

Rhetorical Vision of the Independent and Sovereign Nation of Hawai'i^[1]: A Fantasy Theme Analysis^[2]

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ABSTRACT

The rhetorical vision of the Independent Nation of Hawai'i, a sovereignty group seeking independence from the United States, was analyzed via fantasy theme analysis of two artifacts in their website. Spirit, Kupuna, and Lili'uokalani symbolized positive dramatis personae themes; the United States Government and haole invaders represented villains against Native Hawai'ian people. Cultural preservation, political determination, and environmental protection of all Hawai'ian 'aina is deemed paramount for Hawai'ian survival. This study demonstrates that the use of symbolic themes has been developed to persuade the public to support an Independent Nation of Hawai'i, which is a symbolic vision of the future.

INTRODUCTION

Social-scientific researchers have recently begun to focus increasing attention upon the Kanaka Maoli, descendants of the "original" people of Hawai'i, an indigenous culture of just under 10,000 pure-blood members (Blaisdell, 1993), who are prophesied to die out within the next hundred years due to interbreeding with outgroups and decreased blood quanta. Faced with extinction, and reviewing the vast changes that have swept the Hawai'ian arena since it was first invaded by Captain James Cook in 1778, many modern Kanaka are angry at Western encroachment and want change (Francia, 1995; Trask, 1993). Indeed, within the Kanaka Maoli has sprouted the Native Hawai'ian sovereignty movement, a collection of grass-roots political organizations with slightly different aims and goals, yet all united under the rubric of making some sort of legal, social, and economic change within the multicultural setting of the Hawai'ian Islands. Proposals for change range from deportation of all foreigners and institution of a Hawai'ian government and economic system to a "state-within-a-state" model such as that utilized by many American Indian tribes today. This study focuses on a group known as the Independent and Sovereign-Nation State of Hawai'i (also

referred to as the Independent Nation), whose stance on sovereignty is based upon Native Hawai'ians regaining their culture, lands, and economic freedom, beginning with the expulsion of the United States government and other foreign powers. This organization was selected because their views on sovereignty were extremely polarized, and it was thought that by understanding the symbolic and cultural aspects found within their argumentation, a greater understanding and appreciation for the plight of Native Hawai'ians who have lost their legacy to Westerners can be gained. The aims of this paper are hence threefold, and offer:

- 1) a brief discussion of the origins of the Independent Nation organization, including their approach to public information-sharing through modern electronic means such as the Internet,
- 2) descriptive and symbolic dissemination of two Independent Nation publications found within their Internet website: their 1994 speech the Proclamation of the Restoration of the Independence of the Sovereign Nation State of Hawai'i, and the 1995 Hawai'ian Constitution, which is a legal document, through a qualitative methodological approach known as fantasy theme analysis, and

- 3) exploration of how these documents are persuade the public to participate in supporting an Independent Nation of Hawai'i, which is a symbolic vision of the future.

UNDERPINNINGS OF THE MODERN HAWAIIAN SOVEREIGNTY MOVEMENT

Since 1778, when Captain James Cook of the English Navy was attributed as the first white man to step foot on Hawai'ian soil, haoles (foreigners) have wreaked havoc upon the Hawai'ian culture by introducing deadly epidemics, dispossessing the indigenous government, and claiming Hawai'ian lands for their own (Dudley & Agard, 1993; Trask, 1993). These issues merit discussion because of their impact on modern-day Natives. First, reductions to the Hawai'ian population stem directly from Cook (Kuykendall & Day, 1976, Stannard, 1989): his men brought new diseases with them, such as tuberculosis and syphilis, decimating the population. Subsequent colonization of the Hawai'ian islands by steadily increasing numbers of American and British missionaries and business owners, Chinese and Japanese plantation workers, and related kin, did not help increase Native numbers, and pre-Cook contact estimates of 200,000 to 400,000 have decreased to current estimates of just under 10,000 pure-blood quantum (Blaisdell, 1993; Stannard, 1989). This reduction of population has wreaked a social-psychological toll. Blaisdell (1993, p. 116) best summarizes the health status of Native Hawai'ians, noting that these people "continue to have the worst health and socioeconomic indicators of the various ethnic groups in their home islands of [Hawai'i]."

Additionally, the foreign encroachment on Hawai'ian lands through Westerners' gain of political power has also been devastating to Native Hawai'ians (Francia, 1995; Trask, 1993). On January 17, 1893, Queen Lili'uokalani was forced down from her position by haole businessmen who asserted that she was committing treason against the United States by her drafting of a new Hawai'ian Constitution. Her arrest, incarceration, and consequent develop-

ment of a haole-run government ensured that the already-begun transfer of lands from Native Hawai'ans would continue to benefit savvy foreigners. Of paramount significance here is that the Hawai'ian culture had a concept of relation to the land radically different from the Manifest Destiny approach of most haoles. Hawaiians believed that mana, or power, was created by the giving away of land, whereas haoles believed that land was a commodity for profit-gaining. As Hawai'ians gave lands away in generosity the haole businessmen capitalized. Hawai'ians without land were prohibited from gaining political power in the haole-run government. When Hawai'i was declared a state in 1959, the American federal government assumed and regulated a trusteeship of almost half the Hawai'ian soil. Pride in ethnic heritage has motivated a great number of Native Hawai'ians to participate in groups oriented toward reclaiming this trusteeship, an area comprised of approximately 1.4 million acres occupied or leased out by the federal government as "trust assets." Of the political groups currently involved toward change in Hawai'i, the Independent and Sovereign Nation-State of Hawai'i has become well known publicly because of its radical measures (Ambrose, 1994; Burlingame, 1995).

