

# CLASS STRUGGLE ★

POLITICAL PAPER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF BRITAIN

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## BRITISHLEYLAND WIELD AXE TO BOOST PROFITS

In another savage attack on jobs, British Leyland's whizz-kid Sir Michael Edwardes has announced a new package of cut-backs. A further 25,000 workers will lose their jobs over the next two years. This is on top of the 18,000 jobs lost in the past year. The extent of closure and destruction of factories and machinery is staggering. The Park Royal Titan Bus Plant is to be closed. Aveling Marshall at Gainsborough in Lincolnshire where special products are made is to be closed by the end of October. Car assembly will cease at Canley in Coventry and Abingdon, Berkshire. (The need to move the TR7 Triumph plant in Speke, Liverpool nearer the Canley assembly plant, was one of the reasons used to justify sacking thousands of the TR7 Speke workers. Now car assembly is being stopped in Canley.) Major parts of Leyland production in Castle Bromwich are to be closed. The new aluminium foundry project in Yorkshire is to be cancelled. The Seneffe plant in Belgium is to be reviewed. Machinery and equipment built by the working class will stand idle or be sold for scrap while British Leyland, financed by the National Enterprise Board, will invest over £1 billion in the production of five completely new car models. All to stay in the rat-race of cut-throat competition between the car giants. Each wants to oust the other, and so grab a bigger share of the world market. To this end the car and motor monopolies combine and compete, rationalising production on a national and international basis. Leyland has combined with Honda. They each hope their

combined resources and planning will be a powerful competitor for Peugeot, Citroen, Fiat, Ford, General Motors etc. But the market is shrinking and the break-neck rivalry between the car giants to produce more and cheaper cars is deepening the crisis of over-production.

### CAPITALIST CRISIS TO BLAME

The press barons are busy blaming the workers for Leylands cut-backs. In its "Mirror Comment" the *Daily Mirror* put up a show of blaming workers and management. But they saved their most acid comments for the workers.

"Strikes were so notorious that the standard joke was that the workers were signing the visitors book!"

The *New Worker* weekly organ of the pro-Soviet quisling New Communist Party, adopted a "militant" stand. "It is inept management" which has brought British Leylands "to its present sorry state" they declared. There is "inept management" in capitalist industry. But it is nonsense to say that bad management is the reason for Edwardes' cut-backs. What is taking place is rationalisation of production, destruction of old machinery to make way for new plant and machinery. Efficient management of capitalist industry would only carry out the same process more efficiently. Of course, the workers are not to blame for capitalism's crisis of over-production. The workers are producing too much not too little.

Cont'd on p5

## Open letter to John Pilger



Washington Post's Louis Simons knew this photo was a fake. Even so, two years ago, the Washington Post, Stern and Time magazine all eagerly published it.

It supposedly shows the execution of a peasant by soldiers of the armed forces of Democratic Kampuchea.

I have been reading the lengthy articles that you wrote for the *Daily Mirror* on September 12/13th, attacking the Government of Democratic Kampuchea led by Pol Pot. You repeat many of the lies which were dreamt up by Father Ponchard in his notorious book *Cambodia Year Zero*. You even use the same phrase "Year Zero" repeatedly. You really should have taken the trouble to read the works of well-known academics and opponents of US aggression in South East Asia, like Naom Chomsky, Jan Myrdal and Malcolm Caldwell. Such authors have totally discredited the lies that were spread by *Cambodia Year Zero* and other books and articles written after the liberation of Kampuchea from US imperialism and its puppet Lon Nol.

These works were part of a massive campaign by US imperialism to discredit the new Government of Democratic Kampuchea. Ponchard's book was part of this campaign of vilification. He too claimed that there were widespread massacres etc. Yet out of the 94 testifying witnesses he quoted from, only five even claimed to have seen any executions.

Cont'd on p6

# TUC CONGRESS CONDEMNS MASS STRUGGLE

The TUC congress 1979 fell to a new low in sabotage and misleadership of the working class. The TUC General Council demanded a posture of opposition to the Tory Government and its anti-trade union legislation. And they got it!

From the outset, Murray, Jackson, Bassnett and company were manoeuvring to keep the decisions of the congress firmly under the General Council's thumb. A resolution which was described by the tv news reporter as "all things to all men" set the mood in the first session. An NUR composite resolution called for an examination of TUC organisation, structure and services. The resolution was remitted to the General Council for report back next year. But the arguments for the resolution set the mood for giving more power to the General Council to intervene in local disputes. Co-ordination and centralisation of the workers trade union struggle is a good thing. But greater powers in the hands of the TUC General Council, means more power to the TUC traitors who have more in common with the captains of British capitalism than the working class.

