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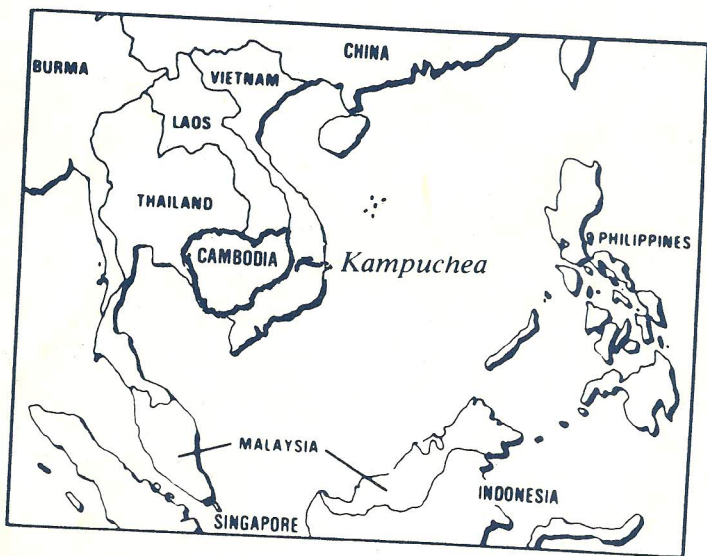
Reporter

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**THE KAMPUCHEAN STRUGGLE
FOR NATIONAL SURVIVAL**

**By
Thiounn Mumm**

*Pertinent Historical and Current Facts
About Vietnam's Presence in Kampuchea*



The Kampuchean Struggle
For National Survival

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Far East Reporter Introduction

There are conflicting analyses of the situation in Kampuchea. It may be some time before unchallenged facts are established and accepted. But meanwhile there are both historical and current facts that must be taken into account if the issue is to be correctly analyzed.

The essay by Thiounn Mumm, writing as Chairman of the National Committee for Science and Technology of Democratic Kampuchea, helps place Kampuchea in its historical setting.

The Kampucheans are a people with an ancient civilization dating back at least twelve centuries before the year One AD, a people with great political, economic and technological achievements. Their Angkor Kingdom had once been the most powerful state on the Southeast Asian mainland.

The Kampucheans are also a people and nation who have centuries-long been engaged in tortuous struggles against alien encroachments -- struggles to retrieve and maintain their identity as a people and nation.

Encroachment by Vietnam is not something new. A century and a half ago the Kampucheans were conquered by a Vietnamese army "supervised by Europeans." This was in 1840, but sounds like 1978. This Vietnamese intrusion and the subsequent success of the Kampucheans, in 1845, in chasing the invaders out is, even to today, graven in the consciousness of patriotic Kampucheans.

The current Vietnam plan against Kampuchea has a history that predates its December 1978 invasion. That plan was early evidenced in 1930 when the Vietnamese founded a so-called "Indochinese Federation" and at the same time founded the "Indochinese Communist Party" (composed solely of Vietnamese)-- the very name "Indochinese" indicating the expansionist plan of Vietnam.

Vietnam has never accepted the efforts and, at times, the successful attempts, of the Kampuchean people to maintain their identity as a people and a nation. In 1975 the leaders of Kampuchea went to Hanoi, attempting to negotiate a treaty of friendship and non-aggression. This was rejected by Hanoi. Vietnam was not interested in an independent, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchean neighbor.

There can be no question whatsoever about the sufferings inflicted on the Kampuchean people in the fifties, sixties and seventies. There were massive American bombings: "The hardship conditions created by United States provided the context in which Pol Pot's ultra-'left' errors and crimes occurred; many of the accounts of the period of the Kampuchean Communist Party's (Pol Pot's) rule, from Western as well as pro-Vietnam sources, have undoubtedly been greatly exaggerated. Certain gains were made in rebuilding the country's devastated agriculture between 1975 and 1979."* Thiounn Mumm's account of the progress made during the Pol Pot period can be taken at face value.

Vietnam propaganda has made repeated statements about "the piles of skulls" as evidence of Pol Pot's cruelties. Today questions are being asked about these "skull exhibits:" first, as to the sources of the skulls, and second, as to the "estimated number" of the skulls in the exhibited piles. There are skulls -- witness to man's cruelties; but the sources are several: the massive American bombings in the Kampuchean countryside, the fighting between the Vietnamese and the Lon Nol forces (in 1970 soldiers of the Lon Nol regime massacred ethnic Vietnamese) and current Vietnamese attacks on Kampuchean insurgent groups.

The current presence of Vietnamese forces -- military and administrative personnel -- in Kampuchea intensifies

*Guardian 1.5.'83

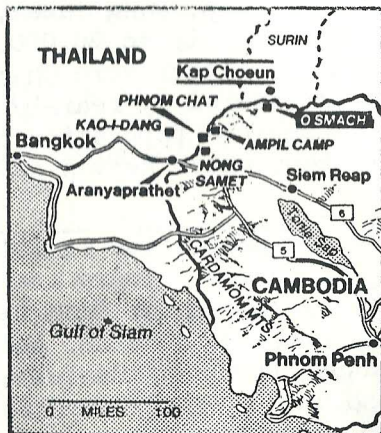
the deep-seated nationalism of Kampuchean individuals* and finds organized expression and active resistance in three insurgent groups. These are: Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge, Son Sann's Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF), and Sihanouk's "National Liberation Front For An Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Cooperative Cambodia (FUNCINPEC). These three groups have formed an uneasy Coalition, the Democratic Kampuchea Government. While their liberation tactics and their long-term objectives may differ (including the kind of future Kampuchea they envision) they are currently united, as patriotic Kampucheans, in the struggle for the independence and national identity of their long-suffering country.