THE INDEPENDENT NATION OF HAWAII

Independent Nation of Hawai'i members, publicly represented by Dennis "Bumpy" Kanahele, currently dwell mostly in a private area in Waimanalo, O'ahu, called Pu'uho'oua O Waimanalo, and known locally as "the Village" (Francia, 1995). Here followers are allowed to live their lives relatively undisturbed by the U.S. government. It has not always been this way. In 1978 Kanahele and other Independent Nation members were in the news because they were arrested for taking over a lighthouse at Makapu'u Point, O'ahu after a standoff with officers (Dixon-Strong, 1992; Kame'eleihiwa, 1993). Members had originally filed a heirship deed with the state and then later forcibly overtaken the lighthouse. After a month of occupation they were arrested and removed from

the site. Kanahele served a year of jail time, was on parole until 1991, and subsequently changed his approach to land reparation in a peaceful manner. In 1992, Independent Nation members and other activists (estimated to be around 150 people) took up refuge at state-owned Makapu'u Beach, claiming the land as a sacred refuge because it contained a heiau, or temple (Hosek, 1994; Tongonan, 1993). When the state moved in to evict these participants, negotiation was enacted between the state and the Nation, culminating in an agreement which allowed members to relocate to "traditional housing" on two acres of land in Waimanalo (Neil, 1994). On this site, construction began, and state employees cut a road into the forest and brought in water, electricity, and portable toilets (Hosek, 1994). Nation members built houses and organized a local government. Crops such as beans and taro were cultivated. Visitors were carefully scrutinized before entry into the village was permitted. Throughout this construction, Independent Nation members continued to be active in sovereignty issues. Independent Nation State of Hawai'i driver's licenses and insurance cards were manufactured and dispensed to constituents, with instructions to display them to police officers if detained (Wood, 1994). Participants handed out pamphlets at various areas in and around Waikiki, nonviolently telling the haole tourists to go home. Independent Nation members spoke in public forums with local residents about sovereignty. Finally, Nation members began to consider additional ways to spread their message that was efficient and low-cost and would allow the public to become educated about sovereignty issues. Nation members determined that an internet website would provide a technologically sufficient means for providing information on current sovereignty happenings. Their website "www.Hawaii-nation.org" depicts a variety of documents on sovereignty. Of these, two documents, the Proclamation of the Restoration of the Independence of the Sovereign Nation-State of Hawai'i and The Hawai'ian Constitution, are textualized Nation speeches selected for the current study because they offer symbolic insight into viewpoints of recent

Independent Nation history.

INDEPENDENT NATION TEXTS ANALYZED IN THE CURRENT STUDY

The Proclamation of Restoration and the Hawai'ian Constitution are two important and interrelated speeches. In 1994, one hundred years after the Overthrow of Queen Lili'uokalani, the Proclamation of Restoration was read publicly at 'Iolani Palace in downtown Honolulu, O'ahu (Yoshishige, 1994). Later that year, Independent Nation members met with other communities in Mau'i to ratify the Hawai'ian Constitution and determine a future form of government (www.hawaii-nation.org, January 25, 2003). Although the meetings took place between March and October 7, 1994 results were unsuccessful for that year because members could not agree upon the form of the new government and its stratification of citizens. The ratified Hawai'ian Constitution was eventually agreed upon and enacted in 1995 to define for all what laws were to be enforced in this new nation. If one investigates events preceding this Constitution, it is notable that the success of the Proclamation functioned as impetus for future Independent Nation incidents such as the Constitution. In other words, the Proclamation became a symbolic event that enabled people to understand and act upon Independent Nation messages. In order to understand how the Proclamation and the Constitution function, an explanation of the tools that will investigate the underlying symbolic themes is provided.

SYMBOLIC CONVERGENCE AS THEORY AND FANTASY THEME ANALYSIS AS METHOD

Proponents of symbolic convergence theory argue two points (Bormann, 1972, 1985, 1996; Foss, 1995). First, groups are involved in expressing themselves symbolically to each other. In other words, people in groups attempt to communicate with each other and this communication creates a sort of reality for members. Second, the meanings that members share with each other create convergence,

or understanding, between members. Convergence can be enacted by members in the sharing of common experience. It is possible to apply this reasoning to these two speeches. After all, the Independent Nation is a group that is attempting to express itself to its members as well as potential constituents and supporters. Members are trying to share meaning so as to create a shared reality. Further, as this group attempts to craft messages to persuade nonmembers to change their thinking about Native Hawai'ian issues, a methodology to guide investigation into message symbolization should be utilized. A framework that is immediately applicable is fantasy theme analysis.

Fantasy theme analysis, originally posited by Bormann (1972), uses as its unit of analysis the fantasy theme. Fantasy theme is perhaps best described as "a story that accounts for the group's experience and that is the reality of the participants" (Foss, 1995, p. 123). Fantasy themes perform three functions. First, fantasy themes describe the worldview of the group via dramatic elements. Dramatic elements are similar to what happens in a theatrical play, and these rely upon the use of such items as *dramatis personae*, setting, action, saga, and rhetorical community as criteria for understanding messages within a speech or document. *Dramatis personae* refer to important people or anthropomorphized objects that are mentioned within group interaction, setting is where group incidents of note take place, action is what is going on situationally, and saga depicts what has happened in the past, continues in the present, and will go on in the future. Rhetorical community refers to the audience who will accept versions of the story and pass it on to others. Second, fantasy themes relate argument stands to personal experience. Fantasies are necessary for arguments -- a member cannot argue a group issue without accounting for a shared fantasy. In other words, other members must be able to "latch on" to what the arguer is promoting and relate this argument to personal experience. Third, fantasy themes can serve to create group consciousness, maintain group consciousness,

and extend group consciousness to outsiders (Rybacki & Rybacki, 1991). Here, members are interested in sharing symbols both within the group and to nonmembers.

Fantasy theme criticism examines groups in order to analyze how these aforementioned issues are extended rhetorically. First, fantasies must be defined. Second, the critic must investigate the fantasy types within the fantasies. Fantasy types are scenarios that are repeated over and over again (Rybacki & Rybacki, 1991). Although there may be some differences in stories, the characters, settings, and plot of the group remains basically similar. When stories are repeated enough, premises no longer need to be repeated because the audience knows the missing parts. Because these stories, although missing "pieces," are still recognizable to the audience, the fantasy type becomes a trigger. An example of this is a phrase such as "...our lands were stolen..." Audience members do not need to be reminded of Queen Lili'uokalani's intentions or the consequences of her actions to the modern-day Kanaka. Further, as the trigger is "pulled," members share a common thread of emotion through the message. Positive events lead to positive feelings, negative events lead to negative feelings. A depiction of Lili'uokalani as "our Queen" can lead to a general feeling of warmth, and expression of such a feeling can easily be shared with other ethnic Hawai'ians. The phrase "trial and tribulation" in reference to Lili'uokalani can change this warm feeling into one of anxiety or even anger. In this way Lili'uokalani functions as a trigger or fantasy type to move the person to act. Third, the critic performing a fantasy theme analysis wants to explain the group chaining of fantasy in terms of rhetorical vision. Bormann (1985, p. 133) defines rhetorical vision as the "unified putting together of the various scripts that gives the participants a broader view of things." Rybacki and Rybacki (1991, p. 96) describe it as the "total of all the communication acts that, when taken together, comprise the index of the complete drama." A rhetorical vision can be construed as a slogan, name, or label, usu-

ally with a short title, that defines and provides social reality for the group and its followers. Examples of these would be "Hawai'ian Sovereignty," "Independent Nation," and "Aloha ke kokua" (Welcome, people). A speaker or member wanting to invoke rhetorical visions in his or her audience only needs to bring up such a slogan, name, or label in order to get some response. The critic will need to find out what motives drive members to act. By uncovering these motives, the rhetorical critic will more deeply understand why a group responds to fantasy themes, types, and visions. Such is the case within the current study.