## WEAK "OPPOSITION" TO ANTI WORKER LAWS

"If the Tories are not prepared to accept the voluntary principle in respect of industrial relations then it will be on their shoulders that the blame will lie for a return to the destructive confrontation policies of 1971 and 1974." This is how Harry Urwin insulted the workers' struggles against the Industrial Relations Act. Notice that he does not regard the years between 1971 and 1974 as years of "destructive confrontation". It was in these years that the TUC bosses knuckled under to Phases One, Two and Three of Heath's wage freezes. Just like they held down workers' struggles against the "social con trick" and attacked the strikes of last winter which smashed the 5%. Urwin's opposition to Tory laws can be summed up

## JENKIN MAKES US PAY MORE FOR NHS NEGLECT

Health and Social Services Secretary, Jenkin, has nothing but callous disregard for NHS patients. He has told the doctor's salary negotiating committee that all consultants can undertake private practice and give up only one eleventh instead of two elevenths of their NHS salary. Not only does the Government give encouragement to private practice against the NHS, they are prepared to pay more to NHS consultants opening private practice. What is this but payment for neglecting NHS patients.

Mr Holt, leader of the consultants negotiators, said in response to Jenkin's generous proposals:

"We regard these changes as very helpful. They will do a great deal to improve consultants' morale throughout the country. ...It will give some boost to private practice and I do not see why there should be any objection to it..."

Not all NHS consultants open private practice and so neglect their NHS duties. At present half of the 14,000 consultants undertake private practice. Many of whom are firm defenders of the National Health Service. But the "morale" Holt is so concerned about maintaining is not for the care by doctors and consultants for their patients. It is the kind of "morale" which goes with a fat wallet and a big bank balance. Jenkins proposals will certainly encourage private practice and improve the morale of "get rich quick" doctors. They will also bring added misery to NHS patients already suffering under the effects of the Government cuts.

with one sentence. The TUC can hold down the workers more effectively through its own sabotage and misleadership of workers' struggles. And whilst putting up a show of "confrontation" with the Tories, Urwin showed that the TUC will continue to do precisely this. A motion calling for mass demonstrations against the Tories was vigorously opposed by scab Murray, and narrowly defeated. Murray called for "unity" and "loyalty" to the General Council. The workers' organisation and struggle will be strengthened not by "unity" and "loyalty" to the TUC traitors. But by the firmest and stiffest opposition to their misleadership.

## TUC A CENTRE OF MISLEADERSHIP

The anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary "Communist" Party of Great Britain ('C'PGB) lobbied and petitioned the TUC to support mass demonstrations against the Tories. Such demonstrations are important and will take place despite the TUC's preference for "meaningful negotiations". But the 'C'PGB after its "left" posturing at the TUC congress will be satisfied to sit-back or organise a few token lobbies of MPs. The 'C'PGB believes that the workers struggle is dependent on the decisions of the TUC. Just as it believes that workers' political representation is dependent on the Labour Party. This orientation is wrong and leads the workers up a blind alley. Labour in office has proved itself the best bosses' party. As for the TUC congress, it is not a rally of working class leaders but of misleaders. Its members are more concerned about defending their privileges than fighting in the interests of the proletariat. Without question it assumes the TUC's unity with the Labourites and vigorously condemns genuine working class leaders who fight Labour. The TUC is a bourgeois organisation and the struggle of class conscious workers against it is part of our struggle to turn trade unions into fighting class organisations.

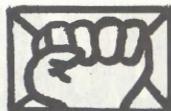
## Squalid attack on DHSS claimants

The newspapers are making a hullabaloo because the TUC Printing Industries Committee Chairman expressed "deep concern that the private ownership of the Press has failed to provide genuine Press freedom, diversity and access".

For such naive and ambiguous understatements to cause this fury serves to show how the Press millionaires dread the slightest prospect of an assault on their propaganda machine. Here is a small example of the lengths to which *News of the World* editor Bernard Shrimpsley will go to attack working class national minorities and generally undermine class unity to please his masters. On 22nd July his front page carried a picture of a group of Italians in Islington sitting at a huge table littered with wine bottles. Glasses aloft in a sort of toast, the picture was headlined "It's a Free Country".

This incensed a Liberal MP so much that he got on to Shrimpsley for details of how these people got their beer money from the DHSS. Shrimpsley gave no direct answer, so the MP wrote another letter on 14th August. Shrimpsley replied, and in short said it was in the public interest to nail "spaghetti scroungers" by getting them all in one photo, and since they were "happy to take anything from Britain so long as it was free", Shrimpsley laid on the free Chianti!

## From our postbag



The Editor - CS, c/o  
New Era Books, 203  
Seven Sisters Rd.  
London N4.

Dear Editor,

A bourgeois leader dies. The bosses immediately rally round. Fine words of tribute are written. "This great man"; "great achievements"; "his concern for humanity". These and many other lies are bandied about. Mountbatten's murder has produced the same hysterical rantings. Particularly offensive to Asian people are remarks concerning his so-called achievements and his "concern" for Indian people. I want to note some of his exploits.

Mountbatten never "granted" or "gave" independence to the Indian people. The army and the civil service were collapsing under massive protests. It was really a question of "Quit India" voluntarily or otherwise. What this "great man" did was to ensure that, even after political independence, imperialism would continue to exploit and oppress the Indian people. The sugar, tea and jute industries stayed under the control of Western finance capital. So did the emerging engineering and mining industries. This was Mountbatten's first crime.

