

# MODERN TIMES

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## Repression by Proxy? KCIA Attacks Hawaii Demonstrators

The recent visit to Hawaii of Korean strongman president Chon Doo Hwan ended in brutal K.C.I.A. (Korean Central Intelligence Agency) assaults on American demonstrators including one H.U.S. member.

Chon's February 5 arrival at the U.H. East-West Center was met by over 100 angry picketers along East-West Road whose signs called on Chon to end repression in south Korea and for the U.S. to cut aid to the dictatorial regime. According to sources, Chon's economic advisor said the closeness of the demonstrators in Honolulu made it the "harshest reception" of the dictator's 10-day U.S. visit.

Tension at the University demonstration mounted as the protestors followed Chon's caravan from the East-West Center to the nearby Center for Korean Studies. Korean sources told this writer that Chon was shaken by the strength of the protest and expressed annoyance at the failure of most Korean faculty and students to show up for his visit. Chon's wife, her attending physician was said to have confided, was even more noticeably affected, suffering embarrassing intestinal problems.

Korean security initiated the first of 3 violent attacks after an alleged egg-throwing effort by one demonstrator. Ron McClean was hospitalized following what media photo coverage revealed was a ruthless kicking assault against him by a Korean plainclothesman. Later at a demonstration at the Korean consulate, McClean again and HUS member Jim Brewer were beaten by Korean security. McClean was arrested while Brewer, victim of an unprovoked stick attack, required 9 stitches to close a gaping head wound.



Honolulu police on duty as well as U.S. secret service cooperated with the Korean security by arresting two demonstrators and refusing to question the attackers. In anticipation of possible K.C.I.A. violence, leaders of the consulate demonstration had requested police peace-keeping assistance, but one of the U.S. secret service agents issued a warning to leave or "take the consequences."

One of those arrested was political science professor Oliver Lee, charged with using a loudspeaker to lead chants over the din of music blaring from the consulate affair. One demonstrator said Lee's arrest "is an obvious example of the complicity of the Honolulu police forces with repressive regimes."

The Korean security also moved to attack a hooded Korean graduate student while he was delivering in his native language an emotional speech against the regime. Demonstrators had to close ranks around him for protection. Later the Korean student said, "I cannot return home now. If the K.C.I.A. find out my identity, my family will be persecuted." (Continued on p. 4)

## "No Nukes" Wins on the Big Island

In an action which reminded some observers of David beating Goliath, anti-nuclear activists on the Big Island were successful last January in getting their County planners to unanimously approve an ordinance aimed at making Hawaii County nuclear-free. After 2 hours of public testimony, the Planning Committee voted 6-0 in favor after first voting to include U.S. military shipments in the county-wide ban. The Big Island has a major training area and other installations operated by the U.S. military, so the ban could create a showdown with the U.S. government.

The action came despite a Deputy Corporation Counsel opinion that no locality could pass a law banning storage and transport of nuclear materials. As William Jardine of Waimea put it, in testifying for the ban, "If the Boston Tea Party organizers had paid attention to rules and regulations, we wouldn't be here today."

Ordinance 689 sets a \$10,000 fine and imprisonment for not less than 10 years, or both, as the penalty for violations. The ordinance must now be approved by the County Council, but Big Island supporters report that feelings are high, and prospects are good for its approval.





## Feed-Back: Our Readers React

### ON THE SITUATION IN POLAND....

To get the right answers, one must ask the right questions. Does there exist in Poland a part of the population which enjoys relative privileges at the expense of a long-term decline in the standard of living of a much larger group of people? Why is Poland in hock to Western bankers?

Is there more than one way of viewing "standard of living"? Is "more" the same as "better"? If she/he who does not strike does not eat meat, does this mean that vegetarians do not need to strike?

Is the working class always right? Was Rosa Luxemburg wrong to oppose World War I, while the German workers were caught up in a wave of national chauvinism?

--Milton Shiro Takei

Enclosed is \$10 for my subscription to Modern Times (for the last two years).... I still really enjoy reading it and staying in touch with events in Hawaii....

--T. Wells, New York

Every time we read M.T., I want to send you a check--we've been getting it for years and have never paid for it--so thanks for keeping them coming, they get better and better!

--Vicki & Jerry, Oahu

...I personally believe that the formation of independent statewide socialist groupings are the most effective ways of building a strong grassroots movement. It is good to know there is such an organization in Hawaii (the Hawaii Union of Socialists), which, while maintaining its own independence, will work cooperatively with a national organization of like politics....

-- Steve Rossignol, Texas  
Socialist Party, USA

...I think HUS must assert itself in the trend, just to be politically honest if for no other reason.

Hawaii and HUS are in a unique situation to answer such questions as the race national question, and union work. I can tell you now that there is no group in the trend up here who has anything close to the influence of HUS in the movement of the left. As for comrades who say that Hawaii tails behind the mainland, all I can answer is I don't see it....--R.E., Seattle, Wash.

Thanks for your issue of M.T. Very interesting and refreshing to make contact with the web of ideas and activities round HUS. I was particularly interested in your own review of the NFPC. Your treatment of the indigenes' struggle within the NFPC preparatory conference work was valuable; such things should be acknowledged, at least.... The more I see of the Australian mainland and island situations the more I become convinced of this inextricable intertwining of cultural, national, land, industrial and political tie-ups in the anti-nuclear struggles....

--John Baker, Waverton, Australia

...Last January 17, President Marcos was reported to have "lifted" the form or facade of martial law. But all evidences show that the substance or essence of Marcos' rule remains the same: repression of the majority of citizens, exploitation of workers, peasants, businessmen, professionals, etc. 49 million Filipinos cannot be fooled by this recent hoax....Nothing has changed: strikes are still prohibited; freedoms of speech, press, and assembly still denied; and the "New Society" as old, sick, and corrupt as ever.

Thanks to Washington's average annual aid of \$100 million (in exchange for corporate superprofits and strategic military bases), Marcos' despotic, authoritarian rule has lasted up to this point where, today, many more millions see that it is not just Marcos or a handful of individuals who have caused their sufferings but an unjust and unequal system--a semifeudal and semicolonial society dominated by U.S. corporate interests--that must be dismantled, together with caretaker-parasites like Marcos....Massive popular resistance--from nuns and priests to the New People's Army and the Bangsa Moro Army--has compelled Marcos to change tactics by a superficial change in the appearance of military rule. But it is time now that we unite and finally do away with the system that breeds the class of Marcos and his ilk.

We urge everyone to unite and support concretely the National Democratic Front and its 10-Point Program which is the key to the total abolition of martial law and the system that has produced the Marcos clique, and the key to the establishment of a truly democratic, popular, and independent government.

--Coordinating Committee, Ugnayan  
(Alliance for Philippine National Democracy, Chicago, Illinois), 1/17



### Communities United for Freedom

Communities United for Freedom (an anti-fascist organization based in Eugene, Oregon) is putting together a nationwide communication network with the ultimate goal of establishing a mass-based united front. Initially the network can serve to spread information ignored or distorted by the mass media, provide contacts and support for those groups and individuals involved, and coordinate mass actions, both legislative and direct--petitions, letter campaigns, boycotts, demos, etc.

Any group or individual interested in working on this project can contact CUFF c/o Cathi Beavers, 2298-2 Patterson Drive, Eugene, Oregon 97405. Include information on the group and on local events, as well as ideas, project proposals, etc.

(CUFF's position paper on the current right-wing resurgence is available from CUFF, or Modern Times.--ed.)



