

# CLASS STRUGGLE

POLITICAL PAPER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF BRITAIN

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"SPECIAL ISSUE ON KAMPUCHEA"

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## VIETNAMESE AGGRESSORS OUT OF KAMPUCHEA!

On Christmas Day 1978, the Vietnamese Government launched 120,000 troops in a massive *blitzkrieg* against Kampuchea. In the year that has followed, 200,000 increasingly demoralised and hard-pressed Vietnamese troops have been resorting to all the most inhuman methods of war of their old enemies, the US imperialists - destruction of crops, chemical warfare, creation of a vast refugee problem, etc. The incredible - the tragic - has happened. Vietnam has changed colour. Its socialist path has changed to a reactionary path. Vietnam now has its own Vietnam.

### NEW LIES FOR OLD

At first the Vietnamese Government claimed that their puppet administration headed by Heng Samrin had been installed by a "popular uprising". However, when, after some months, their massive military presence proved difficult to hide even from the blindest of observers, they changed their tune and claimed that the troops had been "invited" by Heng Samrin (whom they had put there in the first place!) and that their intervention is for "humanitarian" reasons.

### THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION MUST BE DEFENDED

The Vietnamese invasion must be opposed. All countries and people who stand for the right of nations to independence and for the right of peoples to determine their own future must unite to condemn this flagrant violation of the United Nations' Charter.

Vietnam is seeking to establish its domination in South East Asia. Behind Vietnam stands the Soviet Union. The new Tsars in the Kremlin are the biggest warmongers of our time. They are on the offensive challenging the other superpower, the US for world domination. To these aggressors Kampuchea is just the latest of a long list of countries which they have sought to dominate. But they have a problem. The people of Kampuchea are resisting heroically; and the United Nations and other international organisations, supporting the people of Kampuchea, refuse to recognise the puppet regime despite intense pressure by the Soviet Union. Governments and peoples of quite different political persuasions are united on this issue because the defence of national independence is a matter of fundamental principle. We in Britain who oppose imperialism and superpower domination



and who oppose war, must stand up too.

### OPPOSE GENOCIDE

There is another vital reason for demanding the withdrawal of Vietnam. In one year Vietnam has caused the death of over 1,000,000 Kampuchean through violent assault and through starvation. Hundreds of thousands more have fled to refugee camps in Thailand, but even there they face starvation and death from Vietnamese artillery and chemical warfare. Yet Soviet and Vietnamese propaganda can be compared to Goebbels in its incredible claim that it "intervened" in Kampuchea for "humanitarian" reasons. And that comes from a country which is known to have caused the suffering or death of over 1,000,000 boat people and in which the people remaining are viciously oppressed!

The people of Britain must take a clear stand.

*Defend the national independence of Kampuchea!*

*Oppose Soviet and Vietnamese aggression!*

*Defend Peace; Condemn Genocide!*

*Demand the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea!*

**Editor: Class Struggle**

**Editor: New Age**

December 20th 1979.

The Editorial Committee of *Class Struggle* has been aided in the production of this special issue by the Editorial Committee of *New Age*, the political paper of the Communist Workers' Movement.

# NEW AGE

Monthly Paper of the Communist Workers' Movement



# VIETNAM'S 'VIETNAM'

On Christmas Day 1978, 120,000 Vietnamese troops drove across the Kampuchean border. By this act the Vietnamese authorities demonstrated their complete contempt for all principles of international relations. They publically demonstrated that the old aim of an Indochina Federation was by no means dead. The Kampuchean people and 70,000 strong Revolutionary Army knew that despite their previous victories against Vietnamese aggression they could not win a conventional battle against such a large force. Apart from the huge concentration of troops, the Vietnamese were also equipped with vast amounts of modern weapons, including those captured from the Americans, as well as the massive supplies sent by the USSR during 1978.

The invasion was not unexpected. The Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea (RAK) was ordered to avoid a face to face confrontation. The army units split up into guerilla units and Kampuchea was again embroiled in a peoples' war of defence against a larger and stronger foreign aggressor.

On January 7th Vietnamese troops marched into the capital, Phnom Penh, where they installed a Kampuchean traitor, Heng Samrin, as their puppet. The announcement of a "new government" in Kampuchea was broadcast in Vietnam even before Heng Samrin announced it in Kampuchea.

This was the reality behind the lies of the Vietnamese authorities, who claimed that there were no Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea, and that there was only a "popular uprising of Kampuchean".



At the beginning of summer, Vietnam, now admitting its presence launched several "mopping up operations". In the northern half of central Kampuchea the "mopping up" operation was smashed within 3 weeks. The Kampuchean revolutionaries and people went on the offensive and liberated new zones. The same pattern was repeated in other areas.

By the end of summer the Vietnamese still only controlled a quarter of Kampuchea while the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, led by Pol Pot, controlled a quarter, and half was disputed.

In October the Vietnamese launched yet another operation to "mop up the remnants of the Pol Pot forces". But now 200,000 Vietnamese troops are needed! Clearly the stories that the Government of Democratic Kampuchea is a "spent force" are as untrue as the stories that it is hated by the people of Kampuchea. Can a "hated spent force" really hold at bay an army of 200,000?

## GENOCIDE THROUGH STARVATION

The Vietnamese invasion is proving to be one of the most vicious and brutal wars of aggression experienced. In eastern Kampuchea, the peasants have been driven off their land. 300,000 Vietnamese settlers have taken their homes and their fields. Indeed they have taken their livelihood.

Food has become a weapon of war. Damage of agriculture is bound to happen in any war, but US intelligence reports show that before the invasion 70% of Kampuchean land was being cultivated. Now it is 5%. The figures, as well as the testimony of starving refugees and Vietnamese deserters, prove that the Vietnamese leaders are using starvation as a weapon to bring the Kampuchean people to their knees. Yet the western media frequently repeats the Soviet-Vietnamese propaganda that Vietnam invaded to "save" the people from the "brutal Pol Pot". Kampuchea, which was an exporter of rice in 1978 is now a devastated

"There is nothing socialist about Le Duan and company although they style themselves socialists.

Reversing black and white and treating friends as enemies, they created trouble on our southwest border and invaded and occupied Kampuchea; ...they have dispatched tens of thousands of troops into Laos to suppress the Lao people and brought all of Laos under their control...

In fact, under the control of Le Duan and company Vietnam today is no longer an independent and sovereign country but one subservient to a foreign power economically, politically, militarily and diplomatically".

Extracted from a statement by Hoang Van Hoan made in autumn 1979. Hoang Van Hoan was speaking in Beijing (Peking) shortly after he arrived from Vietnam in order to make his opposition to the new ruling clique public. He was the Vice-Chairman of the National Assembly of Vietnam at the time. He was also a founder member of the Communist Party of Vietnam, a close collaborator of Ho Chi Minh, and a member of the Politbureau and of the Central Committee of the Party until the purge of Marxist-Leninists in December 1976.

## POPULAR RESISTANCE

However, the Vietnamese leaders had forgotten the lessons of peoples' war. They had forgotten how the Vietnamese people drove out superior enemies - the French imperialists and then the US superpower. They had also forgotten that the Kampuchean people knew how to fight and had themselves already defeated US aggression.

The Vietnamese could occupy the main cities. They could attack the towns and they did. But the Kampuchean people and guerilla units fought back heroically.

The main Highways were continually cut. Vietnamese Units were cut off and defeated. Military and food supplies were ambushed and captured. By summer, far from being able to withdraw their troops the Vietnamese leaders were sending reinforcements, bringing their occupation force up to 150,000.

In spring the Vietnamese, and their Soviet backers claimed that the "Pol Pot forces are a spent force". The western press repeated the claim, but it has become more and more obvious that far from being a "spent force" the Kampuchean revolutionary forces have bogged the Vietnamese down in a war that they cannot win.

famine-stricken land and that fact cannot be denied. Kampuchean refugees tell story after story of rice fields being sown with land mines, and of farmers and fishermen being shot in the fields and on the boats.

