

## Haunani-Kay Trask

*The radical Hawaiian activist talks about haoles, Hawaiians and the injustices of history*

Haunani-Kay Trask is angry. Angry at what she feels has happened to Hawaiians historically, and what is happening to Hawaii today. Actually, Trask is not always angry—such as when she's teaching American studies at the University of Hawaii, where she's an assistant professor—but it is what she's said when she's angry that has gotten her the most attention.

Or notoriety. In a long article about Hawaii by reporter Robert Shaplen that appeared in a 1982 issue of *The New Yorker*, Trask was quoted as saying she "hates the haoles with a passion"—a statement that stirred up more than a little controversy here.

Trask, 34, comes from a prominent local family. Her father, Bernard, was a lawyer. Her mother, a schoolteacher, is now retired. David and Arthur Trask, the well-known former union leader and attorney, are her father's brothers—Haunani's uncles. She has two sisters who are lawyers and one who's a dancer; and also two brothers—one a fisherman and one a farmer.

Her grandfather on her mother's side was Caucasian. Haunani estimates her own racial mix as about half-Hawaiian and three-eighths Caucasian, with some Chinese. She attended Kamehameha Schools and then the University of Wisconsin, where she was a Phi Beta Kappa and got her bachelor's, master's and Ph.D. in political science. She lives now in a house in the country in Waimanalo.

Trask, who considers herself a Hawaiian nationalist, has been involved in various activist causes such as the Protect Kahoolawe Ohana and the dispute over Sand Island. She was recently invited by the International Institute for Human Rights in Strasbourg, France, to attend a month-long course on "Indigenous Peoples in International Law." As she sees it, the key to the survival of Hawaiians and their culture is control of the land. "Hawaiians cannot survive without a land base," she says. "We are the only Polynesians who do not have a land base. We have in American law an identifiable

land trust—the Hawaiian Homes land and the ceded lands trust—which could be used as a land base were the trusts not abused by the state and federal governments. What I would like to see is Hawaiians being allowed to live and perpetuate their culture on those lands."

As to whether she thinks it's realistic to expect that some years in the future Hawaiians will be able to live in part of the state in some kind of self-governing arrangement, Trask answers, "Obviously I think it's very realistic—otherwise I wouldn't be devoting all this time and energy to it."

With mixed-Polynesian features and long black hair, Trask looks almost as though she could have stepped out of a poster for the Hawaii Visitors Bureau. Yet she has called the aloha spirit "an invention of Arthur Godfrey" and would like to see Hawaii lessen its dependence on tourism. Indeed, her now-famous quote in the pages of *The New Yorker* seemed to extend something less than a welcome mat to visitors:



"The decline of pure Hawaiians—and I think this is really the tale of the story—has continued every year since the coming of the West."



"Most of Hawaii's history is written by people who did not know the language. And that's absurd to me because you would never read an Englishman who wrote a history of France but never looked at French sources."



"Part of me hates the haoles with a passion," she told The New Yorker reporter two years ago, "part of me doesn't care. They're just stupid, and I want them to stay away. All these Americans coming over here and talking about culture. High-rises, fancy clothes, high-heeled shoes and freeways—that's what United States culture stands for. It's grotesque. They have no feeling for the fragility of life. Or flora and fauna. I don't feel like killing them—I just want them to leave us alone."

**HONOLULU:** You're three-eighths haole yourself. Do you hate part of yourself?

**TRASK:** No—I think what people have to understand is that there is such an intense and long-standing bitterness about the reality of white dominance over our lands and our people. And that each generation passes that on to the next generation—not just the bitterness but the continuation of white power. So all that I expressed was a very common feeling that Hawaiians have. And it's not unlike the feeling that Tahitians have for the French, Samoans have for the *papalagi*—which is their term for haole—or that the Maori have for the British. Or that black Americans feel for white Americans. Any oppressed group will feel resentment against the group that, through racist institutions, keeps them oppressed, away from their resources, away from their past. That's what I had expressed to him. I think it's so common that at least most Hawaiians I know couldn't understand why there was a controversy about it. They couldn't understand it because their feeling was, "But of course... But of course that's always been the case in Hawaii."

**HONOLULU:** What kind of reactions did you get from other people after that quote? Both from the haole community and the Hawaiian community—were there different sorts of feedback?

**TRASK:** Well, one nice thing happened. A bunch of my friends got together and wrote a letter to the *Star-Bulletin* and said that they were upset that the quote had not been put in the context of what I just said. It was taken out of its historical context.