Far from being an amorphous concept, the Coalition, Democratic Kampuchea, is a functioning structure, with civil and military administration. It is not "a government in exile"; it exists on the soil of Kampuchea. While their "camps" at times serve as headquarters for guerrillas, they are in fact insurgent communities the vast majority of whose inhabitants are civilians. The population of these insurgent communities far exceeds the military forces of the Coalition, whose military forces total something less than 50,000. For example, Camp Non Cham, attacked by Vietnamese troops on January 1st 1983 and burned down, had a population of 25,000; these fled to another camp, Nong Samet, increasing the population of that community to 70,000. Two other camps that later came under attack were Chamcar and Kokhan -- market centers administered by near-by Pol Pot's forces -- have an estimated combined population of up to 15,000. "The camp at Rithisen, which serves as headquarters for

*Intensive Kampuchean patriotism is not confined to the organized insurgent groups. There are Kampucheans living under the auspices of the Phnom Penh regime who have risked expressing their patriotism, and then becoming a part of "the unknown number of Cambodians whose loyalty is suspect and who have entered camps for political 're-education'." Unquestionably there are thousands, if not millions, who are "unwilling to take risks which would jeopardize what little security they now have." (New York Times 4.4.'83)

Son Sann, is home for 75,000 displaced Kampuchean. It is a bush city with shops, light industries, schools, hospitals and facilities for sports. The people appear to be reasonably healthy but life is Spartan. Son Sann has 150,000 people living under his control along the Thai-Kampuchean border and claims to have many more "silent" supporters inside Kampuchea, including some in the ranks of administration controlled by Hanoi. Sihanouk's headquarters at O Smach housed around 30,000 peasants and perhaps 1500 guerrillas." C S Monitor 3.8.'83) "Ampil camp is made up of a military base and six contiguous villages. The whole settlement resembles an unusually tidy and even prosperous provincial town, with tall trees along the dirt roads, children playing, and new wooden construction going on. Gates with signs reading "National Cadres Training Council," "Art Center," and "Special Forces Training Field" lead to courtyards, neat bungalows and buildings that look like ranch houses in American suburbs. It was begun in 1979 and has grown from a place of hammocks strung between trees." (New York Times 4.8.'83)

The severe military attacks by Vietnamese troops on the camps near the Thai border are Vietnam's attempt to drive the Coalition government (Democratic Kampuchea) off Kampuchean soil, trying to deprive them of territorial legitimacy. On February first 1983 more than 4000 Vietnamese troops, with intensive artillery, mortar and



The New York Times / April 11, 1983

Cambodian civilians at hospital near Kap Choeun said they had been wounded by Vietnamese grenade attacks at O Smach.

rocket bombardment, overran and burned an armed anti-Communist camp a mile inside Kampuchea; International Aid workers said that 20,000 to 25,000 of the camp's residents, most of them civilians, fled to the Thai side of the border. Further attacks were made during the week of March 31st-April 5th by 6000 (some reports say 2000) Vietnamese troops; this attack was backed by Soviet-built tanks and American-built personnel carriers and artillery.

Following these attacks - which included Vietnamese troops crossing the border into Thailand to attack fleeing kampuchean -- the Thailand Foreign Ministry on April 5th 1983 called together the ambassadors of the Soviet Union, Western and pro-Western countries and charged that "the Vietnamese troops had carried on cruel and barbarous liquidation of the Cambodian people along the border" -- forcing some 45,000 to 50,000 civilian Cambodians to flee across the border into Thailand. This April 4th denouncement of the Vietnamese military action was followed the next day by the presentation to the General Secretary of the United Nations of a letter from the Thai representative in which he denounced "the unprovoked and blatant acts of aggression by Vietnamese forces, as crimes against unarmed and innocent Cambodian civilians."

For five years, since 1978, tens of thousands of Vietnamese troops -- currently estimated to number 180,000 -- along with thousands of Vietnamese non-military administrative and political personnel have been stationed in Cambodia.

But; the presence and actions of the invading Vietnamese have been unable to quench Kampuchean patriotism and resistance. As an editorial in the New York Times expressed it: "Vietnam having done so much to reduce Cambodian nationhood, is striking at Cambodian camps along the Thai border only days after its client regime in Phnom Penh boasted 'We control the whole country.' The truth is otherwise. The country is not pacified... Liberation will come when Vietnam withdraws, restoring to Cambodia an inclusive government at peace with its people and neutral toward outsiders." (4.7.'83)

The timing of that withdrawal and liberation is of course conditioned by international factors. Kampuchea lies in an area of great international contention: the competition of the superpowers (the United States and the Soviet Union) in Southeast Asia, Vietnam-China enmity, the apprehension of the ASEAN countries (Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Philippines) over what they conceive to be Vietnamese expansionism (already evidenced in Vietnam's occupation of Cambodia, its military intrusion into Thailand and its control of Laos), China's concern over the Soviet Union's military pressure on her northern and southern borders (where the Soviet Union now has access to former US bases in Vietnam) and the United States military alliance with Thailand.

"Fear of the return of Pol Pot"-- so assiduously asserted by the Vietnamese and their client regime in Phnom Penh -- is becoming an anachronism. Much has happened to Kampuchean society during the Vietnamese presence. The experience and learning gained during the occupation is -- contrary to Vietnam's plan -- serving to give the Kampucheans the potential economic and political clout with which to deal with the problems of a liberated country and people.

"It is true that the Government of Democratic Kampuchea has committed some mistakes, but by the middle of 1978, it was perfectly aware of them and measures were being taken to correct them. But it is because the results as a whole have been positive that the present resistance is possible, and that after nearly two years, the Hanoi authorities have failed to 'Khmerize' either the war or the administration in the areas under their temporary control. Without the 200,000 Vietnamese soldiers, the Khmer varnish of the Phnom Penh administration will disappear by itself."

