

# INDOCHINA SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE

BOX 'C', OLD CHELSEA STA., NEW YORK, N.Y. 10011 (212) 982-7162

25¢

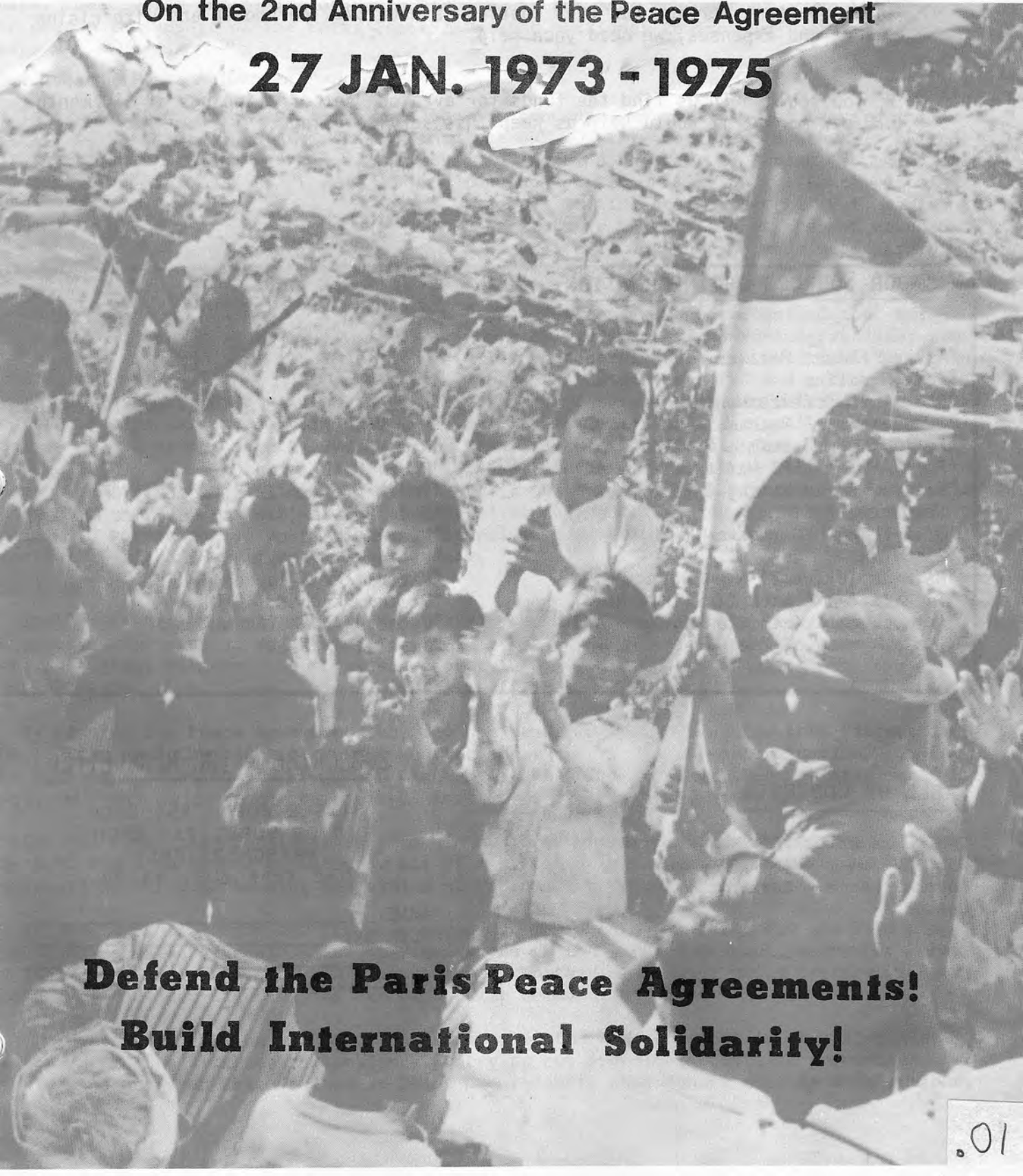
VOL II, NO 7

## NEWSLETTER

JANUARY, 1975

On the 2nd Anniversary of the Peace Agreement

### 27 JAN. 1973 - 1975



**Defend the Paris Peace Agreements!**  
**Build International Solidarity!**

## COULD YOU HELP US SUPPLY INFORMATION TO THE P.R.G., LAOS AND CAMBODIAN LIBERATION FORCES ?

For some years we have been clipping information on the Indochina war from major U.S. news sources and sending sets each month to the DRVN, PRG, LAOS and CAMBODIAN Liberation Forces.

This important service has been costing us over \$75. per month and with rising prices and expenses, we need your help.

If you could help us find the funds for even one set of clippings at \$10/month \$10 per month, it would help us keep this service going.

Thanks, ISC

### MAJOR SOURCES OF INFORMATION

- \*Agence France Presse
- \*Asia Magazine
- \*Christain Science Monitor
- \*Congressional Records
- \*Far Eastern Economic Review (FEER)
- \*Focal Point (IPC National Paper)
- \*Foreian Broadcasting Information Service (FRIS)
- \*Giai Phong News Agency (PRG)
- \*Guardian
- \*Hsinhua (Chinese) News Agency
- \*International Bulletin (InterNews)
- \* Krmpuchea Information Agency- AKI (News Agency of the GRUNC & FUNK)

- \*Khoesan Pathet Lao (LPF News Agency)
- \*Laos News (LPF publication)
- \*Liberation News Service (LNS)
- \*New York Times
- \*New York Post
- \*Radio Pathet Lao
- \*South Vietnam in Struggle (NLF)
- \*Thoi Bao Ga (Vietnam Resource Center)
- \*Vietnam Courier
- \*Vietnam Information Bulletin
- \*Vietnam News Agency (DRVN)
- \*Vietnam Report (AVPC)
- \*Voice of FUNK (Funk Radio)
- \*Washington Post

### TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>Two years After the Peace Agreements</i>	3
<i>South Vietnam - 1974 (Photos)</i>	7
<i>South Vietnam - Current Situation</i>	8
<i>Cambodia</i>	11
<i>Laos</i>	13
<i>DRVN - Building Socialism</i>	14

### SUBSCRIBE - ISC NEWSLETTER

SINGLE COPY: 25¢ EACH  
10 OR MORE: 15¢ EACH  
PRISONERS FREE  
ONE YEAR SUB: \$3.00

NAME: \_\_\_\_\_  
ADDRESS: \_\_\_\_\_  
CITY: \_\_\_\_\_ STATE: \_\_\_\_\_  
ZIP: \_\_\_\_\_ DATE: \_\_\_\_\_

Two Years After the Signing of the Peace Agreement:

# Unprecedented Victories for the Revolutionary Forces !

Two years after the signing of the "Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam", a revolutionary tide is sweeping the mountains, countryside and cities of South Vietnam, as the mass movement of the people in support of the Paris Peace Agreement continues to grow in leaps and bounds.

## What Does the Peace Agreement Call For?

The Paris Peace Agreement reaffirmed the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Vietnam. It stated that Vietnam was ONE COUNTRY- north and south. It called for the total withdrawal of all U.S. forces, and forbids the U.S. to impose any political tendency or personality on the South Vietnamese people. It also stated that the U.S. would contribute to the healing of the war wounds and the massive reconstruction made necessary by the bombings.



*PRG & DRVN officials supervising the last US ground troops leaving SVN.*

Release of all POW's and civilian political prisoners, the immediate granting of democratic liberties, and the eventual holding of general elections from which would emerge a sole legitimate government of South Vietnam. Reunification with the North would then proceed peacefully, without any outside interference.

## Who Is Responsible For Continuing the War ?

The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam (DRVN) -North Vietnam- and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam (PRG) have always characterized the Peace Agreement as a great victory. It represented everything they had been fighting for, for the past 30 years.

By signing the Peace Agreement, the U.S. has been forced to recognize that Vietnam is ONE COUNTRY, and the right of the South Vietnamese people to self-determination. In fact, the Agreement embodies all the major clauses of the NLF's original 10-point program of 1960, and every major peace proposal put forth by the NLF and PRG since then.

For the first time in 115 years there is no foreign army occupying Vietnamese soil, as the U.S. has been forced to withdraw all of its ground forces. It brought an end (overtly at least) to all U.S. bombing and mining of Vietnam's ports.

To say then, as Saigon and the U.S. corporate media does, that the PRG and DRVN are the major parties responsible for the violations of the Peace Agreement is absurd. Clearly it is not in the PRG and DRVN's interest to sabotage a document which represents everything they had been fighting for the past three decades.

The U.S. and Thieu on the other hand, never wanted the Agreement in the first place and never had the slightest intention of carrying out its vital political provisions. It surprised no one when Thieu stated at Thieu Duc recently that "there will be no elections,



no coalition government, no delineation of zones of control. There is no Third Force nor any Communist Provisional Revolutionary Government, but only North Vietnamese troops temporarily and illegally occupying South Vietnam." (Far Eastern Economic Review, 12/6) No one doubted Kissinger when he stated immediately following the signing of the Peace Agreement that "the U.S. Government will continue to recognize the [Thieu] Government of the Republic of Vietnam as the sole legitimate Government of South Vietnam."

During the first year of "peace" in Vietnam, Thieu continued the war as though the Peace Agreement had never been signed, seizing 770 new hamlets in addition to those already under his control. Hundreds of thousands of land-grabbing operations were launched against the PRG zones. Thieu at one point bragged that his troops were outshooting the Liberation Forces by a ratio of 20:1.

In the cities and areas under Saigon's control, pacification and terror raids were launched daily. Instead of releasing the more than 200,000 political prisoners, thousands more were rounded up. Despite Article 11 of the Peace Agreement which calls for "Freedom of Movement between the two zones in South Vietnam", Thieu ordered his troops to "shoot to death" any refugees attempting to return to their native villages in the PRG zones. Thieu also explained that "democratic liberties had to be denied because they will be exploited by the Communists to propagate their ideology." (Ramparts Magazine, Jan. 1975) By the start of 1974, Thieu was ordering his troops to "attack the Communists in their own zones of control," and Saigon planes were carrying out systematic bombing raids against the Liberated Zones.

#### A U.S. War of Aggression

All of this, of course, must be understood as the U.S. response to the Peace Agreement. Despite its defeats year after year, the U.S. continues its attempts to turn South Vietnam into a neo-colony and military base, and to keep Vietnam permanently divided. Since the signing of the Peace Agreement, only the tactics have changed for achieving these objectives.

The Thieu regime is nothing more than a puppet with U.S. Imperialism pulling the strings. More than 90% of Saigon's yearly budget is provided by the U.S. According to Representative Lou Aspin (D-Wis.), since January, 1973, the U.S. has given \$8.2 billion in "aid" to pro-U.S. regimes in Indochina, most of which went to Thieu (Wash. Post, 1/2/75). This is more aid than the U.S. gave to the rest of the world combined during this period.

Pentagon officials recently admitted publicly that the U.S. has been continuously carrying out reconnaissance flights over Cambodia, the DRVN and the Liberated Zones in South Vietnam, and that this intelligence was being given to the Saigon & Phnom Penh air forces to carry out bombing raids against the Liberated Zones. (NY Times, 1/13/75)

The U.S. continues to maintain more than 25,000 military advisors dressed in civilian clothes. These advisors direct Saigon's troops in all land-grabbing and pacification operations, run Thieu's prisons and police force, and supervise the distribution and use of U.S. arms and ammunition, which continue to pour into the country at unprecedented levels.

The U.S. Imperialists had big plans for South Vietnam in 1974. The "Leopard-skin" situation (Saigon and PRG zones intermingled) in the Mekong Delta and around the capital was to be erased and PRG communications and transportation routes harassed and interdicted. The Saigon Commander in the Mekong Delta bragged that by the end of





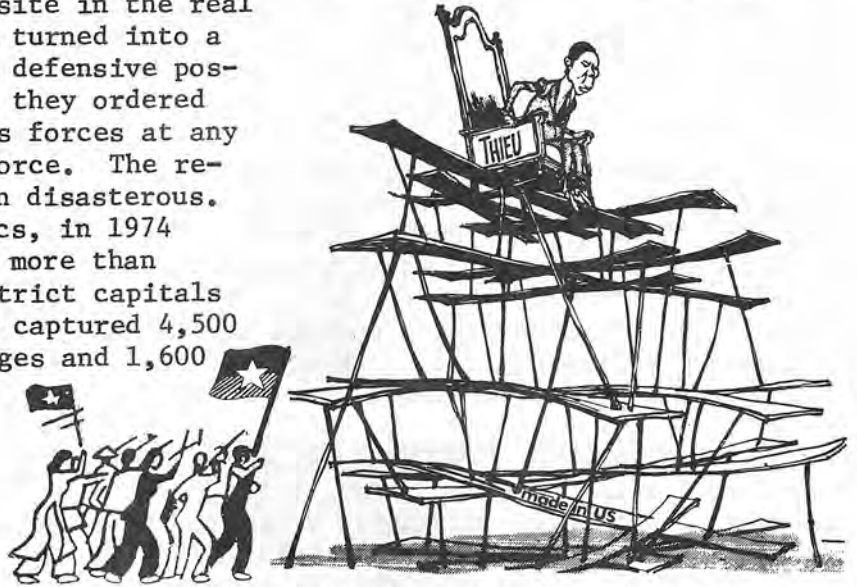
the year the 100 or so hamlets under PRG control in the Delta would be taken. 250 "Agricultural Development" (concentration) camps were to be set up in contested areas and 600,000 refugees resettled. 2,000 new sub-district military bases were to be established. In a word, Saigon's military attacks in the countryside and police repression in the cities would attempt to wipe out the basic reality recognized by the Peace Agreement: the existence of a PRG army, PRG administration, PRG zones of control and the Third Force in the urban centers.

### The PRG's Response



According to the U.S. ruling class (Duponts, Rockefellers, etc) and their mouthpieces in the government and press, the PRG is supposed to sit back and let themselves be destroyed. But things are quite the opposite in the real world, and Saigon's dream for 1974 has turned into a nightmare. While the PRG maintained a defensive posture during most of 1973, on October 3 they ordered their troops to strike back at Saigon's forces at any place, and with appropriate arms and force. The results for the U.S. and Saigon have been disastrous.

According to still incomplete statistics, in 1974 PRG forces killed, wounded or captured more than 255,000 Saigon troops; captured 14 district capitals and military sub-sectors; destroyed or captured 4,500 military bases and outposts; 170 villages and 1,600 hamlets were recovered with some 1,220,000 people. They destroyed or captured 4,000 US tanks, 500 artillery pieces, blew up 217 ammunition depots, and downed or damaged 518 planes. For the first time since May, 1972, an entire province including its provincial capital (Phuoc Long) has been captured by the Liberation Forces. (See current situation) To say the least, none of the U.S.-Saigon goals for 1974 were attained.



### The Third Force Fights Back

As the Thieu regime was losing control of the countryside, it was meeting similar disasters in the areas under its control. Fed up with dictatorship, misery, corruption and an endless war, South Vietnam's cities exploded with mass resistance to Thieu and his US masters. Beginning last September, demonstrations, protests, strikes and riots became an everyday occurrence in the urban centers. Organizations seemingly sprung up from nowhere, demanding an end to corruption, starvation, unemployment, repression and Thieu, and calling for the implementation of the Peace Agreement. Even Thieu's staunchest power-base, the extremely conservative Catholic minority began calling for his removal. A clear picture of the economic situation in the Saigon-controlled zones helps one to understand the inevitability of such widespread resistance: *"More than 3.5 million people jobless, 70% of the population undernourished, 50% of the schoolchildren forced to give up study, agriculture at a standstill, industry and commerce down by 50-60%, inflation up by 114% in 1974, prices boosted from 50-300% and the piastre (Saigon currency) devalued 17 times in the past 20 months, 130,000 drug addicts, more than 500,000 prostitutes, over a half million orphans, widespread vagrancy and rampant corruption."* (South Vietnam in Struggle, 11/11/74)



Buddhist monk: Anti-Thieu protest

Clearly shaken by these recent events, the U.S. pressured Thieu to throw a few crumbs to the people by reshuffling his cabinet and firing a whole bunch of his stooges in the military.

Meanwhile, the CIA began subverting the urban opposition, manipulating spokesmen such as Fr. Thanh to try and convince the urban people that it is not the US war of aggression that is causing their problems, but simply corruption and that all is needed is a few reforms. Another reason for infiltrating the Third Force is to find another US stooge, in case the US has to change horses in midstream. But even if the US decides to trade in Thieu for a cleaner model, it will not be to bring peace and prosperity to the South Vietnamese people, but to present a more honest image in Saigon, so that the liberal majority in the new US Congress won't feel so guilty or embarrassed to appropriate the huge sums of dollars Thieu needs to stay afloat.

The townspeople in South Vietnam don't want any more crumbs or handouts, they want the whole pie. They've had enough of musical chairs and watching one U.S. paid agent replace another. What they demand is an end to all US intervention, the removal of Thieu and the setting up in Saigon of an administration that stands for the implementation of the Peace Agreement.

### SUPPORT THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE'S JUST STRUGGLE

The cry for the implementation of the Peace Agreement can be heard throughout Vietnam. It is time for the American people to pierce the ears of the U.S. rulers with this same cry. We must demand and struggle in every way possible to end all US aid to its puppet regimes in Indochina, and to force it to abide by the Peace Agreement it signed.

The balance of forces between revolution and counter-revolution in South Vietnam has decisively tilted to the side of revolution. The Vietnamese people in their long struggle for peace, freedom and independence are closer than ever to final victory. But final victory will not come because the Saigon regime and US Imperialism "crumble of their own weight". Ruling classes have never been known to give up their power, wealth and privilege without a vicious struggle. Final victory will come because the masses of Vietnamese people in the cities and countryside will continue to strike back at the US invaders; final victory will come because the American people and people of the world continue to show their international solidarity with the Vietnamese and oppose continued US Imperialist aggression in Indochina! □

DEFEND THE PEACE AGREEMENTS!

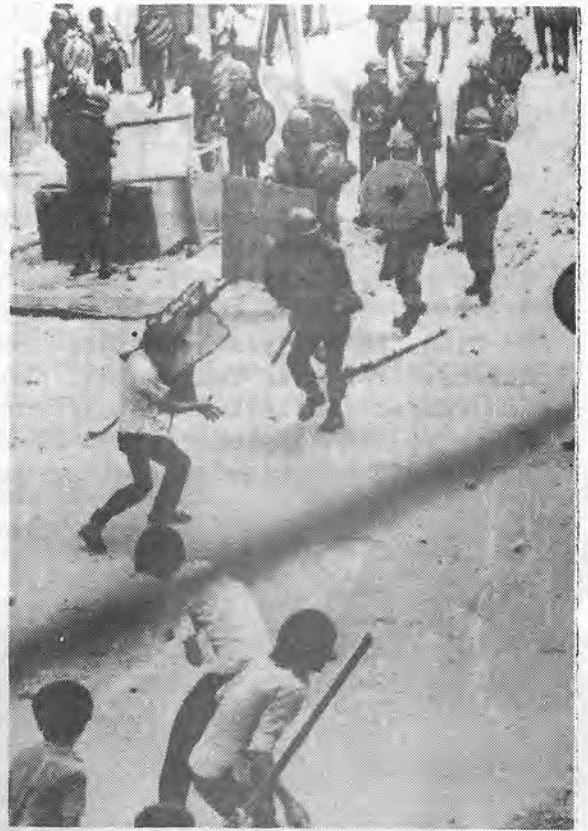
VICTORY TO THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE!

\*\*\*\*\*



*Is the past, is the future  
Is misery, is happiness  
Is the struggle, is the resistance  
My heart belongs to the people  
Who dare write their history on earth  
With their own blood.*





**South  
Vietnam -  
1974**



# South Vietnam: Current Situation



During the past month the heaviest fighting since the signing of the Peace Agreements in January, 1973 has erupted throughout South Vietnam. This has resulted in victory upon victory for the Provisional Revolutionary Government as the demoralized troops of the Thieu regime continue to falter.

With the new year the Thieu regime found itself weaker and closer to collapse than ever before. For over two months, people in the cities tired of suffering from unemployment and rampant inflation and corruption, organized demonstrations demanding the ouster of Thieu and the implementation of the Peace Agreements. At the same time, Congress cut nearly 50% of Thieu's lifeline-U.S. aid.



Liberation Fighters counter-attacking Saigon Land-grabbers.

All this has contributed favorably to the struggle in South Vietnam against U.S. imperialism. A meeting of the Central Committee of the National Liberation Front put forth the present political tasks: "To unite the entire people, mobilize the whole army and people to promote vigorously the struggle on political, military and diplomatic fronts. Resolutely frustrate the U.S. -Thieu's attempt at sabotaging the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam. Topple Nguyen Van Thieu and his gang - the major obstacle at present to the implementation of the Paris Agreement and to the settlement of the political problems in South Viet Nam-

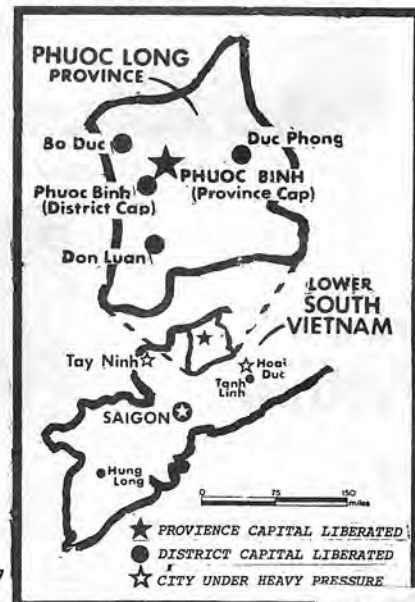
Establish in Saigon an administration which stands for peace and national concord and strictly implements the Paris Agreements on Viet Nam." (Liberation Radio, 12/17/74) "The position and strength of the revolution in the south have never been so strong."

## Thieu Sinking Fast

Thieu is in a fix. In an attempt to solve his numerous political and economic problems Thieu launched a military offensive. Fighting began in early December, centering in the rice rich Mekong Delta. Raids to gain control of the upcoming rice harvest were launched against the liberated zones. But Thieu's aggression has only created more problems for his regime. Crushing blows were dealt to the landgrabbers. According to a high ranking Saigon official: "At no point, in I don't know how many years have they been so very strong, so very mobile. The reverse is true with us. We are weaker and less mobile than before. They are in a position to attack anywhere. At no point in the history of the war has the prospect of defeat looked so real." (N.Y. Times, 1/17/75)

At the turn of the year the fighting focused on Phouc Long Province. In only two weeks the PRG liberated four district capitals and several military outposts, leaving only the provincial capital of Phouc Binh under Saigon's control. After a six day siege by the PRG, Phouc Binh fell "like a ripe fruit" on January 7. Phouc Long is the first province to be entirely liberated since Quang Tri fell in May, 1972.

Six district capitals have been liberated since mid-December and several others are currently under siege. Now the key



.08

provincial capital of Tay Ninh is coming under increasing pressure. The city is surrounded and has been shelled daily in the past two weeks. "Long time residents say the situation has never been so critical, and (Saigon) government forces are digging in for what they think will be a major communist attack." (Wash. Post, 1/11/75)

With this increasing pressure on urban centers, Thieu's army has been forced to pull back from major actions in the countryside. Instead of the offensive operations that the U.S. and Thieu planned they are now pinned back and on the defensive. This has enabled the PRG to consolidate, secure and develop the liberated zones with much less interference from the puppet troops. Thieu however, will continue to try offensives in the coming months as his survival is dependent on his U.S.-created and maintained war machine.

Another element contributing to the PRG's successes is the continuing demoralization of Thieu's armed forces. Short of ammunition and without the protection of U.S. B-52's, the puppet forces grow more and more reluctant to fight. As one officer explained, "The military situation is very, very bad. The spirit of the fighting men has decreased critically during the past 2 months because so many Saigon outposts have been overrun. It's to the point now that if the Vietcong (PRG) launch even a small attack on an outpost the soldiers will immediately run away." (Washington Post, 12/24/74) The desertion rate has reached crisis levels. The fact that the troops haven't been paid for months hasn't helped the situation either.



