

A Brief Overview of Militarization and Resistance in Hawai‘i

A DMZ-Hawai‘i / Aloha ‘Aina Paper By Kyle Kajihiro
March 1, 2007

The Roots of the U.S. Militarization of Hawai‘i: Invasion and Occupation

The militarization of Hawai‘i was driven by the desire of U.S. leaders to access markets and resources in Asia and was amplified by their ideology of white supremacy. In the 19th century, the independent Kingdom of Hawai‘i had entered into treaties with dozens of other nations, including the United States, Great Britain and France. But due to its strategic location and role as a vital refueling and provisioning stop for nearly all

transpacific commerce Hawai‘i was a highly coveted prize to U.S. leaders with imperial ambitions.

In 1873 U.S. military spies picked Waimomi, which is one of the original names of Pearl Harbor, as the “key to the central Pacific Ocean.”¹ In 1887 *haole* (white foreigner) business leaders and descendants of missionaries staged a coup d’etat and forcibly enacted the “Bayonet Constitution”, which dramatically shifted power to the *haole* minority and disenfranchised most of the non-white population.² This enabled the leaders of the coup to adopt a new Treaty of Reciprocity that ceded exclusive use of Pearl Harbor to the U.S. in exchange for dropping tariffs on Hawai‘i grown sugar, a move that was strongly opposed by Hawaiian nationals.

When Kalakaua’s successor, Queen Lili‘uokalani tried to restore provisions of the former Hawaiian constitution, the *haole* coup leaders conspired with the rogue U.S. Minister John Stevens to land U.S. troops. On January 17, 1893, U.S. Marines from the U.S.S. Boston backed the conspiracy to oust the Queen. To avoid bloodshed and preserve Hawai‘i’s neutrality, the Queen temporarily yielded to the U.S. troops, expecting that leaders in Washington, D.C. would disavow the military action in accordance with

its treaties, and restore Hawai‘i’s sovereignty. But despite President Cleveland’s acknowledgement of the illegality of the U.S. military invasion of Hawai‘i, the U.S. did not act to restore the Kingdom.

Despite successful protests by Hawaiian nationals to defeat two attempted treaties of annexation to the U.S., the outbreak of the Spanish-American War triggered the full-scale military occupation of Hawai‘i.³ On July 6, 1898, Congress passed a simple joint resolution that authorized the seizure of Hawai‘i. Virtually

overnight, Hawai‘i became the hub of the United States’ vast military enterprise in the Pacific and a launching pad for its imperial thrust into Asia.⁴

U.S. occupation brought unbridled military expansion in Hawai‘i. Construction of a naval base at Pearl Harbor began in 1900, destroying 36 tradi-



In the photo above, troops from the U.S.S. Boston come ashore in Honolulu in 1893 at the request of U.S. Minister and annexationist John L. Stevens.

“[PEARL HARBOR] IS THE KEY TO THE PACIFIC, IT IS THE GEM OF THESE ISLANDS.”

-GENERAL JOHN M. SCHOFIELD, 1873

tional Hawaiian fishponds and transforming what was once a rich food source for O‘ahu into a vast naval station. This was soon to be followed by the construction of Fort Shafter, Fort Ruger, Fort Armstrong, Fort DeRussy, Fort Kamehameha, Fort Weaver and Schofield Barracks. General Macomb wrote “Oahu is to be encircled with a ring of steel.”⁵ From 1898 to 1941, Hawai‘i was ruled by a *haole* oligarchy that controlled the government and business and a military occupation that provided the



In the above cartoon from 1898 a woman (Hawai'i) and Uncle Sam are getting married, kneeling before the minister (McKinley) who is reading from a book entitled "Annexation Policy". The bride seems ready to bolt. Behind the couple stands Morgan (jingo) with a shotgun. Courtesy of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Archives.

force to control the majority non-white population of Kanaka Maoli and Asian settlers in Hawai'i.

World War II and the Expansion of U.S. Empire

The Japanese surprise attack on U.S. military targets in Hawai'i on December 7, 1941 provided the long-anticipated opportunity and the justification for the military to impose martial law in Hawai'i.⁶ Many of Hawai'i's Japanese community leaders were arrested, put in detention centers and shipped off to concentration camps in America. Large tracts of land were seized through presidential executive orders, swelling military land holdings to its peak of 600,000 acres (242,806.8 hectares) in 1944.⁷

The transition from World War II to the Cold War transformed Hawai'i from a remote military outpost of the United States into the center from which the U.S. projected its power outward across the Pacific. Tragically it turned Hawai'i into both a casualty of and an accomplice in the building of empire.

The U.S. Pacific Command (PACOM), the oldest and largest of the United States' unified commands, was established in Hawai'i on January 1, 1947.⁸ The

PACOM area of responsibility stretches over more than 50 percent of the earth's surface and encompasses 43 countries, 20 territories and possessions and 10 U.S. territories, 60 percent of the world's population, the world's six largest armed forces, and five of the seven worldwide U.S. mutual defense treaties.⁹ PACOM has 300,000 military personnel in the theater (one fifth of the total U.S. active-duty military force), including 100,000 forward-deployed troops in the western Pacific.¹⁰ Kanaka Maoli activist Ka-

“OAHU IS TO BE ENCIRCLED WITH A RING OF STEEL.”
-GENERAL MACOMB, 1911

leikoa Kaeo described the US military in Hawai'i as a monstrous *he'e* (octopus), its head represented by the Pacific Command headquarters, its eyes and ears the mountaintop telescopes, radar facilities, and underwater sensors, and its brain and nervous system the supercomputers and fiber optic networks that crisscross the islands. The tentacles of the *he'e* stretch from the west coast of North America to the East Coast of Africa, from Alaska to Antarctica.

