Lovely Hula Lands

Corporate Tourism and the Prostitution of Hawaiian Culture

Burdened with commodification of our culture and exploitation of our people, Hawaiians exist in an occupied country whose hostage people are forced to witness—and, for many, to participate in—our own collective humiliation as tourist artifacts for the First World.

HAUNANI-KAY TRASK
Aloha Mai.

Aloha kākou. I greet you as a genealogical descendant of the Hawaiian islands of Māui and Kaua‘i, as an American-subjugated Native, as part of a non-self-governing people—Hawaiians—and as a Polynesian member of the pan-Pacific movement for self-determination that has been growing in our part of the world for the last 40 years. I am speaking today as a Native Hawaiian woman in struggle.

I am certain that all of you have heard of Hawai‘i. But I doubt that the history of how Hawai‘i came to be territorially incorporated, and economically, politically, and culturally subordinated to the United States is known to many of you. Nor is it common knowledge that Hawaiians have been struggling for over 20 years to achieve a land base and some form of political sovereignty on the same level as American Indians. Finally, I would imagine that most Americans could not place Hawai‘i or any other Pacific island on a map of the Pacific. But despite all this ignorance, five million Americans will vacation in my homeland this year and the next, and so on into the foreseeable capitalist future. Such are the intended privileges of the so-called American standard of living, ignorance of, and yet, power over, one’s relation to Native peoples.

Thanks to post-war American imperialism, the ideology that the United States has no overseas colonies and is, in fact, the champion of self-determination the world over, holds no greater sway than in the United States itself. To most white Americans, then, Hawai‘i is there to use, to take, and above all, to fantasize about long after the experience.

Just five hours away from California, Hawai‘i is a thousand light years away in fantasy. Mostly a state of mind, Hawai‘i is the image of escape from the mundane and visitation to daily American life. Hawai‘i—the word, the vision, the sound in the mind—is the fragrance and feel of soft kindness. Above all, Hawai‘i is “she,” the Western image of the Native “hula” in her magical allure. And if luck prevails, some of “her” will rub off on you, the visitor.

This fictional Hawai‘i comes out of the depths of Western sexual sickness which demands a dark, sin-free Native for instantaneous gratification between imperialist wars. The attraction of Hawai‘i is stimulated by slick Hollywood movies, saccharine Andy Williams music, and the constant biological deprivations of the native American life. Tourists flock to my Native land for escape, but they are escaping into a state of mind while participating in the destruction of a host people in a Native state.

To Hawaiians, daily life is neither soft nor kind. In fact, the political, economic, and cultural reality for most Hawaiians is hard, ugly, and cruel.

Today, glass and steel shopping malls with layered parking lots stretch over what was once the most ingloriously irrigated taro lands, feeding millions of Hawaiians over thousands of years. Large, delicately ringed long ago with well-stocked fishponds, are now heavily diked and cluttered with jet skis, windsurfers, and sailboats. Multi-story hotels disregard over six million tourists a year upon stunningly beautiful (and easily polluted) beaches, closing off access to locals. On our major islands of Hawai‘i, Māui, O‘ahu, and Kaua‘i, meanwhile, military airfields, training camps, weapons storage facilities, and exclusive housing and beach areas remind the Native Hawaiian who owns Hawai‘i—the foreign, colonial country called the United States of America.

But our situation has brought more than physical transformation to our lush and ancient islands. Visible in garish “Polynesian” revues, commercial ads using Hawaiian dance and language to sell vacations and consumerism, the truncating of our sacred bō'ō‘ia (temples) and burial grounds as tourist recreation sites, a grotesque commercialization of everything Hawaiian has damaged our people psychologically, reducing their ability to control their lands and waters, their daily lives and the expression and integrity of their culture. The cheapening of Hawaiian culture (e.g., the traditional value of aloha as reciprocal love and generosity now used to sell everything from cars and plumbing to securities and air conditioning) is so complete that non-Hawaiians, at the urging of the tourism industry and the politicians, are transformed into “Hawaiians at heart,” a phrase that speaks worlds about how grotesque the theft of things Hawaiian has become. Economically, the statistic of 10 percent of twelve million means that land and water, public policy, law and the general political attitude are shaped by the ebb and flow of tourist industry demands. For Hawaiians, the inundation of foreigners decreases marginalization in our own land.

In the vanguard of collaboration, the State of Hawai‘i pours millions into the tourism industry, even to the extent of funding a booster club—the Hawai‘i Visitors Bureau—which media propaganda tells locals, “the more you give” to tourism, “the more you get.”