Thieu is also losing the battle in the cities as demands for his ouster continue. Thieu's attempts to crush the Third Force opposition have failed. Thousands of people in Saigon held a demonstration on Christmas day, denouncing Thieu and demanding full implementation of the Peace Agreements. (FBIS, 12/30/74)

In a recent interview with Thich Thien Chou, President of the Vietnamese Overseas Buddhist Association in Paris, it was pointed out that economically and militarily the Thieu regime has never been so weak. He reported that the different groups making up the Third Force were working together with common goals, but had to stay independent for security reasons. He was quick to point out that Father Thanh, leader of the Catholic Anti-Corruption Movement, was not a representative of the Third Force (see last Newsletter) but in fact "belonged to the First Force", the pro-U.S. government force." Concluding his interview, Thich Thien Chou stated that the Third Force joins with the PRG in fighting U.S. efforts to impose neo-colonialism on South Vietnam. "We will continue to fight for the ouster of Thieu and the implementation of the Peace Agreements, leading to reunification of all Viet Nam." He predicted continued demonstrations in the areas Thieu controls, especially around the anniversary of the signing of the Peace Agreements. (IPC Interview with Thich Thien Chou, New York City, 1/11/75)

The U.S. ruling class has tried scheme after scheme to save its tottering regime in Saigon. Immediately following the fall of Phouc Binh the National Security Council (Ford, Kissinger, Rocky, the CIA, et al) held a special meeting to discuss their deteriorating situation in Indochina. Undoubtedly they talked about possible military maneuvers and actions against the Vietnamese and Cambodian patriots, designed to save Thieu and Lon Nol. But they also must have talked about possible replacements for Thieu, who could both represent U.S. Imperialist interests and pacify and suppress the Third Force.





Ford will ask Congress for at least \$300 million in additional military aid for the Saigon regime. (Congress cut aid to Saigon in December by half of Ford's requested \$2.5 billion for this year. He is expected to increase that request for 1976) Kissinger has threatened that "Congress should provide sufficient funds for the war or accept responsibility for the loss of South Vietnam." (N.Y. Times, 1/9/75)

U.S. troops on Okinawa are reportedly on alert, ready to move out on four hours notice. (Washington Post, 1/12/75) The U.S. Navy increased its activities off the shores of Vietnam and two high ranking officials were sent to Saigon to confer with Thieu.

A spokesperson for the U.S. in Thailand reported that the U.S. has begun "moving stockpiles of ammunition from Thailand to South Vietnam" this was described as not routine. (Washington Post, 1/10/75) The Pentagon has also admitted to flying reconnaissance missions over both North and South Vietnam, in violation of the Peace Agreements, confirming such reports from the DRVN beginning the week after the signing of the Agreements. The number of Saigon planes shot down by the PRG has increased greatly in the past month, Thieu's pilots are now refusing to fly below 12,000 feet for fear of being shot down. (Time Magazine, 1/20/75) This could be the reason that the U.S. is now guiding Saigon's Air Force in its bombing raids against the PRG's administrative capital, Loc Ninh and newly liberated Phouc Binh.

Although the situation is serious, time and circumstances are on the side of the liberation forces not the U.S. Ford and the ruling class have their hands full of problems here at home that they can't solve. They are surely taking into account the American people's response to the direct U.S. aggression in Indochina in the 60's and 70's. It was this opposition that contributed to many of the ruling class's current problems and they do not want to see Indochina back at the top of the list of gripes that is growing daily. As the Indochinese people move forward, taking advantage of their enemy's weakness, so too must the American people organize to defeat U.S. Imperialism. □



PLAF shoots down Saigon air pirate

#### News Update:

On January 14 a spokesman for the State Department declared that the U.S. Government considered itself as unilaterally free to violate the Vietnam Peace Agreements. This came following increasing pressure on the U.S. to give a full explanation for its continued violations of the Agreements, after confirmed reports of U.S. reconnaissance flights over the DRVN. This was seen as an attempt by the U.S. to: One, justify its continued violations of the Agreements; Two, supply Congress with a rationale for restoring its aid cuts; Three, intimidate the Indochinese liberation fighters.

This followed a letter sent by the U.S. to the 13 nations who attended the International Conference on Vietnam guaranteeing the implementation of the Agreements, and calling on support for the U.S.-Thieu position. But the U.S. was slapped in the face. Two days later the United Nations granted permission for the PRG to set up a liaison office at it's Geneva Offices. This is expected to lead to the PRG being granted an "Observer" status (which Saigon already has) at the U.N. "The U.N. move is in political terms a blow to the U.S. policy of withholding full international recognition from the PRG, and one more bone of contention between the U.S. and the U.N. (N.Y. Post 1/16/75) □



IMPLEMENT THE PEACE AGREEMENT! END ALL AID TO SAIGON! FULL RECOGNITION TO THE PRG!



# Cambodia

After the United Nations vote on the Cambodian question, Khieu Samphan, Prime Minister of the GRUNC, stated that the struggle to free Cambodia from US Imperialism would continue. "In the dry season the CPNLAF (People's National Liberation Armed Forces of Cambodia) and our people will launch stronger attacks at the enemy by keeping up and taking advantage of our absolute superior position in every domain: military, political and economic. Our people will continue to fight until complete victory is achieved without compromise or negotiations." (AKI, 12/10/74) As promised, the dry season offensive began with the new year. The fighting has been concentrated around the city of Phnom Penh, along strategic transportation routes and in provincial towns controlled by the Lon Nol regime.



"At present, the several combat fronts with wide gaps of countryside between them, roughly describe a semi-circular arc around Phnom Penh, running from west to north to east." (NY Times, 1/4/75) In the most dramatic victory of the new offensive, GRUNC forces have moved the closest to the capital since the US bombing stopped in August 1973. The liberation forces have captured puppet military outposts along the Mekong River moving within two miles of Phnom Penh. "In the daylight hours, hundreds line the river esplanade in front of the former royal palace to watch government planes swooping to drop their bombs, artillery explosions sending clouds of dirt into the air, villages being consumed in plumes of flame and smoke...It's a circus atmosphere, vendors of sweets and soft drinks and sellers of lottery tickets do a healthy business among the spectators." (NY Times, 1/3/75) Despite the Times' effort to make light of the situation, the fierce attacks by the GRUNC drew out all but the last defense units from the capital city.

the enemy forces in one area and then attack it in many others - the GRUNC forces opened another front at the Mekong River town of Neak Long. The battle, the scene of the heaviest fighting in this new offensive, is a critical one. If the GRUNC captures Neak Long they will gain control over the last remaining supply line to Phnom Penh. Since all roads were cut long ago, the Mekong

River serves as the only transport route for imports of American ammunition and food to the Lon Nol regime. As it is, all convoys have been indefinitely suspended. (NY Times, 1/13)

The effect of the fighting has been threefold. The GRUNC forces have clearly demonstrated their determination and ability to fight this war on the battlefields and win. Second, they have intensified the



CPNLAF women's unit sets out for the front.

crisis already felt by the Lon Nol regime. Following the doctrine of "heavy firepower" the puppet forces have been expending ammunition at the rate of 340 tons a day. At this rate due to the recent Congressional aid cuts, the Lon Nol forces will run out of ammunition by April. (NY Times, 1/8/75)

The escalated fighting has also increased both the desertion rate from the Phnom Penh side and Lon Nol's desperate attempts to forcibly impress people into the army. Responding to the calls of the FUNK to rise up against the Lon Nol regime from within his zones, thousands of people, including factory and office workers, civil servants, teachers, students, dock workers and ship builders have united to demand an end to the draft, rice to eat and their rightful salaries. (Hsinhua, 12/19/74) Starvation is widespread as the price of rice soars and the value of the riel continues to go down. People have widely taken up the tactic of liberating rice from government graineries. When resistance from within the Lon Nol controlled areas becomes impossible people go over to the liberated zones. Thus the military offensive has served to increase both the territory and population governed by the GRUNC. This in turn has enabled the GRUNC to expand the armed forces and begin new economic projects within the liberated zones. With a consolidated armed forces, territory and population, the GRUNC will surely win their protracted people's war.

### U.S. MANEUVERS TO "IMPLEMENT

### UN RESOLUTION"

Rather than accord the GRUNC their rightful seat, the UN resolution calls "the two Cambodian parties" to enter into negotiations to find a peaceful end to the conflict in Cambodia. In response to the UN vote, Khieu Samphan issued the following statement: "The nation, the people of Cambodia, the FUNK, the GRUNC and the CPNLAF condemn this maneuver of "Resolution" of the US Imperialists and reject categorically this "Resolution"...and by no means allow the UN or any foreigner to interfere in their internal affairs." It is within this spirit that all maneuvers since the resolution passed in the General Assembly have been exposed and rejected by the GRUNC.



12 year old orphans forcibly inducted into the Lon Nol army to defend Phnom Penh.



In late December Presidents Ford and d'Estaing of France issued a communique at the end of their Martinique summit meeting which called for the negotiations to begin. The two heads of state expressed the "hope that the contending parties would enter into negotiations rather than continuing the military struggle." In response Prince Sihanouk described the statement as further interference in the internal affairs of the Cambodian people. "An act of good sense would be for France and the United States to invite the Washington government - the aggressor against the Cambodian kingdom - to negotiate peace and the return of total independence to Cambodia, with the GRUNC the legal and unique representative of the Cambodian people." (AFP, 12/21

Prince Sihanouk (right) GRUNC Head of State with Mr. Khieu Samphan, Deputy Prime Minister & Minister of Defense



On December 17 Lon Nol extended an invitation to UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim to visit Phnom Penh. Sihanouk reiterated his suggestion that the UN negotiate with the US to end the war in Cambodia. In addition, the GRUNC and FUNK issued a public warning that it would "take no responsibility" for Waldheim's safety while he was in Cambodia, reminding him that the fighting struck deep into Lon Nol's territory. "The Cambodian people consider the trip as an encouragement for the US Imperialists to pursue the war of aggression through the Cambodianization plan...and as an encouragement for the clique of traitors...to continue to sow great devastation on the Cambodian nation and people." (FBIS, 12/23/74)

It is clear, from both the statements and actions of the GRUNC since the UN vote, that the national liberation struggle will be fought and won in Cambodia and not in the United States, the United Nations or through the "good offices" of any other international organization. □

## Laos



Greeting the new year, Prince Souphanouvang - president of the National Political Consultative Council and leader of the Lao Patriotic Front (LPF) - and Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma made statements reaffirming the continuing tasks for the Lao people: to resist all sabotage of the Peace Agreements, its protocol, and to work towards realizing the coalition government's 18-point political program. (see last newsletter) They both urged the Laotian people to give particular importance this year to developing the economy of Laos, based on agriculture, forestry and industry with the goal of economic independence for Laos.



Their message further called on the armed forces to work for the defense and consolidation of peace, to completely implement the ceasefire and take part in the economic and cultural construction, heal the war wounds and thus raise the people's living standard.

Meanwhile there have been spontaneous local actions showing the will of the majority of Laotians to see the agreements implemented.

For the second time in two months former CIA-trained Meo tribesmen mutinied and seized a Vientiane-controlled town in Northwest Laos. The town, Ban Houei Sai, was taken over on Christmas Eve by approximately 100 rebellious soldiers, who immediately distributed weapons to the population who came to their support.

"The police chief and deputy governor were taken into custody and 19 Americans and about 25 other foreigners, including the German military attache to Saigon, were put under virtual house-arrest. (FEER, 1/10/75) The US press tried to pass off the mutiny as simply an effort to remove the 'ban' on opium-growing

in Laos. But reality was quite different. The troops issued five demands:

- \*The immediate implementation of all parts of the Laos Peace Agreement;
- \*The immediate neutralization of Ban Houei Sai;
- \*The repeal of a law 'banning' opium cultivation;
- \*The implementation of the LPF-sponsored 18 Point Program,



recently passed by the Coalition Government;  
\*The immediate dissolution of the Vientiane-controlled National Assembly.

Ban Houei Sai, located in the middle of the opium-growing "Golden Triangle", was never liberated by the LPF, and served as a CIA base throughout the war. In October 160 Meo soldiers occupied the town, protesting orders to attack the local LPF forces and people. Afraid that the mutiny might spread, on orders from the CIA, representatives from the Vientiane Right-Wing sent a team of negotiators to meet with the soldiers, who were convinced to withdraw. The second takeover, in December, was the result of continued Rightist provocations and violations of the Peace Agreement. (Vietnam News Agency, 12/29/74)

Phonsay Santavasik, LPF spokesman, explained the Front's position on the most recent takeover in a press interview. He stated that all charges of LPF involvement were false and designed only to cover up charges made against the Vientiane side. He added that the LPF supported the just demands of the people and that they would work to establish free travel and economic exchanges between the town and the surrounding liberated areas. (Radio Pathet Lao, 12/30/74)

This is an example of the growing strength of the people in the more rural areas of Laos, a recognition of their understanding of the various programs being proposed by the coalition government and a desire to see them implemented and US-CIA influence smashed.

In another provincial capital, Takhek, southeast of Vientiane, students led an uprising against Right-Wing sabotage of the agreements. According to UPI, January 9, one person was killed and 10 wounded when 300 people battled soldiers during a demonstration in support of the student demands. The demands, similar to those of the Ban Houei Sai takeover, included establishment of Takhek as a neutral city, rather than one occupied by US-supported Vientiane troops. □

## *Democratic Republic of Vietnam:*

### **Building Socialism -**

### **Agriculture Takes the Lead**

*"The objective of a revolution is to bring happiness to society and to each individual and family. When we relinquish the path of individual business activities and join the cooperatives, we want to enjoy a better, more stable and more bountiful life... We must realize that in the final analysis, [superiority of cooperatives] must be reflected in the fact that cooperatives have brought a happier life to our peasants. If the cooperatives fail to bring our peasants a happier life than under the conditions of individual labor, they will be unable to remain stable and the relationship between the members and cooperatives will be gradually disrupted. Thus in order to insure that collective work prevails over individual work, we have no alternative but to choose large-scale socialist production, insure the collective ownership right of the masses, conduct the technological revolution, and struggle against perfunctory work and illegal businesses which are inconsistent with the nature of our socialist economy and with our party and state line and policies." (Le Duan, address to DRV agricultural conference, August 5-12, 1974, FBIS October 31, 1974)*



A Vietnamese Peasant.

*"The relationship between a living standard and production is like that between a junk and water. Only when the water level is high can the junk be pushed up." (Ho Chin Minh)*

North Vietnam is rebuilding from the devastation of US bombing. The ideological and organizational motor underlying the fervor of catching-up to pre-bombing conditions is the consolidation and leap forward of socialism in the north.

The DRV is essentially a rural, agricultural country with a small industrial base only this year catching up to 1969 (pre-bombing) production levels. *"The rural areas in the north have undergone two extensive socialist reforms and the laboring peasants have made two fundamental leaps forward. The first leap was constituted by a land reform, elimination of the landlord class and transformation of exploited peasants into free peasants. The second leap (initiated late in the fifties and administratively complete late in 1960) constituted the fundamental elimination of the age-old private ownership system and transformation of individual peasants into collective peasants."* (Nhan Dan, 9/29/74)



*the next generation in the north.*

As the war against US aggression in Indochina developed and large-scale, centralized industry in the north was destroyed by US bombs, the agricultural cooperatives became the necessary backbone of continued military resistance and the economic and social survival of the country. Collectivity of work and of responsibility for that work was the material fact which allowed production to expand and support a people at war. This concept of socialist relations of production became a life-or-death reality for all Vietnamese. It was also the basis for securing the harvests and distributing food and industrial crops in the face of the great typhoons of 1971 and 1973. Throughout the war the socialist organization of agricultural cooperatives was consolidated because it brought happiness,

stability and a better life to the peasants and people of Vietnam.

Today agricultural production and economic life in the countryside is organized into thousands of agricultural cooperatives. These coops are the basic production units founded on the socialist system of collective ownership of the means of production. The coops are not large units, they average about 500 acres and employ 300-500 workers. State farms are one other level of agricultural organization. They are highly mechanized units usually specializing in long-term industrial crops (sugar cane, jute, rubber, fruit orchards). There are 105 state farms which average 7500 acres and 7000 workers each. State farms are the organizational unit used to open up large new areas to production.

## TWO PATHS -- INDIVIDUALITY OR COLLECTIVITY

Following the cessation of direct hostilities over the north, solving the weaknesses in the agricultural cooperative system became the focus of how Viet Nam will move forward towards Socialism. Whereas the highly developed collectivity of the cooperatives (socialist relations of production) had allowed for a mobilization of the population and a sharing of limited resources, *"progress in agricultural production has remained slow and has slackened in some respects."* (Sept 16 directive of the Viet Nam Workers' Party Central Committee Secretariat, FBIS Oct 2) In particular, the spectacular population increase (16,000,000 in 1960 -- 24,000,000 today) has not been met with



similar increases in food and grain. The cultivated area has decreased, productivity gains have been small and industrial and export crops remain insufficient.

This crisis of production has been caused by socialist cooperatives functioning as independent organizations. *"Each cooperative rarely entertains relations with another cooperative or even with the national economy."* (Le Duan, op sit) Essentially production remains *"small, self-supported and self-sufficient."* (Hoang Anh, DRV Vice-Premier, report to agricultural conference, August 5-12, 1974, FBIS Oct 31)

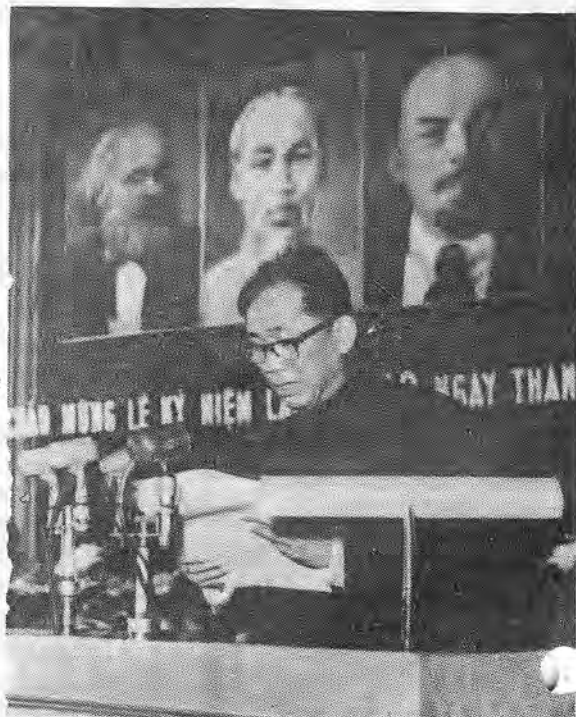


*harvesting the winter crop, tomatos*

income has been stable and even decreasing in the past period, the distribution of rice-fields to the production teams within each cooperative has been based less on technical requirements and plans to boost production, than for the purpose of facilitating the distribution of gains among the teams. (Hoang Anh, *ibid*) Thus even production teams have at times functioned independently, like small cooperatives.

Large-scale socialist production in agriculture has not yet occurred. This has put severe strains on the collective work process of the cooperatives to the point where a fall back to individual and family-based forms of production is a possibility. *"As inherently small producers who are still engaging in small-scale production, all of our comrades are still heavily influenced by the thoughts and habits of small producers and small owners. In many cases, a considerable number of our comrades, in assessing things, usually adopt the standpoint of small producers concerned about the personal, selfish interests of small proprietors."* (Nhan Dan, Oct 29 on the role of the party in agriculture, FBIS Nov 8) *"In my opinion, our most difficult problem or our greatest weakness here is not the lack of manpower or ricefields but the lack of suitable organizations that can undertake many tasks and the fact that we lack the spirit of making zealous, persistent and positive efforts to complete our tasks."* (Le Duan, op sit)

Since the building of cooperatives goes hand-in-hand with expanding production (the dialectical relationship between relations of production and forces of production) the weaknesses in production in the coops have led from and heightened weaknesses in collectivity. Socialist property (collectively owned property --land, tools, labor power) has been mismanaged. The trend has been to individually utilize or outright waste cultivated land and collective work time. There has been a generally low level of collectively grasping and defining tasks in the coops and a pronounced tendency toward administrative assigning of tasks and allotting responsibilities. Because



*Le Duan, First Secretary of 'the Viet Nam Workers' Party Central Committee.*



## ADVANCE TO LARGE-SCALE PRODUCTION

Socialism is advancing in Viet Nam under conditions in which large-scale industry has not yet developed. Under the leadership of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and a government administration of the workers and peasants (proletarian dictatorship) the collective ownership system was established prior to socialist construction as the organizational force to carry out that construction. This was done within the existing economic structure, an agricultural economy, and resulted in the cooperative system. Arising from both the strengths and weaknesses of the cooperative system, the Vietnamese have determined that the advance to large-scale socialist production is both necessary and immediately possible in agriculture and that agriculture can serve as the base for developing industry through ever larger-scale concentration, specialization and cooperativization of the work force. The advance in agricultural production is seen in the context of three revolutions: revolution in the relations of production, technical revolution and ideological and cultural revolution.

Based on two years of Party discussion and direct experimentation at the cooperative level, an agricultural conference of 500 cadre from all provinces and cities and the 138 delta and midland districts of the DRV met August 5-12, 1974 to address the questions of organization and spirit needed to advance to large-scale agricultural production. The conference was held in Thai Binh province and was chaired by Comrade Le Duan, Premier Pham Van Dong and Vice-Premier Hoang Anh.

The Thai Binh agricultural conference has called on all agricultural cooperatives to use their potentialities: to seize and strengthen collective ownership and responsibility for work; to fully utilize existing technology; to promote and focus the seething revolutionary movement of the peasant masses. In all these areas the role of party members and managerial cadre is key. Socialist management is not bureaucratic administration. The experience of experimental cooperatives over the last two years has already shown that cadre responsibility to insist on collective utilization of property based on an all-cooperative development of priorities has a material effect on consolidating a collective class outlook among the peasants, and on moving away from scattered, small-scale production.

The application of technical and scientific research, in the broadest sense of ideas and not just machines, is the new factor which makes large-scale production possible in this period. The intent is to turn every cooperative away from a single crop pattern towards intensive multi-crop cultivation -- specifically two rice harvests and an extensive winter crop of potatoes, soybeans, vegetables or more specialized industrial crops. While mechanization and new technology is being planned for, today in every coop a precise survey of local conditions allows for the application of existing techniques. Some of these are: a reevaluation of land use and reclamation of waste land; water conservation and irrigation (irrigated acreage reached 710,000 in 1974, 56% higher than in 1973); the development of seed varieties and livestock breeds; chemical fertilizer and mechanized equipment organized at the



district level for best application of limited resources, Technical and scientific cadre have a vital role to play at the cooperative level in assisting the correct evaluation of local conditions and teaching the application of current technology. (In Thai Binh province there are currently about 535 college-level and 2000 middle-level technical cadre.)

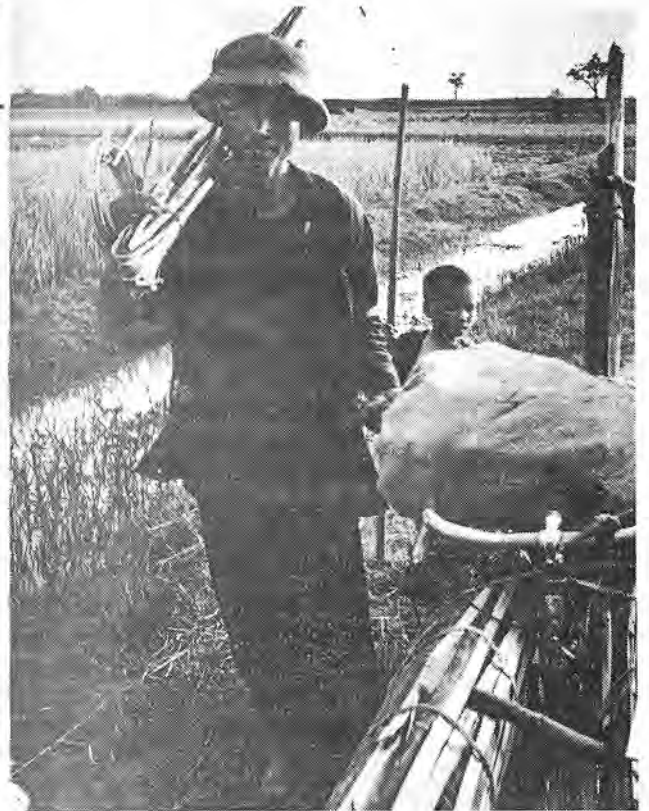
Socialist management and technology alone will not advance production. The full understanding and participation in the process of large-scale production by the peasants is the necessary third aspect. *"The people of Quynh Luu district have gone to exploit the mountainous areas, with their cooked rice wrapped in an areca leaf and a package of salted eggplant as their daily food and with the heart of a communist."* (Le Duan, op sit)

Ideological revolution in agriculture is closely linked to building the Party in the north.

