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P.O. BOX 11208
Moiiliili Station
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Phone: 595-7362

Hawaii Nation? Some Thoughts

by S. Wallis

PART I

The question has been raised: Can Hawaii be considered a nation, and what attitude should revolutionaries take toward the Ohana and other nationalist organizations in Hawaii?

In the first place, Hawaii nationalism springs primarily from the existence of capitalist social relations through the development of U.S. colonialism, and the oppression of nationalities and working people locally by the ruling class. Capitalism divides exploited classes of people along racial (and sexual) lines today as it did during the early plantation days in Hawaii. Capitalism perverts cultural traditions and makes a mockery of Hawaiian history, packaging it like "canned aloha" for tourists and profits. Capitalism alienates land from the users, makes it a "commodity" on the market, and destroys the heritage of Hawaii as it alters the landscape and attacks the cultural roots of the people. The feelings of nationalism felt by many Hawaiians and others of Hawaii's peoples are **natural reactions** to this oppression.

Yet, knowing this, what is the role of nationalism in Hawaii?

Right to Self-Determination

Revolutionary marxism has held that nationalism (in the sense of setting apart the interests of your "own" nation against those of another) in the era of imperialism is no longer unqualifiedly progressive, but that **each oppressed nation, nonetheless, has the right to self-determination**—up to and including the right to politically secede from an oppressor nation. Given this, socialists support nationalist movements in their struggles against imperialist domination, and at the same time, argue that nationalism itself stands in the way of overall political development of the working class internationally. **Generally speaking, the task of complete national self-determination can only be solved on the basis of economically united peoples, purged of bourgeois rule.** However, the relationship between the national aspirations of an oppressed people and the working class movement has not been easily resolved.

In particular, cases such as Hawaii where the nationalities are intimately intermingled, not separated into clear geographical concentrations, present difficult problems. **We cannot depend on old "masters" for the solution.** We must taste the prickly pear in order to know it . . . we must struggle with the reality of Hawaii nationalism.

Perhaps a useful way to assist in examining the national question in Hawaii would be to set forth some of the **possible positions revolutionaries could take** on the question of Hawaiian nationalism. In doing so, **it is essential that this be carried out within the context of building a revolutionary program which aims to unite workers of all nationalities and sexes in Hawaii.** We must also remember that the **key question for non-Hawaiian socialists is to attack our own ruling class even if we disagree with the ideology of Hawaii nationalism.**

Possible Positions on Hawaiian Nationalism

1. **Diversions.** The national struggle is a diversion from the class struggle and is essentially petty-bourgeois. Hawaii is integrated into the U.S. The Hawaii "nation" no longer exists (or perhaps never existed) and is unlikely to exist in the future. Hawaiians are now simply an oppressed minority like Samoans, Blacks, etc.
The role of socialists must be to oppose the national movement and contrast to it a revolutionary perspective for all of Hawaii's working class people.
2. **Reparations.** The U.S. illegally deprived Hawaiians of their nationhood (1893) and thus Hawaiians should receive monetary compensation. This could be in the form of cash payments or in an extension of various welfare and community services or organizations.



By Ernest Kalimoku Lopez

3. **Land.** The chief aspect of U.S. imperialism in Hawaii was the illegal seizure of lands. Therefore Federal land should be returned to the Hawaiian people, either on an individual basis or to a revived Hawaiian Homes Commission, or into parks and sanctuaries.
4. **Self-determination.** The Hawaiian people (as an ethnic group) are a nation and thus have the right to self-determination. Hawaii is no longer a separate national political entity "oppressed" by the U.S. but Hawaiians still have, and feel, a national oppression from the history and workings of imperialist expansion in the Pacific. The exact implications of this position can only be seen in the unfolding of the struggle, but it implies a loss of control by the U.S. over a portion of "its subjects," as a positive goal.
Short-term demands could involve Hawaiian language and cultural issues, affirmative action, etc. Ultimately the demand might be extended to cover **actual separation of a part of Hawaii from the United States** under the control of a Hawaiian government, or **some forms of local autonomy.**
5. **Secession.** Hawaii should secede from the U.S. as the best means of ending two centuries of colonial oppression against Hawaii and its immigrant people. Hawaii is essentially a "third world" country and will have to break politically from the U.S. before its economy can be built up and standard of living improved.

These probably cover the major ground of the various possible positions. But where should we begin in investigating them? First, "a precise appraisal of the specific historical situation and, primarily, of economic conditions" must be made.

The U.S. economy, while partially recovered from the recession of 1974-75, is unlikely to regain the high growth patterns found after World War II. This implies a **depressive effect** for Hawaii's economy, which is increasingly tied to the U.S. business cycle by the fragile tourism industry. As a result, corporations and politicians will be trying to co-opt

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Hawaii National Question

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any resistance and force the workers to bear the cost of capitalist crisis . . . lower wages, higher taxes, fewer public services, greater environmental destruction, U.S. nationalistic jingoism. The "Business is Life" campaign by the Hawaii Business Council is an indication of the propaganda that can be expected in the future, as well as the employers' use of Con Con against the public workers' right to strike and continued attacks on unemployment and welfare benefits.

Second, the distortion of Hawaii's economy through the colonial and neo-colonial development of sugar, pineapple, defense, and tourism means that Hawaii's working class is particularly atomized and isolated. The unions have lost much of their strength with the decline of plantation agriculture and the inability to organize effectively in the tourist industry. The traditional ties of labor to the Democrats are disarming the labor movement politically.