# Intervention and Destabilization: An Overview of U.S. Policy in the Caribbean and Central America, 1980

by Chris Conybeare

From the ballyhoo about Soviet brigades in Cuba, the rhetoric about the new direction in U.S. Caribbean policy, creation of the new Caribbean military task force, and numerous "show-the-flag" exercises, one might think that 1980 marked a year of discovery of Caribbean and Central American interests for the U.S. and its imperialist allies.

In fact, as S. Marksman, writing in the August-September, 1980, issue of Covert Action Information Bulletin, reminds us, U.S. intervention in the Caribbean dates back to George Washington's efforts at manipulation of the slave and rum trade to unseat the British from colonial control in Barbados.

The 1823 "Monroe Doctrine" formalized U.S. intentions and the following partial list of interventionist activity is a helpful reminder of the hegemonistic application of that Doctrine:

- \*colonization of Cuba after the "Spanish-American War"

- \*seizure of Puerto Rico

- \*imposition of U.S. will on Panama and the forced acquisition of the Canal Zone in 1903

- \*U.S. establishment of the Somoza dynasty in Nicaragua

- \*installation of the right-wing dictatorship in Guatemala in 1954

- \*the "Bay of Pigs" invasion of Cuba in 1961

- \*destabilization of the Jagan government in Guyana

- \*invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965

- \*U.S. warships aid the suppression of Trinidad & Tobago's "Black Power" movement in 1970

- \*the 1976 campaign to destabilize Jamaica

- \*establishment of paramilitary enclaves in Antigua and Barbados by U.S. corporations bent on supplying arms to South Africa

- \*numerous assassination plots against Fidel Castro and the economic blockade of Cuba.

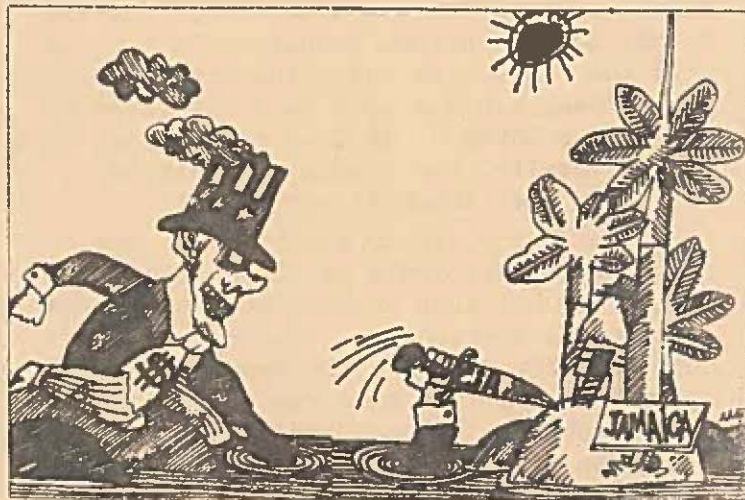
To the above list, I would like to add the 1978 mass murder of more than 900 U.S. citizens at Jonestown in Guyana and the killing of U.S. Representative Ryan and those that died with him under the watchful eyes of Guyanese military.

1980 then was not remarkable in terms of the nature of U.S. policy vis-a-vis the region. However, because Caribbean and Central American peoples waged successful revolutionary campaigns in Nicaragua and Grenada in 1979, U.S. intervention and manipulation was dramatically stepped up in 1980.

## 1980--LITANY OF OPPRESSION

The theme of U.S. foreign policy in 1980 was "NO MORE NICARAGUAS, NO MORE GRENADAS." Hence in 1980 the following litany of oppression can be traced to U.S. policy:

1) the January bomb attack in the Puerto Rican Bar Association offices for the Bar's support of Vieques fishermen's and other peoples' struggles. (U.S. Navy Lieutenant De Lazerda was indicted for the bombing but acquitted after a lackluster prosecution; one of his colleagues, Petty Officer Davis, has since been transferred to Hawaii.)



2) The destabilization of Jamaica, Part II, which began with the January cessation of International Monetary Fund drawing rights and ended with a rightwing victory at the polls over Manley's PNP, a campaign which resulted in almost 1,000 deaths including the cold-blooded killing of Member of Parliament Roy McGann by the Jamaica police.

3) Manipulations of Grenada's People's Revolutionary Army and, upon failure, a brutal bombing attack aimed at the entire New Jewel Movement leadership which killed several bystanders at a people's rally in June.

4) The Guyana regime's murder of the WPA's Dr. Walter Rodney, a leading revolutionary and world renowned Caribbean historian. The murder was perpetrated by a provocateur who enticed Rodney to try a rigged walkie-talkie, which exploded. Sources suggest that the murderer now resides in Brooklyn and that the U.S. supplied the explosive device.

5) Efforts of the CIA and rightwing religious groups to bring a Hmong mercenary army from S.E. Asia to Guyana. The refugees were to settle near the Jonestown death camp. Similar plans were foiled two years ago in Bolivia and were linked to evangelists and South African expatriates.

6) A fierce destabilization campaign against Nicaragua and attempts to split Nicaragua's English-speaking population from the majority with a church-related anti-Cuba campaign.

7) A mercenary invasion of Surinam and subsequent manipulation of the non-commissioned officers' movement and jailing of progressive elements.

8) Use of hurricane relief aid and U.S. corporate investments to oust progressives from government positions in Dominica. Financial blackmail of this type has also caused Dominica and other eastern Caribbean mini-states to redirect their foreign links away from neighboring Grenada.

9) Stepped up corporate investment in Haiti and the development of a new commercial sector under "Baby Doc" has caused the displacement of thousands and increased poverty and suffering. This has resulted in a dramatic increase in refugee escapees. There has also been a complete crackdown on progressive elements and official support for the resurgence of the hated Ton Ton Macoute death squads.

(Continued on page 6)



# Kwangju Massacre Protested

(continued from p. 1)

An Iranian graduate student, one of many Asian students (some hooded) participating in the demonstration, compared the K.C.I.A. with the repression under the Shah, remarking, "These K.C.I.A. are ruthless, even worse than SAVAK." As Chon's motorcade left the University, the protestors chanted, "K.C.I.A., get the hell out today!"

U.S. military aid to south Korea, one of the largest recipients on the Pentagon's gift list, has been guaranteed by the right-wing Reagan government. Korean students expressed concern that the assistance will be used to suppress more resistance such as that which erupted in Kwangju last year. (See John Witeck's article which describes the massacre that followed.)

Another major supporter of the Chon regime is the East-West Center which helped trigger off the demonstration by inviting the dictator to plant a tree on its administration building grounds. The morning after the demonstration, the tree planted by Chon was found chopped down to the stump.

The Center is currently headed by Lee-Jay Cho, a Korean with close connections to the Chon regime. Last year, Nam Duck Woo, a former university classmate of Cho, was a visiting researcher at the Center's Population Institute (which Cho previously headed) when he was suddenly called home to become the new south Korean premier. Cho is also, reportedly, interested in a cabinet appointment, although Chon was said to have reprimanded Cho for "bringing me here for this demonstration."

In the past few years the Center has played host to many other rightist regimes, welcoming then Thai prime minister Kriangsak and government spokesmen for Marcos, Suharto, Chiang Ching-kuo and Lee Kwan Yew. Together these 5 governments have directly contributed \$1.34 million to the Center from 1976 to 1980. Korea has provided \$200 thousand.

## EWC'S "NON-POLITICAL" FACADE

Everett Kleinjans, controversial president of the East-West Center for 12 years until

STOP REPRESSION IN FRENCH  
POLYNESIA AND NEW CALEDONIA!



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his retirement last October, publicly declared, however, that "the Center has always tried to be non-political."

Dissident Korean students at the University and East-West Center now express fear that political pressure against them may intensify. Two years ago the Honolulu Advertiser printed articles exposing a Taiwan Kuomintang (KMT) informer system operating out of Center dormitory Hale Manoa which led to a University investigation and the hushed-up expulsion of one of the named KMT agents on a Center grant. Korean students insist that a similar K.C.I.A. informer system is being used against them.

