

A New Spirit: The Hawaiian Nation



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Introduction

Hawai'i today is a microcosm of the many problems suffered by the United States generally. Society is plagued with inequality and injustice, an over-emphasis on economic priorities, an imbalance between humans and nature, an increasingly unrepresentative democracy, a lack of future consciousness, and an unstable economy. The values which predominate in Hawai'i are borrowed from those of the greater American society.

When the Hawaiian monarchy was overthrown by American business interests in 1893, American influence was already extensive in the islands. The emphasis on individualism, which permeated all aspects of the social system, was profoundly at odds with the Hawaiian culture which emphasized *lokahi* (unity), *laulima* (cooperation), and *ke ka'ana* (sharing) (Saurer, 1988 p.5). Not only has the divergence between the primary values of Hawaiian and American society debased the quality of life of the native Hawaiian people, but it has had an impact on the quality of life of all of Hawai'i's residents.

In several communities in Hawai'i, dialogue has begun on how to rejuvenate the social system. The focus is on how to embrace a new spirit which is steeped in tradition, yet is cognizant of the changes taking place in this world. The new spirit envisioned for Hawai'i by the *Institute for the Advancement of Hawaiian Affairs* (IAHA), directed by Poka Laenui (AKA Hayden Burgess) is a spirit embracing both the tradition of its past and the promise of its future. Poka has actively been involved in dialogue on how to create a Hawai'i which addresses the problems long inherent in the social system. His vision for a sovereign Hawai'i is presented in his "Collection of Papers on Hawaiian Sovereignty" as well as in *He Alo A He Alo: Face to Face* (1993). As a result of numerous discussions with him, I have taken many of his and my own ideas and worked them into a vision of an alternative future for Hawai'i. This paper attempts to put together a configuration of an independent Hawaiian nation, which loves and respects its past, yet still acknowledges its role in the politics and economics of the world today and in the future.

The new spirit envisioned for Hawai'i covers the polity, economy, community, and culture. It is an independent Hawaiian nation in which the value system has been remodeled after the Hawaiian culture of old, yet does not deny Hawai'i's role in the present and future. The society recognizes its role in the global economy, yet has dedicated its efforts to the advancement of humanity. Specifically the society as a whole aims to reach its greatest potential in six major areas: 1) Equality and Justice 2) Human Development 3) Economic Sustainability 4) Human/Nature Balance 5) Future-Oriented Decision-making and 6) Democratic Governance. While some goals may be more easy to achieve than others, all are important and necessary aspects of a restructured Hawai'i. It is acknowledged that tradeoffs may be necessary to reach optimum goals, and where conflicts of interest occur, they will have to be considered on a case-by-case basis. One overriding goal in the Hawaiian nation is to enhance the development of her citizens in a community of aloha. Where there is conflict, the spirit of aloha will remain the primary consideration.

While Hawaiian values, and the Hawaiian code of conduct (IAHA) (see appendix) stress a particular cultural emphasis, they do not do so to the exclusion of other cultures. The Hawaiian nation accepts all citizens as Hawaiians, no matter what their heritage may be. No one is discriminated on the basis of race, color, or creed. A closer look at the Hawaiian code of conduct, and the sovereign Hawai'i is presented in his "CollectHawaiian value system will illustrate that the values promoted are, to a great extent, universalizable. That is, they transcend culture. Love, cooperation, sharing, unity, etc. are not unique to the kanaka maoli (native Hawaiians) alone, they are found to be at the root of the world's cultures. In our quest for modernization, however, much of humanity has attempted to divorce itself from these values in the name of progress. In the new Hawaiian nation, it is hoped that new technologies and industries can still be developed,

while society strives to regain empathy for her fellow human beings.

This paper does not argue the merits or shortcomings of the independent nation model of sovereignty versus the nation-within-a-nation model, as it is a topic which deserves treatment separately. Rather, this paper seeks to envision how an independent Hawaiian nation could function with the previously stated goals/values in mind.

We will look at some "problem areas" for Hawai'i, keeping in mind our six major values (previously stated), and suggest how they might be resolved in the new nation of Hawai'i. These problems and their characteristics will be discussed and alternatives will be recommended and analyzed based on the adopted value system. This paper will conclude by examining the difficulties and constraints faced in the adoption of the new design. An attempt will be made to deal with the restrictions inherent in the social system which may prevent full implementation of the new design. The major problem areas include an economic system based on capitalism, an educational system which teaches individualistic values, an undemocratic political system, and an environmental system based on inexhaustibility of resources. All of these problems are inherently connected to the social system and prevent achievement of the values of equality and justice, human development, economic sustainability, human/nature balance, future-oriented decision-making, and democratic governance.