A French Parliamentary Delegation which travelled through Kampuchea during November 1979 stated that aid "seemed to us to be deliberately diverted away from its objective... we fear that the elimination of the Khmer (Kampuchean) people is continuing...

Fear and famine reign in the country. Famine because the Vietnamese are deliberately starving the population by cutting off rice supplies, and fear because the people are terrorised by Vietnamese occupation forces". The delegation saw a convoy of lorries loaded with food and heading towards the eastern border. One of the drivers said that his destination was Vietnam.

In 1979 well over half a million refugees have been driven by their "Vietnamese Saviours" into Thailand. A million more have died; half killed by the occupying forces and half from starvation. The rest of the people continue to suffer, and they continue to fight.

#### CHEMICAL WARFARE

This brutal genocidal policy of starvation stems directly from the failure of Vietnam to occupy the countryside. It controls the cities, but Soviet planes are needed to move troops and to supply them. Starvation is part of a desperate policy by the Vietnamese aggressors to defeat a peoples' war. The people are fighting, so the Vietnamese are using a weapon against the people. The horrors of this aggression were brought home further during November when new Kampuchean refugees in Thailand told of the growing use by Vietnam of chemical weapons.

On November 12th and 13th, 5 people were killed and 13 injured at Bataing Son village in Battambang Province after aircraft sprayed the area with toxic chemicals. The victims suffered burnt skins, spat blood and contracted fever.

The same and other chemicals, including poison gas, were sprayed from planes in other areas of the Province causing skin and intestinal diseases. These atrocities are confirmed by the use of poisons over Thailand. On November 6th a helicopter dropped poisonous chemicals in the water near Ban Laem refugee camp. 70 refugees who drank contaminated water were severely ill.

Despite the viciousness and scale of the Vietnamese aggression, the Vietnamese and their puppets are facing severe problems. They remain isolated from the masses by their tactics. Many of the conscripted puppet forces and members of "village committees" set up by the Vietnamese have crossed over to join the guerillas. Vietnamese troops have also deserted. Fighting has broken out in many areas between Vietnamese troops and their own puppet forces following particularly outrageous atrocities. Refugees have reported rapes and massacres by Vietnamese invaders which have led to extensive fighting.

Meanwhile the guerillas go on fighting. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea led by Pol Pot continues to operate in the countryside and directly leads

"On June 15th the situation in Kratie erupted into an armed conflict. The Vietnamese authorities executed a number of soldiers in the Heng Samrin forces. A pitched battle followed and over 200 Kampuchean soldiers fought their way out of Kratie to join the revolutionary army in the liberated zone.

On the same day 1,000 local people and conscripts in the puppet army rose in revolt in the south of Santuk county. They turned their guns on the Vietnamese troops, putting 50 out of action, raided the warehouses for arms, food and clothing and joined up with the guerrillas.

On June 20th in Prek Prasap County, just south of Kratie, 13 of Heng Samrin's troops turned on the 10 Vietnamese they were with and killed them. They also went to join the liberation forces, and were followed by 320 local people."

Extract from *Class Struggle* Vol.3 No.14 - July 1979.

the resistance. Public government leaders leave Kampuchea via Thailand to attend international meetings such as the United Nations, and are able to return to Kampuchea crossing the Thailand border on foot.

The people will continue to struggle until the last Vietnamese soldier has been driven out of Kampuchea. Vietnam is fighting a vicious and brutal genocidal war of aggression, but it is a war it will not win.

## Special issue on Kampuchea

This issue of *Class Struggle* has been devoted entirely to the struggle of the Kampuchean people.

Producing a normal issue of *Class Struggle* during the Christmas holidays, let alone distributing it, creates many problems. For this reason the *Class Struggle* Editorial Committee decided to produce a special issue which can be produced in advance and sold and used in the same manner as a pamphlet for several months. There are a number of important struggles we could have concentrated on, and on which we have a strong desire to do more. Especially, for example, the Zimbabwean peoples' struggle which is at a crucial phase. But for this time we have decided to concentrate on Kampuchea because of its vital global importance.

The Kampuchean people's struggle for independence and for the right to determine their own future is of vital importance, not only for their own defence against a vicious and unprovoked genocidal attack by Soviet-backed Vietnam, but also from the interests of all countries who uphold independence. At a time of mounting contention between the two superpowers for world domination, and when the Soviet social imperialists are stepping up their aggression in Europe, Africa, the Middle East and Indochina, the Kampuchean struggle has become the front line in the struggle of the countries and peoples of the world for their right to self-determination.

It is no accident that this struggle has consistently hit the headlines in the British media despite no direct British involvement. It is precisely because all the forces struggling on a world scale are very aware of its vital importance. However factual information of the struggle is restricted. Lies from the CIA and the KGB propaganda machines are spread by agents and dupes. The very real and welcome desire of the people of Britain to aid the suffering and starving Kampuchean people is deliberately manipulated into propaganda backing the very aggressors who have caused it. Aid is taxed by Vietnam, stockpiled, given to the occupation army and even transported to Vietnam. Starvation is used as a weapon of war to cow the Kampuchean people, who see very little of the aid, and whose own crops are destroyed or stolen by the invaders.

The lie-machine has outstripped even that of Goebbel's. In one issue, even in a special issue, we cannot answer it all. But we can make a start on some of the main points. We shall continue our efforts, and rely on the broad campaign of progressive forces which are standing up for the truth.

As for this issue of *Class Struggle*, it should be sold widely for some months, and not just for the short period over which a newspaper is normally sold. We strongly urge all our readers to help distribute it.

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# VIETNAM LEADERS DREAM OF INDO-CHINA FEDERATION

The kingdom of Kambuja from the 9th to 15th century stretched from the Burmese border in the west to the South China Sea in the east - incorporating what is now Southern Vietnam. Invasions of the kingdom by the Thais and the Vietnamese weakened this ancient civilisation and eroded its territory. In the late 19th century, the French imperialists established a "protectorate" over Kampuchea and in 1887 grouped its colonial conquests of Tongking (North Vietnam), Annam (Central Vietnam), Laos, Cochín China (South Vietnam) and Kampuchea into the Union of Indochina - an artificial entity comprising 3 entirely different nations.

Through this Union of Indochina, the French colonialists ruthlessly exploited the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. The people fought the imperialist plunderers continually, and by 1954 had achieved major victories. North Vietnam was liberated, Kampuchea was given formal independence, but South Vietnam came under the heel of the American imperialists. Throughout the whole period of the liberation struggle there was some dispute on the question of how the war was to be led - either through the leadership of a single organisation or through three separate national organisations.

In 1930, led by Ho Chi Minh, the Indochinese Communist Party was formed whose aim was to lead the struggle against French colonialism. This was a great step forward. However the ICP visualised the creation of an Indochina Federation made up of the three different nations. The official paper *Bolshevik* wrote "Cambodia has no right to a separate Communist Party... There is no way we can envisage a separate Cambodian revolution". The ICP was dominated by Vietnamese cadres who had this outlook of denying the national rights of the Kampuchean and Lao people.

## SEPARATE PARTIES FORMED

However in the late 30's and early 40's Ho Chi Minh came to the conclusion that such an arrangement would not work and in 1941 the ICP resolved to solve the national problem in the framework of the individual national states. In 1951 the ICP was dissolved. Out of it three national communist parties were to be formed. Throughout the 1950's underground communist circles gradually came to grips with the concrete situation in Kampuchea, and in 1960 a genuine nationally based Marxist-Leninist organisation was founded - the Communist Party of Kampuchea. The new party organised its forces mainly in the countryside, doing political work among the peasantry. Following a spontaneous uprising of the peasants in Battambang in 1967, the CPK launched its armed struggle and the guerrilla army soon became established throughout Kampuchea.

## THE BORDER ISSUE

During the struggle against US imperialism the Vietnamese National Liberation Front opened relations with Prince Sihanouk who ruled Kampuchea at the time. An agreement between Kampuchea, the DRV (north Vietnam) and the NLF in 1967 stated that all three parties recognised the border between Kampuchea and Vietnam which had been drawn by the French colonialists. In signing this agreement Kampuchea was giving up any historical claim it had to considerable amounts of south Vietnamese territory. It did so in order to ensure peaceful coexistence between Kampuchea and Vietnam.

