

## **The Struggles of the Waiāhole-Waikāne Community Association**

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*Talk given to Ethnic Studies students in ES 381 (Social Movements in Hawai'i) course, on Monday, November 16, 1998.*

*Senator Bob Nakata discussed the Waiāhole-Waikāne struggle and the role of Ethnic Studies Students and teaching staff in that fight. The importance of leadership, democracy, strategy, and tactics in community organizing were highlighted.*

*Those elements, essential in any social struggle, reinforced one another to bring about a significant victory that now serves as a testament to the role of ordinary human beings as active agents of social change.*

### **Coming Home to Development Struggles**

Let me give you some personal history first. I'm assuming you folks have read about the Waiāhole-Waikāne struggle and know where the valleys are. I grew up one valley Kāne'ōhe side of Waiāhole-Waikāne, but in the days that I was growing up, the only elementary and intermediate school in the area was the Waiāhole School, so I went to school there. I worked in the taro patches from the age of six. Since then, I've moved on, but I want to go back to working in the taro patch. I have great respect for the Reppuns who got Ivy League education but are doing taro farming. I was highly skeptical that they would do it, but they have done it. So I grew up in that area and went to school in Waiāhole, and I was very familiar with that community.

After I went to seminary in New York City, where I did field placement and worked in Spanish Harlem – that was my introduction to community organizing work – I came home in 1972. I guess that's before most of you were born; I'm starting to feel old. When I had left Kahalu'u, it was really a rural area, with farms – pretty much a farming community. When I came back in '72 it was under a lot of development pressure – after statehood, the development of this island spread out in all directions from Honolulu outward, and somewhere in the early 1970s, it got out to Kahalu'u. When I came home, I saw – when I was a teenager, I wasn't paying any attention to – these developers' movements that were happening in the state. While I was a teenager in the fifties and sixties, the City had come up with a development plan for Kahalu'u which billed it as a second city. What you see now in 'Ewa today was planned for Kahalu'u – the deep-draft harbor, the oil refineries, the resorts, the major sewage treatment plant, the major marinas, things like that, were all planned for Kahalu'u when I grew up.

Several groups had formed while I was on the mainland, who were working to stop these developments. So when I came home, I joined them and one of the major struggles was the H-3. But as I got involved, there was work cleaning up Kāne'ōhe Bay. We worked changing those development plans – specifically, there were several major developments that we stopped. There was a 1600 unit development plan on the back of Waihe'e Valley which we stopped, and several smaller ones. From that I got some of that training and experience on how to slow down or stop these kinds of developments, and that's where I became acquainted first with Pete Thompson, who was one of the Ethnic Studies instructors here, Terri Keko'olani and Kehau Lee. They spent a lot of their time out there in Kahalu'u with us – I'll refer back to that later. But in 1972-1973, as a result of the work I did in Kahalu'u, a planner told me, "Watch out for Waiāhole-Waikāne." We had gone through a planning process; I was going around to different parts of the community asking, "Okay, how do you want to see our community develop?" We were trying to be proactive – and developers were not cooperating.

### **Waiāhole-Waikāne**

When I got to Waiāhole, in the summer of 1973, there were around 30 people at the meeting – normally only 10-12 people who would come to the meeting, that was all I wanted to get discussion going. But the reason why there were so many people in Waiāhole was that they were seeing surveyors coming

up and down their roads and out of their fields, and there was an agricultural economist going around talking to people asking them their attitudes about development. From that meeting, I got to know Bobby Fernandez, who was a young fellow only 27-28 years old, on disability from Hawaiian Electric, where he was a boiler mechanic, but he also happened to be the President of the PTA [Parents-Teachers Association], and the only person I knew who had any kind of leadership capacity in Waiāhole.

The first place we went to was the Land Use Commission where we found a letter from Mrs. Loy McCandless Marks, the owner of the property, and she had plans for 7,000 condo units in those two valleys, which at that time probably had 120 families, tenant farmers, Filipino laborers, and some Hawaiian families there. Then we talked to Life of the Land, which was one of the active environmental groups at the time. We talked to Legal Aid, which at that time, played a much higher role than it does now in terms of community struggles. We were checking things out, but we finally called a meeting in April of 1974, and we had meetings with the developers.

We later found out how much power we were up against – there were City officials and legislators, there were judges, there were labor leaders, all involved with the developers. The name of this development company was Windward Partners. We found out really quickly what we were up against.