*"...through the seething revolutionary movement of the peasant masses (we must) heighten the consciousness of communism, revolutionary ethics, capacity for work, and the sense of discipline."* (Le Duan, op sit) One example of this aspect of building revolution is emulation campaigns in which cooperatives take up production processes and norms achieved by other coops as their own short-range goals.

Finally, the resolution of the struggle between the two paths of individualist, small-scale production and collective, large-scale production cannot come from socialist management alone. It relies on the participation of tens of thousands of peasants in ideological struggle to overcome the ways of thinking and working of small-scale producers.

The Thai Binh conference called for the reorganization of all cooperatives along the lines outlined above. A new "Draft Statute on High-Level Agricultural Cooperatives" was publicized which has been the administrative basis for reorganization. Both the statute and the conclusions of the conference have been the focus of numerous Peasant Congresses throughout Viet Nam since August as cooperatives have set about restructuring to make possible large-scale agricultural production. The time-table set out by Hoang Anh in August projects that in three or four years the peoples' needs for grain and food will be met in full; within six years the value of agricultural export will be equal to the level of imports needed for agriculture.



*"...with the heart of a communist."*

### BUILDING DISTRICT-LEVEL AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

A second important result of the Thai Binh conference is the initiation of plans to develop the 250 districts in the north as the basic production units in agriculture. The average size of districts today is 25,000 acres and 40,000 workers. Until now districts have had certain administrative responsibilities to the cooperatives, particularly the maintenance of irrigation systems, the pooling of machinery and the distribution of fertilizer and seed. With the transformation of all cooperatives into high-level coops, two sets of problems argue for the establishment of district-wide socialist management of agriculture -- the need to utilize technology most efficiently and the need for a redistribution of labor.



It is not sufficient for the 60-100 cooperatives in a district to individually make plans concerning irrigation projects; the utilization of chemical fertilizer, farm equipment and new seed strains; the development of animal husbandry; the turning of wasteland into vegetable or industrial cropland. Resources and technical expertise are still scarce in the north and the allotting of materials upon the request of coops is not a planned, economic or scientific utilization of technology. *"The amalgamation of the central, provincial and district levels into a unified socio-economic network, in which the district level takes charge of organizing and managing agricultural production at the basic level, is a rational form of organization insuring the steadfast advance of our agriculture toward large-scale socialist production."* (Le Duan, op sit)

The creation of districts as the basic socialist management units is also a new step in conducting the three revolutions in the countryside. For the first time a coordination of *"agriculture with industry, of production with circulation (of goods), of all-people's (state) ownership with collective ownership, of state investment with the people's own efforts"* will be possible. (Le Duan, op sit) The integration of production with the national communications and transportation networks, with the growing electricity network and with an agricultural product-processing system will be feasible. District planning and management will allow specialized production over large areas, for instance the best land for sugar cane can be consolidated and worked together. Finally, the building of a labor distribution system on a district-wide basis will facilitate the establishment of local industry supporting agriculture and release labor power to meet national industrial requirements.

This proposal to build the district level is not merely an organizational question. It is a political task of great complexity requiring study, experimentation and a revolutionary spirit. Its success will require and facilitate the creation of a new set of socialist relations; the collective ownership and work responsibilities of the cooperative will not suffice to see this advance to large-scale socialist production succeed. Currently five districts under central state guidance and one or two in each province are experimenting with the forms of organization and education necessary to implement district-level production.

## RESULTS

The tenth month rice harvest was completed in the north at the end of November. The harvest was the largest in history, partly a result of the large area cultivated, 3,175,000 acres, the most since 1967. (Hanoi Radio Dec 1, FBIS Dec 5) Throughout this harvest, various aspects of the move to high-level cooperative production can







# INTRODUCTION

More than 2,000 years ago, an organized society was established in the area today called Cambodia. The light of the "Angkor" civilization shone throughout Southeast Asia for many centuries, making an appreciable contribution to world civilization.

During recent times the Cambodian (Khmer) people, along with the other peoples of the Indochina peninsula, suffered under colonialism and neo-colonialism, being invaded in turn by the French, Japanese and now the U.S. But loyal to their long tradition of struggle and resistance, the Cambodian people never ceased to carry on the fight against foreign invaders and to undergo untold sacrifices to safeguard their national independence and freedom.

Presently, under the leadership of the *ROYAL GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNION OF CAMBODIA (GRUNC)* and the *NATIONAL UNITED FRONT OF KAMPUCHEA (FUNK)* headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, are waging a valiant struggle to free their country from the U.S. Imperialists and their Lon Nol puppets, and are on the verge of total victory. More than 95% of Cambodia's territory and 5½ million of its 7 million people are under its leadership. More than 60 countries and national liberation fronts recognize the *GRUNC* as the sole legitimate representative of the Cambodian people and nation. Despite the massive destruction by B-52 bombers in the Cambodian countryside, the liberated Zones continue to develop, as the new society is born in the shell of the old.

These are the concrete facts and the U.S. Imperialists cannot ignore them, or pretend they do not exist.

Armed with great love for their country, the Cambodian people will continue their struggle and sacrifice until final victory is achieved. Peace, independence, freedom, democracy- these have always been the traditions of the Cambodian people.

This fact sheet is a brief history of these traditions.

## Fact Sheet Sources:

- 1) *The "Voice of F.U.N.K." (radio of the National United Front of Cambodia).*
- 2) *A.K.I. (Kampuchea Information Agency), Press Agency of the F.U.N.K.*
- 3) *Shinhua (Chinese News Agency)*
- 4) *"Bulletin D'Information" (issued by the Paris mission of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, 2 Place de Barcelone 75016 Paris, France.*
- 5) *"Khmer Monthly News" (News bulletin of the "Khmer Residents of America", P.O. Box 5857, Grand Central Station, N.Y., N.Y. 10017.*
- 6) *Vietnamese Studies #28, "Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, 1969-70" (Hanoi-70).*
- 7) *Vietnamese Studies #33, "Indochina, 1972-72" (pub. Hanoi-1972).*
- 8) *"Cambodia, 1972", by Mr. Leng Sary (pub. GRUNC).*
- 9) *"Focus on Indochina," Malcolm Salmon, (pub. Hanoi-1961).*
- 10) *"Second indochina War," Wilfred Burchett, International Pub.-1970.*

## ABBREVIATION

- 1) *AKI* *Kumpuchea Information Agency*
- 2) *ARVN* *Army of the Republic of Viet Nam*
- 3) *CPNLAF* *Cambodian People's National Liberation Armed Forces*
- 4) *DRVN* *Democratic Republic of Viet Nam*
- 5) *FUNK* *National United Front of Kampuchea*
- 6) *GRUNC* *Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia*
- 7) *ICC* *International Control Commission*
- 8) *NLF-SVN* *National Liberation Front of South Viet Nam*
- 9) *PRG-RSVN* *Provisional Revolutionaly Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam*
- 10) *SEATO* *Southeast Asian Treaty Organization*

This fact sheet was compiled by Indochina Solidarity Committee. For more information, please contact: *Indochina Solidarity Committee*  
*Box "C", Old Chelsea Station*  
*New York, NY 10011*  
*(212) 982-7162*

# កម្ពុជា CAMBODIA

- 1863** The beginning of the French colonization of Cambodia. The high ranking bonze, (Buddhist Monk), Pukombo called upon the population of Kampot to resist the invaders.
- 1866** (-1877) Cambodian patriots led by Pukombo (until his death in 1867) and later by Sivotha rose up to fight against French domination.
- 1884** (July 17) Under the threat of using troops and gunboats, Charles Thomson, French governor-general, forced King Norodom to sign the convention which changed Cambodia's status from a French protectorate to a French colony.
- 1904** "Entente Cordiale" between Britain and France. King Norodom died, and the French gave the throne to his brother, Sisowath, who loyally helped the French put down several rebellions.
- 1907** Thailand agreed to return to Cambodia the two provinces of Siem Reap and Battambang after a long struggle.
- 1927** Sisowath dies and is succeeded by his son, Monivong.
- 1940** Hitler invaded France and set up a puppet regime headed by Marshal Henri Petain at Vichy. The change of leadership in France also affected the French administration in Indochina, including Cambodia. Cambodian children and adults had to sing French songs praising Marshal Petain for his 'wise' leadership.
- 1941** (Dec.) The Japanese militarists invaded Indochina and Cambodia, and got full cooperation from the French colonial authorities, which in fact, had become a part of the world power of fascism. Son Ngoc Thanh (now U.S. puppet premier of Phnom Penh), then became a full-fledged collaborator of the Japanese militarists and the French Vichy. Parts of the Cambodian territory: Siem Reap, Battambang, and parts of Kompong Thom and Stung Treng were annexed in favor of Thailand by the Japanese Militarists. Sisowath Monivong died, and the French passed over his sons and chose Samdech Norodom Sihanouk to succeed him. Said Sihanouk, "The French chose me because they thought that I was a lamb. Later they were surprised to find that I was a tiger."
- 1945** (March 9) With the fall of the Vichy regime in France, the Japanese militarists staged a coup d' etat and took over Cambodia. Son Ngoc Thanh continued to collaborate with the Japanese militarists. (March 12) After the Coup, the Japanese arranged the proclamation of the independence of Cambodia by the young king, Norodom Sihanouk. (August) Popular uprisings against the Japanese spread throughout Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam. (Sept. 23) Supported by British warships and troops under Brig. General Gracey, French troops landed in Saigon, and after the resistance forces were forced out of the capital, the French used it as a base to move back into Cambodia. (Oct.5) General Leclerc parachuted troops into Phnom Penh, thus officially opening the second French invasion of Cambodia, and began a new phase in the resistance struggle of the Cambodian people. Upon their arrival in Phnom Penh, the French Gaullists arrested Son Ngoc Thanh for his collaboration with the Japanese militarists. But because of his widespread popularity, he was not executed, and instead was sent to France. That same year, the Cambodian National United Front or Nekhum Issarak (Khmer Freedom Front) was established. The movement was under the leadership of the Pracheachon Party (People's Party). The Pracheachon Party made great efforts to form a large peasant/intellegensia alliance. It also favored solidarity with the National United Fronts of Laos and Viet Nam.
- 1946** (Jan. 7) Franco-Khmer accord was reached. Cambodia became an "autonomous state within the French Union." France retained veto power in major areas of policy as well as control of the army, police, finances and judiciary. (April) The "Democratic Party" (an anti-french party) was formed and organized under the leadership of its general-secretary, Chheam Van, and its supreme head, Prince Youthevong, who had just returned from France. (August) The Khmer Freedom Front, which was founded to carry out the anti-colonial struggle against the French, struck their first real blow by wiping out the French garrison at Siem Reap and capturing their entire stock of arms. (Sept.) The Democratic Party wins astounding victories in the nation-wide election held.
- 1947** (May) The Democrats demanded immediate and total independence, and criticized King Sihanouk who advocated a gradual, negotiated independence. (July) With the death of its leader, Prince Youthevong, the Democratic Party was considerably weakened, with a portion of it falling under the influence of the KHMER ISSARAK and the followers of Son Ngoc Thanh, who were exiled in Thailand.



- 1949** **(Feb.)** The government of Yem Sembaur came to power and abolished the Assembly. Through the Franco-Khmer Treaty, Cambodia was granted independence but emmeshed in a multiplicity of obligations. The French National Assembly attached the colony of Cochinchina to Vietnam by a vote of 351-209. The Cambodian government protested because control of this territory was contested by Vietnam and Cambodia at the beginning of French colonization. France still retained control of the police and army with the exception of "autonomous zones" turned over to Cambodia.
- 1950** **(Jan.)** The U.S. established diplomatic relations with Cambodia to "reinforce" the independence granted by France.  
**(Nov. 21-23)** The National United Front of Cambodia (Pracheachon Party and Khmer Krom liberation forces (Cambodians from Cochinchina) held a conference in concert with the National United Fronts of Viet Nam and Laos, and defined their principal tasks.
- 1951** **(March 3)** Conference of the Nekhum Issarak Khmer and parrallel groups in Laos and Vietnam. The Vietnam-Khmer-Lao alliance was formed to coordinate the struggle against French colonialism in the 3 countries.  
**(Sept.)** The Democrats win a stunning electoral victory, a defeat for the French and Cambodian monarchy. The struggle between King and parliament sharply intensified.  
**(Oct.29)** King Norodom Sihanouk arranged for the return from France of Son Ngoc Thanh. After his return to Phnom Penh, Son Sgoc Thanh published a daily newspaper, in which he intensified his attack on the monarchy, and especially on Sihanouk's peaceful negotiation with France for Cambodia's independence.  
**(Nov.)** French high commissioner was assassinated by a Khmer Patriot in Phnom Penh.
- 1952** Son Ngoc Thanh led a spurious ISSARAK movement which had no definite political, cultural or economic program. This movement was the forerunner to the now called KHMER SEREI (Free Khmer), financed, trained and run by the special forces of the CIA.  
**(June15)** Because of the rising anti-government activity, King Norodom Sihanouk is forced to dissolve the Democratic Government and assume emergency powers, allowing himself three years to obtain full independence and insure economic recovery.
- 1953** **(March 5)** Sihanouk sent a note to the French stressing the strength of the Khmer Issarek movement, the popular basis of its support, and his refusal to permit Cambodia to become involved in France's fight with the Vietminh, stressing that the desires of the Cambodian people were for peace, freedom and independence.  
**(March 25)** While speaking at a luncheon of President Auriol of France, King Sihanouk demanded speedy negotiations for Cambodia's independence. His demands rejected, he was told to clear out of France as quickly as possible.  
**(April)** Instead of going home, Sihanouk went to the U.S. where his demands for the support of Cambodian independence were coldly rejected by John Foster Dulles, who told King Sihanouk to "go home and help General Navarre win the war against the 'communists' ". Interviewed by the N.Y. Times in Washington D.C. Sihanouk repeated that only full independence would satisfy the the Cambodian people. Asked whether or not he was aware of the "communist menace", King Sihanouk replied: "Among intellectual circles of the Cambodian people there has been created a growing conviction that the Viet Minh communists fight for the independence of their country."  
**(June 14)** The French refused to seriously negotiate with the Royal Government. King Sihanouk went to Bangkok to alert world opinion and "to give a final warning to the French."  
**(July-Aug.)** Back from Bangkok and exasperated by the French attitude, King Sihanouk resorted to armed struggle , leading his forces in Battambang Province. The majority of the Cambodian people applauded the King's decision and pledged their full support.  
**(Nov. 9)** Cambodia won her independence from France. Faithful to the aspirations of the Cambodian people, the Royal Government of Cambodia, led by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, declared that Cambodia will remain neutral and non-aligned, a policy which was formulated on the basis of the clear recognition of Cambodia's weakness and the necessity of avoiding war. John Foster Dulles declared that neutrality was immoral", and threatened to cut off military aid if Cambodia followed a neutral foreign policy.
- 1954** **(July 21)** Following the Viet Minh victory at Dien Ben Phu, the independence, sovereignty and neutrality of Cambodia were guaranteed internationally by the Geneva Accords at the Geneva Conference. The U.S. and the South Vietnam French puppet government refused to sign the final accords.  
**(Sept.)** With the creation of SEATO (Southeast Asian Treaty Org.), the U.S. unilaterally put Cambodia "under its protection", and promises military and economic aid.  
**(Dec.)** King Norodom Sihanouk declares that Cambodia will remain non-aligned and will practice a policy of strict neutrality.
- 1955** **(Feb.)** John Foster Dulles arrives in Phnom Penh to ask Cambodia to accept the SEATO "umbrella of protection."  
**(March 2)** King Sihanouk abdicated and created the "People's Socialist Community", in order to compete in the National elections.

**(March)** At the Bandung Conference, Sihanouk reaches an understanding with the People's Republic of China to adhere to the 5 principles of Peaceful coexistence and allow no foreign military bases on Cambodian soil.

**(April)** While attending the Asian African conference in Bandung, Sihanouk met Chou En Lai and Pham Van Dong, both who said they would respect Cambodian integrity. This meeting pushed Sihanouk to strengthen internal unity and a foreign policy of neutrality.

**(Aug.)** Cambodia again refuses to accept the SEATO "umbrella of protection".

**(Sept.)** The People's Socialist community (Sangkum Reastre Niym) won an over-whelming victory in the elections with 82% of the Vote (Democratic party: 12%, Pracheachon Party: 3%, Liberal Party: 2%).

**1956** Son Ngoc Thanh fled to Thailand and created the fascist "KMERS SEREI" movement financed and trained by the CIA.

Sihanouk made a trip to the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Poland, and established diplomatic and trade relations with them.

Cambodia also recognized the People's Republic of China and accepted Chinese economic aid. Because of this, on American instigation Thai troops seized and occupied the famous Angkorian-period temple at Preah Vihear, and the Saigon and Bangkok governments carried out an economic blockade of Cambodia for 2 days. Dulles assured Sihanouk that the U.S. wasn't involved.

**1957** **(Jan.)** The policy of neutrality and peaceful coexistence is unanimously approved by the Fourth National Congress.

**1958** **(June)** 3,000 South Vietnamese troops of the Ngo Dinh Diem puppet regime with "U.S. advisors", invaded the northernmost province of Cambodia, Stung Treng. Cambodia appeals directly to the U.S., which forbids them to use arms furnished by American military aid to resist the aggression. The determination of the Khmer people obliged the aggressors to withdraw.

**(Aug.)** Sihanouk traveled to China and established full diplomatic relations.

**(Sept.)** Unable to crush Prince Norodom Sihanouk's determination to keep Cambodia neutral, the U.S. Government called for a strong counteraction: "the BANGKOK PLOT"—The forceful overthrow of the Cambodian government, the assassination of Prince Sihanouk, and the establishment of a Diem style "Republic" throughout the Cambodian territory. Ngo Dinh Diem of South Vietnam, Sarit Thanarat of Thailand, Son Ngoc Than, Sam Sary, Dap Chuon and Lon Nol of Cambodia, and U.S. military officials were involved in the Bangkok Plan.

While working inside Cambodia, Sam Sary and Dap Chuon were supposed to make contact with South Vietnam and Thailand through their representatives to Cambodia: Ngo Trong Aien. Son Ngoc Thanh had the task of setting up armed groups along the Cambodian—Thai border. At the same time, Thailand mounted a violent campaign against Khmer neutralism, and Cambodia broke diplomatic relations with Thailand.

**1959** **(Jan.)** The "Bangkok Plot" was discovered by the Royal Government of Cambodia. Dap Chuon was killed and Sam Sary fled and joined Son Ngoc Thanh. According to later accounts just before he died, Dap Chuon had asked for a high-ranking officer to whom he wanted to make a statement on the background of the plot which would have incriminated Lon Nol.

**(Aug. 31)** Sam Sary, in a desperate and cowardly manner, sent a parcel addressed to the Queen. The parcel which bore Hong Kong postmarks, contained a time bomb and exploded, killing three people, including the Chief of Protocol. After Thailand promised to cease all subversive activities, diplomatic relations were reestablished. Son Ngoc Thanh continued to be active, working and collaborating with the Green Berets in South Vietnam and the CIA in Thailand.

**1960** Through a national referendum the Khmer people indicated their unanimous support for the policies of peace, national independence and neutrality carried out by Prince Norodom Sihanouk. Prince Sihanouk called for an international conference on Laos.

**1961** The Saigon puppet regime increased its repression of Khmer residents in South Vietnam, and the Thai government resumed its campaign against Khmer neutrality; as a result, diplomatic relations were broken again. At the Geneva Conference on Laos, Prince Sihanouk requested that the neutralization of Laos be extended to Cambodia.

**1962** The International Court of Justice awarded Preah Vihear to Cambodia, and ordered the Thai forces to evacuate.

At the Geneva Conference on Laos, Prince Sihanouk proposed that the States participating recognize Cambodia's present boundaries. The U.S., Thailand, and South Vietnamese puppet regime refused, and increased their violations of Cambodia's borders.

In 1962, there were reported 126 violations of Cambodian territory, 17 violations of Cambodian water, and 164 violations of Cambodian air space, resulting in 18 killed and 23 wounded.

