

THE CAMBODIAN PEOPLE ARE SURE TO WIN!



BY THE REVOLUTIONARY
UNION FIFTEEN CENTS

WHAT IS THE RU?

The REVOLUTIONARY UNION is a national communist organization. We are mainly workers and students who have joined the ranks of the working class in the struggle against the capitalist system of wage-slavery. We are White, Black, Brown, Asian and Native-American. In all our work, we base ourselves on the principles first proclaimed by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, founders of the Communist Movement:

"The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present they also represent and take care of the future of that movement... they never cease for a single instant, to instill in the working class the clearest possible recognition of the hostile antagonism between bourgeoisie and proletariat.

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win."

The REVOLUTIONARY UNION fights to build the day to day struggles of the American workers to defend our living standards; and we work to unite this movement with all the other struggles of the American people-against US aggression in Indochina and elsewhere, for the rights and freedom of Black and Brown people and other national minorities, against the development of fascism and fascist repression by the government, and for full equality for women.

This United Front Against Imperialism, led by the working class, will eventually bring about the overthrow of monopoly capitalism (imperialism) in the United States, and establish the political rule of the working people; the dictatorship of the proletariat. The workers' rule will completely transform society in the interests of the people and will abolish forever the evils of class society; exploitation, unemployment, poverty, wars and all inequalities. This is the historic mission of the working class, it is to this end that the REVOLUTIONARY UNION and all other genuine Communist organizations are dedicated.



THE CAMBODIAN PEOPLE ARE SURE TO WIN!

INTRODUCTION

On March 18, 1970, Norodom Sihanouk, the Head of State of Cambodia, was deposed while he was out of the country by Lon Nol, the head of the police and army in Cambodia. "Spontaneous" demonstrations sacked the embassies of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam) and the Provisional Revolutionary Government (of South Vietnam). Western correspondents, normally barred from the country, were all over the place to record the events. The banners of this "spontaneous" crowd were in English. The carefully filmed footage of the sacking was sent all over the world by the imperialist press.

Twice in the preceding months Cambodian officers had visited Indonesia to learn from the fascist Suharto who in 1965 staged a bloody take-over, which massacred half a million people, to turn the country over lock, stock and barrel to the imperialists. And immediately after the coup,

psychological warfare experts arrived from Indonesia to help smooth the way for Lon Nol and his clique of conspirators.

Sihanouk responded immediately. In Peking, where he arrived immediately after the coup, he received the support of the Chinese government and people, and of Premier Pham Van Dong of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. He had been promised Soviet support also, but to this day that support has never been delivered. He issued a five point proclamation just five days after the take-over which

- 1) accused the Lon Nol regime of high treason and decreed its dissolution
- 2) announced that a Government of National Union would be formed
- 3) called for a consultative assembly of representatives "of all patriotic, progressive and anti-imperialist tendencies"
- 4) called for the formation of a National Liberation Army to fight against US imperialism and its agents inside the country
- 5) called for a National United

Front for the liberation of the country and to handle the tasks of reconstruction after victory.

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The response to this appeal was overwhelming. Communists and other progressives, workers, peasants and intellectuals, all those interested in a truly independent Cambodia greeted this appeal enthusiastically. Sihanouk united with the veteran left-wing forces who had been in armed resistance against the Cambodian government for years, even though he had headed that government, at least in name. There were mass demonstrations against Lon Nol all over the country. The armed struggle already underway intensified. Sihanouk's attempt at forming a truly neutral government had been smashed by a US-directed coup, and a new stage in the anti-imperialist struggle of the Cambodian people was underway. Today this struggle is on the verge of liberating all of Cambodia.

Full support of the NUF and Sihanouk in the resistance to US imperialism is a key question today in determining real friends and real enemies. While all honest anti-imperialists are trying to mobilize the people of the US against Lon Nol and his US imperialist supporters, the USSR on a world scale, and some so-called "Communists" like the Communist Party, USA, are instead attacking Sihanouk and the NUF, trying to split the broad and monolithic unity, built through decades of struggle, that this Front represents.