And what Hawaiians “get” is population densities in some areas like Hōkūle‘a, a housing shortage because of staggering numbers of immigrants from the continent! United States and from Asia, a soaring crime rate as unscrupulous locals prey on flauntingly rich tourists, and environmental crises, like water depletion, which threaten the entire archipelago.

Rather than stem the flood, the state is protecting a tidal wave of twelve million tourists by the year 2010, and encouraging space facilities and battleship homeporting as added economic “security.”

For Hawaiians, this latest degradation is but another stage in the agony that began with the firstfootfall of European explorers in 1778, shattering two millennia of Hawaiian civilization characterized by an indigenous way of caring for the land (called malama ʻāina in Hawaiian). Introduced diseases from syphilis and tuberculosis to smallpox, measles and leprosy killed Hawaiians by the hundreds of thousands, reducing our Native population (from an estimated one million at contact) by 95 percent in just over a hundred years. Gunboat diplomacy by Western powers and missionary duplicity against the Hawaiian chief forced the transformation of Hawaiian land tenure from communal use to private property by the middle of the 19th century. Called the Great Mahe‘le, this dispossession of the Hawaiians’ birthright—our lands, or birthlands—allowed foreigners to own land. As the Hawaiian people continued to die off in multiple epidemics throughout the 19th
Forcedly ended by American military power, we Hawaiians were rendered politically and economically powerless by the turn of the century. Today, our people continue to suffer the effects of American colonization even after the alleged democratization of the state. Preyed upon by corporate tourism, caught in a political system where we have no separate legal status from which to control our land base (over a million acres of so-called "trust" lands set aside by Congress for Native beneficiaries but leased by their alleged "trustees," the State of Hawai'i, to non-Natives), Hawaiians have been reduced to 20 percent of the resident population in our own land. Despite the presence of a small middle class, Hawaiians as a people register the same profile as other indigenous peoples controlled by the United States: high unemployment, catastrophic health problems, low educational attainment, large numbers institutionalized in the military and prisons, occupational ghettORIZATION in poorly paid jobs, and increasing out-migration that amounts to diaspora. The latest affliction of colonialism - corporate tourism - has meant a particularly insidious form of cultural prostitution. The bula, for example, has been made ornamental, a form of exotica for the gaping tourist. For from encouraging a cultural revival, as tourist industry apologists contend, tourism has appropriated and prostituted the accomplishments of a resilient interest in things Hawaiian (e.g., the current use of replicas of Hawaiian artifacts like fishing and food implements, canoes, helmets and other symbols of ancient power to decorate hotels). Hawaiians, meanwhile, are mired in posters from Paris to Tokyo promoting an unfettered, "primitive" sexuality. Burdened with commodification of our culture and exploitation of our people, Hawaiians exist in an occupied country whose hostage people are forced to witness (and, for many, to participate in) our own collective humiliation as tourist artifacts for the First World.

In Hawai'i, the destruction of our land and the prostitution of our people is planned and executed by multi-national corporations (both foreign-based and Hawai'i/l-based) by huge landowners (like the missionary-descended Castle and Cook and others) and by collaborationist state and county governments. The ideological gloss that claims tourism to be our economic saviour and the "natural" result of Hawaiian culture is manufactured by ad agencies (like the state-supported Hawai'i Visitors' Bureau) and our corporate companies (many of which are owned by the airlines), and spewed out to the public through complicitous cultural engines like film, television and radio, and the daily newspapers. As for the local labour unions, both rank and file and management clamour for more tourists while the construction industry lobbies incessantly for larger resorts.

The major public educational institution, the University of Hawai'i, funnels millions of taxpayer dollars into a School of Travel Industry Management and a Business School replete with a Real Estate Center and a Chair of Free Enterprise. As the propaganda arm of the tourist industry in Hawai'i, both schools churn out studies that purport to show how Hawai'i needs more golf courses, hotels, and tourist infrastructure, and how Hawaiian culture is "naturally" one of giving and entertaining.

Of course, state-encouraged commodification and prostitution of Native cultures through tourism is not unique to Hawai'i. It is suffered by peoples in places as disparate as Goa, Australia, Tahiti and the southwestern United States. Indeed, the problem is so commonplace that international organizations — e.g., the Ecumenical Coalition on Third World Tourism out of Bangkok, the Center for Responsible Tourism in California, and the Third World European Network — have banded together to help give voice to Native peoples in daily resistance against corporate tourism. My focus on Hawai'i, although specific to my own culture, would likely transfer well when applied to other Native peoples.