One case cited is the mysterious death in 1976 of Pae Jae-Ki, a Korean graduate student who, police reports say, committed "suicide" by hanging himself from a 5-foot clothing bar in his EWC dormitory room. Several reliable sources say that the student left behind notes and a diary that alleged harassment of him by the K.C.I.A. No East-West Center or Honolulu Police investigation was ever conducted.

Meanwhile, protest organizers are looking into legal means of bringing charges against the Korean operatives who injured two demonstrators. (The U.H. student senate resolved to ask the U.H. administration to make a statement condemning the brutality against the U.H. grad student.) Honolulu police violence against local peaceful protestors has also erupted in recent years. The apparent go-ahead given the Korean security by the Honolulu police and U.S. secret service, however, raised the spectre in the minds of some local commentators of Reagan's "anti-terrorism" rhetoric being a prelude to bloody K.C.I.A.-style repression on home soil.

--B. Santerre, 2/81

## Free Charly Ching!

**UPDATE:** Charly Ching and six other Tahitian independence activists charged with the 1978 murder of a wealthy Frenchman had their prison sentences reduced as a result of a new trial verdict in Paris last Jan. 26. Ching, a longtime independence advocate and well-known politician, had nothing to do with the 1978 murder and was framed on the charge most likely as a way to remove him from Tahiti. The 5-year sentence he received recently may mean several more years of imprisonment away from home. (For more info, contact Groupe de Recherche et d'Action non violente, 15 rue de Palais, 29000 Quimper, France.)

### NEW PUBLICATIONS:

U.H. Ethnic Studies Program's "Ka Maka'ai-nana" Newsletter, East-West Rd. 4, Room 3D, Honolulu, Hi. 96822 (Attention: R. Kotani); free subscription. Donations welcome.

Hawaii Network News, Pacific Concerns Resource Center, PO Box 27692, Honolulu 96827 (538-3522)



# The 1980 Election and Socialism in America: A Last Gasp or A New Beginning

5

By Stewart Meacham

The two most notable figures of 20th century socialism in the United States have been Eugene V. Debs and Norman Thomas. Eugene Debs organized the Socialist Party in 1901 and was its Presidential candidate in successive elections culminating in his candidacy in 1920 when he carried out his campaign from a prison cell. Debs had been jailed for his outspoken opposition to "the war to make the world safe for democracy," as President Woodrow Wilson expressed it.

Debs, who polled 920,000 votes from his prison cell, was charged with sedition because of his denunciation of the government's prosecution of persons under the Espionage Act of 1917. Earlier he had launched the industrial union movement in the U.S. and followed that with the organization of the Socialist Party. Throughout his life, he opposed militarism and war.

Norman Thomas succeeded Eugene Debs as the leading spirit of the Socialist Party. He was its candidate for President in each election from 1928 through 1948. The peak of his leadership came in 1932 when he ran against Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Herbert Hoover and polled 880,000 votes.

The influence of both of these men stretched far beyond their success, or lack of it, in getting elected President as socialists. What each did was to succeed in challenging the stereotyped images presented by the major parties and their candidates and projecting directions for the country which later became a part of the system.

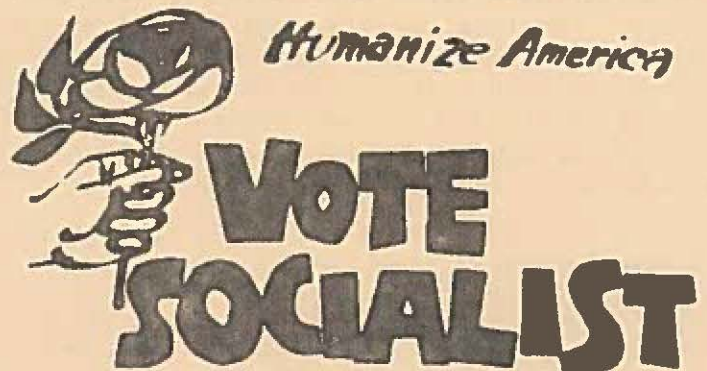
In Debs' case, it was his fight for industrial unions, that is unions representing all the workers in an industry, rather than unions built on craft elitism. Such unions became a reality during the early years of the CIO (Congress of Industrial Organizations) under the leadership of Sidney Hillman and John L. Lewis in the early New Deal period of the mid-1930s. But the seeds had been planted by Debs.

Norman Thomas, particularly in the first four years of the New Deal under Roosevelt, generated many of the ideas and perspectives which became part of that administration. Roosevelt was a master at reaching out to, and coopting, the left and building its programs into his administration. These included the use of the government's power to confront the big utilities combines with the federal government's Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), the development of full employment programs for the unemployed during the depths of the great depression, and writing into federal law the rights of labor to form, join and assist unions, and to bargain collectively.

No such role for party leadership from the left has emerged during the recent election of right-wing cowboy star Ronald Reagan over the self-styled pious Protestant Jimmy Carter. The country was confronted with a contest as drab and devoid of challenge as any in this century. We face a future with one fact made clear: there is no reason to

hope that the successor to Carter will be either much better or much worse. As with Carter, he will play up to the Defense Department and the militarists, he will leave the economy in control of the multinational corporations, and he will form alliances with oppressive regimes in every part of the world, using anti-Sovietism as his claim to virtue. And unlike Nixon he is unlikely to blunder into a Watergate that will enable the country to get rid of him.

This absence of leadership is rendered more perilous by the growing nuclear confrontation, shifting over from mutual deterrence to first-strike threat and counter-threat.



WHAT CAN BE DONE?....

Against this doomsday background, what can the Hawaii Union of Socialists (or the left in general) do to trigger new life and vigor into the nearly moribund socialist movement in the United States?

To discuss this question, a recent gathering occurred at the Modern Times Bookstore in Honolulu. In an initial presentation, it was stated that the very bankruptcy of the country's political resources, as dramatized by the lackluster Carter-Reagan contest, is itself an asset if seized on quickly and used to begin to build for alternative choices four years from now.

THERE MUST BE BASIC CHANGE:

\*in the economic system, moving from an economy dominated by the vast corporate structures which now use government as a tool for privilege and profit to an economy serving the people and used for their needs and goals;

\*in international alliances, moving from a system where U.S. money and military/police power is made available to right-wing oppressors in Asia, the Middle East, African, and Latin America to a pattern of alliances with governments prepared to draw on the resources of the people and to be open to the decisions of the people;

\*in "human rights" and "civil liberties," moving away from habitual use of these terms to hide alliances with dictators and military juntas to a readiness to cooperate with governments committed to and practicing freedom;

\*in militarism and war, moving from the lethal game of nuclear threat and counter-threat to a dismantlement of military structures and reliance upon policies and practices of friendship and non-violence at the international level.

(continued on p. 6)



## Electoral Politics and Socialism (cont'd)

*Continued from p. 51*

These questions were posed and answers suggested:

**\*WHEN DO WE START?** The need is now.

**\*WITH WHOM DO WE START?** All who backed 3rd party candidates in 1980. In every community there are people who comprise local forums and grassroots efforts, and we need to reach out toward each other and join hands. We should find the way to link up across the country with other Socialist groups.

**\*HOW DO WE GENERATE WITHIN OURSELVES THE NEED TO BEGIN?** One way is to make a start, to begin.

There followed other presentations. Two were by individuals who had been Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) candidates in the last election. Neither could see in OHA the beginning of a genuine Hawaiian movement to generate in Hawaii the goals of autonomy, reclamation of land and sea rights, and restoration of Hawaiian pre-eminence in their own land which colonialism had destroyed.

