Polynesians first sailed their voyaging canoes to these islands from the South Pacific, perhaps as early as two thousand years ago. They came to *Ka Pae ʻĀina* (the Hawaiian Archipelago), bringing with them the knowledge their ancestors had gathered over many centuries of living on small islands all across the Pacific Ocean. The first *Kānaka Maoli* (Hawaiian People; literally, the true people) already knew the rules for preserving their natural resources. They knew how to create everything they needed from limited amounts of land and from the sea around them. They brought with them an understanding of the fragile nature of an island environment. Their culture, their daily lifestyle, and their belief system reflected their awareness of the need to preserve island resources for themselves and for their children.

The culture of *Kānaka Maoli* was based on the belief that the land and the sea and everything on the land and in the sea was created by their gods for people to use and enjoy. *Kānaka Maoli* recognized the gifts of their gods by caring for them and creating conditions that made them productive. They devoted their lives to attain harmony among themselves, their gods and their environment.

*Kanaka Maoli* cultivators and fishermen practiced constant concern and vigilance in every aspect of
daily life. As careful observers of their environment, they translated what they saw into codes of human conduct; they produced those things needed to survive without destroying nature’s resources for future generations.

In a valley such as Mākua, where rainfall and fresh water resources are relatively sparse, keeping alive the knowledge of successful practices is imperative. The presence of heiau (temples) and ko’a (fishing shrines) in the area suggests intense involvement and attention to these activities.

With the introduction of the market economy into Hawai’i by western traders in the late 1700s and changes to land tenure in the mid-1800s, commercial values infiltrated the values of Kanaka Maoli society. The basic practice of Hawaiians was to use the land and sea to provide all people with the necessities of life. It was replaced by the practice of using the natural resources of the land to bring the greatest possible profits to the landowners.

A century later, military use and occupation in Mākua dealt an even greater blow. It destroyed the natural environment and furthered the alienation of land from the native tenants.

**PRE-COLONIAL MĀKUA**

The mo‘olelo (oral histories) of Wai‘anae claim the entire coastline from Kea‘au around Ka‘ena to Kawaihāpai as a wahi pana (sacred place). It was here that the Kānaka Maoli were formed from the ‘āina (land). It is here that our spirits return to Pō (the spirit realm) at Leina a Ka’uhane (soul’s leap). Mākua means parents: it is the site where Papa (the earth-mother) and Wākea (the sky-father) meet.
Waialua districts.

At one time there were at least five fresh water springs in the interior of the valley. Agriculture was practiced in the lower valley. At least three large heiau (temples) are known of: Kumuakuopi'o, a large agricultural heiau; Ka'ahihi; and Ukanipō, used for burial rites. In ancient times, the valley was known for its expert lua (Hawaiian martial arts) fighters.

Early census record by missionaries gave only one figure for the entire Wai’anae District, not by individual ahupua’a (a traditional land division usually encompassing the land between two ridges from the mountain top to the sea). The population of Mākua area was probably around 300 to 400 in pre-colonial times.

Emerson’s view of Wai’anae (see insert) was seen from the dusty road on the coast. Another view of the valley is that of a deep, spacious, green valley. There were endless terraces that once produced kalo
(taro) and ʻuala (sweet potatoes). Then, in the 1820s and 1830s, foreigners introduced western diseases. As a result, the Kanaka Maoli population was drastically reduced and the terraces were no longer cultivated.

Botanists throughout the 20th century have found upper Mākua valley to be the location of one of Oʻahu’s most abundant collections of rare and endangered Hawaiian plants. Mākua was known for its maile lauliʻi. It was said that people walking along the beach could smell the fragrance of this small-leafed maile.

The Māhele of 1848 required Kanaka Maoli to file claims for their ʻōhana (family) lands. About 200 acres were eventually awarded to Hawaiian families in Mākua. It can be assumed that Mākua Valley was well cultivated, since one of the requirements for a kuleana claimant was that his land had to be used to grow crops to feed his family.

Mākua Valley was made Government Land by Kamehameha III at the time of the 1848 Māhele, and sixteen kuleana were awarded in Mākua Valley in the 1850s. The rest remained Government Land that was leased out by the government to non-Kanaka Maoli for ranching.