The U.S. Military In Hawai'i Today

Today the enormity of the U.S. military presence in Hawai'i is staggering:

- ▲ According to the U.S. Department of Defense, the combined military branches in 2004 have 161 military installations in Hawai'i (4 large, 4 medium and 153 small installations).
- ▲ The military controls 236,303 acres (95,626.6 hectares) in Hawai'i¹¹, or 5.7 percent of the total land area.
- ▲ On O'ahu, the most densely populated island, the military controls 85,718 acres (34,688.2 hectares) out of 382,148 acres (154,646.9 hectares), or 22.4 percent of the island.
- ▲ The military also controls vast stretches of ocean, including Defensive Sea Areas in Kane'ohe Bay, from Pearl Harbor to Koko Head, and off the west shore of Kaua'i.¹² The entire Hawaiian archipelago is surrounded by 210,000 square miles (54,388,733.8 hectares) of ocean military operating areas and 58,599 square miles (15,176,787.7 hectares) of military special use airspace.¹³
- ▲ According the State of Hawai'i in 2003 there were 44,458 active duty military per-

sonnel and 56,572 military dependents living in Hawai‘i, the combined total of which amounted to 8 percent of Hawai‘i’s population of 1,257,608.¹⁴ Combined with the 116,000 retired military personnel living in Hawai‘i¹⁵, the military-connected population totaled 217,030, or 17 percent of Hawai‘i’s total population. The 2000 U.S. Census found that Hawai‘i has the largest percentage of its population in the military among the states.¹⁶

Key Issues

Taking Land

The military taking of land is a major source of conflict in Hawai‘i. In 1898, the U.S. seized nearly 1.8 million acres (728,420.5 hectares) of government and crown lands of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i. These so-called “ceded lands” are held in a quasi-trust status by the Federal government and the State. In 1959, when the U.S. incorporated Hawai‘i as a state, the military retained control of approximately 180,000 acres (72,842 hectares) of the “ceded lands”, while the rest reverted to the State as trustee.¹⁷ Approximately 30,000 acres (12,140.3 hectares) of the land returned to the State were simultaneously leased back to the military for 65 years.¹⁸ In most cases, the rent paid by the military was a token one dollar for the term of the lease. Today, more than 112,173 acres (45,394 hectares), or roughly 54 percent of military-controlled land in Hawai‘i consist of the former government and crown lands of the Hawaiian nation.¹⁹ During World War II other private parcels of land were seized by the U.S. to further its war aims.

Threats to Native Hawaiian Cultural Survival

The displacement of Kanaka Maoli from their ancestral lands has resulted in the loss of subsistence and cultural resources. The cultural conflict over ‘*aina* (the Hawaiian word for land) goes much

deeper than a simple matter of property rights or land use. There is a fundamental contradiction between Kanaka Maoli and western world views about the environment itself. In the Kanaka Maoli cosmology, the ‘*aina* is the ancestor of the people, the physical manifestation of the union between the gods Papanānumoku (Papa who gives birth to islands), the earth-mother, and Wakea, the sky-father. As a living ancestor, the ‘*aina* could not be owned, sold or defiled. By severing the genealogical ties between Kanaka Maoli and their ‘*aina* and by disrupting their ability to practice and transmit their culture to future generations, the military seizure of land continues to

have profound impacts on the cultural survival of Kanaka Maoli. Military destruction of land is a form of violence against the people themselves.

Forced cultural assimilation of Kanaka Maoli has contributed to cultural disintegration. Statistics illustrate the legacy of this occupation: Kanaka Maoli have the highest rates of homelessness, poverty, disease and crime in Hawai‘i.²⁰ They have the lowest educational achievement and life ex-

pectancy in Hawai‘i.²¹ Kanaka Maoli make up 36.5 percent of persons incarcerated for felony charges.²²

