

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

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A LOHA 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 *theirs*: 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 rawness and violence of 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 "female" 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 instant gratification between imperialist wars. The attraction of Hawai'i is stimulated by slick Hollywood movies, saccharine Andy Williams music, and the constant psychological deprivations of maniacal 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 place.

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 ingeniously irrigated taro lands, feeding millions of Hawaiians over thousands of years. Large bays, delicately ringed long ago with well-stocked fishponds, are now heavily silted and cluttered with jet skis, windsurfers, and sailboats. Multi-storey hotels disgorge over six million tourists a year onto 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 colonization 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 condominiums, the trampling of our sacred *beiau* (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 tourist 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 30 tourists for every Native 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 decrees marginalization in our own land.¹

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 – whose media propaganda tells locals, "the more you give" to tourism, the "more you get."²

And what Hawaiians "get" is population densities in some areas like Hong Kong, a housing shortage because of staggering numbers of migrants from the continental United States and from Asia, a soaring crime rate as impoverished 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 projecting a tidal wave of twelve million tourists by the year 2010, and encouraging space facilities and battleship homeporting as added economic "security."³

For Hawaiians, this latest degradation is but another stage in the agony that began with the first footfall of European explorers in 1778, shattering two millennia of Hawaiian civilization characterized by an indigenous way of caring for the land (called *malama'āina* in Hawaiian). Introduced diseases from syphilis and tuberculosis to small pox, 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.⁴ Gunboat diplomacy by Western powers and missionary duplicity against the Hawaiian chiefs forced the transformation of Hawaiian land tenure from communal use to private property by the middle of the 19th century. Called the Great Mahele, this dispossession of the Hawaiians' birthright – our *one hanāu*, or birthlands – allowed foreigners to own land. As the Hawaiian people continued to die off in multiple epidemics throughout the 19th



century, the *haole* (white) foreigner bought up more land until, by 1888, three-quarters of all arable land was controlled by *haole*.⁵ In this way, as one scholar has remarked, "Western imperialism had been accomplished without the usual bothersome wars and costly colonial administration."⁶

In the meantime, Protestant missionizing constantly attacked Native customs from the *bula* to Hawaiian sexual practices while individual missionaries acquired vast acreages of Hawaiian land. Finally, the American military overthrew the constitutional Hawaiian government headed by Queen Lili'uokalani in 1893, with the familiar justification of "protecting American lives and property." Resistance by Hawaiians was crushed and an all-white puppet government called the Republic of Hawai'i was put in place in 1894, with forced annexation to (and citizenship in) the United States following in 1898. The ruling planter's party, composed primarily of missionary descendants, governed Hawai'i as an oligarchy throughout the Territorial era. Despite our Native people's opposition, Hawai'i became a state in 1959.⁷

As a result of these actions, Hawaiians became a conquered people, their lands and culture subordinated to another nation. Made to feel and survive as inferiors when their sovereignty as a nation was

forcibly 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 statehood. 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 "trustee," 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 people controlled by the United States: high unemployment, catastrophic health problems, low educational attainment, large numbers institutionalized in the military and prisons, occupational ghettoization in poorly paid jobs, and increasing out-migration that amounts to diaspora.⁸ 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. Far from encourag-

ing a cultural revival, as tourist industry apologists contend, tourism has appropriated and prostituted the accomplishments of a resurgent interest in things Hawaiian (e.g. the current use of replicas of Hawaiian artifacts like fishing and food implements, capes, helmets and other symbols of ancient power to decorate hotels). Hawaiian women, meanwhile, are marketed on posters from Paris to Tokyo promising 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 culture is planned and executed by multi-national corporations (both foreign-based and Hawai'i-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 tour 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 why 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 south western 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.⁹

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.

- ◆ Fact: Thirty years ago, at statehood, Hawai'i 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
- ◆ Fact: 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
- ◆ Fact: Independent demographers have been pointing out for years that "tourism is the major source of population growth in Hawai'i" and that "rapid growth of the tourist industry ensures the trend toward a rapidly expanded population that receives lower per capita income."¹²
- ◆ Fact: The Bank of Hawai'i has reported that the average real incomes of Hawai'i 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 Hawai'i during the same time was the lowest by far of any of the 50 American states.¹³
- ◆ Fact: Ground water supplies on O'ahu will be insufficient to meet the needs of residents and tourists by the year 2000.¹⁴
- ◆ Fact: According to the *Honolulu Advertiser*, "Japanese investors have spent more than \$7.1 billion on their acquisitions" since 1986 in Hawai'i. This kind of volume translates into huge alienations of land and properties. For example, nearly 2,000 acres of land on the Big Island of Hawai'i was purchased for \$18.5 million while over 7,000 acres on Moloka'i went for \$33 million. In 1989, over \$1 billion was spent by the Japanese on land alone.¹⁵
- ◆ Fact: More plants and animals from Hawai'i are now extinct or on the endangered species list than in all the rest of the United States.¹⁶
- ◆ Fact: More than 19,500 families are on the Hawaiian trust lands list, waiting for housing or pastoral lots.¹⁷
- ◆ Fact: The median cost of a home (including condominiums) on the most populated island of O'ahu is \$290,400, almost \$30,000 more than in the San Francisco Bay area.¹⁸
- ◆ Fact: Hawai'i has by far the worst ratio of average family income to average housing costs in the country. This explains why families spend nearly 52 percent of their gross income for housing costs.¹⁹
- ◆ Fact: Nearly one-fifth of Hawai'i's resident population is classified as *near-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 jingoistic tourist promoters would have you believe about Hawai'i.