Third, the political backwardness of the working class movement in the U.S. and the isolation of Hawaii from other Pacific areas suggests that Hawaii socialists cannot wait for the growth of an international revolutionary movement to have an impact in Hawaii. Eventually Hawaii's socialists must link up with those on the mainland (and probably in Japan, Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific area). But in the meantime we must rapidly and consistently develop a revolutionary program with immediate impact in Hawaii. The problems of slower economic growth in Hawaii are going to present some real dangers to the workers movement here.

Finally, as a result of these problems and the specific manner in which tourism and the U.S. military presence attack Hawaiian culture, we can expect the Hawaiian struggle to remain in the forefront until a more generalized working class response and political movement begins. This is not a call for socialists to put all their eggs in the Ohana basket, but to realize that many of the best militants in Hawaii will be involved in these struggles, as they have been in the past. Besides supporting the Hawaiian struggle for its own sake, socialists should also recognize that routes to the working class appear in many places, and the national struggle may be a key one in Hawaii. Also key to unity with these struggles is the understanding that their victories weaken our common foes—the military and the corporations it protects.

(Next issue: Evaluating the various positions on the Hawaii nation.)



Feed-Back

I've subscribed to Modern Times since it first started, and although as a Christian, I am not a proponent of the Marxist ideology and its attendant struggles, I will say I find Modern Times, especially John Witeck's articles on Angola and Zaire (vol. 1, nos. 2,3,4), very perceptive in its analysis. Modern Times is a most welcome entry into the heretofore almost barren field of political writing in Hawaii.

Yet, in view of the Russian presence in Africa, I must make the following criticism of the Soviet Union (and I do so with all respect for its peoples): She's not, repeat, not socialist, but in reality, is a bastion of state capitalism (comparable, perhaps, to the U.S.) wherein the Soviet war lords, at least since Lenin's untimely death in 1924, are continuing the same shameless, largely inhumane policies as did the Czar before he was overthrown in 1917. Jews are still persecuted and political dissidents imprisoned, sometimes in psychiatric hospitals.

If any country is truly socialist, it is the People's Republic of China, who, despite her treatment of the Gang of Four and the moderating tendencies of the post-Chou/Mao leadership, best exemplifies the precepts of what I call "communal sharing" (i.e., the purest form of socialism where everything in principal is held in common.)

Just as importantly, China seems to be true to a foreign policy that does not include sending troops abroad to maintain what the superpowers call "national security."

I hold that the best form of socialism is that which respects progressive plurality and diversity in viewpoints expressed not only communally, but individually as well.

J.J. Kaufmann

Dear Modern Times:

I am a prisoner without funds. Please add my name to your mailing list. I wish very much to keep abreast with what's going on in the world and I feel that your publication could be most helpful. I cannot afford to pay for a sub at this time because I have no family to provide me with funds and I am only paid three cents an hour for my slavery. Your accommodation will be sincerely appreciated. Thank you kindly.

—J.L., Louisiana

I've been enjoying Modern Times. As one who sympathizes with Marx's basic insights but who has little interest in following the intricacies of ideological debates, I like MT for its common sense. Good luck.

—R.F.

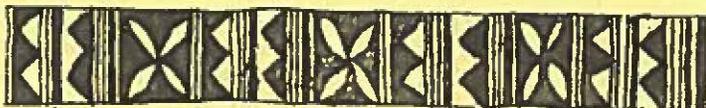
Red Flag Bookstore Struggle

(Concerning the Modern Times article on the Red Flag Bookstore struggle)...it would have been better if you had tried to gather the facts instead of agreeing to merely summarize (one side's) leaflet. A simple phone call could have made the other side of the picture available to you. It would have been much better if the two sides' statements could be printed side-by-side to let people decide more accurately who was correct and who was incorrect. As it stands, your article does a disservice by propping up the anti-struggle attitude of the M-LOC (Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee), which apparently thinks it can get ahead by obscuring the events which took place and come out without being exposed.... --R.K.

(The writer of the article in question agrees with the above criticism of his article--and will try to avoid this in the future. Modern Times also agrees it should have made more of an effort to have both sides presented, or at least summarized. The Communist League of Hawaii has distributed a 3-page statement criticizing

the Red Flag Bookstore manager's position and conduct (available from CL-H c/o P.O. Box 22399, Honolulu 96822); and an independent bookstore staff member has also written an excellent 4-page critique of the bookstore manager's non-struggle attitude and arbitrary expulsion of staff who did not agree with Albania's theoretical assault on the Three Worlds theory put forward by the Chinese Communist Party. This independent asserted that he, at least, was not ready to take a stand on this question, and no effort was made to win "middle elements" over--the bookstore owner and his supporters made the decision for everyone. His conclusion seems right on: "We, the former Red Flag Bookstore staff urge the owner and his supporters to reconsider their actions in light of the above criticisms. Ultimatums should be cast aside and struggle resumed over the question of the correct orientation of the bookstore." (Though we would urge both sides to stop banning M-L publications like The Guardian from being sold at the bookstore--and let the people decide whose line is correct, and not self-appointed experts and censors.)

(Note: This independent position paper is available from Modern Times upon request, with a self-addressed stamped envelope furnished to us.)



A Taiwanese View on the Taiwan Question

(presented at the Hawaii Conference on U.S.-China Relations, Feb. 4, 1978)

We believe that insofar as the Taiwan question remains a key factor in the normalization of U.S.-China relations, our view—and the views of other Taiwan people—should be regarded as **one of the major inputs** in forming any fair and sound judgement regarding the future status of our home island.

"We have noted that normalization fails to make headway because the U.S. Government is bent on defending the status quo of our home island. . . . In the Shanghai Communiqué, the U.S. Government not only recognizes Taiwan as part of China, but also expresses interest in seeing the Chinese on both sides of the Taiwan Strait peacefully resolve their own differences. What, then, is the moral or legal basis for the U.S. Government to attempt to direct our destiny single-handedly while the voices of the Taiwan people have been persistently silenced by a repressive regime?"