In the discussion that followed, four main alternative perspectives emerged:

1) A radical political movement based on Hawaiian land rights and arising out of native Hawaiian rights to Hawaii.

2) A revolutionary movement to supplant the present system with a socialist system not relying upon government as we know it under capitalism but supplanted by forms of power consistent with socialism.



3) A socialist movement seeking to reach out and achieve broad unity on issues, on ideology and on political structure four years from now which would make it possible to challenge the existing system with a relevant, socialist alternative.

4) A social change movement which would not raise challenges to the existing system in such radical terms as to isolate its advocates, but which could be the basis for drawing in those who are deeply dissatisfied with what exists and would be attracted to alternative methods, values and goals.

The meeting closed with a sense of having made a beginning, and a desire to continue the discussion, possibly with a fuller development of the four alternatives presented as a means of searching for the elements within each which could supply dynamic unity, sense of purpose, and enrichment of understanding of the context in which a socialist movement must be projected, its essential elements, and its priorities for the immediate present as well as the long-range future.

(Modern Times editors invite response to this "thought piece" by Stewart Meacham and are grateful to him for his effort to kick off the discussion both at the forum last December and in Modern Times.)

## Intervention and Destabilization (cont'd)

*Continued from p. 51*

10) The all-out campaign to stop the progressive movement in El Salvador and bolster the U.S.-backed junta has resulted in more than 10,000 deaths in 1980. A key element in this campaign of slaughter has been the so-called "Agrarian Reform Program" run by the AFL-CIO-sponsored American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD)

### REFORM EQUALS MURDER IN SALVADOR

In El Salvador, the agrarian reform strategy being implemented by AIFLD had two objectives:

1) redirection of the old oligarchy into the "mainstream" of modern capitalism by limiting the oligarchs' rural stronghold and taking control of the banking sector; and

2) use of agrarian pacification developed in Vietnam where the Phoenix Project wiped out over 40 thousand "suspect peasants".

Agrarian reform in these terms means the take-over of large tracts of land by the military in order to wipe out hostile peasants and replace them with persons deemed safe or neutral. As in Vietnam, the Salvador program is named "Land for the Tiller" and has been set up by a University of Washington Law Professor, Roy Prosterman, who was a drafter of the Vietnam program's implementing legislation and who also helped bring "agrarian reform" to the Philippines. In addition, Prosterman is linked to Werner Ehrhard of EST and has been a consultant to the Hunger Project.

In addition to the AIFLD program, the U.S. has supplied some \$5.7 million in military



aid, and \$90 million in economic aid to the Salvador junta in 1980. In 1981, the last days of the Carter Administration saw the release of another \$60 million in economic aid plus another \$5 million in military assistance, together with lease arrangements for 6 helicopters for military use and the introduction of a permanent counterinsurgency advisory team of U.S. military personnel!

The current campaign by Reagan, Alexander Haig, and high government officials to convince Americans of the need for U.S. intervention by pointing to aid alleged to be coming in to the Salvadorean people's forces from Cuba, Ethiopia and Eastern Europe testifies to the growing threat of all-out repression and an escalated U.S. role. El Salvador is a critical test for the old and new U.S. policy, a policy essentially the same under both Carter and Reagan, but one which may now become even more desperate and murderous. We must measure up to our responsibility to oppose U.S. intervention and support the revolutionary struggle underway in El Salvador.

--Chris Conybeare, 2/81



# The Treaty of Waitangi and the Maoris' Boycott

The political and economic system we have in New Zealand is called a CAPITALIST system, which means that we have a society with two distinct classes—the working class and the capitalist class, and, in essence, the difference is that workers, Maori and Pakeha (whites), can only survive by selling their labor power to capitalists. The worker has no other real source of income outside of the sale of his or her labor power while the capitalist lives off using the labor power of the workers to produce profit for himself, and this profit comes from the fact that the capitalist never pays the worker the full value of what the worker produces.

Capitalism first came to New Zealand around 1800 as part of Great Britain's drive to amass as much of the world's wealth and natural resources as possible....In those early days, New Zealand was used as a base for the seal and whaling trade....Men were forced to live and work in terrible conditions to provide the skins and blubber; these were in turn processed and sold throughout Europe, the profits going not to the men who had produced all this wealth but to a very few extremely rich businessmen in England. As a natural follow-up ship-building became very important for world trade, and New Zealand, with its bountiful timber resources, emerged as a colony worth investing in, not only for its timber but also as a land that could provide many other associated resources (natural ports, a slave labor force, extremely fertile land, etc.). Therefore, it became necessary to set up a society that could continue to provide this wealth for British business lords, including the sending of hundreds of Britons to New Zealand to maintain the system.

Naturally enough, the sale of land in New Zealand also became a very big business and, just as naturally, men with very few scruples got in on the act, even to the extent of selling land that they had only seen on a map (most of which was still undeniably Maori land).

## "CIVILIZING" THE "IGNORANT SAVAGES"?

New Zealand was painted not as a land of blood, sweat and tears but as another "addition to the glorious British Empire, a land inhabited by ignorant savages who were in dire need of Christianity and British civilisation."



Borrowed Times/cpf

Until all this, however, the "poor savages" of New Zealand had managed to get by with a very sophisticated civilization of their own, where the land belonged to the people and the people belonged to the land, where the people had already developed a strong awareness of the need for conservation, where love and respect for the elders and their advice was the norm, and where massacres of thousands of Maori people was unheard of until after the coming of the white man. The Maori lived a very communal life, and this was the main obstacle for British colonialists. It was very hard to control a people who are not particularly interested in working their guts out so that a few may prosper while the majority suffer. Judge Sewell of the Maori Land Court put it best when he said that it was necessary to smash the communal lifestyle of the Maori people before any hope of obtaining large areas of Maori Land could become a reality.



Things went on, with Maoris clashing with Pakehas who not only wanted to use the land but to keep it as well. In the north, however, people like Hongi Hika had managed to amass huge arsenals and went on the rampage, slaughtering hundreds of their old enemies with no respect for the call of "Christianity and civilization," and it soon became blatantly clear that unless something could be done to halt this spread of Maori fury, then that same fury would soon be turned against the Pakeha. Now under normal circumstances the British would have answered this challenge with a bigger threat of their own, but in 1840 things were far from normal. Maori people outnumbered Pakeha people by more than 100 to one, and under those circumstances, threats are absolutely meaningless.

## TREATY OF WAITANGI BORN

These circumstances gave birth to the notorious Treaty of Waitangi—not a document signed between two sovereign nations, not a document aimed at protecting Maoris from the underhanded tricks of unsavory Britons, but a stop-gap measure specifically designed to lull Maori people into a false-sense of security until such time as the British colonialists could bring in enough firepower to enforce their will on the Maori people.

It is still said by many people today that the treaty was a bargain agreed to by two peoples but honored by only one. This notion, however, assumes that one day the other party, the British ruling class or its successors, might honor their side of the bargain. History, however, has already proved how hopeless this idea is. In the 1870's, Gladstone, then Prime Minister of Great Britain, stated that, "There is no treaty more binding on Britain than that of Waitangi." And yet, when King Tawhiao came to Britain to present a petition calling for the honoring of the treaty, Gladstone would not even see him!

(continued on p. 8)



## Waitangi Treaty (cont'd)

(continued from p. 7)

Before that and since then, Maori people have petitioned the governor and successive governments to honor the treaty, with absolutely no success whatsoever. One has only to read a copy of the treaty to realize that if it was honored Maori people would regain so much land and amass so much wealth that Pakehas would pack up and leave, and that situation is totally unrealistic. Therefore, calls for the ratification of the treaty are no more than foolish dreams, and foolish dreams are not the stuff from which racial harmony comes.