What is the background of this CIA-directed coup?

Why do real communists and other progressive people support the NUF with Sihanouk as its head?

What are we to make of the USSR and their US mouthpiece, the revisionist CPUSA, who give no support to Sihanouk and slander the NUF?

With the bombing 'officially' halted in Cambodia and the 9 point Peace Treaty signed in

Vietnam, is the US aggression finished in Indochina?

This short pamphlet will try to answer these questions. We hope it will help clarify the issues and help mobilize the American people to actively build mass struggle against continued US aggression in Indochina.

OPPRESSION AND RESISTANCE

The peoples of Indochina, in the area which now includes the countries of Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam, have been at war with colonialism and imperialism for the last 50 years. The French, the Japanese, again the French and finally the United States have attempted to secure the area for its raw materials, as a strategic road to other parts of Asia, and have forced the Indochinese people at gunpoint to work for dirt-cheap wages. The peoples of Indochina have always fought back, to maintain their independence from foreign domination.

The French were deposed in the area by the Japanese armies during World War II. After 1945, the French attempted to reassert their control, in Cambodia as well as in other parts of Indochina, but ran into the beginnings of the united peoples' resistance which today approaches complete victory.

COMMUNIST LEADERSHIP

There were strikes and demonstrations in the cities, and a growing armed struggle in the countryside. The Communist Party (Pracheachon) organized and led the peoples' patriotic armed forces (the Khmer Issarek) against the French in the period 1945-1954. Especially they organized a strong base among the workers of the huge rubber plantations, the single largest mass of proletarians in Cambodia.

With the firm core of communist leadership in the armed

struggle, and with the French betraying their promises of independence again and again, the basis was laid for the mobilization of broad strata of the Cambodian people for the struggle for independence. A conference of Peoples' Representatives was held in April 1950 involving representatives of all sectors of the population, including Buddhist clergy. This conference set up a government to organize the areas controlled by the Khmer Issarek.

ROLE OF SIHANOUK

The role of Norodom Sihanouk, at this time King of Cambodia, during this period is important in understanding his role today as head of the National United Front. He consistently demanded real independence from the French and refused to be drawn into anti-communist statements or actions. He demanded the withdrawal from Cambodia soil of all French troops. On July 31, 1953, he stated, "although we are not communists, we do not oppose communism, so long as it is not to be imposed on our people by force from the outside".

In his desire for Cambodian independence, Sihanouk moved consistently away from the Fren-

ch and the Cambodian traitors and toward the Cambodian people. He even passes arms and some troops to the Khmer Issarek, as he waged diplomatic struggle against France. Although he had been put on the throne by the French at the age of 19, he turned on them and criticized himself later for having signed agreements in 1949 which limited Cambodian sovereignty. He wrote in 1953:

I am grateful that the people have not punished me for acting against their will in placing the country in the French Union and for having violated the sovereignty of our country by accepting the treaty of 1949. In this decisive turning point in the history of our country and our relations with France, I must choose between France and my compatriots. Obviously, I choose my compatriots.
(The Second Indochina War, Burchett)

US SABOTAGES CAMBODIAN INDEPENDENCE

In the period following the final defeat of the French by the Vietnamese at Dien Bien Phu in 1954, the struggle between Sihanouk's independent and neutral government and the US sharpened. The US, which had largely financed the French imperialists up



Cambodian head of state Norodom Sihanouk receives spirited greetings from DRV Premier Pham Van Dong (left) and Vietnamese people on his April 7 arrival in Hanoi after visiting liberated zones.



Christian Science Monitor

people. First, Sihanouk closed down the US military mission in Phnom Penh. Then in 1963, Sihanouk received unanimous approval from the National Assembly to renounce all US military and economic "aid". In 1965, the US began large-scale intensive bombing of North Vietnam and also Cambodian villages bordering Vietnam. In May of 1965, Sihanouk broke off all diplomatic relations with the US.

