Maka'ainana (people of the land), the issue of Hawaiian sovereignty: The life cycle of Ka Lahui

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MAKA'A'AINANA (PEOPLE OF THE LAND), THE
ISSUE OF HAWAIIAN SOVEREIGNTY:
THE LIFE CYCLE OF KA LAHUI.

by

Sonia Feldberg

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
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ABSTRACT

The Hawaiian people have been fighting to regain their sovereignty since the overthrow of the Hawaiian Nation in 1893. Throughout history many movements formed in response to this injustice. In 1987 Ka Lahui was formed as an initiative for self government to return Hawaii to the Kanaka Maoli. This study examines Ka Lahui by analyzing its rhetoric and placing it in the proper life cycle of a social movement. Also the strength of Ka Lahui's leader, Mililani Trask, will be analyzed. Social movements are pressured by many outside institutions. Ka Lahui's efforts are constantly being monitored by the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, which is an entity of the government. This opposition from outside forces will be addressed to complete this study of social movements.
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A very special mahalo to my chairperson, Dr. Richard J. Jensen, you never stopped believing in me, you gave me the courage to continue and the support to complete this study. I am truly fortunate to have studied with you. You provided me with an education that I hope I can pass on to other students. Remember Dr. J. I’m optimistic, but I’m panicking.

May the spirit of aloha embrace you all, once again mahalo.
"We are not American. We are not American. We are not American. We will die as Hawaiians. We will never be American" (1993, p. 4). These words are the song of the indigenous people of Hawaii, as chanted by Haunani-Kay Trask, in the video, Act of War, the Overthrow of the Hawaiian Nation. Trask is the Director of the Center for Hawaiian Studies at the University of Hawaii at Manoa and a leader in the struggle for Hawaiian sovereignty. (Trask, 1993, About the Author).

In her book, From a Native Daughter, Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawaii, Trask explains that "We are children of Papa - earth mother, and Wakea - sky father who created the sacred lands of Hawaii Nei. From these lands come the taro, and from the taro came the Hawaiian people (1993). Trask educates and reminds the indigenous people of the commitment their ancestors made to the land and the land made to its ohana (family). She goes on to say that "The land is our mother and we are her children. Hawaiians must nourish the land from whence we came" (1993).
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Since 1893 the Kanaka Maoli (indigenous people) of Hawaii have been striving to regain the land which they believe is rightfully theirs. Over 100 years ago the American government, underhandedly, claimed the Hawaiian nation as its own. This claim has been recognized as an overt overthrow of a peaceful Hawaiian nation by an Act in the United States Senate, which marked the 100th anniversary of the event. This Act "Senate Joint Resolution 19", is a formal apology from President Bill Clinton for the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Many Hawaiians want their precious land and most of all their culture back.

Currently, there are very few studies of indigenous people in the field of Communication studies. Until this study, no one has examined Hawaiian movements in this discipline.

This thesis will examine Ka Lahui, a social movement which has organized as a reaction to this ongoing situation. Ka Lahui has the largest membership and strongest leadership among the many social movements existing among native
Hawaiians in both Hawaii and on the mainland. Ka Lahui will be analyzed by applying Stewart, Smith, and Denton's ideas on the life cycle of a social movement (1994, p. 71-87). This model is ideal for this study because of its concise explanations of the various stages of the life cycles of social movements. The authors have identified five different stages for determining the proper placement of a social movement's life cycles during its existence. The five stages are genesis, social unrest, enthusiastic mobilization, maintenance, and termination (1994, p. 72-85). The strength of Ka Lahui's leadership will be examined and the existence of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs will be addressed, in order to compare the differences between the two organizations which appear to be striving for the same goals, yet are doing so for very different reasons.

The Hawaiians have been fighting for sovereignty since the overthrow of the Hawaiian nation. In the 1960s and 1970s the voices of Blacks and American Indians were heard. Shortly thereafter, the Hawaiians became vocal in methods similar to those used by Indians. As a new century nears the Hawaiians strive for sovereignty so their voice can be heard for ho'olahui (to rebuild a nation).

The purpose of this thesis is to analyze the fight for sovereignty by observing social movements which have been striving for this goal since the overthrow of the Hawaiian
Nation in 1893. By examining Ka Lahui, the movement with one of the largest voices and strongest leadership, this thesis will attempt to determine its progress by examining its rhetoric and then placing it in one of Stewart, Smith, and Denton's five stages of the life cycle of a social movement. After the completion of this analysis an awareness should be raised concerning the injustice committed against a peaceful Hawaiian Nation which took place over 100 years ago. The study will also expand on the understanding of social movements among native peoples.

A study of Ka Lahui will yield insight into the way this social movement functions. According to the newspaper, *Ka Lahui Hawaii*, published by Ka Lahui, sovereignty is defined as "the ability of a people to govern their own affairs" (1993, p. 2). The publication elaborates on the definition by offering Ka Lahui's "Five elements of Hawaiian sovereignty" (1993, p. 2). These five elements include "A strong and abiding faith in the Akua (god/divine), a people with a common culture, a land base, a government structure and an economic base" (1993 p. 2). At its inception in 1987, Ka Lahui was composed of a population of 250 delegates, according to *Ka Lahui Hawaii* (1993 p. 2). At this time, Mililani Trask, interim Kia'aina (Governor/Prime minister), began to fight for her cause. As a result of
Trask's efforts, Ka Lahui's membership of indigenous people has grown to include over 16,000 delegates (Trask, 1993, p. 48).

Even though there are many other social movements which are active in Hawaii, Ka Lahui was chosen for this study because of its strength, and the power of its leader. In its own way, Ka Lahui has grown politically in a strong but silent fashion. This growth is due to Trask's legal background, her commitment and passion to her heritage, and the desire to regain that which rightfully belongs to her and her ancestors. By utilizing the application of the life cycle of a social movement (Stewart, Smith and Denton, 1994, p. 71-87), this study will be able to determine how Ka Lahui reached its present status. This determination will be achieved by examining the public discourse used by Ka Lahui.

This study will commence by reviewing the literature available on the subject of sovereignty in Hawaii and Ka Lahui. Also the literature on social movements will be reviewed. Following the review of literature, the history of the Hawaiian Nation will be detailed. By examining the events leading to the overthrow in 1893, a better understanding can be achieved of why social movements were organized and where the movement presently is heading. Also, Ka Lahui's inception can be explained.
The next section will focus on the methodology to be used in the analysis. The first step will illustrate that Ka Lahui is in fact a recognized and legitimate social movement according to the criteria listed in Stewart, Smith, and Denton's text (1994, p. 3-17, 131-141). Next, the strength of Ka Lahui's leadership will be outlined by paralleling the similarities described in the Stewart, Smith, and Denton text (1994, p. 89-106) to Mililani Trask, Ka Lahui's governor or Kia'aina. Finally, after carefully analyzing the material available, both written and obtained by speaking to local representatives of Ka Lahui, this study will place Ka Lahui into one of the five stages of the life cycle of a social movement according to the rhetoric presently being produced by Ka Lahui (Stewart, Smith, and Denton, 1994).

After discussing the life cycles the study will attempt to offer insights into how well Ka Lahui fits into the life cycles. A comparison will be made between Ka Lahui and the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA). According to Ka Lahui, OHA is not respected by the true indigenous people because it is funded with government money and its members are selected by the government; therefore OHA members actually

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1 Permission was granted by Dr. William E. Schulze, the Director of the Office of Sponsored Programs at UNLV on October 6, 1995 for interviews during the research period of this thesis.
pledge their allegiance to the American flag and not the Kanaka Maoli.

In conclusion, this study will report on any new developments taking place within Ka Lahui and OHA and offer suggestions for further research concerning this struggle for sovereignty.

**Review of Literature**

**Literature on Hawaiian Sovereignty**

Only one book is available in general circulation about Hawaiian sovereignty. The author is Haunani-Kay Trask, sister of Mililani Trask, governor of Ka Lahui. Haunani-Kay Trask is the Director of the Center for Hawaiian Studies at the University of Hawaii, Manoa. The book is titled *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawaii* (1993). This book is a compilation of several of Trask's works from previous books and journals. It offers a complete and comprehensive look into both the historical and present plight of the Hawaiian people fighting for sovereignty. Because of Trask's educational background, the articles prove to be most useful in the way they are structured. Her articles are not only political in nature, but also have a passion which only someone directly involved with the fight could produce. The book begins with a historical overview and covers topics about sovereignty,
education, racism directed at native Hawaiians, feminism, and the tourist industry.

Trask has a second book titled *Light in the Crevice Never Seen* (1994). This book is slightly removed from the subject of sovereignty. It is a book of poetry about her native land and what is occurring within it. It helps the reader understand her other work through strong words and poetic images.

Trask also collaborated with others at the University of Hawaii to write the script for a video titled *Act of War: The Overthrow of the Hawaiian Nation* (1993). This video is the simple, concise story of the events leading to the overthrow of the Hawaiian Nation by the Americans. Although most of the information available is written by "Americans", this video represents the view of the Kanaka Maoli. Because of its elementary language and beautiful footage the film is simple to follow and useful in understanding the historical aspect of the overthrow.

The only journal article which discusses both sovereignty and Ka Lahui is one by David C. Morrison titled, "Volcanic Islands" (1993). This article discusses the sovereignty issue and one of its important aspects: "Native Hawaiians want restitution for the land taken from them and are fighting to protect ancient sites" (p. 1225). This land
fight is one of the major efforts Ka Lahui has been battling since its inception. Morrison explains that many Hawaiians are reclaiming their Hawaiian ancestry and are becoming more aware of their culture and the national feeling (p. 1225).

The Internet provided articles from many publications, including local Hawaiian newspaper articles, articles in the Christian Science Monitor, and various legal documents. The articles are mostly dated from 1993 to 1995. Also Hawaii magazines dated from June 1993 - October 1995, have articles looking at various aspects and different incidents related to sovereignty.

The November 8, 1992, issue of the New York Times newspaper provided an article titled, "A Century After Queen's Overthrow, Talk of Sovereignty Shakes Hawaii". This article, written by Robert Reinhold, is an account of the emotions that were being revealed as a result of the upcoming 100th anniversary of the overthrow of the Hawaiian nation (p. 24). Reinhold recognizes Ka Lahui as an influential movement in the fight for sovereignty and sites this fact because of the strength of leader Mililani Trask (1992, p. 24). Reinhold states that: "The only indigenous people in America still not recognized by the Federal Government are the Kanaka Maoli of Hawaii" (1992, p. 24).
The most useful information acquired came from the Nevada representative of Ka Lahui. Ralph Kahalehau is a Po'o (Island Chair/Legislator) for Ka Lahui. He has provided information useful in this endeavor. In interviews, Kahalehau explained how Ka Lahui operates on a local level and provided educational material published by Ka Lahui, answering the most commonly asked questions about the group. The newspaper includes Ka Lahui's constitution and outlines its long term goals.

Another newspaper is Ka Lahui's Master Plan for 1995, which details the political structure for the organization. Kahalehau provided various articles written by Mililani Trask for members of Ka Lahui, the government, and world organizations. Kahalehau also allowed for the use of articles written by himself. These articles reflect personal feelings on the subject of sovereignty and the commitment the Kanaka Maoli have to the land and the land to its people. Kahalehau also provided personal commentary on the issue of tourism on the Islands of Hawaii.

