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FIRST
CONFERENCE OF

MOZAMBICAN
WOMEN





A genuinely popular revolution is taking place and is being consolidated in Mozambique. As a result of the armed struggle for national liberation, initiated by the people under the leadership of FRELIMO, vast areas that cover approximately a quarter of our country have been liberated. The struggle has been extended to a new province —Manica and Sofala.

In the liberated regions, Cabo Delgado, Niassa and Tete, a new life is being built, inspired by an ideology that places the interests of the masses of the people above all; that rejects every form of oppression and exploitation by any individual, group, class or sex over others, and that seeks to establish healthy human relationships in the country.

The struggle to liberate women occupies a prominent place in the revolution. It was within this context that the First Conference of Mozambican Women was held.

More than 80 delegates attended from all sectors of activity, predominantly members of the Women's Detachment.

The agenda included the following points:

1. Reports on activities.
2. Analysis and description of the Mozambican woman in traditional and in colonial society and in the present situation.
3. Examination of the commitment of the women of Mozambique to the revolutionary process.

Special attention was given to the following points:

obstacles to her participation and the nature of existing contradictions, definitions of goals; formulation of the

strategy to follow; tasks of the Organization of Mozambican Women and its place within the structure of FRELIMO.

The Conference was presided over by Comrade Samora Machel, President of FRELIMO, who defined in his opening speech, the political-historical context in which the conference was being held, analyzing the origins of the alienation of women and indicating the line that must be followed to obtain success in the struggle for the emancipation of women. The Conference adopted the FRELIMO President's speech as a basic document.

In analyzing the information presented by the comrades engaged in armed action,

and others who work in schools, hospitals, nursery schools, etc., the Conference pointed out that the Mozambican women organized in the Women's Detachment are working correctly, with a high level of consciousness and great efficiency. Among the tasks of the Women's Detachment are: armed struggle and mobilization; organizing and defending the people; transporting materials; assuring production; recruitment and security; work in nursery schools; carrying out clandestine work, etc.

Initiation rites

The Conference nevertheless pointed out that there is a psychological factor



that affects the majority of the women comrades, which makes the execution of their tasks difficult: an inferiority complex.

In making a more profound analysis, the Conference found that the reasons for this complex lie in an amalgam of the traditional system of education and the colonial system. It was shown that, throughout her life, in different phases of her growth, woman is subjected to what are called "rites of initiation" which, although they vary from one region to another, have in common the fact that they inculcate in the woman a submissive attitude toward the man, and teach her that her place in society is secondary. During the puberty ceremony specifically, girls are told that their role from that moment on is to have children and take care of their



husbands and home, with all other tasks forbidden. The initiation rites, surrounded by an aura of mystery and religious solemnity, have a powerful psychological impact and succeed in getting the youth to accept blindly everything they are taught, traumatizing them for the rest of their lives.

The Conference also pointed out that these rites are simply a manifestation of the existing concept of woman's position in traditional society. Other manifestations, for example, are:

the price of the bride, which reduces the woman to a mere object that is bought and sold, and which converts her into a simple object of pleasure and reproduction in the eyes of her purchaser —her husband; polygamy

and premature and obligatory marriages in which girls no more than ten years old are forced to contract marriage.

THESE customs, in addition to reflecting a reactionary attitude, constitute a serious obstacle to the woman's commitment to the liberation struggle. They accustom the woman to feeling alienated and limit her to domestic life and agricultural production for her husband, depriving her of taking part in political, cultural or social work.

The colonial system worsens the situation, subjects the Mozambican woman to a double oppression and exploitation: first the oppression and indiscriminate exploitation of men and women alike, in the form of forced work, obligatory harvests, arbitrary imprisonment, racial discrimination, etc. And then the other and more specific discrimination directed solely against the woman. Through forced work, women are separated from their husbands, thus denying them the means of maintaining their children and their homes and creating the conditions that oblige women to resort to the sale of their bodies, prostituting themselves in order to be able to survive. Women are debased degraded and subjected to the most extreme humiliation by the colonialists.

Having thus analysed the situation of the woman in our country, the Conference studied the strategy of struggle that should be adopted in order to give women their position and rights within the new society we are building in a revolutionary manner. The poles of the contradiction were delineated. The Conference declared that the fundamental contradiction exists between the Mozambican woman and the system of oppression and exploitation that reigns in our country and which excludes

the woman from making decisions, and it called the attention of the delegates to the danger of misinterpreting the goals of the struggle. As an example it raised the position taken by the so-called "women's liberation movements" that are now proliferating in the capitalist countries. These movements direct their struggle against men, converting them into their target and accusing them of being responsible for their oppression and exploitation.

The Conference emphasized that male workers are themselves exploited and oppressed in these societies, the same as women are, and that whatever reactionary ideas they might hold concerning women, have been inculcated in them by the system in which they live.

It is against the system, that is against the negative aspects of tradition and against colonialism and imperialism, that





The Conference applauded the Central Committee for declaring April 7 (date of the death of Comrade Josina Machel, leader of the Women's Detachment, and Director of the Section of Social Affairs, and the Feminine section of the Department of Foreign Affairs,) "Mozambican Women's Day."

International solidarity

Finally, the Conference placed the struggle of the Mozambican woman within its international context. The delegates celebrated March 8, International Women's Day, which fell within the period that the Conference was being held.

The Conference saluted the struggle of our brothers and sisters in Angola and Guinea Bissau and in Cape Verde, who under the leadership of MPLA and PAIGC, have been fighting for more than ten years with arms in hand, against the common enemy: Portuguese colonialism and imperialism.

The Conference sent a special greeting to militant Africa which stands at our side, sharing the efforts and sacrifices of the war, moved by the ideal of total liberty for our entire continent, mentioning especially Tanzania, Zambia, the Republic of Guinea and the Congo.

The struggle for the liberation of the peoples of South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Namibia was recognized as a direct and valuable contribution to the victory of our struggle.

The Fourth Front, opened in Portugal by Portuguese anti-fascist and anti-colonialist patriots, in the very heart of the enemy, was warmly applauded by the Conference as an important step toward the consolidation of the links of friendship and solidarity among the peoples of Mozambique and Portugal.

The Conference expressed its satisfaction with the great victory won by the



peoples of Indochina and especially of Viet Nam, over the United States of America, leader of international imperialism. The Conference emphasized that the victory of the peoples of Indochina represents a great source of inspiration for our peoples.

The First Conference of Mozambican Women adopted as its slogan the words of the President of FRELIMO: "The liberation of women is a basic requirement of the Revolution, the guarantee of its continuation, and a prior condition for its victory."

JOSINA — you are not dead. . .

Josina, you are not dead, because we have assumed your responsibilities, and they live in us.

You have not died, for the causes you defended have become totally our heritage.

You are not beside us, but the gun and the pack you left, your work tools, are a part of our load.

The blood you shed is only a tiny drop in the cascade we have already given and will still have to give.

The earth must be nourished, and the more fertile it is, the better the trees grow, the greater the shade they give, the sweeter their fruits.

I will make a spade in your memory, to turn over the earth enriched with your sacrifice. And new fruits fill grow.

The Revolution renews itself from its best and most beloved children.

This is the meaning of your sacrifice: it will be a living example, to be followed.

My happiness is that, as a patriot and as a woman, you died doubly free in this hour in which the new power and the new woman are arising.

In your last moments, you begged the doctors to forgive you for not being able to help them.

The way you accepted sacrifice is a source of inspiration and courage.

When a comrade so completely adopts the new values, she gains our heart and becomes our banner.

And so, more than wife, for me you were my sister, my friend, my comrade in arms.

How can we weep for a comrade, except by grasping the fallen gun and continuing the fight?

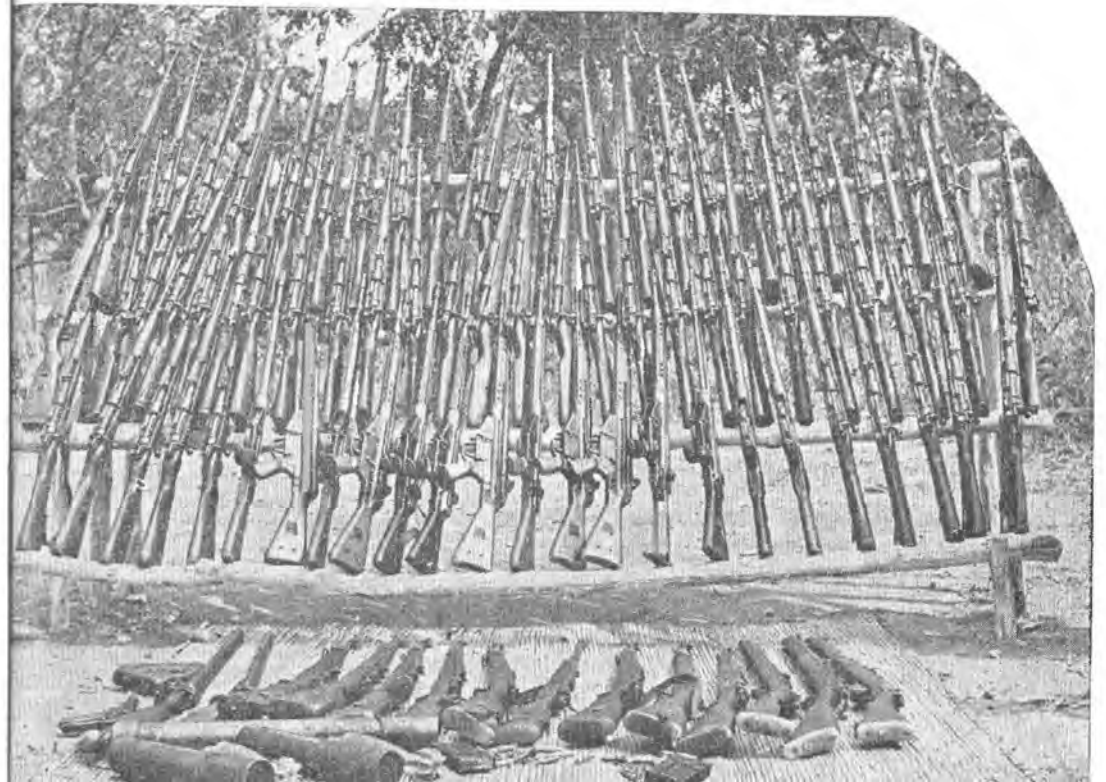
My tears flow from the same source that gave life to our love, our revolutionary will and life.

Thus these tears are both a token of love and an oath to fight.

The flowers that fall from the tree must prepare the earth so that more flowers, and more beautiful ones, bloom the next season.

Your life continues in those who continue the Revolution.

Samora M. Machel





This is the moment

*This is the moment we were waiting for.
 Our guns are light in our hands,
 the motives and objectives of the struggle
 are clear in our minds.
 The blood shed by our heroes
 makes us sad, but resolute.
 This is the price of our liberty
 We keep them close to our hearts
 and from their examples the new generations
 —revolutionary generations—
 are now surging to life.
 We see bitter sufferings along the road
 but we also see
 our children running free
 and our homeland, no longer plundered.
 This is the moment to be ready
 and firm.
 This is the moment to give ourselves totally
 to the Revolution.*

JOSINA MACHEL

ELECTIONS

IN

COLOMBIA

After almost 16 years of hegemony on the part of the two traditional parties, Colombian politics is preparing the timid initiation this year of a gradual turn that permits the participation in it of other organized forces.

During four years of military government headed by General Gustavo Rojas Pinilla (June of 1953 — May of 1957) the Liberals and Conservatives committed themselves constitutionally to a political dictatorship known as the "National Front" (FN) which excluded any other party from the country's political life during the period from 1958 to 1974.

The alliance between the two parties was drawn up in the pact of Sitges (a town on the Catalan coast) and was signed on July 20, 1957, by Conservative ex-President Laureano Gómez (1950-53) and Liberal ex-President Alberto Lleras Camargo (1945-46); (1958-62).

On the basis of that pact, the Military Junta that replaced the government of General Rojas Pinilla, convoked a plebescite for December 1, 1957, in order to introduce amendments to the Constitution which would provide "legal validity" for the political monopoly of liberals and conservatives.

Under the FN, which was later called "National Transformation" and is now the "Social Front," two official parties alternated the presidency every four years and distributed equally the public posts

that went from the Cabinet down to the mayors, including departmental governors, justice and positions in the extensive bureaucracy of the so-called decentralized institutions.

Legislative bodies like the Parliament (at the national level), departmental assemblies and municipal councils also underwent the exclusive Liberal-Conservative party division.

If any "upstart" intended to aspire to the presidency from outside the National Front candidacy, he would have to inscribe himself as a faction of either of the two traditional parties in order to be accepted and would have no chance of winning.