## SHALLOW EQUALITY

Through this and other agreements Vietnam was also recognising the territorial integrity of Kampuchea and its right to exist as an independent nation. However it continued to interfere in Kampuchea in many ways, calling

on several occasions for the Kampuchean revolutionaries to lay down their arms, so that the Vietnamese could keep on good terms with Sihanouk. The Vietnamese also stated that the Kampuchean did not need to liberate themselves as Vietnamese troops could do it easily, once south Vietnam was liberated. In this and other ways the Vietnamese Party showed that in reality it still did not respect the national rights of the Kampuchean people.

## PHNOM PENH LIBERATED

The CPK refused to lay down its arms and in fact liberated Phnom Penh before the Vietnamese liberated Saigon. This prevented the Vietnamese from entering Kampuchea on the pretext of rendering "fraternal assistance" to the Kampuchean revolutionaries. It was clear to the CPK that Vietnam was unwilling to have an independent neighbour but wanted a neighbour that would bow to Vietnam's requirements.

## THE PHONEY "BORDER DISPUTE"

Immediately following the liberation of the three peoples of Indochina in 1975, reports quickly began to filter through of clashes between Vietnam and Kampuchea. The Vietnamese occupied a large Kampuchean island, Koh Way, and began pushing forward into Kampuchean territory. The two countries broke diplomatic relations in 1977.

## WHAT WAS THE BASIS OF THE "BORDER DISPUTE"?

During the latter stages of the war, Vietnamese troops had entered Kampuchea and attacked the liberation forces and tried to establish a puppet Communist Party. This treacherous plan was routed.

Having failed to subvert the liberation struggle the Vietnamese continued to try to subvert the struggle. They hid their aggression under the title of a "border dispute". Vietnam began to claim large areas of Kampuchea tearing up the agreements signed in 1967 with Sihanouk. In 1977 they demanded that Kampuchea sign a "special friendship and solidarity" treaty with Vietnam. The Kampuchean Government refused. A treaty of "special friendship" had already been signed by Vietnam and Laos which agreed to the stationing of 50,000 Vietnamese troops in that country. The "special friendship" that Vietnam meant was nothing more than subjugation.

## VIETNAM REVIVES "INDOCHINA FEDERATION"

It was clear that the Vietnamese had not dropped the idea of an Indochina Federation ruled from Hanoi. Vietnam sent spies into Kampuchea and used old CIA agents to infiltrate the CPK. They tried to topple the leadership of the Party and stepped up their military manoeuvres.

The new Government of Democratic Kampuchea denounced these activities and broke off diplomatic relations in 1977. The Vietnamese began to carry out aerial bombardments of the eastern provinces of Kampuchea, but the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea repulsed all of these attacks. Finally in December 1978 Vietnam launched its *blitzkrieg* invasion.

Vietnam's occupation of Kampuchea is the final attempt to establish an Indochina Federation headed by Vietnam. The original conception of an Indochina Federation never died. The pressure, the sabotage of Kampuchea's independent struggle, the phoney border claims, the military incursions failed to push the Kampuchean revolutionaries into voluntarily subordinating themselves to the Vietnamese authorities. The invasion aimed at colonising Kampuchea through military force is the last desperate measure to build an Indochina Federation. The Vietnamese expansionists are finding that it is harder than they thought. ■

# WHY THE USSR IS BEHIND VIETNAM

Whilst the Hanoi authorities have long harboured the ambition of annexing Kampuchea - and indeed other neighbouring states - this would have remained a mere fantasy if Vietnam did not have the support and patronage of the Soviet expansionist big power. Thus, the aggression against Kampuchea was carefully planned by both Vietnam and the Soviet Union as the following facts show:

- \* On June 29th, 1978 Vietnam joined the Soviet dominated economic group, Comecon. Vietnam was described as, "the reliable outpost of socialism in Southeast Asia."
- \* Throughout that summer Moscow airlifted huge quantities of arms to Vietnam, the number of Soviet military "advisers" reached 4,000 and the Soviet Union gained naval facilities in Vietnam.
- \* In November Le Duan and Pham Van Dong (the 2 top Vietnamese leaders) visited Moscow and signed a "Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation" which included military provisions.
- \* That same month Moscow convened a summit meeting of the Warsaw Pact, military alliance, and compelled its members (with the exception of Romania) to increase their military spending and called for "joint support" of Vietnamese aggression.
- \* On December 3rd, the Vietnamese knocked together a puppet "front" of Kampuchean traitors headed by Heng Samrin to act as a flimsy cover for their aggression.
- \* On December 25th, the Vietnamese began their all out war of aggression. (Two days previously, Vietnamese agents murdered in cold blood Dr. Malcolm Caldwell, one of the most eminent western friends of Kampuchea.)
- \* On January 7th, 1979, the Vietnamese aggressors occupied the capital, Phnom Penh, and the long struggle of the Kampuchean people for freedom entered a new stage.

## MOSCOW'S AIMS

The Soviet-Vietnamese aggression has significance beyond the traditional Vietnamese ambition of regional domination through an "Indochina Federation" - it is an important element in the global strategy of the Soviet social imperialists for world hegemony (domination). Indeed, the global and regional hegemonists are "natural allies" as the USSR itself proclaims!

Indochina lies between the Indian and Pacific Oceans - with a base there the Soviets could send their fleet through the Strait of Malacca into the Indian Ocean and onto their base in the Red Sea, South Yemen, and the Horn of Africa. Moscow would also be in a better position to threaten the countries of the South Pacific and would be able to control vital oil supply lines to Western Europe, Japan and the USA.

Whilst Europe is the focal point of the struggle for world domination between the United States and the Soviet Union, the 2 sides are currently in a position of stalemate with vast armies standing face to face. As the superpower on the offensive, the Soviet Union is engaged in a flanking move to surround Western Europe, seize sources of raw materials vital to the West and gain control of major sea routes linking Europe and the United States, and linking these two with Africa and Asia. This would leave Western Europe isolated and an easy prey for aggressors.

Moscow's acts of aggression and interference in Asia and regions bordering it affect more and more countries and peoples:

- \* Moscow has plotted the murders of the Presidents of North and South Yemen and signed a military treaty with its puppets in the South.
- \* Propped up the fascist regime in Ethiopia with whom it has a military treaty and directed the war

of aggression against the Eritrean patriots.

- \* Arranged for its Yemeni and Ethiopian puppets to sign a military treaty between themselves and with East Germany.
- \* Installed another puppet regime in Afghanistan, where the Soviet Union is directing, and directly involved in, the war against the moslem rebels.
- \* Moscow has carried out subversive activities against Iran and Pakistan, trying in particular to exploit the complex national problems faced by these third world countries. Of late it has been particularly active in Iranian Kurdistan.
- \* Using the anger of the Arab peoples at the Camp David agreements, it has tried to knock together a pro-Soviet bloc in the Middle East using the "Rejection Front".
- \* It has increased its bullying of Japan and re-inforced its occupation of Japan's four northern islands.

## VIETNAM - A BASE FOR AGGRESSION

However, it is the Hanoi authorities who are Moscow's Asian trump card. Aside from their genocidal war in Kampuchea, the Vietnamese authorities have placed Laos under their iron heel, carried out provocations on socialist China's southern frontier - with a view to weakening her defences and detracting her from the task of the 4 modernisations that are needed to consolidate China as a firm bastion of world revolution and opposition to aggression - and they are daily making more bellicose threats against Thailand and violating its sovereignty. Consequently, the Governments and peoples of the South East Asian countries have become more aware of the threat of Vietnamese aggression and have taken measures to deal with it. This has included appropriate adjustments in policy by the revolutionary movements in South East Asia.