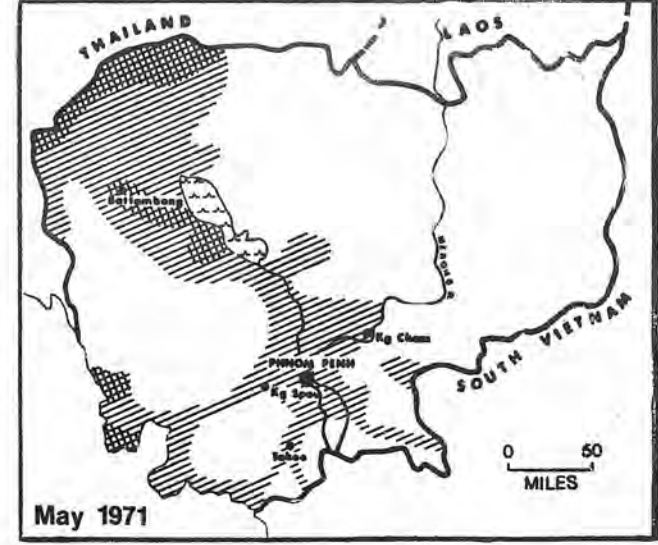
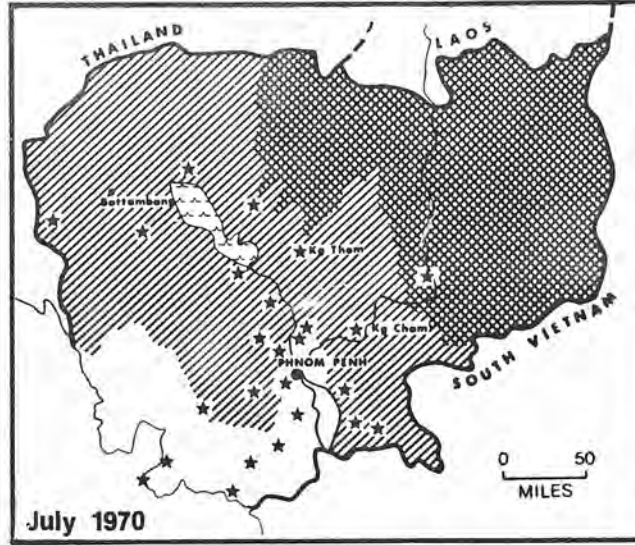
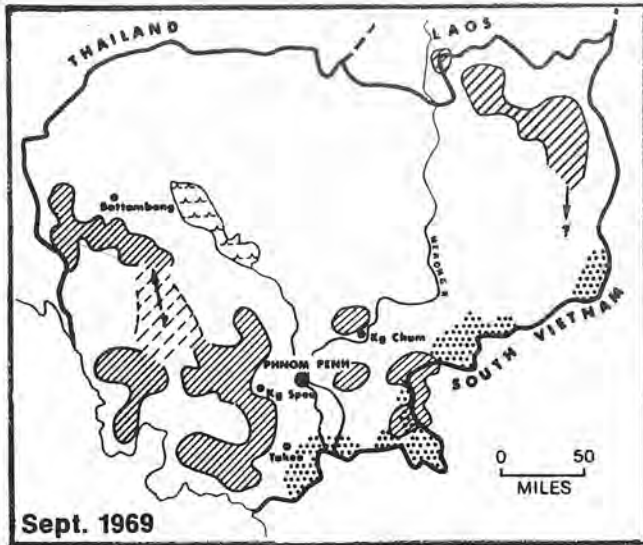




- 1963** Because of the increasing number of violations of Cambodian territory and the repression carried out against Khmer residents and Buddhist monks in South Vietnam, Cambodia broke diplomatic relations with the Saigon regime. The "Khmers Serei" increased their subversive activities and their propaganda against Khmer neutrality from Saigon and Bangkok.
- Lon Nol increased his repression against former resistance fighters and patriotic, nationalistic and progressive intellectuals, deliberately creating antagonism between them and Prince Sihanouk. As a result, many progressive intellectuals joined clandestine guerrilla forces. Among them were Professors—Son Sen, Ieng Sary, and Salot Sar.
- In 1963 there were 140 violations of Cambodian territory, 23 violations of Cambodian waterways, and 272 violations of Cambodian airspace, resulting in 17 killed and 21 wounded.
- 1964** **(Jan.)** The Royal Government of Cambodia applied economic and financial reforms: nationalization of foreign trade and of the banking system.
- (Feb.)** The economic and financial sabotage directed by Song Sak, CIA agent and close friend of Sirik Matak was discovered. Song Sak fled safely to Saigon, thanks to the aid of Sirik Matak and Lon Nol.
- (April)** Because of increased violations of the sovereignty of Cambodia by U.S. and Saigon troops, Cambodia recalled its diplomatic delegation from Washington.
- (Dec.)** U.S. and Cambodia opened talks in New Delhi. U.S. said it would support Cambodian neutrality if Cambodia would deny the use of its territory to the NLF-SVN. Cambodia insisted that the U.S. recognize its present boundaries before an international conference could take place. The U.S. refused and the talks ended abruptly the first day.
- In 1964 there were 255 violations of Cambodian territory, 24 violations of Cambodian waters, and 412 violations of Cambodian airspace, resulting in 46 killed and 85 wounded.
- 1965** **(May)** Cambodia broke diplomatic relations with the U.S. because of the increased U.S.—ARVN border violations. The U.S. attacked and burned 2 villages in the eastern Cambodian province of Mondulmon-dulkiri.
- (Oct.)** U.S. planes used napalm on a village, Svay Rieng province, in southeastern Cambodia.
- (Nov.)** Sihanouk gave conditions for renewed U.S. relations: recognition of Cambodian boundaries, cessation of military incursions, and indemnity for losses of life and property.
- A meeting was held in Phnom Penh of the First Conference of the Indochinese Peoples, convened on the initiative of Prince Sihanouk.
- In 1965 there were 335 land violations, 10 water violations, and 621 violations of Cambodian airspace, causing 22 killed and 52 injured.
- 1966** Border incursions into Cambodia by U.S. and ARVN troops continued.
- (Sept.)** CIA financed a monstrous press campaign against Prince Norodom Sihanouk's so-called 'dictatorship', denouncing the "single-party system", and accused Prince Sihanouk of having "Massacred democracy in Cambodia". Prince Sihanouk fell into this CIA propaganda trap by allowing the right-wing group to manipulate the general elections for the sixth National Assembly since independence. He decided not to propose any candidate, which meant that the ultra-rightists led by Lon Nol and supported by the CIA were free to spend their money financing the electoral campaign. Textiles, free cinema tickets, toys and sweets for the children—all these and many more things were given to the voters by the Lon Nol clique. As a result, right-wing opponents of Prince Sihanouk who desired the resumption of U.S. aid and diplomatic relations with the U.S. won a sweeping victory. Army commander-in-chief Lon Nol was elected Prime Minister.
- In 1966 there were 287 violations of Cambodian territory, 27 violations of waterways and 1,018 violations of Cambodian airspace, causing 25 deaths and 101 wounded.
- 1967** **(March)** Following provocations organized by Lon Nol, peasants revolted in Samlaut and in Stung Kragnoung (Battambang Province). Lon Nol ordered several hundred peasants shot. Lon Nol accused three progressive deputies—Khieu Sampahn, Hou Yuon and Hu Nim of having instigated this revolt and asked that their parliamentary immunity be lifted and that they appear before a military tribunal. He also accused them of being "Vietcong" and "Maoist" agents.
- (April)** Deputies Khieu Samphan and Hou Yuon left Phnom Penh to join the guerrilla forces (Khmer Rouges), followed by several hundred intellectuals.
- (April-May)** Demonstrations against the Lon Nol Government occur in Phnom Penh and other major cities.
- (May)** The Lon Nol Government resigns.
- (June)** Diplomatic relations were established with the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and offers made to renew relations with Thailand when Cambodian borders are recognized.
- (July-Aug.)** U.S. organized numerous attacks into Cambodia from Thailand, penetrating up to 12 miles and claiming the "right of hot pursuit".
- In 1967 there were 261 violations of Cambodian territory, 17 violations of Cambodian waters and 1,635 violations of Cambodian airspace, causing 47 deaths and 110 wounded.




- 1968** (Jan.) A U.S. Mission led by Chester Bowles attempted to reestablish diplomatic relations, but Cambodia refused.
- (May) Lon Nol succeeded in coming back to power as Third Vice-Premier.
- (Sept.) The United States accused Cambodia of harboring Vietnamese resisters, charging that the use of its northeastern provinces as base areas by "North Vietnamese and Vietcong" had tripled.
- (Nov.) Cambodia announced that U.S. air attacks had killed 300 Cambodians in border villages. Twelve captured Americans were released.
- In 1968 there were 155 land violations, 26 water violations and 247 violations of Cambodian airspace, resulting in 58 killed and 124 wounded.
- 1969** (Jan.) The CIA-supported Khmer Serei and Khmer Krom mercenaries began "surrendering" to the Cambodian government in order to be absorbed into the army and police.
- (April) The U.S. declared that it recognized and respected the sovereignty, independence and neutrality and territorial integrity of Cambodia, and Diplomatic relations were again established.
- (May) The Mission of the National Liberation Front of South Viet Nam was raised to the level of Embassy.
- (May) American Forces spread chemical and bacteriological products on 70,000 hectares of plantations in Cambodia, and 2 U.S. helicopters were downed.
- (Aug.) American Embassy was reopened in Phnom Penh. Lon Nol was again made Prime Minister, and prepared once again to receive American aid.
- (Sept) Lon Nol undertook the denationalization of the Khmer economy and prepared for the entry of foreign private capital.
- (Nov.14) A U.S. F-105 was shot down during an unjustified attack on Dak Dam (Mondulkiri province), clearly showing U.S. disregard for Cambodian neutrality. The American government apologized and paid \$11,400 in reparations for the Raid.
- (Dec.) The Cambodian government issued a statement in support for the Khmer Krom (Cambodians living in South Vietnam) resisting induction into the South Vietnamese army, as racial tension and anti-Vietnamese literature mounted in Phnom Penh.
- In 1969, there were 305 land violations, 26 water violations, and 781 violations of Cambodian air space, resulting in 85 killed and 184 wounded.
- 1970** (Jan.) Prince Sihanouk left Cambodia for medical treatment in France.
- (Feb.) Lon Nol took over the Ministry of Information.
- (March 11) The Embassies of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam in Phnom Penh were sacked. All trade agreements negotiated by Sihanouk were broken, and anti-Vietnamese demonstrations continued.
- (March 18) Sihanouk was ousted in a coup d'etat engineered by the U.S. CIA and a right-wing faction led by Lon Nol, Sirik Matak and Son Ngoc Thanh. After taking control of the Government and Army, Lon Nol began a campaign to destroy Sihanouk's high prestige among the people.
- (March 18-31) Mass demonstrations were held all over Cambodia, even in the suburbs of Phnom Penh, pledging allegiance to Norodom Sihanouk and his policy of "national independence and neutrality". The LOS ANGELES TIMES correspondent in Cambodia wrote that the Khmer people were wholeheartedly loyal to Prince Sihanouk.
- (March 20) U.S. accorded diplomatic recognition to Lon Nol's military regime, and stated that it had nothing to do with the overthrow of Sihanouk.
- (March 23) Solemn declaration of 5 points of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Chief of State of Cambodia. The founding of the National United Front of Kampuchea (F.U.N.K.), and the founding of the People's National Liberation Armed Forces of Cambodia (CPNLAF).
- (March 26) Declaration of the 3 deputies Khieu Samphan, Hou Yuon, and Hu Nim, unreservedly supporting the 5 point declaration of Norodom Sihanouk.
- (March 25-26) Massive non-violent demonstrations by the Khmer people against the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique, with bloody repressions of the demonstrations by the Phnom Penh puppet troops.
- (April 10) Massacre of Vietnamese residents in Cambodia at Prasaut.
- (April 15-16) Massacre of Vietnamese residents in Cambodia at Takeo and the island of Ta Chhor.
- (April 24-25) Meeting of the Summit Conference of the three Indochinese People's in Canton.
- (April 30) Nixon sent 100,000 U.S. and Saigon Troops, supported by the U.S. Air Force, tanks and gunboats to invade Cambodia starting from Ratanakiri province in the northeast to Svay Rieng province in the southeast, stating that "enemy" actions in Cambodia "clearly endanger the lives of Americans in Vietnam".
- (May) Massive anti-war demonstrations in the U.S. Over 400 colleges and universities were shut down.
- (May 3-4) Adoption of the political program of F.U.N.K. and the formation of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, presided over by Samdech Penn Nouth.
- (May 7-8) The Congress of the Movement of Union of the People's Struggle pledged all out support for the political program of F.U.N.K.
- (May 14) Lon Nol established diplomatic relations with Thailand.
- (May 16) Stung Treng provincial capital was liberated by the CPNLAF






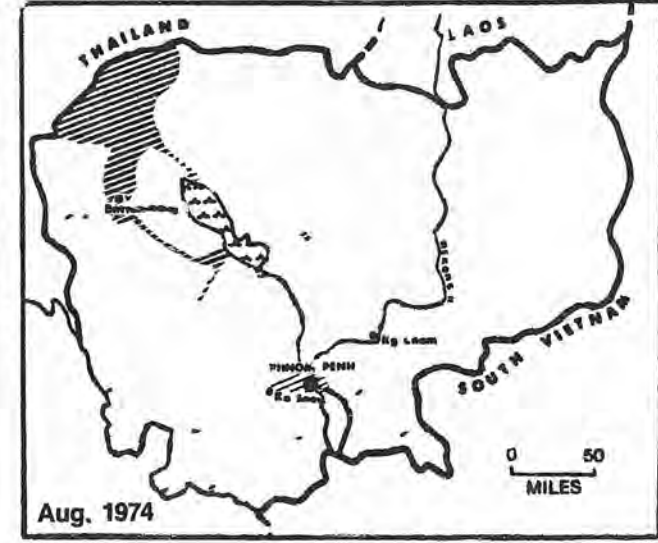
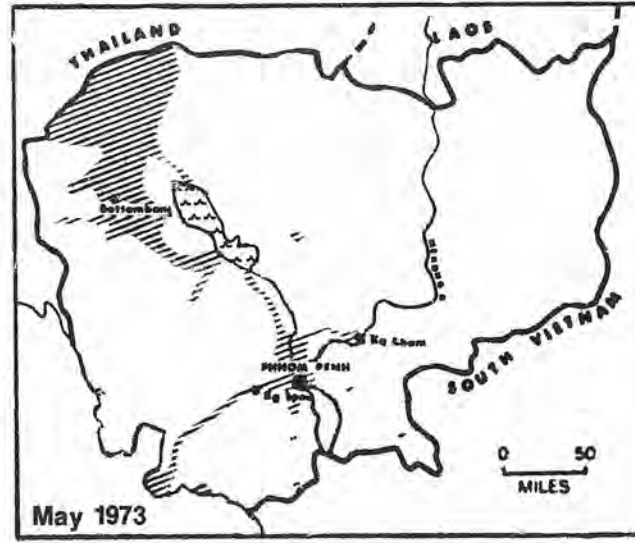
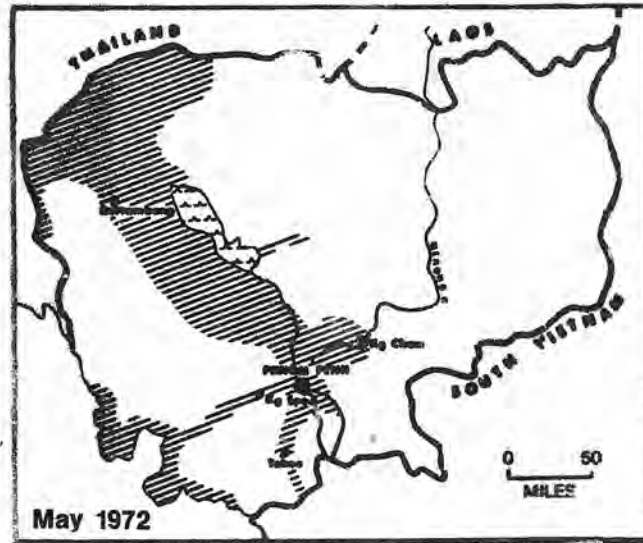
# The Liberation of Cambodia in Maps.



-  Guerrilla zones
-  Khmer Loeu
-  "Sanctuaries"

-  Provinces under guerrilla control
-  Contested provinces
-  Major clashes or cuts in communication lines

-  Liberated zones
-  Partially liberated zones and guerrilla zones
-  Zones not yet liberated



 Liberated Zones (Secure)

 Partially liberated and contested zones

**(May 26)** The U.S. Senate adopted, with an overwhelming majority, the Cooper-Church amendment, restricting the use of U.S. ground troops in Cambodia after June 30.

**(June 1)** Lon Nol declared martial law throughout Cambodia, and advised the puppet troops "to learn occult sciences in order to protect oneself against the enemy fire". More than 100,000 Vietnamese civilians were regrouped in concentration camps (18 of them) around Phnom Penh, and many more were forced to go to South Vietnam.

**(June 30)** After 2 months the American people, world opinion and the Cambodian people and National Liberation Armed Forces forced the U.S. troops out of Cambodia with heavy losses: 12,000 G.I.'s, 18,000 Saigon troops and over 50,000 Lon Nol troops killed, wounded, captured or disbanded, 2,400 military vehicles destroyed and over 400 planes downed.

**(Aug.)** Son Ngoc Thanh was named advisor to Lon Nol, but remained in Saigon. The U.S. and Thailand both pledged military assistance to Lon Nol.

**(Aug. 1)** Founding of the radio "Voice of F.U.N.K."

**(Aug. 10)** Founding of the Kampuchea press agency, "Kampuchea Information Agency" (AKI).

**(Oct.)** Lon Nol established a republic.

**(Nov.)** Saigon puppet troops took over the offensive in Cambodia, and Nixon asked Congress for \$225 million in military and economic aid for Cambodia.

**(Dec.)** The American embassy in Phnom Penh was severely damaged by an explosion.

**(Dec. 31)** According to AKI, by the end of the year: 7/10 of the Cambodian territory including 5 provinces, 60 districts, and 600 villages with a population of 4 million people were completely liberated. U.S. Senate investigators announced that Nixon's "Vietnamization" policy was tied to the survival of the Lon Nol regime.

**1971**

**(Jan.)** German and French newspapers carried photos of Phnom Penh puppet troops mutilating and eating bodies of the guerrilla fighters.

**(Jan. 22)** Cambodian CPNLA attacked Pochentong airfield wiping out nearly all of Lon Nol's air force: 750 casualties and 90 planes destroyed.

**(Feb. 1)** Saigon and Phnom Penh troops clashed in severe racial disputes.

**(Feb. 4)** Codenamed Operation "Toan Thang 1-71" (Complete Victory 1-71), the U.S. flung 20,000 Saigon and Phnom Penh troops into Eastern Cambodia (Kompong Cham and Kratie provinces) under the pretext of attacking "VC sanctuaries".

**(Feb. 17)** An Air American Plane rented to the "Khmer Serei" with two American pilots was downed at Chup.

**(Feb. 22)** In the center of Phnom Penh the Thai embassy was damaged by a bomb.

**(Feb 23)** Despite mounting pressure, the U.S. Embassy refused to say whether or not American military personnel were involved in operations in Cambodia.

**(March 1)** Cambodian CPNLA hammered Sihanoukville (Kampot province), destroying the oil refinery and putting out of action 350 puppet troops.

**(March 3)** The end of Operation "Complete Victory 1-71" conducted by Saigon troops in the fish hook area in northeastern Cambodia: 8,000 Saigon troops put out of action, 950 military vehicles destroyed or captured, and over 100 helicopters and planes downed.

**(March 22)** A joint Cambodian-Vietnamese report condemned the Saigon troops for plundering and brutality in Cambodia.

**(April 21-22)** Lon Nol attempted unsuccessfully to resign as Premier. To prevent Sirik Matak from assuming the premiership, a clique of army colonels led by Lon Non (Lon Nol's brother) refuses to accept the resignation. At the request of his Chief of State, Lon Nol convoked a meeting of his principal advisors (including Son Ngoc Thanh) to draw up recommendations for a new government. The U.S. strongly hinted that such a move would lead to the interruption of military and economic aid to the Phnom Penh regime.

**(May 31)** At Snoul (170 km east-northeast of Phnom Penh), Saigon's invading forces were completely routed and expelled from the area: 1,500 killed or wounded, 300 captured, 230 military vehicles seized or destroyed, and Kratie was totally liberated.

**(July 8)** AKI released a communique on the 1970-71 dry season (Oct., 1970-April, 1971) battle count: the CPNLA put out of action 75,000 enemy troops (including 38,500 Saigon troops), and 490 planes downed or destroyed.

**(July 22)** 10,000 ARVN troops spearheaded by 200 armored cars, staged another raid into Cambodia from the town of Krek to Memot in order to "saturate the area and provide security for the upcoming elections in Saigon".

**(Aug. 6)** Sirik Matak came to the U.S. to ask for an increase in military and economic aid.

**(Aug. 7)** The Government of the Republic of Senegal became the 28th country to recognize the RGNUC as the sole representative of Cambodia.

**(Aug. 20)** Phnom Penh and Saigon troops launched a large-scale raid codenamed "Tchenla II" in order to clear highway 6, attack the liberated zones and rescue the besieged town of Kompong Thom. "Tchenla II" ended in disaster.



**(Sept. 1)** Following "daily protests" to Saigon officials-to no avail-the Phnom Penh regime demanded that Saigon troops get out of the country. The raping, looting, pillaging and burning could no longer be tolerated by Cambodia's "allies".

**(Sept. 3-10)** CPNLF launched a series of attacks on highways 5,6,7 and along the banks of the Mekong river.

**(Sept. 20)** Phnom Penh's 2 biggest fuel depots were set ablaze by Khmer patriots.

**(Sept. 30)** After 3 months of the rainy season, AKI reported 8,000 enemy troops put out of action, 30 planes downed or destroyed, 300 military vehicles destroyed, 2,000,000 litres of gasoline destroyed.

**(Oct. 30)** Lon Nol dissolved the national assembly in Phnom Penh and announced he would set up a "dictatorial regime".

**(Oct. 25)** More than 4,000 monks demonstrated against the dissolution of the National Assembly by Lon Nol.

**(Nov. 9)** CPNLF attacked Phnom Penh's Pochentung airport and radio station, killing 50 enemy troops and destroying 2 helicopters.

**(Nov. 11)** Lon Nol was forced to devalue the riel (Cambodian currency) from 55 riels to a dollar, to 140 riels to a dollar.

**(Nov. 13)** CPNLF decimated the Lon Nol army at Rum Luong: over 1,000 enemy soldiers put out of action.

**(Nov. 22)** 50,000 Saigon troops entered eastern and southeastern Cambodia in an attempt to bail out the decimated Saigon and Phnom Penh troops already there.

**(Dec. 2)** End of Operation "Tchenla II" (started on Aug. 20): 12,000 Phnom Penh troops killed or wounded, 1,000 captured. It was the biggest battle fought by the Khmer patriots, and the most disastrous defeat for Nixon's "Khmerization".

**(Dec. 12)** In only 20 days of fighting, Saigon and Phnom Penh troops in the Damber area (southeastern Cambodia) lost 1,500 men, 32 aircraft, 120 military vehicles and were expelled from the area.

**(Dec. 31)** According to AKI, in 1971 the Cambodian people and NLF wiped out or captured 80,000 enemy troops including 28,000 Saigon troops and hundreds of G.I.'s, 600 aircraft downed or destroyed, 200 ships sunk or set aflame, 2,700 military vehicles (including 800 tanks and armored cars) wrecked or seized, and set aflame or exploded 150 ammo and fuel storages.

1972

**(Jan. 11)** Saigon troops were forced out of Krek, Snoul and all their bases in eastern Cambodia by CPNLF. The entire 22nd Brigade of the Saigon army (2400 men) deserted and fled into nearby regions in South Vietnam.

**(Jan. 19)** Signing of the "border security treaty" between Bangkok and Phnom Penh. According to the treaty the police of both countries are authorized "to pursue the communists" from one country to the other.

**(Jan. 24)** In the New York Times, U.S. Senator Mike Mansfield (Dem.-Montana) was quoted as saying, "the only hope for preserving Cambodia's independence lies in the Chief of State, Prince Norodom Sihanouk".

**(Jan. 28)** General W. Westmoreland, Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Land Forces, arrived in Phnom Penh to discuss a plan for war intensification.

**(Feb. 12)** Mr. Thiounn Prasit, secretary of the Politbureau of F.U.N.K. (National United Front of Kampuchea), headed a Cambodian delegation to the World Assembly for Peace and Independence in Versailles, France.

**(March 1)** Siem Reap city (Siem Reap province) was attacked from all sides by the CPNLF.

**(March 10)** Coup d'etat in Phnom Penh. Lon Nol dissolved the constituent Assembly and made himself 'president of the republic'. He now held three posts: President, Prime Minister, and Commander-in Chief of the Army.

**(March 21)** CPNLF attacked Phnom Penh, hitting many military and administrative targets, including the Pochentong Airport, the Police Headquarters, the radio station and the National Defence Ministry. Over 600 puppet troops were killed, wounded or captured, and many aircraft and military vehicles destroyed, according to AKI (Kampuchea Information Agency).

**(April)** According to AKI in the recent dry season (Oct. 1971-April 1972), the Cambodian people and CPNLF killed, wounded or captured 56,000 enemy troops (including 4,000 Saigon troops), downed or destroyed 72 aircraft, and seized or destroyed 320 military vehicles.

**(April 27)** Lon Nol troops opened fire on demonstrators who had gathered in Phnom Penh's Independence Square to protest against the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak-Son Ngoc Thanh clique. Three students were killed and 19 wounded.

**(April 16)** The CPNLF attacked Pochentung airfield again: 10 enemy aircraft were destroyed or damaged.

**(April 30)** The CPNLF wiped out Battalion 421 of the 1st Lon Nol Brigade, and liberated the district capital, Kompong Cham (Kompong province). After 9 days of fighting, the Liberation forces put out of action 2,200 Lon Nol troops and liberated the district capital of Kompong Trach (Kampot Province).

**(May)** According to AKI, in coordination with their Vietnamese and Lao counterparts, the Cambodian people and Liberation Armed Forces launched devastating attacks throughout the southeastern parts of Cambodia (Kompot, Takeo, Svay Rieng, Prey Veng provinces). 7,544 enemy troops were put out of action, including 1,600 captured, 3,200 arms and over 100 tons of ammunition were captured, and 74 enemy positions and bases were destroyed or seized, during the month of May.

**(May 3)** Several thousand university and high school students marched through the streets of Phnom Penh and occupied the Independence monument, in protest of the student massacre April 27 by Lon Nol troops. According to reports of the Government Accounting Office prepared for the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Refugees, 2,000,000 Cambodian civilians have been made refugees by the war since the March 18, 1970 Coup d'etat.

A Cornell Study estimated that 176,000 tons of bombs were dropped on Cambodia by U.S. planes during 1970-1971.

**(May 13)** RGNUC (Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia) issued a statement condemning the U.S. Imperialist mining of the ports of the DRVN and the intensification of air and naval attacks.

**(May 31-June 2)** CPNLF dealt heavy blows at Saigon puppet troops invading Prey Rumlong (Prey Veng province), putting out of action 4 ranger battalions and shooting down 5 planes.

**(June 4)** Lon Nol was "elected President of the Republic" in a fraudulent election.

**(June 7-8)** CPNLF put out of action 2 enemy battalions and 4 companies in Kandal province and killed or wounded over 300 enemy troops in Kompong Cham province.

