KAMPUCHEA WILL WIN!

An eye-witness account by the last foreign delegation to visit Kampuchea (Cambodia) before the Vietnamese-Soviet invasion

* 16 pages of exclusive photos

Written by the delegation of the Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist)

with journalists from THE FORGE
Glimpses of Kampuchea (Cambodia): 16 pages of exclusive photos.

Written by the delegation of the Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist), which visited Kampuchea in December 1978, in cooperation with the editorial staff of The Forge. The Forge is weekly newspaper of the League.
Peoples’ war against the Vietnamese-Soviet invasion is spreading to all corners of Kampuchea. The southwest Cardamon and Elephant mountain ranges, the northern provinces, large regions east of the Mekong and even the outskirts of Phnom Penh are centres of intense guerrilla activity. The inset shows the location of Kampuchea in Southeast Asia.

- All photos in this book are Forge photos unless otherwise indicated.

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Introduction

"You are visiting our country when we are at war. We are grateful for your support and happy to show you our accomplishments."

With these words, Deputy Premier Ieng Sary of Democratic Kampuchea greeted us — the first Canadians ever to visit this socialist country — five members of the Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist).

He was well aware, as we were, that 100,000 Soviet-backed Vietnamese troops were massing at the borders. Before our trip was over, they would begin their all-out invasion. Today, their claws are extended over broad sections of the country.

But the warmth we felt talking to this veteran of 15 years of guerilla warfare as he hugged us or laughed, and the confidence he expressed as he calmly but firmly detailed his people's resistance to aggression are the traits we found among all Kampucheans. Premier Pol Pot reflected the same determination when we had the honour to meet him (see Chapter 2).
PEOPLE HEALTHY AND EAGER

From the day of our arrival in Phnom Penh December 23 until we left seven days later, even though the situation was difficult, we were given every opportunity to travel and see the country.

On our 1000 km voyage through six provinces in the north, central and southeast regions, we were able to stop anywhere we wanted, to ask questions. We saw with our own eyes that the stories of supposed massacres and starvation spread by the Western media were just lies and slanders designed to justify the aggression against Kampuchea (see Chapter 4).

We could feel the pulse of the people, eager and determined to rebuild their land: new homes spring up alongside B-52 bomb craters.

No bloated bellies so common among starving third-world children, no signs of "forced labour" in the fields.

For two months now, the Kampuchean people have won the respect of Canadians and people around the world for their brave and determined resistance to the Vietnamese troops occupying their country. In a Cross-country tour of 18 Canadian cities since our return from Kampuchea, we have tried to bring their story to Canadians, to show why the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK) has such strong roots and support among the people.

During the '60s and '70s, powerful movements of support for the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia developed in many countries, including Canada. They played an important role in the victory of these peoples over US imperialism.

Today, we in Canada have the duty to build movements equally strong as those of ten years ago to support the Kampuchean people. Because it is the same struggle once again, this time against the Soviet superpower.

We have produced this pamphlet to tell the truth about what we saw and heard in Kampuchea. It consists of adapted articles from The Forge, new articles, and a special photo-dossier.

We want this pamphlet to become a tool to help anti-imperialists and progressive people mobilize the broadest possible support for this brave and indomitable people.

The peoples' war has begun, and the Kampuchean people will win!

The League delegation to Kampuchea: Danielle Bourassa, Simon Brault, Roger Rashi [Chairman of the Central Committee of the CCL(ML)], Julian Sher and Jerry White.

Commander Roeung of the southeastern region.

Before Brezhnev and his Hanoi cohorts even had time to pour the champagne for any “victory” celebration, their invading troops in Kampuchea found themselves being battered from all sides by the people they claimed to have “liberated”.

The final victory of the Kampucheans is certain — when we visited the southeastern front Dec. 28, we could see the reasons why.

As the jeep led the way down Highway 2 in Takeo province, we could still see the devastation left by five years of savage US bombing and the Vietnamese incursion in 1977. But the people in this region — now overrun by Hanoi — were confident and not afraid.
"We forced the Vietnamese occupiers to withdraw once and we will do it again," comrade Roeung, military commander of the region, told us as we heard the sound of enemy cannonfire.

EVERY KAMPUCHEAN A SOLDIER

Most importantly, the communists are one with the people. Wherever they go, the Vietnamese will be surrounded by a hostile population. For every Kampuchean is a soldier in this people's war.

The peasants we saw working in the fields became guerillas at night. In the distance, about a kilometre from the frontier, we could see a group of peasants gathering rice. Comrade Roeung said, "Our peasants are ready at any time to lay down their scythes and take up their guns. In our country the army works like the people and the people fight like the army."

The Kampucheans also have flexibility — flexibility that let the Vietnamese invaders believe Kampuchean defences had crumbled at the very beginning of the offensive, only to later take them by surprise by attacking on many fronts. Roeung explained that the guerilla units in every cooperative were complemented by regional forces able to take on isolated enemy troops. The crack regular army, meanwhile, is trained to move in and wipe out entire battalions.

VIETNAMESE DEFEATED IN 1977 INVASION

The Kampuchean people are no strangers to people's war. Roeung, a former poor peasant and a member of the CPK, had already fought against the forces of former South Vietnamese puppet Thieu, the army of the Cambodian traitor Lon Nol, and the US. He told how the Kampucheans had turned back Vietnamese aggression in Takeo province, a year earlier, by classic guerilla warfare. "When they entered our country, we attacked on their flanks and behind, cutting the enemy into groups and wiping them out one by one. In 17 days they had been routed."

This is the same strategy of people's war that the Kampuchean people follow across the country: allow the enemy to enter and then attack, harass the enemy so he doesn't have a minute's rest, cut off the enemy's supply and communication lines, never engage a superior enemy in a frontal battle. The peasants also set mines and traps of camouflaged pits hiding lethal bamboo spears.

For food and supplies, the Kampuchean fighters rely on the people or themselves. Roeung said that not only do all the soldiers farm, but also all military commanders are in charge of the fighting and agricultural production in their regions.

The Vietnamese and Soviets, on the other hand, are dependent on thinly-stretched supply lines.

VIETNAMESE SUPPLY ROUTES CUT

Reports from the battlefield in January and February show the guerillas are attacking key communication and supply lines of the Vietnamese, isolated in Phnom Penh and a few other cities. Bridges are being blown up.

Fuel and arms depots have also been blown up, not only in the Phnom Penh area but also in provinces like Stung Treng and Kratie. Waterways and roads are systematically mined.

Route 4, for example, leading to Phnom Penh from the south has been cut in several places. In one raid guerillas hit Phnom Penh airport, blowing up two Vietnamese planes. Failing to achieve the quick victory they were counting on, Vietnam has now been forced to rush in reinforcements.

Even Vietnam's superior weaponry is a weak and shortlived advantage. When the CPK launched armed insurrection in 1968, two-thirds of its soldiers were unarmed; even by the early '70s when they had liberated most of the country, a third of the fighters still did not have their own guns! Eighty percent of their weapons were seized from the enemy, and this time "we will take the weapons we need from the Vietnamese."

PREPARATIONS PAY OFF

The Kampucheans have not been idle the past three years, but have planned well for the Vietnamese invasion they knew was coming. Cooperatives have stored rice, and military equipment has been stored around the country.

"We also took the precaution right after victory in 1975 to set up revolutionary base areas across the country," Keat Chhon, Kampuchean ambassador at the United Nations told The Forge in a January interview.

"We have many of them. These are areas where the enemy
In pushing back the 1977 Vietnamese invasion, the Kampuchean captured weapons as well as rice which the invaders had seized.

cannot enter, or cannot get out if they do."

These extensive preparations are paying off. By mid-February, Kampuchean guerilla forces were in firm control of the country’s northern-most provinces. Heavy fighting continues in the eastern areas bordering Vietnam, and in the southwestern mountain ranges. The national monuments of Angkor Wat are reportedly in Kampuchean hands. And guerillas have even penetrated into Phnom Penh, blowing up two trucks and killing several enemy troops.

The New York Times reported “at least two major Cambodian command headquarters were functioning and maintaining radio contact with field units. Mr. Pol Pot and President Khieu Samphan, as well as other leaders, were... possibly directing battles from one of the headquarters.” (Feb. 2, 1979)

Radio Kampuchea reported that 183 military commanders and 230 political cadres from all regions of the country met in a liberated zone February 1-2 to coordinate plans “to intensify the people’s war.”

As Keat Chhon explained, “the principle of people’s war is to destroy as much of the enemy forces as possible, while conserving your forces.”

“With Pol Pot’s leadership, we are doing this quite well so far. In people’s war, you don’t have spectacular victories that the Western press is always looking for. But slowly, quantitative gains lead to a qualitative turnaround in favour of the people.”

Recalling the broad united front of all classes that the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK) built so successfully in 1970-75 against the US, Keat Chhon said “a new patriotic united front is emerging. Kampuchans around the world and all Kampuchans inside our country — whatever their political persuasion — are rallying behind us because Kampuchea’s very national existence has become the principal question now.” (The formation of the National Democratic and Patriotic United Front was announced by Radio Kampuchea recently.)

