Protests appeared first in the Kalama Valley to stand against eviction from land. However, it became a much larger movement covering military-controlled lands and trust lands expressly set aside by the U.S. Congress for Native Hawaiians but used by non-beneficiaries.

⁴³ John Burns, *Letter From John Burns to Dianne Linda, dated October 16, 1972*. From Library of Congress, *The Patsy Mink Papers*.

⁴⁴ Ibrahim G. Aoude and Marion Kelly, *The Ethnic Studies Story: Politics and Social Movements in Hawaii - Essays in Honor of Marion Kelly* (United States: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), 15.

⁴⁵ Tomas Pernecky and Michael Luck, eds., *Events, Society and Sustainability: Critical and Contemporary Approaches* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 213.

Despite its failure, Kalama Valley was a landmark beginning for many people in so many ways. For the Hawaiian people, it was the beginning of emboldened self-determination. The Kalama Valley protest is also known for sparking the Hawaiian Renaissance, ushering in the rebirth of pride in Hawaiian culture and identity. Lucy Witeck, an activist who was arrested during the Kalama Valley protests, said regarding what made Kalama Valley different, "During earlier anti-war and resistance protests, the charge was that outside haole agitators were coming in and stirring up our good local kids to break the law and protest. It was as if local kids did not have a brain."⁴⁶ She said, "For Kokua Kalama, that strategic kind of decision said, "Okay. This is a locally run organization, and yes, we have supporters who are not local, and many were haoles."⁴⁷ Before this time, the perception was that locals were seen as placid, compliant, obedient, and colonized people, and the struggle established the idea of localism and the shifts in perceptions of the protest movements. At the Kalama Valley protests, Hawaiian consciousness was awakened, and locals began to look at everything differently. They realized how interconnected everything is, and Kehau Lee Jackson and other protesters realized "how much the same people are pulling the strings."⁴⁸

To the west of Oahu and the Kalama Valley is the island of Kauai. Kauai is unique from the other islands as it was never militarily conquered by Kamehameha the Great. Its earliest residents spoke Hawaiian and had a distinctly different dialect. Even today, the island residents are unique and separate. By 1969, a vibrant environmental anti-eviction movement focused on developing Po'ipu, which is now an area on the island's south side that is primarily a tourist

⁴⁶ Lucy Witeck, Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project Interview by Gary T. Kubota, Honolulu, HI, conducted over months through email exchanges ending October 10, 2016.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

destination. This protest began after several residents received eviction notices. These protesters were not primarily Native Hawaiians but those born in Kauai, offspring of Japanese, Portuguese, and Filipino immigrants who were brought to work in the plantations along with Native Hawaiians.⁴⁹

Locals shared a common interest: to preserve the community's open spaces and keep access to mountains and oceans that allowed the sustenance lifestyle rooted in Hawaiian traditions such as hunting, camping, and fishing. Their main concern was that they wanted to stay separate and distinct from islands like Maui and Oahu, which were viewed mainly as filled with excessive resort development and residential sprawl. Students from Kauai Community College gathered to protest the development of the Waiohai Hotel.⁵⁰ The college garnered some 5,000 signatures to petition the county to expand public beach access and to condemn a lot leased by a private corporation that wanted to develop it for this hotel. As a result, the county bought the lot in 1973, and the land victories continued.⁵¹

Three years later, another skirmish happened near the island's main port of Nawiliwili Harbor. George Cooper, who also participated in the Kalama Valley protests, said, "On Kauai, Jimmy and I talked to many high school and community college classes, and we looked for where to organize. Around the time, many families in Niunalu and Nawiliwili were given eviction notices by the Canoa Estate, which wanted to do a resort development."⁵² Stanford Achi

⁴⁹ Michael Haas, *How to Demolish Racism: Lessons From the State of Hawai'i* (United States: Lexington Books, 2016), 158.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 159.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 159.

⁵² George Cooper, Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project Interview by Gary T. Kubota, Honolulu, HI, conducted over months through email exchanges ending December 25, 2017.

was one of the people who got a notice. He led a march to the Kauai County building with the people who received notices in protest. Mostly of Hawaiian descent, this group of families and another local group that included about 20 other families formed the NNTA (Niumalu-Nawiliwili Tenants Association).⁵³ The central premise of this group was local people rejecting being evicted so that visitors could take their place on the land. Stanford Achi took the lead. He grew up in the area and wanted to preserve the homes of longtime residents. This group began staging major political demonstrations in December 1972, with citizens marching to the county government in Lihue.⁵⁴

The area along this beach was designated as residential land; however, a 14-acre strip of land was sold to an Oahu development growth group planning to develop a condominium. The group members said they faced arrest if needed to prevent these families living on the land from being evicted. Due to the violence erupting against members of the NNTA, Achi decided to negotiate a settlement that left two families on the land and the church, with all three entities receiving free lots. The movement began as a protest to save evicting tenants' plots from development. Still, it emerged with an emphasis on keeping access to the beach and land so Hawaiians could continue to live as they always lived as farmers and fishermen.

In 1975, further protests broke out at He'eia Kea Harbor, located on Oahu's Windward side in Kaneohe Bay, the largest sheltered body of water in the Hawaiian Islands. Two hundred families lived near the pier in He'eia Kea; most were farmers. The Bishop Estate wanted evictions to happen to make room to build a subdivision. Most families packed up and left, but

⁵³ George Cooper and Gavan Daws, *Land and Power in Hawaii: The Democratic Years* (United States: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), 336.

⁵⁴ Ibrahim G. Aoude and Marion Kelly, *The Ethnic Studies Story: Politics and Social Movements in Hawaii - Essays in Honor of Marion Kelly* (United States: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), 49.

some remained to fight, and that fight went to the Supreme Court. Rocky Kaluhiwa was one of the prominent people to stand against evictions and said in a later interview, "This eviction was mostly the Kamehameha school's fault. He said he never liked the Bishop Estate, which later changed its name to Kamehameha. The Trustees of the Bishop Estate had a reputation for leasing their properties to Native Hawaiians and evicting them anytime they wanted to," he said that their excuse was, "it was their Kuleana to make money for the schools."⁵⁵ However, only a tiny portion of the money earned went to the schools; instead, it went directly to the trustees. "The message Kalama Valley sent out throughout Hawaii was: "It is not acceptable to chase people off their lands and away from their homes and livelihoods at the mere say-so of rapacious and politically connected developers."⁵⁶

The prolonged resistance effort by Kalama Valley was a significant event that shed light on the challenges faced by Hawaii in the post-statehood era. Despite its portrayal as an enlightened society that embraced pluralism and consensus politics, the reality was far from ideal. The influx of capitalism, primarily through the tourism industry, failed to bring about an equitable distribution of resources. Instead, it led to rapid overdevelopment, a severe housing shortage, increased underemployment, rising racial tensions, and the loss of prime agricultural land.⁵⁷ The Kalama Valley's struggle highlighted the pressing need to address these issues and strive towards a more equitable and just society. This chapter examined the response in the form of organized resistance in the form of activist groups that engaged in non-violent protests in the

⁵⁵ Donna Ann, "Ho'oulu 'ĀINA: Restoration in the HE'EIA AHUPUA'A" (PhD diss., University of Hawaii at Manoa, 2020).

⁵⁶ Patti and Shelley Choy, Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project Interview by Gary T. Kubota about Mary Choy, Honolulu, HI, conducted at Zippy's Restaurant in Kalihi on November 30, 2016.

⁵⁷ See Also: Haunani-Kay Trask, "Native Social Capital: The Case of Hawaiian Sovereignty and Ka Lahui Hawaii," *Policy Sciences*, vol. 33 (2000), 375-385.

Kalama Valley against the Bishop Estate. Legal battles and educational campaigns to raise awareness and challenge desecration practices.

Chapter 7 – Protests that Culminated into a Movement

Organized resistance in the form of activist groups that engaged in nonviolent protests following the Kalama Valley, as well as lawsuits and legal challenges, were another form of resistance. For example, Native Hawaiians fought in court to protect burial sites, sacred lands, and traditional fishing rights. While some policy changes were made to address indigenous rights and environmental protections over time, these were often incremental and insufficient. The success of the Kalama Valley protests transformed isolated protests into a widespread movement fueled by groups like Protect Kaho‘olawe ‘Ohana (PKO) and activist musicians like George Helm. Despite failures to achieve immediate political goals, the sovereignty struggle and resistance movements had significant impacts, including a cultural revival.

Governor John Waihee, in an Oral History Interview Hawaii by Gary T. Kubota, said, “The 1970s was an era of maximum citizen participation. What the Hawaiians did was they looked around, and they said, “You know what? We have all these resources. They belong to us.” The first obvious target was Hawaiian Homes. Two big things happened. Change in the Hawaiian Homestead came about because the group “The Hawaiians” got organized by Pae Galdeira and his gang. The Hawaiians just didn’t talk about it. They did it. They, including Sonny Kaniho, went up to Parker Ranch, and they cut the fence and occupied Parker Ranch land (which was designated at one point for Hawaiian Homesteads).”¹

He went on to say, “That was the first Hawaiians-only action. The second big thing was the appointment of Matsuo Takabuki to the Bishop Estate. Hawaiians were saying, “Why should one Japanese guy get appointed after all these years of appointing haoles? Why not appoint a Hawaiian?” So, the whole Hawaiian community erupts. Eventually, they created something

¹ Governor John Waihee, Oral History Interview Hawaii by Gary T. Kubota, Honolulu, HI, 2016.

called the Congress of Hawaiian People. Again, the idea was to control our resources. Then, some people point out, Hey, you know what? There are these ceded lands issues. They start reading. And a lot of that starts to educate us about our heritage."²

Regarding the University of Hawaii Ethnic Studies Department, he said, "We're not at the point where we can say we should have a separate Hawaiian Studies. We do support Larry Kamakawiwoole and Ethnic Studies, where courses are taught about Native Hawaiians that start to teach students about ceded lands, the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, and the rest, and that starts to seep into the Hawaiian movement. Then the native Alaskans get reparations, and so all of a sudden, the group ALOHA (Aboriginal Lands Of Hawaiian Ancestry) starts—Charlie Maxwell and Kekoa Kaapu being among the leaders. . . And the Protect Kahoolawe Ohana adds something more to the movement that did not exist. The Ohana changed the movement from a socioeconomic issue to a spiritual one. All these things bring more people into the movement. . . This all leads to OHA, by the way."³

Bombing of Kahoolawe

After the experiences in Kalama Valley, another disruption occurred. Elmer Carvalho, the mayor of the island of Maui, discovered a 500-pound bomb in his cow pasture. Maui is seven miles from the island of Kahoolawe (a military bombing range since World War II). Kahoolawe was a dusty, dry, barren, 10-mile-long island with spectacular 800-foot-high cliffs along its shoreline. The island was blasted by many bombs and shells from ships and planes for nearly three decades. It was on the mayor's property 200 yards from a heavily traveled highway and less than three miles from the small town of Maalaea. After the discovery, the bomb squad was

² Governor John Waihee, Oral History Interview Hawaii by Gary T. Kubota, Honolulu, HI, 2016.

³ Ibid.

called. The telephone men called the police, who called an Army bomb squad. The demolition experts said the bomb could not be detonated where it was without endangering motorists on the highway and possibly residents of Maalaea. They carefully moved the bomb to a deserted beach six miles away and set it off. The explosion shook the whole island. Mayor Cravalho, who immediately charged that the bomb was dropped by a Navy jet, said. "I won't accept any excuses, "The bombing of Kahoolawe must stop!"⁴

The land question at Kahoolawe marked a new phase of Native Hawaiian resistance. Another critical contributor to this protest's uniqueness was a sharp increase in the number of items on the subject in the mainstream press. Alternative journals soon joined establishment papers.⁵ The perspective of the two different types of media increased the visibility of Hawaiian issues.

One of the most profound protests from the 1970s took place on Kahoolawe, where natives took on land used by the United States Military and won. Kahoolawe is the smallest of the eight main volcanic islands of the Hawaiian Islands.⁶ Beginning in 1941 and continuing through to 1990, the United States Navy utilized the island of Kahoolawe for military exercises, bombing the island as a means of practice for their operations. This extensive and long-term use of the island had significant consequences, including extensive environmental damage to the land and surrounding waters and a loss of cultural and spiritual significance for the Native Hawaiian people. The bombing caused soil erosion, deforestation, and the contamination of the

⁴ "Bomb in Pastor Lights Fuses," *St. Petersburg Times*, Oct 8, 1969, 18.

⁵ Helen Geracimos Chapin, *Shaping History: The Role of Newspapers in Hawaii* (United States: University of Hawaii Press, 1996), 342.

⁶ "Marine Debris Removal on Kaho'olawe," Marine Debris Program, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration-Office of Response and Restoration, last modified February 26, 2024, <https://marinedebris.noaa.gov/removal-projects/marine-debris-removal-kaho-olawe>.

island's groundwater. The effects of the bombing extended beyond the land and affected the surrounding marine ecosystem, harming critical marine habitats and causing damage to coral reefs. In addition to the environmental impact, the bombing devastated the cultural heritage of the Native Hawaiian people, who consider Kahoolawe a sacred site. Kahoolawe was antimilitary. The Protect Kahoolawe Ohana (PKO), Ohana means family, movement was formed. PKO was an antimilitary organization in all its consequences.”⁷

The bombing destroyed critical cultural landmarks and artifacts, impacting the spiritual and cultural identity of the Native Hawaiian people. Finally, in the 1990s, the bombing was halted, and efforts to restore the island's ecosystem and cultural heritage were initiated.⁸ The legacy that came from the bombing served as a reminder of the importance of respecting and protecting our natural and cultural resources and the devastating consequences that can result from their misuse. Unpopulated, it lies about seven miles from Maui. It has always been sparsely populated due to its lack of fresh water, but during World War II, it was used as a training ground and bombing range by the United States military.⁹ After decades of protests, the U.S. Navy ended live fire training in 1990. In 1994, Hawaii was given jurisdiction.¹⁰

The Hawaii state legislature established the Kahoolawe Reserve to restore the island and its surrounding waters. While it has no permanent residents today, Native Hawaiians use it for cultural, spiritual, and sustenance purposes. The island is sacred to Native Hawaiians because it

⁷ Robert H. Mast, *Autobiography of Protest in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996), 34.

⁸ Greg Ward, *The Rough Guide to Maui* (United Kingdom: Rough Guides), 155.

⁹ “Kahoolawe,” Kealaikahiki Channel, Openwaterpedia, last modified September 27, 2023, <https://openwaterpedia.com/wiki/Kahoolawe>.

¹⁰ “Navy Concludes Operations on Hawaiian Island of Kaho'olawe,” From Commander, Navy Region Hawaii Public Affairs. U.S. Navy, April 16, 2004.

is revered as the body form of the sea god Kanaloa.¹¹ During the rule of King Kamehameha, the island became a men's penal colony. In the following decades, the island was used frequently to establish agricultural endeavors, but all efforts failed. After the bombing of Pearl Harbor in Hawaii started World War II, Hawaii was placed under martial law. The island became a bombing range and was considered critical for success in defeating the enemies in the Pacific during the war. After the war, it continued to be used during the Korean War, the Cold War, and the war in Vietnam.¹² After discovering an unexploded 500-pound bomb in West Maui fields, U.S. representative Patsy Mink called for a halt to the U.S. Navy bombing of Kahoolawe. They sent letters to the U.S. military to check for land leases.

During the resurgence of natives resisting the use and abuse of indigenous land, the PKO filed a suit in the U.S. federal court to stop the bombing. Native activists and protesters did this under the argument that the government needed to comply with environmental laws and protect the island's resources.¹³ This attempt was unsuccessful, but PKO did not give up. Charles Maxwell and other community leaders tried to land on the island even though it was still under the control of the Navy. The first landing began on January 05, 1976. The group assembled on Maui to invade Kahoolawe on January 06. While all 50 did not make it to the island, nine did, including activist and musician George Helm, who later disappeared along with Kimo Mitchell in trying to retake the island. At Kaho'olawe, the identity politics of the movement became further anchored in the sovereignty campaign.

¹¹ Lydia Paki Liliuokalani, *An Account of the Creation of the World According to Hawaiian Tradition* (Boston: Lee and Shepard Publishers, 1897).

¹² "Kaho'olawe Island: Restoring a Cultural Treasure," *Final Report of the Kaho'olawe Island Conveyance Commission to the Congress of the United States* (United States: The Commission, 1993).

¹³ "Hawaiian Group Protests Using Island for Bombing," *Eugene Register-Guard*, August 26, 1977, 38.

George Helm

One of the crucial figures who emerged from this protest was George Helm. He was a Native Hawaiian activist dedicated to protecting and preserving Hawaiian land and culture. He was born in 1941 on the island of Moloka'i, where he was deeply influenced by the traditions and values of his community. As a young man, he became involved in the Hawaiian Renaissance movement, which sought to revive and celebrate Hawaiian language, culture, and identity in the face of colonization and cultural erasure.¹⁴

He was a gifted musician and songwriter who used his talents to express the struggles and hopes of the Hawaiian people. In the 1970s, Helm became a prominent figure in the movement to protect Hawaiian land and culture. George Helm was a courageous and passionate activist, musician, and cultural leader who dedicated his life to defending the rights and sovereignty of the Native Hawaiian people and their ancestral lands. Helm was also a musician with a vast vocal range and a powerful speaker, writer, and revolutionary philosopher. He pioneered Hawaiian sovereignty concepts in his album released after his death. Hawaiian's influence was demonstrated by his lyrics about surfing, fishing, farming, singing, and thinking in the old ways. He was a persuasive writer and orator and brought greater recognition to the public of the struggle by landing on Kahoolawe. He showed his feelings by singing and playing ukulele. Helm said that "what we needed was to get Hawaiians active. Music is the easiest way I know because people tune into music." The intensity of his lyrics and emotion reached those unwilling to listen to political speeches. He explained, "The words, the language - pain, revolution; it's expressing.

¹⁴ Rodney Morales, ed., *Ho 'iHo 'i Hou: A Tribute to George Helm & Kimo Mitchell* (United States: Bamboo Ridge Press, 1984), 2.

The emotional reaction the Hawaiians are feeling to the subversion of their lifestyle."¹⁵ He is hailed as one of the greatest heroes of the Aloha Aina movement and is said to have created music that embodies one of the most potent expressions of the Hawaiian soul.¹⁶

He was a vital member of the PKO, supporting protests against the U.S. military's use of Kahoolawe as a bombing range. Helm's activism focused on protecting Hawaii's natural environment and sacred sites from destruction and exploitation by outsiders, particularly the U.S. military. He was a vocal opponent of the military's use of the island of Kahoolawe as a bombing range, which he saw as a desecration of a sacred place and a violation of Hawaiian sovereignty. In 1977, Helm joined a group of activists who sailed to Kahoolawe to protest the bombing and raise awareness of the damage to the island's ecosystem and cultural heritage. Helm and another activist, Kimo Mitchell, tragically disappeared during the protest and were never found and considered lost at sea under mysterious circumstances. Helm's death deeply affected the Hawaiian community and galvanized the movement for Hawaiian sovereignty.¹⁷

The circumstances of Helm and Mitchell's deaths remain a mystery. However, their sacrifice and commitment to the cause of Hawaiian sovereignty and environmental justice continue to inspire future generations of activists and leaders. Helm's legacy lives on through his music, which blends traditional Hawaiian styles with contemporary themes and political messages, and the ongoing struggle for self-determination and cultural revitalization. The loss of Helm and Mitchell further ignited the cohesion of Hawaiian activists to unite in protest against

¹⁵ "George Helm the Musician," *The Dispatch*, March 22, 2007, 8.

¹⁶ *The Dispatch*, March 15, 2007, 9.

¹⁷ Walter Ritte and Richard Sawyer, *Nā Mana'o Aloha O Kaho'olawe* (United States: Aloha 'Āina O Nā Kūpuna, 1978), XVII.

the abuse of their land. It was not until 1990 that live fire training on the island ceased, though, in 1981, it was added to the national register of historic places.

Though the island was distant and not occupied when the protesters landed, it got the attention of young people in Hawaii because it symbolized what was happening in other parts of Hawaii. This attention ignited a more significant push to retake cultural pride in being Hawaiian and the value of native land. Native Hawaiians woke from the slumber of the status quo, and their consciousness arose to investigate other injustices around them. The success of Native Hawaiians against the U.S. government was unexpected by the state of Hawaii, the U.S. government, and the local Hawaiian community itself. It set a precedent for them to stand up and fight for what they believe in.

The Waiāhole/Waiākane Eviction

As the role of community activism in addressing social injustice grew in momentum with the Waiāhole/Waiākane Eviction, the sovereignty movement began to encompass other issues facing natives, like access to traditional food practices of Hawaiians. Lincoln McCandless acquired 35 percent of the Valley in 1899 and began building a ditch in 1913. This ditch took water from the rainy windward side and moved it to the Leeward side, where sugar plantations could be watered. For the Native Hawaiians, this limited the farming of kalo, which is not only a food source but also at the center of spiritualism, mythology, and social structure. They believed that the kalo plant was the elder brother of humankind. As the elder brother, kalo nourishes them, and in return, they must respect and care for it.¹⁸

¹⁸ John J. Cho, Roy A. Yamakawa, and James Hollyer, "Hawaiian Kalo, Past and Future," *Sustainable Agriculture*, SA-1 (February 2007).

Lincoln McCandless's daughter, Elizabeth Marks, later inherited most of this land when her father died. Elizabeth retained the land when Hawaii became a state, and she partnered with a land developer to turn the area into suburbs. This land was denied being used as residential as it had been previously zoned as agricultural, but the developer and Marks ignored the denial and went on as planned. In this process, they evicted the families living on the leased land in the Valley.¹⁹ A total of nine families were evicted. In response, the Waiāhole/Waiākane Community Association (WWCA) got a lawyer for those nine families in hopes of successfully renegotiating their leases. However, this renegotiation did not happen, and further protests continued, including blocking the road to Mark's home. Eventually, Hawaiian Governor Ariyoshi and the Hawaiian Housing Authority purchased 600 acres of this land to lease to farmers to continue to inhabit and farm kalo. He said he did it to "prevent violence and bloodshed."²⁰

Calvin Ho, one of the early organizers of the Waiāhole Valley's resistance, said regarding Governor Ariyoshi's purchasing the land. "It should telegraph a clear message to the thousands of mainlanders crowding onto these fragile Islands each year: "There will be no more space for you in Hawaii."²¹ There was, however, uncertainty over tactics. Waiāhole's protest began with residents alone, but before long, radical organizers from the University of Hawaii were urging bold confrontation tactics. Strong dissension developed in the Valley due to the radicals' presence. Some welcomed the radicals, and others considered the radicals as dictatorial fanatics who were more interested in toppling "the system" than helping Waiāhole farmers.²²

¹⁹ Thomas Hawk Creighton, *The Lands of Hawaii: Their Use and Misuse* (United States: University Press of Hawaii, 1978), 360.

²⁰ Neil R. Pierce, "Growth Must Be Controlled," *Sarasota Journal*, May 20, 1977, 33.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 33.

²² *Ibid.*, 33.

Governor Ariyoshi perhaps unwittingly aided the radicals by justifying his land-purchase proposal regarding possible violence in the Valley. Martin Charlot, a leading Hawaiian artist who protested in the Valley, said Ariyoshi thus "tainted his action" and that the governor should have stressed the far more vital theme of preserving Hawaiian agriculture."²³ "The people of this valley," Charlot said, "discovered their power to speak. They had been farmers, never in the limelight, and suddenly, they faced a frightening reality. Now, scarcely anyone in this Valley would not stand up in front of a big crowd and give a speech." Isaac Manalo, a Waiāhole Valley tenant with six children, said, "I thought the landlord had all the power in the world. Now I know he does not."²⁴

However, the struggle continued because they needed help to properly farm kalo as the water was still being diverted from the area through a ditch that led into the island's Leeward side. Kalo farmers sued for water rights over being diverted away by the ditch. It was successful, and in 2000, the Hawaii Supreme Court ruled that the water should remain in the Valley. In regaining the Valley's water rights, Hawaiians could continue to farm Kalo, an essential part of their historical and cultural identity.²⁵ The role of community activism in addressing social injustice continued with the Waiāhole/Waiākane Eviction.

²³ Neil R. Pierce, "Growth Must Be Controlled," *Sarasota Journal*, May 20, 1977, 33.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 33.

²⁵ See also "Establishing the Hawaiian Aboriginal Claims Settlement Study United States," *Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs*, 1976, 149.

Hale Mohalu Evictions

Deliberately marginalized, the Hawaii Leper Colony also began asserting its rights. Deeded to the U.S. government in 1956, Hale Mohalu was an 11-acre parcel of land in Pearl City near Honolulu, HI. It was dedicated to the benefit of leprosy patients and was a campus-like tract shaded by trees that shelter tropical birds. The federal government gave the land and its buildings from World War II to the then-territory of Hawaii in 1956 for use as an outpatient clinic for lepers.

As many as 100 patients once lived in it. Built above Pearl Harbor on a gently sloping hill, they were called the Hale Mohalu, the House of Relaxation Hospitals.²⁶ Since the 1950s, it fell into a state of disrepair, yet there remained 13 patients whom the state decided to move to the hospital for patients with Hansen's disease. For more than two decades, the place served as a residence for lepers who went to Honolulu to treat diseases beyond the reach of the medical staff at Kalaupapa, the century-old leper colony on Molokai. The patients lived at Hale Mohalu during treatment and then returned to Kalaupapa.²⁷

When the state health department decided to move the lepers to its Leahi hospital, it was a concrete high-rise and a far cry from the rural atmosphere of Hale Mohalu. Though by this time leprosy was cured, it was too late for the residents living in this hospital who had been disfigured and scarred by the disease before there was a cure. They refused to leave. This hospital was their

²⁶ Anwei Skinsnes Law, *Kalaupapa: A Collective Memory* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2012), 489.

²⁷ Wallace Turner, "Hawaii's Lepers are Causing Problems for the State's Economy," *Lakeland Ledger*, July 16, 1978, 64.

home and where they felt comfortable. They could be in a rural area yet also walk to the store or local shops without being stared at for being disfigured.²⁸

In 1975, Governor George Ariyoshi shut Mohalu down without public hearings. They evicted the patients from their 11-million-dollar property to convert the land for other uses. In 1978, the patients banded together and sued Hawaii, but a Hawaii federal District Court dismissed the case.²⁹ In 1981, the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals filed an order demanding that the Hawaii District Court hold a hearing, yet the following year, the case was again dismissed by the same federal court. The plaintiffs appealed again to the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals, and the Court of Appeals agreed to hear the case.³⁰ They stayed for five more years while the case was appealed, sometimes without electricity, running water, or nursing care. When the appeals ran out, law enforcement came in, cut the locks, and arrested the patients and their supporters who would not leave of their own free will. A total of 18 people were arrested, but later all were cleared of the charges. The land was cleared after the residents were removed, and they did nothing with it.³¹

After arraignments were set, Charles Marsland, the city prosecutor, refused to bring charges against the protesters. Marsland, who frequently challenged the Democratic administration in running the local Judicial system, was a Republican. He sent a letter to Hawaii Attorney General Tany Hong, saying, "The peaceful demonstration indulged in at Hale Mohalu was, at worst, a minor inconvenience. From my view, it would be an overreaction to now impose

²⁸ "Lepers Appeal Eviction to the U.S. Court of Appeals," *The Times-News*, September 27, 1978, 16.

²⁹ Coleman Macarthy, "The Governor and the Lepers," *St. Petersburg Times*, Oct 17, 1980, 14.

³⁰ Native Hawaiian Reparations Community-based Mental Health Initiative: Hearing Before the Select Committee on Indian Affairs, United States Senate, 100th Congress, Second Session. August 26, 31, 1988, Honolulu, HI. (United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989): 149.

³¹ "East West," *The Chinese American News Magazine*, vol. 17, (1983), 2.

criminal sanctions on these people in addition to what they already lost."³² Hong reminded Marsland that it was his "sworn duty to prosecute all violations of criminal laws."³³ However, Marsland replied that his duty was to "seek justice, not merely to convict."³⁴ In a last-minute move, the state assigned Deputy Attorney General Frank Kim to handle the case. In a District Court hearing, all but one of the 16 were charged with obstructing the government in addition to the original trespassing charges.

Many people saw the images of patient Clarence Naia carried from his hospital home in the Hale Mahala on television and in newspapers. It touched many people who saw that the evictions were an act of valuing money over humanity. It took more than a decade, but protesters finally got their wish as they lobbied legislators, held protests, and refused to let the issue of this eviction die. In 1996, a 210-unit senior citizen housing complex opened on this land, and they got their wish. The land was not used to develop a sports complex as was once suspected, or some other places, but the residents were allowed to return to the newly built complex. The ramifications of this protest and struggle showed that more Hawaiians did not have to accept being pushed around and out of their home.

Sand Island Eviction

As the decade of the 1970s ended and the cost of living in Hawaii continued to skyrocket, many Hawaiians could not afford to stay sheltered and took a creative approach to their predicament. The homeless Hawaiian problem was a distinct embarrassment to the Caucasian

³² "Protesting Lepers Face New Battle, The Courts," *The Montreal Gazette*, October 12, 1983, 30.

³³ *Ibid.*, 30.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 30.

and Japanese establishment, which has long dominated Hawaii both politically and economically.³⁵ Native Hawaiian struggles in the 1970s reflected broader social and economic challenges faced by many indigenous populations worldwide. The economic pressures and rising living costs in Hawaii led to difficulties for many Hawaiians, particularly in maintaining their ancestral ties to the land. The notion of a homeless Hawaiian problem was due to this displacement and economic hardship faced by indigenous communities. The cost of living in Hawaii, driven partly by tourism and real estate development, posed a significant barrier for many Hawaiians to continue living in their homeland, leading to migration to Sand Island. The Sand Island Residents would be further joined with support by other activist groups like Waiāhole/Waiākane.

The ruling establishment helped nurture an image of Native Hawaiians (pure and mixed blood), which fully integrated them into Western society with a few cultural throwbacks, such as the hula dance. In a statement by Hunani Trask, a native activist., "The melting pot never worked here."³⁶ Her statement underscored the resistance to assimilation and challenged the idea of a successful "melting pot" in Hawaii. She criticized the melting pot metaphor, often used to describe the assimilation of diverse cultures into a unified whole, for not adequately representing the Hawaiian experience. The reality is that indigenous Hawaiians have yet to assimilate well into Western culture.

In 1979, Sand Island, located off the coast of Oahu, Hawaii, carried out a highly controversial eviction of over 200 homeless individuals from an encampment on Sand Island.

³⁵ John Stewart, "Flip Side of Paradise They Were There First," *Lewiston Morning Tribune*, May 04, 1980, 33. See Also, Administration of Native Hawaiian Home Lands: August 07, 1989, Honolulu, Oahu. (United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1990).

³⁶ John Stewart, "Flip Side of Paradise They Were There First," *Lewiston Morning Tribune*, May 04, 1980, 33.

The eviction, which sparked protests and drew widespread criticism, was based on concerns over health and safety, with state officials citing unsanitary living conditions and the risk of fire as reasons for the action. However, critics of the eviction argued that this move was heartless and did little to address the underlying issue of homelessness in Hawaii. The encampment on Sand Island had existed for years, and many of its residents had lived there for a long time. The eviction forced them to leave with very little notice, leaving few options for where to go.³⁷ Advocates for people experiencing homelessness noted that this move was callous because the state had not provided alternative housing or support services for these individuals.

The Sand Island eviction highlighted the ongoing struggle to address homelessness in Hawaii, where the high cost of living and a shortage of affordable housing contributed to a growing crisis. Despite efforts by the state and various organizations to provide resources, many homeless people in Hawaii continue to face significant challenges in finding stable housing and rebuilding their lives. Historically, the island was part of the great Mokauea fishery, a series of ponds and lagoons that made up a productive fishery on the West side of Oahu. During the 19th century, it was known as Quarantine Island because it was used to quarantine ships entering Hawaii. During World War II, it was used as an army internment camp after the bombing of Pearl Harbor. After that time, it was largely abandoned. Sand Island was where many local Hawaiians went fishing, and in doing this sustenance lifestyle felt connected to their ancestors who used to fish in the same area.