When we called that first meeting, practically every adult in the community turned out, and many of the children also. One of the things I've learned from these kinds of experiences is that the more threatened people feel, the easier it is to get them organized. But they do have to have some faith that they can do something. The experiences that Kahalu'u felt then, those people had seen us win a number of smaller battles, so when we came in to help organize them in Waiāhole, they turned out. Bobby and I felt the whole weight of the community on us, expecting that we would be able to help them. We told them this was a struggle which all of us must participate in. There was a tremendous amount of fear. Most of the people were tenants on month-to-month leases. On a month-to-month lease, all you're entitled to is 28 days' notice and you're supposed to vacate. The tenants at that point refused to be leaders of that organization. The first steering committee meeting had people who were small landowners, Hawaiian *kuleana* owners (owners of small pieces of land), and there was one family – the Charlot family – if you don't know that family, it's the one of the artist who painted that mural on the UPW [United Public Workers] Hall. His son and daughter-in-law lived in Waiāhole, and they got involved. It was not a real representative leadership at that time; it was more middle-class, more secure people who became the leaders in that early period.

Now I had called Pete to come out; he had to go to China, but he sent a couple of other people to help. We were careful about who we involved there. Partly because, in my experience in Kahalu'u – and this is instructive for those of you who might want to get involved in this kind of community struggle – in those days, when the outsiders came in, they were so active that over time, the community leadership pulled away. This was especially so since the Ethnic Studies students were at a higher academic level, they knew how to go down to the City to check out the records and all that, and they'd come back and report. The community people would start to feel as if it wasn't their organization, and they pulled back. We didn't want to see that happen in Waiāhole, so we had just a few people come and Pete sent us a few students to help.

One of the first things we did was to have a demonstration downtown. We knew that the savings and loans were funding this development and we went down to demonstrate against them right in the middle of downtown, on Bishop Street. What we did differently from most of the other struggles going on at the time was that we took just residents – the normal procedure was for a lot of outside help, particularly students, to be there. While we were demonstrating, one of the students who went by yelled out, "Hey, where's your support?" At that point, we didn't want it and we didn't need it. We needed the people to stand up for themselves. And they did, but they also needed support.

At the same time, we had put together a slide show with Pete Thompson's help an excellent slide show. We trained the people themselves to take that slide show. They were going all over the place – into the schools, and to the unions, even if we were up against union leaders. Whatever civic groups wanted to hear about Waiāhole-Waikāne, we sent people to go and talk to them. And then we had a petition drive, and in 20 days, they turned out and they got 20,000 signatures. This was a community of people most of whom didn't have even a high school education – most of them had a junior high school education at the most. But this was their cause, their homes, and their livelihoods that were threatened; they had motivation to go out there and try to protect their own community.

There was a hearing in October of that year, 1974, with the Land Use Commission. That year was a very exciting and important year in the history of land use in Hawai'i; The Land Use Commission was doing something called the five-year boundary review – they actually had abandoned that since that

year because it provided a valuable forum for all kinds of communities across the state. The review was the time that all the developers would put their plans on the table. All the communities across the state knew at the same time what was happening not just in their communities, but in other communities. That's where Pete and the Ethnic Studies students played a very important role. They and several other groups connected all of these community struggles statewide. They were sending people to Kaua'i, sending people here, sending people to Kona, to Maui, wherever these land struggles were happening. But the linkage was through Pete and the Ethnic Studies Program. That's the kind of role this Program played at that point in the struggle.

## **Strategies and Responses**

We really worked at two things – the community, and leadership in charge. Before the hearing, there was an upheaval within the community association itself. Pete had been talking to a lot of non-farming tenants – Filipino families, and Hawaiian families who were not fighting and who actually were most at-risk. One of the slogans was “keep the land in agriculture,” but the tenants were not farmers, so they were very vulnerable. Pete and some others worked very hard with those tenants, saying, “You folks should be in the leadership of the association.” And I guess that would get everybody hyped up to do that: a group of them getting into one steering committee meeting, and demanded to be a part of the leadership, almost forgetting that several months earlier, they had refused to be a part of the leadership. But that was an important turning point, because, as it was, it was those tenants who would carry the struggles from that point on. The farmers turned out to be more conservative in the end and pulled back from the more radical actions that we had to do later on in the struggle.