First, before I move into an analysis of our Native culture and its prostitution, let me just round out the statistical picture of corporate tourism in Hawai'i.
Face: Thirty years ago, at the behest of Hawaii residents outnumbered tourists by more than 2 to 1. Today, tourists outnumber residents by 6 to 1; they outnumber Native Hawaiians by 30 to 1.10

Face: According to independent economists and criminologists, "tourism has been the single most powerful factor in O'ahu's crime rate," including crimes against people and property.11

Face: Independent demographers have been pointing out for years that "tourism is the major source of population growth in Hawaii" and that "rapid growth of the tourist industry ensures the trend toward a rapidly expanded population that receives lower per capita income."12

Face: The Bank of Hawaii has reported that the average real incomes of Hawaii residents have grown only one per cent during the period from the early seventies through the early eighties. The Census Bureau reports that personal income growth in Hawaii during the same time was the lowest by far of any of the 50 American states.13

Face: Ground water supplies on O'ahu will be insufficient to meet the needs of residents and tourists by the year 2000.14

Face: According to the Honolulu Advertiser, "Japanese investors have spent more than $1.1 billion on their acquisitions since 1986 in Hawaii. This kind of volume translates into huge alienations of land and property. For example, nearly 2,000 acres of land on the Big Island of Hawaii was purchased for $185 million while over 7,000 acres on Molokai were sold for $33 million. In 1989, over $1 billion was spent by the Japanese on land alone."15

Face: More plants and animals from Hawaii are now extinct or on the endangered species list than in all the rest of the United States.16

Face: More than 19,500 families are on the Hawaiian trust lands list, waiting for housing or pastoral lots.17

Face: The median cost of a home (including condominiums) on the most populated island of O'ahu is $229,400, almost $30,000 more than in the San Francisco Bay area.18

Face: Hawaii has by far the worst ratio of average family income to average housing costs in the country. This explains why families spend nearly 72 percent of their gross income for housing costs.19

Face: Nearly one-fifth of Hawaii's resident population is classified as "homeless," that is, those for whom any mishap results in immediate on-the-street homelessness.20

These kinds of random statistics render a very bleak picture, not at all what the posters and jingoist tourist promoters would have you believe about Hawaii. Now, some definitions of terms in my analysis.

My use of the word "tourism" in the Hawaii context refers to a mass-based, corporately controlled industry that is both vertically and horizontally integrated such that one multi-national corporation owns an airline, the tour buses that transport tourists to the corporation-owned hotel where they eat in a corporation-owned restaurant, play golf and "experience" Hawaii on corporation-owned recreation areas, and eventually consider buying a second-home built on corporation land. Profits, in this case, are mostly repatriated back to the home country. In Hawaii, these "home" countries are Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Canada, Australia and the United States. In this sense, Hawaii is very much like a Third World colony where the local elite -- the Democratic Party in our state -- collaborates in the rape of Native land and people.

The mass nature of this kind of tourism results in mega-resort complexes on thousands of acres with demands for water and services that far surpass the needs of Hawaii residents. These complexes may be based and airports of their own. As you might imagine, the density of certain parts of Honolulu (e.g. Waikiki) is among the highest in the world. At the present visitor count, more than five million tourists pour through O'ahu, which is 90 miles in circumference and 40 miles across at its largest point. According to a statistician I met at an international tourism conference in Germany in 1986, Hawaii suffers the greatest number of tourists per square mile than any other place on earth.

With this as a background on tourism, I want to move now into the area of cultural prostitution. "Prostitution" in this context refers to the entire institution which defines a woman (and by extension the "female") as an object of degraded and victimized sexual value for use and exchange through the medium of money. The "prostitute" is then a woman who sells her sexual capacities and is seen, thereby, to possess and reproduce them at will, that is, by her very "nature." The prostitute and the institution which creates and maintains her are, of course, of patriarchal origin. The pimp is the conduit of exchange, managing the commodity that is the prostitute while acting as the guard at the entry and exit gates, making sure the prostitute behaves as a prostitute by fulfilling her sexual-economic functions. The victims participate in their victimization with enormous ranges of feeling, including resistance and complicity, but the force and continuity of the institution are shaped by men.

There is much more to prostitution than my sketch reveals, but this must suffice for I am interested in using the preyed upon by corporate tourism, caught in a political system where we have no separate legal status from which to control our land base. Hawaiians have been reduced to 20 percent of the resident population in our own land.
largest sense of this term as a metaphor in understanding what has happened to Hawaiian culture. My purpose is not to exact detail or fashion a model, but to convey the utter degradation of our culture and our people under corporate tourism by employing "prostitution" as an analytic category.