This experiment, which sought to be the "model" for the continent, was NOT a simple political coalition but rather the installation of obligatory juridical norms that postulated the domination of the bourgeois parties, leaving all democratic forces outside.

This political absurdity plunged the country into deep economic instability over the nearly 16 years it was effective and wasted away the influence of the traditional parties—which are now attempting a comeback—and also provoked popular resistance in all areas of the country's life, such as: the guerrilla struggle, student demands, electoral abstention, etc. Thus the inefficacy of this sui





generis model of bourgeois dictatorship was demonstrated.

The most symptomatic element of the unpopularity of the unique system lies in the electoral abstention that occurred in a phenomenon typical of the National Front.

Alberto Lleras Camargo, Liberal and known spokesman for North American imperialism, initiated the first presidential period (1958-62) of the regime of "shared responsibility," supported by the vote of 60% of those able to exercise suffrage.

In the following presidential period, Conservative,, with the picturesque Guillermo León Valencia (1962-66), electoral abstention rose to 52% and to 64.8% in 1966 when the Liberal, Carlos Lleras

Restrepo, (1966-70) ascended to the presidency.

In 1970, abstention dropped to 46%, according to official figures, not because the votes for the National Front candidate—the present mandate Misael Pastrana Borrero—increased, but rather because the party activity of ANAPO succeeded in partially unfreezing abstentionism, to the point where only fraud at the polls prevented the Anapist victory.

The percentage of abstentionism rose to 70% in the intermediary elections of April, 1972, the date on which deputies to the departmental assemblies and municipal councils were selected.

In 1968 the Colombian oligarchy, foreseeing the end of the FN, organized a gradual "dismounting" of the system in an attempt to prevent the total participation of opposition forces in the political life of the country in the near future. The constitutional reform of that year made presidential rotation between the two parties inoperative beginning in 1974, maintained until 1978 the equal distribution of public posts, but from 1970 on, other parties in addition to the Liberal and Conservative could present electoral candidates for the departmental assemblies and municipal councils.

Until the elections of next April 21, the parliamentary seats remain obligatorily divided between liberals and conservatives. The opposition sectors are



The Conservatives consider that it should be exclusive, that is, that in the ministerial offices, six must be Liberals, six Conservatives and that the portfolio of defense will be occupied by a theoretically "apolitical" militarist. This interpretation was recently given by the Supreme Court of Justice.

Liberalism, for its part, believes that the constitutional obligation is met merely by the existence in the Cabinet of an equal share of Liberals and Conservatives, even though they be less than six each. The remainder could be distributed among the other parties.

With the application of the Conservative interpretation—which the Supreme Court of Justice has pronounced itself in favor of—the political turn initiated with the constitutional reform of 1968 (despite the abolition of the alternating presidency slated for 1974) could lead to a situation of political instability highly dangerous to the traditional forces.

only present in the Congress under the denomination of Liberals and Conservatives, and from this date on they will be able to elect their own representatives to both Houses.

The two associate parties of the FN maintain their differences over the interpretation of administrative parity which will still reign in the next four-year period.

It could lead to the case of a parliament in which the united opposition forces will eventually surpass the Conservatives (should the Liberals win the elections) and yet there would be no place for any representation of the opposition in the Cabinet and the administrative apparatus of the country. The reform of 1968, in notably strengthening the executive against the congress, converted the Colombian system into a



Caesar-like presidential regime and, thus, politically unstable.

On the other hand it could also happen that liberalism, triumphant with an easy margin in the coming elections, and controlling the majority of the Parliament, may decide in the first 100 days of government to reform the Constitution to permit the participation in the Cabinet and other public posts of par-

ties other than the Liberal and Conservative.

In the present electoral campaign that will culminate next April 21, five candidates are participating: the ex-foreign Minister Alfonso López Michelsen for liberalism, Alvaro Gómez Hurtado for conservatism, Senator María Eugenia Rojas de Moreno for ANAPO, Senator Hernando Echeverri Mejía, representing the National Union of Opposition (UNO) and the Engineer Hermes Duarte of the Christian Democratic Party.

The first three are children of ex-presidents, called "Dauphins" and represent an overall gamut of positions that are quite different at times.

United in basic defense of the capitalist system and in the maintenance of dependency on the United States, the class in power is divided over the way to conceive a strategy of defense of its interests.

Alvaro Gómez Hurtado, son of ex-President Laureano Gómez who sponsored European falangist and Fascist ideas in Colombia, proposes a "model of development" along Brazilian lines whose principal objective is the economic growth of the country, no matter how.

This means that his primary purpose is to strengthen industrial capital, the financiers and the big land owners, at the expense of aggravating the inequality of income among the Colombian people.





Some 20% of the poorest people in Colombia receive only 2.2% of the total income while 5% of the wealthiest absorb 41% of the income.

Ex-Foreign Minister López Michelsen, son of the Liberal ex-President Alfonso López Pumarejo (1934-38; 1942-45), tries to erase his supposedly left-wing antecedents with declarations that situate him, as he defines himself, as a "progressive bourgeois."

Scarcely had the FN begun when Ló-

pez Michelsen organized a dissident party, the Liberal Revolutionary Movement (MRL) which played the role of approved opposition, permitting the myth of a popular liberal party.

If today Gómez Hurtado represents what is most characteristic of the country's anti-communist reaction, López Michelsen is the candidate whose program is directed toward the installation of capitalist development and the national bourgeoisie.



López Michelsen's formula for income and salaries presumes that economic growth will march parallel to social development, within a regulated policy of income for capitalists and workers.

Although his electoral campaign turns now on the struggle against the high cost of living, administrative waste and sound money, his thesis for income and salaries leaves open the possibility of a salary freeze directed against the working class.

And in a free enterprise regime like Colombia's (in spite of what the Constitution stipulates since 1968) such a program is equivalent, in practice, to the unilateral prevention of salary increases.

As for agrarian reform, neither of the two candidates of the traditional parties represents a favorable position toward the Colombian peasant.

The conservative candidate pronounced himself simply and flatly against agrarian reform and López takes on the

counter-reform of "El Chicoral" which established incentives so that land owners cultivate their farms efficiently.

Thus both wave the white flag before the latifundists, assuring them they will not touch the conflictive problem of land.

Among the rest of the opposition —composed of ANAPO and UNO— although identified with rejection of every remnant of FN, there are differences on various points.

The new ANAPO platform presents a frank rejection of the reigning FN system and constitutes an advance over its position of former years in certain aspects (the agrarian problem for example.)

Its most serious deficiencies lie in the absolute absence of all reference to liberation from North American imperialist dependency.

Its "socialism à la Colombiana" hides a narrow, short-range nationalism which ignores the existence of the socialist camp.

In its immediate perspectives —according to analysts— there is no alliance with other sectors of the opposition, such as UNO, since ANAPO appears tied to a concept of personal and family leadership, and prefers to speak of forces of opposition, to those that propose coalition, but does not mention the other opposition parties and organizations.

Together with its platform proposal to nationalize foreign trade and the bank,

authorized spokesmen for ANAPO have pointed out that they do not mean to affect the foreign companies established in Colombia by such measures.

"Neither communists nor fascists but nationalists, Christians and defenders of private property." Thus ANAPO was defined recently. It was constituted as a party in June of 1971: its founder and head, General (r) Gustavo Rojas Pinilla.

Various recent defections in its ranks were noisily exploited by the Liberal and Conservative candidates.

Gustavo Rojas Correa, son of General Rojas Pinilla and brother of the ANAPO candidate, Maria Eugenia Rojas, went over to the candidacy of the Conservative Alvaro Gómez Hurtado, along with other members of that organization linked to marked conservative tendencies, and accused ANAPO of "being influenced by Marxist ideas."

The UNO, with a clear anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchist position, proposes the confiscation of the big monopolies, especially North American, and the nationalization of natural resources.

It supports and backs peasant land demands against all types of latifundism, the workers' claims against the high cost of living, and the struggle of the students and professors for free, obligatory state education.



According to observers, the UNO represents the left position within the Colombian electoral debate, which the oligarchists seek to reduce to a confrontation between Liberals and Conservatives.

The Liberals believe they'll win the elections by more than 2 000 000 out of the nearly 9 000 000 votes of Colombians eligible to participate in the elections.

The votes —according to their predictions —would permit them to count on a parliamentary majority, on which in turn a more profound government program depends.

Recently, several surveys on the possible triumph of each of the presidential candidates were published within the same week, and all of them predicted the victory of Alfonso López Michelsen, Liberal.

According to the magazine SETT, on the basis of a maximum vote of slightly more than 4 500 000 constituents, 2 361 866 votes would be in favor of the ex-Foreign Minister (50%).

María Eugenia Rojas would place second with 1 216 632 votes (26%).

Gómez Hurtado, according to the survey, would obtain 978 421 votes (21%), while Echeverri Mejía of UNO would win 98 356 votes (2%).

These predictions, which some observers attribute to persons close to López Mi-

chelsen, coincide basically with a survey published a short time ago by the "Colombian Data Company."

The "opinion sounding" estimated that López Michelsen, 60 years old, would obtain 2 000 000 votes against a million for the Conservative Gómez Hurtado.

In this study the ANAPO presidential candidate appears as contestant for second place with the conservative aspirant.

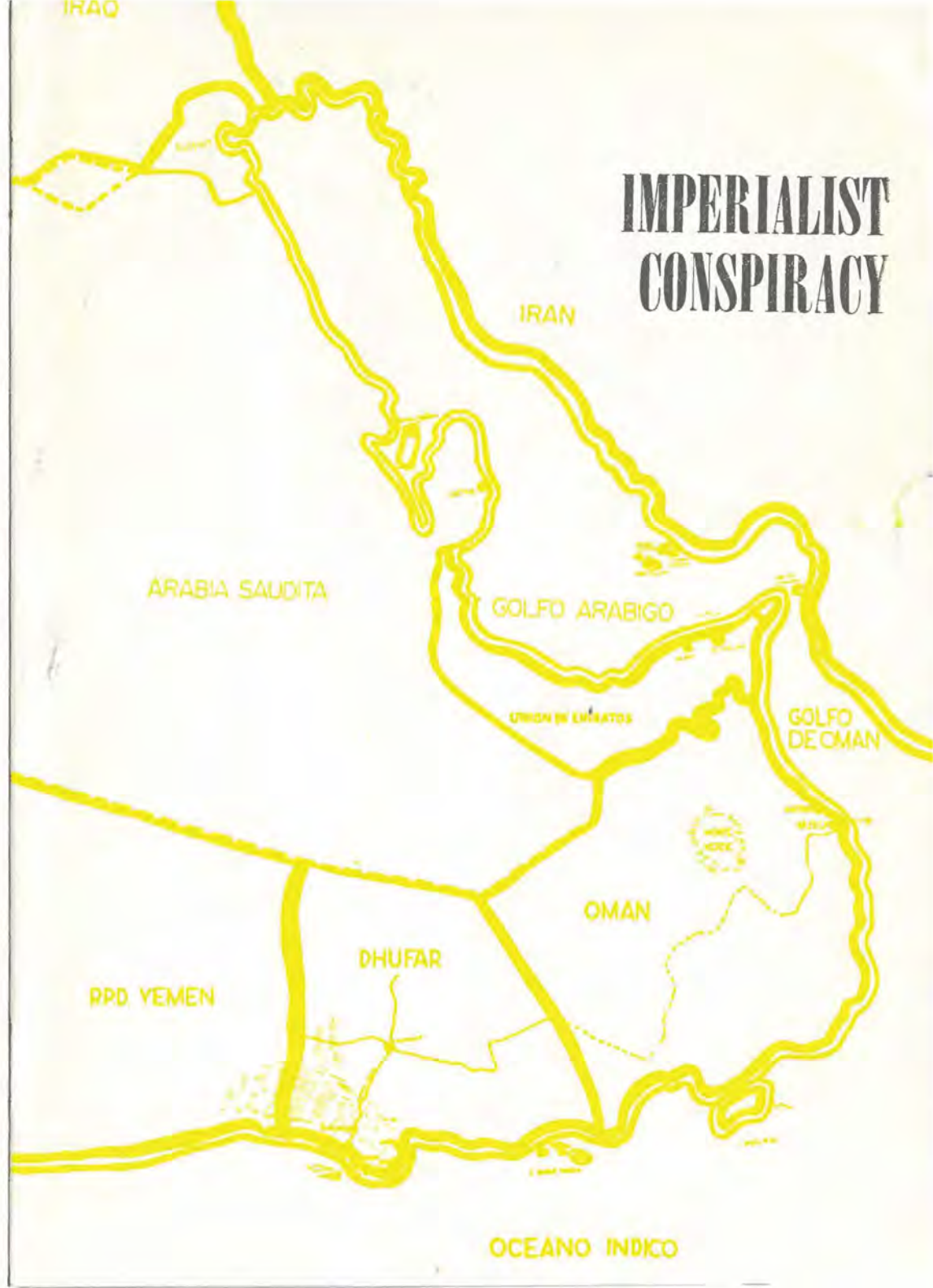
The UNO, formed by the Communist Party, Colombian Broad Movement (an offshoot of ANAPO) and the Revolutionary Independent Workers' Movement (MOIR), would pull some 230 000 votes, that is 5% of the total predictable votes.