His second crime was the arbitrary and ruthless manner in which he partitioned India. The Punjab is a single entity. Yet this arrogant man saw fit to create two different political states, splitting the Punjab. It was "divide and rule" all over again. Within India itself states were created with no regard for culture, language or economic unity. There are many different nationalities in India. Mountbatten's "greatest" legacy was to ensure that for the last 30 years, a great deal of political will and mass struggle has been, not against imperialism, the main enemy of Indian people, but for the recognition of common culture as expressed by states. For example the struggles for the creation of Haryana, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra, Karnataka.

The tension between the border nations and India can also be traced to British rule and Mountbatten's role in the handover of power. Sikkim, Bhutan and Nepal, each different nations, were lumped together as dependencies of India, by Mountbatten. The armed conflict between India and China was a result of the lack of defined and mutually agreed borders. Territory is a sensitive issue. What did Mountbatten do to help define which areas were India or Pakistan or China and which were not? Nothing!

Yes'. India and Pakistan owe Mountbatten a lot. Not praise but insults. Not love but hatred. Not respect but contempt. He was an evil man.

A. Middlesborough

Dear Editor,

I read your pamphlet No.3 *The lessons of the 1978 strike (Ford)*. On page 12, under the heading "Labour futher exposes itself as the best bosses' party", you rightly reported about the London borough of Barking's refusal to issue free school dinners to Ford workers' children.

The interesting point about Barking and most importantly, is that it is Labour-controlled and one of its leading Councillors Mr John Davies is Deputy Convenor at Fords Engine Plant (Dagenham), Deputy Chairman of the 1/1107 TGWU branch and also a lay member on the National Joint Negotiating Committee (NJNC).

I wonder what Mr Davies would have said had Barking Council been Tory controlled?

A Ford worker, Dagenham.

Send contributions to *Class Struggle* to  
The Editor - CS; c/o New Era Books.

## A WORKER'S NOTEBOOK

■ ON THE EVENING OF AUGUST 16TH A KASHMIRI WORKER was murdered as he walked home through Birmingham's Small Heath Park. A passing policewoman saw two white youths running away from the dying man. The following day in a statement to the press the police said "They had no evidence to suggest that the murder was racially motivated." No identikit pictures were issued of the youths and in a further statement the police accused the local Asian community of obstructing them with their enquiries. Two weeks later at a protest rally held in Small Heath Park and organised by the Kashmiri Workers Association a gathering of over 300 people heard evidence of police harrassment of the local Kashmiri and Bengali communities and how people had been threatened with retribution if they attended the rally. The rally was supported by the Indian Workers Association(GB) as well as a number of black and local anti-fascist organisations.

■ FOLLOWING THE ASSASSINATION OF MOUNTBATTEN THE bourgeois press has tried to revive other heroes of British imperialism. An article in the *Daily Mail* entitled "Why Must the Heroes of Today Stay Unsung?" The review lamented the fact that past British "heroes" like Rhodes and Kitchener are now being portrayed as "rogues or frauds". Speaking of such people the *Daily Mail* says "they are heroes all right. What we lack is the confidence in our old traditional values to treat them as such." What the *Daily Mail* is really calling for is a return to the days when Britain was able to ride roughshod over two-thirds of the world, heaping honours and tributes on bandits like Rhodes and Kitchener.

■ ON THE EVE OF THE TUC CONGRESS IN BLACKPOOL, TORY Chancellor of the Exchequer Sir Geoffrey Howe took the opportunity to attack trade union militancy, urging union leaders to "face reality". In a clear reference to the unions Howe told business men at his Surrey constituency, "almost as fast as one part of society creates wealth, there seems to be a group somewhere else ready to destroy it." And defending the Government's planned changes in union laws, he warned, "Trade union rights are not god given. They are given by society, by the laws, by the elected Government. If they are used to do economic damage and inflict human suffering, is it not legitimate and necessary to question their scope." Yes, trade union rights are not god given. Nor are they "given" by elected Governments - they have been won by the working class and trade union movement over years of class confrontation with both Tory and Labour rule.

■ TALKING ABOUT MEDIA HEROES - ONE RECENT EXAMPLE is Mike Savage, the Leyland Longbridge would-be strike breaker, who quit his job at Longbridge rather than be "pushed around by union bully boys." Mr Savage who claims to be a "moderate" is proud to be British and angry that the country is losing "it's backbone to fight against injustice". These words are not directed against attacks on civil liberties by the bourgeois state. But on the workers' rights and freedoms to organise. No wonder the bosses praise him.

■ WITH THE TORY ONSLAUGHT AGAINST THE WORKING CLASS in full swing, the "good old days" under Labour seem far away. No doubt opportunists will soon be painting those years in glowing colours in the hope of diverting opposition to capitalism into support for Labour "socialism". But facts expose such lies.