STRUGGLE AND UNITY IN THE UNITED FRONT

to this time, now took a direct role. Although Sihanouk at first accepted aid from the US, he would not agree to entering Cambodia into SEATO, the US-dominated anti-communist coalition in the area. And to strengthen the democratic nature of his government, he abdicated the throne to his aging father in a step towards eliminating the throne altogether.

The US immediately attempted to destroy independent Cambodia. The 'secret air war' of 1965-73, only revealed recently to most of the American people, was not the beginning of US aggression in Cambodia. Sihanouk was the target of several assassination attempts and coups. US aid was given without strings, on paper, but was actually used to influence Cambodian politics and spy on the Cambodian

During this period, the Pracheachon (Cambodian Communist Party) played a role independent of Sihanouk. On the one hand, they supported the Sihanouk government as much as it resisted US imperialism. This was the main task at the time (and still is) and to defend the government against imperialist attacks was important. On the other hand, they maintained their organizational, political and military independence, fighting government troops and police under the direction of Lon Nol when he attempted to destroy them. The Pracheachon represents the interests of the workers and peasants, uniting all who can be united to defeat the imperialists while keeping in mind that a successful struggle against imperialism can never be led by the wavering bourgeois

Sihanouk greeted by patriotic troops in tour of liberated zones, March, 1973



elements in the country, even those who tend to be patriotic.

The analysis of the Cambodian Communists proved correct. From 1965-1970 the CIA used its money and influence in the compradore capitalists (those dependent on the US) and to isolate Sihanouk.

At the same time that the split between the compradore and patriotic sections of the Cambodian bourgeoisie sharpened, the armed struggle of the peasants against the Cambodian government armies grew in strength. Certain progressive intellectuals, then thousands of young people, many of them students, disappeared into the countryside to join the growing guerrilla movement, the Khmer Rouge. While Sihanouk still pushed the official government line of neutrality and friendship with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government in the south, certain bourgeois newspapers in Phnom Penh with US subsidies attempted to stir up anti-Vietnamese hysteria.

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These sharp, irreconcilable contradictions set the stage for the CIA-directed coup against Sihanouk.

THE NATIONAL UNITED FRONT

The National United Front, formed quickly after the coup, is a broad front with the participation of communists and all those who want an independent Cambodia. Communists play a leading role. The program of the NUF was formulated by the resistance leaders in the liberated zones and then agreed to by Sihanouk. Ten of the eleven government ministers in the liberated zones are Communists, according to Sihanouk. (See Guardian interview in box.)

Sihanouk's role in the government demonstrates the legitimacy of the government as opposed to Lon Nol's band of traitors. It also shows that it is a government and a movement of all those who honestly oppose imperialism. And Sihanouk has tremendous popularity because of his pre-



Cambodian women listen intently to Sihanouk and others in liberated zone

vious attempts to keep the US out of the country.

As Ieng Sary, veteran resistance leader in the Khmer Rouge told the Guardian, a US radical newsweekly, "There are two opposing forces in Cambodia, the National United Front, and the Lon Nol regime representing the US. There is nothing in between."

The program of the NUF reflects this popular base. It guarantees the rights of the national minorities, freedom of religion, and equality of the sexes. It provides for ownership by the peasants of the land they cultivate. It nationalizes banks and foreign trade.

It calls for peaceful coexistence between nations and "independence, peace, and neutrality wherein each nation protects its integral sovereignty." It is a program which has found overwhelming mass support, a program which only the enemies of the Cambodian people could oppose.