But as far as—I'm trying to think of my haole friends... I don't live in a world where people would just sort of come up to me on the street and

respond. But people wrote letters to me, for example. People I didn't know.

**HONOLULU:** What kind of people?  
**TRASK:** Well, I'm assuming they were haole because they said, "How can you say..." But then there were all these letters that came from Hawaiians. Interestingly enough, especially Hawaiians in prison. Saying that the main point isn't the haoles; the point is what happens to us.

The issue is not what I feel about haoles. The issue is who owns the land. Who was originally here. Who has rights to these lands that have

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"... All I expressed was a very common feeling that Hawaiians have. And it's not unlike the feeling that Tahitians have for the French, or that the Maori have for the British..."

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been taken away by the system. And rather than deal with that—and, believe me, Shaplen and I talked at great length about Hawaiian nationalism and land rights and history—rather than deal with that, he chose to make that statement.

**HONOLULU:** Were you upset to see the statement come out that way?

**TRASK:** I thought it was unfair of him not to put it in its historical context. I mean, I have not changed my mind about the statement. I just think that if everybody was so interested in the statement—and apparently the papers were very interested in it—then they ought to go further and ask why the statement was made. What bothers me is, they don't want to know why the statement was made. They don't want to ask me all that I just told you—that the history was there, that the bitterness was there. There are historical reasons.

I work in a university that is 85 percent white male faculty. Most of the student body is either indigenous people or other people of color. That to me is a clear pattern of racism. You can see it; it's institutionalized white power. I think there are four Hawaiian women here on tenure track that I have been able to count. Most of them are in Hawaiian language or Hawaiian music or Hawaiian history. I'm the only one in the social

sciences. I think those are reasons why people say the things that they do, or that I said the thing I said.

**HONOLULU:** So you don't regret the statement.

**TRASK:** Oh, no.

**HONOLULU:** What do you say to Hawaiians such as Sammy Amalu, for example, who *like* being American, who are proud to be American?

**TRASK:** Nothing. I don't talk to Sammy Amalu. We have nothing in common.

**HONOLULU:** What do you think of James Michener's book *Hawaii*?—which in many ways is most Americans' view of Hawaii and Hawaiian history.

**TRASK:** It's just a pulp novel. That's all; it's just a pulp novel. It has the barest relationship to reality. It's a historical fiction—that's what he calls it. I agree with him; that's what it is.

**HONOLULU:** What do you think of Gavan Daws' acclaimed history of Hawaii, *Shoal of Time*?

**TRASK:** I am *so* glad you asked me that question. I think that it is racist. Please put this in the interview. I think that his feeling about Hawaiians came through, that they were—and this is a direct quote—"thieves and savages," and that the women were promiscuous. It's a good example of the colonizer's history of the colonized. When I teach my Hawaiian course I always tell my students, "We will not use Daws." Kuykendall and we will not use Daws." Kuykendall is less racist, but he too says, "Well, the overthrow was inevitable because Hawaiians just couldn't govern themselves." I think that Daws did his research. But he wrote his history of our people from the point of view of the white supremacist West.

**HONOLULU:** Do you know Gavan Daws personally?

**TRASK:** No.

**HONOLULU:** Who do *you* think is the greatest historian of Hawaii? From your perspective, whom should one read to understand Hawaiian history?

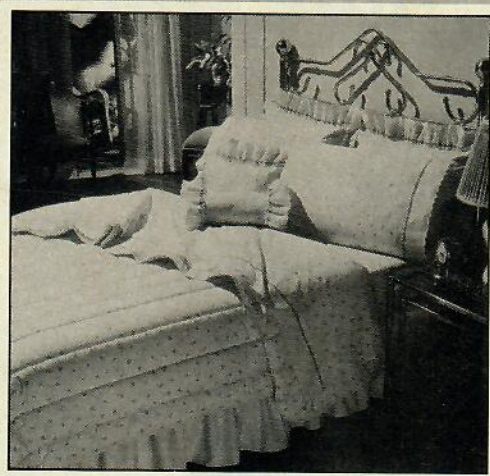
**TRASK:** The first thing I would say about that is you have to learn the language. That's another criticism I make of people like Daws and Kuykendall. You must learn the Hawaiian language to learn Hawaiian history.