Behind the Empty Rhetoric

To be sure, the political leadership in this country talks about the "freedom," "prosperity" and even "independence" of the Taiwan people as if these things were too good to be sacrificed. But the conscientious people in this country must seriously question the validity of these terms. Do they have a basis in the socioeconomic realities of Taiwan or are they simply empty rhetoric designed to further some political purpose beyond the control of the Taiwan people?

While we do not pretend to know the best alternative for the future of our home island—that is a matter our people as a whole have to decide—we can rightly say that a **change in the status quo in Taiwan is overdue and that the U.S. Government is acting against the will and the interests of the Taiwan people by attempting to prevent such a change.**

Politically, 30 years of martial law imposed by the Kuomintang government have deprived the Taiwan people of their political rights and freedoms. Workers attempting to demand better working conditions and higher wages are treated as political "criminals" and subjected to long years of imprisonment. Newspapers and magazines, such as *Kung Lun Pao* (Public Forum Daily), *Free China Semimonthly*, *Literary Stars*, *Taiwan Political Review*, and the *China Humanists* were banned one by one while editors were thrown in jail.

The Kuomintang government massacred some 20,000 Taiwanese during the February Uprising in 1947 and has since executed or jailed tens of thousands for their political beliefs or even casual remarks against the government. To try to wipe out all political dissidents, the government resorts to an **extensive spy network** which covers all parts of the island and even extends to campuses in this country. The spy system is so effective that a deep sense of fear lurks in the collective psyche of not only the people in Taiwan, but also Taiwan students in this country. What does freedom mean if the people are not even free from the fear of political persecution?

U.S. Supports Repression

Even President Carter's policy on human rights has not helped prevent the Kuomintang's political repression in any appreciable way. Only 14 months ago, the Kuomintang's decision to secretly execute **Chen Ming-Chung** and others touched off a nationwide rescue campaign in this country, culminating in a full-page ad in the *New York Times* to denounce the Kuomintang government. On January 12 of this year, another full-page ad appeared in the *Washington Post* to protest the more recent mass arrests of college students and citizens. And the atrocious political persecution manifested itself again when on January 18 heavy sentences ranging from life imprisonment to 12 years were given to **Tai Hua-kuang** and his companions, all in their twenties, for the alleged "crime" of sending threatening letters to American firms operating in Taiwan.

Ironically, such a repressive regime owes its survival to the continued support for over 30 years by a great nation supposedly dedicated to freedom and democracy and, more recently, human rights . . .

Economically, the low-wage policy of the Kuomintang government has forced the Taiwanese workers to tighten their belts for too long. In the absence of union protection, more than two million industrial workers live and work under conditions as dehumanizing as those prevailing in most Asian countries.

On December 1, 1974, the *New Life Daily*, one of the Kuomintang party organs, made an unusual disclosure of the workers' plight in an editorial, and we quote:

"As for the minimum (monthly) wage, with which workers are most concerned, we only have NT\$600 (US\$15) . . . In view of the current standard of living, a monthly wage of NT\$60 is not only unable to feed a family, but also difficult to support the worker himself. We understand that in recent years many entrepreneurs have multiplied their profits at astounding rates, but workers' lives have remained on the verge of bare subsistence all the time. This is obviously against the principle of profit-sharing."

U.S. Exploiters in Taiwan

Foreign investors certainly profit from this dehumanizing treatment of workers by the Kuomintang government. At present, American firms in Taiwan are paying an average wage of **25 cents an hour**, less than 10% of what workers in this country are receiving. On the very day when the American people are celebrating their bicentennial, the *New York Times* ran an advertising article entitled "Free China Salutes the American Bicentennial" which was devoted to the shameless propaganda about the "cheap and hard-working labor" in Taiwan. Several American business leaders in Taiwan were quoted to testify to this situation, and **Moses Shapiro**, board director of the General Instrument Corporation, which has an investment of US\$43 million in Taiwan, even went so far as to cite labor as "the prime reason why his company established its largest overseas facility in Taiwan."

But the heartless exploitation of Taiwanese workers is coming home to roost. Last November, a mass riot broke out in Chungli. An estimated 40,000 people attacked a police station, setting fire to the police building and more than 70

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Upcoming Events

Apr. 8, Sat., 10:30 a.m., Kamehameha statue, State Courthouse (King St.), Hawaii Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision rally (part of nationwide mobilization). Call Kyle Coffman for more information, 941-6405.

Apr. 14, Fri., 8:30 a.m., District Court (Bethel & Merchant Sts.), the "FACE 21" (21 defendants arrested last March 13) go on trial. Come out and support them.

Taiwan: Showcase of Repression

Thus, Taiwan is a typical case of political repression, socio-economic injustice and moral decay. To defend the status quo of such a society is to betray the interests of its people. And to let the so-called Taiwan question remain a stumbling block in the way of normalization of relations between our two countries is to hurt the long-term interests of the American people.

We, therefore, would like to urge the U.S. Government to adopt a hands-off policy toward our home island and let the Chinese people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait work out their own domestic differences. If the U.S. Government is really interested in seeing the Chinese resolve the Taiwan question peacefully, then it should move to end its military presence in Taiwan. For without such a move, there would be no way to get the Taiwan side to participate in the process of peaceful solution.

As Chinese nationals, we look forward to having our motherland peacefully reunited and relations between our two countries normalized. We believe that these two events will serve the mutual interests of the peace-loving American and Chinese peoples, and there is no reason why one event should be accomplished at the expense of the other. It is up to the U.S. Government now to move to fulfill its commitment to the goal of normalization as professed in the Shanghai Communique.