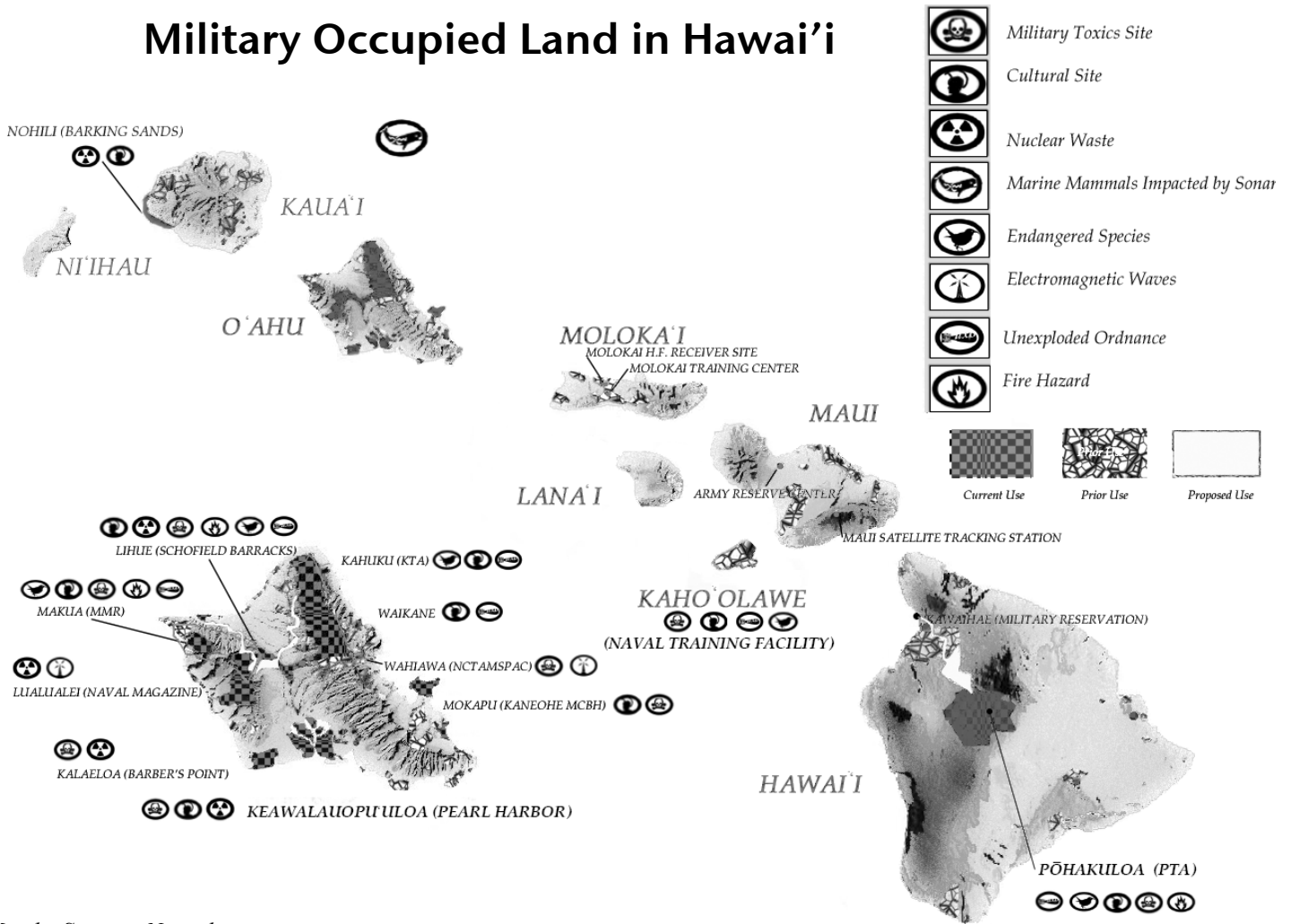
In the century since the U.S. occupation began, the flood of settlers stripped Kanaka Maoli of their self-determination. The scenario resembles the population crises of other occupied nations like Tibet, East Timor, and Palestine. A combination of economic, cultural and political pressures has pushed nearly one third of Kanaka Maoli into diaspora.

By generating population transfer of U.S. nationals to Hawai‘i, the military has also had a profound impact on Hawai‘i’s culture and political demographics. Between 1900 and 1950, migration to the Hawaiian Islands from the continental U.S. and its territories totaled 293,379.²³ The current military-connected population of 17 percent, including dependents and veterans, has



Kaho‘olawe island was bombed by the Navy for fifty years before protests brought the destruction to a stop.

Military Occupied Land in Hawai'i



Map by Summer Nemeth

nearly eclipsed the Kanaka Maoli population of 239,655 or 19 percent of the total population.²⁴

Environmental Contamination

The U.S. military is arguably the largest industrial polluter in Hawai'i. The 2004 Defense Environmental Restoration Program report to Congress listed 798 military contamination sites at 108 installations in Hawai'i, 96 of which were contaminated with unexploded ordnance. Seven of the military contamination sites were considered "Superfund" sites.²⁵ According to the Navy, the Pearl Harbor Naval Complex alone contains approximately 749 contaminated sites and is treated as a giant superfund site.²⁶ These numbers are low because they do not include contaminated sites that have not yet been listed for cleanup responses. Military installations made up five of the top ten polluters in Hawai'i responsible for releasing persistent, bioaccumulative and toxic (PBT) chemicals, which include lead, dioxins, mercury, and polycyclic aromatic compounds.²⁷

Military contamination hazards include unexploded ordnance, various types of fuels and petroleum products; organic solvents such as perchloroethylene and trichloroethylene; dioxins and PCB; explosives and propellants such as RDX, TNT, HMX and Perchlorate; heavy metals such as Lead and Mercury; napalm, chemical weapons, and radioactive waste from nuclear powered ships. Cobalt 60, a radioactive waste product from nuclear-powered ships, has been found in sediment at Pearl Harbor. Between 1964 and 1978, 4,843,000 gallons of low-level radioactive waste were discharged into Pearl Harbor. 2,189 steel drums containing radioactive waste were dumped in an ocean disposal area 55 miles from Hawai'i.²⁸ The military recently disclosed that from 1941 to 1972 it had dumped more than 8000 tons of chemical munitions, including blistering agents mustard gas and lewisite, in the shallow seas off O'ahu island. Fishermen have been burned when they accidentally raised this toxic catch.

For many years, the military denied ever using depleted uranium in Hawai'i. However in January 2006, activists forced the Army to admit the presence of depleted uranium contamination on O'ahu.

Military contamination sites are concentrated in and pose the greatest threat to Kanaka Maoli, immigrant Asian and Pacific Islanders and other low-income

communities. This is called "environmental racism". Many Asians and Pacific Islanders subsist on fish and shellfish from Pearl Harbor's contami-



Graphic from Hawaii Business, February 2005

nated waters. The Wai'anae district, where a third of the land is occupied by military installations, has the largest concentration of Kanaka Maoli and some of the worst health, economic and social statistics in Hawai'i. In the late 1980s, powerful Navy radio transmitters in Lualualei valley were suspected to be the cause of a childhood leukemia cluster in the nearby Hawaiian Homestead.