**HONOLULU:** Why?

**TRASK:** Because most of the history that is written is written by people



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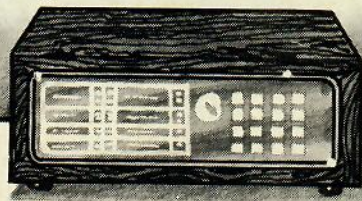
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who did not know the language. And that's absurd to me because you would never read an Englishman who wrote a history of France but never looked at French sources. And it's more important for people to realize that because we had an oral culture. The keys to the culture lie in the language and the chants and the genealogies and the oral histories. However, if you only read the sources that were written in English, you're only going to get their version of events. Fortunately we've had some good translations—Kamakau's been translated; Malo's been translated. Part of Kepelino has been translated. Fornander knew Hawaiian very well so when he wrote he had that knowledge in the back of his mind. Some of the missionaries who originally wrote things in Hawaiian have been translated. But not to know the language means that forever you will not understand the people, the history of the land.

**HONOLULU:** Getting back to the question—let's say I'm just an average person living in Hawaii who wants to learn something about Hawaiian history. Unfortunately I don't know the language, but I would like to take the time to read *one* book on the subject. Whom would you suggest I read?

**TRASK:** [long pause] The length that it takes me to answer this question sort of indicates what the problem is. On pre-contact Hawaii,\* they would have to read articles, because there is no single book. It doesn't exist. On post-contact Hawaii there are some—depending on what kind of history you are looking for. There are some histories of the penetration of the West, for example. Noel Kent just came out with a new book called *Hawaii, Islands Under the Influence*. And I recommend that, and I teach it because it shows the impact of the West. Marion Kelly and her work, all of which is in article form except for her M.A. thesis, is probably the single person who can best explain what happened to the land and therefore, what happened to the people. But it's not a single-source kind of answer. You really have to go to the archives and look for specific articles.

There are some other books you could read that would give you a sense of the culture. Pukui's *Polyne-*

\*Before 1778, the year Capt. Cook arrived.



*sian Family System in Ka'u* will give you a sense of the culture; it's an excellent source book. *Native Planters in Old Hawaii*, for which Pukui was the informant, is a good text for understanding the culture and the land and the people. But a history from pre-contact to post-contact has not been done.

**HONOLULU:** That's a pretty pessimistic answer. If someone's going to have to go digging through archives and read articles here and there, that's more than most moderately interested people can be expected to do.

**TRASK:** Yes. So what I'm doing is I'm planning to write that history. That's what I'm doing right now. My intention is to spend a good part of my life writing the history of my people, knowing the language, knowing the sources. And I consider that an incredible historical burden. But a good one. Something I can do for 20 years.

**HONOLULU:** Are you fluent in Hawaiian?

**TRASK:** Nope. Not at all.

**HONOLULU:** Can you read Hawaiian?

**TRASK:** I'm learning it right now. There are a couple of problems with the historical work I'm doing. One is that I have to read old archives where the orthography is non-existent. I don't know whether you care about this, it's just a historical problem, but the diacritical marks are non-existent or very poor, because the language was just written in the 19th century, so that's the problem. I also have to interview and speak with people whose native tongue is Hawaiian, so there's the spoken part of the research, and then there's the written part. But I just look at it as a wonderful challenge. The more I learn the Hawaiian language, the more I understand the people and the history. One of the things I learned when I first began to study the Hawaiian language, was that we have two possessives in the language, the "a" and "o" possessives, and they determine what is inalienable, the possessive does. So that if I refer to my mother, she is an inalienable, non-acquired person, so I use the "o" possessive. However, if I refer to my child or my sweetheart, I acquired them. But your body is inalienable, so you refer to it as something you were born with. The land in Hawaiian is referred to as an inalienable characteristic. And I never

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saw that in Daws and Kuykendall, both of whom say that the land was owned by the king. Obviously they don't know the language.

**HONOLULU:** How long have you been studying the Hawaiian language?

**TRASK:** It's been three years now. I was required to take Hawaiian language at Kamehameha Schools, but that was just two years. And my mother spoke Hawaiian when we were growing up, but my father didn't. So we were raised in essentially an English-speaking household.

**HONOLULU:** You said in an interview that "indigenous people when they come in contact with the capitalist system, are destroyed because they don't have the same values." Is "destroyed" too strong a word? Are you saying that Hawaiians as a people have been destroyed?

