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# Hawaiian History: The Dispossession of Native Hawaiians' Identity, and Their Struggle for Sovereignty

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HAWAIIAN HISTORY: THE DISPOSSESSION OF NATIVE HAWAIIANS'  
IDENTITY, AND THEIR STRUGGLE FOR SOVEREIGNTY

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A Thesis  
Presented to the  
Faculty of  
California State University,  
San Bernardino

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In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts  
in  
Social Sciences and Globalization

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by  
Megan Theresa Ualaniha'aha'a Medeiros

June 2017

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## ABSTRACT

In *Hawaiian History: The Dispossession of Native Hawaiians' Identity and Their Struggle for Sovereignty*, three of the Western constructed narratives of Hawai'i are identified and juxtaposed with Hawai'i's historical facts taken primarily from the late 1800s through the mid 1900s. These Western narratives contribute to an identity crisis experienced by Native Hawaiians during a time when their culture was almost lost, due to the colonial powers assimilating Hawai'i to America. An account of the historical events of the Kingdom of Hawai'i is then reviewed, which includes the diplomatic moves of the Hawaiian monarchs, the changes in the statuses of the Kingdom, and the overthrow of Queen Lili'uokalani. Evidence explored throughout "The Hawaiian Kingdom" section, proves the native Hawaiians adjusted swiftly to a diplomatic means of resolving issues, which refute a frequently taught Western constructed narrative that the "savage native Hawaiian political leaders" needed Americas aid in governance. The Hawaiian sovereignty movement's history is reviewed, leading up to the creation of *U.S. Public Law 103-150*. This resolution was made in response to the demand from Hawaiian sovereignty movements for the United States to acknowledge its role in the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai'i. The U.S. political agenda found in this resolution is so deeply embedded and disguised in the diplomatic language used, that without careful examination could go completely undetected by the reader. At the surface level, the Apology Resolution acknowledges the historical injustices faced by the native Hawaiians,

apologizes for the events, and seeks reconciliation with the native Hawaiians. Concealed in the *U.S. Public Law 103-150*, is the manipulation of language as means to use the apology as a disclaimer, which allows the United States to continue to suppress the inherent sovereignty of the Kingdom of Hawai'i and nullifies any claims to rights, titles, and possessions against the United States.

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I would also like to thank Mahealani Wendt, Native Hawaiian Advocate and distinguished Activist who enlightened me to the historical context of events surrounding *U. S. Public Law 103-150*. I am humbled to have been able to add such valuable insight on Hawaiian sovereignty movements through your abundance of knowledge and experience. I would also like to thank Ku'umeaaloha Gomes, the Kua'ana Native Hawaiian Student Development Services Director at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa, who had confidence in my academic career goals as a first year freshman, and for her continued support in my future academic goals to return to the University of Hawai'i to earn my Ph. D. Next, I would like to thank the Kua'ana Scholarship Program for

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## INTRODUCTION:

### Introduction to the Hawaiian Identity

In a *BBC* article titled “Aloha to the US: Is Hawai’i an Occupied Nation?,” Peter Apo, a Native Hawaiian said “The only thing I knew about Hawaiians was what I saw in television and the tourism ads” and he also reflected on how he spent almost half of his seventy-five years not knowing who he was.<sup>1</sup> This article brings up two major problems in Hawai’i. The first problem identified was native Hawaiians’ identity crisis as a product of the media illustrating an oriental narrative of native Hawaiians. Secondly, the article raises the question was “is Hawai’i an Occupied Nation?.” A *New York Times* article *The Hawai’i Cure*, describes a so-called “authentic” tourist experience of Hawai’i. This “authentic” experience is completely staged, and these Western constructed narratives are explored in chapter one.<sup>2</sup> Although the history of Hawai’i as a nation is quite complex, chapter two attempts to tell a concise version of the Kingdom of Hawai’i background. Ultimately, the revitalization of the Hawaiian culture and identity was coupled with an increase of momentum in the Hawaiian sovereignty movements. Unfortunately, the recognition Hawaiians tirelessly sought for was hindered by the creation of the problematic Apology Resolution, but the battle for Hawaiian

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<sup>1</sup> Kate Taylor Brown, “Aloha to the US: Is Hawai’i an occupied nation?” *BBC News Article*, November 2, 2015.

<sup>2</sup> Wells Tower, “The Hawai’i Cure.” *The New York Times Magazine*, March 21, 2017.

sovereignty continues to this day.

## Methodology

Chapter One, “Western Constructed Narratives of Hawai’i” analyzes three Western constructed stereotypes of Native Hawaiians using the theoretical framework of Edward Said’s seminal 1978 work, *Orientalism*. The idea behind Orientalism is founded in Occident (Western) constructed narratives. These teachings demonstrate that the Occident are civilized, powerful and benevolent nations, while insinuating that the Orient (Eastern nations) are uncivilized and weak nations. Similarly, I refer to the three Hawai’i specific narratives as “Western constructed narratives.”

From roughly the 1890s through the early 1970s, the Hawaiian language and culture were rarely taught and almost extinct. What was considered “Hawaiian” was replaced by an idealized image of Hawai’i through a controlled narrative developed by Western scholarly sources and was unquestionably reinforced by what was being illustrated in a variety of media sources. “Western Constructed Narratives of Hawai’i” analyzes three of the prevailing narratives imposed on Hawai’i and on native Hawaiians, then compares it to historical events that coincided with the time frame of the development of these stereotypes.

The first narrative considered is “The Sexualized Hawaiian Women: The Development of the ‘Hula Girl’ Image” in section one. The development of the hula girl image is explored, followed by a comparison of the images depicted for

tourists, contrasted to the authentic hula practices. Traditional hula practices are deeply rooted in an intrinsic connection to culture rather than a performance based practice. Next the second, subtly contradictory stereotype, “A Primitive Native Population with Savage Political Leaders” is surveyed. Film, postcards, and other media outlets used a crucial technique of “whitening” actors and hula girls to display an exoticized, but also familiar “other.” Meanwhile the political press used an essential technique of “blackening” political leaders as a means to insult the intelligence and civilized natures of Hawaiians, which naturally calls into question their competence to lead their own nation. Lastly, “Passive Hawaiians: The Strategic Use of Feminine Representations of Hawai’i” examines the creation of aloha shirts to represent a multicultural harmony and the utilization of Pacific Island studies to demonstrate a passive and reformist native Hawaiian culture.

The narratives chosen were the three most frequently recurring stereotypes portrayed through a vast array of literature on Hawai’i as well as what is being supported through media outlets. The Western constructed narratives are primarily developed through literature written by non-natives to Hawai’i, to support the proposition that these stereotypes are of Western construct. Also, residency in California has exposed me to a plethora of interactions with individuals who lack any knowledge of Hawai’i aside from a learned knowledge through media portrayal of Hawai’i. This has the remarkable effect of my life experience serving as a case study since California common folk

are some the recipients of these Western constructed narratives. By noticing frequent narrative affirming questions, an informal confirmation can be derived as to which narratives are relevant in the present time.

I would like to note that these Western constructed narratives are developed about halfway through the timeline of history reviewed in chapter two intentionally. I acknowledge that it is not traditional chronological composition due to my attempt to recreate the lack of true historical context taught when being flooded by the Western constructed narratives of Hawai'i. Colonial nations have a tendency to discredit indigenous practices and culture as a means to promote the colonial agenda. With the demonizing of Hawaiian culture and the implementation of Western normative ideals, these Western imposed narratives became what was taught as authentic, to the point where individuals such as native Hawaiian Peter Apo grew up struggling to understand his own Hawaiian identity.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, for a reader who may be unfamiliar with Hawai'i's history, it is important that their preconceived notions of Hawai'i as the exotic other first be addressed and unpacked before addressing the more linear history of the U.S. conquest of the islands.

Moving on to chapter two, "The Kingdom of Hawai'i: A History of Conquest and Apology" seeks to reveal the history of Hawai'i beyond the tourist-oriented and mainland U.S. narratives. It is by no means an exhaustive history, but rather a selection of historical events leading up to the historic 1993 Apology

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<sup>3</sup> Brown, "Aloha to the US: Is Hawai'i an occupied nation." For article context refer to page 1.

Resolution. This chapter surveys the history of the Kingdom of Hawai'i including but not limited to: the development of the Kingdom, different statuses of the Kingdom, diplomatic moves of the Hawaiian monarchs and the continued battle for Hawaiian sovereignty. Not only did the Hawaiian Government deploy astute diplomatic strategy, but also the Hawaiian people themselves continued to resist colonization, identifying fundamental flaws in the annexation process. Moreover, the resistance to colonization is an area explored in the section "Hawaiian Resistance to Colonization: 1842 to Present Times." This section refutes the constructed narrative that Hawaiians are passive and embraced colonization.

Upon evaluating the momentum of the Hawaiian sovereignty movements, it becomes evident that the U.S. was prompted by the fervent native Hawaiians to acknowledge and apologize for the illegality of events that occurred between Hawai'i and the United States in *U.S. Public Law 103-150*. In "The Apology Resolution" section, *U.S. Public Law 103-150*, also referred to as "the Apology Resolution" or "the Apology Bill" is examined. Key aspects of the document are analyzed, primary sources are further inspected, and attempts are made to go into historical events that were either shared or omitted in the resolution. The last part of chapter two, "About National Apologies" goes into a brief literature review on governmental apologies, the different classification systems that emerged, followed by analyzing the Apology Resolution in further detail. The conclusion seeks to acknowledge the continued suppression of native Hawaiian sovereignty and native Hawaiians claims to rights.

## Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to present and also revise an often misguided and misleading history of Hawai'i, as well as to examine the events which led to the Apology Resolution of 1993. In the analysis of the resolution, the concealed U.S. political agenda is exposed and laid bare.

## Limitations of the Study

I would like to take a minute to acknowledge a few of the constraints to this academic writing. First of all, the time constraints faced by a two-year program limits the amount of research and editing possible prior to publication. Also my lack of fluency in the Hawaiian language is a foundational flaw into analyzing valuable resources such as early newspaper articles, poetry, resistance petitions that were written in Hawaiian. Lastly, there were a handful of primary sources that I had limited, or no access at all to, such as non-circulated materials, microfilm, and closed shelved areas at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa's libraries.

In my future academic endeavors, I aspire to dig deeper into primary sources on the Apology Resolution and Hawaiian scholarly literature. Prior to examining the Apology Resolution, I was unaware that primary sources cited could be so lengthy such as the Blount Report being over 1000 pages. I'd also like to explore the continued struggle for land claims, which is a key aspect barely touched upon in this work. I intend to continue my academic career at the University Hawai'i at Manoa, in doctoral research through the Indigenous Politics

Program. Through this planned academic course, I expect to gain an increased breadth of knowledge in Hawaiian literature and also a clearer view of Hawaiian historical events, language and archives.

For the purposes of this thesis, the terms Hawaiian sovereignty movements and Hawaiian resistance are used interchangeably to describe Resistance to U.S. Colonization efforts pre- and post-colonialism. Also, *U.S. Public Law 103-150* is used interchangeably with the terms Apology Bill, Apology Resolution, apology, and resolution.

### Literature Review

This publication draws from a variety of sources, including books, academic journal articles, photos, governmental documents, speeches, letters to the United States Congress and more. Chapter one uses concepts from Edward Said's *Orientalism* which express an Occident constructed narrative of the "Other," similarly to what I call the Western constructed narratives of Hawai'i. This is followed by the Kingdom of Hawai'i's history being explored in relation to the various statuses of the Kingdom, crucial documents, constitutions, Bills and responses to changes to government. Lastly, a study on Hawaiian sovereignty movements leading to the Apology Resolution are analyzed, followed by a brief literature review on national apologies in relation to the aforementioned resolution.

Ideas spread rapidly about the Hawaiian hula girl through repetitive images of photos that exoticized and sexualized Hawaiian women. Jane

Desmond's book, *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World* uses the creation of the "hula girl" image to display the Western-constructed narrative of what components make up a Hawaiian woman. Gary Okihiro's book, *Island World: A History of Hawai'i and the United States* calls Hawai'i a "white man's paradise" in which Hawaiian women are waiting to be swept away by white men. The Western constructed narrative of the hula girl diminishes the cultural meaning. The reality is that hula is held in high esteem as a cherished cultural practice, not a tourist attraction. Amy Stillman's chapter "Remembering the History of the Hawaiian Hula" explains the intrinsic cultural connection felt through hula. The world renowned annual Merrie Monarch festival was created in 1963, which currently serves to perpetuate, preserve, and promote of the art of hula.

Hawai'i has oftentimes been labelled as a place of primitive people with an unchanging, somewhat prehistoric and inferior ranking in the modern day society. In an interview with the current U.S. Attorney General Jeff Sessions, he defends the 2017 Muslim Travel Ban and criticizes a Hawai'i judges' right to override a U.S. executive order. He uses the passive action descriptor of a judge who is merely "sitting on an island" seemingly in the middle of nowhere.<sup>4</sup> Also, *Staging Tourism* by Jane Desmond argues that Hawai'i has been depicted as a primitive place through circulation of images that never go out of date. It is argued that primitive people have potential to assimilate to the modern Western civilized

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<sup>4</sup> Jeff Sessions, interview by Mark Levin, *The Mark Levin Show*, April 18th, 2017.

ways, and the general native Hawaiian population were seen as just that.

Moving into the Hawaiian political leaders being depicted as savage and unintelligent Gary Okihiro's *Island World* showcases political cartoons illustrating savage Hawaiian monarchs. Portraying Hawaiian leaders as savage and unintelligent called into question their ability to lead a nation and thus set up a dynamic in which the U.S. could appear as a benevolent mainland. The scenario configured is one that excuses a colonizer invading a colonized nation because it is covered up by the facade of intent to help primitive natives to catch up to the modern times or in other words to live to a Western socially constructed standard of what it means to be "civilized." In Kehaulani Kauanui's book *Hawaiian Blood*, she notes that it was a majority white and non-native Hawaiian political leaders that were responsible for ratifying the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, which consequently began the racial classification system of Hawaiians. In *Aloha Betrayed*, Noenoe Silva tracks the diplomatic moves of Hawaiian Resistance groups in the late 1800s through the early 1900s and she also reports on the high Hawaiian literacy rates of Hawaiians post Western contact.

Feminine representations of Hawai'i surfaced through magazine images, movies in or about Hawai'i and even through the clothing industry. These representations were capitalized on to spread the idea that Hawai'i is a passive, luxury vacation destination. The motivation for the creation of a Pacific Island Studies course is reviewed in Keith Camacho's article "Transoceanic Flows: Pacific Islander Interventions Across the American Empire." Camacho makes the

bold claims that the field of Pacific Island Studies was created as a method of controlling the narrative being taught about the Pacific. Similarly, Judith Williamson's article "Woman Is an Island" studies the narrative of how islands are controlled through advertisements. She analyzes the repetitive theme of advertisements depicting islands as literally a woman and ergo feminine, passive and weak. In contrast, the article "This Territory was Not Empty" by Matt Matsuda challenges the narrative that islands were empty prior to contact with the Western world. Oftentimes when the histories of Pacific Islanders (and islanders in general) were taught, indigenous people were disregarded from historical accounts and histories were treated as if it began with the Western influenced development of these small island Countries such as in the Kanak people. In continuing to challenge the narrative, Matsuda also refutes the stereotype that island nations are weak through an idea inspired by Epeli Hau'ofa's proposition that all the Pacific Islands are interconnected and a powerful entity in his article "Our Sea of Islands." In order to grasp this concept, one would have to entertain the possibility that geography is not limited to land mass but rather a certain connectedness existed despite what is socially constructed as a separation by oceans. The Western constructed narrative of acquiescence Hawaiian people is refuted using Noenoe Silva *Aloha Betrayed* which surveys Hawaiians resistance to U.S. colonization.

Prior to U.S. colonization, Hawai'i was internationally recognized as its own sovereign nation and with a lawful government known as the Kingdom of

Hawai'i. There were treaties, constitutions and other documents legitimize this claim to a constitutional. The legal agreements such as the first constitution of 1840 and each subsequent revision aided in the formation of an internationally approved Hawaiian government which led to the Anglo-Franco Proclamation and U.S. verbal confirmation of Hawai'i as an independent nation which are explored in chapter two. We will also be reviewing U.S. induced legal documents such as the imposed Bayonet Constitution which stripped the monarch of their executive power, the Organic Act which declared Hawai'i as a territory of the U.S. and the Hawai'i Statehood Act. It is internationally recognized that Hawai'i lost its independence when the Hawai'i Statehood Act was passed in 1959.