A report from the giant Courtaulds company recently revealed, among other things, that the company employed 95,256 workers in the UK. Of these 54,890 were full-time male adults and 28,744 full-time female adults. Comparing the wages of the two groups it turns out that average pay for male employees was £4,374 against £2,575 for females. And that was after 8 years of Labour's Equal Pay Act!

# RULING CLASS PROVOCATIONS

The futile assassination of Lord Mountbatten has enabled the British ruling class to pose, yet again as the "sinned against" rather than the "sinner" in northern Ireland. Butter would not melt in the mouths of the state bosses of British imperialism. The army's only concern in northern Ireland is to "contain terrorism" - or so they would have us believe. Memories are short - but not that short.

## SPECIAL BRANCH USE PROVOCATEURS

In August 1973 a trial took place in Dublin of the Littlejohn brothers. They had been arrested whilst taking part in a bank robbery. Their role in this bank robbery was as British agents or spies. The trial for the first time clearly implicated British intelligence in other provocative acts including terror bombing in Ireland. At the time when legislation against the IRA was going through the Dublin Parliament, there was indiscriminate bombing going on in the north and Dublin. Both wings of the IRA denied responsibility. One of the Littlejohn brothers escaped from prison in mysterious circumstances and later gave interviews which were very embarrassing to the British authorities.

Some time later in 1974 Kenneth Lennon made a statement to the National Council for Civil Liberties exposing that the Special Branch system of informers and provocateurs lay behind heavy sentences given to Irish people and members of Sinn Fein. Lennon in his statement to the NCCL exposed the conspiracy of the Director of Public Prosecutions, Special Branch and Birmingham detectives to secure

conviction for Pat O'Brien and aquittal for himself in connection with the Birmingham "conspiracy to cause prison escapes" trial. Lennon had been employed to "set-up" Pat O'Brien. Shortly after making his statement Lennon was shot dead. Only the Special Branch had a real motive in silencing Kenneth Lennon. Although they of course claimed it on the IRA.

Just as the indiscriminate bombings in the north of Ireland and Dublin ensured the passing of repressive legislation through the Dublin Parliament. The Prevention of Terrorism Act was passed in Westminster following the Birmingham pub bombings. Since then the Special Branch and other state agencies have had less need to use provocateurs to secure convictions. Under this Act the police have sweeping powers to arrest and detain who ever they like. Such indiscriminate bombing has also subsided now that the bourgeois state has secured the powers the Special Branch wanted.

The use of terror to overthrow civil liberties is not new. The most famous example is the Reichstag fire.

## THE REICHSTAG FIRE - A NAZI CRIME

On the evening of February 27th 1933, the German Parliament, the Reichstag, was within minutes a mass of flames. Nazi chiefs Goebbels and Goering were on the scene within minutes of learning of the fire. Goering was sweating with excitement and declaring the fire to be a communist crime and demanding the immediate execution of every communist official. An

# POLICE ORGY OF VIOLENCE IN CELLS

The five nights at Huyton (Liverpool) police station prior to the murder in police custody of James Kelly, witnessed an orgy of police beatings. A long list of detailed accounts were reported in the August 24th issue of the *New Statesman*.

Following a police invasion of the Huyton Park Hotel, at 11-15pm, when the towels were up and the last regulars were drinking up, about 18 regulars were arrested on charges of drinking after hours. A 22-year old Ford worker, John Murray was the first in the van. He said, "I'd felt a punch at the back of my neck and someone said 'put the handcuffs on that bastard'. The grip of the handcuffs was difficult to bear."

When they got to the station the "trouble" really began. John Bishop, a 23-year old labourer reported that he was set upon by a group of uniformed and CID men. "They just said 'Him!' as I got out of the van. One punched me in the belly and I went down. I curled up into a ball. There were six of them booting hell out of me." Beatings with a rolled up wet towel in a shower were systematically carried out. Two prisoners were so badly hurt that they were taken in custody to Whiston Hospital, several miles away for treatment. Investigation of the records of the casualty department at this hospital may well reveal that even this horrific string of police atrocities is only a small part of the full story. And police chief Sir David McNee, in relation to the struggle of national minorities against police harrassment has got the cheek to blame "political extremists" as being "almost exclusively responsible" for "public disorders."

## PATHOLOGIST OBSTRUCTED

On September 13th, Jimmy Kelly's family released the findings of a second post-mortem examination on Jimmy Kelly's body. The report revealed that Kelly had died of heart failure as a result of a severe beating. Dr Torry points out in the report that he had come across considerable obstruction by the police before carrying out the post-mortem. The police were completely unco-operative.

## POLICE VIOLENCE ESCALATING

A pattern of police violence against national minorities and working class people generally in Merseyside is emerging. The police are staying quiet. They are waiting for the right time to make a propaganda offensive aimed at nullifying people's feelings and even justifying such atrocities. This is a good reason for stepping up exposures of police violence now, and demanding trial and conviction of Kelly's killers.