One key thing happened shortly after that. I had never voted in the steering committee – I would get into the arguments and the discussions. Others from the outside had participated in the voting. One of the residents noticed that I hadn't voted on a key issue, and he asked, “Well Bob, what's your stand on this?” And I said, “I support what you're doing, and I support you in your struggle, but this is your community and your life, so I shouldn't be voting.” After that, all the outsiders stopped voting. And that was the key thing that kept the control of the struggle in the hands of that steering committee, the residents. We participated fully in the arguments, and there were times you'd feel that some kind of physical fight would break out, the arguments were so intense, but that never happened, and the leadership really remained in the hands of that community.

The first major hearing we had, we turned out about a thousand of people, in King Intermediate School, from all across the island. Support groups from other struggles were there. While the hearing was going on, we had prepared 30-35 people to testify at the hearing. We said, “Look, you speak pidgin, but the Land Use Commission is made up basically of local people who will understand pidgin, so never mind – just practice and be ready to make your testimony.” We had a Japanese lady who couldn't really speak English very well, and probably was a bit little mentally out of touch with reality, Mrs. Matayoshi, but she wanted to testify, and her testimony was a gem to the valley. There was a Hawaiian lady maybe in her eighties who testified in Hawaiian, and we had someone translate for her.

We did those kinds of things – we had everybody ready, and we had rehearsed, but there was another group that was going around to all of these hearings with their bullhorns, megaphones, whatever, and literally taking over the hearings. We didn't want that to happen in ours, because we had spent so much time preparing. It's another example of how the leadership stayed in the community and a testament to Bobby Fernandez. Shortly after the hearing started, I noticed that the people on my right had a bullhorn, and Bobby was on my left. I tapped Bobby and I said, “Bobby, I think they're going to take over the hearing.” He immediately reached behind me and tapped the fellow on my right. And he just said, “We're in charge.” That was the end of that.

Things got a little rowdy in the hearing, though – a lot of emotions. We asked for a recess so we could calm down our supporters. We explained to them that we wanted the hearing to proceed because we had good testimony; everybody was prepared. The Chairman of the Land Use Commission was kind of worried about what would happen, he came out, and we told him, “Look, don't worry, we'll control the situation.” The hearing was reconvened, but what I didn't know was that the Chairman had agreed to let our group come in with their signs and circle the room once and chant, and then everything would be o.k. That's how it turned out, everybody coming in with all the signs and leaving. But as a result of that hearing, Windward Partners was turned down, 9 to nothing, by the Land Use Commission.

That organizing effort led to victory, but it was not a permanent victory. The landowners then sent in one of our present City Council people, John Henry Felix. Felix had been head of the Board of Water Supply, chief engineer or whatever it was – you know, chair of the board. Anyway, somebody called with an anonymous tip to Bobby Fernandez that Felix was a member of Windward Partners. At that point, we didn't know it. We called him on conflict of interest, and he resigned from the Board of Water Supply, and became openly the leader of Windward Partners. He came and started negotiating with the steering committee. And he was good as man as chief negotiator. But the developer was this man named Joe Pao, kind of infamous back in those days for ignoring anything environmental. He was really the power behind Windward Partners. He pulled John Henry Felix out of the negotiations two months after it started, which probably was a good thing for us, because John Henry Felix was working out a compromise which would've allowed the development of Waikāne but not Waiāhole. That was the foot-in-the-door tactic that he was using. But fortunately, Pao was too impatient to let the process go forward. He pulled John Henry out, and the negotiations came to a stop. They tried to get the redesignation of Waikāne by itself, and we were able to rally again and defeat that. That was in 1976, but the trouble was still not over after two years.

What happened next was that Mrs. Marks raised the rent – the rents were actually quite low. Some rents were proposed to be raised 700%, seven times. We went to court trying to stop people before then. We got people to refuse to pay the increase. We started collecting the rent money and put it into an escrow account. Almost everybody in the valley did that. Their next move then was to evict everybody from the valley and we were in court to prevent the eviction.