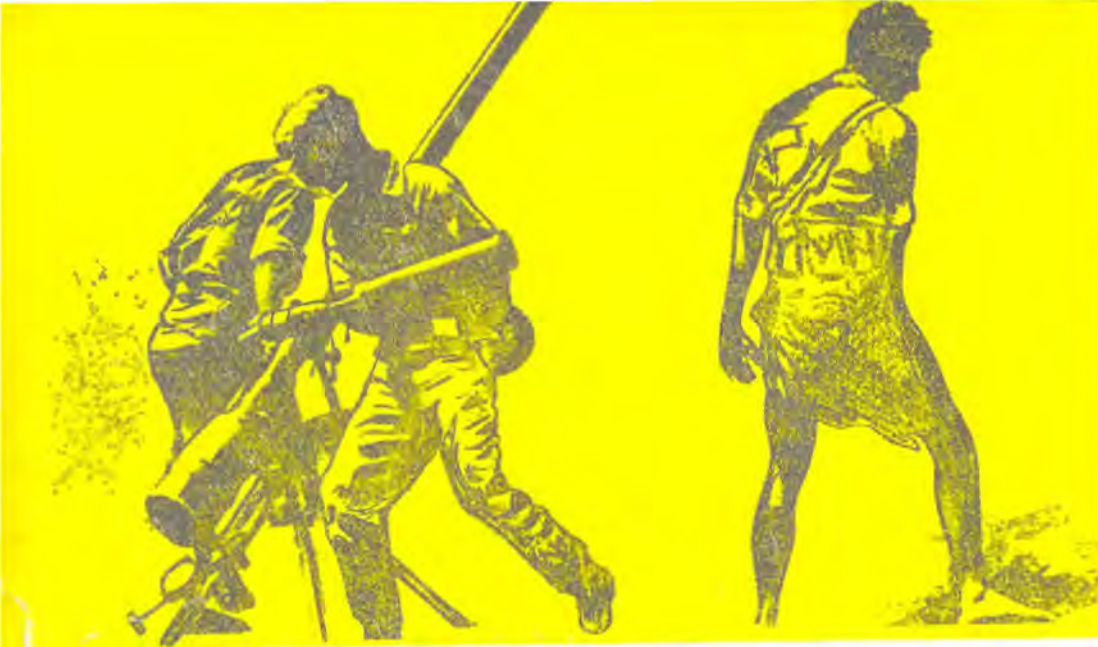
The Engineer Hermes Duarte of Christian Democracy is not credited with even one per cent of the votes.

For its part, the magazine CROMOS, on the basis of a survey made among its readers, attributes 41% of the votes to López Michelsen, 19.27% to Gómez Hurtado and 5.81% to María Eugenia Rojas. Some 25.77% would abstain. The previously cited "opinion soundings" estimate the abstention at 50%.

In the elections held in Colombia between 1958 and 1972, the Liberals obtained an overall total of 11 880 000 votes, the Conservatives 8 387 447 and ANAPO (since 1962) 3 369 052.

IMPERIALIST CONSPIRACY





Seated on the grass under the shade of an almond tree in a garden at the edge of the Havana coast, a friendly conversation took place with Mohamed Abdula, member of the Executive Committee of the Central Command of the People's Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf (PFLOAG).

The conversation began delving by turns into the tense situation that prevails on the Peninsula and in the Arab Gulf, of particular strategic importance for world imperialism and the region's reactionaries because of the oil lake, with its astronomical reserves, that is located there.

This arid region of the world, where the main harvest is energy, is breaking with its centuries-old political structures and is entering violently and enthusiastically into the national liberation struggle that has already come to power in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, under the leadership of a Marxist government; is pushing for victory in the emirate of Oman-Dhofar, and is gaining in the States of the Federation of Gulf Emirates.

"There is no room for doubt about the existence of an imperialist conspiracy in the Arab Gulf", Abdula noted reflectively, "and it is evident in three aspects: military, political and economic.

"The puppet regime of Sultan Said Bey Taymur Qabbas is being systematically strengthened. With the aid of the British personal guard itself, which was supposed to protect his father from a possible palace conspiracy, Qabbas overthrew him in 1971 and has since signed bilateral agreements with Iran, Saudi Arabia and the Jordanian monarchy".

These agreements give the sultanate considerable military aid for its army of 10 000 men. Iran's aid increased substantially after two visits to Teheran (1971, 72) by Qabbas' adviser, Thowainy Bin Shihab. It is clear that this collaboration has had its counterpart".

To illustrate the geostrategic plan imperialism has laid out for this zone, the member of the Local Command of Dhofar drew out a folded map, which he extended on the lawn.

Abdula pointed rapidly with his index finger and explained: "As you see, to-

gether, the Arab islands of Abu Musa and Big and Little Tunbs inside the Gulf, which Iran took over in 1971, Um Alghanam at the entrance of the Hormuz Straits, and Kuria Muria off the coast of Oman, make a complete picture of ancient Persia's expansion through the region.

"This military presence, however, is not limited to the Gulf (Abu Musa and the two Tunbs islands). It continues through the so-called Gulf of Oman (possession of Um Alghanam) and extends through the Indian Ocean (occupation of Kuria Muria).

"In reciprocity for these island concessions, the Iranian monarch has sent the sultanate military troops ascending to 2900 men. Military headquarters for these troops is located in Kuria Muria. Some 1000 have been transferred to the mainland in order to fight the guerrillas of the PFLOAG.

"The Shah's assistance to his colleague Qabbas is multiple," Abdula stressed with a smile that lights up his dark features. "On the air force level, 30 pilots and 9 helicopters have been sent to him. This collaboration extends to the security forces. Specialists in this branch, trained by US advisers, interrogate PFLOAG prisoners and direct punitive operations against our troops and local population.

"The diversification of these reinforcements falls within the framework of the military strengthening of the Oman-Dhofar regime with the aim of protecting Anglo-North American oil and geostrategic interests in the region.

Saudi Arabia

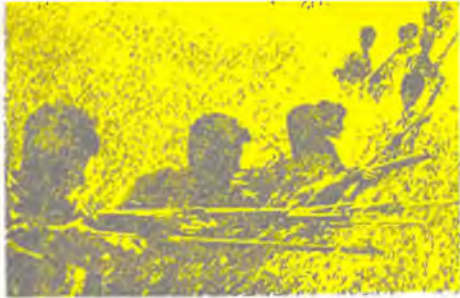
"Despite historic differences between the Sultanate and King Wahabita, arising out of a dispute for control of the nine oil oases on the border of Furaimi, their relations have improved considerably in the effort to preserve their respective regimes in the face of the growing power of the national liberation movement.

"After Qabbas' visit to Riad in 1971, King Feisal authorized financial aid to the Sultanate for military purposes in the amount of 600 million pounds sterling.

"Saudi Defense Minister, Sultan Abdel Azia, journeyed to Salalah to study specific needs in this sphere. Military advisers were also sent.

"In exchange for this aid —there is always an exchange— Qabbas agreed to concentrate part of his forces next to the border with the Democratic People's Republic of Yemen. This diversionary strat-





egy was pursued to draw the Southern Yemen military forces away from the Saudi and Northern Yemen fronts, as part of the plan to encircle and isolate the revolutionary Marxist fortress on the Peninsula, and remove human resources from the activities of social and economic transformation of the country.

"I believe that the evident division of zones of influence that is taking place in the area is now more clear: Iran, great power in the waters of the Arab Gulf, Oman and the Indian Ocean. Saudi Arabia, master of the lands of the Peninsula and this, of course, without forsaking its ambitions for absolute regional domination. It is, nevertheless, an effective alliance despite these contradictions. The preservation of the status quo in the face of ideas of socio-economic structural transformations is what brings together Iran, Saudi Arabia, the Federation of Gulf Emirates, Jordan, Ethiopia and Oman-Dhofar. The entente of Arab reaction against the growing Arab revolution.

"It also has its representation in the Sultanate: 400 men, scattered through the artillery, tank and security forces trained by the British under the direction of Abdulla Abdul Dayem, currently ambassador in Salalah, and one of the officers of King Hussein who took the lead in the anti-Palestine massacre in Jordan, in September of 1970.

"The mounting national liberation struggle in the strategic colonial enclave of the extreme central east of the Arab Peninsula faces not only military intervention. Political repression is evident at

all levels of national life. According to official figures, there are 500 political prisoners in the prisons of Salalah, Dhofar and Matrah, in Muscat. On June 19th of this year, the first executions of a political character took place. Ten Prisoners were shot and 32 condemned to life imprisonment. For the first time, also, seven women were imprisoned on charges of subversion.

Military Successes

"Among them, the most recent was the smashing of the military campaign mounted by English advisers against our forces in the liberated areas, which they called 'Operation Jaguar', and we know as Operation October - November, 1971."

"Despite air coverage, artillery and tanks, the enemy troops were rebuffed all along the front and later defeated in



our territory. They had to withdraw to their positions next to Salalah which is mined in order to block our incursions and infiltrations, and to the narrow coastal strip they still control.

"Most of our fighting is concentrated on the roads to Hamrin, which place the enemy in contact with Muscat, and the Ho Chi Minh road, over which our supplies from Southern Yemen reach us. They also attack our rearguard from the Sufait heights, near Saudi Arabia and Southern Yemen, with heavy artillery and planes. These attacks are directed both against our forces and against the villages, dikes and farms.

The British

"In the Salalah air base alone they have some 100 aviation technicians and 35 to 45 pilots. From the island fortress of Masira—from which they have evacuated the native population—they launch air

missions against our positions. This vital island base in the Indian Ocean has both naval and submarine installations (including atomic submarines, it is said) where US war units get supplies on their way to the Arab Gulf, (the navy has installations in the emirate of Bahrein), South-east Asia and the Far East.

The Liberated Zones

"There are some 200 000 inhabitants living in the liberated zones, but military successes means nothing if they are not accompanied by political work and socio-economic transformations.

"One of the principal tasks is mobilization of the masses, the People's Army and the militias. To this end, seminars are given combining politicalization and literacy. Many learn to read with our texts that tell them who our friends are,

who our enemies are, the reason for the struggle and why the country needs to be changed.

"Before the revolution of 1965, 95% of the men were illiterate and the figure went up to 100% for women. We have opened two schools which are attended by a thousand pupils.

Public health

"During the reign of Qabbus' father Tayssir Ben Taymur, there were no doc-

tors in the country. Infant mortality rates were among the highest in the world, and still are. Diseases such as malnutrition, tuberculosis, malaria, and parasitosis, although curable with modern science, wreak havoc among the population in Oman-Dhofar, where resources are so scarce.

"For example, we have only two doctors in the field hospital in Habkouk", Abdula pointed out, "although we have been concerned with the training of medical aids to accompany the military units during their operation. With the hope of increasing our medical resources, we are soliciting the aid of the International Red Cross. Up to now we have received no answer. But such aid is reaching us from Southern Yemen and the socialist countries.

Popular organizations

"They find their expression in the People's Councils democratically elected by each community, and representing supreme power next to the Regional Command of the PFLOAG. Their mission is the coordination, initiation and supervision of community activities in the social, political, administrative and economic spheres, such as the formation of irrigation, cultural and literacy committees.

The Arab League

"Despite the evident foreign occupation of our territory, the Arab League conceded it the status of sovereign state. We asked that they send a delegation to observe first-hand the bombings of the civilian population and the political repression that reigns. But this commission was never formed".



INDEPENDENCE

STRUGGLE

1973

By: Juan Mari Brás

For Juan Mari Bras, Secretary General of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, the dramatic increase in international solidarity with our independence, the rising combativity of proletarian activity in the country and the intensification and generalization of the student struggle, as well as the division of the Independence Party, have been the most significant aspects of the Independence struggle during the year 1973.

The combination of factors, positive and negative, that these events encompass, has impelled an important advance in the more than centenary striving of our people for their liberation and brings us close to the great leap that will place us at the doors of independence, provided we succeed in ridding ourselves of the problems that prevent maximum exploitation of the present historic circumstances.

Massive take off

With all the importance of the other factors enumerated above, none is as important as the substantial fulfillment of the goals set at the beginning of the year by the Socialist Party for its massive take off. The party of the working class is no longer a far-off objective. It is already a concrete fact.