### WAITANGI 1981

Protest action today at Waitangi is not aimed at having the treaty ratified, and neither is it aimed at scaring people away. It is and must always be an educating protest, educating Maori people in particular that the history of this country, and especially since the signing of the treaty, is a history of lies, double-talk, racism and oppression, and a history dominated by a system that has never intended to honor the promises made by the incoming British colonialists.

It is the intention of the Waitangi Action Committee to expose the true nature of New Zealand's political system, to explain the purpose of the treaty and why it can never be honored, to help people to understand who their real enemies are (and that the gang phenomenon cannot be dismissed just as an increase in the number of violent Maori offenders), and eventually to show people not how to survive and cope, but how to struggle and, if necessary, overthrow a system that refuses to recognize values that are not geared to profit-making.

We boycott the Waitangi Day celebrations to declare that we no longer wish to take part in a farce and to show that we are prepared to challenge those who would have the celebrations continue.

## Waitangi Arrests Protested

On Waitangi Day, February 6, 8 members of the Waitangi Action Committee were arrested by police in New Zealand and jailed, simply for demonstrating their dissent from the official Waitangi Treaty Day observance. Soli Niheu, who joined with the Maori protest that day and was himself almost arrested, urges letters of solidarity be sent to the Waitangi Action Committee, PO Box 61140, OTARA (New Zealand); and letters of protest to Prime Minister Muldoon, Parliament Bldg., Wellington, New Zealand, and to Maori Affairs Minister Ben Couch (same address).

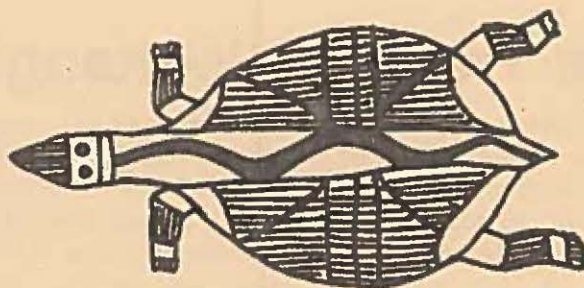
"In Germany, the Nazis first came for the communists,  
but I didn't speak up because I wasn't a communist.

Then they came for the Jews,  
but I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Jew.  
Then they came for the trade unionists,  
but I didn't speak up because I wasn't a trade unionist.

Then they came for the Catholics,  
but I didn't speak up because I was a Protestant.

Then they came for me, but by that time there was no one left to speak for me."

--Martin Niemoller, German theologian



Waitangi Day protest is only a part of the greater struggle, and the Waitangi Action Committee fully recognizes the need to tie the celebrations to all other facets of this corrupt system so that the Maori people can more clearly understand the need to fight for total change and not cosmetic change--and that in order to achieve that change, we must ally ourselves to the most powerful sector of the New Zealand population, the working class. Heoi ano,

--Waitangi Action Committee  
P.O. Box 61140, OTARA (New Zealand)

(The Hawaii Union of Socialists has written a letter supporting the Committee's boycott effort and the work of the Maori Peoples Liberation Movement of Aotearoa in Auckland. Hawaiian activist Soli Niheu travelled to New Zealand carrying support letters from Hawaii and participated in the Waitangi protest march and activities which climaxed on February 6, Waitangi Day. The parallels between the Maori and Hawaiian situations are striking. Hawaii had its "Great Mahele" in 1848, which made land a commodity and created a gross maldistribution of land, and led to foreign control and ownership over vast amounts. Four decades later came the "bayonet constitution" imposed by haole businessmen on King Kalakaua, the Reciprocity Treaty which ceded Pearl Harbor to the U.S. in exchange for ballooning profits for the sugar planters, and finally, in 1893, the overthrow of the Hawaiian government. There is much to be learned from the Maori peoples' movements and experiences. --ed.)

### HUS SALUTES MAORIS, CONDEMNS N.Z. GOVERNMENT

The Hawaii Union of Socialists cabled a message of solidarity to arrested Waitangi Action Committee members: "We salute your courageous action in protesting Waitangi Treaty and condemn police action against you. Your sincerity and love for your people are an example for us all." The HUS message to top New Zealand government officials protested the arrests of WAC members and urged their immediate release. The February 9 protest cable concluded: "The right to dissent must be respected and not brutally repressed. The Maori people's voice is being heard and your government will be judged."

## Hawaii Network formed to Support Nuclear-Free Pacific Movement

The Hawaii Network of the Pacific Concerns Resource Center was born in a meeting Feb. 7 at Hale Mohalu, attended by representatives of 10 anti-nuclear and people's struggle organizations. The Network aims at coordinating support for the new PCRC, formed after last May's successful Nuclear-Free Pacific Conference. It will serve as a contact and resource center for local anti-nuclear efforts. The PCRC office is now at 570 Auahi St., Rm. 222-B, Honolulu 96813 (Ph. 538-3522).



## Boycott Honolulu Federal!

# Nukolii Struggle Continues Despite Court Ruling

Judge Hirano's mid-February ruling in favor of the developers of the unpopular Nukolii resort hotel and condominium project came as no surprise, given his past performance and the fact that four State judges were members of the secret hui (investment group) that pocketed a nifty \$4 million for their 8-month transaction of buying and selling the Nukolii acreage.

The Save Nukolii Committee, with their strong backing from the people of Kauai and other islands, pursued their objective. They sent a delegation to Oahu in late Jan. to confront Kauai legislators and address a group of 75 Oahu supporters. A campaign was launched in February to boycott Honolulu Federal Savings & Loan, which put up the \$23 million construction loan for the Nukolii condos. On Feb. 13, 22 of 26 branches statewide were leafletted, and a press release was issued, calling upon people to withdraw their accounts from Honolulu Federal. The trial of 32 "obstructors" arrested last Dec. ended in a draw Feb. 22, when charges were dropped against 31 of the 32 in exchange for a "no contest" plea by the Save Nukolii Committee itself. Geor-

## Major Campaign this Spring Hale Mohalu Reaches Out

The Hale Mohalu patients and their OHANA (family) of supporters have been shot down many times by officialdom in their attempts to win justice and a new residential care facility at the Pearl City site. But they have learned much, maintained their spirits--despite the deaths of three of their fellow patients (George Liwai, Sanford Smith, and Mary Duarte), and now are intensifying their struggle. The Ohana delegation to New York and Washington, D.C., last fall returned with a commitment from Hawaii's senior U.S. Senator Dan Inouye that he would see to it that a Government Accounting Office investigation of the State's handling of Hale Mohalu and of leprosy funds would be initiated. But the GAO, after checking State and Federal officials (but neglecting the patients' input, as usual), decided the issue was "too hot" and begged off, citing the Ohana's lawsuits as its lame excuse for inaction.

Undaunted, the Ohana regrouped itself with a rousing visit to Kalaupapa, home of nearly 120 Hansen's Disease patients, followed by a party with other patients at Leahi Hospital, and a good Save Hale Mohalu Day commemoration Jan. 26, marking the 3rd anniversary of the struggle. Now the Ohana is planning a Spring Campaign, climaxing with a large Damien Day gathering and possible overnight vigil on Apr. 15, in an effort to refocus their efforts back on the State Administration of Gov. George Ariyoshi. The Ohana is also active again at the Legislature, and, most importantly, in the community, building even broader and stronger support. Keep on truckin', Ohana members. (Join in the Ohana's weekly Friday afternoon picketing, 3:30-5 pm, in front of the State Capitol on Beretania St. To schedule speakers and the Hale Mohalu slideshow, call 456-2585. Donations can be sent to the Save Hale Mohalu Fund, 787 Kam Hwy., Pearl City, Hi. 96782.)

gette Meyers, however, goes to trial Mar. 27, charged with assault on police officers, and she'll need and deserves strong support.