Resistance to colonization was prevalent as early as 1843 and continues to be opposed through the present day. The formation and acts of a variety of Hawaiian sovereignty movements are examined. The timeline of the rise in sovereignty movements seemingly concur to the timeline of the revitalization of the Hawaiian culture. It no coincidence that alongside the development of a native Hawaiian identity came cultural and arguably even a development of a Hawaiian national pride. Punanaleo is a Hawaiian immersion program and one of the first language revitalization efforts and therefore its website provides one of the earliest accounts of an effort to revive what was regarded as a vanishing language.

Other Hawaiian cultural practices such as hula restoration, traditional sailing techniques, increased popularity of canoe paddling, the development of

Hawaiian Studies and Hawaiian Language degrees are all introduced. These cultural revitalization events coincide with the protests Hawaiian sovereignty movements such as the Nation of Hawai'i occupying beaches. Also a case in which the United States is being tried in international tribunal courts for a breach in International Law is considered. The vigorous momentum of the movements alongside the restless state of the native Hawaiian in their search for justice lead to the creation of *U.S. Public Law 103-150*. This was a formal "national apology" from the United States to the Native Hawaiians regarding the overthrow of Queen Liliu'okalani and its surrounding events.

Following the analysis of the Apology Resolution, comes a brief literature review on the governmental apologies worldwide. This escalation of what is sometimes referred to as "Transnational State Responsibility for Past Historical Injustices" began in the 1980s and lasted through 1990s. Alongside the rise in governmental apologies came the academic scholarly work which provided codification for apologies. In Jin Myoung Lee's article "From Conflict Resolution to Reconciliation" code 0 to 3 are utilized to identify the level of recognition of historical events and quantity of compensation given. Similarly, Bar Simon Tov proposes a classification system which would undeniably argue that apologies require some form of compensation in order to be complete. In the brief analysis of what components should make up a governmental apology, it is an unfortunate reality that the Native Hawaiians have not only been taken advantage of with the historical events surrounding the overthrow of the

Hawaiian monarch, but continue to be deprived of any monetary or land compensation. Journalist Melissa Nobles discovered an official report in which the United States denied any responsibility in the overthrow prior to the Bill. Although the Apology Resolution is obviously lacking any form of compensation, some see the acknowledgment of illegal actions as a faint of beacon of hope toward Hawaiian sovereignty.

# CHAPTER ONE

## WESTERN CONSTRUCTED NARRATIVES OF HAWAI'I

### Introduction

What comes to mind when you hear someone talking about Hawai'i? Perhaps the honeymoon destination full of beautiful landscapes for a getaway from reality? Or maybe a secluded island, where play comes before work and people exude a carefree "aloha spirit"? As Edward Said wrote in the opening of *Orientalism*, "The Orient was almost a European invention, and had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences."<sup>5</sup> Taking this idea one step further, these Western constructed narratives of Hawai'i were without a doubt a Western invention. For natives to Hawai'i, it's no getaway. This paradise suffers high costs of living due to the Jones Act of 1920, shorter life expectancies, and constant struggles to be recognized as anything more than a vacation destination. In this chapter, three Western constructed narratives of Hawai'i are juxtaposed with Hawai'i's historical facts derived mostly from the late 1800s to the mid-1900s.

### The Sexualized Hawaiian Women: The Development of the "Hula Girl" Image

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<sup>5</sup> Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books Edition, 1978), 1.

In searching “Hawaiian girl” in a Google images browser, you are immediately swamped in a plethora of half-naked, ideal bodied “hula girl” women. This first narrative to be examined is the sexualization of Hawaiian women. From the moment you see and enter an airplane to Hawai’i, as well as on postcards, photographs, advertisement, film and more, you are immediately bombarded with a variety of images which exploit Hawaiian women’s bodies. Hawai’i has been labeled as “white man’s paradise,”<sup>6</sup> in which it was also referred to as a “place that white men benefit from visiting and settling, and in which dark women await the embrace of heterosexual men, especially white men from the continental United States.”<sup>7</sup> These descriptors were used by *Mid-Pacific Magazine* magazine and portrayed Hawaiian women as some sort of sexual trophy wife, passively waiting for the embrace of white heterosexual males.

The hula girl is without a doubt the epitome of representations of Hawaiian women as sexualized. Images of Hawaiian women circulated in a variety of media sources such as postcards, photographs, magazines, advertisements and film, but they all shared the common denominator of capitalizing off the idea that Hawaiian women were sexual in nature. The “Hawaiian hula girl” transformed into the “hapa ha’ole” hula girl, in which a whitened version of a Hawaiian hula girl was displayed. Jane Desmond explores the hula girl image saying:

Hula girl images on postcards and in photographs in this period thus ran the gamut from beautiful to alluring, to sexual, to pornographic. But they all

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<sup>6</sup> Gary Y. Okihiro, *Island World: A History of Hawai’i and the United States* (California: University of California Press, 2008), 60, references *Mid-Pacific Magazine*, a magazine from the early 1900’s, which advertises Hawai’i using this terminology.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 65.

presented a gendered and sexualized image of the native. The Polynesian looking “hula girl” during this period as the dominant signifier of Hawai’i - a feminized site of nature and romance.<sup>8</sup>

As noted above sexualized “hula girl” was became a dominant signifier of all things Hawai’i, but women who did hula were not always captured in this way.



Figure 1.1 Hawaiians “Before” American Influence. 1899. Murat Halstead’s Pictorial History of America’s New Possessions. Staging Tourism. Chicago, 1999.



Figure 1.2 A Ha’ole Hula Girl. Baker. 1925. Bishop Museum, Honolulu. Staging Tourism. Chicago, 1999.

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<sup>8</sup> Jane Desmond, *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World* (Chicago: London, 1999), 48.

The images above show hula women presented in two contexts. The first on the left is taken in 1899 about thirty-one years before the photo on the right. In the left image there are three women dressed in what looks like traditional tapa skirts, lei, lei po'o, kupe'e and they are surrounded by the customary hula instruments; 'uli'uli, ipu and pu'ili. These three women have a serious face rather than an alluring, inviting smile. Although they may not be wearing a shirt, attention is not drawn by the photographer toward the women's curves. This is a striking difference to the image on the right. The second image is a fair skinned "Ha'ole Hula Girl" posed for a postcard in 1925. In contrast, this woman is laughing and has an inviting posture. She is holding a 'ukulele (which was never played by a hula dancer) and is wearing a skirt that draws much attention to her body curves and bare thigh. The evolution of the "hula girl," evidently displayed in these early images, began the sexualization stereotype of Hawaiian women.

Sexualization of Hawaiian women was not limited to postcards and images. One survey counted sixty-six movies made in or about Hawai'i between 1898 and 1939.<sup>9</sup> These films displayed both sexualized women as well as exotic landscapes. Islands as a whole tend to have a connotation of being mystical and mysterious, which are all exotic feminine descriptors. In an article about femininity and colonization through examining advertisements, Judith Williamson writes, "One of the most important aspects of femininity in mass culture is not what they reveal, but what they conceal. If 'woman' means home, love, and sex,

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<sup>9</sup> Okihrio, *Island World*, 64.

what 'woman' does not mean, in general currency, is work, class, and politics."<sup>10</sup> Feminine places are usually depicted as weak and in need of aid of getting out of primitive, savage behavior.

These Western constructed narratives impacted not only the image of the hula girl, but it demonized the practice of hula itself. Westerners that lacked Hawaiian cultural understanding viewed hula as provocative and sensual. To a native during times, the way of dress was not seen as provocative, but rather a norm. Hula is a cultural practice that has been distorted through the Western portrayal of the hula narrative through film, advertisement and the tourism industry. "The first luxury hotel to be built in Waikiki was the Moana Hotel, completed in 1901."<sup>11</sup> Hotels were amongst the first to "display" hula, as Jane Desmond notes in a way similar to a zoo displaying animals.

Hula has been put on display for human consumption through the tourism industry and hula exhibited in this manner lacks authenticity and is a dance robbed of cultural practice through repeated performance meant only to entertain. Jane Desmond describes the tourist experience as "bodily representations and bodily presence which function as guarantors of historical authenticity."<sup>12</sup> This is a stark comparison to traditional hula in which Amy Stillman says:

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<sup>10</sup> Judith Williamson, "Woman is an Island: Femininity and Colonization," *Studies in Entertainment: Critical Approaches to Mass Culture*, (1986): 99-118.

<sup>11</sup> James Mak, "Creating Paradise of the Pacific: How Tourism Began in Hawai'i," *University of Hawai'i at Manoa Department of Economics Working Paper Series* (2015): 43.

<sup>12</sup> Desmond, *Staging Tourism*, xxii.

The Hawaiian hula is inherently a site of cultural memory, not only in the performance, but in the entirety of its practices of archiving knowledge of the past. To dance is not merely folkloric custom or invented tradition but a statement about knowledge and representations of the form itself. Island places are defined by states of embodiment and felt relations.<sup>13</sup>

For a native to Hawai'i, hula can be a deep and meaningful practice. Hula is cultural dance, and showcases an artistic extension of an intrinsic feeling of connectedness. This deeply rooted connection can be linked to different things to different practitioners; to some it is a connection to history, to others a connection to nature, and to others it may be a connection to a single or multiple gods.

The last part of Amy Stillman's quote above connects island places through both the states of embodiment and felt relations. Many indigenous cultures possess a certain degree of felt relationship to nature. "Islandness" is a term coined by scholars to describe a common identity amongst islanders. One definition of islandness is a "metaphysical sensation that derives from the heightened experience that accompanies physical isolation."<sup>14</sup> These intrinsically felt relations and ties to nature are traits of islandness and also indigeneity.

In his inaugural speech, King Kalakaua said, "Hula is the language of the heart, therefore the heartbeat of the Hawaiian people."<sup>15</sup> He was a patron of the arts and loved hula and music. In 1963, a celebration was created to spark tourist attention by a few locals. It was not until 1971 that the festival transformed into a

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<sup>13</sup> Amy Ku'uleialoha Stillman, "Re-memembering the History of the Hawaiian Hula," in *Cultural Memory: Reconfiguring History and Identity in the Postcolonial Pacific*, ed. Jeannette Mageo (Honolulu: Univeristy of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 188.

<sup>14</sup> P. Conkling, "On Islanders and Islandness," *Geographical Review* 97, no. 2. (2007): 191.

<sup>15</sup> David Kalakaua, "Inauguration" (speech, Honolulu, February 12, 1883).

major event celebrating hula. The Merrie Monarch festival's main purpose is the perpetuation, preservation, and promotion of hula and Hawaiian culture. This festival in Hilo, Hawai'i receives worldwide attention and people fly in from all the Hawaiian Islands, the continental U.S. and even internationally just to watch the competition annually. This world-renowned competition is the apex of events for those who practice traditional hula.

### A Primitive Native Population with Savage Political Leaders

Moving on to the second stereotype of Hawai'i being primitive, the narrative being sold is that Hawai'i is a primitive place, secluded and behind in many aspects. Some people wonder if there are houses, electricity, chain stores, internet and more assuming that all the locals spend their days surfing, eating pineapple and drinking out of a coconut. Most indigenous natives face hardship in deconstructing the story being told and sold about them. Especially in a time such as the late 1800's, it was nearly impossible for the general population to meet or learn about Hawaiians. In this age of Globalization, access to information about cultures and areas from a "distant land" is common, but rarely utilized.

One method of constructing the primitive narrative of Hawai'i was through images of Hawai'i displayed in postcards, magazines and advertisements. The circulation of iconographic representations of primitive people perpetuate

documentation of an unchanging primitive peoples' history.<sup>16</sup> Techniques utilized to ensure Hawai'i was displayed in a manner that made it look like a primitive place included the display of a traditionally modelled scenery as well as the continuous use of a sepia-toned images. With the circulation of outdated images of Hawai'i, the primitive narrative constructed meant that Hawai'i was unable to progress. As a result of being unable to progress in society, Hawai'i became removed from the modern and therefore must be living in the past. These seemingly subtle stereotypes are the source of questions mentioned earlier about Hawai'i having houses, electricity, chain stores etc.

Another method used to circulate the primitive narrative was through motion picture industry which produced over fifty films made in or about Hawai'i between 1920 and 1939.<sup>17</sup> Hawai'i as well as most island nations, have the tendency to be illustrated as small, feminine, and carefree. While reflecting on the films circulated in the 1900s, Gary Okihiro notes "the primal, fertile earth frees white men from the confines of modernity and allows them to shed social inhibitions such as nudity and interracial sex."<sup>18</sup> Filmmakers produced materials that adorn islands and embellished island residents as primal, fertile and sexual through representations such as the "hula girl."

It can be argued that Hawaiians classification as "primitive" was reflective of the natives' potential to be domesticated, with proper guidance and Western

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<sup>16</sup> Desmond, p. 45-46.

<sup>17</sup> Desmond, *Staging Tourism*, 109.

<sup>18</sup> Okihiro, *Island World*, 68.

influence. Jane Desmond notes, “Hawaiians were often seen as closer to White than to Black as a race.”<sup>19</sup> Jane Desmond suggest “primitive” was initially not a negative descriptor. In comparison to other colonized populations, language and depictions were often harsher and populations were dehumanized.

Regardless, white businessmen demonized Hawaiian political leaders in particular. “A ‘blackening’, or linkage with African Americans, occurred in public political discourse beginning with the Bayonet Constitution through 1898 annexation, most frequently used in political cartoons.”<sup>20</sup> With the “blackening” of Hawaiians came the change of narrative from a primitive people, to a savage and unintelligent race. In 1921, the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act (HHCA) questioned the ability of pure natives Hawaiians to be rehabilitate. A highly influential individual at the time, A. G. Robertson testified in the HHCA hearings saying:

The part Hawaiians, the part Caucasian, the part Chinese, and the part Portuguese are virile, prolific, and enterprising lot of people. They have large families and they raise them—they bring them up. These part Hawaiians have had the advantage, since annexation especially, of the American viewpoint and the advantage of a pretty good public school system, and they are an educated people. They are not in the same class with the pure bloods.<sup>21</sup>

Robertson sought to differentiate the part Hawaiians from the pure Hawaiians based off the racist idea that pure Hawaiians were beyond the rehabilitation proposed.

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 51.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 55.

<sup>21</sup> Kehaulani Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity* (North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2008), 126-127.

After much deliberation and negotiation, it was decided that a person must be at least half Hawaiian to receive benefits from HHCA. The policy makers of the blood quantum requirement restricted a person of half Hawaiian, half Asian (Japanese, Chinese, etc.) descent, from receiving benefits due to anti-Asian prejudices. The United States feared that Hawai'i might be colonized by Japan because of the large amount of Japanese population, which settled as migrant plantation workers.



Figure 1.3. Lili to Grover. Gillam, Victor. February 1894. Bishop Museum, Honolulu. Aloha Betrayed. U.S.: Durham & London, 2004.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Victor Gillam, *Lili to Grover*. February 1894. Bishop Museum, Honolulu. As shown in Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 175.

Americans compared Hawaiian monarchs to Blacks as a way to insult and impose their racist ideologies.<sup>23</sup> For example the cartoon above, *Lili to Grover*, depicts Queen Lili'uokalani in a manner in which she has an abnormally large head, and features (ears, lips, eyes, breast), small crown, dark complexion, awkward grin and is dressed in what seems to be a feather-like quality dress. The way she is depicted mixes Westernized things such as heels, pearl necklace and earrings which seem to represent her trying to cover up her Native savage self behind accessories. The scenery is one with a skull, bones, axe, trees, ocean and a starfish all of which lack the usual appealing landscape frequently used in postcards and film.

Not only are these narratives held by those who were alive during a time of limited access to the world wide web, but they are frequently held by modern day folk. An example from current events is found in an interview with the U.S. Attorney General Jeff Sessions on April 18, 2017. He spoke in regards to a Hawai'i federal district court's immediate override to clear the Muslim travel ban. He says "I really am amazed that a judge sitting on an island in the Pacific can issue an order that stops the President of the United States from what appears to be clearly his statutory and constitutional power."<sup>24</sup> The language here is

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<sup>23</sup> Nitasha Sharma, "Pacific Revisions of Blackness: Blacks Address Race and Belonging in Hawai'i," *Amerasia Journal* 37, no. 3 (2011): 43-60.

<sup>24</sup> Sessions, interview by Mark Levin.

immediately dismissive of the judge's authority and demonstrates a clear mainland supremacy ideology.

