

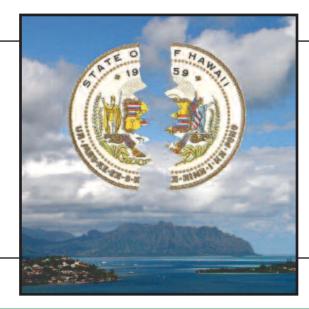


CERA Journal

MANY CULTURES • ONE PEOPLE • ONE LAW

HAWAII DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF CANNOT STAND

The Akaka bill would sponsor a separate government for one race; break up and give away much of the State of Hawaii; set a dangerous precedent for the United States and almost certainly lead to secession.



This special edition of the CERA Journal warns of a dangerous piece of legislation pending again before Congress. It is the Akaka bill, S. 310/H.R. 505, Native Hawaiian Government Reorganization Act of 2007.



Support for this special edition of CERA Journal was provided by Grassroot Institute of Hawaii, Richard O. Rowland, President, as an educational project to further informed public discourse about this important issue of our time.

Nurturing the rights and responsibilities of the individual in a civil society.

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BIGGER THAN HAWAII

The Akaka bill¹ may be the most racist bill ever seriously proposed by the U.S. Congress. It would place all of the indigenous populations (Native Americans, Alaska Natives and Native Hawaiians) into the race category by extending the "special relationship" to them based solely on ancestry.

Today, Morton v. Mancari, the case that said Indian tribes are political rather than a racial classification, is already hanging by a thread after the 2005 Sherrill decision.² The *Morton* holding that recognized tribes³ are treated as separate political entities does not work with Native Hawaiians as the bill itself makes clear.

Think about the consequences to the rule of law if Congress can rewrite history to carve sovereign power out of a state against the rights of the people? They could erase the Civil Rights movement or the Civil War itself from our history. This is a power that Congress cannot have without destroying the Constitution itself.

The Akaka bill could be catastrophic to Tribal sovereignty by bringing on the 14th Amendment controversy in an unavoidable context.

For CERA this is a real interesting question. We think we need to say it – the indigenous classification in the Akaka bill is a race based classification. It goes far beyond the argument made in *Morton* and presents the question whether the power exists in Congress to subdivide the rights of the people of the United States into racial categories. It challenges the Civil War Amendments with the arguments made in Dred Scott v. Sandford that upheld slavery and forced an armed conflict to end slavery. Are we willing as a People to put aside our belief in all People being equal to promote a special racial classification for Native Hawaiians? The power assumed in Congress to make these classifications has enabled the proliferation of tribes and tribal casinos in the continental United States and could be used as easily for or against any racial group among us.

This is probably the ugliest political game we have ever seen – and no political game is ever pretty. Read on, get the picture, and speak out.

ONE PAGE SUMMARY: The Akaka bill (S. 310) proposes to:

Create a privileged class in America by "finding" a "special political and legal relationship" (between the United States and anyone with at least one ancestor indigenous to lands now part of the U.S.) that "arises out of their status as aboriginal, indigenous, native people of the United States". §\$2(3) & (22) and §\$3(1) & (8);

Define "Native Hawaiian" essentially as anyone with an ancestor indigenous to Hawaii, §3(10);

Declare that Native Hawaiians are indigenous people with an inherent right of self-governance, §4(a); and "recognize" their right to "reorganize the single Native Hawaiian governing entity", \$7(a); and

Fund, aid, abet and establish a process exclusively for Native Hawaiians to create their own new separate sovereign government, §7.

Automatic recognition of new government. Once the new government is created, the United States is deemed to have officially recognized it as the "representative governing body of the Native Hawaiian people." \$7(c)(6).

Negotiation of breakup and giveaway. The bill would then authorize State and Federal officials to negotiate with the new government for break up of the State of Hawaii and give away of much of its domain and power to the new Native Hawaiian government §8(b).

No requirement for prior consent or later ratification. The bill does not require the prior consent to the process by the people of Hawaii; or that any agreement negotiated for the breakup and giveaway shall be subject to their ratification.

The bill would settle nothing. Since no release or settlement of claims is provided for, Native Hawaiians, after the partition, would become citizens of the new government and continue to hold their full citizenship in what is left of the State of Hawaii. They would also retain for future resolution or litigation their often-repeated demands for all the ceded lands, and other grievances against the State of Hawaii and the U.S.