For the first time in national history, the workers have a new kind of revolutionary party, capable of providing adequate ideological and organizing leadership to the historic process in which the proletariat will fully assume the dominant role they must play in order to transform the colonial capitalist system from its roots, into the socialist republic; the class society based on the exploitation of the great working majorities by infinite parasitical minorities into a society based on collective collaboration and advancement.

The party is not an improvisation nor has it surged up magically by virtue of any political juggler's audacity. It is the result of nearly 15 years of hard-working and consistent efforts. During 1973, the party has achieved the following organizing goals, among others:

It has multiplied by five times the number of its base organizations, nuclei and committees, and by six its affiliates and militants, since the moment of the transformation of the MPI (Pro-Independence Movement) into the PSP in November of 1971.

It has consolidated the organization of the party in the United States, where the bases were laid this year for the massive take-off that will convert the PSP into the only party in the entire history of Puerto Rico that is organized both on the Island and in the principal Puerto Rican population centers of the United States.

It has developed the practice of democratic centralism at all levels, thus providing a solid and unshakable internal unity, a collective leadership capable of overcoming forever the single leader concept of political organization and it has activated the mechanisms of change that permit it, as it moves forward, to adapt the party structure to the necessities of its growth and deepening.

It has multiplied four times over its budget and economic resources since the time of the transformation into a party, based on a policy of financing that aims at having the workers themselves sustain their party economically. We are the only party in Puerto Rico that does not receive subsidies from the government, the big corporations or anyone.

We have practically completed the requirements for its inscription in the State Board of Elections, having collected more than 65,000 flesh and blood electors' signatures in the cleanest and most authentic process known in the country's electoral history, in



spite of the fact that the original members of the PSP could not offer their signatures because they were not inscribed as voters and because the government consciously suspended the inscription of new voters during the entire year of 1973.

International Solidarity

Never before, in more than a century of Puerto Rico's independence struggle, has such a resounding support for our cause been evident at the international level. The following events, all of broad significance for our liberation commitment, have occurred successively:

Last August, for the first time in its history, a United Nations organization directly heard the Puerto Rican people's complaint against the government and the imperialist system of the United States when it granted an interview with spokesmen of the Puerto Rican independence parties.

That same month, on the 30th, the Decolonization Committee approved a resolution on the colonial case of Puerto Rico in which it recognized the inalienable right of the Puerto Rican people to self-determination and independence, requested the United Nations to refrain from impeding this right, took measures to continue deepening the study of our case and agreed to keep that case under permanent examination.

Last September, also for the first time in history, a conference of the Non-Aligned Countries, held in Algeria, heard a spokesman of the Puerto Rican national liberation movement make the denunciation of Yankee colonial intervention in our homeland and agreed to give complete support to Puerto Rico's independence.

Last October, the Assembly of the peoples' of the world for peace, sovereignty and national liberation —the largest and broadest non-governmental world-wide meeting in

all history, held in Moscow, resolved in one of its principal resolutions to denounce Puerto Rico's colonial subjection as one of the enclaves of colonialism in the world, and urged all people to offer their militant backing to our national liberation struggle.

Last November, the United Nations General Assembly fully debated the colonial case of Puerto Rico within the context of the Decolonization Committee's report; the president of its Fourth Commission decided as a question of law that the case of Puerto Rico is a colonial case which falls within the consideration of the General Assembly, and the president of the Decolonization Committee involved himself in a debate with the Yankee delegate in support of the resolution adopted by that Committee on August 30.

Last December 14, the General Assembly approved by an overwhelming majority of 104 to five, the report of the Decolonization Committee in which the resolution of August 30, recognizing Puerto Rico's right to self-determination and independence, was



included; this means that humanity's highest forum, the General Assembly of the UN, ratified the decision of the Committee.

The overall result of these events has been the definitive insertion of the case of Puerto Rico into the agenda on decolonization in the contemporary world, the universal recognition of our inalienable right to independence and the commitment of these countries—which make up the overwhelming majority of the population of the world—to offer all their moral and material backing to the Puerto Rican people when the latter are ready to exercise it.

Now Puerto Rico's struggle is not that of a small and isolated people against a powerful imperialist nation. We have with us the force of all *this great humanity that has said, enough! and has begun to move*, to sustain our right to independence against anyone who smothers it with their intervention. We now have the challenge to organize the national will to make this recognition effective.



The workers' struggle

On the trade union level, the workers' struggle has made major advances during 1973. Through the victory of the workers who struck the weekly *El Mundo*, it was clearly established that, when the trade union movement decides to fight with determination for its immediate demands, the party of the working class offers all its backing; that this support is decisive and the combination of forces produced by it is capable of overthrowing the most powerful boss.

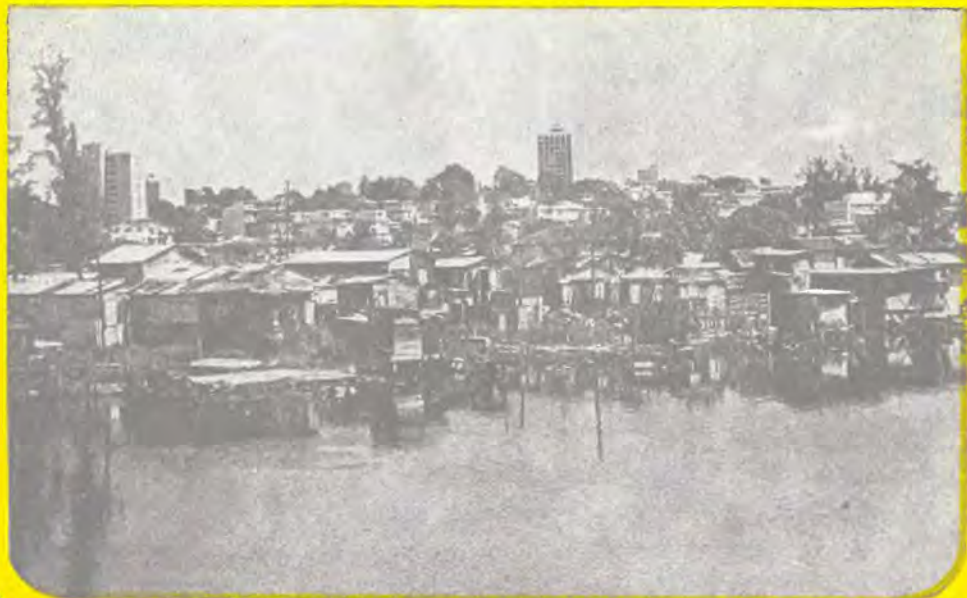
The class struggle in Puerto Rico has intensified greatly during this year. The contradictions between the interests of big capital backed by the whole repressive apparatus of the system, and the workers, is revealed with greater clarity all the time. The high cost of living, the binding wage policy in effect, the instability of the entire pattern of artificial development constructed by the colonial government and the imposition of anti-worker laws and rules such as Taft-Hartley, and the decrees issued under its terms—all this has led to consciousness—raising among broad sectors of the proletariat who at the same time find an organizational channel in the party—the vanguard—and in a new trade unionism that is emerging from the ruins of the old worker movement castrated by capitalism and colonialism; one which is permeated with the spirit of struggle and combativity that defines the nascent socialist revolution.

This new situation reached its most dramatic moments last July when the strikes of the firemen, the San Juan public sanitation workers and the workers in the Water Supply

Authority joined together and brought the country close to a revolutionary situation. If this situation did not flower in its full potential, it was principally because of the relative weakness the workers' movement and the socialist movement itself still have in confronting such situations. But at the same time, it reflected the deep level this struggle is acquiring. It is sufficient to recall that the government estimate of losses to the economy during these strikes surpassed \$200 000 000. Hernández Colón and the capitalists should have learned that the escalation of the repression —represented by the mobilization of the national guard— also leads to proletarian combativity and in the long run it is the system that loses and the workers' movement that advances.

Another basic fact in the development of the workers' movement over the present year is the upsurge in the trade unions of a movement challenging the anti-worker impositions of the Taft-Hartley law and the so-called National Board of Labor Relations. In this sense, the National Workers' Union has succeeded in founding a vanguard within the United Workers' Movement and this vanguard has responded at the level of proletarian solidarity on which the new trade unionism must be based.

The trade union unity that is being systematically forged by the United Workers' Movement, has found itself obstructed on the other hand by the vestiges of sectarianism, bureaucracy and vacillation that still hold back a significant sector of the movement membership from the process of ideological transformation. These factors —which played an almost decisive role during the July strike— cannot be underestimated. They bring with them the worst seeds of opportunism and these must be pitilessly stamped out in order to guarantee the elevation of the struggle. For this reason, the ideological struggle that is going on within the workers' movement has to continue to deepen, and the unmasking of all counter-revolutionary elements within the new trade unionism will be a task of highest priority.





The Student Movement

The university students, who have supplied the nourishment for the independence struggle over many years, have been advancing at an impressive speed over the present year, both in terms of their adjustment to the structural transformation of independence as well as in achieving levels of unity, organization and efficiency seldom realized by the student movement in any part of the world.



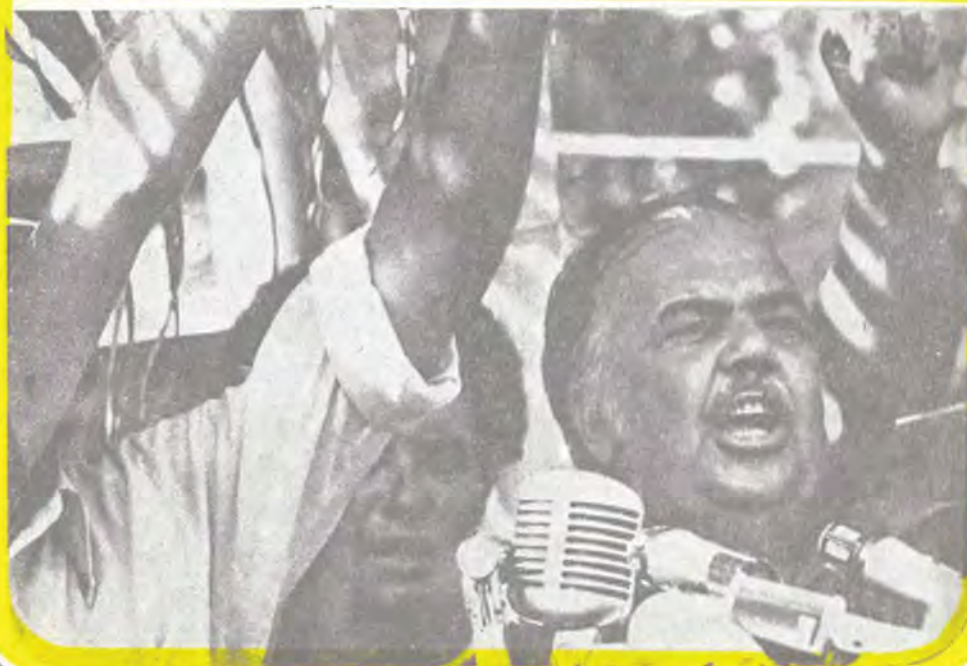
The recent university strike, which culminated in a victory for students, professors and workers, marks the beginning of a new stage in the country's university struggles. It has been confirmed that the FUPI (Pro-Independence University Federation) is definitively the student vanguard in the university and that the students are the vanguard of the university community.

The incorporation of students of private universities into the breadth of the student struggle and their valient confrontation with police brutality, furiously unleashed against the students of the Inter-American in San Germán some days ago, in the same way that had been done for years against the advanced students in the area of Rio Piedras of the University of Puerto Rico, indicates to what point the student movement has now become universalized.