Refuting this stereotype of Hawaiians being primitive, we see the adept learning and importance placed on education with the establishment of the writing system. "The subsequent printing of tracts and books were an integral part of the 'civilizing' process."<sup>25</sup> The first school established in 1831 was Lahainaluna which was a boarding school designed for males. This was the first school west of the Rocky Mountains. Schools conducted in Hawaiian in 1861 numbered around 266, with a student population of over 8000. By this time, literacy in Hawaiian was "almost universal."<sup>26</sup> In a mere thirty years of the creation of schools, literacy becoming almost universal is quite an accomplishment which refutes claims to a primitive, lack of intelligence stereotype of an ethnicity. Unfortunately beginning as early as 1896 and in some areas as late as 1987, the Hawaiian language was restricted from use in public schools.<sup>27</sup>

Another advance skill held by Pacific Islanders alike were voyaging skills. Polynesian's were skilled navigators who utilized stars, currents and more to intentionally discover new land. The double-hulled canoe, Hokule'a, was built in

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<sup>25</sup> Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2004), 32.

<sup>26</sup> John Reinecke, *Language and Dialect in Hawai'i, A Sociolinguistic History to 1935* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1969) 70. As cited in Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 55.

<sup>27</sup> "Master's Degree in Hawaiian," National Public Radio, *Morning Edition*, May 30, 2002. As cited in Laura Hein and Mark Selden, *Islands of Discontent: Okinawan Responses to Japanese and American Power* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003), 4.

1973 with the purpose of recreating traditional voyaging routes which utilized Polynesian techniques of sailing. An account of American History by Gary

Okiihiro states:

Hawaiians discovered Europeans when they spotted the ships of British Captain James Cook off the island of Kaua'i on the morning of January 18, 1778. Unlike the Polynesians navigators who sailed to find land and settle Hawai'i. Cook made landfall by accident.<sup>28</sup>

In this unique account of American history, the Hawaiians are afforded credit for discovering the Europeans. This was attributed to the happenstance of Captain Cook stumbling upon Hawai'i, although remains an ostracized historical account of events.

From a colonial perspective, Polynesian navigational skill may be labelled as "primitive," due to technology innovations responsible for modern day navigation instruments. What makes Polynesians remarkable, is the fact that their navigational achievements, happened before the birth of such technologies. Some scholars convinced by the primitive narrative, denied that Polynesians were capable of possessing such advance navigation skill. Gary Okiihiro writes:

Whites, including many scholars, held that Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders broadly possessed simple, primitive cultures and technologies. Although they acknowledged that Polynesian ocean voyages had crossed thousands of miles of open water, detractors held that these achievements were largely a matter of accident, because the islanders lacked the canoe technology, navigational instruments and skills, and providing abilities for long-distance sailing.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Gary Okiihiro, *American History Unbound: Asians and Pacific Islanders* (California: University of California Press, 2015), 37.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 412.

It is an intriguing concept, that scholars could reduce Polynesian's navigation skill to a matter of accident, simply based off the stereotype that islanders possessed primitive cultures. However, the Hokule'a utilized Polynesian navigation methods and proved the advanced skill of Polynesian's through its initial journey from Hawai'i to Tahiti and back. The voyages by the Hokule'a is a tradition that continues to be practiced to this day and is celebrated throughout all of the Pacific Islands to the present day. The required skill necessary to sail without navigational instrument's take immense amount of respectable skill.

#### Passive Hawaiians: The Display of Feminine Representations of Hawai'i

The last but certainly not least stereotype to be explored is the feminization of Hawai'i through the construction of a hegemonic multicultural narrative. This feminization was further propelled forward with Hawai'i being showcased primarily through beautiful landscapes and welcoming, friendly people in a variety of media outlets. From the moment you board a plane to Hawai'i, you are exposed to hula girl images, natural landscapes and other feminine depictions which illustrate Hawai'i as the ideal tourist destination. The entire vacation experience is designed to give you "authentic" snippets of all things Hawaiian. In essence, that is all it is, artificial representations of Hawai'i disguised as a genuine cultural experience.

The image below (Figure 1.4), demonstrates a connection between the

use of the exoticized “hula girl” and representation of Hawai’i as feminine due to the fact that a woman is literally emerging from the island full of tropical plants and colorful fish. United Airlines used this image as magazine cover which has many similarities to Figure 1.2 “A Ha’ole Hula Girl” such as her inviting smile and the attention drawn to both the woman’s curves and bare thigh. The plane depicted is undeniably attributed to Hawai’i as a destination to vacation in.

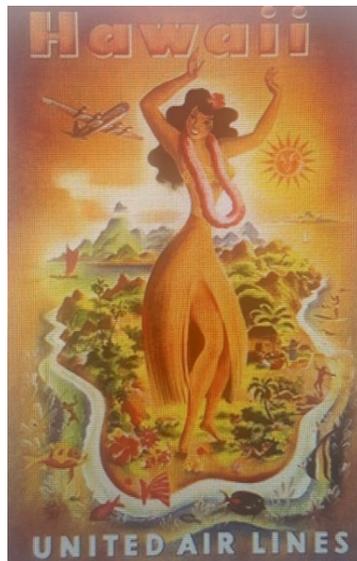


Figure 1.4 Ephemera Forever, *United Air Lines Magazine*<sup>30</sup>

This feminized narrative was spurred with the term “aloha” which illustrate happy Hawaiians ready to share their culture, as Haunani Trask says “it aids in

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<sup>30</sup> Ephemera Forever, *United Air Lines Magazine*. Vintage Ad Collector (San Francisco, 2017)

the constant hawking of things Hawaiian.”<sup>31</sup> “The term ‘aloha’ and its kindred ‘aloha spirit’ were fundamental marketing ploys in the tourist advertisements of Hawai’i in the islands and abroad in the 1930s.”<sup>32</sup> These marketing schemes led to Hawaiians being depicted by representation such as colorful floral aloha wear attire. Notably, “scholars who have studied the history of this garment see it as a symbol of Hawaiian multicultural harmony.”<sup>33</sup> As Roxane Hughes says “the ‘aloha spirit’ sold by the tourist industry since 1930s has camouflaged the colonial sale of Native Hawaiian culture, land and language under the rhetoric of multicultural harmony.”<sup>34</sup> In this 1930s tourism spike, images and aloha attire alike were focused on promoting Hawai’i as a “romantic tourist destination and the intense color found in the islands’ fish and flowers was hyped in the promotional literature.”<sup>35</sup> Romance, color and flowers are all feminine descriptors which suitably for the Western narrative construct assisted in decreased chances for Hawaiians to be seen as authoritative and assertive.

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<sup>31</sup> Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai’i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1993, rev. ed. 1999). As cited in Hughes, “American Multiculturalism in Context,” 286.

<sup>32</sup> Keiko Ohunuma, “Aloha Spirit and the Cultural Politics of Sentiment as National Belonging,” *The Contemporary Pacific* 20, no. 2 (2008): 365-94 as cited in Hughes, “American Multiculturalism in Context,” 286.

<sup>33</sup> Roxane Hughes, “Multiculturalism or Destitute Hawai’i? Re-visioning the Symbolism of the Aloha Shirt,” In *American Multiculturalism in Context: Views from at Home and Abroad*, ed. Sami Ludwig (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), 282.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Linda B. Arthur, “The Aloha Shirt and Ethnicity in Hawai’i,” *Textile* 4, no. 1 (2006): 17.



Figure 1.5. Yukata Print Fabric. Arthur, Linda. 1930s.<sup>36</sup>

The aloha attire is referred to as “aloha shirt” for men’s and “mu’umu’u” for the women. The photo above (Figure 1.5) is an example of an aloha shirt made in 1930. Although it lacks some of the popular bright colors, flora and fauna textiles of its time, it utilizes a print fabric commonly used for the Japanese casual kimono. There is just one case of aloha attire being used to represent harmony between two cultures. “The idea of hospitality and presupposed harmony between islands’ ethnic group appealed to the mainland as an ideal of ‘what America could be.’ With the high import of laborers and inevitable intermarriages, the different ethnicities began to come together to redefine what it meant to be Hawaiian, based on culture and sense of place rather than

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<sup>36</sup> Linda Arthur, *Yukata Print Fabric*. 1930s.

genealogy.”<sup>37</sup> It is through this redefinition of “what it meant to be Hawaiian” that impacted native Hawaiian identity in a manner that was somewhat disoriented.

Another way the portrayal of Hawai’i as a feminine place was taught by the creation of Pacific Island Studies. This field had an agenda construed as products of genocidal removal, national amnesia, or political marginalization.<sup>38</sup> Often times Pacific Island studies were taught in a way which portrayed the Pacific Islands as small, feminine, vulnerable and in need of help.<sup>39</sup> Said points out “the space of weaker, underdeveloped regions like the Orient was seen as something inviting to French interest, with an alluring call for penetration which is basically the equivalence of colonization.”<sup>40</sup> The story told by the colonizer, exhibits their conquests with themselves displayed as a heroic protagonist; merely a benefactor to help the weak and uncivilized regions. In reality these “benefactors” oppressed the native inhabitants, by promoting Western ideology, that consistently demonized indigenous cultural traditions and inadvertently circulated unfamiliar diseases, which led to death rates comparable to genocide.

Representations of Hawai’i as a passive place was undeniably reinforced by Hollywood’s motion picture industry. The film industry profited on movie productions which displayed the Pacific islands as beautiful, relaxing, and passive places. An example of this Western constructed narratives being

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>38</sup> Keith Camacho, “Transoceanic Flows: Pacific Islander Interventions Across the American Empire,” *Amerasia Journal* 37, no. 3 (2011): abstract.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Said, *Orientalism*, 219.

circulated, is through an article written by an unnamed medical visitor, that through observations of island life, concluded that Hawai'i was "the place to go to, to gain rest and lead a quiet life."<sup>41</sup> Using the framework derived from Judith Williamsons' statement, "If 'woman' means home, love, and sex, what 'woman' does not mean... is work, class, and politics,"<sup>42</sup> we can assume descriptors such as "rest" and a "quiet life" does not mean "hard work," "assertiveness," and "activity."

In response to frequent colonization, the United Nations Trusteeship Council was created to protect "weak" territories from unwelcome appropriation by "developed" countries. This Council created a list of non-self-governing territories and had the objective of supervising the administration of qualified Trust Territories.<sup>43</sup> The United Nations Charter reads:

The Trusteeship Council shall formulate a questionnaire on the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of each trust territory, and the administering authority for each trust territory within the competence of the General Assembly shall make an annual report to the General Assembly upon the basis of such questionnaire.<sup>44</sup>

The charter administers a competency questionnaire for the territories to assess whether its inhabitants possess the intellect necessary to decolonize. Territories such as Hawai'i were not only portrayed as weak, but were simultaneously portrayed as primitive and questioned on their abilities.

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<sup>41</sup> *Paradise of the Pacific* 3, no. 10. (1890): 1. As cited in Okihiro, *Island World*, 63.

<sup>42</sup> Williamson, "Woman is an Island," 103.

<sup>43</sup> *United Nation Website*, <http://www.un.org/en/sections/about-un/trusteeship-council/index.html> (accessed May 14, 2017)

<sup>44</sup> UN Charter article 88.

Hawaiians and Islanders alike struggled to be taken seriously which stems from the idea that primitive, savage people were not people at all. “We’ll take this island, they said - because there’s no one here.”<sup>45</sup> Narratives concerning Pacific Ocean territories are often historically derived from “European and American mainland visions of great, empty oceans dotted with deserted and uninhabited islands.”<sup>46</sup> These islands such as Hawai’i were not only occupied, but its people are rich in culture and most continue to struggle to gain recognition to this day instead of being seen as just a vacation destination as many islands alike face.

Refuting the proposed idea that islands are feminine and weak, Epeli Hau’ofa proposes the idea that Pacific islanders are connected because they were voyagers that skillfully navigated through the Ocean. He proposes the idea that geography does not have to be limited to land mass.<sup>47</sup> With that in mind the area of Oceania would be unified, similar to a continent of its own, powerful and interconnected. Islands possess the capacity of being a powerful influence if we consider islands such as Great Britain and Japan. Through the ideology of connectedness of the Pacific, the Pacific Islands would be regarded as mighty and masculine rather than feminine and weak.

Regardless of the lack of protection from the United Nations, Hawaiians did not just passively accept the fact that they’d be annexed to the U.S.

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<sup>45</sup> J-P Tijbaou, interview by Matt Matsuda at Hienghene, New Caledonia, November 27 & 28, 2002. As cited in Matsuda, “This Territory was not Empty,” 230.

<sup>46</sup> Matt K. Matsuda, “This Territory was not Empty: Pacific Possibilities” *Geographical Review* 97, no. 2 (2007): 230.

<sup>47</sup> Epeli Hau’ofa, “Our Sea of Islands,” *A New Oceania: Rediscovering Our Sea of Islands* (1993): 2-16.

Motivated by the fear of colonization, the Kingdom of Hawai'i sent a delegation to the U.S., UK and France, seeking acknowledgement of Hawai'i as an Independent Nation. On behalf of U.S. President John Tyler in 1842, Secretary of State John Calhoun verbally confirmed the full recognition on the part of the United States of the independence of the Hawaiian Government.<sup>48</sup> This was followed swiftly by the Anglo-Franco Proclamation (1843) claim which acknowledges the Sandwich Islands as an Independent State.<sup>49</sup>

With the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai'i on January 16, 1893 came Queen Lili'uokalani's statement:

I, Lili'uokalani, by the Grace of God and under the constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Queen, do hereby solemnly protest against any and all acts done against myself and the constitutional government of the Hawaiian Kingdom by certain persons claiming to have established a Provisional Government of and for this Kingdom. That I yield to the superior force of the United States of America, whose Minister Plenipotentiary, His Excellency John L. Stevens, has caused United States troops to be landed at Honolulu and declared that he would support the said Provisional Government. Now, to avoid any collision of armed forces and perhaps loss of life, I do, under this protest, and impelled by said forces, yield my authority until such time as the Government of the United States shall, upon the facts being presented to it, undo the action of its representative and reinstate me in the authority which I claim as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands.<sup>50</sup>

This was a wise political move which granted the U.S. opportunity to expose the illegal activity of the coup. Along with this statement came the Hawaiian peoples

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<sup>48</sup> John Calhoun on behalf of U.S. President John Tyler, "Recognizing Hawai'i as a Sovereign Nation, 1842," in *Papers Related to the Foreign Relations of the United States*.

<sup>49</sup> British and French Governments, Court of London. "Anglo-Franco Proclamation," 1843. *Treaties and Other International Agreements*.

<sup>50</sup> Lydia Lili'uokalani, "Queen Liliuokalani's Statement Relinquishing Power in Hawai'i 1893." In the *Cleveland-Lili'uokalani Executive Agreements*. Honolulu, HI: 'Iolani Palace.

unanimous respect of the monarchs wished to avoid loss of life. That is an extremely intelligent, strategic and diplomatic move, not one that would be characterized as savage and primitive.

Soon thereafter the overthrow of the Queen, came support from the Hawaiian people through creation of Hui Aloha 'Aina and Aloha 'Aina O Na Wahine, male and female protests groups respectively. These associations worked together to prove to Commissioner James Blount the illegality of the Coup's actions, which were recorded in the Blount Report.<sup>51</sup> With both the unsuccessful attempts to restore the monarchy, and the newly established Republic of Hawai'i's governments attempt to annex Hawai'i to the U.S., came the 1897 anti-annexation petitions. There were over 38,000 signatures of people who petitioned against annexation, gathered by the two aforementioned protest groups, in a time when "the population of Kanaka Maoli (native Hawaiians) was around 40,000."<sup>52</sup> The 1897 attempted annexation failed although it is generally recognized that in 1959, Hawai'i became the 50th state in the United States.

In regards to an official report denying U.S. involvement in the overthrow, Melissa Nobles notes "the Hawaiian sovereignty movement and Hawai'i's U.S. Senators pursued and successfully achieved the Apology Resolution."<sup>53</sup> The Hawaiian sovereignty movement demanded to the U.S. acknowledgement for its role in the overthrow of the Hawaiian kingdom and United States, arguably the

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<sup>51</sup> Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 130.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 151.

<sup>53</sup> Melissa Nobles, *The Politics of Official Apologies* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 89.

most influential and powerful country was pressured by native Hawaiians into creating *U.S. Public Law 103-150*.

In conclusion, the narrative being sold about Hawai'i as sexualized women, feminine place, savage people with a primitive lifestyle which lacks political influence is a farce. It is a representation based off film, postcards, circulated pictures continued to be used even on google images searches, it's portrayed in history books written by the Occident, and is an inevitable result of a lack of humanization due to limited contact with Hawaiians. The reality is that Hawai'i is a place rich in history and culture which continues to fight for recognition, autonomy and so much more. As a result of Globalization, learning about a people such as Hawaiians through the eyes of the natives becomes possible, but only through filtering through the plethora of sources which intentionally or unintentionally suppress the true history.