In essence, the critic willing to undertake a fantasy theme analysis must find and uncover fantasy themes, fantasy types, and rhetorical visions within specified rhetorical artifacts. Once these elements have been located, the critic must link said elements together and find out where and how they relate. By understanding these relations, the researcher can better understand how a group shares its symbolism.

CURRENT LITERATURE ON FANTASY THEME STUDIES

Since its inception, studies utilizing fantasy theme analysis have gained popularity. Examples of fantasy theme analyses include studies of political campaigns (Bormann, 1973, 1982a; Callahan, 1993; Rarick, Duncan, Lee, & Porter, 1977), political incumbency (Porter, 1976), religious movements (Bormann, 1977), television shows (Foss & Littlejohn, 1986; Schrag, Hudson, & Bernabo, 1981), scientific views of homosexuality (Chesebro, 1980), teachers' bargaining groups (Putnam, Van Hoeven, & Bullis, 1991), and romantic novels (Doyle, 1985). Fantasy theme analyses provide critics with crucial clues as to how persuaders craft messages to symbolically address audiences. These studies suggest common patterns to fantasies that exist in specific message genres. Two of these fantasy theme analyses provide similarity to the present study in terms of their group focus. First, Hensley (1975) focused on how the American Protestant Church's

Disciples of Christ used postmillennialism messages to convince its growing members that people could live in paradise now rather than waiting for their own deaths and resurrection. Postmillennialism messages relied upon the Bible's New Testament as a source, arguing that "the ultimate action [was] to conquer the enemy and restore paradise—the coming of Jesus and the establishment of the church" (p. 252). Hence, Jesus for these revivalists represented a hero, a persona whose love for all supported the churches' and Christian peoples' final endeavors to eradicate evil so that all could live in peace. This vision had such persuasive appeal that the group boasted a membership of one million by the year 1900. Second, Bormann (1977) studied the use of calamity in different social movements. Calamity is a persuasional form that functions to point out the evil or villainy in a rhetor's enemy. The enemy can be a person, group, object, image, or feeling. The rhetor uses calamity to point out the evils in society that must be removed or reduced so that the general population can survive and regain its lost path. For Puritan preachers prior to 1650 "sin was prior to and caused the evil" in humanity (p. 131). After this period preachers changed their sermons' to focus on the absence or presence of calamity as an indication of a person's sinfulness. In this way calamity operates as a way of thinking that moves the spectator to action out of a sense of guilt or anxiety.

PROCEDURE

Data Collection

The artifacts The Proclamation of Restoration and the Hawai'ian Constitution were downloaded from the Internet and printed out[4,5]. Printouts were examined for dramatic elements such as *dramatis personae*, setting, action, saga, and rhetorical community. These elements were then investigated as to what they globally represented about the symbolization of the Independent Nation organization as determined through these two documents.

RESULTS

The two artifacts were presented in O'ahu, Hawai'i, at public gatherings commemorating Hawai'ian culture and renaissance. On January 16, 1994, a group of about four hundred supporters and visitors marched from a local oceanfront to 'Iolani Palace where they gathered for a day of chanting, music, hula, and speeches (Yoshishige, 1994), including the Proclamation of the Restoration of Hawai'i. This day provided a solemn remembrance of Lili'uokalani and the Overthrow of January 16, 1893. The document itself is five pages long and contains 38 paragraphs and 1,909 words. It is cast in a style that is reminiscent of other declarations of state or nationhood that promote cultural identity and political rights. While there are echoes of legalese, this is not the dominating structure of the message. There is an introduction containing a thesis statement "Today, We, the Kanaka Maoli, proclaim our Right of self-determination..." (p.1), a main body supporting this thesis, a summary, conclusion, and ending. Certain words such as "Kanaka Maoli," "Kupuna," and "Natural Law" are capitalized throughout the written text, perhaps for emphasis or maybe to call the reader's attention to such terms.

The Hawai'ian Constitution was presented exactly one year later, also at 'Iolani Palace, in a similar kind of rally. This document is sixteen pages long and contains 72 paragraphs and 4,738 words. It is cast in a style that is reminiscent of other constitutions which promote political rights though cultural grounding. For example, Article 2, Section 3 (p. 4) notes that "all civil and criminal cases will have automatic access to Ho'oponopono...." Ho'oponopono is a Hawai'ian-specific mode of conflict resolution, in which an elder will facilitate problem-solving within a group setting so that interrelations may be repaired (Shook, 1985). The Constitution is in legalese, and it contains a preamble, a reference to the Proclamation, 3 Chapters, 18 sections, and a closing ratification. For the purpose of brevity, only the Preamble and Article 1 of Chapter I will be utilized.

Setting

Setting in fantasy themes refers to where the fantasy takes place, be it in a real or imaginary place. In both the Proclamation and the Constitution, setting functions within two forms or "scenes:" 1) Hawai'i in general treated as a unification of islands, and 2) as a specific place, namely the 'Iolani Palace. The writers of both articles remind listeners and readers about the land claims of the Kanaka Maoli under International Law. This differs between documents. The Proclamation initially involves describing the land itself so participants know what comprises Hawai'i's geographical area, as a collective of 132 North Pacific islands, shoals, and reefs located in and around Hawai'i, extending "over a vast area of the Pacific Ocean" and specifically ranging from "1,523 miles (2,451 kilometers) southeast to northwest across the Tropic of Cancer between 154 40' to 178 25' W longitude and 18 54' to 28 15' N latitude." Such specificity enables other nations to recognize exactly where Kanaka Maoli land claims lie. International recognition requires that other nations support international law. Interestingly, the Constitution does not use this approach. Instead it refers to the islands of Ni'ihau, Kaho'olawe, Lana'i, Kuau'i, O'ahu, Moloka'i, Maui, and Hawai'i. It is possible that there are differences because the Proclamation orients more as a negotiation treatise, whereas the Constitution declares the legal rights of all.