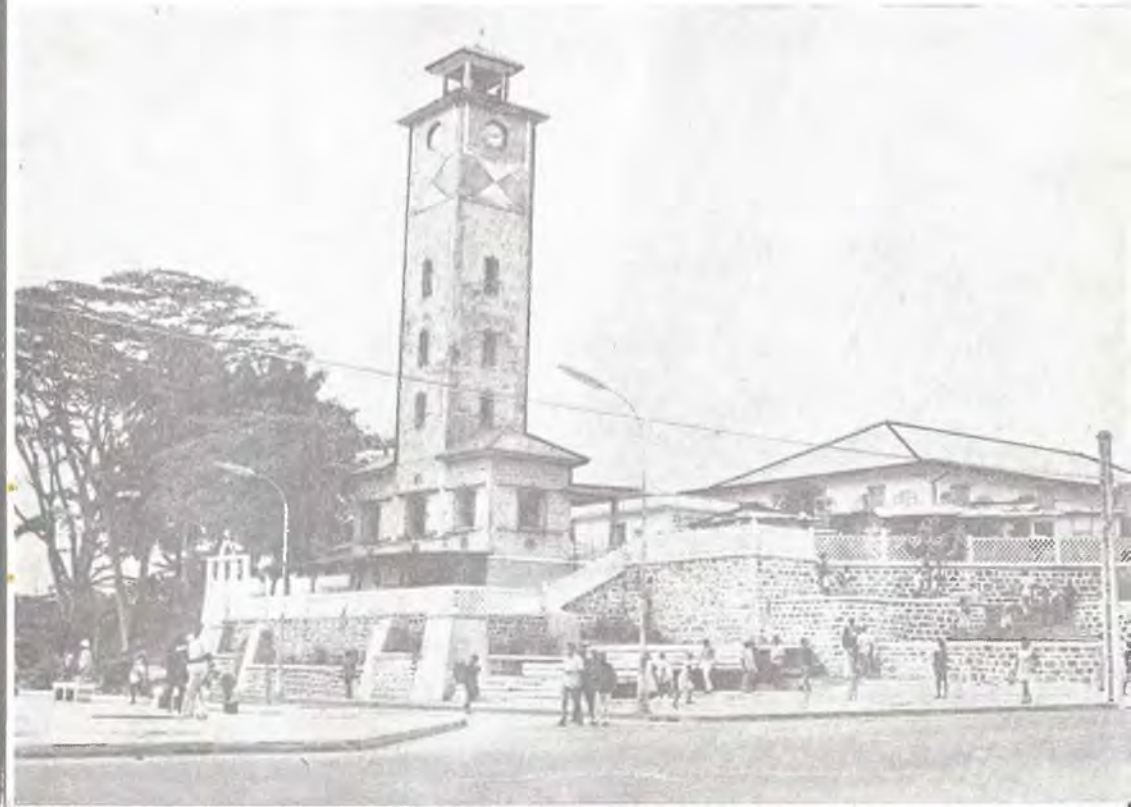
On the other hand, the use of new strategies and more sophisticated forms of anti-student repression in the University of Puerto Rico constitutes a recognition of the resounding failure of the concept of police education, at the same time that it is a challenge for the student movement, now more powerful than ever, to continue shoring up its forces and establishing its unity.

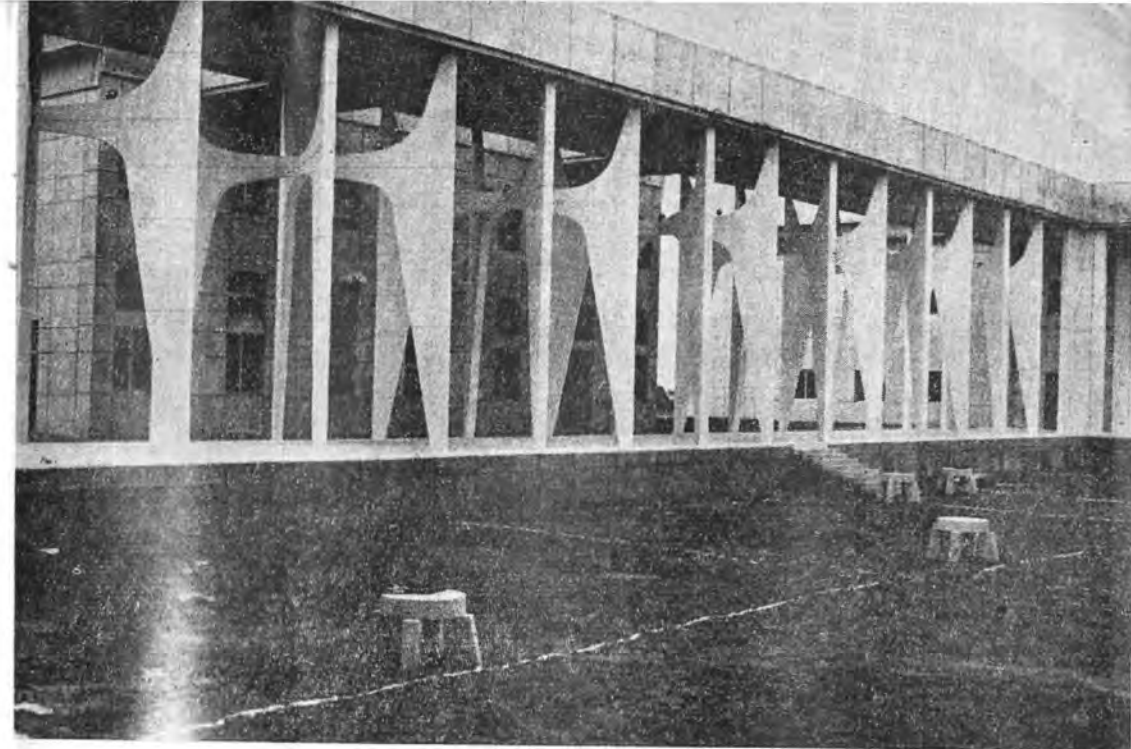
A victorious year

In summary, we can conclude that 1973 has been a victorious year for the Puerto Rican independence struggle. The positive balance of the struggle over this year places us on the final terrain in the long effort for the conquest of independence. To pass through this ground with the determination to shorten the distance in every way possible and reach its triumphant goal must be the objective of all as the new year begins.



The Tough Option of Real Independence





Five years are usually a sufficient lapse of time to attempt the surrender of governments obliged to transpose the mere formalities of nominal independence. Equatorial Guinea passed the test imposed by neocolonialism and still faces the persistent threat emanating from the coalition of imperialist interests and regional agents.

The road chosen by the Guinean people beginning October 12, 1968, is arduous and filled with sacrifices, but under the guidance of their president, Francisco Macías Nguema, an authentic revolutionary leader, they are travelling that road with a firmness and decision that their enemies weren't even able to imagine.

Equatorial Guinea's small size —scarcely 28 051 km²— its sparse population of less than a half million inhabitants, the fragile economy established by colonialism and the lack of cadres made it seem that all the conditions existed for blocking national aspirations for a true independence.

Initially, under the Portuguese colonial yoke in the second half of the 15th century, and then in hands of the Spanish crown, the insular and continental territory of both the *fang* and the *bubis*, was devoted exclusively to forestal exploitation and the supply of coffee, cocoa and small agricultural crops to the metropolis.

At the end of so many centuries of plunder and exploitation, the country was practically without an industry at the moment of independence, unless one takes into account the growth in the latter period of small and modest industries: a fishing fleet, a fish-processing plant, a soap factory and several sawmills.



Whatever the former colony required necessarily had to come from the metropolis: from bread to the means of transportation, from doctors to teachers, including experienced technicians and functionaries.

Thus, with the failure of attempts to impose a team of docile and obedient governors through electoral strategies and open counter-revolutionary conspiracies, economic blockade and the planned exodus of Spanish professionals, administrators and technicians was used.

The plot against Equatorial Guinea's true independence really began with the promise made to the United States to cede the island of Fernando Po (today Francisco Macías Nguema) for the construction of a military and air base which would make the territory a strategic point for NATO and a springboard for imperialist penetration into a vast area of western Africa which is of great economic importance.

But the intense struggle waged by the Guinean people in which Acacio Mañé and Enrique Nvo, among others, were killed; the level of their liberation movement and the growing demand of progressive countries in the UN, brought discussion of the colony to the General Assembly.

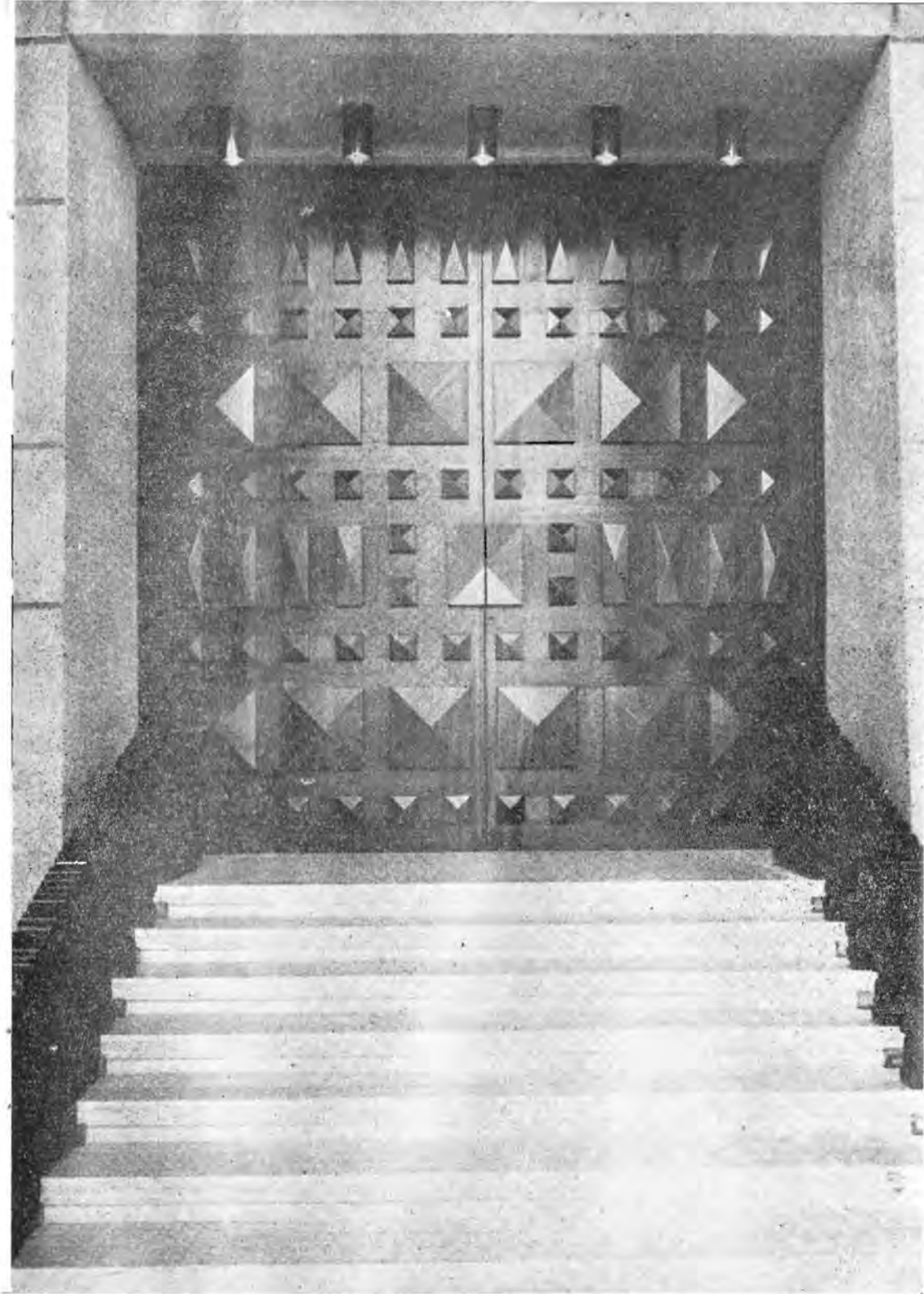
The colonialists found themselves forced to concede a certain autonomy in 1963 and call a constitutional conference three years later designed rather to elaborate the bases of a fictitious sovereignty than to cede fundamentally to the independence demands.

The elections finally convened by the Spanish government in 1968, presented a defined contest between Bonifacio Ondo Edu, candidate of colonial preference, whose campaign was characterized by the presence of considerable funds intended to buy consciences, and Francisco Macías Nguema, whom the immense majority of the population followed with fervor.

Once the victory of the candidate of the People's Idea of Equatorial Guinea (IPGE) became evident, the colonial administration tried to steal away the results by alleging that the narrow margin of difference demanded that the elections be voided. But the second round revealed a more smashing defeat for the neocolonial presidential aspirant.

A few months after the independent government was installed, measures of economic pressure were applied, to the virtual paralysis of the life of the country.

In Bata the Spaniards provoked an incident by refusing to take down the colonial pavillion as the constitution provided, and the resulting demonstration by infuriated Guineans was the excuse the old colonialists used to move against Equatorial Guinea.



Immediately the country was without 159 doctors and all the Spanish nurses. Forestal exploitation remained without administrators and income from the exportation of coffee and cocoa dropped drastically.

According to President Macías' denunciation, these same wood exporters were the ones that sponsored the unsuccessful occupation of the governmental palace on March 5, 1969, using as their instrument Foreign Minister Anastasi Ndongu. The Head of State mobilized his people and smashed the attempted counter-revolutionary overthrow, dislodging the traitors from the government house.

For the Guineans, this date marked a definite landmark in the tough apprenticeship of independence. The lesson learned from those events was translated into a deeper mass consciousness and a more sustained and solid backing of the revolutionary leadership.



The government of Equatorial Guinea has armed humble men and women and the combative youth into people's militias that guard each section of the beach and each vulnerable point on territorial borders with suspicious neighbors.