**Literature on the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA)**

Many articles on sovereignty make reference to OHA. OHA has its own publication titled: *Ka Wai Ola*. That publication featured different issues relating to OHA's function. Also OHA provided the *Hawaiian Sovereignty*
Elections Council Report to the Legislature (1995). This publication provided the Legislature with the Hawaiian Sovereignty Elections Council (HSEC) plan for 1995. The report included, the reason why the Council was formed, how it was formed, and how its members were selected. Also, listed were the objectives and goals of the Council for 1995, and a timeline for the Hawaiian Sovereignty Plebiscite question. Hawaiians were asked to vote on this question in order to establish a Sovereign Hawaiian Nation, this vote appears to be the major objective of this Council.

Literature on Social Movements

Many articles have been written recently on social movements, but most make reference to the seminal work by Leland Griffin titled "The Rhetoric of Historical Movements" (1952). Malcolm O. Sillars' article, Defining Movements Rhetorically: Casting The Widest Net (1980), makes reference to Griffin and the influence his work had on many other studies of social movements. James R. Andrews makes mention of Griffin's work in his article, History And Theory In The Study Of The Rhetoric Of Social Movements (1980). Andrews discusses the importance of Griffin's work and the impact it has had on research in the study of Social movements (1980 p. 274).
Stewart, Smith, and Denton's book, *Persuasion and Social Movements* (1994), illustrate how authors were dependent on Griffin. In their book, the authors' five stages of the life cycle of a social movement parallel Griffins' periods of inception, development, and consummation. They go beyond Griffin by developing two additional steps to make the cycles more specific.

Herbert W. Simons, in his article titled, "*Requirements, Problems, and Strategies: a Theory of Persuasion for Social Movements*" (1970), provides a thorough means of explaining leadership in a social movement. Stewart, Smith, and Denton also address leadership in social movements (1994, p. 89-106) by building on Simon's work. Therefore, emphasis will be placed on Stewart, Smith, and Denton's theories. These articles on social movements are useful because of their content dealing with life cycles and leadership in social movements.

The chapter that follows this review of literature will give an overview of Hawaiian history and outline the historical events which led to the overthrow of the Hawaiian government. Following this account of the overthrow, chapter three will identify a social movement, cite the inception of Ka Lahui, and define a social movement. Also, the life cycles of social movements will be discussed and Ka
Lahui's relationship to these definitions will be addressed by examining Ka Lahui's rhetoric. Chapter four will define the role of the leader in a social movement. Attainment of leadership and how to maintain the position will also be analyzed. Chapter four will conclude by identifying the Office of Hawaiian Affairs' (OHA) practices and its effectiveness on the Hawaiian population and Ka Lahui. The fifth and final chapter will review the findings of this study, and report on any new developments as a result of Ka Lahui's efforts. In conclusion, direction for further research in the struggle for Hawaiian sovereignty will be offered to make people aware of this historic event.
CHAPTER 2
THE MO'OOLELO - HISTORY OF THE HAWAIIANS

Events Leading To The Overthrow

There are many diverse interpretations of Hawaiian history, especially those written by haoles (whites). For the purpose of this study, however, accounts by indigenous peoples were used to obtain a native viewpoint for this thesis. The maka'ainana (people of the land), "believed that all living things had spirit and consciousness. The land was an ancestor therefore no living thing could be foreign. There is an extraordinary respect for life of the seas, the heavens and the earth" (Trask, 1993, p. 6). Because of this belief, all things of life, land, and sea lived in a balance of peace and harmony with each giving what they had to offer to maintain stability and nourishment for the mind, body, and soul.

When James Cook, Captain of the British Navy ships Resolution and Discovery (Laenui, 1993, p. 81) arrived in Hawaii in 1778, he brought not only the ways of the Western world, including politics and Christianity, but also
diseases that would eventually cause the "collapse of the population" (Puhipau, Lander, 1993, p. 6). Cook initiated contact between the western world and the Hawaiian islands. From 1779 - 1819, during the reign of Kamehamaha I, many nations, including the United States, traded with Hawaii. By 1887, Hawaii had treaties with various countries, including Russia, Italy, England, and the United States. "Hawaii was recognized in the international community as a sovereign nation" (Laenui, 1984, p. 2). Many people migrated to Hawaii and became Hawaiian citizens. As a result of this migration, Hawaii became a potpourri of races and diverse cultures, pledging their allegiance to a sovereign nation. The influx of many different cultures brought people with skills of great diversity to Hawaii. "The nation of Hawaii had a literacy rate that was among the highest in the world. It had telephones and electricity built into its governing palace, "Iolani", before the White House had such technology" (Laenui, 1993, p. 81).

In 1820 the first missionaries appeared in Hawaii. During those times, many missionaries arrived from Boston to spread religion and teach the ways of the western world. The Hawaiians accepted them and embraced their new ideas. As a result of this situation, the missionaries had a tremendous influence over the Hawaiians (Lili'uokalani, 1964 p. 177). "Of all the religions that came to the Pacific and
all the missionaries that came, Calvinists were probably the worst" (Puhipau, Lander, 1993, p. 6). The Calvinists were from New England and did not appreciate the Hawaiian culture. They did not believe in dancing or celebrating life as the Hawaiians did. Their goal was to civilize those naked savages: "You must forget your dances and traditions. The reason you are dying is because you do not believe in Jehovah" (Puhipau, Lander, 1993, p. 7). The Hawaiians believed this rhetoric because their people were dying of mysterious causes unknown to them. The cause of these deaths were diseases brought by Cook and his crew. These illnesses included tuberculosis and various venereal diseases. The Hawaiian people began to die from diseases over which they had no control. Those deaths led them to believe what the Calvinists were preaching. In an attempt to save their rapidly declining population, many Hawaiians began to convert (Puhipau, Lander, 1993, p. 5-7).

As time went by the missionaries moved from religion to control over politics by forming a missionary party. Its members consisted of the children of missionaries who had left their positions in the church (Laenui, 1993 p. 82). They became growers and sellers of sugar: "Growing and selling sugar developed as the principal business of that party" (Laenui, 1984 p. 2). The missionary party altered land relationships as they were known by controlling the
land they used for sugar (Laenui, 1993, p. 82).

Traditionally, land was ruled by the Ali'i (chief) of that particular island. The chief allotted the use of the land to their sub chiefs. In turn the sub chiefs allocated the use of the land to those who supported them (Chinen in Laenui, 1993, p. 82).

In 1845, the Board of Land Commissions was created. Under constant pressure from the missionaries, in 1848, the chiefs reluctantly agreed to the sale of the land. This act was called a Mahele, or land division (Puhipau, Lander, 1993, p. 9). This action was against Hawaiian tradition because land, air, and water were to be used by all and not owned. The missionaries threatened that, if the Hawaiians did not own the land they would forfeit it according to Western land tenure (Puhipau, Lander, 1993, p. 9). Many people bought land, including the missionaries who ran the Land Commission. The missionaries and foreigners alike purchased vast tracts of land on which they prospered from sugar plantations (Puhipau, Lander, 1993, p. 9). Only ten percent of the indigenous people were allocated land awards averaging about three acres per person (Puhipau, Lander, 1993, p.9). This action took away one of the indigenous peoples' most precious commodities, the land.

The missionary plantation owners paid wages that were unacceptable to Hawaiians so they had to import laborers.
from other countries. These laborers performed the grueling
tasks required to maintain a sugar plantation for meager
plantation wages (Laenui, 1984, p. 42).

The missionary party had successfully gained control of
both the land and affordable labor. The missionary party
needed a tariff free market to export the sugar they
produced (Laenui, 1933, p. 83). "The United States was
geographically closer to Hawaii than any other market"
(Laenui 1993, p. 83). Aside from its strategic location,
the United States had many other advantages. Many
missionary party members were citizens of the United States
and had already conducted business with the mainland. The
most important fact was that the United States military
yearned for naval presence in the Pacific waters (Laenui

In order to achieve its goals, the missionary party had
two options, reciprocity or annexation. With a reciprocity
agreement, sugar would be imported duty free and exports
from the United States into Hawaii would also be duty free.
Annexation by the United States had the optimum advantage
because Hawaiian sugar would be considered a domestic
product (Laenui, 1993, p. 83).

There was much dissension in the 1850's between the
missionaries and the natives. In an attempt to abolish
sugar tariffs through annexation, the sugar planters and a
Hawaiian monarchy clinging to sovereignty were not moving in the same direction. After many attempts for annexation and or reciprocity,

James McBride, the newly appointed United States Minister to Hawaii was suggesting that cession of a port at Honolulu should be a condition of any reciprocity treaty. He also urged the permanent stationing of a U.S. Warship in Hawaiian waters to guard American interests. This became a reality in 1866 when the U.S.S. Lackawanna was assigned to the islands for an indefinite period (Trask, 1993, p. 10).

In 1869, the new Minister to Hawaii, Henry Pierce, with pressure from the haole sugar planters, pushed for the cession of Pearl River Lagoon, now known as Pearl Harbor, for a naval station in exchange for reciprocity. "The United States wanted more than just an exchange of trade rights. It wanted sovereignty over Pearl Harbor in order to extend its commercial and military arm into the pacific" (Laenui, 1993, p. 83).

In 1872 King Kamehameha V died. William Lunalilo was elected by the people as sovereign. Repeatedly, Cabinet Minister Charles Bishop and U.S. General Schofield urged Lunalilo to cede, but the sovereign refused. Lunalilo was aware of the adversity this cession would bring to his people. Lunalilo died in 1874 of tuberculosis, one of the deadly diseases Cook introduced to the islands. The Hawaiian population was rapidly decreasing while the haole
and foreign population escalated (Puhupau, Lander, 1993, p. 11).

With the help of the Americans, Kalakaua became the new Mo'i (sovereign) in 1874. Shortly thereafter, in 1875, a Reciprocity Treaty finally became reality in order to assist the sugar industry. Sugar exports to the U.S. soared. Of the 32 plantations, 25 were owned by Americans (Trask, 1993, p. 13).

Even though King Kalakaua was the choice of the haoles, his main objective was national independence. His motto was "Ho'oulu lahui", that is to increase, to invigorate, proliferate the Hawaiian people. He brought back to his people their native way of life through the revival of hula, chants, and religious practices (Puhipau, Lander, 1993, p. 12). Kalakaua traveled to the United States frequently to project a positive image of his people abroad. Kalakaua allowed Hawaiians educated in the haole system into the government. This action did not please the missionaries. It gave them reason to believe their influence over the Hawaiians was on the decline (Puhipau, Lander, 1993, p. 3).

As the American presence grew and became more powerful, a league consisting of 400 powerful haole businessmen and politicians was formed. They referred to themselves as the "Hawaiian League" (Puhipau, Lander, 1993, p. 13). Within
the "Hawaiian League" was a subgroup, the Honolulu Rifles, an all haole annexation club (Trask, 1993 p. 14).

The Hawaiian League, with the aid of Lorrin Thurston, a leader in the fight for annexation and grandson of the first missionaries to arrive in Hawaii, declared a new constitution (Puhipau, Lander, 1993, p. 13). The members of the League forced Kalakaua, at gunpoint, to sign the new constitution. With one signature, Kalakaua essentially abdicated his power to rule. This document came to be known as the "Bayonet Constitution" because of the fashion in which it was executed (Puhipau, Lander, 1993, p. 13-14).

This constitution allowed all foreigners the right to vote if they had money. And because of the property qualification for voting, it took power away from the common Hawaiian, who was generally land less, who was generally without money, who could not meet the property qualifications (Puhipau, Lander, 1993, p. 14). Essentially, the haoles wanted to dominate the Hawaiian nation entirely by controlling not only their precious land, but their sovereign power. Kalakaua died in San Francisco in 1891. His sister, Lili'uokalani, became Queen and the last ruling ali'i (chief).

