

YOUR KULEANA: TOWARD A HISTORIOGRAPHY OF HAWAIIAN NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND THE IMPORTANT QUESTION "SO NOW WHAT?"

An Address to the *Hawaiian Society of Law and Politics*
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I. INTRODUCTION

This address focuses on the question "so now what?" Let me explain. Most of us have been there. Keanu Sai has just finished another of what must be counted now in the high hundreds of mind jarring presentations on the continuity of the Hawaiian State and related information on national recovery of the Hawaiian government. Think back to the first time you heard "*The Talk*." Wasn't it a combination of several emotional responses you felt in your na'au simultaneously? Disbelief, exhilaration, curiosity, skepticism, perhaps for some -- frustration, even anger.

At the eventual level of knowledge absorption and retention, though, and after the more incredulous emotional responses have finally dissipated, you might have decided to take one of his classes, or in a lighter social atmosphere, happily swallow as you talk story using the information during more relaxed but no less meaningful sessions at the honored roundtable of certain kingdom subjects who toast the beloved country with their favorite beverage on Thursdays at Mānoa Gardens, or perhaps you opted to digest related documents online at hawaiiakingdom.org for clarification of the finer points or to improve your own retention of the basics because you feel compelled somehow to check this out for yourself at your own pace for your own reasons.

Whatever your stimulus for continued investigation, there comes a moment when you have reached the first plateau. It is when the pertinent information eventually digests and the sequence of historical events from national unification in 1795 to the disposition of the Larsen case in 2001 is perhaps something you can share as newly internalized knowledge with others. An improbable situation is established as a falsifiable hypothesis and in time you become one of its public education specialists and information-sharing emissaries without really trying to and at first, whether you think that's what you are doing or not, like the Nike slogan, you "just do it."

It is at that point one begins to pose the question "so now what?" In other words, if the presumption of State continuity is accepted based on a preponderance of the evidence and the Hawaiian Kingdom government needs to be restored, what in the world can you do about it? Essentially, *where do you go from here* with this information or, "so now what?" The rest of what I will say is intended to answer that question as it has already been answered for my life in part as an autobiographical choice and more recently, as a research field and subject matter for a proposed seminar in Hawaiian Kingdom law, governance, and politics in the context of international relations to be taught as early as

spring 2007 as a curriculum offering in the UHM Hawaiian Studies Master of Arts program but open to graduate students campus-wide regardless of one's chosen field.

II. KULEANA

There are of course no standard answers to this question. Instead you continually discover an array of diverse answers depending on what each individual defines as his or her own kuleana, that "province of responsibility for which a person feels a mandate to carry out as your own contribution no matter how long it takes. What is your kuleana in the context of State continuity as an evidence-based theory that needs more "real-world testing" and even more public exposure? While the former may still remain in the hands of relatively few Hawaiian nationals, everyone and anyone can participate at some level in the latter from information consumer to information provider. It is all based essentially on motivation and perseverance like anything else that really matters to you to get done.

Everything from a thorough study of the law of occupation to research on the particular functions of Kingdom governance to the relationship between indigenous Hawaiian identity and its contemporary expressions in Hawaiian national identity and its birth, hibernation, and resuscitation in this era are fair game as topics to be studied. It is a classic case of "please jump in and further the concept in some way by defining and carrying out your kuleana as it relates to the information.

For some, the information is our birthright to use responsibly as Hawaiian nationals who are the descendents of the Hawaiian national founders from a rich and meaningful past. For others, information is a contemporary spin on a little-known historical reality to which your initial connection is the message itself, once nothing more or less than a casual browse on the Web. Many of you here want to apply the information as a context for your thesis or perhaps dissertation. Some of you are already in an intellectual struggle with the relevance of such a notion in the eyes of your committee members or your own sense of what is practical versus what is theoretical. Although you may think that all this does is make you crazy, nothing could be farther from the truth.

Think of the information as a new toy you just received in conjunction with your tenth birthday. You only get better playing with it if you put in the time, the repetitions, check it out in detail and place yourself in familiar situations with the new toy. You take it up the mango tree in the backyard. It gets carried to your friend's house to show it to him. You fall asleep with it on your pillow and wake up with it at the foot of the bed with the family pet. It gets left in the car, forgotten at grandma's and worst-case scenario, is unwittingly placed into toilet water by your baby brother who has absolutely no use for you anymore because you have chosen to play with the new toy in lieu of sharing in his company and limited language capability because he is three years old.