Housing, Not Malls!

## HUS Backs PACE

The Hawaii Union of Socialists recently joined with a dozen other organizations in strong support of the position of the People Against Chinatown Evictions against a City plan to first build a pedestrian mall for the City-owned Pauahi block in Chinatown, Honolulu. About 75 persons responded to the PACE call to attend the Feb. 19 Department of Land Utilization hearing, including nearly 30 residents from Chinatown. The meeting room was packed, and the testimony from the over 20 persons who spoke, including several Chinatown residents, was nearly unanimous in asserting the need for low-cost decent housing over the City's "beautification" scheme. (The City's mall and infrastructure plan for Pauahi and River Sts. would cost \$1.2 million!)

The HUS testimony said, in part: "...The people of Chinatown, and indeed of Honolulu, have not been rallying, demonstrating, and testifying for years to get pedestrian malls built; they have been demanding decent, low-cost housing, a commodity which is in minuscule supply....Given Chinatown's and Oahu's housing needs, it seems a crime...that no new housing affordable to the majority of residents will be built in Chinatown until 1983 or later--save for the 48 units now under construction. Meanwhile, the developers' luxury condos are sprouting like mushrooms on Block F. There is housing galore for super-profits and speculation, and no housing being built for the people. And now the City proposes to first build a pedestrian mall. This is merely catering again to the major economic interests that have dominated Chinatown for generations and used City and State governments as their redevelopment tools.

"We are tired of our tax dollars being used to consolidate property holdings, to buy up property always with the promise of building needed housing, only to see the land and property used to make the rich richer and evict the poor...."

"Housing is the building block of a community, not pedestrian malls. We join with PACE in saying, 'Stop the Stalling...Build Housing Now!' Meet with PACE to develop the kind of community the Chinatown residents and shopkeepers want and that most Oahu residents would benefit from. We pledge our continued support to PACE in this important effort and in combatting the evictions of residents from Chinatown dwellings. Housing for people, not profits!"



## Feed-Back REAFFIRM PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM: A RESPONSE

Dear Editor:

B.D.'s letter (MT, 12/80-81) clearly shows that Marxist-Leninists in the U.S. lack unity on a coherent and comprehensive international line that could be used to project before the U.S. working class as an explanation of recent and complex international events such as Afghanistan, Kampuchea and Poland.

This has meant the inability on the part of the U.S. left to provide the working class in this country with a framework (stand point) with which to analyze these important world events.

Meanwhile, the ruling class in this country is accelerating the pace with which they are responding to these international "crises". Ideologically and politically, U.S. imperialism is attempting to forge a national united front or consensus among the American people, a cross-class alliance, on the basis of defending U.S. "national interest" and the "American way of life." The key elements of this consensus are national chauvinism and racism.

One ploy of U.S. imperialism to win domestic support for its turn to a more aggressive foreign policy in order to defend its strategic interests is to depict all anti-imperialist struggles as part of a "Soviet conspiracy" to take over the world (witness El Salvador).

As BD wrote in his critique of Silber and "Stalinism", the international situation is forcing Marxists-Leninists in the U.S. to confront such issues as the nature of the USSR, socialist construction, the role of the party, proletarian internationalism, etc. But while noting the necessity to confront these important political and theoretical questions, BD seems to have only contributed to the confusion than offering some clarity by making the principal issue in Afghanistan the revisionism of the Soviet Party.

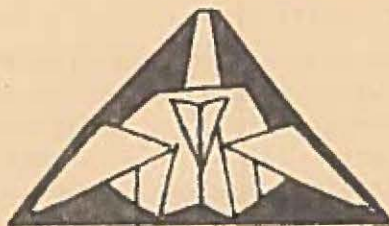
Evidently, B.D.'s support for the Afghan revolution - and perhaps other revolutionary movements that are influenced by the USSR - is tentative, due to Soviet intervention in that revolution. This is due to the fact that he equates the struggle against revisionism with the struggle against imperialism. In fact, B.D. and Theoretical Review's Paul Costello, see the mistakes made by the Afghan revolutionaries to be rooted in the so-called "Stalinist model of socialist construction." Costello and TR go so far as to say that the international communist movement, with the exception of the Chinese Communist Party under Mao, has been dominated for more than 50 years by revisionism, placing the turning point in the mid and late 1920's with the defeat of the Bukharin group in 1928-29. The cause of the crisis in Afghanistan is a "Stalinian deviation", not the actual developments of the class struggle in Afghanistan.

Simple enough. Let's close our eyes to the unique conditions which gave shape and form to the revolutionary struggle in Afghanistan. Let's look at what Lenin and Mao prescribed. Forget what internal contradictions and class struggles were involved! Don't dispatch military enforcements, even if the reactionaries seize state power, propaganda teams are enough. Let's tell the U.S. working class that the main problem facing the Afghan people is Stalinism. This, in fact is what B.D. and Costello are telling us. Such a view replaces proletarian internationalism with petty bourgeois moralism and idealism.

What is the objective impact of this analysis? Does it help to educate the working class about proletarian internationalism? The effect is that B.D.'s analysis doesn't provide the masses with a clear and coherent view of events in Afghanistan and conciliates not only with anti-communist prejudices of U.S. workers, but with the anti-Soviet tendencies of the U.S. left as well. These prejudices provide the U.S. ruling class with fertile soil to build their "united front in defense of the U.S. national interest." Objectively, B.D. and Costello are saying that the Afghan revolution is not worth defending and would even risk the restoration of reactionary rule because in their opinion there is no qualitative difference between imperialism and "revisionism" or Stalinism in power.

There is a need to examine rigorously and critically the contributions and errors of the Stalin period. In fact, Silber is part of the Soviet Union Study Project which is examining socialist construction in the USSR under Stalin as well as the Chinese Revolution under Mao. This will contribute to a deeper analysis and critique of both "Stalinism" and "Maoism" in one Marxist-Leninist Trend. A critique of Stalin must be rooted in an analysis of socialist construction in the USSR and the contributions made to the international proletariat.

---D.A., Honolulu 2/81



IMELDA THE MATCHMAKER? There are fresh unconfirmed reports concerning Marcos' health and presidential succession in the Philippines. According to these sources, the Marcos' kidney condition has worsened, prompting Imelda Marcos to feel out Benigno Aquino during her Nov-Dec. 1980 visit to the U.S. Aquino was alleged to have accepted Imelda's request for him to join a Marcos kitchen cabinet. Aquino was earlier quoted in the U.S. press as having "quit politics." Marcos' token opposition in the upcoming May national election is led by former Senator Salvador Laurel. Marcos may follow up his "election" victory in May with a State visit to the U.S.





# Chon Doo Hwon and the Kwangju Massacre

--John Witeck, 2/81

South Korean dictator Chon Doo Hwan, en route back from Washington where President Reagan gave him a warm welcome and promised him full U.S. support, visited Hawaii last February 3-5. The East-West Center Administration put out the "red carpet" for him, but several university students prepared a more appropriate welcome for this mass murderer, with a "give him hell" protest on February 5, on the EWC-University of Hawaii campus. The Hawaii Union of Socialists helped organize the protest and many other organizations and individuals joined in. The flyer announcing the action depicted the brutal massacre of hundreds of students and citizens in Kwangju by troops loyal to Chon Doo Hwan in May, 1980..