Lili'uokalani did much for the Hawaiian culture and its women. By today's standards she would be considered a feminist. She supported the need for a women's bank, and wanted provisions to be made for the support of poor native children. Lili'uokalani was an accomplished musician and
composed over 300 songs, many of which are now famous. The songs depicted the current situation at hand and the Hawaii she so loved (Puhipau, Lander, 1993, p. 14). The Hawaiian people wanted back the control of their government and Lili'uokalani wanted to give to her people a new constitution they had requested. Her actions actually triggered the overthrow. Her own Ministry betrayed her when she requested a vote for the new constitution. Lili'uokalani's cabinet, aware of the fact that the foreigners possessed an abundant amount of power, denied her request for the vote. Their fear of an uprising stopped her cabinet from signing the new constitution (Puhipau, Lander, 1993, p. 19).

In 1889, John L. Stevens became the United States minister to Hawaii (Laenui, 1993, p. 85). According to the script of An Act of War The Overthrow of the Hawaiian Nation, as United States minister, Steven's duty was to make certain, agreements were being honored between the kingdom of Hawaii and the American government. Instead, Stevens was a spy (Puhipau, Lander, 1993, p. 16). Stevens' mission was to provoke the annexation of Hawaii to the United States (Laenui, 1993, p. 85). "Basically Stevens saw it almost as a holy mission to see Hawaii safely encircled by American arms" (Puhipau, Lander, 1993, p. 15).
In January of 1893, with the aid of Minister John Stevens, the haole businessmen formed the "Committee of Safety". The committee consisted of nine men of various diverse ethnic backgrounds and four haoles. The Committee formed immediately following the Queen's request for the new constitution. The purpose of this committee was military in nature. After meetings with Lorrin Thurston the plans for the overthrow were complete. Sanford B. Dole accepted the position of president of the Provisional Government (Puhipau, Lander, 1993, p. 20-25). With much intimidation by an occupying U.S. military, both on land and at sea, and to put a stop to any bloodshed, "Lili'uokalani ceded her authority - not to the provisional government but to the United States-on January 17, 1893" (Trask, 1993, p. 17).

These were the Queen's words in her statement to the United States:

I Liliuokalani, by the Grace 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 who 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 representative 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 (Senate Joint Resolution, 1993, p. 2).

On February 1, 1893, Stevens raised the American flag.

On March 4, 1893, newly inaugurated President Grover Cleveland withdrew the annexation treaty from Congress. Cleveland sent commissioner James Blount to Hawaii to investigate the situation. Blount lowered the American flag which flew over Hawaii's government building. When he returned to Washington in August, Blount's report made clear to the president that the events had amounted to an overt overthrow of the Hawaiian government, an overthrow complete with conspiracy between the "missionary gang" and Minister Stevens. Cleveland vowed he would never go through with the annexation process during his term in office. "Blount's report justly became known among Hawaiians as the single most damaging document against the United States, the missionary descendants, and the arrogant Mr. Stevens" (Trask, 1993, p. 18).

Cleveland only served four years as president. William McKinley was elected president and was feared to be an imperialist by the Natives (Trask, 1993, p. 20). The Natives fears were confirmed when annexation became official in 1898 during the presidency of William McKinley, by
resolution. Sanford Dole, the acting president of the provisional government, traveled to Washington to "complete the conspiracy" (Laenui, 1993 p. 89).

The American Road To Statehood-The Haole Way

In the article the Rediscovery of Hawaiian Sovereignty, Laenui explains the strategic degradation of the Hawaiian culture between annexation and statehood. Congress, through an act known as the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, declared that "Native" Hawaiians with at least 50 percent aboriginal blood were entitled to special land privileges. Laenui went on to say that "Hawaiians were no longer Hawaiians, but Americans. The term Hawaiian was redefined as a racial rather than a national term" (1993, p. 90). Schools no longer instructed children in the ways of the Hawaiian people. Their language, spiritual laws, cultural customs, and religious beliefs were all exchanged for the American way. Hawaiians were being stripped of their indigenous virtues, and exploited by every entity. The Hawaiians were forced to pledge their allegiance to a new flag. "Hawaii, that melting pot of cultures, races, languages and lore, changed from a reality to an advertising slogan for politicians and merchants" (Laenui, 1993, p. 92).

During this time the military staked its Pacific claims. The Navy transformed Pearl Harbor into a port and
the island of Kaho'olawe as a target range to test missiles and bombs (Laenui, 1993, p. 91).

In 1959, the question to determine Hawaii's statehood was posed to the people of the territory and the issue went to vote. Any American who resided in Hawaii for one year was eligible to vote. On August 21, 1959, Hawaii became America's 49th state with an overwhelming "yes" response.

Many injustices led to the destruction not only of the Hawaiian monarchy, but to the degradation of an entire culture. The arrival of John Cook and his infected crew in 1778 brought various diseases to Hawaii which eventually proved to be fatal to the Hawaiian population. In 1820 the first missionaries arrived to spread religion and teach the civilized ways of the western world. This preaching further stripped the kanaka maoli of their way of life. The missionaries prospered from their investments in vast sugar plantations. To protect their interests in the export of sugar, a willing American military presence became involved in the daily activities of a peaceful Hawaiian monarchy.

In 1872 King Kamehameha V died followed by William Lunalilo in 1874 of tuberculosis. Kalakaua became the new Mo'i in 1874. He encouraged his people to return to their native way of life by allowing them to practice the various rituals the missionaries advised them to discontinue because these were contributing to the premature demise of their
population. Kalakaua also encouraged educated Hawaiians to participate in the haole government. These actions threatened the missionaries and made the situation appear as though they were losing their authority over the Hawaiians.

As the American presence escalated the "Hawaiian League" was formed. The League, in conjunction with Lorrin Thurston, declared a new constitution. Kalakaua was forced at gun point to sign the document which abdicated his power to rule. Kalakaua died in 1891 during a trip to San Francisco, Lili'uokalani became Hawaii's last ali'i. With the support of Minister John Stevens, haole businessmen formed "The Committee of Safety". As the pressure increased from military presence, these committees and the fear of Lili'uokalani's cabinet members, the Queen was forced to cede her authority on January 17, 1893. On February 1, 1893, Stevens raised the American flag.

Even though President Cleveland had evidence to support the fact of an overt overthrow of the Hawaiian Government, his one term in office affected his decision. The annexation became a reality in 1898 during the presidency of McKinley, once again the American flag flew over Hawaii.

In preparation for the statehood vote Hawaiians were once again stripped of their cultural customs and indigenous virtues. Hawaiians were forced to pledge their allegiance to the American flag. Their precious land and water were
being used for military tests. Tension escalated among the kanaka maoli as these injustices were being enforced. Many formed groups or movements to support their cause and fight for what was theirs by birth. Those protests went unanswered when Hawaii became America's 49th state on August 21, 1959. Chapter three will discuss how to identify these movements fighting for sovereignty and Ka Lahui, one of the strongest movements fighting for this cause.
CHAPTER 3

IDENTIFICATION OF A SOCIAL MOVEMENT

Since that day in January 1893 when the Queen ceded her authority, social movements among Hawaiians have been fighting their various causes. Those causes include land rights and cultural heritage. In the 1960s and 1970s the Hawaiians were inspired to become more vocal as a result of the Blacks, Chicanos, and Native Americans' plight for equality. Their struggle paralleled these movements, primarily those by Native Americans to reclaim their rights to the land. Movements began to identify themselves publicly in Hawaii for this very reason.

An eviction struggle began a movement in 1970. The event occurred in the Kalama Valley on the Island of O'ahu on the land of the largest private landowner in the state, Bishop Estate. The estate owners evicted native farmers from the land so that Kaiser-Aetna Corporation could build an upper income residential development (Trask, 1993, p. 90). Even though Kokua Hawaii, the organization leading the fight for the use of native land for commercial gain, lost
this battle, the support for this resistance was phenomenal (Trask, 1993, p. 90). This event inspired others in the fight for sovereignty, it gave them the hope to continue.

The Birth of Ka Lahui

As tension grew and cultural awareness levels escalated, Hawaiians wanted what was rightfully theirs by birth, the land and the preservation of ancient cultural practices. In response to the adversities suffered by their ancestors, movements by indigenous people started to form. As a result of that awareness the state of Hawaii formed the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) in 1978 to represent the Hawaiian people and their interests. Although its members are chosen by the Hawaiians, OHA is still an entity of the American government. It is because of this fact that many Hawaiians feel it is biased in its decision making process. OHA has no power over land or culture issues, which are the most important issues to the Kanaka Maoli.

Because of OHA's political ties, many other movements emerged to oppose it, but one stood apart with a powerful voice. Ka Lahui was formed in 1987 with the defined purpose of supporting the land and the indigenous people of Hawaii. Ka Lahui did not have any political affiliation or financial ties to the government. Therefore it was considered an alternative to OHA.
Ka Lahui Hawaii was conceived when a group that had "lobbied for a Federal-State Task Force on the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act" (Trask, 1993, p. 95) found discrepancies in the use of "trust lands and recommendations" (Trask, 1993, p. 95). According to Ka Lahui Hawaii, The Sovereign Nation of Hawaii,

The Hawaiian Homes Land Trust is approximately 200,000 acres of land, set aside by Congress in the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920 and in section 4 of the Hawaii Admissions Act of 1959 for the 'rehabilitation and Homesteading' of Native Hawaiians (1993, p. 4).

In response to the Task Force's findings, Ka Lahui Hawaii "called a Constitutional Convention in 1987, ... to create a constitution and to elect interim officials" (Trask, 1993, p. 95). Ka Lahui's membership grew rapidly under the guidance of Mililani Trask as the Kia'aina (Trask, 1993, p. 48), and her sister, Haunani-Kay Trask, who is currently the Director of the Center for Hawaiian Studies at the University of Hawaii at Manoa (Trask, 1993, About the Author).

**Defining a Social Movement**

There are many different definitions of "Social Movements" for consideration. For the purpose of this study, Stewart, Smith, and Denton's definition will be utilized. The authors state that a social movement "is an organized uninstitutionalized, and large collectivity that emerges to bring about or to resist a program of change in
societal norms and values, operates primarily through persuasive strategies and encounters opposition in a moral struggle" (Stewart, Smith, and Denton, 1994, p. 17). This definition can be broken down into seven specific areas for application: a social movement is an organized collectivity, it is an uninstitutionalized collectivity, the movement is large in scope, it proposes or opposes change in societal norms and values, it is moral in tone, encounters opposition, and persuasion is persuasive (1994, p. 3-13).

The first area, an organized collectivity, states that "A social movement has at least minimal organization" (Stewart, Smith, and Denton, 1994, p. 3). At its inception, in 1987, Ka Lahui had a somewhat structured organization. Ka Lahui emerged from a group of lobbyists for the Federal-State Task Force on the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act. After discovering the misuse of trust land and being unhappy with their findings, they created a constitution (Trask, 1993, p. 95). Ka Lahui, which consisted of this community group, held its first Constitutional Convention in Keaukaha, Hawaii, in 1987. At this convention, a draft of their Constitution was submitted for approval by the 250 Hawaiian delegates. This document, ten years in the making, was possible due to extensive historical and legal research, and meetings with the Kanaka Maoli to secure the best way to regain sovereignty. Other conventions followed in 1989 and

According to Stewart, Smith, and Denton, "A Social Movement is an uninstitutionalized collectivity" (1994, p. 5). This statement means that the social movement is not part of an established organization, such as a church group, government, or political party. The authors note that when a social movement requests assistance from political or religious groups, familiar entertainers, or large corporations to support them or join their crusade, this causes the demise of these movements. It is at that point that they become part of the establishment, an institutionalized entity (Stewart, Smith, and Denton, 1994, p. 5). Finances are minimal for uninstitutionalized organizations. Social movements do not have a steady flow of income from set sources. Instead, monies are usually acquired through personal donations. Because of these minimal funds, social movements cannot purchase media time. "The mass media devote little space or air time to social movements...and provide exposure only when a social movement does something spectacular or stupid" (Stewart, Smith, and Denton, 1994, p. 6).
Ka Lahui Hawaii is an uninstitutionalized entity. Ka Lahui does not have any ties to the government and does not receive support from any other political entity. Ka Lahui does possess a clearly defined government structure of its own. The publication, *Ka Lahui Hawaii, The Sovereign Nation of Hawaii*, outlines and describes the four branches of government recognized in the Constitution. The Legislative Branch makes the laws; the Executive Branch implements the laws; the Judicial Branch has the responsibility of acting as the interpreting entity of the law; and the Ali'i Nui Branch has the duty and responsibility of dealing with all issues pertaining to Hawaiian culture and traditions. This branch cannot vote and does not have the power to veto (1993, p. 5).