As the cost of living grew in Hawaii, people started moving to Sand Island to sleep in their cars but then began constructing pop-up shelters and shacks. Native Hawaiians faced a

³⁷ Administration of native Hawaiian homelands: joint hearings before the Select Committee on Indian Affairs, United States Senate, and the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, House of Representatives, One Hundred First Congress, first session, on oversight hearing on the administration of native Hawaiian homelands (United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1990): 930.

serious issue of being unable to afford living in Hawaii due to the high cost of living and housing. The financial hardship has led to a situation where many Native Hawaiians are forced to move away from their ancestral lands, a significant concern for their cultural and community identity. Efforts are being made to address this issue and provide affordable housing options for Native Hawaiians, but there is still a long way to go. From there, they invited friends over to fish and gather. They settled among the trash and the waste. Abraham Ahmad, a Sand Island resident from that time, said, "We went to Sand Island primarily to find ourselves, but we did not realize what it was going to take to hold on to this connection with our culture."³⁸ When the Department of Land and Natural Resources (DLNR) told them they needed to leave Sand Island, residents tried to work with this system to get permission to stay there. They presented a plan for a cultural live-in park that allowed residents to live there, practice traditional ways, and serve as a cultural, educational resource area for the people of Honolulu. However, the DLNR refused this request.

Many of the people who were residents on the island left, but several of them remained to stand up against the state of Hawaii. They made up their minds that they stayed until they were forced out. In January 1980, the state came to enforce the eviction with bulldozers, guns, dogs, and law enforcement agents.³⁹ The 19 remaining people were arrested when they refused to move. Those who were arrested were charged with obstructing government operations. Those protesting looked forward to their day in court when they could proclaim that Sand Island belonged to the Hawaiian Kingdom government and that American law does not apply to Hawaii based on what was becoming understood among Hawaiians as an illegal overthrow.

³⁸ Noelani Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, Ikaika Hussey, and Erin Kahunawaika'ala Wright, eds., *A Nation Rising: Hawaiian Movements for Life Land and Sovereignty*. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press 2014), 134.

³⁹ Reshela Patrik DuPuis, *Documenting Community: Activist Videography in Hawai'i* (United States: University of Michigan, 1997), 171.

That day in court was denied when they changed the law so that obstructing government operations was no longer a misdemeanor but a petty misdemeanor that did not allow a jury trial. This petty misdemeanor designation deprived them of their chance to argue the case before a jury. The judge said that to change this, they needed to go to the legislature and make a new law. From there, this group went to the legislature to advocate for the right to use Sand Island for Native Hawaiians. The legislature told them to do a list of items one by one, and one by one, they did them, but it accomplished nothing. From then on, Abraham Ahmad, also known as Puhipau, started looking in different directions to build a base and change all Hawaiians' consciousness. Seeing that he could not create change through the courts, he and Joan Lander began to produce documentaries on Hawaiian history, culture, environment, language, music, independence, and sovereignty. He said what Sand Island did was "to enlighten me about ... the Hawaiian Kingdom among the family of nations where it was, where it is, and where it will be."⁴⁰

Hilo Airport Protests

In the summer of 1978, indigenous Hawaiians and their supporters gathered again and protested at the Hilo airport against injustices against Native Hawaiian people. They were protesting the Kala'owale bombing, the number of indigenous Hawaiians in jail, and the Bishop Estate's mismanagement. In an oral history interview with Larry Kabuta, Edwina Moanikeala Akaka, a former leader in the Kalama Valley, stated, "Even after Kokua Hawaii, I was active in

⁴⁰ Noelani Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, Ikaika Hussey, and Erin Kahunawaika'ala Wright, eds., *A Nation Rising: Hawaiian Movements for Life Land and Sovereignty*. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press 2014), 138.

protests. One of them was at the Hilo Airport and the use of ceded lands and state Department of Hawaiian Homes Lands (DHHL) for airports."⁴¹

She went on to say, "The state had been using ceded lands and DHHL lands for decades without benefiting Hawaiians and providing homes for Hawaiians. Past governors of the territory scooped up DHHL lands for other purposes. I grew up across the street from Petrie Parkland, confiscated from the DHHL in 1931. When we closed down the Hilo Airport runway on Labor Day in 1978, we were the landlords who had come to collect the rent. Past governors had illegally taken DHHL lands in Waimea, Molokai, and Hilo Airport. . . when Hawaii was a territory. . . without asking the DHHL Commission. As a result, over \$600 million was due to the DHHL at \$30 million a year for the past 20 years."⁴² Police and National Guard troops arrested about 65 demonstrators who closed Hilo airport for half an hour Monday when they tried to sit down on the runway to protest alleged inequities against Native Hawaiians. Authorities also arrested nine reporters who had followed the demonstrators onto the airfield. The guardsmen, Hawaii County police, and airport security guards loaded the demonstrators and reporters onto a bus that took them to the Hawaii County Correctional Facility, where they were booked on a misdemeanor trespassing charge and released on their recognizance.⁴³ The demonstration was nonviolent, and the protesters never reached the runway, but the airport closed for about 30 minutes, and several incoming flights were diverted to other airports. The protest followed a rally by several hundred Native Hawaiians and their supporters at a nearby school. They denounced

⁴¹ Edwina Moanikeala Akaka, Oral History Interview Hawaii by Gary T. Kubota, Honolulu, HI, 2016.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ "Hawaiians Arrested at Airport Protest," *Toledo Blade*, September 05, 1978, 7.

the rent-free use of the state-run airport on lands set aside for Hawaiian homesteading by an act of Congress.⁴⁴

Brenda Lee, who organized many protests, felt the pressure becoming too great to organize these protests. For some weeks before the protest began, Lee issued statements to the press and pressured the mayor and the governor's inner statements and letters. She outlined three significant issues for which demonstrators joining the protests were willing to put themselves on the line.⁴⁵ The protestors also had a reverend talk and expressed his hopes for the day to be peaceful, that everyone would be safe, that the words would be heard with the heart, and that all the issues would be solved. Additionally, a kupuna from Hilo spoke on the spiritual significance of the 'aina that they were standing on, that the reason was all the same for all who gathered at the airport, and that Hawaiian people must unite for their own sake and the sake of their children against the changes that came on them too quickly and left them landless with a dying culture.

Protesters wanted to know how the Bishop Estate was so quickly losing land that was meant to be in a trust for the Hawaiian people, why this state allowed Hawaii to be destroyed, and why there were so many prisoners in the state who were indigenous Hawaiians.⁴⁶ At the protests, the women dressed in white and wore tea leaf leis. When they came to the gates, the National Guard jumped out of their trucks to join the waiting police. They were all protected in full riot gear with plastic visors against a band of 200 barefoot. Only fifty protesters were standing there when they got onto the runway. About 50 protesters were arrested, and they voluntarily submitted to arrest. Also, nine members of the media were arrested. To Hawaiians,

⁴⁴ "Hawaiians Arrested at Airport Protest," *Toledo Blade*, September 05, 1978, 7.

⁴⁵ Ward Churchill, *Perversions of Justice: Indigenous Peoples and Anglo-American Law* (United States: City Lights Publishers, 2003), 443.

⁴⁶ Robert H. Mast, *Autobiography of Protest in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996), 351.

the message of the protest was clear: Hawaiians must take care of themselves because if the government does not accept responsibility for its people, people should take responsibility into their own hands. While many Kapuna (older generation) at the time said it was too late, a waste of time, and it was not worth fighting the rich haole, the younger generation of the 1970s did research and found reasonable grounds to fight for what was rightfully theirs, and the spread their knowledge.

Makua Valley and the Military

Just as Hawaiians fought for and eventually regained the land in the Wao Kele, conflicts ensued in the early 1980s on Oahu's Makua Valley as well. While the island of Oahu was being fortified at the coastlines by constructing a "Ring of Steel," and bases like Camp McKinley, Fort Kamehameha, Pearl Harbor Naval Station, Fort Shafter, Fort Ruger, and Schofield Barracks were being built up in the first half of the 20th century, the government was military was rapidly exploiting large tracts land in other parts of the island for profit or military storage. Makua Valley on the Leeward Coast, near the foothills of the Waianae mountains, is a flashpoint in the struggle between the military and Hawaiian activists seeking to reclaim land they contend was essentially stolen from them in past decades.⁴⁷ The Makua Valley is considered a sacred place for Hawaiians, where they believe their spirits return to the spirit realm. Makua means parents in Hawaiian. It is where Papa, the earth mother, and Wakaya, the father, meet.⁴⁸ The area of Makua

⁴⁷ "U.S. Army Support Command H.Q. Installation: Environmental Impact Statement," (United States: n.p., 1979).

⁴⁸ "Intensive Cultural Survey of Ukanipo Heiau and Kahanahaiki Terrace, Kahanakhaiki, Makua Military Reservation," *Oahu*, 1980.

Beach was once a rich resource for many kinds of fish, shellfish, and limu (seaweed). The Valley was also known for its expert Hawaiian martial arts fighters in ancient times.⁴⁹

The Mahele of 1848 required that Kanaka (native) claim their family lands, but only about 200 acres were eventually awarded to families in Makua, which included only 16 families. The rest remained government lands and would be leased out by the government to non-Kanaka for ranching. It became a permanent ranching area under the leadership of the McCandless family. In the 1920s, the U.S. military acquired three parcels on the upper floor of the Valley for howitzer emplacements. During this time, public notices in the newspaper called on those who might have had a title to the land to appear in court to certify their claim. The conclusion is that no one except the McCandless family was paid for the condemned parcels. When World War II happened, about 3,000 people lived along the Wynette coast. World War II changed the use of the Valley as it was transformed from a peaceful cattle ranch into a busy Garrison. The remaining residents were told to leave, and the structures left behind were used as target practice.⁵⁰ Pipelines were cut, fishing holes were bombed, and freshwater wells were used as dumps for waste oil. The Navy sent planes to bomb the Valley. Battleships also shelled it from the ocean, and troops were landed from amphibious crafts. Even gravestones at the Makua cemetery were damaged by live target practice.

In 1955, the Army said Makua Valley was contaminated and that it was impractical for residents to return it. At the same time, they continued to use the environment for their military

⁴⁹ Marion Kelly and Sidney Michael Quintal, *Cultural History Report of Makua Military Reservation and Vicinity, Makua Valley, Oahu, Hawaii* (United States: Department of Anthropology, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 1977).

⁵⁰ Marion Kelly and “Mākua Means Parents: A Brief Cultural History of Mākua Valley,” *Mālama Mākua Pamphlet*, 1997. A contributor is The American Friends Service Committee, Hawai‘i Area Office. See also Sasha Davis's Book, *The Empires' Edge: Militarization, Resistance, and Transcending Hegemony in the Pacific* (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 2015).

training. During this time, the number of military personnel living in Oahu rose to 400,000 people, many during World War II, and many in the Makua Valley. After World War II, the land was requested to be returned to the people, but it was denied. The Statehood Admission Act of 1959 permitted the federal government to reserve land for military purposes. In 1964, President Johnson's executive order reserved the interior portion of the Valley as Makua Military Reservation. It provided the Army with a 60-five-year lease that cost the Army one dollar for the lease term.⁵¹

Four clearances against Makua Valley were orchestrated after the initial one in World War II. In 1964, 1977, 1983, and 1996, most evictions were establishing a state park, improving access, or removing squatters. In 1964, a motion picture company leased the Makua Valley from the Army to film the movie *Hawaii*, and because the village did not fit the picturesque backdrop, the Department of Land and Natural Resources called the residents squatters. The police chief ordered the homes of one who lived there to be destroyed, and the people would be removed under the guise that the public was restricting public access to the beach. Even though the residents there had deep ancestral ties to the land, they needed the organizational knowledge to fight their removal. After the movie's filming, people began to congregate again, and the community rose.⁵²

A state park was planned and first documented in 1969. It covered thousands of acres from Kea'au Beach Park to Ka'ena Point. The state government allocated approximately one million dollars to start buying the land, hoping it would begin development in 1973; however, in

⁵¹ Federal Register. United States: Office of the Federal Register, National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, 1964, 11166. See also Katherine T. McCaffrey's book, *Military Power and Popular Protest: The U.S. Navy in Vieques, Puerto Rico* (United Kingdom: Rutgers University Press, 2002).

⁵² Congressional Record: Proceedings and Debates of the Congress (United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967): 24990.

1977, 1983, and 1996, the state removed people from the land and destroyed their homes by saying they were building in the State Park. The plans for the park were widely touted, but the park never started. Residents began to return to Makua right after the 1983 sweep. In 1996, this community had grown to a population of 282 people. With Hawaii's rising cost of living, many families came to Makua to survive. Families rebuilt in the Makua Valley because poverty made it difficult for families to stay together. Large families often had to split up to find space wherever they could. Before the Mahele of 1848, the extended family was fundamental to being a Hawaiian, and their economic and social relationship and the destruction of their families have been devastating.

A settlement agreement was reached in 2001. However, Malama Makua has had to continually bring the Army back to court to make them comply with the terms of the agreement. Malama Makua member Justin Hill said, "There is a mindset among the military that Makua is a museum essentially, that it is something to be put in mothballs and just be preserved, and it is not something that is a vibrant living thing."⁵³ He went on to say, "We were told not too long ago that the military was protecting Makua and the sites from us — from damage from us."⁵⁴ Which locals found ironic after the constant assault on the land that took place for decades by the U.S. Military. Malama Makua, which translates to take care of Makua in English, has not given up the fight and continues to argue for open access to the land to use for cultural purposes.

⁵³ Kevin Knodell, "A Shaky Truce: The Army and Native Hawaiians Both Want Oahu's Makua Valley," *Honolulu Civil Beat*, August 2021.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

Makapu'u Point

While the various constellations of movements happened, all with indigenous people using identity politics to protest and plead their cause, another shift would come out of the Makapu Point protests, which led Hawaiians to argue for complete sovereignty from the United States at Makapu Point on June 03, 1987. Makapu Point was when Dennis "Bumpy" Kanahale led his extended family to reclaim their family lands.⁵⁵ Pu'uhonua Dennis "Bumpy" Kanahale was a highly influential Native Hawaiian activist and leader who dedicated his life to preserving Hawaii's cultural heritage and sovereignty. Born in 1952, Kanahale grew up in the community of Nanakuli on the island of Oahu, where he developed a deep connection to his Hawaiian ancestry. "Bumpy during this time was a 300 pound, tattooed, activist-ex-con who negotiated the village into existence - wrangling with the state's most powerful politicians. Dennis "Bumpy" Kana-hele is a descendant of King Kamehameha I and bears some of the warrior's physical presence. In an interview, when asked how far removed he was from the king, Kanahale thought momentarily, then lifted a massive leg onto a nearby table. He studied a row of blue and red triangular markings tattooed on his calf and said, "Eleven generations, brah." He said that if Kamehameha were here today, the king would unite his people as he did two centuries ago."⁵⁶

Kanahale is a folk hero in Hawaii. He did what no other Hawaii activist has done: carved out a little kingdom within a kingdom, allowing natives to live by their own rules and revive the ways of the Kanaka Maoli. For many locals, the village represents the most tangible gain in more than 30 years of advocating for Hawaiian sovereignty. He became a crucial figure in the

⁵⁵ Candace Lei Fujikane, *Archipelagos of Resistance: Narrating Nation in Asian American, Native Hawaiian, and Hawaii's Local Literatures* (United States: University of California, Berkeley, 1996), 182.

⁵⁶ Thomas Tizon, "Hawaain Activist Revive Ways," *Lodi News-Sentinel*, July 27, 2005, 47.

Hawaiian sovereignty movement, advocating for restoring the Hawaiian Kingdom and recognizing indigenous rights. Kanahale's leadership was instrumental in establishing the Pu'uhonua o Waimanalo, a traditional Hawaiian village that served as a sanctuary for homeless Hawaiians and a center for cultural education.⁵⁷

Kanahale later founded the Pu'uhonua o Pu'uhuluhulu, a similar community on the slopes of Mauna Kea, which gained international attention during the protests to construct the thirty-meter telescope. Kanahale was a passionate advocate for preserving the Hawaiian language, which he saw as a critical element of Hawaiian identity and culture. He also fought to protect Hawaiian lands, opposing the development of hotels and other commercial projects on sacred sites. In an interview in the *Hawaiian Star-Bulletin*, he was asked about the sovereignty movement, "What about all the folks who think you want to "take away" the land they believe they bought fair and square?"⁵⁸ He answered this very relevant question: "Buying stolen land is not fair and square. No one who lives on the land will be thrown off when the land is returned."⁵⁹ He said the actual landowners received compensation, and the sovereign government collected taxes on the land. He followed the question up with, "No good person can be hurt. It is not the Hawaiian way."⁶⁰ Throughout his life, Kanahale remained committed to his vision of a sovereign Hawaiian nation, free from the constraints of colonialism and imperialism while at the same time retaining the spirit of Aloha, which is such a deep part of the Hawaiian culture.

⁵⁷ "Islands in Captivity," *The Record of the International Tribunal on the Rights of Indigenous Hawaiians* (United States: South End Press, 2004), Xxi.

⁵⁸ Brett White, "Sovereignty Could Mean 'Common Tenure,'" *Honolulu Advertiser*, October 31, 1993, B-3.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, B-3.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, B-3.

In early 1987, the Coast Guard deemed approximately 40 acres of the Makapu area as a surplus, and Kanahale obtained them. This claim was part of a legal agreement between government agencies that provided the framework for heirs to reclaim traditional family lands. To start this process, he filed claims for the land.⁶¹ After filing the lawsuit, he filed two deeds with the Bureau of Conveyance for land parcels stretching from Hawaii Kai to Waimanalo. While waiting, he found the entrance gate of the parcel land at Makapu'u, and the family moved into the three vacant houses. In an act of goodwill, they changed the lock but gave a copy of the key to the U.S. Coast Guard so that they could retain management of the Makapu lighthouse.

During this two-month-long occupation, the Hawaiian community rallied around the family and supported their actions. When Kanahale was arrested, approximately 40 occupiers moved to his property while imprisoned. One year later, he was released from jail. This occupation of Makapu'u led to more supporters joining the subsequent occupation of Kapua Beach in 1993.⁶² This occupation also helped usher in the creation of the Nation of Hawaii in 1995, a governing agency of Hawaiian sovereignty. As a result of this protest, Kanahale agreed to lease the property from the state, but some Hawaiians called it a sell-out. When asked why state officials gave Kanahale and his nonprofit Aloha First organization a lease for \$3,000 per year, or \$250 per month for the land of Makapu, Kanahale said, "The government's philosophy toward our sovereignty efforts back in 1994 was, "Throw 'em in the corner, hide 'em from the public, and we will deal with 'em later."⁶³ He said it was to bide time with the state to continue

⁶¹ "A. Magazine" *The Asian American Quarterly* (United States: Metro East Publications, Incorporated, 1995): 49.

⁶² Houston Wood, *Displacing Natives: The Rhetorical Production of Hawai'i* (United States: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1999), 154.

⁶³ Timothy Hurley, "Life of Resistance Activist 'Bumpy' Kanahale and His Aloha First Organization Have Been Toiling Steadily for 20 Years," *Star-Advertiser*, July 06, 2014.

and develop the movement. Even though he received pushback when accepting the lease, he is now considered a hero in the Hawaiian sovereignty movement. Former Hawaiian Governor John Waihee said of him, "He was always committed to not just the idea of Hawaiian nationalism, [but] he was also committed to actually governing."⁶⁴

Actions against evictions, like at Kalama Valley, were spearheaded by Native Hawaiians but were not at Kahoolawe's strategic level of importance. It was at Makapu Point that the idea of an independent nation began to take hold. Leaders like Kanahele would be one of the faces of this new ideological shift, but as more groups formed and crystallized into a movement, there would prove to be little room for unifying.

The protests in Kalama Valley and Kahoolawe indisputably marked the genesis of the sovereignty movement in Hawaii, serving as pivotal moments that catalyzed widespread resistance against colonialism and militarization. These demonstrations symbolized acts of defiance against specific instances of injustice and ignited a broader consciousness surrounding indigenous sovereignty and self-determination. In Kalama Valley, the community's unwavering resistance to forced evictions for military development brought to the fore the enduring struggles of indigenous peoples against dispossession and marginalization. Similarly, the protests against military bombing exercises on Kahoolawe epitomized the violation of sacred lands and underscored the urgent need for indigenous control over ancestral territories.

The response of organized resistance in the form of activist groups that engaged in nonviolent protests following the Kalama Valley, as well as lawsuits and legal challenges, was another form of resistance. For example, Native Hawaiians fought in court to protect burial sites, sacred lands, and traditional fishing rights. The success of the Kalama Valley protests marked the

⁶⁴ Timothy Hurley, "Life of Resistance Activist 'Bumpy' Kanahele and his Aloha First Organization Have Been Toiling Steadily for 20 years," *Star-Advertiser*, July 06, 2014.

transformation of isolated protests into a widespread movement fueled by groups like Protect Kaho‘olawe ‘Ohana (PKO) and activist musicians like George Helm. Despite the failures to achieve immediate political goals, the sovereignty struggle and resistance movements had significant impacts, including a cultural revival.

These seminal events galvanized a burgeoning sovereignty movement that sought to reclaim indigenous lands, rights, and cultural autonomy. Moreover, the protests served as rallying points for diverse segments of Hawaiian society, fostering solidarity across ethnic, cultural, and socio-economic divides. The Kalama Valley and Kahoolawe protests laid the groundwork for a sustained and multifaceted sovereignty movement that has indelibly shaped Hawaii's political landscape by amplifying indigenous voices and asserting cultural resilience in the face of colonial oppression.

Chapter 8 – Fighting For Culture: Hawaiian Renaissance

Despite the failures in achieving immediate political goals, the sovereignty struggle and resistance movements had significant impact. This included the important cultural revival in the form of the Hawaiian Renaissance starting in the 1970s, which marked a resurgence of native culture, language, and traditions. This cultural revitalization was a form of resistance against the erasure and desecration imposed by external forces. The Hawaiian Renaissance emerged in response to the systematic suppression of Hawaiian culture and traditions during the previous century. The cultural and intellectual revival of the renaissance period inspired political activism, while at the same time activism inspired the renaissance.

The Hawaiian Renaissance

The overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy and the subsequent annexation by the United States profoundly impacted the Hawaiian people. The sovereignty movement was fueled by a desire to address historical injustices, heal intergenerational trauma, and revive and preserve Hawaiian culture, language, and traditions. Cultural revival has been integral to the movement's identity and aspirations. The music, arts, and cultural traditions that were rekindled or developed during the Hawaiian Renaissance were the anthem and voice of the sovereignty movement. However, this identity politics would not be enough to unite the various groups to be successful on a larger scale. While the protests restored pride in Hawaiians and attempted to restore their ethnic identity, sovereignty movements largely failed. This cultural movement brought Native Hawaiians unity and a sense of identity. While the cultural renaissance, in many instances, kept Hawaiians from losing more rights to their lands through its application in political matters and protest, it failed to help them regain lost land and sovereignty on a broader scale.

As a result, the Renaissance ultimately did not bring about a major shift in the political status of Native Hawaiians despite having provided a sense of identity and unity. This failure of sovereignty efforts, however, was due to a lack of effective political organization and the limited scope of the Renaissance. Additionally, the Renaissance was not able to challenge the economic and political power of non-Native Hawaiians effectively. That said, while political efforts and effectiveness dissolved, the Hawaiian Renaissance flourished. For many in the Hawaiian Renaissance, "being Hawaiian" meant not only political empowerment but also broken trust of past exploiters, including the tourism industry.¹

Native Hawaiian activists and organizations began advocating for Hawaiian sovereignty through grassroots efforts, legal challenges, and political campaigns. They lobbied for Native Hawaiian rights, land reform, and reparations for historical injustices.² They did this through educational initiatives to teach Hawaiian history, language, and culture, which became widespread during the Hawaiian Renaissance. These initiatives helped to raise awareness about the historical injustices faced by Hawaiians and the need for political redress, including sovereignty. Education played a crucial role in empowering Hawaiians to advocate for their rights and engage in discussions about their political future. They used this cultural expression as a form of political resistance. Cultural expressions, such as hula, chant, music, and art, became powerful forms of political resistance. These cultural practices were revitalized and used as tools to assert Hawaiian identity and resist the cultural suppression experienced during the colonial period. Through cultural expression, Hawaiians communicated their deep connection to their

¹ "Hawaiians are Exploring and Celebrating Their Native Culture," *Bangor Daily News*, Jan 6, 1995, 139.

² "Religious Renaissance. After 150 Years," *The Spokesman-Review*, July 14, 1979, 13.

land, history, and determination to preserve their way of life, all integral components of sovereignty.

Hawaiians were driven by a strong desire to reclaim and assert their identity, language, and cultural practices. While the renaissance brought Native Hawaiians unity and sense of identity, and while the cultural renaissance in many instances kept them from losing more rights to their lands through its application in political matters and protest, it failed to help them regain lost land and sovereignty on a broader scale. A renewed interest in traditional Hawaiian arts, music, dance, language, and spirituality characterized the Hawaiian Renaissance. It led to the establishment of many cultural and educational programs, such as Hawaiian immersion schools and hula festivals, which aimed to promote and preserve the Hawaiian way of life. The movement also had a significant impact on the political landscape of Hawaii.³ It raised awareness about the historical and ongoing injustices faced by Native Hawaiians and advocated for their rights and sovereignty.

Education and Awareness

Educational initiatives aimed at teaching Hawaiian history, language, and culture became widespread during the Hawaiian Renaissance. These initiatives helped to raise awareness about the historical injustices faced by Hawaiians and the need for political redress, including sovereignty. Education played a crucial role in empowering Hawaiians to advocate for their rights and engage in discussions about their political future and cultural needs.⁴

³ "Hawaiians are Exploring and Celebrating Their Native Culture," *Bangor Daily News*, January 6, 1995, 139.

⁴ Education Act of 1965 to Improve Native Hawaiian Education Programs (United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2000): 299.

University of Hawaii and Ethnic Studies

The effectiveness of the protests that erupted throughout Hawaii post-WWII would not be possible without the University of Hawaii (U.H.) Manoa Ethnic Studies Department which was established in 1970. U.H. is well-known for its commitment to ethnic studies. U.H. was one of the first universities in the United States to offer a degree in Ethnic Studies, focusing on the experiences and perspectives of historically marginalized groups, including Native Hawaiians, Asian Americans, Pacific Islanders, and African Americans. The Ethnic Studies program at U.H. is designed to provide students with an interdisciplinary understanding of these groups' historical, social, and cultural experiences.⁵

The initiative spearheaded by the University of Hawaii's Ethnic Studies Department stands as a pivotal moment in the evolution of identity politics within the state. By foregrounding the narratives and perspectives of historically marginalized communities, the department initiated a paradigm shift in academic discourse and public consciousness regarding issues of ethnicity, culture, and power dynamics in Hawaii. Through rigorous scholarly inquiry, community engagement, and curriculum development, the initiative provided a scholarly framework for understanding the complexities of Hawaii's socio-political landscape, challenging hegemonic narratives of cultural assimilation and homogeneity. This scholarly intervention not only empowered individuals to assert their unique identities but also galvanized collective movements for social justice and cultural revitalization.

Central to the Ethnic Studies Department's approach was its commitment to intersectional analysis, which elucidated the interconnected nature of various axes of identity, including race,

⁵ Ibrahim G. Aoude and Marion Kelly, *The Ethnic Studies Story: Politics and Social Movements in Hawaii - Essays in Honor of Marion Kelly* (United States: University of Hawaii Press, 1999).

ethnicity, class, and gender. By exploring the intersections and interactions between these different dimensions of identity, scholars and activists within the department were able to uncover the manifold ways in which systems of power and privilege operated within Hawaiian society. This nuanced understanding laid the groundwork for a more inclusive and socially conscious approach to identity politics, one that transcended simplistic categorizations and acknowledged the complexities of lived experience.

Moreover, the Ethnic Studies Department's initiatives had far-reaching implications beyond the confines of academia, influencing public discourse, institutional policies, and grassroots activism. By providing a platform for marginalized voices and fostering critical engagement with issues of identity and representation, the department catalyzed a broader cultural shift toward greater recognition of diversity, equity, and inclusion within Hawaiian society. In this way, the University of Hawaii's Ethnic Studies Department played a pivotal role in opening up space for identity politics to take hold, reshaping the contours of political discourse and social mobilization in Hawaii for years to come.

Courses covered in the ethnic studies department included various topics, including race and racism, colonialism, social justice, and community organizing. Students are encouraged to engage in community-based research and activism and to critically understand how social inequalities are constructed and perpetuated. U.H.'s commitment to ethnic studies is rooted in its history as a land-grant institution with a mission to serve the people of Hawaii. The program reflects the university's dedication to fostering a diverse and inclusive community and promoting social justice and equity. It was created as a direct response to the trouble brewing in Hawaii. It played an essential role in bringing awareness to the community about injustice regarding the use

of Native Land and helped support regaining it.⁶ The U.H. and Ethnic Studies programs provided a space for students and faculty to engage in activism and advocacy related to Hawaiian sovereignty. Students gain a deeper understanding of Hawaiian sovereignty's historical and legal aspects through coursework, seminars, and events. This knowledge equips them to advocate for indigenous rights, participate in political activism, and contribute to the broader sovereignty movement.

In an oral history interview, Governor John Waihee spoke about the state of the college at its inception, saying, "The whole system was out of whack. The university was teaching something alien. We needed to recognize our contributions and do our own thing. That's why Ethnic Studies was important."⁷ He went on to contrast what they were up against in trying to change, "On the other hand, from the older generation, there was a desire to be, like, super American. It was assimilation plus pride in assimilation. Now, you have these young people coming out, and they're very pro-Hawaii, and at the same time, they're not so interested in assimilation."⁸ The ethnic studies department has provided research and articles on Hawaiian's identity and cultural strength as a native group. For example, in the early 1980s, students discovered ancient 'auwai (irrigation ditch) in the bushes alongside the Mānoa stream on Dole Street.⁹ That land, called Kānewai, was highly valued for its kalo (taro) productivity even before Kamehameha conquered Oahu. It remained a royal possession well after the Great Māhele in

⁶ "Kamakakuokalani Center for Hawaiian Studies." University of Hawaii at Manoa. Archived from the original on December 1, 2017. Retrieved November 24, 2017.

⁷ Governor John Waihee, Oral History Interview Hawaii by Gary T. Kubota, Honolulu, HI, 2016.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Manoa Valley Residents, *Mānoa: The Story of a Valley* (United States: Mutual Pub., 1994), 117.

1848.¹⁰ The ethnic studies faculty and students focused on strengthening Hawaii's communities, protecting natural resources, and helping grassroots people cope with the pressures of a crisis in society. The ethnic studies department has engaged with the broader movements happening in Hawaii at different levels.

Professor Marion Kelly was honored for her instrumental role in opening the Ethnic Studies Department at the University of Hawaii in 1969. This recognition stemmed from her leadership and dedication to advancing the cause of ethnic studies, which reshaped the academic landscape of Hawaii and catalyzed the emergence of identity politics in the state.¹¹ She completed extensive work throughout the Bishop Museum, significantly contributed to Hawaiian anthropology, and dedicated herself to supporting the Kanaka's struggle for self-determination at its inception.¹² The birth of the Ethnic Studies Department was brought about in the tumultuous 1960s as an outgrowth of the student rights movements, civil rights movements, anti-Vietnam War movements, and ethnic empowerment. The people from all these movements came together to support ethnic studies and come against the homogenous history of Hawaiian immigrants from a purely European perspective.¹³ At its inception, there was no redress for Japanese Americans illegally interned during World War II. The United States was using Kahoolawe for military exercises, and Native Hawaiians were losing thousands of acres of land in adverse possession

¹⁰ Michelle Dupree Kamalu. "Eia Hawai'inuiākea: Reflections on the Protocol for the Opening of the Pacific. Encounters Exhibition," *Journal of Museum Ethnography* (2009), 103.