“AN AGGRESSOR IS NEVER STRONG”

What we saw at the front convinced us the Vietnamese will be defeated by the same tactics they themselves used against the US. That shows just how far Hanoi’s leaders have strayed from the revolutionary path.

“We do not have so big an army, but we have the people with us,” Deputy Premier Ieng Sary said Jan. 11. “An aggressor is never strong. We will win victory.”

His words, like the gunfire from the guerillas, will haunt Hanoi’s troops until they are driven from Democratic Kampuchea for good!
The League delegation met with Kampuchean Prime Minister Pol Pot in Phnom Penh, Dec. 29, just before the massive Vietnamese-Soviet invasion. We had a three-hour interview. The following are excerpts from his remarks.

The Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea "is not a border conflict between Vietnam and Kampuchea," Pol Pot told us. "It is part of the Vietnamese and Soviet strategy to dominate Southeast Asia, Asia and the rest of the world. Vietnam wants to become a regional power allied with the Soviets."

He explained how the revisionist Vietnamese leadership is trying to dominate the smaller countries in Southeast Asia under a Vietnamese-controlled "Indochinese Federation." Vietnam has already succeeded in occupying neighbouring Laos with 50,000 troops, a force larger than the Laotian army itself.

FOUR ASSASSINATION ATTEMPTS

Pol Pot explained how Vietnam had tried to infiltrate the Communist Party of Kampuchea, attempted numerous coups and stirred up border troubles. He told us that four assassination attempts had been made on the lives of Party leaders since 1975.

"But the CPK is solid," Pol Pot said, "and we will always
refuse to be slaves of Vietnam. We have a people who are united, and if it takes 10, 20 or 100 years, we will never let Vietnam swallow our country.”

Blocked in all its attempts, Vietnam launched its first big offensive in December 1977. “They pillaged our rice, killed inhabitants and razed buildings to the ground,” he said.

After 17 days of aggression, the Vietnamese invaders were pushed out of Kampuchea January 6, 1978.

Throughout 1978, Pol Pot explained to us, Vietnam set about organizing another invasion but was not able to attack immediately because of its serious internal difficulties.

He described how the Vietnamese were short five million tons of rice to feed about two million Vietnamese who were starving following widespread flooding. Politically, Pol Pot told us, the Vietnamese leaders face internal political opposition, including armed struggle from movements like the oppressed Khmer Krom – the Kampuchean minority living in the Mekong Delta region.

Militarily, he said, the Vietnamese lacked the forces to attack. At that time they particularly lacked air power.

“It was in this situation of serious difficulties that the Vietnamese leaders threw themselves into the arms of the Soviets. They signed a military pact with them and joined the COMECON economic alliance,” Pol Pot explained.

Vietnam has become the Cuba of the East.

Soviet and Warsaw Pact advisors poured into Vietnam to help operate the Soviet-supplied planes, tanks and heavy artillery. Moscow spent $2 billion in “aid”. On our trip around the country, we saw Soviet guns and tanks captured from the Vietnamese.

CANNOT TAKE KAMPUCHEA

“Strategically they (the Vietnamese -ed.)cannot take Kampuchea,” Pol Pot told us. “Confronted with the leadership of the CPK, a united people and an army steeled through many years of fighting the US, they cannot win.”

“Tactically,” he said, “we must be very vigilant. The enemy can penetrate, especially under the cover of heavy air power, artillery and tank forces. As the war drags on Vietnam will face many problems.”

“We stand on protracted war and we are confident of victory.

Kampuchean soldiers along the Mekong River, on the way to the front. “Our army is steeled through many years of fighting,” Pol Pot said.

The US attacked us ferociously; Lon Nol had tens of thousands of troops against us; the Thieu-Ky army invaded us — and we won.”

Pol Pot concluded, “Our defence contributes to the defence of sovereignty, peace and stability in Southeast Asia, and the entire world... We must all do our best to block the plans of expansion of the Vietnamese and Soviets.”
Pol Pot— A life of revolutionary struggle

One of the grossest slanders in the Western press against Kampuchea has been the attacks on the country’s leader. Pol Pot is portrayed as “an ignorant jungle man, fearful and hateful of cities.”

Soviet and Hanoi reports, meanwhile, have had Pol Pot either dead or in desperate flight from the country.

The truth is that Pol Pot is now using his many years of revolutionary experience and close links with the people to lead his country again to liberation.

BORN TO PEASANT FAMILY

Born to a peasant family, Pol Pot as a child worked with his parents in the fields. Later on, he went to a pagoda to learn to read and write — as was the custom — and even became a monk for two years.

He returned to agricultural work, but eventually got a bursary to continue his studies and went to France. But because of his activities in the progressive student movement there, the authorities cut his bursary and forced him to return home.

Pol Pot joined the underground movement back home against French colonialism in the early fifties. Minor political liberalization in the country after the 1954 Geneva Accords allowed him to return to Phnom Penh and work as a history and geography teacher in a private school.

But clandestinely, Pol Pot was in charge of the underground movement in the capital city and was also responsible for the liaison with the armed resistance in the countryside. “I was active in the student milieu, with intellectuals, with workers and also with peasants,” he told an interviewer.

In 1960, when the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK) was formed, Pol Pot was named to the Permanent Committee of the Party's Central Committee. In 1961, he was made Vice-Secretary of the Permanent Committee. He assumed the post of General-Secretary of the Party temporarily the next year when the first Party leader was assassinated. The 1963 Second Congress of the CPK confirmed him as Party leader, a post he has held ever since.

Pol Pot led the CPK, from a handful of men and women with few arms to a vast movement of tens of thousands of peasants, workers and patriots, who liberated their country entirely in the short space of 15 years.

During the years of guerilla war, Pol Pot criss-crossed the country many times on foot. His base of operations was in the northeast mountain regions, among the minority tribespeoples. With patience and devotion, he helped the minorities overcome their suspicions of the majority Khmer people — suspicions nurtured by years of brutal suppression at the hands of the feudal ruling classes — and transformed the region into a powerful liberated zone.

Today, the northeast mountain ranges remain impenetrable for the Vietnamese invaders. There, as everywhere throughout the country, the seeds of people's war planted by Pol Pot and the CPK in the past two decades are bearing fruit.
3-Under socialism, Kampuchea has made great progress

We are approaching Phnom Penh by plane. It’s December 23. Even from the air we can see the devastation caused by the American bombing. Along the banks of the Mekong we can see gaping craters left by the 5000 tons of bombs the American B-52s dropped every day during their war of aggression.

The destruction caused to this country can’t be described. On Christmas Day, in sweltering heat, we leave Phnom Penh for the northwest heading along Route 6, towards the famous monuments at Angkor Wat. We go through towns that were razed completely: Tang Krassing and Skoun, which used to have 50,000 inhabitants, quite simply no longer exist.

Our guide gave us incredible statistics. During the US imperialists’ brutal aggression, more than 800,000 people died under the bombs, 90% of the houses were devastated, 70% of the rubber-yielding forests and 50% of the livestock were destroyed.
SOCIALISM BUILT IN CONDITIONS OF DEVASTATION AND WAR THREAT

All this took place in an already impoverished country, the poorest in Southeast Asia.

Ignoring these realities, the Western press has made a lot of noise about Kampuchea’s “ultra-revolution, trying to turn the clock backwards to rural primitiveness,” closing down schools, health services, communications, etc.

But the truth is that none of these things existed for the people before 1975, under the US-backed Lon Nol regime.

In the three short years from Liberation to the Vietnamese invasion, the Kampuchean people, led by their communist party, have accomplished some extraordinary feats: they have rebuilt a country that was in ruins by counting on the enthusiasm of the people.

A second factor that is key to understanding the specific conditions of socialist construction in Kampuchea is the constant military threat that hung over the country since the day of liberation. Initially, the threat came from the defeated US, then from the Vietnamese and Soviets, hungry to replace the Americans as Kampuchea’s new colonial master.

With the entire country geared for people’s war for the past three years, the central state structure and economy has been streamlined to a minimum, and emphasis placed on self-sufficient cooperatives. The Kampuchean people never tired of telling us how much more reconstruction they could accomplish if they did not have to devote so much manpower and energy to national defence.

STRIKING GAINS MADE

Yet the achievements we saw were nonetheless striking. As we continued along Route 6, we saw rich cultivated rice fields next to B-52 bomb craters and napalmed trees. We could see the first shoots of the dry season crops that will be harvested in June.

“These expanses of green,” our guide explained, “are the pride of our people.” Before Liberation the country never harvested in the dry season because it had no irrigation system. But since then the Kampuchean people have built hundreds of kilometres of canals and have doubled rice production in a country that was regularly decimated by famine under the old regime.

Everywhere we went in the countryside, people were building small wooden houses elevated above the ground.

This is a remarkable contrast to the situation before Liberation. Then, peasant families had to live in insect-infested shacks which were constantly being destroyed by flooding.

Today, families are housed in clean dwellings, each surrounded by its own small plot of land, where the family can grow fruits and vegetables.

Like everything we saw, this gives the lie to the slanders in the bourgeois press, claiming that the Communist Party of Kampuchea divides families.