CERF and CERA's Mission Statement

Federal Indian Policy is unaccountable, destructive, racist and unconstitutional. It is therefore CERA's mission to ensure the equal protection of the law as guaranteed to all citizens by the Constitution of the United States of America.

¹ Native Hawaiian Government Reorganization Act of 2007, S.310/H.R. 505, commonly referred to as the "Akaka bill." See the full text of the bill at http://tinyurl.com/2tawx7.

² (1) Sherrill applied "Laches" and other equity remedies for the first time to Indian law for non-Indians by recognizing the "justifiable expectations" that all persons have in state governance - the Oneida Indian Nation waited too long to assert historical grievances, just as the Akaka bill is founded on an alleged grievance from 1893. (2) Sherrill held that a checkerboard patchwork of alternating state and tribal jurisdiction would "seriously burde[n] the administration of state and local governments" and adversely affect landowners neighboring the tribal patches, as would be true in Hawaii. (See map under

Recognition requires a historic tribe that has continuously and still exists in a distinct community separate from the non-native population.

INTRODUCTION TO "HAWAII DIVIDED **AGAINST ITSELF"**

by Bruce Fein

"...it would

violate the

bedrock

principle on

which the

United States

is based: that a

government

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the consent of

the governed."

The following critiques of a misconceived 1993 Apology Resolution and sister legislation styled the "Akaka bill" (S.147/H.R.309)¹ aim to inform lawmakers and the public about the Bill's deficiencies and ramifications.

It would summon into being an unprecedented race-based Native Hawaiian Government from the State Hawaii with constraints on its jurisdiction or immunities from federal or state law.

The Bill's defects are staggering. It rests on wildly erroneous accounts and characterizations Hawaii's political history. It flagrantly violates the equal protection component of the Fifth Amendment as expounded by the Supreme Court of the United States in Rice v. Cayetano, 528 U.S. 495 (2000). It would compel the Secretary of Interior to make race-based

Commission appointments pursuant to Section 7(b). The section creates a federal commission whose only purpose is to prepare and maintain a race-based roll of eligibles to elect public officials and to vote in referenda to adopt organic governing documents for an unprecedented "representative governing body of the Native Hawaiian people". The bill defines "Native Hawaiian" by ancestry substantially as the Supreme Court held to be a racial classification in Rice.

The legislation would stain the escutcheon of the United States by embracing race as opposed to merit as destiny. It would, de facto, carve a new sovereign from the State of Hawaii without its consent in violation of the spirit if not the letter of Article IV, section 3. The Akaka bill ambiguously insinuates that this new entity might be empowered to govern all

people of Native Hawaiian ancestry, including those who repudiate its purposes. By diminishing the size and reach of the sovereignty of the State of Hawaii without a vote by all eligible voters of the State, it

> would violate the bedrock principle on which the United States is based: that a government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed. It would tarnish the sacred understanding of American citizenship as adherence to common principles of equal justice and the rule of law, in contrast to common blood, caste, race or ethnicity.

> E Pluribus Unum, the hallowed creed of the United States for more than two centuries, would be turned on its head by dividing the people of Hawaii along racial lines indistinguishable from apartheid or Jim Crow.

There may be better ways of destroying the United States, but if there are, they do not readily come to mind.

Bruce Fein

Attorney for the Grassroot Institute of Hawaii June 1, 2005

The full text of Mr. Fein's critiques is at http://tinyurl.com/7d6xq.



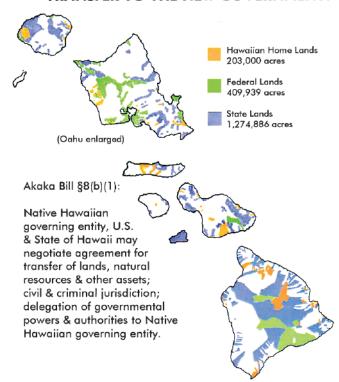
¹ Mr Fein's article was dated June 1, 2005 and refers to the version of the bill then pending, S. 147. The points made apply equally to the current version.

BREAKUP.

If the Akaka bill is enacted and implemented, the State of Hawaii will become a smaller, splintered version of the unified state promised by Congress in the 1959 Hawaii Admission Act.