Multiple denunciations and revelations indicate that neighboring countries are used as a training base for mercenary and counter-revolutionary bands engaged in preparations to invade Equatorial Guinea.

The strong evidence of petroleum deposits along the entire African coastline from the Ivory Coast to Angola incites more than one oil company to procure the effective means to exploit and plunder zones under Guinean jurisdiction.

Similar motivations are discovered each time secessionist outbursts are artificially stimulated, giving rise to false conflicts between the *bubis*, the majority on the island, and the *fang*, on the continent. The propaganda spread from abroad argues that the

island should constitute itself as a separate state, thereby attempting to shake national unity and serve imperialist ends.

But as President Francisco Macías Nguema has stated in referring to the Constitution of the Single National Party of Workers (PUNT) "we have eradicated the confusion introduced by colonialism with its secessionist tendencies that really do not exist in our country. All this is to defend their egotistical interests created over the two hundred years of colonial domination".

The creation of the PUNT, in mid-1971, was an initial step of great importance. Based on a definitively anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist program, it is the supreme



cementing force that struggles to dissipate the calumnies launched by enemies, and follows the lines of a national development free of foreign dominance and influence.

In spite of the forces that must be devoted to defense, the Guinean government is committed to finding solutions to the numerous economic, social and cultural problems.

One of the first measures consisted in establishing a national monetary system, founding a bank of development through whose control pass all the banking operations of the country, as well as imports and exports; another measure was the administration of the lumbering camps, saw mills and the coffee and cocoa plantations abandoned by their proprietors.

Not only have the Guinean people found themselves in the battle, waged with decision and firmness, to uproot the vestiges of the past. President Macías himself has stated on many occasions that the Guineans now know who their real friends are.

This experience was what led to the establishment of diplomatic relations with the USSR and other socialist countries. From these countries, fraternal and solidarity aid

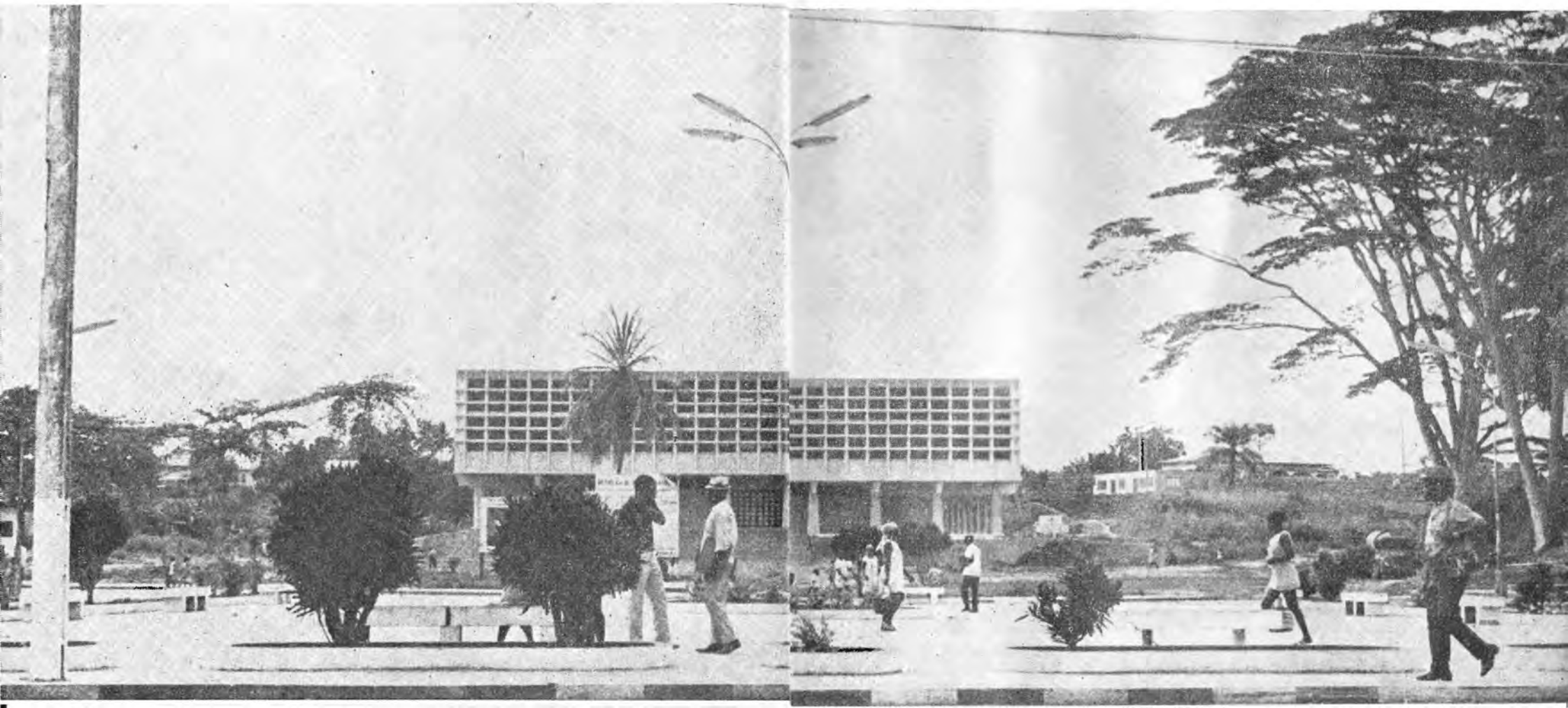


arrives in the form of the construction of hospitals, schools and factory installations; doctors, teachers, technicians, and the offer of scholarships for study at various levels.

Equatorial Guinea's economic situation is the chief preoccupation of its governmental leadership. But President Macías approaches the problem with undiminished confidence in the future. In the Constitutional meeting of the People's National Assembly held recently in Bata, he noted that: "Political independence united with free economic determination are indissoluble principles of Equatorial Guinea's policy."

In his speech, President Macías recalled the difficult and stubborn struggle waged by the Guinean people against colonialism and all its forms of exploitation and oppression, and rendered tribute to those who fell along the way, constituting an example that serves as a stimulus for the growth of the people's spirit of struggle.

"After October 12, 1968, when Equatorial Guinea achieved its independence, the colonialists," said Macías, "tried to maintain their domination through subtle methods designed to tie the people's hands and prevent their ascending march along the path of a genuine democratic and popular revolution.



"They imposed on us a constitution of secessionist tendencies," said the President, "that did not meet the real needs of the Guinean nation."

"The institutions of this false constitution, he added," were an obstacle to our efforts toward liberation and the creation of a new society that would overcome the state of backwardness and misery in which the old colonialism had submerged us.

"The conquest of political power," said Macías, "was the first step toward liberation from the colonial yoke. Nevertheless, this was not enough. It was necessary to break the old political structures that colonialism had left and create other entirely new ones, adjusted to our historic necessities, in order to consolidate political independence and establish the economic bases for a free development of foreign ties.

"It was indispensable," he continued "to destroy the old state apparatus and establish another entirely new one which would serve as an appropriate channel for a policy energetically oriented toward the benefit of the working masses and aimed at erasing forever the traces of man's exploitation by man."

Macías then explained that the constitution promulgated on August 4, 1973, represents a change, a decisive step toward the affirmation of a sovereign, independent and indivisible Equatorial Guinea.



Another fundamental step along this road is the constitution of the People's National Assembly, whose principal mission will be to make the law that must be the expression of the people's sovereign will and not an impediment to social progress.

"In an authentic democracy such as ours," Macías affirmed, "power is one and indivisible: it belongs to the people and is exercised through their organizations which, far from counteracting each other, complement each other or collaborate effectively for the achievement of the high aims of the State."

In another part of his speech, the President of Equatorial Guinea said that the Government and the National Assembly are organs of revolutionary power and that the constitution consecrates the principle that the mandate may be revoked, a constitutional power of the PUNT which shall be exercised any time a deputy deviates from the political line established by the Party or becomes an obstacle to the fulfillment of that line.

"The Party," said Macías, "outlines the general policy of the nation and coordinates and controls it through the State organs. It groups within it all men and women, young

and old, committed to wiping out the old wounds of colonialism, fortifying national independence and territorial integrity and constructing a strong, prosperous and happy homeland, free of all past oppression and misery."

Specifying what the policy of the Guinean state will be, Macías said that it will not subject itself nor submit to foreign capitalism that comes to the country with the attitude of an all-powerful conqueror.

"This does not mean we hate the foreigner," the President clarified. "Whoever comes with an attitude of helping our people out of the backwardness of centuries in which the old Spanish colonialism immersed us, will be received with open arms."

He added that his government will guarantee those foreign capital investments that contribute to the country's development provided they are not subordinated to political conditions of any kind.

Macías warned against the maneuvers of interested groups who, having lost their privileges with the triumph of the revolution, are lying in wait for any chance to launch a mortal blow against our democratic institutions.

"As long as there remains an injustice to repair, he stated, "we cannot rest a single instant. The homeland demands sacrifice and duty. No one can come here to convert his high investiture into a source of abuse and privilege. If this were the case, this body would cease to merit the name of People's National Assembly.

"Friendly nations," he said, "open their arms to us convinced of our firm decision to promote the welfare of our compatriots.

"We are masters of our destinies," he added, "we are masters of our natural resources. We are free to exploit them without fetters or concessions that endanger our independent development."

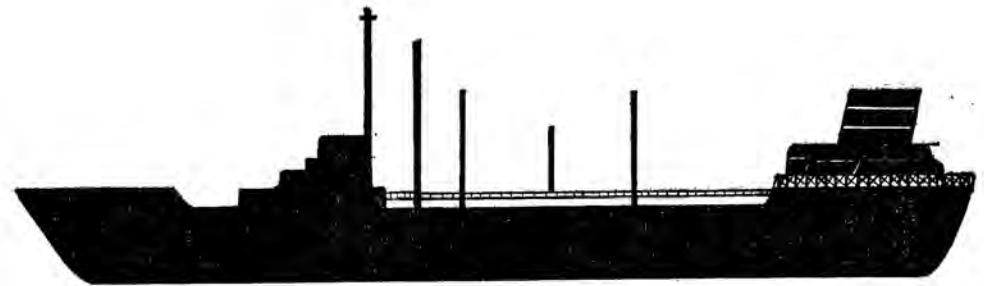
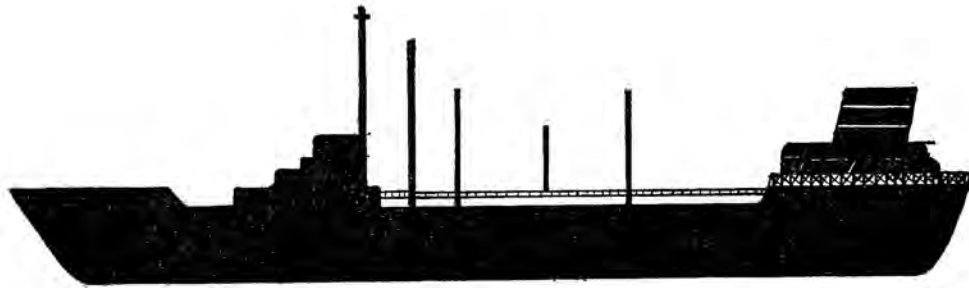
In the final part of his speech, Macías exhorted the deputies to organize, lead and plan the national economy in order to give validity and effectiveness to the principle of self-determination, energetically rejecting all political and economic submission to foreign capital.

"It is necessary to be alert," he said, "in the face of the ambushes of the imperialist, colonialist and racist complex that tries to extend its bloody claws from the southern cone of Africa to the free peoples of the African continent.

"We must not forget," he concluded, "how our constitution teaches us that imperialism is the main force of aggression and war and the worst enemy of the people who aspire to live in peace with independence and liberty."

The KRA Canal

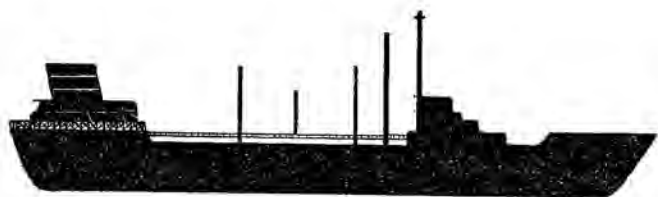
In Whose Interest?



The first concrete step toward building the Kra Canal was taken in 1843 when two British engineers were given permission to survey the Isthmus of Kra,¹ and thereafter the project was revived or ignored in cycles paralleling the cycles or rivalry between the English and the French up until the end of the Second World War.

The traditional position of the British was that the Malay Peninsula up to the Gulf of Thailand was of great importance to them, and that they would brook no interference by a third power in the area. Consequently, the British were willing to accept the Canal only under the condition that it and the adjoining territory would come directly under British sovereignty.