Here, briefly, is the story of that massacre:

On May 18, 1980, in the aftermath of the assassination of south Korean dictator Park Chung Hee by the Korean CIA chief and his cohorts, martial law was extended to the whole of south Korea. The masquerade of a promised return to democracy was ended. Demonstrations in Kwangju which had begun a week earlier intensified, and martial law troops moved in. Special forces troops from paratrooper units loyal to military strongman Chon Doo Hwan were sent in with orders to put down what they were told was a communist rebellion, even if they had to kill 70% of the population. Even this total fabrication was not enough to motivate the troops; they were given strong soju (whiskey) laced with some kind of hallucinogen to drink before they invaded the city.

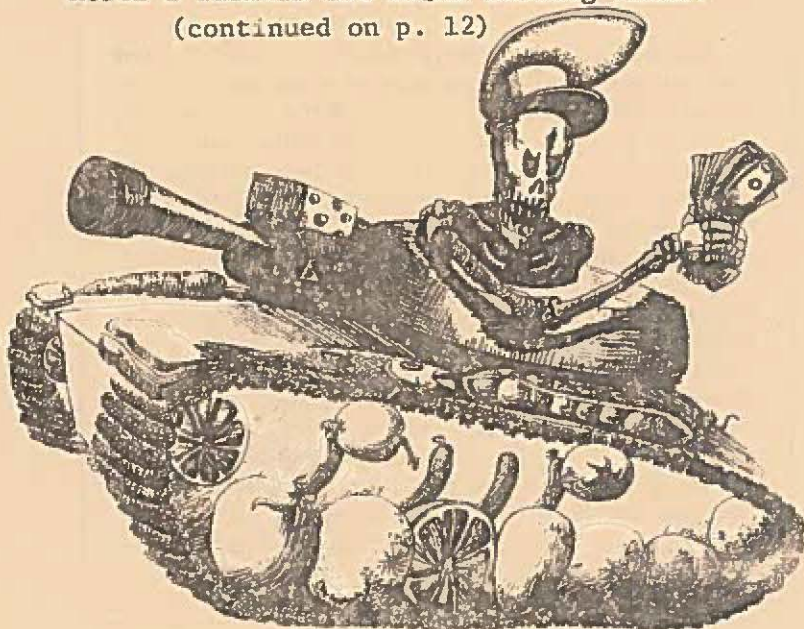
The list of atrocities they committed on May 19 and 20 is endless. A group of junior high school girls were stripped in front of Kwangju station; after gouging out their breasts, the Special Forces bayoneted them to death. Troops did door-to-door searches throughout the city, beating any young people they found, and brutally murdering hundreds. The dead bodies of a number of taxi drivers shot for attempting to help students escape were displayed hanging over the barrel of a tank cannon. Among a line of dead bodies in downtown Kwangju, citizens saw that of a pregnant woman, a bayonet still stuck in her stomach.

Kwangju citizens were so enraged that on May 21, 350,000 joined demonstrations, fully half of the population of the city, demanding an end to martial law and bloody repression. By that evening, they had taken full control of Kwangju. Police and the military were forced to flee the city. For six days, the citizens and students of Kwangju controlled the city.

But early in the morning of May 27, after putting the city under siege and censoring all accurate reports about the situation in the media throughout south Korea, the military retook the city, arresting hundreds of students and citizens. The U.S. General in charge of the US-ROK (south Korea) Joint Command released troops to join the slaughter in Kwangju. The U.S. stood by as Chon Doo Hwan took total control of the country. U.S. Ambassador Gleysteen added to the strong anti-American sentiments that have arisen by telling a group of Korean wives of men arrested on May 18 in Seoul that he agreed with the way the Korean military handled the situation in Kwangju. 11 in all, between May 18 and 27, more than 2,000 Kwangju citizens and students were murdered by the military and police, with U.S. connivance, for the crime of demanding a return to democracy.

When martial law was declared on May 18, some 350 people, mainly students, were arrested, including Kim Dae Jung, a popular opposition candidate for years to U.S.-backed dictators in south Korea. After the massacre in Kwangju, Kim was charged with treason and later sentenced to death. 350 more leading dissidents were ordered arrested in June, among them Chang Gi Pyo, the author of "The Cry of the People" (copies available from Modern Times), a celebrated poem-battle cry of the Korean peoples' movement in the south for a return to democracy. Chang highlighted the plight of Korean farmers in his poem, urging that Korea's agricultural sector must be developed if the country is to have a sound economy. Park Chung Hee and his successor dictator Chon Doo Hwan have instead sought an "economic miracle" which ignores farmers and strives to provide cheap industrial labor for foreign investors, particularly in their home provinces in Kyongang, which are now the center for south Korea's heavy and chemical industries. This policy has created harsh conditions for both Korea's farmers and urban working class.

(continued on p. 12)





## Kwangju Massacre (cont'd)

(continued from p. 11)

Korea's worsening economy and serious indebtedness will be aggravated by the planned import and development of some 40 nuclear reactors. A secret brief prepared by the World Bank has warned of worsening repression, political instability and a continued period of economic stagnation under Chon Doo Hwan who, the report says, "will be as authoritarian as his predecessor, adopting policies even more repressive." The report predicts for the next 18 months "a continuation of a fairly repressive military rule which the Koreans have shown they are less inclined to tolerate," and that "Continuing repression can only lead to further political polarization, economic uncertainty, estrangement of allies, and possibly an intensification of the Cold War with north Korea." This bleak appraisal directly contradicts current U.S. policy, which sees Chon's rule as bringing increased political and economic stability.

Chon, like Marcos in the Philippines, seems now to be attempting a pseudo-lifting of martial law while maintaining repression. He recently nullified the death sentence handed out to Kim Dae Jung, and has released some political prisoners, thus increasing his abi-

lity to get even greater aid from the U.S.

The role of labor and church groups in the U.S. in opposing the Kim death sentence was significant. The ILWU in particular took a strong position against the execution. Korean community groups in the U.S. were also instrumental in building the pressure within the U.S. on the American government to oppose Kim Dae Jung's execution.

We must renew our efforts in support of the Korean people and against the bloody tyranny erected against them by the U.S. government and the multi-national corporations who are looting south Korea and destroying its economy.

(Thanks to NAUTILUS INTERNATIONAL and the "Cry of the People" Committee for material for this article. Copies of the World Bank report on south Korea can be obtained for \$1 from Modern Times, or direct from Nautilus International, 2237 Carleton St., Berkely, CA. 94704. We also salute the University students who organized the Feb. 5 protest.-ed.)

### Why We Should Annex Hawaii

—By Mark Twain (Samuel Clemens)

Now, let us annex the Islands, think how we could build up that whaling trade! Let us annex. We could make sugar enough there to supply all America, perhaps, and the prices would be very easy with the duties removed. And they could have such a fine half-way house for our Pacific-plying ships; and such a convenient supply depot and such a commanding sentry box for an armed squadron; and we could raise cotton and coffee there and make it pay pretty well, with the duties off and capital easier to get at. And then we would own the mightiest volcano on earth—Kilauea! (Barnum could run it, he understands fires now.) Let us annex, by all means. We could pacify Prince Bill and other nobles easily enough—put them on a reservation. Nothing pleases a savage like a reservation—a reservation where he has his annual hoes, and Bibles and blankets to trade for powder and whiskey—a sweet Arcadian retreat fenced in with soldiers. By annexing, we would get all those 50,000 natives cheap as dirt, with their morals and other diseases thrown in. No expense for education—they are already educated; no need to convert them—they are already converted; no expense to clothe them for obvious reasons.