IF THE AKAKA BILL BECOMES LAW:

O: WHAT LANDS ARE ON THE TABLE FOR TRANSFER TO THE NEW GOVERNMENT?



A: ALL THE LANDS IN COLOR ARE UP FOR NEGOTIATION.

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4

RECENT HISTORY AND RE-INTRODUCTION OF AKAKA BILL [S. 310 AND H.R. 505]

Despite OHA (Office of Hawaiian Affairs) spending millions of taxpayer dollars for lobbying, the Akaka bill was introduced but failed to pass in every Congress from 2000 to 2006. On June 8, 2006, the U.S. Senate denied cloture, thereby shelving the bill for the remainder of the 109th Congress.

On January 17, 2007, in the 110th Congress, the Akaka bill was re-introduced as the *Native Hawaiian Government Reorganization Act of 2007, S. 310* in the Senate and *H.R. 505* in the House.

In his speech on the floor introducing the bill, Senator Akaka spoke of impatience and frustration and an active minority within his grandchildren's generation that "seeks independence from the United States." He was quoted as having a timetable for the bill to clear the Senate by as early as March.

The re-filing of the bill stirred immediate opposition in Hawaii and nationally. For example, see http://tinyurl.com/36toe4 Honolulu Advertiser, Thursday, January 18, 2007, Akaka bill foes ready for new fight.

See also the text of Senator Akaka's speech introducing the bill, interspersed with color coded corrections and comments by Jere Krischel and Ken Conklin. See http://tinyurl.com/ywycke.

Peter Kirsanow put it this way: "The worst piece of legislation ever analyzed by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has been brought back from the dead and may be enacted in the next few weeks." See http://tinyurl.com/2gm9eh.



THE INDIAN ANALOGY DOESN'T WORK

The favorite sales pitch of its promoters is that the Akaka bill would just give Native Hawaiians the same legal status as other indigenous people. After all, they say, the United States has long recognized the sovereign status of Indian tribes.

But, that argument fails for two reasons:

First, the history of Native Hawaiians and their relationship with the United States does not remotely resemble Indians'.

Stolen lands? Under the Kingdom of Hawaii, the public lands (then called "Crown" and "Government" lands) were held for the benefit of all subjects, not just for those of one ancestry. They still are. Neither the overthrow of the monarchy in 1893 or annexation in 1898 disturbed private land titles.

Genocide? The Hawaiian population had probably started to decline before Captain Cook arrived; declined throughout all the years of the Kingdom; then reversed and has increased steadily since annexation in 1898. Today, Hawaiians are the fastest growing population in Hawaii, according to OHA's website.

Culture? Religion? In 1819, shortly after the death of Kamehameha the Great, his son Liholiho, the new King, broke the Kapu, dismantled the Heiau and burned the wooden idols. The first missionaries arrived the next year, 1820, and soon Kaahumanu (then the de facto ruler of the Kingdom) took charge of Christianity and made it the official religion of the Kingdom of Hawaii. Hawaiians themselves rejected their ancient culture and legal system and, for reasons of their own, replaced them with Western religion and culture and legal institutions.

Loss of Sovereignty? Under the Kingdom, as in most countries then, the common people had no sovereignty. All sovereignty was vested in the King and Ali'i. Hawaiians first achieved sovereignty when they became citizens of the United States in 1900 when the Organic Act became law.

The U.S. has treated Native Hawaiians as equals from the beginning. In Hawaii, our Native Hawaiian neighbors, friends, calabash cousins, aunties, nephews, nieces, fellow workers and spouses, are assimilated into all levels of the social, economic and political life of Hawaii's intermarried multi-ethnic population. Census 2000 shows they are dispersed throughout all census districts and the Census demographics show that, like everyone else, some do well, some don't and most are somewhere in between. Indeed, most Native Hawaiians as defined in the Akaka bill are mostly of non-Hawaiian ancestry.

Second, the United States has granted tribal recognition only to groups that have a long, continuous history of self-governance in a distinct community separate from the non-Indian community. But there has never been, even during the years of the Kingdom, any government for Native Hawaiians separate from the government of all the people of Hawaii.