(Thiounn Mumm)

The struggle of the Kampuchean people for national survival

THIOUNN MUMM

*Chairman of the National Committee
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Brief historical background on Kampuchea

Kampuchea is a land having an ancient civilization. The human occupation of the Northern region of the Great Lake of Tonle Sap dated since longtime ago, several millenaries before our era. In 1,200 B.C., there was a bronze civilization whose most remarkable vestiges are located in Samrong Sen (Kampong Thom province). By a development essentially from within, this civilization has led to the construction of a system of irrigation including immense artificial lakes, canals of communication between the rivers flowing down from the Koulen mountains to the making of agricultural instruments and tools in steel, to an abundant and steady agricultural production despite the irregularities of rains, and then to the construction of immense and marvellous monuments, including those of well-known Angkor. At the same epoch, a monumental bronze-age civilization had also developed, which was among the most beautiful and most original in the world. This art is still very vivacious in our time.

The present Kampuchean people are the direct descendants of those who had built this civilization. But starting from the 13th-century, the soil had become exhausted due to over-exploitation and production started to decline. The King Jayavarman VII had built many roads in order to supply the capital. But at that time, transportation by roads was not economical and our ancestors were forced to abandon Angkor in the first half of the 15th century to come and settle at the outskirts of the present capital Phnom Penh, center of waterways which were much more economical. That was for the Khmer society a very great challenge, but it succeeded in overcoming it successfully.

In 1511, the Europeans arrived in Malacca and in 1520, Magellan made his trip around the world. Starting from this date, it is necessary to take into

account the European forces in the evaluation of the balance of forces between the countries in the region. The Europeans took an interest especially in China and in order to conquer it from the South, they took care most particularly of Tonkin. It should be recalled that the Romanization of the Vietnamese writing (which was Chinese before) was the work of the missionary the Lord Bishop de Rhodes in the middle of the 17th century. The expansion of the Nguyens toward the South to the prejudice of Champa and Kampuchea was backed by the Portuguese and the Dutch in the 17th century. It was another missionary, Pigneau de Behaine, Bishop of Adran who, at the end of the 18th century and at the beginning of the 19th century, with the support of a group of French officers and seamen, helped Nguyen Anh to conquer one part of Cochinchina, to reunify the North and South of the country and to make him King of Vietnam in 1802 under the name of Gia-long.

In the 1840's, Kampuchea was conquered by a Vietnamese army organized, armed and advised by the Europeans. But in 1845, the Kampuchean people succeeded in chasing the Vietnamese invaders out with whatever weapons they had on hand. This war and this victory have remained graven on the memory of all our compatriots.

The fundamental cause of the present Vietnamese invasion in Kampuchea

For many the conflict between Democratic Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam – which came out into the open on 31 December 1977 with the breaking of diplomatic relations between the two countries – was like a clap of thunder in a clear sky. But enlightened observers of Asian matters were not surprised, because they were aware that the ambition of the Hanoi authorities to swallow up Kampuchea and Laos so as to integrate them into the so-called 'Indochina Federation' went back as far as 1930, the date of the founding of the Indochinese Communist Party, composed solely of Vietnamese, whose very name revealed even at that time the hegemonistic designs of its founders. Furthermore, the Vietnamese strategy of the 'Indochina Federation', which is nothing else than a 'Great Vietnam' was written large in the statutes of that Party (Item 12 of the Manifest). The Vietnamese invasion of Democratic Kampuchea in December 1978 is thus only the logical outcome of a whole concatenation of conflicts which have become increasingly worse over the years, conflicts caused deliberately by expansionist designs of Hanoi. The latter wanted to annex Kampuchea quietly as it has already done

in Laos, without the knowledge of world public opinion through the so-called 'Treaty of friendship and cooperation' on 18 July, 1977. For this purpose, it has resorted to multiple attempts at coups d'état and assassinations of patriotic leaders of Democratic Kampuchea perpetrated by its agents, who infiltrated long ago the organs of leadership, in order to overthrow the Government of Democratic Kampuchea from inside. All these plots have been frustrated. Finally, Hanoi was driven to resort to open and massive aggression, backed by the Soviet expansionists, unmasking Vietnam as a champion of national liberation.

To understand better the present conflict, it is necessary to go back a little in contemporary history.

The first Indochina war was an occasion for the leaders of the Indochinese Communist Party to directly and openly intervene in Kampuchea under the pretext of anti-colonialist solidarity. In fact, at that time, the Khmer peasantry rose up and fought for independence under the command of local leaders. In the cities, the intellectuals and the middle class in the Democratic Party fought by legal means for independence. It was only from 1949 that a group of patriotic intellectuals who realized that it was impossible to win independence by political struggle alone got themselves ready to organize the armed struggle by joining with the peasantry. In this context, the Vietminh cadres and troops were sent to Kampuchea in order to control the armed resistance of the Kampuchean people. It was from that period that the Indochinese Communist Party (alias Communist Party of Vietnam) started to enlist and train agents devoted to it, who later succeeded in infiltrating the ranks of patriots and holding positions in the organs of leadership of Democratic Kampuchea.

The Geneva Agreements in 1954 forced the Vietminh troops to withdraw totally from Kampuchea, taking with them several thousand young Kampuchians. This departure allowed the genuine patriots to grasp firmly in hand the leadership of the Kampuchean people's struggle, in the countryside as well as in the cities. National independence and complete sovereignty were their fundamental objectives. The patriots gathered together in an independent organization and adopted an independent political line. Indeed, they perfectly realized that under the cover of the 'Indochina Federation', the Hanoi regime wants to make Kampuchea a Vietnamese province where the Kampuchians would become in some decades a minority in their own country, to finally disappear completely, as was the case with the Islamic Kingdom of Champa and that of our territories in South-Vietnam. This explains why the Hanoi

authorities have never accepted this independent organization and political line.