Problem Areas For Hawai'i

A. Economic System Based on Capitalism

Prior to the establishment of Western business in Hawai'i, the economy of the islands rested on *ka mahuahua* (productivity), *pa'ahana* (industriousness), *kokua* (helpfulness) and *ke ka'ana* (sharing). Western economy relies on the first two values but emphasizes profit, competitiveness, and individual achievement rather than helpfulness and sharing. In Culture Against Man, Jules Henry explained how Western values are perpetuated in Western culture:

In our own culture the outstanding characteristic of promotable executives is drive. It is no problem at all to locate jobs requiring an orientation toward achievement, competition, profit, and mobility, or even toward a higher standard of living. But it is difficult to find one requiring outstanding capacity for love, kindness, quietness, contentment, fun, frankness, and simplicity. If you are propelled by drives, the culture offers innumerable opportunities for you, but if you are moved mostly by values, you really have to search..." (p. 14).

As Henry explains, in Westernized countries, even the notion of modeling society after values is considered backward. Or, perhaps it is just that Western priorities have switched from human enrichment and advancement as a society, to economic enrichment and advancement as an individual.

Money does not equal Wealth

One primary explanation for the different value emphases in Western society today lies in equating wealth to money and material goods. Wealth has not always had such connotations. The use of the word wealth goes back to thirteenth century England and was adopted from the word "weal", referring to "a sound, healthy, or prosperous state- well-being" (Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary, p. 1335). Originally the term did not refer to money or material goods, it simply implied well-being.

If a society equated wealth with human livelihood and well-being, and the terms for success were established in the equation, we would experience a radically different society than what we have today. In many non-Western cultures, society has traditionally operated on this principle. Prestige was gained as one gave away possessions. In Papua New Guinea, for example, the "Big Man" achieves more power among his tribe when he gives away his belongings. The more one gives, the more prestige one gains. In New Zealand, the Maori felt any individual gain in wealth should be shared with the community. It was important that everyone in a community should be provided for equally. Likewise, when work was performed for someone in the community, prices were not discussed as it was considered rude. Nevertheless, it was expected that payment be more than fair. If it was not, the person receiving the services would be shunned by the community. More often than not, payment was expected to be paid 'in kind' rather than monetarily, because money did not equal wealth in their society. The concepts behind these practices are also very relevant to ancient Hawaiian society and exist even today in some Hawaiian's attitudes toward reciprocity.

Capitalist/Socialist

A transformation of the economic system to emphasize collectiveness rather than individualism almost rules out the possibility of maintaining a capitalist economy. Before shelving the entire capitalist economy, however, perhaps it would be of benefit to examine the positive aspects of capitalism. We all know about the many problems capitalism causes society, but what are the benefits? First, capitalism creates challenge. Because of the inherent competitiveness of capitalism, it provides individuals with challenge to work toward achieving their highest capabilities. Capitalism also leads to much creativity and innovation. A reward system exists so that if one pushes hard enough, one can find "success." In countries with socialist economic systems, innovation, creativity, and challenge are often lacking. When one recognizes working harder will not bring increased benefits, the incentive to do so disappears. The combined goals of a social system which stresses human development, yet also provides challenge and encourages creativity and innovation are aims of this political design.

One part of the world which has been able to combine these two goals successfully is the Far East. The economic success which the newly-industrializing countries are experiencing is due to a combination of technology transfer and human-centered culture. Hung-Chao Tai has explained the Oriental experience well. He states:

For the first time since the Industrial Revolution, the world may see a meaningful alternative to the "rational model" [quotations added] of the West (if the Communist model of development is considered to have posed more of a political and military than an economic challenge). To the developing countries, this alternative appears especially attractive. For it shows that cultural collectivism, which is a central feature differentiating the Third World from the West, and high economic achievement are compatible. Moreover, the Oriental alternative reveals that the East Asian countries, by relying on their cultural strength rather than following a Socialist strategy, have been able to accomplish precisely what many Socialist developing countries have failed to achieve. That is, to transform their economy from one heavily dependent on the West into one rivaling it. Significantly, the East Asian countries achieved this result while maintaining equality of income distribution (Tai, pp. 26-27).