Finally, I have chosen four areas of Hawaiian culture to examine: our homeland, or our hula; that is Hawai'i, our lands and fisheries, the outlying seas and the heavens; our language and dance; our familial relationships, and our women.

Na Mea Hawai'i - Things Hawaiian

The mele, or history of Hawaiians, is to be found in our genealogies. From our great cosmogenic genealogy, the Kamalii, people to land is called malama'ina or ala'a, care and love of the land. When people and land work together harmoniously, the balance that results is called pono. In Hawaiian society, the ai'i, or chiefs, were required to make-to-order, abundance of food, and good government. The maka'ainana or common people worked the land and fed the chiefs; the ai'i organized production and appressed the gods. Today, malama'ina is called stewardship by some, although that word does not convey spiritual and genealogical connections. Nevertheless, to love and make the land flourish is a Hawaiian value. Alana, or the one of the words for land, means that which feeds. Kona, a term for native-born people, means child of the land. Thus is the Hawaiian relationship to land both familial and reciprocal.

Our deities are also of the land: Pele is our volcano, Kane and Lono our fertile valleys and plains, Kanaloa our ocean and all that lives within it, and so on with the 40,000 and 460,000 gods of Hawai'i. Our whole universe, physical and metaphysical, is divine.

Within this world, the older people, or kapa, are of the mele of the mele. Uniting generosity is a virtue and of high status. Social connections between our people are through aloha, simply translated as love, but carrying with it a profoundly Hawaiian sense that it is, again, familial and genealogical. Hawaiians feel aloha for Hawai'i whence they come from, and for their Hawaiian kin upon whom they depend. It is nearly impossible to feel or practice aloha for something that is not familial. This is why we extend familial relations to those few non-Natives whom we feel understand and can reciprocate our aloha. But aloha is freely given and freely returned, it is not, and cannot be, demanded, or commanded. Above all, aloha is a cultural feeling and practice that works among the people and between the people and their land.

The significance and meaning of aloha underscores the centrality of the Hawaiian language or he'e na to the culture. Olohe means both language and tongue, olohe, or history, is that which comes from the tongue, i.e. a story. Hula or white people say we have oral history, but what we have are stories passed on through the generations. These are different from the bana sense of history. To Hawaiians in traditional society, language had tremendous power, the phrase, ia ho 'olo he eka, ia ho 'olo ka make--in language is life, in language is death. Moreover, the language is given added power through the seriousness and preciousness of the form in which it is offered, such as chant, mele or formal speech.

After nearly 2,000 years of speaking Hawaiian, our people suffered the near extinction of our language through its banning by the American-imposed government in 1900, the year Hawai'i became a territory of the United States. All schools, government operations and official transactions were thereafter conducted in English, despite the fact that most people, including non-natives, still spoke Hawaiian at the turn of the century.

Since 1970, Ho'okupu, or the Hawaiian language, has undergone a tremendous revitalization, including the rise of language immersion schools. The State of Hawai'i now has two official languages, Hawaiian and English, and the call for Hawaiian language speakers and teachers is increasing every day.\(^{12}\)

Along with the flowering of Hawaiian language has come a flowering of Hawaiian dance, especially in its ancient form, called 'ula kaholo Dance academies, known as aalo, have proliferated throughout Hawai'i as have kumu hula, or dance masters, and formal competitions where all-night presentations continue for three or four days through weeks of appreciative audiences. Indeed, among Pacific Islanders, Hawaiian dance is considered one of the finest Polynesian art forms today.

Of course, the cultural revitalization that Hawaiians are now experiencing and transmitting to their children is as much a replication of colonization by so-called Western civilization in its American form as it is a reclamation of our own past and our own ways of life. This is why cultural revitalization is often resisted and disregarded by anthropologists and others; they see very clearly that its political effect is decolonization of the mind. Thus our rejection of the nuclear family as the basic unit of society and of individualism as the best form of human expression infiltrates social workers, the churches, the legal system and educators to this day. Hawaiians continue to have allegedly "illegitimate" children, to hana'i or adopt both children and adults outside of sanctioned Western legal concepts, to hold and use land and water in a collective form rather than a private property form, and to preserve the notion and the value that one person should strive to surpass and therefore outshine all others.

Hawai'i itself is the female object of degraded and victimized sexual value.

\(^{12}\) A group of Hawaiian geneticists have discovered the origins of Polynesian and to distinguish our common ancestor from other Polynesian, the word is ala. For an introduction to your own people, see "Hawaii: The Aloha State" Kamehameha Library. People are related and connected through mele. People whom this book is written about at the book like "Kamehameha the Great."