“COOPERATIVES GUARANTEE OUR COUNTRY’S DEFENCE”—POL POT

Late in the afternoon of December 28, we arrived at the Ang Knor cooperative. Comrade Soeung, District Secretary, welcomed us at the cooperative’s main building which is used as a cafeteria, a meeting hall, a cultural centre and school. First of all he apologized that many members of the cooperative were not present to welcome us. “They are in the fields,” he said. “We’re hurrying to finish the harvest and stock up our rice before the Vietnamese attack and try to plunder our goods.”

90% of Kampuchean life is in cooperatives. Cooperatives are the country’s basic economic and political units and they all have guerilla groups attached to them. Comrade Soeung explained that his district, the province of Takeo in the south of the country, has 60,000 inhabitants living in 7 cooperatives.

We strolled among the small one-family houses surrounded by sugar cane plantations. There was a tile workshop, another producing bricks and a small spinning mill. In the main building a meal of rice, vegetables, fish and fruits was being prepared.

We also met the cooperative’s health team. Under socialism, 80% of the malaria that devastated the country has been wiped out, and the infant mortality rate has been radically reduced. In the ‘60s the rate was 127 per 1000; now it has dropped to 13 per 1000.
UNITED AROUND THE PARTY

Close to Route 6 we visited the January 1st Dam. Its name marks the launching of the revolutionary army's final offensive in January 1975. **The imperialists and colonialists had always said it was impossible to build a dam there, but in 5 months 20,000 people managed it**, with very little machinery. This immense accomplishment was carried out by the peasants, helped by the revolutionary army. As a result, 30,000 new hectares of land have been irrigated.

This dam was a symbol of free Kampuchea. It showed us that a people led by their communist party can move mountains. Looking at this great work, and seeing the improvement in peoples' lives it has allowed, we could easily understand why the Kampuchean people were, and still are, so strongly united around their leaders and their Party.

On the road next to a brigade of young girls harvesting rice, we ran into an old man, his face marked by years of suffering. Here was Kampuchea's bright future and oppressive past. "I'm too old to work and in the old society I would have been left to die," the old peasant said. Then pointing to the young workers in the fields, he said with a toothless smile: "Now, the cooperative takes care of me."

The Vietnamese and Soviet troops are only fooling themselves when they claim to be "liberating" Kampuchea. For the Kampuchean - every man and woman - will stand firm to defend the gains they have made in rebuilding their country from ruin and controlling their destiny for the first time.

FACTS ON KAMPUCHEA

**DEMONCRATIC KAMPUCHEA** (Cambodia — colonial name used by French)

**POPULATION:** 8 million (1978); language is Khmer. National minorities make up 1% of population.

**GEOGRAPHY:** The interior is dominated by the fertile plain of the Mekong River, the country's largest river and major transportation route. The capital city of Phnom Penh is on the Mekong. Over half of the land is forested, with mountain ranges in the northwest and southeast.

**ECONOMY:** Kampuchea is basically an agricultural country. The tropical climate and fertile plains favour rice production. Rice is the staple food. Since Liberation, the people have built large-scale irrigation canals and reservoirs to overcome the severe water shortage in the dry season. By 1977, two years after Liberation, self-sufficiency in rice was achieved with production at 312 kg. per person, and a surplus left over for export. This completely reversed the ruin and starvation caused by the US war of aggression which had caused an 80% drop in rice output. From 1970-75 the US-backed Lon Nol regime depended on rice imported from the US.

Fish is a very important food. The freshwater Tonle Sap Lake is the richest fishing ground in the world. Rubber and lumber from the hardwood forests are also important products.

**HEALTH:** There is a hospital or clinic for every 100 families.

**INDUSTRY:** Under the rule of the French imperialists, Kampuchea exported rubber from the plantations and imported practically all industrial products and raw materials. Since 1975 an independent economy has been established. For example, local raw materials provide a base for light industry such as agricultural machines and textiles.
Rice threshing in the fields near Kompong Thom on Route 6. Here and everywhere else the delegation stopped to talk to people, there was no evidence of any forced labour.

4-Who gains from slander campaign against Kampuchea?

For three years the newspapers and television have presented the Kampucheans as a bloody regime that has "massacred" from one to three million Kampucheans.

But a great amount of evidence has shown that the whole slander campaign was fabricated by US imperialism, and then taken up by the Soviet and Vietnamese invaders.

Many press reports take the figure of 1.2 million dead from Cambodge Année zéro, a book by a French priest, François Ponchaud. But where did Ponchaud get his information? Straight from the US embassy in Thailand — undoubtedly a most reliable source.

Faked atrocity pictures, like the one showing a peasant beaten to death, have been published everywhere. But the Bangkok Post revealed April 9, 1976 that they had been staged in Thailand by a Thai intelligence officer.

Among the most quoted sources are the stories of Kampucheans refugees in Thailand. The New York Times, hardly a pro-communist newspaper, reported: "The genocide myth is being fabricated by an organization working outside of Bangkok"
(Thailand). It is led by In-Tam, one of Lon Nol’s close advisors. He paid refugees up to $50 each for the horror stories they told foreigners visiting the camps.’”

And it’s after visiting these camps in Thailand to collect such testimony that the United States and Canada went to the UN to make their violent attacks on Kampuchea.

But when Globe and Mail reporter John Fraser visited a Kampuchean refugee camp in Vietnam, he reported that he was unable to find a single person who had witnessed any atrocities!

One of the refugees who has made the most noise here in Canada is Pin Yathay. Kampuchans living here have formally identified him as an ex-Lon Nol (head of the puppet government set up by the US in 1970) agent and member of a committee that had numerous patriots tortured under the Lon Nol regime. Somehow this engineer got his hands on enough money to make a world tour to spread his anti-communist propaganda.

**POSITIVE EVIDENCE SUPPRESSED**

Meanwhile dozens of positive reports from people who lived in Kampuchea have been carefully suppressed. These reports deny that massive executions ever occurred.

Take the account of W.J. Sampson, published in the British magazine The Economist in March '77. Sampson worked as an economist for the Lon Nol government until March 1975. He quotes from a European friend who was in Phnom Penh when it was liberated and writes: “He saw and heard of no... executions apart from the shooting of some prominent politicians and the lynching of hated (American) bomber pilots.”

The Steinbachs, two French specialists who were in Phnom Penh in 1975 wrote an entire book discounting horror stories of the city’s evacuation and showing the care taken for people’s safety.

Imperialism has ignored reports from numerous foreign delegations, including one from Japan, the Swedish ambassador, and Professor Rigaux, vice-president of the Belgian Human Rights League.

Jamieson, Carter and their like would also like us to forget the terrible debts owed to the people by the handful of traitors who were overthrown when Kampuchea was liberated. As in any social revolution, the Kampuchean peasants settled accounts with their former oppressors who had killed and maimed a million of their countrymen. And undoubtedly, the peasants’ justified anger led to some excesses: class struggle, whether it is a strike or socialist revolution, is never clean and neat. But the CPK worked to educate the masses, to limit any unnecessary violence, and unite all who could be united with to rebuild the country.

**A WELL-ORCHESTRATED AND INTENTIONAL CAMPAIGN**

If the massacres were simply invented, who did it and why? It was the United States who launched this reactionary campaign, first and foremost to cover up their war crimes in Kampuchea. By crying “genocide” they hoped that people would forget their massacre — and this one really happened — 800,000 Kampuchans were killed during the American war of aggression.

Another reason for the campaign was that socialist Kampu-
Chea, where the people are in power, threw out the Americans and kept them out, setting an example for the other peoples of Southeast Asia. This threatened US interests. The Canadian imperialist bourgeoisie leapt wholeheartedly into the campaign of lies for the same reason and to defend its own economic ambitions.

As for the USSR and Vietnam, who picked up the same lies and inflated them even more, their motives are now perfectly clear. For them it was a way to camouflage their barbaric invasion, passing it off as the "liberation" of Kampuchea.

Moscow and its apologists like the "Communist" Party of Canada have even resorted to quoting articles from the Readers' Digest, material that has been completely discredited by honest US scholars as thinly-veiled Pentagon propaganda. Moscow and Hanoi have inflated US imperialism's lie about 1 million killed to 3 million.

But the Kampuchean people are handing the invaders the most powerful refutation of their all slanders. They are standing up and erecting a wall of resistance; they are uniting solidly behind the government of Pol Pot and the Communist Party of Kampuchea. The Kampuchean people are showing the world just how determined they are to defend their country and the new society they have built.
5-CPK built in the heat of people's struggles

"The history of our people is a history of struggle," Deputy Premier Ieng Sary of Kampuchea told us in Phnom Penh. As we talked, Kampucheaans were preparing to resist the Vietnamese invaders just as they had defeated the Americans and French before them. Ieng Sary took the time to explain to us the history of his country and the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK).*

Tens of thousands of Kampucheans gave their lives fighting the French colonialists who invaded and seized Cambodia in 1863. Cambodia, with its rich rubber resources, was part of their Indochinese colonies, along with Vietnam and Laos.

*For background history on Kampuchea, see Appendix A. p. 68
After World War II, "a big movement for independence developed with armed struggles in the countryside and a strong student movement in the cities," Ieng Sary said. The French were forced to grant formal independence in 1953, with Prince Sihanouk as head of state.