CHAPTER TWO  
THE KINGDOM OF HAWAI'I: A HISTORY OF CONQUEST  
AND APOLOGY

Introduction

“As primitive people were supposedly without history and hence unchanging, iconographic representations could circulate among Euro-Americans, unquestioned, as documentation, perpetuating images a century out of date.”<sup>54</sup> The three narratives explored in “Western Constructed Narratives of Hawai’i” serve as the “iconographic representations,” which denote an unquestioned history of Hawai’i. In the upcoming chapter, “The Kingdom of Hawai’i: A History of Conquest and Apology,” a condensed account of the Kingdom of Hawai’i’s political background is reviewed, intertwined with expanded accounts of key events that impacted the course of Hawai’i’s history. Subsequently, native Hawaiian politicians and native Hawaiian groups movements are overviewed as it pertains to resistance to colonization. Lastly, the frequently overlooked and fairly unexplored, *U.S. Public Law 103-150* is inspected. This apology is then juxtaposed to literature created concerning official national apologies.

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<sup>54</sup> Desmond, *Staging Tourism*, 45-46.

## The Hawaiian Kingdom

This Kingdom of Hawai'i has undergone many transformations in terms of its sovereignty as an independent nation. The Nation began as a chiefly system, transitioned to an absolute monarchy, and finally ended as a constitutional monarchy. Western assault on Hawaiian sovereignty and statehood, began as early as 1778 with the arrival of British Explorer Captain James Cook (1728-1779). Over the next two centuries and beyond, there would be treaties, declarations and court cases, both internationally and domestic within the United States that would call into question the statehood of Hawai'i and create the tumultuous and rocky atmosphere surrounding the sovereignty that had been stolen from the kingdom.

The native Hawaiian exposure to foreign diseases brought by explorers and missionaries impacted the native Hawaiian population in a grave manner. "Conservative estimates Hawai'i's population in 1778 range from 400,000 to 1,000,000; just forty-five years later that number was reduced to about 135,000.<sup>55</sup> Native Hawaiians speculated at reasons for mass depopulation and actions were taken as preventative measures, but high death rates continued to prevail.

During this time frame, a common folktale to the natives of Hawai'i was that whoever was able to move the Naha stone would be the person who would

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<sup>55</sup> A. W. Crosby, "Hawaiian Depopulation as a Model for the Amerindian Experience," in *Epidemics and Ideas: Essays on the Historical Perception of Pestilence*, ed. Terence Ranger and Paul Slack (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 177. As cited in Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 24.

unite the Hawaiian Islands. It is said that at a young age Kamehameha I (1736-1819), also known as Kamehameha the Great, overturned the Naha stone which has an estimated weight of 2.5 to 3.5 tons. King Kamehameha I was able to unite Hawai'i (Big Island), Maui, Moloka'i, Oahu in 1795 by force, using weapons purchased from American and European traders, which allotted his army a clear advantage in the series of battles fought for territorial ownership. Unable to make a successful trip to the island of Kaua'i, King Kaumuali'i the ruler of Kaua'i willingly submitted to King Kamehameha the Great in a type of Feudal lordship fashion in 1810. It was at this time in 1810 that the islands were unified under one monarch and which marked the transition from chiefly rulers to an absolute monarch system known as the Kingdom of Hawai'i.

In 1819, Kamehameha the Great died and his son Liholiho (1797-1824) takes the throne as Kamehameha II. Still being fairly young, Kamehameha the Great's favorite wife Elizabeth Ka'ahumanu (1768-1832) ascends as a sort of co-regent, titled as "kuhina nui." During this age, the "kapu system" existed, which was the doctrine or sort of "law of the land." Kapu cultural protocols enforced gender roles, religion, politics and more through customs such as a man and woman not being able to eat together. When Kamehameha II, Ka'ahumanu and Keopuolani (his mother) shared a meal, this should have resulted in the women's immediate execution. When execution did not happen, alongside the arrival of Christian missionaries a few months later, the kapu system had been officially terminated, which signified the end of many temples and priestly statuses. The

Hawaiian religion dwindled in activity and Christianity started to ascend as a primary religion over the course of time.

Kauikeaoli (1813-1854) was another one of Kamehameha the Great's sons and he became the third monarch as Kamehameha III in 1825. King Kamehameha III was a mere twelve years of age when he began his rule. He was aided by his kuhina nui and throughout his rule, he held a mixed desire to keep traditional Hawaiian ways, but also incorporate Christian beliefs. In 1839, Kamehamehan III and his chief advisors authored the Hawaiian Bill of Rights intended to protect tenured Hawaiian land. The following year the Kingdom of Hawai'i made its first Constitution of 1840 with the help aid of the British allies. As a result of the constitution, the Kingdom of Hawai'i transition from an absolute monarchy system to a constitutional monarchy. The newly established constitution appointed the King as chief executive, and created a judicial as well as a legislative branch, which separated the legislature into two; the House of Nobles and the House of Representatives.

In 1843 however the legal status of Hawai'i changed temporarily. On February 11, 1843, George Paulet (1803-1879) arrived in Hawai'i for the purposes of affording protection to British subjects and requested to communicate with the king only and in person.<sup>56</sup> Paulet demanded a private interview with the king on February 16, 1843 and the king and co-regent Mirium

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<sup>56</sup> Alexander Simpson, "The Sandwich Islands: Progress of Events Since Their Discovery by Captain Cook. Their Occupation by Lord George Paulet. Their Value and Importance." Smith, Elder, 1843, 78.

Kekauluohi (1794-1845) declined. On February 17, 1843 he sent the following message:

As you have refused me a personal interview, I enclose you the demands which I consider it my duty to make upon your Government; with which I demand a compliance at or before 4 o'clock, P.M., tomorrow otherwise I shall be obliged to take immediate coercive steps to obtain these measures for my countrymen.<sup>57</sup>

This was followed by a notice that demands must be met the next day or else an immediate attack would ensue. The response from the Kingdom was a letter from King Kamehameha III and his kuhina nui which complied with the demands “under protest” as to take the earliest opportunity to represent their case to the Britannic Majesty’s Government in hopes of being justified.<sup>58</sup> The letter of the provisional cession of the Hawaiian Islands to Great Britain went out February 25, 1843, which placed George Paulet and three others as the new government that lasted five months.<sup>59</sup> This coup was ended when American Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones (1790-1858) met with Kamehameha III in Honolulu and raised the flag of Hawai’i and respected the sovereignty of Hawai’i on July 31, 1843.

The Great Mahele land redistribution of 1848 was the next monumental change in Hawaiian history. The ahupua’a land divisions were abolished and replaced by an allocation of lands. In the divide, one third became Hawaiian

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 80.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 41.

<sup>59</sup> George Paulet to Great Britain, February 1843, British and Foreign State Papers, Volume 150, Part 1. "Correspondence Relating to the Provisional Cession of the Sandwich Islands to Great Britain. —February 1843." Great Britain Foreign Office. 1858. 1023–1029.

crown lands, one third was divided amongst the chiefs and the remaining one third was allocated to go to the rest of the population with the expectation that land claims be made within two years. Due to the unfamiliar concept of owning land, there was a lack of claims which resulted in these lands being sold and or leased to foreigners. This resulted in a lot of Natives of Hawai'i being kicked off their land and an increase of homelessness. In 1852, near the end of his reign Kamehameha III passed the Constitution of 1852, which reduced the influence of the monarch by separating further the executive branch of the Kingdom of Hawai'i.

Other Kings rose to lead the Kingdom of Hawai'i such as in 1854, Alexander 'Iolani Liholiho (1834-1863) became Kamehameha IV, followed by Lot Kapuaiwa (1830-1872) as Kamehameha V, beginning in 1863. Kamehameha V created a new Constitution of 1864. It abolished the kuhina nui and other executive branches, but allowed the Council of State to advise the King in Executive matters. It also made the legislative branch into one body with no mention of either the House of Nobles or House of Representatives. This appears to be Kamehameha V attempt to restore an absolute monarchy system.

For a single year in 1873, William Charles Lunalilo (1835-1874) became "The People's King" in Hawai'i's first election, due to Kamehameha V's lack of naming a successor. William Lunalilo was the first ruler who was not a descendant of Kamehameha I. In his one-year reign, he attempted to restore the 1840 constitution but was unable to. Similarly, to Kamehameha V, William

Lunalilo did not have the opportunity to name a successor to the throne before his death. Therefore, a year later in 1874, David Kalakaua (1836-1891) became the newly elected king. During the reign of King Kalakaua, a group known as the Hawaiian League made up of white minority subjects of the Hawaiian Kingdom, along with foreign nationals gathered while legislature was out of session to cultivate a plan to take over the political rights to the Kingdom of Hawai'i.

On July 1, 1887, the Hawaiian League forced King Kalakaua to accept a new Cabinet Council composed of U.S. and European males through threats of bodily harm. A mere 6 days later the *Bayonet Constitution* (1887), written by the Hawaiian League was placed on the Kingdom of Hawai'i without following the proper constitution amendment process. *The Kingdom of Hawai'i's Constitution of 1864* article 80 states that "two-thirds Legislative assembly vote and approval by the King was needed to amend the Constitution" and this process was not observed with the enforcement of the *Bayonet Constitution*. The Bayonet Constitution implemented a land owning component to the citizenship requirement, and as a result, the Hawaiian citizenship credentials restricted the right to vote almost exclusively to white land owning settlers and businessmen.

After King Kalakaua died, his sister Lydia Lili'u Loloku Walania Wewehi Kamaka'eha (1838-1917) rose to the throne January 29, 1891. The King named her as his successor, and she became widely known as Queen Lili'uokalani. In response to the *Bayonet Constitution*, Queen Lili'uokalani went island to island gathering ideas and support from the Native Hawaiian population (through

petitioning), and drafted a proposed 1893 Constitution of the Kingdom of Hawai'i. The proposed Constitution would have allotted the monarch executive power and reduced property requirements for voters. Unfortunately, when word spread about the Queen's actions, the Cabinet Council retaliated by gathering 1500 armed local (non-native) men to depose the Queen and placed the monarch under house arrest with the full support of the U.S. Marines. From her palace, she sent a letter, which stated:

I, Lili'uokalani... I do, under this protest, and impelled by said forces, yield my authority until such time as the Government of the United States shall, upon the facts being presented to it, undo the action of its representative and reinstate me in the authority which I claim as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands.<sup>60</sup>

In this statement Queen Lili'uokalani yielded her authority to the United States of America rather than to the Provisional Government that formed against her. In the same manner as Kamehameha III in 1843, she made it clear that she had yielded "under protest" in hopes of being restored upon further investigation of the matters. It is also stated "to avoid any collision of armed forces and perhaps loss of life" which clearly reflects her motivation for the statement.

As Queen Lili'uokalani hoped, U.S. President Grover Cleveland questioned the integrity of the request for annexation of Hawai'i by the newly established provisional government. It did not appear that such provisional government had the sanction necessary of either popular revolution or suffrage

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<sup>60</sup> Lili'uokalani, "Queen Liliuokalani's Statement Relinquishing Power in Hawai'i 1893."

to dethrone the constitutional ruler of the islands, Queen Lili'uokalani.<sup>61</sup> President Cleveland stated:

“I conceived it to be my duty therefore to withdraw the treaty (of annexation) from the Senate for examination, and meanwhile to cause an accurate, full, and impartial investigation to be made of the facts attending the subversion of the constitutional Government of Hawai'i and the installment in its place of the provisional government.”<sup>62</sup>

Regardless, this provisional government ruled Hawai'i and they changed the name “the Kingdom of Hawai'i” to “the Republic of Hawai'i” in 1894.

The Republic of Hawai'i was responsible for prohibiting the use of the Hawaiian language in 1896. Pertinent to the prohibition of the Hawaiian language, 'Aha Punana Leo website reads, “Education through the Hawaiian language in both public and private schools is outlawed on the model of U.S. policy towards the use of American Indian languages in education.” Recalling the policy on American Indian language use, Carol Schmid writes, “Provisions in 1802 and 1819... attempted to promote ‘civilization’. There was an implicit assumption that the English language was the ‘civilized’ tongue and Native American languages were ‘barbaric’ languages.”<sup>63</sup> The promotion of the English language led to the extermination of Native American languages, just as it did with outlawing of the Hawaiian language in education.

In 1897, a treaty of annexation was signed by the U.S. President William McKinley, but the Ku'e Petitions signed by majority of the population, aided its

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<sup>61</sup> Grover Cleveland, “Message to Congress Regarding Hawai'i,” (Washington, DC, 1893).

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Carol L. Schmid, *The Politics of Language: Conflict, Identity, and Cultural Pluralism in Comparative Perspective* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 22.

failure in the U.S. Senate.<sup>64</sup> The persistence of U.S. President William McKinley alongside the American-Spanish war in 1898, led to the creation of the Newlands Resolution (1898), which annexed the Hawaiian Islands to the United States the next year, regardless of the failed treaty request just a single year before. The Newlands Resolution of 1898 has a statement by the government of the Republic of Hawai'i also known as the provisional government. This statement signified its "consent for Hawai'i to be annexed to the U.S., in a manner provided by its Constitution." This so called "consent," consisted of five American Individuals which formed the coup responsible for overthrowing Queen Lili'uokalani. Furthermore, the "manner provided by its Constitution" is invalid due to lack of due process, in which the constitution established a two-thirds of the legislative branch approval vote necessary to approve proposed bills. It is held by some in the Hawaiian sovereignty movements in the present day, that because appropriate legal procedures to annexation were not followed, the Kingdom of Hawai'i exists and the U.S. has been illegally occupying Hawaiian territory.

After the annexation of Hawai'i to the U.S. through the Newlands Resolution, the Organic Act of 1900 was created to formally provide a government, and a new Constitution for the U.S. Territory of Hawai'i. This included allowing the U.S. to abolish and replace all past offices, provide rules for the Senate and House of Representatives, establish Honolulu as the State capital and much more. This also formally recognized citizenship being defined

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<sup>64</sup> Ku'e Petitions in paper and microfilm versions are available at UH Manoa library.

as, “all persons who were citizens of the Republic of Hawai’i on August twelfth, eighteen hundred and ninety-eight, are hereby declared to be citizens of the United States and citizens of the Territory of Hawai’i.”<sup>65</sup> This confirmed that although the Republic of Hawai’i should have never been formally recognized as the government of Hawai’i, it was seen as legitimate by the United States.

In 1920, a mere twenty years after the newly established Territory of Hawai’i government, native Hawaiian Senator, John Henry Wise (1868-1937) proposed the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act (HHCA.) Senator Wise and native Hawaiian Delegate Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana’ole (1871-1922) reinforced the Act through its completion in 1921. “The homesteading proposal thus began with a desire by elite Hawaiians to rehabilitate common Hawaiians who were suffering from high mortality rates, unemployment, and poor living conditions in tenement housing.”<sup>66</sup> The proposal gave eligible native Hawaiian families a chance to qualify for residential, pastoral, and or agricultural homestead leases. The objective was for native Hawaiians to reestablish their deeply rooted connection to the land, while concurrently gaining economic self-sufficiency. Unfortunately, alongside the proposal, came the conversation surrounding what qualifies a native Hawaiian, who should be eligible for homestead benefits.

A. G. Robertson was perhaps the most influential individual that participated in the classification of native Hawaiians. Robertson was a member of

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<sup>65</sup> *The 1900 Organic Act*. Similar Organic Acts were created for the non-continental U.S. territories; Alaska, Puerto Rico and Guam.

<sup>66</sup> Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood*, 68.

the Hawaiian League, which forcefully pressured King Kalākaua to sign the Bayonet Constitution (1887), and was also a member of the Honolulu Rifles, which administered the overthrow of Queen Lili'uokalani (1898). Additionally, Robertson held respectable positions such as; captain and judge advocate in the trials of prisoners that faced charges of treason, deputy attorney general for the Republic of Hawai'i (1895), House of Representatives member for the Territory of Hawai'i (1896, 1898 and 1901), U.S. district judge and more.<sup>67</sup> In regards to the proposed HHCA, Robertson insisted that pure-blood Hawaiians be differentiated from part-blood Hawaiians. His testimony said:

The part Hawaiians, the part Caucasian, the part Chinese, and the part Portuguese are virile, prolific, and enterprising lot of people... (from) the American viewpoint and the advantage of a pretty good public school system, and they are an educated people. They are not in the same class with the pure bloods.<sup>68</sup>

Pure bloods were seen as beyond the proposed rehabilitation and the HHCA was passed with the requirement of a native being at least fifty percent Hawaiian descent. After all the struggle and debate for native Hawaiian rehabilitation, HHCA was charged with mismanagement and abuse for illegal use and transfers of lands for U.S. military use, public parks, country facilities and leasing to private parties.