Thus, the critical situation in the present day Asia-Pacific region has been caused by the ganging up of the regional and global expansionist powers. Vietnam would not dare to be so belligerent were it not assured of 100% Soviet backing and the Soviet Union would not have been able to cause so much trouble if it did not have support of Vietnam for its strategy of making Asians fight Asians - the old "Nixon-doctrine" - enabling it to considerably quicken its pace of aggression. Vietnam is today the source of war in Southeast Asia and the Kremlin's main base for aggression in the whole continent.

## SOVIET EXPANSIONISTS WILL BE DEFEATED

The Soviet revisionists consider it a big gain that they have the Vietnamese authorities as their puppets for aggression in Asia. But the genocidal activities of the Vietnamese - which far surpass even those of the Nazis - have opened the eyes of people the world over to the nature of the threat facing them. This has greatly strengthened the international united front against superpower hegemonism as seen by the overwhelming support given to the just demands of the Democratic Kampuchean Government in the United Nations General Assembly and the success of the Stockholm International Conference against Vietnamese aggression and for Kampuchean national independence. The social imperialists are daydreaming if they think that with their weaponry and handful of hatchetmen they can lord it over the whole world. Even if they succeed in one or two places the social imperialists can never turn back the wheel of history. As Mr. Jan Myrdal pointed out in his keynote speech to the Stockholm Conference,

*"the people are stronger than the criminal politicians that try to unleash wars of aggression against us all. Even the most ferocious beasts can be forced to let go of their prey".*

# UNITED FRONT LAUNCHED IN KAMPUCHEA



On August 21st, 1979, Khieu Samphan, the Kampuchean President announced over radio Democratic Kampuchea, the new draft political programme of the "Patriotic and Democratic Front of the Great National Union of Kampuchea". The new programme is aimed at uniting all patriotic Kampucheans both inside and outside Kampuchea against the Vietnamese aggressors and their puppet in Kampuchea, Heng Samrin.

## AIM IS TO WIN INDEPENDENCE

The aim of the Front is to win back Kampuchea's independence and to "build up an independent, united, democratic, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea". The programme contains an extensive statement of the Front's domestic and foreign policy. It calls for building a society "in which every citizen enjoys democratic freedom in his occupation as well as in his daily life, ...in political life, in spiritual life and in the material life".

## BUILD DEMOCRACY

The Front states that it wants to create a national assembly elected through secret ballot with universal vote. The first assembly elections after independence is regained will be supervised by the United Nations.

The present Government of Democratic Kampuchea, is to be enlarged at all levels and welcomes the participation in the Government of "representatives of the various political organisations, social strata and the patriotic independent personages who struggle against the Vietnamese aggressors and their running dogs on the basis of the political programme of the Front".

In other areas the programme states the Front's objectives to build up the economy, to ensure the liberty to exercise one's occupation in all fields, to promote public health, to guarantee equality between men and women, and to develop the national culture and traditions.

## PROGRAMME WIDELY DISCUSSED

The draft programme was drawn up by the Government of Democratic Kampuchea headed by Pol Pot after discussions with several Kampuchean organisations. The draft is now being widely circulated inside and outside Kampuchea so that more opinions can be sought before the programme is finalised.

Already many people in Kampuchea, who did not support all the past policies of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea have joined the fight against the Vietnamese occupation. They include former supporters of Lon Nol and deserters from the Heng Samrin forces. On top of this many members of the village committees which were set up by the Vietnamese have gone over to the revolutionary forces. The Vietnamese have also suffered many desertions from among their own forces.

In December some British newspapers reported that an agreement had been reached between forces who support Prince Sihanouk and the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea to co-ordinate their struggle in Battambang Province against the Vietnamese aggressors.

Inside Kampuchea people who were critical of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, led by Pol Pot, are well aware that their differences are not as important as the threat posed to all Kampucheans by Vietnam's genocidal invasion. They are getting united to resist.

That is a lesson we in Britain must learn too. Criticism of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea whether justified or not, is no excuse for not supporting the struggle against Soviet-Vietnamese domination.

# THE KAMPUCHEAN US IMPERIALISM

Kampuchea (Cambodia) gained its formal independence from France in 1954. Prince Sihanouk, a national capitalist and patriot, became the Head of State and by skilful diplomacy was able to steer the country on a path of non-alignment. However the newly found independence of Kampuchea brought no benefits for the peasant masses who formed the bulk of the population. They still toiled on under the double oppression of domestic feudal landlords and speculators and the tyranny of imperialist exploitation of the country.

Agriculture was of low productivity, the landlords and speculators were only interested in exacting taxes from the small peasants not in building up a strong agricultural economy. Despite backbreaking work the Kampuchean peasant saw no benefit. Many were forced to leave their land and seek work as labourers in cities.

## COMMUNIST PARTY OF KAMPUCHEA FOUNDED

In 1960 after a long period of struggle against those who peddle the illusion of a "peaceful transition" to socialism, the CPK was founded.

The CPK was a Marxist-Leninist Party. It saw its immediate task to lead the national liberation struggle of the Kampuchean people against imperialism and against domestic feudal exploitation. The First General Secretary of the Party was assassinated in 1963 by CIA agents in the first reign of terror unleashed against the Party. Comrade Pol Pot was elected its leader. The Party began its work in the countryside among the peasants with a strategy of building revolutionary base areas.

## ANTI-USA FEELING GROWS

Throughout the 60's due to pressure from massive demonstrations of intellectuals, students, workers and peasants, the Government of Kampuchea was forced to reject all US aid to the country. The effect of these demonstrations was to polarise the various tendencies in the Government. Certain politicians like Lon Nol became willing servants of US imperialism. Khieu Samphan, now President of Democratic Kampuchea, took a firm patriotic and anti-imperialist stand. He sided with the workers and peasants and joined the liberation fighters in the countryside. Sihanouk lay between the two camps; he opposed the workers and peasants, but also opposed Lon Nol and the US. Sihanouk also throughout this period gave invaluable assistance to the struggle the Vietnamese were waging against the US imperialists.

## LON NOL LAUNCHES A COUP

In 1967, an uprising of peasants in Battambang battled against harsh Government policies. The following year the CPK launched its armed struggle. The US imperialists wanted to stop Sihanouk's neutrality in the area. They also wanted to forestall the outbreak of revolutionary struggle in Kampuchea. So, through Lon Nol and others, the US staged a coup d'etat in 1970 which toppled Sihanouk as Head of State, and brought Kampuchea out of the non-aligned camp directly into the camp of US imperialism.

## SIHANOUK REBUFFED BY MOSCOW

At the time of the coup Prince Sihanouk was on a visit to Moscow. He immediately asked the Soviet Union to aid a resistance struggle against US aggression. The new Tsars in the Kremlin had a quick answer. They put him straight on a plane out of Russia. Sihanouk flew to Beijing (Peking), where the Chinese Government leaders met him at the airport and offered immediate aid. Within days of the coup a National United Front had been formed. It was aptly described as the "largest United Front in the world - all the way from peasants to former king".

# KAMPUCHEAN REVOLUTION

## IMPERIALISM KICKED OUT OF KAMPUCHEA



Within a week thousands of peasants attacked installations of the US imposed puppet Government in Kompong Cham and Takeo.

The Soviet Union kept its embassy in Phnom Penh open and established friendly relations with the Lon Nol Government. A Soviet insurance company even insured US convoys of arms, petrol and napalm which were brought up the Mekong river to Phnom Penh. Bulgaria signed a trade agreement, and Czechoslovakia ran an arms factory for Lon Nol. On May 23rd, 1973, *Pravda* described the liberation war against US imperialism as "harmful" and "fratricide". The Soviet Union went so far as to set up a Kampuchean political party which advocated peace with Lon Nol.

### LIBERATION WAR ADVANCES - USA replies with unprecedented fury

The peoples' war in Kampuchea developed rapidly. The peasantry organised into co-operatives to modernise agriculture. Two rice crops a year were introduced into the rapidly expanding liberated zones. This provided the material basis for victory in the war. Titanic collective effort and good leadership overcame years of decline and laid the basis for constructing a modern, socialist state.

In 1972 the Vietnamese and Americans sat down to

peace talks in Paris. Over Christmas a peace treaty was signed.