Near the conclusion of the Proclamation, 'Iolani Palace is mentioned in reference to the Overthrow of Lili'uokalani as "this very historic and symbolic place, the 'Iolani Palace, wherein we remember the last days and tragic moments in our history" (p. 4). In the Constitution it is also mentioned at the very end, but as a place for "ratification" (p. 16). For both speeches, the Palace is to be remembered as the historic setting for the Overthrow of Lili'uokalani and the Hawai'ian people. Because the Overthrow is a paramount event in Hawai'ian history, the Palace is an area with great symbolic meaning for many Hawai'ians and serves as a setting for modern ethnic rallies and demonstrations. Kanaka Maoli annually gather at the Palace

for culturally significant events such as the January 16, 1893 Overthrow remembrance of Queen Lili'uokalani, a celebration of King Kamehameha Day on July 10, as well as others. The Palace as setting persuasively functions as a fantasy type or trigger for ethnic Native Hawaiians: the mention of 'Iolani Palace is enough to cue involved ethnic spectators about the historical significance of the Overthrow.

Dramatis Personae

Dramatis personae describe not the static personality but the changing persona of the main characters. These characters are depicted as heroes or villains. Dramatis personae can be individuals, groups, organizations, myths, legends, or any item that can be personified. In the Proclamation and in the Constitution, personae are typified as heroes and villains. Spirit, Kupuna, and Lili'uokalani are depicted as heroes, whereas the American State Government and other invading foreign powers are portrayed as villains. All are described in turn.

Spirit

Spirituality is mentioned throughout the Proclamation speech as a single entity: "one Source," "the Creator," "the Spirit of this Land," (p. 3) and "the Aloha Spirit" (p. 4). In the Constitution there is mentioned "the Supreme Justice of the world, ke Akua" and "spiritual relationship with nature" (p. 1). Such items suggest reference to a deeper connection between Kanaka, the land, and nature. Hawaiians were very respectful toward their environment before the haoles came along. With a harmony between all things comes "peace, love, and understanding," or "a universal harmony" (Constitution, p. 1). This suggests that the Kanaka can not exist in terms of connection to Spirit and the natural world until self-determination is a reality.

Kupuna

Kupuna are spiritual and political leaders within the Kanaka Maoli. They are usually older members of each community or 'ohana who provide guidance and mentoring to other

members and the keikis (children). Kupuna are collectively discussed in different parts of the Proclamation and Constitution in settings of the present, future, and past. Kupuna today "embody within our governmental structure traditional customs and culture" (Proclamation, p. 2) and "guidance" (Constitution, p. 1). This means that the Kupuna provide a link to the past in remembrance of the old customs. Proclamation writers envision the Kupuna as providing a gateway to the future, "to preserve and to forevermore cultivate the Heritage and Culture of the Kanaka Maoli" (p. 5). More specifically, the Proclamation writers note that in the future, members of the Independent Nation will "respectfully continue to seek the guidance and consultation of our Kupuna" (p. 2). In order to retain cultural identity, Kupuna must get together continually to discuss decisions and be sure that they consistently share the same cultural vision. The Kupuna is thus set up by the Independent Nation as a connection between the current time and the future, so that customs can be preserved and guidance provided for all. Additionally, in the past, Kupuna "were highly regarded and respected as the Keepers of Wisdom and Knowledge" (Proclamation, p. 2). Such a statement sets a positive tone to these members of the Kanaka Maoli, framing them as heroes who have lasted through the ages and reminding respondents about the importance of Hawaiian history. Statements such as "Kupuna were always consulted to maintain order and ho'oponopono" (Proclamation, p. 2) help establish credibility as well as authority. Such a value indicates the importance of structure to Proclamation writers. Previous generations of Native Hawaiians relied upon their Kupuna as providers of structure and direction for each 'ohana. Kupuna from the past are memorialized as "ancient wise ones" and "beloved" (p. 3), which suggests fond memories and respect for elders. Kupuna influence has lasted through "generations of teachings" (p. 2). Both speeches thus signify that the Kupuna of the past were strong willed people who maintained cultural values, provided guidance and mentoring, and were respected by the people. The role positioning of the Kupuna has been beneficial to the cultural maintenance of the Kanaka Maoli

and therefore must be continued in order for these people to survive and flourish. Rather than point out several important leaders of the past, they concentrate upon only one. This leader is Lili'uokalani.

Lili'uokalani

In the Proclamation and Constitution, Lili'uokalani is presented as a specific heroine for the Kanaka Maoli and its supporters. She is especially remembered in the Proclamation for her actions on January 17, 1893 (p. 1) and as "Mo'i Wahine [Queen]" in the Constitution (p. 1). This was the day when Lili'uokalani released the monarchy to the haole invaders so as to prevent bloodshed. This event is a landmark in Hawai'ian history and Lili'uokalani is always central to the events: she was the last Hawai'ian monarch. She is not slighted or snubbed by Proclamation or Constitution writers for her actions; she is instead referred to as "beloved Kupuna and Queen" (Proclamation, p. 3) because of her position and authority in the Hawai'ian past, as well as peoples' general empathy toward her plight and fortitude. She was involved in the maintenance of Kanaka culture: terms such as "her commitment to restore the rights of our people," "dedicated endurance against foreign powers," and "never faltered" provide a connection between Lili'uokalani and her people, a connection that is remembered as present day Hawai'ians face political and cultural issues that are being controlled by haole interests. Lili'uokalani can best be remembered for her "Love of her people" (p. 3), especially during her decision making process of whether to give up the Throne and how to avoid bloodshed of her subjects. The image of Lili'uokalani as presented within both speeches is thus a positive one. The overall tone and attention paid to Lili'uokalani in the Proclamation sets her up as more than just a prime example of a Kupuna to be remembered. She is a great Kupuna of the past who must not be forgotten because of her dedication to the Kanaka Maoli culture. She showed dignity in the face of armed threats and never wavered in her convictions that the Hawai'ian nation must be restored.

Although Lili'uokalani's symbolization in Proclamation and Constitution is immediately understandable, investigation cannot stop here. It is also necessary to look into the darker aspects of the Overthrow and its consequences for today within both speeches to better understand what villains are symbolized and how they fit into the scenario.