This perspective, that the culture is the core of everything, is very important to the people of Hawai'i and the whole Polynesian community. It is the basis for the traditional Polynesian religion and community. It is the reason that our people have worked so hard to preserve our culture. It is the reason that our people have worked so hard to preserve our culture.
All these Hawaiian values can be grouped under the idea of ‘ohana, loosely translated as family, but more accurately imagined as a group of both closely and distantly-related people who share nearly everything, from land and food to children and status. Sharing is central to this value since it prevents individual decline. Of course, poverty is not thereby avoided, it is only shared with everyone in the unit.

The ‘ohana works effectively when the Kahuuna relationship (elder sibling/younger sibling reciprocity) is practised.

Finally, within the ‘ohana, our women are considered the lifegivers of the nation and are accorded the respect and honour this status conveys. Our young women, like our young people in general, are the pua, or flower of our lāhui, or our nation. The renowned beauty of our women, especially their sexual beauty, is not considered a commodity to be bought by fathers and brothers but an attribute of our people. Sexually speaking, Hawaiians are very open and free about sexual relationships, although Christianity and organized religion have done much to damage these traditional sexual values.

With this understanding of what it means to be Hawaiian, I want to move now to the prostitution of our culture by tourism.

Hawai‘i itself is the female object of degraded and victimized sexual value. Our ‘aina, or land, are not any longer the source of food and shelter, but the source of money. Land is now called real estate; rather than our mother, Papa. The American relationship of people to the land is that of exploiter to exploited. Beautiful areas, once sacred to my people, are now expensive resorts; shorelines where net fishing, seaweed gathering and crabbing occurred are more and more the exclusive domain of recreational activities; sunbathing, windsurfing, jet skiing. Now, even access to beaches near hotels is strictly regulated or denied to the local public altogether.

The phrase mahahaina — to care for the land — is used by government officials to sell new projects and to convince the locals that hotels can be built with a concern for “ecology.” Hotel historians, like hotel doctors, are stationed in-house to soothe the visitors’ stay with the puhu of invented myths and tales of the “primitive.”

High schools and hotels adopt each other and funnel teenagers through major resorts for guided tours from kitchens to gardens to honeymoon suites in preparation for post-secondary jobs in the lowest-paid industry in the state. In the meantime, tourist appreciation kits and movies are distributed through the State Department of Education to all elementary schools. One film, unashamedly titled “What’s in it for Me?” was devised to convince locals that tourism is, as the newspapers never tire of saying, “the only game in town.”

Of course, all this hype is necessary to hide the truth about tourism, the awful exploitative truth that the industry is the major cause of environmental degradation, low wages, land dispossession and the highest cost of living in the United States.

While this propaganda is churned out to local residents, the commercialization of Hawaiian culture proceeds with calls for more sensitive marketing of our Native values and practices. After all, a prostitute is only as good as her income-producing talents. These talents, in Hawaiian term, are the hula; the generosity, or aloha, of our people; the a‘i, or youthful beauty of our women and men; and the continuing allure of our lands and waters, that is, of our place, Hawai‘i.

The selling of these talents must produce income. And the function of tourism and the State of Hawai‘i is to convert these attributes into profit.

The first requirement is the transformation of the product, or the cultural attribute, much as a woman must be transformed to look like a prostitute, i.e., something that is licentious in her own commodification. Thus hula dancers wear clown-like make-up, don costumes from a maz of Polynesian cultures, and behave in a manner that is smutty and lascivious rather than powerfully erotic. The distance between the smutty and the erotic is precisely the distance between Western culture and Hawaiian culture. In the hotel version of the hula, the sacredness of the dance has completely evaporated while the athleticism and sexual expression have been packaged like ornaments. The purpose is entertainment for profit rather than a joyful and truly Hawaiian celebration of human and divine nature.

But let us look at some examples. On page 6 in your Aloha Airlines booklet — shamelessly called the “Spirit of Aloha” — you will find a characteristic portrayal of commodified hula dancers, one male and one female. The costume of the female is more South Pacific — the Cook Islands and Tahiti — while that of the male is more Hawaiian. (He wears a Hawaiian loincloth called a male.) The ad smugly asserts the hotel dinner service as a hana a
women in the audience can marvel at his physique and still remain safely distant. Like the black American male, this Polynesian man is a fantasy animal. He carries a slightly malevolent glance at our costumed maidens whose body posture and barely covered breasts contradict the innocent smile on her face.

Finally, the "wondrous allure" referred to in the ad applies to more than just the dancers in their performances; the physical beauty of Hawai'i's "alive under the stars" is the larger reference.