¹¹ Marion Kelly, *Changes in Land Tenure in Hawaii, 1778-1850* (United States: University of Hawaii, 1956).

¹² Ibrahim G. Aoude and Marion Kelly, *The Ethnic Studies Story: Politics and Social Movements in Hawaii - Essays in Honor of Marion Kelly* (United States: University of Hawaii Press, 1999).

¹³ Tom Smith, "Hawaiian History and American History: Integration or Separation?" *American Nineteenth Century History*, 20:2 (2019), 161.

proceedings. While it developed in academia, it was also supported outside of academia. During massive evictions from the land around Hawaii, more effort was needed to preserve the Hawaiian people's history.

The Hawaiian Renaissance was a joint effort that included Ethnic Studies students and faculty, Kokua Hawaii, and its supporters. Many individuals and groups helped to start and develop the Ethnic Studies Program in its formative years, including U.H. American Studies Professor Dennis Ogawa and anthropology and religion instructor Larry Kamakawiwo'ole. Other Ethnic Studies academic supporters like Pete Thompson, Kehau Lee, Kay Brundage, Ross McCloud, Pua Anthony, Marion Kelly, Agnes Nakahawa Howard, Noel Kent, Kathryn Takara, James Anthony, Mel Chang, and Guy Fujimura also aided in its inception. Fujimura is now secretary-treasurer of ILWU Local 142.¹⁴ The pride they garnered in learning their history empowered them to take on injustice against Hawaii and its indigenous population. It started in 1968, with a protest in Bachman Hall when students listed 20 demands protesting the Vietnam War, racism, and university governance issues.¹⁵ In 1969, work was done with students, faculty, and the community to develop the proposal for an ethnic department, focusing on Kanaka and the primary immigrant groups whose descendants are still in Hawaii. In 1972, it was launched into a two-year experimental program offering classes on the history of Hawaii's ethnic groups. The faculty was involved with the community and encouraged students to be involved in the community as well.

¹⁴ Governor John Waihee, Oral History Interview Hawaii by Gary T. Kubota, Honolulu, HI, 2016.

¹⁵ Robert M. Kamins and Robert E. Potter, *Malamalama: A History of the University of Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998), 98.

It was an experimental ethnic studies department, but community groups played a crucial role in continuing to build and strengthen the ethnic studies programs. The university's role as a hub for research and expertise on local issues meant that policymakers, many of whom were affiliated with the Democratic Party, often consulted with UH faculty and utilized research in policy development. The University of Hawaii also offered educational programs and events related to politics and governance, attracting participation from party members and fostering engagement with political processes. These interactions facilitated dialogue between academics, activists, and community members, fostering community and unity. Engaging with communities strengthens the relationship between academia and grassroots movements, creating a supportive network for sovereignty advocates.¹⁶ For example, When the U.H. administration announced its plan to dismantle the program in 1968, the community held sit-ins.¹⁷ Kokua Hawaii participated in the sit-in at the end of the two-year experimental period of Ethnic Studies in the spring of 1972. There were rumors about plans to discontinue Ethnic Studies during the summer and merge the courses into other academic disciplines. "You have to understand that Ethnic Studies arose because no U.H. institution was charged with providing narratives about Hawaii minorities and serving as the intellectual voice advocating for minorities." At that time, the School of Hawaiian Knowledge did not exist. Pete Thompson, Larry Kamakawiwo'ole, Marion Kelly, and others teaching in the program had perspectives and helped develop the arguments to sustain various struggles. Many of those who were involved in Hawaiian Studies took Ethnic Studies courses."¹⁸

¹⁶ Ibrahim G. Aoude and Marion Kelly, *The Ethnic Studies Story: Politics and Social Movements in Hawaii - Essays in Honor of Marion Kelly* (United States: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), Xxii.

¹⁷ John Witeck, "The Rise of Ethnic Studies at the University of Hawai'i: Anti-War, Student and Early Community Struggles," *Social Process in Hawai'i*, vol.39 (1999): 10-18.

¹⁸ Governor John Waihee, Oral History Interview Hawaii by Gary T. Kubota, Honolulu, HI, 2016.

In 1972, the political activism of the Ethnic Studies Program faculty and students drew the conservative university administration's critical attention. "At one point, the administration officials were denying there was any problem with the Ethnic Studies Program and saying they didn't understand why we were holding the sit-in. As one of the designated spokespersons for Kokua Hawaii, I stood up and told them that our group would be willing to leave if the administration was to put into writing that the Ethnic Studies Program was a permanent part of the university."¹⁹ They recommended discontinuing the program and putting the courses and faculties into existing departments. At this, the faculty and students began to organize to establish a permanent, unique, and distinct Ethnic Studies Program with this slogan: Our History is our way.²⁰ Through the persistence of these students and groups, the Ethnic Studies Program could continue and offer its original courses every two years. This process occurred repeatedly as the Ethnic Studies Program offered courses on a provisional basis. At the end of every two years, the administration wanted to dismantle the program, and the community mobilized to support its continuation again. "When asked if he thought the Ethnic Studies sit-ins would be successful, he said, "I don't think we felt we had a choice. The Ethnic Studies Program was the wellspring for research and looking at the world through the eyes of Hawaii minorities."²¹

In 1978, the tide finally turned with the appointment of Dr. Franklin Odo. The Studies Department finally got a permanent status at the university. Through studying Marxism and Leninism, the university developed strategic tactics for protest and provided educational materials to the grassroots community facing evictions. Their involvement behind the scenes led

¹⁹ Governor John Waihee, Oral History Interview Hawaii by Gary T. Kubota, Honolulu, HI, 2016.

²⁰ *The New Yorker*. (United States: F-R Publishing Corporation, 1972), 72.

²¹ Governor John Waihee, Oral History Interview Hawaii by Gary T. Kubota, Honolulu, HI, 2016.

to several victories for those facing evictions.²² In 1976, the faculty organized student leaders to stop the bombing of Kahoolawe. Later, in the 1980s, the faculty of the University of Hawaii focused on completing their doctoral programs and developing more programs in ethnic studies. By 1991, faculty positions doubled, and they embarked on developing a national and international academic reputation. The University of Hawaii stayed actively engaged politically from that point on.²³ “There was a paradigm shift, and it’s still happening today. Make no mistake. There continues to be a battle at the University of Hawaii between those who support presenting a Western view of history, a tale of manifest destiny, versus a more pluralistic view of society that includes minorities and new immigrants in the dynamics.”²⁴ Ethnic Studies Professor Dr. McGregor helped work on legislation to draft the 1993 Apology Resolution or Public Law 103-150. She also worked on legislation to return the Kahoolawe Island to Hawaii's people.²⁵ The Ethnic Studies Program in Hawaii allowed Hawaiians to tell history their way and not from a colonial point of view.

In the 1990s, when Trask was director of the program, the university seemed ripe for action on a broader scale. However, students were afraid to speak out and support Hawaiian matters due to the potential backlash of unsupportive non-Hawaiian leadership, which created an uninviting arena for them. Nevertheless, in the *Ka Leo O Hawaii* newspaper, a philosophy

²² Franklin Ng, ed., *New Visions in Asian American Studies: Diversity, Community, Power*. (United States: Washington State University Press, 1994), 176.

²³ Congress.Gov. "S.J.Res.19 - 103rd Congress (1993-1994): A joint resolution to acknowledge the 100th 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."

²⁴ Governor John Waihee, Oral History Interview Hawaii by Gary T. Kubota, Honolulu, HI, 2016.

²⁵ Gail M. Nomura and Shirley Hune, eds., *Our Voices, Our Histories: Asian American and Pacific Islander Women*, (United States: NYU Press, 2020).

student named Joey Carter vented about how, being a haole in Hawaii, he was subjected to racism. He said it was due to and justified racism brought about by historical distrust of haoles that began in the early 19th century.²⁶ We are saying that the wrongs committed against Hawaiians by White people and the U.S. government were not his fault—in response after criticizing him for his social amnesia, Trask, who was head of the department, told him and those who thought like him to leave Hawaii.

What followed was a swift condemnation of Trask by the faculty of the University of Hawaii and a fast response mobilization of student support of Trask and the underlying issues of institutional racism in Hawaii.²⁷ In the end, the students were the principal stakeholders because of the economic investment they had in the university, and they proposed to systematically take over ownership of the U.H. campus with the motto Keep Hawaiian lands in Hawaiian hands.

Key Musicians

Liko Martin, in his all-purpose anthem for both the ecological and Hawaiian rights movements All Hawaii Stand Together, wrote, "All Hawaii stands together, it is now and forever, to raise your voices, and hold your banners high, we shall stand as a Nation, to guide the destinies of our generations, to sing and praise the glories of our land." According to Don Ho, Liko was one of the most unforgettable characters in the current Hawaiian Renaissance. Don Ho said that Liko talked for hours, never tiring, his determination and sincerity never flagging, as he paints a vast, heavy canvas of modern Hawaiian pride and sorrow. He talks of "the new

²⁶ Robert M. Kamins and Robert E. Potter, *Malamalama: A History of the University of Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998), 126.

²⁷ Majid Tehranian, ed., *Restructuring for Ethnic Peace: A Public Debate at the University of Hawai'i* (United States: Spark M. Matsunaga Institute for Peace, University of Hawai'i, 1991), 175.

nutrition" and a "top-heaviness in modern culture-too many lawyers and secretaries and people who answer the telephone, not enough farmers." "Liko's the kind of guy who'll follow his instincts. He's a very natural person, very in tune with and concerned about the people of Hawaii. He's of that generation. He's like a Bobby Dylan, writing music that applies to today's problems. He's closest to these problems because he's walking the highways."²⁸

Hawaiian music has played a significant role in the sovereignty movement in Hawaii by serving as a powerful tool for cultural preservation, political expression, and community mobilization. Liko and other Hawaiian musicians used their artistry to address political and social issues related to sovereignty, land rights, and cultural preservation. Through their lyrics, musicians express the frustrations, aspirations, and demands of the Hawaiian people, providing a platform for political activism and dissent.²⁹ Their songs often convey messages of resistance, resilience, and the quest for justice, amplifying the voices of those advocating for sovereignty.³⁰ Individuals within the Hawaiian community were inspired and empowered by Hawaiian music. Songs of resistance and cultural pride served as anthems for those involved in the sovereignty movement, motivating them to continue their advocacy efforts. Music also provides emotional strength and reinforces the belief in the importance of preserving Hawaiian identity and sovereignty. One of Liko's most famous sovereignty songs is called *All Hawai'i Stands Together*, it says, "All Hawaii stands together, it is now and forever, to raise our voices and hold

²⁸ Jerry Hopins, "Isle Troubadour Liko Martin: Hawai'i's Dylan?," *The Hawaiian Music Foundation Ha'ilono Mele Volume IV*, no. 5, (May 1978): 1, 3.

²⁹ "Hawaiian Aye," *Pittsburg Post-Gazette*, April 25, 1977, 1.

³⁰ "Hawaii Trip Teaches Multiethnic Lesson," *Schenectady Gazette*, January 21, 1978.

our banner high. We shall stand as a nation. To guide the destinies of our generations to sing and praise the glories of our land.”³¹³²

All Hawaii Stand Together was first written and performed by Liko Martin in the 1970’s. Native activists felt a sense of belonging and courage when they sang these lyrics on the radio or strummed on their Ukulele;— Music like Martin’s carried an important role in defining ideologies, disseminating information, and mobilizing people to rise up. It gives cultural legitimacy and emotional urgency, and its expression gives opportunities for artists and people to articulate and experience resistance. He said in an interview with Larry Kabuta, “To be Hawaiian when I was born was not cool. I was told you ain’t going to get anywhere with a Hawaiian name. I didn’t know my genealogy. I didn’t even have a Hawaiian name. Liko is my nickname from Spanish. I was Frederico. So, my nickname was “Liko.”

Hawaiian music is a diverse and vibrant genre that has a rich cultural history and continues to evolve to this day. It originated from the traditional chants and songs of the indigenous people of Hawaii and has since incorporated influences from various cultures that came to the islands over the centuries. One of the most distinctive features of Hawaiian music is instrumentation, such as the ukulele, slack-key guitar, and steel guitar. These instruments produce a unique sound often described as soothing, melodic, and relaxing. Hawaiian Music also features various vocal styles and techniques, including falsetto singing, a hallmark of Hawaiian Music.³³ The lyrics are often sung in the Hawaiian language and reflect the deep connection

³¹ “Hawaii Trip Teaches Multiethnic Lesson,” *Schenectady Gazette*, January 21, 1978.

³² Liko Martin, Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project Interview by Gary T. Kubota, Honolulu, HI, conducted over months through email exchanges ending December 25, 2017.

³³ Kevin Fellezs, *Listen but Don't Ask Question: Hawaiian Slack Key Guitar Across the TransPacific* (United States: Duke University Press, 2019).

between the Hawaiian people and their land and culture. Over time, Hawaiian music has evolved to include modern interpretations of classic Hawaiian songs and new genres that blend traditional Hawaiian music with other styles, such as reggae, rock, and jazz. Hawaiian music remains an integral part of Hawaii's cultural identity and is enjoyed by people worldwide.

One of those key musicians was Gabby Pahinui. He was born in 1921 and passed away in 1980. He was a slack-key guitarist and singer of Hawaiian music. He was raised in an impoverished section of Honolulu in the 1920s. He supported his family by selling newspapers and shoes, and he dropped out of school after 5th grade. He married young and played the steel guitar in a backup role. However, he is known mainly for his mastery of traditional Hawaiian slack-key guitar. He was among the first to record a Hawaiian song with a slack-key guitar in 1946.³⁴ He was known as the central figure in the Hawaiian Renaissance in the 1970s, and the Honolulu Star-Bulletin newspaper said that he inspired thousands of kids by showing them they were worthy as people because of Gabby's example.³⁵ The newspaper, *The Union Democrat*, published more on him in 2006 and stated, "The resurgence of slack key was part of the Hawaiian renaissance of the 1970s, when Hawaii's native people returned to their cultural roots. Part of that resurgence included Keola teaming with his brother, Kapono, to form the Beamer Brothers for recordings and concert appearances."³⁶

Gabby Pahinui formed the Sons of Hawaii, including other musicians like ukulele player Eddie Kamae, steel guitarist David Feet Rogers, and upright bass Joe Marshall. Traditional

³⁴ Burl Burlingame and Robert Kamohalu Kasher, *Da Kine Sound: Conversations with the People who Create Hawaiian Music* (United States: Press Pacifica, 1978), 21.

³⁵ Burl Burlingame, "Hawaiian Musician a Slack-Key Master," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, September 25, 1999.

³⁶ "Slack Key Guitar Playing Enjoys Growing Popularity," *The Union Democrat*, December 24, 2003, 36.

Hawaiian music was hard to find during the late territorial days. It was primarily tropical music found in Hollywood musicals. They learned to play more traditional music by going to the royal countryside and learning the music and its meaning from old-timers. While the band was a hit, a part of the problem was that no one in the group spoke Hawaiian, so they began to learn from the Bishop Museum master of the Hawaiian language, Mary Kawena Pukui.

Keola Beamer was another Hawaiian slack-key guitar player. He is an innovative musician from Hawaii's most respected musical family. He linked up with his brother in 1972 and titled their album *This Is Our Island Home We Are Her Sons* subtitled *Hawaiian Slack Key Guitar in the Real-World Old Style*.³⁷ They were the sons of Auntie Nona or Winona Beamer, and she is also one of the most influential figures in the revival of Hawaiian culture. Winona Beamer was a composer, dancer, and educator. The brothers mixed traditional Hawaiian materials and styles with mainland pop influences and created a subgroup of Music called Hawaiian Contemporary.³⁸ They incorporated rock, pop, and Latin folk revival. Keola Beamer was also a teacher of the slack-key guitar, and it became his occupation for several years before he began composing and performing full-time. He also wrote a book for the Hawaiian slack-key guitar.

³⁷ Keola Beamer, *Hawaiian Slack Key Guitar* (United Kingdom: Oak Publications, 1977).

³⁸ Arthur J. Rath, *Lost Generations: A Boy, a School, a Princess* (United States: University of Hawaii Press, 2006), 196.

Cultural Practitioners

Cultural Practitioners helped the sovereignty movement by preserving, promoting, and revitalizing traditional Hawaiian practices, knowledge, and cultural heritage would serve to give those who wanted sovereignty a sort of collective identity and an anthem. Practitioners of Hawaiian culture dedicated their lives to preserving and promoting traditional Hawaiian practices and play a vital role in fostering community and unity among Hawaiians. Traditional practices often involve communal activities and celebrations that bring people together. These shared experiences strengthen social bonds, creating a supportive community network that enhances the resilience and determination of those involved in the sovereignty movement. In an interview with the Toledo Blade, Abraham Pilania, head of Hawaiian studies at the University of Hawaii, and Native Hawaiian said, “These are the ancient Hawaiian ways that were hidden away and ridiculed for decades. Now they're being taken up with pride. Hula schools, once banned by the missionaries, are so popular that hundreds of whites, Japanese, and other minorities join them. Hula teaches stories, movement, tradition, song and chant.”³⁹

These Cultural Practitioners are highly skilled in various aspects of Hawaiian culture, including hula dancing, chanting, music, lei-making, navigation, and healing practices. These practitioners are considered experts in their fields and are respected community members. Many Cultural Practitioners of Hawaii learned their craft from their ancestors, who passed down their knowledge and skills through generations. They also received formal training and education to enhance their skills and deepen their understanding of Hawaiian culture. Through their work, these practitioners help to keep Hawaiian traditions alive and thriving. Cultural Practitioners of Hawaii are essential in the community, serving as cultural ambassadors and educators. They

³⁹ “Native Hawaiians,” *Toledo Blade*, March 1, 1987, 54.

share their knowledge and expertise with others through workshops, performances, and other cultural events. These practitioners also work closely with schools and community organizations to promote Hawaiian culture and provide opportunities for people to learn more about it. Overall, the Cultural Practitioners of Hawaii are an integral part of Hawaiian society, helping to ensure that the traditions and practices of the culture are preserved and celebrated for generations to come.

Cultural Practitioners have been involved in legal and political advocacy efforts to protect sacred sites, traditional gathering rights, and indigenous rights. One powerful tool to contain Natives rights is the use of legislative bills that turn into law. On January 15, 1997, Senator Randy Iwase pre-filed Senate Bill 8. This bill introduced a process “to register all traditional and customary uses exercised on a parcel of land. According to Senate Bill 8, practitioners could not legally exercise a traditional and customary practice without a certificate of registration of Native Hawaiian right.”⁴⁰ In this case, cultural practitioners, “Pua Kanahēle, Reichel, the late Leina'ala Heine, and Victoria Holt-Takamine brought their halau (school of hula) together and under the name Ilio'ulaokalani (Red Dog of the Heavens) held a vigil at the State Capitol, drumming in unison every hour on the hour while holding press conferences and pressuring legislative members.”⁴¹ They succeeded in their effort to halt the bill. While this act was successful in its defensive action of more cultural rights being taken, it did not help offensively for them to garner further rights of land sovereignty and independence.

⁴⁰ Candace Fujikane and J.Y. Okamura, *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawaii* (United States: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), 82.

⁴¹ *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Ocean: Volume 1, The Pacific Ocean to 1800* (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, (n.d.)), Intro.

Even still, their expertise and cultural knowledge provide valuable insights into legal battles and policy-making processes. Through their advocacy, they contribute to the legal and political dimensions of the sovereignty movement. Mary Kawena Pukui was a remarkable Cultural Practitioner and figure in Hawaiian history. Born in 1895, she was a woman of many talents - a scholar, author, educator, and musician. However, it is her contributions to the preservation and documentation of the Hawaiian language and culture for which she is most remembered. Pukui's work in documenting the Hawaiian language was instrumental in helping to preserve it for future generations. She authored numerous books, including the *Hawaiian Dictionary*, one of the most comprehensive Hawaiian language-learning resources.⁴²

Pukui was also a skilled hula dancer and composer, and her compositions helped to revive interest in traditional Hawaiian music and dance. Beyond her scholarly and artistic pursuits, Pukui also advocated for social justice. She worked tirelessly to promote the rights of Native Hawaiians and was a strong voice against exploiting their culture and land. Her legacy continues to inspire and guide those who seek to honor and preserve the rich heritage of the Hawaiian people. She came from the descendants of many influential Hawaiians. Her grandmother was called Nali'ipo'aimoku, a medical expert/medicinal expert midwife, hula dancer, and queen, and she delivered her grandchild.⁴³ Her grandmother asked to raise her the traditional way, which was granted. Mary was inseparable from her grandmother and learned everything she needed to know. She was educated in the Hawaiian Mission Academy and fluent in Hawaiian. At the age of 15, she collected folk tales and proverbs. She worked as an

⁴² Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English English-Hawaiian Revised and Enlarged Edition* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986).

⁴³ "BIO," Mary Kawena Pukui, Mary Kawena Pukui Cultural Preservation Society, last modified June 5, 2023, <https://marykawenapukui.com/bio1-10/>.

ethnological assistant and translator in the Bishop Museum from 1938 to 1961. She is credited with making the Hawaiian Renaissance possible with her vast knowledge of Hawaiian everything. Mary Pukui is ranked as one of the most influential women in Hawaiian history.⁴⁴

The Hawaiian Language Revival

The Hawaiian language is at the core of Hawaiian culture and identity. Linguists agree that Hawaiian is closely related to Eastern Polynesia, with a particularly strong link in the Southern Marquesas, and a secondary link in Tahiti, which may be explained by voyaging between the Hawaiian and Society Islands. Reviving the language helps preserve traditional knowledge, stories, songs, and customs essential to Hawaiian heritage. By keeping their language, Hawaiians strengthen their cultural identity, reinforcing their distinctiveness as a people with a unique history and connection to the land.⁴⁵ Communicating, educating, and advocating in one's native language is empowering. Language is essential for self-expression, political activism, and community organizing. By reviving and speaking their language, Hawaiians assert their right to self-determination, emphasizing their ability to define their cultural and political future on their terms.⁴⁶

The Hawaiian Language Revival is an essential and ongoing movement that seeks to revive the Hawaiian language, which has declined since the late 19th century. The revival began

⁴⁴ Mary Kawena Pukui, Samuel H. Elbert, and Esther T. Mookini, *Place Names of Hawaii: Revised and Expanded Edition* (United States: University of Hawaii Press, 1976)

⁴⁵ Alicia C. Snyder-Frey, *Reviving the 'Islands' Native Tongue': Competing Language Ideologies and Identity Politics in the Hawaiian Language Immersion Schools* (N.p.: University of California, San Diego, 2006), 38.

⁴⁶ Sam L. Warner, "I ola ka 'olelo i na keiki: Ka 'apo 'ia 'ana o ka 'olelo Hawai'i e na keiki ma ke Kula Kaiapuni [That the Language Live through the Children: The Acquisition of the Hawaiian Language by the Children in the Immersion School]" (PhD diss., University of Hawaii, 1996).

in the 1970s when passionate Hawaiians recognized the importance of preserving their language and culture. They took it upon themselves to teach the language to interested individuals, which has led to a renewed interest in Hawaiian language and culture.⁴⁷ Clyde Maurice Kalani Ohelo stated in an oral history interview with Larry Kabuta, “I knew that there was something wrong with how Hawaiians were treated, why we were being treated in such a way, in such a manner. How come I couldn't speak my own language? I used to ask my elementary school teachers then, from elementary, intermediate, all the way to high school. They had no answer because they didn't know the history. And because they didn't know the history, we were deprived of the truth. When you're deprived of your history, you really don't know what the hell is going on. And that's why the history is so important to me. I had an "A" in history, even though it wasn't our history. But I also had an A—believe it or not—I had an A in English. I had a B in Math.”⁴⁸

Since then, the Hawaiian Language Revival has grown and developed in various ways. Today, many schools and universities across Hawaii offer courses in the language and cultural practices. In addition, there are numerous language immersion programs for children and adults, allowing them to learn and practice Hawaiian in a supportive environment.⁴⁹

The Hawaiian Language Revival is a linguistic movement that reclaims the Hawaiian identity and reconnects with Hawaii's land and culture. Hawaiian language and culture are deeply intertwined; learning the language is a way to understand and appreciate Hawaii's rich history and traditions. Moreover, the Hawaiian Language Revival has also positively impacted Hawaii's

⁴⁷ Sara Kehaulani Goo, “The Hawaiian Language Nearly Died. A Radio Show Sparked Its Revival,” NPR, (June 22, 2019).

⁴⁸ Clyde Maurice Kalani Ohelo, Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project Interview by Gary T. Kubota, Honolulu, HI, conducted over months through email exchanges ending December 25, 2017.

⁴⁹ K. C. Keiki Kawai'ae'a, Alohalani Kaluhiokalani Housman, and Makalapua Alencastre, “Pu'a i Ka 'Olelo, Ola Ka 'Ohana: Three Generations of Hawaiian Language Revitalization” (N.p.: ERIC Clearinghouse, 2007).

economy and tourism industry. It has helped promote Hawaii's beauty and culture to visitors worldwide while providing opportunities for locals to share their language and traditions. In conclusion, the Hawaiian Language Revival is a vital movement that significantly impacts Hawaiian culture, history, and identity. By joining this movement, one can help preserve the beautiful Hawaiian language for future generations and become a part of a rich cultural legacy.

Act 57 of the 1896 law of the Republic of Hawaii stated that the English language shall be the medium and basis of instruction in all public and private schools. If any school did not follow this, they would not be recognized by the department and would not receive government funding as a direct result of this law.⁵⁰ Schools taught in Hawaiian languages went from 150 in 1880 to zero in 1902. Adding to the same token, English medium schools rose significantly from 16 in 1880 to 203 in 1902. If anyone were caught speaking the native language, they would be severely punished, even though most people in Hawaii still spoke Native Hawaiian around this time.⁵¹

Should the mother tongue of a nation be lost, so will the people. When the death of a language happens, the death of a people's group, culture, and identity also happens. Haunani-Kay Trask stated, "A dying people precede a dead land as an example, indigenous languages replaced by universal languages result in the creation of dead languages, but what is dead is not the language but the people who once spoke it."⁵² The olelo Hawaii word for colonization is kolonaio, which translates to crawling with worms. This term came about because they believe

⁵⁰ Jani Vuolteenaho and Lawrence D. Berg, eds., *Critical Toponymies: The Contested Politics of Place Naming* (United Kingdom: Routledge, 2009).

⁵¹ Paul F. Nahoia Lucas, "E Ola Mau Kakou I Ka 'Olelo Makuahine: Hawaiian Language Policy and the Courts," *Hawaiian Journal of History*, vol. 34, (2000).

⁵² Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawaii*, Revised Edition (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2021), 81.

colonialism crawls through the mind, heart, and cultural identity of a person infected and renders them defenseless.⁵³

With the push of the Hawaiian Renaissance fighting for land rights and identity, the natural component was revitalizing the language. Hawaiian was still spoken in families in rural communities and some churches. One could take Hawaiian language classes at the University of Hawaii. However, it was only in the 1970s and onward that the true push for the revitalization of the Hawaiian language began on a large scale. Activists worked hard to make it a living language once again.⁵⁴ The first scholar at the University of Hawaii had to work towards repealing the law that prohibited the use of Hawaiian as a means of education and making official Hawaiian language schools. The Ka Leo program ran until 1988 and was a Hawaiian language weekly talk show.⁵⁵ It launched in 1972 with guests who spoke about Native Hawaiians and their experiences and memories of Hawaii.

Also, during the 1970s, while Hawaiians worked their way through the courts to regain land and culture, language and schooling were added to Hawaii's constitution. At this time, Hawaii was re-established as an official language of Hawaii, and included in this was also an article that required Hawaiian education programs to be taught in the school. These programs had education on language, history, and culture. By the 1980s, there were only a couple dozen young people under the age of 18 who could speak Hawaiian.⁵⁶

⁵³ Noelani Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, Ikaika Hussey, and Erin Kahunawaika'ala Wright, eds., *A Nation Rising: Hawaiian Movements for Life Land and Sovereignty*. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press 2014), 79.

⁵⁴ Scott Saft, *Exploring Multilingual Hawai'i: Language Use and Language Ideologies in a Diverse Society* (United States: Lexington Books, 2019), 138

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 138.

⁵⁶ Stewart Taggart, "Hawaiian Educators Warns Hawaiian Language Faces Extinction," *Bangor Daily News*, September 10, 1985, 30.

In 1984, Punana Leo preschools began teaching in Hawaiian. However, they did it in disobedience to the law because, at this time, it was still illegal to hold education systems in Hawaiian. In 1986, after years of protest, educators could officially use Hawaiian in schools. They fought for and received approval to use Hawaiian for special projects using the Hawaiian language approved by the State Board of Education.⁵⁷ Hawaiian language instruction in schools brought Hawaiian culture and political power back to natives, bringing back the language and preserving it despite being in a system where the dominant groups initially used social and legal means to wipe it out.

Finally in 1987, the Board of Education approved a Hawaii immersion program from kindergarten to 1st grade. It was a one-year pilot program, and in 1992, permanent status was granted to 12 public school programs.⁵⁸ The University of Hawaii continued to stand with the efforts to revitalize the language. Through the efforts of the Hawaiian Renaissance, the Hawaiian Language Revival became the most developed movement of indigenous language education in the United States, now having programs from preschool through Graduate School.⁵⁹ Hawaii's identity, culture, and worldview are transmitted through the native language and trace their roots back to the land. As Hawaiians regained consciousness and rights as indigenous people, the right to speak and know their native tongue further gave them a vehicle to communicate and read documents of their ancestors, drawing them closer together and closer to their land.

⁵⁷ Paul F. Nahoia Lucas, "E Ola Mau Kakou I Ka 'Olelo Makuahine: Hawaiian Language Policy and the Courts," *Hawaiian Journal of History*, vol. 34, (2000): 24-25.

⁵⁸ K. C. Keiki Kawai'ae'a, Alohalani Kaluhiokalani Housman, and Makalapua Alencastre, "Pu'a i Ka 'Olelo, Ola Ka 'Ohana: Three Generations of Hawaiian Language Revitalization" (N.p.: ERIC Clearinghouse, 2007).

⁵⁹ William H. Wilson and Kauano'e Kamanā. "Mai Loko Mai O Ka 'J'ini: Proceeding from a Dream': The 'Aha Punana Leo Connection in Hawaiian Language Revitalization," 2001, 147.

While thousands of people have learned Hawaiian since the 1980s, new speakers of this language are sometimes seen as “wasting their time’ since the language is not associated with socio-economic mobility, as tied to the free market. Hence, their choice to dedicate themselves to helping to revitalize Hawaiian is seen as one that will get them ‘nowhere.’”⁶⁰ In other words, the acquisition of the Hawaiian language, while noble, is not bringing about the desired result of strengthening economic land rights and sovereignty.

Taro Field Farming

Another area of revitalization in the renaissance movement has been health connected to identity through traditional food practices, one of those such practices is Taro farming. This practice is deeply rooted in Hawaiian culture and history. The Hawaiian ancestor represents an ideal healthy lifestyle and identity and the knowledge base for a counter-hegemonic movement. By continuing and revitalizing this traditional practice, Hawaiians assert their cultural identity and preserve essential aspects of their heritage. So, as Native Hawaiians engage in identity politics, land becomes a rallying cry for life itself.⁶¹ Taro farming is a living reminder of the deep connection between the Hawaiian people and their land, reinforcing cultural pride and continuity. Taro is a staple Hawaiian cuisine with immense cultural and spiritual significance. By cultivating taro, Hawaiians assert their right to food sovereignty, which is the ability of a community to produce and consume their own culturally appropriate and nutritious food. Food sovereignty

⁶⁰ Christina Higgins, *Place-Based Narratives Among New Speakers of 'Olelo Hawaii* (United Kingdom: Taylor & Francis, 2019), intro.