Villains

Although the Constitution does not depict villains, the Proclamation implies that they exist in the form of invaders and occupiers. Although the Proclamation does not specifically name the invaders and the occupiers, the wording is indicative as to which type of villain is being discussed. Villains exist in different time periods. Past villains represent two time periods; the first documented case of meeting between Kanaka Maoli and the haole Cook: "first European invasion of 1778," (Proclamation, p. 2), and "January 17, 1893" (p. 1), which is the date of the "illegal overthrow, invasion and occupation of" Hawai'i (p. 2). The latter time period is especially "a dark chapter" to Proclamation writers, "unimaginable to the conscience of humanity and to all human life as a whole" (p. 3). It appears as though Proclamation writers are attempting to convince the greater international world of the villainy of the Westerners, particularly the United States, in Hawai'i. These two time periods involve times of "historical injustices and abuse" (p. 3), caused by "foreign powers...who committed such acts of aggression and force, threats of fear and imprisonment, knowingly in violation of numerous treaties (p. 3). These invaders and occupiers are hence depicted as foreigners who knew they were committing wrong, and who have continued this course of action into the present, by "denying us our inalienable rights to self determination, Independence and Sovereignty" (p. 3). In this way, disregard for international law continues. Not only is the United States at fault for retaining control over Hawai'i, but developers from all around the world strive for possession and construction of buildings, resorts, and villages in the guise of recognition of Hawai'ian culture. These villains must be prevented from devel-

oping the land for their own capitalistic gain: "protect our sacred 'aina from such invasion and exploitation by the forces of the occupying foreign powers" (p. 3). If the future continues unchecked, "devastation of extinction" (p. 3) of the Kanaka Maoli and their culture looms, because "any colonial regime would cause the destruction and extinction of our Culture and People" (p. 5). Thus listeners and readers are beseeched to support the Kupuna and the Independent Nation against such villains in order to help save the Kanaka Maoli from "being exploited, desecrated and driven to eventual extinction" (p. 3). These are strong appeals.

Action

Action in fantasy themes depicts what is happening in the drama. Knowing what action is taking place gives listeners and readers a better understanding about what the Independent Nation is involved in. In both artifacts, speeches, action involves listeners taking action by supporting Independent Nation stances on sovereignty. In the Proclamation, writers point out that members must "unite and act this day" (p. 5), and "share the same commitment" (p. 3), in order to "restore our Independent and Sovereign Nation of Hawai'i" (p. 4). In the Constitution, it is pointed out "We...have the right to be free and independent...(p. 1). Action requires Native Hawai'ians to get together as a collectivity to act. Such a commitment is based upon

...the duty and obligation of every Kanaka Maoli, young and old, to stand ready to restore and defend our national rights, territorial integrity and independence, without prejudice....
(Proclamation, p. 4)

Thus, no matter how difficult the past has been to the Kanaka Maoli, all "have the duty to heal our wounds and restore our integrity" (Proclamation, p. 4) within a collective of active solidarity, "to protect and preserve our cultural heritage" (Constitution, p. 1). In the Proclamation, the word duty is used, to indicate that there is no choice, that there should be no question; if one is a member of the Kanaka Maoli, he or she should be ready to support

an Independent Nation. Therefore, being a member of the Kanaka implies that one has a connection to what is going on and that this connection requires one remain culturally oriented. Therefore, these ideas of duty are present themes of action and involve connection to the previously discussed *dramatis personae*.

Saga

Saga depicts the ongoing story. Members know when the drama starts and where it ends, where a new adventure begins and ends, and how it continues. Certain words and phrases in both the Proclamation and the Constitution represent the ongoing saga of the Independent Nation and the Kanaka Maoli, be it through attempts to gain legitimacy for the movement, persuade listeners and readers to act, or what to expect in the future of the Kanaka Maoli once change has been instituted. The saga of the Kanaka Maoli and the Independent Nation is woven into this fabric as a coming together of the people toward a common set of goals: self determination, the return of and control of land, and environmental protection. This is a saga of paradise that reflects a people's living in conformance with natural law. This is also a saga of paradise that has been jeopardized by the Kanaka Maoli's age old belief that stronger forces will be honorable in their dealings with weaker ones, such as when Lili'uokalani mistakenly thought the United States would give back the monarchy.

In both artifacts, the past and the Overthrow together represent an especially "dark chapter" (Proclamation, p. 3) for the Kanaka Maoli, and it has continued currently to the point of no return. Native Hawai'ians say "Enough." The Kanaka Maoli must henceforth unite towards the future as an Independent Nation in control of its destiny. This is their duty. Further, statements such as "our commitment will continue" (Proclamation, p. 4), the "revival of the culture of our Independent and Sovereign Nation of Hawai'i" (same, p. 4), and "in perpetuity for the future" (Constitution, p. 1) indicate the continuing of the saga. In other words, there is a past, a present, and a future

of the Kanaka Maoli, as long as the people unite into an Independent Nation and change the current Hawai'i into that of an independent and self-sustaining nation. If the people do not unite the saga, sadly, will end. There will be an eventual extinction of a race in the face of westward expansion and Manifest Destiny.

Saga and action are therefore mixed together to form a continuum where the past, present, and future of Hawai'i are connected into an argument that shows injustice towards the Kanaka Maoli that only direct action will change. Rhetorical community is the last item of fantasy theme to be considered before integration of separate parts into a gestalt is possible.

Rhetorical Community

Rhetorical community refers to the "community at large" who are knowledgeable to a rhetorical event and its symbolic messages. Both the Proclamation and Constitution attempt to draw listeners and readers in by their forms and content. The form of the Proclamation consists of a speech that is short enough to keep the attention of the spectator. For the reader, capitalization and repetition of key words and ideas helps guide attention. The Constitution is three times as long, and would require that the listener or reader be highly ego-involved in order to follow each segment.

The content of both articles were designed by their writers to appeal to the community and compel listeners to act. There are three communities represented at the Proclamation and Constitution: the Kanaka Maoli and hapu-Hawai'ians, the haoles who live in Hawai'i, and the political structure such as the United States of America and the State of Hawaii with its constituents. The message is aimed centrally at the Native Hawai'ians so that they will get involved. Authors are attempting to attract those who are interested in self-determination for Hawai'ians. Rather than create defensiveness by pointing out specifically which groups are at fault in Hawai'i, writers for both speeches allow the villains to remain ambiguous enough

that potential recruits to the Native Hawai'ian cause will not be slighted. Further, words such as "our" and "us" and "we" are used to connote connection between Proclamation and Constitution writers and listeners, whether they are Kanaka Maoli, non-Native Hawai'ians, or haoles. Although both the Proclamation and the Constitution were written primarily for Kanaka Maoli and hapu-Hawai'ians, it must be expected that there will be supporters from other races and ethnicities who are empathic or sympathetic towards Native issues. The idea of support is important for Proclamation and Constitution writers to address because there will be many non-Hawai'ians who wonder what their roles will be in the new Nation. The tone of the message is positive rather than negative; hopeful rather than condemning. Instead of isolating potential supporters, the writers push for solidarity.