The point is, information on State continuity is just information unless your own chosen kuleana applies what is new to the appropriate and more familiar contexts that you must choose, shape, integrate, synthesize, and ultimately work into a coherent, sustainable, evidence-based whole *of your making*. It is like working Rubik's cube over and over

again to a successful outcome. Not easy by any stretch of the imagination, but so very worthwhile when you complete the task in less time on the most recent trial compared to previous attempts. The same call for consistency over time provides the reliability you can count on with the information and its use. The examples of thoughtful application to various topics across dimensions of time are many: the State continuity thesis as it applies to the last half-century of Hawai'i's history; the next 10 years of planned, public education events on the subject of national recovery or; the current thesis proposal idea that is due to your committee chair in a month or two, or perhaps your completed thesis or dissertation to the same authority figure in the next few years.

Familiarize yourself with the information by working in relevant contexts, the relevance of course defined by your very own free will and the parameters of reason that I hope would keep you from embarrassing yourself or worse, your country's honor, or worse than that your ancestors. If the information is used to write a 150 page document on why the United States military forces in Hawai'i should be engaged immediately by a restored regiment of the Palace Guard, you have not exercised your free will to the best of your ability and to quote the Constitution of 1864 you are probably not eligible for the position of sovereign because you may be certifiable as an "imbecile or an idiot." Any application of the information must be in acknowledgment of time and place as important contexts for production, not just the context that structures the particulars of your chosen subject matter. There is a fine line drawn between contributing to an ever growing body of scholarship on the subject of an existing State sovereignty and punching "a one-way ticket to palooka-ville" to quote one of my favorite Marlon Brando characters Terry Malloy from the classic Elia Kazan film *On the Waterfront*.

And only the honest and sometimes brutally painful process of soul-searching can take one down the path of realization to the source of kuleana. It is as much a self-assessment as it is a conscious discernment between publicly advocated definitions of myth and reality, for the United States has since 1898 propagated the political myth of hegemonic legitimacy and supreme authority over these islands without being held accountable for its self-proclamations. It has in essence, succeeded in the reification of a political myth into a societal reality. The inverse suppositions of that myth are defined by the presumption of Hawaiian State continuity.

Our positive political myth, State continuity, takes form and legitimacy as a historical and political reality from well-structured combinations of evidence applied to a chosen subject matter using the intellectual force of purposeful motivation and self-articulated opportunity. Your contribution reinforces the historical and political reality of what has come before because evidence for the continuous State has to some extent been previously solidified in various actions taken by members of the Acting Council of Regency at the Hawai'i Bureau of Conveyances in the 1990s, the Permanent Court of Arbitration in 2001, and with the then-designated Chinese national representative of the United Nations Security Council in New York City in 2002. With each of these steps there have been challenges to the content and processes of the Acting Council from various academics, this one included beginning in 1997 but to no avail. Along the way, critics have become colleagues and unabashed supporters of the information. There have

been no credible presentations of evidence that have at all falsified the basic premise that the Hawaiian State with its sovereignty continues to exist in the absence of any evidence of merger.

My most recent academic kuleana to the information laid out in an article submitted to the *Hawaiian Journal of Law and Politics* that will be included in its forthcoming issue. The core of my idea in that article is this: if the basic premise of State continuity is not falsifiable, why not actively promote the development of a historiography (a body of published works that collectively represents a history of doing history on a particular subject) to more fully flesh out as much as is humanly possible, substantive aspects of Hawaiian national consciousness from every conceivable academic discipline and in time, non-academic community as well as individual island perspective past and present.

More than simply the reification of a positive political myth, this achievement in a body of literature that could run the gamut of depth, substance, and conceivable subject category would go far to define for future generations our early twenty-first century's articulation of a resuscitated Hawaiian national identity, character, and international relations State-to-State prospect and probability for the proper decade hopefully sometime in the first century of the second millennium A.D.

III. DEFINING HAWAIIAN NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

As the history of doing history is defined within the term historiography, the more particular history of applications of the law, systems of governance, and the collective efforts to ideally redistribute power within society for the betterment of the majority and the protection of the minority, moves the lens of an academic eye to the field of political science. Other fields contribute as well depending on the individual scholar, special-interest, or enthused community taking the initiative from any of the following disciplines: indigenous knowledge, education, language and literature studies, indigenous and immigrant Area Studies, religion, philosophy, geography, and any social sciences or natural sciences for that matter.