—A group of Chinese Nationals from Taiwan (whose names must remain secret to avoid repressive consequences to themselves or their families).

(Note: When this statement was circulated among East-West Center (EWC) students recently, Kuomintang students among the Taiwanese at the EWC circulated a "loyalty oath" in response, demanding that all students from Taiwan at the EWC sign it. At least one refused—and he may be targeted for retaliation, according to one source.)



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automobiles and motorcycles. It was the biggest riot since 1956, when tens of thousands of people attacked the U.S. Embassy in Taipei. We must point out that Chungli is one of the major industrial centers, into which impoverished peasants from all over the island swarmed to become industrial proletarians. The riot was a manifestation of their pent-up resentment against the Kuomintang and the system which it represents.

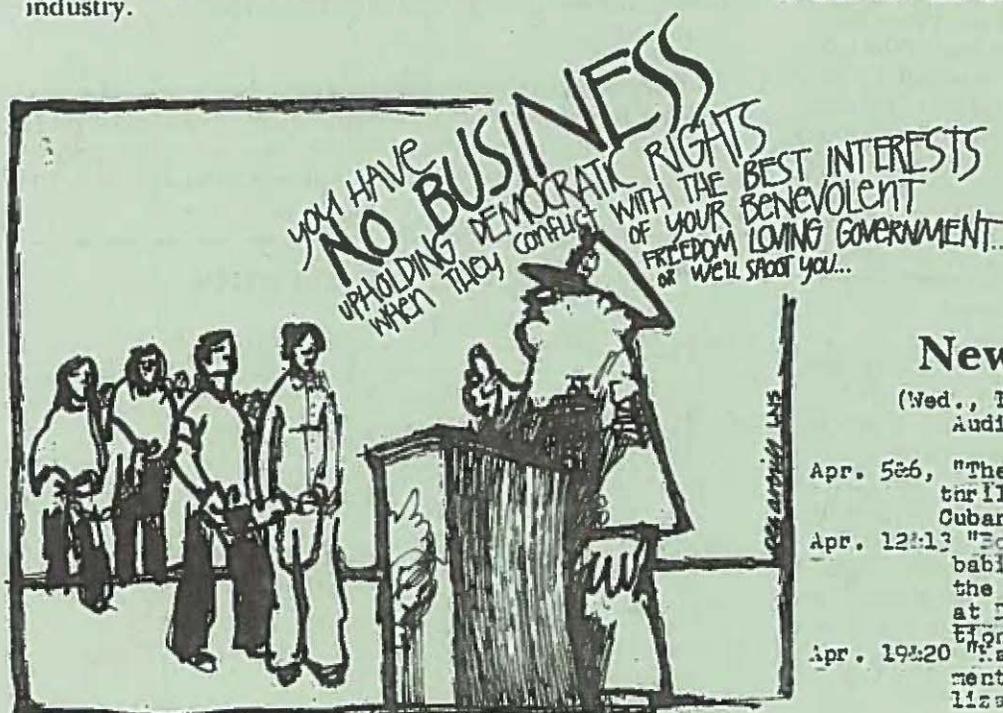
Behind Taiwan's "Prosperity"

Socially and morally, Taiwan is very much in a situation in which pre-1949 Shanghai found itself. A quarter-century's economic development has resulted in the concentration of wealth in the few. Beneath the surface "prosperity" of the cities lie the glaring gaps between the rich and the poor and between the triumphant bureaucrats and businessmen on the one hand and the despondent peasants and workers on the other. Social injustice necessarily goes hand in hand with moral corruption. Looking at the way the wealthy people squander money on imported luxuries and in deluxe restaurants, tourist hotels, dancing halls, etc., one begins to realize why Taiwan has had to borrow more than \$4 billion from foreign bankers to finance her capital needs.

But perhaps the most important indicator of social and moral decay is the rampant and pervasive industry of prostitution. The fact that commercialized sex permeates almost all entertainment and service industries in a wide variety of forms reflects not only the depravity and decadence of the Taiwan society, but, more importantly, the bankruptcy and impoverishment of the rural people, whose daughters are the main source of prostitutes. This trend of social and moral decay has been exacerbated by the presence of multinational corporations and the development of the tourist industry.

STOP TORTURE OF SISON, PHILIPPINES FREEDOM FIGHTER

The KDP's recent inspiring benefit for the New People's Army of the Philippines, the fighting arm of the Communist Party of the Philippines, combined music, poetry and dramatic portrayals to explain the NPA's program and history. They succeeded in raising some funds and enlisting some sustainers to the cause. While often deeply moving in its impact, the presentation seemed bluntly honest, both about victories and recent set-backs encountered by the people's forces in the Philippines. Two NPA leaders were captured, tried and convicted along with Aquino, and sentenced to death (though that sentence is being reviewed). Just as serious was the recent capture of Jose Maria Sison, head of the Communist Party. He has reportedly been tortured and questioned, and his whereabouts are not known. His family and attorney have no access to him. The KDP is urging people to contact AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, 10 Southampton St., London WC2E7HF England to urge their intervention; or to cable President Marcos, Malcanang Palace, Manila, demanding fair treatment of Sison, a halt to torture, and knowledge of his whereabouts (including access to him for his family and attorney).