In this little grotesquery, the falseness and commercialism fairily scream out from the page. Our language, our dance, our young people, even our customs of eating are used to entice tourists. And the price is only a paltry $39.95, not much for two thousand years of culture. Of course, the hotel will rake in tens of thousands of dollars a month just by the Sam. Our young couple will make less than $150 a week.

On page 6 of the Tipster section, there is an ad - called "Molokai's Magic" - for 43.8 acres of our Sam here described as "the simple, secluded oceanfront property." The area is depicted in typical Hollywood movie language - waving coconut trees, sandy beach, lush tropical vegetation, and a mature mango orchard. The emphasis is on the aesthetics of the land rather than its practical usages like fishing, farming and gathering. Calling this a "rare opportunity to enjoy Island living," the ad lists the price as $44 million, hardly what Hawaiians would identify as "Island living." Notice that all realtors listed as contacts have Japanese surnames.

Leaving through the magazine, you can find various parts of our islands used as tourist attractions of all kinds: mountains on page 7; beaches on page 11; rugged coastline on page 12; rivers on page 13; flowers on page 23; and on the inside-back cover; uplands on page 26; the volcano on the front cover; reefs and fish on page 28; rural Hawaiian communities on pages 16, 17, 18, 60 and 61; and Hawaiian art on page 62. Even Hawaiian activists attempting to preserve the "Sam in a Hawaiian manner can be found on page 51.

The point, of course, is that everything in Hawai'i can be yours, that is, you the tourist, the non-Native, the visitor. The place, the people, the culture, even the identity as a "Native" is for sale. Thus, the magazine, like the airline that Prices is, is called Aloha. The use of this word in a capitalist context is so far removed from any cultural context that it is, literally, meaningless.

But the transformation of a word or a value into its opposite is a by-product of commodification. Thus on page 8, we find two artists, both hale - one Israeli and the other American - proclaimed by the President of Aloha Airlines (himself a hale) to be hale. Indeed, tourist advertising is so commonplace, many Hawai'i residents are inured to its presence.

Thus Hawai'i, like a lovely woman, is there for the taking. Those with only a little money get a brief encounter, those with a lot of money, like the Japanese, get more. The state and counties will give tax breaks, build infrastructure, and have the governor personally welcome tourists to ensure they keep coming. Just as the pimps regulate prices and guard the commodity of the prostitute, so the state bargains with developers for access to Hawaiian land and culture. Who builds the biggest resort to attract the affluent tourists gets the best deal: more hotel rooms, golf courses and restaurants approved. Permits are fast-tracked, height and density limits are suspended, new ground water sources are miraculously found.

Hawaiians, meanwhile, have little choice in all this. We can fill up the unemployment lines, enter the military, work in the tourist industry, or leave Hawai'i. Increasingly, Hawaiians are leaving, not by choice but out of economic necessity.

Our people who work in the industry - dancers, waiters, singers, valets, gardeners, housekeepers, bartenders and even a few managers - make between $16,000 and $24,000 a year, an impossible salary for a family in Hawai'i. Psychologically, our
young people have begun to think of tourism as the only employment opportunity, trapped as they are by the lack of alternatives. For our young, modelling is a "cleaner" job when compared to waiting on tables, or dancing in a weekly review, but modelling feeds on tourism and the commodification of Hawaiian women. In the end, the entire employment scene is shaped by tourism.

Despite their exploitation, Hawaiians' participation in tourism raises the problem of complicity. Because wages are so low and advancement so rare, whatever complicity exists is secondary to the economic hopelessness that drives Hawaiians into the industry. Refusing to contribute to the commercialization of one's culture becomes a peripheral concern when unemployment looms.

Of course, many Hawaiians do not see tourism as part of their colonization. They stand their ground as providers, not as a form of culture. Even those who have some glimmer of critical consciousness don't generally agree that the tourist industry prostitutes Hawaiian culture. To us, this is a measure of the depth of our language, our dance, our young people, even our customs of eating are used to ensnare tourists.

of our mental oppression: we can't understand our own cultural degradation because we are living it. As colonized people, we are colonized to the extent that we are unaware of our oppression. When awareness begins, then too does decolonization. Judging by the growing resistance to new hotels, to geothermal energy and manganese nodule mining which would supplement the tourist industry, and to increases in the sheer number of tourists, I would say that decolonization has begun, but we have many more stages to negotiate on our path to sovereignty.

My brief excursion into the prostitution of Hawaiian culture has done no more than give an overview. Now that you have heard a Native view, let me just leave this thought behind. If you are thinking of visiting my homeland, please don't. We don't want or need any more tourists, and we certainly don't like them. If you want to help our cause, pass this message on to your friends. Thank you.