Remember now, at that point, all they needed was one months' notice and then you're out, but during the course of the struggle, we could see the people getting stronger and stronger. One of the chants in our demonstrations was "Hell no, we ain't moving." And the demonstrations would strike the people in this way – over the course of this struggle, you could almost see roots growing out of their clothes into the ground. They were getting that determined that they would not move out, and in this time period, when you were going to court, we had eviction drills. Later we had people surrounding the house with locked arms, and we called the media in to demonstrate what we would do. There were some discussions that, when you look back, sound kind of funny – what would we do if they came in from the ocean? We couldn't figure that one out. Then we were like, what if they come in with helicopters? My uncle was a farmer, and he took this suggestion seriously – I don't know how many others did – but one idea was to climb the roof. He said that, "If they come by the air, we go climb the roof." But the serious one was "What if they really do come, then what do we do?" There were long discussions about blocking all the roads leading up into the valley, but none of those things worked because there were people who lived on the ocean side of the highway. Finally, somebody suggested that you have to blockade the highway. Eventually, that is what was done.

In the court process, we kept losing – the District Court, Circuit Court – but when we lost at the Circuit Court, the judge said, "I'll let you stay on the land while your case proceeds to the Supreme Court if you will post bond," but he didn't say what the bond would be. He set another hearing at which he would set the bond price. There was a major meeting of the steering committee at that point, and the recommendation to what they called the general membership, the whole membership of the association, was not to post bond, no matter what it was. It was about this time of the year, when the holidays were coming up. The analysis basically was: here's Thanksgiving, Christmas, the New Year, and the opening of the Legislature, we are about as strong as we can be, let's bring it on now. That was the recommendation. We don't post bond, and bring on the confrontation. The vote was 39-36. There had been other things along the way where people gradually fell away, but that was the vote, and the 36 became inactive at that point, so the 39, the rest of them, continued the struggle. And this is where I have to give Bobby Fernandez a lot of credit, as a young man, 28, 29 years old, 30 at the most by this time – his closest friends were part of the 36, rather than the 39, and yet he continued the leadership of that association. He didn't let friendship stand in the way of what he knew had to be done. He had to take radical action to block the eviction. And it was serious, because a good friend of mine, was a woman, a sergeant at the police department, and she was the first to be in charge of the children – when the eviction happened, she was supposed to take care of the children at the Ko'olau Boys Home. On the police side, the plans were very serious. Bobby deserves a lot of credit for staying with the struggle and, in a sense, divorcing himself from his friends and continuing in the leadership.

Anyway, we got about 500 people into those valleys over New Year's weekend, because Mrs. Marks said that January 3rd was the eviction date. Five hundred people were camped up in the valley, some from outside who came in for support, to generate support from all kinds of people, including church

groups. January 3rd, I think, was a Monday, and from that day, we saw that people were leaving, going back to work or whatever. I was instructed to call the Governor's Office – I was the liaison to the Governor's Office – and tell Governor Ariyoshi or his assistant that if he didn't step in to resolve the issue, we would bring everybody down to the Capitol Lawn and camp out there. They asked for a couple of days in which to try and work something out, and they started talking with Mrs. Marks.

But on the – I believe it was the 5th, Wednesday – we had CB radio operators working with us, and they were watching all the police stations. That week, we were meeting every night, late into the night, working on strategy. At about a quarter to eleven, or twenty to eleven, we got a call from the CB operators saying that the police were moving in, or moving out of the police station. We said, "Watch for a couple of more minutes, then call us back." They called and said, "They are coming." We put our plan into action – sounded the alarm, everybody went down Waiāhole Valley and blocked Kamehameha highway on both ends. It was kind of funny; I saw everybody going to Kāne'ōhe side, nobody was going to Kahuku side. I went to Kahuku side and found one or two cars standing, with this trucker blocking one lane, and nobody blocking the other lane. I pulled my Volkswagen over and blocked that lane. Luckily, no car came along to ram it. We were there alone about 16 minutes before anyone else came, but all the action was happening on the other end anyway.

Finally, the police were able to convince us that it was a false alarm, that they weren't coming. We lifted the blockade at about 1:30 in the morning. The interesting thing was that we stood by Waiāhole Poi Factory, singing "Hawai'i Aloha" with our arms out, holding hands, and the drivers – you'd expect they'd be mad, being stopped for two, three hours – but they went by cheering us.

After that, the Governor finally really stepped in, and about a month later, announced that the state was purchasing Waiāhole, and the families could remain there. I'm looking at that: "The limits of what is 'possible' for you to do is restricted by the narrowness of your outlook" (a quote by Lenin written on the chalkboard in ES 381). If you have the guts to fight, you can do a lot of things. I don't think when we started, that people dreamed that they would be blockading the highway, a federal crime, in order to preserve their rights to stay on the land.