In the 1960's, taking advantage of the facilities that had been accorded to them: sanctuaries and freedom of movement in our national territory, the Hanoi authorities re-established their contacts with their former agents, recruited some others and stepped up even further their subversive activities.

The coup d'état of 18 March 1970 was a new occasion for the Hanoi cadres and troops to unfurl throughout Kampuchea aiming at controlling everything. They had set up parallel organizations: army units, administration, trying to submerge the existing patriotic organizations. But contrary to their expectation, the people and the patriotic army of Kampuchea, abiding firmly by their position of independence and sovereignty, fought with determination and finally succeeded in retaking control of the country, at the same time engaging in the battle for the liberation of Phnom Penh which occurred on 17 April 1975, 13 days before the fall of Saigon on 30 April 1975. This historic fact has eliminated a possible pretext for the Hanoi regime to send their troops to 'liberate' Phnom Penh and then to conquer Kampuchea.

But that has not prevented Hanoi from attacking and taking our islands of Koh Way and launching harassment attacks along our borders. Hanoi has opposed the normalization of our relations with Thailand and the ASEAN countries. It is interesting to recall that at the Summit Conference of Non-Aligned countries in Colombo in August 1976, Hanoi exerted considerable pressure, but in vain, on Democratic Kampuchea to induce her, within the Non-Aligned Movement, to serve the interests of the so-called 'natural ally' of that movement – in particular, to wage a crusade against the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) accused by Hanoi of being an organization in the pay of a great power.

In an attempt to normalize the situation, the leaders of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, despite their heavy responsibilities within the newly liberated country, went to Hanoi in June 1975 to negotiate a treaty of friendship and non-aggression. That turned out to be a waste of time, because the Hanoi authorities, intoxicated by their recent victory and the vast stockpiles of arms which had been left behind by the U.S., did not want to hear about an independent, neutral, non-aligned Kampuchea. They banked on the ability of their military forces to embark, if necessary, on the conquest of Kampuchea. That is what happened at the end of 1977, after the successive failures of their efforts to achieve it by means of seduction, subversion and destabilization, combined with border attacks and attempts to coups d'état.

After the defeat of the first act of armed aggression against Democratic Kampuchea on 6 January 1978, Hanoi signed a military pact with Moscow on 3 November 1978, and it was with the immense assistance of the Soviet Union that it launched a second act of aggression against Democratic Kampuchea on 25 December 1978.

Therefore, the root cause of the present invasion of Kampuchea by the Hanoi authorities is their expansionist ambition to swallow up Kampuchea through the Vietnamese 'Indochina Federation' against the unshakable will of the Kampuchean people and their leaders to build a genuinely independent, united, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea with territorial integrity.

Vietnamese regional expansionism

Some people believe that the ambition of the Hanoi authorities would confine itself to what is called 'French Indochina' and that once this ambition is satisfied, they would not carry on their policy of aggression against other countries in the region. That is a fundamental mistake. This belief is based on two wrong premises:

– The first premise is that the Hanoi authorities do not have any ambition for regional domination;

– The second premise is that this ambition for regional domination of the Hanoi authorities can be separated from the world expansionist plan of the Soviet Union.

(1) The first premise has proved to be absolutely contrary to the facts. Indeed, this Vietnamese expansionist ambition is not confined to the Vietnamese 'Indochina Federation', but extends to the whole of South-East Asia.

(a) First, this Vietnamese 'Indochina Federation' does not stop with the absorption of Kampuchea and Laos, but is intended to take in 16 provinces in the East and North-East of Thailand.

(b) Besides, this Vietnamese 'Indochina Federation' is to serve as a springboard for Vietnamese expansion into the rest of South-East Asia. The member countries of the Non-Aligned Movement still remember the violent diatribes delivered by the Vietnamese delegation at the 5th Summit Conference in Colombo in August 1976 in opposition to the proposal by Malaysia that the final declaration should include support of the Conference for the Kuala Lumpur Declaration on the concept of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality (ZOPFAN) for South-East Asia. Everyone still remembers the violent criticism

and the insults proffered by Hanoi to all the members of ASEAN, particularly Thailand, with which Democratic Kampuchea re-established diplomatic relations since October 1975. The Vietnamese expansionists began to muffle this open hostility only towards the middle of 1978, in order to mask their preparations to invade Democratic Kampuchea. Faithful to their 'carrot and stick' routine, with 'honeyed words and heart of gall', they alternate the diplomacy of smiles with acts of aggression.

No one indeed has forgotten that the invasion of Democratic Kampuchea was launched three months after the assurances given by the Vietnamese Prime Minister, Pham Van Dong, to all the ASEAN countries that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam would respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all neighboring states. Neither has anyone forgotten the fact that the Vietnamese occupation troops in Kampuchea invaded the territory of Thailand and killed Thai nationals last June, only a few weeks after the Vietnamese Minister for Foreign Affairs had solemnly assured Thailand that the Socialist Republic of Vietnam would always respect its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. This Vietnamese aggression heralds the next stages of Vietnamese expansionism, should Viet Nam manage to achieve its primary ambition of an 'Indochina Federation'. Indeed, the expansionists from Hanoi never dissimulated their ambitions before the invasion of Democratic Kampuchea and the facts have always shown that Viet Nam wanted to play a great-power role in South-East Asia under the mask of a so-called 'mission of salvation' to be carried out on behalf of 'proletarian internationalism' as the 'outpost' of a 'socialism' struggling against forces which they describe for the sake of their expansionist cause as 'imperialist' and 'reactionary' and which are represented by all the other countries of South-East Asia and Asia. (2) The second premise is also proved to be contrary to the facts which have shown that the two ambitions of expansion of Hanoi and Moscow are part and parcel of the same world domination plan.