DISCUSSION

In a global sense, arguments within both the Proclamation and the Constitution are based upon setting, dramatis personae, action, saga, and rhetorical community in such a manner that allows the rhetorical communities to accept the messages without feeling slighted. The foreign powers ruling within Hawai'i are obviously the United States of America and the State Government of Hawaii. Unless one strongly identifies with foreign powers who "continue to occupy, exploit, and destroy our way of life" (Proclamation, p. 3), he or she should be willing to somewhat accept the Proclamation and Constitution based upon reasoning and emotional appeals found in each document. This sort of change is not altogether negative. There are many nationalistic Americans in the Islands who believe in capitalism and Manifest Destiny, but it is obviously hoped for in these speeches that there will be some potential detractors who respect the Hawai'ian ways even though they agree with American values. Again it must be pointed out that the Proclamation and Constitution are not just directed at Kanaka Maoli, but it directed at all, in a positively-framed form that urges all listeners and readers to get involved. Such a form requires that those involved understand

the connections between fantasy themes. Only by understanding the important interconnections of such themes as Lili'uokalani, Kupuna, or 'Aina, will the community be able to move toward a symbolic vision of the future.

Further, control and ownership of 'Aina seems to be the pivotal issue within this arena. If Hawai'ians regain the lands they have lost, they will regain their self-determination and autonomy, free of the auspices of the Western world. In essence, if 'aina is reclaimed, the Kanaka Maoli will be one step closer toward a symbolic vision of a truly Independent Nation of Hawai'i. In this guise, all aspects of the aforementioned fantasy themes function to work together as a unified whole. Toward this end, Proclamation and Constitution symbolize Hawai'ians as competent to maintain political autonomy in their own lands without a need for foreign intervention. This echoes Lili'uokalani's entreaties to the United States government after her arrest and incarceration. The Hawai'ians were competent in ruling themselves before foreign intervention and still possess this ability today. This sense of worthiness cries out against the tyranny of foreign rule over the modern Kanaka and pushes for justice in a cooperative, yet confrontational manner.

Additionally, it is necessary that Native Hawai'ians continue to resurrect and reinstitute the traditional ways in order to preserve their culture. By recognizing the strengths and values of the ancestors, today's Kanaka Maoli have one last breath, one last chance to change the status quo and regain their true legacy. Whereas the early Hawai'ian was able to trust his ali'i nui (leaders) to provide, people now will have to look up to a new government. The modern Kanaka Maoli will also have to put their faith in the Kupuna of today. Importantly, it seems as if the Independent Nation members are willing to shake off their mantles of oppression, walk away from the western world, and re-establish relations with haoles under a combination of traditional and modern ways. It is doubtful that those who support a vision of an Independent Nation of Hawai'i will be able to completely give up the technocracy of today.

Indeed, thirst for technology and its entrapments are probably inherent in all who come into contact with it. Regardless, it is quite possible that those who are willing to work toward a symbolic vision of an Independent Nation of Hawai'i will in some way seek and find it. This is particularly important when one considers Native Hawai'ians as a group that, once splintered factions can develop and maintain unity, will be powerful enough to effect change within the local, state, and federal governments. Some progress is being made toward such a goal, for example, Hawai'ians are more often working together to develop business organizations that are politically motivated to seek positive change for the Hawai'ian people (www.hawaii.org, January 25, 2003). Most of these organizations rely on traditional values coupled with modern ones in order to attract membership and to be able to adjust to technocracy.

LIMITATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Although this study yielded rich insight into the sovereignty movement as depicted within two artifacts of the Independent Nation group, it does raise questions to current limitations. First, it is simply a qualitative approach. Although this theory and method functioned to reveal rhetorical underpinnings of these two speeches, these approaches do not necessarily represent "true measures" of symbolism for this group. For example, some members may believe very strongly in what was discovered in these documents; others may not be so inclined. Second, as a haole who was raised outside of the Islands, it is difficult to ascertain that such a study has teased out all of the symbolic aspects of these speeches. It is quite possible that a *kama'aina* (local) or *maka'ainana* (true person of the land) would find slightly or even completely different indices. Regardless, this author has faith that this theory and method worked to some degree, such that these artifacts contain non-Western themes that were able to be disseminated and understood within the ramifications of current Hawai'ian culture. At the very least, this offers hope that more social-scientific theories will be able to bridge differences between cultures.

Implications for the future are twofold. First, comparisons between Independent Nation speeches and other prominent sovereignty groups should be enacted. For example, Ka Lahui is well-known within the Islands for its "state within a state" approach. Would Ka Lahui speeches reveal the same kind of symbolism, such as the same degree of reverence toward Lili'uokalani or the Kupuna? Perhaps other cultural symbols would emerge instead, or maybe a combination of the two. Second, symbolic convergence and fantasy theme analysis should continue to be aimed at non-Western cultures. It is entirely possible that this model will develop in terms of intercultural or cross-cultural implications.

SUMMARY

In summary, symbolic themes of the Independent Nation were discovered in two prominent communication artifacts, the 1994 Proclamation of the Restoration of the Independent Nation-State of Hawai'i and the 1995 Hawai'ian Constitution. Themes include 'Aina as setting; Spirit, Lili'uokalani, and Kupuna as heroes of *dramatis personae* and invaders and developers as villains; the cry for a sovereignty movement as action; the trials and tribulations of the Kanaka as saga; and the bystanders such as native Hawai'ians, hapu-Hawai'ians, and haoles who reflect rhetorical community. Through connection and cultural understanding of these interrelated aspects is a symbolic vision of the future, a vision of a truly Independent Nation of Hawai'i, in which a blend of traditional and modern ways will help open the doors of self-determination and autonomy for the Kanaka Maoli. Only through self-determination and control of Hawai'ian lands will modern day Native Hawai'ians survive as a culture of worth and honor.

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APPENDIX A

PROCLAMATION OF THE RESTORATION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE SOVEREIGN NATION STATE OF HAWAII January 16, 1994 'Iolani Palace Honolulu, O'ahu, Hawai'i

Today, We, the Kanaka Maoli, proclaim our Right of self-determination as a People in accordance with Article 1 (2) of the United Nations Charter, and join the World Community of States as an Independent and Sovereign Nation. We hereby reestablish our Independent and Sovereign Nation of Hawai'i, that was illegally taken from the Kanaka Maoli on January 17, 1893.

By virtue of our Right to self-determination, the Kanaka Maoli claim this Right to freely determine our political status and freely pursue our economic, social and cultural development in accordance with common Article 1 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

We, the Kanaka Maoli, claim our Right for our own ends, to freely control and dispose of our natural wealth and resources, including our lands and our waters, without prejudice to any obligations arising out of international economic cooperation, based upon the principle of mutual benefit and international law.