According to *Ka Lahui Hawaii, The Sovereign Nation of Hawaii*, monetary assistance is not the sole means of support Ka Lahui requests. Volunteers are needed to assist in various areas of the organization including fundraising, mail, and planning activities. Individuals who possess business and/or political knowledge are asked to run internal activities. Donations are one of the most important ways to volunteer help. Ka Lahui accepts monetary support on two different levels. For tax purposes, Ka Lahui operates a non-profit organization called "Ponakaulike", or
donations can be sent directly to a local area for use in local activities (1993, p. 7).

Ka Lahui received widespread media attention in 1993, when Mililani Trask and other Ka Lahui leaders, organized a march to the Iolani Palace to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the overthrow of the Hawaiian Nation. "The biggest sovereignty organization, Ka Lahui, Hawaii organized the march which turned out to be the single largest demonstration in the history of modern Hawaii" (Trask, 1993, p. 105). This media attention proves Stewart, Smith, and Denton's theory, that a social movement must do something "spectacular" to arouse the media (1994, p. 6).

The next area for consideration is that a "Social Movement is large in scope" (Stewart, Smith, and Denton, 1994, p. 7). The authors explain that social movements can be on a national or international level, sustain their cause over a great many years, set forth to gain new members, alter their ideologies to meet their needs, set goals and manipulate them as needed (Stewart, Smith, and Denton, 1994, p. 7). Stewart, Smith, and Denton state that: "It is little wonder that virtually every social movement claims to be a great grassroots movement" (1994, p. 8). The publication Ho'okupu a, Ka Lahui Hawaii, states that: "Ka Lahui Hawaii is a Native Hawaiian grassroots initiative for
self-determination" (1995, p. 11). This statement mirrors the words of Stewart, Smith, and Denton and confirms an area within their theory.

Ka Lahui is recognized both nationally and internationally. Internationally, Ka Lahui is a recognized member of UNPO (Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization). In a press release dated January 25, 1995, titled: *Ka Lahui Hawaii Voted to Top Position in UNPO General Assembly*, UNPO publicized the fact that Mililani B. Trask was voted in as the vice-president of the UNPO General Assembly. The release goes on to explain that UNPO is an international organization, which is housed in The Hague, The Netherlands. The group was founded on February 11, 1991. Its current membership represents over 100 million people (1995). Nationally, Ka Lahui is represented on the mainland and on the Hawaiian islands. On the mainland, Ka Lahui is represented by nine districts known as Moku Honu (district turtles). The Moku Honu are located in Nevada, Colorado, Arizona, Utah, Oregon, Washington, and there are three in California. In Hawaii, Ka Lahui has local representatives on each Island.

To further support Stewart, Smith, and Denton's theory that a social movement will alter ideologies and manipulate goals (1994, p. 7), *Ka Lahui Hawaii The Sovereign Nation of*
Hawaii offers this statement: "We encourage people who don't like something in Ka Lahui's Constitution to join Ka Lahui and change it. Ka Lahui's Constitution can be amended because it must be dynamic, able to change as needs and time change" (1993 p. 7). This statement works on two levels: first it encourages new members to join and secondly it invites changes in the structure if necessary.

According to Stewart, Smith, and Denton, "A social movement proposes or opposes a program for change in societal norms, values, or both. Programs include prescriptions for what must be done, who must do it, and how it will be accomplished" (1994 p. 9). The authors describe three different types of social movements: innovative, resistance, and revivalistic (Stewart, Smith, and Denton, 1994, p9). An innovative social movement, also referred to as alternative or reactionary, attempts to substitute current norms and values with updated replacements. Social movements which are examples of this type are the women's, gay liberation, and civil rights movements (Stewart, Smith, and Denton 1994, p. 9). Resistance, conservative, or counter social movements do not want change to occur in the present situation. What sets this type of movement apart from the others is the fact that they are content with the status quo and want to retain the current situation. They
believe that if there is a problem it will rectify itself over a period of time by an established institution. Social movements which illustrate this type of behavior are any "anti" or "pro" movements which include, anti-civil rights, anti-women's liberation, pro-choice, and pro-war (Stewart, Smith, and Denton, 1994, p. 9). Revivalistic or nationalistic social movements substitute current norms and values with ones from a distinguished, glorified, idealized past. Social movements which are a part of this category are those among Native American, the pro-life movement, and Ka Lahui (Stewart, Smith, and Denton, 1994, p. 9).

Ka Lahui not only fits the criteria but often refers to itself as a "nationalistic" movement as do other Hawaiian movements. In its rhetoric the members are always striving for that link to the past, to go back to the way it was or was perceived to have been. In the publication, Ho'oku upu a Ka Lahui Hawaii, this statement illustrates this nationalism:

The survival of Native Hawaiians, our ancestors, and descendants is deeply rooted in the land. The life of the land is the spiritual and cultural foundation of native Hawaiians and our children. Therefore, Ka Lahui Hawaii, like all other sovereign nations, needs to reclaim and recover its land base (1995, p. 8).

Ka Lahui wants a sovereign way of life returned to the people of Hawaii. The citizens want to regain that what was removed from them over 100 years ago.
Another issue that Stewart, Smith, and Denton point to is the fact that, "A social movement's rhetoric is moral in tone" (1994, p. 10). An example is clearly illustrated in the publication *Ka Lahui Hawaii, The Sovereign Nation of Hawaii*: "While some people have criticized Ka Lahui's approach as being too conservative, we believe that seeking inclusion under the existing U. S. federal policy is an expedient, rational and legal means for Hawaiians to be self-governing" (1993, p. 3). This statement displays Ka Lahui's ability to be politically correct and rationalize what is right from wrong. The choice of the words "conservative" and "legal" are synonymous with the word "moral". They allow for a sense of security within the movement and allow Ka Lahui to proceed with its fight in a non-threatening fashion. This parallels the view of Queen Lili'uokalani's non-violent nature which also reverts back to the issue of nationalism. It recognizes a sense of safety to those who are following the movement's rhetoric, and allows for the credibility of Ka Lahui's morality.

Another issue Stewart, Smith, and Denton offer for consideration, is the fact that, social movements encounter opposition from institutions, including legislative entities, media, and corporations (1994, p. 11-12). The Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) is an institution that was
created by the United States government. It is the "eye" of the government to oversee the progress of sovereignty. Its employee's or member's salaries are paid by the government. Ka Lahui operates solely with the aid of donations. OHA has implemented a plan for sovereignty created by the state agency. Even though many OHA members support Ka Lahui, OHA does not recognize Ka Lahui's native initiative for sovereignty because they strive to be the entity of Hawaii's sovereignty, according to *Ka Lahui Hawaii The Sovereign Nation of Hawaii* (1993, p. 8).

Even though the media regarded Ka Lahui to be the most threatening sovereignty movement to OHA, they believed that OHA was the favorable representative of Hawaiian issues (Trask, 1993, p. 101). In reaction to Ka Lahui's submission of a bill in the State legislature which would transfer the lands and the money to Ka Lahui, OHA expeditiously introduced its own interpretation which summoned a Constitutional Convention (Trask, 1993, p. 101). This incident was clearly an illustration of opposition from an institution and exemplifies and supports Stewart, Smith, and Denton's issue.

The final area Stewart, Smith, and Denton offer for consideration is that, in order for a social movement to retain its status and remain a significant force, its
persuasion must be persuasive (1994, p. 13). "For instance, they must transform perceptions of reality, prescribe and sell courses of action, mobilize the disaffected, and sustain the movement over time" (Stewart, Smith, and Denton, 1994, p. 13). The authors identify three methods that may fulfill these requirements: coercion, bargaining, and persuasion (Stewart, Smith, and Denton, 1994, p. 13-14).

According to Turner and Killian in Stewart, Smith, and Denton,

Coercion is the 'manipulation of the target group's situation in such a fashion that the pursuit of any course of action other than that sought by the movement will be met by considerable cost or punishment'. Bargaining may occur when the 'movement has control of some exchangeable value that the target group wants and offers some of that value in return for compliance with demands'. Persuasion is a communication process by which a social movement seeks through the use of verbal and nonverbal symbols to affect audience perceptions and thus to bring about changes in ways of thinking, feeling, and/or acting (1994, p. 14).

In the case of Ka Lahui, coercion is demonstrated by the fact that if the Hawaiian people do not comply with Ka Lahui's goals they have everything to lose, namely, their land, culture, heritage, and their right to a sovereign nation. "Neither the governor nor OHA supported the Native claims for land and water against the State" (Trask, 1993, p. 101). Therefore, the Hawaiian people must join together to create a unified nation. OHA was created in an attempt to satisfy the Hawaiians as a compromise or bargain to
comply with the request for a sovereign nation. It gave the Hawaiians a government of indigenous people, but this entity was controlled by the United States government and is manipulated by its monies. Therefore, the Hawaiian people must sympathize with Ka Lahui in order to regain control of the land. Ka Lahui has the "exchangeable value," the knowledge and the ability required to return the land to the kanaka maoli by supporting their cause.

Ka Lahui's march to Iolani Palace to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the overthrow of the Hawaiian Nation is just one example of a persuasive measure. This march was a symbolic reminder of what Queen Lili'uokalani did to maintain peace, yet illustrated the injustice that was inflicted upon a peaceful Hawaiian nation. These examples of coercion, bargaining, and persuasion interact with one another to achieve the desired outcome of this theory. Not one usually acts alone as each are related. For example, the march to the Palace was both coercive and persuasive because participants were dressed in native clothing, chanted and had speeches of protest prepared to tell of the injustices bestowed upon their peaceful Nation (Trask, 1993, p. 105,128). According to Stewart, Smith, and Denton, marches, demonstrations, and selected clothing are considered to be examples of "coercive" behavior. "Persuasive" elements include signs, symbolic acts, and
speeches (1994, p. 15). This historic march contained all of these elements, which further supports this theory.

The seven areas examined in relation to social movements were: a social movement is an organized collectivity, an uninstitutionalized collectivity, is large in scope, proposes or opposes change in societal norms and values, is moral in tone, encounters opposition, and its persuasion is persuasive (Stewart, Smith, and Denton, 1994, p. 3-13). When incorporating these seven characteristics to identify and define a social movement, Ka Lahui was able to fulfill the criteria established by Stewart, Smith, and Denton.