It is clear to everyone that the Hanoi authorities cannot and will never be able to achieve their regional expansionist ambition without active and powerful assistance from the world expansionist great power. In Kampuchea, it is a matter of common knowledge that the Vietnamese forces cannot pursue their occupation of the country or continue their crimes against the people of Kampuchea without enormous assistance from that expansionist great power, amounting to more than 3 million U.S. dollars a day.

In exchange for this total support from the expansionist great power for their 'Indochina Federation', the Hanoi authorities will pay any price. If

previously we had a few illusions about the terms of this exchange, today there is no further doubt, particularly since Viet Nam joined the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) in June 1978 and since the signing on 3 November 1978 of the military Soviet-Vietnamese treaty, known as the 'Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation', which in fact marks the entry of Vietnam into the Warsaw Pact. Furthermore, the opening of all Vietnamese military bases, both naval and air bases, including Danang and Cam Ranh, to the world expansionist great power merely confirms Vietnam's total dependency on that power and the indissoluble link between Vietnamese regional expansionism and world expansionism.

Finally, when Vietnamese forces were powerfully maintained and supplied with advisers and equipment by the expansionists, and when they invaded Democratic Kampuchea, some people thought that it was a bilateral conflict between two neighboring countries, without regional or world implications. It took the invasion of Afghanistan on identical pretexts and in rather similar circumstances, for people to understand the indissoluble links between regional expansionism and global expansionism, together with the danger of this expansionist strategy in all its range.

The present situation of the Kampuchean people's struggle

Since 25 December 1978, Vietnamese occupation troops have put the whole of Kampuchea to fire and sword, causing tremendous destruction and committing innumerable crimes unprecedented in Kampuchea's bi-millenary history. The enemy have killed our compatriots by millions. Hundreds of others are dying every day because of famine. The Hanoi authorities, with unheard of cruelty, have been applying three means of extermination: conventional weapons, chemical warfare, and above all, the inhuman weapon of famine. So, it is not a war of colonial conquest such as has been known in history, but a war of extermination of a whole people and nation, a war to make Kampuchea a human settlement so that Vietnam becomes a dominant nation in South-East Asia.

Survivors in hundreds of thousands have sought temporary refuge in Thailand, while millions of others have become refugees in their own country. And it is because of the Hanoi authorities' persistence in this systematic extermination venture that international humanitarian assistance to the

Kampuchean people was cynically diverted for the benefit of Hanoi's occupation troops or ended up in Vietnam.

But in spite of those misfortune and indescribable sufferings the people of Kampuchea, galvanized by the indomitable will to survive in independence and national dignity, have heroically fought the invader, under the leadership of the *Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea* and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea. They have succeeded in bogging down the 250,000 Vietnamese soldiers and 50,000 agents occupying Kampuchea. By way of comparison, this figure is the equivalent of 10 million foreign soldiers of occupation in any country or association of countries having a population of about 200 million. The memories of the 1845 victory are still engraved in the hearts of all our compatriots.

It will be recalled that the 'famous' dry season offensive of October 1979-April 1980 mounted by the Vietnamese aggressors was supposed, according to their propaganda, to completely annihilate the forces of Democratic Kampuchea, thus putting an end to Kampuchean resistance. The victorious resistance of our national army, of our guerrillas, of our people, who inflicted a crushing defeat on that offensive, constitutes a *strategic turning point* in the struggle of the Kampuchean people, in the sense that henceforth the Hanoi authorities will no longer be able to eliminate Democratic Kampuchea by force of arms and have now been driven into a military impasse.

In fact:

First, the Vietnamese troops are sustaining heavier and heavier losses every day on the battlefield. Their morale has suffered seriously as a result; mutinies and desertions are ever more numerous in the front-line units, particularly in the North-West, the Central region, the North-East and the South-West. To offset these losses the Le-Duan clique in Hanoi can only resort to new levies of troops in South-Vietnam. The 'Khmerization' of the war is on the other hand hopeless. Soviet assistance, which amounts to 3 million U.S. dollars a day, cannot remedy this critical situation, because the feeding of a 250,000 man occupation forces is an enormous burden for Vietnam, a poor country that has been sucked dry by more than 30 years of war and which must also maintain a 50,000-man occupation army in Laos.

Second, in Vietnam itself, the Le-Duan clique finds itself in a disastrous economic and financial situation, because of its policy of aggression and expansion against all its neighbours. Politically, internal dissension among the leaders has been continually worsening, particularly as a result of the accumulated failures in Kampuchea, while discontent has begun to overwhelm the

entire Vietnamese people, most particularly in South-Vietnam, whose opposition to Hanoi's domination is widespread and manifold. Insecurity has become rampant. On the high plateaux of central Vietnam, the Dega-Fulro resistance movement is gaining strength. In the Saigon and Mekong Delta regions, the people belonging to the Hoa Hao and Cao Dai religious sects in particular have stepped up their armed resistance. Their troops have been launching murderous attacks against Hanoi's troops. In the Mekong Delta too, guerrilla units of the Khmer Krom population have become more and more active and have inflicted severe losses on the North Vietnamese troops, particularly in the regions adjacent to Kampuchea. In Laos, the situation is not better. The Lao people have more and more resorted to armed struggle against the Vietnamese occupiers. Whatever the subterfuges used by the Le Duan clique to attempt to mislead international public opinion, it could not succeed in concealing the fact that at the present time it is experiencing great difficulties in Kampuchea, and also in Vietnam itself and in Laos.