Threats to Native Ecosystems and Endangered Species

Hawai'i is considered the endangered species capital of the world. Because of its geographic isolation, unique species and ecosystems evolved in Hawai'i over millions of years. More than 1,100 species, which represents around 82% of all native species in Hawai'i, are endemic to the islands.

Military training activities threaten native ecosystems with fires, erosion, the alteration of habitats and the introduction of alien species. Makua valley, for instance, where the military has conducted live fire training for more than 70 years, is home to over 40 endangered species. More than 270 military fires over the last 10 years have destroyed most of Makua's dryland forests except for the highest ridgelines.

Violence and Crime

Although reliable statistics on military related crime and violence in Hawai'i have not yet been compiled, there are numerous anecdotal accounts of tragic cases of violence involving military personnel including:

- ▲ This year an Army sergeant has been charged with the beating death of his 10-year old step daughter.
- ▲ In June 2002, a Pearl Harbor sailor violated a restraining order and brutally beat his wife to death with a skillet and stabbed her mother to death.
- ▲ In 1997, a Schofield Barracks soldier was sentenced to life for murdering a transgender prostitute.
- ▲ In October 2005, a Schofield Barracks soldier was charged with the murder of his pregnant ex-girlfriend, who is also a soldier.

Prostitution

As with other military base towns, prostitution in Hawai'i is fueled by the large military presence. During World War II, the military regulated prostitution in designated red-light districts. In recent years, prostitution has become more decentralized. A proliferation of strip clubs, massage parlors, escort services, hostess bars as well as street prostitution caters to military, tourist and local customers. One former prostitute estimated that in the down-

"THERE IS NO BETTER WAY OF SECURING THE LOYALTY OF SUCH PEOPLE THAN TO INCORPORATE THEM IN OUR MILITARY FORCES."

-GENERAL SUMMERALL, 1920s

town area at least 60% of those seeking prostitutes were from the military, and in Wahiawa, near Schofield Barracks, she estimated that the percentage jumped to 70 to 80%. She recounted how she was strangled by a military client until she hit him and escaped. According to an agency that helps prostitutes to get out of commercial sexual exploitation (CSE), Hawai'i is particularly susceptible to CSE and the trafficking of women and children due to the large tourism industry and military presence.²⁹

Militarization of Youth

Hawai'i has historically had a high rate of military recruitment. In 2006, Hawai'i ranked 13th among states in the number of Army recruits per 1000 youth. Military recruiters have targeted low income communities of color who lack educational and career opportunities and are especially vulnerable to the economic enticements offered by recruiters.

Military recruiters now have unprecedented access to students through the military recruiter access provisions and student personal information disclosure requirements of the No Child Left Behind Act. Furthermore, the Pentagon has hired private data mining companies to compile a database on students.

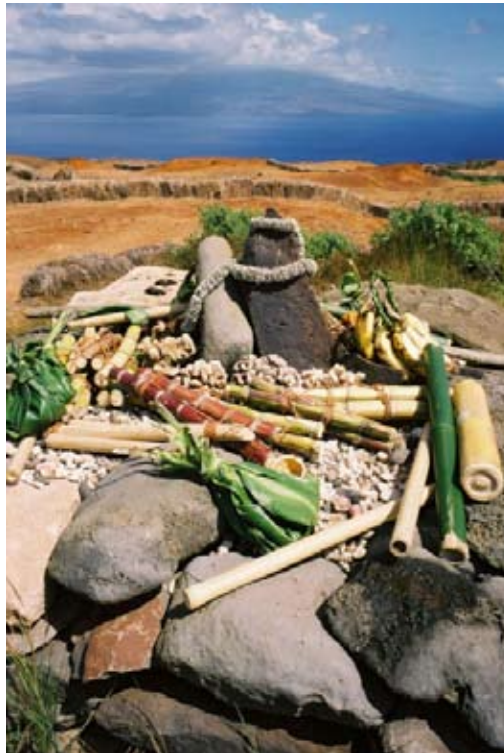
In Hawai'i, the militarization of youth through reserve officer training corps (ROTC) programs, the proliferation of military imagery in popular culture and aggressive recruitment practices have also functioned to accelerate the assimilation and Americanization of local populations. In the 1920s, Commanding General Summerall of the Army Hawaiian Department created Hawai'i's second Reserve Officers Training Corp (ROTC) unit at McKinley High School, which was nicknamed "Little Tokyo" for its predominantly Japanese student body.³¹ Summerall wrote "There is no better way of securing the loyalty of such people than to incorporate them in our military forces."³²

Economic Dependency

Hawai'i's extreme economic dependency on military spending has distorted the social, environmental and cultural priorities of policy makers, a condition some have likened to an addiction. Since September 11, 2001, U.S. military spending in Hawai'i has increased. As a result, in 2003, military expenditures, the second largest "industry" in Hawai'i behind tourism reached \$4.5 billion, a 13 percent increase over 2002. "In 2003, Hawaii ranked second in the United States, with \$2,566 in per-capita defense spending... behind only one other state, Virginia, home of the

Pentagon, headquarters of the U.S. Department of Defense."³³ The high rate of federal spending in Hawai'i has boosted industries like construction which have been detrimental to the preservation of cultural sites and natural resources. Housing subsidies for military personnel are indexed to market values, which tends

to inflate the cost of housing, exacerbating homelessness in recent years. Military personnel in Hawai'i do not pay state income taxes. So the costs of public services are subsidized by local residents. This adds particular strains on the public school system which depends on state general funds. Federal Impact Aid that is supposed to offset the cost of providing services for military families, only makes up 1/10th of the actual cost of educating military children.