But Cambodia remained a neo-colony, with real power resting in the hands of the imperialists, especially the US which more and more replaced France as the dominant imperialist power.

During this entire period there was no Marxist-Leninist party in Kampuchea. The struggle in the country was being led by Vietnamese cadres, members of the Indochinese Communist Party, which had been set up by Vietnamese revolutionaries in 1930.

This Party was fighting to defeat French colonialism and to build a "totally independent Indochina" made up of an "Indochinese Federation" of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Here were the seeds of the nationalist deviation which was to become increasingly serious among the Vietnamese leadership.

In 1951 the ICP was dissolved and separate parties were founded in Laos and Vietnam.

"In Kampuchea, they just set up a Provisional Committee to found a party — and with no consultation with Kampuchean revolutionaries. The Vietnamese just set it up by themselves," Ieng Sary said.

When the 1954 Geneva Accords were signed, the revolutionary forces "had already liberated three-fifths of the territory, and controlled two-fifths of the population."

"We had our army, we had 2,000 people aspiring to be members of a party — but it did not exist, it had no status!" Ieng Sary explained.

Although the Vietnamese leaders correctly put forward the necessity of armed struggle in their own country, in Kampuchea they argued that it was not necessary because of certain patriotic positions of Prince Sihanouk. Instead they told the Kampuchean revolutionaries to take part in the elections.

The influence of this line led to serious setbacks for the struggle. The CIA, working with Khmer reactionaries, organized widespread assassinations and arrests of the Kampuchean revolutionaries who had waged armed struggle against the French. 90% of the revolutionary cadres were wiped out between 1954-58.

To many Kampuchean revolutionaries who opposed the Vietnamese Party's position, it became clear that for the Kampuchean liberation struggle to really advance it was necessary to build their own independent party with a correct Marxist-Leninist line.

As Ieng Sary put it, "It became clear that without a party the sacrifices of the people could never lead to victory."

PARTY FOUNDED

On September 30, 1960, the Communist Party of Kampuchea was formed. 14 peasant and seven worker delegates met secretly in the Phnom Penh rail yards to map out the strategy for the National Democratic Revolution. A constitution was approved and the Central Committee elected.

With the founding of the CPK, the revolutionary struggle in Kampuchea shot forward.

The Party established that the revolutionary struggle in Kampuchea was a struggle for New Democracy, calling for the formation of a vast united front based on a worker-peasant alliance and including all the democratic and patriotic forces opposing imperialism and feudalism.

The CPK sank deep roots among the peasants in the countryside, leading the democratic struggle for land reforms. The peasants made up 85% of Cambodia's population and were the backbone of the revolution.

In 1968, with the outbreak of numerous armed peasant revolts, the CPK analyzed that the situation was ripe for launching armed struggle. Starting with only 10 captured enemy guns, the revolutionary fighters liberated the country only seven years later.

The spreading US war of aggression in South Vietnam during the '60s forced many Vietnamese leaders, troops and people to seek sanctuary in Kampuchea. It became an important base area for the Vietnamese revolution. Cambodians and Vietnamese fought side-by-side against the US during this period.

Again important contradictions arose over the question of armed struggle. The Vietnamese leaders were afraid the armed battles in Kampuchea would put their bases into jeopardy. Adopting a nationalist stance they placed their revolution ahead of
the Kampuchean revolution. They tried to convince the CPK to put down their guns and said Vietnam would come and liberate Phnom Penh after Saigon was free.

The Kampuchean revolutionaries refused to give in to the Vietnamese bullying. They had learned in practice that armed struggle was the only way to liberate their country.

On March 18, 1970, the situation in the struggle changed dramatically when Prince Sihanouk was overthrown in a CIA-engineered coup and was replaced by the hated Lon Nol and his puppet government. The US had decided it could no longer tolerate Sihanouk's neutralist stance and wanted to attack the Vietnamese bases in Kampuchea.

**UNITED FRONT CREATED**

The CPK was ready for the coup and only five days after Sihanouk’s overthrow, the National United Front of Kampuchea (FUNK) was formed to fight a people’s war of national salvation. It included Sihanouk and other patriotic forces. FUNK was under the leadership of the CPK, which at this time was still clandestine.

Despite an invasion of Cambodia by 100,000 US and South Vietnamese troops and endless US bombing, by 1973 the Revolutionary Army had already liberated over three-quarters of the country.

When the liberation wars were in full swing in Southeast Asia, the Vietnamese and Kampuchean parties remained allies in their fight against the American aggressor. But more and more, the Kampucheans were confronted with the hostile acts of the Vietnamese leaders. In 1973, the Vietnamese Party used its bases in Kampuchea to try to set up a parallel pro-Hanoi party in Kampuchea.

At the same time the Vietnamese leaders siphoned off almost 90% of the arms and aid sent from China to Kampuchea by way of rail lines in Vietnam.

When they were signing the Paris Peace Accords with the US, the Vietnamese even passed on to the CPK Kissinger's threat to bomb their country mercilessly if they did not also lay down their arms. Hanoi’s leaders chauvinistically tried to pressure the CPK into capitulating, saying again, as they had in the sixties, that they would “liberate” Phnom Penh after they liberated Saigon!

But the CPK maintained its independence. After a tough battle the Revolutionary Army liberated Phnom Penh on April 17, 1975. The liberation of Saigon followed a few days later.

The Kampuchean people began building socialism in their newly-liberated country.

But in Vietnam, after 1975, a handful of Hanoi leaders veered sharply away from the Marxist-Leninist principles that had guided the Vietnamese party earlier. They embarked on a campaign of sabotage and aggression against their former Kampuchean ally.

The leaders’ nationalist deviation that had led to chauvinist arrogance and to interference in Kampuchea was nurtured by the Soviet Union. Now, it flowered into a blatant revisionist line and expansionist ambitions.

The revisionist Vietnamese leaders completely betrayed their people’s struggle. They have delivered their country on a platter to the Soviet Union. They have joined COMECON and signed a military treaty with the Soviet superpower.

After numerous attempts at sabotage, assassination and coups failed to overthrow the Kampuchean government, Vietnam invaded and occupied Kampuchea.

But already the Vietnamese attackers are surrounded in a sea of people's war which will one day drown them.
The Vietnamese aggression in Kampuchea and their propping up of a puppet “Front” fits into Brezhnev's overall strategy for world domination.

The Soviet-backed Vietnamese invasion of Democratic Kampuchea has opened many peoples' eyes to the true nature of the Soviet Union, Vietnam and their various supporters here in Canada.

The Soviet Union's invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 served notice to the world that the capitalist leaders in Moscow had turned the USSR into an expansionary, imperialist superpower. Ten years later, the USSR's naked aggression against sovereign Kampuchea has alerted the world to the direct threat of its stepped-up war preparations.

Many Canadians supported the Vietnamese people in their fight for independence and peace, only to see Hanoi's leaders forsake those goals for a war alliance with Moscow.

Finally, the Hanoi-Moscow attack on Kampuchea has shown who are the real friends and real enemies of the third-world peoples and socialism. Not only did Moscow's loyal defenders, the "Communist" Party of Canada, rush to cover up the Soviet aggression, but every other so-called "left" group, from the Trotskyists, to the Bains "CPCML" clique, to the revisionists of In Struggle, found one excuse or another to justify the invasion and attack Kampuchea and its allies.

In the three sections of this chapter, we reprint articles explaining the Soviet global strategy, the internal situation in Vietnam, and the role of Canada's revisionists.
• Invasion of Kampuchea part of Soviet drive for world domination

The recent bloody Soviet-backed Vietnamese invasion of a free and independent socialist country, Democratic Kampuchea, confirms the fascist and aggressive nature of the Soviet Union in its drive to dominate the world.

USSR INTENSIFIES ATTACKS ON TRUE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

The Soviet Union's attempt to swallow Kampuchea is of great importance.

Firstly, the invasion shows the intensifying struggle between social-imperialism (socialism in words, imperialism in deeds) and true socialism, as found in China, Kampuchea and Korea. Kampuchea, as a socialist country, represents the main obstacle to Soviet plans to dominate Southeast Asia. The Soviet revisionists cannot stand the existence of a real socialist country, led by a true Marxist-Leninist party, which firmly opposes Soviet schemes, refuses to be a vassal of a foreign power, and has close links with socialist China.

The Soviet revisionists, who long ago betrayed the socialist revolution and Marxism-Leninism, have now moved from border skirmishes with socialist China to engineering the outright invasion of another socialist country. The invasion also serves to tighten the Soviet Union's encirclement of socialist China, whose leadership role in mobilizing countries and people against social-imperialism's projects makes the Soviets furious with rage.

NEW CZARS SEEK TO DOMINATE SOUTHEAST ASIA

Secondly, the occupation of Kampuchea is the first step in the

Soviet Union's plans to use Vietnam to dominate the whole of Southeast Asia. Vietnamese troops now in Laos and Kampuchea threaten Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore and other surrounding countries. The Soviet Union would like nothing better than to seize this heavily populated region, rich in natural resources. The control of the Straits of Malacca, between Malaysia and Indonesia, would allow the Soviets to block oil supplies to Japan and to control the bridge between the Pacific and Indian Oceans.