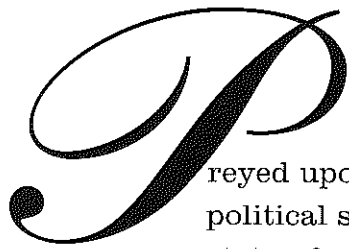
Now, some definitions of terms in my analysis.

My use of the word "tourism" in the Hawai'i 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" Hawai'i 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 Hawai'i, these "home" countries are Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Canada, Australia and the United States. In this sense, Hawai'i 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.²¹

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 Hawai'i residents. These complexes may

bases 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, Hawai'i 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



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boast several hotels, golf courses, restaurants, and other "necessaries" to complete the total tourist experience. Infrastructure is usually built by the developer in exchange for county approval of more hotel units. In Hawai'i counties bid against each other to attract larger and larger complexes. "Rich" counties, then, are those with more resorts since they will pay more of the tax base of the county. The richest of these is the County of Honolulu which encompasses the entire island of O'ahu. This island is the site of four major tourist destinations, a major international airport, and 80 percent of the resident population of Hawai'i. The military also controls 25 percent of the island with

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

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 *one hanau* 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 *mo'olelo*, or history of Hawaiians, is to be found in our genealogies. From our great cosmogenic genealogy, the *Kumulipo*,

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

derives the Hawaiian identity. The "essential lesson" of this genealogy is "the inter-relatedness of the Hawaiian world, and the inseparability of its constituent parts." Thus, "the genealogy of the land, the gods, chief and people intertwine one with the other, and with all aspects of the universe."²²

In the *mo'olelo* of Papa and Wakea, earth-mother and sky-father, our islands are born: Hawai'i, Māui, O'ahu, Kaua'i, and Ni'ihau. From their human offspring came the taro plant and from the taro came the Hawaiian people. The lessons of our genealogy are that human beings have a familial relationship to land and to the taro, our elder siblings, or *kua'ana*.

In Hawai'i, as in all of Polynesia, younger siblings must serve and honour elder siblings who, in turn, must feed and care for their younger siblings. Therefore, Hawaiians must cultivate and husband the land which will feed and provide for the Hawaiian people. This relationship of

people to land is called *mālama'aina* or *aloha'aina*, care and love of the land.

When people and land work together harmoniously, the balance that results is called *pono*. In Hawaiian society, the *ali'i*, or chiefs, were required to maintain order, abundance of food, and good government. The *maka'ainana* or common people worked the land and fed the chiefs; the *ail'i* organized production and appeased the gods.

Today, *mālama'aina* 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. *Āina*, one of the words for land, means *that which feeds*. *Kama'aina*, 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 400,000 gods of Hawai'i. Our whole universe, physical and metaphysical, is divine.

Within this world, the older people, or *kūpuna* are to cherish those who are younger, the *mo'opuna*. Unstinting generosity is a value 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 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 not practise *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 *ōlelo* to the culture. *ōlelo* means both language and tongue; *mo'ōlelo*, or history, is that which comes from the tongue, i.e. a story. *Haole* or white people say we have oral history, but what we have

are stories passed on through the generations. These are different from the *haole* sense of history. To Hawaiians in traditional society, language had tremendous power, thus the phrase, *i ka 'ōlelo ke ola; i ka 'ōlelo 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, *ōlelo Hawai'i*, or the Hawaiian language, has undergone a tremendous revival, 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.²³

Along with the flowering of Hawaiian language has come a flowering of Hawaiian dance, especially in its ancient form, called *bula kabiko*. Dance academies, known as *bālanu*, have proliferated throughout Hawai'i as have *kumu bula*, or dance masters, and formal competitions where all-night presentations continue for three or four days to throngs of appreciative listeners. 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 *repudiation* 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 disparaged 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 infuriates social workers, the churches, the legal system and educators to this day. Hawaiians continue to have allegedly "illegitimate" children, to *banai* or adopt both Western 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 proscribe the notion and the value that one person should strive to surpass and therefore outshine all others.