On the contrary, the situation is steadily improving for Democratic Kampuchea. Our national army and our guerrilla units are consolidating their hold and are developing steadily and methodically according to schedule. The fighting zones are becoming ever more extensive and are starting to cover almost the whole country.

The Hanoi authorities are finding it necessary to resort to subterfuge in an attempt to make the world believe that the situation in Kampuchea is 'irreversible' and that they have a total grip on Kampuchea. They are impudently claiming that Kampuchean resistance has been reduced to just a few 'pockets' along the Kampuchean-Thai frontier. But everyone knows that the national army and guerrilla units of Democratic Kampuchea are fighting throughout the country up to Phnom Penh itself and are succeeding in inflicting severe and heavy losses on Vietnamese troops every day. Furthermore, the Hanoi authorities have not succeeded either in 'Khmerizing' the administration. In the temporarily occupied regions, it is the 50,000 Vietnamese agents who are running the whole show. The administration installed in Phnom Penh is a purely Vietnamese one.

All the successes of Democratic Kampuchea in the military field could not even be imagined without the support and active participation of large strata of the Kampuchean people in the people's war of national resistance. Indeed, it is absolutely clear to the people that the stake in that struggle is the very survival of the Kampuchean nation. That explains their active support for the Political Programme of the Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great Na-

tional Union of Kampuchea and the new strategic policy of the Democratic Kampuchea Government, which are mobilizing all Kampucheans, whatever their record, their history, their political ideology or their religious beliefs, with one objective in mind – to drive out all the Vietnamese aggressors from Kampuchea. The preparation of that Political Programme and of that new strategic policy has been guided by the noble national and patriotic ideals common to all Kampucheans, and the carrying out of that Political Programme and that policy have satisfied the people. The Vietnamese occupiers are very well aware that no Kampuchean accepts their occupation. That explains the frantic way in which they are committing genocide against the people of Kampuchea.

The present struggle of the people of Kampuchea is not therefore a struggle for the triumph of any ideology or any given social regime. All classes and social strata in Kampuchea subordinate, now and in the future, their particular private interests to the higher interest of national survival. It would be national suicide if, after liberation from the Vietnamese yoke, we were to call into question the basis of the Political Programme of the Front and the new strategic policy:

– On the one hand, because the danger from Vietnamese expansionism will not disappear that soon. Even if the Hanoi authorities are forced to withdraw their forces from Kampuchea temporarily, they will not, by so doing, renounce their age-old expansionist ambitions.

– On the other hand, after liberation, Kampuchea, which will emerge from the war totally denuded, will not be able to rehabilitate herself from the ruin and devastations caused by this war without international co-operation and assistance. It is only with that assistance and co-operation based on equality, mutual respect and reciprocal interest that an independent, sovereign, united, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea will be able to be rebuilt and to survive. Responsible to the future generations and to history, the Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea will do everything in their power to fulfill that sacred duty.

The role of Democratic Kampuchea in the struggle against expansionism

Facts and history have shown that the problem of Kampuchea is not a civil war or an ideological conflict. It is a conflict between the will of the people

of Kampuchea to be independent and the will of the Vietnamese regional expansionists to dominate and to annex, to swallow up Kampuchea through an 'Indochina Federation'. To start from the premise that it is a problem among neighbours or one of borders would be a very serious error of judgement. It is above all a problem between aggressors and the victims of aggression, which can be resolved only by the withdrawal of the aggressors. Furthermore, the fact that the Vietnamese regional expansionists are supported by the Soviet international expansionists places the Kampuchean problem within the context of the global strategy of Soviet international expansionism. The Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan are two aspects of one and the same strategy. The struggles now being waged by the peoples of Kampuchea and Afghanistan are a bulwark against the expansionist drive of the Soviet Union, which aims at becoming, with the control of the Malacca Strait and the Makasar Strait, the Persian Gulf and the oil reserves of the Middle-East, the master of the principal supply routes in South-East and South-West Asia.

In particular, in the war they are being forced to wage against the Vietnamese aggressors, the people of Kampuchea are certainly fighting for their own survival and that of their nation, but at the same time they are also contributing at the cost of their flesh and blood to the defense of peace, security, and stability in South-East Asia, in the rest of Asia and in the world as a whole.

Countries that cherish peace and justice are becoming increasingly aware of the international stake in the struggle being waged at the present time by the people of Kampuchea under the leadership of the Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea. They realize the full importance of that struggle of the Soviet Union and the Hanoi authorities.

That is why the Hanoi expansionists and the Moscow expansionists are seeking so assiduously to eliminate at all costs the major obstacle constituted by Democratic Kampuchea. Indeed, if they succeed in consolidating their position in Kampuchea by eliminating Democratic Kampuchea, there can be no doubt that they will come to dominate South-East Asia, and control the Malacca Strait, the Makasar Strait and the eastern part of the Indian Ocean. They will then have won a strategic superiority that they have never enjoyed before. The position of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan will be strengthened and that will make it possible for it to push its expansionism even further South. In such a situation, the balance of world forces would irremediably swing in favour of the expansionists and it would be too late for the forces

that cherish peace and justice to undertake anything to oppose the ambition for world domination of these expansionists.

Thus, solidarity with the present struggle of the people of Kampuchea and with that of the people of Afghanistan is not only an act of justice, but above all a necessity if we want to put an end in time and with the minimum of suffering and loss of human lives to the growing danger of Soviet expansionism and the danger of a third world war.

The expansionists' manoeuvres to eliminate Democratic Kampuchea

In order to eliminate at all costs Democratic Kampuchea – the only force capable of opposing their plans in Kampuchea – the expansionists are sparing no effort to hatch all kinds of plots and manoeuvres:

– *In the military field*, the Soviet expansionists are steadily increasing massive assistance to the Vietnamese regional expansionists in their new attempt to crush the national resistance of the people of Kampuchea and to pose even stronger threats to Thailand and to the other countries of the ASEAN.