The Thai government found this condition unacceptable; and the French, with vital interests in the project because it would assure them of quicker access to China and to their colonies in Indochina, played along with the Thais. The last scene of this colonial rivalry was played out in 1946 when the Southeast Asian Command under Lord Louis Mountbatten² imposed a punitive formal agreement on the Thai government because of Thai collaboration with Japan during the war. Article 5 of the agreement stipulated that "Thailand shall not cut a canal between the Indian Ocean and the Gulf of Siam on its own territory without the permission of the Great Powers." This was the modern nadir of the project. Two years later, however, the Thais succeeded in throwing off this restriction when they paid England £5,224,220 in war penalties.



The revival of this old imperial project has assumed a typically neo-colonialist form, with multinational corporations from many nations working in a united front so as to minimize international rivalries.

The primary impetus for the plan today is Japan's effort to secure its oil lifeline from the Middle East, whence comes some 80% of Japan's crude, and to hold down costs. There is a continuing dread in Japan that someday soon huge crude tankers of over 200,000 deadweight tons may eventually be barred from the Straits of Malacca. Hence, Japanese business is doubly interested in the Kra Canal project, because not only might it cut the costs of transport, but it would give them an additional weapon to hang over the head of the Malaysian and Indonesian governments in future bargaining sessions. A third reason for Japanese interest in the project lies in the possibilities it offers for establishing new petrochemical complexes in Thailand, where oil consumption is also expected to increase rapidly in the near future.

To meet this anticipated demand, an international group is constructing a large petrochemical combine near Bangkok, scheduled to begin production in 1976. It is sponsored

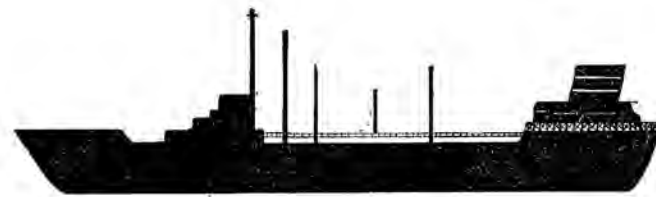
¹ Isthmus that joins Indochina to the Malay peninsula.

² Last Viceroy of India (1947) and Admiral of the Fleet from 1956.

by Mitsui and Mitsubishi interests, Shell, and K. Y. Cho's Thai Oil Refinery Co. On the other hand, because of high land and labor costs in Japan itself, and because of public awareness of pollution, further expansion of the petrochemical industry there is increasingly difficult. Hence the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) now openly advocates the export of pollution by constructing refineries somewhere between the Middle East and Japan. Japanese industrialists are now scouring the whole area of Southeast Asia for suitable sites. At present Singapore is the most advantageous site, but because a canal across the Kra isthmus will transfer the stream of oil and put Thailand in the spotlight, the bourgeois militarist government in Bangkok is deeply interested in the project.

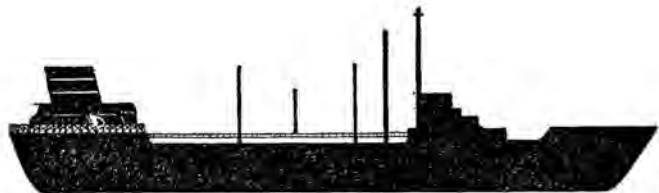
Naturally, the United States cannot stand aside and allow Japanese hegemony in the region to develop *this far!* A Kra canal will serve to strengthen the US Seventh Fleet, whether stationed in Yokosuka near Tokyo or at Subic Bay, the Philippines, by cutting three days off the time needed for reaching the Indian Ocean and by enabling the Navy to bypass the sensitive Malacca Straits.

A colossal international consortium of American, European, Japanese and Thai interests is behind the present revival of the project, at this planning stage. On the American side, under the umbrella of Ling-Temco-Vought, there are four major institutions: Lawrence Livermore Laboratory (LLL) of the University of California, under as-



sociate director Edward Teller ("father" of the hydrogen bomb); Robert R. Nathan Associates Inc. (RRNA); the Hudson Institute under Herman Kahn; and Tippetts-Abbot-McCarthy-Stratton (TAMS) of New York. LLL is a research combine of Lawrence Radiation Laboratory and the Livermore Radiation Laboratory, both maintaining a multi-million-dollar laboratory in Mercury, Nev., adjacent to the Atomic Energy Commission's Nevada Test Site where underground nuclear tests are conducted. LLL alone supports a staff of 3150 scientists and technicians, and the combined operating expenditures of the two parent institutes amount to a staggering \$151 million annually—a figure greater than the total budget of all colleges and universities in America. With this capacity and accumulation of experience, Teller is to study the possibility of using nuclear energy to blast the Canal. Hudson's "futurologist" Kahn is assigned to forecast the economic, political and social implications of the project. Nathan is to study economic feasibility, while TAMS is serving as engineering consultant.

The European group includes: Cie Industrielle de Travaux (CITRA), subsidiary of the French Schrieder Group; the Dutch Interbeton NV, subsidiary of the Hollandsche Beton Groep (HBG); Taylor Woodrow Ltd., international building and contracting firm, Britain; Hochtief AG, West Germany; and Impregilo, Italy in which Impresit of the giant Fiat combine has a minority interest.



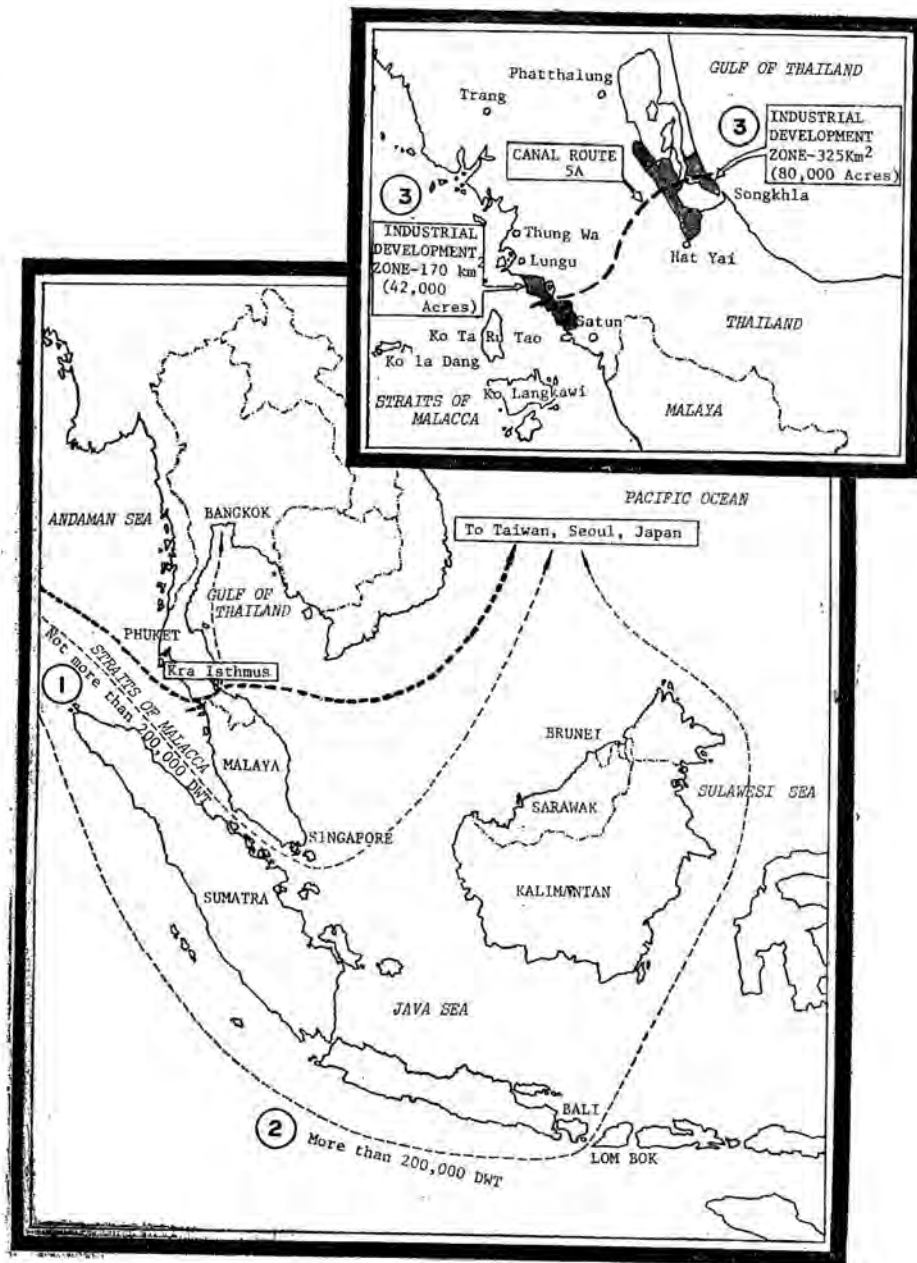
The Thai group, led by K. Y. Chow, the most persistent advocate of the Canal, is in itself of international composition, with Royal Dutch Shell in Thai Oil Company (TOC) in equal partnership with Chow. General Edwin F. Black, a retired military officer of the US Military Advisory Group in Thailand, is "Thai coordinator, Kra Canal Project." Another unique feature of the Thai group is that it includes a number of higher echelon ministers of the Thai government such as Pote Sarasin, former Prime Minister, and Malai Huvanandana, Deputy Minister of Interior.

The Japanese group at present seems to be under sole control of Nissho-Iwai Co., one of the major trading firms of Japan; it has invited minor participation from Tokyo Tanker and Maruzen Oil Co. It is important to note that Nissho-Iwai is also toying with a plan to build an oil depot/industrial complex on the Indonesian island of Batam, off-shore from Singapore. The Japanese firm is working in close cooperation with the giant San Francisco-based construction company, Bechtel Corp. and Pertamina, a state-owned oil company of Indonesia. The first phase of the Batam project includes the construction of an oil refinery, utility plant, metal fabricating plant, petrochemical plant, free trade zone, tourist accommodations, cattle raising and truck farming projects, and other infrastructure facilities. Overall capital outlay is estimated at \$600 million, and about 12 500 production and transport workers would be employed at the complex with the total labor force reaching 40 000. Thus, the multinational enterprises of Japan maneuver to stir up an international competition between Indonesia and Thailand.

In mid-July, 1973, the Kra Canal project came a step nearer to birth in a large Tokyo conference. Sponsored by LTV, CITRA, and Nissho-Iwai, the conference attracted some forty participants from Thailand, USA, France, Holland, and Japan, mainly to examine the results of a feasibility study started in January, 1973. Quoting K. Y. Chow, it was reported that feasibility was proved, and that a 600-page report would be submitted to Thai authorities in September for further study.

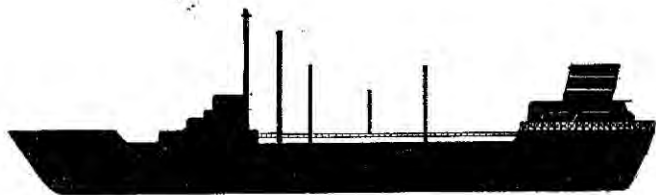
One major subject of discussion was the advisability of using nuclear explosives. The cost of the complete Kra Canal scheme, according to Chow, would be between \$3 billion and \$6 billion.

As much as two-thirds of the total would be interest. The cost of borrowed money makes atomic energy attractive. Businessmen estimate that with atomic energy the canal would take only six years to build, at the lower cost estimate. If, on the other hand,



conventional means were used, it would take twelve years and cost US \$6 billion, which would require at least 20 years of operation to pay for it. The plan to use nuclear energy has met with severe criticisms from various sources. Nitipat Jalichan, Secretary-General of the National Energy Authority (NEA) of Thailand, which is in charge of planning, said the blasts would contaminate over 4600 square miles of land and would cause about a million people to be evacuated. (See *Far Eastern Economic Review*, July 23, 1973).

Chow's dream and the appetite of the multinational enterprises of USA, Japan, and Europe, involve more than just saving transportation costs. Chow is thinking not only of a canal, but of ports and refinery complexes at both ends, with feeder services to shallow Asian ports such as Dacca. Chow is even talking eventually of a free trade zone in the area. The Thai government also decided that it will retain legal control of the canal and port complex, which is to be owned by a separate Thai public company. Shipping tolls would therefore accrue to Thailand, providing, as the *Bangkok Bank Monthly Review* gushed last year, "a shortcut to national wealth."



In order to secure financing for the project, some 20 American, European and Japanese banks have been approached to form an international consortium. Five Japanese banks are said to have been sounded out. The US Export-Import Bank was already reported last summer to have shown "positive interest" in partially financing the preliminary study of the project. K. Y. Chow had discussed the project with Eximbank President Henry Kearns at that time. The World Bank, the Asian Development Bank and other multinational institutions are also expected to join the project.