We, the Kanaka Maoli, claim all our Land, Natural Wealth, Resources, Mineral, and Waters, which have always resided and will always reside within the hands of the Kanaka Maoli, to be ours forever, originally under communal land tenure.

Ka Pae 'Aina O Hawai'i (the Hawaiian Archipelago) comprises 132 islands, reefs and shoals, stretching 1,523 miles (2,451 kilometers) southeast to northwest across the Tropic of Cancer between 154 40' to 178 25' W longitude and 18 54' to 28 15' N latitude, consisting approximately of a total land area of 6,425 square miles (16, 642 square kilometers), including 1

percent of less than six square miles of land area made up of islands off the shores of the main islands and the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands, from Kure Atoll in the North to Nihoa in the South, also Palmyra Island, Midway and Wake Islands, and all Lands that have resided with the Kanaka Maoli since time immemorial. The Hawaiian Islands form an Archipelago, which extends over a vast area of the Pacific Ocean, possessing a 12 mile Territorial Sea, and the 200 mile Exclusive Economic Zone, in accordance with generally recognized Standards of International Law.

In the Independent and Sovereign Nation of Hawai'i lives the Kanaka Maoli. We have resided here forever, from time immemorial. We have displaced no other people. We, the Kanaka Maoli, are the original inhabitants and occupants of these Islands. We have always been in possession of our Land and are entitled to re-establish our Independent and Sovereign Nation.

The current citizens of the Independent and Sovereign Nation of Hawai'i consist of all those who are descendants of the Kanaka Maoli prior to the arrival of the first westerners in 1778, and those persons, and their descendants who have lived in Hawai'i prior to the illegal overthrow, invasion and occupation of January 17, 1893, in the area which now constitutes the Archipelago of the Independent and Sovereign Nation of Hawai'i.

The Independent and Sovereign Nation of Hawai'i will establish procedures for accord-ing citizenship by means of naturalization to all people who are habitual residents of Hawai'i as of today's date.

We, the Kanaka Maoli, fully support and subscribe to all of the Rights of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights for all of the people living in our Independent and Sovereign Nation of Hawai'i, and hereby adopt these protocols on behalf of the citizens of the Independent and Sovereign Nation of Hawai'i.

The Independent and Sovereign Nation of Hawai'i adheres to the generally recognized principles of International Law, including the terms of the United Nations Charter. We will apply for membership in the United Nations Organization. We will conclude other international treaties and agreements at the appropriate time. In the meantime, we call upon the foreign military occupation forces in the Independent and Sovereign Nation of Hawai'i to withdraw from our Sovereign Territory immediately.

We, the Kanaka Maoli, have maintained our close relationship to the 'aina (land) and its natural surroundings, through practices spiritual and wholistic in nature and in harmony with natural law. The 'aina is sacred to us. It sustains us.

Prior to the first European invasion of 1778, Hawai'i was known to have an unique culture and system of government. Through customs and traditional practices, the Kupuna (Elders), were highly regarded and respected as the Keepers of Wisdom and Knowledge, in a highly organized self-sufficient and sustainable social system, based on a communal land tenure system. The Kupuna were always consulted to maintain order and ho'oponopono.

We, the Kanaka Maoli, today embody our governmental structure traditional customs and culture of the 'Aha Kuku O Na Kupuna (Council of Elders), based on mutual respect, traditional practice, and family order. Their consultation on many decisions is highly regarded as the basis of all authority and principle, as handed down thorough generations of teachings. The Kanaka Maoli's natural ability and practice of Natural Law, commonly known and exercised, due to our deep spiritual connection to nature, and by the use, application and practice of the Laws of Nature, then as now. We, the Kanaka Maoli, believe that all things have life, be they animate or inanimate, as everything has been derived and created from one Source, the Creator.

We, the Kanaka Maoli, respectfully continue to seek the guidance and consulta-

tion of our Kupuna, be it Spiritually, Mentally, Physically, Socially or Politically, in consultation and decisions that affect our lives, to restore and protect the customs and teachings of our culture, language and knowledge from being exploited, desecrated and driven to eventual extinction. For all these reasons, the Kupuna Council will serve as the Provisional Government of the Independent and Sovereign Nation of Hawai'i, to provide measures of development, until such time when the Kanaka Maoli will convene a Constitutional Convention.

Despite the historical injustices and abuse that have documented a dark chapter in the lives of the Kanaka Maoli, so unimaginable to the conscience of humanity and to all human life as a whole, we have come to realized that in the course of these modern times, we could never depart or separate our undying live, our connection, or our sacred ties from the Spirit of this Land, Aloha 'Aina, which is the heart and life of all living things, as taught and handed down from the ancient wise ones (Kupuna). We must protect our sacred 'aina from such invasion and exploitation, to liberate it from alien destructive forces, and preserve and protect our Cultural Heritage for future generations, form the devastation of extinction.

We, the Kanaka Maoli, have continued to exercise, practice and occupy our lands, despite the continued subjection, domination and exploitation by the forces of the occupying foreign powers, denying us our inalienable rights to self-determination, Independence and Sovereignty. Thus have well recognized principles of International Law been violated. Thus were our national identity, land, resources, Right to Sovereignty over our Territory violated, and a peaceful people overthrown by the invasion of foreign powers, who continue to occupy, exploit and destroy our way of life.

We, the Kanaka Maoli, have united at this very historic and symbolic place, the 'Iolani Palace, wherein we remember the last days and tragic moments in our history, that have affected the safety and well-being of our people, to which our beloved Kupuna and Queen

Lili'uokalani and her commitment to restore the rights of our people, have been stolen. Her dedicated endurance against foreign powers who committed such acts of aggression and force, threats of fear and imprisonment, knowingly in violation of numerous treaties, agreements and principles of international customs and law, has never faltered, for the Love of her people, and those who stood on truth and justice, and shall prevail here, now and forever.

We, the Kanaka Maoli, here today in flesh and in Spirit, share that same commitment. It is the duty and obligation of every Kanaka Maoli, young and old, to stand ready to restore and defend our national rights, territorial integrity and independence, without prejudice, and reject and resist unlawful acts, injustice and complicity, violence and terrorism, against our political independence, and do summarily reject such use of violence and force against the territorial integrity of other peaceful states.

If not for those who have continued the struggle for peace, justice and honor, our beloved who have passed in this life and continue standing in spirit beside us here today.

If not for those who have sacrificed their families and lives, who have desired to go to prison rather than be forced to adhere to unjust principles and acts, and who have gone through the crossroads of temptation.