The Territory of Hawai'i established in 1898, was placed on a list non-self-governing territories by the United Nations Trusteeship Council in 1946.

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid. 121-122. Robertson's many career roles are expanded on.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid. 126-127.

According to the UN official website, the purpose of the Trusteeship Council was to “promote the advancement of the inhabitants of Trust Territories and their progressive development towards self-government or independence.”<sup>69</sup> In regards to the United Nations and Hawai’i Mililani Trask wrote:

In 1946 the United Nations compiled a list of non-self-governing territories on which the U.S. government included Hawai’i... The ballot used in 1959 when the people of Hawai’i voted to become a state of the Union included only two options: integration and remaining a U.S. colonial territory.<sup>70</sup>

In response to this statement Florencia Mallon noted, “The UN criteria established in 1960... known to the United States at the time of the vote... should have included independence and free association as choices.”<sup>71</sup> “The United States misinformed the United Nations and made it seem like it was the choice of “the people of Hawai’i to have freely exercised their self-determination and chosen to incorporate themselves as a part of the United States.”<sup>72</sup> Therefore, President Dwight D. Eisenhower signed the Hawai’i Admission Act which dissolved the Territory of Hawai’i status and put into effect U.S. Statehood on August 21, 1959. Since the Hawai’i Admission Act it is internationally recognized that Hawai’i is the 50th state of the United States and sovereignty of the Kingdom of Hawai’i was vanquished. Important to note, not all native Hawaiians believe

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<sup>69</sup> *United Nation Website*, <http://www.un.org/en/sections/about-un/trusteeship-council/index.html> (accessed May 14, 2017)

<sup>70</sup> Mililani B. Trask, “The Politics of Oppression,” *IWGIA document 75* (1994): 68-87. As cited in Mallon, *Decolonizing Native Histories*, 33.

<sup>71</sup> Florencia E. Mallon, *Decolonizing Native Histories: Collaboration, Knowledge, and Language in the Americas* (North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2011), 33.

<sup>72</sup> Trask, “The Politics of Oppression,” 68-87. As cited in Mallon, *Decolonizing Native Histories*, 33.

that the Kingdom of Hawai'i is extinct. Some argue the Kingdom of Hawai'i is illegally occupied by the United States and seek restitution through international law.

### Hawaiian Resistance to Colonization: 1842 to Present Times

Resistance to colonization is a recurring, yet overlooked theme in the Kingdom of Hawai'i's history. As early as 1842 the Kingdom of Hawai'i fought to keep their independence as a nation. A delegation was sent to the U.S., UK and France, to attain written and verbal acknowledgement of the Kingdom of Hawai'i as an Independent Nation in hopes of gaining allies to assist in maintaining their sovereignty over Hawai'i. In 1842, the Secretary of State John Calhoun verbally confirmed the full recognition on the part of the United States of the independence of the Hawaiian Government on behalf of the U.S. President John Tyler.<sup>73</sup> This was immediately followed by the Anglo-Franco Proclamation (1843) claim which "acknowledges the Sandwich Islands as an Independent State."<sup>74</sup>

As noted earlier, Queen Lili'uokalani was forced to relinquish her power as the reigning monarch of the Kingdom of Hawai'i in 1893. In response to the stolen sovereignty, Hawai'i residents unified to create the protest groups known as Hui Aloha 'Aina (male members) and Aloha 'Aina O Na Wahine (female

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<sup>73</sup> Calhoun, "Recognizing Hawai'i as a Sovereign Nation, 1842."

<sup>74</sup> Anglo-Franco Proclamation, 1843.

members.) These unions conjoined efforts to compile evidence surrounding the events that led to the subversion of the Queen. Many natives Hawaiians testified in interviews with Congressman James Blount, which are currently recorded in the Blount Report available to be read by anyone. Between the two protest groups over 38,000 petition signatures were gathered against annexation and according to Noenoe Silva, “the population of Kanaka Maoli (native Hawaiians) at the time was around 40,000.”<sup>75</sup>

When presenting the anti-annexation petitions to the U.S. Senate in December of 1897, the delegates chose to use only the 17,000 signatures which solely opposed annexation. The remainder of the signatures requested the full restoration of the Hawaiian Kingdom in addition to opposing annexation. A few Hawaiian representatives were responsible for submitting a statement protesting annexation, in addition to meeting with congressmen to share the aforementioned petition and statement. The Hawaiian representative’s brief interactions with the continental U.S. Senators, led to debates on the Senate floor which insisted Hawaiians be allowed to vote on annexation.<sup>76</sup> These 17,000 signatures, along with the truthful appeal to the U.S. Senate that Hawai’i was against annexation, were ultimately enough to make this attempt fail.

Ultimately, just a single year later, the Newlands Resolution annexed Hawai’i in 1898. This Resolution gave the provisional government known as the

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<sup>75</sup> Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 151.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 159.

Republic of Hawai'i official jurisdiction of Hawai'i's legal actions without regards to the overthrown Kingdom of Hawai'i. The Republic of Hawai'i was transitioned into the Territory of Hawai'i in 1900, with the Organic Act. The Organic Act dissolved all previous offices of the Republic of Hawai'i and replaced them with new offices and provided the newly established government with a constitution. By 1911, the first U.S. naval base was established at Pearl Harbor.

After the bombing of Pearl Harbor in 1941, the island of Kaho'olawe was used by U.S. government as a bombing range. Hawaiians had continued to protest this with no success until 1990. In 1963 the Merrie Monarch Festival was created by locals in Hilo to attract visitors to the island. Initially it served as a tribute to King Kalakaua who was known as "the Merrie Monarch." It hosted events such as King Kalakaua look alike competition and hula performances. This event transformed into a major gathering, which to this day celebrates Hawaiian cultural dance. The major purpose of the festival is the perpetuation, preservation, and promotion of the art of hula and the Hawaiian culture. The Merrie Monarch festival is considered the world's premier forum, for people of all ages to display their skills and knowledge of the art of ancient and modern hula.

The Hawaiian sovereignty movements continued to fight with a spike in 1970s. Somewhere in the late 1960s and early 1970s was the creation of Aboriginal Lands of Hawaiian Ancestry (ALOHA), but the exact date is speculated due to a lack of documentation at that time. ALOHA had a variety of movement objectives which included; the reformation of the Hawaiian Homes

Commission Act, the reinstatement of ceded lands to native Hawaiian, and the promotion of free education. The Polynesian double-hulled voyaging canoe Hokule'a made in 1975, sailed from Hawai'i to Tahiti using non instrument navigation which sparked pride in the Hawaiian culture.

The year 1976 marked the beginning of a new method of protests. Gary Okihiro recounts:

Central to the Hawaiian movement has been the issue of land, as seen through the lens of *aloha 'aina*. On January 4, 1976, inspired by the 1969 American Indian occupation of Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay, nine protestors, including Hawaiians and an American Indian, landed on Kaho'olawe island, used since the 1930s as a military site.<sup>77</sup>

With inspiration derived from the American Indians, Hawaiians imitated their method of occupying land. Gary Okihiro is immensely accurate in his observation of the issue of land being central to the Hawaiian movement. Fights for ceded lands of the Republic of Hawai'i, the HHCA land claims, and much more sparked a fire in the Hawaiian sovereignty movements.

The University of Hawai'i at Manoa (UHM), offered Hawaiian language as a foreign language as early as 1922, but the language did not become popular until 1972, when "Ka Leo Hawai'i," a Hawaiian language radio talk show featured native guest speakers. In 1976, a UHM student gained the ability to Major in Hawaiian language and or Hawaiian studies. The year 1978, marked the legal acknowledgement of the Hawaiian language as the official language of Hawai'i alongside the English language. The creation of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs

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<sup>77</sup> Okihiro, *American History Unbound*, 410.

(OHA) happened in the year 1978 in a state constitutional convention. A few years later, a Hawaiian Studies BA program was established at the University of Hawai'i at Hilo (UHH) in 1982, followed by the opening of Punana Leo Hawaiian immersion schools as early as 1984.<sup>78</sup>

A grassroots initiative known as "Ka Lahui" was created in 1987, followed by the construction of the initiative known as "Ka Pakaukau" by Blaisdell in the late 1980s. Subsequently, "after years of protest, the U.S. Navy stopped live-fire training on Kaho'olawe in 1990."<sup>79</sup> "The Nation of Hawai'i" protest group, frequently utilized the method of occupying lands such as in 1993 when they occupied the beach area near Makapu'u lighthouse, on the island of Oahu.

The year unlike any other would be 1993. Ka Lahui frequently had their annual commemoration of the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai'i on January 17, but 1993 celebrated the 100th anniversary of the overthrow. With this sentimental tribute to the Kingdom of Hawai'i, Ka Lahui led 12,00 people on a march to 'Iolani Palace:

Thousands of native Hawaiians rallied at the palace over a five-day period that ended today, marking the 100th anniversary of the overthrow of the Queen. The anniversary has become a rallying point for a growing number of people who trace some part of their ancestry to those who inhabited the islands before the arrival of Captain James Cook in 1778. Today's rally drew about 12,000 members of dozens of organizations advocating some form of sovereignty for the roughly 216,000 native Hawaiians among the

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<sup>78</sup> 'Aha Punana Leo, "A Timeline of Revitalization," accessed March 16, 2017. [http://www.ahapunanaleo.org/index.php?/about/a\\_timeline\\_of\\_revitalization/](http://www.ahapunanaleo.org/index.php?/about/a_timeline_of_revitalization/). The section with Hawaiian language facts were derived from 'Aha Punana Leo's website.

<sup>79</sup> Okiihiro, *American History Unbound*, 411.

state's one million residents.<sup>80</sup>

A group named Ka Ho'okolokolonui Kānaka Maoli held "the Peoples' International Tribunal Hawai'i." An unnamed author created a monograph in promotion of the event, which reads:

Local island participants will present testimonies, land struggle demonstrations and indigenous cultural activities from at home and abroad. Hawai'i was illegally annexed on August 12, 1898 and illegally became a U.S. state on August 21, 1959.<sup>81</sup>

This tribunal served as an international court of justice that presented local people the opportunity to testify against the unlawful annexation. The monograph acknowledged that Hawai'i was illegally annexed prior to the release of the Apology Resolution.

Hawaiian sovereignty movement demanded acknowledgement by the U.S. for their involvement in the overthrow of the Hawaiian kingdom. A few days after the march of 12,000 people, on Jan 21, 1993, Hawai'i Senator Daniel Akaka proposed an apology bill to the Senate. In *the Politics of Official Apologies*, Melissa Nobles writes, "the Hawaiian sovereignty movement and Hawai'i's U.S. Senators pursued and successfully achieved the Apology Resolution."<sup>82</sup>

Ultimately, their conjoined efforts led to the creation of *U.S. Public Law 103-150*

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<sup>80</sup> John Titchen, "Anniversary Stirs Hawai'i Sovereignty Movement," *New York Times*, January 18, 1993, <http://www.nytimes.com/1993/01/18/us/anniversary-stirs-hawaii-sovereignty-movement.html>.

<sup>81</sup> "KA HO'OKOLOKOLONUI O KANAKA MAOLI: The International Peoples' Tribunal Hawai'i" (monograph, Honolulu, 1993), 1-4. [https://freedomarchives.org/Documents/Finder/DOC44\\_scans/44.monograph.ka.ho'okolokolonui.o.kanaka.maoli.8.12.1993.pdf](https://freedomarchives.org/Documents/Finder/DOC44_scans/44.monograph.ka.ho'okolokolonui.o.kanaka.maoli.8.12.1993.pdf)

<sup>82</sup> Nobles, *The Politics of Official Apologies*, 89.

which formally acknowledged and apologized for the historical events that occurred.

The Apology Resolution has sparked much controversies in the Hawaiian sovereignty movement since its creation. Groups such as Keanu Sai's Kingdom of Hawai'i movement has argued that as a result of a lack of due process for annexation of Hawai'i to the United States, that the U.S. has been illegally occupying the sovereign Kingdom of Hawai'i. Lance Larsen vs. Hawaiian Kingdom was a Permanent Court of Arbitration court case which acknowledged the existence of the Hawaiian Kingdom and concluded that Hawai'i is in fact and occupied State. Some of the sovereignty movements seek total independence, or "de-occupation" as some call it.

The Hawaiian sovereignty movements also consist of those seeking a sort of "Nation within a Nation" relationship with the United States. The Office of Hawaiian Affairs has been promoting an election to establish a working government. Debates had been made regarding who should qualify as a candidate and if there should be an imposed blood qualification. After much deliberation, candidates had been chosen but the lack of voter participation made this a failed election. The "Nation within a Nation" relation is supported by many who believe that total independence is an unrealistic goal due to the U.S. interest in keeping Hawai'i as the fiftieth state.

One hindrance to the concordance of the movement, is the controversy regarding who is considered "Hawaiian." This argument is fundamentally rooted

in the idea of absorption as exemplified by A. G. Robertson statement, “the Hawaiian blood is so readily absorbed that a person of one-eighth Hawaiian blood can-not be distinguished from a white person, in ninety-nine cases out of one hundred.”<sup>83</sup> Qualification for being “Hawaiian” existed solely based off a standard created by white Politicians. This imposed classification resulted in the manipulation of native Hawaiian’s mindset as a minimal credential for claims to indigeneity. Although the blood quantum levels have changed, the undertone of absorption exist in the normalized question “how much Hawaiian do you have?” as a means to legitimize a person’s claim to being native Hawaiian.

### The Apology Resolution

The political agenda of the Apology Resolution is deeply embedded and disguised in the diplomatic language used throughout. Without careful examination of the apology, the intent of the cunning choice of words utilized, could very easily remain undetected. On January 21, 1993, Hawai’i Senator Daniel Akaka made introductory remarks on the Senate floor, which proposed the creation of an apology bill. The motivation for the proposal is widely attributed to the Hawaiian sovereignty movements, which sought recognition for the U.S. involvement in the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Hawai’i Senator Daniel Inouye played an active role in process and is recognized as the co-sponsor of the bill.

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<sup>83</sup> Kauananui, *Hawaiian Blood*, 129.

It was not until October 27, more than 10 months later, did the Senate pass the proposal, which was then transferred to the House floor later that day. Undoubtedly, those ten months were spent finessing language and phrasing used, as a means to project the political agenda of the U.S. Congress. Nearly a month later, on November 15, the House passed the bill and it was enrolled to the president two days later. A full six days after being initially received, President Bill Clinton signed the Apology Bill. With the signature of the president on November 23, 1993, the bill was officially passed into law.<sup>84</sup>

Moving on to a structural break down of the apology, the resolution consists of 37 historical preambulatory clauses, five words of agreement clauses, one definition clause and a one-clause disclaimer. The 37 historical clauses recount Hawaiian history and some of its larger events and outside influences to the Kingdom of Hawai'i, gathered mostly from the Blount report. The five words of agreement clauses acknowledged the events that happen and offer up an apology, followed by one-clause defining the term Native Hawaiian. Last, but not least, the apology concluded with a single, yet problematic disclaimer that is to be scrutinized later.

The Apology Resolution begins with a brief statement of purpose which reads:

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<sup>84</sup> U.S. Congress Legislature, "All Bill Information (Except Text) for S.J.Res.19," accessed May 14, 2017. <https://www.congress.gov/bill/103rd-congress/senate-joint-resolution/19/all-info?r=1>. The movements of the bill through legislature is noted in timeline of events.

To acknowledge the 100th anniversary of the January 17, 1893 overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai'i, and to offer an apology to Native Hawaiians on behalf of the United States for the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai'i.<sup>85</sup>

In response to the aforementioned Hawaiian sovereignty movements, the U.S. Congress offers an apology for the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai'i. The phrasing "on behalf of the United States for the overthrow" used, rather than "on the behalf of the United States role in the overthrow" is a calculated phrasing intending to disguise the U.S. as merely an innocent bystander. Throughout the entire document the event is referred to strictly as, "the overthrow of," which is peculiar due to the abundance of synonymous terms such as "insurgence of," "uprising against," "rebellion towards," and "subversion of" that could have been used to describe the upcoming series of events.

This statement of purpose is followed by the acknowledgement of a self-sufficient Hawaiian people, prior to the arrival of Europeans:

Whereas, prior to the arrival of the first Europeans in 1778, the Native Hawaiian people lived in a highly organized, self-sufficient, subsistent social system based on communal land tenure with a sophisticated language, culture, and religion.