The entire US bomber fleet in South East Asia now concentrated on Kampuchea. From January to August 1973 for 145 days, 400,000 tons were dropped. This was the most intense aerial bombardment in history. Some 30 towns and cities and countless villages were reduced to rubble. The now flourishing countryside was bombed back into the stoneage. How many thousands were killed and maimed no one knows for sure.

Napalm and chemical defoliants rained on the countryside. Inevitably the destruction of agriculture, and the danger in the countryside drove the peasants to flee to the cities. Thus the population of Phnom Penh swelled from 300,000 to almost 3,000,000 approximately 40% or 2 out of every 5 Kampucheans!

Deep divisions arose inside the CPK. The large majority were more determined than ever to continue the struggle. Some advocated compromise; others, surrender to US terror and Vietnamese pressure. In fact Kampuchea withstood the worst and went on to win total victory. Phnom Penh was liberated on April 17th, 1975, before Saigon was liberated.

For several months before liberation in April 1975, the Capital could only be supplied by US airlift from Saigon - much of the cargo being military materials and luxury items for the rich. A lot of the rice that was flown in was sold off on the black market. In the months before liberation food riots, famine and death from starvation were commonplace. When the Americans and their lackeys escaped at the last moment by helicopter they left hospitals overflowing with sick and wounded, deprived of electricity and water by last minute sabotage and almost 3 million hungry people without jobs, land or access to food.

### USA LEAVES A TRAIL OF DESTRUCTION

The Americans and their agents not only destroyed the water supply and the generating stations, they also destroyed the sewage network. The people were left not only to starve but to die of rampant disease. Even before these atrocities 80% of the population of Kampuchea had malaria as a result of the war.

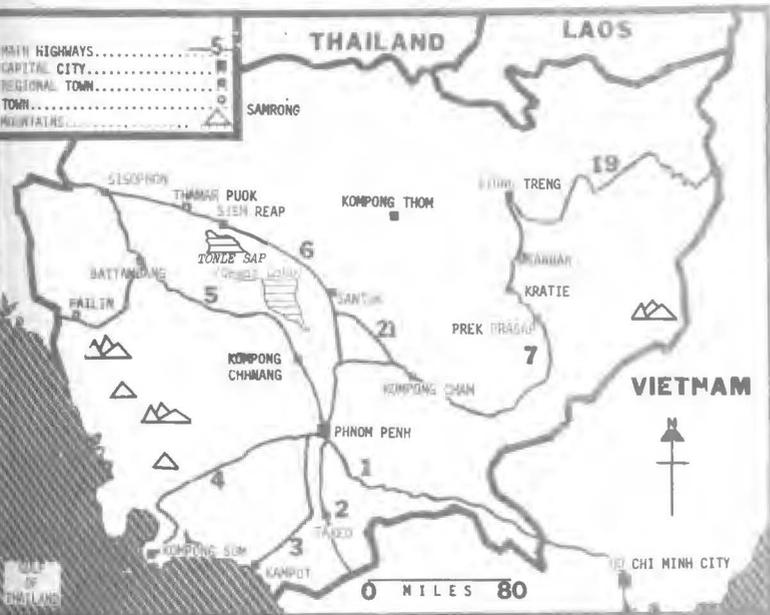
When the US left Kampuchea it left a trail of destruction. At least 800,000 Kampucheans - one in nine - were dead. The US in retreat left a depopulated countryside. It left cities overflowing with refugees, who were living in a deathtrap. Most transport was destroyed. Such was the "civilisation" whose loss is so bemoaned by the media.

But in some areas of the countryside the Communists and patriots had led the peasantry to start rebuilding agriculture. In a number of areas new irrigation schemes had been built and doublecropping introduced. In these areas a large surplus of food was being produced, and stockpiles were created. The far-sighted leaders of the Kampuchean revolution were prepared for the immense problems that would have to be handled when their country was finally and totally liberated.

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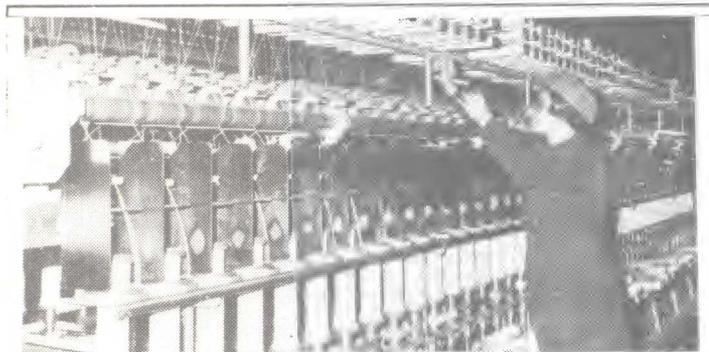
# ANSWERING THE LIE MACHINE

We have already described the situation in Phnom Penh on the eve of liberation. 300 people were dying every day of rampant disease and malnutrition. The destroyed sewage system meant contaminated water supplies. On April 17th, 1975 there was 8 days supply of rice in the capital assuming starvation level rations. The hospitals were without electricity, and were overflowing onto the streets; patients were lying in their own excrement. Many doctors and nurses left with the Americans.

The Kampuchean revolutionary leadership knew the problems they would have to face. Immediately after liberation the orderly evacuation of Phnom Penh began. Of the 3 million inhabitants, over 2½ million were peasants who had been driven off their land by US bombardment. They were returning to their jobs, their homes and to the vitally necessary and urgent task of producing food to feed the starving.

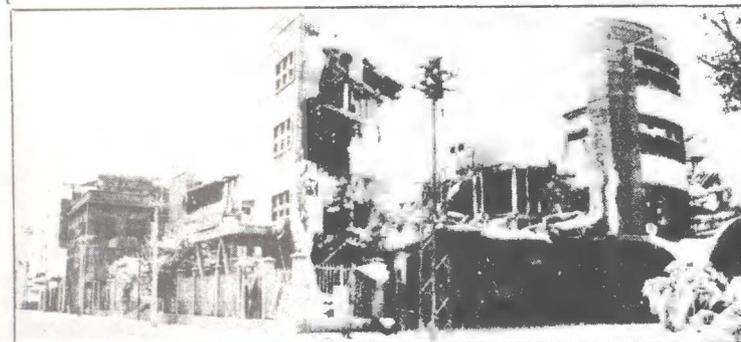
## FANTASTIC LIES BY THE MASS MEDIA

**LIE 1** of the mass media is that the communists evacuated the city because they believed in stone age agriculture and are opposed to all cities and towns. The lie machine pundits ignore the conditions of the time, in Phnom Penh, ignore the fact that 2½ million were peasants returning to the land, ignore the fact without agriculture millions more would have starved, and ignore the fact that building up agriculture is the only possible basis for building industry in a third world country. Their lies are exposed by the fact that by September 1975, 100,000 cadres and workers had returned to Phnom Penh and 70 small and medium factories utilising agricultural products were back in operation.



*Textile mill in Kampuchea, where working people own and control the whole country.*

One obvious example of John Pilger's ignorance of facts is his lie about the National Bank of Cambodia. He claims, "The Khmer Rouge, retreating before the Vietnamese blew it up". In fact it was the Lon Nol forces that used a time-bomb to blow it up. The photo printed below, which shows the derelict bank, was already published in some western newspapers in 1977 - a full year before the vicious Vietnamese attack.



## LIE 2 IS THE "DEATH MARCH" THEORY

The source of the death march story is one journalist Sydney Schamberg of the *New York Times* whose information was a US Government "intelligence document" leaked to him. The world press eagerly spread his report giving the illusion of many sources to the story. Schamberg's role was to divert anger away from the US Government, who created the enormous problems and onto the liberation fighters. Other eye-witnesses, who unsurprisingly are not so widely quoted, describe how FUNK soldiers (the liberation fighters) distributed what little medicine they had, and explained with "no brutality, no anger" that the people must leave the city. Food and medical care was provided at relay points. Peasants registered in the city and were allowed to return to their original homes. The old city dwellers were directed to new co-operatives.