**(June)** The Cambodian workers and people staged mammoth demonstrations and strikes in many cities and areas temporarily controlled by the Lon Nol regime to protest against the hoarding and speculation by Lon Nol's henchmen in factories, and to denounce the fascist military regime for driving the workers to the front to be used as cannon fodder.

A U.S. Congressional Committee accused the Nixon Administration of concealing the amount of "aid" to the Phnom Penh regime.

**(July 3)** Lon Nol swore himself in as president of the "Khmer Republic".

**(July 7-8)** AKI reported more than 100 inhabitants (including Buddhist monks) of Svay Rieng village (Kompong Trabek province) killed by U.S. B-52 raids.

**(Aug. 6-7)** CPNLF scored a resounding victory in the Kompong Trabek area, in Prey Veng province, wiping out 1 enemy battalion and badly mauling another. In an attempt to rescue Lon Nol's puppet forces, the U.S. Imperialists issued planes to the area, and mistakenly dropped bombs on puppet positions, killing more than 100 soldiers.

**(Aug. 12)** The Conference of Non-aligned Countries held in Georgetown (Guyana) from Aug. 8-12, accepted the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia as a full member of the Conference, and the sole representative of that country.

**(Aug. 31)** Khmer patriots raided a storage depot 9 miles outside of Phnom Penh killing 28 Lon Nol troops and wounding 35.

**(Sept. 8)** The CPNLF routed Lon Nol troops who were counter-attacking Kompong Trabek: 3 enemy battalions were wiped out, and 7 others broke ranks and fled. All roads leading to Phnom Penh were now under the control of the Khmer patriots and the Cambodian capital was facing a great shortage of rice.

**(Sept. 22)** 12,000 inhabitants of Phnom Penh participated in a meeting hailing Vice Premier of the GRUNC Khieu Sampahn's Sept. 14 appeal calling on the people in the occupied zones to speed up the struggle against the U.S. aggressors and the Phnom Penh puppet Government.

**(Oct. 6)** The CPNLF attacked puppet troops stationed in Kirivong, Ton Leap and Kon Andet (Takeo province), and liberated all villages on the section of Highway 2 from Takeo city, to the South Vietnamese border. Over 2,000 enemy troops were killed, wounded or captured.

**(Oct. 7)** The Liberation forces attacked the Phnom Penh Second Armored Company's camp right in the heart of Phnom Penh: 285 enemy troops were wiped out and 25 tanks destroyed.

**(Oct. 14)** Son Ngoc Thanh resigned as "Chief Minister" of the Lon Nol regime, and was replaced by Hong Thun Hak.

**(Oct.)** During the month of October, Phnom Penh troops counter attacked 17 times in an attempt to reopen Route 5 and were heavily defeated: 2,400 enemy troops were killed, wounded or captured. The road linking Phnom Penh to the rice-growing province of Battambang remained cut.

**(Nov. 11)** UPI reported a massive air-lift of U.S. Military equipment into Cambodia, including at least 8 fighter-bombers, 16 L-19 Light Observation planes, and massive shipments of arms and ammunition—in the event that a Peace agreement might be signed in Viet Nam. Within 10 days the Phnom Penh air force had doubled, with 200 T-28 planes, and more than 50 fighter-bombers and transport helicopters.

**(Nov. 19)** The Liberation forces annihilated a 50-vehicle convoy carrying Lon Nol troops on Route 5: 1,200 enemy troops were wiped out, and all the vehicles were destroyed.

**(Nov. 20)** The CPNLF once again bombarded Pochentung airport with rockets: 140 enemy troops were



killed or wounded, 2 planes were destroyed and many others damaged.

**(Dec. 7)** A 3,000 ton U.S. cargo ship with grain and ammunition was mined by the Patriotic forces: 40 enemy troops were killed and 150 wounded.

**(Dec. 8)** At a plenary meeting of the 27th session of the U.N. General Assembly, representatives from many Third World countries and the People's Republic of China condemned the Lon Nol regime as a puppet gov't, pointing out that the GRUNC represented over 5 million people and governed 90% of the territory, and stated that only the GRUNC had the right to govern the Cambodian people.

**(Dec. 9)** In an interview with AKI, Khieu Samphan (defense minister of the GRUNC) rejected all proposals by the U.S. and the Lon Nol regime for negotiations, compromise or a cease-fire.

**(Dec. 15)** A U.S. petroleum barge anchored on the Tanle Sap river outside Phnom Penh was blown up and sunk.

**In 1972, the CPNLAF killed, wounded or captured 103,000 enemy troops (including 120 officers); captured 17,300 fire-arms, 140 radios, and some 1,000 tons of war material; 415 tanks, 35 war vessels and 80 gunboats were destroyed; 109 aircraft were shot down or destroyed on the ground. 750,000 people were freed from the rule of the Lon Nol regime, and 1,500 officers and men crossed over to the side of the CPNLAF with all their weapons. All roads leading to Phnom Penh were cut, and the Cambodian economy was plagued by a severe rice shortage. The prestige and the support of the patriots and the GRUNC increased around the world, with recognition of the 64 non-aligned countries.**

## 1973

**(Jan. 3)** The CPNLAF fired rockets in to Pochentung airport: more than 100 enemy troops were killed, and 7 planes set ablaze.

**(Jan. 18)** The CPNLAF liberated Rormeas (Kompong Chuang province), a town of economic and military significance on the railway linking Phnom Penh to the western provinces of Cambodia.

**(Feb. 5)** More than 40,000 workers in Phnom Penh staged strikes and occupied 15 factories, demanding an increase in wages, better living conditions, and an end to fascist regulations. The GRUNC Ministry of Information denounced the Lon Nol regime for proposing to introduce the 1954 ICC members into the liberated zones of Cambodia.

**(Feb. 9)** Pentagon spokesman, Jerry Freidheim stated that the U.S. would continue to bomb Cambodia until there was a cease-fire in that country.

**(Feb. 21)** More than 20,000 teachers and thousands of students in Phnom Penh went on strike to protest the rising prices and cost of living, and also the fascist rule of Lon Nol. Every school in Phnom Penh was shut down.

**(Feb. 21)** Monique and Norodom Sihanouk arrived in the Cambodian Liberated Zone.

**(Mar. 6)** The entire U.S. Pacific Air Fleet (including 120 B-52's) began round-the-clock bombing of Cambodia, to try and reverse the deteriorating military situation of the Lon Nol regime.

**(Mar. 17)** Lon Nol's residence was bombed by a patriotic pilot in the Phnom Penh Air Force: 43 puppet troops and officials were killed. Using this as a pretext, Lon Nol declared Martial Law and suspended all democratic liberties. Hundreds of students, teachers, workers and even 20 members of the Royal Family were arrested and labelled "subversives".

**(Mar. 18)** Ten people were killed and 40 wounded, when a demonstration of striking teachers was fired on by Lon Nol troops at Kampot city.

**(Mar. 29)** Liberation Forces moved to within 15 miles of Phnom Penh on Highway 1, seizing more than a 20 mile stretch of the strategic transportation route.

**(April 9)** After a visit by U.S. General A. Haig, a special airlift was organized to supply the Cambodian capital with additional fuel and war material.

**(April 16)** The town of Tram Khnar (on Highway 3) and the coastal resort town of Kep were liberated by the CPNLAF.

**(April 17)** The Phnom Penh cabinet resigns.

**(April 24)** A "Supreme Political Council" was set up in Phnom Penh, consisting of 4 members: Lon Nol, Sirik Matak, Cheng Heng and In Tam.

**(April 26)** Pochentung Airport was shelled by the CPNLAF: 18 aircraft were destroyed and 10 others seriously damaged.

**(April 30)** After heavy pressure from U.S. officials, Brig. General, Lon Non (younger brother of Lon Nol) was forced to go on an "extended visit to the United States."

**(May 10)** The U.S. House of Rep. voted 219-188 to restrict President Nixon from using defense funds granted for other purposes for the air war in Cambodia. This action marked the first time in over 9 years the House had supported an end-the-war amendment.

**(May 12)** In Tam was ordered by the "Supreme Council" to form a new government.

**(May 13)** A Gallup Poll showed that the American people by over a 2 to 1 majority (70%) opposed continued bombing in Cambodia.

**(June 14)** The U.S. Senate adopted a bill cutting off all credits granted for U.S. military activities in South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

**(June 20)** The Thai English language daily, *The Nation*, revealed that 7,000 Thai mercenaries withdrawn from Laos would be sent to Cambodia.

**(June 29)** The U.S. Congress through a compromise, authorized Nixon to continue the bombing until Aug. 15, 1973. The law stated, "Notwithstanding any provision of law on or after August 15, 1973, no funds herein or heretofore appropriated may be obligated or expended to finance directly or indirectly combat activities by U.S. Military forces in or over or off the shores of North Vietnam, South Vietnam, Laos or Cambodia."

**(July 15)** The U.S. Defense Dept. admitted that B-52 bombers had carried out 156 tactical and 3,360 strategic missions (3 planes in each mission), and dropped 104,000 tons of bombs on Cambodia during secret raids carried out over a 14 month period from March, 1969 to May, 1970.

**(July 19-21)** The first Cambodian National Congress was held in the Liberated Zone, representing all the people and organizations opposed to U.S. aggression and the U.S. puppet regime, headed by Lon Nol.

**(July 21)** General Sosthene Fernandez, Commander-in-chief of the Lon Nol army, admitted that 800-1200 Phnom Penh troops were being killed or wounded every day.

**(July 23)** U.S. B-52's were reported to be dropping bombs only 6 miles from the center of Phnom Penh, in an attempt to halt the CPNLF against the capital.

**(Aug. 1-10)** U.S. warplanes mistakenly bombed Phnom Penh positions 5 times. One of these "mistakes" killed and wounded more than 400 of Lon Nol's elite marines and their families at the ferry town of Neak Luong on Aug. 6.

**(Aug. 13)** The strategic town of Skoun at the junction of Highway's 6 and 7 was liberated by the CPNLF.

**(Aug. 14)** According to the Saigon daily, *Doc Lap*, 10,000 Saigon Commando troops of Khmer origin were sent to Phnom Penh to help defend the capital, which was coming under increasing pressure from the Liberation Forces.

**(Aug. 15)** The U.S. was forced to halt all bombing of Cambodia. According to Pentagon statistics, 240,000 tons of bombs were dropped on Cambodia since the signing of the Vietnam Peace Agreement on Jan. 27, 1973 (1½ times the tonnage dropped on Japan during all of World War II).

**(Aug. 16)** Liberation Forces closed in on Kompong Cham from four directions.

**(Aug. 20)** Nixon admitted ordering the secret bombings in 1969-1970.

**(Sept. 5-8)** The Conference of Non-aligned Nations, held in Algiers and representing 76 countries and 25 National Liberation Fronts, voted unanimously to seat the GRUNC as the sole legitimate Government of Cambodia, and condemned U.S. aggression.

**(Sept. 7)** Liberation Forces entered the southern and western sections of Kompong Cham, seizing control of the city's textile plant and only university.

**(Sept. 16)** A U.S. F-4 phantom bombed CPNLF positions at Kompong Cham, in defiance of the Congressional ban.

**(Sept. 19)** After running out of ammunition, the Liberation Forces were forced to retreat from Kompong Cham, accompanied by 30,000 of the city's 50,000 people.

**(Oct. 10)** After strong pressure from the Non-aligned Conference, the Soviet Union recognized the GRUNC.

**(Oct. 11)** A recommendation by the People's Republic of China, Algeria, Albania and 30 other countries to include in the current agenda of the U.N. General Assembly the "RESTORATION OF THE LAWFUL RIGHTS OF THE GRUNC IN THE UNITED NATIONS" was adopted by a vote of 69 for, 24 against and 24 abstentions.

**(Oct. 30)** The U.S. Government Accounting Office (a Congressional investigating body) released a detailed report charging that a 73-man U.S. Equipment Delivery team was functioning in Cambodia as a Military Advisory Group.

**(Nov. 9)** Sihanouk announced that all Cabinet Ministers in the GRUNC had been transferred to the Liberated Zone in Cambodia, and there could no longer be any excuse for calling it a "government-in-exile."

**(Nov. 13)** The U.S. Congress authorized more than \$700 million in aid for Lon Nol in the fiscal year 1973-74.

**(Nov. 19)** A Lieutenant in the Phnom Penh army, Pich Lim Kuon, bombed the Presidential palace (Chamcar Mon) while Lon Nol was presiding over a cabinet meeting. More than 100 people were killed or wounded. He landed his plane safely in the Liberated Zone.

**(Nov. 21)** Nixon sent Lon Nol a personal telegram pledging that the U.S. would "stick with him to the end," and give him "all out support." In the message, he continued to blame the war on "North Vietnamese aggressors," despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary.

**(Nov. 30)** The city of Vihear Suor was liberated by the CPNLF.

**(Dec. 5)** In a surprise vote with many representatives and supporters of the GRUNC out of the room, the U.N. General Assembly adopted a U.S.-Liberian proposal to postpone the vote on who should represent Cambodia in the U.N. by a vote of 52-50.

**(Dec. 8-9)** An international Conference in Solidarity with the Cambodian people, held in Paris at the initiative of 52 French organizations and the Stockholm Conference on Vietnam, demanded an end to all U.S. military activities in Cambodia, and called on all countries to recognize the GRUNC.

**(Dec. 10)** In Tam resigned from the "Supreme Political Council" for the second time.

**(Dec. 14)** 12,000 teachers went on strike in Phnom Penh, demanding higher wages and an end to press-ganging and rice hoarding.

**(Dec. 20)** Lon Nol admitted that a U.S. F-111 plane bombed a CPNLF position 70 miles southwest of Phnom Penh on the Mekong River.

**(Dec. 23)** CPNLF began massive shelling of Phnom Penh.



- (Jan. 6) In a lightning attack lasting 3 days, the CPNLAF liberated 17 villages northwest of Phnom Penh and began shelling Pochentung airport. Guerrillas attacked the home of Sosthene Fernandez with rockets and grenades.
- (Jan. 12) Former Prime Minister, Son Sann, urged Lon Nol to resign and "go to the U.S. for medical treatment", so a new government could be formed that would enter into negotiations with the GRUNC.
- (Jan. 21) Without abandoning any of its positions north and northwest of the capital, the CPNLAF broke through Phnom Penh's defense lines south of the capital and moved to within one mile of the city's outskirts.
- (Jan. 24) 185 rounds of U.S.-made 150 mm artillery shells smashed into Lon Nol's residence, the Presidential palace and near the American embassy.
- (Jan. 29-30) Massive demonstrations held throughout Phnom Penh.
- (Jan. 30) For the fourth time, Lon Nol prolonged the state of emergency for another 6 months.
- (Feb. 1-15) Demonstrations by workers and students swept Phnom Penh.
- (Feb. 1) Four patriotic students arrested and tortured 4 days earlier by the Lon Nol regime were found murdered in their cells.
- (Feb. 4) 120 rockets fell on Phnom Penh, hitting army posts, defense camps, a government radio station, and Lon Nol's residence. 50 rockets fell on Pochentung airport, destroying 5 planes.
- (Feb. 26) Four prominent government officials of the Lon Nol regime defected to the GRUNC while on official business in Paris.
- (March 2) Lon Nol officially ventured out of the Presidential palace for the first time in two months.
- (March 11) A GRUNC delegation, headed by Sihanouk, paid a visit to the Lao Liberated Zone.
- (March 13) Washington Post correspondent, Elizabeth Becker, discovered a U.S. army Major directing and advising Phnom Penh troops in the besieged town of Kampot. According to Becker, "*Maj. Ondecker was showing the Cambodian officers how to mount a counter-attack . . . He was pouring over maps and . . . was in and out of the Command Post, openly recommending military maneuvers.*"
- (March 18) Oudong, the ancient Royal Capital located on Highway 5, 23 miles northwest of Phnom Penh, was liberated by the CPNLAF.
- (March 20) According to an urgent communique released by AKI, there were now 3,500 U.S. advisors operating in Cambodia; they had taken personal charge of all military operations, and had begun training Lon Nol's troops inside Cambodia.
- (March 21) 6,000 orphans and boy scouts, age 12-14, were forcibly drafted into the Phnom Penh army.
- (March 31) Lon Nol declared the dissolution of the Supreme Political Council, and set up a "Supreme Executive Council" consisting of himself, Sirik Matak, Sosthene Fernandez and Lon Boret.
- (April 4) The CPNLAF entered the northern section of Kampot city, destroying the city's only power station, and forming a corridor for 13,000 people to escape to the Liberated Zone.
- (April 6) 5,000 workers at an electric plant and 2,000 workers at the Phnom Penh went on strike demanding higher wages and an end to forcible drafting.
- (April 21) Lon Nol's forces were routed from their beachhead at Kompong Luong. CPNLAF seized control of the Tonle Sap River.
- (May 2) Saigon tanks, planes and infantry invaded Cambodia at two points west of Saigon near Highway 1, but were immediately driven back by the Liberation Forces.
- (May 14) Lon Nol passed a new law prohibiting meetings or gatherings of 5 or more people.
- (May 15) 50,000 students and teachers held demonstrations, and occupied 27 universities and high schools.
- (May 26) Hundreds of students and teachers were rounded up by Lon Nol's police.
- (June 1) 400 officers and soldiers of the Phnom Penh army demonstrated in front of the Presidential palace, demanding the release of detained students.
- (June 4) Thousands of students forced the Minister of Education, Keo Sanghim, and his deputy, Thach Chia, to go to a local high school in Phnom Penh, and demanded the release of 15 students and 4 teachers in exchange for the two Lon Nol officials. But the riot police stormed the school with M-16's blazing. When the shooting stopped, the two Phnom Penh officials and two students lay dead.
- (June 5) Six Cabinet Ministers in the Long Boret Government resigned.
- (June 14) Long Boret resigned, and Lon Nol ordered him to form a new cabinet excluding 2 of the 3 factions that made up the last government, including Sirik Matak's 'Republican Party'.
- (June 22) A Panamanian freighter carrying 2,000 tons of American rice, was sunk right in front of the Phnom Penh docks. The Mekong River, Phnom Penh's last lifeline, was coming under increasing attack (all the highways were cut by the end of the dry season).
- (July 9) Oudong was finally retaken by Lon Nol's troops. But the town's entire population of 30,000 people had gone to the Liberated Zone with the CPNLAF.
- (July 10) Lon Nol announced for the first time in the four year war that he was ready to negotiate with the GRUNC "*without any prior conditions*", and the Nixon administration announced that it was prepared to accept a Laotian-style coalition government in Cambodia. Sihanouk and the GRUNC immediately rejected the offer, stating that they would never accept an 'American peace', which imposes the partition of their country, or a coalition government with out and out traitors.
- (July 20) The GRUNC nationalized all rubber plantations in the areas under its control.
- (Aug. 4) A report released by the House of Representatives' Foreign Affairs Committee stated that, by his own admission, John Gunther Dean, U.S. Ambassador to Phnom Penh, was giving military advice to Lon Nol officials and army officers.

(Sept. 15) Lon Nol passed new harsh economic measures: the riel was devalued to 1400 to the dollar (it was 35 riels to a dollar before the 1970 coup), rice prices doubled, and gasoline prices increased 350%.

(Sept. 21) Thousands demonstrated in front of the Presidential Palace, protesting Lon Nol's new economic measures. Widespread rioting and looting of government rice storages was reported.

(Nov. 28) Using blackmail, behind-the-scenes maneuvering and a series of complicated parliamentary procedures, a U.S. counter-proposal was passed in the U.N. General Assembly by a vote of 56-54, with 24 abstentions to delay the vote till next year on the "RESTORATION OF THE LAWFUL RIGHTS OF THE GRUNC IN THE UNITED NATIONS."

1975

(Jan. 1) At 1:45 a.m., the CPNLAF launched an all-out offensive against the last remaining strongholds of the Lon Nol regime: the capital, Phnom Penh, all along both banks of the lower Mekong River (between Phnom Penh and the South Vietnamese border), around the Provincial capitals still held by Lon Nol, and along Cambodia's major strategic highways—1, 4, 5 and 7. Within a matter of hours, the major Lon Nol base at the town of Ang Snoul (on highway 4) was liberated.

(Jan. 4) After only 4 days the CPNLAF overran 137 positions around Phnom Penh and cut the defense perimeter of the capital from 6 to 1½ miles. Almost the entire length of both banks of the Mekong River was seized. With traffic on the River almost completely halted, the U.S. began a massive airlift into the capital, using a private U.S. company, *Bird Air*, to get around Congressional restrictions on direct U.S. military involvement. According to William Bird, a president of Bird Air and a suspected CIA agent, "The U.S. Air Force provides the planes and maintenance, we only furnish the crews."

(Jan. 13) The ferry town of Neak Luong (where Highway 1 and the Mekong River cross), Lon Nol's last major base on the Mekong, came under heavy attack by the Liberation Forces.

(Jan. 20) A letter was released by the Senate Armed Services Committee revealing a super-secret mission code-named "Operation SCOOT" (Support for Cambodia out of Thailand) in which U.S. (C-130) Cargo planes had been flying thousands of sorties to supply Lon Nol troops with arms, ammunition and other supplies. Richard Boyle, the U.S. journalist who gave the information along with photographs to the Congressional Committee, also said that he had seen USAF phantom jets flying cover for the cargo planes.

(Jan. 20-21) The major naval base at Ka-Am Samnar on the west bank of the Mekong (at the Cambodian-South Vietnamese border) was completely liberated by the CPNLAF. The following day, the Thieu regime in South Vietnam unleashed 6 waves of bombings with 3 planes each, using napalm and anti-personnel bombs against the Cambodian civilian population in the area. More than 50 people were killed or wounded.

(Jan. 23) Pochentung airport was heavily shelled, and closed to all civilian traffic.

(Jan. 26) The U.S. undertook a major effort to send supplies up the Mekong to Phnom Penh. Though several ships managed to get through, 28 boats including 1 tanker, 2 barges, a tugboat and 21 escort vessels were either sunk or badly damaged.

(Jan. 27) Khieu Samphan issued an appeal, calling on the population to rise up and overthrow the Phnom Penh regime, in coordination with the Liberation Forces outside the city. He also called on all foreigners, personnel at foreign embassies and dependents of the Lon Nol puppets to immediately evacuate the capital, stating that the GRUNC and FUNK would not be responsible for the consequences if they remain.

(Jan. 28) Ford asked Congress for another \$222 million in emergency aid for the Lon Nol regime.

(Jan. 31) After one month of fierce attacks, 435 Lon Nol positions were either captured or destroyed. On the Mekong River, 135 vessels were sunk or badly damaged. After the U.S. managed to slip a few supply ships through the last week in January, the Liberation Forces blockaded the river with mines. Panic stricken by the deteriorating military situation, Lon Nol ordered rice distribution cut back by 50%, causing the already exorbitant prices to soar even higher. Electricity in the capital was cut by 80%, and car drivers were restricted to 1½ gallons of gas a week. To replace the heavy losses suffered by his units, Lon Nol raised the draft age from 35 to 50 and began rounding up people everywhere—in the streets, market places, factories, theaters, schools and pagodas. According to one French journalist, "Lon Nol's system is much the same as that employed by the Nazis in Vichy France during World War II."

(Feb. 1-2) With the situation rapidly deteriorating at Neak Luong, Lon Nol rushed troops from the provincial capitals to bolster its defense. When this happened the CPNLAF opened up heavy attacks on the Provincial capitals: at Kampot, 9 positions were overrun and the defense perimeter shrunk to less than a mile, as the Liberation Forces moved to within 100 yards of the government headquarters. At Kompong Speu, the CPNLAF entered the town and seized half the market place. Kompong Som, Takeo, Prey Veng, Kompong Chhnang were also heavily attacked, and Lon Nol was forced to take the troops sent to defend Neak Luong back to their original positions around the provincial capitals.

(Feb. 3) More than 40 rockets fell on Pochentung airport. During January, 28 planes, including 10 civilian airliners were destroyed by CPNLAF rockets and artillery.

(Feb. 5) Nearly 50 boats were sunk, set on fire or damaged when another attempt was made to send supplies up the Mekong. With this failure, all attempts to send supply convoys up the Mekong were suspended indefinitely.