**TRASK:** Absolutely. Destroyed is the perfect word because between 1778 and 1878, the decline of the population was 10-to-1. The decline of American Indians in that same 100-year time span was 10-to-1. And the term people always use is decimation. But decimation means a decline by 10 percent. What we're talking about is a decline by 90 percent. Cook brought syphilis which, by itself, in the estimation of doctors whom the missionaries brought, had so destroyed the Hawaiian capacity to reproduce—because it affects fertility—that "destroyed" is really the only accurate term to use. Some Indian tribes have been exterminated, and exterminated means there is nobody left. We're not facing that situation, but the decline of pure Hawaiians—and this I think is really the tale of the story—the decline of pure Hawaiians has continued every year since the coming of the West. One of the things I would love to see is the pure Hawaiian population grow. I would like to see that, but every census year the pure Hawaiian population goes down.

**HONOLULU:** Should you be blaming capitalism for destroying the Hawaiians? Or should you be blaming disease?

**TRASK:** Well, you know, disease is a weapon in the arsenal of the capitalist. If you do not have disease then you have to kill them because there's no other way to get the land, which is what you want. The case of American Indians—and you can see this in some of the missionary journals too—is one of the most obvious and



best-known examples. You have the Congress of the United States debating whether or not they should just kill the buffalo and thereby kill the Indians. Or whether they should just drive them into the mountains with military forces. And when you read the missionary journals—Hiram Bingham is probably the best example because he wrote so much—you see that their main concern is that the Hawaiians die as Christians, not that they die. They actually say—and it's shocking to me—the reason they're dying is because they are immoral and savage.

**HONOLULU:** When you describe disease as a "weapon in the arsenal," are you saying that when Capt. Cook and his men came here they were consciously trying to—

**TRASK:** Absolutely. That's exactly what I'm saying. In Cook's journals—and this is another bone of contention I have with Gavan Daws—Cook knew that his men had disease. He knew that his men had disease and he said, "I should not let them go ashore. But alas, if they do, there is nothing I can do about it."

**HONOLULU:** He would have preferred them not to go ashore.

**TRASK:** Yes. But my goodness, when he wanted to prevent his men from going ashore because there was a *kapu* on the land or because he was afraid of warfare, nobody left that boat.

**HONOLULU:** But isn't it one thing to say Cook was afraid his men would go ashore and spread venereal disease, and another thing to say he was intending to wipe out the Hawaiian race or kill 90 percent of the people in the next century?

**TRASK:** Well, Cook wasn't the only one. You can't focus all of the historical analysis on Cook because other people did that as well. Let me give you an example. The second time Cook came back, he let his men go freely. He never gave them any criticisms at all about staying, or any warnings. And the reason he didn't was because he said, "Oh, well, the people have been contacted with syphilis anyway." Now, anybody who knows anything about communication between the islands knows that, unless it was wartime, most of the people stayed right where they were. They never went anywhere like [in] a modern urban society. The disregard—which is really what I'm saying about disease—the disregard for the

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life of the people is so clear when you read their reports because they thought of them as sub-human. The disregard for the people to me means that the sooner they get off the land and we can get the sugar crop going, the better. The missionaries, who talked about this, and who grieved for the loss of the people, always put it in terms of their lack of conversion.

So what I'm saying about disease is that not only were Westerners callous, but that it actually worked in their favor because they needed the land, the resources, the labor. And there is no possibility of forgiveness by me or any of the other Hawaiians who feel the way I do, who know Hawaiian history—there is no possibility of forgiveness for that.

**HONOLULU:** Forgiving whom?

**TRASK:** The West! The conquering, imperialist, capitalist West!

**HONOLULU:** Is it fair to blame the great-great-grandsons or great-great-granddaughters, or *all* white people, for things that were done in previous centuries?

**TRASK:** Nobody is doing that. Nobody is doing that. What we're doing is saying, "This force in history, this white supremacy that has gone all over the world, today, *now*, continues to control Hawaii. If you look at our health profile as Hawaiian people, we have the worst health profile in *Hawaii nei*—that history, that post-contact history, continues today. Our people are still suffering from diseases and dying at an earlier age; our life expectancy is 10 years less than that of other ethnic groups. We have the highest infant mortality, the highest maternal mortality, we have the highest cancer rate for women in the entire United States. And when you look at indigenous peoples who have been impacted by the West, this health profile, this psychological profile, alcoholism—you see that wherever the West has gone: Samoa, the Indians, now Eskimos are committing suicide at an incredible rate. There are historical reasons why that has happened and continues to happen.