New Cinema Schedule

(Wed., Thurs., 7 & 9 p.m., Phys. Science Auditorium, U.H. Manoa Campus, 32)

- Apr. 5:6, "The Man From Maisiniou" a political thriller about the early years of the Cuban Revolution
- Apr. 12:13 "Bottle Babies" (death of 3rd World babies due to Western baby foods) and the celebrated documentary "Last Grave at Dimbaza" on the horrendous conditions in South Africa.
- Apr. 19:20 "Hshima Paradise", full-length documentary exploring effects of industrialization in Japan

Close Encounters With the Three Worlds

Three national Marxist-Leninist organizations have, over the past few months, sponsored forums in Hawaii to discuss their views of the international situation, particularly the "Three Worlds" theory of the Chinese Communist Party. This theory has recently come under strong fire from the ruling Party of Labor of Albania, which was once closely allied with the Chinese on most questions of theory and international practice.

In the U.S. several Marxist-Leninist organizations are conducting campaigns attempting to clarify the "Three Worlds" theory, or to point out basic objections to it. This issue, like others in the past, has become the "great divide" of revolutionary politics—and one's position on it may well determine whether one is "anti-China," "revisionist," "opportunist," or "counter-revolutionary," according to these groups.

The theory of "three worlds" was first recognized in the well-publicized speech by then-Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping to the U.N. General Assembly in April, 1974. He bluntly asserted: "Judging from changes in international relations, the world today actually consists of three parts, or three worlds, that are both interconnected and in contradiction to one another. The U.S. and Soviet Union make up the First World. The developing countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions make up the Third World. The developed countries between the two make up the Second World."

The Chinese Vice-Premier went on to describe this "drastic division and realignment" of the world, coining the word "superpowers" to apply to the two First World countries:

"A large number of Asian, African, and Latin American countries have achieved independence one after another and are playing an ever greater role in international affairs. As a result of the emergence of social-imperialism, the socialist camp which existed for a time after World War II is no longer in existence. Owing to the law of the uneven development of capitalism, the Western imperialist bloc, too, is disintegrating."

(Quoted in Peking Review, April 12, 1974).

Albania's Critique

The Albanian Party's attack on the theory of "three worlds" makes these basic points:

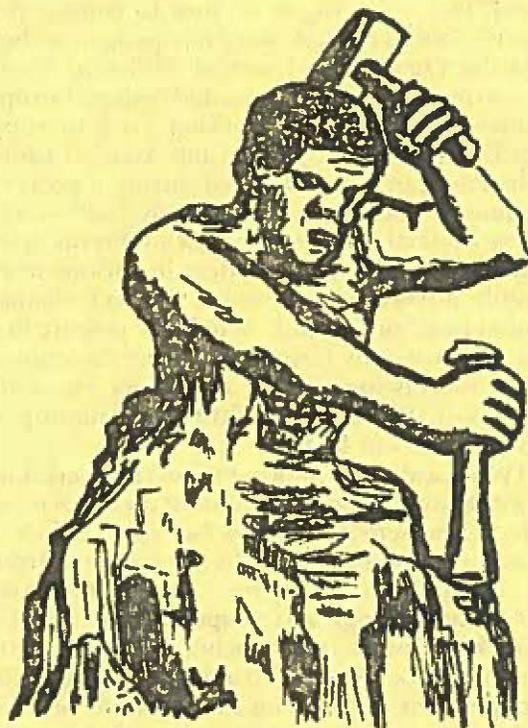
1. the socialist camp continues to exist, including a number of socialist states (though excluding the Soviet Union);
2. the "three worlds" theory is the same as the bourgeois theory of "non-alignment" or "third camp" or "third path" to development different from socialism or capitalism;
3. the "three worlds" theory makes the class question secondary to the national question, and surrenders to bourgeois nationalism, failing to put the overthrow of reactionary nationalist elites in "third world" countries on the revolutionary agenda; and
4. the "three worlds" theory gives a non-class, anti-Leninist view of the international question, "covering up . . . the class character" of political forces acting in the world today. (See "The Theory and Practice of Revolution," Workers' Advocate, July 22, 1977, or read Theoretical Review, Jan.-Feb., 1978 issue's lead article on "The Albanian Critique," available from Modern Times.)

Serious Questions Involved

To some non-aligned socialists, the "Three Worlds" debate has seemed overdone, compared to important issues locally or nationally that need to be dealt with. Yet, the "Three Worlds" debate raises issues vital to our local, as well as our international work, and this debate has only just begun, at least in Hawaii.

The premature split in the Red Flag Bookstore staff afforded a good example of how this discussion shouldn't be conducted. The recent I Wor Kuen-sponsored forum at Liliha Library on the "Three Worlds" analysis, on the other hand, presented a good model and catalyst for further debate, research and struggle.

The IWK forum was preceded by two other similar efforts. The Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee (MLOC) sponsored a forum earlier this year on Albania and its positions on issues. About a month ago, the Communist Party (ML)'s national chairman was here and conducted a forum on the "Three Worlds" theory.



Although the MLOC forum was not on the "Three Worlds" theory explicitly, naturally the issue came up—since Albania was the initial and strongest critic of this theory. MLOC's approach was to uphold the Albanian position but refuse to really explain it concretely. The MLOC speaker also questioned late CCP chairman Mao Tse-tung's authorship or support for the Three Worlds theory—which appeared to many to be a lame and unproven refutation of the theory, and besides the point. (It seems clear that Mao agreed with this analysis, so its critics must deal with this fact and stop attempting end runs; Mao never claimed to be infallible.)

The CPM-L speaker at the Communist League of Hawaii forum laid out the "Three Worlds" theory and seemed open to discussion, but little real discussion occurred. The forum was disrupted temporarily by forces from the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), including their Hawaii spokesman, who rushed into the room and ranted against the CPM-L for printing a sensational news article in their paper (The Call) about the recent serious split in the RCP nationally. (The RCP termed the article "a lie" and called The Call "the National Enquirer" of the Left.) The RCP people left right after their strange outburst, refusing the CPM-L speaker's invitation to them to stay and discuss their charges or their view of the international situation.