Newly industrializing countries, however, ignore the negative impacts they have on the environment, and the well-being of the individual which is suppressed in order for national or collective advancement.

Human Development

If society's reward systems were structured so they offered citizens incentives to participate in "human development" activities, citizens would feel encouraged to undertake work beneficial to humanity. In short, they would operate to advance society collectively rather than themselves individually. If one equated "success" with human assistance and human development deeds, perhaps a community, state, or nation could "develop" in an entirely new dimension and at last address some of the major problems existing in the world today. Full independence for Hawai'i presents the greatest opportunity to develop a society that stresses both human and economic development, and not necessarily the kind of economic development classical economists advocate.

Attempting to restructure a society so that values of equality, human-centered development, cooperation, and sharing are an inherent part of the social, economic and political system is a daunting task when the economic and political system has not emphasized these values for so many years.

As Ashis Nandy so eloquently stated, "It is perhaps in human nature to try to design-- even if with only limited success-- a future unfettered by the past and yet, paradoxically, informed with the past" (Nandy, 1984, p.151). Hawai'i faces the problem of needing to resolve the wrongs done in the past, yet not letting the past interfere with her vision of the future.

Land Tenure

One of the most scarce resources in Hawai'i is land. With large tracts of land held for speculation and profit, real estate activities exaggerate the inequalities which exist in Hawai'i. In pre-European Hawai'i, land was a communal resource to be utilized effectively among the residents of the ahupua'a. The concept of ownership of land was foreign to the Hawaiians. How could one buy a piece of land when it was considered the mythical mother (papa)? Rather, Hawaiians felt they were stewards of the land and they must malama the 'aina (care for and honor the land).

In a sovereign Hawai'i, individual ownership of land will be phased out as new values are phased in. The first phase discontinues the eligibility of foreign individuals to own land. The second phase prohibits foreign owned land by groups and individuals. The third phase limits land ownership to small groups only (i.e., family owned land), with no individual owners. Eventually all land will be communally owned for the benefit of all.

Although land is not owned, leases are available so residents and businesses might have residential stability and an incentive to make improvements to the land on which they reside. Leases would be available for urban, rural and agricultural land. Conservation land and land set aside for cultural practices would need no lease. Zoning could only be changed with a majority vote of the population of Hawai'i. The leases for urban, rural, and agricultural use are made for 20 to 99 year terms with the possibility of renewal. The leases could be subject to a review every five years to ascertain that the activities being conducted on the land were in conformance with aloha, ke ka'ana (sharing) and laulima (cooperation). Strict rules over the production and

storage of hazardous materials would be enforced, and any physical alterations must be reviewed by the land-use agricultural konohiki.

Any buildings constructed on leaseholds must pass approval in order to ascertain that they conform to "Hawaiian-island style" regulations. These regulations would limit height and size of buildings. They would prohibit blockage of wind patterns and disruption of watersheds. The regulations would establish standards for energy consumption, specifying the use of energy saving appliances and windows, and locally generated electricity rather than foreign originated oil. The aesthetic look of buildings should also reflect local-Hawaiian style.

a. Agriculture

As one of the goals for the independent Hawaiian nation is economic sustainability, agriculture takes on great importance. Statewide, Hawaiian families paid anywhere from 27-47% more for food than American families on the continental US (Rohter, 1992 p.35). The high cost of shipping food from overseas and the high cost of land in Hawai'i are two reasons for the difference in Hawai'i and mainland prices. Part of the higher cost can be attributed to companies who take advantage of "captive" markets, and take incredibly high profit margins for their consumer products.

One way to decrease Hawai'i's dependency on outside suppliers is to encourage local production. This includes both agriculture and manufacturing on a limited scale. First, tax incentives will be provided to citizens who make use of space around their home to grow vegetables and fruits to help feed their family or neighborhood. Second, incentives for diversified agriculture will be created so there will not be a preponderance of any one or two crops. Third, as fishpond culture was practiced extensively by the native Hawaiians themselves, their re-development will be encouraged. Aquaculture projects will receive governmental assistance in their creation and development, with the stipulation that their products are sold locally.

b.) Foreign Trade Activities

Although one key aim for Hawai'i is to achieve a more sustainable and self-sufficient economy, the goal is not to cut itself off from the rest of the world. Hawai'i considers itself part of the global economy and therefore engages in a great deal of trade. The key economic activities in the Hawaiian nation,-- agriculture, oceanographic technologies, seismographic technologies, and responsible tourism, should be wholly owned by Hawaiian businesses. Foreign companies may be involved in these activities as consultants or suppliers, but ownership should remain in Hawaiian hands to prevent expatriation of profits (Galtung, 1993). The idea is to keep money flowing through the Hawaiian economy to support Hawai'i's people and businesses, allowing for responsible investments to be made.