The Hawaiian culture is referred to here as a sophisticated language, culture, and religion. This is the same language, culture, and religion that was regarded by European and Americans alike as "uncivilized" and "primitive." As early as 1830, missionaries convinced the kuhina nui Ka'ahumanu to outlaw hula due to Christian held beliefs of hula being paganistic. Also in 1896 the Hawaiian

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<sup>85</sup> *U.S. Public Law 103-150.*

language had been banned from being taught in schools even though Hawaiians had a near complete literacy rate in the Hawaiian language.<sup>86</sup>

The following clause demonstrates Hawaiian history recounted in a manner that coincides with Western influence on Hawai'i, which reads:

Whereas a unified monarchical government of the Hawaiian Islands was established in 1810 under Kamehameha I, the first King of Hawai'i.

It is due to Western contact that Kamehameha the Great was able to unite the Hawaiian Islands. Without guns that were sold to him, he undoubtedly would not have won all the battles. The clause also speaks of a people united under a monarchical government. Being that it is becoming an increasingly popular universal norm that democracies are suitable and legitimate governments, one may just read over this statement. In Queen Lili'uokalani's statement, she refers to the Hawaiian government as constitutionally sovereign, rather than monarchical.<sup>87</sup> This may or not may not influence the perceptions of this Kingdom as a legitimate government just by a slight change of language use.

The next two clauses introduce the Kingdom of Hawai'i's treaties for commerce, navigation as well as foreign relations with the Church. These clauses read:

Whereas, from 1826 until 1893, the United States recognized the independence of the Kingdom of Hawai'i, extended full and complete diplomatic recognition to the Hawaiian Government, and entered into treaties and conventions with the Hawaiian monarchs to govern commerce and navigation in 1826, 1842, 1849, 1875, and 1887;

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<sup>86</sup> "Master's Degree in Hawaiian," National Public Radio. As cited in Hein and Selden. *Islands of Discontent*, 4.

<sup>87</sup> Lili'uokalani, "Queen Liliuokalani's Statement Relinquishing Power in Hawai'i 1893."

Whereas the Congregational Church (now known as the United Church of Christ), through its American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, sponsored and sent more than 100 missionaries to the Kingdom of Hawai'i between 1820 and 1850.

The document speaks of a diplomatic recognition of the Hawaiian Government and also mentions the U.S. entering into treaties and conventions with the independent Kingdom of Hawai'i. This is also an interesting word choice, "diplomatic recognition" by the U. S. rather than diplomatic ties. There is also a failure to recognize the Kingdom of Hawai'i's international diplomatic ties and recognition by other countries, most prominently by Great Britain and France. Moreover, the Congregational Church is recognized for sponsoring and sending over 100 missionaries to Hawai'i between 1820 – 1850. The clause fails to mention the estimates of Hawai'i's depopulation rates which range from 265,000 to 865,000 deaths in from 1778 to 1823.<sup>88</sup>

Following the written recognition of the Kingdom of Hawai'i's independence as late as 1887, it transitions into removal of that sovereignty through a coup in the following:

Whereas, on January 14, 1893, John L. Stevens (hereafter referred to in this Resolution as the "United States Minister"), the United States Minister assigned to the sovereign and independent Kingdom of Hawai'i conspired with a small group of non-Hawaiian residents of the Kingdom of Hawai'i, including citizens of the United States, to overthrow the indigenous and lawful Government of Hawai'i.

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<sup>88</sup> Crosby, *Hawaiian Depopulation*, 177. As cited in Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 24.

John Stevens (1820-1895), also known as the United States Minister, conspired with a small group to overthrow the Government of Hawai'i. It is misleading that this group (coup) is referred to as a "small group of non-Hawaiian residents... including citizens of the United States" rather than a "small group of mostly American men." The seemingly unnamed coup gave themselves the name Honolulu Rifles, which just so happens to be comprised of similar members of the Hawaiian League responsible for the forced Bayonet Constitution onto King Kalakaua. It is bewildering that a coup responsible for the overthrow and oppression of Hawaiians, could have no prior or further reference in the rest of the document. The villainizing of certain individuals involved has the natural effect of other affiliated parties' roles being diminished and or overlooked. The authors of the document evidently aspire to downplay America's broader involvement in the situation by blaming it on a singular United States Minister.

The two clauses recount how the Kingdom of Hawai'i's government was overthrown and it introduces the parties involved:

Whereas, in pursuance of the conspiracy to overthrow the Government of Hawai'i, the United States Minister and the naval representatives of the United States caused armed naval forces of the United States to invade the sovereign Hawaiian nation on January 16, 1893, and to position themselves near the Hawaiian Government buildings and the 'Iolani Palace to intimidate Queen Liliuokalani and her Government;

Whereas, on the afternoon of January 17, 1893, a Committee of Safety that represented the American and European sugar planters, descendants of missionaries, and financiers deposed the Hawaiian monarchy and proclaimed the establishment of a Provisional Government.

A mere two days after the initial formation of the conspiracy group, John Stevens and another unnamed “naval representative of the U. S.” strategically placed armed naval forces in locations to “intimidate” Queen Lili’uokalani. The strategically passive word “intimidate,” is meant to minimize the threat by the U.S. to the Queen, which synonymously could be replaced by harsher words such as “terrorize” or “harass.” The day after the Queen was terrorized, the Hawaiian monarchy was deposed and a “provisional government” was formed. It is baffling that the provisional government was described as American and European sugar planters, descendants of missionaries and financiers rather than a group comprised of the same members from the Hawaiian League, which used threats of bodily harm to King Kalakaua and the Honolulu Rifles, which deposed Queen Lili’uokalani. Wording such as “representatives” of the U.S. Naval forces and “descendants of missionaries” are clear attempt to disassociate the actions of the few, with responsibility of the United States.

Following these statements, the apology acknowledges the lack of consent of the Native people and the clear violation of international law. This clause reads:

Whereas the United States Minister thereupon extended diplomatic recognition to the Provisional Government that was formed by the conspirators without the consent of the Native Hawaiian people or the lawful Government of Hawai’i and in violation of treaties between the two nations and of international law.

John L. Stevens extended diplomatic recognition of the Provisional Government, which is noted in the Apology as a violation of international law. In relation to

international law, it is necessary to introduce the creation of the United Nations Trusteeship Council in 1947. The United Nations Charter reads:

The Trusteeship Council shall formulate a questionnaire on the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of each trust territory, and the administering authority for each trust territory within the competence of the General Assembly shall make an annual report to the General Assembly upon the basis of such questionnaire.<sup>89</sup>

Hawai'i was placed on a list of non-self-governing territories by the Trusteeship Council, which granted Hawai'i the lawful means necessary to decolonize.<sup>90</sup>

Some native Hawaiians believe that due to the violation of international law, Hawai'i can regain recognition as the Hawaiian Kingdom through International Law as a nation being illegally occupied by the United States.

The Apology Resolution continues by addressing the actions of the Hawaiian monarch that includes a full statement of the queen yielding her authority, as well as the lack of support from the transition from the Kingdom of Hawai'i to a protectorate of the United States in the following clauses:

Whereas, soon thereafter, when informed of the risk of bloodshed with resistance, Queen Liliuokalani issued the following statement yielding her authority to the United States Government rather than to the Provisional Government:

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

"That I yield to the superior force of the United States of America whose

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<sup>89</sup> UN Charter article 88.

<sup>90</sup> Trask, "The Politics of Oppression," 68-87. As cited in Mallon, *Decolonizing Native Histories*, 33.

Minister Plenipotentiary, His Excellency John L. Stevens, has caused United States troops to be landed at Honolulu and declared that he would support the Provisional Government.

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

Done at Honolulu this 17th day of January, A.D, 1893.;

Whereas, without the active support and intervention by the United States diplomatic and military representatives, the insurrection against the Government of Queen Liliuokalani would have failed for lack of popular support and insufficient arms;

Whereas, on February 1, 1893, the United States Minister raised the American flag and proclaimed Hawai'i to be a protectorate of the United States.

Queen Lili'uokalani made a very strategic diplomatic move to save her people from annihilation. She stated that she yielded her authority until such time as the Government of the United States shall, upon facts being presented to it, undo the action of its representatives and reinstate her. Not only did she surrender, but she did so knowing the lack of communication and support from the U.S. and trusted that upon learning what was really happening would restore her reign as monarch. It also mentions that the insurrection of the Hawaiian government would have failed without support of diplomatic and military representatives. Not only was there a lack of support, the insurrection led to the creation of Hui Aloha 'Aina and Aloha 'Aina O Na Wahine. These male and female protests groups worked to find evidence of the illegality of the actions of the United States Minister declaring Hawai'i a protectorate of the United States.

The Hawaiian monarch was right in the fact that an investigation would be conducted which would result in exposing the illegality of the overthrow. With the change in government Grover Cleveland stated:

I conceived it to be my duty therefore to withdraw the treaty from the Senate for examination, and meanwhile to cause an accurate, full, and impartial investigation to be made of the facts attending the subversion of the constitutional Government of Hawai'i and the installment in its place of the provisional government.<sup>91</sup>

President Cleveland halted the treaty of annexation and sent an investigation surrounding the overthrow.

The next clause goes into the results of the investigation which proved that an abuse of authority had happened. This clause reads:

Whereas the report of a Presidentially established investigation conducted by former Congressman James Blount into the events surrounding the insurrection and overthrow of January 17, 1893, concluded that the United States diplomatic and military representatives had abused their authority and were responsible for the change in government.

President Grover Cleveland sent James H. Blount to investigate the overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy. The overthrow was January 17th 1893 and President Grover Cleveland took office March 4th 1893. President Grover Cleveland knew that there was something suspicious related to the request for annexation coming almost immediately after the Provisional Government took over. He therefore rejected the proposed treaty immediately and sent Blount to investigate. Blount wrote more than a thousand pages on events surrounding the overthrow including testimonies from interviews and letters which concluded that the acts

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<sup>91</sup> Cleveland, "Message to Congress Regarding Hawai'i."

were illegal and against the wishes of the majority population.<sup>92</sup> Blount spoke to groups such as Hui Aloha 'Aina comprised of 7,500 Hawai'i's men as well as Hui Hawai'i Aloha 'Aina O Na Wahine comprised of 11,000 of Hawai'i's females, and the sister organization to Hui Aloha 'Aina which sought independence of the Provisional Government.<sup>93</sup> This was also the fact-finding mission from which the Apology Resolution discovered a great deal of its information. After finding this out, Grover Cleveland said:

I conceived it to be my duty therefore to withdraw the treaty from the Senate for examination, and meanwhile to cause an accurate, full, and impartial investigation to be made of the facts attending the subversion of the constitutional Government of Hawai'i and the installment in its place of the provisional government.<sup>94</sup>

The consequences of this breach of international law are explored in the next three clauses, which state:

Whereas, as a result of this investigation, the United States Minister to Hawai'i was recalled from his diplomatic post and the military commander of the United States armed forces stationed in Hawai'i was disciplined and forced to resign his commission;

Whereas, in a message to Congress on December 18, 1893, President Grover Cleveland reported fully and accurately on the illegal acts of the conspirators, described such acts as an "act of war, committed with the participation of a diplomatic representative of the United States and without authority of Congress," and acknowledged that by such acts the government of a peaceful and friendly people was overthrown;

Whereas President Cleveland further concluded that a "substantial wrong has thus been done which a due regard for our national character as well as the rights of the injured people requires we should endeavor to repair" and called for the restoration of the Hawaiian monarchy.

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<sup>92</sup> *Blount Report*.

<sup>93</sup> Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 146.

<sup>94</sup> Cleveland, "Message to Congress Regarding Hawai'i."

Consequence for treason against the Kingdom of Hawai'i resulted in John L Stevens being recalled from his post, and the unnamed military commander being forced to resign and being "disciplined" in an undeclared manner. The message provided by President Cleveland is confounding due to the fact that U.S. strategy would employ the control of the Hawaiian government. Rather instead, President Cleveland acknowledged the wrong doings and called for a restoration of the Hawaiian Monarchy. In his message to Congress he spoke at length regarding national honesty and justice, and reaffirmed that the overthrow of the monarchy was "in no way promoted by this Government."<sup>95</sup> The language utilized is inspiring and it assumes a certain degree of responsibility given to the U.S., in order to defend national honor through justice being restored. President Cleveland uses language such as "substantial wrong" and "acts of war" to describe the coups action while describing the Hawaiian government as "peaceful" and "friendly." These descriptions could be seen as a perpetuation of the imposed primitive and weak narratives, due to the fact that "peaceful" and "friendly" are passive words in essence. There was a miscommunication that led Queen Lili'uokalani to think that President Cleveland would restore her right away, but President Cleveland left it up to his congress who did not want to relinquish control over Hawai'i.

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

In the full message to congress he provides a detailed account of actions taken by the provisional government after the overthrow. The overthrow was followed swiftly by representatives setting sail for U.S. two days later. On January 28, 1893, the representatives of the provisional government landed in San Francisco and reported to Washington by February 3. On February 11, 1893, an interview was conducted with the Secretary of State, subsequently on the 14, annexation was formally agreed upon by those present, followed by its transmission to the Senate on February 15. With one month left in office, President Benjamin Harrison recommended annexation due to his interest in establishing a naval base at Pearl Harbor. With the Senates failure to act quickly, alongside President Cleveland's inauguration as President led to President Cleveland withdrawing the treaty of annexation for further investigation.

The provisional government proceeded to ignore President Cleveland's message and not only continued to govern Hawai'i, but also convinced the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate to conduct a new investigation which resulted in a different conclusion than the Blount investigation. These clauses state:

Whereas the Provisional Government protested President Cleveland's call for the restoration of the monarchy and continued to hold state power and pursue Annexation to the United States;

Whereas the Provisional Government successfully lobbied the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate (hereafter referred to in this Resolution as the "Committee") to conduct a new investigation into the events surrounding the overthrow of the monarchy;

Whereas the Committee and its chairman, Senator John Morgan, conducted hearings in Washington, D.C., from December 27, 1893, through February 26, 1894, in which members of the Provisional Government justified and condoned the actions of the United States Minister and recommended annexation of Hawai'i.

The provisional government protested the call for restoration and continued to pursue annexation by lobbying the Committee on Foreign Relations to conduct a new investigation. This new committee's investigation revolved around members of the provisional government and their say on a series of events that happened surrounding the overthrow. The investigation reflected the provisional government's ideology and recommended annexation. This was reflected in the Morgan Report, which not only justified the actions surrounding the governmental overthrow, but highly recommended annexation.<sup>96</sup> The Morgan Report declared the United States Minister, the provisional government and any other parties involved in the overthrow to be innocent. It was only Queen Lili'uokalani that was proven guilty by the Morgan Report.

Next, the provisional government self-declared that it was the Republic of Hawai'i in the following:

Whereas, although the Provisional Government was able to obscure the role of the United States in the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, it was unable to rally the support from two-thirds of the Senate needed to ratify a treaty of annexation;

Whereas, on July 4, 1894, the Provisional Government declared itself to be the Republic of Hawai'i.

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<sup>96</sup> *Morgan Report.*

With the Morgan Report came the recommendation of annexation as well as a justification of the overthrow. President Grover Cleveland's had abandoned all efforts to restore the Queen prior to the approval of the Morgan Report on February 26, 1894. Less than a year later, this coup self-declared itself to be Republic of Hawai'i symbolically on the 4 of July.

Following these events came the official forced abdication of the monarch while under house arrest. The resolution reads:

Whereas, on January 24, 1895, while imprisoned in 'Iolani Palace, Queen Liliuokalani was forced by representatives of the Republic of Hawai'i to officially abdicate her throne.

An abdication document was sent out relinquishing any claims to restoration of her to the throne. In it, Queen Lili'uokalani used terminology such as "misguided Hawaiians" which is very different from the type of language she used in other writings, such as her initial temporary relinquishing of her throne.<sup>97</sup> She pledged an allegiance to the Republic of Hawai'i and claimed to be fully in a right state of mind. It is to be duly noted, that the U.S. Congress recognized the fact that Queen Lili'uokalani was forced to abdicate her throne. It also slightly subtly slides in the fact that Queen Lili'uokalani was placed under house arrest in her own palace for over two years. She was allowed little to no interaction with her kingdom and spent much of her time writing. She wrote a book, poetry, songs

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<sup>97</sup> Lydia Lili'uokalani, "Queen Lili'uokalani's Abdication Statement in 1895," Honolulu, HI: 'Iolani Palace.

and was secretly conveyed a limited knowledge of current events, which she discovered through newspaper wrappings around flowers delivered to her.