"Hawaiian-Kea Truck reaches Hawaiian Studies at the University of Hawaii, F-Mano.

NOTES
2. In the 1989-91 Hawaiian budget of the Hawaii state legislature, the Hawaii Visitors Bureau received over $15 million.
3. Nordly writes in "The Decline of Hawaii, .... In 1980 the gross density of Walliski, including over 17,000 residents, 43,000 non-resident visitors, and 32,000 workers employed in the area was about 9,000 persons per square mile — one of the more densely populated regions in the world," p. 50. In April of 1990, the Walliski Improvement Association reported the de facto population of Walliski at 130,000. For examples of state-tourism called a "Phony "Happier's Industry," in Hawaii Star-Bulletin, June 9, 1986; and the 1989 Declaration of the Hawaiian Secession Coalition on Tourism which calls for a ban on all resorts in rural Hawaiian communities, among other things, unpublished but available from the American Friends Service Committee, Honolulu, Hawaii. Finally, for state projections of tourism industry growth see Nordly, op. cit., p. 256.
5. For the Hawaiian relationship to land and an analysis of the impact of the Great Maukehe on this relationship, see Likalis Kame'elehiwa, Land and the Promise of Capitalism, Ph. D. Dissertation, History, University of Hawaii, 1980.
9. The Center for Responsible Tourism and the World Tourist Organization were created out of the activities and organizing of the Ecumenical Coalition on Third World Tourism (ECTWT). This umbrella organization is composed of the following member bodies: All Africa Conference of Churches, Caribbean Conference of Churches, Christian Conference of Asia, Consejo Latinoamericano de Iglesias, Federation of Asian Bishops Conference/Office of Human Development, Middle East Council of Churches, Pacific Conference of Churches. In addition, sister organizations, like the Hawaii Ecumenical Coalition on Tourism, extend the network worldwide. The ECTWT publishes a quarterly magazine with articles on Third World tourism and its destructive effects from child prostitution to dispossession of Native peoples. The address for ECTWT is PO. Box 24 Chorkohkoh, Bangkok 10200, Thailand.
14. Estimate of independent hydrologist Kane Vasemooe to community organizing group, Kapua 'Iliahi, February, 1990. Water quality and ground water depletion are two problems much discussed by state and county officials in Hawaii but ignored when resort permits are considered.
20. This is the estimate of a state-contracted firm that surveyed the island for homeless and near-homeless families. Terminology was delivered to the state legislature, 1990 session.
21. For an analysis of post-statehood Hawaii's environment and its turn to mass-based corporate tourism, see Noel Kiest, Hawaii: Islands Under the Influence, op. cit. For an analysis of foreign investment in Hawaii, see A Study of Foreign Investment and Its Impact on the State, Hawaii Real Estate Center, University of Hawaii's, in 1980.
22. Likalis Kame'elehiwa, Land and the Promise of Capitalism, op. cit., p. 2.
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Mohawk Nation Kahnawake Branch
Box 645, Kahnawake, Que., Canada J0L 1B0

Communique:
July 16, 1990

It is urgently requested that you approach the Canadian government and the Province of Quebec to cease its violent racist activity against our people, The Mohawk Nation, especially at Kanesatake, Kahnawake and Akwesasne.

The Following is a brief resume of what has transpired to date:

On March 30, The Mohawk Nation territory of Ganienkeh was surrounded by 250 heavily armed New York State police. The circumstances for this were created and fabricated by the United States and New York State authorities after a helicopter was shot down near the Ganienkeh territory. To date, no one has been arrested for this incident.

On May 1, 1990, the Mohawk Nation Territory of Akwesasne was surrounded by approximately 2,500 heavily armed forces from New York State, Ontario, Quebec, The Canadian Army and National Guard. Large numbers of these forces remain today under the guise of “peacekeeping”.

On July 11, 1990, the Mohawk Nation territory of Kanesatake was attacked by the Quebec Provincial Police with tear gas, concussion grenades and intense automatic weapon fire. The resistance of the Mohawk community of Kanesatake is based on the refusal of the Mohawk people to surrender land which would cause us to uproot, relocate a burial ground of Mohawk people for the proposed expansion of a golf club.

Kanesatake has been sealed off by the Quebec provincial police who have denied access in or out of the territory and have not been allowed the delivery of food and medical supplies or services. On this day a police officer was mortally wounded by gunfire but has not been determined the source of this gunfire.