The second aim in foreign trade activities is to develop a strong export trade in agriculture, or processed agricultural goods. Hawai'i's exceptional weather provides for a year-round growing season which can provide fruits and vegetables to the United States, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and Japan during their winter seasons. Additionally, farmers who elect to grow organic produce can benefit from the increasing international awareness of the negative aspects of herbicide and pesticide use on produce for human

consumption. Finally, small farmers can associate together in co-operatives to process their fruits and vegetables for sale as canned, jarred or frozen products. Their association will spread the risk of their venture among several partners and provide opportunities to exchange information on better growing techniques.

A farm co-partnership program has found much success in Japan. The co-partnership program involves fourteen farmers who supply about four hundred families in Tokyo. The families and farmers agree to prices for the produce at one annual meeting. During the same meeting, the variety and quantity of products to be grown is agreed upon. The produce is organic and the families agree to accept all the produce that is raised, also compensating for crop failures at times. The belief is that losses one year will offset gains in other years (Getz, 1991). This type of co-partnership is a program which could work very successfully in Hawai'i. There are many people who would love to have locally grown produce and plenty of people exist who would be willing to farm full-time to provide the produce.

c.) **Traditional Cultural Activities**

In recognition of the special status of native Hawaiians as *poe Hawai'i* (first inhabitants), special Hawaiian Cultural Land Use Districts will be established for the practice and perpetuation of the Hawaiian culture. The Native Hawaiian Homelands and Ceded Lands (or portions thereof) will be set aside for this purpose. This land would serve as a special training ground for the practice and perpetuation of traditional Hawaiian Cultural activities such as hula, carving, taro farming, fishpond culture etc., and buildings and/or structural needs will be erected for these activities.

An organization already exists that is seeking land for a *pu'uhonua* , "a place of refuge that will also be a learning and healing center." The organization, the Hawai'i- La'ieikawai Association (HLA) envisions a place:

where Hawaiians, their kindred Polynesians as well as others can meet with the living on their own terms to celebrate life, to practice ancient religion and the arts associated with Hawaiian culture, particularly healing. It will be a place also where people can gather to listen to the wind, savor and watch the rain and hear the chants of old from the voices of the young keeping time to the melody of the pahu. It will be a place too where nature has been preserved and where the birds still sing and perhaps, if we are lucky, where one can get a whiff of maile and hear the sound of a brook making its relentless journey to the world beyond. That is a small part of the vision. The reality may be different.

These reserves are meant to be places where people can experience nature in its raw form. They will experience the tenderness and the ruggedness and learn of the necessity to preserve it. At the same time, the land is a cultural refuge. The Hawaiian culture which inhabited this land prior to any other cultures, will continue to thrive and rediscover itself, without the threat of annihilation

Tourism

For about a half-century, tourism has dominated Hawai'i's economy. Hawai'i's state government considers tourism the most rewarding economic activity for Hawai'i and has invested large sums of money into advertising to bring ever larger numbers of tourists to Hawai'i. The effects of such a growth in tourists visiting Hawai'i has been 1.) a drain on Hawai'i's natural resources 2.) financial investments in projects for

the benefit of tourists rather than residents 3.) more pollution and degradation of the land 4.) more visitors leading eventually to more residents 5.) cheapening of Hawaiian culture 6.) a preponderance service industries, and 7.) dependency on tourism rather than a diversity of income sources. Others can probably be listed, but we will focus on what form the tourist industry will take under a sovereign Hawai'i and what alternatives exist to supplement the tourist industry.

In a sovereign Hawai'i, tourism will reflect the goals of society as stated at the beginning of this paper. Therefore, Hawai'i should focus its efforts on attracting the types of tourists who will not interfere with her goals. Tourism in Hawai'i should be concentrated on bringing people here to experience the flora and fauna, the geological spectacles, and the culture of the islands. Numbers of visitors will be limited, however, so they will not place a strain on Hawai'i's resources.

