

# THE MOVEMENT FOR HAWAIIAN INDEPENDENCE

by Betty Fullard-Leo

*"I, Lili'uokalani of Hawai'i, by the will of God named heir apparent on the tenth day of April, A.D. 1877, and by the grace of God Queen of the Hawaiian Islands, on the seventeenth day of January, A.D. 1893, do hereby protest against the ratification of a certain treaty, which so I am informed has been signed at Washington by Messrs. Hatch, Thurston and Kinney, purported to cede those Islands to the territory and dominion of the United States. I declare such a treaty to be an act of wrong toward the native and part-native people of Hawai'i, an invasion of the rights of the ruling chiefs, a violation of international rights both toward my people and toward friendly nations with whom they have made treaties, the perpetuations of the fraud whereby the constitutional government was overthrown, and, finally, an act of gross injustice to me..."*

—From "Queen Lili'uokalani: Hawai'i's Story by Hawai'i's Queen"



In the movement for Hawaiian self-determination, one thing that all pro-sovereignty groups agree on is that the armed overthrow of the Hawaiian kingdom under the rule of Queen Lili'uokalani on January 17, 1893 was illegal. For years, many such organizations have been researching legal ways to change the course of Hawai'i's histo-

ry. This year is particularly significant for the sovereignty movement because January 17, 1993 marks the centennial of the overthrow of the monarchy.

Last year on June 6, 200 people gathered on the grounds of 'Iolani Palace to hear Windyceslau D. Lorenzo proclaim himself King Kamehameha VI of the newly restored kingdom of

Hawai'i. Lorenzo, clutching a Bible and with his wife standing silently by his side, recited a list of fifteen names that trace his lineage from King Kamehameha I and Kauhūlanimaka. Lorenzo's appointed premier, Herbert Holt Kauahi, representing the Kingdom of the Hawaiian Islands pro-sovereignty group, spoke movingly about ruling the new monarchy "in love and sharing. Our belief in sovereignty comes from God. We commit to him and his laws. In the movement to sovereignty, there

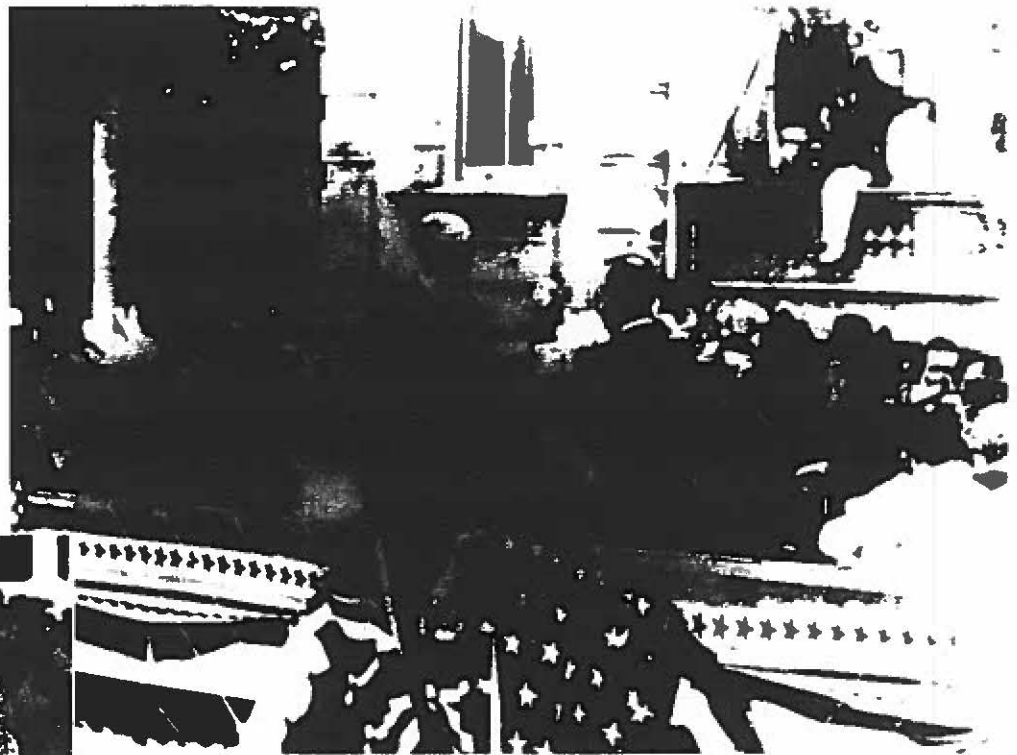
palace grounds with a permit allowing members to stage a religious observance and discussion. At noon, state officials asked the demonstrators to leave by 5:00 P.M. When the group, led by Dennis "Bumpy" Kanahēle and spokeswoman Kawehi Kanui Gill, made it known that their members intended to spend the night, a brief confrontation with law enforcement officials ensued, ending in thirty-two arrests.