CIVILIAN OCCUPATION OF MĀKUA

Beginning in the 1860s and after, there were at least two well-known western family names involved in ranching in Mākua. Samuel Andrews was the son of Judge Lorrin Andrews. Rather than follow in his father's footsteps and become a missionary, Samuel Andrews chose to be a rancher. He was comfortable living and working with Kānaka Maoli. Andrews raised a family with Malaea Naiwi, whose home originally had been in Waimea, Hawai‘i. Most of their children took their mother’s surname. Andrews lived in Mākua until Naiwi died in 1897. Shortly thereafter Andrews sold his lease to Lincoln McCandless, including some kuleana in the valley that he had acquired. McCandless became a major landowner in Mākua Valley, as well as other places on Oʻahu. The Commercial Advertiser called him “Link the Land Baron,” and said he made a specialty of getting kuleana from native tenants (October 20, 1908).

It became increasingly difficult for the Kanaka Maoli families who remained in the valley to live surrounded by ranching activities, so they eventually moved to the coastal area. Originally, sweet potato was the basic crop; land near the freshwater springs was used for kalo. People interviewed in 1975 remembered crops of cucumber, watermelon, pumpkin, sweet potato, cotton, tobacco and corn grown in the lower part of the valley. Although rainfall was limited, wells pumped by windmills furnished somewhat brackish water for residents. Brackish water ponds existed most of the year, some providing habitats for edible fish.
Young Hawaiian and other local boys worked as cowboys for McCandless from their early teens. Roping wild cattle in the forests of Mākua was an art, and only a few achieved proficiency at it. In addition to cattle, several hundred pigs were kept on Mākua Ranch. Wild pigs that often took over the feeding troughs, were caught and given to the cowboys.

Today, the influence of rooting pigs and browsing goats is evident within the native forest of Mākua. Native flora ground cover has been removed, soil erosion has depleted some species, and native plants have been eaten or overtaken by introduced species.

Those who lived at Mākua before 1947 have vivid memories of the trains that came and went, all signs of which have now nearly completely disap-
The first written mention of Mākua Church is found in a minister’s 1860 complaint about the parishioners dancing. When he tried to put a stop to this, however, the people resisted. Mākua Church was one of the Hawaiian Protestant Congregational Churches, but it remained relatively independent when most others joined the United Church Council. Although the church was destroyed by the military during World War II, the Mākua congregation still maintains the cemetery and is gradually restoring the area.

MILITARY OCCUPATION OF MĀKUA

U.S. military use of Mākua Valley dates from the 1920s when it first acquired three parcels in the
“At about 11 A.M. … there came sounds of boats scraping on the sandy beaches nearby, and bursts of strong language. We know the marines were landing! … All in all it was hard work, fine experience and good fun. We hope to go again some day.” — From the Infantry Journal, March-April, 1932.

upper floor of the valley for howitzer emplacements. Condemnation proceedings, or notice to turn over, or sell lands were begun with the valley residents. Public notice in the newspaper called on those who might have title to appear in court to certify their claims. No one (with the exception of L.L. McCandless) was paid for condemned parcels. Military war games in the 1930s first used Mākua for amphibious landings.

At War in the Pacific

After the bombing of Pearl Harbor in 1941, the US Army took over the entire Mākua-Kaena Point area for military security and training operations. At this time there were about 3,000 people living along the Waiʻanae Coast. World War II changed the use of the valley dramatically. It was transformed from a relatively peaceful cattle ranch into a busy garrison. The remaining kuleana residents, the railroad workers, and the McCandless Estate ranch were told to leave the valley. Structures were demolished by target practice, fences torn down, pipelines cut, fishing holes bombed, and fresh water wells were used as dumps for waste oil.

Up to 1943, Mākua had been used mainly for howitzers and troop bivouacs. Newly modified training activities changed the valley into an area of intensive joint Army-Navy maneuvers. The Navy sent planes to bomb the valley, while battleships shelled it from the ocean and troops were landed from amphibious crafts. White crosses were painted on the roofs of homes and on the Church and church hall, and the sites were bombed. Even gravestones in Mākua cemetery

In the 1970s activists fought to protect Mākua as well as Kahoʻolawe. Now that Kahoʻolawe has been returned and is being restored, activists are renewing the movement for the return of Mākua. Unexploded ordnance litters the valley in Mākua, making the valley hazardous. Photo: Ed Greevy.
were damaged by live target practice. The number of military personnel on O‘ahu rose to 400,000, many of whom lived in a tent city in Mākua Valley.