Since the defeat of American imperialism, this region of the world has been one of the weakest links in the imperialist chain of domination. The Soviet imperialists see that here they have a chance of replacing the weakened US superpower.

It is in this area too, that true Marxist-Leninist parties are leading armed struggle and occupying important bases in countries such as Thailand, Malaysia, Burma and the Philippines. The success of these revolutions will present a direct challenge to the ambitions of the phoney Moscow communists.

USSR PREPARES TO LAUNCH A NEW WAR

Thirdly, the aggression against Kampuchea fits into the Soviet plan to dominate the flanks of Europe, control the vital oil routes. In the short two and a half years since Cuban mercenaries were used in Angola, the Soviet Union has succeeded in devouring Ethiopia, Yemen and Afghanistan, as well as fomenting trouble in Zaire and elsewhere around the world.

These aggressions are part of a well-planned world-wide offensive aimed at establishing bases and preparing the terrain for a new world war with the still-dangerous but declining US superpower, a war which has Europe as the key prize.

SOVIET AGGRESSION PARALLELS NAZI GERMANY'S

Soviet imperialism's moves parallel events of the 1930's. At that time, fascist Nazi Germany was the rising imperialist power. While Hitler prepared his thrust into Europe, Mussolini took Ethiopia and Japan seized Manchuria and other large parts of China. German fascists themselves devoured Czechoslovakia and
Austria; Italian and German fascists combined to topple Republican Spain. They did all this in preparation for a full-scale war. Thus we can see why the peace-loving peoples of the world must unite to block every despicable act of Soviet aggression and to give their full support to all peoples and countries resisting attacks. In this way we can not only help halt Soviet aggression but we can also contribute to putting off the outbreak of a new world war.

KAMPUCHEA WILL WIN,
THE SOVIET UNION WILL BE DEFEATED

This is why we must double our efforts to support the valiant Kampuchean people, their Party and the legitimate government of Democratic Kampuchea, who are proving in their heroic armed resistance that the peoples of the world can fight back and win.

We must do all we can in our unions and mass organizations to pass support motions to condemn the aggression and to put pressure on the Canadian government to recognize Democratic Kampuchea and cut all aid to Vietnam. We must organize meetings, actions and demonstrations to show our anger and to inform the Canadian people about the true situation.

The barbarous Soviet-masterminded Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea completely exposes all the revisionists who for years have tried to prove the friendly and peaceful nature of the Soviet Union. It shows up those like In Struggle for what they are — apologists for Soviet fascism. They don’t give the Kampuchean people one word of support but instead try to excuse the Vietnamese invasion.

The invasion of Kampuchea also gives the lie to all those forces who believe that we can satisfy Soviet ambitions by letting the Soviets have their way. These appeasers did all they could to spread lies and slanders about Democratic Kampuchea and to try to isolate it. They played right into the hands of the Soviet Union by preparing the terrain for the Vietnamese invasion.

The Soviet Union cannot be stopped by concessions or sweet talk. Hitler too was a big expansionist like Brezhnev, but faced with the resistance of the then-socialist Soviet Union and all the anti-fascist forces in the world, fascism was defeated. The final defeat of Soviet social-imperialism, which has today become the most dangerous enemy of the world’s people, is equally certain. Unite to fight hegemonism! Support the heroic Kampuchean people! Kampuchea will win!

Forge editorial
January 19, 1979

N.B.: See world map in photo section
• Inside Vietnam: A tragic situation

The attempt by Hanoi's leaders to conquer Kampuchea, and their abandonment of serving the Vietnamese peoples' basic needs, shows how far these leaders have strayed from the path of socialism since 1975.

Close to three million people are starving following major floods last year. Even under normal conditions the Vietnamese are rationed less rice per person than in Bangladesh. Kampuchea, meanwhile, suffered no hunger even though hit by the same floods.

Tens of thousands of "boat people" are fleeing Vietnam. These people have given up their land, homes and loved ones and are leaving by sea to face shipwreck, piracy, starvation, disease and other disasters rather than face the repression at home. Well-documented reports show that Vietnamese officials are demanding bribes of $2000-$4000 to turn a blind eye to the escapees.

160,000 Chinese residents of Vietnam have fled to China, many forced out at gunpoint by the Vietnamese authorities. Over 95% of those crossing the border are working people from northern Vietnam. Many are former Vietnamese Party members, or held posts in the Vietnamese government and army and were decorated in the war against the US aggressors.

These Chinese residents have been attacked by the chauvinist Vietnamese leaders who have stirred up sharp divisions and hostilities among the Vietnamese people. The Chinese residents have been forced to take out Vietnamese citizenship, have lost their jobs, had their food rations cut and their property and goods stolen by the authorities.

The intense oppression of the national minorities has led to opposition movements against the Vietnamese clique of Le Duan and Pham Van Dong.* Armed struggle is being waged by the Kampuchean minority, the Khmer Krom, in the Mekong Delta region.

Visitors to Vietnam, including anti-imperialists as well as Western journalists like the Globe and Mail's John Fraser, have reported the open black market and prostitution. Even Vietnamese officials admit there is a tremendous problem of unemployment in Vietnam. And people without a job resort to crime.

And there are many questions that remain unanswered. What has happened, for example, to the leadership and the cadres of the National Liberation Front and the Provisional Revolutionary Government in southern Vietnam? Refugees The Forge talked with explained how after Liberation cadres from the south were almost entirely replaced by the agents of the clique from northern Vietnam.

PEOPLE SUFFER FOR AGGRESSION

All this suffering is because the Vietnamese leaders are militarizing the country, turning it into an armed camp. Rather than building socialism in their war-torn country after 1975, the Vietnamese leaders embarked on a campaign of aggression and expansion.

The youth are now forcibly conscripted into the Vietnamese forces. Cut off from the people and led by dictatorial Vietnamese and Soviet-Warsaw Pact advisors, 20% of the army is deserting, unwilling to serve as cannon fodder for the Vietnamese aggression.

The Vietnamese leaders have long dreamed of establishing a Vietnamese-dominated "Indochinese Federation" in Southeast Asia. They have already occupied Laos with 50,000 troops and are launching armed provocations against China. Now they want to try to bring Kampuchea under their domination. But they would never have been able to achieve this without the backing of the USSR which has penetrated Vietnam massively since 1975.

After fighting so bravely to toss out the US imperialists just four years ago, the Vietnamese people have seen their leaders sell out the country to the Soviet superpower in exchange for missiles and Migs.

4000 Soviet as well as Warsaw Pact military "advisors" now guide the attacking planes and tanks. Soviet warships now dock at the Cam Ranh military base.

*Pham Van Dong is premier; Le Duan is first secretary of the Vietnamese Communist Party.
The ruling Vietnamese clique has entered Vietnam as a full member in the Soviet-dominated COMECON economic alliance as well as signing a treaty that proclaims "military cooperation" between the two countries. Pushed on by the USSR, supplied with the most modern killing equipment and $2 billion in blood-stained "aid", Vietnam has become the "Cuba of the East" — the outpost of Soviet aggression and expansion in Southeast Asia.

This degeneration of Vietnam was confirmed once again by its ceaseless provocations against China which forced China to launch a justified punitive action in February. Hanoi's leaders expelled 160,000 Chinese residents in Vietnam in 1978. Since August 1978 alone, they launched 700 border incursions, killing and wounding 300 Chinese. Hanoi consistently ignored China's warnings that its patience with Vietnam's attacks was limited.

By provoking a conflict, Hanoi hoped politically to divert world attention from its aggression in Kampuchea, discredit China, and also distract domestic opposition from Vietnam's serious internal problems. But socialist China's swift counterattack was a strong rebuff to the expansionism of the Soviet Union and its Hanoi partners.

To capitalize on the world-wide support it had during the anti-US war, Vietnam is now trying to portray itself as "an innocent victim". But it is the aggressive policies of Hanoi's leaders that have brought suffering to the Vietnamese people and the peoples in the neighbouring countries.

Following the blitzkrieg attack by 100,000 Soviet-armed troops against the Kampuchean people there is no way Vietnam can still be considered a socialist country. The revisionist Vietnamese leaders have totally abandoned the revolutionary road, turning Vietnam into a fascist state. Following a chauvinist line, they have betrayed proletarian internationalism and have attacked and occupied socialist Kampuchea.

But while the situation is serious we must have confidence in the Vietnamese people. Four years ago they threw out the US imperialists and the Thieu-Ky clique — the same fate awaits the Soviet Union along with Pham Van Dong and Le Duan.
Through people's war, the Kampucheans successfully drove the Americans out of their country and pushed back a major Vietnamese invasion in 1977. The tank (above) was captured by the Kampucheans in September 1978. The Kampuchean army relies not only on regular troops (below) but also on mobile production brigades that overnight can turn into guerilla units (right). The peasants shown were working 5 km from the southeastern front.
Vast irrigation projects — like the January 1 Dam built by 20,000 people in five months (above) — have changed the face of Kampuchea. Canals bring water deep into the countryside.