If blood alone were sufficient for tribal recognition (as the Akaka bill proposes for Native Hawaiians), Indian law would change radically. Millions of Americans with some degree of Indian ancestry, but not currently members of recognized tribes, would be eligible. Some 60 tribes from all parts of the country were relocated to Oklahoma in the 1800's. Descendants of each of those tribes would be arguably entitled to create their own new

governments in the states where they originated. Indian tribes and Indian Casinos would surely proliferate.

Conferring superior rights on persons merely because they happen to have an indigenous ancestor would be inconsistent with the first self-evident truth of American democracy, that all men and women are created equal; and that every individual, whatever his or her ancestry, is entitled to the equal protection of the laws.

For over 20 years, a draft Declaration of Indigenous Rights has circulated in the United Nations. The United States and other major countries have opposed it because it challenges the current global system of states; is "inconsistent with international law"; ignores reality by appearing to require recognition to lands now lawfully owned by other citizens; and "No government can accept the notion of creating different classes of citizens." In November 2006, a subsidiary body of the U.N. General Assembly rejected the draft declaration, proposing more time for further study.

Thus, by enacting the Akaka bill, Congress would brush aside core underpinnings of the United States itself.

What will become of the United States if it can be endlessly subdivided into sovereign governing entities? What would become of the indestructible union composed of indestructible states? Where will it end?



Kamehameha United Us All long before he unified the islands in 1810, Kamehameha the Great brought non-natives on to his team and into his family. Ever since then, nonnatives have continued to intermarry, assimilate and contribute to the social, economic and political life of Hawaii. Most Native Hawaiians today are mostly of other ancestries and Hawaii's racial blending has become a model for the world. Akaka Would Divide Us Forever The Akaka bill would impose on the people of Hawaii an unprecedented separate government to be created by Native Hawaiians only. It would require the U.S. to recognize the new government as the governing body of All of the Native Hawaiian people whether a majority of Hawaiians agreed or not-no vote, no referendum, no chance to debate. On his deathbed, King Kamehameha the Great said, "I have given you-the greatest good: peace. And a kingdom which-is all one-a kingdom of all the islands." The Akaka Bill would divide the people of Hawaii forever and undo the unification which made Kamehameha not only the greatest of the Hawaiian chiefs, but one of the great men of world history. An educational project of Grassraat Institute of Hawaii Telephone (808) 591-9193 - Email: grassraat@hawaii.rr.com Nurturing the rights and responsibilities of the individual in a civil society..

S. 147 Offends Basic American Values¹

Why Congress Must Reject Race-Based Government for Native Hawaiians

Executive Summary

- Pending before the Senate is S. 147, a bill to authorize the creation of a race-based government for Native Hawaiians living throughout the United States.
- The bill does this by shoehorning the Native Hawaiian population, wherever located, into the federal Indian law system and calling the resulting government a "tribe."
- S. 147 advocates argue that the bill simply grants Native Hawaiians the same status as some American Indians and Alaska Natives, but this claim represents a serious distortion of the constitutional and historical standards for recognizing Indian tribes.
- The Supreme Court has held that Congress cannot simply create an Indian tribe. Only those groups of people who have long operated as an Indian tribe, live as a separate and distinct community (geographically and culturally), and have a preexisting political structure can be recognized as a tribe. Native Hawaiians do not satisfy any of these criteria.
- When Hawaii became a state in 1959, there was a broad consensus in Congress and in the nation that Native Hawaiians would not be treated as a separate racial group, and that they would not be transformed into an "Indian tribe."
- To create a race-based government would be offensive to our nation's commitment to equal justice and the elimination of racial distinctions in the law. The inevitable constitutional challenge to this bill almost certainly would reach the U.S. Supreme Court.
- S. 147 would lead the nation down a path to racial balkanization, with different legal codes being applied to persons of different races who live in the same communities.
- The bill also encourages increased litigation, including claims against private landowners and state and federal entities, which would heavily impact private and public resources.
- S. 147 represents a step backwards in American history and would create far more problems - cultural, practical, and constitutional than it purports to solve. It must be rejected.

The full 13 page Senate Republican Policy Committee report of June 22, 2005 is available at http://tinyurl.com/80cw8.



¹ This report is dated June 22, 2005 and refers to the version of the bill then pending, S. 147. The points made apply equally to the current version.