All these Hawaiian values can be grouped under the idea of *'obana*, 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 *'obana* works effectively when the *Kua'ana* relationship (elder sibling/younger sibling reciprocity) is practised.

Finally, within the *'obana*, 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 *lahui*, or our nation. The renowned beauty of our women, especially their sexual beauty, is not considered a commodity to be hoarded 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 lands, 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 *malama'aina* – 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 pabulum 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 *bula*; the generosity, or *aloha*, of our people; the *u'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 complicitous in her own commodification. Thus *bula* dancers wear clown-like make-up, don costumes from a mix of Polynesian cultures, and behave in a manner that is smutty and salacious 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 *bula*, 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 *bula* dancers, one male and one female. The costuming 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 *malo*.) The ad smugly asserts the hotel dinner service as a *lū'au*, a

LUAU

A Thrilling Polynesian Revue
 Lavish Island Buffet
 Full/Open Bar from the Moment the Gates Open to Closing of the Show

Only \$39.95 per Person
 Children 12 and Under \$19.95 plus tax

Hawaiian feast, (which is misspelled) with a continuously open bar, lavish "island" buffet, and "thrilling" Polynesian revue. Needless to say, Hawaiians did not drink alcohol, eat "island" buffets, or participate in any "thrilling" revues before the advent of white people in our islands. Nor do most of us do these things at present.

But back to the ad. Lahaina, the location of the resort and once the capital of Hawai'i, is called "royal" because of its past association with our *ali'i*, or chiefs. Far from being royal today, Lahaina is sadly inundated by California yuppies, drug addicts and valley girls.

The male figure in the background is muscular, partially clothed, and unsmiling. Apparently, he is supposed to convey an image of Polynesian sexuality that is both enticing and threatening. The white

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 casts a slightly malevolent glance at our costumed maiden 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 "alive under the stars" is the larger reference.

In this little grotesquerie, the falseness and commercialism fairly scream out from the page. Our language, our dance, our young people, even our customs of eating are used to ensnare 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 on just the *luau*. Our young couple will make less than \$150 a week.

On page 6 of the Tipster section, there is an ad - called "Moloda'i Magic" - for 43.8 acres of our *'aina*, here described as "fee simple, secluded

oceanfront property." The area is depicted in typical Hollywood movie language - "swaying 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 \$4.4 million, hardly what Hawaiians would identify as "Island living." Notice that all realtors listed as contacts have Japanese surnames.

Leafing 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 coastlines 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 *'aina* 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 prints it, 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 *haole* - one Israeli and the other American - proclaimed by the President of Aloha Airlines (himself a *haole*) to be *kama'aina*, that is, Native born children of the land. None of these three people are Hawaiian by genealogy or ancestry but, according to the article, they share Hawaiian values, and are thus transformed into Hawaiians. Its all rather easy. Just move to Hawai'i and you too can be "Native."

Lest you think these examples rare, I should say that this booklet is but one among thousands of propaganda pieces that litter Hawai'i. 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 pimp regulates prices and guards the commodity of the prostitute, so the state bargains with developers for access to Hawaiian land and culture. Who builds the biggest resorts 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.

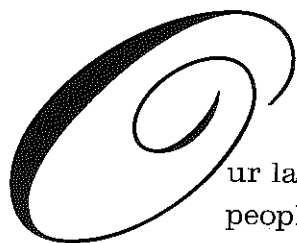
Hawaiians, meanwhile, have little choice in all this. We can fill up the unemployment lines, enter the military, work in the tourist industry, or leave Hawai'i. Increasingly, Hawaiians are leaving, not by choice but out of economic necessity.

Our people who work in the industry - dancers, waiters, singers, valets, gardeners, housekeepers, bartenders and even a few managers - make between \$10,000 and \$25,000 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 revue, 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. Thus tourism is viewed as providing jobs, not as a form of cultural prostitution. Even those who have some glimmer of critical consciousness don't generally agree that the tourist industry prostitutes Hawaiian culture. To me, this is a measure of the depth



ur 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 so 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. ♦

Haunani-Kay Trask teaches Hawaiian Studies at the University of Hawai'i, I-Manoa.