ROLE OF SOVIET UNION, CHINA

The People's Republic of China immediately declared its unreserved support for the NUF and its government, the Royal Government of National Union. The People's Republic gave \$2 million in aid in 1970, \$2 million in 1971, \$10 million in 1972, and will give an estimated \$15 million

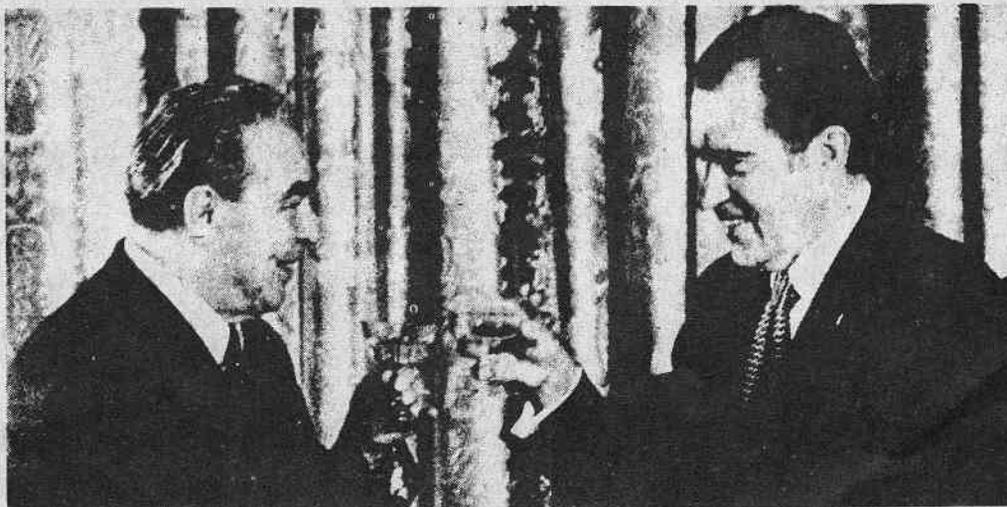
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in 1973. And as always, Chinese aid is real. The US and USSR give expensive loans which build up debts and are designed to make a country more dependent on the superpower; China gives outright grants, extremely inexpensive sales or low-interest loans.

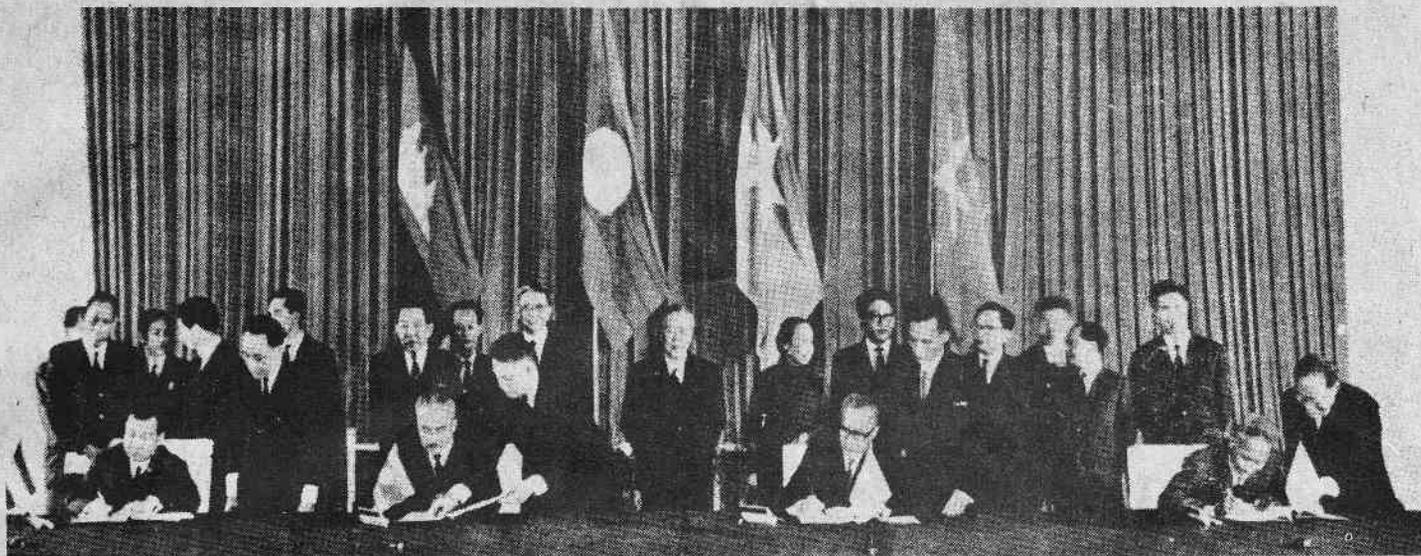
The USSR exposed itself as social-imperialist (socialist in name, imperialist in deed) by refusing to recognize the RGNU and the NUF. The Soviet Union also started vicious slander campaigns against Sihanouk through its bootlicker revisionist parties around the world (like the CPUSA), by saying that there are several "factions" in the NUF, and that Sihanouk represents nobody. (See the reply to the Daily World, newspaper of the CPUSA, at the end of this pamphlet.)