Commented attorney Mililani

for the Advancement of Hawaiian Affairs—orchestrated a demonstration from the bandstand at 'Iolani Palace. Three hundred supporters came to learn about the sovereignty movement and to express their desire for *hoko kōkō'a* (independence).

Significantly, ninety-eight years earlier, on July 4, 1894, the republic of Hawai'i was established and Sanford B. Dole proclaimed himself president. On July 7, 1898, President William McKinley signed a joint reso-

*RIGHT: Formal ceremonies annexing the republic of Hawai'i to the U.S. were held on August 12, 1898 at 'Iolani Palace. Among the participants was President Sanford B. Dole (standing, with beard). Photo courtesy of the Hawai'i State Archives. BELOW: Windyceslau Lorenzo proclaimed himself King Kamehameha VI of the newly restored kingdom of Hawai'i at 'Iolani Palace last June. BELOW RIGHT: Hawaiian flag. Photo by Bob Abraham. OPPOSITE PAGE: Portrait of Princess Liliu Loloku Wālania Kamakaeha, c. 1867. Four years later, she took the throne as Queen Liliuokalani, Hawai'i's last reigning monarch. Photo courtesy of the Hawai'i State Archives. Hawaiian and American flags. Photos by Bob Abraham.*



is no room for compromise because we cannot serve two masters." The next day, the event rated a small article on the bottom of page one of the *Honolulu Advertiser*.

Less than a week later, on June 11, Kamehameha Day, demonstrators from another pro-sovereignty group, La 'Ea O Na Hawai'i Nei, gathered on the

Trask, "It's a problem determining how much support these groups have. Some say they've got big numbers but they've got nothing signed by their members. They should be asked their definition of sovereignty, what structure of government their model is and if they have taken their model to their people to enlist support for it." Trask is *kia'āina* of Ka Lāhui Hawai'i, a pro-sovereignty group that she claims has "12,000 citizens of my nation." One hundred and one elected delegates of Ka Lāhui held their third Constitutional Convention last July 4 at Kamehameha Schools to amend their five-year-old constitution.

On that same Independence Day, Hayden Burgess—Hawaiian activist, attorney and organizer of the Institute

lution from Congress, annexing the republic of Hawai'i to the United States. Formal annexation ceremonies were held on August 12, and on June 14, 1900, Hawai'i became a territory of the U.S. A look at the events leading up to Hawai'i's admittance as a U.S. territory helps clarify the reasons for the current movement for self-rule by Hawaiians.

Queen Lili'uokalani's overthrow was the culmination of years of economic power plays by outside interests entrenched in the Islands. By the 1800s, American sugar planters were pressuring Hawaiian chiefs and the king for private property land tenure. After an over-zealous Navy captain managed to annex Hawai'i to Great Britain for five months in 1843, Kamehameha III acquiesced to the demands of his advisors—primarily Caucasian missionaries, planters and other transplanted businessmen—and granted private ownership of land during the Great Māhele of 1850.

The king gave up his right to much of the land, keeping only his favorite par-

cels which came to be known as "crown lands." Approximately 1.6 million acres were given to 245 chiefs, who through greed or naiveté about the concept of private ownership of land, sold, leased or gave away most of it. Foreign residents were quick to take advantage of land reform, but only about 10,000 Hawaiians managed to file claims to 28,000 acres—less than one percent of four million acres available in the Islands.

Control of crown lands, Hawaiian home lands and ceded lands (today under federal and/or state jurisdiction) is one of the major issues in the current fight for sovereignty or self-rule. In 1920, the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act set aside 190,000

property rights (these lands are administered by the Hawaiian Homes Commission). The act guaranteed availability of land and free water to develop it, but distribution of these lands has been slow, and water has never been automatically provided.

In 1854, just before the death of King Kamehameha III, an annexation treaty was drawn up seeking to admit Hawai'i as a state of the United States. Sugar planters were anxious for annexation to proceed in order to avoid U.S. sugar tariffs. The monarchy had been forced to try to preserve its sovereignty while fending off military interventions and adjusting to a growing foreign element. The treaty remained unsigned at Kamehameha III's death; his succes-



CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: Pro-annexation leader Lorrin Thurston, who organized the provisional government's controversial Committee of Safety. Both photos c. 1893. Hawaiian revolutionist Robert Wilcox, c. 1889. OPPOSITE PAGE: The American flag was raised at 'Iolani Palace during annexation ceremonies on August 12, 1898. All photos courtesy of the Hawai'i State Archives.