Eventually, the Supreme Court, I forget on what grounds, did say that the people could remain. And they're still there, the families, they're still there, they just got their 55-year leases earlier this summer. It took a long time to wrap up the leases, but they had them.

## **Lessons in Political Mobilization**

I mentioned several lessons along the way. In the organizing effort, there were four of us that I think were critical: Bobby Fernandez, Pete Thompson, Michael Hare, and myself. Bobby was the natural leader although he was the youngest of the tenants in the association. His instincts on what to do were really very good. I did mention that the sheriff actually called on January 3rd, the day of the eviction drill, he called ahead to say, "I'm calling, but I'm only delivering them [eviction notices], I'm not evicting you guys." He wanted to be sure of his own safety. When he called to say he was coming, we marched down Waiāhole Valley Road, more than 500 people marching down, we found the ladies were leading us with a chant, and somebody had been evicted. I didn't realize the intensity of the emotions. The chanting helped because it released a lot of the stress and pressure, but it was just constant. All the way from where we were, the headquarters were 4 miles down the highway. The chanting was going on, and all the way to headquarters.

All of those kinds of techniques were important. Bobby was important. Pete was great not only for his research abilities and the energy that he had, but he's probably one of the more charismatic leaders this state has had over the last couple of generations, a tremendous talker. He was the one who, if anyone could be called a rabble-rouser in that group, he was, because he had a fine sense of how far to push so things wouldn't go too far. He always could pull back, that's important, to get out of there. As for my role, I was a minister, more like a good shepherd, trying to keep everybody together as long as we could. I think the four of us were critical. And teamwork is important, even in this kind of struggle.

One of the other important lessons that I mentioned earlier is that we really talked things out. There were a lot of disagreements within that steering committee, but once a decision was made, because of the critical nature of the situation, everybody should stick behind it. Whether you agreed or not in the discussion, if a decision was made, stick behind it. There was tremendous unity in that struggle. From the larger perspective, I think that ended the development going down the coast from Waiāhole on down. Hopefully it ended almost forever – there will be houses built and stuff like that, but any major

development, I'm hopeful, has stopped as a result of the stuff that we did in Waiāhole and Kahalu'u. All the things that I've mentioned to you, the deep-draft harbor and whatever, have been wiped off the maps now – the Windward Second City, the Kahalu'u Second City. I think it's a real credit to these people, especially in Waiāhole-Waikāne.

I think too that this serves as an inspiration for people across the state to stand up and fight the developers. In the eighties, there were golf courses; now we seem to be in a time where development is really down. I expect that when the economy in Asia picks up again, we're going to face development pressures again. I really believe that a lot of groups have formed now who can help to either block it or control it, so that this state remains a relatively good place to live.

There were elements of the Hawaiian community that came into this struggle, but because Waiāhole-Waikāne had Hawaiians, Filipinos, and Okinawan farmers, we didn't bill it as a Hawaiian struggle, although many Hawaiian groups did come in too. I'm not sure what the implications of all that are. We did build it very deliberately that way on a class basis and not as an ethnic struggle.

### **Excerpts from Replies to Commonly Asked Questions**

About the Revolutionary Communist Party's (RCP) involvement in the struggle, Pete and others very close to him did become members of the RCP. The reaction of the people were very interesting; you would think that they would reject that. But they were feeling so isolated by the power structure that many of them said, "If this is what communism is, I want it too. (Or something to that effect.) They're the only ones that care for us." That did play an important role, the discipline that they brought. I won't deny that they played a very important role.

But after this victory, they tried to use this Waiāhole-Waikāne struggle as a launching pad for other struggles, and it was about that time that Mao died. And to me anyway, they lost a little bit of perspective, and started pushing something they called the "Mao Memorial." And that's when they alienated themselves from the community. I'm not sure that people were safe now that they didn't have to depend on these people, or whether they actually pushed them out. The RCP may've lost touch with reality – that's my sense. That was a time when Pete lost that fine touch and took it one step too far.

I'm remembering an incident that happened, and in a sense, the RCP faction wasn't wrong – several years after the state purchased the land, something came up. Remember the state purchase was Waiāhole and not Waikāne. There were some discussions going on with what to do with Waikāne. The developers made an offer through Michael Hare, who was the attorney to all of them, and represents Bishop Estate frequently these days.