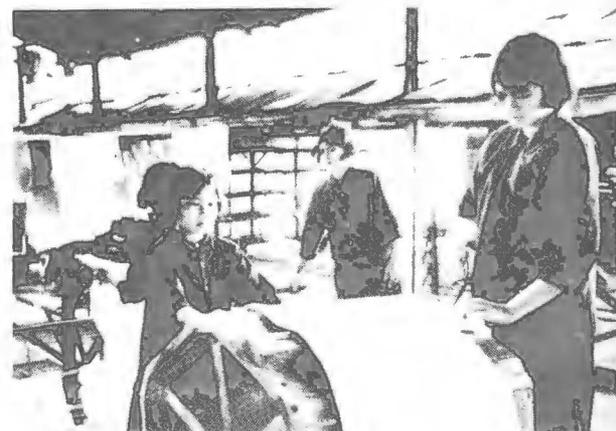
*Blue Peter claims that the Government of Democratic Kampuchea destroyed all fishing nets and hoes. The lie machine gets more incredible every day.*

## LIE 3 : AN OUTRAGEOUS CLAIM THAT THE COMMUNISTS DESTROYED AGRICULTURE!

The intention of the evacuation was precisely to avoid starvation and rebuild agriculture and the result was amazing.

Fast growing rice was planted alongside slow-growing heavy rice in double cropping system. Until the harvest came in, hunger was wide-spread. By October, the harvest was 2.2 million tons, surpassing the harvest levels of the 1960's. The rice ration was increased. Representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, the Swedish Ambassador Haje Bjork and foreign visitors all testified to the health and vigour of the people. They also reported that pigs and hens provided meat in the diet and that fish was abundant.

*Rubber factory making a big headway since liberation. (1977)*



# WHAT HAPPENED IN KAMPUCHEA



If (as Blue Peter, following Pilger, claims) the Pol Pot Gov. destroyed all agricultural implements why build dams? why build a modern basis for agriculture and destroy tools?

*What fantastic stories! But a lie repeated often enough is a lie believed.*

The people of Kampuchea also set to work on massive projects building dams and irrigation networks. With hardly any tractors or bulldozers (In 1978 though a tractor factory was built with Korean aid) the people's efforts worked a miracle.

By the end of 1976 Kampuchea was able to send rice as aid to help relieve drought in Laos. It was exporting rice to several African countries. Rice authorities in Thailand were even saying that Kampuchean exports were "destabilising" the world market!

On this firm basis the rubber plantations were rehabilitated and rubber exports resumed. A trade mission was opened in Hong Kong and trade missions visited several countries. Amongst Kampuchea's main imports were drugs for the control of malaria. Medical services were taken to the people by the training of medical auxiliaries like China's barefoot doctors and by combining western and traditional medicine. Malaria, which had been endemic was 90% eliminated. Since the Vietnamese invasion malaria has become wide-spread again.

Handicraft and light industry was developed to meet the day to day needs of the people and with fraternal aid from China and socialist Korea there was the beginnings of heavy industry. All this testifies to the correctness of the popular saying in Kampuchea, "if we have rice, we have everything".

## LIE 4 THE BLOODBATH

The publication of Father Francois Ponchard's book *Cambodia Year Zero and Peace with Horror - the untold story of Communist Genocide in Cambodia* came like manna from heaven for the imperialists. Their pleasure was unbounded.

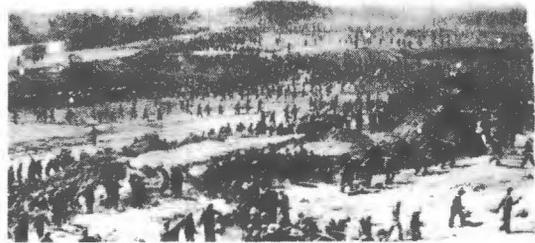
Ponchard's book published in France in 1977 contained the phrase "to rebuild a new Cambodia, one million men is enough". He attributed this phrase to a particular person at a particular time and particular place. In a private letter to the American linguist Naom Chomsky Ponchard admitted that such statements are frequently heard in Cambodia but should not be understood as expressing a wish to exterminate the population. Rather the meaning is that the Cambodian people will solve any task no matter how many or few they are. THIS RETRACTION HAS NEVER BEEN PUBLISHED. THE IMPERIALIST PRESS HAS IGNORED IT. A paraphrase still appears in the cover of the Penguin paperback in 1978.

When pressed for the source of his information of 1 million "peace deaths" Ponchard admitted to Chomsky that his sources were the US Embassies.

Of 94 people interviewed by Ponchard in his book only 5 claim to have seen any bodies in Kampuchea. Ponchard himself on p 39 of his book states, "I personally saw no dead bodies either in Phnom Penh or outside the town..."

*Peace with horror* gives acknowledgements to "informal briefings from specialists at the State and Defence Departments, the National Security Council and three foreign embassies in Washington". These "excellent" credentials of a Government which dropped 5,000 tons of bombs a day on Kampuchea and massacred and crippled more than 1 million Kampuchean people in the name of "freedom" and "anti-communism" can only be viewed with contempt.

Another "source" of information is the former Lon Nol official In Tam who runs a news agency for the CIA in Bangkok (he claims to live in France). In Tam paid \$50 to refugees who would "tell their stories" if they told of atrocities. He is responsible for the distribution of the notorious faked picture which appeared throughout the world press and which *Class Struggle* printed on front page of Vol.3 No.19



*Peasants working on a water control project, to improve agriculture.*

Washington Post's Louis Simons knew this photo was a fake - a mock execution staged in Thailand. Even so 2 years ago, the Washington Post, Stern and Time magazine all eagerly published it. So did many other papers. What was not published so widely was Simons' later confession. 3 weeks after *Class Struggle* published this photo and pointed out that it was now admitted to being a fake, the *New Worker*, paper of the New Communist Party, published it itself claiming that it was proof of genocide by Pol Pot! Pro-Soviet rags like the *New Worker* are knowingly lying about the Pol Pot Government and using old & discredited CIA propaganda to do it!

Pilger, of course, has also added to the stories. He reprinted the old ones despite (and not reporting) the fact that the "evidence" was totally discredited and added new ones. What was his new "evidence"? A supposed "extermination camp" in Phnom Penh which was shown him by Vietnamese propaganda officers. Pilger made no attempt to ask why the Vietnamese did not make this amazing piece of "evidence" public until over 6 months after they had occupied the city. It did not occur to him to comment on the great likelihood of it being staged by Vietnam. His other "evidence" was the existence of a mass grave at Ankor Wat. He did not report that Ankor Wat is the symbolic centre of Kampuchea (it is the symbol used by the Kampuchean Conference in Stockholm) and that there were pitched mass battles in the area for years between liberation fighters and the USA and later between the liberation fighters and Vietnam. In fact it would be amazing if there were no mass graves in the area!

He also said that he saw executed bodies. He did not comment that that did not prove that they were killed by the Pol Pot Government. It can just as much be used as evidence of murder by Vietnam.

Pilger damns himself precisely because he does not ask these questions. He shows his bias. He also damns himself by his stories of starvation during the Pol Pot Government. We have published pictures here which disprove some of the lies. Pilger however shows his own partiality and illogic by trying to claim that starvation in Kampuchea 8 months to a year after an invasion by Vietnam proves that people were starving one year earlier! It proves the opposite. They would have been dead 6 months ago if Pilger was telling the truth.

Finally, we will quote from a Vietnamese refugee, who knows himself just how "humanitarian" and "truthful" a Vietnam which can produce millions of boat people and other refugees is! His story was published in the *Financial Times* on the 30th January 1978. He got out of Vietnam by walking through Kampuchea to Thailand, and said he heard no atrocity stories till he got to Thailand: "I could not believe it. Walking across Kampuchea for two months I saw no sign of killing or mass extermination and nobody I spoke to told me of any. I still don't believe it happened".



# STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE A

On Nov 17th and 18th, a two day world conference on Kampuchea was held in Stockholm, Sweden, in support of the independence struggle of Kampuchea. The conference pledged itself to build a powerful world-wide movement which "will not rest until the last Vietnamese soldier is removed from Kampuchea and the independence of the Kampuchean people and nation is once again restored".