⁶¹ Juliet McMullin, *The Healthy Ancestor: Embodied Inequality and the Revitalization of Native Hawai'ian Health* (United Kingdom: Taylor & Francis, 2016), intro.

aligns with the broader goals of self-sufficiency and independence, critical components of the sovereignty movement.⁶²

Traditional taro farming practices often involve sustainable agricultural methods, including water management and soil conservation. By engaging in these practices, Hawaiians demonstrate their ability to manage their natural resources responsibly and protect the environment. This emphasis on land stewardship aligns with the sovereignty movement's goals of self-governance and control over their land. Taro farming provides economic opportunities for Hawaiians, especially when practiced on a community scale. Hawaiians can generate income within their communities by cultivating taro and establishing local markets. Economic empowerment is crucial for the sovereignty movement, as it allows Hawaiians to participate actively in their local economies and advocate for their rights without financial constraints. Issues related to taro farming often intersect with broader political and land rights discussions within the sovereignty movement. Historically, access to taro patches and water resources has been affected by land development and commercial agriculture. Hawaiians engage in political activism aligning with their broader self-determination and sovereignty goals by advocating for taro farming rights and land access.⁶³ Taro farming provides cultural education and awareness opportunities within the Hawaiian community and the general public. Initiatives focused on taro farming and traditional agricultural practices raise awareness about preserving Hawaiian culture and traditions. Educating others about the significance of taro farming contributes to a broader understanding of the cultural aspects driving the sovereignty movement.

⁶² Haunani-Kay Trask, "Coalition-Building Between Natives and Non-Natives," *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 6 (July 1991): 1197.

⁶³ *Senate Reports* (United States: Government Printing Office, 1954): 17.

Taro field farming is a traditional agricultural practice used for centuries by Native Hawaiian communities to cultivate taro. This staple crop is central to Hawaiian cuisine and culture. Taro is a starchy root vegetable used to make poi, a traditional Hawaiian dish made by pounding cooked taro roots into a smooth paste. Taro is typically grown in shallow, irrigated pools or fields called loi ponds, constructed using terraced dams and irrigation channels. The loi ponds are typically flooded with water from nearby streams or springs, providing the nutrients and hydration the taro plants need to grow. The water is managed carefully to maintain the right balance of nutrients and to prevent erosion and other environmental damage. Taro field farming is more than just a means of producing food; it is also an essential part of Hawaiian culture and identity.

The practice is deeply rooted in Hawaiian spiritual beliefs and traditions, often accompanied by ceremonies and rituals that honor the land and the gods. For many Native Hawaiians, taro field farming connects with their ancestors and preserves a way of life threatened by modern development and industrial agriculture. Today, taro field farming faces many challenges, including the impacts of urbanization, pollution, and climate change. However, many Hawaiian farmers and activists are working to preserve and revitalize this critical cultural practice, both as a food source and as an expression of Hawaiian identity and sovereignty. Native Hawaiians believe the taro plant or kalo grew from the stillborn baby body of one of the first two humans conceived by two gods. Therefore, the taro plant is connected to humans by more than just providing sustenance. It is part of sacred offerings given in ceremonies. It is central and sacred to Native Hawaiian culture and is the essence of native culture.⁶⁴ What unfolded against

⁶⁴ Robert J. Hommon, *The Ancient Hawaiian State: Origins of a Political Society* (United Kingdom: OUP USA, 2013).

lands being taken through the eviction process of the 1970s was also true for the taro fields in the conflict of commerce versus culture, erasing the old to make way for the new.

For Hawaiians to return to taro farming, they looked at it as their Kuleana, the reciprocal responsibility of taking care of the land as the land takes care of the people. Taro became a symbol of the Native Hawaiian identity. Renewed interest in the land in the taro plant began during the Hawaiian Renaissance of the 1970s but continues to be a tool and a Hawaiian cultural connection to the land. With the renewed pride in Hawaiian identity and Hawaiian culture, language, and substances, the taro patch restoration also began to energize the youth who wanted to be connected and learn from the elders whose knowledge of the old ways was in danger of being lost.

When fields of plantation farming opened up to the people, the Hawaiians began to break the mold colonialism had imposed on them for the last 200 years. Agriculture would connect and interact with their land. With the taro farming, there also began a push to protect the traditional Hawaiian fishpond and helped Hawaiians regain some of the sustenance that sustained them for 1,200 years pre-contact. Currently, 87 percent of Hawaii's foods are shipped in from elsewhere, so increasing local food production is an act of sovereignty because it lessens Hawaiian dependence on external food sources.⁶⁵ History, culture, and sustainability unite as a tool for self-determination and sovereignty.

⁶⁵ Budd L. Hall, Dorothy Goldin Rosenberg, and George J. Sefa Dei, eds., *Indigenous Knowledge in Global Contexts: Multiple Readings of Our World* (United Kingdom: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 38.

Loi Ponds

Loi ponds are integral to traditional Hawaiian agriculture and culture. By preserving and revitalizing loi ponds, Hawaiians maintained a connection to their ancestral practices and the land. This preservation of cultural heritage was a way of asserting Hawaiian identity and resisting the erasure of their traditional ways of life. Loi ponds symbolize the Hawaiians' deep connection to the land and understanding of sustainable agriculture.⁶⁶ Maintaining loi ponds demonstrated Hawaiians' commitment to responsible land stewardship and sustainable resource management, emphasizing their ability to govern their land effectively if allowed sovereignty. Taro, cultivated in loi ponds, is a staple food in Hawaiian cuisine. By reclaiming and revitalizing loi ponds, Hawaiians asserted their right to food sovereignty. Food sovereignty is people's right to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods. By ensuring their food security, Hawaiians emphasized self-sufficiency and independence, crucial aspects of any sovereign nation.

Restoring loi ponds often involves community engagement and cooperation. Working together to revive these traditional agricultural systems helped build a sense of community among Hawaiians. Furthermore, these efforts served as educational platforms, teaching younger generations about their heritage, traditional agricultural practices, and the importance of sustainable living. Education and community-building are essential components of any movement advocating for sovereignty. Restoring loi ponds involves addressing environmental concerns like water management, biodiversity conservation, and ecosystem restoration. By engaging in environmental advocacy, Hawaiians demonstrated their commitment to preserving

⁶⁶ Patrick Vinton Kirch and Marshall Sahlins, *Anahulu: The Anthropology of History in the Kingdom of Hawaii, Volume 1: Historical Ethnography* (United Kingdom: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 178.

the natural environment, which is closely tied to their cultural practices and overall well-being. This commitment reinforced their ability to govern their land sustainably and responsibly.

Efforts to protect and revitalize loi ponds raised awareness about the importance of traditional agriculture and highlighted the challenges Hawaiian communities face due to historical injustices and land dispossession. These issues became central points in the discourse around sovereignty and self-determination. By advocating for the preservation of loi ponds, Hawaiians highlighted the broader socio-political issues they faced. fishponds are a traditional and sustainable aquaculture method used for hundreds of years in Southeast Asia. The ponds are usually dug into the ground and lined with clay to prevent water leakage. They can vary in size and shape, depending on the local conditions and the type of fish being farmed. The loi fishponds are stocked with different kinds of fish, including freshwater species such as carp, catfish, and tilapia. The fish are fed natural food sources like plankton, insects, and aquatic plants.⁶⁷ In addition, they are also given supplemental feeds, such as commercial fish feed, to ensure optimal growth and health. One of the main advantages of loi fishponds is their integration into the surrounding environment. They are often located in low-lying areas, where water naturally accumulates, and can be designed to fit the local landscape. Loi ponds provide food and income for local communities and help conserve and manage fish populations and other aquatic species and habitats.⁶⁸ In her book, *The Seeds We Plant*, Goodyear-Ka'opua, author and activist writes, “one of the most powerful ways to challenge the settler state ... is to help make space for Indigenous-led communities to keep practicing and transforming ancestral knowledges on their

⁶⁷ “All about Hawaii: The Recognized Book of Authentic Information on Hawaii, Combined with Thrum's Hawaiian Annual and Standard Guide,” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 1924.

⁶⁸ Buddy Graydon Keala, James R. Hollyer, and Luisa Castro, *Loko Ia: A Manual on Hawaiian Fishpond Restoration and Management* (United States: College of Tropical Agriculture and Human Resources, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 2014).

own terms. The pedagogies of aloha' aina ... are just a few examples of the ways Hawaiians are enacting ea [sovereignty, or life] in ways that recognize that sovereignty is not just a political status but a way of living in relation to land and others.”⁶⁹

Wayfaring

The Hokulea and Mau Piailug

Another way that indigenous Hawaiians practiced and transformed ancestral knowledge on their own terms was in the revival of wayfinding. The revival of wayfinding, the ancient Polynesian art of non-instrument navigation, through initiatives like the voyages of the Hokulea, significantly contributed to Hawaiian sovereignty. Wayfinding served as a powerful symbol of Hawaiian cultural heritage. The successful navigation of the open ocean using traditional methods demonstrated the sophistication and wisdom of ancient Hawaiian seafaring culture. It provided a tangible link to the ancestors and their way of life. By mastering this ancient art, modern Hawaiians reaffirmed their cultural continuity, asserting that their traditions were not lost but had endured. This continuity of knowledge and practices reinforced a strong sense of Hawaiian identity, foundational to the sovereignty movement.⁷⁰ The revival of wayfinding highlighted the depth of indigenous knowledge possessed by Hawaiians. Hawaiians demonstrated the value of their ancestral wisdom by showcasing their ability to navigate vast oceanic expanses using traditional methods. This showcase served as a counter-narrative to colonial perceptions of indigenous cultures as primitive, emphasizing Hawaiians' sophisticated

⁶⁹ Noelani Goodyear-Ka'opua, *The Seeds We Planted: Portraits of a Native Hawaiian Charter School* (United States: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), 246.

⁷⁰ Lela Goodell, “Polynesian Voyaging Society: Introduction,” *A Guide to the Archives of the Polynesian Voyaging Society and Voyages of the Hōkūle'a (in English and Hawaiian)* (United States: The Kamehameha Schools, 1989): 5.

understanding of their environment, stars, winds, and ocean currents. Wayfinding emphasizes a deep connection to the natural world. Navigators must understand the subtle environmental cues to traverse the ocean successfully.⁷¹ This connection to nature aligns with the broader theme of environmental stewardship, emphasizing the need to protect Hawaii's natural resources. In the context of sovereignty, it reinforced that Hawaiians are the best stewards of their land and seas.

Mastering the art of wayfinding empowered Hawaiians, both practically and symbolically. It demonstrated their self-sufficiency and ability to navigate their course literally and metaphorically. This empowerment was a metaphor for the more significant sovereignty movement, emphasizing the importance of self-determination and the right to determine their political, social, and cultural future.⁷² Wayfaring is a term that refers to the practice of navigating through unfamiliar or wilderness areas without the use of maps or compasses. It is a skill used by humans for thousands of years and is still practiced by some individuals and communities today. Wayfaring uses natural landmarks like mountains, rivers, and stars to navigate the landscape. It requires a deep understanding of the natural environment and the ability to read subtle cues in the landscape, such as changes in vegetation, animal behavior, and the position of the sun and stars. Wayfaring is not just a practical skill; it can also be a spiritual and cultural practice. Many indigenous cultures worldwide developed their unique systems of wayfinding, which are often tied to their cosmologies and spiritual beliefs. For example, the Polynesian practice of wayfinding involves using the stars, ocean currents, and other natural cues to navigate vast open ocean stretches.

⁷¹ "Hawaiian Cultural Heritage," *Papahānaumokuākea Marine National Monument (in American English and Hawaiian)*. United States National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, July 25, 2007.

⁷² "Hokulea Question: Why Hawaii?," *Beaver Country Times*, March 26, 1975, 29.

Wayfaring is still practiced by some individuals and communities, particularly those who live in rural or wilderness areas. It is often seen as a way of connecting with the natural world and preserving traditional knowledge and skills. However, the practice is also threatened by modern technology and urbanization, which made navigating easier using maps, global position system (GPS) devices, and other tools. Wayfaring in Polynesia is a complex and intricate practice of navigation that requires a deep understanding of the natural environment.⁷³

Wayfinders, highly skilled navigators, use various techniques to travel long distances across the ocean. They read the ocean and the sky, observing the movement of the clouds, the direction of the wind, and the behavior of the waves. They also use their knowledge of the stars to guide their journey. The practice of wayfaring has been passed down from generation to generation, symbolizing the rich cultural heritage of Polynesia. It is a practice that requires years of study and experience, and it is deeply ingrained in the culture of the Polynesian people. Wayfinders are respected members of their communities, and their knowledge is highly valued. In addition to its maritime significance, wayfaring is also a way of life for the people of Polynesia. It has shaped their culture, traditions, and relationship with the natural world. Through wayfaring, Polynesians developed a deep appreciation for the environment and a profound respect for the interconnectedness of all things. It is a practice that has stood the test of time and continues to inspire people worldwide.⁷⁴

One last item that must be included in the protest at this time was not a protest but a Polynesian double canoe void called the Hokulea. As Native Hawaiians found their voice united and stood up against the status quo as their consciousness was awakened, they wanted to answer

⁷³ Kevin Whitton, *Moon Hawaiian Islands* (United States: Avalon Publishing, 2014), 348.

⁷⁴ Blinn, "Hokulea Voyage Reawakens Hawaiian Spirit," *The Telegraph-Herald*, January 9, 1977, 8.

the question of where Native Hawaiians came from and serve as a vehicle for the cultural revitalization of Hawaiians. Critics of the Polynesian voyaging tradition maintain that people who came to Hawaii settled by accident or random drift voyages. However, those on this first voyage in 1975 hoped to refute this drift voyager's theory. The Hokulea was launched on March 8, 1975, by the Polynesian voyaging society, but it is best known for its 1976 voyage to Tahiti using exclusively traditional navigation techniques.⁷⁵

Mau Piailug

Mau Piailug was a Micronesian navigator and teacher of traditional wayfinding methods for open ocean voyaging without instruments. He is from the Carolinian island of Satawal and uses the Carolinian navigation system, which relies on clues for navigation using the winds, clouds, sun, stars, seas, and swelled birds and fish passed down through oral tradition and a rote learning method. He was 18 years old when he earned the title of master navigator, and around the same time, missionaries arrived in Satawal with the arrival of the missionaries.⁷⁶ He was concerned that the navigation system disappeared by the time he reached middle age. Because of this, the Polynesian voyaging society learned much about wayfinding when he shared his knowledge with them and used it to recreate Hawaiian navigational techniques lost in a modern reconstruction of a double-hauled Hawaiian voyaging canoe. While living in Hawaii and working for the Polynesian voyaging society, he mentored Native Hawaiian Nainoa Thompson, who later became a master navigator.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Sam Low, *Hawaiki Rising: Hōkūle‘a, Nainoa Thompson, and the Hawaiian Renaissance*. (United States: University of Hawaii Press, 2019).

⁷⁶ “Voyage Recreated,” *The Upland News*, January 13, 1977, 8.

⁷⁷ “Stars, Intuition Are Guides,” *Toledo Blade*, May 10, 1987, 49.

His merit was proved when the Hokulea sailed to Tahiti in 1976 and showed that his non-instrument sailing navigational system was academically successful. This achievement showed evidence of the Asiatic origin of the Polynesians and an intentional two-way voyaging throughout Oceania. The successful voyage that Native Hawaiians took to Tahiti was the first time in over 500 years that they had mastered the stars, the birds, and the winds to guide a sailing canoe from Hawaii to Tahiti and back. In addition to bringing renewed pride in Hawaiians, the wayfinding society went on to make a voyage of rediscovery to New Zealand with Hawaiian Nainoa Thompson as the principal navigator. This trip stoked the Maori's interest in navigation techniques, canoe building, and cultural history.⁷⁸

The legacy of canoeing and being master navigators continued to preserve Hawaiian culture. Two brothers started the organization Na Kalai Wa'a Moku o Hawaii on the island of Hawaii in 1992.⁷⁹ With the help of Mau's navigational feat, many indigenous cultures, including the Tahitians, the Mori of New Zealand, and the Hawaiians, were reconnected to the stories that their forebears told about similar voyages of generations past. He helped reconnect the people of Hawaii to their cultural roots and revived interest in preserving, not navigating, traditional cultural methods. It also spurred a new love and interest in the art of canoe building and cultural studies in Hawaii. Before he died in 1779, Captain Cook hypothesized that the Hawaiians and all Polynesians shared a common ancestry with Asia. Only after the Hokulea voyage in 1976 did this hypothesis begin to hold weight with scholars. In indigenous Polynesian culture, navigator training would be interwoven with ritual and culture, and those holding the position of master

⁷⁸ "Anthropologists Wonder: Why Hawaii?," *The Dispatch*, April 8, 1975, 11.

⁷⁹ Native Hawaiian Education Reauthorization: Hearing Before the Committee on Indian Affairs, United States Senate, One Hundred Sixth Congress, First Session, on S. 1767, to Amend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 to Improve Native Hawaiian Education Programs. December 1, 1999. (United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2000).

navigators were shown great distinction and had an equal rank or superior rank to the village chief's rank.

When they first built this boat, Hawaiians were facing near cultural extinction.⁸⁰ However, the locals' massive response on arriving in Tahiti included a greeting by over half the island, or 17,000 people cheering the canoe's arrival. What the Polynesian voyaging society initially intended to be a one-time trip to Tahiti became a symbol of the richness of the Hawaiian culture and seafaring heritage and helped renew the pride that Hawaiian people have for their culture and heritage.

Hawaii Traditional Crafts

Hawaiian traditional crafts played a significant role in the sovereignty movement by serving as potent symbols of cultural identity, resilience, and resistance. Traditional crafts such as kapa (bark cloth), lauhala (weaving from pandanus leaves), and featherwork have been passed down through generations. Hawaiians maintained a solid connection to their cultural heritage by preserving and reviving these crafts. This connection served as a reminder of their unique identity as a people and their historical ties to the land.⁸¹

Traditional crafts also provided economic opportunities for Hawaiians. Artisans could support themselves and their families by creating and selling traditional crafts. This economic empowerment was essential for the well-being of the Hawaiian community, enabling individuals to actively participate in the sovereignty movement without being financially marginalized.

⁸⁰ Code of Federal Regulations: The President. United States: U.S. General Services Administration, National Archives and Records Service, Office of the Federal Register, 2016, 233.

⁸¹ Stacy L. Kamehiro, *The Arts of Kingship: Hawaiian Art and National Culture of the Kalakaua Era* (United States: University of Hawaii Press, 2009).

Traditional crafts often carried deep cultural and spiritual symbolism.⁸² For example, specific crafts materials, patterns, and designs could convey stories, genealogies, or connections to ancestral lands. Craftsmanship, with its attention to detail and tradition, became a symbol of resilience and resistance against cultural suppression. Through their crafts, Hawaiians asserted their cultural identity, asserting their presence and resilience in the face of historical challenges.

Hawaiian traditional crafts have a rich and diverse history, spanning over centuries. They are a vital part of the Hawaiian culture and were passed down through generations of indigenous Hawaiians. These crafts are beautiful and serve as an essential link to the past, honoring the stories and traditions of the Hawaiian people. Weaving is a traditional craft that is still practiced today. The Hawaiians used various materials to weave items, such as baskets, mats, and hats. They used grasses, leaves, and even the bark of trees to create intricate patterns and designs. The craft was used for practical purposes, ceremonial events, and to honor the gods. Carving is another traditional craft that has been practiced in Hawaii for centuries. The Hawaiians used wood, bone, and stone to create canoes, weapons, and figurines. They used sharp tools to carve intricate designs and patterns, often depicting stories and legends from their culture.⁸³

Tattooing, or "kakau," was a sacred art form in Hawaiian culture. The tattoos were not just for decoration but held significant meaning and were used to signify status, achievements, and protection. The tattoos were created using sharpened bones or needles and were often painful and time-consuming.⁸⁴ Lei-making is one of the most well-known Hawaiian traditional crafts. The beautiful floral garlands are made using a variety of flowers, leaves, and other natural

⁸² Sabine Hendreschke, "Menehune Mana the Spiritual Essence of Hawaii," N.p.: (n.d.).

⁸³ Peter Henry Buck, *Arts and Crafts of Hawaii* (United States: Bishop Museum Press, 2003), 168.

⁸⁴ P.E. Kwiatkowski, *The Hawaiian Tattoo* (United States: Mutual Publishing LLC, 2012).

materials, such as shells or feathers. Each lei has a special meaning and is often used to honor a person or commemorate a special occasion. In conclusion, traditional Hawaiian crafts are an essential part of the culture and were passed down through generations. They offer a glimpse into the rich history and traditions of the Hawaiian people and serve as a reminder of their deep connection to the land and natural world.

What began for many as conscientious objector status during wartime would put them on a path of questioning the politics and institutions in the United States. That questioning marked the shift and began the cultural renaissance known as the Hawaiian Renaissance. This cultural movement brought Native Hawaiians unity and a sense of identity. While the cultural renaissance in many instances kept Hawaiians from losing more rights to their lands through its application in political matters and protest, it failed to help them regain lost land and sovereignty on a broader scale. As a result, the Renaissance ultimately did not bring about a major shift in the status of Native Hawaiians despite having provided a sense of identity and unity. This failure was due to a lack of effective political organization and the limited scope of the Renaissance. Additionally, the Renaissance was not able to challenge the economic and political power of non-Native Hawaiians effectively. Despite the failures in achieving immediate political goals, the sovereignty struggle and resistance movements had significant impacts including a cultural revival. Cultural Revitalization Movements: The Hawaiian renaissance, starting in the 1970s, marked a resurgence of native culture, language, and traditions. This cultural revitalization was a form of resistance against the erasure and desecration imposed by external forces.

Chapter 9 – The Response

While Hawaiian protest and cultural revival were at its height, the ideas of Hawaiian sovereignty continued to strengthen. Professor at international law College of Law Francis Boyle said, “Belligerent occupation cannot transfer sovereignty, and the U.S. never got sovereignty here in Hawaii. Under the laws of war, sovereignty resides in the hands of the displaced sovereign and, in this case, the Kingdom of Hawaii and the Kanaka Maoli.”¹ In 1993, he gave a speech calling for Hawaiian independence from the United States. In 1998, Boyle filed a court suit with the United States Supreme Court to demand the restoration of Hawaiian independence and reparations for all harm inflicted on the Kingdom of Hawaii.² In 2004, he argued that the United States was illegally occupying the state of Hawaii and encouraged the Hawaiians to press for independence and, if necessary, unilaterally proclaim their independence. This speech, entitled *To the Restoration of Hawaii's Independence*, claimed that the United States conceded Hawaii unlawfully and occupied the Kingdom of Hawaii. He argued that fact alone entitles Native Hawaiians to restore their independent status as a sovereign nation-state.³

However, his efforts were unsuccessful. Even though he argued Hawaiians should exercise the right to self-determination instead of asking permission for it and advising the Hawaiian independence group since 1992 with the Supreme Court case. In 1998, when he filed a court suit with the United States Supreme Court to demand the restoration of Hawaiian the Court, it was later determined that the Kingdom of Hawaii was a non-recognized sovereign

¹ Francis Anthony Boyle, *Restoring the Kingdom of Hawaii: The Kanaka Maoli Route to Independence* (Atlanta, GA: Clarity Press, 2015).

² Ibid.

³ “Transcripts of Prof. Francis A. Boyle,” *Hawaiian Kingdom*, August 20, 2016.

entity and did not have access to the Court.⁴ What started as land protests and cultural revival later shifted towards academic research into the U.S. occupation of Hawaii as the following means of resistance. In the 1970s and 1980s, land struggles and reparations were the guiding factors in political discourse. However, by the 1990s, politics shifted to the rights of Hawaiians as indigenous people, and after the year 2000, Hawaii's legal status under U.S. occupation began to be explored.

Hawaiian sovereignty began at this time to encompass representation at the United Nations, and congressional acknowledgment through the Apology Resolution. Influential figures like Daniel K. Inouye and Mililani Trask, underscored divergent paths advocated by sovereignty groups. In addition to these legal battles such as *Rice v. Cayetano*, legislative initiatives like the Akaka Bill and collaborative efforts within coalitions like the Hawaiian Coalition of Native Claims collectively argued for the urgent need to address and redress historical injustices. These groups sought to empower indigenous communities and forge a path towards meaningful self-determination for Native Hawaiians within a complex and evolving legal and political landscape.

During the 1970s to 1990s, the Hawaiian sovereignty movement demonstrated its existence and influence through a multitude of decentralized efforts, despite the absence of a centralized leadership. Various grassroots organizations emerged, each contributing to the overarching goal of advocating for Native Hawaiian rights, cultural preservation, and political autonomy. For instance, the Protect Kaho'olawe Ohana (PKO) campaigned vigorously against the military bombing of Kaho'olawe, striving to reclaim the island for Native Hawaiian control.

⁴ Francis Anthony Boyle, *Restoring the Kingdom of Hawaii: The Kanaka Maoli Route to Independence* (Atlanta, GA: Clarity Press, 2015).

Similarly, groups like Hui Alaloha and Ka Lahui Hawaii engaged in endeavors to address land struggles, assert sovereignty, and promote cultural revitalization.

While individual leaders such as George Helm, Kekuni Blaisdell, and Haunani-Kay Trask gained prominence for their activism, the movement derived its strength from collective efforts and a decentralized structure. Activists mobilized through grassroots campaigns, protests, and community organizing, fostering widespread support for sovereignty-related issues throughout Hawaii. Media coverage during this era also reflected the presence and impact of the sovereignty movement. Newspapers such as the Honolulu Star-Bulletin and The Honolulu Advertiser provided extensive coverage of movement activities, highlighting land disputes, cultural protests, and calls for political recognition. Despite the absence of a singular, unified leadership, the sovereignty movement's existence was undeniable. Its influence permeated Hawaiian society, challenging established power dynamics, advocating for Indigenous rights, and shaping discussions around self-determination and cultural identity in Hawaii.

Under international law, an independent state may be occupied by another state but may not be colonized in any legal sense. On May 4, 1898, U.S. representative Francis G. Newlands submitted a joint resolution called the Newlands Resolution for lands within the U.S. territorial borders.⁵ What began as a dispute over a war revenue bill for the Spanish-American War turned into a debate on the occupation of Hawaii for military purposes.⁶ This debate was a closed-door session of Congress. In 1969, a classified document was released to the public at the request of a

⁵ Joint Resolution to Provide for Annexing the Hawaiian Islands to the United States, July 7, 1898; Enrolled Acts and Resolutions of Congress; General Records of the United States Government, 1778-1992; Record Group 11; National Archives.

⁶ *The War of 1898 and U.S. Interventions, 1898 -1934: An Encyclopedia* (United States: Taylor & Francis, 1994), 287.

historian who saw a gap in the congressional record. It was released after the U.S. Senate had passed a resolution that authorized the National Archives to release the debate transcript.

At its release, no one recognized the significance of these debate transcripts. However, a joint resolution in Congress is not a treaty and, therefore, not a legal means of acquiring territory under U.S. domestic or international law. However, on July 7, 1898, President William McKinley signed the Newlands Resolution after both houses of Congress passed it. Hawaii was then merged into the U.S., where the U.S. occupation of Hawaii began.⁷ This revelation led to the development of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs and the Aloha Association, which Louisa Rice, born in 1972, formed. When she learned that Congress gave billions of dollars in money and land reparations to Alaska natives, she thought the same thing could happen to Hawaiians. As a result, on June 27, 1974, the Aloha Association submitted the Hawaiian Native Claim Settlement Act to the 93rd Congress of the United States.⁸ The Act would have been a trust fund like the Native American tribes have. During the hearings for the Act, it was asserted that Native Hawaiians were the only aboriginal group impacted by the United States as an autonomous sovereign nation within a community of nations at the time it was wronged. They failed at this passage of reparations in 1977. However, it was this failure of The Hawaiian Native Claims Settlement Act that led to the creation of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs by the state government. It became a vehicle that the state could get involved in the sovereignty movement. The Office of Hawaiian Affairs said they should hold the title for all real and personal property now and

⁷ Congressional Record: Proceedings and Debates of the ... Congress (United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1898): 6530.

⁸ "Native Hawaiians Study Commission: Hearings Before the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources," United States Senate, Ninety-eighth Congress, Second Session, on the Report of the Native Hawaiians Study Commission (United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1985), 428.

hereafter and hold it in trust for Native Hawaiians. The U.S. government gained lands through the 1898 Newlands Resolution.⁹

The Office of Hawaiian Affairs was written into the Constitution, while other groups claimed Hawaii was an autonomous sovereign nation. They contended that Hawaii was a country under foreign occupation, and throughout the 1980s, these two very different models merged in the sovereignty movement. One emphasized colonization, and the other occupation. The Hawaiian sovereignty movement is a political and cultural campaign that aims to restore and promote the self-governance of the Native Hawaiian people of Hawaii. The movement has been gaining momentum in recent years, fueled by a desire to address past injustices and reclaim the unique cultural identity of the Native Hawaiian people. At its core, the movement seeks to redress the historical wrongs inflicted upon the Native Hawaiians, including the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893 and the subsequent annexation of Hawaii by the United States in 1898.¹⁰ In doing so, the movement advocates for restoring the independence of the Hawaiian Kingdom and establishing a sovereign Hawaiian nation. The Hawaiian sovereignty movement has been shaped and driven by various factors, including political, legal, cultural, and social forces.¹¹ Supporters of the movement come from diverse backgrounds and span different generations, united by a common goal of restoring the rights and dignity of the Native Hawaiian people. The movement has also sparked discussions on land rights, resource management, and cultural preservation issues. Despite facing opposition and challenges, the Hawaiian sovereignty

⁹ 106-1 Hearing: Federally Funded Native Hawaiian Programs, S. Hrg. 106-409, August 16, 1999 (United States: n.p., 2000), 144.

¹⁰ Kauanui J Kehaulani, *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), 171.

¹¹ Joanne Frances Cunningham, *The Challenges Facing the Native Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement in Hawaii* (N.p.: Honors College of the University of Oregon, 2002).

movement continues to grow and evolve, with increasing numbers of Native Hawaiians and non-Native allies joining the cause.

Native Hawaiians have been advocating for their right to self-determination and seeking the return of lands taken during the 1893 coup. Governor John Waihee described the movement's evolution: "The 1970s was an era of maximum citizen participation. What the Hawaiians did was they looked around, and they said, 'You know what? We have all these resources. They belong to us.'"¹² While there is disagreement on what form sovereignty should take, Hawaiians are generally united about the right to control their own destiny.¹³

Hawaii's Legal Status

Hawaii's legal status has been a complex issue debated for many years. While some groups continue to advocate for Hawaiian independence or sovereignty, Hawaii's legal and political status as a state within the U.S. is firmly established. The state has its Constitution, governor, and Legislature and is represented in Congress by two senators and two representatives. However, the complex history of Hawaii's annexation and statehood has led to ongoing debates about the rights of Native Hawaiians, who make up a significant percentage of the population. In recent years, efforts to recognize and address past injustices and promote greater autonomy and self-determination for Native Hawaiians have been made. Understanding Hawaii's history and legal status is essential for appreciating the state's unique cultural heritage and promoting greater understanding and respect among all communities.

¹² Governor John Waihee, Oral History Interview Hawaii by Gary T. Kubota, Honolulu, HI, 2016.

¹³ "Native Hawaiians Desire Freedom" *The Daily Courier*, Jun 3, 1994, 12.

While Hawaii is recognized as a state of the United States, sovereignty advocates argue that Hawaii is an independent nation under military occupation. The Treaty of Annexation between the Hawaiian Kingdom and the United States was a significant agreement signed in 1893.¹⁴ The Treaty aimed to annex Hawaii into the United States, which had far-reaching implications for the Hawaiian Islands and their people (as detailed in this dissertation). The Treaty was signed amidst a period of political turmoil in Hawaii. The Hawaiian monarchy had been overthrown by a group of American businessmen with the U.S. government's support, and the Treaty was seen to legitimize this takeover. However, the Treaty faced significant opposition from Hawaiian nationals and U.S. citizens who opposed U.S. expansionism in the Pacific. Despite being signed, the Treaty was never ratified by the U.S. Senate, which led to considerable controversy over the legality of U.S. presence in Hawaii. The issue was eventually resolved in 1898 with the annexation of Hawaii through the Newlands Resolution, passed by the U.S. Congress and signed into law by President William McKinley.