Ka Lahui is an organized collectivity because it possesses a structured Constitution. The document is dynamic and does allow for change. Ka Lahui is an uninstitutionalized collectivity because it is not affiliated with any established organization. It is large in scope because it is recognized both nationally and internationally with representation in UNPO. Also its membership has increased tremendously since its beginnings. Ka Lahui is a nationalistic social movement which strives to return to a better past. Ka Lahui is moral in tone and has been accused of being conservative. Encountering opposition is another area congruent with the theory. Ka Lahui is continuously being pressured by OHA. In conclusion, its persuasion must
be persuasive. This was best illustrated by Ka Lahui's march to the Iolani Palace in traditional dress and chanting protests. This identification and definition of a social movement was accomplished by illustrating through these examples and experiences in greater detail that these facts were proven. These findings will enable the continuance of this study by examining the life cycles of a social movement.

The Life Cycle of a Social Movement

In his article, "The Rhetoric of Historical Movements", Griffin identifies the existence of a social movement by isolating three specific stages. The stages reflect that persons have become unsatisfied with their present situation, they attempt to alter the situation, and in this attempt, they may succeed or fail, which brings the movement to its demise (1951, p. 184-188). According to Stewart, Smith, and Denton, "Rarely, if ever, do social movements follow a neat, and linear pattern" (1994, p. 71). Each social movement is unique and therefore so is its life cycle (Stewart, Smith, and Denton, 1994, p. 71). Griffin isolates three "phases or periods" within a social movement. These phases are inception, rhetorical crisis, and consummation (1952, p. 184-188). Stewart, Smith, and Denton expand on these stages by offering an analysis of life cycles of
social movements which include five areas for application (1994, p. 72). For the purpose of this study, Stewart, Smith, and Denton's five stages of the life cycles of a social movement will be applied. These five stages are: genesis, social unrest, enthusiastic mobilization, maintenance, and termination (1994, p. 72-83).

The first stage, identified as genesis, explains how a social movement evolves and why. According to Stewart, Smith, and Denton, "A social movement usually begins during relatively quiet times, quiet at least with respect to the issue that the new movement will address" (1994, p. 72). Ka Lahui was created in 1987 as a native initiative for self government (Trask, 1993, p. 48). Stewart, Smith, and Denton explain that there must be some sort of injustice occurring on some level within the system. It can be individual or institutional and is a threat to values or the environment (1994, p. 72). An "imperfection" must be perceived, an "exigence", which is an "imperfection marked by some degree of urgency...a problem or defect" (Bitzer in Stewart, Smith, and Denton, 1994, p. 72-73), must have been identified. In the case of Ka Lahui, all of these injustices were present. The most important injustice occurred in 1893 with the overthrow of the sovereign Hawaiian nation. But injustices began as early as the arrival of Cook in 1778. As noted previously, Ka Lahui was conceived as a result of the
discovery of discrepancies in the use of "trust lands and recommendations" (Trask, 1993, p. 95). These issues affected both values and the environment because Hawaiians were no longer allowed to share life with the land as their ancestors did. The government was allocating the land that was rightfully theirs to corporations for capital gain.

This stage does not have to occur within a set time and may even transcend decades (Stewart, Smith, and Denton, 1994, p. 73). The most important aspect of the genesis stage is the fact that an exigence was identified and there is an audience for it (Stewart, Smith, and Denton, 1994, p. 74). The authors state that, "without a genesis stage, there will be no movement" (Stewart, Smith, and Denton, 1994, p. 74).

In stage two, social unrest, the general population becomes aware of the movement. At some point a manifesto reflecting the ideology of the movement is written. According to Stewart, Smith, and Denton,

The manifesto serves three essential functions: (1) to describe the exigence, (2) to identify the devils, scapegoats, and faulty principles, that have caused and sustained the exigence, and (3) to prescribe the solution and the gods, principles, and procedures that will bring it about (1994, p. 75).

The manifesto's purpose is to describe the exigence, to identify all the issues which have caused and allowed the exigence to flourish and finally to dictate a solution.
This solution is synonymous with the ideology of the movement, which parallels "the people" or humanity which has solid norms and values (Stewart, Smith, and Denton, 1994, p. 75).

Ten years prior to Ka Lahui's inception, its manifesto or constitution was being researched and written. In 1987, at the first Constitutional Convention, the Constitution was introduced. In the publication, Ka Lahui Hawaii, The Sovereign Nation of Hawaii (1993), the Constitution is outlined to educate people in their fight and the purpose of Ka Lahui's existence and its goals to improve life for the indigenous people of Hawaii. A paragraph on the front page of Ka Lahui Hawaii, The Sovereign Nation of Hawaii, explains what this publication is trying to accomplish. It states:

This compilation of educational materials, which includes Ka Lahui Hawaii's Constitution, was published to empower Hawaiians to make informed self-determined, decisions and actions to protect the future of our lands, our people, and our culture" (1993, p. 1).

Ka Lahui Hawaii, The Sovereign Nation of Hawaii (1993), is a comprehensive document which explains Ka Lahui's purpose, accomplishments and long term goals. It commences by addressing frequently asked questions, such as, "What is Ka Lahui Hawaii?, How was Ka Lahui Hawaii created?, and How does Ka Lahui define sovereignty" (1993, p. 2). In addition to these three questions, 13 additional questions are
answered for a total of 16. It explains that Ka Lahui Hawaii is seeking Hawaiian self-governance, solely by and for native Hawaiians without the intervention of state and federal entities. It continues by defining sovereignty, "in general, sovereignty is the ability of a people to govern their own affairs" (1993, p. 2). The publication goes on to explain that Ka Lahui recognizes five elements for Hawaiian sovereignty:

A strong and abiding faith in the Akua (god) because a spiritually empty people do not make a strong nation. A people with a common culture, language, tradition and history. A land base so that Hawaiians will be able to live and practice their cultural traditions. A government structure to enable Hawaiians to be self-determining. And a economic base that will enable Hawaiians to be self-sufficient (1993 p. 2).

Hawaiians want to practice a self-determining government structure, and want to be economically self-sufficient which would ultimately be the result of nationhood (1993, p. 2).

Ka Lahui Hawaii, The Sovereign Nation of Hawaii, continues by explaining why Ka Lahui was organized. Ka Lahui wants to secure a Nation to Nation type of government for its people. "Nation to Nation is a term used to describe how America relates to its native people" (1993 p. 3). This government is the same representation the American Indians have. The Hawaiians consider themselves Native Americans as the Indians do and would like the same relationship with the government. Sovereignty is not a new
or illegal concept. Self-governing native nations under the auspices of the United States federal policy of self-determination have been recognized by the U.S. government. The United States recognizes 550 native nations according to Ka Lahui Hawaii The Sovereign Nation of Hawaii (1992, p. 3). The reason why Hawaiians are unable to attain this status of self-determination is because Hawaiians are considered an "ethnic minority group" not "Native Americans". As a result of this ongoing situation, "Ka Lahui Hawaii has developed and ratified a Constitution and has organized a Nation founded upon principles of self-sufficiency, peace, disarmament, and absolute faith in equality and justice" (Ka Lahui Hawaii, 1993, p. 3).

To expedite the process of sovereignty, the United States should include Hawaiian people as Native Americans, thus entitling them to all the rights the United States federal policy provides for all Native Americans. Ka Lahui believes that, even though their approach is considered "conservative", it is a rational and legal way for Hawaiians to attain self-government. As a result of being a sovereign nation, Ka Lahui will be able to practice a Nation to Nation relationship with the United States (Ka Lahui Hawaii, 1993, p. 3).
Once sovereignty is achieved, Ka Lahui will put into action three objectives: to educate Hawaiians on the issues of cultural preservation, land rights, and the knowledge to govern that which is rightfully theirs; to acknowledge the fact of sovereignty and the development of its government; and finally, Ka Lahui will be granted the right to manage the land, homes, taxes, and develop programs for self-sufficiency (Ka Lahui Hawaii, 1993, p. 7). Ka Lahui's form of government will not alter lifestyles. The provisions provided by the United States government such as Social Security and retirement will remain. Ka Lahui's government would control Hawaiian lands and their assets. "Hawaiians would elect Hawaiians to represent Hawaiian interests and concerns" (Ka Lahui Hawaii, 1993, p. 7).

The Constitution of Ka Lahui Hawaii allows for any person with Hawaiian blood to be recognized as a citizen. "Ka Lahui also extends Honorary Citizenship to individuals who are not of Hawaiian ancestry. Honorary Citizens are not entitled to the rights and privileges afforded to full Ka Lahui citizens". The document goes on to say that, "When you enroll as a citizen or honorary citizen, you are affirming your support of Ka Lahui's Constitution" (Ka Lahui Hawaii, 1993, p. 7). By becoming a citizen of Ka Lahui, you are not denying your United States citizenship. Instead,
you will be governed by two constitutions, that of the United States and that of Ka Lahui (Ka Lahui Hawaii, 1993, p. 7). Everyone who is qualified is encouraged to join and to support Ka Lahui's goals (Ka Lahui Hawaii, 1993, p. 7).

Ka Lahui has fulfilled the criteria necessary to be at stage two of a life cycle of a social movement. Ka Lahui wants to return Hawaii to a sovereign nation in an effort to regain nationhood. Through education the native people will understand the need for self-determination and sufficiency.

In stage three, enthusiastic mobilization, Stewart, Smith, and Denton explain that sympathizers of the movement begin to realize that established institutions cannot or will not solve the existing problem. Members recognize the fact that the institution is the evil entity obstructing their ability to move on in a productive manner. When this situation occurs, followers become genuinely sympathetic to the cause and a sense of optimism is evident within the organization (1994, p. 77). According to the authors, during this time, "the converted see the social movement as the only way to bring about urgently needed change and believe firmly that the movement's time has come" (Stewart, Smith, and Denton, 1994, p. 77). At this time the movement's rhetoric begins to take a new direction. Instead of merely responding to situations, the movement goes public by the use of speeches and newsletters, much grander measures are
utilized to gain the attention of the people. The method employed to move the ideology of the movement becomes a coercive persuasion form, explained previously. "Mass meetings, marches, demonstrations and symbolic actions replace sedate conventions, conferences, and testimony at hearings" (Stewart, Smith, and Denton, 1994, p. 78).

Ka Lahui displayed this shift when its membership marched to the Iolani Palace in 1993 to honor the overthrow of the Hawaiian Nation. They climbed the steps to the Palace dressed in native clothing, chanting in their native language, and in a peaceful manner told the story of their past (Trask, 1993, p. 105,128).

Even though Ka Lahui has illustrated the more visible and verbal methods which are utilized in this stage, Ka Lahui continues to testify at all hearings involving Hawaiian issues, including representation in Washington D.C. to lobby Congress on Hawaiian entitlements and related programs. To represent political issues internationally, Ka Lahui has sent diplomatic liaisons to the United Nations so their Hawaiian Nation could be heard. Ka Lahui has received grants from various organizations, including the Catholic Church, to educate the Hawaiians in their local dioceses throughout Hawaii on the subject of sovereignty. Also, Ka Lahui received a federal grant from the Administration for Native Americans to educate its citizens in self-governance.
(Ka Lahui Hawaii, The Sovereign Nation of Hawaii, 1993, p. 6). Ka Lahui Hawaii, The Sovereign Nation of Hawaii documents the fact that Ka Lahui "Organized the 'Hawaiian Solidarity Rally' to stop the erosion of Hawaiian trust lands and to support Hawaiian language immersion funding" (1993, p. 6). This rally publicized the need to continue teaching the Hawaiian language in schools and the financial support it required.

Stewart, Smith, and Denton state that: "The persuasive goal is to raise the consciousness level of 'the people' so significant numbers will pressure institutions to adopt the movement's simplified 'if-only' images of social processes..." (1994, p. 79). As stated above, these grants that Ka Lahui received were from both institutionalized and uninstitutionalized entities, thus reinforcing the above statement. By receiving these grants, Ka Lahui was able to educate people in diverse situations. Therefore, as an increasing number of "people" become aware of Ka Lahui's fight for sovereignty, the institutions will be forced to comply with their fight to regain their land and cultural heritage.