– *In the political field*, the Vietnamese expansionists are making a great deal of noise about the so-called 'elections', in order to give a varnish of legitimacy to the Vietnamese administration in Phnom Penh, as if it were possible to organize general and free elections in a country at war, under the heel of 30,000 Vietnamese soldiers and occupation agents.

– *In the diplomatic field*, the Vietnamese expansionists are arrogantly continuing to propagate odious lies and slanders in order to sow confusion and division among peace- and justice-loving countries and to prevent them from constituting an international anti-expansionist front. Their aim is to win through diplomatic means what they have not been able to win militarily, namely, recognition by the international community of the *fait accompli* of Vietnam's invasion and occupation of Kampuchea.

To this end, they are trying to make everyone forget the underlying cause of the Kampuchean problem, which is the Vietnamese invasion, and to present this problem as the result of a conflict between the three countries of the so-called 'Indochina Federation' and the five countries of ASEAN, while brandishing the so-called 'Chinese threat'. This is the substance of their four-point proposal, the so-called Vientiane proposal, which was in fact hatched in Moscow and brought forward following the Vietnamese aggression of 23 June of this year against Thailand. That proposal was quite properly rejected by

the ASEAN countries, who saw it as a political trap designed to prevail upon Thailand to recognize, if not officially at least *de facto*, the Vietnamese administration installed in Phnom Penh. The proposal to create a demilitarized zone on both sides of the Kampuchea-Thailand border is nothing but a subterfuge designed to legitimize the presence of Vietnamese occupation troops in Kampuchea.

In the United Nations, the expansionists have desperately carried out their manoeuvres in an attempt to deprive the Government of Democratic Kampuchea of its legitimate rights and to leave the seat of Democratic Kampuchea vacant. This vacant seat would have been merely the prelude to the usurpation of Democratic Kampuchea's seat by the Vietnamese administration in Phnom Penh. It would have been tantamount to United Nations' approval of the violation of its charter by Hanoi and Moscow.

Finally, through all these manoeuvres and plots, the Hanoi authorities want to avoid the enforcement of U.N. General Assembly resolutions 34/22 and 35/6, which call for the immediate and total withdrawal of their occupation troops from Kampuchea, so that the Kampuchean people can exercise their inalienable right to decide for themselves their own affairs without foreign interference.

But the international community has frustrated all these plots and manoeuvres. The 35th Session of the U.N. General Assembly has decided by a vote of 74 against 35 to maintain the legitimate rights of Democratic Kampuchea and adopted by 97 votes against 23 resolution 35/6 demanding the implementation of resolution 34/22 and the calling for an international conference on Kampuchea.

The solution to the Kampuchean problem

The people of Kampuchea wish only to live in peace and security, in honour and national dignity, within their borders and to mobilize all their strength and national resources to build a prosperous country.

The Government of Democratic Kampuchea is committed to the search for a solution capable of putting a rapid end to the immeasurable pain and suffering the Kampuchean people have had to endure so long.

We believe that any solution to the Kampuchean problem must be subjected to a prerequisite: that of the total and unconditional withdrawal of Vietnamese occupation forces from Kampuchea in accordance with U.N.

General Assembly resolutions 34/22 and 35/6. Any measure that fails to take into account this prerequisite is unrealistic and unworkable.

In an attempt to conceal their expansionist ambition and to justify the occupation of Kampuchea by their armed forces, the Hanoi authorities have adduced two sophisms:

– The first sophism is the ‘invitation’ issued by the Vietnamese regime that they installed in Phnom Penh two months after their invasion of Kampuchea. That so-called ‘invitation’ needs no comment, since it smacks so much of gangster logic. Its only merit is that it demonstrates the cynicism of the Hanoi authorities and their total contempt for the international community.

– The second sophism is the so-called ‘Chinese threat’, which the Hanoi expansionists have been brandishing since the very outset of their invasion of Democratic Kampuchea. Was it because of the ‘Chinese threat’ that in April 1975 the Hanoi authorities began launching bloody attacks along the Eastern frontier and then, in June 1975, invaded Koh Way Island in our country? Was it because of the ‘Chinese threat’ that the Vietnamese forces refused after 1975 to withdraw completely from the sanctuaries they had occupied since 1965 on the territory of Kampuchea? Was it because of the ‘Chinese threat’ that they made efforts from 1975 to 1978 to destabilize Democratic Kampuchea by subversion and sabotage and attempted coups d’état and assassinations of leaders of Democratic Kampuchea?

The Hanoi authorities spoke at first of 100,000 Chinese soldiers and then of 20,000 Chinese experts in Kampuchea – and that at the very moment when they were invading Kampuchea. If their statements had really conformed to the facts, how would they have been able to succeed in carrying out their *blitzkrieg* in Kampuchea? And why are they unable to provide the slightest scrap of proof of the presence of these Chinese troops in Kampuchea?

In fact, we have always fought on our own. From 1970 to 1975, we fought on our own, without any advisers from any country whatsoever. And today we are fighting the Vietnamese invader on our own strength, without a single foreign adviser. On the other hand, everyone is aware that there are at present 250,000 Vietnamese soldiers in Kampuchea and 50,000 in Laos. Whereas China is to the north of Vietnam and has no frontier with Kampuchea, the Vietnamese troops are invading Kampuchea, which is to the south, as well as infiltrating the territory of Thailand. It appears that the more they brandish the ‘Chinese threat’ – which relates to the north – the more the Vietnamese expansionists are thrusting towards the south. By indulging in fabrications, in

their attempt to deceive the international community, they have really lost the north.