A permit issued by the Territory in 1943 specified that military use of the area was to be “for the duration of the present war [WWII] and six months thereafter.” This “Revocable Permit 200” also agreed that upon relinquishment of the area, the military authorities would “remove all its property and return the premises … [in] a condition satisfactory to the Commissioner of Public Lands.”

World War II in the Pacific ended in August, 1945. As early as November of that year, Territory of Hawai‘i Governor Stainback called for the return of Mākua. “I feel strongly that these lands should be made available to the public again and not permanently removed from their enjoyment,” he wrote to the US War Department. His request was denied. The Army by now had plans for a permanent Mākua training area.

The Statehood Admission Act of 1959 allowed the Federal government to reserve land for military purposes. This formed the basis for President Johnson’s Executive Order in 1964 which reserved the interior portion of the valley as Mākua Military Reservation. This also provided a 65-year lease to the Army for the lower portion of the valley. The cost to the Army was $1.00 for the term of the lease. The coastal area was granted from the federal government to the State as a public trust and allowed for public access and use, except when training activities would present a danger.

At War in Mākua

To this day, military activities continue at Mākua. The local population of the Wai‘anae Coast has swelled to over 40,000 people. The Army controls approximately 4,200 acres in Mākua Valley and uses the land 75% of the time. Training activities have included ground maneuvers, amphibious landings, naval and air bombardment, helicopter strafing, mortar and artillery fire, mustard gas and napalm use. They also include open burn and open detonation (OBOD) of old ammunition and other waste from military sites all over O‘ahu. Bombing and fires caused by live-fire training have damaged cultural sites, burned forest and killed many of the endangered plant and animal species native to the valley. Lead and various cancer-causing toxins have been introduced into the air, land and water.

“What have the military accomplished? The total destruction of Mākua Valley! What have they gained? Nothing! . . . It is a gross stupidity for not returning Mākua to the rightful owners!”
Ivanhoe K. Naiwi, Letter dated April 5, 1988
In 1955 the Army said that Mākua Valley was so contaminated that it was not practical to return it. However, this did not stop them from continuing to harm the environment. In 1977 the military again pointed out how expensive it would be to de-dud Mākua. Peter Apo, who was then working with the Wai‘anae Hawaiian Heritage Center, replied, “Even if it takes a hundred years to restore the Valley it obviously makes more sense to start now than to keep bombing.” But the Army insisted. In 1988 they wrote that it “would not be feasible in either terms of time or money, to clear unexpended ordnance from Mākua Military Reservation.”

In November of 1992, the Army applied for a permit from the Environmental Protection Agency to permanently conduct open burn/open detonation (OBOD) of waste munitions. Following public outcry, this request was withdrawn. However, 95% of the OBOD done at Mākua is classified as “training” and is exempt from EPA regulations. This type of “training” continues to this day and is not subject to public review.

Department of Defense policy is to return target lands only after all explosives are cleared. Continuing the training exercises and burnings will guarantee that cleaning Mākua Valley will eventually be impossible, making it unsafe for anyone to ever use the land. This has occurred in Waikāne Valley, where the military leased land from the Kamaka family for live ammunition training. When they were through, the Marine Corps never cleaned up the land as it promised in the lease. Instead, they claimed that the Kamaka property was now too hazardous for human use and too costly to clean up. The condemned land, was made it off-limits to the public, including the Kamaka family, forever!