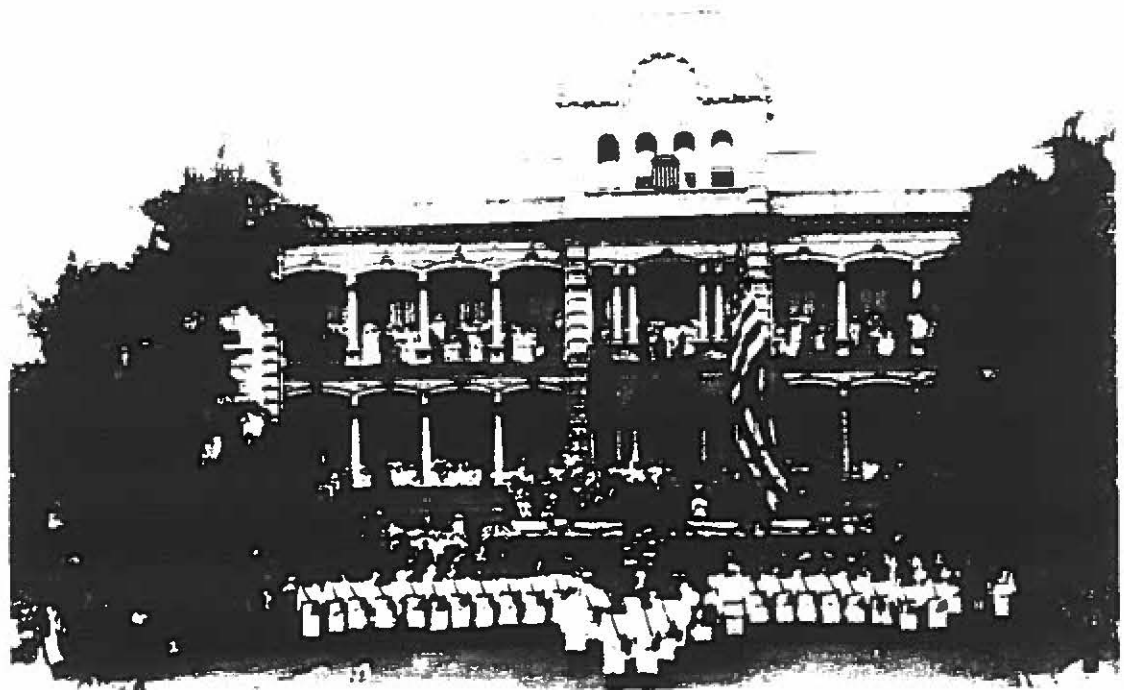


acres of Hawaiian Home trust lands for homesteading by natives with at least fifty percent Hawaiian blood. When Hawai'i became a state in 1959, the Admissions Act mandated that 1,431,000 acres of ceded lands be held in trust to protect native Hawaiian

sors, Liholilo and Lot, were against annexation.

After David Kalākaua ascended the throne in 1874, a renewed push for annexation and reciprocity came from sugar industry leaders. The Reciprocity Treaty of 1875 ensured duty-free export of Hawaiian sugar to U.S. markets and gave the U.S. control of Pearl Harbor.

Although he was an intelligent man devoted to the preservation of the Ha-



waiian culture, Kalākaua was also a spendthrift with a taste for high living. The national debt climbed from \$380,000 to \$2.5 million as he built 'Iolani Palace and attempted to make Hawai'i the center of a confederation of Polynesian islands. In 1887, planters, merchants and other Americans, led by Lorrin A. Thurston, formed the Hawaiian League to promote their own interests. They established the Bayonet Constitution, which limited Kalākaua's powers by abolishing some of his programs, ousting his appointees and establishing a ministry that was responsible to the legislature, not the king. A law requiring voters to earn incomes of \$600 a year or own \$3,000 worth of property barred many Hawaiians from voting and allowed any foreigners willing to swear allegiance to the new government to vote.

Upon the death of Kalākaua in 1891, Lili'uokalani became the new ruling monarch. In fiery, passionate language, Hawaiian activist Haunani Kay Trask, who heads the Hawaiian Studies program at the University of Hawai'i and who works with her sister Mililani to further Ka Liliu's aims, tells the story of Lili'uokalani's overthrow in 1893: "A young, arrogant Lorrin Thurston

(former Minister of the Interior and missionary descendant) formed the Committee of Safety. There was not one Hawaiian on the committee, but many non-subjects—foreigners who plotted to take over the throne." (Six were citizens of Hawai'i, though not of the Hawaiian race, five were Americans, one was an Englishman and one a German.)

The thirteen members of the Committee of Safety were convinced Lili'uokalani was about to initiate a new constitution. In fact, the queen had indeed drawn up a constitution that, among other things, would allow only true Hawaiians to vote whether or not they owned property. Further, the advice and consent of the cabinet would no longer be necessary for her to take action.

According to Haunani Trask, "The cabinet said to Lili'uokalani, 'Withdraw your constitution or our people will revolt,' so she repealed it. The Committee of Safety sent a group to U.S. Minister John L. Stevens to discuss the overthrow. He said, 'Yes. I'll land troops to support the Committee of Safety.' Huge banners were posted, calling the maka'āinana to a meeting. Ten thousand Lili'uokalani supporters

### *'Iolani*

*These royal walls  
strain against the outrage  
involuntary turncoats  
confining the Beloved.*

*Auwe, auwe  
the storm wheels and spins outside  
but We are still  
in the enforced eye of the hurricane.*

*Are We childless? Are We nationless?  
the ferns, the birds and Paoakalani's flowers  
sing soft denial  
to the thieves and accusers.*