Hawaiian national consciousness is the māmalu or "categorical umbrella" for all of these fields in the context of applying the information of State continuity and national recovery. Their respective applications to life in our country as a multifaceted approach to the development of a contemporary Hawaiian national ideology could very well lead to important pre-stages of recovery as the projected future reality of governmental restoration waits for another time. Rather than be seduced by the promise of the future, it is our kuleana to build toward that promise in the here and now with the resources we have and the constructive possibilities with which we are able to engage the valued information as a subject of our awareness about a country that is more than virtual, every square inch of it still exists albeit in different form in some instances done what was here 150 years ago on February 22, 1856.

Hawaiian national consciousness is a parallel expression to the historical consequence of kanaka maoli indigeneity. One level of it came with national unification in 1795.

Another level of it came as the result of recognized independence and sovereignty as a State in 1843. There is no inherent conflict between an identity that is indigenous before 1795 or after 1843. It is a verifiable truth because nationality does not oppose indigenous identity, it merely presumes a parallel coexistence with what is aboriginal from 1843 to this very second and on into the future for any whose ancestors were both during those eras -- both meaning aboriginal Hawaiian as well as kingdom subject. Arguably the most evolved aboriginal society in all of Oceania by 1843, most of you here know that it was Kamehameha I, who reigned as Kamehameha III and one the son of our national founder Pai‘ea Kūnuiakea Kamehameha who also brought the non-sovereign State to internationally recognized status as an independent and sovereign nation-State. But indigenous politics of that day were not precluded or somehow rendered null and void. They were instead in parallel co-existence with State functions.

A case in point: the political cohesion provided the life of the non-sovereign State day-to-day from 1819 to 1832 by Kūhina Nui Ka‘ahumanu. There was no conflict between her administration in the context of nationality and her genealogy in the context of indigenous tradition. They enjoyed parallel co-existence. One became a context for the expression of the other. And it is not until the occupation, a merger-less and therefore power-skewed imposition to this parallel co-existence of Hawaiian national consciousness, that has ultimately proven to be the source for undoing the solid aspects of identity for a vast majority of kingdom subjects. After 1898, it was increasingly more difficult to express one's indigeneity in any time honored, positive contexts and virtually impossible to sustain Hawaiian nationality because an American nationality had become a cloak of occupation with civilian governance and private industry masking the actual agenda of belligerent militarization for US defense purposes.

Looking back of the time of Kamehameha I, Hawaiian national consciousness was founded, maintained, and protected in the most sustainable elements of antiquity in value and practice with an added layer of late 1700s foreign technology in naval vessels and armaments with a suit of clothes from Europe that included an Ascot silk scarf adjusted by the same hands that once touched the feathers on the head of Kūkā‘ilimoku. There was sustenance of the national appetite in the traditional staple kalo while the first Kamehameha commanded his ships of laden to sail to Canton as full participants in the international China trade. And while the chiefly hierarchy of the post-1819 era by and large encouraged Christian conversion, the curious blend of that State-level decision with maka‘āinana spirituality through 'aumakua portion of remained a forceful enough undercurrent within a handful of masters and knowledge keepers to be passed on and revived the eventual dominance of Christianity here notwithstanding.

This is all to say that Hawaiian national consciousness is definitely rife with examples of parallel coexistence rather than retrenched, ideological conflict. Our national past engaged and embraced the more remote past of antiquity and indigenous practice. Only a foreign lens of history would have it otherwise. Only a prospective in the past with its own agenda for suppressing aboriginal voices and Hawaiian national voices would construct the binary oppositions of nationality and indigenous identity and say that one cannot coexist with the other. In fact, as my examples have shown, one can be fully

represented without adversely affecting the other. Rather than play the disgruntled presentist in the history of doing history, my kuleana is to do less interpreting from evidence of the past and more re-presenting of evidence that becomes representational of their voices, concerns, causes for celebration, and reasons for grieving rather than my own from the here and now on behalf of that era. Only in this way can we avoid the pitfalls of what the renowned scholar Albert Wendt recently identified as the phenomenon of an ideological version of indigenous "ghettoization." With no international perspective there is no full fruition of a national consciousness. And with no parallel coexistence of aboriginal with national there is no completion of identity to be presented as our version of a continuous civilization now two millennia in the making to the rest of the world.