NOTES

1. For a discussion of state policy based on the rapid expansion of the tourist industry and its crucial influence on in-migration and population growth, see Eleanor Nordyke, *The Peopling of Hawai'i*, 2nd ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1989), p.134-172. In 1990, Hawaiians numbered around 225,000. The tourist count was projected to 6.5 million by the end of the year.
2. In the 1989-91 biennium budget of the Hawai'i state legislature, the Hawai'i Visitors' Bureau received over \$15 million.
3. Nordyke writes in *The Peopling of Hawai'i*, "In 1980 the gross density of Waikiki, including over 17,000 residents, 43,000 non-resident visitors, and 32,000 workers employed in the area was about 93,000 persons per square mile - one of the most densely populated regions in the world." p. 50. In April of 1990, the Waikiki Improvement Association reported the de facto population of Waikiki at 130,000. For examples of the socio-economic and environmental problems resulting from tourism see *Hawai'i Business*, April, 1985; Jon Matsuoka and Terry Kelly, "The Environmental, Economic, and Social Impacts of Resort Development and Report, vols. I and II, 1983, US Department of the Interior. For an analysis of the Territorial period (1900-1959), see Noel Kent, *Hawai'i: Islands Under the Influence* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983).
8. For statistics on Hawaiians, see *Native Hawaiians Study Commission Report*, vol. I, op. cit.; also see *E Ola Mau: Native Hawaiians Health Needs Study* (Honolulu: Alu Like, Inc., 1985).
9. The Center for Responsible Tourism and the Third World European Network were created out of the activism 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 Hawai'i 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 P.O. Box 24 Chorakhebu, Bangkok 10230, Thailand.
10. Nordyke, op. cit., pp. 134-172.
11. Meda Chesney-Lind, "Salient Factors in Hawai'i's Crime Rate," University of Hawai'i School of Social Work.
12. Nordyke, Ibid.
13. Bank of Hawai'i Annual Economic Report, 1984.
14. Estimate of independent hydrologist Kate Vandemoer to community organizing group, *Kupa'a He'eia*, February, 1990. Water quality and ground water depletion are two problems much discussed by state and county officials in Hawai'i but ignored when resort permits are considered.
15. *Honolulu Advertiser*, April 8, 1990.
16. David Stannard, Testimony against West Beach Estates. Land Use Commission, State of Hawai'i, January 10, 1985.
17. Department of Hawaiian Homelands, Annual Report, 1989.
18. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, May 8, 1990.
19. Band of Hawai'i Annual Economic Report, 1984. This figure is outdated. My guess is that now, in 1990, families spend closer to 65 percent of their gross income for housing costs. Billion-dollar Japanese investments and other speculation have caused rentals and sales to skyrocket.
20. This is the estimate of a state-contracted firm that surveyed the islands for homeless and near-homeless families. Testimony was delivered to the state legislature, 1990 session.
21. For an analysis of post-statehood Hawai'i and its turn to mass-based corporate tourism, see Noel Kent, *Hawai'i: Islands Under the Influence*, op. cit. For an analysis of foreign investment in Hawai'i, see *A Study of Foreign Investment and Its Impact on the State*, Hawai'i Real Estate Center, University of Hawai'i, 1989.
22. Lilikala Kame'elehiwa, *Land and the Promise of Capitalism*, op. cit., p. 2.
23. See Larry Kimura, "Native Hawaiian Culture," in *Native Hawaiians Study Commission Report*, vol. I, op. cit., p. 173-197.

Tourism on Native Hawaiians," in *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare*, vol. 15, no. 4, 1988; David Stannard, "Tourism Called a Phony 'Happiness' Industry," in *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, June 9, 1986; and the 1989 Declaration of the Hawai'i Ecumenical 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, Hawai'i. Finally, for state projections of tourist industry growth see Nordyke, op. cit., p. 256.

4. For Hawaiian population estimates, see David Stannard, *Before the Horror: The Population of Hawai'i on the Eve of Western Contact* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1989).

5. For the Hawaiian relationship to land and an analysis of the impact of the Great Mahele on this relationship, see Lilikala Kame'elehiwa, *Land and the Promise of Capitalism*, Ph. D. Dissertation, History, University of Hawai'i, 1986.

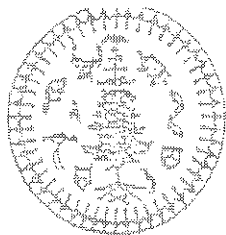
6. Neil Levy, "Native Hawaiian Land Rights," *California Law Review*, 63, July, 1975, p. 857.

7. For the original report on the overthrow and Native sentiment against annexation, see Hon. James Blount, the *Blount Report*, US 53rd Congress, Ed. Sess., 1894-95, House of Representatives. For the modern controversy over the culpability of the United States in the overthrow see, *Native Hawaiians Study Commission*

HAUDENOSAUNEE

MOHAWK • ONEIDA • ONONDAGA • CAYUGA • SENECA • TUSCARORA

Mohawk Nation Kahnawake Branch
Box 645, Kahnawake, Que., Canada JOL 1B0



HAUDENOSAUNEE

**Communique:
July 16, 1990**

MOHAWK • ONEIDA • ONONDAGA • CAYUGA • SENECA • TUSCARORA
Mohawk Nation Kahnawake Branch
Box 645, Kahnawake, Que.