It is significant that the only information available on the Kra Canal project comes from fragments of actions by multinational enterprises, and the words of a handful of rulling elites or government-oriented technocrats. No voices have yet been heard from the people of Japan, the United States, and Europe. Just whose dream is the Kra Canal? Mankind's? Or a handful of powerful capitalists?

From AMPO, No. 18 Autumn, 1973.

New Year's Speech

The year 1973 was a year of victory in which brilliant successes were registered, internally and externally, politically and economically, in the struggle to fulfill the magnificent program put forward by the Fifth Congress of the Party.

Last year our people waged an energetic struggle to carry out the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions under the leadership of the Party, holding high the banner of three revolutions, and recorded enormous achievements in all those fields.

We brought about a great turn last year in the work of revolutionizing and raising the class consciousness of the whole society by keeping the ideological revolution definitely ahead of all other work.

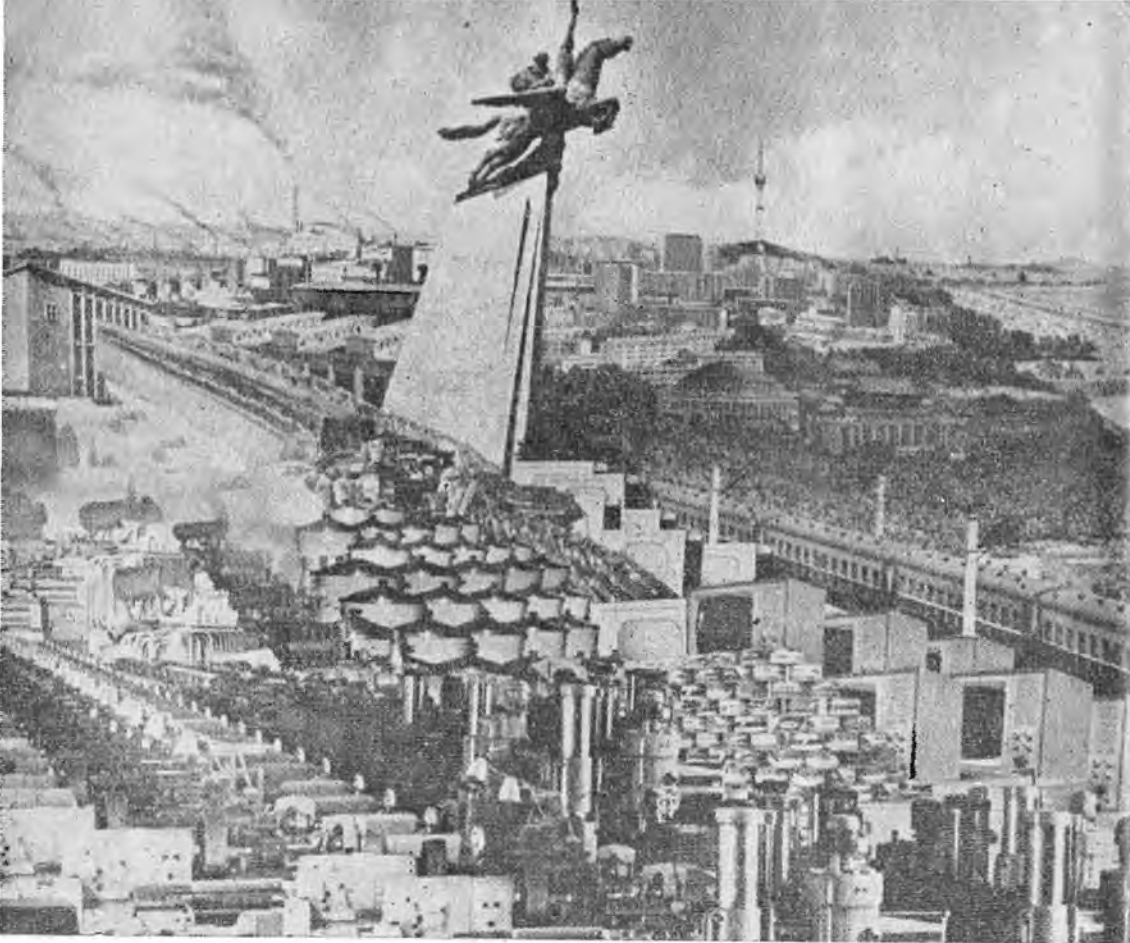
An energetic struggle was waged for strengthening organizational life and establishing the habit of study among Party members and working people.

As a result, all of them have come to take an active part in the organizational life and the revolutionary habit of study; the habit of studying while working and working while studying has been firmly established throughout the country.

Last year the revolutionary working class and Party nuclei and young intellectuals performed a very important role in revolutionizing and raising the class consciousness of the whole society. Our Party nuclei and young intellectuals went among the working people and energetically waged the struggle against all shades of outmoded ideas and tirelessly carried on ideological education.

Especially, the junior cadres of the factories, enterprises and cooperative farms took part in all work with the attitude of masters, and the cadres waged an active struggle at the head of the masses.

With the vigorous progress of the ideological revolution last year, all the Party members and working people were armed more firmly with the *Juche* idea of our Party and the monolithic ideological system of the Party was thoroughly established in the whole society.



The level of political consciousness and revolutionary enthusiasm of the Party members and working people were heightened immensely and everyone acquired the trait of carrying out his assignment in a responsible manner with the attitude of a master towards the revolution.

Great success was achieved in the fulfillment of the three major tasks of the technical revolution as well.

The most important task facing us in the fulfillment of the three major tasks of the technical revolution last year was to concentrate efforts on the rural technical revolution to meet 1974, the significant tenth anniversary of the publication of the "Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country".

Our heroic working class, infinitely faithful to the Party, built the Kumsong Tractor Plant into a large-scale, modern plant in a very short period and mass-produced tractors and sent them to the rural districts. This lifted the number of tractors for every 100 chongbo¹ of cultivated land to 2-2.5, and in the plain areas to 3-4, last year.

¹ Chongbo is an area slightly larger than 2741 acres.

The workers and technicians of the Sungri General Automobile Plant successfully hit the target of automobile production by displaying all their ingenuity and creativeness, thus making a great contribution to the rural technical revolution.

Last year an energetic struggle was waged to build up fertilizer plants, and the material foundation was laid for applying more than one ton of chemical fertilizer per chongbo in terms of weight and over 200 kilograms in terms of ingredients. Especially, apatite mines were developed on a wide scale, which made it possible to produce an abundance of phosphate fertilizer from domestic raw materials. And the foundation was laid for the sufficient supply of microelement fertilizer suited to the properties of soil and the specific qualities of crops.

Last year functionaries who graduated from agricultural colleges and young intellectuals actively proceeded to the rural districts and removed conservatism and empiricism remaining among functionaries, gave scientific and technical guidance in the farm work, strictly observed the principles of the right crop for the right soil and the right crop at the right time and thoroughly established a scientific system of fertilizer application.

The active progress of the rural technical revolution and the improvement in guidance of farm work led to a great change in agricultural production. Our cooperative farmers,

infinitely loyal to the Party, effectively carried out the farm work and also reaped an unprecedentedly rich harvest last year, and opened up broad prospects for successfully fulfilling the assignment of grain production under the Six-Year Plan. Last year, in the domain of heavy industry the technical revolution was energetically developed to bring about definite progress in the work of mechanizing, semi-automating and automating the production process to markedly lessen toilsome labor, save lots of labor force and bring about a new upsurge in production. Particularly, workers, technicians and young intellectuals took an active part in the technical innovation movement and advanced many new technical proposals. I am greatly satisfied with this.

Last year the Party and the state directed great efforts to transportation and established various new transport systems and, at the same time, vigorously waged a struggle for constructing new shipbuilding bases and expanding existing ones. We have thus laid the solid material and technical foundations for building a great many ships of various types including large ships, from this year on.

In the domain of light industry we built many textile and knitwear mills, footwear, daily necessities and foodstuff factories and set up a clothing factory in each country and workers' settlement. As a result, we are now in a position to better ensure the proportionate development of heavy and light industries and supply the people with a greater amount of high-quality consumption goods and lessen much of the house-keeping burden of women.

The technical revolution was vigorously pushed ahead in all branches of the national economy and economic construction accelerated at a fast pace, with the result that the foundation of an independent national economy has been consolidated all the more. Although the world is swept by a very serious economic fluctuation and many countries are undergoing a fuel crisis and various other economic difficulties, the economy of our country is steadily developing on a very stable basis, free from the impact of this world-wide economic fluctuation and crisis. This furnishes added proof of the correctness and great vitality of our Party's line of building a socialist independent national economy.

Last year, great success was also achieved in the struggle for carrying out the cultural revolution.

We adopted last year the Law on Universal Compulsory Ten-Year Senior Middle School Education at the Second Session of the Fifth Supreme People's Assembly and made vigorous endeavors to put it into practice. Thanks to the energetic struggle of the entire people, a great advance was made last year in enforcing universal compulsory ten-year senior middle school education, and it has already entered the stage of full-scale enforcement in some areas. It is beyond doubt that universal compulsory ten-



year senior middle school education will be completely enforced ahead of schedule if our people make sustained efforts with such a high degree of enthusiasm as now.

As in school education, a great stride was made in the work of bringing up the preschool children under public care. Many nursery schools and kindergartens were built and their operation was improved, with the result that more than 3.5 million children are reared at nursery schools and kindergartens at state and public expenses and women are able to go to work free from cares.

Last year the habit of study was thoroughly established and technical know-how widely disseminated among the working people to markedly raise the overall technical and cultural levels of the working people.

Last year the writers and artists created revolutionary and militant literary and art into production work and daily life in the urban and rural areas. The result was that the factories and enterprises were kept neat and tidy, the looks of town and country underwent a radical change, a great turn was effected in the way of life of the working people.

Last year the writers and artists created revolutionary and militant literary and art works, greatly contributing to raising the revolutionary cultural level of the working people and widely demonstrating to the whole world the vitality of the socialist literature and art of our country. Particularly, our writers, artists and printers proceeded to the production sites and powerfully encouraged the workers and peasants in the production drive, while tempering themselves through it. The Party highly appreciates the active contribution made by the writers, artists and printers to the fulfillment of the three revolutions through their revolutionary and militant literary, art and propaganda activities and direct participation in labor.

Last year our valiant officers and men of the People's Army and People's Security Forces further increased the combat capacities of their units and firmly defended the security of the fatherland and the people. Our Public Security personnel, with heightened



revolutionary vigilance, firmly guarded the socialist gains from the subversive activities and sabotage of the enemy and the Worker-Peasant Red Guardsmen and Red Young Guardsmen further improved combat preparedness by intensifying their combat and political training.

Last year, a great advance was also made in the struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

Last year, our people, with the active support and encouragement of the world progressive peoples, curbed and frustrated the maneuvers of the US imperialists and the south Korean reactionaries for the simultaneous admission of "two Koreas" to the United Nations, dealt a fatal blow at the divisionists within and without bent on perpetuating the division of Korea, and brought about the disbandment of the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea," the US imperialists' tool of aggression and interference in our internal affairs. This is a shining victory for our Party's line of independent and peaceful reunification.

Last year, the south Korean youth, students and people again rose courageously in the national deliverance struggle, even, even under the "state of emergency" in which the fascist repression was so harsh. Now the south Korean youth, students and people are fighting resolutely against the anti-popular, treacherous acts of the south Korean authorities who stamp out democracy, harshly suppress the people and sell out the country and the nation to the US and Japanese aggressors. Their struggle is a just struggle for the right to existence and democracy, a patriotic struggle for saving the country and the nation and reunifying the fatherland.

Seing the New Year in, I extend full support and encouragement to the just patriotic struggle of the south Korean youth, students and people for the democratization of south Korean society and the deliverance of the country and the nation.

The energetic external activities of our Party and the Government of our Republic last year raised higher the international position of the Republic and further strengthened the international solidarity of our revolution.

The Fourth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries held in Algeria last year denounced the plot of the US imperialists and the south Korean authorities to create "two Koreas," expressed firm solidarity with the Korean people in their struggle for the independent, peaceful reunification of the country, and adopted with unanimous approval a resolution in full accord with our Party's line of national reunification.

At the 28th Session of the United Nations General Assembly many countries actively supported the line of our Party and the Government of our Republic for independent, peaceful reunification and manifested firm solidarity with the revolutionary cause of our people.

Greeting the New Year, in the name of the entire Korean people, I offer warm congratulations and greetings to the peoples of the socialist countries, the new-born independent states and many other countries of the world which have positively supported and encouraged our people's struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