The Treaty of Annexation remains a significant moment in Hawaiian history, highlighting the complex relationships between the Hawaiian Kingdom and the United States and the forces of colonialism and imperialism shaping the world during the late 19th century. Critics arguing about the Newlands Resolution say it was not permissible or legally acceptable to acquire territory under the U.S. Constitution. Under the Constitution, to acquire territory, a country needed a treaty; therefore, they argued that the Hawaiian nation is under military occupation, to which the Hauge conventions of 1899 and 1907 continue to apply. Those who

¹⁴ “An Act of War of Aggression: United States Invasion of the Hawaiian Kingdom on August 12, 1898,” Hawaiian Kingdom Blog, Hawaiian Kingdom, last modified November 8, 2014, <https://hawaiiankingdom.org/blog/an-act-of-war-of-aggression-united-states-invasion-of-the-hawaiian-kingdom-on-august-12-1898/>.

take this legal view are the Hawaiian separatists.¹⁵ Advocates of the legality of the annexation draw upon a joint resolution that authorized the annexation of Texas to the United States in 1845 and in the decision in 1901 *DeLima v. Bidwell*. In that case, the Supreme Court ruled that according to American law, an annexation via joint resolution of Congress was legal.¹⁶

The resolution they referred to made Texas become the 28th state of the United States of America and set in motion a series of events that led to the expansion of the U.S. territory and the eventual achievement of manifest destiny.¹⁷ The annexation of Texas was a controversial issue at the time, with many opponents arguing that it led to war with Mexico and upset the delicate balance of power between free and slave states.¹⁸ Nevertheless, supporters of annexation argued that it was necessary to secure the future of the United States and to protect American interests in the region. The joint resolution itself was a complex document that laid out the terms of annexation in detail. It established the boundaries of the new state, provided for the distribution of public lands, and guaranteed the rights of the existing inhabitants of Texas. It also included provisions for the eventual admission of additional states from the territory acquired from Mexico in the Mexican American War. Despite the controversy surrounding its passage, the joint resolution that authorized the annexation of Texas helped shape the future of the United

¹⁵ Stephanie Nohelani Teves, *Defiant Indigeneity: The Politics of Hawaiian Performance* (United States: University of North Carolina Press, 2018), 38.

¹⁶ Juan Torruella, *The Supreme Court and Puerto Rico: The Doctrine of Separate and Unequal* (Editorial UPR, 1985): 47.

¹⁷ Joel H. Silbey, *Storm Over Texas: The Annexation Controversy and the Road to Civil War* (United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, USA, 2005).

¹⁸ Judy Dodge Cummings, *The Civil War: The Struggle that Divided America* (United States: Nomad Press, 2017).

States, set the stage for its emergence as a global superpower, and legally justified the annex of Hawaii by Joint Resolution.

In addition to annexing Texas, *DeLima v. Bidwell* was a landmark case argued before the United States Supreme Court in 1901. The case raised an important question: whether the Constitution applied to territories the United States acquired but not yet incorporated as states.¹⁹ The case was brought by residents of Puerto Rico, who argued that they were entitled to the same constitutional protections as residents of the United States. The Court ultimately ruled that the Constitution did not automatically apply to such territories and that Congress had the power to make laws for them that were not subject to the same constitutional constraints as laws made for the states. The *DeLima v. Bidwell* decision established the principle of "territorial incorporation," which has influenced the relationship between the United States and its territories ever since, such as territories like Hawaii. The ruling meant that territories could be governed differently than states and that Congress could make laws for them that were tailored to their unique circumstances. It also meant that residents of territories did not have the same constitutional rights as residents of states. The *DeLima v. Bidwell* decision was controversial.

Some argue that it was an essential step in the development of American territorial law, while others say that it was a setback for the rights of residents of territories. *DeLima v. Bidwell* decision had a profound impact on the relationship between the United States and its territories, and it remained a critical case in the history of American law and justified the annexation of Hawaii. However, the Supreme Court and its precedent do not make the law.

¹⁹ John Kelvey Richards, *In the Supreme Court of the United States*, October Term, 1900 (United States: The Court, 1901), 64.

United Nations

In territorial matters, a court is higher than the federal Court, is the United Nations. The Hauge Conventions of 1899 and 1907 established the International Court of Justice, which enforced the principles and laws established by the conventions. It is one of the most important international legal accomplishments.²⁰ In 1960, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the United Nations Decolonization Resolution 1514. It was a landmark document and became widely known as the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.²¹ It represented a comprehensive framework for decolonization, which aimed to end colonialism and all forms of exploitation of colonized peoples. The resolution stressed the fundamental right of all peoples to self-determination, including the right to freely determine their political status and pursue economic, social, and cultural development.²²

Furthermore, it highlighted the importance of ending colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. It calls on the international community to provide all necessary assistance to help newly independent states achieve their full sovereignty and independence. This resolution was a momentous occasion in the struggle for independence and self-determination of many nations worldwide, and it remains a crucial document in the fight for sovereignty in Hawaii.²³ While the U.S. abstained from voting on it, it produced a massive shift in ideology. According to Christian

²⁰ Arthur Eyffinger, *The 1907 Hague Peace Conference: The Conscience of the Civilized World*. (Netherlands: International Courts Association, 2007).

²¹ *Modern Decolonization: Indigenous Peoples, The UN & All of Us* RFK Human Rights. September 12, 2022.

²² "Ban Ki-Moon to Visit Uruguay that will Hold U.N. Human Rights Council Presidency" *MercoPress*, May 26, 2011.

²³ *Plan of Action for the Full Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples*. United States: U.N., 1981.

Reus-Smit, the resolution "produced a tectonic shift in international legitimacy," as it "successfully undermined the institution of empire."²⁴

In 1946, Hawaii was included on the U.N.'s list of non-self-governing territories, which, called Article 73, required the United States to submit annual reports on Hawaii's status. These reports are intended to provide information on Hawaii's political, economic, social, and educational conditions and helped the U.N. assess whether the territory is progressing toward eventual self-governance. After their Hawaii statehood vote, the United States reported to the United Nations that Hawaii's constitutional status had changed and was now a state of the United States. Even though the communication did not describe events leading up to the United States takeover of Hawaii or discuss the fact that United States citizens were allowed participation the only United States citizens were allowed in participation in the referendum, this communication in the United States General Assembly expressed the opinion that Hawaiians effectively exercised the right of self-determination and had freely chosen its status as a state of the union. Therefore, the United States was relieved of further responsibility to report to the United Nations.

The United Nations promotes decolonization, which has been noticed in Hawaii, mainly since areas close to Hawaii emerged as independent in the Pacific nations. These nations include Western Samoa in 1962, followed by Fiji, Nauru, Tuvalu, Kiribati, Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu, and the Cook Islands. Hawaiians saw states like Estonia and Lithuania, part of the Soviet Union,

²⁴ Christian Reus-Smit, "Struggles for Individual Rights and the Expansion of the International System," *International Organization* 65, no. 2 (2011): 207.

welcomed into the United Nations as members a few months after its collapse. This background is essential to understand the current Hawaiian sovereignty movement.²⁵

To elaborate further, when Hawaiians voted on and voted into statehood, every aspect of Hawaii was Americanized. During the territorial days, education and the media were regulated, the secret ballot became a farce, and trade and military strength were controlled. The show of military strength was constant. Even in the statehood vote, one only needed to live in Hawaii for one year to vote, which meant thousands of people temporarily in Hawaii, through military assignments, could vote on the status of Hawaii. Therefore, all attempts at using the United States as a way towards independence will not and are not effective. Even with the Apology resolution outlined below, Hawaiians will need the United Nations or another objective third party.

The Hawaiian sovereignty movement encompasses a diverse array of organizations and initiatives that have actively engaged with state political parties and institutions in pursuit of their objectives. One such entity, "Nation Within a Nation," advocates for Native Hawaiians to have a distinct political status within the United States, akin to a sovereign entity within a larger nation. While not directly aligned with a specific political party, proponents of this concept have sought to influence political discourse and policymaking regarding Native Hawaiian rights and self-governance. Similarly, organizations like Ka Lahui campaign for the establishment of a sovereign Hawaiian nation, albeit without formal alignment with mainstream political parties. Meanwhile, the advocacy for the "nation of Hawaii" concept reflects a desire among some within the sovereignty movement for complete political autonomy despite lacking formal recognition by state political parties or institutions. Additionally, grassroots organizations such as Hui Na'auao focus

²⁵ Sandra Tarte, *Japan's Aid Diplomacy and the Pacific Islands. Australia: National Centre for Development Studies* (Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, 1998), 8.

on education and cultural preservation within the sovereignty movement, indirectly engaging with political parties through advocacy efforts related to educational policies and cultural recognition. Initiatives like the Peoples International Tribunal aim to raise awareness of Hawaiian sovereignty issues on an international scale, potentially influencing diplomatic relations and perceptions of Hawaiian sovereignty. Furthermore, the establishment of the Hawaiian Sovereignty Advisory Council by the state government underscores an institutional recognition of sovereignty issues within the state political apparatus, providing a platform for engagement between the sovereignty movement and state institutions. Overall, these organizations and initiatives illustrate diverse approaches to engaging with state political parties and institutions in the pursuit of Hawaiian sovereignty objectives.

Apology Resolution

Also called Public Law 103-105, the Apology Resolution it is a joint resolution in congresses that acknowledges that the Native Hawaiian people never directly relinquished the United States their claims to their inherent sovereignty over their national lands. It also argues that there was active participation by agents of the United States in the overthrow.²⁶ Sovereignty groups cited this resolution as justification for their actions and an acknowledgment that Hawaii's annexation and eventual statehood were not legal. The resolution was adopted in both houses and was signed by President Bill Clinton of the United States on the same day. The Apology Resolution was sponsored by Senator Daniel Akaka and Co-sponsored by Daniel Inouye, both democratic senators from Hawaii at the time.

²⁶ Native Hawaiian Federal Recognition: Joint Hearing Before the Committee on Indian Affairs, United States Senate, and the Committee on Resources, United States House of Representatives, One Hundred Sixth Congress, Second Session, on S. 2899 and H.R. 4904. (United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2001), 106.

Daniel K. Inouye

Daniel K. Inouye was a highly decorated American politician and war hero who dedicated his life to serving his country and fellow citizens. Inouye was born in Honolulu, Hawaii, in 1924 and enlisted in the United States Army in 1943. He served in the famed 442nd Regimental Combat Team. During World War II, Inouye was seriously injured in combat in Italy, losing his right arm. In recognition of his bravery, Inouye was awarded the Medal of Honor, the nation's highest military honor. After returning from the war, Inouye continued his education, earning a law degree from George Washington University in 1952. He then returned to Hawaii and began his political career, serving first in the territorial Legislature and later in the U.S. House of Representatives and Senate.

Inouye was a champion of veterans' affairs, healthcare, and civil rights and was known for his bipartisan approach to governing. Throughout his long and distinguished career, Inouye remained committed to serving his constituents and the people of Hawaii. He said in a statement at the 100th Anniversary of the overthrow of Queen Liliuokalani on January 17, 1993, “The agenda remains unfulfilled. Our work has only started. Because to bring about the restoration of long-dormant sovereignty, the people of Hawaii must convince themselves that sovereignty is just, morally correct, and legal.”²⁷ Speaking of the work, “We must convince the governments of the United States, the State of Hawaii, and our several counties to act in concert to make this goal

²⁷ “Statement at 100th Anniversary of the overthrow of Queen Liliuokalani,” January 17, 1993. Daniel K. Inouye Institute.

possible. As always, I stand ready to do my part.”²⁸ He was a strong ally for indigenous Hawaiians even though he was not indigenous Hawaiian.²⁹

The Apology Resolution was based on the Blount Report. President Grover Cleveland sent Representative Blount to Hawaii shortly after the overthrow in the spring of 1893 to investigate what happened. The Blount report stated that it was an illegal overthrow against Queen Liliuokalani and her supporters and was an official criticism of the United States' role.

To critics, the Apology Resolution has been criticized for being a rushed bill as it was passed with only one hour of debate on the Senate floor, and only five senators participated. The same went on during the vote in the House only on November 15, which included less time than it was in the Senate, and there were no debates and no objections. Some question the Apology Resolution's claims and its historical and political accuracy.³⁰ However, it was signed into law by President Clinton and went through the proper checks and balances that could have stopped its progress and did not.

While some groups used the apology resolution as official grounds to claim independence from the United States, the resolution itself had no legal provisions. It did not settle any claims, has no regulatory impact, and does not change the law. The Apology Resolution has no binding or legal effect, conveys any rights, or makes legal findings for Native Hawaiian claims. It also does not change or modify the absolute title to the public lands of the state of Hawaii. It states

²⁸ 103 Cong. Rec 514477 (1993) (statement of Sen. Daniel Inouye).

²⁹ “Statement at 100th Anniversary of the overthrow of Queen Liliuokalani,” January 17, 1993. Daniel K. Inouye Institute

³⁰ Native Hawaiian Federal Recognition: Joint Hearing Before the Committee on Indian Affairs, United States Senate, and the Committee on Resources, United States House of Representatives, One Hundred Sixth Congress, Second Session, on S. 2899 ... and H.R. 4904...(United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2001), 297.

that federal legislation cannot retroactively alter a title given as a part of statehood.³¹ The wording from the apology resolution claims that Native Hawaiians are a domestically dependent nation, much like Indian tribes in the United States that exercise authority over their members and territories.³² The wording makes the presumption that Aboriginal Hawaiians are indigenous people within the United States rather than the citizens of an occupied state. However, the current United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples is very specific regarding state sovereignty, and it asserts that the indigenous peoples have the right to freely determine their relationship with the state in which they live.

Key Sovereignty Groups

One such entity, "Nation Within a Nation," advocates for Native Hawaiians to have a distinct political status within the United States, akin to a sovereign entity within a larger nation. While not directly aligned with a specific political party, proponents of this concept have sought to influence political discourse and policymaking regarding Native Hawaiian rights and self-governance. Similarly, organizations like Ka Lahui campaign for the establishment of a sovereign Hawaiian nation, albeit without formal alignment with mainstream political parties. Meanwhile, the advocacy for the "nation of Hawaii" concept reflects a desire among some within the sovereignty movement for complete political autonomy, despite lacking formal recognition by state political parties or institutions. Additionally, grassroots organizations such as Hui Na'auao focus on education and cultural preservation within the sovereignty movement, indirectly engaging

³¹ Bruce Fein, "Hawaii Divided Against Itself Cannot Stand," *Grassroot Institute of Hawaii*, June 6, 2005. (Waltham, MA: Lycos, 2005).

³² 106-2 Joint Hearing: Native Hawaiian Federal Recognition, S. Hrg. 106-1105, August 28, 2000 (United States: n.p., 2002), 87.

with political parties through advocacy efforts related to educational policies and cultural recognition. Initiatives like the Peoples International Tribunal aim to raise awareness of Hawaiian sovereignty issues on an international scale, potentially influencing diplomatic relations and perceptions of Hawaiian sovereignty. Furthermore, the establishment of the Hawaiian Sovereignty Advisory Council by the state government underscores an institutional recognition of sovereignty issues within the state political apparatus, providing a platform for engagement between the sovereignty movement and state institutions. Overall, these organizations and initiatives illustrate diverse approaches to engaging with state political parties and institutions in the pursuit of Hawaiian sovereignty objectives.

The sovereignty groups that believed restoration of the Hawaiian Kingdom was impossible instead sought federal recognition of Hawaiians as native people with some land return, as requested in the Akaka Bill. These groups included ALOHA, The Nation of Hawaii, and Ka Lahui. Ka Lahui is the oldest group embracing this nation within a nation-nation approach. It is also the one that is taking steps toward its implementation. Mililani Trask was the first leader to form this grassroots initiative for Hawaiian sovereignty in 1987. Mililani Trask is a highly respected Native Hawaiian attorney, activist, and educator who has devoted her life to advocating for the rights of indigenous peoples.³³ With a strong background in law, Trask has been at the forefront of numerous legal battles to protect Native Hawaiian lands, resources, and sovereignty. Her work as a human rights advocate has been recognized worldwide, and she has been called upon to serve as the chair of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous

³³ “Environmental Hero: Wanda Kashudoha Loescher Culp,” One Earth, last modified October 25, 2021, <https://www.oneearth.org/environmental-hero-wanda-kashudoha-loescher-culp/>.

Issues.³⁴ Trask's efforts to protect indigenous peoples' rights spanned several decades, and her impact on the Native Hawaiian community has been significant. She has been a vocal advocate for preserving Native Hawaiian culture and traditions. She has worked tirelessly to ensure that future generations have the resources necessary to maintain their way of life. Throughout her career, Trask has demonstrated a deep commitment to social justice and has fought tirelessly to ensure that the voices of indigenous peoples are heard and respected.³⁵

During times of significant social upheaval, such as in the 1970s, a common political scenario is for the ruling party to lose its grip on power institutions. However, in Hawaii, the opposite unfolded. Despite the turmoil of the 1960s, the Democratic Party managed to reposition itself as the advocate for change, embracing and adapting to the shifting landscape. It capitalized on movements like the antidevelopment, women, and antiwar movements, becoming the political beneficiary of the Hawaiian movement.

Though many Democratic Party leaders initially struggled with this transformation, figures like Inouye found themselves in a precarious position. Despite his status as an American military hero and his focus on securing defense appropriations for Hawaii, Inouye was caught between his commitments and the demands of Hawaiian activists. Despite animosity towards him, Inouye urged President Jimmy Carter to pardon Ritte and Sawyer (protesters from Kahoolawe), recognizing the significance of the occupation of Kaho'olawe as a symbol of Hawaiian resurgence and cultural pride.

³⁴ Stu Dawrs, "Mililani's Mana'o: The Interview with Milalani Trask" *Honolulu Weekly* 9, no. 8 (1999), 6-8.

³⁵ "Protecting the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in Nepal," Environmental Law Alliance Worldwide, ELAW, last modified August 9, 2018, <https://elaw.org/protecting-rights-indigenous-peoples-nepal>.

Mililani Trask

Mililani Trask, Haunani-Kay Trask's sister, is also a prominent figure in the movement. She is an attorney and activist who has worked to promote the rights of indigenous people around the world.³⁶ In Hawaii, she has been a vocal advocate for Hawaiian sovereignty and has worked to empower Native Hawaiians. She founded the Na Koa Ikaika o ka Lahui Hawaii, a Native Hawaiian non-government organization. She worked outside the United States to aid indigenous people worldwide seeking independence. Between 1998 and 2000, she worked as a trustee at large. She was unanimously elected as a trustee in the 1998 election, which was the most significant marginal win since the formation of the OHA. However, in 1978, after the Rice decision and non-Hawaiians were allowed to vote in OHA elections, she lost her reelection bid. In her campaigns, she argued that because the decisions made by the OHA impact all of Hawaii, there needed to be more accountability and more focus on the needs of Hawaiians in terms of education, housing, healthcare, jail poverty, and jobs instead of political campaigns. Although she did not win the 2016 election, she urged Native Hawaiians to vote.

She said, "OHA wants to retain wardship – have the state provide it with the revenue, but they are unwilling to work with their people to provide critical needs like housing and poverty alleviation. We must stop making the goal of self-governance be the opportunity to suck at the state and federal teat. It is not that. It is economic self-sufficiency, and that is where we should be going, and we are not."³⁷

³⁶ "Women Who Ignited the Environment Justice Movement," University of Illinois at Chicago, Great Cities Institute, last modified October 24, 2021, <https://greatcities.uic.edu/2021/10/24/women-who-ignited-the-environmental-justice-movement/>.

³⁷ "Keli'i Akina and Mililani Trask Team-up to Reform OHA," *Hawai'i Free Press*, July 19, 2016.

She is an incredibly influential figure in the Native Hawaiian community and beyond. She is widely recognized for her efforts to promote and protect the rights of indigenous peoples, particularly concerning land, culture, and sovereignty. As an attorney, Trask has been instrumental in developing and implementing legislation designed to support the rights of Native Hawaiians, and she has played a leading role in numerous legal battles to defend the interests of indigenous communities. Beyond her legal and advocacy work, Trask is also a respected author and scholar. She has written extensively on topics related to Native Hawaiian culture and history, indigenous rights, and social justice, and her work has been widely cited and celebrated by scholars and activists worldwide.

Ka Lahui sought U.S. recognition as an indigenous nation, and from there, would seek reparations and Native Hawaiian entitlements such as land held by the United States. They did this by seeking to include Hawaiians in the existing U.S. Federal policy in the same way that Native Americans obtained the right to self-government.³⁸ They liked the same status that the Iroquois tribe enjoys and for the U.S. to move to place Hawaii back on the United Nations list of non-self-governing territories. Later, being on the list of non-self-governing territories gave the Hawaiian nation security and the right to decide the relationship it wanted with the U.S. In the 1990s, Ka Lahui began to organize itself into a firmly structured government by drafting a constitution. Haunani Kay Trask stated about this organization: "No other Hawaiian entity has ever approached this level of analysis and practical self-government that Ka Lahui Hawaii has attained."³⁹

³⁸ Haunani-Kay Trask and Mililani Trask, *Hawaiians, Self-Determination, and Ethno Development* (N.p.: n.p., 1988).

³⁹ Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i*. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 78.

Ka Lahui organized in that they have a constitution, and their next goal is for Congress to recognize the Ka Lahui constitution. It wants a Hawaiian government with sovereign authority over land consisting of 200,000 acres of the Hawaii homeland, half of the 1.4 million acres of ceded land, and additional land provided in restitution for the overthrow. In its Constitution, representatives are elected for offices on each island. The processes are still changing, but the group itself is conservative. Ka Lahui opposed the Akaka bill because they would not be able to address the illegal overthrow or the breach of trust issues.⁴⁰

Another group that follows the nation within a nation ideology is Ka Pakaukau. The leader of the group is a medical doctor by the name of Kekuni Blaisdell. Kekuni Blaisdell was a highly regarded Hawaiian physician, health activist, and advocate for the rights of Native Hawaiians. Blaisdell was born in Honolulu in 1927 and was of Hawaiian, Chinese, and German descent.⁴¹ He earned his medical degree from the University of Hawai'i and became a highly respected physician specializing in family medicine and public health. Blaisdell was not only committed to providing medical care to Native Hawaiians but was also an advocate for their rights and well-being.⁴² He was instrumental in creating the Native Hawaiian Health Care Improvement Act, which aimed to address the health disparities experienced by Native Hawaiians by increasing access to healthcare and education. In addition to his work in healthcare, Blaisdell was also a strong supporter of Hawaiian sovereignty. He was a founding

⁴⁰ *Ho'okupu a Ka Lāhui Hawai'i: The Master Plan*, (United States: Ka Lāhui Hawai'i, 1994). "Ho'okupu a Ka Lāhui Hawai'i," was the Ka Lahui Master Plan for Hawaiian sovereignty and prepared by the Ka Lahui Hawai'i Mokuna elected legislature in 1994. The purpose of the "Ho'okupu a Ka Lāhui Hawai'i" was to set forth a template for future work in many political and community spheres and to propose a process of consensus building which can meet the needs of the many sovereign groups in Hawai'i.

⁴¹ *Indigenous Rights in the Age of the U.N. Declaration* (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 316.

⁴² Robert H. Mast, *Autobiography of Protest in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996), 363.

member of the Ka Lahui Hawai'i Political Action Committee. He worked tirelessly to raise awareness about the ongoing struggles faced by Native Hawaiians in their fight for self-determination. Throughout his life, Blaisdell received numerous honors and awards for his contributions to the health and well-being of Native Hawaiians. His legacy continues to inspire and motivate advocates of Native Hawaiian rights, and his work remains a crucial part of the ongoing struggle for justice and sovereignty in Hawaii.⁴³

He also established the Department of Medicine at the University of Hawaii and advocated for Hawaiian independence. His idea of sovereignty is the nation within a nation approach willing to negotiate with the president of the United States as representatives of our nation as co-equals.⁴⁴ There is significant support for this nation-within-a-nation approach to sovereignty because, in 1995, a random sample telephone survey of 400 households found that 52 percent of people supported a Hawaiian sovereign nation that state and federal laws would still govern.⁴⁵ The problem is that even louder groups are advocating for a much more radical approach to sovereignty that would not want a nation within a nation as it would be conceded that Hawaii belongs to the United States.

There's a lot of land ownership concentration in Hawaii. Back in 1969, a book called *Public Land Policy in Hawaii* was published, disclosing that about 93 percent of the land in Hawaii was owned by 100 or fewer individuals, corporations, trusts, and government entities. How do you feel about that? K.O.: Everybody knows about that elephant in the room. But they refuse to change the status quo for whatever reason—social norms, financial advancement.

⁴³ Robert H. Mast, *Autobiography of Protest in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996), 359.

⁴⁵ Mark Matsunaga, "Most Hawaiians Want to Retain Ties with the United States," *Honolulu Advertiser*, November 24, 1995.

Everybody has their own reason why they're doing what they're doing in this system. And this is the only system that they know of. . . There cannot be equality when there are two classes of people—the rich and the poor. G.K.: What about the state Legislature and those elected to office? K.O.: At the state Legislature, you have all these senators and representatives who are associated with businesses, interlocking directorates. What that means is that they will spend more time working for their business interest than the interest of the people who voted them in. So, what that means is that all of us who organized to hold campaign signs for them, all we got was a case of beer, hotdogs and chili. I don't care where you go in this world, they can call it a democracy, they can call it whatever, but there can be no democracy when there are two classes of people: the rich and the poor. If there are two classes, such as that in any country, then it'll always favor the rich and never the poor. So that is why we have all these conflicts today.⁴⁶

Hawaiian sovereignty groups encompassed a diverse array of organizations and movements advocating for various forms of political independence or self-governance for Native Hawaiians. However, these groups faced significant challenges and internal divisions that impeded their effectiveness and unity. One of the primary issues is the lack of consensus on the preferred model of sovereignty, with some advocating for full independence, others pushing for federal recognition within the United States, and still others seeking greater autonomy within the existing state structure of Hawaii. These divergent goals lead to competing agendas and strategies, weakening the overall impact of the sovereignty movement.

Additionally, disagreements over leadership, tactics, and priorities further fragment Hawaiian sovereignty groups. Some groups prioritize cultural preservation and restoration of traditional practices, while others focus on economic development and political empowerment.

⁴⁶ Clyde Maurice Kalani Ohelo, Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project Interview by Gary T. Kubota, Honolulu, HI, conducted over months through email exchanges ending December 25, 2017.

These differing priorities can lead to tensions and conflicts within the movement, hindering collective action and collaboration.

Moreover, historical injustices, including the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893 and the subsequent annexation by the United States, continue to reverberate within Hawaiian society, contributing to complex issues of identity, land rights, and political legitimacy. These historical traumas and ongoing struggles for recognition and redress create deep-seated divisions and mistrust within Hawaiian sovereignty groups, making it challenging to forge a unified and cohesive vision for the future. While Hawaiian sovereignty groups share a common goal of advancing the rights and interests of Native Hawaiians, their internal divisions, differing priorities, and historical traumas pose significant obstacles to achieving meaningful progress towards self-determination and sovereignty. Those separate groups include the Hawaiian Separatists, Nation within a Nations, and groups vary in a myriad of other details. However, Bill Souza, coordinator for a federally funded Hawaiian center at Leeward Community College stated, "There are many little groups and each one seems to have gone regional."⁴⁷ "There's no real consensus of moving forward," Souza said, "far as I can see, nothing is really happening."⁴⁸

Hawaiian Separatists

On August 12, 1998, two to 5,000 people marched to Ionia Palace, the seat of the Hawaiian government. They held a vigil for those who had fallen heroes who had made significant contributions to the contemporary Hawaiian movement.⁴⁹ It was Noene Silva who recovered in the U.S. National Archives petitions of Hawaiians against annexation these were on

⁴⁷ "Century Later, Hawaiians Grapple With Secession," *Lodi News-Sentinel*, Aug 13, 1998, 5.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁴⁹ Noenoe K Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004).

display during this 18-hour vigil as well as a pamphlet that explained the events of 1898, and it said that "for the past 100 years, it was assumed that Joint Resolution 55 or the Newlands Resolution possessed the power and effect of Treaty of a Treaty of annexation but according to international law and practice that is false Joint Resolution 55 is not a ratification of Treaty of annexation but just an internal piece of United States legislation. It went on to say that without a Treaty of annexation, American sovereignty does not exist in these islands. There was no annexation. Noenoe K. Silva is also a vocal advocate of Hawaiian sovereignty and is a Hawaiian author and scholar. She was also instrumental in discovering the Ku e Petitions, which were presented to the United States government in 1897 to halt the American annexation of Hawaii. This discovery formed part of the basis of her book *Aloha Betrayed*. This book was also instrumental to the Hawaiian sovereignty movement because she examined Hawaiian language accounts of the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom. She said of sovereignty, "We have never relinquished our national sovereignty. Kanaka Maoli also continues to resist and protest every encroachment upon our inherent rights to this land, ocean, and fresh waters. Hawaii's other natural resources also insist on our rights to keep our language and cultural traditions and the land alive."⁵⁰ Her discovery of the petitions in the national archives provided a convincing argument to many skeptics of the lengths the United States went to disregard the will of the Hawaiian people at annexation.⁵¹

Hawaiian separatists do not want a nation within a nation but are proponents of supporting a separate and independent Hawaii. However, within that faction of separatists, they

⁵⁰ Noenoe K Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 76.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 76.

are divided into smaller groups that disagree with how much area will be included in the jurisdiction, the process of going about nationhood, and how it will be achieved. The Institute for the Advancement of Hawaiian Affairs argues that the way for the United States to right the wrong of the illegal overthrow is to withdraw from the islands and restore them to the Hawaiian nation.⁵²

The oldest of these Hawaiian independence groups is the Provisional Government of the Independent Nation-State of Hawaii, formerly known as the Nation of Hawaii: Dennis Pu'uhonua "Bumpy" Kanahale, a descendant of Kamehameha, eleven generations removed. The nation of Hawaii has him as the spokesperson and head of state. While other groups want the restoration of the monarchy, the nation of Hawaii advocates for a republican government. It was Kanahale's group that occupied Makapu lighthouse in 1989. In 1993, they also occupied Kaupo beach. At the time, Governor Waihee asked the Legislature to join him in "aggressively seeking political recognition from the federal government for Hawaiians as a native people, just as all other native people throughout America are so recognized."⁵³ They later ceased the occupation and return to the community of Waimanalo, ceded lands, and there they established a village Cultural Center and place of refuge.

Kanahale's group is the most radical and high-profile sovereignty organization, and they perceive the nation will prosper in international trade and banking free of the control of the U.S. federal and state governments. Kanahale states that independence means more than political independence because Hawaii is a very dependent society. They depend on outside sources,

⁵² Noenoe K Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 77.

⁵³ "Hawaiian Nation Proposed," *The Prescott Courier*, Jan 29, 1993, 4.

primarily the United States, to meet most of their needs; therefore, they are subject to control the outside forces because the borrower is a servant to the lender.⁵⁴ They lack self-reliance and suffer from significant vulnerabilities, so to them, Hawaii must become more independent to ensure the future stability of their land and people.⁵⁵

The Provisional Government of the Independent Nation-State of Hawaii argues that Hawaii's 1959 vote for statehood was invalid, and that Hawaii should be placed back on the United Nations list of non-self-governing territories eligible for decolonization. This sovereignty movement argues that they can restore their independent nation-state under international law. This restoration can happen because the U.S. cannot annex a territory or state from something illegally taken by internal resolution.⁵⁶ This group emphasizes patience because Kanahele states, "We are the rowdiest group in the Native Hawaiian sovereignty movement, so if anybody made trouble, it would be us, but we have learned you do not have to fight the government. We have to have patience."...He went on to say, "We have to educate each other, and we have to be concerned about non-Hawaiians as well as our people as we develop this process."⁵⁷ The current focus of this group is to gain enough international acknowledgment nations as possible to meet the prerequisite for acceptance in the United Nations.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Treaty Council News. (United States: American Indian Treaty Council Information Center, 1996), 16.

⁵⁵ Dennis Kanahele, "Voices on Sovereignty: Sovereignty is Coming Soon," *Honolulu Advertiser*, October 11, 1994.