We have to give Mike his due; he left one of the biggest law firms in town and practically starved himself to work with us. He was in his early twenties, married with a young child, working as a night guard at one of the hotels to support himself, but very staunchly for the community. The important contribution he made is to tell us, "The lawyer is not here to keep you out of trouble; the lawyer is here to get you out of trouble." He said that in order not to inhibit the action.

But the approach was made too much on settlement on the Waikāne side. And one of the ground rules for the steering committee was that no-one talks to the other side alone. Mike violated that, and Pete was calling him on that violation. But the steering committee, maybe tired of the struggle, and maybe it was different circumstances, sided with Mike. An attempt was made at a resolution. Pete folks were kicked out. But there was no resolution, and two months ago, the City Council through Steve Holmes purchased Waikāne. So stray pieces kept falling in place years after the main struggle was over, but it still carries the impact. That community had different leadership a few years ago just on the waterfront; this time the leadership was with the Reppun brothers who back then [in the 1970s] were ostracized because they were outsiders coming in. Their friends were in that more moderate group of 36. Their leadership was not really accepted by the old-timers. But the Reppuns are the ones who carried the water fight.

It's a very interesting history. It almost makes me feel that even though I'm a Christian minister, there's a lot to the Hawaiian religion, the Hawaiian perception about natural power. Kualoa, a few miles down the road, and I've always felt that Kualoa does have a special power of mana. It's almost as if the mana emanating from Kualoa is helping protect that part of the land.

On overdevelopment in Kāne'ohe, those of us who acted in Kahalu'u didn't want to see Kahalu'u turn into something like Kāne'ohe. Kahalu'u had slowly developed as a rear guard action. Waiāhole is where it's at and we were going to stop it here. One of the earlier things we did in Kahalu'u was the flood control bridge in Kahalu'u. A friend of mine died when we were in a group fighting that flood control

project. We knew we're going to lose, so our group called us traitors. We said, "Okay, we'll say yes if the bridge is only two lanes, and no high arch allowed," and the City agreed to that. I think we were right – the project was coming through anyway, because about fifteen out of sixteen groups in the community wanted it, and we were the only holdouts. So there's a history to that too.

The regional Native Hawaiian groups in Kahalu'u fighting development were doing it because they were protecting their kuleana. The development plans with a deep-draft harbor and all of that threatened their as property – that's why they organized.

On the recent water rights struggle, having the land gives these people a stronger leg to stand on, but each time, the struggle seems as though it will go on forever. The three Reppun brothers, who have gotten into the water rights struggle (they speak fluent Hawaiian now), I think, are the next generation of leaders of that part of the island.

The Waiāhole-Waikāne struggle was hard to do but also very exciting, and very rewarding. And for me, the reward was not so much the victory on the land but to see the development of people like Bobby Fernandez, like Hannah Salas, the housewife, who, in the course of that struggle, became one of the sharpest and strongest political analysts and political leaders that I've ever seen. I tried to get her involved with bigger issues outside of Waiāhole, but that she didn't want to do.

At one point, we had a big benefit concert. Actually, that occurred in 1977, after the blockade. We wanted to raise money, so we had this concert, with all kinds of Hawaiian entertainers. Traffic backed up from Waiāhole Poi Factory to the Wilson Tunnel. I know because I had to come here [Honolulu] to address a church group and take a Native American back out to Waiāhole.

The reason I believe the eviction never happened was that we generated so much support. They were going to use the National Guard in the eviction; the officers in the Kāne'ōhe Police Station had made it very clear that they wouldn't participate in an eviction. There was a film crew that came up to Waiāhole and used that struggle as one part of a three-part documentary. One was in California, in the grape fields; the other was an Eskimo struggle up in Alaska. It was a big story; probably in Hawai'i the biggest movement since the labor movement.

On Cayetano's recent efforts to purchase the Waiāhole water ditch for \$9.7 million, we are trying to stop the bill. We were wondering if there was some kind of glitch so they couldn't purchase. We were heavily involved in the creation of the water struggle and the amendment to the state constitution. I sat on the original commission for seven and a half years, still just the beginning part of the Waiāhole ditch-digging. I could only serve two terms consecutively. I was off before the full-blown case started.

*Transcribed by Ida Yoshinaga*