They knew that Sihanouk and the NUF had received the genuine aid of China, and that Sihanouk would not be the puppet of the Soviet Union or of any superpower. So they feared him for the same reason that the US imperialists did—he wanted to build a truly independent Cambodia.

The social-imperialists voted for the Lon Nol fascists to be represented in the United Nations bodies. The previous Cambodian delegate to the UN is now a member of the Royal Government of



Nixon and his pal Brezhnev both oppose Cambodian liberation struggle



April 1970 Summit Conference of Indochinese Peoples pledged united fight against U.S. imperialism. Sihanouk far left

National Union. And recently they even gave insurance on ships carrying arms to Lon Nol's troops in surrounded Phnom Penh.

Why do these renegades who call themselves socialists do this? Because they want control of Cambodia, and Sihanouk would not promise them that. As Sihanouk stated in a Guardian interview:

After our victory we certainly cannot have good relations with them (the USSR) because we take into account the behavior of each country vis-a-vis us during these hard times. As a proverb in Cambodia says, in hard times you can see clearly who is your friend and who is your enemy. In the present times we know who are our friends and who are our enemies.

In the May '73 issue of Revolution we broke down the treacherous role of the Soviet leaders this way:

In 1970, after the U.S. invaded Cambodia, representatives of the three Indochinese peoples--Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam, north and south--held a summit / conference in Peking to form a common front against U.S. aggression. The Chinese, who assisted the organization of this summit conference, have supported the Indochinese peoples' united front from the beginning, and, as a crucial part of this, have recognized the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, headed by Sihanouk, as the only legitimate government of that country.

But, from the start, the Soviet Union has refused to support the war of resistance in Cambodia and has continued to deal with the U.S.-installed Lon Nol regime as the legitimate government.

The fundamental difference between the Chinese and Soviet stands dates back more than 10 years, to the period of the consolidation of a revisionist (pro-imperialist) line by Khrushchev and Co. in the Soviet Union.

In 1963, during the polemics between the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Chinese stressed the importance of the struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples for liberation, and said that, "in these areas, extremely broad sections of the population refuse to be slaves of imperialism. They include not only the workers, peasants, intellectuals and petty bourgeoisie, but also the patriotic national bourgeoisie and even certain kings, princes, and aristocrats, who are patriotic."

In an "Open Letter," the Soviet revisionist leaders attacked and distorted this stand (among others) of the Chinese. The Soviets asserted that the national liberation movements should be "led" by the socialist countries and the working class movement in the capitalist countries, denying the need for the working classes of the oppressed nations to lead these struggles, to unite all who can be united, and to rely primarily on the people of the oppressed countries themselves to achieve their own liberation.