⁵⁶ "The Provisional Government of the Independent Nation State of Hawaii," *Nation of Hawaii Constitution*, January 16, 1995.

⁵⁷ Joan Beecher, "Series on Hawaiian Sovereignty: What's Next?," *Voice of America* (November 15, 1996): #4- 09460.

⁵⁸ Daniel B. Wood, "Hawaii's Search for Sovereignty," *Christian Science Monitor*, October 17, 1994.

Another powerful separatist group, the Hawaiian_Kingdom, argues that the Hawaiian Kingdom still exists today and calls for an end to the U.S. occupation of the islands. David Keanu Sai and Kamana Beamer head it. They are two Hawaiian scholars who used international law to argue for the rights of the Hawaiian Kingdom as it still exists today. They also called for the U.S. to end its occupation. They brought a case before the world's Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hauge in 2000.⁵⁹ The case was called *Larson v the Hawaiian Kingdom*, and their goal was to have the U.S. role in Hawaii declared a breach of mutual treaty obligations and international law. The International Court, however, affirmed there was no dispute they could decide because the U.S. was not a party in the arbitration.⁶⁰

While other separatist groups are working to form a new nation, the Hawaiian Kingdom government is trying to reestablish an already existing nation; therefore, the primary objective of the Hawaiian Kingdom is exposing the occupation as well as providing a catalyst for the transition and the ultimate end of the occupation of the Hawaiian Kingdom.⁶¹ The Group Ka Pakaukau is also in the separatist faction and believes that the United States has an official policy on colonialism exploitation, coercive assimilation, and aggression. They believe in an independent nationhood along with a series of treaties that will be negotiated by representatives of the United States and Hawaii as two equal nations. They want recognition and decolonization under Article 73 of the United States Charter.⁶²

⁵⁹ David Keanu Sai, *Ua Mau Ke Ea Sovereignty Endures: An Overview of the Political and Legal History of the Hawaiian Islands* (United States: Daniel Ebuehi, 2011).

⁶¹ David Keanu Sai, "The Chairman's Welcome," The Hawaiian Kingdom Government Official Website, February 3, 1999, <http://www.hawaiiankingdom.org/index.shtml>.

⁶² Ingram Macklin Stainback, "Hawaii: Information on the Territory of Hawaii Transmitted by the United States to the Secretary-General of the United Nations Pursuant to Article 73 (e) of the Charter." (United States: n.p., 1947).

The group Na Kane O Ka Malo is also a separatist group. However, it differs from the other two as it calls for dividing the Hawaiian Islands into three separate temporary jurisdictions: the new Hawaii nation number, a U.S. state jurisdiction, and a cooperative zone in Honolulu. They believe maintaining these three separate temporary jurisdictions will, in the long run, bring the gradual evolution to full nationhood of the island chain. However, in 1995, in a survey of Hawaiian households, 54 percent did not favor an utterly sovereign nation, and only 27 percent did so.⁶³

Other Sovereignty Groups

Some sovereignty groups do not agree with a nation within a nation or separatist ideology for nationhood or sovereignty, while their positions are not clearly defined. They do not have a certain number. In the 1995 survey, 80 percent of respondents said they had concerns over existing federal and state benefits being lost if they voted for sovereignty. These groups do not necessarily want an independent sovereign nation; however, they do want amends and reparations for land assets, Hawaiian control of the island's land assets, water rights, and access to land and ocean for traditional purposes. While these groups are on the side of sovereignty in that Native Hawaiians have not been treated well, they do not have the drive or desire to support the sovereignty groups toward nationhood. In 1991, Hui Na'auao, a coalition of Hawaiian groups, was founded to educate people about sovereignty and self-determination but took no

⁶³ Native Hawaiian Federal Recognition: Joint Hearing Before the Committee on Indian Affairs, United States Senate, and the Committee on Resources, United States House of Representatives, One Hundred Sixth Congress, Second Session, on S. 2899 ... and H.R. 4904. (United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2001).

position on what form that sovereignty should take. The group was established under a grant from the Federal Administration.⁶⁴

The Peoples International Tribunal

The Peoples International Tribunal is an independent, non-governmental organization promoting human rights and environmental justice. The tribunal operates outside traditional legal systems and aims to provide a platform for marginalized communities to voice their concerns and seek justice. Through public hearings and other advocacy efforts, the tribunal sheds light on human rights abuses and environmental destruction and seeks to hold governments and corporations accountable for their actions. The tribunal's verdicts and recommendations can be used to push for legal and policy changes and to raise awareness about these critical issues. The Peoples International Tribunal is a diverse coalition of activists, lawyers, and other advocates committed to creating a more just and equitable world. By joining forces with the tribunal, individuals and communities can fight for human rights and environmental justice and hold those in power accountable for their actions.⁶⁵

In 1993, indigenous leaders worldwide held a tribunal to put the U.S. government on trial for theft of Hawaii's sovereignty and other related law violations. The tribunal consisted of indigenous leaders from around the world, called Ka Ho'okolokolonui Kanaka. As a result of this tribunal, the U.S. was found guilty, and the tribunal published a document of great length and filed it with the U.N. Committees on Human Rights and Indigenous Affairs.⁶⁶ Tribunal

⁶⁴ Noelani Goodyear-Ka'opua, *The Seeds We Planted: Portraits of a Native Hawaiian Charter School* (United States: University of Minnesota Press, 2013).

⁶⁵ *Peoples' Tribunals and International Law* (Italy: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

⁶⁶ *Peoples' International Tribunal Hawaii 'i 1993* (United States: Nā Maka o ka 'Āina, 1993).

testimonies from this event span six volumes and show Hawaiian resistant intelligence and personal persistence.⁶⁷

The tribunal consisted of 147 testimonies on five islands in addition to written and video testimonies; doctor and activist Dr. Kekuni Blaisdell convened it. It was led by three internationally renowned prosecutors and had a panel of nine judges reviewing oral and written testimonies from Kanaka Malloy and other expert witnesses. The tribunal sessions will be held on the sites of land struggles, an essential aspect of the tribunal because it showed the judges realistically what native indigenous Hawaiians faced.⁶⁸

In addition to first-hand accounts and eyewitness testimonies, historians and other specialists provided well-researched insights on capitalism, militarism, colonialism, and racism throughout the Hawaiian Islands. The international panel of jurists, which consisted of international constitutional and indigenous law experts, confirmed that the rights of indigenous Hawaiians and the sovereignty of their islands had never been taken.⁶⁹

Nine charges were brought against the United States, and the judges concluded that The United States violated indigenous Hawaiian law aspects of customary international law and its own Declaration of Independence, accelerating its intervention in international affairs, among others. They also called for two main actions, which included the returning United States of all indigenous land without delay to the people and nation and the start of talks between the United States and the indigenous Hawaiians observing the U.N. declaration of rights of

⁶⁷ Arlene B. Hirschfelder and Paulette F. Molin, *The Extraordinary Book of Native American Lists* (United States: Scarecrow Press, 2012), 489.

⁶⁸ *Peoples' International Tribunal Hawai'i 1993* (United States: Nā Maka o ka 'Āina, 1993).

⁶⁹ *Native Hawaiian Federal Recognition: August 30, 2000, Honolulu, HI* (United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2001), 300.

indigenous peoples as the minimum standard and recognizing the right to decolonization and subsequent withdrawal of the United States from its illegal occupation of Hawaii.⁷⁰

Hawaiian Sovereignty Advisory Council

The Hawaiian Sovereignty Advisory Council is a highly esteemed group that serves as a valuable resource for issues related to Hawaiian sovereignty. The council comprises experts with in-depth knowledge of Hawaiian history, culture, and traditions. Its mission is to promote and protect the well-being of the Hawaiian people and their land. The council's primary role is to provide advice and recommendations to government officials, community leaders, and other stakeholders on matters related to Hawaiian self-determination, governance, and cultural preservation. The council's guidance includes advocating for Hawaiian autonomy, preserving and promoting Hawaiian language and culture, and addressing land use and resource management issues.⁷¹ The council also serves as an essential forum for community engagement, providing opportunities for individuals and organizations to voice their opinions and concerns and fostering dialogue and collaboration among stakeholders. Through these efforts, the council seeks to ensure that the voices of the Hawaiian people are heard and that their cultural heritage and natural resources are protected for generations to come.

The groups listed above are just a small portion of the 300 groups calling for sovereignty. Because there are so many Hawaiian sovereignty groups, the state got involved when the Hawaii legislature established the Hawaiian Sovereignty Advisory Committee (HSAC). Act 301's session laws of Hawaii created a sovereignty advisory council to develop a plan to discuss and

⁷⁰ Tribunal Komike. *Interim report, Kanaka Maoli Nation, plaintiff versus United States of America defendant August 12- 21. 1993*. Pamphlet. (Honolulu: Ka Ho'okolokolonui Kanaka Maoli, 1993).

⁷¹ Rowena Akana, Preliminary Report of the Sovereignty Advisory Council of the State of Hawaii to the Sixteenth Legislature, the State of Hawaii. (United States: The Council, 1992).

study the sovereignty issue in 1992. This council was formed in response to all the different sovereignty organizations that lacked unity and because of the impoverished living conditions of Hawaiian people compared to those with ethnic backgrounds in Hawaii. They also saw the assault on the last few remaining rural areas because of the development of commercial and industrial culture by tourism. They also were aware of indigenous rights movements of African Americans, Hispanics, Asian Americans, and Native Americans, as well as the anti-Vietnam War student movements that saw change.⁷² In 1993, Hawaiian Governor John Awihee formed a catalyst for this group and scheduled a statewide plebiscite for November 1995 on the issue of sovereignty.

The committee first gathered input from the Hawaiian community when they conducted 36 public information meetings in 1993. The main takeaway from those meetings was that more information and education on sovereignty were needed for the community before the vote could be held. They also concluded that Hawaiian groups should work together to provide better leadership, and there should be a process set up that is independent of the state to stop actions that decrease or misuse Hawaiian National Trust lands. This Advisory Council met with Hawaiian sovereignty organizations on February 5, 1994, to unify them. There were 189 organizations representing over 244 participants at these meetings.⁷³

After those meetings, the Commission wanted to conduct a 1995 special mail election on the question: Shall a process begin to restore the sovereign Hawaiian Nation?⁷⁴ With a yes vote

⁷² Jean Kadooka Mardfin, "Examining the Idea of Nationhood for the Native Hawaiian People," (United States: Legislative Reference Bureau, 1994), 2.

⁷³ Thurston Twigg-Smith, *Hawaiian Sovereignty: Do the Facts Matter?* (United States: Goodale Pub., 1998), 195.

⁷⁴ Jean Kadooka Mardfin, "Examining the Idea of Nationhood for the Native Hawaiian People," (United States: Legislative Reference Bureau, 1994), 14.

stating there will be an election of delegates who will be convened to formalize the structure and status of the Hawaiian Nation, and no vote meant that the Legislature will fund no such processes at this time. Those who voted in the election had to be Hawaiian residents of the United States and at least 16 years of age; it also included those serving prison sentences. For this ballot, Hawaiians were defined as indigenous people of Hawaii, including any descendants of the races inhabiting the Hawaiian Islands before 1778.

The ballots, sent out to about 85,000 descendants of the islands' original Polynesians, were the mail-out ballots, and there would be a one-month time frame to receive these ballots back. Members of the Hawaiian Sovereignty Advisory Commission included the University of Hawaii Ethnic Studies advocate Davina McGregor and Dennis "Bumpy" Kanahele from the Nation of Hawaii, among others. Through Act 359, 1993, the Hawaii state legislature established the Hawaiian Sovereignty Advisory Council. Their final report on February 18, 1994, stated that it has recommended that the state of Hawaii finds that Native Hawaiians have been denied their mechanism for the expression of their inherent sovereignty through self-government and self-determination that the state of Hawaii must take the step to support the sovereignty of indigenous Hawaiian people and though throughout the United States even though native governments and state governments govern side by side but yet the federal government impose itself upon both.⁷⁵

Act 359 aims to acknowledge and recognize the unique status the Native Hawaiian people bear to the State of Hawaii and the United States and to facilitate the efforts of Native Hawaiians to be governed by an indigenous sovereign nation of their choosing.⁷⁶ In the spirit of

⁷⁵ Richard C. Pratt and Zachary Smith, *Hawai'i Politics and Government: An American State in a Pacific World* (United States: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 238.

⁷⁶ Act 359, S.B. No. 1028, A Bill for an Act Relating to Hawaiian Sovereignty, approved July 1, 1993.

self-determination and by this Act, the Legislature seeks counsel from the Native Hawaiian people on the process of Holding a referendum to determine the will of the Native Hawaiian people to call a democratically convened convention to achieve consensus on an organic document that will propose the means for Native Hawaiians to operate under a government of their choosing.⁷⁷ It also provided for a mechanism to democratically convene a Hawaiian convention so that Native Hawaiians could openly and freely discuss and decide the form and structure of that government. Finally, it describes the process for the conduct of fair, impartial, and valid elections, including a referendum election.⁷⁸

In July and August of 1996, the election council mailed out carefully phrased questions to Hawaiians: "Shall the Hawaiian people elect delegates to propose a Native Hawaiian government?" What that government would be has intentionally been left undefined by backers of the vote, a fractious set of groups that support various forms of sovereignty.⁷⁹ Even those voting are confused. The proposed Hawaiian government could ultimately mean something like secession, something more like an American Indian reservation, or simply more Native Hawaiian control. The specifics would have to be decided by the delegates, ratified by the population at large, and negotiated with the Federal Government. Some of the most prominent Native Hawaiian rights groups denounced it as an effort by the state to usurp the sovereignty movement.

The results of the votes. The more than 30,000 descendants of Hawaii's original Polynesians who mailed in ballots this summer in a state-sponsored plebiscite voted nearly three to one in favor of creating some Native Hawaiian government; the most prominent Native

⁷⁷ "Nationalists Stage Protest Marches During Centenary," *New Sunday Times*, March 27, 1993, 106.

⁷⁸ "Hawaii Remembers It Once Was a Nation Queen," *Bangor Daily News*, January 11, 1993, 13.

⁷⁹ "Some Hawaiians Say They Want Out of U.S.," *The Prescott Courier*, January 10, 1993, 6.

Hawaiian rights group, Ka Lahui Hawaii, denounced the plebiscite results as invalid, saying that because more than 80,000 ballots were mailed out. Only 30,000 valid ones returned; Native Hawaiians had primarily boycotted the vote. Election officials countered that 40 percent was a respectable turnout for a mail-in vote. The dispute over the tally reflected the fractious nature of the movement for Native Hawaiian sovereignty, with both sides claiming victories.⁸⁰

These individuals and groups within the Hawaiian sovereignty movement maintained varied connections with state political parties in Hawaii. Some members of the Hawaiian Sovereignty Advisory Council, for instance, were associated with political parties or appointed by sympathetic politicians within the state government. These connections allowed for engagement with policymakers on sovereignty-related issues, albeit operating independently of partisan politics as a whole. Similarly, individuals linked with organizations like Ka Lahui or other sovereignty groups interacted with political parties or politicians, sharing their goals of Hawaiian self-determination and sovereignty. They participated in advocacy efforts, offered input on policy proposals, and sought endorsements from supportive political figures or parties. However, it is noteworthy that not all entities within the sovereignty movement prioritized such connections; some emphasized grassroots organizing, legal strategies, or community-based initiatives over direct engagement with formal political structures. Thus, while connections existed between certain individuals or groups and state political parties, the nature and depth of these connections varied considerably based on the specific goals and approaches of each entity.

⁸⁰ *Geolinguistics* (United States: American Society of Geolinguistics, 1996), 198.

Rice v. Cayetano

This idea of race reappeared again, but to Hawaiians, it was not about race but about protecting an indigenous group who needed Native Hawaiian advocates. The Hawaiian Homelands Commission Act (HHCA) was passed in Congress in 1920 because of the cultural and economic decline of the Native Hawaiian population, and 200,000 of those acres under the authority of the Commission could be leased by Native Hawaiians for token sums. When Hawaii became a state, the state took over control of the trust, and the Office of Hawaiian Affairs held the lease on those lands not already under HHCA.⁸¹

The OHA lands also maintained a trust managed for the benefit of Native Hawaiians. In 1978, the Office of Hawaiian Affairs held another statewide election for the trustees. This office is charged with dispersing funds to benefit those classified as Native Hawaiians. By law, only Native Hawaiians could vote for or be elected to the board of trustees.

Conflict regarding the OHA came when Harold F. Rice, who lived as a rancher, wanted to vote in the elections. His family resided in Hawaii since the mid-19th century. *Rice v. Cayetano* was a landmark case that was heard by the United States Supreme Court in 2000. The case was brought by Harold F. Rice, a non-native Hawaiian resident of Hawaii who challenged the State of Hawaii's practice of restricting voting for the Office of Hawaiian Affairs to individuals of Native Hawaiian descent. He desired to register to vote in the OHA elections.⁸² He attempted to register to vote for the OHA trustees but was denied because he was not of Hawaiian ancestry. Rice argued that this practice was discriminatory and violated the Fifteenth

⁸¹ *Rice V. Cayetano*, Governor of Hawaii: Certiorari to the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit. (United States: n.p., 1999).

⁸² Judy Rohrer, *Haoles in Hawaii*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2010), 87.

Amendment of the Constitution of the United States. The case was named after Benjamin J. Cayetano, the Governor of Hawaii at the time, who was the respondent. Cayetano defended the practice, arguing that it was necessary to ensure that the Office of Hawaiian Affairs was controlled by Native Hawaiians, who were historically marginalized and oppressed.⁸³

He took the case to court and sued under the 14th and 15th Amendments of the Constitution of the United States. At the statewide level, he lost the case. The state argued that restrictions on voting are not based on race but upon recognizing the unique status of Native Hawaiians and are part of their trust obligations. The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals also denied him because they could rationally conclude that Hawaiians had a duty to run the trust and should decide who the trustees should be.

Rice appealed again to the Supreme Court and argued that it violated the Constitution on its face and that the benefits were for the inhabitants of Hawaii regardless of race. In this case, *Rice v. Cayetano*, he argued that there was no precedence in the existence of any past or present discrimination against racial Hawaiians. However, numerous incidences prove this was not true; for example, in the early 20th century, Waikiki Beach was designated for whites only, excluding Hawaiians from the land they had always lived on. He mentioned that Hawaiians have no special status because Hawaiians do not constitute a federally recognized Indian tribe. He argued that while Alaska, when it was ceded, gave all the inhabitants citizenship except "uncivilized native tribes," the Organic Act of 1900 granted citizenship to all persons who were citizens of Hawaii, including Native Hawaiians.

The defense argued that in creating the Hawaiian Homelands Commission Act in 1921, Congress recognized the special relationship with indigenous Hawaiians and sought to enable

⁸³ "The Stolen Sovereignty of the Pacific: A Rhetorical Analysis of Racial Injustices and Systemic Hierarchy" in *Rice V Cayetano* (2000). (United States: San Diego State University, 2020).

them to benefit in some measure from their homelands. During this hearing, special attention was also given to the 1993 Apology Resolution, which expressed regret for the role of the United States in the 1893 coup. The Supreme Court, however, ultimately sided with the petitioner in a seven to two decision based entirely on the 15th Amendment. They reversed the judgment of the Court of Appeals for the 9th district, with Justice Stevens and Ginsburg dissenting. Donya Mino'aka Fitzsimmons, who presented a written testimony at the indigenous tribunal, said, "The Hawaiian movement does not make us anti-Haole; it makes us anti-exploitation anti-oppression and anti-subjugation if they do not want us to be anti-American and stop oppressing us exploiting us and subjugating us."⁸⁴

The Supreme Court ultimately ruled in favor of Rice, stating that the State of Hawaii's restriction on voting was unconstitutional and violated the Fifteenth Amendment, which prohibits discrimination based on race, color, or previous condition of servitude. The decision had significant implications for the sovereignty movement in Hawaii and the rights of Native Hawaiians.⁸⁵ The ruling was a milestone in the fight for civil rights and equality in the United States. It affirmed that every citizen could participate in the democratic process without discrimination, regardless of race or ethnicity. The case continues to be cited as an important precedent for protecting civil rights and promoting equality.

⁸⁴ Tribunal Komike. *Interim Report, Kanaka Maoli Nation, Plaintiff Versus United States of America Defendant August 12- 21, 1993*. Pamphlet. (Honolulu: Ka Ho'okolokolonui Kanaka Maoli, 1993).

⁸⁵ "Can Congress Create a Race-based Government?" The Constitutionality of H.R. 309. (United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2005).

The Akaka Bill

Perhaps to prevent another case like *Rice v. Cayetano* from happening again, the Native Hawaiian Government Reorganization Act of 2009 came to the floor. It is known as the Akaka Bill after Senator David Daniel Akaka proposed it in various forms. The bill proposed that Native Hawaiians receive federal recognition like Indian tribes but also prevented Native Hawaiians from gaming and other benefits that Native American Indian tribes have. Despite the benefit this could mean for Hawaiians, the initial draft kept them from pursuing their claims in court and legitimizing past transfers of Hawaiian land. However, it was eventually amended to allow Hawaiians to make claims in court.⁸⁶

The purpose of the Akaka Bill was to provide for the reorganization of a single Native Hawaiian governing entity. It also affirmed the unique political and legal relationship between the United States and the Native Hawaiian governing entity. Officially known as the Native Hawaiian Government Reorganization Act, the Akaka Bill was a proposed legislation establishing a framework for Native Hawaiians to gain self-governance rights, like those of Native American tribes. The bill was named after its sponsor, Senator Daniel Akaka of Hawaii, who introduced it in 2000. Daniel Akaka was a highly respected and influential politician who dedicated his life to public service. In Honolulu, Hawaii, in 1924, he grew up in a family of modest means and went on to earn a degree in education from the University of Hawaii. After serving in the U.S. Army during World War II, Akaka worked as a teacher and principal in Hawaii before entering politics. He was first elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in

⁸⁶ “The Akaka Bill and Current Lawsuits: National Policies for Native Needs” (United States: Council for Native Hawaiian Advancement, 2005).

1976 and served there for 13 years before being elected to the U.S. Senate in 1990.⁸⁷ During his time in Congress, Akaka was known for his unwavering commitment to advancing the interests of his constituents and the people of Hawaii.

As a Senator, Akaka proposed legislation that sought a process for Native Hawaiians to achieve self-determination, including forming a Native Hawaiian governing entity, which would have the authority to negotiate with the federal and state governments on behalf of Native Hawaiians. What became known as the Akaka Bill. Despite passing the House of Representatives in 2010, the bill did not receive the necessary support in the Senate and was never enacted into law. Supporters of the Akaka Bill argued that it was a necessary step towards acknowledging and reconciling the United States' historical injustices against Native Hawaiians.⁸⁸

Opponents expressed concerns that the bill created a race-based government and undermined the principles of equality and unity that underpin American democracy. Regardless of one's position on the Akaka Bill, it represented a critical attempt to address this issue, and its failure to become law highlights the ongoing challenges surrounding Native Hawaiian self-determination.

While enjoying bipartisan support from some lawmakers, particularly those representing Hawaii, it faced opposition from Democrats and Republicans for various reasons. Within Hawaii's political sphere, bipartisan backing for the bill was generally strong among the state's

⁸⁷ Native Hawaiian Federal Recognition: Joint Hearing Before the Committee on Indian Affairs, United States Senate, and the Committee on Resources, United States House of Representatives, One Hundred Sixth Congress, Second Session, on S. 2899 ... and H.R. 4904. (United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2001), 67.

⁸⁸ The Native Hawaiian Government Reorganization Act Of 2005: A Briefing Before the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. (N.p.: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2006).

congressional delegation and local lawmakers, reflecting a shared commitment to addressing Native Hawaiian issues. However, differing opinions and approaches to the bill's provisions and implications existed even within Hawaii's political landscape.

Outside of Hawaii, the Akaka Bill met challenges and resistance from some lawmakers who harbored concerns about its potential impact on issues such as state sovereignty, land rights, and the legal status of Native Hawaiians. Some Republicans objected based on principles of states' rights and apprehensions about perceived similarities to tribal sovereignty. Conversely, certain Democrats supported the bill as a matter of civil rights and justice for Native Hawaiians, while others exercised caution or skepticism regarding its provisions and potential outcomes.

Throughout its journey in Congress, the Akaka Bill's progress was influenced by a complex interplay of political factors. This included bipartisan support from Hawaii's delegation, opposition from lawmakers beyond Hawaii, and differing viewpoints on matters of sovereignty, civil rights, and governance. While political partisanship undeniably shaped the bill's trajectory, its fate ultimately hinged on a range of factors encompassing legislative dynamics, public sentiment, and evolving political priorities.

The Hawaiian Coalition of Native Claims

In addition to the others, Kawaipuna Prejean was a significant person in the sovereignty movements. He is a Hawaiian nationalist, activist, advocate for the Hawaiian sovereignty movement, and founder of the Hawaiian Coalition of Native Claims, now known as the Native Hawaiian Legal Corporation.⁸⁹ The Hawaiian Coalition of Native Claims is an esteemed organization that tirelessly advocates for the rights and interests of Native Hawaiians. The

⁸⁹ Michael Kioni Dudley and Keoni Kealoha Agard, *A Call for Hawaiian Sovereignty* (United States: Nā Kāne O Ka Malo Press, 1993).

coalition is dedicated to preserving the Hawaiian people's rich cultural heritage, language, and traditions and strives to protect the unique identity of the Hawaiian community. In addition to cultural preservation, the organization addresses important issues such as land rights and sovereignty.⁹⁰

The Hawaiian Coalition of Native Claims plays a vital role in supporting Native Hawaiians historically marginalized and disenfranchised. Their efforts aim to provide a platform for Native Hawaiians to have their voices heard and ensure their rights are respected and protected. Through their work, the coalition seeks to create a brighter future for the Hawaiian community and to promote greater understanding and appreciation for Hawaiian culture. Joining forces with the Hawaiian Coalition of Native Claims is not just a way to support a worthy cause but also a chance to contribute to preserving a unique and treasured cultural heritage.⁹¹

He was one of the pioneers of the Hawaiian Renaissance and was one of the first voices to advocate for Native Hawaiians' independence at the United Nations in Geneva, Switzerland. When speaking before the United Nations, he said, “The unconscionable behavior of the invader government perceives. Kanaka Maoli indigenous Hawaiians are a threat to their illegal rule, which is constantly challenged. We allege that our inherent right to sovereignty and self-government is being violated. Restore our Puu Honua, places of refuge.”⁹²

⁹⁰ Hawaiian Native Claims Settlement Study Commission: Joint Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Public Lands and Resources of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, United States Senate, and the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs and Public Lands of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, House of Representatives, Ninety-fifth Congress, First Session, on S.J. Res. 4 ... H.J. Res. 526 ... Honolulu, Hawaii, July 6, 1977, Wailuku, Maui, Hawaii, July 7, 1977. (United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977).

⁹¹ Hawaiian Native Claims Settlement Study Commission: Joint Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Public Lands and Resources of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, United States Senate, and the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs and Public Lands of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, House of Representatives, Ninety-fifth Congress, First Session, on S.J. Res. 4 ... H.J. Res. 526 ... Honolulu, Hawaii, July 6, 1977, Wailuku, Maui, Hawaii, July 7, 1977. (United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977), 136.

⁹² “Statement of Kawaipuna Prejean before United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations,” UN Geneva, Switzerland. (August 2, 1991).

In addition, he was a member of the Stop the Bombing of Kaho'olawe, a catalyst for forming the modern Hawaiian movement. He was a critic of the U.S. presence in Hawaii. He died on his 49th birthday while fighting to stop the construction of Interstate H3 because it destroyed many ancient Hawaiian sites and substantially impacted Native Hawaiian species on the island of Oahu. He was a true advocate for the Indigenous Hawaiians.

Legal and Political Challenges: The legal system and political structures often favored corporate and governmental interests, making it difficult for indigenous groups to achieve lasting victories through legal or political means alone. **Divisions within the Movement:** Internal divisions, differing strategies, and conflicts over priorities sometimes weakened the effectiveness of resistance efforts.

When Clyde Maurice Kalani Ohelo, an Activist of the Kalama Valley, was asked what his thoughts were about the current sovereignty movement and the dozens of sovereignty groups, he said, "I have a lot of thoughts and emotions. First of all, I think that there are a lot of people who are self-proclaimed Hawaiian leaders and stuff like that, and, in actuality, they steer away from what makes them accountable, makes them responsible for the things that they say. Especially if they start talking negatively against other Hawaiian indigenous people and organizations, because once they do that, they're mocking the whole movement." When asked what he thought about the leaders of the social movements in Hawaii he responded, "We need to take a stronger look and a better look at the Hawaiian leadership as well as the local leadership of the movement. Leadership in the movement is very. . . indecisive in terms of what they're trying to say. They seem to conflict with each other. That's not good. The main thing is lokahi, unity." Lokahi, in Hawaiian, means to obtain oneness. He went on to say, "We need to stress lokahi and how important that is as a virtue for not just Native Hawaiians, but all people in the

movement.”⁹³ Ohelo clearly articulated what this dissertation concluded, that the sovereignty movement has not been successful politically because of the lack of unity. Where they were united in reviving Hawaiian. Culture, however, they were remarkably successful.

When Kalama Valley activist Clyde Maurice Kalani Ohelo was asked he felt about the movement now he said, “I’ve never given up on the movement. In fact, before 1985, we got involved in the Makapu’u occupation standoff, we got involved in the Waimanalo Beach Park beach arrest. Our thing was to teach the Native Hawaiians on the beach that you must remember that we are all on the waiting list for Hawaiian homestead lands.” In speaking of the native homeless Hawaiians who were camping on the beach and were being told to leave, “The lands that we are camping on at Waimanalo Beach Park is our lands, Hawaiian Homes lands. They want to say that it is public lands. It is not public lands. It is land illegally given to the City and County.”⁹⁴ The majority of the people who were living on the beach didn’t know how to research issues. Ohelo helped to teach them how to research issues. He said, “We taught them what to read. We sent them to the Legislative Reference Bureau and other places, not just to gather information on Hawaiian Homestead but also on public ceded lands.”⁹⁵ He went on to say, “So, in that meantime while we were organizing on Waimanalo Beach, the Native Hawaiians grew in terms of political and social consciousness. They grew in terms of having more self-respect for who they are and what they are.”⁹⁶

⁹³ Clyde Maurice Kalani Ohelo, Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project Interview by Gary T. Kubota, Honolulu, HI, conducted over months through email exchanges ending December 25, 2017.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

In its essence, Hawaii's political journey revolves around power. Initially dominated by America, the sovereignty of Hawaii was stripped away, leaving the nation bereft of control over its governance, resources, and destiny. Statehood granted Hawaii a semblance of control, marked by a celebratory phase in the 1960s. However, the subsequent decades, stretching into the 1980s, were characterized by efforts to sustain and expand control, evident through initiatives like the constitutional revisions, and legal challenges against the U.S. Constitution. Since then, the narrative has shifted towards a gradual erosion of control, primarily driven by economic factors. The sole deviation from this narrative is the ongoing but inconclusive quest by native Hawaiians to reclaim autonomy in the pursuit of sovereignty.⁹⁷ The failure of various sovereignty efforts in Hawaii, including those represented by organizations such as Nation Within a Nation, Ka Lahui, the nation of Hawaii, Hui Na'auao, the Peoples International Tribunal, and the Hawaiian Sovereignty Advisory Council, can be analyzed through several lenses.

Primarily, reliance on tourism and the military presence significantly influenced partisan decisions to either ignore or undermine sovereignty initiatives. Hawaii's economy was heavily reliant on tourism, and any perceived disruption to the status quo, such as the establishment of independent governance structures, posed potential threats to economic stability. Furthermore, the substantial military presence in Hawaii, particularly with strategic installations like Pearl Harbor, exerted considerable influence on political decision-making. The alignment of military interests with the maintenance of the existing political framework discouraged active engagement with sovereignty movements that might disrupt military operations or jeopardize strategic interests in the region.

⁹⁷ Tom Coffman, *The Island Edge of America: A Political History of Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003), 354.