Rather than putting all government resources into promoting tourism, other economic activities can be promoted and a new tourist emphasis can be fostered. Hawai'i's comparative advantage in certain activities make for a good reason to fund economic development in these areas: geological and geophysical research, astronomy, ocean research [to include the nature of and in the ocean], biological evolution of species, alternative energy sources, communication technologies, multiculturalism, gerontology and others. Tourist promotions would put an emphasis on participating in active research in Hawai'i, or learning about the very things that make Hawai'i unique. Although there will continue to be a certain amount of traditional tourism, the strain placed on Hawai'i will not be as great.

>B. Education System Teaching Individualistic Values

One of the chief perpetrators in the creation of an individualistic society is the educational system. The state of Hawai'i has taught western individualist-driven values through its curriculum. The educational curriculum of the independent nation of Hawai'i will focus on communitarian values, yet teach how other world cultures operate so that Hawaiians can be prepared for global interactions. The educational system will focus on reinforcing Hawaiian values and serve to advance careers which are of service to humans and balance humans' relationship with nature. In Hawai'i, the educational process is considered to be a life long experience. All citizens are encouraged to become actively involved in the education of their children. Such encouragement is provided through a process similar to jury duty. Serving as a juror is considered to be one's civic duty. Participating in the education of children is taken just as seriously. Citizens of Hawai'i are provided up to five days of paid leave per year to attend school with their children, and to work with teachers and administrators to create a better educational system.

Curriculum

The new curriculum is more holistic, teaching subjects in a more integrated fashion. For example, the subject of environmental studies, would at the same time cover applications to math, science, and literature; or cultural studies would incorporate math, science, and literary applications. Students would be educated in a way which would explicitly show the inter-connectedness of the world. The various bodies of knowledge that are taught in the educational system would be taught as a more explicit whole. Education would emphasize teamwork and collaboration among students and disciplines versus the current segregated and individualistic education and research in today's educational system.

The University of Hawai'i

In an independent Hawaiian nation, the University of Hawai'i would discontinue trying to model itself after US mainland institutions and set its own standards. The educational system will serve as the premier institute of its kind in the world. With the underlying values of *lokahi* and *laulima* the university would stress interdisciplinary, collaborative, and participatory research. Research will be problem focused, bringing together academics from various disciplines to do problem solving. If a research problem centers on humans, individuals who are experiencing the problem first-hand will be included in the research to make it more participatory and responsive to their needs. In a similar fashion, business people actively involved in the practice of the disciplines that are being taught at the university will be encouraged to teach classes in cohort with university professors. This type of participation will give students a better idea of what they are to expect when they finish their studies. The disciplinary emphases will be in those areas in which Hawai'i has a natural strength: oceanography, marine biology, seismology, inter-cultural studies, ethnic relations, tropical agriculture, communications, space technologies, international business, and tourism.

Citizens from many other countries will be attracted to Hawai'i for its fantastic climate, culture, and landscapes but the main attraction would be to participate in courses from its world-renown educational complex at the University of Hawai'i. George Kanahale talked about his vision for the university as part of the future of Hawai'i in Hawai'i 2000: Continuing Experiments in Anticipatory Democracy. The book is a published record of the Governor's conference on the year 2000 held in 1973. Even twenty years ago, Kanahale, a prominent native Hawaiian, could see how Hawai'i is well-suited as an educational and informational center. Yet today, funding continues to get cut for the university and it is far from a model for the rest of the world. There is hope, however. Hawai'i as an independent nation can realign its priorities and reconsider its economic focus.

Apprenticeships

Prior to the dominance of the university system of education, many professionals gained experience and qualifications in their field through apprenticeships. Reinstating an apprenticeship system would adhere to the concepts of the Hawaiian culture, as it has always been accepted that one learns from one's elders. For certain trades, an apprenticeship program would be recognized as sufficient training to gain qualifications as a professional electrician, plumber, carpenter, etc. After all, one can only learn such trades through actual experience on the job. Field exams would be standardized and must be passed before receiving one's qualifications. The apprenticeship system conforms to the sense of communalism which is dominant in Hawai'i and would be an attractive change from the current system of university qualifications for these activities.

C. Undemocratic Political System

Direct Democracy

The representative democracy of the state of Hawai'i has not necessarily been representative or democratic. As it turned out, legislators listened to lobbyists with the most political and economic clout when it came time to vote. The needs of the constituencies often took second place. Once a legislator is voted into office, an individual has very little input directly in the decision-making process, leading to a less than democratic system. Unless some political issue is an extremely heated one, it is difficult to get the attention of a legislator unless you have a lot of campaign money behind you.