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.

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.

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 disguise of "peacekeeping".

THE FOLLOWING IS A BRIEF RESUME OF WHAT HAS TRANSPIRED TO DATE:

ON MARCH 30, THE MOHAWK NATION TERRITORY OF GANIEKHEH 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 GANIEKHEH TERRITORY. TO DATE, NO ONE HAS BEEN ARRESTED FOR THIS INCIDENT.

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 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.

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 DISGUISE OF "PEACEKEEPING".

Kanesatake has been sealed off by the Québec 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 it has not been determined the source of this gunfire.

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 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.

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.

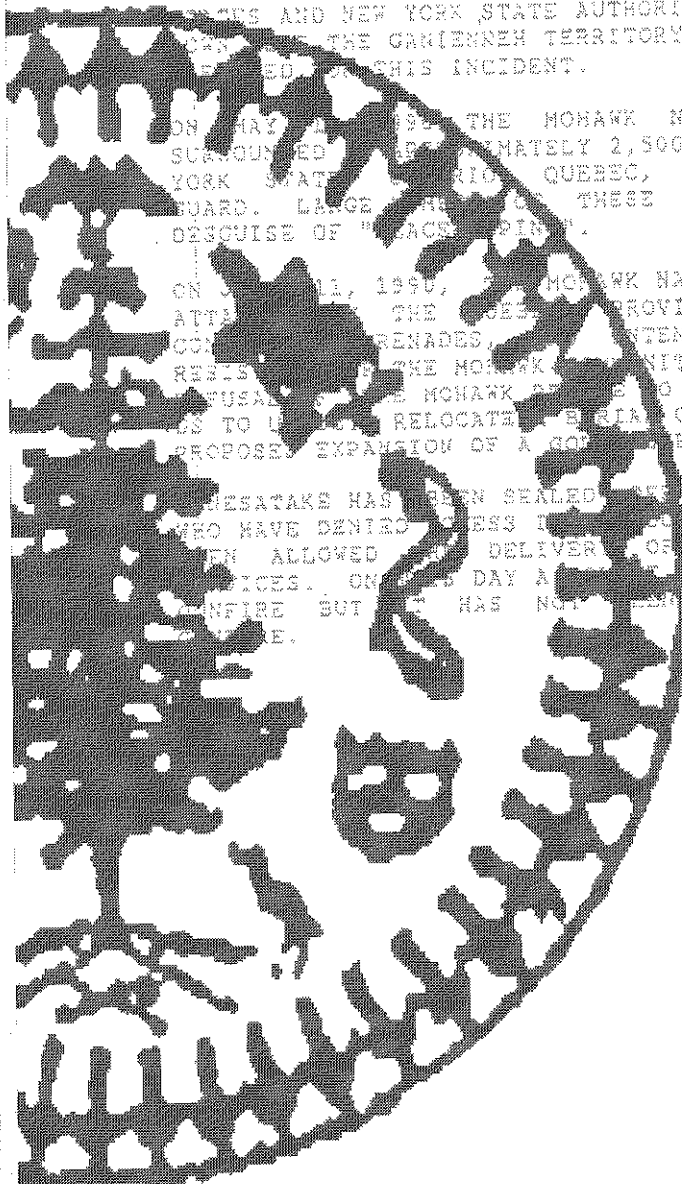
KANESATAKE HAS BEEN SEALED OFF BY THE QUEBEC PROVINCIAL POLICE WHO HAVE DENIED ACCESS IN OR OUT OF THE TERRITORY AND HAVE NOT BEEN ALLOWED DELIVERY OF FOOD AND MEDICAL SUPPLIES OR SERVICES. ON THIS DAY A POLICE OFFICER WAS MORTALLY WOUNDED BY GUNFIRE BUT IT HAS NOT BEEN DETERMINED THE SOURCE OF THIS GUNFIRE.

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 URGENTLY ASK YOU TO INTERCEDE WITH THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT, THE UNITED NATIONS, AND WHOEVER YOU CAN IN OUR HOUR OF NEED.

CONTACT: MOHAWK NATION OFFICE
SIX NATIONS CONFEDERACY
KAHNAWAKE BRANCH

TEL: (514) 638-4730
FAX: (514) 638-6790
(514) 638-1892



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, coming from the north and east. They did this behind tear gas canisters, concussion grenades and machine guns. They shredded massive trees in "The Pines" and the gunfire killed one of their own. The Police advance.



Dámarys Sepúlveda
Película del Pasado y Futura de una raza (Film of the Past and Future of our Race)
etching
22 inches x 30 inches

Five Mohawk women were pezzed when the attack began. They availed themselves of the cover they were trying to protect. Obvious wind that sent the tear gas back at the Police. It gave the Mohawk men positions to cover the women on the inside. The Q.P.P. withdrew quickly, leaving 2 vans and a bulldozer.