The conference was attended by about 250 delegates and observers sent from 35 countries. Many were active campaigners who supported Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos during the struggle against United States' aggression.

A highlight of the conference was the statement by Madame Ieng Thirith, Minister of Social Affairs of the Democratic Kampuchean Government. Madame Thirith (see inset) described the plight of her people in moving terms and called for a halt to Vietnam's genocidal war of aggression against Kampuchea. She traced the historical background to the war, laying particular emphasis on Vietnam's unholy alliance with Russia.



"History and events show that the root cause of Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea is the policy of expansion, domination and blocks of the Hanoi authorities... An independent Kampuchea refusing to align herself with the block of the so-called 'natural allies of the non-aligned countries' represents a major obstacle to the strategic aims of the Hanoi authorities".

She described these aims as "regional expansionism and world expansionism, which seek both dominance in South East Asia and control of the strategic maritime waterways, particularly the Straits of Malacca, which connect Asia with Europe and Africa".

Referring to the present situation in her country Madame Thirith said, "The Le Duan clique has failed completely in its attempts to establish a puppet army. 200,000 Vietnamese soldiers are forced to continue fighting on Kampuchean battlefields". She added, "as for the puppet regime in Phnom Penh, imported food, stock and money from Vietnam, it has no roots in our society and is but the shadowy reflection cast by 220,000 soldiers of occupation". She noted, "more than ten months have already passed since the Vietnamese invasion, but the peoples' war of national resistance, far from being extinguished, intensifies daily. The Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea, reorganised into a large number of guerrilla units, attacks the Vietnamese occupiers throughout the country".

Condemning the brutal atrocities perpetrated against the people she said, "The Vietnamese aggressors are now using chemical weapons such as toxic gas and toxic chemicals spread by aeroplanes over the areas their infantry cannot reach in order to exterminate the Kampuchean people".

On the solution to the war, she said, "The Government of Democratic Kampuchea calls on all countries, governments political and mass organisations and all personages who cherish peace, justice and independence the world over, to pool their efforts in order: first, to exert adequate economic and diplomatic measures to compel Vietnam to withdraw immediately, totally and unconditionally its troops of aggression and its people's settlements from Kampuchea. Second, to let the Kampuchean people use their sovereign right to decide by themselves

their own destiny free from foreign interference. The internal problem of Kampuchea will then be solved in accordance with the Political Programme of the Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea, which means that the social and political regime of Kampuchea will be decided by the people of Kampuchea themselves through general and free elections, by direct and secret ballot, elections to be supervised by the United Nations Secretary General; third, to send their humanitarian aids directly to the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and not to the Vietnamese aggressors through their puppets in Phnom Penh".

Madame Ieng Thirith stressed, "that is the one and only solution to the problem of war in Kampuchea".

Representatives of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania reaffirmed their determination to fight shoulder to shoulder with the Kampuchean people against imperialism & social-imperialism. The PAC had sent thirty of its members to train in Kampuchea after the 1976 Soweto uprising. They were trapped by the Vietnamese invasion and had spent eight months with the guerrillas fighting their way out of encirclement by the aggressors.

George Hildebrand the American scholar on South East Asia made a spirited and detailed speech which tore to threads the lies about the Kampuchea-Vietnam war that emanate from the Russian lie machine. He pointed out that Laos and Mongolia, one occupied by Vietnam and the other by Russia, are the only Asian countries to openly support the Vietnamese invasion. T. Dastidar, of the Bangladesh Gano Front spoke with great authority on the unity of the Asian peoples in the struggle against imperialism and in support of Kampuchea. Samuel Noumoff of McGill University, Canada examined Soviet aid to Vietnamese expansionism. And the distinguished Professor Tokumatsu Sakamoto described the large scale Kampuchean solidarity campaign in Japan.

A great many statements of support for the conference were received ranging from Vasco da Gama Fernandes, the

## General Resolution of the Stockholm International Kampuchea Conference November 17-18, 1979

The Stockholm International Kampuchea Conference, united as one:

Strongly condemns the brutal occupation of Kampuchea by Vietnam.

Calls for the immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal of all Vietnamese and other foreign troops now on Kampuchean soil, as well as the removal of all Vietnamese settlers introduced into Kampuchea by Vietnam since the invasion.

Warmly acclaims the decision of the United Nations General Assembly of September 21, 1979, to maintain the seat of Democratic Kampuchea and the resolution of November 14, 1979, calling for the removal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea.

Demands that the Kampuchean people be allowed to exercise their right to self-determination, free from all outside interference, subversion of coercion, recognising that only in a genuinely independent Kampuchea following a total Vietnamese withdrawal can the Kampuchean people be truly free to determine democratically their own social and political system and institutions.

Appeals to all who read this statement to join with us in galvanising those throughout the world who believe in peace, independence and justice into a single force that will support the Kampuchean people in their just struggle against the Vietnamese aggression and invasion, and will not rest until the last Vietnamese soldier is removed from Kampuchea and the independence of the Kampuchean people and nation is once again secured.

# BIG SUCCESS

## Special Resolution on Organising Humanitarian Aid for the Kampuchean People

The Stockholm International Kampuchea Conference resolves to take immediate steps in contributing to the world-wide humanitarian efforts to deliver food and medicine to the sick and starving in Kampuchea who are victims of Vietnam's genocidal war.

In particular, we pledge to raise money, medicine and food for the Red Cross Society of Democratic Kampuchea which is now working against time to save the lives of several million Kampuchean afflicted with malaria, dysentery, malnutrition and starvation.

The Kampuchean Red Cross can make sure that the badly needed supplies actually reach those who are suffering. We appeal to all who are concerned with human life; to all who are pained and saddened by the tragic situation in Kampuchea; and to all who wish to contribute to the salvation of the Kampuchean people to support a massive international drive for this purpose.

former Portuguese Vice-President, British Young Conservatives and folk-singer Joan Baez, to Khieu Samphan, President of Democratic Kampuchea and the Chinese Association for friendship with foreign countries.

Jan Myrdal, the outstanding Swedish writer and an internationally known activist who opposed US aggression in South East Asia made a powerful speech. *"The Khmer people faces extinction"* he said. *"Vietnam, a strong military power has made an all-out attempt to overrun a small neighbouring country... If the world were to accept the invasion and occupation of a small country by a larger and militarily powerful neighbour - then no country will be safe... The Vietnamese Government has set a precedent that points to the destruction of not only the United Nations but the existence of sovereign states in Asia, Europe and the whole world - it is opening the floodgates that will lead inevitably to a new world war if left unchecked"*.

Myrdal drew a direct parallel with fascist Italy's invasion of Ethiopia in 1935. Pham Van Dong's spurious justifications today are identical to Mussolini's then. *"Four years later the same smaller states of Europe that had not dared vote for a principled stand against the aggressor had themselves lost their national independence and had been overrun by the troops of the aggressor states and the whole world was plunged into a Second World War. The inability of the League of Nations to stop the aggressor states had drawn the kingpin out of the fragile security system and the result was death and disaster for untold millions"*.

But the Governments of the world have learned from the bitter experience of the past, said Myrdal. An overwhelming majority at the United Nations has denounced Vietnam's Soviet-backed aggression and defended the sovereignty of Democratic Kampuchea. Also, it was now clear to all that behind Vietnam stands the Soviet Union. It is none other than the Soviet Union that has consistently vetoed all efforts to reach a peaceful solution.

*"In this situation it is necessary to put forward 2 demands"*, Myrdal continued. *"First, that humanitarian aid immediately has to be given to the Red Cross of Democratic Kampuchea... Second, we must expose the Vietnamese and Soviet Governments who are consciously allowing thousands of Kampuchean to die in pain and suffering every day in order to gain political capital"*.

The international conference was a great success. Present at the conference were several members of the Preparatory Committee for a British Kampuchean Support Campaign who learnt a great deal. The task, now, is to develop the work in Britain and to carry through the aims set by the conference.