Stewart, Smith, and Denton go on to explain that, during the enthusiastic mobilization stage, leaders must make decisions to meet changing circumstances by reacting to
the actions of the opposition. This is due to the fact that institutions realize the movement has attained a certain degree of power and may be of danger to them (1994, p. 78-79). The above example illustrates this point to a degree by explaining the outcome if the movement has acquired too much power. The paragraph below describes this situation.

In the "Campus Voices" section of the publication Ka Leo, Poka Laenui, who is an advocate of pro-Hawaiian sovereignty and a member of the Hawaiian Sovereignty Elections Council (HSEC) which is an entity of OHA, criticizes Ka Lahui in the article, *Pleb holds best chance* (date and page not available). Laenui suggests that "many are sick and tired of Ka Lahui or others running off to the United Nations claiming they represent the Hawaiian Nation" (Ka Leo, date and page not available). He mocks the credibility of Ka Lahui as an alternative form of government and provides to readers who are considering Ka Lahui's government a reason to question their manifesto and side with the institution. Laenui states that "Mililani Trask's suggestion of simply calling for a vote on self-determination allowing anyone with a state identification card eligibility to participate is foolish" (Ka Leo, date and page not available). He goes on to say that what Trask is suggesting parallels the injustice that occurred in the
1959 vote for statehood (Ka Leo, date and page not available). Laenui's careful usage of words within the sentence makes the reader evaluate Ka Lahui's reliability. He suggests that Trask, Ka Lahui's leader, is foolish. Again, this degrades the powerful position the movement has attained. Finally, by comparing Trask's present suggestion to the historical event in question, Laenui could easily create doubt in the minds of the readers and recruit them to side with the institution.

Stewart, Smith, and Denton explain that the kind of pressure Laenui inflicted is a normal form of rhetoric utilized by institutions. During the enthusiastic mobilization stage the leader of the movement faces pressure from both internal and external forces (1994, p. 79). Mililani Trask is highly respected by the members of Ka Lahui. In a letter to the Sovereignty Elections Council (SEC), Ralph Kahalehau, Po'o (Island Chair/Legislator) to Ka Lahui, recognizes Trask's achievements (1995, p. 3). Trask is the Kia'aina (governor), which is an elected position. She follows and complies with the Constitution set forth by Ka Lahui. Kahalehau explains:

Our Kia'aina, Mililani B. Trask is to be given full credit that she deserves for the many unselfish things she has done and given: 1) Ohana - leadership; 2) Aloha - love for her peers and her people; 3) Pa'ahana many hours and dedication to her work, state, national,
and international; 4) Maika'i - everything she did was with honesty and excellence (1995, p. 3).

In the publication *Ho‘okupu a Ka Lahui Hawaii The Master Plan*, Mililani Trask outlines Ka Lahui's platform on sovereignty. She recognizes four arenas for sovereignty. In the second arena, she states that Ka Lahui will "Maintain our commitment to peace and disarmament, we will not declare war or engage in violence" (1995, p. 12). In a lecture on UNLV's campus, Mililani Trask explained that the local Hawaiian media expressed to her that an act of violence would satisfy the media. This type of behavior is something she and Ka Lahui's Constitution cannot condone (1995). Trask, like Queen Lili'uokalani vehemently objects to violence of any kind or for any reason. Stewart, Smith, and Denton confirm this reaction from the media by explaining that in the enthusiastic mobilization stage, "leaders are unable to satisfy the insatiable appetites of members and the mass media for new and more spectacular events and achievements" (1994, p. 80).

As a result of this pressure the social movement begins to mature and is unable to satisfy many of its promises and commitments. What was once exciting begins to fade into boredom; the social movement moves into the maintenance stage (Stewart, Smith, and Denton, 1994, p. 80).
The fourth stage, or maintenance, is a critical time for a social movement. This is due to the fact that a social movement will gain from some type of a victory or it will come to its demise (Stewart, Smith, and Denton, 1994, p. 81). During this stage the leader must cultivate the same emotions that were present in the earlier stages. The leader must engage in optimistic rhetoric to sustain present membership numbers. It is during this time the social movement’s membership begins to decline, as does the level of the commitment and loyalty of its members (Stewart, Smith, and Denton, 1994, p. 81). Stewart, Smith, and Denton explain that the "leader must recruit new members and reinforce belief in the movement's ideology and potential for ultimate rather than immediate success" (1994, p. 81). The movement enters a holding pattern which contributes to a lack of exposure in the media. According to Stewart, Smith and Denton, "the social movement looks desperately for a triggering or catalytic event to return the cause to the enthusiastic mobilization stage, make the struggle fun and exciting again" (1994, p. 82). This action or event would again cause the movement to be newsworthy and create excitement and hope within the membership.

Ka La hui does not yet show evidence of the characteristics which describe this stage. Ka Lahui has a strong membership base both on the islands and on the
mainland. Mililani Trask lectures and educates people on the issues of sovereignty and what it means to the Kanaka Maoli. Trask alone has personal moments of despair for her people and their struggle to gain sovereignty. At her lecture at UNLV she discussed the importance of the unity of the Kanaka Maoli and the Hawaiian Nation in order to gain sovereignty. A melancholy moment overcame her optimism when discussing OHA and the SEC, the government institutions which create direct pressure on Ka Lahui and the fight for sovereignty (1995).

According to Stewart, Smith, and Denton, during the maintenance stage both the social movement and the institutions begin to weaken and something of a congruency between the two develops. Without a fight left in the two opposing sides a less radical approach is utilized to handle situations. At this time the social movement will enter the final stage, termination (1994, p. 83).

The fifth and final stage, termination, does not connote the imminent demise. Often, a social movement which reaches its primary goal or some other form of satisfaction may claim success and cease to exist according to Stewart, Smith, and Denton (1994, p. 83). The authors go on to explain that a social movement’s leaders and followers begin to experience a dissatisfaction with the movement which parallels the dissatisfaction they experienced with the
institutions discussed in the earlier stages (1994, p. 84). Stewart, Smith, and Denton raise this question for consideration, when a social movement is in the termination stage, does it actually die or will it take on another form of collectivity (1994, p. 83)?

According to Stewart, Smith, and Denton, each life cycle stage of a social movement "requires certain persuasive skills and personalities" (1994, p. 85). The authors further explain this statement by offering these examples. The genesis stage requires an individual who has an acute knowledge of word usage and the ability to change how a person perceives society and reality. In the social unrest stage, the leader should offer direction or solutions to change these perceptions. The enthusiastic mobilization stage requires a leader or agitator who can react with the rhetoric being produced by institutions, placed into proper perspective, will change the perceptions of society. In the maintenance stage the leader changes from an "agitator" to a "diplomat" whose primary goal is sustaining the social movement. The final stage, termination, usually faces the leader with the fact that an imperfection was not completely solved, therefore a dissatisfaction occurs (1994, p. 85).

As a result of the fact that a social movement's leaders have a direct impact on how a social movement evolves and flourishes, is necessary to examine leadership
in social movements as a part of this study. The following chapter will focus on Mililani B. Trask, Kia'aina (governor) of Ka Lahui.
CHAPTER 4

IDENTIFICATION OF LEADERSHIP

Leaders of social movements have always been identified as some sort of radical according to Stewart, Smith, and Denton (1994, p. 90).

People who choose to organize and to operate outside of American institutions and to claim an urgent problem is being ignored, hidden, or promoted by the very persons or institutions Americans revere or cherish are likely to be branded as irrational agitators, malcontents, losers, misfits, outcasts, extremists, or rabblerousers (Hoffer in Stewart, Smith, and Denton, 1994, p. 90).

These established institutions which include the government, educators, and churches, with the assistance of the media, confirm peoples' attitudes toward leaders of social movements. Stewart, Smith, and Denton explain that various studies have provided evidence that leaders of social movements are well educated business people unlike those described above (1994, p. 90-91). The authors go on to note that a person who displays any interest in a social movement or resembles a movement member, for example, a Native or African American, is assumed to be a leader of that particular movement (1994, p. 91-92).

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In this chapter Stewart, Smith, and Denton's theories about leadership, which "examines the nature of leadership in social movements and how it is attained and maintained" (1994. p.92), will be applied for the purposes of determining the status of Mililani Trask, Kia'aina of Ka Lahui.

When examining the nature of leadership, Stewart, Smith, and Denton offer three areas for consideration: leaders as organizers, decision makers, and as symbols (1994, p. 93-95). The first idea the authors offer, leaders as organizers, reflects the fact that "leaders must have organized skills, particularly the ability to attract people to the notion of collectivity and to draw people together into meaningful organizations" (1994, p. 93). Since Ka Lahui's inception in 1987, Mililani Trask has been the Kia'aina. Under her leadership Ka Lahui has grown from 250 delegates to a citizenry of nearly 20,000 (Trask, 1995, BIO, Introduction). Ka Lahui distributes various publications most of which are educational in nature. Trask's ideology is reflected in most of them and a majority of the articles are written by her. *Ho'okupu a Ka Lahui Hawai'i* is a publication submitted as an "offering" of Ka Lahui's Master Plan for 1995. The concept of "collectivity" is offered in a section titled, *Jurisdiction and Recognition*
of Ka Lahui: "The Nation as a collective representative of Native Hawaiians and their descendants, shall have jurisdiction over its lands..." (1995, p. 3).

The leader should have an organized personality to deal with outside forces in a structured manner (Stewart, Smith, and Denton, 1994, p. 94). Trask has been an attorney in the state of Hawaii since 1978. From 1978 - 1979 she was the Deputy Prosecutor for the City and County of Honolulu. From 1978 - 1988, Trask had a private law practice in Honolulu, Hawaii (Trask, Resume p. 1). Trask's law background gives her the structure required to deal with outside forces in the proper manner. Her rhetoric is always pertinent to the subject and deals directly with the situation at hand. Her testimony and pleas at various government meetings are often threatening to the institution because of the intelligent manner in which she presents them.

The second area Stewart, Smith, and Denton offer is, that "the social movement leader is also a 'decision maker', but rarely have the powers of reward and punishment or the claim to legitimacy of an established authority" (1994, p. 94). Essentially this means that even though the leaders have the power to make decisions, they are responsible for these actions whether they are negative or positive. Leaders are restricted by limitations that are imposed by
both outside institutions and the movement itself. Ka Lahui's constitution outlines the duties and limitations of the leader or Kia'aina. The Kia'aina is an elected officer of the Executive Branch that executes the power to implement laws, disburses funds, and oversees all other committees (Ka Lahui Hawaii, 1993, p. 5,17). Trask's decisions are respected by the members of Ka Lahui and she is currently serving her second term as Kia'aina. Most of the opposition is from outside institutions as illustrated earlier in the quote from Poka Laenui striking at Trask and her rhetoric (Ka Leo, date and page not available).

The third and final area, leaders as symbols, explains that the cause and the leaders become one. Each becomes synonymous with the other. The leader is identified with the cause, and the cause with the leader (Stewart, Smith, and Denton, 1994, p. 95). Even though members of Ka Lahui have their respective positions within their judicial system and are identified with them in their respective areas, Mililani Trask is Ka Lahui. Her name is synonymous with the movement, the rhetoric it produces, the decisions she makes and the actions imposed are usually legal in nature because of her extensive experience in the legal field. Trask lectures on behalf of Ka Lahui in Hawaii, on the Mainland, and in other countries, thus making her an international
figure (Trask, Resume, p. 3). Trask's achievements include participation in the drafting of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (Trask, Resume, p. 5). Trask is also recognized by the United Nations.