(Feb. 7) The *N.Y. Times* reported that since the beginning of the year, more than 550 rockets had fallen on Phnom Penh.

(Feb. 12) The U.S. doubled the number of cargo flights into Phnom Penh.

(Feb. 13) Admiral Noel Gaylor, Commander-in-Chief of all U.S. Forces in the Pacific, paid a visit to Phnom Penh to assess the deteriorating military situation. Two battalions (at least a thousand troops) of Lon Nol's elite special forces (CIA-trained Khmer Krom) made an amphibious landing on the Mekong, 40 miles from



Phnom Penh, in an attempt to reopen the vital supply route. The U.S., French, Japanese, South Vietnamese and Australian embassies began evacuating their dependencies from the capital.

**(Feb. 16)** World Airways and Airlift International joined Bird Air in the massive airlift to Phnom Penh. According to an *AKI* report, the U.S. had tripled the number of airlifts, flying 90-120 sorties a day. Lon Nol troops were forced to evacuate all positions on the Mekong, as the attempts to reopen the River were complete smashed.

**(Feb. 17)** Three towns in Battambang province fell to the CPNLAF, including Mong Russie, a town of 10,000 people and 2,000 tons of rice.

**(Feb. 20)** Nearly 5,000 students and workers demonstrated in Battambang city, protesting press-ganging, spiraling prices, rice-hoarding and continued U.S. intervention in Cambodia. Western News agencies reported widespread rioting and looting of food shops and rice graneries.

**(Feb. 25)** The ancient Royal capital of Oudong was liberated for the second time by the CPNLAF.

# INDOCHINA SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE

BOX 'C', OLD CHELSEA STA., NEW YORK, N.Y. 10011 · (212) 982-7162

VOL II, NO 8

## NEWSLETTER

MARCH 8, 1975

25¢



**Celebrate International Women's Day! MARCH 8th**  
**Celebrate The Victory Of Women In Struggle!**



# COVER: THE UNITY OF THE WOMEN OF LAOS, CAMBODIA AND VIETNAM!

March 8th has been celebrated as International Women's Day since 1910, but this year it was celebrated in many new countries by millions of women who's recent struggles helped bring about the liberation of their people and furthered the cause of the liberation of people's everywhere.

The United Nations, under Third World and Socialist country leadership has declared this year, International Women's Year. It is in this spirit that we join in celebrating the victories of women in struggle!

## MAJOR SOURCES OF INFORMATION

- \*\*"Afrique Asie"
- \*Agence France Presse
- \*\*"Asia Magazine"
- \*\*"Christian Science Monitor"
- \*Congressional Records
- \*\*"Far Eastern Economic Review" (FEER)
- \*\*"Focal Point" (IPC national paper)
- \*Foreign Broadcasting Information Service (FBIS) pub. by U.S. Gov.
- \*Giai Phong (Liberation) News Agency (GNA - LNA) of PRG-RSVN
- \*\*"Guardian" of New York City
- \*Hsinhua (Chinese) News Agency
- \*International Bulletin (InterNews)
- \*Kampuchea Information Agency (AKI) (News Agency of the GRUNK & FUNK)
- \*Khoesan Pathet Lao (LFF News Agency)
- \*\*"Laos News" LFF publication
- \*Liberation News Service (LNS)
- \*\*"Nhan Dan" of the DRVN
- \*\*"New York Times" (NYT)
- \*\*"New York Post" (NYP)
- \*Radio Pathet Lao
- \*\*"South Vietnam In Struggle" of NLF
- \*\*"Thoi Bao Ga" (V. Resource Center)
- \*\*"Vietnam Courier" pub. by DRVN
- \*\*"Vietnam Information Bulletin" (DRVN)
- \*Vietnam News Agency (DRVN)
- \*\*"Vietnam Report" pub. by UVC
- \*Voice of FUNK (FUNK Radio)
- \*\*"Washington Post"

## ABBREVIATIONS

- AFP Agencie France Presse
- AKI Kampuchea Information Agency (Cambodian Liberation Press Agency)
- ARVN Army of the Republic of Viet Nam (Saigon)
- AVPC Association of Vietnamese Patriots in Canada (Now the UVC)
- CPNLAF Cambodian People's National Liberation Armed Forces
- DRVN Democratic Republic of Viet Nam
- FBIS Foreign Broadcasting Information Service (U. S. Gov.)
- FEER "Far Eastern Economic Review"
- FUNK National United Front of Kampuchea (Cambodian Liberation Forces)
- GRUNK Royal Government of National Union of Kampuchea (Cambodian Front)
- IPC Indochina Peace Campaign
- IRC Indochina Resource Center
- LNS Liberation News Service (Movement News Service)
- LNA Liberation News Agency ("Giai Phong" News Agency of PRG-RSVN)
- LPA Liberation Press Agency (FBIS trans. of LNA)
- LPF Laction Patriotic Front (Laos Liberation Front)
- LR Liberation Radio (PRG-RSVN)
- ND "Nhan Dan" (Hanoi)
- NLF National Front for the Liberation of South Viet Nam
- NPCC National Political Consultative Council (in Laos Coalition Gov.)
- PGNU Provisional Government of National Union (Laos)
- PLAF People's Liberation Armed Forces (PRG-RSVN)
- PRG Provisional Revolutionary Government (RSVN-Republic of South Viet Nam)
- UVC Union of Vietnamese in Canada (formerly the AVPC)

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Vietnamese Women:	<i>From a Fighter for One to a Fighter for All.</i>	3
Cambodia:	<i>Liberation Forces Move Toward Final Victory.</i>	7
	<i>News Items.</i>	14
South Vietnam:	<i>(Current Situation).</i>	14
Laos:	<i>The People United Will Never be Defeated!</i>	21

# SUBSCRIBE! INDOCHINA SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE NEWSLETTER

Check one of below

- ..Regular.....\$3.00 per year
- ..Foreign.....\$5.00 per year
- ..Institutions...\$10.00 per year
- ..Prisoners.....Free
- ..Bulk (10 or more).....15¢ each
- ..Exchange for other publication

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_

Zip Code \_\_\_\_\_ Telephone (\_\_\_\_) \_\_\_\_\_

This is a:  New Subscription  Renewal. Enclosed is \$ \_\_\_\_\_

# Vietnamese Women:

*From a fighter for one, to a fighter for All*



To people struggling throughout the world, the image of the Vietnamese woman, gun in one hand and plow in the other, has been a symbol of indomitable strength and determination. Indeed, the women of Vietnam have fought valiantly in all ways. This year, women in Vietnam, north to south, will celebrate International Women's Day at rallies and marches, in factories, schools and on the battlefield.

The history of the women's struggle in Vietnam, is the history of the country's struggle for national liberation. With each foreign invader, from the feudal Chinese to the colonial French to the Imperialist U.S., it has been the women of Vietnam who have suffered the most. The lives of peasant and working women have been filled with sorrow at losing their families, their land, their livelihood, but they were also filled with the spirit of resistance. The

earliest and perhaps best known example is that of the Truong Sisters who victoriously led an army against the invading Chinese. Throughout the feudal period, women protested against the daily oppressions in their lives: a Confucian moral and legal code that placed a woman under the rule of her father, husband and even son; polygamy and child marriage; etc. But no real liberation could be accomplished, because the people did not yet question the social and political system which created these oppressions. Historical conditions did not allow them to discover the origins of their misery or guide them to actions other than replacing one tyrant by another who promised improvement. Vietnamese women and men could not free themselves from the yoke of feudalism.

## **A Great Leap Forward**

Under French colonialism, the struggle moved to a new stage. The French not only maintained the old feudal structures, but also imposed new forms of exploitation: land tax, rent, slave labor on plantations, in mines and factories. As people were driven from their farm lands into the French factories, the individualized production of households was replaced with socialized means of production where people worked together in large numbers. This created a new revolutionary base in Vietnam—the working class. As a consequence the struggle of Vietnamese women, the Vietnamese working class and the people as a whole were merged into one fighting force. This time the demands were not merely for the equality of the sexes but reflected the overall aims of the entire people - to defeat Imperialism.

## **The Party Guides the Struggle**

In 1930, with the founding of the Indochinese Communist Party, the struggle took a giant leap forward. Ho Chi Minh brought the science of Marxism-Leninism to Vietnam and with this new understanding both the women's movement and the anti-Imperialist struggle were placed firmly on a revolutionary path. The party took seriously the question of women's emancipation and not only placed it among the 10 principle tasks but also established the Vietnam Women's Union to rally women workers and peasants. The Constitution of the Women's Union states "It is only through struggling side by side with



*Minh Khai, party member and leader of the Women's Union said "The revolution is our only salvation."*



her entire people to annihilate the French colonialists that the Vietnamese women will be able to safeguard national independence and her own legitimate rights and create favorable conditions for the fulfillment of her tasks as citizen, wife and mother."

Millions of women directly participated in the resistance against the French colonialists. Following the victory of "Dien Bien Phu" the women of the North, living under the socialist regime, continued to move surefooted towards equality, freedom and dignity. For the women of the south, the struggle continued. The experience gained during the first resistance war bore fruit in the resistance war against U.S. Imperialism. The Imperialists, sparing no one, forced Vietnamese women to choose either death or struggle.

### "Indomitable, Devoted, Equal to all tasks"

Again the whole country rose up. The essence of revolutionary heroism - "indomitable devoted, equal to all tasks" continued to grow and sharpen the weapons of people's war. Women took up production, maintained the family and cared for children, ferried soldiers across rivers, shot down planes, lead and participated in military offensives and political decisions. Under the leadership of the Provisional Revolutionary Government women in South Vietnam have become full-time fighters for the independence of Vietnam.



Nguyen Thi Bich Thuy, Vice-Director of the Viet Tri Power Plant: "Women constitute an important force in our factory. I'll devote more time to stimulate them and improve the quality of their work."



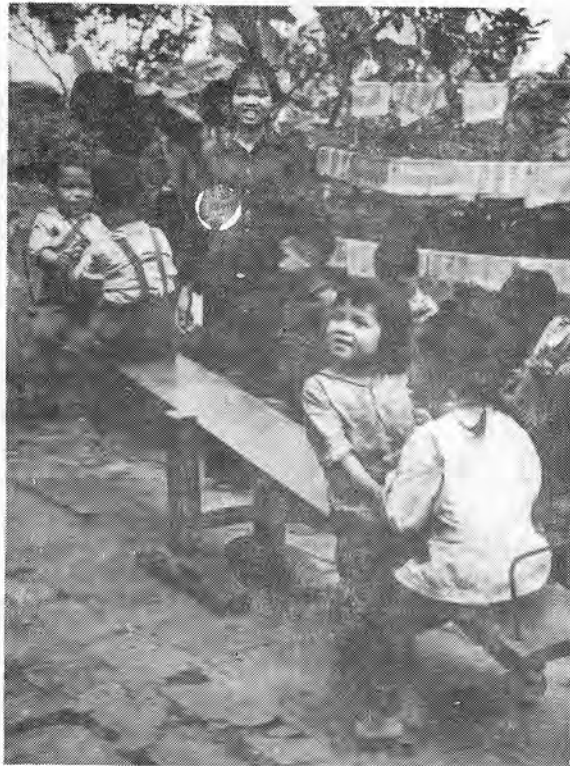
Nguyen Thi Lan, responsible for the kindergartens of the Nam Dinh Textile Mill: "Since the foundation of kindergartens in our factory, many mothers have been able to join production work. Many have recorded outstanding achievements and hold key positions."



Giang Peo Pu, of Phu La nationality, Vice-President of the Lao Cai province Administrative Committee: "My contacts with delegates of the Congress have strengthened further my confidence in the great abilities of women."

In both North and South Vietnam today, the position of women reflects the revolutionary nature of the society. Women have won equality in both law and fact because they participate in the social and political struggle of the country. The progress has been made possible because of the fact that the revolutionary struggle in Vietnam was charted by a party that has "confidence in the women, ceaselessly urges them to struggle, promotes them to leading posts and pays the greatest attention to their organizations and living conditions. As a result, the Vietnamese women, flouted and oppressed for centuries, became aware and engaged in revolutionary activities with extraordinary heroism and inspired millions of others to join an irresistible movement without which the Vietnamese revolution would not have won the victories known to all." (Vietnamese Studies #10, Vietnamese Women, Hanoi, 1966) L

# PROGRESS OF WOMEN IN THE D.R.V.N.



## Institutions in the Service of Women

	1961	1972
Village public-health and maternity hospitals	3,298	5,677
- country midwives	-	10,180
Infant schools		
*enrollment	95,946	940,557
General Education		
*total enrollment	751,200	2,325,991
*%of school girls	39.5%	47.6%
Higher education	2,059	17,221
*percentage	10.0%	43.5%
*specialized schools	2,634	25,645
*percentage	15%	50%

## Health, Education and Culture



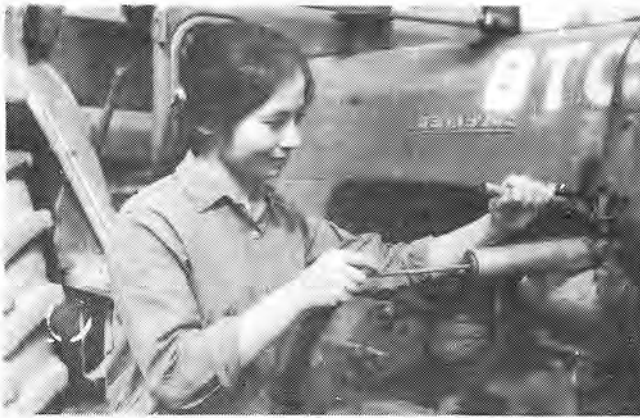
Public health:  
Chemists  
Doctors  
Education  
Infant school:  
teachers  
Middle school:  
teachers  
University teachers  
Specialized school  
teachers,

	1961	1972
Chemists	155	3,210
Doctors	905	2,952
Infant school: teachers	5,678	20,500
Middle school: teachers	5,451	71,537
University teachers	86	1,234
Specialized school teachers,	-	1,329





"The emancipation of women must be associated with national liberation and the liberation of the working class. If the nation and the working class are not liberated, the women will not be liberated. Yet, if the women are not emancipated and do not yet share the role of masters of the country, the nation as well as the working class are not really liberated. A society cannot be considered civilized and advanced if women are still dependent and do not enjoy freedom. The extent to which women are masters of society is a yardstick of the development and progress of a society, because women were those who endured the greatest injustice in the old society. As President Ho Chi Minh has put it "If the women are not emancipated, socialism is only half established". But it is only the socialist revolution and the cause of socialist construction that can create all necessary conditions, economic and social, material and spiritual, for the total emancipation of women and the achievement of equality between men and women in every field, provide women with a decent position in society, bring into full play their ability and energy to serve society, and at the same time ensure them a happy family life. That is why, more than anybody else, women cherish revolution and socialism."



Le Duan, 1st Secretary of the Vietnam Workers Party to the 4th National Women's Conference



## INDUSTRY & AGRICULTURE

	1961	1972
Cadres, workers, civil servants	20%	42.2%
Agriculture		
-state farms	24.7%	54%
-collective sector	57%	61%
Light industry	43%	65.7%
Textile	-	80%
Clothes-making	-	83%
Transport and Communication	13%	31.7%
Building	-	34%
Food	-	60%
Trade	24.6	58%
Handicraft	35%	52.4%
Culture	-	36.3%



## MILITARY

Women militia and self-defence forces: 41% of the total forces.

Militia women who have shot down American aircraft: 20 units; 28 U.S. aircraft.

One unit of militiawomen has five times hit and damaged U.S. war vessels.

# Cambodia

## LIBERATION FORCES MOVE TOWARD FINAL VICTORY

The Cambodian People's National Liberation Armed Forces (CPNLAF) continued to launch devastating attacks against the U.S.-supported Lon Nol army, in what could well be the final and decisive offensive of the war.

For Lon Nol and his U.S. masters, the situation looks rather gloomy. In the first week of the current CPNLAF offensive, which began on Jan. 1, 1975, 137 positions around Phnom Penh were overrun. The defense perimeter of the capital has shrunk from 6 to 1½ miles on all sides. According to *Agence France Presse*, a FUNK (National United Front of Cambodia) radio transmitter is now operating secretly somewhere inside Phnom Penh and is directing the operations of the Liberation Forces on the outskirts of the city. (*AFP*, 1/23/75) Other Western sources report that armed infiltrators have slipped into the capital. As a result, all army and police personnel, including the thousands with comfortable desk jobs, have been placed on permanent alert, and told to prepare for hand fighting in the streets of the capital.



*CPNLAF gunners, focusing their sights on Pochentung airport.*

The capital's Pochentung airport has been shut down to all but military traffic since January 23, as shells and artillery rain down on it day and night. On March 1, the Liberation Forces took a village only 3 miles from the airport, putting it permanently in artillery range. On March 5, when a DC-8 cargo jet was hit by artillery, all supply flights were suspended indefinitely. Though all highways have been cut for some time, whole new sections have been seized, as the CPNLAF move to consolidate their their positions. During the month of January alone, 18,700 Lon Nol troops were killed, wounded or captured, 435 positions liberated or destroyed and 44 planes shot down or damaged on the ground. (*AKI*, 2/6/75) More than a thousand rockets have fallen on the capital, as CPNLAF gunners remain firmly entrenched as close as the east bank of the Mekong, directly across from the heart of Phnom Penh.

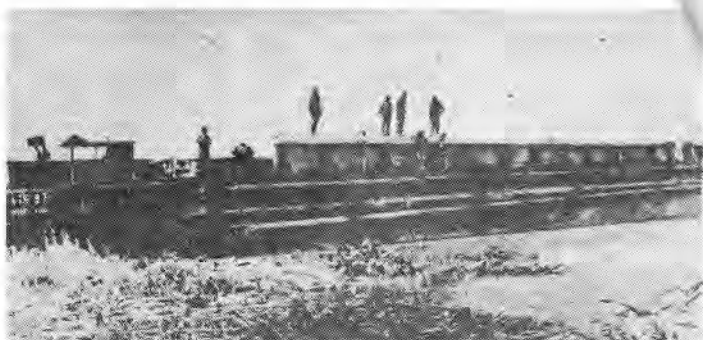
### **Lon Nol's Last Lifeline Cut**



Perhaps the worst blow of all to the U.S. and their puppets is the seizure by the CPNLAF of practically the entire length of the lower Mekong River from Phnom Penh to the South Vietnamese border (60 miles long). Only the major Lon Nol base at Neak Luong remains and it is currently under heavy siege, bombarded with more than 100 rockets a day. Since all roads leading into the capital were severed nearly two years ago, the Mekong River has carried more than 80% of the food, fuel and ammunition needed by the capital.



Several attempts by Lon Nol to reopen this vital supply link using his army and navy have met with total disaster. "Two weeks ago, two battalions of Government [Phnom Penh] troops landed behind enemy lines on the River about 20 miles southwest of Phnom Penh, and tried to push inland. They were virtually wiped out. Out of 500 men, 100 were killed and 300 wounded. The tattered survivors straggled back to Phnom Penh three days later." (NY Times, 2/10/75)



Cargo & naval boats clutter the lower Mekong. Above: a barge captured by the CPNLAF near the strategic town of Neak Luong.

On Feb. 15 Lon Nol made another amphibious assault at a narrow point in the river a few miles south of Neak Luong. After only two days of fighting, Lon Nol's elite troops were forced to withdraw from all their positions below Neak Luong and abandon indefinitely all attempts to reopen the Mekong supply route. The operation was a nightmare: "At least five battalions have been wiped out in the past four weeks in unsuccessful attacks on Khmer Rouge strongholds on the lower Mekong. Overall the government has lost at least 10,000 killed and wounded since New Year's Day, fully one-fifth of its total combat force." (Newsweek, 3/3/75) But for Lon Nol's battered troops on the Mekong front, the worst was yet to come. "Not only have government troops been unable to establish beachheads, but they are being forced to abandon positions they held when the operation began." (NY Times, 2/18/75) On Feb. 15, Liberation Forces overran the huge base camp of Lon Nol's elite American-trained 7th infantry division on both banks of the Mekong, killing and wounding at least 2,000 and capturing 5 whole battalions (more than 1,000 troops). In firm control of the river, the CPNLAF lined both banks of the Mekong with automatic weapons and heavy guns (including many captured U.S.- 105mm howitzers) and made mincemeat out of U.S. supply convoys.

When the U.S. managed to slip a few ships through the last week of January, the CPNLAF mined the river on Feb. 1. On February 3, 4 and 5, successive attempts by supply convoys, under heavy naval and aerial protection, to get through were turned back with a loss of 50 boats. Since Feb. 5, no other attempts have been made to run the CPNLAF gauntlet. Between Jan. 1 and Feb. 14, 271 cargo ships and war vessels were sunk or badly damaged.

#### People's War

The FUNK strategy is obvious: cut the Mekong, shut down the airport, and tighten the noose around Phnom Penh until, as Sihanouk has said, "it falls like a piece of ripe fruit." One of the tactics perfected by the CPNLAF during the current offensive has been the concentration and dispersal of forces. When the situation grew critical on the Mekong and pressure mounted on Neak Luong in mid-January, U.S. advisors rushed puppet troops from the provincial capitals of Kampot, Kompong Som, Takeo, Prey Veng and others. As soon as



- Last cities under Lon Nol's control, surrounded and under heavy attack by CPNLAF.
- ★ Major cities liberated by the CPNLAF



this happened, the CPNLAF hit hard at these enclaves\*:

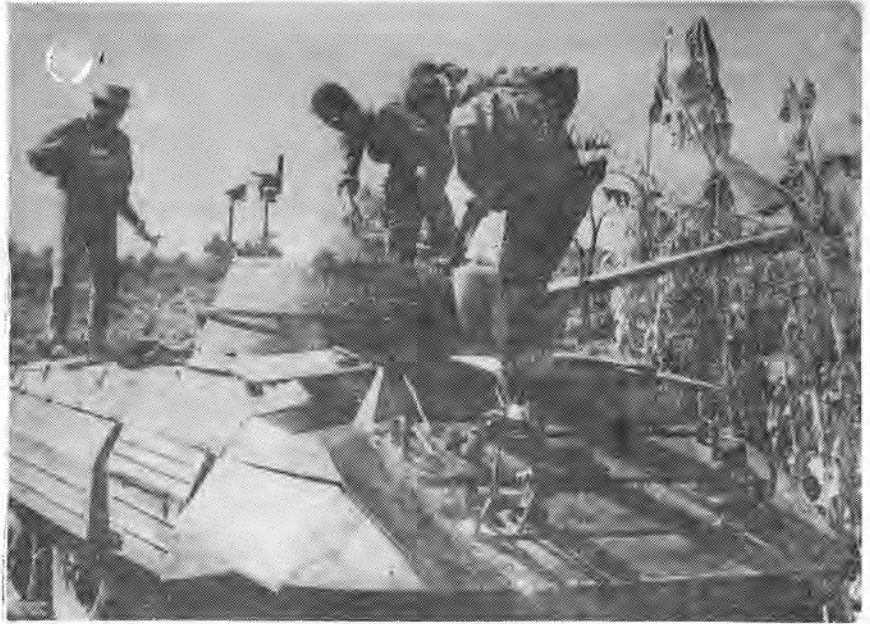
--At Kampot, Liberation fighters seized the city's hospital and moved to within 300 yards of the puppet administration seat, when they captured Troeng Kah, a suburb of Kampot.

--At Siem Reap, 76 positions around the city were overrun and the CPNLAF moved to within a half a mile on all sides of the city.

--At Kompong Speu, Liberation forces moved to within a quarter of a mile of the general command of the puppet army and on the night of Feb. 1, seized half the town's market place.

--On Feb. 25, the ancient Royal capital of Oudong was captured for the second time in the war.

--Battambang province, Cambodia's rich rice-growing region and long a stronghold of the Lon Nol regime, also has come under heavy attack. In February, two major district towns were captured by the CPNLAF, including Muong Russei, with a population of ten thousand and two thousand tons of rice. On February 21, Lon Nol's last land link to the outside world, a railroad running from Thailand to Battambang city was severed.