The Chinese position always has been that "in the national liberation movement it is necessary both to insist on leadership by the proletariat and to establish a broad anti-imperialist united front." The program of the National United Front of Cambodia states that "power is and always will remain in the hands of the working and progressive people," and Sihanouk has stated many times that the struggle is being led in practice by the Cambodian Communists.



The armed workers and peasants of Cambodia are the leading force in the NUF

Unite All Who Can Be United

The idea of supporting someone who calls himself a Prince does not sit well with many honest anti-imperialists and progressive people in this country. And the revisionists have attempted to use this democratic sentiment to their advantage. (See reply to the Daily World at the end of this pamphlet.)

But as Lenin pointed out, the heart of Marxism, the ideology of the working class and the science of revolution, is "concrete analysis of concrete conditions." This means analyzing objectively the role of the different forces--and Sihanouk, while he is not a Communist and therefore has not consistently represented the interests of the workers and peasants, has contributed to the struggle against the main enemy, U.S. imperialism

and today he plays an important role. As the Chinese Communist Party pointed out, the struggle must be led by the working class and its Communist Party, but broad strata, "including even certain kings, princes, and aristocrats who are patriotic" can be drawn into the struggle. The development of Sihanouk over the last twenty years is a confirmation of the line of the CCP.

Of course, the Soviet leadership and their bootlickers in the CPUSA chime right in with the US imperialists in attacking the NUF. In Foundations of Leninism, Joseph Stalin analyzed just this type of situation in the development of the national question, and exposed the revisionists of that time who supported their ruling classes in the imperialist World War I:

The struggle that the Emir of

Afghanistan is waging for the independence of Afghanistan is objectively a revlutionary struggle, despite its monarchist views of the Emir and his associates, for it weakens imperialism; whereas the struggle waged by such "desperate" democrats and "socialists", "revolutionaries" and republicans as, for example, Kerensky...(ETC.) during the imperialist war was a reactionary struggle, for its result was the embellishment, the strengthening, the victory, of imperialism.

The general line of uniting all who can be united against US imperialism (and Soviet social-imperialism) has been shown to be absolutely correct once again in Cambodia.

IS THE US THROUGH IN INDOCHINA?

Can the US imperialists be trusted to stick to their signed agreements? Will they give up their efforts to control Southeast Asia for profits? No way.

The imperialists wage wars of aggression because by their very nature they have to. It's a competitive, dog-eat-dog, backstabbing system, and if one big monopoly or imperialist country doesn't get to control a part of the globe, then another might get it instead. They will always fight to re-divide the world between them, as long as they remain in power. In order to end war, we must first end imperialism.

The US has never been short on promises. The "aid" to a neutral Cambodia after 1954 which has already been described is one example. The signing of the 9 Point Peace Treaty is another. Just as the "aid" turned into assassination and subversion, so has the US-Thieu pledge to respect the democratic rights of the Vietnamese people and not attack the liberated zones in

the South turned into bombs and other violations. The DRV and the PRG point out that the US still has 17,000 military "advisors" in Saigon (even the US admits to 8,000). The fascist Thieu still jails some 300,000 Vietnamese. In May, the US began repeating bombings of PRG controlled areas. And August saw full-scale attacks by Thieu's troops, with hundreds of casualties.

The treaty was a major victory for the Vietnamese and all the Indochinese peoples. But the only guarantee of the treaty is the armed power of the Indochinese peoples and the continued vigilance by the US people and the people of other countries. As Thieu is increasingly isolated, he will have to fall back on US arms once again. And the US is not yet ready to admit their defeat in all of Indochina.

As we wrote in the July '73 issue of Revolution, a June 10 Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee report admitted that:

"we are still deeply involved in Southeast Asia." According to UPI, the report concluded "that the United States stands little chance of bringing peace in Indochina through political maneuvering." What this means is that the U.S. imperialists stand little chance of forcing the Vietnamese people to peacefully submit to U.S. domination.