For the first time in hundreds of years, Kampucheans were able to harvest two crops of rice a year. Before liberation, peasants starved. The fruits of six months of labour had to be exchanged just to buy an item like a pair of pants.
Kampuchea's agricultural system allowed its people in 1978 to overcome the worst flooding to hit the region in 70 years. But famine struck their Vietnamese neighbours whose leaders ignored the peoples' needs.

Rice threshing near Kompong Thom on Route 6 (left) and peasants returning from the fields near the Vietnamese border along Route 2. (below)
At the Ang Knor cooperative in Takeo province (above) as elsewhere, new homes are being built for each peasant family. Construction sites, like the one shown below along Route 6, can be seen throughout the countryside.

Resettlement in the cooperatives also averted economic disaster: before liberation, 80% of the city's population were refugees who had fled from bombings in the countryside since 1970; 300 people were dying of starvation daily. Since 1975, the city has been kept well-groomed by the people who work and go to school there (below). (See Annex for books explaining the evacuation.)
YOUTH

Young people in Democratic Kampuchea are active in the rebuilding of their country. These girls are part of a childrens' brigade. During the dry season, they work in the fields for three hours in the morning and attend the cooperative's school in the afternoon. Before liberation, 75% of the population was illiterate; now most can read and write.
In Democratic Kampuchea, 400 boys and 300 girls attend a technical school in Phnom Penh where they learn to read and write and acquire basic skills in a six-month course. When they return to their cooperatives, they share their knowledge with other young people: they can repair engines from sunken American boats or transform debris from US bombs and planes into tools and utensils.

During the war, the US bombed this school outside of Skoun along Route 6. (bottom left)
"C"PC revisionists applaud aggression against Kampuchea

The Canadian Tribune, newspaper of the revisionist "Communist" Party of Canada, hailed the Soviet-Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea and the establishment of a puppet regime with a front-page spread coming right off Moscow's Novosti wire.

These faithful Brezhnev hacks didn't hesitate to publish the most bare-faced lies to justify this barbaric imperialist act.

EVEN WORSE THAN WESTERN PRESS

Their article claims, for instance, that comrade Pol Pot's government had "ruined the country's economy, deprived the people of all human rights and reduced them to abysmal poverty and destitution."

What a blatant lie. All observers who have been to Kampuchea are agreed that considerable progress has been achieved since April 1975 in putting the country's economy back on its feet after it was devastated by American bombs and defoliants. On TV's The Watson Report, January 17, US journalist Richard Dudman, who cannot be accused of bias in favour of Kampuchea, stated that he saw "no sign of malnutrition" during his visit to Kampuchea in December, 1978. In fact, Kampuchea is not only self-sufficient in rice, but even exported it in 1977.

We can't say as much for the Vietnamese expansionists. They've made international appeals for help for their country's 4,000,000 flood victims, at the same time sending 100,000 troops to seize Kampuchea's rice fields.
The January 22 Tribune isn't content just to repeat the most vicious lies and slanders about Kampuchea spread by the Western imperialists, with the US in the lead; it blows them up even further. In another article from Moscow's Novosti agency, it claims that "Three million people have been killed in Kampuchea in the last three years." Of course, it doesn't present a shred of proof.

All these stories have a common goal: to give credibility to the imaginary "uprising" of the Kampuchean people against Pol Pot's legitimate government, concocted by the Vietnamese to cover up their invasion of the country, and to legitimize the "Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation".

NO AID TO KAMPUCHEA IN THE PAST

The "Communist" Party of Canada revisionists' hatred for the Kampuchean people is nothing new. In the past they went through the motions of supporting the people's struggle because it would have been pretty awkward not to: the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea were waging a determined war of resistance against the United States, and the entire world was watching. But in truth the "C"P never helped Kampuchea.

They played the same game as the Kremlin. Even though the Soviets said they were on Kampuchea's side, they recognized the Lon Nol puppet regime set up in 1970 by a US-plotted coup d'etat.

The Soviets didn't give a single gun or bullet to the revolutionary forces. They kept their embassy to the Lon Nol regime open until he was chased out of power in April, 1975.

All along they provided the puppet regime with economic aid. Czechoslovakia, which is under Soviet domination, even ran an arms factory for Lon Nol until it was razed by the liberation forces.

In the past, the Communist Party of Canada made great contributions in support of other peoples' struggles and in the fight against aggression. In the '30s it organized the MacKenzie-Papineau Battalion to combat fascism in Spain, and half the 1280 Canadians who fought in it gave up their lives on the battlefields. Doctor Norman Bethune, a Party member, sacrificed his life for the Chinese people.

But, today the "C"P is throwing itself into the arms of aggressors. Just last August, while the invasion of Kampuchea was being prepared, William Kashtan, "C"P general secretary, visited Vietnam. He met with Le Duan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam, and then returned home well brief and ready to support Vietnam's hostile acts.

When Vietnam invaded Kampuchea, the "C"P went full steam into a campaign to justify this act. They were aided by trotskyists and other revisionist groups, like In Struggle (IS), which had never once defended Kampuchea. IS used Vietnam's invasion to attack socialist China—for its "imperialism"! The "C"P, again joined by IS, tried to use China's counterattack against Vietnam in late February to falsely portray Vietnam as an "innocent peace-loving victim".

But the revisionists, loyal defenders of the most dangerous superpower in the world today, are no friends of peace—and their attempts to cover up the Soviet war threat must be unmasked.
In Oslo, Norway, 1,800 demonstrators protest the Vietnamese-Soviet Invasion on January 12.

In New York, over 200 Kampucheans, American war veterans and anti-imperialists protest outside the United Nations Plaza on January 12. They later marched to the Soviet Mission to the UN.

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7-World united front built against Soviet aggression

From Norway and Bangladesh to the streets of New York and Paris; from the assembly hall of the United Nations to the capitals of third-world countries — around the world, peoples and countries issued a stunning condemnation of Moscow and Hanoi’s naked aggression against Kampuchea.

TENS OF THOUSANDS MARCH

“Vietnam out of Kampuchea”, “Soviet Union out of Indochina”, over 1,800 demonstrators shouted in Oslo, Norway on January 12.

In Sweden’s capital, Stockholm, 1,300 people marched under banners which read “Defend the national independence of Kampuchea.”

Over 10,000 people marched through Calcutta, India on January 27 in a protest march organized by several Marxist-Leninist groups.

In the United States, 225 Kampuchean patriots, war veterans and supporters picketed the Soviet UN mission and demonstrations were held in six other cities.

Over 1,000 French workers and students demonstrated in Paris; 1,200 in Athens, Greece; and thousands more in Denmark, Belgium, Austria, Portugal, Italy, Japan, and the Netherlands.

Around the world, Marxist-Leninist organizations were in the forefront of these protest movements. The Moscow-Hanoi
aggression was denounced by communist parties and organizations not only in Europe and North America, but also in third-world countries like Malaysia, Zaire, Turkey, the Dominican Republic, Peru, Argentina and Haiti.

Anti-imperialist organizations joined the chorus of world anger at the invasion: the Third World Peoples' Anti-Imperialist Committee in Canada (CAP'T); the Indian Peoples' Association in North America (IPANA); the world-wide Confederation of Iranian Students; the Anti-Imperialist League in Germany; and the Anti-Imperialist Committee to Support the Third World in Norway.

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), leading the national liberation movement in Azania (South Africa), "totally denounced the invasion of Kampuchea."

THIRD WORLD BACKS KAMPUCHEA

Among the approximately 80 non-aligned countries, only five states dared to defend the invasion: Vietnam, Laos, Cuba, Afghanistan and Ethiopia — all countries dominated by the USSR to one degree or another!

At the UN, 13 of the 15 member countries of the Security Council, most of them third-world states, supported a resolution against the invasion put forward by some non-aligned countries.

Among the third-world countries, it was the socialist countries like China and Korea that were most forceful in condemning the Soviet aggression.

By drawing the lessons of the Kampuchean invasion for all the world to see, and showing clearly how it fits in to the USSR's war preparations, socialist China played a leading role in the world united front. It also continued to give full political and material support to the struggle of Democratic Kampuchea led by Pol Pot.

UNITY A STRONG REBUFF TO SOVIET OFFENSIVE

Moscow could not escape the wrath of world opinion even in its own backyard.

It was forced to launch a vicious press campaign against Yugoslavia because of that country's public support for Kampuchea.

Rumania, too, denounced the invasion in no uncertain terms. At last November's Warsaw Pact summit, Rumania opposed Vietnam's entry into the Soviet military alliance and refused to go along with Soviet-pressured increases in military budgets.

Meanwhile, countries like Australia, France, Denmark and Japan cut off their aid to Vietnam because of its invasion.

The unity of countries and peoples around the world against the invasion is striking: only 14 countries, all of them more or less under Soviet control, have recognized the puppet regime in Phnom Penh.

Just as the diplomatic isolation of the US during its murderous bombing in Southeast Asia was important, so too is the current isolation of the Soviet Union.

Any resistance to Soviet bullying and aggression forces the beast to retreat and thus helps delay the outbreak of its world war for global domination. And for all the world's peoples, the example of the Kampuchean people's resistance shows us how a small country can fight and eventually defeat even a superpower.
450 people demonstrated in Montreal January 15 to support the Kampuchean people (above). On January 26, picketers demonstrated outside the Soviet-owned Belarus tractor factory in Longueuil, Quebec.