In July of 1993, she prepared and submitted comprehensive testimony on behalf of Ka Lahui Hawaii, systematically outlining the status of native Hawaiians and their history of civil and human rights. This testimony was recognized by the UN Treaty Study which stated, 'Ka Lahui Hawaii was the first, and only example in the world of indigenous peoples human rights violations that had been thoroughly researched, documented, and submitted to the UN...and identifying Ka Lahui Hawaii's situation as warranting further study' (Trask, Resume p. 5).

According to Stewart, Smith, and Denton, this would qualify Trask as the "face" of Ka Lahui, not only for its members, but also the public and media (1994, p. 96). The year 1993 brings Trask additional exposure by being named Best Hawaiian Leader by Honolulu Weekly (Trask, Resume, p. 5).

Stewart, Smith, and Denton finalize this area by offering this statement:

Herbert Simons concludes that "The primary rhetorical test of the leader and, indirectly, of the strategies he [she] employs - is his [her] capacity to fulfill the requirements of his [her] movement by resolving or reducing rhetorical problems" in a very real sense, then, the leader is a rhetorical leader of a social movement (Simons in Stewart, Smith, and Denton, 1994, p. 96).

Leadership Attainment

Stewart, Smith, and Denton identify three attributes associated with being a social movement leader. These three
attributes are charisma, prophecy, and pragmatism. The role of a social movement leader is recognized when the members of the movement perceive this individual to possess at least two of the three characteristics (Weber in Stewart, Smith, and Denton, 1994, p. 96).

The first attribute is that the leader should be charismatic. The leader's rhetorical skills should be fine tuned to an art. "The charismatic leader feels a duty, not merely an obligation or opportunity, to lead the movement and often exhibits exceptional heroism, bravery, and endurance to the point of martyrdom for the cause" (Abel in Stewart, Smith, and Denton, 1994, p. 97). Mililani Trask is truly a charismatic leader to the members of Ka Lahui. As noted earlier, in a letter to the State of Hawaii, Sovereignty Elections Council (SEC), Ralph Kahalehau, Po'o explained that, Trask has contributed much to Ka Lahui in an unselfish manner, he offers for examples; ohana-leadership, aloha-love, Pa'ahana-hours of dedicated work, and maika'i-everything was done with honesty and excellence (1995, p. 3).

The second attribute that a leader may possess is that he or she may be viewed as a prophet. According to Stewart, Smith, and Denton, this person may have contributed to the writing of the movement's doctrine or manifesto, and may have even written the entire document. Also, he or she may
be the authority on the document (1994, p. 98). Trask was
the principal writer of Ka Lahui's Constitution including Ka
Trask also writes articles for international publication and
inter-island and mainland publication. Because of her law
background, Trask handles most of the legal correspondence.

The third and final attribute is that a leader should be a pragmatist. He or she must possess efficient and
expert organizational skills (Wilson in Stewart, Smith, and
Denton 1994, p. 99). According to Stewart, Smith, and
Denton, "the pragmatist believes that ideals and principles
are useless without organization and implementation" (1994,
p. 99). The leader's rhetoric should be delivered in an
organized manner in order for the rhetoric to be effective.
Trask's rhetoric is arranged for all to understand and
usually educational in nature. The two educational
publications Ka Lahui distributes, Ka Lahui Hawaii, The
Sovereign Nation of Hawaii and Ho'okupu a Ka Lahui Hawaii,
are both organized for ease of readability and the use of
simplistic language is utilized. Making these publications
simple to comprehend allows anyone at most educational
levels to understand the information being conveyed. Ka
Lahui Hawaii, The Sovereign Nation Of Hawaii's beginning
pages are arranged in a question and answer type format that
offers information about various diverse and different aspects of Ka Lahui.

How To Maintain Leadership

Stewart, Smith, and Denton identify five areas leaders in social movements should retain characteristics of in order to maintain their leader status. The areas for consideration are: having a variety of the leadership attributes, handling many diverse and conflicting roles, changing as the movement changes, adapting to the events, and leading by not getting too far ahead or behind (1994, p. 100-105).

According to Stewart, Smith, and Denton, in the first area for consideration, scholars agree that successful movement leaders should display a minimum of two of the leadership attributes described earlier (1994, p. 101). Mililani Trask displays all of the attributes. She is a multi-dimensional leader, able to deal with many diverse situations. She is able to please the diverse membership of Ka Lahui and also is recognized by various world organizations including the United Nations. Closer to home a local newspaper even bestowed her the honor of "Best Hawaiian Leader" (Trask, Resume, p. 5).

The second dilemma the leader of a social movement must deal with is the ability to handle diverse and complicated
roles. These situations arise and must be dealt with the utmost of care. It is difficult to meet and adapt to demands that the role of the leader must take on. These demands require diverse rhetorical skills which usually result in leaders who cause conflict within the movement and results in a breakdown of its structure and persuasive efforts (Smelser in Stewart, Smith, and Denton, 1994 p. 100-102). Trask has been able to handle the many diverse situations because of her own education in the legal field. She is aware of her rights as a leader and the rights of the people of Ka Lahui.

The third area brings another obstacle for the leader of a social movement, it is the ability of the leader to change as the social movement changes (Stewart, Smith, and Denton, 1994, p. 103). According to the authors, many factors cause this change, including war, the economy, religious and social trends, politics, and new leaders in mature institutions (1994, p. 103). The greatest pressure is from various government agencies that include OHA and HSEC. The Hawaiian Sovereignty Elections Council, in an attempt to be politically correct, asks all recognized movements to elect a member of their organization to represent their cause in the HSEC. Ka Lahui declined the invitation because they do not want to be affiliated with an organization which is controlled by the government.
The fourth area is the ability of the leader to adapt to events. "Leaders must appear to be in the forefront of necessary change and wise adaptation, while not appearing to abandon major norms, beliefs, attitudes, and values of their movements in order to meet situational exigencies" (Sherif in Stewart, Smith, and Denton, 1994, p. 104). Simply stated, the leader must be flexible enough to adapt to events which may alter norms and may cause change within society and the social movement, yet they must remain focused on their original cause. Ka Lahui has never changed its focus, its goal has never faltered, they are an initiated for self determination for the Native Hawaiian population. Trask reminds her people of the injustice that was committed over one hundred years ago regardless of the situation at present. She travels the world trying to reach all Kanaka Maoli, not only those who live on the islands, to keep them informed of the situation at hand and to educate herself on present political situations concerning sovereignty.

The final area a leader must observe to maintain leadership in a social movement is that he or she must lead the movement by not getting too far ahead or behind (Stewart, Smith, and Denton, 1994, p. 105). Leaders must lead from a distance, which still gives them enough recognition and the ability to make important decisions yet
still allow them to keep in touch with their members. Trask's travels allow her to meet with the citizens of Ka Lahui. Also newsletters are sent out with current developments.

In conclusion, Stewart, Smith, and Denton note that social movement leaders are no different than the rest of us. Leaders have the ability to lead because they possess at least one of the critical attributes which include: charisma, prophecy, and pragmatism. Mililani Trask possesses all of these attributes. Trask has been the driving force of Ka Lahui since 1987 when she became the interim Kia'aina. She is presently serving her second consecutive term as elected Kia'aina and has become the "face" of the movement which often occurs to leaders. Becoming a leader of a social movement is easier than remaining one (1994, p. 106). In this situation, the problem for Trask and Ka Lahui is when her second term is over. She will have exhausted her allowed time as this elected official according to the Constitution. The Constitution states that: "The term of office for the Kia'aina shall be four (4) years, but shall not exceed two (2) consecutive terms" (Ka Lahui Hawaii, 1993, p. 17). The greatest pressures social movement leaders must endure are from government agencies trying to sympathize with their cause yet who are paid government employees. For the purpose
of this study, OHA will be examined and the HSEC will be addressed.

**The Effects and Effectiveness of OHA**

The publication *Ka Lahui Hawaii The Sovereign Nation of Hawaii* offers a comprehensive comparison between *Ka Lahui* and OHA. The publication notes that, even though *Ka Lahui* and OHA have tried to work together, they still have many differences (1993, p. 8). According to *Ka Lahui Hawaii*,

OHA is a state agency created by public delegates at the 1978 State Constitutional Convention. According to the Senate Joint Committee Report S.L.R. 784, 1979, OHA was created because the Legislature was "...committed to the ultimate 'melting pot', to the independence of all peoples, and to social, economic, cultural, and educational mobility based on merit" (1993, p. 8).

*Ka Lahui* was established by a Constitutional Convention also, but as a Hawaiian initiative to secure that Hawaiian Trust Lands were being kept separate from general public land. *Ka Lahui* receives no assistance from the state and the state has no control over its constitution (*Ka Lahui, Hawaii, 1993, p. 8)*.

OHA is run by nine state-elected trustees who are controlled by various state agencies. *Ka Lahui*'s citizens vote for the 64 Hawaiians who reside in the 33 districts. There are eight Legislators representing each island within the state. The State Legislature along with the taxpayers, fund OHA. *Ka Lahui* is funded solely by donations and
fundraising activities which include grantwriting and the sale of various items to conduct daily business in the fight for sovereignty (Ka Lahui Hawaii, 1993, p. 8).

In 1989, in an attempt to gain control of the sovereignty issue OHA introduced its "Blueprint for Native Hawaiian Entitlements". This "Blueprint" will enforce the trust between the government and Native Hawaiians and secure the fact that Hawaiians would still be wards of the State. Even though the majority of people are vehemently against this plan OHA is still endorsing this "Blueprint" (Ka Lahui Hawaii, 1993, p. 8). "Ka Lahui, with other sovereignty groups, argued that OHA does not represent all Hawaiians, nor was it created by Hawaiians. As a state agency, OHA represents the interests of the state" (Trask, 1993, p. 99). It is for this reason OHA does not have the right to consider itself a sovereign entity. The publication, Ka Lahui Hawaii, concludes its discussion of this topic by stating:

There may be an appropriate role for OHA in the sovereignty movement, but it is not to be the sovereign entity. The sovereign entity cannot be created of the State, by the State, for the State. The sovereign entity must be created of Hawaiians, by Hawaiians, for Hawaiians (1993, p. 8).
Hawaiian Sovereignty Elections Council

In 1993, Act 359 was imposed to establish a type of liaison for the native Hawaiians known as the Hawaiian Sovereignty Advisory Commission. This Act was implemented to seek advice from native Hawaiians on the subject of “How to facilitate their effort to be governed by an indigenous sovereign nation of their own choosing” (HSEC Report to the Legislature, 1995, p. 2). The Hawaiian Sovereignty Elections Council came to exist as it is known today by an act in the Legislature in 1994. Act 200, “changed the Commission from an advisory body to an implementing body, independent of state agencies and election laws, called the Hawaiian Sovereignty Elections Council (HSEC)” (HSEC Report to the Legislature, 1995, p. 2).

This action gave the HSEC the power to call for a plebiscite, this is an official vote on an issue or question of special interest (HSEC Report to the Legislature, 1995, p. 2, 9). The plebiscite will ask the Kanaka Maoli: “Shall the Hawaiian people elect delegates to propose a native Hawaiian government?” (HSEC Report to the Legislature, 1995, p. 5). The report goes on to explain that, if the outcome of the vote is positive, the Council is given the authority to include, “Hawaiian people, as a whole, in a process to

The result of the vote will only further empower the government and their entities because of the way it is stated. The only voice the Hawaiians will have in the fight for sovereignty is the right to voice their opinion. The ultimate decision will be made by the government.