The IWK forum apparently drew a larger crowd and the questions raised brought out the differences more clearly. The IWK speakers' attitude toward questioners with dissenting views was a real plus; they made more of an effort to understand the points raised and tried to answer them. Their attitude toward uniting activists and aspiring Marxist-Leninists, through common work and principled struggle, was refreshing. They admitted that most activists in the U.S. today do not agree with the theory of "Three Worlds" or China's (or the IWK's) stand on Angola, having honest questions and reservations. According to several persons who had attended all three forums, the IWK people made one of the clearest explanations of the "Three Worlds" theory, and their forum was the best run and most productive.

One of the aspects of the discussion, at both the CPM-L and IWK forums, was the tendency to term positions critical of the Three World's Theory as "anti-China" (IWK termed MLOC's conduct and posturing on the Three Worlds questions as "anti-China" but refused to call Albania's position that—although one is the carbon copy of the other). Most disturbing, though, was the CPM-L's and IWK's agreement that an "appeasement trend" among the U.S. ruling circles in the U.S. toward the Soviet Union was a grave danger to world peace.

A CPM-L speaker cited the anti-B-1 Bomber campaign as an example of uniting with this harmful "appeasement trend," implying, it would logically seem, that the production of the B-1 Bomber should have been supported by Marxist-Leninists!

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The IWK speakers also spoke of the danger of this "appeasement trend," echoing China's concern. But when questioned, they were vague on how to combat this "appeasement." Should the U.S. send troops against the Soviet Union in the Ogaden desert of Ethiopia? Should we support a stronger NATO alliance in Western Europe? Is it in the interest of the U.S. working class to support a "stronger U.S. position in Europe and Asia," as China supporter Dr. Paul Lin recently urged during a press conference in Hawaii. The answer is obviously "no"—but not to the Chinese leadership or its strongest adherents in the U.S. Peking Review and Chinese leaders in various interviews have openly advocated a stronger NATO alliance and greater or at least continued U.S. military posture in Japan, East Asia and especially Europe, speaking favorably of the hawkish, pro-arms-spending, anti-Soviet views of Sen. Henry Jackson, Secretary of Energy Schlesinger, and others in the U.S. war lobby.

The IWK speakers supported these views, claiming that the best way to avoid war is by standing up to Soviet aggression, citing appeasement of Nazi Germany before World War II, as their case in point. The idea that confrontation could also lead to world war sooner never seemed to occur to them. They saw a progressive aspect about Third World rulers like Chile's murderer, Pinochet, and the Shah of Iran, in that they might be "weaned" from U.S. tutelage and made more independent, supporting the demands of their own national bourgeoisie against "superpower" demands. But, the IWK agreed, these repressive rulers must still be overthrown for true liberation to be realized.

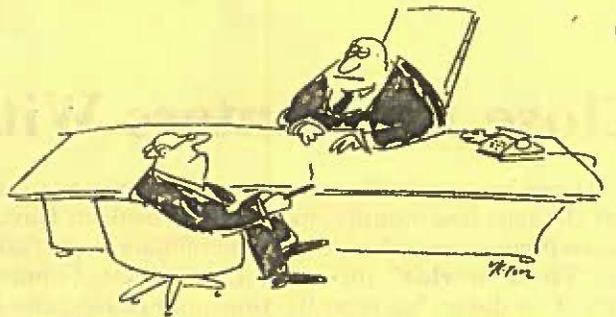
Others argued that countries like Chile and Iran are appendages of the U.S. imperialist system, and their rulers are instruments of U.S. control, not worthy of any support. They felt that two basic camps exist, one socialist, the other capitalist or imperialist, and that the Three Worlds theory confuses that distinction and blurs the central idea of class struggle and revolution in the Third World. How helpful, after all, they argued, is a theory that lumps revolutionary countries like Vietnam into a "Third World" category with Chile and Iran, despite fundamental socioeconomic differences?

At one point, IWK said that arms for Somalia or Iran might be supported, but only if they were purchased from Second World (Europe, Japan) countries. But the multinational companies go across national borders, especially the major arms manufacturers and dealers. This kind of logic made little sense—and to thousands of Iranians, murdered by the Shah and his police, it no doubt makes less sense. IWK did indicate that they do not agree with past stands by groups such as O.L. (now CPM-L) refusing to protest against the Shah of Iran.

Key to IWK's and the CPM-L's position is the unproven thesis—that the Soviet Union is not only capitalist, and social imperialist, but is the most dangerous, fascist menace to the world's people. Therefore, China, and groups in the U.S. supporting the Three Worlds line, seem willing to unite with all, including the U.S. ruling class, to oppose "appeasement" and support U.S. war preparations and confrontation politics against the Soviet Union. Brezhnev is Hitler, Moscow is Berlin, and the year is 1939—or is it?

—J.W.

(The next issue of Modern Times will try to lay out briefly problems with Albania's critique of this theory. We will also continue with some reviews and articles on the nature of Soviet society today.—ed.)



"Before God made profits, he made production and before production he made capital. So be it."

"Managing the Global Plantation"

Our local AFSC has produced a very good slideshow about Castle & Cooke's worldwide operations and how they affect workers, consumers and communities in which this Big Five giant operates. The 20-minute slideshow, "Managing the Global Plantation", is a good educational tool for almost any audience (though when the producers first showed it to Castle & Cooke execs, they naturally got a very cool and hostile reaction). The slideshow is the first product of the Castle & Cooke Action/Research Project (CARP), spearheaded by Ian and Mada Lind and others, and is designed to build support for those struggling for justice and human rights in a world marked by the power of giant corporations. National church groups such as the United Church of Christ are trying to use their stock-voting power to force Castle & Cooke to reveal information about its treatment of plantation workers and communities in the "third world". CARP and the slideshow are very much supporting the churches' stockholders' resolution toward that end.