*Hele, We shall heal the silence with music  
and they shall hear the echo of our song.*

*Kaulana na Pua!*

*Strong is the song in the silence  
the song in the heart of the people...  
the people of the song that will never die.*

—Mindi Reid





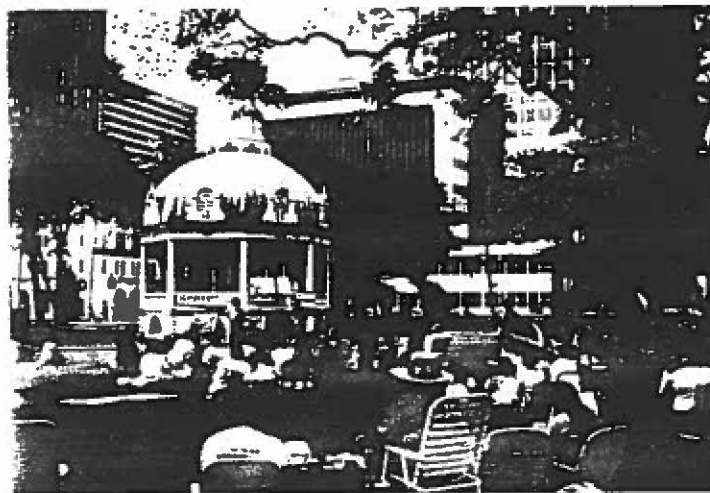
ABOVE: As the end of the Hawaiian monarchy drew near, U.S. troops were called in to protect American civilians and property in case of an uprising. Here, sailors stand in formation in front of Iolani Palace with bayonets raised. Photo courtesy of the Hawai'i State Archives.  
 BELOW: Supporters gather at Iolani Palace for a sovereignty movement rally. Photo by Jul-Lin Lum.

came. The same day, the haoles had a rally, but only 1,000 people came and they didn't discuss the overthrow, they just talked about reciprocity for sugar. Troops landed (four boatloads of American marines) to protect American lives and property." Ironically, Trask adds, "They were ill-placed in front of the palace if they were landed to protect American property." (At the time, most Americans lived miles away in Nu'uano Valley.)

On January 17, 1893, Thurston prepared a proclamation that was read on the steps of the government building, declaring the end of the monarchy. With the support of U.S. Minister Stevens, Sanford B. Dole became president of the new provisional government. Later that day, to avoid bloodshed, Lili'uokalani, on the advice of her cabinet ministers, surrendered under protest, expecting that when the U.S. government learned the facts, she would be reinstated.

The U.S. sent James H. Blount, former chairman of the House committee on foreign relations, to investigate the events. The Blount report informed President Grover Cleveland that Minister Stevens

and the U.S. Navy had helped overthrow the monarchy even though a majority of both white and native populations favored the monarchy. Cleveland's Secretary of State advised the president not to put the treaty of annexation before the U.S. Senate and suggested the monarchy be restored. In agreement, Cleveland instructed Albert Willis, who had replaced John Stevens as the minister to Hawai'i, to offer the queen her throne on condition that she give amnesty to those who had plotted her overthrow. Lili'uokalani waited until mid-December to agree to clemency for the annexationists, but by then Cleveland had referred the matter to Congress.



In 1895, Royalists made an attempt, under the leadership of part-Hawaiian revolutionist Robert Wilcox, to restore the monarchy (see "The Quixotic Warrior," ALOHA, September/October 1992). Contraband guns were smuggled ashore from a coastal steamer and hidden throughout the city, some in Lili'uokalani's flower garden. The uprising began the night of January 6, 1895, but was quickly quelled. The Executive Council of the republic debated the fate of Lili'uokalani, and finally, on January 16, she was arrested and confined to one of the apartments at Iolani Palace. After standing trial for treason, the deposed queen was sentenced to five years of hard labor and fined \$5,000. By November 1896, however, she was given full citizenship and freedom once again. One of her first acts was to go to Washington to plead the cause of the monarchy, but by then pro-annexation forces (composed primarily of sugar planters, businessmen and missionary descendants residing in Hawai'i) had managed to discredit her.

After President McKinley took office, annexation of the republic of Hawai'i

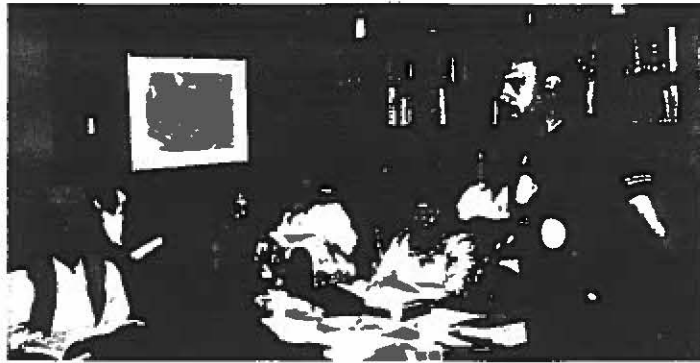
was achieved by a joint resolution of Congress rather than by treaty, because supporters were unable to assemble the two-thirds majority in the Senate required for ratification of a treaty. Lili'uokalani lived her last years at Washington Place (today the home of Hawai'i's governor), as always much loved by her people. Following a stroke in 1917, she died, still hoping that her people would someday regain their lost land.