Secondly, internal divisions within the sovereignty movement weakened its effectiveness. Various groups espoused differing visions of sovereignty, ranging from complete independence to federal recognition within the existing U.S. framework. These divergent objectives resulted in fragmentation within the movement, impeding efforts to present a unified front and achieve tangible progress. Mainstream political parties, both within Hawaii and at the federal level, demonstrated reluctance to fully support sovereignty initiatives. Politicians, particularly those affiliated with established parties, hesitated to endorse sovereignty efforts that could potentially alienate voters or compromise their political careers. This hesitation perpetuated a cycle of political inertia, hindering substantive engagement with sovereignty issues within the political system.

Moreover, historical injustices, notably the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom and subsequent suppression of Hawaiian language and culture, created enduring grievances that remained largely unaddressed by government authorities. Despite official acknowledgments of past wrongs, meaningful restitution or reparations were not forthcoming, exacerbating feelings of frustration and disillusionment among sovereignty advocates. In summary, the failure of sovereignty endeavors in Hawaii can be attributed to a combination of economic interests, military influence, internal divisions within the movement, political inertia, and a failure to adequately redress historical injustices. These factors collectively impeded the realization of sovereignty advocates' broader objectives, including cultural revitalization, land rights, and political autonomy.

What began for many as conscientious objector status during the Vietnam War turned into Hawaiians questioning the politics and institutions in the United States and locally in Hawaii. That questioning marked the shift in the Hawaiian sovereignty movement. The reason

for the failure of sovereignty is nuanced, with many factors contributing. Indigenous Hawaiians suffered first against two waves of immigration. First, Caucasians from the U.S. Mainland and second from Asian countries compete with locals for resources and power. The second assault on Native Hawaiians' sovereignty was the Western insertion of legal tactics at settlement. Hawaiians did not understand the Western ways of government and were taken advantage of because of it. Thirdly, the Hawaiian economy became too dependent on tourism, and the tourist industry primarily benefited large corporations and outside investors, with a limited share reaching local communities and Native Hawaiians. Fourth, despite its destructive presence, the sovereignty movement has failed because Hawaii is too economically dependent on the U.S. military. Even so, energized by the Anti-Vietnam War Protests happening in the 1970s, Hawaiians shifted from a people passively accepting how things were to protest land evictions in Kalama Valley. While there had been other protests before this time, Kalama Valley was only the first protest by local Hawaiians. However, sovereignty movements did not gain structure until the Kalama Valley protests, in which Hawaiians fought local land evictions and the United States of America. Ultimately, sovereignty movements failed to come to fruition. While the cultural renaissance developed alongside the land protests and cultural expression was used as a form of political resistance, in the end, identity politics would not be enough to sustain the movement when faced with the obstacles mentioned earlier.

The sovereignty movement is fragmented into over 300 sovereignty groups, sometimes leading to internal divisions, making it challenging to present a unified front. Legal and political challenges to attaining sovereignty are substantial, as the U.S. government has yet to show a willingness to entertain the idea of complete independence for Hawaii due to its strategic importance. While these movements of the 1970s allowed Hawaiians to restore pride in their

ethnic identity, Indigenous Hawaiians remain a conquered people in a conquered land, with no apparent or evident path forward in regaining Hawaiian sovereignty. The collapse of the legal effort to reclaim land sovereignty broke down into numerous, even more radical – and thus even less successful – political groups. At the same time, matters of cultural identity secured some political victories. Cultural sovereignty was most successful, while the political and legal demands for land sovereignty and rights could not overcome the wealthy and powerful interests of the US military and tourism.

In arguing against federal recognition as a mechanism of containment, No' Eau Peralto gave an oral testimony before the Department of the Interior, stating, "We derive our strength from our aina, and in it is our deep Aloha for our aina that is the foundation for our liberation. We know our past...and while the U.S. may be a part of our presence by its power. Its utter disregard for the well-being of our area and our la hui has deemed it necessary that we envision our nation independent of the United States."⁹⁸ To Hawaiians, their land is their strength and their path forward.

Malama Aina - is a Hawaiian phrase that means caring for and honoring the land. It is an endangered practice and the core of indigenous Hawaiian culture and guides Hawaii's current Hawaiian sovereignty politics. Hawaii is a once-in-a-lifetime trip for some, a place only some could dream about going to, where the military will be sent on assignment or relocated for a job. Hawaii is more than a postcard and a beautiful place, however. The average person arriving in Hawaii will see the stunning shores, the leis, and the hula and have no idea of the pain the native population has endured and is still enduring. They might also be shocked by the homeless

⁹⁸ Noelani Goodyear-Ka'opua and Bryan Kamaoli Kuwada, "Making 'Aha: Independent Hawaiian Pasts, Presents & Futures," *Daedalus* 147, no. 2 (2018), 2, 49.

population and the dilapidated state of the schools.⁹⁹ They will see trucks driving by with upside-down flags in protest. They can turn on the news and see protests over water, land, burial grounds, or 30-meter telescopes and have no context to place the events they see around them.¹⁰⁰

The longer they stay, the more they can see the nuances of Hawaii. They have yet to learn of the loss of culture to the people of Hawaii, which made them lose their cultural identity and land. They can turn on the news, see the horrible images from the Maui fires, and hear people in fear and anguish over a loss so much more profound than a one-time disaster. To be informed of the native population in Hawaii and everywhere is crucial to responsible tourism, relocation, and assignments. It is essential to listen to the stories and not just quickly discount them with a quip that Hawaii needs the U.S., or another country will take them.

Most recently, in early August 2023, wildfires erupted on the island of Maui and the town of Lahaina. The fire caused nearly 100 confirmed deaths, with 31 still missing. In this fire, over 2200 buildings, primarily residential, were destroyed, including many historic landmarks of Lahaina. The estimated cost of damage is almost \$6,000,000,000. When the Hawaiian fires occurred, 20 percent of the county of Maui experienced moderate drought levels, and 16 percent was under severe drought conditions. The 2023 Maui fires devastated the Hawaiian island of Maui in the summer of 2023. The fires broke out in early August and burned for several weeks, scorching thousands of acres of land and destroying countless homes and structures. The cause of the fires is still under investigation. However, it is believed that a combination of dry weather conditions, high temperatures, and human activity may have contributed to their ignition.

⁹⁹ "Hawaii's Working Homeless," *Reading Eagle*, January 12, 2007, 55. In 2007 Roughly 6,000 people in the state are without permanent shelter. according to Hawaii's Homeless Programs Division. That's nearly double the number without homes in 1999. Increasingly, this population consists of working families with children.

¹⁰⁰ "Hawaiian Sovereignty Seekers Take Over Historic Palace Grounds," *Moscow-Pullman Daily News*, May 1, 2008, 4.

The vulnerability of the island's two deadly wildfire fires was underestimated in long-term assessments. In 2014, the (Hawaii Wildfire Management Organization prepared a western Maui community wildfire protection plan that warned that most of Lahaina was at extremely high risk for burning. Despite calls to action for increased wildfire risk mitigation, the Hawaii state legislature needed help to make progress. In 2022, a bill was to spend \$1,500,000 on additional fire risk reduction measures, but it died in committee. On August 4, 2023, small fires ignited on Maui, and by August 8, intense winds had knocked down utility poles. There was much power because of the downed poles to more than 12,000 customers, so the fire mixed with hurricane winds from Hurricane Dora spread the fire. Civil defense sirens were not activated during the fire even though Hawaii has the world's most extensive integrated outdoor siren warning system, with over 80 sirens on Maui alone meant to be used in case of natural disaster.

The Hawaiian wildfires of August 2023 are said to have been the worst natural disaster in the history of Hawaii. In 1962, the Lahaina historic district was designated as a National Historic landmark. Lahaina was also the capital of the Kingdom of Hawaii for 35 years. One of the heavily damaged or destroyed structures was the Baldwin Home Museum, formerly the home of American missionaries Dwight Baldwin and Charlotte Fowler Baldwin. It is the oldest house on the island of Maui. Historic items were lost, including the medical instruments he used to vaccinate much of Maui's population against smallpox. His family's rocking furniture and rocking chairs, also destroyed, were the Wo Hing Society Hall, built to serve the growing Chinese population in Lahaina and turned into the Wo Hing Museum in the 1980s.

Another historic building was the old Lahaina courthouse, used for customs, trades, and whaling ships in the 1860s. The Na Aikane Cultural Center, which once housed the soup kitchen for striking plantation workers during the international longshore and warehouse union (ILWU)

strike against the pioneer mill, was also destroyed. The Pioneer Inn was a landmark town hotel constructed in 1901 by the Lahaina Jodo Mission, a Buddhist temple in northern Lahaina established in 1912, and whose cemetery is the burial ground for members of the Hawaiian royal family. The loss was utterly devastating, but an even greater fear came when what protected Lahaina from urbanization and development was that these historical sites were on a register for historic places. With the loss of this designation, they also lost the protection of leaving the land alone. Hawaii residents saw not only their town's destruction but also another opportunity for the state and outside players to take what precious land remained undeveloped. As soon as the fires cooled, residents began getting calls from relators wanting to buy their property.

Noelani Ahia, an indigenous activist and healer in Lahaina who has been organizing mutual aid initiatives for fire victims, said in an interview with the Guardian, “The potential of being further displaced is genuine,” “If that happens, that will be the end for us.”¹⁰¹ What Ahia was talking about was a culmination of everything this dissertation covered. Residents need to sense sovereignty is the only way forward. She said in the interview, “When we talk about sovereignty, it is about literally, physically, and spiritually taking up space that we were forcibly removed from.” “The people in this movement have been fighting for our community, our land, our ocean for decades. It is woven into the fabric of who we are and stand for.”¹⁰² However, even though Indigenous Hawaiians have been fighting for decades to regain their land and sovereignty, it has only been incrementally successful. Not only has the fabric of Hawaiian society completely changed with immigration, but it was overcome with Western legal systems, leading to them losing large tracks of land that are still contested. With that land, the U.S.

¹⁰¹ Claire Wang, “‘Occupied by the U.S.’: Wildfires Renew Native Hawaiian Call for Sovereignty,” *The Guardian*, August 7, 2023.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

military acquired significant ways and thoroughly entrenched themselves in the economy. At the same time, tourism rose to become the leading revenue source for the island with its admission to statehood. Despite all these factors, the protests of the 1970s and 1980s inspired a cultural renaissance that armed Hawaiians with a strong sense of identity politics that, in the end, could not unite them politically. Despite the failures in achieving immediate political goals, the sovereignty struggle and resistance movements significantly impacted the revival of Hawaiian culture.

Conclusion

This dissertation has thoroughly explored the intricate historical, legal, and socio-economic dynamics that have profoundly influenced the trajectory of Native Hawaiian sovereignty struggles and cultural revitalization efforts. The analysis has illuminated the enduring legacy of Western colonization, which precipitated the dispossession of indigenous lands and the systemic marginalization of Native Hawaiian communities within their ancestral territories. Through a nuanced examination of pivotal historical junctures such as the ascendancy of the plantation economy, the ascendancy of tourism as an economic cornerstone, and Hawaii's transition to statehood, this study has elucidated the multifaceted and formidable barriers obstructing indigenous sovereignty aspirations. The hierarchical stratification entrenched within Hawaii's historical and economic fabric, typified by the preferential treatment afforded to Caucasian settlers and subsequently to Japanese investors, has perpetuated a protracted narrative of socio-economic inequity and cultural dilution among Native Hawaiians.

Nevertheless, amidst these formidable challenges, the dissertation underscores the indomitable spirit and activist fervor exhibited by Native Hawaiians during the transformative period of the Hawaiian Renaissance. This cultural revitalization movement, spanning several decades from the 1970s onward, has emerged as a potent force for reclaiming ancestral rights, reinvigorating traditional customs and practices, and engendering a collective sense of cultural pride and agency within indigenous communities. While acknowledging the nuanced complexities and internal divergences within the sovereignty movement, this scholarly inquiry underscores the pivotal role of cultural activism and grassroots mobilization in shaping Hawaii's sociopolitical landscape. The resurgence of interest and engagement in traditional arts such as hula, the revitalization of the Hawaiian language, and the resurgence of sustainable agricultural

practices reflect an evolving paradigm towards addressing historical injustices and safeguarding indigenous heritage for posterity.

The initial historical devastation and decline of the Native Hawaiian population, as documented by early Western observers, painted a grim picture of potential extinction. Indeed, by 1920, the Native Hawaiian population had dwindled to just under 24,000, according to the U.S. Census. However, the resurgence of the Native Hawaiian population since the 1980s presents a striking reversal of this narrative. With the current Native Hawaiian population in the state standing at 298,000 and over 560,000 nationwide, as per 2013 census estimates, there is a clear trajectory of growth and resilience within the community. The total Native Hawaiian population in the state is projected to reach more than half a million by 2045 and more than 675,000 by 2060, according to a 2012 report by Kamehameha Schools.¹ This resurgence not only signifies a demographic turnaround but also underscores, despite its political lack of collective success, the growth of the population of those identifying as native Hawaiians. Hawaiian culture strengthened as a result of the Hawaiian Renaissance. Being Hawaiian, once a negative connotation, is now considered something to be proud of, and because of that, the Hawaiian Sovereignty movement accomplished a great deal.

¹ Sara Kehaulani Goo, "After 200 years, Native Hawaiians Make a Comeback," *The Pew Research Center*, April 6, 2015.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Administration of Native Hawaiian Homelands: August 10, 1989, Wailuku, Maui. United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1990. 226

Administration of native Hawaiian homelands: joint hearings before the Select Committee on Indian Affairs, United States Senate, and the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, House of Representatives, One Hundred First Congress, first session, on oversight hearing on the administration of native Hawaiian homelands. United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1990.

A handbook of Valuable and Statistical Information Relating to the Hawaiian Islands. Thrum & Oat, 1877-78; by: Thos. Thrum, 1879-1924.

Akana, Rowena. Preliminary Report of the Sovereignty Advisory Council of the State of Hawaii to the Sixteenth Legislature, the State of Hawaii. United States: The Council, 1992.

“All about Hawaii: The Recognized Book of Authentic Information on Hawaii, Combined with Thrum's Hawaiian Annual and Standard Guide.” United States: *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 1924.

American Sugar Industry. United States: n.p., 1912. 36.

An act to execute specific treaty stipulations relating to the Chinese, May 6, 1882, Enrolled Acts and Resolutions of Congress, 1789-1996; General Records of the United States Government; Record Group 11; National Archives.

Annual Report of the Ohio State Board of Agriculture. United States: n.p., (1894). 481.

Annual Report of the Secretary of War. United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1916.

“A Petition Signed by Several Hundred Chinese will be Presented to the Councils Today, Asking that the Chinese in Hawaii be Given the Voting Franchise” *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, May 17, 1894.

Beckwith, Martha. "Field notes." Hawaiian Sources Collection, Bishop Museum Library, Honolulu. No date, pp. 384-397.

Beecher, Joan. “Series on Hawaiian Sovereignty: What’s Next?” *Voice of America*. 15 Nov. 1996: #4- 09460.

Blount, James Henderson, and the United States Congress Foreign *Relations of the United States. Appendix 2: Affairs in Hawaii*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1895.

Breach of Trust? Native Hawaiian Homelands: A Summary of the Proceedings of a Public Forum. United States: The Commission, 1980.

Brennan, Mary C. *Turning Right in the Sixties: The Conservative Capture of the GOP*. United Kingdom: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.

Bulletin 59-7, *Effects of Hawaii Statehood*, April 8, 1959 [DDE's Records as President, Official File, Box 631, OF-147-E Hawaii] (10).

Burlingame, Burl. "Hawaiian musician a slack-key master". *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*. September 25, 1999.

Burns, John. *John Burns to Dianne Linda, October 16, 1972*. Letter. From Library of Congress, *The Patsy Mink Papers*.

"Can Congress Create a Race-based Government? The Constitutionality of H.R. 309." United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2005.

Certificate of Election of Joseph Farrington, November 16, 1942; Records of the U.S. House of Representatives, RG 233; National Archives, Washington, DC.

Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960, 1964, 1968 (as Amended Through the End of the 96th Congress): Voting Rights Act of 1965 (as Amended Through the End of the 96th Congress). United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1981.

Cohn, Peter. "Earmarks in Senate Bills Favor Small States, Retiring Senators" *Roll Call*. August 3, 2022.

Congressional Record: Proceedings and Debates of the ... Congress. United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1898. 6530.

_____. Proceedings and Debates of the ... Congress. United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1960.

_____. Proceedings and Debates of the ... Congress. United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967.

_____. Proceedings and Debates of the ... Congress. United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971.

Conserva, Henry T., *Earth Tales: New Perspectives on Geography and History*. United States: AuthorHouse, 2001.

- Dawrs, Stu. "Mililani's Mana'o": The Interview with Mililani Trask. United States: *Honolulu Weekly* 9 (8): 6-8, 1999.
- Donham, Buck, "The Hawaiians Tell Woes in Meeting Capitol." *Star-Bulletin*. October 6, 1970.
- DuPuis, Reshela P. *Documenting Community: Activist Videography in Hawai'i*. United States: University of Michigan, 1997.
- Durham, John and Associates. *Quantifying the cost of the Jones Act to Hawaii*. Honolulu: Grassroot Institute of Hawaii Policy Brief, 2020.
- Eagen, E.J. and U.S., House Committee on Labor Board and Wagner Act. *Report of E.J. Eagen on the Hawaiian Islands*, 1940.
- East West: *The Chinese American News Magazine*, Vol 17. United States: n.p., 1983.
- Electric Light and Power. United States: Winston, Incorporated, 1947.
- Fears, Darryl, Allyson Chiu, and Elahe Izadi. "Hawaii residents fear 'the next Catastrophe'". The Washington Post. Archived from the original on September 3, 2023.
- Federal Register. United States: Office of the Federal Register, National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, 1964.
- Federal state task force on the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act report to the United States Secretary of the Interior and the Governor of the State of Hawaii. Honolulu. HI, August 15th, 1983.
- Fein, Bruce. "Hawaii Divided Against Itself Cannot Stand" Waltham, MA: Lycos. Archived from the original on February 5, 2007.
- Goo, Sara Kehaulani (June 22, 2019). "The Hawaiian Language Nearly Died. A Radio Show Sparked Its Revival". NPR. Retrieved August 6, 2021.
- Gonzales, Al. "We Hawaiians Need to Quit Feeling Sorry for Ourselves." Hawaii Free Press. September 15, 2015.
- Governor's 1968 Public Information Committee. Information Booklet of Hawaii's 1968 Constitutional Convention. (1968).
- Green, Thomas H. and Judge Advocate General's School. *Martial law in Hawaii December 7,- April 4, 1943*. [S.l.: s.n., between 1946 and 1971, 1946] Manuscript/Mixed Material.
- Hawaii by flying clipper--Pan American Airways System*. Hawaii, ca. 1938. Photograph.

Hawaii Constitutional Convention Studies, 1978. United States: Legislative Reference Bureau, 1978.

“Hawaii Doesn’t Want Visitors Right Now, or Ever, here is Why.” *Tai Swim Co.* April 1, 2023.

Hawaii (Territory), Governor. *Annual Report of the Governor of Hawaii to the Secretary of the Interior.* Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1900.

Hawaii-United States Treaty – 1826 Articles of Arrangement with the King of the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii), signed at Honolulu on December 23, 1826. *Hawaiian Journal of History*, Volume 17, 1983

"Hawaiian Cultural Heritage" Papahānaumokuākea Marine National Monument (in American English and Hawaiian). United States National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. (July 25, 2007).

Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, 1920. Honolulu: Dept. of Hawaiian Homelands, 1976.

Hawaiian Native Claims Settlement Act: Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, House of Representatives, Ninety-fourth Congress, First Session, on H.R. 1944 United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975.

Hawaiian Native Claims Settlement Study Commission: Joint Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Public Lands and Resources of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, United States Senate, and the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs and Public Lands of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, House of Representatives, Ninety-fifth Congress, First Session, on S.J. Res. 4 ... H.J. Res. 526 ... Honolulu, Hawaii, July 6, 1977, Wailuku, Maui, Hawaii, July 7, 1977. United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977.

Hearings, Reports, and Prints of the House Committee on the Judiciary. United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968.

Hirozawa, Shurei. "Hirozawa's Business." *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*, 1969

Hirschfelder, Arlene and Paulette F. Molin. *The Extraordinary Book of Native American Lists.* Ukraine: Scarecrow Press, 2012.

HNN Staff. “60 Years On, Celebrations for Statehood Have Turned to a Muted Observance.” *Hawaii News Now.* August 16, 2019.

Hommon, Robert J. *The Ancient Hawaiian State: Origins of a Political Society.* United Kingdom: OUP USA, 2013.

- Hommon, Robert J et al. *An Intensive Cultural Survey of Ukanipo Heiau and Kahanahaiki Terrace Kahanahaiki Makua Military Reservation Oahu*. Hawaii Marine Research 1980.
- Honolulu Advertiser*, "Kamehameha I and Human Nationalism," March 11, 1969, From Library Of Congress.
- Hurley, Timothy. "Maria Lanakila still stands, but Waiola Church is gone." *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*, August 11, 2023.
- Joint Resolution of July 7, 1898, Public Resolution 55-51, 30 STAT 750, to Provide for Annexing the Hawaiian Islands to the United States; 7/7/1898; Enrolled Acts and Resolutions of Congress, 1789 - 2011; General Records of the United States Government, Record Group 11; National Archives Building, Washington, DC
- Kahoano, Kimo and Carole Kai. *The History of the Military Bases in Hawaii*. Honolulu, Hawaii: Hawaii Stars Presents Inc., 2012.
- Kahoõlawe Island: Restoring a Cultural Treasure: Final Report of the Kahoõlawe Island Conveyance Commission to the Congress of the United States. United States: The Commission, 1993.
- Kanahele, Dennis. "Voices on Sovereignty: Sovereignty is Coming Soon." *Honolulu Advertiser* October 11, 1994.
- Kilgoew, M. "How Much Butter from How Many Guns?" Unpublished paper, Department of Political Science, University of Hawaii.
- Kimura, Larry. Interview By Taylor Weik. *NBC Asian America*. NBC News. May 9, 2018.
- King, Samuel, Msgr. Charles Kekumano, Walter Heen, Gladys Brandt, and Randall Roth. "Broken Trust: The community has lost faith in Bishop Estate trustees, in how they are chosen, how much they are paid, how they govern." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*. August 9, 1997.
- Knodell, Kevin. "A Shaky Truce the Army and Native Hawaiians Both Want Oahu's Makua Valley," *Honolulu Civil Beat*. August 15, 2021.
- Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project Interview with Lucy Witeck was conducted by Gary T. Kubota over months through email exchanges, ending October 10, 2016.
- Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project Interview with George Cooper was conducted by Gary T. Kubota over months through email exchanges, ending December 25, 2017.
- Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project Interview with Kawena Kubota conducted by Gary T. Kubota was over months through email exchanges, ending April 10, 2018.

- Kosaki, R. Constitutions and Constitutional Conventions of Hawaii. *Hawaiian Journal of History*, volume 12, page 120, 1978.
- Kratz, Jessie "Facial Hair Friday: John McAllister Schofield". *Pieces of History*. National Archives. November 5, 2021.
- Kubota, Gary T. Oral History Interview with Larry Kamakawiwoole. "Kokua Hawaii" University of Hawaii, Honolulu, 2016.
- Leong, Lavonne. " The Crime that Changed the Islands." *Honolulu Magazine*, March 8, 2010.
- Liliuokalani, Queen of Hawaii. *An Account of the Creation of the World According to Hawaiian Tradition*. Boston: Lee and Shepard Publishers, 1897.
- _____. *1838-1917. Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen, Liliuokalani*. Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1898
- Mardfin, Jean Kadooka. Examining the Idea of Nationhood for the Native Hawaiian People. United States: Legislative Reference Bureau, 1994.
- Matsunaga, Mark. "Most Hawaiians Want to Retain Ties with the United States," *Honolulu Advertiser*, November 24, 1995.
- "Maui County police find additional remains, raising Lahaina wildfire death toll to 99". ABC News. *The Associated Press*. Archived from the original on October 21, 2023.
- McKay, Jackie, "Native Hawaiians Fear Maui Wildfire Destruction Will Lead to Their Cultural Erasure." *CBC News*, August 17, 2023.
- Mellen, Kathleen Dickenson, Bishop Museum Archives, MS 19, Box 3.4
- Memorial of Queen Lili'uokalani concerning the Crown lands of Hawaii; 12/19/1898; Petitions and Memorials Referred to the Committee on the Territories of the 55th Congress Regarding Hawaii; Petitions and Memorials, 1825 - 1946; Records of the U.S. House of Representatives, Record Group 233; National Archives Building, Washington, DC.
- Message of Governor William F. Quinn to the Members of the Legislature, State of Hawaii, First General Session, February 15, 1961. United States: n.p., 1961.
- Mink, Patsy, *Patsy Mink to Emmett Cahill, October 17, 1972*. Letter from Library of Congress, *The Patsy Mink Papers*.
- Morrill, Justin S. *Hawaiian Reciprocity Treaty*. Washington: Govt. Print. Off., 1875.
- Native Hawaiian Education Reauthorization: Hearing Before the Committee on Indian Affairs, United States Senate, One Hundred Sixth Congress, First Session, on S. 1767, to Amend

- the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 to Improve Native Hawaiian Education Programs. United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2000.
- Native Hawaiian Federal Recognition: August 30, 2000, Honolulu, HI. United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2001.
- Native Hawaiian Federal Recognition: Joint Hearing Before the Committee on Indian Affairs, United States Senate, and the Committee on Resources, United States House of Representatives, One Hundred Sixth Congress, Second Session, on S. 2899 ... and H.R. 4904. United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2001.
- Native Hawaiian Housing and Homelands: Hearing Before the Committee on Indian Affairs, United States Senate, One Hundred Fourth Congress, Second Session, on Housing Needs of Native Hawaiians, July 3, 1996, Honolulu, HI. United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1996. 355
- Native Hawaiian Reparations Community-based Mental Health Initiative: Hearing Before the Select Committee on Indian Affairs, United States Senate, One-Hundredth Congress, Second Session ... August 26, 31, 1988, Honolulu, HI. United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989.
- “Native Hawaiians Speaking out against having the USS Missouri.” Ka Mana O Ka Aina: A Bulletin of the Pro Sovereignty Working Group, 1989.
- Native Hawaiians Study Commission: Hearings Before the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, United States Senate, Ninety-eighth Congress, Second Session, on the Report of the Native Hawaiians Study Commission. United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1985.
- Native Hawaiians Study Commission: Report on the Culture, Needs, and Concerns of Native Hawaiians. United States: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1983
- "Navy Concludes Operations on Hawaiian Island of Kaho'olawe."* From Commander, Navy Region Hawaii Public Affairs. U.S. Navy. April 16, 2004.
- "New Hawaiian Constitution." *The Hawaiian Gazette*. July 7, 1887. Hawaii Digital Newspaper Program University of Hawai'i at Manoa Library.
- Ng, Franklin, Ed.; and others. *"New Visions in Asian American Studies: Diversity, Community, Power."* United States: Washington State University Press, 1994.
- Nogelmeier, Marvin. Puakea Mai Pa'a I Ka Leo: Historical voice in Hawaiian primary materials, looking forward and listening back. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Hawai'i, United States – Hawaii, 2003.

- Odo, Franklin. *No Sword To Bury: Japanese Americans In Hawaii During World War II*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004.
- Office of Hawaiian Affairs, "A Statistical Profile of the Hawaiian Population in Hawaii." *State of Hawaii Data Book*, 2006.
- Pacific Constitutions: Proceedings of the Canberra Law Workshop VI. Australia: Law Department, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, 1982.
- Pailthorpe King Samuel, Msgr. Charles Kekumano, Walter Meheula Heen, and Randall "BrokenTrust: The community has lost faith in Bishop Estate trustees, in how they are chosen, how much they are paid, how they govern." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*. Roth. August 9, 1997.
- Peoples' International Tribunal Hawai'i 1993. United States: Nā Maka o ka 'Āina, 1993.
- Peoples' Tribunals and International Law. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2017.
- Perez, Rob. "Millions of Dollars' Worth of Land. Congress Helped Make Sure the Debt Wasn't Paid." *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*. May 7, 2021.
- Petition Against the Annexation of Hawaii; 1897; Petitions and Memorials, Resolutions of State Legislatures, and Related Documents, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations from the 55th Congress; Petitions and Memorials, 1817 - 2000; Records of the U.S. Senate, Record Group 46; National Archives Building, Washington, DC.
- Petition Against the Annexation of Hawaii; 1897, *Records of the U.S. Senate, Record Group 46*. National Archives Building, Washington, DC.
- Pietrusewsky, Michael. Human Skeletal and Dental Remains from the Honokahua Burial Site, Land of Honokahua, Lahaina District, Island of Maui, Hawai'i. Hilo, Hawaii: P.H. Rosendahl, Ph. D., Inc., 1991.
- "Plan of Action for the Full Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples." United States: U.N., 1981.
- "Public Land Policy in Hawaii and Historical and Legislative Analysis" Reference Bureau University of Hawaii of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii. 1969.
- Puette, William. *The Hilo Massacre: Hawaii's Bloody Monday, August 1, 1938*. United States: University of Hawaii, College of Continuing Education and Community Service, Center for Labor Education and Research, 1988.
- "Reminiscences of a Kama'āina," February 24, 1964. Submitted by Johanna N. Wilcox. Bishop Museum Archives, March 31, 1964.

- Restructuring for Ethnic Peace: A Public Debate at the University of Hawai'i. United States: Spark M. Matsunaga Institute for Peace, University of Hawai'i, 1991.
- Rice v. Cayetano*. Governor of Hawaii: Certiorari to the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit. United States: n.p., 1999.
- _____. United States Supreme Court 528 U.S. 495, 120 S.Ct. 1044, 145 L.Ed.2d 1007. 2000.
- Richards, John Kelvey. In the Supreme Court of the United States, October Term, 1900: Elias S.A. De Lima and Others, Plaintiffs in Error, V. George R. Bidwell, No. 456; The Court, 1901.
- Ruesdale, Jack, and Heaton, Thomas. "Lahaina Emerges From 'Devastating' Fire as Relief Begins to Arrive." *Honolulu Civil Beat*. Archived from the original on August 10, 2023.
- Rudyard, Kipling. *The White Man's Burden: A Poem*. New York: Doubleday and McClure, 1899.
- Sai, David Keanu. *Ua Mau Ke Ea Sovereignty Endures: An Overview of the Political and Legal History of the Hawaiian Islands*. United States: Pua'a Foundation, 2013.
- Searles, John E. *A few facts concerning the Hawaiian reciprocity treaty*. Washington, D.C.: T. McGill & Co. Law Printers, 1886.
- Scheiber, Harry N., *Bayonets in Paradise: Martial Law in Hawai'i During World War II*. United States: University of Hawaii Press, 2016.
- Schmitt, Robert C. *Demographic Statistics of Hawaii, 1778-1965*. United States: University of Hawaii Press, 1968.
- _____. *Historical Statistics of Hawaii*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1977.
- Schoolcraft, Henry Rowe. *The American Indians: Their History, Condition, and Prospects, from Original Notes and Manuscripts*. United States: Wanzer, Foot, and Company [Buffalo, printed], 1851.
- _____. "The 1897 petitions protesting annexation." Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 1998.
- Smith, Drew Linard. *"The Menace of Hawaiian Statehood."* United States: Free Men Speak, Incorporated, 1957.
- Stainback, Ingram Macklin. *Hawaii: Information on the Territory of Hawaii Transmitted by the United States to the Secretary-General of the United Nations Pursuant to Article 73 (e) of the Charter*. United States: n.p., 1947.

Statehood for Hawaii: Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Territorial and Insular Possessions of the Committee on Public Land House of Representatives, Eighty-first Congress, First Session, on H.R. 49 and Related Bills. March 3 and 8, 1949. United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1949.

Statehood for Hawaii: Hearings Before the Subcommittee ... Pursuant to H.Res. 236 ... January 7 - January 18, 1946. United States: n.p., 1946.