The slideshow was shown to about 20 Hawaii Union of Socialists members and supporters last February and brought forth some discussion, particularly about the corporations exploitation of women workers in Hawaii and the Third World. One HUS member revealed that in Senegal (Africa), the Bud Antle Co. (now owned by Castle & Cooke) is raising salad vegetables for export to the markets of Belgium and northern Europe. Women make up the workforce for Antle, receive very meager pay for long hours of work, are stripped naked at day's end and searched for vegetables they may have dared to steal for their own families, now that traditional food crops are less in supply.

The slideshow clearly showed the miserable conditions and gross exploitation of C&C workers in the Philippines and other countries, and the effects of plantation shut-downs on Molokai. It failed, however, to raise the prospect and need for workers' struggle against this company and other multi-nationals, and against the system of imperialism—and the occurrence and inevitability of this struggle (i.e. workers as the grave-diggers of capitalism). It focused more on church stock-holders' efforts and the need for broad education and support, portraying workers solely as victims and not as eventual overthrowers of Castle & Cooke's capitalist oppression.

The slideshow is well worth viewing and scheduling for programs. The research that went into it and style of presentation are excellent. To schedule or purchase the show, call CARP, c/o AFSC, 988-6266. You may also want to join with CARP's ongoing research and action plans.

Castle & Cooke's Kirchhoff's Concoctions

Faced with growing exposure and opposition, multinational companies like Castle & Cooke must now address the issues raised. Mr. Don Kirchhoff, Castle & Cooke Executive, has encouraged his cohorts to actively campaign against church support for AFSC and CARP-type challenges to his company's "integrity". Kirchhoff himself has made speeches disputing charges made against food industry giants like C&C as exploiters. He told the Canadian Fruit Wholesalers' Convention in Alberta recently that "a good bit of starvation" still exists in China, and that Cuba had the second lowest agricultural production rate in all of Latin America for the last 15 years. He cri-

ticized those who suggested a general return to subsistence farming or modeling economies after "totalitarian" examples like China, Cuba or North Korea. (He naturally avoided mentioning the Philippines where Castle & Cooke's Dole Co. attorney Ponce Enrile is the Marcos' dictatorship's Secretary of Defense, charged with putting down guerrilla insurrection in the company's Mindanao plantations.) Kirchhoff's solution to his company's increasingly bad image is "broadened" publicity programs "if we are going to be able to serve the community and the public at a profit." (Emphasis added, --ed.)

IWD Demo "Fantastic"

International Women's Day was celebrated with gusto last March 8 by the IWD Coalition, with the demand for low-cost child care raised as the focus for the afternoon rally at the State Capitol. Nearly 400 persons were on hand, including a good number of children. Most of the adults were concerned women and parents from Windward Oahu who had been active in fights against cutbacks in childcare aid proposed by the State. Good organizing for the event was done in Windward Oahu and Waianae—complete with bus service provided for one outlying area.

Most of the crowd consisted of new people and not the familiar movement faces. The speeches were short, interesting and to the point. Songs of women and struggle were sung, and the May Day Dancers lived up to their reputation with a good political dance depicting the development of society and the role of women in it. Some 400 roses were dropped from the upper balconies to spice up the event—and beautiful painted banners filled the courtyards—the work of day care center children, teachers and parents, and, of course, Setsu Okubo (who is becoming celebrated for her great movement demonstration banners—witness the Wilmington 10 and Narciso-Perez works of art she has done). A poem was also written by the organizers around the theme of the dance, and appears on this page. The Women's Day event was "fantastic" and "quite moving and enjoyable" in the words of some of those attending. And the word is that the child care organizing committees are geared up and continuing to meet on plans to win the demands raised by the IWD Coalition. This demonstration on Women's Day was a good break from the past pattern of long, rhetorical forums on the subject of women's oppression divorced from any concrete program of action.



PACE Developments

Last March 13, 21 PACE members and supporters, including 4 steering committee members, were arrested at DHCD (urban renewal dept.) offices in Chinatown while demanding a meeting with the City official who oversees the Chinatown "renewal" project. The official arrogantly refused to meet with the people then or to schedule a meeting the next day or sometime that week—so the people took their stand. The spirited action followed a march through Chinatown by more than 110 persons, and a rally at City Hall. After the arrests, which came at 7:40 p.m. after a few hours of waiting for the City's reply, a sizeable crowd demonstrated outside the police station demanding the release of those arrested. Those arrested were released on bail around 11 p.m., arraigned the next day, with a trial date set for April 14.

Meanwhile slumlord Hing-lin Chang (phone 537-5708) is trying to evict Mindanao Pool Hall and its operator and collect some \$3,000 in rent he claims is owed him—while he has refused to make all promised repairs at the site. April 1 is the date set for eviction; support will be needed. Call Chang and tell him to back off and negotiate with the people. 4-A N. Hotel St. residents are also preparing for an eviction fight in April, so keep in touch with PACE for news of the latest developments.

WINDWARD OAHU WATER SHORTAGE

Windward activists, including the Johnsons, have gotten together an excellent brief pamphlet on windward Oahu's water shortage and exposes the Board of Water Supply's theft of Windward water from Waihee farmers and Punaluu stream. The leaflet, based on findings from George Hodes' excellent slide show (call 521-1300 to book it), reveals that the sugar industry on Oahu uses half of our total developable ground-water supply (over 250 million gallons daily) and PAYS FOR NONE OF IT! In droughts, sugar useage of water rises another 20%. Large construction and tourist use of water add greatly to our water costs—and yet the BWS is fond of blaming individual residents for water shortage. It is estimated that the free water use for sugar irrigation costs the public \$10 to \$20 million a year. Write Koolauloa Water Rights Group, c/o Richards, Box 713, Hauula 96717, or contact Modern Times, for a copy of the leaflet—or for more info.