Some of the 300 people who attended a support meeting in Quebec City on January 27 gather at the literature table to pick up educational material on Kampuchea.

"Tell all the Canadian friends of Kampuchea we appreciate their support, and tell them to have confidence that we will win," Keat Chhon, United Nations ambassador for Democratic Kampuchea, said.
His message — and the truth about the heroic struggle of the Kampuchean people — was brought to hundreds of thousands of Canadians for the first time by the League's delegation, through support rallies and media coverage across Canada.

Over 3000 people directly participated in the most extensive anti-imperialist campaign ever undertaken by the League, coming out to 24 public talks held in 18 cities during January and February. Meetings were organized for the first time in Halifax, Ottawa, Windsor and Winnipeg.

In many cities, other groups and individuals organized or sponsored the events. They included: the Committee of Patriots of Democratic Kampuchea in Canada, CAPT, IPANA, the University of Regina Students' Union and well-known anti-imperialist James Endicott.

450 people demonstrated in Montreal January 16. Picket lines were set up in Vancouver, Toronto, Ottawa, and outside the Soviet-owned Belarus Tractor plant in Montreal.

MEDIA COVERAGE HELPS LOCAL WORK

Wide media coverage of the tour reached over a million Canadians.

"Pol Pot plans prolonged guerilla war"; "Cambodian invasion likened to Hitler attack on Poland." Headlines like these appeared in over 20 newspaper across the country, including major dailies like the Toronto Star and Montreal's La Presse, which carried interviews with the League comrades.

On over 15 television shows (including the national news and the Canada-wide "Watson Report") and 25 radio programs, the comrades took the opportunity to explain all aspects of the war in Kampuchea.

"Before, I just got demoralized thinking about Kampuchea," said a Quebec City woman worker, one of 300 people at a support meeting there January 27, "Now I'm sure the people will win."

A Chilean in Hamilton pointed out: "We have to use the aggression against Kampuchea to expose the USSR to those people in the third world who still fall for its socialist mask."

EDUCATION AND SUPPORT MUST INCREASE

This intensive, one-month campaign has laid a good basis for the long and patient educational work that must continue in the coming months.

In unions and community and student associations, demands should be raised to end all "relief aid" to Vietnam. We must call on Ottawa not to recognize Hanoi's puppet regime in Phnom Penh but to establish relations with the Pol Pot government.

The Canadian University Services Overseas (CUSO) in Moncton has already decided to cancel fund-raising activities for Vietnam.

The executive committee of the Thetford Central Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions voted a resolution condemning Vietnam's aggression.

Dr. James Endicott summed up the feelings of many Canadians in his message to the Toronto meeting: "It is right and just to mobilize all possible support for the heroic Kampuchean people. Victory will come to the Kampuchean people. Let us do our part to help them."

A Kampuchea Support Committee in Canada has been set up to oppose the Vietnamese aggression and support the Kampuchean resistance.

To contact the Committee and help build on-going support, write to KSC, P.O. Box 207, Westmount, Quebec, H3Z 2T2.
100 people joined the protest march to Parliament Hill in Ottawa organized by the Kampuchean patriots and the CAPT on January 10.

Conclusion: Kampuchea's struggle is our struggle.
What does Kampuchea mean for us in Canada?
This is the basic question we must answer to build broad support for Kampuchea in the coming months.

For all communists, for all workers in Canada who believe in socialism, the defence of a socialist country from military — or verbal — attack is a vital duty. The overrunning of socialist Kampuchea by the Soviet superpower is an obvious, direct blow against socialism the world over and must be vigorously opposed.

Jamieson's slanders against Kampuchea, meanwhile, were used by capitalists across the country to scare workers away from socialism. Point by point, the truth about the strides forward taken by the Kampuchean people under the CPK's leadership must be shown.

EVERY CANADIAN AFFECTED

But the issues at stake in the Soviet-Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea are much wider than this: they affect every peace-loving and democratic-minded Canadian.

As a Kampuchean patriot at the January 27 Montreal support meeting put it: "I want to ask you to condemn the Vietnamese and Soviet aggressors who threaten world peace. Otherwise, in the not too distant future, all the peoples of the world will have to defend their countries just like the Kampuchean people."

The Kampuchean people are now in the frontline battle against the most dangerous imperialist superpower in the world — and they know it. Throughout our travels in the country, the Kampucheans reminded us that their fight for their own independence was also a struggle for the independence of all countries.

In the late 1930s, the rising German imperialist power and its allies caused civil war in Spain, invaded Ethiopia and then overran Poland. These were only preparations for the devastating world war it soon unleashed. Today the fascist Soviet Union is like Germany of the '30s: a hungry imperialist bear, new to the imperialist feast, willing to go to any lengths to displace its main rival, the US. Now, as then in the '30s, its attack on Kampuchea is a preview of the world war it will launch to gain global domination.

Canadian workers in the thirties came to the defense of democratic Spain, — including many communists like Dr. Norman Bethune — in an unforgettable display of proletarian internationalism. In the same way, people in Canada today must come to the defense of an independent and sovereign Kampuchea.

KAMPUCHEA'S VICTORY WILL BE OUR VICTORY

The wider the support we can build for Kampuchea and the more Canadians we can awaken to the Soviet threat to world peace, the more powerful will be the Kampuchean peoples' victory over Soviet imperialism.

The victory of the peoples of Kampuchea, Vietnam and Laos against US imperialism dealt an immense blow to the American superpower, from which it is still reeling. In the same way will Kampuchea's victory over Vietnam and the USSR help block the Soviet superpower's offensive and delay the outbreak of world war.

This can only benefit Canadians, sandwiched as we are between the two superpowers and threatened with being dragged by military alliances with the US into a world war launched by the Soviet Union.

The support of struggles like the people's war being waged by Kampuchea thus helps strengthen the forces around the world fighting against the war threat of the imperialist superpowers, especially of the Soviet Union.

The Kampuchean peoples' struggle is our struggle, and their victory will be ours. Our support for their struggle helps bring us closer to the day when we will build a world free of imperialist superpowers and their wars of aggression once and for all.
• Leng Sary, Kampuchean vice-premier in charge of foreign affairs, explains his country's history to the Canadian delegation.

• The delegation at the southeastern front, accompanied by local military leaders.

• A Kampuchean soldier in Phnom Penh displays a Soviet anti-tank gun captured from the Vietnamese in September 1978.

• Peasants load up supplies for soldiers fighting the 1977 Vietnamese invasion. A people's army relies on the local population for supplies.
Refuges of the Kampuchean Krom minority fled from Vietnam to Kampuchea (above). A man explains the persecution he suffered in Vietnam and his son's forced conscription into the army (below).

Small irrigation works dot the countryside, like this dam at the Siem Reap cooperative (above). Large projects were built by mobilizing tens of thousands of people (below).
Appendix: A) History of Kampuchea

1863

French colonialists seize Cambodia as part of their Indo-China colonies (with Laos and Vietnam). Peasants rise up against them in a wave of rebellions. Linked closely with the Khmer feudal landlords, the French exploit the rubber plantations.

World War II: 1939-1945

Popular uprisings, especially in the cities, attack the Japanese imperialists who had seized Cambodia from the French during the war.

1947-1953

Tens of thousands of Kampucheans give up their lives fighting the French who re-occupied their country after the Japanese defeat in 1945. As a result of the people's struggle, France is forced to grant formal independence in 1953. Prince Sihanouk becomes head of state. (In 1951, the Vietnamese dissolve the Indochinese Communist Party into separate Vietnamese and Laotian parties, and create a Provisional Committee to form a Kampuchean party, under their control.)

1954

French are defeated in Vietnam at the battle of Dien Bien Phu. From now on, US imperialism is the dominant foreign power. Geneva Accords signed, supposedly guaranteeing Kampuchea's neutrality but US determined to subvert accords.

1955-1959

Cambodia remains a semi-colony. US forces Cambodia to sign the Khmer-US military treaty in 1955, giving Americans virtual control over Cambodian armed forces. The CIA, working with Khmer reactionaries, organizes widespread assassinations and arrests of Kampuchean revolutionaries, who had waged armed struggle from countryside bases. 90% of revolutionary cadres are wiped out. US grows frustrated with Sihanouk's neutralism. In 1958, Cambodia recognizes People's China. In 1959, US-organized "Bangkok plot" to overthrow Sihanouk discovered and crushed.

1960

On September 30, 14 peasant representatives and 7 workers meet secretly in Phnom Penh railyards to found the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK). The Party mobilized a broad united front of workers, peasants, students and patriotic elements of ruling classes to wage national struggle against US imperialism.

1963

Party leaders like Pol Pot and Ieng Sary leave Phnom Penh for countryside.

1964

In January and March, hundreds of thousands of people demonstrate in Phnom Penh against US imperialism and its Cambodian puppet Lon Nol, the army chief.

1965

US begins bombing of Vietnam; Sihanouk breaks off relations with US. Lon Nol becomes premier.