At issue is a piece of ancestral land. The burial ground that the municipal government had added pine holes to their present development of condominiums. ONLY TO ENSURE SAFE the Oka municipality and one of the

MEMBERS OF THE PASAD...
OF THE KANESATAKE...
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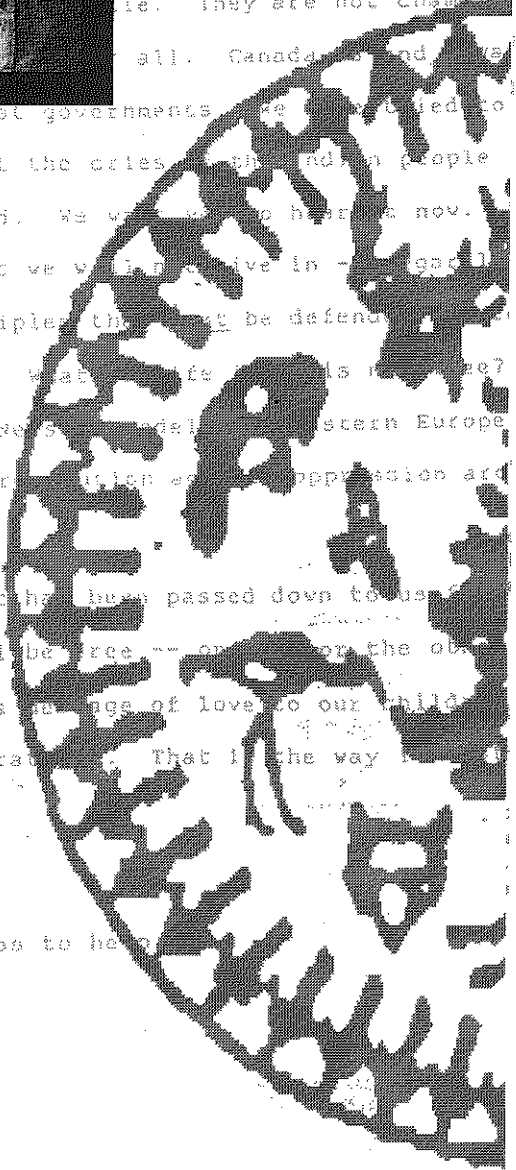
International moral support has been received from organizations worldwide, e.g. World Council of Churches, the Red Cross, United Church of Canada, African National Congress. In Canada, New Democratic Party leader Audrey McLaughlin, Liberal M.P. Ethel Blondin, Mr. Bernard Landry of the Quebec Party Quebecois. 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 urgently ask you to intercede with the Canadian Government, The United Nations, and whoever can be of assistance in our hour of need.

has been a country of racist governments...
you this so very often, but the cries...
Canada could never be heard. We want...
want you to understand that we want...
the cost. There are principles that...
that life be worth living. What...
Isn't that the message of...
Isn't that the message of...
It is the message that...
beginning of time. We will be free...
this commitment, we give a message...
children to seven generations...
That is the way...
for your willingness to help...
peace and friendship...
The Mohawk Nation



HAUDENOSAUNEE

MOHAWK • ONEIDA • ONONDAGA • CAYUGA • SENECA • TUSCARORA
Mohawk Nation Kahnawake Branch
Box 645, Kahnawake, Que., Canada J0L 1B0

NEWS RELEASE

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

1990

Communique:
July 20th, 1990

Our hearts and tranquil minds, the Kanienkehake people
violent assaults promised by the racist governments of
Guy and Robert Bourassa. Our peace and tranquility
the knowledge that we have followed our law and worked
with all of our might. Now that war is being forced
will turn our hearts and minds to war and it too we
with all of our might. Ours is a just and honorable
it flows from our laws and our way. Our enemies have
for. They have no such commitment to the principles
of justice based on truth and the equality of all
people. Our strength of heart, mind and spirit flows from
principles. As we stand before the darkest enemies of
and the nobility of all life, we are unafraid. Our
strong. We are together at last with ourselves and
our ancestors; we are proud before our children and
sons unborn. We are true to the spirits of our past,
to the spirits of our present. We are true to the
those unborn. We are free. No yoke of white
oppression can contain us. We are free.

Mohawk Nation Office
Six Nation Iroquois Confederacy
Kahnawake Branch

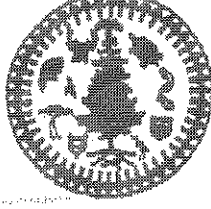
(514) 638-4750
(514) 638-4750
638-1692

Kanesatake Branch

(514) 479-8353
(514) 479-8354

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, chil-
dren and elders. They did this behind a barrage of tear-gas, canis-
ters, concussion grenades and automatic weapons fire that shred-
ded massive trees in "The Pines" at waist level. Their gunfire
killed one of their own snipers who was deployed ahead of the Po-
lice advance.