Haunani Trask says, "People are saying sovereignty is a pipe dream. They are wrong. It's time for them to wake up."

Helping to "wake people up" are fifty groups loosely aligned as Hui Na'auao, which operates on a three-year grant of just under a million dollars from the federal Administration for Americans. Member groups range from Alu Like, which administers job training programs for Hawaiian natives, to those such as La 'Ea O Hawai'i Nei and Ka Pākaukau which opt for complete independence.

The Big Island's Ka 'Ohana O Kālae was founded in 1982. Spokesman Palikapu Dedman says through activism on issues that include launching rockets at South Point and developing geothermal energy at Puna, members of his organization came to realize the importance of stewardship of Hawai'i's land and natural resources. He says, "In a sense we have limited self-determination on the Big Island now because we've won the right to use our ancient Hawaiian trails to reach the ocean and to visit our heiau. I don't know how groups can pick a certain part of history and say that (model of self-rule) is best. To me, our sovereignty would be acknowledged if we could use the ceded lands at any time and had a county council to determine what is best for the land."

Also concerned about the rights of the Hawaiian people, the state-supported Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) was established in 1978 with guidelines stating that it is "committed to the ultimate melting pot, to the interdependence of all peoples, and to social, economic, cultural and educational mobility based on merit." OHA operates on an \$8.5-million annual



TOP: Kunani Nihipali, project director of Hui Na'auao, leads a spirited pro-sovereignty discussion. Photo courtesy of Hui Na'auao. BELOW: Nihipali in a more relaxed mood. Photo by Betty Fullard-Leo.

budget which it uses to help Hawaiians obtain education, shelter, loans to start businesses and legal representation to protect their traditional rights, including fishing rights, land usage, etc. OHA is managed for and by Hawaiians who are elected by the Hawaiian people. However, as a state agency, many sovereignty groups contend that it does not faithfully represent their best interests and they object to speculation that OHA might become the governing sovereign group.

Part of Hui Na'auao's purpose is to bring these widely divergent groups together to work for a common goal through educational programs. Project Director Kunani Nihipali explains the organization's three primary aims: ho'āla, ho'okahua and ho'olokahi. "In the ho'āla (awakening, enlightenment) phase, we are sponsoring workshops to promote awareness and understanding of historic events to help Hawaiians better understand their rights. Ho'okahua means we will 'lay a foundation'

by researching legal issues related to self-governance. Ho'olokahi means 'to bring unity.' We'll be sponsoring Island-wide assemblies focused on moving toward an acceptable process to achieve self-determination."

Nihipali is careful not to discuss how sovereignty might work, how a monarch might be chosen (or even whether one would

be chosen) or who would be citizens of the new nation. In his role as unifier of pro-sovereignty forces, he tries not to make statements that might offend member groups. For example, blood quantum, the percentage of Hawaiian blood that flows through an individual's veins, has proven to be a sticky point in the past regarding the distribution of Hawaiian homestead lands and will certainly come under examination in the sovereignty issue. Hui Na'auao's difficult task is to educate Hawaiians through workshops and to bring them together to strive for a common goal—self-determination.

So far, the groups are receiving limited support from a number of Hawai'i's policy makers. Both U.S. Senators Daniel Akaka and Daniel Inouye have publicly stated their beliefs that native Hawaiians should be granted some self-determination. In 1991, Senator Inouye, who heads the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, chaired congressional hearings on several islands concerning issues surrounding the Hawaiian Homestead Act—terminating or extending ninety-nine-year leases and lowering the fifty percent or more blood quantum eligibility requirements. Inouye has said he favors "a limited sovereignty of sorts, something that Indian nations may be enjoying at this time." He believes there should be no reason for non-Hawaiians to be concerned about loss of rights or land through the establishment of Hawaiian sovereignty.

Pro-sovereignty groups with more radical plans for total autonomy face complications ranging from which period of history to use as a model government, who to install as a monarchical head, how to administer lands and how to deal with Hawai'i's current polyglot population. Most Hawaiians do not want to use the pre-Christian

kapu era as a model. If a monarchy is seriously considered, claims to the crown would be multiple. Early kings often had children by a number of wives, and in addition to descendants of King Kamehameha I, descendants of King Kalākaua, among them the Kawanānakoā family, could have legitimate claims. Abigail Kekaulike Kawanānakoā, who has played a prominent role in the restoration of 'Iolani Palace and is often considered Hawai'i's unofficial princess, and her cousins Edward and Esther have been mentioned as being next in line to the throne because they are the great-nephew and nieces of King Kalākaua and Queen Kapi'olani of the last Hawaiian dynasty.