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# UNDERMINE PEOPLE'S RIGHTS

anarchist, who was also branded a communist, Van der Lubbe, was arrested on the spot. Goering wanted to hang him at once, which would have been very convenient for the Nazis as it would have covered up how much Van der Lubbe was a dupe in a Nazi conspiracy. The following day Ernst Torgler, Parliamentary leader of the communists, and three Bulgarian communists led by Georgi Dimitrov were arrested and charged with conspiracy to burn the Reichstag. The trial at Leipzig of the Bulgarian Communist leader Dimitrov and the half-witted or drugged Van der Lubbe turned into a fiasco for the Nazis. Dimitrov's powerful defence of himself and communism exposed the real perpetrators of the Reichstag conspiracy and put the Nazis in the dock for all the world to see. Dimitrov proudly declared himself a communist and said:

"When early in the morning of February 28 in the train from Munich to Berlin, I read in the papers about the burning of the Reichstag, I immediately took the view that the instigators of this action were either despicable provocateurs or mentally and politically demented people, and in any case enemies of the German working class and of communism.

"I am now more inclined to assume that the burning of the Reichstag - this anti-communist undertaking - must have taken place as a result of a double alliance between political provocation and political madness." (Dimitrov's opening speech to the court.)

It was the Nazis who planned the arson and car-

ried it out for their own political ends. Goering as President of the Reichstag was connected to the building by an underground tunnel. Van der Lubbe had neither the access or the means to set the fire which caught hold so quickly. Throughout the trial he was incapable of telling his own story, his answers to questions were incoherent. The most likely explanation for this is that he was kept in a drugged state for the same reason that Goering wanted him executed on the spot. Van der Lubbe was found guilty for the conspiracy and decapitated. But they were compelled to acquit Torgler and the three Bulgarian communists.

However the burning of the Reichstag had served the Nazis' purpose. On the day after, Hitler gained Presidential approval for a decree "for the protection of the state". The decree suspended the seven sections of the constitution guaranteeing individual and civil liberties and gave the Nazis unrestrained powers of violence against the people. Some 4,000 communist officials and a great many social democratic and liberal leaders were immediately arrested.

The Reichstag fire is the most famous example of arson and terror being a weapon in the arsenal of the ruling class. Clearly there can be no equivocation in branding such provocation or objectively provocative acts of terror as anti-communist and anti-working class.

## LOUDER DEMANDS TO DISBAND SPG

In the middle of all the treachery to the working class at the TUC Congress, one resolution stands out for its strength. Alan Sapper of the television technicians' union ACTT, moved a resolution calling for the disbanding of the Special Patrol Group. He stated that "their very existence is a threat to civil liberties, peaceful mass picketing and demonstrations. We must demand that this para-military body is disbanded forthwith." Sapper's reasons for opposing the SPG were social democratic, bourgeois ones. He said that they do "precisely the opposite to what we expect a normal police force to do." Sapper has illusions in the police, but he is right to demand that the SPG be disbanded.

### MCNEE WEIGHS IN ON SAPPER

In response to the TUC resolution against the SPG, McNee weighed in attacking "emotive" and "wildly inaccurate remarks" about the SPG. He declared that criticism and opposition to the SPG as a political police force was "irresponsible". It seems the favourite words of Murray, Bassnett and Co in condemning mass struggles are also the catchphrases of arrogant police chiefs. But what "responsibility" have trade unionists got towards the police and other state forces of capitalism? None! The SPG is a crack force of political repression. Was it not the SPG which murdered Blair Peach and hospitalised others in an orgy of police repression in Southall? Was it not the SPG who beat and clubbed workers on the Grunwick picket line in 1977? Was it not the SPG who shot dead a young Asian lad at the Indian High Commission in one of their so-called anti-terrorist operations? The lad brandished a toy pistol and this demanded summary measures by

McNee's so-called "trouble-shooters". And is it not the SPG which in its "mobile operations" has harassed and victimised black youths on "sus" charges? It is the SPG which has carried out all these things. It is most definitely a crack force of political and racist oppression.

DISBAND THE SPG!

LEYLAND WIELD AXE

Cont'd from pl

### INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS UNITY ESSENTIAL

In response to the combining of Leyland with Honda, revisionist and Labour misleaders of the working class mislead workers with phoney rhetoric against the combination. They want workers to believe that they can save their jobs by opposing such moves by British Leyland. This is nonsense! The workers will pay with or without combination with Honda, either through British Leyland being forced out of the race between the car billionaires or Leyland-Honda's rationalisation. It is the whole rotten capitalist system which is the burden on our backs. Only when the working class has, under revolutionary communist leadership, overthrown the capitalists' state power will we be able to re-organise production on a rational and socialist basis. On the road to achieving this workers must shun the national narrow-mindedness the revisionist want us to follow, and uphold proletarian internationalism. Like the Ford workers in 1978, international unity of Leyland-Honda workers is now more essential to strengthen united struggle and force the bosses into a corner.

# Open letter to John Pilger: from pl

On top of that many have consistently changed their stories to satisfy the demands of the world's press.