We must annex those people. We can afflict them with our wise and beneficent governments. We can introduce the novelty of thieves, all the way up from street car pickpockets to municipal robbers and government defaulters, and show them how amusing it is to arrest them and try them and then turn them loose—some for cash and some for "political influence." We can make them ashamed of their simple and primitive justice . . . We can give them juries composed entirely of the most simple and charming leatherheads. We can give them railway corporations who will buy their Legislature like old clothes, and run over their best citizens and complain of the corpses for smearing their unpleasant juices on the track. . . . We can make that little bunch of sleepy islands the hottest corner on earth, and array it in the moral splendor of our high and holy civilization. Annexation is what the poor islanders need. "Shall we to men benighted, the Lamp of Life deny?"

### Dry T-Shirt Contest?

Last call for any design ideas you may have for our MODERN TIMES BOOKSTORE T-shirt. The deadline is Friday, March 20, for all entries. Include the name, and address (2615 So. King St., Honolulu, Hawaii 96826), in your design. Prizes include: free T-shirt, \$10 of free merchandise, and a 1-year free sub to Modern Times bulletin. How can you go wrong? Get your ideas in now (c/o PO Box 11208, Honolulu, HI. 96828, or drop them off at the bookstore).

### Shop at Modern Times Bookstore!



Guardian/cpf

WHAT WE NEED... (A Poem shared by Linda Levy, Save Nukoli Committee)

We need much more than patches,  
we need the whole coat.  
We need much more than breadcrumbs,  
we need the loaf itself.

We need much more than jobs--  
WE NEED THE FACTORIES AND THE LAND  
AND THE POWER OF THE STATE!

(Linda saw these words on a poster, and noted they have force with or without the graphics...Mahalo, Linda!)



# Myth of Capitalist Restoration in the USSR (Part V)

(Last article in a series, based on the presentation of Bruce Occena to a forum in Hawaii last spring. --ed.)

If we wanted to prove the hypothesis that capitalism has been restored in the Soviet Union, how should we go about it? It is possible that capitalism can be restored. But we must look at the real criteria:

Is there a capitalist class that has a relation to the means of production so that they can privately expropriate surplus to themselves and their progeny (their children and future generations)? The stability of class control requires a sociological basis --inheritance.

There is a formation in the USSR which has a special claim on surplus. The juridical, or legal, right is the key. No ruling class can consolidate its rule or mature without changing the laws to reflect its interest. Their claims on surplus must be more than individual privilege, warranted or unwarranted, and cannot be criminal activity; they must be legitimized.

Has there been a re-emergence of the anarchy of production under which the rate of profit alone would determine economic investment, and is there an absence of a state plan?

Has labor power fully become a commodity and the right to a job been abolished?

Are the means of production privately owned?

These are some of the key questions that must be answered affirmatively before the premise of capitalist restoration could be supported.

In summary, Marxists cannot redefine historical categories to prove their theses on capitalist restoration in the USSR without causing the theory of human knowledge to crumble. The arguments we have examined which are based on the superstructure of Soviet society and which conclude that the USSR is capitalist have distorted Marxist political economy and wreaked havoc on this legacy.

Capital is essential to capitalism where producers have no claim to the means of production and owners have every claim to private appropriation. It must be proved that this kind of capital has re-emerged.

In a capitalist society, we would see competing individual capitals, as well as Soviet capital that interpenetrates and intermingles with U.S. capital. Yet this is not the case.

The theory that the Soviet Union is now host to a restored, full-blown capitalist system as thus far argued must be deemed mythical and unsubstantiated.

(Next Time: a dissenting point of view by Michael Zweig, Economics Dept., State University of New York. --ed.)



## Feed-Back: CHINA'S DRIFT

The juridical farce recently concluded in the People's Republic of China against Chairman Mao's widow, Jiang Qing, and others prominent in the somewhat excessive Cultural Revolution (1966-76) is, sadly, the beginning of the end of genuine socialism in China. The largely unnecessary demythologizing of Mao, whatever his warts, truly an epochal 20th century revolutionary figure, exemplifies the discarding of collective progressive policy in the Chinese government under the revisionist leadership of Deng Xiaoping.

Many, including this writer, thought Deng to be an advocate of "socialism with a human face" like what Alexander Dubcek attempted in Czechoslovakia in 1968--before the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies overthrew him in August that same year.

But, with Deng's trip to the U.S. in early 1979 and China's murderous invasion of Vietnam immediately thereafter, it became obvious Deng is very much one who has opted for "capitalism with an inhuman face," completely in league with the U.S. and her imperialist interests in the ASEAN countries, particularly the Philippines where a bloody dictatorship has been in force since September 1972.

To offset what may be outdated economics, China is obliged to look elsewhere for insights, but as can be seen in U.S.-dominated Central and South America and the ASEAN countries, the Western brand of economic modernization succeeds only at the expense of the working class and rural population.

Despite Ronald Reagan's Taiwan sympathies as expressed during his presidential campaign, we can expect his regime to develop even closer ties with China, undoubtedly to the point where extensive U.S. military aid to China may become a very real possibility.

This would mix well with the U.S. and China's antagonism towards the Soviet Union and has frightening prospects for the continued independence of the Indochinese countries, especially Vietnam whose continued isolation American foreign policy makers view as a decided plus on the U.S.-China imperial scorecard.

--J.J. Kaufmann, 1/81

\*\*\*\*\*  
(J.J. Kaufmann is a regional vice-president of the Fellowship of Christian Ministries.)  
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Modern Times Bookstore has some good selections. Amble down there sometime (2615 So. King St., behind the Moiliili Post Office), and check out some of the titles and periodicals, among them:

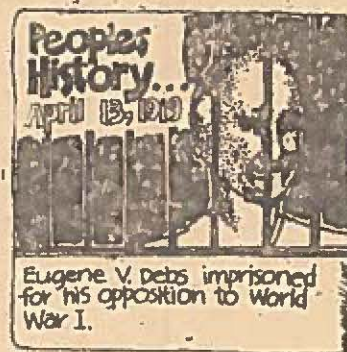
- \*The Poverty of Theory, by E.P. Thompson
- \*For Men Against Sexism, by Jon Snodgrass
- \*Tales I Tell My Mother (Feminist stories)
- \*Trilateralism: The Trilateral Commission and Elite Planning..., by Holly Sklar
- \*Power of the People: Active Nonviolence in the U.S., by R. Cooney & H. Michalowski
- \*Unequal Development, by S. Amin
- \*History of the Philippines, by R. Constantino (30% off)
- \*The American Future..., by Tom Hayden
- \*Death on the Job..., by Daniel Berman
- \*Memoirs of a Dutiful Daughter, by Simone de Beauvoir
- \*SE Asia Chronicle, Monthly Review, the Insurgent Sociologist, and many others...

## New Cinema Film Schedule

Apr. 2&3, 6:30&9:30 pm--"RED BEARD". (starring  
Toshiro Mifune).

Sat. Mar. 7—"Swords into Plowshares" ecumenical Peace Observance, St. Andrews Cathedral grounds. 11 am. Picnic.

Frank & Elda Odo  
901 Manana Road  
Kailua, Hi. 96734



Saturday, March 28, 7:30 pm,  
at Lilaha Library. Refreshments, childcare.  
Donations welcome. The speaker, from the  
League of Revolutionary Struggle, recently  
visited New People's Army zones in the Philip-  
pines and met with NPA leaders and guerrillas.  
Talk will focus on the current situation in  
the Philippines and the prospects of the  
Marcos regime. All are invited to attend.

**TOTAL**

ATTEND the opening reception, Mon, Mar. 9,  
7 pm at the gallery; and a FORUM, Thurs,  
Mar. 12, 11:30 am to 1 pm, at a room adjacent  
to the gallery. See action photos and por-  
traits by Ed Greevy, John Kelly, and others,  
with captions by Haunani Trask and John Kelly,  
of Hawaii's last decade of people's struggles.

Return to: P.O. Box 11208, Honolulu, Hawaii 96828.

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