Ka Lāhui, possibly the pro-sovereignty group with the largest membership, avoids such problems by pragmatically working within the system to achieve its goal of a "nation within a nation." Ka Lāhui wants to separate the trust lands from general public lands, allowing members of its nation to govern these lands and their own lives with a goal of self-sufficiency.

Mililani Trask says, "We realized that no form or structure created by the state or federal government would be acceptable. That would be contrary to the concept of self-determination. Self-determination means that the people themselves fashion a government entity that is culturally and politically appropriate to them. It has to come from the grassroots. No single leader should tell Hawaiians, 'This is the form of sovereignty (you should have) and this is who will be king.'"

Ka Lāhui's model government allows residents with any amount of Hawaiian blood to vote. Those with fifty percent Hawaiian blood can sit in the legislature, and membership in the Ali'i Nui non-voting council, which advises on protocol and cultural issues, requires fifty-five percent blood quantum. Trask says, "Give the Hawaiian homelands and half of the ceded lands to those of fifty percent blood; those with twenty-five percent are entitled to lands from the public share. We want our nation-within-a-nation status immediately and 1993 is the year we will put it on the agenda!"

Ka Pākaukau is another organization that wants action taken this year.



TOP: Hawaiian activist Hayden Burgess was one of the key speakers at a pro-sovereignty rally at 'Iolani Palace last July 4. Photo courtesy of Hui Na'auao. ABOVE: Mililani Trask, leader of the pro-sovereignty group Ka Lāhui Hawai'i.

Along with nine other pro-sovereignty groups, Ka Pākaukau established Kō Mike (meaning "committee") to draft an indictment against the United States for its alleged crimes against the Hawaiian nation. The indictment was served in Hawai'i last October and according to Doctor Kekuni Blaisdell, professor of medicine at the University of Hawai'i and head of Ka Pākaukau, it will be followed by tribunals on the five major islands in August of this year. The purpose of the tribunals, Blaisdell says, is to bring attention to "the crimes committed against our kanaka ma'oli by the United States. This is a trial at the world level." Among the dignitaries who may be attending are the Da Lai Llama, Mother Theresa and Bishop Desmond Tutu.

The United States is not legally required to respond to Kō Mike's indictment. Blaisdell believes, however, that the group can put pressure on the U.S. by working through the United Nations Assembly and Security Council

in New York and the U.N. Working Group for Indigenous People in Geneva, Switzerland. Both organizations have aided other Pacific nations, including Kiribati and Vanuatu, in peacefully attaining independence.

Blaisdell avers, "We're not just talking about it, we're implementing action. We are a non-violent group committed ultimately to complete independence. We consider the U.S. to be a foreign nation."

Last September, Senators Akaka and Inouye introduced Senate Joint Resolution 335, which, among other things, "apologizes to Native Hawaiians on behalf of the people of the United States for the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai'i on January 17, 1893 with the participation of agents and citizens of the United States...and expresses (a) commitment to acknowledge the ramifications of the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai'i in order to provide a proper foundation for reconciliation between the United States and the Native Hawaiian people."

Pro-sovereignty groups see the resolution as a step in the right direction for their cause. And as January 17 nears, it is certain the movement for self-rule will be the focus of many more serious discussions.

Amid all the rhetoric, however, one point undoubtedly will remain clear: In addition to the illegality of the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, pro-sovereignty groups agree the time for retribution is now. ALOHA

Observances of the 100th anniversary of the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy have been planned on all islands from January 14-17. Plays, spiritual vigils and reenactments of major historical events are among the activities on the agenda. For more information, call the Office of Hawaiian Affairs at 556-3777. "Those planning to attend should come with the proper frame of mind," advises Jilua Keala, OHA's government affairs officer. "This centennial is not a means a celebration. It is a solemn, sober occasion."



Numerous accounts discuss the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy. Those who wish to read more about this period in Hawai'i's history may order the following books by writing to Native Books, P.O. Box 37095, Honolulu, Hawai'i 96837 or by calling 845-8949.

**Hawai'i's Story by Hawai'i's Queen**  
*Lili'uokalani*

A timely and important reprint of the queen's story, originally published in 1898, that recounts her version of the revolution and dethronement. 1898, reprinted in 1990, Mutual Publishing. 409 pages, paperback. \$6.95.

**For Whom are the Stars?**

*Albertine Loomis*

A three-year account from the day in 1893 when Queen Lili'uokalani surrendered the throne to the time when her supporters attempted to overthrow the republic and restore the monarchy. 1976, Friends of the Library. 256 pages, cloth. \$10.95.

**Kalākaua: Hawai'i's Last King**

*Kristin Zambucka*

A pictorial biography of Kalākaua's life and efforts to retain Hawaiian sovereignty through restoring old traditions and ways. 1983, Mana Publishing. 170 pages, paperback. \$12.95.

**Stolen Kingdom: An American Conspiracy**

*Rich Budnick*

A well-documented, readable history of the people, events and political climate that influenced the overthrow of the monarchy and the annexation of Hawai'i. 1992, Aloha Press. 220 pages, paperback. \$9.95.