We, the Mohawks of Kahnawake, deeply grieve for the loss of life of this individual, and the loss to his family. Today, we will have a century old tobacco burning ceremony to ensure safe passage of his spirit into the after world.

On July 12, 1990, the Mohawks of Kahnawake took over the passage over the Mercier bridge in Montreal; in support of the Kanesatake Mohawks. Since then, the Quebec forces have sealed off the territory of Kahnawake, and [we] have been denied access in or out of the territory, and have not been allowed delivery of food or medical supplies or services.

Once again we urge you to apply the same as governments throughout the world to terminate the immoral occupation of Kanesatake.

CONTACT: MOHAWK NATION OFFICE
629 Nations Conference Place
Kahnawake Branch

TEL: (614) 638-4750
FAX: (614) 638-4790
(614) 638-1802
On the morning of Wednesday July 11, 1990 a heavily armed 500-man force of the Quebec Provincial Police attacked the 1,700 Mohawk People of Kahnawake, carrying guns, tear gas, and elders. They did this behind barricades, concussion grenades, and large trucks. The police killed one of their own. The Police advance.

Five Mohawk women were present when the attack began. They were present to protect the women inside. The O.P.P. withdrew quickly in such numbers, I want and a bulldozer.

At issue is a dispute over a Burial ground that the municipal council has not been able to remove from their present site. It is located on private land owned by condominiums.

The G.A.P. will give credit to the Oka municipality and one of the members of shareholders of the Oka golf club. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney gave tacit and direct approval of the violence.

International moral support has been received from organizations worldwide, e.g. World Council of Churches, the Red Cross, United Church of Canada, African National Congress, Leadbeater, and the Liberal M.P. Ethel Blondin, Mr. Bernard Landry of the Quebec Party Quebecois. This is only a partial list and is continually growing.

Presently when peace, freedom, democracy and self-determination for people and nations are being promoted by the U.S. and Canadian governments throughout the world; these very governments are determined to terminate the inherent rights of Native sovereignty.

An immediate international investigation should be conducted as to violations and abuses of the treaties between the Native people and the United States, Canada and Great Britain, which are still valid today. The adamant refusal to acknowledge the sovereign status of the Mohawk nation, and as people, the flagrant violation of basic human rights.

Once again we urge a willingness to help The Mohawk Nation join the discussion and friendship of The Mohawk Nation.
HAUDENOSAUNEE
MOHAWK • ONONDAGA • ONONDAGA • CAYUGA • SENeca • TUSCARORA
Mohawk Nation Kahswakee Branch
Box 645, Kahnawake, Que., Canada J1J 1B0

Communique:
July 20th, 1990

On the morning of Wednesday July 11, 1990 a heavily armed 500-man force of the Quebec Provincial Police attacked the 1,200 Mohawk people of Kanesatake, composed mostly of women, children and elders. They did this behind a barrage of tear-gas, cannon shots, concussion grenades and automatic weapons fire that shredded massive trees in “The Pines” at waist level. Their gunfire killed one of their own snipers who was deployed ahead of the Police advance.

Five Mohawk women were performing a tobacco-burning ceremony when the attack began. They avoided dying by hugging the land they were trying to protect. Others were saved by a shift in wind that sent the tear gas back to face the face of the Provincial Police. It gave Mohawk men time to get to their defensive positions to cover the women on the outside and those on the inside. The O.P.P. withdrew quickly, leaving behind four police cruisers, two vans and a bulldozer.

The following is from a Mohawk Nation Officer:
Six Nation Iroquois Confederacy
Hannawake Branch
(514) 638-4750
(514) 638-4740
352-4831
Hannawake Branch
(614) 270-0353
(614) 270-0354

The citizens of Canada are spending over one million dollars per day for the surgery of Quebec’s mavericks against the Mohawk Nation. The costs for the Canadian Army and all of their military equipment and weaponry is estimated to be much higher.

As citizens of Canada, are you willing to continue financing this unorthodox war on the Mohawk? Your voices are important!

9-11-90
Dear Prime Minister Mulroney,

I write in urgent consultation with the government of Mohawks of the Reserve and the Mohawks of Kahnawake, to bring to your attention the serious situation facing our people as a result of the dispute over the construction of the new Mercier Bridge.

We are concerned that the construction of the bridge will result in the loss of our ancestral lands and resources, and will have a detrimental impact on our way of life and cultural heritage.

In light of the situation, we are seeking your intervention to ensure that our rights and interests are protected. We believe that a resolution to this dispute is necessary to maintain peace and stability in the region.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,
[Your Name]
Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Buffalo Skull Mound
24 inches x 30 inches
1982