IV. A DUALISM OF IDENTITIES

Just as ancient Polynesian dualisms eventually lead to the construction of kanaka maoli consciousness as a foundation for the indigenous society here, the concept of dualism itself can be found in Hawaiian national and indigenous identities today. These are not binary opposites that need stand in perceived conflict with one another in this time and place. On the contrary, these are the decided intellectual and praxis-based routes for reaching the future destination that acknowledges kanaka maoli antiquity as the foundation for our national dance, coat of arms, culinary offerings, and host culture to name a basic few. These are the ancient underpinnings of what it means to be a descendent of a proud and still-palpable tributary Polynesian culture unique in the world and recognized throughout it. This identity, though, like the extremely fragile ecosystems from which it grew and flourished, requires now more than ever the protections that only a parallel national identity in domestic governance and independent, sovereign State positioning can offer.

There are and will be more field specialists in each of these identity-based studies creating in our time the template for our country's restored future. I am proposing a compatibility of these ideations and ideologies that have been played for too long from external agitation and the internal civil unrest into causes for consternation and vilification of the very people we should be uplifting -- one another. This is a challenge to our national populace to turn away from the divide and conquer tactics of the imperialist occupier in a scenario that is decidedly advantageous to that occupying power and no one else. Under the edict of temporary allegiance, use instead every possible American resource for the restoration of national Hawaiian consciousness first. To strengthen our resolve to do so will result in the vision for taking care of tomorrow's business tomorrow. Today, there is much to do and your willing hands and minds and hearts will get us there.

A successful attempt at that kuleana of the here and now must be our primary agenda item as Hawaiian nationals. National recovery in the context of governmental restoration will see the sun rising in the East once more when that splendid moment is right by God's time, not our own. In the ensuing years, each must fulfill her or his own kuleana even if such a mandated responsibility takes one to the end of their mortal days. Such a patriot

will not have died in vain. And our collective effort from this day forward can contribute to that future reality. Think about everything we can organize and computerize that is now in archival form and when it is reorganized today it serves wonderful educational purposes. Think, though, of the parallel coexistence in the purpose of national restoration whereby a body of literature and cache of documents that structures a law and governance prototype as a national template for governmental restoration in the next few years, will better assure actual governmental restoration whenever that is supposed to happen. At that time of full restoration of the government, the only proper link to that operational transition will be the domestic foundation of the law in the Constitution of 1864 with amendments and all Session Laws enacted up to and including those of 1886. It will follow that the organ that is the State's voice will be heard once more as independence and sovereignty receive their most honored identity bearing marks: a seated ambassador with full voting privileges for her country in the General Assembly of the United Nations.

We cannot see ourselves as the desired endpoint in all of this. We must collectively know our historical place in the context of time which is godly and not humanly fashioned or controlled. We cannot do what is beyond our means on whatever we do must be genuine and context-based in the attempt. We can and we must with fortitude and resolve do absolutely everything that is within our power and it all begins with determining for yourself the kuleana you are destined to fill on behalf of your country that is the same entity and birthright conveyed to Queen Lili'uokalani in a direct line of succession from the 1795 conquest in the Battle of Nu'uaniu that signaled the birth of our nation.

When renowned chanters like Kuluwaimaka and Ilalo'ole learned the native customs of their homeland they did so as kingdom subjects which is exactly what we are by the applied premise of State continuity. Everyone who is committed to ending the occupation must also contribute to this identity representation of parallel coexistence as well for it is pono to do so.

Without pono as our foundation for conduct and concerted action all attempts begin and quickly drown in that which is hewa. And the twenty-first century penchant for equivocating, compartmentalizing, telling little white lies, and otherwise shortchanging the truths of our existence and ultimate membership in the global village make us part of the problem and not the solution here and around the world. I exhort you to persevere no matter the obstacles, no matter the opposition. Let us endeavor to be as steadfast as our national and aboriginal forebears. I challenge each of you to make your ancestors proud and your great-grandchildren prouder for love of country and the aloha that it must be vigilant to protect, preserve, defend, and perpetuate.

E nā pulapula Hawai'i mai ka lei 'ike loloa o ke au kahiko mai -- pono kākoue nānā i ke kumu me ka pono wale i kāhi ho'oulu mana'o mai ka na'au mai. Aia ke kumupa'a o ka 'oia'i'o a me ka pono'i o ko mākou aupuni pae 'āina, ka lei ha'aheo lua 'ole o ka Pakipika.