The next clause in the document introduces the next United States president who replaced President Cleveland, yet it also overlooks an important event under the newly elect President. This clause reads:

Whereas, in the 1896 United States Presidential election, William McKinley replaced Grover Cleveland.

In 1896, President William McKinley is the newly elected president and he supports annexation more strongly than Grover Cleveland had. These clauses fail to mention the second unsuccessful attempt at annexation which happened in 1897.<sup>98</sup> The Republic of Hawai'i attempted to annex Hawai'i to the U.S. again in 1897, which inspired the anti-annexation petitions. As mentioned earlier, two protest groups successfully gathered over 38,000 signatures of people who petitioned. This is quite a remarkable achievement since the estimated population of native Hawaiians at the time was 40,000.<sup>99</sup> Native Hawaiian representatives went to the U.S. to share the anti-annexation petitions with the Senate, which ultimately led to a failed attempt to ratify the treaty of annexation by a two-thirds vote.

The next few clauses mention an 1898 a U.S. joint resolution, which is the official beginning of the end of the Kingdom of Hawai'i. These clauses read:

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<sup>98</sup> Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 158.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 151.

Whereas, on July 7, 1898, as a consequence of the Spanish-American War, President McKinley signed the Newlands Joint Resolution that provided for the annexation of Hawai'i;

Whereas, through the Newlands Resolution, the self-declared Republic of Hawai'i ceded sovereignty over the Hawaiian Islands to the United States.

The language used here is very peculiar; “as a consequence of the Spanish-American war” makes it sound as if there were no other choice but to annex Hawai'i. Understandably from a strategic standpoint to annex Hawai'i was a very politically savvy move, but to say it was a consequence of the war could argue that as the war ended, Hawai'i could go back to its prior governance. Rather it should have been stated that that annexation was incentivized by the Spanish American war. The Newlands Joint Resolution is a short eleven-clause document which annexed Hawai'i to the U.S., ceased international treaties, banned Chinese immigration into Hawai'i and more. The Republic of Hawai'i's portion reads as follows:

Whereas, the Government of the Republic of Hawai'i having, in due form, signified its consent, in the manner provided by its constitution, to cede absolutely and without reserve to the United States of America, all rights of sovereignty of whatsoever kind in and over the Hawaiian Islands and their dependencies, and also to cede and transfer to the United States, the absolute fee and ownership of all public, Government, or Crown lands, public buildings or edifices, ports, harbors, military equipment, and all other public property of every kind and description belonging to the Government of the Hawaiian Islands, together with every right and appurtenance thereunto appertaining.<sup>100</sup>

The “self-declared” Republic of Hawai'i aka the illegal coup ceded sovereignty to the U.S. to create the Territory of Hawai'i.

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<sup>100</sup> *The Newlands Resolution.*

The Apology Resolution continues on and acknowledges the ceded Kingdom of Hawai'i lands which reads:

Whereas the Republic of Hawai'i also ceded 1,800,000 acres of crown, government and public lands of the Kingdom of Hawai'i, without the consent of or compensation to the Native Hawaiian people of Hawai'i or their sovereign government;

Whereas the Congress, through the Newlands Resolution, ratified the cession, annexed Hawai'i as part of the United States, and vested title to the lands in Hawai'i in the United States.

The 1,800,000 acres of crown, government, and public lands were ceded to the U.S. by a group of people with no legitimate claim to cede the lands. The fact that the resolution mentions that no consent or compensation was given to the people or their government and the fact that the resolution ends with a statement that this Apology Resolution serves as a settlement to any claims against the United States has no grounding in acceptable ethical or moral human relations, let alone diplomatic norms of today or from that time. The fight over ceded lands continues to be a primary motivator for many Hawaiian activist in their battle for justice.

Next, the document ceases any Kingdom of Hawai'i treaties and acknowledge the lack of the native people relinquishing their sovereignty. These clauses read:

Whereas the Newlands Resolution also specified that treaties existing between Hawai'i and foreign nations were to immediately cease and be replaced by United States treaties with such nations;

Whereas the Newlands Resolution effected the transaction between the Republic of Hawai'i and the United States Government;

Whereas the indigenous Hawaiian people never directly relinquished their claims to their inherent sovereignty as a people or over their national lands

to the United States, either through their monarchy or through a plebiscite or referendum.

Overall the Newlands Resolution created the Territory of Hawai'i through ceasing international treaties with the Kingdom of Hawai'i through a transaction between the U.S. and the Republic of Hawai'i regardless of the Hawaiian people's choice. Regardless of sovereignty being relinquished, a group of insurgents gained recognition as the lawful government of Hawai'i. As a result of the U.S. Congress intentionally creating the Newlands Resolution, the facade of the United States portrayed as a bystander is irrefutably inaccurate. The U.S. government's active role in the subversion of the Kingdom of Hawai'i begins with the Newlands Resolution.

Following the Newlands Resolution came the Organic Act two years later which dissolved the Republic of Hawai'i's government. The document reads:

Whereas, on April 30, 1900, President McKinley signed the Organic Act that provided a government for the Territory of Hawai'i and defined the political structure and powers of the newly established Territorial Government and its relationship to the United States.

The Organic Act is a document passed by William McKinley abolished all old offices and set up an entire new Government for the Territory of Hawai'i. Section 5 of the Organic Act says "That the Constitution, and, except as otherwise provided, all the laws of the United States, including laws carrying general appropriations, which are not locally inapplicable, shall have the same force and

effect within the said Territory as elsewhere in the United States.”<sup>101</sup> It created new senatorial districts, classified citizens and much more.

Following the Organic Act of 1900 the Resolution jumps ahead 59 years to a clause about the Hawai’i Statehood Act, which reads simply:

Whereas, on August 21, 1959, Hawai’i became the 50th State of the United States.

The over six-decade battle ended with the passing of Hawai’i as the 50th State in 1959. As noted earlier the Trusteeship Council (One of six branches of the United Nations) came up with a method to protect territories from unwanted annexation. Noenoe Silva a native Hawaiian activist and scholar writes:

In 1946 the United Nations compiled a list of non-self-governing territories on which the U.S. government included Hawai’i. The ballot used in 1959 when the people of Hawai’i voted to become a state of the Union included only two options: integration and remaining a U.S. colonial territory. The U.S. State Department misinformed the United Nations, which in turn considered the people of Hawai’i to have freely exercised their self-determination and chosen to incorporate themselves as a part of the United States.<sup>102</sup>

The UN criteria were included in the conversations at the time of annexation, in which one of the criteria was that a ballot must include independence and free association as choices.<sup>103</sup> The ballot used did not include total independence or free association which could have impacted the results in a monumental way due

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<sup>101</sup> *The 1900 Organic Act.*

<sup>102</sup> Trask, “The Politics of Oppression,” 68-87. As cited in Mallon, *Decolonizing Native Histories*, 33.

<sup>103</sup> Mallon, *Decolonizing Native Histories*, 34.

to the repetitive lack of support of the native people as mentioned multiple times in this Apology.

The next few clauses acknowledge the impact of the overthrow on health of the Native Hawaiian people. These clauses read:

Whereas the health and well-being of the Native Hawaiian people is intrinsically tied to their deep feelings and attachment to the land;

Whereas the long-range economic and social changes in Hawai'i over the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have been devastating to the population and to the health and well-being of the Hawaiian people.

It is an unfortunate reality that to this day, native Hawaiians suffer the poorest health conditions as residents of Hawai'i. As stated in the first clause, the feelings and attachment to the land and health of the people are intertwined. It is proven in a study of Native Hawaiian homeless population that the Hawaiians that are homeless suffer greater health risks than Hawaiians with homes. The struggles began with the Mahele land redistribution of 1848, which established the unfamiliar concept of ownership of land. Perplexed and confused, many native Hawaiians never filed land claims which inevitably led to homelessness. The Newlands Resolution ceded 1,800,000 acres of land to the Republic of Hawai'i which forced more native Hawaiians into homelessness.

Homelessness hinders a person's intrinsic connection to the land and to a native Hawaiian, that lack of connectivity is directly connected to their overall health and well-being. In the current day, Hawaiians makeup the largest population of homeless people. A medical journal article, written by David Yamane addresses Health Disparities of Native Hawaiians notes:

Despite efforts to improve the health of the Native Hawaiian people, their health status is one of the poorest in the nation, suffering from disproportionately high rates of cardiovascular disease, hypertension, cerebrovascular disease, cancers, diabetes, obstructive lung diseases (asthma, bronchitis, emphysema), chronic kidney disease, metabolic syndrome, and obesity, with the highest rate of diabetes amongst ethnic subgroups in Hawai'i. Native Hawaiians also have a lower life expectancy and higher rates of cardiovascular and diabetes related mortality. Additionally, Native Hawaiians have more behavioral risk factors for diseases, with higher rates of tobacco use, alcohol consumption, methamphetamine use, and dietary fat intake, compounded by lower fruit/vegetable intake, and decreased physical activity.<sup>104</sup>

Today's population of native Hawaiians continue to suffer lower life expectancies, higher cardiovascular related mortality and possess high behavioral risk factors linked to other diseases. The health risks continue to plague the health of native Hawaiians.

The next clause of the Apology Resolution acknowledges the Native Hawaiian push to preserve their cultural identity, which reads:

Whereas the Native Hawaiian people are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territory, and their cultural identity in accordance with their own spiritual and traditional beliefs, customs, practices, language, and social institutions.

Noticeably, the formation of cultural identity as Native Hawaiians included Hokule'a traditional sailing, hula restoration, language revitalization through gaining recognition of Hawaiian language as an official language of the State of Hawai'i, and the creation of Hawaiian Studies and Hawaiian Language degrees

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<sup>104</sup> D. Yamane, S. Oeser, and J. Omori, "Health Disparities in the Native Hawaiian Homeless," *Hawai'i Medical Journal* 69, no. 6 (2010): 35–41.

alongside the creation of punanaleo Hawaiian immersion schools. A history excerpt from the Native Hawaiian Education Council reads:

The Native Hawaiian Educational Assessment Project report, funded by the Kamehameha Schools Bishop Estate and submitted to Congress in 1983, found that Native Hawaiians scored below parity in education and that these low achievement levels were directly related to cultural factors.<sup>105</sup>

It is not coincidental that as cultural pride developed, a sense of national pride developed alongside it.

The next clause announces that the year 1993 serves as a year of special reflection of the rights of Native Hawaiians in American society. This clause reads:

Whereas, in order to promote racial harmony and cultural understanding, the Legislature of the State of Hawai'i has determined that the year 1993 should serve Hawai'i as a year of special reflection on the rights and dignities of the Native Hawaiians in the Hawaiian and the American societies.

The special reflection on the rights of Native Hawaiians are never explicitly stated, perhaps since those rights are the same as any other in American society. However, in April of 1993 Senator Daniel Inouye hosted a two-day summit for the Native Hawaiian Education Council when he learned that this group had not been in communication since the passing of the Native Hawaiian Education Act in 1988.<sup>106</sup> November 23, 1993 is when the Resolution passed which left a little over a month to officially celebrate the “year of special

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<sup>105</sup> Native Hawaiian Education Council, “About NHEC-History,” accessed May 2, 2017. <http://www.nhec.org/about-nhec/history/>.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

reflection.” This was fortuitously the same year Ka Lahui had their 12,000 people on a march in protest around ‘Iolani Palace and the International Tribunal against the United States. The formal publication reads, “the Tribunal’s findings and recommendations are being prepared for distribution as an official report to the United Nations.”<sup>107</sup> Native Hawaiians did not merely “reflect” on their own rights as suggested, but they actively sought to reclaim their entitlement to sovereignty.<sup>108</sup>

The next clause recognizes that the Church had a role in the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai’i and reads:

Whereas the Eighteenth General Synod of the United Church of Christ in recognition of the denomination’s historical complicity in the illegal overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai’i in 1893 directed the Office of the President of the United Church of Christ to offer a public apology to the Native Hawaiian people and to initiate the process of reconciliation between the United Church of Christ and the Native Hawaiians.

In the 18th General Synod of the United Church of Christ 1991 held in Norfolk, Virginia it was a topic that the Rights of Native Hawaiians to Self-Determination and Self-Governance should be recognized alongside a number of other issues. It has proven difficult to find records of this document or any evidence that links this document to the direction of the President of the United Church of Christ to offer a public apology.

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<sup>107</sup> “The International Peoples’ Tribunal Hawai’i,” monograph, 1-4.

<sup>108</sup> Ulla Hasager et al., *Ka Ho’okolokolonui Kanaka Maoli: 1993 The Peoples’ International Tribunal Hawai’i Manao* (Honolulu: Honolulu Publishing Company, 1993), 4.

<sup>107</sup>continuedcitation <http://www.hegemonystudies.org/journeytojustice/uploads/2011/03/Tribunal-Ka-Hookolokolonui-Kanaka-Maoli-copy.pdf>.

The last of the preambulatory historical clauses speak of the timely Apology Bill and expresses remorse and a desire to reconcile. This clause reads:

Whereas it is proper and timely for the Congress on the occasion of the impending one hundredth anniversary of the event, to acknowledge the historic significance of the illegal overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai'i, to express its deep regret to the Native Hawaiian people, and to support the reconciliation efforts of the State of Hawai'i and the United Church of Christ with Native Hawaiians: Now, therefore, be it.

The political timing is one that benefits the United States but the one hundredth anniversary hardly seems like a "proper timing" for acknowledgement and apology since it is out of the lifetime of those who lived to remember it. Still, it is the first time the United States recognized the events surrounding the overthrow as illegal, and it sparked some debate in the Hawaiian community.

The Apology Resolution then transitions from historical recount clauses, to words of agreement clauses. The words of agreement clauses began with the U.S. Congress acknowledging the illegal overthrow and in the (continued) suppression of the sovereignty of the native Hawaiian people. This clause reads:

The Congress—  
on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the illegal overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai'i on January 17, 1893, acknowledges the historical significance of this event which resulted in the suppression of the inherent sovereignty of the Native Hawaiian people.

It is contentious of the U.S. congress to acknowledge the historical significance of events that resulted in the suppression of Hawaiian sovereignty. This "inherent sovereignty of the native Hawaiian people" continues to be suppressed by the U.S. Congress. Regardless, this clause is the first time the U.S. congress admitted illegal activity took place surrounding Hawai'i's history. Prior to the

Apology, Melissa Nobles notes that “an official report denied that the United States was responsible for the overthrow of the Hawaiian kingdom.”<sup>109</sup> The language used throughout the Apology Resolution arguably continues to deny the involvement of the U.S. but rather blames the overthrow on the activity of the United States Minister and the involved parties.

This clause is followed by a recognition of reconciliation efforts made with the native Hawaiians. This clause reads:

Recognizes and commends efforts of reconciliation initiated by the State of Hawai'i and the United Church of Christ with Native Hawaiians.

The second clause recognizes that efforts of reconciliation by the Church and State of Hawai'i to Native Hawaiians are to be commended. Reconciliation efforts made by the State of Hawai'i and the United Church of Christ remain unnamed and therefore recognizing and commending the aforementioned efforts become an impossible endeavor. The esteemed nature of the nameless reconciliation efforts effectively allows the United States to mimic passive and nameless action, without being held to an expectation of compensation.

Next the document finally apologizes on behalf of the people of the United States in the clause that reads:

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 the deprivation of the rights of Native Hawaiians to self-determination.

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<sup>109</sup> Nobles, *The Politics of Official Apologies*, 89.

As noted previously in this work, the United States separates the actions of the United States Minister and the coup from the actions of the U.S. In this clause, they apologize for the U.S. citizen participants in their wrongdoings and not for the ongoing lawlessness of the United States, in which they continue to suppress the inherent sovereignty of the native Hawaiians. The intentional phrasing used directs blame to certain individuals, while assuming no responsibility for the situation.

Next the resolution recognizes ramifications and desire to set a foundation to lead to reconciliation. These clauses read:

Expresses its 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; and

Urges the President of the United States to also acknowledge the ramifications of the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai'i and to support reconciliation efforts between the United States and the Native Hawaiian people.

Once again they reiterate their commitment to acknowledging ramifications of the overthrow as a means to strive for reconciliation. Ramification can be defined as "consequence of an action or event."<sup>110</sup> As far as the Kingdom of Hawai'i is concerned, the Native Hawaiians are the ones who faced unimaginable consequences of the overthrow which are not being compensated in any manner. The Congress also urges the President to acknowledge ramifications with what seems to be the similar wording to support reconciliation. The final

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<sup>110</sup> *Online dictionary*, <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/ramification>.

word of agreement clause was fulfilled on November 23, 1993 when President Bill Clinton signed the Resolution.