A built-in impediment to responsible legislative action exists in our political system today. Much of the problem resides in the lack of ability of the legislator to think past the present. Jim Dator (1991, p.92) explains the reason why he believes elected officials are not future-conscious: 1) they respond only to votes and money 2) they have only a 2-4 year time horizon and 3) they only engage in activities for publicity to get themselves reelected. Dator also feels state executive agencies fare no better because they are not instructed to plan for the future by the legislature and they usually wait until there is a problem in order to act. To facilitate thinking more about our future, Hawai'i needs a political structure that will enable her citizens to think more seriously of the consequences of their present actions. This function will partly be carried out by a department of the Future in government, and also by a political system based on a direct democracy. The direct democracy

enables citizens to become more involved in the political process and therefore to think more intensely about their future. (See section on Interactive Television and the Political Process)

Monarchy

Hawai'i is very much a multicultural community. People of American, Japanese, Irish, Chinese, Filipino, Samoan, British, Portuguese, Korean and other ancestry all live together here in relative harmony. Compared to communities elsewhere, Hawai'i maintains remarkably good race relations. Although the Hawaiian host culture has faced its share of humiliation, today the culture flourishes through language, dance and song. Recognizing that native Hawaiians are the host culture, most citizens of Hawai'i respect the Hawaiian culture and recognize the need for it to play a special role in the independent nation of Hawai'i. Many citizens of Hawai'i of other ethnicity participate in the cultural traditions of the Hawaiians, such as the hula halaus, the mele, the music and the language.

Having the desire to retain some elements of the Hawaiian culture, a limited monarchy model combined with a direct democratic governance has been developed for Hawaii's political system. In order to choose a monarch, there are two options: 1) trace lineages to determine who is alive today who has the highest percentage of Royal Hawaiian Blood and wants to serve as monarch, or 2) elect a monarch as has been done in the past when no heir to the throne existed. The best option may be to elect a monarch or choose one by lot, as trying to determine blood percentage could become problematic.

Although a monarchical system is not truly indigenous to Hawaii, there is a history of having chiefs by birth. In modern Hawai'i, the national monarch serves not only as a symbol to the Hawaiian people but monitors human advancement in the nation and the perpetuation of the Hawaiian culture.

The monarch would serve mainly as a figurehead and act in an advisory role to the administrators [see description of administrators below]. Part of the monarch's advisory role is to review legislation to ascertain that it is in conformance with the Hawaiian culture. The monarch would be guided by the Hawaiian code of conduct [see appendix] and Hawaiian values. When legislation seemed to conflict with either of these two parameters, the monarch could advise the administrators of that fact, or go directly to the public at-large, through the media, to state his/her opinion. The monarch could be removed if citizen initiative put the question before the public. The monarch would serve the function as head of state. There would be no head of government as it would be replaced by a direct democracy.

All Hawaiians would be free to participate directly in the political process. Included in the primary and secondary school curriculum would be a focus on the political process and practical training in how to be an effective citizen in a direct democracy. The educational system would reinforce the values of *kupono* (integrity), *na'auao* (intelligence or wisdom), and *lokahi* (or unity/ harmony) (WAIAHA, p.) at the same time the benefits of direct democracy are being taught.

Interactive Television and the Political Process

All citizens in Hawai'i will be provided with electronic access to the political system through interactive television. All legislative decisions would be finalized through the direct democracy process. The final form questions will take for the electronic ballots would be decided upon by the Ali'i Nui after consultation with the citizens-at-large, the administrators, and the Kahuna. Then, the voting process would take place over a public television network for direct democracy. All televisions would be able to tune into this network and each citizen would be provided with interactive capability on their television.

Administrators/ Facilitators (versus representatives) are chosen among those wishing to enlist, and serve in positions to facilitate the direct democracy process. Those serving in these positions could be called *konohiki* as they would be fulfilling a need which the traditional Hawaiian *konohiki* served. Administrators will be

compensated for their time with a wage equal to the mean wage of all full-time employed citizens of Hawai'i. No special roles or percentages will be allotted to various ethnic groups, only the values of Hawaiian culture are encouraged to take predominance.