**The Betrayal of Lili'uokalani**

*Helena G. Allen*

This book deals with the betrayal of a country, its people, its rulers and in particular, the betrayal of the last queen of Hawai'i. The story was told to Allen by Lydia Aholo, Lili'uokalani's hānai daughter, who died in 1979 at the age of 101. 1982, reprinted in 1990, Mutual Publishing. 432 pages, paperback. \$6.95.

**The Hawaiian Revolution, 1893-94**

*William Adam Russ*

A thorough, scholarly investigation of the Hawaiian revolution and the United States' involvement in eliminating the monarchy and influencing the affairs of the Hawaiian Islands. 1959, reprinted in 1992, Susquehanna University Press. 372 pages, paperback. \$16.95.

**The Hawaiian Republic, 1894-98, and Its Struggle to Win Annexation**

*William Adam Russ*

A detailed review of the complicated U.S. politics which led to the annexation of Hawai'i. A sequel to *The Hawaiian Revolution, 1893-94*. 1961, reprinted in 1992, Susquehanna University Press. 398 pages, paperback. \$16.95.

**The Rise and Fall of the Hawaiian Kingdom: A Pictorial History**

*Richard A. Wisniewski*

A concise visual history of the Hawaiian kingdom from its formation to its demise. The book begins with the arrival of Captain Cook and ends with the overthrow of the monarchy, counter-revolution and annexation. 1979, Pacific Basin Enterprises. 114 pages, paperback. \$9.95.

**A Call for Hawaiian Sovereignty**

*Michael Dudley and Keoni Agard*

An overview of proposed native Hawaiian sovereignty. The history of Hawaiian dispossession is discussed, as is the plight of native Hawaiians today and the rise of the sovereignty movement. 1990, Na Kāne o Ka Malo Press. 162 pages, paperback. \$11.95.

**Native Hawaiian Rights Handbook**

*Edited by Melody MacKenzie*

The handbook discusses a number of topics related specifically to native

Hawaiians, including natural resource rights, securing individual land titles, traditional and customary rights, and available charitable trusts and federal resources. 1990, Office of Hawaiian Affairs and Native Hawaiian Legal Corporation. 320 pages, paperback. \$25.

**History Makers of Hawai'i**

*A. Grove Day*

An illustrated biographical dictionary containing brief synopses of 500 of the most influential individuals in the history of Hawai'i, including ali'i, missionaries and businessmen. 1984, Mutual Publishing. 174 pages, paperback or cloth. Paperback \$13; cloth \$17.

**The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1893 (Three Volumes)**

**Foundation and Transformation: 1778-1854 (Volume I)**

**Twenty Critical Years: 1854-1874 (Volume II)**

**The Kalākaua Dynasty: 1874-1893 (Volume III)**

*Ralph Kuykendall*

Kuykendall's monumental three-volume work is considered the definitive history of nineteenth-century Hawai'i. Volume I begins with a glimpse of ancient Hawai'i and covers the reign of the first two Kamehameha kings. Volume II deals with the second stage of the kingdom under the rule of Alexander Liholiho and Lot Kamehameha. Volume III begins with the accession of David Kalākaua and ends with the rule of Queen Lili'uokalani, the overthrow of the monarchy and the United States' annexation of the territory of Hawai'i. All of the books are published by University of Hawai'i Press.

Volume I, 463 pages, cloth \$25.

Volume II, 320 pages, cloth \$15.

Volume III, 776 pages, cloth \$35.