The congress decided to define the term Native Hawaiian in the following clause, which reads:

As used in this Joint Resolution, the term "Native Hawaiian" means any individual who is a descendent of the aboriginal people who, prior to 1778, occupied and exercised sovereignty in the area that now constitutes the State of Hawai'i.

The manner in which Native Hawaiian is defined here is an upgrade to the racial classification definition created with the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act. In 1920, a group of mostly American men defined a Native Hawaiian eligible for land claims as fifty percent Hawaiian Blood. Extending the definition to any individual descendent of the aboriginal people is a more inclusive definition, which allows a greater number of people to be included.

Lastly, the apology concludes with a final clause recognizing that this Apology Resolution is meant to "serve as a settlement of any claims against the U.S." It reads:

Nothing in this Joint Resolution is intended to serve as a settlement of any claims against the United States.

The phrase "to lay claim to" means "to assert and demand the recognition of a right, title, possession."<sup>111</sup> This brings into question the ability of an apology to serve in lieu of a nations rights, titles and possessions. Two of the prominent native Hawaiians rights, titles, and possessions mentioned in the Apology

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<sup>111</sup> *Online dictionary*, <http://www.dictionary.com/browse/claim>.

Resolution were the 1,800,000 acres of crown-ceded lands and that the inherent sovereignty of the native Hawaiians. This this one clause disclaimer proceeds to nullifies any claims to land and sovereignty. Moreover, this Apology Resolution was never intended to serve as an apology but rather recognize history and act as a disclaimer as to protect the U.S. scheme.

The Apology Resolution, which offers an apology to the Native Hawaiians on behalf of the United States, only uses the word “apology” only four times in the entire document: once in the statement of purpose, once acknowledging the apology of the Church of Christ, once as a header “acknowledgment and apology,” and, finally, once in words of agreement clause three to apologize for the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai’i. In contrast, the word “acknowledge” is used seven times; once in the statement of purpose, twice in the preambulatory historical clauses, once in the heading, and in three of the five words of agreement clauses. It could be argued that this joint resolution could serve as an Acknowledgement Resolution rather than an Apology Resolution. Last but not least, the disclaimer clause, is, for political purposes is very important to solidify this documents purpose of acknowledging and apologizing for history, rather than serving as a prerequisite to reinstatement of the Hawaiian Kingdom or any claims to lands.

### About National Apologies

Transnational State Responsibility for Past Historical Injustices (TSRPHI) is a term coined to express the idea “that any country should take proper responsibility for its past historical injustices towards citizens in other states.”<sup>112</sup> The 1980s through the 1990s, held an “unprecedented phenomenon that arose in international politics to redress past historical injustices that took place between previously hostile countries.”<sup>113</sup> The aforementioned timeline, places the creation of the Apology Resolution at the mid to latter part of the increase use of national apologies.

Alongside the increased utilization of governmental apologies came the academic opportunity to examine documents such as Bar-Siman-Tov, who created a classification system for national apologies in 2004. This method categorized apologies based on their ability to lead the involved parties to reconciliation. The acknowledgement of legal liability and providing financial compensation is believed to be a foundational component aiding reconciliation. The three divisions proposed are as follows; the ‘personal apology’ marked by reflection, confession of guilt and desire to reconcile, the ‘formal apology’ meant to reconcile two groups for a breach of International Law through acknowledgement of legal liability, and lastly the ‘nonapology’ marked merely by a suggestion of regret, without acknowledging any legal liability.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Jin Myoung Lee, "Identifying and Conceptualizing Transnational State Responsibility for Past Historical Injustices," *Korean Political Science Review* 46, no.6 (2012): 31.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov, *From Conflict Resolution to Reconciliation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 186.

The Apology Resolution authored by the U.S. Congress expresses and extent of sympathy in the words of agreement clauses, which could easily be mistaken as an acknowledgement of role and responsibility in the overthrow. Although given the technique of writing from a third party perspective rather than a participant, obscures the role played by the U.S., classifying the Apology Resolution as a 'nonapology'.

The concise and calculated verbiage used throughout the apology, is arranged in a manner that presents the United States in an honorable, lawful, and virtuous way. In the apology, the congress introduces key characters and places the blame on these individuals and in their direct and obvious roles in the overthrow. This act of villainizing individuals undeniably skews the roles of affiliated parties in a manner that minimizes attention and accountability. Writing from a third party perspective, acknowledging a villain, and expressing a suggestion of regret were ploys used to deny any legal and financial responsibility.

A different method of codifying TSRPHI was proposed in 2012, which separated apologies into three code 1, 2, and 3 groups. A term known as 'no responsibility' (or code 0), is used to describe a government that refuses to issue and apology or compensation to oppressed group. Beginning with code 1, this apology also known as the 'partial apology.' It is the term is used if someone of high stature; such as a President, issues an apology that is usually accompanied by partial compensation. A code 2 apology is when an apology resolution is

approved in legislature. This is also known as a 'full apology' and is accompanied by either individuals being compensated or by the sponsorship of community rehabilitation programs. Lastly, code 3 apology is when a government pays compensation to the addressee country in agreement.<sup>115</sup> Under this classification, the Apology Resolution would classify as a code 2. It is a full apology strictly due to the fact that the apology passed through legislature and was signed by the president. Unfortunately, it lacks the essential component of awarding individual's compensation and or the creation of programs intended to promote community rehabilitation to the oppressed victims.

Interesting to note, the 'no responsibility' term is a label attributed to governments that deny acknowledgement of injustices and refuse to create a formal apology. In essence, code 0 is not used to categorize an existing apology speech or resolution, but rather an informal way for non-offenders to recognize past historical injustices. Arguably, the most frequent crimes denied by countries are genocidal occurrences, yet unfortunately, the term lacks a universal consensus, making it difficult to define what exactly constitutes genocide. Gregory Stanton, a Research Professor in Genocide Studies and Prevention says, "Denial is the eighth stage that always follows a genocide... The perpetrators of genocide deny that they committed any crimes, and often blame what happened on the victims."<sup>116</sup> With the component of denial in mind, the

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<sup>115</sup> Lee, "Identifying and Conceptualizing Transnational State Responsibility for Past Historical Injustices," 43-45.

<sup>116</sup> Gregory Stanton, "The Eight Stages of Genocide," *Genocide Watch* (1998).

annihilation of Hawaiian population happened as an unintended result of exposure to diseases brought by foreigners. Shockingly, the high death rates faced by the Hawaiian people post-contact with Europeans and Americans, are comparable to death rates of formally recognized genocide cases. It is feasible to conclude that historically disregarded events such as the aforementioned incident would classify as code 0.

The two different coding groups explored earlier share the commonality of analyzing based off the amount of responsibility taken by the offender for historical injustice, as well as their payment for or lack thereof for damages. As mentioned before, the Apology Resolution did not recognize the U.S. role in the overthrow and did not give native Hawaiians any form of compensation. On the contrary, a mere eight days before the Apology Resolution was passed, Cynthia McPherson noted that “a solicitor of the Clinton administration issued a statement that confirmed that the U.S. had absolutely no Federal Trust Obligation to the Native Hawaiians.”<sup>117</sup> This is perhaps the most compelling evidence yet, which is the fact that this statement ordered, had been done so on the same day that the Apology Resolution had passed in the House. Instead of ensuring some type of monetary repayment accompanying a formal apology, the United States ensured that it had no responsibility toward the native Hawaiian people.

A study conducted on the influence of timing on apology effectiveness concluded that the later the apology, the more effective in potentially gaining not

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<sup>117</sup> Bar-Simon-Tov, “From Conflict Resolution to Reconciliation,” 186.

only forgiveness but reconciliation.<sup>118</sup> With this framework in mind, the Apology Resolution had a higher chance of being accepted since it was not in the lifetime of those who are being apologized to. The Apology Resolution happened on the one hundredth anniversary of the overthrow, well out of the lifetime of those old enough to remember it. The timing could not have been more perfect in the peak of TSRPHI and regards to the higher chances of reconciliation. However, given the heightened intensity of Hawaiian sovereignty movements which spurred forward the production of the Apology Resolution. In relation to TSRPHI, Mark Gibney argues that apologies include three elements; “the victim must understand they have been wronged, the perpetrator must be identified, and lastly an apology must empower the oppressed.”<sup>119</sup> The Hawaiian Resistance movements spiked in the early 1990s in which Native Hawaiians were demanding acknowledgement for the wrongdoings of the U.S., which is the first element which led to the second element, the Apology Resolution in which a perpetrator is formally identified, but this perpetrator is not the U.S., and the apology lacks the element of empowering the oppressed.

In Robert Weyeneth’s article, “The Power of Apology and the Process of Historical of Reconciliation”, Weyeneth recognizes that a formal apology can aid the process of reconciliation but it admits that the offender gets more out of the

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<sup>118</sup> Cynthia McPherson Frantz and Courtney Bennigson, "Better Late than Early: The Influence of Timing on Apology Effectiveness;" *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 41, no. 2 (2005): 201-207.

<sup>119</sup> Mark Gibney, *The Age of Apology: Facing Up to the Past* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

apology than the oppressed.<sup>120</sup> In “Apology for Orientalism,” Gabrieli and Velen connect majority oppressed to the Orient and the oppressor to West.<sup>121</sup> This has been attributed to the fact that often times it is a colonizer or supreme power, who mistreated the colonized nations or peoples. Native Hawaiians have suffered in many ways including but not limited to economically, educationally, politically and even socially. This has been proven by statistics which place native Hawaiians at the bottom in all these aspects, in studies done on Hawai’i’s population. One statistic placed Native Hawaiians as the most likely to get arrested and imprisoned in Hawai’i.<sup>122</sup> Figures such as these as well as a clear decline in native Hawaiians health is recorded in research done on the health of Hawaiian elders. A medical journal article reads:

Despite efforts to improve the health of the Native Hawaiian people, their health status is one of the poorest in the nation, suffering from disproportionately high rates of cardiovascular disease, hypertension, cerebrovascular disease, cancers, diabetes, obstructive lung diseases (asthma, bronchitis, emphysema), chronic kidney disease, metabolic syndrome, and obesity, with the highest rate of diabetes amongst ethnic subgroups in Hawai’i. Native Hawaiians also have a lower life expectancy and higher rates of cardiovascular and diabetes related mortality. Additionally, Native Hawaiians have more behavioral risk factors for diseases, with higher rates of tobacco use, alcohol consumption, methamphetamine use, and dietary fat intake, compounded by lower fruit/vegetable intake, and decreased physical activity.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> Robert Weyeneth, "The Power of Apology and the Process of Historical Reconciliation," *The Public Historian* 23, no. 3 (2001): 9-38.

<sup>121</sup> Francesco Gabrieli and Victor Velen, "Apology for Orientalism," *Diogenes* 13, no. 50 (1965): 128-136.

<sup>122</sup> Colette Browne, Noreen Mokuau, and Kathryn L. Braun, "Adversity and Resiliency in the Lives of Native Hawaiian Elders," *Social Work* 54, no. 3 (2009): 253-261.

<sup>123</sup> D. Yamane, S. Oeser, and J. Omori, "Health Disparities in the Native Hawaiian Homeless," *Hawai’i Medical Journal* 69, no. 6 (2010): 35-41.

The Apology Resolution has no effect in rehabilitating or empowering the native Hawaiian people. Instead it served a purpose of ensuring no claims to sovereignty, land, and more could be made against the U.S. Arguably, this “nonapology”, “acknowledgment resolution” has proven to be problematic to native Hawaiians, rather than beneficial.

## CHAPTER THREE

### CONCLUSION

#### The Dispossession of Hawaiians' Identity and Sovereignty

The dispossession of the native Hawaiians identity happened as a result of the Western constructed narratives on Hawai'i. Beginning with the hula girl representations of Hawaiian women as illustrated through as sexualized images, intermingled with primitive, savage displays of natives followed by the notion of a multicultural hegemony all contributed to an identity crisis felt by many native Hawaiians. The reinforcement of heavily circulated presentation of native Hawaiians through a variety of media sources such as postcards, photographs, magazines, advertisements and film served as a primary factor to the identity crisis.

Along with the sexualized "hula girl" signifying all things Hawai'i, came the femininity as written by Judith Williamson, "One of the most important aspects of femininity in mass culture is not what they reveal, but what they conceal. If 'woman' means home, love, and sex, what 'woman' does not mean, in general currency, is work, class, and politics."<sup>124</sup> The portrayal of Hawai'i as a feminine place, depicted as weak built in a Western mindset into native Hawaiians that

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<sup>124</sup> Williamson, "Woman is an Island," 103.

believed they needed of aid of getting out of primitive, savage behavior and allowed the Hawaiian language and hula to be banned.

The deconstruction of the story being told and sold about Hawaiians has been a long process. With the circulation of iconographic representations of primitive people, seeking the truth had been a challenge taken on by many Hawaiian Scholars. Regardless of the effort put forth, individuals such as Jeff Sessions hold such Western constructed narratives, evident through speech, such as when he was interviewed saying, “I really am amazed that a judge sitting on an island in the Pacific can issue an order that stops the President of the United States from what appears to be clearly his statutory and constitutional power.”<sup>125</sup> Language such as this demonstrates the clear ideology of a mainland supremacy and judgement of Hawai’i as primitive.

The portrayal of native Hawaiians as a multicultural hegemony from a Western mindset “redefined” what it meant to be Hawaiian. This left the native Hawaiian identity somewhat disoriented. The Western constructed narratives which continues to be told about Hawai’i is prevalent very much so in the eyes of “mainland U.S. citizens”, but alongside the revitalization of Hawaiian culture came an authentic Hawaiian identity taught through language, hula, chants, and other cultural practiced. As a result of Globalization, learning about the authentic native Hawaiian identity is possible, but only after filtering through a plethora of Western constructed narratives as to see Hawaiians through the eyes of natives.

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<sup>125</sup> Sessions, interview by Mark Levin.

The dispossession of native Hawaiian's claim to sovereignty exist as a product of the Apology Resolution, meant to supposedly acknowledge and apologize for injustices faced by native Hawaiians. The resolution lacked any claims to responsibility by the U.S. and used manipulative language to describe the events such as the referral of the dispossession of the Queen as "the overthrow of." This situation could have easily been described as the "insurgence of," "uprising against," "rebellion towards," "subversion of," but was not for reasons as to negate the negative connotation that accompanies those terms. It is clear throughout the apology, that the authors of aspired to downplay America's broader involvement in the overthrow. The villainizing of certain individuals involved such as the United States Minister, had the natural effect of diminishing the roles of other affiliated parties. Without a doubt the U.S. government's active role in the subversion of the Kingdom of Hawai'i began with U.S. Congress issued Newlands Resolution.

Two of the prominent native Hawaiians rights, titles, and possessions mentioned in the Apology Resolution were the 1,800,000 acres of crown-ceded lands and that the inherent sovereignty of the native Hawaiians. This this one clause disclaimer proceeds to nullifies any claims to land and sovereignty. Moreover, this Apology Resolution was never intended to serve as an apology but rather recognize history and act as a disclaimer as to protect the U.S. scheme. The Apology Resolution has no effect in rehabilitating or empowering the native Hawaiian people. Instead it served a purpose of ensuring no claims to

sovereignty, land, and more could be made against the U.S. Arguably, this “nonapology”, “acknowledgment resolution” has proven to be problematic to native Hawaiians, rather than beneficial.

Native Hawaiians are not exoticized others waiting to entertain tourists. They are strong, resilient, and increasingly taking charge of their own history and identities. The resolution was passed on November 23, 1993, which designated 1993 as a, “year of special reflection.” Strangely it dedicated this year of reflection on a date which allotted just a little over a month left in the year. This was the same year Ka Lahui had 12,000 people march in protest, and the year the International Tribunal was held against the United States. The native Hawaiians did not merely “reflect” on their own rights as suggested, but they actively sought to reclaim their entitlement to sovereignty.

It lacks coincidence that a statement was released which confirmed that the U.S. had no federal trust obligation to the native Hawaiians, the same day the resolution passed in the House. Instead of ensuring some type of monetary repayment accompanied the formal apology, the United States ensured that it had no responsibility toward the native Hawaiian people. It is contentious of the U.S. congress to acknowledge the historical significance of events that resulted in the suppression of Hawaiian sovereignty when this “inherent sovereignty of the native Hawaiian people” continues to be suppressed by the U.S. Congress. However, native Hawaiian sovereignty movements continue to fight the diplomatic battle towards gaining back their illegally ceded lands and autonomy.

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