At War with a Culture

Rare and endangered plants and animals struggle to maintain their habitats within Mākua. Another form of life is also endangered: the people. "You know, we gave back Germany and Japan after the war and returned the land to the people who we were at war with. Now what’s the big deal with Mākua Valley?" [Interview No. 9]

Relationship to the land is primary in Hawaiian culture. But, public access to the Mākua Valley is limited and under strict military control. Because of Mākua’s bounty and beauty, Hawaiians and other local residents have always been drawn there to practice a simple and traditional lifestyle. Despite consistent live-fire training in the upper valley, some have found refuge at Mākua beach. For centuries, Kānaka Maoli have gone
ABOVE: Mākua Council, 1996. Houseless Kānaka Maoli made Mākua their pu’uhonua, a place of refuge, healing and peace. Photo: Ed Greevy

RIGHT: The military painted a white cross on the church and bombed it. All that remains is the local cemetery and rubble. Photo: Kyle Kajihiro

BELOW: The state evicted families living on Mākua Beach June 18, 1996. It bulldozed homes and barricaded the beach. The graffiti on the barricade reads “No Hawaiians -- No Aloha.” Photo: Kyle Kajihiro
resisters, “the Mäkua Six,” argued that the land belonged to the Hawaiian nation and that they had the right to exercise traditional and customary practices of subsistence, culture and religion. Several hundred people rallied in support of the Mäkua residents.

As many as 300 people were living at Mäkua Beach in the fall of 1995. Some had been there for years. Most, who called it home, found it a healing place, a puʻuhonua. On June 18, 1996, 16 people were arrested when state authorities evicted families from Mäkua Beach. State bulldozers demolished their dwellings. The news media was barred from covering this eviction, the third eviction at Mäkua since 1983.

Despite these repeated attempts to deny them their traditional practices at Mäkua, Kānaka Maoli continue to exert their cultural rights there. On July 12, 1997, nearly ten thousand mourners gathered at Mäkua Beach to bid farewell to singer/songwriter Israel Kamaka-wiwo’ole and scatter his ashes at sea. Two days later, the Marine Corps announced plans to land nearly 700 California-based troops in those same waters and march them across the beach for war games in the valley. Strong community opposition forced the cancellation of the September exercises, but the Marine Corps has stated that it intends to conduct amphibious landings at Mäkua twice a year.

In the more than 50 years of battle training, the war against the traditional life of Mäkua has not been a “training exercise.” In other areas of the world where the U.S. military has engaged in a real war, it has, at the end of hostilities, returned the land to the people
ABOVE: Kanaka Maoli students from the University of Hawai‘i clear weeds at Mäkua to reopen a stream bed. Efforts like these will be critical to the restoration of ahupua‘a. Photo: Kyle Kajihiro

The military occupation of Mäkua Valley, their use of the beach, the destruction of sacred sites and endangered species habitats, and the consistent eviction of people from Mäkua Beach are all harming the ‘āina and slowly killing the culture. This is a form of cultural genocide - if the means for practicing the culture is destroyed, the culture eventually is destroyed.

In August of 1997, two Kanaka Maoli cultural structures were restored at Mäkua. Pōhaku (stones) were gathered for the building of a paepae (foundation) named Papa Honua (Earth Foundation) and a for a kuahu (altar) dedicated to Kanaloa, the god

In 1996 when the State announced plans to evict the residents of Mäkua, the community organized to fight the eviction. The State succeeded in evicting the families, but their spirit lives on. I mua Mäkua! Photo: Ed Greevy
ABOVE LEFT: Volunteers from Koa Mana, Mālama Mākua, Hui Mālama o Kāneʻākī, AFSC, and friends restore a paepae (foundation) named Papa Honua. Once there was a Kanaka Maoli settlement here. Photo: Bonita Chang

ABOVE RIGHT: Native Hawaiian practitioners constructed a kuahu (altar) dedicated to Kanaloa. Photo: Kyle Kajihiro

LEFT: When Senator Inouye came out in support of the marines landing at Mākua, the Hawaiʻi Ecumenical Coalition and other organizations organized a vigil at Punchbowl Cemetery. The vigil highlighted the similarities between the desecration of Punchbowl by vandals and the military desecration of Kanaka Maoli burials at Mākua and elsewhere. Photo: Kyle Kajihiro

If you wish to help to free Mākua, contact:

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Phone: (808) 696-2823

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AFSC - Hawaiʻi
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Honolulu, HI 96822.
Historic sites in Mākua and Kahanahaiki Valleys by several archaeologists and illustrated in Rosendahl’s report as Fig. 12-1. Site distributions at Mākua Ahupua‘a.
Ē, Makua,
Fishing companion of Kawelo,
Awake!
It is day.
The sun is rising.
Bring hooks and lines and net.
The paddles rattle.
The bailers rattle.
Ē, Makua, awake!
It is day.*