Ka Lahui is vehemently against HSEC because it is funded by the Hawaii State Legislature and the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, therefore making it an entity of the government. As a result, when HSEC requested Ka Lahui to elect a delegate to represent them on the Council, Ka Lahui declined (HSEC Report to the Legislature, 1995, p. 15). During an interview, Mililani Trask explained that this vote is a step backwards not only for Ka Lahui, but for the entire indigenous population. Trask compared this plebiscite to the vote for statehood (1996).
CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

Since that day in 1893 when Queen Liliʻuokalani ceded her authority to the United States, social movements have been fighting their cause. In the 1960s and the 1970s the Hawaiians became aware of their cultural heritage as a result of the Blacks, Chicanos, and Native American plight for equality. Their struggle paralleled these movements, primarily the Native Americans and their rights to the land. It was an eviction struggle that inspired others to continue their fight for sovereignty.

As the tensions escalated and cultural awareness grew, Hawaiians wanted what was rightfully theirs by birth. In response to the adversities suffered by their ancestors, movements by the indigenous people started to form.

**Mana**

"Aloha Aina"

Perhaps these struggles were supported by the fact that Hawaiians consider the land to be an entity which works in harmony with life. This concept or belief is recognized as "Aloha Aina". Ralph Kahalehau expresses the thought that,
“Aloha Aina is the philosophical reason why so many native Hawaiian community groups organize and protest against development on our land” (Date not available p. 3). According to Kahalehau, the concept of Aloha Aina celebrated a resurgence in 1976 as a way for the Hawaiian people to express their commitment to the land and protecting her native environment. A relationship or form of partnership is developed with the land so that the use of its resources is in harmony with the seasons of both the land and the Hawaiian (Date not available, p. 3). Kahalehau goes on to explain that Hawaiians respect the tradition of natures deities and inherit this mana (spirit). Hawaiians are the human form or representatives of these deities which include:

Wakea, Papa, Ho’ohuKulani, Hina, Kane, Kanaloa, Lono, and Pele. The sky, the earth, the stars, the moon, water, the sea, natural phenomenon as rain and steam and native plants and animals (Date not available p. 3)

“Aloha Aina” is spiritually recognized during the course of life and death. Kahalehau states that:

The land is religion. It is alive, respected, treasured, praised, and even worshipped. The land is one Hawaiian, sands of our birth, and resting place for our bones. The land lives as do the spirits of our ancestors who nurtured both physical and spiritual relationships with the land (Date not available p. 3).

According to the book *Ku Kanaka Stand Tall*, the author notes that, when questioning the relationship of Mother Earth and
'aina, if the earth is considered to be a living entity, so must be 'aina (Kanahele, 1986, p. 187). Kanahele goes on to state that:

Hawaiians, therefore, did not regard land as a lifeless object to be used or discarded as one would treat any ordinary material thing. As part of the great earth, land is alive— it breathes, moves, reacts, behaves, adjusts, grows, sickens, dies (1986, p. 187).

Kanahele continues by adding that the taro grower and his perception of the land are affected by this attitude (1986, p. 187). Despite what the modern translation of the ancient value of "aloha aina" portrays; "such technical terms as ecology, environmental protection, and conservation" (Tabrah, 1980, p. 203), "Aloha Aina" is the spirit which gives the Kanaka Maoli the drive to continue their fight for sovereignty according to the ancient laws of the land. It is this very spirit that reminds the citizens of Ka Lahui of the unique commitment they have with the land, relationship with the land that allows them to continue in their constant fight to regain their native lands and to return back to the ways of a sovereign nation.

**Taro**

Taro is another important aspect of the land which encompasses the concept of Aloha Aina. "Taro is one of humankind’s oldest food crops and was more highly cultivated in old Hawaii than anywhere else in the world" (Knipe, 1989,
p. 31). Taro is the staff or sustenance of life to the Hawaiian people (Kahalehau, date not available, p. 4). Taro and the human spirit require nourishment from the water of life. When the taro matures it is harvested yet the plant is reborn again and again. This exemplifies the correlation between human rebirth and the ability of the taro plant to do the same (Knipe, 1989, p. 39). This concept illustrates the congruency between the relationship of the land, taro, and the Hawaiian people.

Kahalehau also points out that: “When the poi bowl was open, all arguing, quarreling and talk of business was stopped. Eating around the poi bowl was a time for pleasantness and heartiness” (Date not available, p. 4). This was a tradition that was observed to show respect to their ancestors. Poi is a staple food for the Hawaiians which is made of taro and water and served with most meals. Taro also has a medicinal value, it is used to stop bleeding and lower temperatures (Kahalehau, date not available, p. 4).

**Akua and Aumakua**

In his book, *Ku Kanaka Stand Tall*, Kanahele states:

Mana is the stuff out of which the gods are formed, or conceived, and is the same stuff out of which great men and women create their achievements. If mana is the central reality of the universe, it is also the central reality of man’s spiritual world (1986, p. 155).
Hawaiians created or formed these gods or akua from mana which they fabricated in their own minds (Kanahele, 1986, p. 73).

Another form of spirit the Hawaiian people recognize are the aumakua. "The aumakua are the guardian spirits or ancestral gods of the Hawaiians" (Knipe, 1989, p. 24). According to Kanahele, "Aumakua are selected spirits from among the dead who, because of their achievements or special qualities during life, are deified after death and transfigured into gods" (1986, p. 81). Aumakua can act as couriers who transmit prayers of their people to the greater entity, the akua (Knipe, 1989, p. 25). Aumakua are similar to guardian angels, their function is to watch over and protect the well being of the possessor of that particular aumakua.

Ka Lahui's rhetoric confirms their belief in the traditional ways of their kapunas (ancestors). The publication Ka Lahui Hawaii identifies five elements necessary to attain sovereignty (1993, p. 2). The first element is, "A strong and abiding faith in the akua because a spiritually empty people do not make a strong nation" (Ka Lahui Hawaii, 1993, p. 2). This reference to the "akua" illustrates the commitment and the desire Ka Lahui has to retain all that is sacred to the culture of the native
Hawaiian. Also that the citizens believe that the mana of the akua will provide them with the strength required to be victorious in their fight for sovereignty.

**Lokahi**

Kahalehau, as a citizen and legislator for Ka Lahui reminds us of the importance of allowing Hawaiians to preserve their culture, he states that:

The only way to safeguard what makes Hawaii-Hawaii is to ensure that Hawaiians have the power to protect and nurture their own culture. 1. The foundation of Hawaiians is the ohana (family). 2. By demonstrating the Hawaiians way of love, we can understand the Hawaiian way of Aloha (love). 3. The value of work in a family establishes the foundation for Lokahi (unity). And with these three values, it confirms the presence of that which is supreme or excellent (maikai). (Date not available, p. 1).

Lokahi is the cultural process Ka Lahui utilizes in the application of its democratic constitution (Ka Lahui Hawaii, 1993, p. 2). This concept of unity within a family is one that is common among the Hawaiian people. The concept of lokahi "means to bring like and unlike things together in unity and harmony" (Kanahele, 1986, p. 154), as in the case of family disputes.

**Crimes of Passion**

Ka Lahui, like many other native Hawaiian movements may practice and follow the customs of their kapuna but many defy the ancient rules. Rules not only set forth by the
akua, but also those instilled by Queen Lili‘uokalani to remain peaceful at all costs. One example is the Independent Nation State of Hawaii (INSH), formally known as the Ohana Council. As the Ohana Council under the leadership of Dennis “Bumpy” Kanahele the citizens occupied Makapuu and Kaupo Beach and built makeshift villages. Kanahele and about 150 Hawaiians squatted on the land (Rampell, 1995, p. 74). As the population grew so did the tension from the government, and general public. This was due to the fact that they were costing the taxpayers money by tapping into the county water supply (Rampell, 1995, p. 74). According to Rampell’s article, he states that: “Perhaps the most alarming was the groups open defiance to the law” (1995, p. 74). The village was cleared on June 15, 1994 by police raid (Rampell, 1995, p. 75).

INSH, Kanahele’s group, “views Hawaii as the center of the universe with a special mission to free the world” (Rampell, 1995, p. 77). Rampell goes on to explain that freedom is important to Kanahele due to the fact that he was convicted in 1987 for illegal possession of firearms. As a result of this conviction Kanahele served over two years in prison (1995, p. 77).

INSH has representation on the Hawaiian Sovereignty Elections Council. Kanahele held this position until he resigned in 1994. He was replaced by Kawehiokalaninui-i-
amamao Kanui, she is the Cultural Ambassador to INSH. (HSEC, 1995, Appendix C). INSH would not be considered a social movement according to Stewart, Smith, and Denton’s theory (1994, p. 5). INSH is not an uninsitutionalized collectivity. By accepting this seat they became an entity of the HSEC which is an instituton of the government. Ka Lahui declined this seat (HSEC, 1995, p. 15). This further supports Ka Lahui’s commitment to instill a sovereign nation for its citizens and support the fact that Ka Lahui is a social movement.

**OHA and the HSEC the Outside Forces**

OHA and the HSEC will continue to pressure Ka Lahui and other Hawaiians in their fight for self-determination. With the monetary support of the government it may become increasingly difficult. Ka Lahui was able to delay the date for the plebiscite for a year. In September of 1996 the results will be announced.

One document the outside forces have no control over is a document drafted by the United Nations, known as the Universal Declaration of the Rights of the Indigenous Peoples, is the one that the Hawaiian Nationalist community support, according to Trask. This declaration explains the rights of indigenous people through a simple yet detailed definition starting with the defining of “indigenous people”
so there is no misconception. Included is the "Rights to Cultural Identity, Language, Religion, and Education" (Trask, 1993 p. 43) This document gives back to Hawaiian people what the missionaries took away in the 1700's and the Americans through annexation. It gives the Hawaiians back their religious practices, ceremonial customs, hulas, chants, and most important, their mana or spirit, that which sets them apart from the haole lifestyle. It brings the "children back to the land", and puts the "ha" or breath back into the spirit of aloha. "Only a whispering spirit remains" (Trask, 1993, p. 25).

Implications For Further Research

Even though this study was limited in scope, a vast amount of information was studied. The fight for sovereignty has been an issue in many cultures which could be an area for further research. Also, with more Hawaiians becoming culturally aware of their heritage, a resurgence of hula halaus (schools) teaching in Hula Kahiko (ancient) have been in demand to teach traditional hula to a new generation. The University of Hawaii must turn away students in the Hawaiian language, "enrollment has almost doubled according to UH Professor Naomi Losch" (Elsasser, 1995, p. 68). Rita Elsasser journalism graduate at UH reminds us that "it wasn't until 1986 that the state abolished a law, enacted in
96 that prohibited the teaching of Hawaiian in public schools" (1995, p. 68). Another area for further research would be the interest in the ancient customs and also this law that was just abolished and its effects.

Another important issue to address would be the outcome of the plebiscite vote and its implications. Perhaps the most important issue to address would be the question of, what if Hawaii does regain its sovereignty, what will this mean to the mainland as we know it now, how would it impact the economy, perhaps only time will reveal this answer.

Also the application of other communication theories to this group of people could provide an interesting study. For example, a narrative or fantasy theme analysis of Ka Lahui and the rhetoric it produces.

Another area for research is the degradation of the Hawaiian population due to poverty and poor health among the kanaka maoli. Due to these conditions, according to the film Then There Were None by the year 2044 demographers are projecting the death of an entire population (Robinson, 1996). The indigenous people of Hawaii will no longer exist, all that will remain is their mana. Hopefully this study will encourage further research which will reflect the views of the many other groups of indigenous people fighting for sovereignty as this one reflected the views of one voice.
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