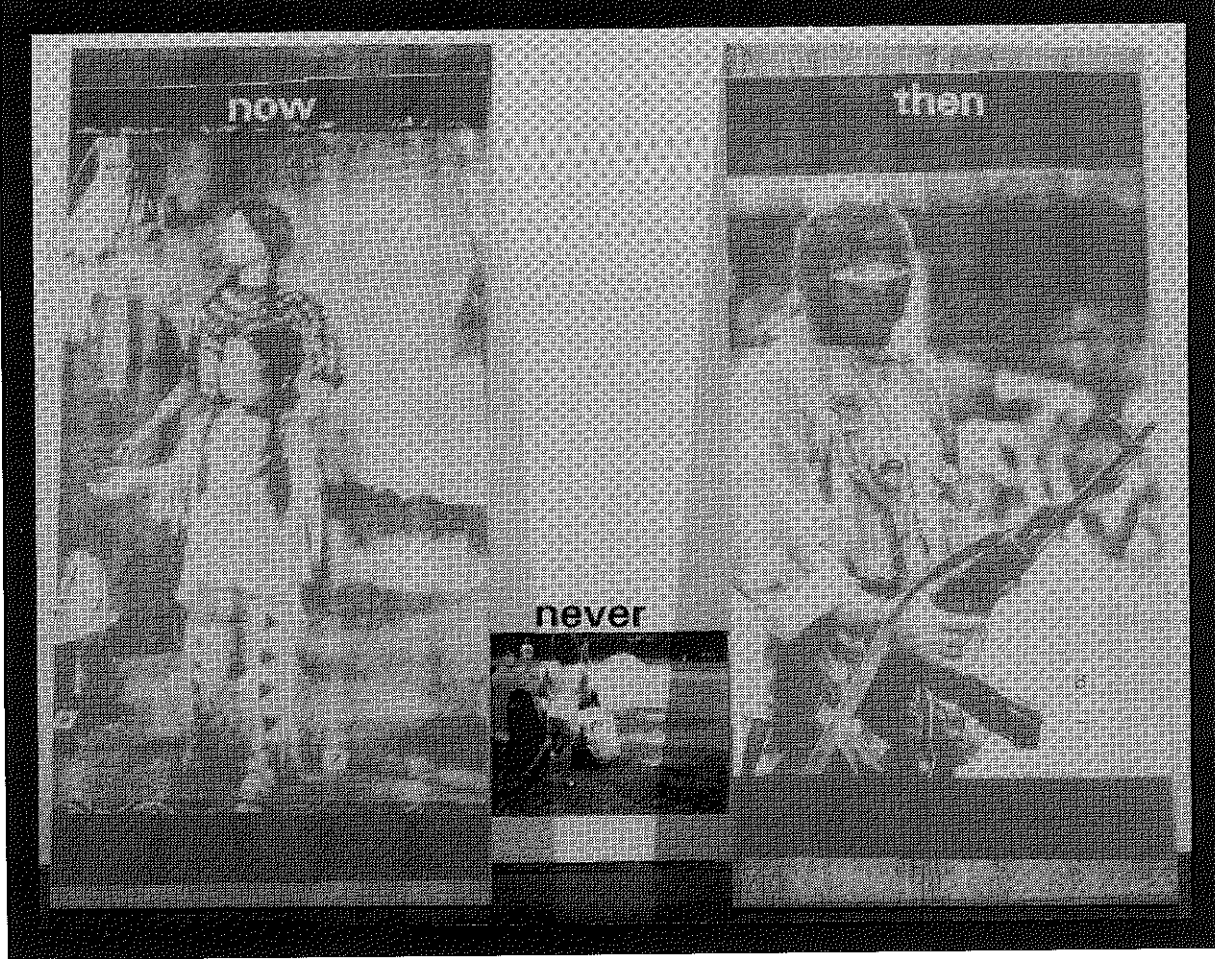
Five Mohawk women were performing a tobacco-burning
ceremony when the attack began. They avoided dying by
hugging the land they were trying to protect. Others were saved
by a shift in wind that sent the tear gas back into the face of the
Provincial Police. It gave Mohawk men time to get to their defen-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



HAUDENOSAUNEE

MOHAWK • ONEIDA • ONONDAGA • CAYUGA • SENECA • TUSCARORA
Mohawk Nation Kahnawake Branch
Box 645, Kahnawake, Que., Canada J0L 1B0

MOHAWK HARBORS SOCIETY/MOHAWK SOVEREIGNTY SECURITY FORCE



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85% OF QUEBEC IS OWNED

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THE CITIZENS OF CANADA ARE SPENDING OVER ONE MILLION DOLLARS PER DAY FOR THE SURETE DU
QUEBEC'S MANEUVERS 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 GENOCIDAL WAR ON THE
MOHAWK MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN?????