Census: Native Hawaiians Do Better When Treated Equally

By Jere Krischel, 1/11/2007

Hawaii Reporter, Freedom to Report Real News

The 2005 American Community Survey (ACS) for California, recently released by the U.S. Census Bureau, confirms Native Hawaiians' ability to prosper without special government programs. The estimated 65,000 Native Hawaiian residents of California, with

no Office of Hawaiian Affairs or Hawaiian Homes or other such race-based entitlements, enjoyed higher median household (\$55,610) and family (\$62,019) incomes, relative to the total California population (\$53,629 and \$61,476 respectively) despite having smaller median household and family sizes.

California is particularly appropriate for comparing earning power, because California has the greatest Native Hawaiian population outside of Hawaii; and it

happens that the median age of Native Hawaiians residing in California (33.7 years) is almost identical to that of the general population of California (33.4 years).

The fact that Native Hawaiians are quite capable of making it on their own was suggested by Census 2000 which showed the then – 60,000 Native Hawaiian residents of California enjoyed comparable relative median household and family incomes despite their 5 year younger median age.

California a Fluke?

Some may argue that the Native Hawaiian statistics in other states represent an out-migration of well-to-do Native Hawaiians. The idea of large swaths of rich Native Hawaiians leaving paradise for the mainland seems counter intuitive, but for argument's sake, let's consider it.

If in fact all the rich Native Hawaiians are leaving the state of Hawaii, let's say because of onerous taxes or the lack of fine avocados, the lower statistics of those Native Hawaiians who have stayed in Hawaii are simply an artifact of the well-off moving away, and not due to any systemic bias against Native Hawaiians. Removing the rich from our calculations hasn't made anyone poorer, but will obviously lower the group average.

It is much more likely that those Native Hawaiians who have chosen to leave the state did so for economic reasons, and their significant success outside of the state reflects poorly on the race-based programs only implemented in the Islands.

Media Misrepresentation

"...the census data

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Oblivious to the respectable earnings of Native Hawaiians, some media in Hawaii have cited the 2005 ACS as showing "Poverty still grips Hawaiians" and

"Census survey shows need for assistance to Hawaiians." But the 2005 ACS sample survey for Hawaii shows Native Hawaiians in Hawaii, who average only 24.6 years of age, enjoy median family income of \$56,449; and 55% of them occupy homes they own. Hispanics in Hawaii, in comparison, average 24.2 years of age, have a median family income of \$54,803 and only 46.2% of them occupy homes they own. If anything, if one were looking for an ethnic group in Hawaii that was needy, the census data might

suggest Hispanics. But nobody is anywhere near suggesting race-based programs for Hispanics in Hawaii – that "honor" is reserved for Native Hawaiians alone, and the census data has been carefully selected and misrepresented to fit that political point of view.

Could it Be Age?

The sample chosen in Hawaii for the ACS 2005 survey showed a 14 years difference in the median age for Native Hawaiians living there. Age makes a huge difference in earning power. For example, the 2000 data shows Census Hawaiians 35 to 44 years had over \$9 thousand greater household income than Hawaiians ten years younger. This more than erases the difference reported of less than \$6-8 thousand between Native Hawaiians and the total population of Hawaii.

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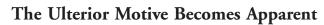
by the Honolulu Advertiser and Jim Dooley, "OHA push for Akaka bill topped \$2M". (Adv. 11/27/06.) Well over \$2 million of taxpayer money spent to lobby for a bill to break apart the State of Hawaii and give away much, perhaps all, of the state and its governing power and jurisdiction to a brand new sovereign nation of, by and for Native Hawaiians.

The Akaka bill got started when once well-intentioned race-based programs were challenged in Hawaii – programs that have existed for decades, and have apparently done a great disservice to the overall health, wealth and well-being of Native Hawaiians when compared to their counterparts in other states without such race-based entitlements. In addition to the millions for lobbying to break up the State with the Akaka bill, the bloated (and very powerful) bureaucracies of OHA [Office of Hawaiian Affairs] and HHCA [Hawaiian Homes Commission Act] have cost the State of Hawaii over \$1 billion just since 1990. Federal entitlements for Native Hawaiians have added over \$1 billion more.