**HONOLULU:** Do you consider yourself a "Marxist"?

**TRASK:** Oh, no. I studied Marxism for at least five or six years when I was an undergraduate and a graduate, and I have profound disagreements with Marxism in theory, and communism and socialism in practice. I have tremendous respect for Marx as

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a philosopher and a seer of society. But it's in the total disregard for non-Western peoples that I am most critical of him and of Marxists. Their theory of history proceeds along this linear line of communal, primitive communism and then feudalism and then the bourgeois state and then communism. And in that, which they call the scientific progression of history, tribal peoples, indigenous peoples, are swept off into the dust bin. We have no role to play at all in the destiny that is foisted upon us by this marching on of history.

There are some other things that I disagree with Marxists and communists about. One is that they are very pro-industrialization. They are no different from capitalists who want to consume the natural world to the point of extinction—both the natural world and us. The only thing that they care about is who gets what. Not whether the environment is actually chewed up and destroyed. And if you look at communism in practice you will see that indigenous peoples, both in the Western Hemisphere and elsewhere, are attacked by communist governments. Their resources are taken away.

**HONOLULU:** How many people do you think you can convince now, in 1984, with the overall standard of living that we have here, that capitalism has been bad for Hawaii?

**TRASK:** I don't think I have to convince them. Because I think some good examples are already there in the non-native community. The fact that four unions are furious at the greedy power structure of the state means they are unhappy with capitalism. The fact that tourist workers are making so little while tourist owners are making so much means that they are unhappy with capitalism. And that's why I agree with Marx as a seer of society. He saw that exploitation clearly. It's just what you do about it that we part company on. But I don't think that I have to worry about convincing anybody. The Hawaiians already know that like other under-classed, underpaid, indigenous people—people of color—they are on the bottom of the system. They already know that, so I don't have to convince them.

**HONOLULU:** There are a number of Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian politicians who are now doing quite well and rising politically within the system—people like Dan Akaka,

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John Waihee and Henry Peters to name a few—how do you feel about that?

**TRASK:** To the extent that Hawaiian politicians help their people, I support them. I think there are certain instances when they can speak out, given the status of their office, and help Hawaiians. They can lend their office to supportive programs, positions and arguments for Hawaiians. Whether or not they do it depends on how much they are a part of the system.

In the case of Henry Peters, I think that's an example of someone who on several occasions has actually worked against the interests of the Hawaiian people. He has tried, in my understanding, to prevent Hawaiian beneficiaries from being able to sue the trustees of their trusts. And he has also tried unsuccessfully to prevent the Office of Hawaiian Affairs from suing the state of Hawaii for revenues from ceded land use by the state. To me these examples mean that he has not worked in the interests of the Hawaiian people. He's working with the establishment—that is, the state of Hawaii—to make sure that Hawaiians

don't get their legally guaranteed rights.

**HONOLULU:** Henry Peters was recently appointed Bishop Estate trustee. How do you feel about that?

**TRASK:** I don't think he has the qualifications I consider necessary to be a trustee. Those qualifications include a strong commitment to stopping the alienation of Hawaiian lands and giving the beneficiaries of Hawaiian lands—that is, Hawaiians themselves—control over those lands. And since he hasn't demonstrated that, I don't think we need another political appointment to the Bishop Estate.

**HONOLULU:** Whom would you have supported for a Bishop Estate trustee?

**TRASK:** As a general category, I would have supported a Hawaiian woman who has qualifications outside the realm of electoral politics. Someone who has not been in the political process. They've never had a woman trustee. The time has long since passed when they should have women sitting on that trust.


As far as qualifications go, I would like to see somebody who has some background in community work, in

social welfare work, in working with the disadvantaged—instead of people who have qualifications in business and who have supported faithfully the Democratic Party.

**HONOLULU:** You've said that the Hawaiian population is steadily declining. Are you optimistic about the fate of the Hawaiian people?

**TRASK:** I'm optimistic about our commitment to caring for the land, because I see that as a generational heritage. In other words, Hawaiians have always cared for the land, and I see them continuing to do that; I don't feel like Hawaiians have given up that stewardship of the land. But I'm not optimistic about the increase of the pure Hawaiian population. And *that* makes me sad. The increase in the part-Hawaiian population is proceeding apace. We're the fastest reproducing group right now. But part-Hawaiians are not pure Hawaiians, they're a completely different group.

**HONOLULU:** Do you think there will come a time when there will be no more pure Hawaiians?

**TRASK:** Well, I work against that time. 

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