I see you repeat the old lie that the liberation forces say "it's chief aim is to reduce the population to fewer than two million." Where did you get this from? Perhaps from the cover of Ponchard's book, which says "When men who talk of Marxism are able to say that only 1.5 million young Cambodians out of six million will be enough to rebuild a pure society, one can no longer speak of barbarism; what barbarians have ever acted this way."

Clearly the propaganda is painting a lurid picture of an aim of "mass extermination" by the Kampuchean Government. But I expect you are probably well aware yourself that the Kampuchean revolutionaries were speaking of US aggression and extermination and were defiantly saying that however many Kampuchean people the imperialists murdered, the people would still continue to struggle for and win liberation!

Such US propaganda which you so willingly repeat, was also taken up by the Vietnamese. They serialised a book written in collaboration with the US State Department on the radio to prepare for their own invasion. Since they have occupied Kampuchea they have added their own tales. On your visit to Kampuchea, where doubtless you were feted, you willingly lapped up all the lurid tales. I don't know whether you are a willing tool or just a dupe who has not bothered to check his facts. Either way there is no doubt who you serve! You describe Vietnam's aggression as "its overthrow of the murderous Khmer Rouge regime". You go on to say "Every Cambodian I have met regards this aggression" as having saved their nation from slavery and extinction. To condemn it is like condemning the Allied invasion of Nazi Germany."

Now really Mr Pilger, you must credit your readers with more intelligence. Kampuchea is a very small and very poor country. It is occupied by approximately 200,000 Vietnamese troops equipped with modern Soviet arms. Even so, it only has full control of one quarter of the country - basically the main towns and highways. The legitimate government also controls a quarter; and half is disputed territory. Food and weapons for the occupying soldiers has to be flown from town to town because of extensive guerrilla action on most of the main highways. Yet according to your report "every Cambodian" you met supported the invasion.

It must be obvious, even to you, that a hell of a lot of Kampucheans are vigorously fighting the Vietnamese! You should not pay so much attention to people you interview when on an official Vietnam-organised publicity tour. Incidentally, Vietnam claimed at one time, that they had not invaded Kampuchea. These new lies, which you so willingly print, are only replacing old lies which no longer hold water.

Let us take up some of your specific stories.

## THE EVACUATION OF PHNOM PENH

You talk a great deal about the evacuation of the capital, Phnom Penh. Let us recall some facts about Phnom Penh just prior to liberation in April 1975. As you say yourself over 2,000,000 people lived in the city. Who were they? Mainly peasants driven from their land by massive US bombing and napalming of the countryside. Kampuchean agriculture, despite an extremely fertile countryside, was virtually destroyed. The inhabitants of the city were starving. Many reports were published even in British newspapers at the time which described cannibalism in the city. People lived and died of disease and starvation in the gutters of the backstreets. The day before it was liberated the US-backed Lon Nol regime set about a scorched earth policy. Lon Nol forces blew up the sewers and the fresh water supply. And Lon Nol forces blew up the National Bank of Cambodia. You claim that "The Khmer Rouge, retreating before the Vietnamese, blew it up." You will see that the picture of the National Bank of Cambodia that we have published is very similar to the one accompanying your report. The National Bank: destroyed by a time bomb left by Lon Nol saboteurs. Pilger's ignorance on factual history of the Kampuchean liberation struggle leaves him easy prey to any lies the Vietnamese wish to feed him.



But now to the crunch. What would you do if you were part of the liberation forces entering Phnom Penh in April 1975? There is no food, no water, the sewers are overflowing and disease is spreading like wildfire. The countryside is lacking population; the farms bombed and isolated.

What the liberation forces did was to evacuate the city by taking the people back to the countryside - rice having been set aside in readiness to feed the vast city population. They also worked hard to build up agriculture to feed the people - by far the most urgent task.

At that time, 80% of the population had malaria. Disease and starvation as a direct result of the war. It was a consequence of US aggression then, and now, as a consequence of Vietnamese aggression. Undoubtedly a number of people died of starvation and disease before they had rebuilt their country. But do not blame the liberation forces, whose policies and acts (such as the evacuation of Phnom Penh which you found so despicable) were dictated by the circumstances that they found themselves in and were carried out in order to save the people from greater starvation. Blame US aggression, blame yourself and blame your newspaper which did nothing at that time to demand food and technical aid to Kampuchea. The propaganda machine instead spent all its time spreading lies about the new Government.



Pol Pot (left) and Ieng Sary lead the war of resistance from the Kampuchean countryside. Pilger claims that Pol Pot is in China.



Hundreds of peasants celebrate the opening of a new dam.

A year after liberation the country was self-sufficient in rice.

Incidentally, after the food problem was solved (it was despite your tales to the contrary), the Kampucheans began to gradually repopulate Phnom Penh and built up small industries and especially industry to serve agriculture. At the time of the Vietnamese invasion, Phnom Penh had a thriving population of 200,000. Your beautifully painted picture of an absolutely deserted Phnom Penh over the last few years is just not true. I suggest you examine what the Vietnamese did when they invaded.