THE WIRE

# ALONE

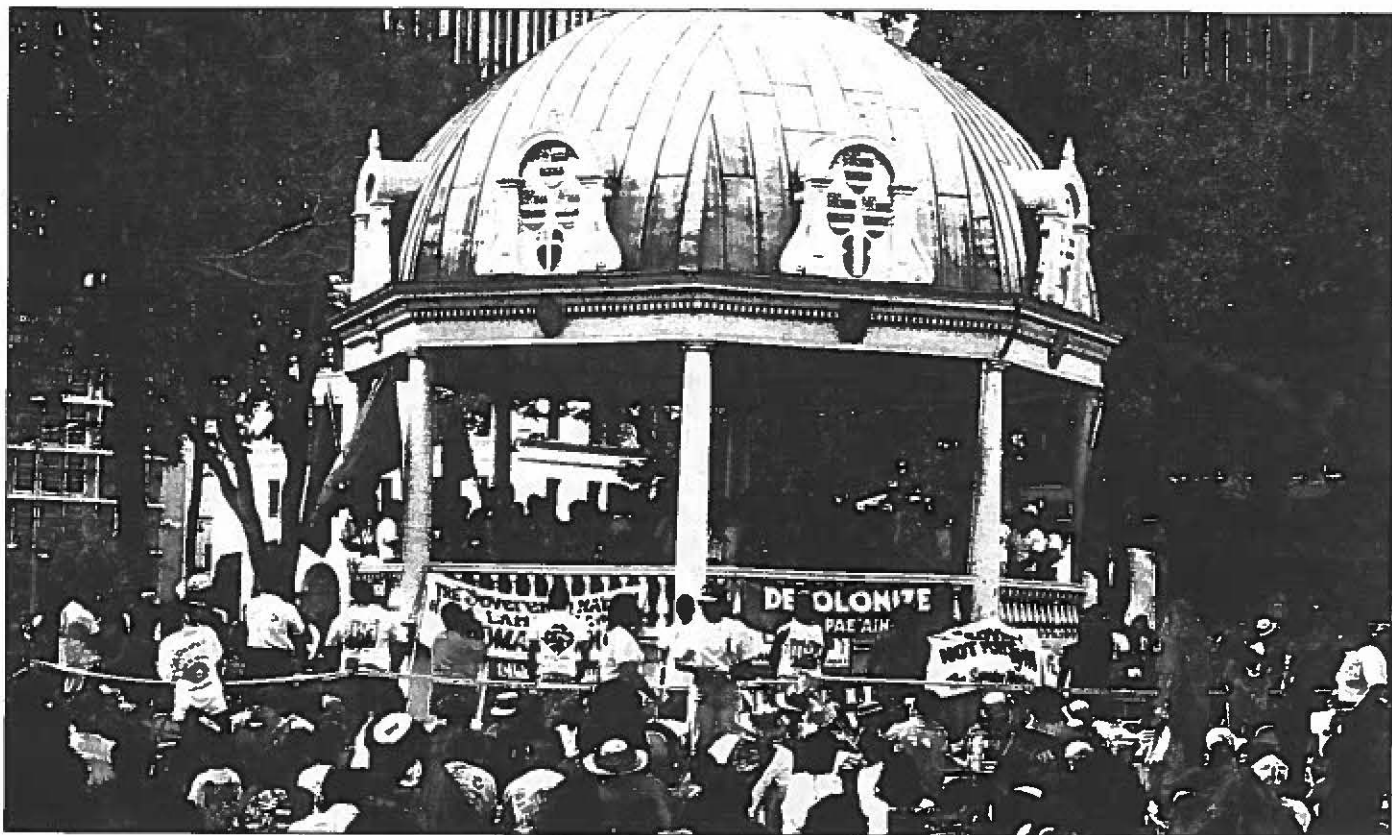
NATIVE HAWAIIANS  
FIGHT FOR SOVEREIGNTY

RIDING THE RANGE  
WITH ISLAND COWBOYS

ORIGAMI: A CLOSE LOOK AT  
THE ART OF PAPER FOLDING



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Speakers address the crowd on the grounds of Iolani Palace during a ceremony to mark the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy.

HAWAII

# Trouble in paradise

Ethnic movement for self-rule gains momentum

By Edith Terry

**T**he crowds spreading across the immaculate lawn of Honolulu's Iolani Palace on a balmy day in January could easily have come just for the hot dogs and the laid-back, lilting island music. But the black bunting hanging from the balconies of the palace, the Hawaiian royal flag fluttering from the palace flag pole, and a raised platform for television crews told a different tale. They reflected the mounting political clout of an ethnic Hawaiian rights movement in the 50th US state.

At the gathering, called to mark the centennial of the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, leaders of the ethnic Hawaiian movement hammered at the theme of self-rule for Hawaii. Some preached secession. "Our nation was an independent nation; why do we want to settle for anything less?" Hayden Burgess, a secessionist and

head of the Institute for the Advancement of Hawaiian Affairs, lectured the crowd. "It is not impossible to be an independent nation. Miracles are happening every day."

The 14-17 January overthrow observance was in stark contrast to the usual tourist fare celebrating "Hawaiian culture" with hula girls and surfers. In a dawn march to the palace, some 15,000 people chanted sovereignty slogans and held aloft a child of royal Hawaiian lineage, Kalokuokamaile II. A lengthy street play re-enacted the 1893 rebellion by whites (known here as *haoles*), mostly American sugar planters, backed by four boatloads of US troops and the US ambassador.

Leading the current debate are a coterie of young, highly educated, ethnic Hawaiians based at the University of Hawaii, the Governor's mansion, and other pillars of the state's cozy establishment. The middle-class intellectuals of the Hawaiian sovereignty movement are shooting for a lesser,

though still ambitious, goal — carving out as much as a quarter of the islands' 4.2 million square acres as a Hawaiian homeland, with Hawaiians paying taxes to elected representatives of a Hawaiian government. The US Government would remain in charge of defence and most legal and diplomatic matters, but the Hawaiians would have control over land and resource rights.

The "nation-within-a-nation" approach, modelled after agreements forged after 1970 between the US Government and some 300 Indian tribes, has plenty of advocates. The most important of them is Governor John Waihee, a *hapa haole* who is more than 50% Hawaiian.

At his inauguration in 1986, Waihee praised the use of the Hawaiian language and honoured 19th century Hawaiian kings David Kalakaua and Kamehameha I. In January, during the centennial of the overthrow, he touched off a furore by or-