If not for those of us who have awaited this day, who have considered the facts and evidence of such acts of oppression, subjugation and fear, and the loss of their honor, dignity, pride and esteem.

We, the Kanaka Maoli, have historically been the victims of crimes against humanity and genocide, as defined by the Nuremberg Charter and Genocide Convention.

We, the Kanak Maoli, have the duty to heal our wounds and restore our integrity, for many have given their lives for us to be here today, that all Kanaka Maoli can once again determine to protect the future destiny of our

children, our children's children and their heritage.

The Independent and Sovereign Nation of Hawai'i proclaims its commitment to the purposes and principles of the United Nation Charter. The Kanak Maolit have long been recognized as a peaceful, living Nation, choosing to live in peaceful co-existence with other peaceful Nation States, based on liberty, equality, truth and justice, and for the respect of our undying Spirit of Aloha as well as for the Inalienable Rights of Humanity.

We, the Kanaka Maoli, pledge that our commitment will continue, until the illegal occupation ends, the revival of the culture of our Independent and Sovereign Nation of Hawai'i have been fortified, the Aloha Spirit is once again fully restored, and the Spirit of Justice, Freedom and Liberation shall once again bring Peace on earth for all Humanity.

We call upon our Kanaka Maoli people, and upon all Nations of the World, to unite and act this day, to declare and proclaim our Inalienable Sovereignty of the Nation State of Hawai'i, fully restored and functional, and to arise in the uniting of freedom and dignity in our homeland, which is the homeland of the Kanaka Maoli, now and forever.

Therefore, the Kupuna, in General Council Assembled, by the Authority recognized and vested in the Aha Kuku O Ka Ohana, in the name of the Kanaka Maoli people, to preserve and to forevermore cultivate the Heritage and Culture of the Kanaka Maoli, do solemnly publish, declare and proclaim that the Independent and Sovereign Nation of Hawai'i, is free and absolved from any other political connection with any other Nation State. Those who disregard the Principles and Rule of the Law of Nations, Justice, Integrity, Morality of Character, and Humanity, by force and acts of aggression, now illegally occupy our territory.

We, the Kanaka Maoli, have therefore concluded that the facts are self-evident, that to continue under any colonial regime would

cause the destruction and extinction of our Culture and People. We affirm our commitment to the protection of our Divine Heritage. We, the Kanaka Maoli, mutually agree and pledge Our Lives, Our Fortunes and Our Sacred Honor, in the Spirit of Aloha.

Done this sixteenth day of January, nineteen hundred and ninety-four.

**APPENDIX B
THE 1995 HAWAIIAN CONSTITUTION:
PREAMBLE THROUGH THE SECTION 1.
THE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS.**

**PREAMBLE
Aloha Ke Akua**

We the Kanaka Maoli Nationals and Descendants reaffirm our heritage, sacrifices, wisdom and 'Onipa'a (steadfastness) of our late Mo'i Wahine, Lydia Kamaka'eha Lili'uokalani Pahi and all our Ali'i, Kahuna (specialists), and Maka'ainana (people) from each of the Mokupuni o Hawai'i Nei, mindful of the Divine heritage and National creed which ke Akua has endowed upon us, and the legacy of Our Ancestors, who exercised sovereignty in a highly developed system of government based upon Aloha 'Aina, and who lived in and occupied the Archipelago of Hawai'i since time immemorial;

We the Kanaka Maoli Nationals and Descendants appeal to the Supreme Justice of the world, ke Akua, and Our Ancestors, for the integrity of our intentions, as we unite to protect our sacred lives and honor;

We the Kanaka Maoli Nationals and Descendants have been subjected to the international crimes of Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity, as defined in the Nuremberg laws;

We the Kanaka Maoli Nationals and Descendants have the right to be free and independent, unfettered from any foreign power;

We the Kanaka Maoli Nationals and

Descendants do hereby declare Our Independence among the Nations of the World;

We the Kanaka Maoli Nationals and Descendants reaffirm Our right to self-determination as a people, and by virtue of that right, We freely determine to restore Our political, economic, social, and cultural rights;

We the Kanaka Maoli Nationals and Descendants maintain our spiritual relationship with nature and all our surroundings, in universal harmony, for the rights of humanity, in peace, love, and understanding;

We the Kanaka Maoli Nationals and Descendants maintain Divine justice and liberty to be guided by ke Akua and Our Kupuna, and those who are here with us today to light the way;

We the Kanaka Maoli Nationals and Descendants maintain a government of the people, by the people and for the people, to protect and preserve Our cultural heritage in perpetuity for the future of our posterity;

We the Kanaka Maoli Nationals and Descendants maintain 'Olelo Makuahine as our official language;

We the Kanaka Maoli Nationals and Descendants reaffirm and maintain the 'Ohana System of our society as a whole whereby Kupuna advise and consent, Makua act and lead, and 'Opio help and learn;

Thereby, We the People of the Nation of Hawai'i, do hereby ordain and establish this Constitution.

CHAPTER I

Article I

Declaration of Fundamental Rights

Ke Akua has endowed every human being with rights and equal protection with the inherent and inalienable rights that shall not be denied nor infringed upon. Every individual person is born free by nature and is accorded the mutual

respect of these rights. Every individual person has the corresponding obligation, duty and responsibility to honor and respect these basic fundamental rights before the law.

Ratification

Done in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of na Kanaka Maoli present at 'Iolani Palace, Honolulu, O'ahu o Hawai'i Nei this Sixteenth Day of January in the Year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and ninety five for the Independence of our Nation in Witness whereof We hereunto place our names,

NOTES

[1] I distinguish the Native people of Hawai'i from the inhabitants of the State of Hawaii with the use of the accent mark, in the hopes that some recognition may be posed to those who are ethnically involved in the sovereignty movement. In this manner I attempt to show regard, honor, and respect for Native Hawai'ians.

[2] A previous version of this paper was presented at the Western Psychological Association Annual Meeting, Albuquerque, New Mexico, April 16, 1998.

[3] Much of the current contribution was completed at California State University, Fullerton. Comments to the author can be addressed to: Darin Arsenault, Department of Psychology, Alliant International University, San Diego, CA 92131-1799, or by email to darsenault@alliant.edu.

[4] A representative from the Independent Nation, who will remain anonymous, attested to the authenticity of each document and its wording.

[5] The page numbers of the original text and corresponding analysis have been changed to the current ones so that readers can discern where specific semantic units are located in the text. Original page numbers were retained for text that has not been recreated in this journal article.

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