CPNLAF capture U.S.-made tank near the Kompong Speu front on Highway 4.

Faced with this situation, Lon Nol's troops sent to the Mekong front were immediately rushed back to defend their enclaves. This constant shuttling back and forth of Phnom Penh's troops has left them weary, demoralized and without reserves to replace the heavy losses. As Khieu Samphan, leader of the FUNK and Commander-in-chief of the Liberation Forces has said, "The enemy has no strength to withstand our all-sided offensive. When he [Lon Nol] tries to oppose our attacks from the east, he leaves his rear unguarded from the west. When he turns to meet our attacks from the west, we hit him from the east." (AKI, 1/25/75) According to Wilfred Burchett who recently interviewed officials at the GRUNC mission in Paris, "More ominous still for Lon Nol, Ford and Kissinger is that only a very small fraction of the (CPNLAF) main force units have thus far been committed in the current offensive.



"The strategy of the Liberation Forces has always emphasized two points: to destroy the enemy's forces with as few losses to themselves as possible; and to win over the population to their side. Territorial gains were considered of lesser importance." (Guardian, 2/19/75) This policy of looking out for the interests of the people, of winning them over and using military means to serve this political goal has been a cornerstone of the PEOPLE'S WAR, used by the Liberation Forces throughout Indochina, as well as in the People's Republic of China and many other places.

#### Lon Nol Sinking Fast

The situation for Lon Nol inside the capital itself is extremely unstable, to say the least. Panic-stricken by the deteriorating military situation, Phnom Penh officials and generals are hoarding rice, causing the already exorbitant prices to soar even higher,



way beyond the range of most poor and working people. Widespread starvation has been reported by the Western press, especially among children and the huge refugee population, as people are literally dropping dead in the streets from hunger. But the problem is "not because there is not enough food in the city but because there is no system to help the vast majority of poor people who can no longer afford to feed their children." (Washington Post, 2/21/75) When rice supplies finally arrived via U.S. Cargo planes on March 1, Lon Nol officials ordered the rice to be stockpiled for the troops on the front lines and not to be given to civilians. (Associated Press, 3/3/75)

To conserve fuel, Lon Nol has cut Phnom Penh's power supply by 80% and has forbidden gasoline to be sold to private vehicles. But this has only served to heighten the contradictions between the masses of people and the rich and powerful such as Lon Nol for "most of the expensive restaurants are open even though the children of the poor are dying of starvation, and the rich have electricity while most of the rest of the city goes without." (Wash. Post, 2/23/75)

In an attempt to find reserves to replace the heavy losses suffered by his units, pressganging (forced induction into the army) is taking place everywhere- in the streets, marketplaces, theaters, factories, schools and pagodas. "Today you can see trucks roaming the city trying to round up men for the army and old acquaintances will tell you how their sons are in hiding to avoid the draft." (Wash. Post, 2/23/75) The "draftees" are rounded up enmasse and taken to recruitment centers where, unless they happen to have enough money for a bribe, they are given quicky training courses and shipped off to the front lines. According to one French journalist, "Lon Nol's system is much the same as that employed by the Nazis in Vichy France during World War II." (Wash. Post, 1/27/75) So desperate is Lon Nol for 'cannon-fodder' that he has begun releasing common criminals, substituting army uniforms for prison garb, and sending them off to the front. But filling the army ranks with young boys and petty criminals is hardly the formula that is needed to give it a boost. "The troops have no morale," said a Major Kry. "No one wants to live a soldiers life and fight for nothing. The few recruits we get stay for three days and then run away."

"We are losing the war," said Khim Sao, a sergeant, "We have armor, artillery, airplanes, but we still lose the war because the high-ranking officers do not know tactics, only how to make money. The people don't support us. It is better to stop fighting." (Newsweek, 3/10/75)

### Repression Breeds Resistance

But the urban people, like their brothers and sisters in the countryside, have had it with the fascist Lon Nol regime and are fighting back. On January 1, 3, 15, 21 and throughout the month of February, hundreds of people including soldiers stormed government rice graneries in Phnom Penh and the provincial capitals. Pressganging efforts have been met with rocks, sticks and heavy resistance. Rioting has become almost an everyday occurrence in the Lon Nol-controlled zones.

On January 27, Khieu Samphan issued an appeal, calling on the population under Lon Nol's control to rise up and overthrow the Phnom Penh regime, in coordination with the Liberation forces outside the city. He also called on all foreigners, personnel at



Lon Nol troops on the front lines  
The 'draft age' in Phnom Penh is  
anywhere between 12 and 65.



foreign embassies and dependents of the ruling class in Phnom Penh to immediately evacuate the capital, warning that the GRUNC (Royal Government of National Union) would not be responsible for the consequences they would suffer if they remain in the city. (AKI, 1/31/75) By March 1, more than 700 foreigners had evacuated Phnom Penh.

On Feb. 21, more than 15,000 students, teachers and other workers held a mass demonstration and rioted for two days in Battambang, Cambodia's second-largest city. According to recent reports we have just received, rice storages and food shops were looted, the city's police station and offices of the puppet administration were attacked and ransacked, and on Feb. 22 they kidnapped the Commander of the airbase and demanded that 20 students recently arrested be released in exchange for him. Prime Minister, Lon Boret, had to personally fly to Battambang city and negotiate his release. (AKI, 2/27/75, Hsinhua News Agency, 2/25/75) The students and workers were protesting rice-hoarding, soaring prices, government corruption and continued U.S. aid to Lon Nol. As one Battambang student stated, "We don't want the aid of any poisonous country. We want to live independently. Any country that gives us aid in order to subjugate us, we don't want... and if the results of the aid are bad, then the donor will be punished, destroyed by the Khmer People." (Washington Post, 2/22/75) According to a Phnom Penh resident, "The Americans call it aid, but really it's just like giving somebody a knife to kill his brother." (NY Times, 2/24)

### A U.S. War of Aggression

While the U.S. Imperialists and their mouthpieces in the press are still trying to push the line that the war in Cambodia is a "civil war", one can only wonder who the hell they think they are kidding. The Lon Nol regime is a total creation of the U.S. Government and their CIA thugs. 100% of Lon Nol's food, fuel, weapons, ammunition and every other item down to coal and toothpaste comes straight from the United States.

While Western reporters swear there are only a few hundred U.S. personnel in Cambodia, more than 4,000 U.S. advisors direct Lon Nol's deteriorating army and rotting regime at every level. The U.S. Imperialists run the show in Cambodia, down to the smallest detail. They even fly in U.S. Paymasters everyweek to pay Lon Nol's troops because it is standard practice for Phnom Penh's officers to stuff their pockets with pay for 'phantom soldiers'. Even the U.S. Congress has stated in many of its official reports that Lon Nol wouldn't last five minutes if U.S. aid was cut off.

### U.S. BEGINS MASSIVE AIRLIFT

The U.S. position in Cambodia has reached a critical point. With Lon Nol's forces unable to reopen the Mekong River and the noose around Phnom Penh growing tighter, the Imperialists have begun to implement their 'last resort plan', a massive Berlin-style airlift of supplies into the besieged capital.

Since January 1, U.S. C-130 Cargo planes have been flying in supplies (mostly arms and ammunition to surrounded Lon Nol enclaves. To get around a Congressional law forbidding U.S. military personnel from operating in Cambodia, the Defense Dept. hired a "private contractor", BIRD AIR, to do the flying. According to Willie Bird, president of Bird Air and a CIA pilot in Indochina for 12



US unloads rice at Pochentung airport, destined for Phnom Penh's black market.

years, "we supply the men, the air force supplies the planes and maintenance." (*International Bulletin*, 2/14/75) The 'men' Bird Air is 'supplying' happen to be recently retired Air Force officers.

In fact, the U.S. has been carrying out this type of support ever since the B-52 bombing halt in August, 1973. On Jan. 20 it was revealed by the Senate Armed Services Committee that in a super-secret mission code-named *OPERATION SCOOT* (Support for Cambodia out of Thailand), U.S. Air Force cargo planes have been flying hundreds of sorties every week to supply Phnom Penh forces in Cambodia. The operation was only admitted by the Defense Dept. after an eyewitness account and photographs were made public by a U.S. journalist, Richard Boyle. Boyle also told of seeing U.S. phantom jets flying cover for U.S. cargo planes and helicopters. (*Pacific News Service*, 1/20/75)

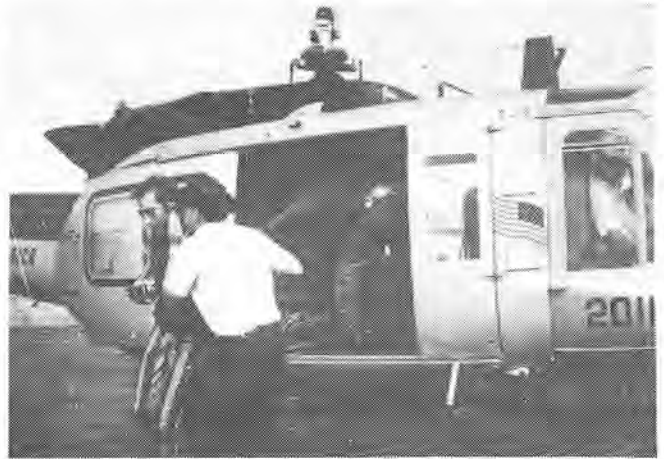


Photo by R. Boyle showing CIA agent, Chuck Bernard, landing at Kampot during siege by CPNLF in the spring of 1974.

On Feb. 13 Admiral Noel Gaylor, Commander-in-chief of all U.S. forces in the Pacific, visited Phnom Penh to assess the situation. The following day the U.S. airlift was doubled, and a week later it was tripled, as DC-8 jets (with a capacity of 45 tons) from two other major airlines joined the airlift. While the U.S. said it was flying 30-40 sorties a day, AKI has put the figure at 90-120 sorties a day. By the 5th of March, U.S. cargo ships were flying round-the-clock, landing at Pochentung airport every eight minutes. (*NY Times*, 3/6/75)

On top of the airlift, U.S.-paid Saigon and Thai mercenaries have begun to carry out massive bombing raids in support of Lon Nol in Cambodia, using napalm and all sorts of new murderous bombs recently designed in the United States, such as the latest CBU-55 cluster bomb, which destroys all human life within a half-mile radius by absorbing all the oxygen. (*Foreign Broadcasting Information Service-FBIS*, 2/23/75) When the CPNLF liberated the strategic military region of Ka-Am Samnar on the Mekong River near the South Vietnamese border on Jan. 20, the Saigon Air Force unleashed 6 waves of bombings (3 planes each), killing and wounding 55 people. (*Hsinhua News Agency*, 1/27/75)

### The U.S. Strategy

The U.S. Plan in Cambodia- at least publicly- is to keep Lon Nol afloat till the rainy season, and hope they can possibly win at least a few small military victories and strike up negotiations with the GRUNC in a few months. However, the same day the U.S. put this line out, Sihanouk reiterated the GRUNC stand that they will never "negotiate or compromise with the traitors in Phnom Penh", a position they have held throughout the course of the five-year war.

Privately, of course, the U.S. Imperialists know that there is no chance for Lon Nol to survive no matter how much dollars and arms they pour in, and they are just looking for a way to 'save face'.



American arms supplies to Lon Nol.



On February 27 the *NY Times* spilled the beans: "*Sec. of Defense, J. Schlesinger, believes that Cambodia will fall whether or not Congress approves emergency aid.*"

"*Sec. of State Kissinger reasons that even with American aid the Phnom Penh government's chances for survival waver between zero and 50-50.*"

On January 29, President Ford asked Congress for another \$222 million for Lon Nol, claiming that his survival was dependent on it. Immediately afterwards, Ford, Rockefeller, Schlesinger and other Imperialist mouthpieces started coming out with all sorts of threats and warnings, even going so far as to resurrect the 'bloodbath' and 'domino theories'. Kissinger went so far as to say that Lon Nol's survival was "*necessary for our national security*", extending the borders of the U.S. across the ocean to Southeast Asia.

Though these statements sound a little unreal coming from them, they do contain an element of truth. If you accept the fact that the U.S. is an imperialist power with neo-colonies, seeking hegemony (dominance) around the world, then a 100% military defeat for U.S. Imperialism in Cambodia certainly will be a blow for U.S. prestige around the world. As for the domino theory, on March 3, the newly elected government in Thailand has ordered the U.S. to remove all of its 26,000 troops and dismantle all of its military bases within two months!

## WATERGATE EAST

Cambodia has often been described by ruling circles in the U.S. as the "*Nixon Doctrine in its purest form*". And just like Nixon on the homefront, U.S. Imperialism is looking for a way to 'resign' from Cambodia, rather than get thrown out. By voting more aid to Lon Nol even though his fall is inevitable, the U.S. can say it "did its best", and blame the loss of Cambodia on Lon Nol's incompetence. But in reality, the only difference is in their heads. The Imperialists will lose Cambodia and suffer the consequences whether they 'save face' or not.

### **Our Strategy:**

**SUPPORT THE CAMBODIAN PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE!  
STOP THE AID AND AIRLIFT!**

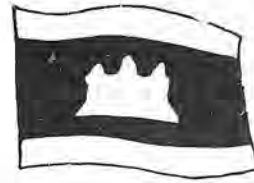
It is time for the American people to act decisively, and help the Cambodian people in their final shove to push U.S. Imperialism out of their country. The U.S. Congress will most probably compromise with Ford and send Lon Nol some more aid. In fact, the U.S. Congress has been fully aware of the situation in Cambodia for the past 5 years and has no intention of ending the war. It's up to the AMERICAN PEOPLE to demand that all aid to Lon Nol be ended, and that the airlift be stopped.



And it's up to the American people to back up these demands by taking to the streets and forcing the hand of the U.S. Government. We must use this opportunity

to mobilize the overwhelming sentiment of the masses against the war and move them to understand that the people of Indochina are fighting against our common enemy. We must raise the consciousness of the people and help organize them into a powerful force that will not only contribute to ending this war, but will one day put an end to all U.S. aggression abroad. □

END ALL AID TO THE PHNOM PENH REGIME!  
STOP THE AIRLIFT TO CAMBODIA!  
VICTORY TO THE LIBERATION FORCES!



## News Items *as we go to press ...*

Sydney Schanberg of the *NY Times* has spilled the beans once again by revealing that the US Embassy in Phnom Penh believes that the best that can be hoped for is a "negotiated surrender". When asked if this meant turning over power to the GRUNC, U.S. Ambassador, John Gunther Dean stated, "I'm no expert on the handing over of cities, but yes, that's about all that's left." (*NY Times*, 3/7/75). This unexpected revelation came amidst mounting pressure not only by the masses, but now large sections of the bourgeoisie and corporate media to get the hell out of Cambodia. As Harry Reasoner stated, "it's time we stopped referring to Lon Nol as We". (*ABC News*, 3/8/75)

Meanwhile, Prince Sihanouk warned the American people to remain vigilant, as the US was preparing for DIRECT INTERVENTION to rescue Lon Nol's sinking ship.

But even as the Cambodian people weather their final storm, clear and sunny skies can be seen over the next horizon, along with an independent Cambodia free from U.S. aggression.



## South Vietnam

The first two months of 1975 have seen unprecedented victories for the liberation struggle in South Vietnam. While the US corporate press has focused on the PRG's capture of Phouc Long province and the Ford administration's request for \$300 million in supplemental military aid to the Thieu regime, the disintegration within the Saigon-controlled zones and consolidation of the liberated South has leapt ahead. More than any other time in the last two years, events in the South today point to the rapid implementation of the Paris Peace Agreement. This is well summed up in the following excerpt from an article in *Far Eastern Economic Review*, January 24, 1975.



### Strategy for a political victory

By Denzil Peiris

The Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) of South Vietnam, for its part, rules out a general military offensive as a means of sweeping out the Thieu regime and replacing it with its own system.

As the Vietcongs see it, if they were matched only against the Saigon forces their success would be swift and certain.

But they are aware that behind the Saigon regime is the awesome military might of the US. Should any PRG military effort ever come to a point that it threatens Thieu with a debacle, then massive US retaliation, perhaps terror bombing, is inevitable.

A PRG analyst gives only minor significance to the fighting: "Although the PRG firmly holds the initiative in small- and large-scale fighting, and though it is likely to continue to do so in an eventual general offensive, fundamentally its military reaction is just a necessary and reluctant one."

The compulsions behind the PRG offensive, according to its analysts, are three-fold: in retaliation for attacks by

Thieu's forces; to regain territory wrested from them by Thieu's attacks, as well as to prevent further attacks by crippling the Saigon side's bases from which offensives could be mounted; and, most important, to use military engagements as pressure to get the Paris Agreement implemented.

In this sense, the intention is to counter the delaying tactics of the Thieu regime at the negotiating table and Saigon's determination to shut out the "third component" of the political elements in South Vietnam from the process of "reconciliation and concord."

The PRG's main strategy is achieving peace not at the end of a protracted war but through a political offensive. An



med struggle is costly in material and manpower and it can only involve the National Liberation Front (NLF) of the PRG. On the other hand, a political general offensive, the PRG believes, "can draw in the whole South Vietnamese population . . ."

The US political base in Vietnam is identified by the PRG as a minority of bureaucrats, both feudal and compradore (merchants acting as import-export agents) and militarist elements personified by the Thieu Administration. This group comprises people in positions from the capital and major cities to countryside district chiefs. They cannot tolerate a political settlement; it would eliminate them from their privileged status. For them, says the PRG, the choice is "win militarily and be kings, lose and pack up for the US."

In PRG calculations, therefore, the political offensive is a higher priority; the war is a form of political pressure. The PRG sees more people, especially in the urban sector, realising that Thieu must go if there is to be peace and "national reconciliation." The political drive is a three-pronged offensive. The first prong is obviously the Liberation Front, which sees "Saigon as the last stronghold of US neo-colonialism in Vietnam." The second prong is the "Third Force," which identifies Saigon "as the last stronghold of oppression and bellicosity, hostile to democratic liberties and peace." The third prong is the "genuine and patriotic nationalists," who see Saigon "as the last stronghold of sordid corruption, which spoils every chance of implementing even their reformist policies."

The "nationalists" are composed of Senators of the Lotus Group, a faction critical of Thieu, members of the "301 Churchmen's Group" and those involved in the "People's Movement Against Corruption."

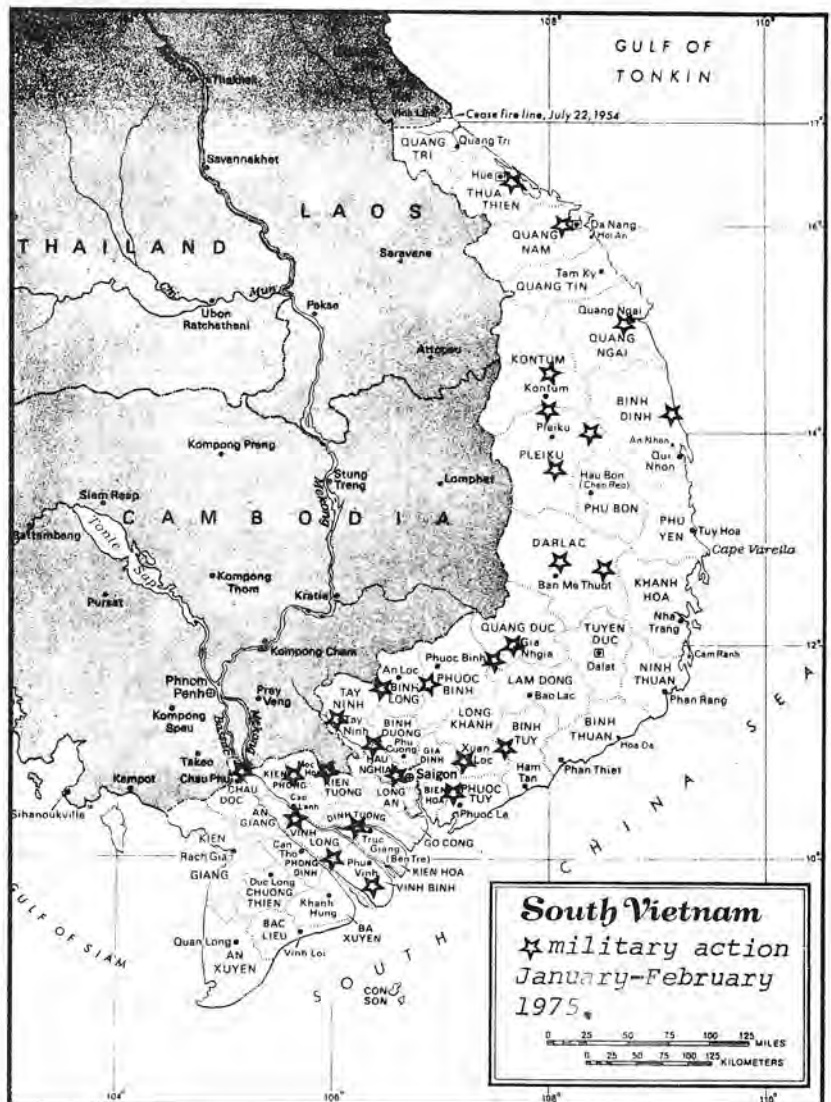
The PRG believes that Saigon's deteriorating economic situation will help strengthen anti-Thieu forces: Inflation and high prices are increasing, unemployment is mounting and, without peace, none can be curbed.

The political general offensive, therefore, is seen to be the more imperative tactic than military efforts. As the PRG phrase it: "It is time to say: 'The more sweat on the political front, the less blood on the battlefield.'"

### WHAT IS THE MILITARY SITUATION IN SOUTH VIETNAM?

"The Saigon army is the United States' main instrument for continuing the war and sabotaging peace." However, the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN) is a paper tiger - the fourth largest army in the world and no match for the resistance of the people of Vietnam. The ARVN's strategic task of attacking the liberated areas has been resisted and smashed on all fronts, resulting in heavy losses in men and materials. ARVN casualty figures for 1974 are set variously at 158,000 by *US News and World Report* and 255,000 by the PRG. In January, ARVN battle deaths were averaging 500 a week. (*NY Times*, Jan 12) Saigon has lost all advantage won in two years of land-grabbing operations since the signing of the Peace Agreements. 1000 ARVN posts were taken in January alone in addition to 4000 throughout 1974. (*Liberation Press Agency*, Jan 23. *FBIS* Jan 24)

"The Saigon army has been driven into a bogged-down and passive position. The contradiction between scattered troops and concentrated forces has intensified and become more acute. The Saigon army's main objective is to enroach on the liberated areas and control the people there. To this end, Saigon troops have been deployed to occupy many areas. But the wide dispersion of troops means that the Saigon army cannot cope with the mounting guerilla warfare movement in the countryside and with the PLAF's strong punitive blows. Thus, to avoid being worn down or annihilated, the Saigon troops have been forced to abandon many isolated positions and to assemble in key posi-



tions or base complexes along strategic communications lines and near cities."  
(Nhan Dan, Jan 6. FBIS Jan 8)

This is the most important characteristic of the military situation today. Saigon troops are under pressure in fixed positions in every province in the country. Throughout the Mekong delta the PRG has never been in a more advantageous position. In the delta alone Saigon has suffered 12,000 casualties, including 2800 dead December through mid-February and the first district capitals have fallen since Tet 1968 (NY Times, Feb 18). ARVN positions are under siege throughout the Central Highlands and along the coast as well, including those around the cities of Da Nang and Hue. All major transportation routes are under constant pressure; Route 4, the "rice road," west of Saigon and highways 21, 14 and 19 in the Central Highlands are in immediate danger of being cut. Pressure by the PRG is so constant and the ARVN so weak that there have been warnings of no less than 10 imminent attacks on provincial capitals since the fall of Phouc Binh. Daily military action within the Saigon suburbs include attacks on power plants, police stations, commercial/military facilities such as cement plants, ammunition ships on the Saigon River and Tansonnhut International airport.