No person of good faith would accept this mind-boggling and Machiavellian reasoning on the part of the Hanoi regional expansionists. Nothing could justify the invasion and occupation of Kampuchea by the Vietnamese forces.

To provide a just and lasting solution to the problem of Kampuchea, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea made public on 5 May, 1980, a three-point proposal, which has been reaffirmed in the Communiqué of the Council of Ministers of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea dated 7 June 1980, as follows:

– *First*, the Hanoi authorities must unconditionally withdraw all their forces from Kampuchea, in conformity with General Assembly resolution 34/22, allowing the people of Kampuchea to exercise their inalienable right to solve their own problems themselves, without foreign interference.

– *Secondly*, after the total withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea – and only then – the Kampuchean people will choose their national government, by means of general and free elections, with direct and secret balloting under the supervision of the Secretary-General of the United Nations or his representatives. Kampuchea will remain independent, united, peaceful, democratic, neutral and non-aligned, without any foreign military bases, and with guarantees provided by the United Nations and the international community.

– *Thirdly*, in the case of the people of Vietnam and of Vietnam itself, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the people of Kampuchea will harbour no hatred or rancour, nor will they require any compensation, provided that the Vietnamese forces withdraw completely from Kampuchea. They are prepared to live in peace and on good terms with their neighbour to the east, as well as all their neighbours in the region.

The implementation of that reasonable proposal would restore peace and national independence to Kampuchea. But as long as the Hanoi authorities continue their war of aggression and genocide in Kampuchea, as long as the Vietnamese forces continue to invade and occupy Kampuchea, there can be no peace, security, stability or co-operation in South-East Asia. On the contrary, all that will happen will be that the conflict will get worse and spread throughout the region.

We would like to express our great appreciation and deep gratitude to the ASEAN countries and other peace- and justice-loving countries for the tireless and clear-sighted efforts they have made since the beginning of 1979 to solve the problem of Kampuchea by their resolute adherence to the principles

of the United Nations Charter and the profound peaceful aspirations of their peoples and by calling urgently for the total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea.

These efforts are an important contribution to the sacred cause of Kampuchea. They are also a contribution to the restoration of peace, security, and stability in South-East Asia and the establishment in that part of the world of a 'Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality', propitious to world peace. Such efforts also contribute to the strengthening of the principles of the United Nations Charter, of non-alignment, and of international law.

For their part, no matter how great the sacrifices they are called upon to make, our people and our national army, under the leadership of the Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, are resolutely determined to continue their just struggle to drive all the Vietnamese aggressors from Kampuchea. They will earn the sympathy, the support and the assistance of all peace- and justice-loving peoples by fulfilling the difficult historical task that has fallen to them of successfully opposing regional and world expansionism and of making their modest contribution to world peace, to the independence of all states, and to the social progress and the well-being of all peoples of the world.

We would like to reiterate the unswerving commitment of the people and Government of Democratic Kampuchea to the cause of peace and freedom for all the world's countries and peoples, and particularly our devotion to traditional friendship with all neighbouring peoples and countries. A founder member of the Non-Aligned Movement and a member of the United Nations, Democratic Kampuchea still remains faithful to the ideals and principles of non-alignment and of the United Nations Charter.

Appendix I: Some aspects of the positive results of Democratic Kampuchea in national reconstruction (1975-1978)

If for more than 22 months, the Kampuchean people under the leadership of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea have succeeded in resisting the 250,000 heavily armed Hanoi soldiers, backed by 50,000 Vietnamese administrators, Soviet advisers, and 3 million U.S. dollars of Soviet materials per day, i.e., in the proportion of one Vietnamese for 20 inhabitants of Kampuchea (children included), that means that the results of three and a half years of management by the Government of Democratic Kampuchea are not as negative as is alleged by Vietnamese propaganda.

For example, by the end of 1978, the networks of dams, artificial lakes, embankments and irrigation canals had provided an excellent crop despite the irregularity of the rains. In the cities, industry had developed rapidly: all existing industries before April 1975 were back in full capacity of operation again, many other factories had been re-arranged and enlarged. Many others, newly built, had also been put into operation. The textile factory supplied 350,000 blankets in 1977, 450,000 in 1978 and should go up to 1,000,000 from 1980 with its extension. Many foundries were mounted throughout the country and even a small blast-furnace was put into experimentation. We made rotary pumps of 30cm diameter, semi- and fully automatic threshing-machines, fully mechanized rice mills, mechanized cultivators, small machine-tools, planing machines for wood, mechanized saw mills, etc. As for transport, the railways Kampong Som-Phnom Penh-Battambang were repaired since 1976 and a new line of international level between Kampong Som through Pich Nil pass was already half finished (which should be a double track-way). We had also built ships of both wood and steel of 500 tones. The glass-making factory, cement factory and plywood factory had been rebuilt and put into action. Other factories were in construction: a paper mill, a factory for making 12hp diesel motors, one for making caustic soda and chlorinate products from the electrolysis of salt, a factory for making ammonia and nitrogenous fertilizers, an electric furnace sawmill, a big petroleum refinery, thermal power-stations of 40,000 kw total, etc.

It was because the Hanoi authorities, besides their expansionist aims could no longer count on a coup d'état from inside Kampuchea and were conscious of the fact that the rapid economic development of Kampuchea would be a

powerful reminder of their inability to develop their own country economically that they decided to attack and invade Kampuchea by force.

It is true that the Government of Democratic Kampuchea had committed some mistakes, but by the middle of 1978, it was perfectly aware of them and measures were being taken to correct them. But it is because the results have as a whole been positive that the present resistance is possible, and that after nearly two years, the Hanoi authorities have failed to 'Khmerize' either the war or the administration in the areas under their temporary control. Without the 250,000 Vietnamese soldiers, the Khmer varnish of the Phnom Penh administration will disappear by itself.

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