09-18-90

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September 10, 1990, we of the Mohawk Nation and it's allies have to reach a peaceful conclusion to the present crisis. It's roots long before that. The problems between our people and Canadian political leaders to legitimate concerns and rights and Premier Bourassa have a y of our claims and promised in a real manner, it remains

ship of the Canadian and their responsibilities since the beginning of this nor discussed the issues, not a public know in your hearts

the last ten days, we behind numerous communications with to avoid discussions with ye chancel Prime Minister Mulronee their rather of office decision making authority to th

have attempted to communicate all our efforts have been a obviously making all the de y on behalf of YOU, the Canada

the last ten days the military h of national and international

we access to Doctors and medicine. we access to winter clothing and other of life.

we access to sufficient amounts of food. ing with all of our communications, ing those of our spiritual advisors, families,

At issue is a piece of ancestral Indian land, including a burial ground that the municipality of Oka wants, in order to add nine holes to their present 9-hole golf club, and to construct some 70 condominiums. Mayor Jean Ouellette of the Oka municipality and one of his councilors Rejean Larocque are members and shareholders of the Oka golf club. Prime Minister Brian Mulronee gave tacit and direct approval of the Provincial Government in its supremacist stand and actions against the Mohawks of Kanesatake.

The almost spontaneous reaction of the Kahnawake Mohawks, some forty miles to the east, in blocking the Mercier Bridge to Montreal and its approaches, all of which pass through their land, stopped any further police action against the Kanesatake people.

Today, what the governments of Quebec and Ottawa could not achieve by force of arms, they are trying to achieve by denying food and medical supplies, applying the psychological weapon of isolation, and even refusing entry to others of our people to visit, console and Council the Indians of Kanesatake and Kahnawake.

The long war of destructive attrition that Canada and its Provinces have waged against our people is unending. We want the world to know this. We want the world to know that Canada and its provinces are living a cruel lie. They are not champions of justice, fairness and equality for all. Canada is and always has been a country of racist governments. We have tried to tell you this so very often, but the cries of the Indian people in Canada could never be heard. We want to hear it now. We want you to understand that we will not give in — regardless of the cost. There are principles that must be defended in order that life be worth living. What is life if it not free? Is that not the message of Nelson Mandela and Eastern Europe? Isn't that the message of revolution against oppression around the world?

It is the message that has been passed down to us from the beginning of time. We will be free — one way or the other. By this commitment, we give a message of love to our children and grandchildren to seven generations. This is the way it must be.

**Nia:wen
Nia:wen for your willingness to help us.**



Quebec as witnesses selected by your

your governments promised that when the Mercier bridge was open and all barricades at Kahnawake and Kanesatake were removed discussions regarding our long term grievances would begin. They lied! Our people opened the roads and cleared the bridge, yet discussions a Installation: cloth, pine needles, branches wire

Your army promised that once the roads were opened and the bridge was cleared at Kahnawake they would move no further on territory. They lied! Since that time they have violated sacred longhouses, beaten our women, urinated on our children, humiliated our entire territory and last night fired weapons gas, and beat unarmed people.

Your government told the European parliament, (who strongly denounced your leadership's role in this crisis), that they meeting with our representatives to end this stalemate. Again they have lied. No such meetings have occurred.

They put, your government has turned over the voice of people to soldiers, who are unaccountable to anyone. Do wonder why we cannot believe or trust Prime Minister Mulronee Premier Bourassa.

We have no mistake about it, we behind the barbed wire are will to lay down our weapons and to enter into a trusteeship as necessary to resolve our long term complaints is initiated. We never demanded anything, nor do we now, before we take a first step.

All that we ask is for a process and not promises. All that we ever received is promises and not action. This process, however, must begin at the same time as this disengagement.

Today we turned over to the media a complete set of all of our communications to and from the military. We ask you, Canadian public to judge, who in this crisis has good faith who does not. Who seeks a peaceful resolution and who preventing it.

The abdication of the governments of Quebec and Canada leaves us a choice. We will no longer discuss political problems with a military who claim to be powerless to address them, yet denies to our civilian leadership.

We urge Canadians from all walks of life to demand to your leadership a return to its sanity. We urge Canadians from a mass of life to demand of your leadership to assume a responsibility, not just to us, but also to you, to negotiate a peaceful settlement to this crisis.



Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Buffalo Skull Mound
24 inches x 30 inches
1982

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