#### PEASANTS HAVE A HARD LIFE

Now, you tell tales of a "forced" evacuation of Phnom Penh and the "enforced" labour in the fields. Well, the peasants were returning to their fields. They and the mass of the Phnom Penh population were quite prepared to build up agriculture and stop the starvation. I assume many of the bloated bureaucratic servants of imperialism - a small minority - were not so keen! They could no longer live off the labour of the people. You will have to forgive me. I cannot shed tears for them having to produce their own food. You get very upset that the agricultural workers were "fed according to how productive they were." Well this sounds terrible! The people were starving. They had to produce to eat. What do you expect? Of course they did not eat well but they were eating a lot better and this was improving all the while. You said - in horror - that the children did not recognise toys or pen and paper. They may not but kids were starting to get a basic education for the first time whilst at the same time being involved in productive work in the fields. I suggest you examine the conditions of the peasantry in any third world country. You will not find a nice semi-detached with carpets, a TV, toys or magazines strewn about. That is precisely why people fight for liberation. They fight for independence to improve their conditions of life. Don't blame the Government of Democratic Kampuchea for the people's conditions. Look instead at how the people of a backward country with their bare hands - there are not many tractors about - built great irrigation projects, filled in the malaria-infested shell craters, sowed and reaped the crops and produced enough food to feed the population. They were gradually starting to build up their industry. Incidentally, China - a country you so vehemently dislike - was the only country supplying extensive food and industrial aid.

Now you attack the Pol Pot government for the present starvation in Kampuchea. Instead you should attack the Vietnamese invaders who have driven the Kampuchean people off the land, looted the crops and reduced Kampuchea to hunger and starvation yet again. Only last week it was reported that Vietnamese troops drove another 60,000 sick and starving Kampuchean across the border into Thailand. If you are really opposed to genocide and the murder of a nation, you should look first to the foreign invaders.

#### "DRIVEN" TO THE COUNTRYSIDE OR EXECUTED?

In your September 12th article, city people were being forced into the countryside and working very hard. In the September 13th article you quote from a former "Khmer Rouge" Battalion Commander who said: "I was told that all city people had to die so we could build a new and pure Cambodia." You said he admitted to massacring "2,500 men, women and children". Now Mr Pilger, which is it to be? Mass exterminations or working in the fields? When you have answered that, why don't you tell me what you would say if another reporter put any weight on a story being told by a captured soldier, whom you admit to being in a "re-education camp" and who was interviewed in the presence of his Vietnamese captors! Not much I expect.

As for your stories of "mass murders", you are, at best, gullible in the extreme. You talk about "mass extermination" at Angkor Wat. The only evidence is a mass grave of, as you said, 9,000 bodies. Indeed it is criminal that 9,000 have died, but who killed them and when? You repeat the Vietnamese stories with no proof at all. For your information, at least 800,000 Kampucheans died in the war of liberation against US domination. Many more have been killed in the Vietnamese invasion (which you applaud!). In both wars Angkor Wat, the site of the old temples, was a major battle area. It is a symbol of the Kampuchean nation. Thousands upon thousands of Kampuchean people have died in the struggle to liberate and defend Angkor Wat. There will be many mass graves there. Don't present the existence of the graves as "proof" of genocide. They are proof of the murder of Kampuchean people by foreigners trying to dominate their country.

Why haven't pictures of the "extermination camp" in Phnom Penh been published earlier. The Vietnamese occupied the city in January. Perhaps it has taken them 8 months to "set the scene". Your picture makes it pretty clear that the stage has been set.

#### CROCODILE TEARS

You end your articles with pleas for food aid. If you wanted to feed the people of Kampuchea you should ask for aid to be sent to the refugee camps in Thailand, not to the Vietnamese authorities and their puppets in Phnom Penh, whose main desire is to feed the occupying army. Aid to them is aid to aggression. You say the Vietnamese were so concerned about the "plight" of the Kampuchean people under Pol Pot's Government. If they are so concerned for people then you tell me why 1 million starving Vietnamese are in the refugee camps in other countries (300,000 in socialist China) and tell me why at least 1 million more drowned trying to escape. How do you explain away their racism to the Chinese and Kampuchean minorities who live in Vietnam itself? I will tell you that you can't.

But you are doing a great service to the Soviet and Vietnamese expansionists!

The Editor 15/9/79  
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#### Vietnamese Puppets in Kampuchea Cont'd from p8

The proposal then went to the praesidium (the co-ordinating body) of the conference, where the same thing was repeated! A number of delegates complained bitterly afterwards, saying, "We have not even been asked our views."

Cuba succeeded by bureaucratic means in keeping Kampuchea out of the conference. Doubtless, most non-aligned countries will learn a lesson from this and keep a very close eye on Castro, whose turn it is to be chairman of the movement until the next conference in three years time.

# AT 6TH NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT MEETING IN HAVANA CUBA'S MANOEUVRES REJECTED

The recent Conference of Non-aligned Countries finally beat off a determined attempt by Cuba to change its orientation. The Non-aligned Movement is a movement of countries who are not directly part of either of the military blocs dominated by the two superpowers. It is a progressive movement helping in a number of ways to push forward the struggle of small countries for greater independence. This struggle is a major struggle in the world today which is steadily undermining the two superpowers and other imperialists. Inevitably both superpowers have agents in the Non-aligned Movement, but the real threat to the non-aligned character of the Movement at the last Conference undoubtedly came from the Soviet Union.