By continuing to paint Native Hawaiians as a special victim class, through willful misrepresentation of the data, supporters of racebased entitlements preserve their rationale at the expense of truth.

The Future

There is no doubt that there are people in need in Hawaii – but these people are of all races and backgrounds. We neglect too many of those in need when we target our help only to a certain ethnicity, and do more damage than good to the ethnicity we target. Race is an illusion, compelling yet meaningless – and a closer look at the statistics used to promote that illusion shows us clearly that no Hawaiians, of any race or ethnicity, have a need for the Akaka bill.



Now with this backdrop of improved Native Hawaiian prosperity when treated equally, and a clearer understanding of the effects median age can have on income statistics, imagine how surprised we all are to learn of the shocking information discovered Jere Krischel was born and raised in Hawaii and now resides in California with his wife and two young children. He also is a member of the Grassroot Institute of Hawaii.

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Department of Justice, June 7, 2006: Administration strongly opposes Akaka bill



U. S. Department of Justice

Office of Legislative Affairs

Office of the Assistant Attorney General

Washington, D.C. 20530

June 7, 2006

The Honorable Bill Frist Majority Leader United States Senate Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Mr. Leader:

The Administration strongly opposes passage of S. 147. As noted recently by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, this bill risks "further subdivid[ing] the American people into discrete subgroups accorded varying degrees of privilege." As the President has said, "we must...honor the great American tradition of the melting pot, which has made us one nation out of many peoples." This bill would reverse that great American tradition and divide people by their race. Closely related to that policy concern, this bill raises the serious threshold constitutional issues that arise anytime legislation seeks to separate American citizens into race-related classifications rather than "according to [their] own merit[s] and essential qualities." Indeed, in the particular context of native Hawaiians, the Supreme Court and lower Federal courts have invalidated state legislation containing similar race-based qualifications for participation in government entities and programs.

While this legislation seeks to address this issue by affording federal tribal recognition to native Hawaiians, the Supreme Court has noted that whether native Hawaiians are eligible for tribal status is a "matter of dispute" and "of considerable moment and difficulty." Given the substantial historical, structural and cultural differences between native Hawaiians as a group and recognized federal Indian tribes, tribal recognition is inappropriate for native Hawaiians and would still raise difficult constitutional issues.

Sincerely,

William E. Moschella Assistant Attorney General

Tillin E. Moscheller

cc: The Honorable Harry Reid Minority Leader

LINKS & CONTACTS FOR MORE INFORMATION

Full text of Akaka bill & names of co-sponsors: http://tinyurl.com/2tawx7

List with links to published articles: http://coastalhawaii.com/Akaka_Bill.htm

USCCR Report recommending against passage, May 2006: http://tinyurl.com/y3rqut

Three articles by Bruce Fein, Congressional Record 3/17/05: http://tinyurl.com/65waz

Bruce Fein, "E Pluribus Unum: Debating the Legality of the Akaka bill" Hawaii Reporter (on-line), January 19, 2005

Bruce Fein, "A Race-Based Drift?" The Washington Times, October 5, 2004 Bruce Fein, "The Pineapple Time Bomb," The Washington Times, March 11, 2005

The Akaka bill and secession: http://tinyurl.com/4cho6

Testimony in opposition: http://tinyurl.com/5fpdp

U.S. Senate cloture debate and vote June 7-8, 2006: http://tinyurl.com/k299m

History of the Akaka bill: http://tinyurl.com/yy4f3s

Evidence: most Hawaii people oppose bill: http://tinyurl.com/omewe

Two reports by Congress: Morgan 1894 and NHSC 1983: http://tinyurl.com/f4cqt

Spreadsheet Native Haw'n population Census 2000: http://tinyurl.com/5vlp6

Hawaiian Nationalism, Chicano Nationalism, Black Nationalism, Indian Tribes, and Reparations -Akaka bill: Precedent for Balkanization of America http://tinyurl.com/722l4

Kamehameha unified Hawaii 200 years ago; Akaka would split it asunder: http://tinyurl.com/bszgr

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CERA/CERF's annual conference is an "instant training center" for elected officials, law enforcement, community leaders and citizens who are concerned about federal Indian policy conflicts. The CERA Conference is an excellent opportunity to exchange experience, success, and effective strategies to carry back to your local communities and states.

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