Administrative Structure

Administrators serve in the following departments, Justice, Census, Tax, Business/Economy, Land-Use/Agriculture, Futures, Health, Education, and Community/Ohana. Their role is limited to administration and facilitation to assist the Ali'i Nui, who meet to form agendas for electronic balloting and information services. The Ali'i Nui (formerly high chiefs in ancient Hawai'i) are highly respected citizens from various community interest groups. They are chosen from the maka'ainana (ordinary citizens) in their districts either by election, or by consensus in their communities. They are chosen for their ability to lead and their proven track record of capable community leadership and responsibility. The method of choosing the Ali'i Nui is left up to the individual districts themselves. The kahuna, as head of their organizations, provide special services which are not directly provided to the public at-large through the governmental structure, such as social work counseling, disabled assistance, immigrant services, elderly services etc. See figure 1 for an outline of the political structure.

D.) Environmental System Based on Inexhaustibility of Resources

For many years Hawaii's citizens have become increasingly aware of the environment and the limited resources of the 'aina (land). Much of the educational process began in the schools, then children would come home and educate their parents about the need to *malama the 'aina* (care for the land). In the Hawaiian nation it is an obligation to look after ones elder brother, the 'aina, and in this regard a new creed has developed with respect to Hawaii's resources.

Disposal of Trash

Anything brought into Hawai'i must be able to be disposed of in Hawai'i if necessary. Anything produced in Hawai'i must, be able to be disposed of in Hawai'i. Disposal is performed to create little impact on the environment. The new methods of biodegrading all sorts of items will be employed so that valuable land is not wasted for landfills.

A recycling program will be established in the state with curbside collection. All residents will be provided containers in which to separate their rubbish into plastics, aluminum, paper, organic matter and other. Two garbage collecting rates will be charged to the public. The first will be a flat rate for all recycled rubbish. The second rate will be charged on a per-use basis for items not recycled. This will encourage consumers to purchase items with less packaging. A tax incentive program will also be enacted to encourage importers and producers to package the items they produce or promote more responsibly.

Full Use of the Land

Agricultural land is utilized primarily to provide for the needs of Hawai'i's people, not for cash crop exports to other nations. New incentives would be put into place to encourage making use of land which formerly was never considered for agricultural use. Land fringing buildings or roadways [if roads still exist] will be turned into productive places to grow food crops. Fruit trees will be grown in urban areas and their fruit will be picked by convicts as part of their community service sentencing. The yield will be given both to the low income communities and to the detention centers to defray the cost of feeding the convicts.

Vehicular Policy

As the number of private vehicles has increased substantially, creating traffic and parking problems, air and noise pollution, vehicular deaths, and a decrease in space on the islands, incentives to use public transport must be created. Therefore, each new car that is bought will include an additional "environment" tax. Second, an additional fuel tax will be levied on each gallon of gas purchased. Third, those who can prove non-ownership of a car or provide documented proof of low mileage use of their car combined with proof of alternative transportation will be eligible for tax credits when filing their taxes. The credit will work in a fashion similar to Hawai'i's current food excise credit, except the burden of proof on the filer will be heavier. If an individual can provide proof of the necessity of their vehicle for business (ie. delivery and/or transportation of products or equipment which cannot be easily transported through the public transportation system) they may be eligible for a credit for fuel taxes paid during the year.

The alternative to private vehicles will be an efficient, high-speed, public transport system linking all the larger communities in Hawai'i, with a more medium-speed system hooking smaller communities to the larger ones.

Locally-generated Energy

Because private vehicles will not be as important in the nation of Hawai'i, the dependence on foreign energy will dissipate. In addition, the source of energy for all needs will be shifted from foreign to locally generated energy. New emphasis will be given to alternative energy sources such as wind power, hydropower, geothermal power, and biological waste power. By shifting the source of energy, Hawai'i will become less dependent on others and more self-sufficient in ways which would extend beyond the source of the fuel itself. Hawai'i would be able to utilize her local source of energy to produce items which formerly had to be imported because the cost of the energy was prohibitive.

Immigration Policy

An immigration policy will be implemented to limit the number of new immigrants to Hawai'i each year as other sovereign nations do. The limitation policy, however, will make every attempt to provide equal opportunity for everyone so as not to discriminate against any one racial or ethnic group. The immigration policy will reduce the strain on Hawaii's land and natural resources.

Ocean Resources

As a sovereign nation, Hawai'i will be able to extend her sovereignty over her ocean territory to the 200 mile limit. This new territory will be governed closely by Hawai'i and the resources of the ocean will be used to sustain Hawai'i's population and economy. A close watch will be kept to ensure that the ocean is not used as a dumping ground for Hawai'i.