Sacred offerings on a rain ko'a (shrine) on Kaho'olawe. Photo: Franco Salmoiraghi.

Past Resistance to Militarization in Hawai'i

Kaho'olawe

Kaho'olawe measures approximately 28,800 acres and is the smallest of the eight major islands in the Hawaiian archipelago. The island is sacred to Kanaka Maoli as an embodiment of the sea god Kanaloa. Kaho'olawe was also key to Polynesian navigation and settlement of Hawai'i. Kaho'olawe contains some of the richest cultural sites in Hawai'i. Originally part of the government lands of the Hawaiian Kingdom, the Navy seized the entire island for target practice on December 8, 1941.

In 1976, the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana launched the first of several rescue landings on Kaho'olawe to protest the bombing. After years of direct action, demonstrations and lawsuits, President George H.W. Bush stopped the bombing in 1990. \$400 million was appropriated for the clean up unexploded ordnance and restoration of the cultural sites and native ecosystems of the island, but the Navy failed to clean up the island to its stated goals. Instead only 1/10th of the island is now safe for human use. The movement to protect Kaho'olawe was seminal to the Hawaiian cultural renaissance, the emer-

gence of the contemporary Hawaiian sovereignty movement, and other demilitarization struggles.

Makua Valley

The Kaho‘olawe movement helped to inspire resistance to the Army in Makua valley on the west end of O‘ahu. The name “Makua” means “parents.” It is believed to be one of the places where Papa and Wakea came together to create life on Earth. Makua has been used as a military training area since 1929. In 1942, the remaining residents of Makua were forcibly evicted by the military. Their homes and a church were used as targets. All types of munitions have been fired and disposed of in Makua. As a result the valley is littered with unexploded ordnance and toxic chemicals. The rich cultural sites and native forest have been destroyed or seriously damaged. Since the 1970s Kanaka Maoli have fought for the clean up and return of Makua valley. The struggle continues today as the Army pushes for expanded training in Makua.

Halawa Valley / H-3 Freeway

The H-3 Freeway project was conceived in 1963 as a defense highway to connect the Marine Corps Base in Kane‘ohe with Pearl Harbor. Although activists successfully asserted cultural and historic preservation laws to block the freeway from passing through Moanalua Valley, the project was realigned to Halawa Valley instead. Despite initial successes at challenging the new route, activists were trumped by Senator Daniel Inouye who passed legislation that exempted the H-3 project from applicable environmental laws. The Halawa Coalition, which was led by Kanaka Maoli women, occupied the Hale-o-Papa heiau – a women’s temple in the path of the freeway - from April 1992 until their arrest in August of that year. Hale-o-Papa was saved but other sacred sites were destroyed. After a 37-year struggle, the H-3 was completed at a cost of \$1.3 billion, or \$80 million-a-mile, the most expensive roadway ever built.³⁴

Nohili / Pacific Missile Range Facility

In the early 1990s, a coalition of Native Hawaiian and environmental organizations mobilized to block the Army Strategic Target System (STARS) missile launches at the Pacific Missile Range Facility (PMRF).³⁵ At issue were Kanaka Maoli burial sites in the sand dunes of Nohili, endangered species and contamination and accidents from the missiles. Thirty-five protesters were arrested for civil disobedience

during the first two missile launches. Although the STARS program was de-funded by President Clinton in 1996, new threats emerged as PMRF’s capabilities were expanded³⁶ and as work on missile defense programs later accelerated under George W. Bush.³⁷ Post-September 11 security measures have blocked cultural, subsistence and recreational access to beaches at Nohili and have sparked new



Kanaka Maoli youth protest against a Marine Corps amphibious landing at Bellows Air Force Base in Waimanalo.

activism. The Navy is expanding ocean training maneuvers and intensifying its use of sonar, which would be extremely dangerous to marine mammals.

Waikane Valley

Waikane in windward O‘ahu contains many Kanaka Maoli sacred sites and traditional agricultural production. During World War II, the military leased 1,061 acres in Waikane and adjoining Wai‘ahole for maneuver and live fire training until 1976. The Kamaka family, which owned 187 acres of the most heavily impacted areas, asked the Marines to clean up the unexploded ordnance as stipulated in the original lease. Instead, the Marine Corps condemned the parcel over the objections of the Kamaka family.

In 2003, the Marine Corps announced plans to conduct “jungle warfare” training in Waikane as part of its war on terrorism in the southern Philippines. This triggered strong protest from the community. In a public meeting held in March 2003, the community demanded that the Marine Corps cleanup and return the Kamaka family lands in Waikane. Another important development was the solidarity from Filipinos/

as living in Hawai'i who challenged U.S. intervention in the Philippines as well as the training in Waikane. The Marines eventually canceled their plans for training in Waikane citing safety concerns, but they have not cleaned up the unexploded ordnance.³⁸

Pohakuloa

Pohakuloa on the island of Hawai'i is a vast plain of lava fields and native dryland forest located on the "saddle" between three sacred mountains - Mauna Kea, Mauna Loa and Hualalai. Established in 1956, the Pohakuloa Training Area (PTA) encompasses 116,341 acres (47,080.6 hectare), of which 84,815 acres (34,322.8 hectares) are "ceded lands". PTA is the largest U.S. military training area in Hawai'i and the largest outside of the continental United States. Although the range is used for all types of live fire training, thousands of cultural sites have been identified within the PTA. It is the home to 21 endangered species of plants and animals. With Army proposals to expand the training area by 23,000 acres, Pohakuloa has again become a focus of resistance.