1965-1970

Sinking deep roots among the peasantry, the CPK leads the
democratic struggle for land reform. Spontaneous armed revolt breaks out in Battambang province in 1967 when peasants take up clubs and knives against landlords. 90% of the rice paddies were controlled by the landowners while thousands of peasants were landless and starving.

In 1968, the party decides to launch armed struggle throughout the countryside. Starting with only a handful of captured guns, the revolutionary forces quickly expand. Liberated zones are created. In just two years, the Revolutionary Army grows to 4,000 regular troops and 50,000 peasant guerilla soldiers, with over one million Kampucheans living in the new liberated zones.

1970

On March 18, CIA coup d'état overthrows Sihanouk and puts Lon Nol in power. Two days later, US recognizes Lon Nol and its Saigon puppet troops invade Kampuchea. Within five days of coup, CPK unites with Sihanouk to form the National United Front of Kampuchea (NUFK) to lead a people's war with Sihanouk as chairman. On March 30, six American students are killed at Kent State and Jackson State in protests against US invasion of Cambodia. Within a few months, the 100,000 US and puppet South Vietnamese troops are driven out by liberation forces. In August, the NUFK announces 50% of the country is liberated.

1973

In "the 200 days and 200 nights" of the first eight months of the year, the US dumps a half million tons of bombs, devastating the entire country and killing and maiming one million Kampucheans. But in liberated zones, agricultural cooperatives organized to solve food problem for first time. By the year's end, three-quarters of the country had been liberated by revolutionary forces.

1974

Lon Nol besieged in Phnom Penh, kept alive only by US military support and food supplies.

1975

April 17, 1975, the Revolutionary Army liberates Phnom Penh. Democratic Kampuchea is born.

1976

New Constitution adopted January 8; Cambodia's name officially becomes State of Democratic Kampuchea. On March 20, Cambodian People's Representative Assembly held to choose 150 peasant, 50 worker and 50 revolutionary soldier representatives. All Khmers, regardless of their position during the war, can vote. After the elections, following constitutional procedures, Prince Sihanouk resigns. Khieu Samphan elected Chairman of the State Presidium.

In April, Kampuchea establishes diplomatic relations with most neighbouring Asian countries.

1977

In December, after months of border incursions and threats, 14 Vietnamese divisions invade eastern Kampuchea, penetrating up to 30 km.

1978

By January 6, the invaders are completely routed. From February until September, Hanoi sends two to six divisions to harass borders. In the fall, attacks step up. In November, Hanoi signs a military pact with Moscow. On December 25, Hanoi launches full-scale invasion of Democratic Kampuchea.

1979

On January 7, Soviet-backed Vietnamese troops take the capital city Phnom Penh, and set up a puppet regime. But countries around world condemn the invasion, and the invaders quickly find themselves engulfed in a people's war.
B) Educational tools for building support

To help understand the history of the Kampuchean people's struggles, and to counter the slanders of the Western and Soviet media, several books and pamphlets are available.

**DOCUMENTS FROM KAMPUCHEA**

*Speech by Pol Pot — Sept. 1977* and *Speech by Pol Pot — Sept. 1978*: Speeches made by the leader of the Communist Party of Kampuchea at the 17th and 18th anniversary celebrations of the CPK. The 1977 speech details the history of the Kampuchean revolution, the Party's strategic and tactical line, and its plans for socialist construction. The 1978 speech sums up three years of socialism — with a particularly good refutation of the "human rights" slanders — and also deals extensively with the international and internal implications of Vietnam's aggression.

(Available from Red Flag Publications in English and French)

*Interview with Pol Pot* conducted by Yugoslav journalists in March 1978. Answers on economic and social gains of the revolution, education, the evacuation of the cities, the abolition of money, and Pol Pot's biography.

(Available from Red Flag Publications in English and French)

*Black Paper (Excerpts)*: Facts and evidence of political disagreements between the CPK and the Vietnamese party, and an exposure of Vietnam's acts of aggression and annexation against Kampuchea.

(Available from Red Flag Publications in English and French) 114 pp. $1.50

**EYE-WITNESS ACCOUNTS**

*Kampuchea Today*, an eyewitness report from Cambodia details the trip made by journalists of The Call, newspaper of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of the USA. (Chicago, December 1978, 77p) A French translation is included in a pamphlet produced by CAPT and the Kampuchean patriots entitled *Le Kampuchea démocratique résiste à l'invasion vietnamienne*.


*Phnom Penh Libérée* by Jérôme and Jocelyne Steinbach, a French couple living in Phnom Penh during the 1975 evacuation. They refute many of the slanders built around that event.

(Available in French only, Editions Sociales, Paris, 1976, 164pp.)

**AUDIO-VISUAL MATERIAL**

"The Truth about Kampuchea" is a 20-minute slide show produced by the League delegation explaining the history of resistance to the US, the tremendous reconstruction of the country under socialism, and the preparations for peoples' war. An English and French script is provided.

"Kampuchea will win" is a 35-minute 16mm colour film taken by
the League delegation, with English or French sound track. It provides a close-up view of the Kampuchean people's progress in rebuilding their country, and their determination to drive out the Vietnamese and Soviet occupiers of their land.

(For rental or use of audio-visual material, phone the League's cultural office in Montreal at (514) 521-9004 or write to The Forge)

REFUTATION OF SLANDERS

Cambodia: Starvation and Revolution by George Hildebrand and Gareth Porter provides excellent point-by-point refutation of the slanders concerning the evacuation of Phnom Penh and the alleged starvation, showing in fact the tremendous progress made in agriculture. (New York, Monthly Review Press, 1976, 124 pp, $4.00, English only)

* “Distortions at Fourth Hand” in The Nation, June 25, 1977, and “The Western Press and Cambodia” in Journal of Contemporary Asia, Vol. 7 No. 4, 1977 are two excellent studies by the respected American scholar Noam Chomsky dealing specifically with the slander campaign. A new book by Mr. Chomsky on media distortions of revolution to be published shortly will contain a chapter on Kampuchea. (Articles available in English only)

Kampuchea Démocratique, l’aube d’une vie nouvelle by Pierre Delaube sums up Pol Pot’s 1977 speech and presents valuable information on socialist economic, political and social reconstruction. (Paris, APN-Editions, April 1978, 64 pp. French only)

BACKGROUND HISTORY

Cambodia in the Southeast Asian War by British anti-imperialist scholar Malcolm Caldwell and Cambodia-expert Lek Tan is the best history of Kampuchea available, dealing extensively with the struggle against French colonialism and US imperialism. Caldwell was assassinated by Vietnamese agents during his visit to Kampuchea, one week before the Soviet-backed invasion began (See The Forge, vol. 4, No. 5 for a tribute to Caldwell). (New York, Monthly Review Press, 1973, 446 pp. $6.00). In English only.

Sihanouk: My War against the CIA provides a lively account by the former Prince Norodom Sihanouk, overthrown by a CIA coup in 1970, who joined with Pol Pot and the CPK to form the Royal Government of National Unity of Kampuchea. (In French, available under title Le CIA contre le Cambodge, Paris, François Maspero, 1973, 246 pp.)

Kampuchea in struggle is an on-the-spot report by a delegation of Chinese journalists to the liberated zones just before the US was defeated in 1975. (Peking, 1975, in English and French, 71 pp.)

LEAGUE DOCUMENTS

The Forge weekly newspaper provides up-to-date news about the Kampuchean resistance and analyses of international events.

October, the League’s theoretical journal, contains in issue no 4-5 an in-depth look at the strategy behind the USSR’s worldwide offensive.

‘In Struggle’ — Latest addition to the Revisionist Family in Canada has a section showing how other opportunists in Canada, besides the “C”P, line up behind the Soviet Union when it comes to Kampuchea.

* All material listed here except these articles is available at the Norman Bethune Bookstores.
Theoretical journal of Marxism-Leninism
Mao Tsetung Thought published by the CCL(ML)

October includes sum-ups of workers' struggles, political analyses, theoretical articles and polemics, and book reviews.

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Books, publications and newspapers from the CCL(ML), the international communist and labour movements, the third world and socialist countries. Books on the history and struggles of the Canadian working class and oppressed nationalities; posters, novels, records.
League video tapes, slide shows, and films also available. Some books are available in different languages (French, English, Spanish, Italian, Arabic, Chinese...)

All books and materials listed in appendix B are available at Norman Bethune Bookstores.
In this book the first Canadians to visit Kampuchea (Cambodia) since the Americans were defeated in 1975 provide the first on-the-spot account available in Canada of the progress the Kampucheans made in rebuilding their land from the ruins of war — and their determination and preparations to resist the Vietnamese-Soviet invasion.

Five members of the Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist) toured this socialist country of 8 million during the last week of December 1978.

Containing interviews with Kampuchea’s leaders, accounts of a visit to the battlefront, background history and an analysis of the current international stakes, this book is an invaluable guide to understanding Southeast Asia today.

As the authors tell us:

“During the ’60s and ’70s, powerful movements of support for the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia developed in many countries, including Canada. They played an important role in the victory of these peoples over US imperialism. Today, we in Canada have the duty to build movements equally strong as those of ten years ago to support the Kampucheans people. Because it is the same struggle once again, this time against the Soviet superpower.”