Conclusion

I am sure you will recognize this paper as a first attempt to design a structure of society for an independent

Hawaiian nation. As such, it is bound to have many flaws, yet I hope it will lead to more discussion on the nature of a sovereign Hawaiian nation. In this sense, I consider this paper a working document, as yet unfinished. Many other points need to be addressed which have not been discussed, such as how Hawai'i would be able to convince the United Nations and the United States it should receive sovereign nation status, how the transformation process from a state to a sovereign nation would actually take place, the alternatives to a sovereign Hawaiian nation such as native Hawaiian sovereignty similar to the American Indian sovereignty or "pooled sovereignty" between Hawai'i and other Pacific Island nations.

A constraint which may prove to be a very important one is the resistance of Hawai'i's citizens to a more communal society. After numerous years of a society which stresses the individual and encourages the gain of the individual at the expense of the community, a switch to inter-dependency in society may be resisted. Because of the prevailing structure of society, many people have lost trust in their communities and have a built-in resistance to group decisions and working together. The transformation of Hawai'i toward the philosophy of "We're all in it together," may not be all that simple.

With a multi-faceted effort to restructure society toward more communal empathy and achievement, the task will be made easier. All subsystems of the social system, i.e. polity, economy, community, and culture, however, must make an attempt to educate people of the value inherent in giving Hawai'i's citizens equal opportunity to participate in politics, to find economic fulfillment, to gain communal respect, and to feel cultural pride.

It cannot be denied that the globe is presently experiencing an incredible transformation as more and more nations assert their sovereign claims and create new independent nations. At the same time, borders between nations are becoming less defined. More communication and trade is taking place across borders to the point that many are questioning the validity of the nation-state system as it currently exists in the world. Perhaps Hawai'i will never even experience the stage of being an independent nation. That stage may be skipped and Hawai'i may become part of an autonomous region. Nevertheless, Hawai'i must continue to examine more stable and sustainable political and economic structures than the ones existing today.

To suggest that Hawai'i could never be an independent nation is nonsense. Never-- is a long time. Rather we should invest our time and energy in thinking about what types of configurations of nations and regions will still be meaningful ten, twenty, or fifty years from now, and then discuss how society can be more just, humane, economically sustainable, ecologically balanced, future-conscious, and democratic. We should also bear in mind that these goals are best accomplished in a non-repressive way, so as not to take away from the liberties of citizens. In order for society to progress, we must follow three guidelines. We must embrace our past, and look toward our future, while doing our best to make today better. In Hawai'i, as long as we are guided by the spirit of aloha, we are one step closer to making our dreams a reality.

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Appendix A:

The Hawaiian Code of Conduct

The conquest of a nation is only complete, not by military subjection, however thorough, but by destruction of the indigenous culture. Therefore, every Hawaiian is responsible to all other Hawaiians for the survival of our Hawaiian cultural identity. We hereby dedicate ourselves to retain, teach and rescue our Hawaiian cultural identity for the sake of our posterity, our fellow Hawaiians, our nation and ourselves.

1. Since the Hawaiian language is a fundamental pillar of our identity, we shall make every effort to learn, use, teach and support the sustaining of our Hawaiian language.
2. Our children are the most treasured investments of the values and traditions of our culture. We must make every effort to cultivate in our children the pride in being Hawaiian and provide every possible opportunity for them to learn of the values and traditions of our people.
3. We shall practice Aloha, the heritage from our ancestors, mindful of the virtues of Akahai, Lokahi, 'Olu 'olu, Ha 'aha 'a, and Ahonui.
4. We shall engage in hard work, realizing that laziness breeds unhappiness and weak minds.
5. We shall continually strive for spiritual development and adopt an attitude of tolerance and understanding to those who conceive of spirituality in a way different from our own.

6. We shall extend and display respect to all others which reflects our own appreciation of humanity. We shall carry our pride quietly, neither boasting of ourselves nor speaking badly of others- often a dishonest method of self-praise. Yet we must be unashamed of our principles and honest in our criticisms.

7. We shall try to avoid conflict and cooperate with those who do not understand us and whom we do not understand; yet we shall speak our truth openly and stand firm in our own beliefs and right to assert our Hawaiian identity.

8. We shall be patient, enduring the pains of injustice but never surrendering to or joining such injustice.

9. We shall respect and engage in humor, the helper to love and affection, the positive expression of humanity.

10. _____

(Additions are welcome)

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