“Statement of Kawaipuna Prejean before United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations.” UN Geneva, Switzerland. August 2, 1991.

Stop H-3 Ass'n v. Lewis, 538 F. Supp. 149 (D. Haw. 1982) District Court, D. Hawaii April 8, 1982, Precedential Status: Precedential Citations: 538 F. Supp. 149

"Survey of Missions of the Board: The Hawaiian Islands". *The missionary herald at home and abroad*. Vol. LXI. American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. January 1865.

Tape No. 17-1-1-88 ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW with William F. Quinn (W.Q.) February 11, 1988 Honolulu, O'ahu By: Chris Conybeare (CC) and Daniel W. Tuttle, Jr. (D.T.).

“The Akaka Bill & Current Lawsuits: National Policies for Native Needs.” United States: Council for Native Hawaiian Advancement, 2005.

“The Cable Act at 20.” United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2014.

The Hawaiian Kingdom Government. “The Chairman’s Welcome.” Official Website: <https://www.hawaiiankingdom.org>.

The law cited is identified as Act 57, sec. 30 of the 1896 Laws of the Republic of Hawaii: Passed by the Legislature at its Session, 1896.

"The Native Hawaiian Government Reorganization Act Of 2005: A Briefing Before the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights." n.p.: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2006.

The Navy and the Massie-Kahahawai Case: A Timely Account of a Dark Page in Hawaiian History Worthy of Study. Honolulu: Honolulu Record Pub. Co, 1951.

The Provisional Government of the Independent Nation State of Hawaii. "Nation of Hawaii Constitution." Nation of Hawaii, January 16, 1995.

The Stolen Sovereignty of the Pacific: A Rhetorical Analysis of Racial Injustices and Systemic Hierarchy in Rice V Cayetano. United States: San Diego State University, 2020.

- Thurston, Lorrin A. *A Handbook on the Annexation of Hawaii* (Michigan: A. B. Morse Company, Printers and Binders, 1897), 5; Also cited in Noel J. Kent, *Hawaii: Islands Under the Influence* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, reprint 1993).
- Torruella, Juan. *The Supreme Court and Puerto Rico: The Doctrine of Separate and Unequal*. Editorial UPR, 1985.
- Tourist Destination Area Study Now Under Way. United States: The Office., 1959.
- Treaty between Hawaii and the United States Signed: December 23, 1826, at Oahu Signatories: Hawaii (Sandwich Islands) and United States.
- Treaty Council News. United States: American Indian Treaty Council Information Center, 1996.
- Tribunal Komike. *Interim report, Kanaka Maoli Nation, plaintiff versus United States of America defendant August 12- 21. 1993*. Pamphlet. Honolulu. Ka Ho'okolokolonui Kanaka Maoli, 1993.
- Tydings-McDuffie Law, Being Public Act No. 127 of the United States Congress, Approved March 24, 1934: Including Amendments to the Ordinance Appended to the Constitution of the Philippines Proposed by the National Assembly, Including the Act of Congress of the United States of August 7, 1939. Philippines: Bureau of Print., 1940.
- U.S. Army Support Command H.Q. Installation: Environmental Impact Statement. United States: n.p., 1979.
- U.S. Bulletin of the Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics*, Bulletin #47, "Report of the Commissioner of Labor on Hawaii for 1902" (July 1903), p. 709.
- U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population*, PC80-1-A13, October 1983.
- U.S. Code: Supplement. United States: Office of the Law Revision Counsel of the House of Representatives, 1940. 619.
- U.S. Congress, J. Res. 1 of the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii, August 15, 1903; Records of the U.S. House of Representatives, RG 233; National Archives, Washington, DC.
- U.S. Congress. S.J. Res. 19, Public Law 103-150, 103rd Congress (1993-1994): A joint resolution to acknowledge the 100th 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. Congress, Senate. *Federally Funded Native Hawaiian Programs: Hearing before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations*, 106th Cong., 1st Sess., August 16, 1999.

U.S. Congress, Senate. *Native Hawaiian Federal Recognition: Joint Hearing before the Committee on Indian Affairs S. and Committee on Resources H.R.*, 106th Cong., 2nd Sess., August 28, 2000.

Ward, Greg. *The Rough Guide to Maui*. United Kingdom: Rough Guides, 2001.

Will of Bernice Pauahi Bishop (October 31, 1883), in re Estate of Bishop, Probate No. 2425 (Haw. Sup. Ct. 1884).

Young, Kanalu. Hawaiian Studies 691 syllabus, Kamakakuokalani Center for Hawaiian Studies, University of Hawaii Manoa, 2007.

Secondary Sources

- Aguiar, Gary G. *Party Mobilization, Class and Ethnicity: The Case of Hawaii, 1930 to 1964*. United States: Universal Publishers, 1997.
- Ahlquist, John S., Amanda B. Clayton, and Margaret Levi. "Provoking Preferences: Unionization, Trade Policy, and the ILWU Puzzle." *International Organization* 68, no. 1 (2014): 33–75.
- Akira Iriye, *Pacific Estrangement: Japanese and American Expansion, 1897–1911* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972.
- Alexander, Geoff. *America Goes Hawaiian: The Influence of Pacific Island Culture on the Mainland*. United States: McFarland, Incorporated, Publishers, (2019). 93.
- “Aloha Aina Native Hawaiian Land and Restitution” *Harvard Law Review* 133, no, 2148 (2020):1-12.
- Andrade, Troy J.H. “Belated Justice: The Failures and Promise of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act.” *American Indian Law Review* 46, no. 1 (2021): 1–56.
- Andrews, Lorrin A *Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language. Notes by William de Witt Alexander*. Originally published by Henry M. Whitney, Honolulu (1865), republished by Island Heritage Publishing 2003.
- Aoude, Ibrahim G. and Marion Kelly. *The Ethnic Studies Story: Politics and Social Movements in Hawaii - Essays in Honor of Marion Kelly*. United States: University of Hawaii Press, 1999.
- Asian Americans [3 Volumes]: An Encyclopedia of Social, Cultural, Economic, and Political History [3 Volumes]. United States: ABC-CLIO, 2013.
- Bailey, Beth, and David Farber. “The ‘Double-V’ Campaign in World War II Hawaii: African Americans, Racial Ideology, and Federal Power.” *Journal of Social History* 26, no. 4 (1993): 817–43.
- Beede, Benjamin, ed. *The War of 1898 and U.S. Interventions, 1898T1934: An Encyclopedia*. New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1994.
- Belser, Eva Maria, Alexandra Fang-Bär, Nina Massüger, and Pillai Oleschak. *States Falling Apart?: Secessionist and Autonomy Movements in Europe*. Switzerland: Stämpfli Verlag, 2015.
- Benedict, Ruth. *Patterns of Culture*. United Kingdom: Houghton Mifflin, 2005.

- Bernard, Bailyn. *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* Enlarged ed. Cambridge Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press:1992.
- Boyle, Francis Anthony. *Restoring the Kingdom of Hawaii: The Kanaka Maoli Route to Independence*. Atlanta, GA: Clarity Press, 2015.
- Brown, Marie Alohalani. *Facing the Spears of Change: The Life and Legacy of John Papa ʻĪī*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2016.
- Buck, Elizabeth. *Paradise Remade: The Politics of Culture and History in Hawai'i*. United States: Temple University Press, 1994. 161-162.
- Buck, Peter Henry. *Arts and Crafts of Hawaii*. United States, Bishop Museum Press, 2003.
- Burlingame, Burl and Kasher, Robert Kamohalu. *Da Kine Sound: Conversations with the People who Create Hawaiian Music*. United States: *Press Pacifica*, 1978. 21.
- Castle, William Richards. *Hawaii Past and Present*. United States: Dodd, Mead, 1917.
- Cayetano, Benjamin J. *Ben: A Memoir, From Street Kid to Governor* Honolulu: Watermark Publishing, 2009.
- Chan, Gaye and Andrea Feeser. *Waikiki: A History of Forgetting and Remembering*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006.
- Chang, David A. *The World and All the Things upon It: Native Hawaiian Geographies of Exploration*. University of Minnesota Press, 2016.
- Chang, Roberta, and Wayne Patterson. *The Koreans in Hawaii: A Pictorial History, 1903-2003*. Hong Kong: University of Hawaii Press, 2003.
- Chapin, Helen G. *Shaping History: The Role of Newspapers in Hawaii*. United States: University of Hawaii Press, 1996.
- Cheney, Lynne V. "The End of History," *The Historian* 57, no. 2 (1995): 454–56.
- Chinen, Jon J. *The Great Mahele: Hawaii's Land Division of 1848*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1958.
- Cho, J. J., Roy A. Yamakawa, and James Hollyer. "Hawaiian Kalo, Past and Future." *Sustainable Agriculture, SA-1* (February 2007).
- Churchill, Ward. *Perversions of Justice: Indigenous Peoples and Anglo-American Law*. United States: City Lights Publishers, 2003.

- Coffman, Tom. *Catch a Wave: A Case Study of Hawaii's New Politics*. United States: University Press of Hawaii, 1973.
- Coffman, Tom. *I Respectfully Dissent: A Biography of Edward H. Nakamura*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2012.
- _____. *Nation Within: The History of the American Occupation of Hawai'i*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016.
- Churchill, Ward and Sharon Venne, eds. *Islands in Captivity: The International Tribunal on the Rights of Indigenous Hawaiians*. United States: South End Press, 2005.
- Coleman, A. G. [Review of *Seeing and Being Seen: Tourism in the American West*, by D. M. Wrobel & P. T. Long]. *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, (2001). 102(4), 536.
- Cook, Kealani. *Return to Kahiki: Native Hawaiians in Oceania*. Studies in North American Indian History. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2018.
- Cook-Lynn, Elizabeth. "Who Stole Native American Studies?". *Wicazo Sa Review*, vol. 12, no. 1, 1997, pp. 9-28.
- Cooper, George and Gavan Daws. *Land and power in Hawaii: The Democratic years*. United States: University of Hawaii Press, 1990.
- Craig, Paul G. *The Future Growth of Hawaiian Tourism and Its Impact on the State and on the Neighbor Islands*. United States: Economic Research Center, University of Hawaii, 1963.
- Creighton, Thomas Hawk. *The Lands of Hawaii: Their Use and Misuse*. United States: University Press of Hawaii, 1978.
- Critical Toponymies: The Contested Politics of Place Naming*. United Kingdom: Ashgate Pub., 2009. 121
- Critchlow, Donald T., and Nancy MacLean. *Debating the American Conservative Movement: 1945 to the Present*. United States: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2009.
- Culture of the Kalakaua Era. United States: University of Hawaii Press, 2009.
- Cunningham, Joanne Frances. *The Challenges Facing the Native Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement in Hawaii*. N.p.: Honors College of the University of Oregon, 2002.
- Daws, Gavan. *Shoal of time: a history of the Hawaiian Islands*. New York: Macmillan, 1968.
- Dempsey, Hugh A. *Crowfoot Chief of the Blackfeet* [1st ed.] ed. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972.

- Doniger, Wendy. *Splitting the Difference*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.
- Drigot, Diane C., and Muriel B. Seto. *Ho 'ona 'auao No Kawai Nui*. United States: Environmental Center, University of Hawaii, 1982.
- Dupreez, Michelle. K. "Eia Hawai'inuiākea: Reflections on the Protocol for the Opening of the Pacific Encounters Exhibition." *Journal of Museum Ethnography*, N21 103-109: 2009.
- Eiichiro Azuma, *Between Two Empires: Race, History, and Transnationalism in Japanese America* New York: *Oxford University Press*, 2005, 10–11.
- Emory, Kenneth, et al. "Natural and Cultural History Report on the Kalapana Extension of the Hawaii National Park. Vol. I, Cultural History Report." Typescript, Bishop Museum Library Honolulu 1959:13.
- Enriquez, Virgilio G. "Decolonizing the Filipino psyche: Impetus for the development of psychology in the Philippines." In G. H. Blowers & Alison M. Turtle (eds.), *Psychology Moving East: The Status of Western Psychology in Asia and Oceania*. Sydney University Press. 1987. pp. 265--287.
- Events, Society and Sustainability: Critical and Contemporary Approaches. United Kingdom: Taylor & Francis, 2013.
- Eyffinger, Arthur. *The 1907 Hague Peace Conference: The Conscience of the Civilized World*. Netherlands: International Courts Association, 2007.
- Fabian, Ann. *The Skull Collectors: Race, Science, and America's Unburied Dead*. United Kingdom: University of Chicago Press, 2010.
- Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth*. Translated by Constance Farrington. Penguin Modern Classics. London, England: Penguin Classics, 2001.
- Faulstich, Paul. "Hawaii's Rainforest Crunch: Land, People, and Geothermal Development." *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, Issue 14.4, October 31, 1990.
- Fellezs, Kevin. *Listen But Don't Ask Questions: Hawaiian Slack Key Guitar Across the TransPacific*. United States: Duke University Press, 2019.
- Ferguson, Kathy E. and Phyllis Turnbull. "*Oh, Say Can You See: The Semiotics of the Military in Hawai'i*". Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999. 270p.
- Franklin, Cynthia G.; Lyons, Laura E. (June 25, 2004). "Land, Leadership, and Nation: Haunani-Kay Trask on the Testimonial Uses of Life Writing in Hawai'i." *Biography*. 27 (1): 222–249.

- Fujikane, Candace Lei. *Archipelagos of Resistance: Narrating Nation in Asian American, Native Hawaiian, and Hawaii's Local Literatures*. United States: University of California, Berkeley, (1996).
- Fujikane, Candace and J.Y. Okamura, eds. *Asian settler colonialism: from Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i*. University of Hawai'i Press, 2008.
- Geolinguistics. United States: American Society of Geolinguistics, 1996.
- Gonschor, Lorenz. *A Power in the World: The Hawaiian Kingdom in Oceania*. University of Hawai'i Press, 2019.
- Goodell, Lela. "Polynesian Voyaging Society: Introduction" *A Guide to the Archives of the Polynesian Voyaging Society and Voyages of the Hōkūle'a (in English and Hawaiian)*. The Kamehameha Schools (1989).
- Goodyear-Ka'opua, Noelani. *The Seeds We Planted: Portraits of a Native Hawaiian Charter School*—United States: University of Minnesota Press, 2013.
- Goodyear-Ka'opua, Noelani, and Kuwada, B. "Making 'Aha: Independent Hawaiian Pasts, Presents & Futures." *Daedalus*, 147(2), 2018. 49–59.
- Goodyear- Ka'opua, Noelani, Ikaika Hussey, and Erin Kahunawaika'ala Wright, eds. *A Nation Rising: Hawaiian Movements for Life Land and Sovereignty*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014.
- Gon, S. and Winter, K.B. "A Hawaiian Renaissance That Could Save the World". *American Scientist*. (2019). 107 (4).
- Greene, Jack P. "Colonial History and National History: Reflections on a Continuing Problem." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 64, no. 2 (2007): 235–50.
- Grimshaw, Patricia, "Return to Kahiki: Native Hawaiians in Oceania", *Journal of American History*, Volume 106, Issue 1, June 2019, Pages 215–216.
- Grosser, David. "George Lipsitz, Class, and Culture in Cold War America, "A Rainbow at Midnight." New York: J. F. Bergin, 1981, 254 Pp." *International Labor and Working-Class History* 24 (1983). Cambridge University Press: 96–99.
- Haas, Michael. *How to Demolish Racism: Lessons from the State of Hawai'i*. United States: Lexington Books, 2016.
- _____. *Institutional Racism: The Case of Hawaii*. United Kingdom: Bloomsbury Academic, 1992.

- Haas, Michael. *Politics and Prejudice in Contemporary Hawaii*. United States: Coventry Press of Honolulu, 1976
- Handbook of Psychology, History of Psychology. Germany: Wiley, 2012.
- Hauptman, Laurence M. *Tribes & Tribulations: Misconceptions About American Indians and Their histories*. 1st ed. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1995.
- Hertzberg, Hazel W. *The Search for an American Indian Identity: Modern Pan-Indian Movements*. 1st ed. Syracuse N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1971.
- Hinton, Leanne, Leena Huss, and Gerald Roche, eds. *The Routledge Handbook of Language Revitalization*. New York: Routledge, 2018.
- “History,” Hawaii Visitors & Convention Bureau accessed April 7, 2024, <https://www.hvcb.org/about-hvcb/history/>.
- Ho‘okupu a Ka Lāhui Hawai‘i: The Master Plan, 1995. United States: Ka Lāhui Hawai‘i, 1994.
- Ho‘oulu, Donna Ann, Restoration in the He‘eia Ahupua‘a" (PhD diss., University of Hawaii at Manoa 2020).
- Hosek, James R., Aviva Litovitz, and Adam C. Resnick. *How Much Does Military Spending Add to Hawaii's Economy?* Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 2011.
- Hune, Shirley and Gail M. Nomura, eds. *Our Voices, Our Histories: Asian American and Pacific Islander Women*. United States: NYU Press, 2020.
- Ii Papa, John, Mary Kawena Pukui and Dorothy B. Barrère. *Fragments of Hawaiian History*. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press. 1959.
- Imada, Adria L. *Aloha America: Hula Circuits Through the U.S. Empire*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012.
- Kamahele, Momiala. “‘Īlio ‘ulaokalani: Defending Native Hawaiian culture.” *In Asian settler colonialism: from local governance to the habits of everyday life in Hawaii*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008.
- "Kamakakuokalani Center for Hawaiian Studies." University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. Archived from the original on December 1, 2017. Retrieved November 24, 2017.
- Kamehiro, Stacy L. *The Arts of Kingship: Hawaiian Art and National Culture of the Kalakaua Era*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2009.
- Kamins, Robert M. and Robert E. Potter. *Malamalama: A History of the University of Hawaii*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998.

- Kana'iaupuni, S.M. and Nolan Malone. (2010). *This land is my land: The role of place in Native Hawaiian identity. Race, ethnicity, and place in changing America.* 3. 281
- Kaneshiro, B., O. Geling, K. Gellert, and L. Millar. "The Challenges of Collecting Data on Race and Ethnicity in a Diverse, Multiethnic State." *Hawaii Med J.* 2011 Aug;70 (8):168-71.
- Kauanui, J. Kehaulani. *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Sovereignty and Indigeneity.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008.
- Kawai'ae'a, Keiki K. C., Housman, Alohalani Kaluhiokalani, and Alencastre, Makalapua. *Pu'a i Ka 'Olelo, Ola Ka 'Ohana: Three Generations of Hawaiian Language Revitalization.* N.p.: ERIC Clearinghouse, 2007.
- Keala, Graydon Buddy, Hollyer, James R., and Castro, Luisa. *Loko Ia: A Manual on Hawaiian Fishpond Restoration and Management.* United States: College of Tropical Agriculture and Human Resources, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 2014.
- Kelly, Marion. *Changes in Land Tenure in Hawaii, 1778-1850.* United States: University of Hawaii, 1956.
- Kelly, Marion and Nancy Aleck. "Mākua Means Parents: A Brief Cultural History of Mākua Valley." *Mālama Mākua.* The American Friends Service Committee, Hawai'i Area Program, 1997.
- King, Samuel P. and Randall W. Roth. "Erosion of Trust: Hawaii's Bishop Estate: Cautionary Tale of Mismanagement at a Charitable Organization." *ABA Journal* 93, no. 8 (2007): 48-67.
- Kinzer, Stephen, *Overthrow: America's Century of Regime Change from Hawaii to Iraq.* New York, Times Books, 2006.
- Kirch, Patrick Vinton and Marshall Sahlins. *Anahulu: The Anthropology of History in the Kingdom of Hawaii, Volume 1: Historical Ethnography.* United Kingdom: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Kramer, Paul A. "Power and Connection: Imperial Histories of the United States in the World." *The American Historical Review.* 116, no. 5, 2011.
- Krantz, Lynn B., Nick Krantz, and Mary T. Fobian. *To Honolulu in Five Days: Cruising Aboard Matson's S.S. Lurline.* United States: Ten Speed Press, 2001.
- Kuykendall, Ralph Simpson. *The Hawaiian Kingdom.* United States: University of Hawaii, 1953.
- Kwiatkowski, P. F. *The Hawaiian Tattoo.* United States: Mutual Publishing LLC, 2012.

- LaCapra, Dominick. "Culture and Ideology: From Geertz to Marx." *Poetics Today* 9, no. 2 (1988): 377–94.
- LaDuke, Winona. *All Our Relations: Native Struggles for Land and Life*. United Kingdom: South End Press, 1999.
- Laenui, Poka. "Processes of decolonization." *Reclaiming Indigenous voice and vision* (2000): 150–160.
- LaFeber Walter. *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion 1860-1898*. Ithaca N.Y.: Published for the American Historical Association by Cornell University Press, 1963.
- Landauer, Lyndall and Donald Landauer. *Pearl: The History of the United States Navy in Pearl Harbor*. South Lake Tahoe, CA: Flying Cloud Press, 1999.
- Law, Anwei Skinsnes. *Kalaupapa: A Collective Memory*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2012.
- Lawson, Murray G. Review of *Diplomacy and Indian Gifts: Anglo-French Rivalry along the Ohio and Northwest Frontiers, 1748–1763*, by Wilbur R. Jacobs. *The Canadian Historical Review* 31, no. 4 (1950): 427-428.
- Lindstrom Lamont. "Selo! Selo! Bigfala Canoe." *The Contemporary Pacific* 12, no. 2 (2000): 564–565.
- Linnekin, Jocelyn and Lin Poyer, eds. *Cultural Identity and Ethnicity in the Pacific*. United States: University of Hawaii Press, 1990.
- Low, Sam. *Hawaiki Rising: Hōkūle ‘a, Nainoa Thompson, and the Hawaiian Renaissance*. United States: University of Hawaii Press, 2019.
- Lucas, Paul F. Nahoā. "E Ola Mau Kakou I Ka 'Olelo Makuahine: Hawaiian Language Policy and the Courts." *Hawaiian Journal of History*, vol. 34. Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society, 2000.
- MacLennan, Carol. "The Mark of Sugar. Hawai'i's Eco-Industrial Heritage." *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung* 29, no. 3 (109), 2004.
- Mahan, A. T. 2010. *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660–1783*. Cambridge Library Collection - Naval and Military History. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mark, James. *Developing a Dream Destination: Tourism and Tourism Policy Planning in Hawaii*. University of Hawai'i Press, 2008.

- Mast, Robert H. *Autobiography of Protest in Hawai'i*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996.
- McMillian, John, and Paul Buhle, eds. *The New Left Revisited*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003.
- McMullin, Juliet. *The Healthy Ancestor: Embodied Inequality and the Revitalization of Native Hawai'ian Health*. United Kingdom: Taylor & Francis, 2016.
- Meller, Norman, and Anne Feder Lee. "Hawaiian Sovereignty." *Publius* 27, no. 2 (1997): 167–85.
- Merk, Frederick. *Manifest Destiny, and Mission in American History*. Harvard University Press. (1963).
- Merriam, Allen H. "Racism in the Expansionist Controversy of 1898-1900." *Phylon* (1960-) 39, no. 4 (1978): 369-80.
- Merry, Sally Engle. *Colonizing Hawai'i: The Cultural Power of Law*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. (2000).
- Mitchell, Jon. "Poisoning the Pacific: The U.S. Military's Secret Dumping of Plutonium, Chemical Weapons, and Agent Orange." Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2020.
- Morales, Rodney, ed., *Ho 'i Ho 'i Hou: A Tribute to George Helm & Kimo Mitchell*. United States: Bamboo Ridge Press, 1984.
- Morgan, James G., *Into New Territory: American Historians and the Concept of U.S. Imperialism*. Madison, Wisconsin; The University of Wisconsin Press, 2014.
- Ohnuma, Keiko. "'Aloha Spirit' and the Cultural Politics of Sentiment as National Belonging." *The Contemporary Pacific* 20, no. 2, 2008.
- Okamura, Jonathan Y. *Ethnicity and Inequality in Hawai'i*. United States: Temple University Press, 2008.
- _____. *From Race to Ethnicity: Interpreting Japanese American Experiences in Hawai 'i*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2014.
- Pellizzoni, Luigi, Emanuele Leonardi, and Viviana Asara, eds., *Handbook of Critical Environmental Politics*. United Kingdom: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2022.
- Pernecky, Tomas and Michael Luck, eds., *Events, Society and Sustainability: Critical and Contemporary Approaches*. New York: Routledge, 2013.

- Poblete, Joanna. *Islanders in the Empire: Filipino and Puerto Rican Laborers in Hawaii*. University of Illinois Press, 2014.
- Potter, David M. *People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1954.
- Pratt, Richard C., Smith, Zachary Alden. *Hawai'i Politics and Government: An American State in a Pacific World*. United Kingdom: University of Nebraska Press, 2000.
- Pukui, Mary and Alfons L. Korn, eds. *The Echo of Our Song: Chants and Poems of the Hawaiians*. Hong Kong: University of Hawaii Press, 1979.
- Pukui, Mary Kawena., Elbert, Samuel H., and Elbert, Samuel Hoyt. *Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English English-Hawaiian Revised and Enlarged Edition*. Hong Kong: University of Hawaii Press, 1986.
- Pukui, Mary Kawena., Elbert, Samuel H., and Mookini, Esther T. *Place Names of Hawaii: Revised and Expanded Edition*. United States: University of Hawaii Press, 1976.
- Pukui, Mary Kawena, E.W. Haertig, and Catherine A. Lee. *Nānā i Ke Kumu Look to the Source: Vol. 1*. Hui Hanai, 2014.
- _____. *Nānā i Ke Kumu Look to the Source: Vol. 2*. Hui Hanai, 2014.
- Pulitano, Elvira, ed. *Indigenous Rights in the Age of the U.N. Declaration*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Rath, J. Arthur. *Lost Generations: A Boy, a School, a Princess*. United States: University of Hawaii Press, 2006.
- Reed, Frances. *Prince Jonah Kuhio Kalaniana'ole, 1871-1922*. United States: Hawaii State Library System, Centralized Processing Center, 1974.
- Ritte, Walter, and Sawyer, Richard. *Nā Mana'o Aloha O Kaho'olawe*. United States: Aloha 'Āina O Nā Kūpuna, 1978.
- Rhodes, Karen. *Booking Hawaii Five-O: An Episode Guide and Critical History of the 1968-1980 Television Detective Series*. N.p.: McFarland, Incorporated, Publishers, 2011.
- Rohrer, Judy. *Haoles in Hawaii*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2010.
- Rothman, Hal. *Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West*. Lawrence, Kan: University Press of Kansas, 1998.
- Saft, Scott. *Exploring Multilingual Hawai'i: Language Use and Language Ideologies in a Diverse Society*. United States: Lexington Books, 2019.

- Saxton, Alexander. *The Rise, and Fall of the White Republic: Class Politics and Mass Culture in Nineteenth Century America*. London, and New York: Verso Books, 2003.
- Sefa Dei, G.J., D.G. Rosenberg and B.L, ed. Hall. *Indigenous Knowledge in Global Contexts: Multiple Readings of Our World*. United Kingdom: University of Toronto Press, 2000.
- Scheiber, Harry N. and Jane L. Scheiber. "Hawaii's Kibei Under Martial Law: A Hidden Chapter in the History of World War II Internments." *Western Legal History: Berkeley Law*, 2009.
- Scott, Alice J. *The Alien Land Law of 1913 and Its Relation to Japanese Immigration*. United States: Columbia University., 1929.
- Shirlow, Peter, Carolyn Gallaher, Mary Gilmartin, Alison Mountz, and Carl Dahlman. Key Concepts in Human Geography. *Key Concepts in Political Geography*. Sage Publications Ltd, 2008.
- Silbey, Joel H. *Storm Over Texas: The Annexation Controversy and the Road to Civil War*. United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Silva, Noenoe K., *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004.
- Smart, John C. and Paulsen, Michael B., eds., *Higher Education: Handbook of Theory and Research: Volume 27*. Netherlands: Springer Dordrecht, 2012.
- Smith, Tom. "Hawaiian History and American history: integration or separation?" United Kingdom: University of Cambridge, 2019.
- Stauffer, Robert H. *Kahana: How the Land Was Lost*. United Kingdom: University of Hawaii Press, 2004.
- Stephan, John J. *Hawaii Under the Rising Sun. Japan's Plans for Conquest after Pearl Harbor*, University of Hawaii Press: Honolulu, 1984.
- Susman, Warren I. *Culture As History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century*. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2003.
- Tarte, Sandra. *Japan's Aid Diplomacy and the Pacific Islands*. Australia: National Centre for Development Studies, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, 1998.
- Teves, Stephanie Nohelani. *Defiant Indigeneity: The Politics of Hawaiian Performance*. United States: University of North Carolina Press, 2018.

The Cambridge History of the Pacific Ocean. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, (n.d.).

The Filipino Student. Filipino Students in American (Association), United States: Berkeley, Calif. 1912-1914.

Thompson, J. A. 1973. "William Appleman Williams and the "American Empire"". *Journal of American Studies*. 7: 91–104.

Trask, Haunani-Kay. "Coalition-Building between Natives and Non-Natives". *Stanford Law Review*, vol. 43, no.6, (1991):1197-1213.

_____. *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai‘i*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1999.

_____. *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawaii* (Revised Edition). Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2021.

_____. 'Settlers of Color and "Immigrant" Hegemony: "Locals" in Hawai ‘i', in Candace Fujikane, and Jonathan Y. Okamura (eds), *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawaii*, Honolulu, HI, 2008.

Tregaskis, Richard. *The Warrior King: Hawaii's Kamehameha the Great*. United States: Macmillan, 1973.

Twigg-Smith, Thurston. *Hawaiian Sovereignty: Do the Facts Matter?* United States: Goodale Pub., 1998.

Vause, Marylyn Mitsuo. "The Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, 1920: History and Analysis." Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1962.

Warner, Sam L. 1996. I ola ka 'olelo i na keiki: Ka 'apo 'ia 'ana o ka 'olelo Hawai'i e na keiki ma ke Kula Kaiapuni [That the Language Live through the Children: The Acquisition of the Hawaiian Language by the Children in the Immersion School.] (PhD). University of Hawaii.

Weindling, Paul. *Epidemics and Genocide in Eastern Europe 1890-1945*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2000.

Wharton, Glenn. *The Painted King: Art, Activism, and Authenticity in Hawai‘i*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2011.

Whitton, Kevin. *Moon Hawaiian Islands*. United States: Avalon Publishing, 2014.

Wichman, Frederick B. *Nā Pua Ali ‘i O Kaua ‘i: Ruling Chiefs of Kaua ‘I*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003.

- Wilson, William H. and Kauanoē Kamanā. "Mai Loko Mai O Ka 'J'ini: Proceeding from a Dream": The 'Aha Punana Leo Connection in Hawaiian Language Revitalization." (2001).
- Witeck, John. "The Rise of Ethnic Studies at the University of Hawai'i: Anti-War, Student and Early Community Struggles." *Social Process in Hawai'i*, vol. 39 (1999):10-18.
- Wood, Daniel B. "Hawaii's Search for Sovereignty." *Christian Science Monitor*, October 17, 1994.
- Wood, Houston. *Displacing Native Places: The Rhetorical Production of Hawai'i*. University of Hawaii at Manoa: Dissertations Publishing, 1996.
- _____. *Displacing Natives: The Rhetorical Production of Hawai'i*. United States: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1999.
- Woodbridge, William Channing and translated by S. Whitney. *Hoikehonua*. United States: Mea Pai Palapala a na Misionari, 1845.
- Wrobel, David and Patrick Long, eds. *Seeing and Being Seen: Tourism in the American West*. United States: Center of the American West, University of Colorado at Boulder, 2001.
- Wyllie, Irvin G. Review of *People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character* by David M. Potter. *The Journal of Economic History*, vol 15, issue 2 (June 1955): 189-190.
- Ziker, Ann K. "Segregationists Confront American Empire: The Conservative White South and the Question of Hawaiian Statehood, 1947–1959" *Pacific Historical Review* 76, no. 3, 2007.
- Zimmermann, Warren. *First Great Triumph: How Five Americans Made Their Country a World Power*. United States: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2004.