## SUPPORT BRITISH CAMPAIGN

### DECLARATION OF THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE FOR A BRITISH KAMPUCHEA SUPPORT CAMPAIGN

"The war of aggression against Democratic Kampuchea (Cambodia) continues. The Vietnamese forces have invaded and devastated Kampuchea to overthrow its legitimate government, thus violating the sovereignty of Democratic Kampuchea, the United Nations Charter and the principles of non-alignment.

We condemn the brutal occupation of Kampuchea by Vietnam, and demand that all Vietnamese forces withdraw immediately, without conditions, from Kampuchea, that the national independence and state sovereignty of that country be respected, that the Kampuchean people recover the right to decide their own affairs.

We ask all who love peace, independence and justice to extend support and material aid to the Kampuchean people and their legitimate Government in their struggle against the Vietnamese aggressors".

All correspondence and enquiries should be sent to:

Mr. McColgan, Acting Secretary.

Preparatory Committee for Kampuchea Support Campaign,  
61, Rectory Road, London N.16.

Among the countless internationally noted personalities who have signed the Conference Appeal, are Charles Tillon, leader of the French anti-Nazi resistance; Jiri Pallas and Jaroslav Hutka, two Czech signatories of Charter 77; K N Loili, senior advocate of the Supreme Court of Bangladesh; George Wald, the American biologist and Nobel Prize winner; George Hilderbrand, the noted American author, Alan Canfora and Tom Grace, two students wounded by the National Guard while protesting against the US invasion of Kampuchea, at Kent State University in May 1970; G Mokhoty, advocate, Supreme Court of India; Vasco da Gama Fernandes, former President of Portugal's Republican Assembly; Yuji Soga, executive member of the Japanese Socialist Party and Naom Chomsky and Jan Myrdal - both well-known authors.

Signatories from Britain include:

Felix Greene: Writer and film maker, Hugh Gidd and Lek Hor Tan: Journalists, Arthur Clegg: Writer, Laura J Summer: Lecturer, Lancaster University, G Mohan, Frank Gurling, M McColgan: Lectures, Sheffield University, Benny Bunsee: Editor of IKWESI, J Hasted, Professor of Physics, Birkbeck College, University of London, Jenny Clegg: Planner, Dr D Mathur: Physicist, University College, London, P Timberlake: Trade Consultant and Editor, Colin Penn: Architect. D G Foskett: Librarian, London University, C Barns: Statistician, Chris Burford: Chairman of RCLB, W Cassay: National Secretary of the Communist Workers' Movement, Duncan Tams: Secretary of the Workers' Party of Scotland (Marxist-Leninist), T Hossain: General Secretary of the Bangladesh Workers' Association.

# THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES SUPPORT KAMPUCHEA

The Soviet Union has waged a systematic diplomatic campaign over the past year to get countries to recognise the puppet forces, which they have helped to instal in Phnom Penh, recognised as the legitimate Government of Kampuchea. It has put pressure on countries individually, on the non-aligned movement and on the United Nations. The Soviet Union knows that recognition is a vital issue. If countries recognise the Heng Samrin Government that means that they have accepted the "right" of the Soviet social imperialists to commit aggression wherever it likes. What has the Soviet Union achieved? Some small successes, but the majority of countries know the danger and have struggled to resist recognition. This is particularly the case of the ASEAN countries of South East Asia.

## NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

In September 1979 the Non-Aligned Movement held its 6th conference. It was Cuba's turn to be host. Although the term Non-Aligned was deliberately adopted to stress independence from both superpowers, some countries in it are trying to gain support for one or other of them. Today it is the Soviet Union which is making the big attempt to turn the Movement into a pro-Soviet force. Cuba and Vietnam are two of its main agents. Despite Cuba's bureaucratic manoeuvrings, through its chairing of the meetings, the Movement maintained its independence. But the Soviet Union made some gains.

One of the most blatant manoeuvres was the refusal to allow the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, a member of the Movement, to attend. Cuba tried to get the conference to recognise the Heng Samrin regime instead. The conference rejected the move. Castro then put a proposal to a meeting of 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 "consensus of the meeting", and promptly closed the meeting without allowing the issue to be put to a vote. This was a partial victory for the Soviet Union, but it is a pretty hollow one.

## UNITED NATIONS

For much of the year the Soviet Union, East Germany, Vietnam, Cuba and a few other such disinterested countries have been trying to get the United Nations to recognise the puppet Government of Kampuchea, or at a minimum to take a neutral stand. On every occasion they have failed. The UN has stood by its Charter and defended the principle of non-interference.

Finally in November the UN turned the tables. After rejecting a proposal by the Soviet Union and Vietnam to kick out the legitimate Government of Democratic Kampuchea and recognise Heng Samrin regime, the UN followed up by passing a resolution calling for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea. 91 countries voted for the resolution only 21 against, despite intense back room pressure from the Soviet social imperialists.

The Soviet Union has however stated that it will use its power as a permanent member of the Security Council of the UN to veto any attempt to send UN observers who could ensure that aid being sent to Kampuchea was in fact reaching the Kampuchean people. What have the Soviet Union and Vietnam got to hide?

## BRITISH IMPERIALISTS VACILLATE

You would expect that the Tories would at least be firm on this issue. Despite their virulent opposition to the

workers' movement, to democratic rights, and to socialism, they do at least oppose Soviet expansion. And, indeed they have supported the call for Vietnam's withdrawal. But their anti-communism has also led them to cut off recognition for the Government of Democratic Kampuchea which is precisely what the Soviet social imperialists regard as their own second best achievement. The Governments of Australia and New Zealand, however, see the immense danger of Soviet expansion in South East Asia more clearly. They have stated that they will not follow Britain's example and continue to maintain relations with the legitimate Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

## INTERNATIONAL UNITED FRONT

Overall the Soviet diplomatic offensive has failed. Instead the Kampuchean peoples' struggle has helped to unite countries of different social systems and Governments of varying political persuasions more firmly into an International United Front defending independence. Whatever their various reasons for opposing Soviet - Vietnamese aggression, the majority of the world's countries are in practice supporting a just struggle.

# Aid the people of Kampuchea

Many international aid organisations are distributing aid in Kampuchea. *Class Struggle* strongly supports aid for the starving Kampuchean people. But reports from refugees and visitors to Kampuchea are providing a mass of evidence that much of the aid which is reaching Kampuchea, far from feeding the people, is feeding the occupation army.

The USSR and Vietnam have refused international supervision of aid distribution. Even the charities themselves are allowed to send only a few observers to see the distribution. Yet even the small amount of distribution that they do see is suspect. Again refugees complain that rice distributed during the day in front of observers is looted again at night by Vietnamese troops.

Vietnamese troops who have deserted to Thailand as well as those captured all say that their rations came direct from crates and sacks with international charities names on.

The tragic fact is that much of the aid is going directly to fuel the war machine that is starving Kampuchea.

People who have given aid through Red Cross, UNICEF etc. should demand that the United Nations be allowed to send civilian observers to Kampuchea to ensure that the aid is used for the purpose it has been given.

## SUPPORT KAMPUCHEA RED CROSS

But aid can also be given direct to the Red Cross Society of Democratic Kampuchea, which alone guarantees that aid is distributed in the refugee camps, in the liberated zones, and to the starving peasantry throughout Kampuchea.

Aid given through the Red Cross cannot be used to fuel the war machine.

The only answer to starvation is the removal of the occupying forces, but relief is also needed NOW.

Aid for the Red Cross Society of Democratic Kampuchea can be sent via the Preparatory Committee for a Kampuchean Support Campaign, which will arrange for it to be passed on.

## NEW ERA BOOKS

Many foreign and British Publications on Kampuchea are available from NEW ERA BOOKS. These include

- \* Black Papers (Excerpts) Vols. 1&2. Sept. 1978. 50p
- \* New War in Southeast Asia (p&p in USA, 1979 £1.50)
- \* Kampuchea (Photo Record of visit) Liberator press
- \* Kampuchea Will Win (CCL, ML, visit 1978, P £1.10)