Current Military Expansion Threats

The U.S. strategic rivalry with the China, its hostility towards North Korea, the "second front" war on terrorism in Southeast Asia and the realignment of US military forces and bases in East Asia has created added pressures to militarize Hawai'i.

Stryker Brigade

The Army is proceeding with plans to station a Stryker Brigade Combat Team (SBCT) in Hawai'i would bring 328 Stryker vehicles, 800 additional soldiers plus their dependents, and 28 construction projects to upgrade training, maintenance and housing facilities. One reporter called it "the biggest Army construction project in Hawai'i since World War II."³⁹

Strykers are 20-ton light armored combat vehicles designed for rapid deployment and suppression of ur-

ban unrest. They will be stationed along with a new squadron of C-17 cargo aircraft and new high speed attack ships to provide transport for the brigade.

The Army plans to seize an additional 25,000 acres (10,117 hectares) of land - 1,400 acres (566.5 ha) in Central and Northern O'ahu and 23,000 acres (9307.6 ha) adjacent to the Pohakuloa Training Area



Strykers are intended for rapid deployment and for suppression of urban civil unrest.

on Hawai'i Island. The extent of the Strykers' impacts would stretch the entire length of the North Shore of O'ahu. On Hawai'i Island, the Stryker trail would go from the port at Kawaihae on the western flank of Mauna Kea to the Pohakuloa Training Area. Despite the discovery of numerous hazardous chemicals from live fire training, proposed munitions use in Hawai'i would increase by 25%.

The Army's own studies concluded that cultural sites will be destroyed and that there will be serious impacts due to fire, erosion and other environmental damage.

Navy University Affiliated Research Center (UARC)

The University of Hawai'i (UH) administration wants to establish a Navy University Affiliated Research Center (UARC) at UH. The proposed Navy UARC would conduct Navy weapons related research, including development and testing of various components of the "star wars" missile defense program and other advanced military research programs. This would have harmful impacts to Mauna Kea and Haleakala where astronomy and astrophysics research is conducted, and the sand dunes of Nohili and the oceans off the north shore of Kaua'i, where missile launches and undersea warfare and sonar experiments are conducted.

A coalition of students, faculty and community launched a series of actions to protest the UARC that culminated in a week-long occupation of the UH President's office demanding cancellation of the UARC. The UH Administration has contin-

ued to pursue the UARC, but contract negotiations have been delayed due to the continued protests.

“Star Wars” Missile Defense

Hawai‘i is used to test a number of missile defense programs including the Groundbased Mid-course Defense, the Aegis Missile Defense, and Theater High Altitude Area Defense programs. U.S. officials have continuously demonized North Korea as an “axis of evil” country that poses a threat to Hawai‘i in order to generate fear and justify the expansion of these missile defense programs.

The ‘star wars’ facilities span the island chain: Pacific Missile Range Facility in Nohili, radar tracking stations at Koke‘e, Makaha Ridge, and Ka‘ena Point, the Air Force Optical Tracking Station on Haleakala mountain, and the supercomputer at Kihei, Maui. Lasers are tested on Haleakala. Target missiles are launched from Kaua‘i.

Aircraft Carrier Strike Group

One of the largest militarization threats facing Hawai‘i is the proposal to homeport an aircraft carrier strike group in Hawai‘i or Guam.⁴⁰ A carrier strike group would include a nuclear powered aircraft carrier, a cruiser, two destroyers, an attack submarine and a fast combat support ship and 74 aircraft. In addition to the 3000 officers and crew of the carrier, the air wing would bring 2,600 persons. Overall, the carrier strike group could increase the population by as many as 20,000 military personnel and their family members.

Because Pearl Harbor is not large enough to homeport an aircraft carrier, major dredging and construction would be required, causing adverse environmental impacts. Due to the insufficient air base facilities to house the fighter air wing, politicians have offered to turn over the recently closed and transferred Barber’s Point Naval Air Station back to the military. The final decision will be determined in the near future.

Ku‘e: Current Resistance to Militarization

DMZ-Hawai`i / Aloha ‘Aina

DMZ-Hawai‘i / Aloha ‘Aina is a network of organizations and individuals working to demilitarize and reverse the negative impacts of the enormous military presence in Hawai‘i. The network was conceived at the Rethinking Militarism in Hawai‘i



The Save UH / Stop UARC coalition of students, faculty and community members occupied the University of Hawai‘i administration building to protest the UARC.

Conference in 2000 organized by American Friends Service Committee that brought together activists representing various movements and communities in Hawai‘i as well as international resource people. The DMZ-Hawai‘i / Aloha ‘Aina network united environmental, peace, anti-nuclear, womens, religious and Kanaka Maoli sovereignty and independence groups for the common purpose of demilitarization. The term “DMZ” stands for Demilitarized Zone, a term reclaimed from its usual military context. “Aloha ‘Aina” expresses the core Kanaka Maoli value of “love for the land” and places Hawaiian cultural and political struggle at the center of this diverse grouping.

The four key demands / points of unity of DMZ-Hawai‘i / Aloha ‘Aina are: (1) No Military Expansion in Hawai‘i; (2) Clean up and return military occupied lands; (3) Develop sustainable economic alternatives to military dependency; and (4) Provide just compensation for harm caused by the military in Hawai‘i.

The main campaigns of DMZ-Hawai‘i / Aloha ‘Aina are: opposing the Stryker Brigade, opposing the Navy UARC at the University of Hawai‘i, supporting the struggle for clean up and return of Makua valley.