Much of this military activity is to keep ARVN troops out of the villages and hamlets in contested areas of the South. In the words of an official in Tantaovillage, ten miles east of downtown Saigon, "As for the people, they are hungry for peace, so the Vietcong cadres move into areas around here at night, hold meetings, and teach the people how they can have peace..." (Washington Post, Jan. 23) The military situation today is increasingly in the pattern of "coordinated offensives,"



*As for the people, they are hungry for peace.*

that is a combination of revolutionary warfare and mass uprising to completely destroy Saigon forces and irreversibly gain control of large areas of land for the people. (Nhan Dan, Jan 6)

In the South there are three categories of people's military forces - regular units that are mobile throughout the entire country, local forces operating within provinces or smaller areas, and militia or self-defense units protecting individual villages and hamlets. As happened in Phouc Long province, the coordinated attacks of all three forces combined with local political struggle and enemy troop-proselytizing work builds genuine mass uprisings, completely isolates ARVN units, prevents reinforcement and leads to rapid and total annihilation over wide areas of territory.

### "LEAVE THIEU AND GO BACK TO THE PEOPLE"

The moral and organizational disintegration of the Saigon army is accelerating. Hatred of war, fear of engaging PRG units and opposition to operational orders prevail everywhere. Collective anti-war action has involved entire units. For example, December 6-10 five battalions of the puppet 21st Division mutinied and 500 troops deserted. (Nhan Dan, Jan 6. FBIS, Jan 8) The PRG shows particular leniency with ARVN troops that desert. Since the formulation of the original ten point program of the NLF there has been practical, daily work to see these puppet troops as potential brothers in the struggle against US imperialist aggression. There is no clearer indication that the war in Vietnam is not a civil war than the propaganda directed at ARVN units such as this call by Liberation Radio, Dec 29, 1974: "Let troops, officers and personnel of the Saigon administration be aware that the Americans and Thieu have been exploiting



their blood and bones for their own interests. As the US-Thieu clique is suffering heavy defeats and will undoubtedly experience setbacks, let them try by every means possible to score meritorious deeds and then return to the people, the revolution and their families. The revolution and your families are waiting for you." (FBIS, Jan 15)

During the battles for Phouc Long province hundreds of Saigon troops and officers reported to the people asking to not be taken prisoner but to be returned to their families and allowed to earn a living. According to a report by a Phouc Long-based LPA correspondent, Jan 13: "The sun was high and a suffocating burning smell emanated from bomb craters along Phouc Binh's streets. Many reconnaissance planes were wearily conducting missions. Jet aircraft were crisscrossing the sky impotently, failing to achieve anything because of the PLAF's thick anti-aircraft firenet. Meanwhile, the Saigon troops, in groups of five or six, have joined the PLAF and have been led by the local cadre to the rear." (FBIS, Jan 15)

### TURNING BLACK INTO WHITE

Faced with disaster, both Thieu and the US have attempted to turn truth on its head. Thieu continues to prattle about the need to have "secure rear areas" to support his defense against "North Vietnamese aggression." In reality this is a cover for the tightening of fascist repression as the people inside Saigon-controlled zones take up the fight for freedom and independence.

### THIRD FORCE RESISTANCE GROWS

On February 3, an opposition deputy in Saigon reported the final stages of a plan to section the entire Saigon-Gia Dinh area into squares with a daily security check by officers responsible for 5-10 families each. (LPA, Feb 4, FBIS Feb 5) Despite this police-state atmosphere, genuine Third Force opposition continues to mount, particularly outside of Saigon. During the first two weeks in February, journalists, Buddhists and more than 50 opposition deputies participated in demonstrations and hunger strikes in front of the National Assembly building. 10,000 Buddhists met in Hue on Feb. 3 and called for peace and national reconciliation. In the provincial capital of Ha Nghia, northwest of Saigon, 1000 people held a teach-in January 28 condemning the dictatorial and fascist Thieu regime and demanding an end to US interference in South Vietnam. (Vietnam News Agency, Hanoi, Feb 16. FBIS, Feb 18)

In the countryside, two major religious/political sects have joined the anti-Thieu opposition, gravely weakening Saigon's military position in the Mekong Delta. The leadership of the Cao Dai, based at Tay Ninh and representing 2 million followers, has called for negotiations and reconciliation with the Communists. (NY Times, Feb 10)

Saigon - "people want revolution."



Tay Ninh, a city of 250,000 sixty miles northwest of Saigon, is surrounded by the PRG and under daily artillery attack. Thieu is unable to act against the Cao Dai for fear of losing the city.

Southwest of Saigon, the Hao Hoa sect, historically anti-communist and once Thieu's strongest military ally in the delta, has joined the anti-Thieu/anti-war movement. January 16-19 over 10,000 people participated in Hao Hoa-led demonstrations condemning Thieu and calling for the implementation of the Peace Agreements. (LPA, Feb 3. FBIS, Feb 4) The 100,000 man Hao Hoa militia has refused to be assigned outside their districts in the delta, has increasingly harbored ARVN deserters and has voluntarily turned over military positions to the P.V.A.F for the first time in the war. Throughout February, in a desperate attempt to slow wholesale defeat in the Delta, Thieu attempted a dissolution of the Hao Hoa militia, in part to forcibly induct these troops into the Saigon army. During the first day of this campaign, February 3, seven Hao Hoa were murdered, 16 injured and 600 arrested. (LPA, Feb 4. FBIS, Feb 5)

#### THIEU WITHOUT THIEU? US SCHEMES CLARIFIED.

Within Saigon, the pretense of unity among the opposition movements has disappeared. With the publication of the conservative Anti-Corruption Movement's "Political Indictment #2" February 1, it is clear that the anti-Thieu movement is composed of two segments: the genuine Third Force seeking democratic liberties, peace and national reconciliation (Anti-Hunger Front, Workers' Rights Committee, Prison Committee, Organization to Implement the Paris Agreement) and "genuine and patriotic nationalists" seeking an end to corruption in order to be able to carry out the anti-Communist struggle more efficiently (Father Thanh's Anti-Corruption Movement, Lawyers' Struggle Group, Press Freedom Committee).

While "Indictment #2" strongly condemns Nguyen Van Thieu as a dictator, war monger and corrupt ruler, and demands his resignation; it also singles out Thieu individually, not calling for the overthrow of his administration; it praises the US imperialists for giving massive amounts of aid to the Saigon administration and protecting it; it is strongly anti-Communist, condemning the PRG and NLF as well as Thieu; and it is bitter towards the Peace Agreement, considering Thieu's signing of that agreement as an act of betrayal because it put the PRG on an equal footing with Saigon. *Nhan Dan*, February 16, sums up the indictment this way: It is "aimed at nothing but covering up the US policy of aggression and sidetracking the south Vietnam city dwellers' struggle, in an attempt to set up in Saigon a Thieu regime without Thieu, so as to continue serving as lackey of the US and carry out US neocolonialism." (FBIS, Feb 18) (much of the information on the state of the anti-Thieu movement is from February memos from John Spragens, Indochina Resource Center, Berkeley.)

The "nationalist opposition" has been badly shaken by the military and political victories of the PRG since December and by the extreme weakness of the Thieu regime.

Thieu has taken advantage of this demoralization and sought to widen the distance between nationalists and Third Force organizations by heightening police repression, most recently by closing five of the last nine independent newspapers in Saigon the day of the printing of "Indictment #2," ostensibly on grounds of infiltration by communist agents. 32 journalists were arrested, 18 remain in custody and dozens fled.



South Vietnamese newsmen battle police in Saigon, October 1974.



underground to escape capture. (*Washington Post, Feb 6*)

Since 1970 almost 4000 editions of Saigon papers have been seized and over 150 publications shut down. Security money of 5 million piasters to print and 50 million piasters to distribute newspapers are required to cover censorship fines. All copy is submitted four hours ahead of publication for review (*Vietnam Courier, Dec 1974*) These latest actions against the press are the most severe in Saigon history and have had some concrete effect on the militance of the nationalist opposition. No paper said Thieu's charges of "communist subversion" were fabricated nor did they point out this action as yet another episode of government repression. The four remaining papers contented themselves with a one day symbolic suspension of publication in protest and then resumed "at the unanimous request of the steering committee of the Movement for Freedom of the Press." (*IRC, Feb 25*)

Thieu plainly does not intend to step down. By all accounts the US strategy is to hang on until the presidential elections in south Vietnam in early October, have Thieu replaced in the "normal, Constitutional" process of "free elections," and try to consolidate an administration out of the nationalist opposition which can carry on Thieu's policies of war and national division.

### THE REALITY OF THE SOUTH

This plan is an imperialist pipedream. Reality is the rising strength of the PRG which has made possible the consolidation of the Third Force within the Saigon-controlled zones. The reality of the "secure rear areas" is desperation, starvation



and death. As Saigon's newly-appointed Vice-Premier in charge of economic development, Nguyen Van Hao himself admits, "the economic objective for the coming days is not to bring more wealth to the people. The objective for the coming days is how to survive." (*FEER, Han 10*) Unemployment is rampant, reaching 50% in Da Nang, the country's second largest city (*NY Times, Jan 26*) and affecting 1,500,000 workers by conservative government statistics. Starvation plagues every sector of the people. "A documented study of the Committee for Catholic Expansion in South Vietnam has concluded that 70% of the population at present live on incomes below the minimum (calculated for a family of five, whose parents work and taking into account only strictly

*The power of the liberated zones.*

necessary spending and not including breakfast money, school fees, medicines and medical care and all other extraordinary expenses)." (*South Vietnam in Struggle, Dec 20, 1974*) "Hunger has become so widespread that a recent poll conducted by Catholic students discloses that even in Tan Dinh, generally considered the wealthiest section of Saigon, only 22% of the families have enough to eat. Half of the families can only afford a meal of steamed rice and a meal of gruel a day." (*Chin Luan newspaper, Nov 5, 1974. Thoi Bao Ga, Dec 1974*) The working class eats no rice and faces death. Production in Saigon's zones is practically at a halt. Like Cambodia, Saigon's south Vietnam is completely dependent on aid and imports to survive. Revenue from exports in 1974 paid for only ten days' requirements for foreign commodities. (*South Vietnam in Struggle, Dec 20, 1974*) "'Economy?' asked Ngoc Linh, one of South Vietnam's most successful businessmen, 'Is there an economy? Nothing is happening, No buying, no production, no nothing. No money. Practically no aid.'" (*NY Times, Jan 26*)

The alternative to this misery is not a new nationalist government in Saigon, it is the practical alternative represented by the liberated zones of the South where education and medical care exist in every village and hamlet and where 1974 rice harvests showed surplus throughout the country. In response to this reality over 500,000 people joined the liberated South in January 1975 alone. (LPA, Jan 23, FBIS, Jan 24) The population in the liberated zones has climbed from 4,000,000 a year ago to 6,500,000 today (Washington Post, Jan 12)

### END ALL AID SMASH IMPERIALISM

As the Saigon zones collapse, economically and militarily, the only force compelling the Thieu regime forward is continued high levels of US aid. In fact, through a series of tricks and bookkeeping manipulations, aid today is higher than at any time in the history of the war. Increasingly, as even the decadent consumer economy fostered by years of US neocolonialist penetration falls apart, US

economic aid provides more and more of even the basic needs of survival for the civilian population. The \$450 million in economic aid for "post war reconstruction" authorized by Congress for fiscal year 1975 (ending June 1975) is itself \$50 million over last year. This does not include, however, \$170 million in "Food for Peace" funds, \$55 million from oil companies, \$30 million from the Asian Development Bank, \$20 million from France and an estimated \$150 million from other countries. (Thoi Bao Ga, Vietnam Resource Center, Dec 1974) Since non-defense expenditures in Saigon's budget for 1975 total only about \$250 million, it is clear that hundreds of millions of dollars in "economic" aid are being siphoned off to military expenditures.

Despite much publicized cuts in direct Congressional military aid appropriations in 1975 to \$700 million, Thieu is spending aid on military supplies at twice that level - \$506 million in the first five months of fiscal 1975 (July-November). (Thoi Bao Ga, Dec 1974) Clearly, given the sharply intensified fighting since December, \$700 million has long since been spent. The difference is met by the more than \$600 million in excess "economic" aid to Saigon this year and by the massive illegal transfer of ammunition and supplies from Thailand and US supply depots throughout the Pacific, first reported by the Philadelphia Inquirer, December 12.

Since there has been no significant diminution of military assistance to Saigon, how can the apparent contradiction of a steadily worsening military situation be explained? Indeed, the ARVN is outgunned throughout the South. In Phouc Binh the PLAF meticulously destroyed ARVN positions with pinpoint artillery fire, led attacks with T-54 tanks without losing one and kept Saigon aircraft over 10,000 feet with massive 57mm anti-aircraft fire. (NY Times, Feb 1) Also, the ARVN is beginning to run out of ammunition. The Washington Post, February 2, reported that at current level of fighting, by June Saigon is expected to be 25% below required minimum levels. "A minimum is defined as enough ammunition inside south Vietnam to fight without resupply from abroad for 60 days at intensive levels comparable to the 1972 spring offensive, plus 30 more days at a more moderate, normal level of fighting." This minimum is a





low limit because resupply from the US takes a minimum of 60 days once authorization is obtained.

Despite these very real tactical and supply weaknesses, Thieu is not losing because Congress has cut aid. In the words of Huynh Trung Chanh, a deputy in the Lower House, in an editorial in *Dien Tin*, January 17: "The leaders of the Republic of Vietnam are now spreading the view that the present deteriorating situation is due to the lack of aid. But the reality of the situation is that the difficulty is not because of a lack of aid but because of lack of support of the people." (*Thoi Bao Ga*, Jan. 1975) The Thieu regime has lost the political struggle and that is decisive. Technically the ARVN enjoyed a 13-1 artillery fire ratio in January, up from 7-1 and 9-1 during the last two quarters of 1974. (*Washington Post*, Feb 2) However, this use of military power is much like that of the US army in Vietnam, attempting to substitute blanket firepower for political struggle. The result is an ammo shortage and defeat in the face of coordinated offensives by the PRG and the people of Vietnam.

There can be no doubt, without US aid the Thieu regime would be blown away overnight. Our responsibility is clear. We must take up decisively the demand - IMPLEMENT THE PEACE AGREEMENT. END ALL AID TO THIEU AND LON NOL. We must also be clear that we are struggling in the real world, against the system of US imperialism, against imperialist aggression in Indochina. It does not suffice to focus on the levels of aid appropriation in Congress. As stated in the *Vietnam Courier* from the DRVN, November 1974; "Congress' reduction of aid will not in any way affect the reactionary aid policy of the US government." It is that government and the capitalist class it represents that we make our demands on.

"Friends, the enemy is in a precarious situation in the face of our people's surging revolutionary tide. Seize every opportunity to master your own destiny and contribute your strength to toppling Thieu's shaky, contemptible position. Spring is exhorting you to advance."□



# Laos



## The People United Will Never Be Defeated!

On February 21 the people throughout Laos celebrated the second anniversary of the "Agreement On Restoring Peace and Achieving National Concord in Laos." With each passing day the US and their puppets in Vientiane find themselves weaker and weaker. Because of this the US and the Vientiane ultra-rightists have continually tried to sabotage the Agreement. But the Lao people's struggle has moved steadily forward.

In September, 1973 a protocol to the Agreement concerning the concrete terms of its implementation was signed. Less than seven months later the coalition Provisional Government of National Union (PGNU) and the National Political Consultative Council (NPCC) were formed. The PGNU and NPCC are the two temporary state bodies, independent and equal, which will govern Laos until general elections are held. Today most of the articles of the Agreement are in the process of implementation.

The reason that peace and national reconciliation has moved forward is because the Lao people have continually forced the US and their Vientiane allies to comply with it. Demonstrations, rallies and other activities in support of the Agreement and the PGNU are commonplace in Laos. A recent highlight of the Lao people's struggle has been at Thakhek, capital of Khammouane province, in Vientiane-controlled zones in central Laos.



On January 6, students, workers, civil servants, shop-keepers and other people of Thakhek held mass demonstrations. They demanded strict implementation of the Agreements and denounced the sabotage attempts by the rightists. Almost all the stores, schools and public buildings were closed down. (*Hsinhua* 1/15/75) In response to this, the rightists rushed two battalions of troops into Thakhek to bolster the units already there. The town was sealed off from the outside as Vientiane troops attempted to crush the demonstrators.

The people of Thakhek continued to struggle and support for them grew. People in neighboring towns began demonstrating. On January 9, the Vientiane troops opened fire on a group of marchers from Nongbok, a neighboring village, who came to Thakhek. One person was killed, 14 were wounded, 8 were arrested and 25 were "detained." Instead of stopping the just struggle of the people in Thakhek and its surrounding areas, this resistance spread the struggle nation-wide. For over a month the situation remained tense as the rightists continued their sabotage of peace. The people throughout Laos united in demonstrations and meetings to give support to the struggle of the people in Thakhek.

This struggle was crowned with success on February 21. Despite the opposition of the Vientiane Rightists, the PGNU agreed to meet with 12 representatives of mass organizations in Thakhek and reached agreement on the problems. The agreement recognized the popular demands to:

- \* Build Khammouane into a peaceful province.
- \* Completely dissolve the rightist Vientiane "National Assembly" (already agreed to by the PGNU).
- \* Remove officials who oppose peace and to suppress embezzlers and smugglers who steal the natural resources of Laos from the Lao people.
- \* Recognize that the supplementary demands of the people of Nongbok are righteous and justified.

In short the PGNU accepted all the demands of the demonstrators and supported their struggle. (*Hsinhua* 2/26/75) The struggle for realization of the people's demands at Thakhek was a long and hard one. But with the PGNU correctly carrying out the line of reliance on the people, the struggle was won.

The implementation of the Agreements is a protracted struggle with the imperialists and their puppets. Imperialists don't simply give up, they must be forced to surrender every point. In the long run the most powerful force, as exemplified at Thakhek, is the people themselves, As Pathet Lao Radio pointed out:

"Though the US imperialists and their henchmen suffered heavy defeats and were forced to let the Vientiane administration sign the peace agreement they have not yet given up their scheme of aggression against Laos. In reality, the US imperialists and the





Thai authorities are maintaining their military involvement in Laos. The Vientiane ultra-rightists instigated by the US and the Thai reactionaries have systematically undermined the peace agreement and its protocol and jeopardized peace and national concord in Laos.

"The present struggle for the maintenance of peace, the achievement of national concord as well as the defense and building of the liberated zone is the immediate task of our entire army and people. Our army should correctly appraise the situation in the country and its new tasks. It must be deeply imbued with the line of the Party's Central Committee, do its best to bring into full play its fine tradition and nature, cooperate with the forces of peace throughout the country, heighten vigilance and stand ready to smash all the schemes of the US and the Vientiane ultra-rightist reactionaries in order to force them to fully implement the peace agreement and the related protocol, maintain a lasting peace and permanent national concord...

"Although our patriotic struggle is in a new stage and is still complex and arduous, our revolution is on the rise. The situation at home and abroad is very favorable for our people's struggle. We are bound to win. The US imperialists and the Vientiane ultras, now in a defensive position, will certainly suffer ignominious defeats. A lasting peace and permanent national concord which our entire people have been longing for will surely become a reality." (Commentary on the 26th Anniversary of the Lao People's Liberation Army, Pathet Lao Radio 1/20/75, Lao News 1/22/75)

#### AND THE REFUGEES GO HOME

This month, the first groups of Laotian refugees were returned to their homes in the liberated zones. They were flown to the Plain of Jars after 5-8 years of living under US/Vientiane control.

There are more than one million refugees in the Vientiane camps.

"The Central Mixed Commission on Refugees established by the Laos Coalition Government is surveying the refugees now, allowing them to freely choose whether they want to stay in their US/Royal Lao Government camps or return to their homes in the Pathet Lao zones...Even before the survey began, tens of thousands of refugees voted with their feet and returned to Pathet Lao zones on their own. With the survey just begun, the vast majority of those interviewed are choosing to return to the Pathet Lao zones. Dr. Kythong, Vientiane side co-chairman of the Mixed Commission told us he expects 80% of the refugees to choose to return home to the Pathet Lao zones." (Focal Point, 2/20/75)

The implementation of this aspect of the Peace Agreement shows the tremendous strength of the LPF within the coalition government. The people of Laos are determining their country's destiny in a most practical way. In the words of Chan Peng, refugee and one-time farmer from the Plain of Jars, "When we return, if there is any more war, we will organize and fight." □



## CELEBRATE the 5th Anniversary of the Founding of the NATIONAL UNITED FRONT OF CAMBODIA



sponsored by the GROUP OF CAMBODIAN RESIDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

AT: Washington Square Church  
135 West 4 Street

SUNDAY, MARCH 23, 1975  
3pm to 5pm

Saturday, March 29 - "Vietnam Veterans' Day"

# DEMONSTRATE!



"Honor Vietnam Veterans' Day" was proclaimed by Nixon in 1973 to commemorate the return of the last POW's. There was no "honor" to US aggression in Indochina; and as the demands and struggles of Vietnam era veterans have intensified, the government has abandoned the holiday. In this time of revolutionary victory in Indochina, depression in this country and the threat of war in the Middle East; the Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO) has called a demonstration under these four demands this "Vietnam Veterans' Day."

## IMPLEMENT THE PEACE AGREEMENT! END ALL AID TO THIEU & LON NOL!

The US government has continued to wage war in Vietnam and Cambodia in the two years since the signing of the Peace Agreements. This war has been funded by \$8.2 billion in aid and is directed today by 30,000 US military advisors. In the face of this aggression the liberation struggles of the people of Indochina are closer to final victory than ever before. In Cambodia the Royal Government of National Union (GRUNC) has sealed the Mekong River and is at the gates of the capital of Phnom Penh. The US is forced to airlift every scrap of war material and civilian supplies into Lon Nol's few remaining positions. In south Vietnam the whole people, led by the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) are rising up and demanding the replacement of the Thieu regime by an administration that will implement the Peace Agreement. We demand an end to US aggression in Indochina.

## JOBS OR INCOME FOR ALL!

The capitalist system is in crisis - thousands of workers from the auto plants in Detroit to the government offices of New York, are being thrown out on the streets. Look around - there's plenty of work to be done, but the capitalists don't care about that - they fire workers because they can't make their profits.

But when the times get tough, the people get tougher! Already hundreds of workers are out fighting - organizing to fight layoffs, to build common employed/unemployed workers' struggles, to end discrimination against foreign born workers. We demand jobs at union wages - we won't scab on those of us still working. If the bosses can't come up with jobs, we demand a liveable income - one we can support our families with. FIGHT! DON'T STARVE.

## WE WON'T FIGHT THEIR IMPERIALIST WARS! U.S. HANDS OFF THE MIDEAST!

Sooner or later the ruling class has to turn to the only way out of their crisis - war. War is the only way imperialists can redivide markets and resources throughout the world. War opens the factories and guarantees high profits - for them. But for us, war only means suffering and death. The children of the working class, not the Rockefeller kids, are the cannon-fodder in war.

The US has been the dominant imperialist power since World War II. Today, weakened by wars of national liberation and the struggles of poor and working people at home, the US continues to be challenged by other imperialist powers. We face the prospect of war in the Middle East, not only US aggression against the Palestinian or Arab peoples but world war between imperialist powers as well. We have to fight against every step towards US intervention in the Middle East - from desert training of US troops to anti-Arab and anti-Palestinian propaganda in the news. We say, HELL NO! WE WON'T GO!

## VETS UNITE AND FIGHT BACK!



Vietnam veterans fought the last US imperialist war. We quickly learned what our job was - to fight and die in the interests of the rich and ruling class. Those of us lucky enough to come home found vets' unemployment triple the national average. In addition, bad discharges have excluded 560,000 vets, most from national minorities, from jobs and benefits. The GI bill is a joke. Ford's slave-labor amnesty program is no amnesty at all. The VA hospitals are the worst in the nation. One-Third of all prisoners in the US are Vietnam era vets.

The struggle of veterans is not separate from the struggle of all working people. We will not be isolated from that fight by either bribes or repression. "Vietnam Veterans Day" is not a day of "honor." It is a day of anger, determination and organization to FIGHT BACK!

Join us March 29. We see this action as a concrete step forward to unite and mobilize all the people around the sharpest attacks facing us.

★ ASSEMBLE ★

Union Square

14th St & Broadway at 1pm

★ RALLY ★

Herald Square

34th St & Sixth Ave at 3pm

★ CONTACT ★

VVAW/WSO office

135 W. 4th St, NY or call 243-7775

40