It was Cuba's turn to be the host country of the Conference and to chair it. The Soviet Union co-ordinated a major effort in Havana, spearheaded by Fidel Castro, to split the movement and bring a major part of it into the Soviet camp.

## CASTRO - A SOVIET MOUTHPIECE

The very name of the Movement states that it is "non-aligned". Even Cuba's participation in it is a farce. What is "non-aligned" about Cuba? It is under Soviet domination, and its army is used as a mercenary pro-Soviet force all over the world. Castro, himself, made this very clear. In his opening speech to the summit meeting, instead of talking about the independent and non-aligned character of the Movement, he talked at length about the "need" for close ties with the Soviet Union. He vigorously attacked many third world countries in the Movement who have resisted Soviet domination.

Pham Van Dong, Premier of that other well-known "non-aligned" country, Vietnam, followed immediately, vigorously supporting Castro. He even claimed that Vietnam's invasion and occupation of Kampuchea was within Vietnam's "rights", despite the fact that the Movement stands for the settlement of disputes by peaceful means and is opposed to the stationing of troops in other people's countries!

## RESISTANCE BUILDS UP

At the beginning many countries in the Conference took a wait-and-see attitude hoping to find common ground and set aside differences for the sake of unity. But as Castro became more and more open in his intentions the struggle inevitably broke out. As one Asian government leader said afterwards: "We would not sacrifice principles for the sake of unity. What we want is unity on the principle of non-alignment."

## CUBA'S DRAFT AMENDED

It was Cuba's job as Chairman to draft a statement on behalf of the Non-aligned Movement which would be published at the end of the Conference. The first draft presented to the Conference was in fact a statement supporting the Soviet Union and opposing only the US and other Western imperialists. It was rejected. Cuba brought back a second draft, which still continued the same orientation. Led by the Yugoslavia delegation, who took a firm stand in support of genuine non-alignment, many countries proposed amendments. The statement was gone through paragraph by paragraph and altered.

## HEGEMONISM OPPOSED

In particular, as well as opposing imperialism, colo-

nialism, Zionism and racism, the final statement also opposed "hegemonism", ie it opposed all attempts at domination. In the minds of most delegates that, emphatically, includes the Soviet Union.

As well as his blatant attempts to transform the Movement into a pro-Soviet tool, Castro also exposed himself by his thoroughly anti-democratic chairing of the meeting.

## MANOEVRES BY THE CHAIRMAN

The usual practice in chairing international meetings is to make it clear, well in advance, which countries will be called to speak at which times. Castro kept it a secret. Nobody knew what was going on. Castro speakers, who supported him, like Pham Van Dong, in the middle of the afternoon, and ones he didn't like at one o'clock in the morning. Many countries were unable to speak and had to hand out written statements saying what they would have said if Castro had let them! On one occasion at the end of a debate, Castro called Pham Van Dong to speak, yet again, let him make an entirely new attack on two other countries at the Conference, and then closed the debate without letting either of the countries reply.

## UNITY IN STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE MAINTAINED

The main thing about the Conference is that despite all the manoeuvres the Movement reaffirmed its independent policy of non-alignment. It has not become a pro-Soviet movement. It has not been split. On top of this, Castro's attempt to destroy the Movement has awakened many people to the very real danger posed by Soviet expansion. Small countries are determined to defend and increase their own independence.

## CONFERENCE REFUSES TO RECOGNISE VIETNAMESE PUPPETS IN KAMPUCHEA

One of the most blatant anti-democratic manoeuvres by Castro at the non-aligned conference was the refusal to allow the legal Government of Democratic Kampuchea, a member of the movement, to attend it.

On many occasions, both in the United Nations and in Sri Lanka, the Soviet Union, Cuba and Vietnam have tried to replace the Democratic Kampuchea delegation by a delegation of the Heng Samrin regime, which was installed in Kampuchea's capital, Phnom Penh, by 200,000 invading Vietnamese troops. An act against the Charter of the United Nations and against the basic principles of the Non-aligned Movement. They have always failed.

When the delegation representing Democratic Kampuchea arrived in Cuba for the conference, they were put in accommodation well away from the conference area. They were not allowed to travel to the meeting of Asian countries who were preparing for the conference, despite the wishes of the Asian countries themselves. They were also prevented from travelling to the conference itself. Cuba tried to get the conference to accept the Heng Samrin regime as the representatives of Kampuchea. The conference refused. Castro then put a proposal to a meeting of the foreign ministers of the non-aligned countries that the seat for Kampuchea be left vacant. Finding that the opposition was just as strong, the Cuban foreign minister who chaired the meeting declared that further debate was unnecessary. He claimed that the proposal represented the "concensus of the meeting" and promptly closed the meeting without holding a vote.

Cont'd on p7