The public awareness and opposition to the Strykers have grown. Actions have included pickets, marches, civil disobedience, lawsuits and Kanaka Maoli cultural forms of resistance. The 9th Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that the Army violated the National Environmental Policy Act in stationing the Stryker Brigade in Hawai‘i and ordered a halt to most projects until a proper environmental impact statement was conducted.

International solidarity has been a crucial element in the movement in Hawai'i. Hawai'i groups have taken actions to support the movements in Vieques, the Philippines, Guam, Okinawa, and the Marshall Islands. Hawai'i activists have participated in solidarity exchanges with groups in Korea, Japan, Okinawa, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, Guam, the Marshall Islands and the U.S. continent.



Demonstration at Schofield Barracks. Photo: Kapono Souza

Conclusion:

- ▲ The military occupation of Hawai'i violates Hawai'i's sovereignty and the human rights of Hawaiian nationals. Demilitarization must be a key element of a restorative justice process in Hawai'i.
- ▲ The military presence in Hawai'i generates serious and widespread negative social, cultural and environmental impacts and consequences. Of particular concern are forms of military environmental racism and threats to Kanaka Maoli cultural survival.
- ▲ Resistance to U.S. militarization in Hawai'i continues because of the enduring and cumulative harms and injustices caused by the military in Hawai'i. The U.S. must clean up and return the lands that it wrongfully occupies in Hawai'i, beginning with the areas that are most hazardous to human health and the environment.
- ▲ The military in Hawai'i is a lynchpin of U.S. empire in the Pacific that exports war and conflict around the world. Solidarity efforts, especially within the U.S. will

be essential for the success of demilitarization efforts in Hawai'i, which in turn would contribute to peace in the Pacific region.

Endnotes

- ¹ Brian McAllister Linn, Guardians of Empire: The U.S. Army and the Pacific, 1902-1940 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997) 6.
- ² The infamous "Bayonet Constitution" was never properly ratified. It shifted power to the white foreigners, barred Asian immigrants from voting and naturalizing and imposed property and income requirements for voting, which resulted in the disenfranchisement of the majority of Kanaka Maoli.
- ³ See Noenoe K. Silva, Aloha Betrayed, Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004). Also, David Keanu Sai, "American Occupation of the Hawaiian State: A Century Unchecked," Hawaiian Journal of Law & Politics 1 (Summer 2004) 46-81.
- ⁴ With the defeat of Spain the U.S. added the former Spanish colonies of Puerto Rico, Cuba, the Philippines and Guam to its list of imperial possessions. American Friends Service Committee, Resistance in Paradise: Rethinking 100 Years of U.S. Involvement in the Caribbean and the Pacific (Philadelphia: American Friends Service Committee and the Philadelphia School District, 1998).
- ⁵ General Macomb, quoted in Ian Lind "Ring of Steel: Notes on the Militarization of Hawaii." Social Process in Hawaii 31 (1984/85) 25.
- ⁶ See J. Garner Anthony, Hawaii Under Army Rule (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1955).
- ⁷ Lind, 36-37.
- ⁸ U.S. Pacific Command <<http://www.pacom.mil/about/history.shtml>>
- ⁹ U.S. Pacific Command <<http://www.pacom.mil/about/pacom.shtml>>
- ¹⁰ U.S. Pacific Command 1998.
- ¹¹ U.S. Department of Defense, Office of the Deputy Under Secretary of Defense (Installations & Environment), Base Structure Report (A Summary of DoD's Real Property Inventory), Fiscal Year 2004 Baseline <<http://www.acq.osd.mil/ie/irm/index.html>>
- ¹² U.S. Pacific Command <<http://www.pacom.mil/about/pacom.shtml>>
- ¹³ U.S. Department of Defense, Under Secretary of Defense (Personnel and Readiness) Report to Congress - Implementation of the Department of Defense Training Range Comprehensive Plan (February 2004) <<https://www.denix.osd.mil/denix/Public/News/OSD/i366/366Final04.pdf>>
- ¹⁴ State of Hawai'i, Department of Business, Economic Development & Tourism, State of Hawai'i Data Book 2003, Table 1.03 – Resident Population by Military Status, 1990 to 2003. In 2003, the Department of Defense listed 54,036 active duty military personnel in Hawai'i. U.S. Department of Defense, Department of Defense Base Structure Report Fiscal Year 2003 Baseline.
- ¹⁵ Stanford BC Yuen, E-mail to undisclosed recipient, Subject:

- “REVISED: Your Military in Hawaii Briefing” U.S. Pacific Command briefing to Neighborhood Boards (November 8, 1999)
- 16 Timothy Hurley, “State’s military percentage tops nation,” Honolulu Advertiser, August 25, 2003.
- 17 Sheryl Miyahira, “Hawaii’s Ceded Lands,” UH Law Review 3-4 (1981-82): 101-148.
- 18 Judy Lee Rohrer, Hawaii and the Military: The Conflict Over Land unpublished report (Honolulu: American Friends Service Committee Hawai`i Area Program, 1987).
- 19 Commander in Chief, U.S. Pacific Command, Hawaii Military Land Use Master Plan (1995). The figure of 54% may be low since does not include “ceded land” that was returned to the State after 1959 and then leased by the military.
- 20 40% of the homeless or houseless are Kanaka Maoli; 31% of Kānaka Maoli receive annual incomes less than \$4000; 32% drop out of high school; only 5% have college degrees; and approximately 27% of welfare recipients are Kanaka Maoli. Office of Hawaiian Affairs, State of Hawai`i, Native Hawaiian Data Book (Honolulu: Office of Hawaiian Affairs, 2000) Table 5:4.
- 21 Kanaka Maoli have the highest mortality rate, the lowest life expectancy (4 years less than all other groups in Hawai`i), the highest cancer mortality rate, the highest stroke mortality rate, the highest diabetes mortality rate, and the highest infant mortality and suicide rates. Kekuni Blaisdell, “The Health Status of the Kanaka Maoli,” Asian American and Pacific Islander Journal of Health 1:2 (Autumn 1993).
- 22 Office of Hawaiian Affairs, State of Hawai`i, Table 7.13.
- 23 David Keanu Sai, “American Occupation of the Hawaiian State: A Century Unchecked,” Hawaiian Journal of Law & Politics 1 (Summer 2004) 63.
- 24 State of Hawai`i, Department of Business, Economic Development and Tourism, State of Hawai`i Data Book (Honolulu: State of Hawai`i, 2000) Tables 10.4, 10.21, 1.03, 1.29.
- 25 U.S. Department of Defense, Defense Environmental Restoration Program, Annual Report to Congress, Fiscal Year 2004 database search for Hawai`i projects at <http://derparc.egovservices.net/Derparc_FY04/do/home>
- 26 Navy Environmental Public Affairs Office, Commander Navy Region Hawaii, Site Summary Evaluation Pearl Harbor Naval Complex, Hawaii, Fact Sheet 6 June 2002.
- 27 U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, Hawaii Report: 2003 Toxics Release Inventory, May 2005.
- 28 Nadine Scott, “Pearl Harbor Problems with Radioactive Waste,” Honolulu Star Bulletin, April 4, 1979.
- 29 Sisters Offering Support <<http://www.soshawaii.org/cseproblem.html>>
- 30 <http://www.nationalpriorities.org/militaryrecruitment>
- 31 It is important to note that the first ROTC program in Hawai`i was established in 1916 at Kamehameha Schools, a private school for Native Hawaiian elites. Walter Wright, “Kamehameha to drop Junior ROTC,” Honolulu Advertiser, January 18, 2002.
- 32 Linn, 155.
- 33 Jacy L. Youn, “Tanks a lot: increased federal spending fuels the local economy,” Hawaii Business, 50/8 (February 2005):24-30.
- 34 Stu Glauber, “Long, winding road of controversy over H-3,” Honolulu Advertiser, April 13, 1992; Kris M. Tanahara, “Halawa Valley still in dispute,” Honolulu Advertiser, April 6, 1993; Kris M. Tanahara, “Marchers mark delay in Halawa Valley work,” Honolulu Advertiser, August 30, 1993. Pat Omandam, “Rocky Road: Even with the opening at hand, many Hawaiians say protests may not end,” Honolulu Star Bulletin, December 4, 1997; Mike Yuen, “Open Road: After decades of controversy, the 16.1-mile highway will soon open for business,” Honolulu Star Bulletin, December 3, 1997.
- 35 The Pacific Missile Range Facility website states: “PMRF is the world’s largest instrumented multi-environment range capable of supporting surface, subsurface, air, and space operations simultaneously. There are over 1100 square miles of instrumented underwater range and over 42,000 square miles of controlled airspace.” <<http://www.pmrfl.navy.mil/>>
- 36 U.S. Department of the Navy, Pacific Missile Range Facility Enhanced Capability Final Environmental Impact Statement (December 1998).
- 37 U.S. Army Space and Missile Defense Command, National Missile Defense Deployment Final Environmental Impact Statement (July 2000); U.S. Army Space and Missile Defense Command, Theater High Altitude Defense (THAAD) Pacific Test Flights Environmental Assessment (December 20, 2002); U.S. Army Space and Missile Defense Command, Ground-Based Midcourse Defense (GMD) Extended Test Range (ETR) Final Environmental Impact Statement (July 2003); and Department of Defense, Missile Defense Agency Ballistic Missile Defense System (BMDS) Draft Programmatic Environmental Impact Statement (September 1, 2004)
- 38 U.S. Marine Corps, Draft Environmental Assessment (EA) for the Proposed United States Marine Corps (USMC) Jungle Warfare Training Waikane Valley, Oahu, Hawaii (September 2004).
- 39 William Cole, “Army to transform on O`ahu,” Honolulu Advertiser (April 22, 2002).
- 40 Commission on Review of Overseas Military Facility Structure of the United States, Report to the President and U.S. Congress (May 9, 2005) 28-29.



Unexploded ordnance in Makua. Photo: Ed Greevy



Links:

- ▲ DMZ-Hawai'i / Aloha 'Aina: dmzhawaii.org
- ▲ AFSC Hawai'i: afschawaii.org
- ▲ Save UH / Stop UARC: stopuarc.info
- ▲ KAHEA: kahea.org
- ▲ 'Ilio'ulaokalani Coalition: ilio.org
- ▲ Malu 'Aina: malu-aina.org
- ▲ Na Maka O Ka 'Aina (film and video): namaka.com
- ▲ Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana: kahoolawe.org
- ▲ Hawaiian Independence Blog: hawaiiankingdom.info
- ▲ Hawaiian Kingdom: hawaiiankingdom.org
- ▲ Nation of Hawai'i: hawaii-nation.org



DMZ-Hawai'i / Aloha 'Aina
 c/o the American Friends Service Committee Hawai'i
 Area Program
 2426 O'ahu Avenue, Honolulu, HI 96822
 (808) 988-6266
 dmzhawaii.org

This paper was made possible with the generous support of the Hawai'i People's Fund, the Funding Exchange and the Unitarian Universalist Fund for a Just Society.