KCAA Board Vote

Kindergarten & Children's Aid Assn. parents and teachers lost a key election to the KCAA Board last Feb. 28, in a bid to take control and force that organization to meet the teachers' union demands and pay the teaching staff decent wages. Bargaining talks have been stalled for months by the anti-union, anti-teacher, anti-parent maneuvers of the present KCAA board, a very upper-class oriented group. To defeat the parents' and teachers' slate for Board spots, the KCAA elite was compelled to sound the alarm and mobilize its ruling class patrons and members. They were wheeled in, propped up in wheel chairs, told which slate to vote for, and wheeled out. They were almost all haole and over 50 years old, compared to the young, racially mixed parents and teacher supporters. The vote went nearly two-to-one against the progressive forces, who nevertheless will continue their efforts to force a just settlement. Their defeat underlined one thing many radicals and community forces have experienced: the tenacity of the ruling class—especially in a battle for one of their long-time, favorite "charities", the KCAA.

THERE WAS A TIME

I know there was a time when to be a woman was to stand free with men to work together to feed ourselves and our children to move as the Earth with the ever-renewing cycles of life.

I know there was a time when we separated our work women and men but worked hard together without abusing each other keeping in step with the ever-renewing cycles of life.

I know that in time people made wars people made captive people divided into have's and have nots and women who "had no" had nothing at all no respect, no equality with even their men exploited together merely surviving the cycles of life.

I know time continued and big business grew capitalism, imperialism keeping us down as workers and as women and women even lower and if we were not white it was worse yet capitalism bred poverty prostitution and rape—was this all to our cycle of life?

But I know that throughout time women have fought heroically, fearlessly to break loose our chains in throngs, we've marched forward in full face of guns standing firm we inspire our sisters and our friends to join the fight to seize back our lives women, men, children working together for a world without have nots

This is our time our time is NOW!

--by the IWD Coalition, 3/79



Stearns Miners to Speak

STAND WITH THE MINERS!

The Hawaii Committee to Support the Mine Workers held a spirited rally last March 24 in front of the old Federal Building—as the miners voted to accept a new proposed nationwide contract. Nearly 30 persons attended the Friday morning rally, which included a mobile picket line on King Street, a press conference and vigorous chanting, followed by several short speeches, announcements and group singing of "Solidarity" and "Which Side Are You On?" An energetic fundraiser two weeks earlier in Punaluu netted nearly \$150, and about 70 T-shirts were sold, raising another \$140 for the cause. Over 400 signatures were collected on support petitions. More than 3,000 leaflets and fact-sheets were distributed, and the local ILWU and UPW approached for support and contributions.

Strike Issues

The national coal strike involved issues extremely vital to the mine workers, not all of which were resolved in the settlement.

***the right to strike** on local grievances, especially safety and health issues; the new contract does not include provisions allowing the companies to fire or discipline wildcat strike leaders.

***full health and equal pension plans** fully paid by the mine owners; the new contract makes the miners pay the first \$200 of medical expenses, and gives long-time pensioners a boost of only \$25 a month (to \$275, compared to \$500 for miners retiring today with the same years of service.)

***safer work conditions** enforced by union safety committees (over 100,000 miners have died in mine accidents since 1900—four every day!—and another 250,000 have been killed by industrial diseases like Black Lung); little was won on this point.

***no speed-up "incentive" plans** to force higher productivity, divide the workforce and cause unsafe conditions; the new contract contains these harmful provisions which may pit worker against worker.

The miners' determination and unity in the face of the government's strike-breaking moves was inspiring, as well as the nationwide working class solidarity that was demonstrated for the miners. Striking farmers gave food and meat to the miners. The United Auto Workers gave \$3 million, the Steelworkers \$1 million, and the ILWU \$25,000!

Why "Modern Times"

Modern Times aims to be a socialist monthly bulletin of analyses, proposals, and opinions which we hope will be a useful tool for the socialist movement in Hawaii. We plan to print and share the views of various socialist writers and leaders on important issues and problems facing us, especially in Hawaii.

We also will review some basic socialist writings to see how they can help us today. Key national and international issues will also be dealt with in *Modern Times*, as they also affect the positions, unity, and the work of the socialist movement in the U.S.

We will actively seek out different views on the vital questions and encourage real dialogue and a simple, easy-to-read style with good, factual content and analysis.

Please share *Modern Times* with your co-workers and friends. Give us your ideas, criticisms and articles. For the bulletin to be successful, we need your feed-back.

Modern Times
P.O. Box 11208
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The ILWU considered a one-day sympathy strike for the miners. The local Support Committee included several groups and individuals and represented a good united effort to build classwide support in Hawaii for the miners. Their leaflets can be obtained from **Modern Times**.

In mid-April, the Committee plans to co-sponsor the speaking tour to Hawaii of two leading rank-and-file fighters from the **Stearns' miners' struggle (Kentucky)**. This struggle has raged for 20 months and is a **key organizing battle** which has pitted armed miners, their wives and supporters against scabs, goons, and police; it has seen the arrests of scores of miners and the determined resistance of them and their wives including the freeing of imprisoned miners and supporters and the burning down of the jailhouse. Contact the Committee (595-7362) to schedule the Stearns miner and his wife (head of the Women's Club)—the Vanovers—to speak to your group **between April 18 and 21**. Contributions to the Committee will go to aid the Stearns strike.

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