The Senate subcommittee report also admits that the Saigon regime cannot last without the military backing of the U.S. The report, of course, tries to make this sound good, so that it comes out saying, "the balance seems to favor the South Vietnamese government, especially when the deterrent of American air power is added to the equation." (Emphasis added -Ed.)

The report also admits straight out that, in Laos, the revolutionary forces "are in such a strong position and the government forces are so enfeebled." And it adds that in Cambodia, "it is difficult to imagine a political settlement which would not accord the insurgents a significant, if not controlling, political role and even more difficult to imagine a military victory for the government forces."

This is an admission that politically, the U.S.-backed reactionary regimes in Laos and Cambodia are completely isolated, with no support among the people, and that for that reason, they are getting whipped on the battlefield by the liberation forces, who have the overwhelming support of the people of their respective countries.

"This way men!"



Besides showing that the US imperialists are faced with a desperate situation in Indochina, the report confirms that these bloodsuckers will keep on holding on, until they are forced to quit, once and for all. Only the people's struggle; in Indochina, in the US and in other countries, can achieve this.

One aspect of this struggle will be to uphold the right of the Ro-

yal Government of National Union to take its rightful seat in the United Nations. The US and the USSR will oppose this, claiming that Sihanouk and the RGNU are not 'legitimate'. The Soviet and US attempts to split Sihanouk and the NUF and invent a 'third force' in Cambodia are bound to fail. As Sihanouk himself has said many times, "No Prince rules the liberated zones, only the people rule".

REPLY TO DAILY WORLD

The Cambodian national liberation movement under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk and the National United Front (NUF) has been making stunning advances pushing the US-puppet clique of Lon Nol closer and closer to the brink of collapse. People and countries throughout the world completely and fully support the liberation forces and recognize the Royal Cambodian government as the only true government in Cambodia.

Marxist-Leninists, anti-imperialists, and all real progressives stand with the people of the world and are rendering the Cambodian patriots all the support and help they can muster.

Notable among these forces internationally are the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, the Pathet Lao and the People's Republic of China. Within the US all genuine communists, anti-imperialists, and anti-war activists support Prince Sihanouk and the NUF in their struggle to oust the US puppet Lon Nol.

But some so-called 'revolutionaries' notably the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the USA stand opposed to the Cambodian patriots. In the April 18th issue of the Daily World under the by-line of Rick



Cambodian National Liberation Army fighter

Nagin, the CPUSA attempts a tortured defense of the role of the Soviet Union in Cambodia. But even invented facts and backward logic cannot hide the truth.

The Soviet Union maintains normal diplomatic relations with the Lon Nol regime in Phnom Penh. The relations were established after the CIA-backed coup d'etat of 1970 and have been maintained ever since. The Daily World offered several justifications.

"Lon Nol also has official relations with the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, including mutual offices in Hanoi and Phnom Penh." Not true! Relations were broken off immediately after the coup. DRV along with 40 other countries broke relations with Lon Nol to recognize the Royal Government of National Union of which Norodom Sihanouk is head of state.

The Guardian "would like to have it believed that the NUF is led by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who resides in Peking." It matters not what anybody wants believed, this is fact.

The enthusiastic response by all liberation leaders and Cambodians to Sihanouk's recent inspection tour of the liberated zones would prove to all the complete unity between Sihanouk and all elements among the liberation forces.

"The Cambodian national liberation movement is led by the Cambodian Communist Party." This is nothing but a disguised attack on the NUF. Just as they try to say that Prince Sihanouk and the NUF are opposed to one another, now they try to imply that the communists in Cambodia are in opposition to the NUF, when they are actually leading it. The Cambodian national liberation movement is led by the NUF which is a coalition headed by Prince Sihanouk. The Pracheachon which is the Communist party in Cambodia is a member of the front.

"The NUF has an office in Moscow through which it received economic, technical, and medical supplies." The NUF has an



Norodom Sihanouk embraces Cambodian Communist Khieu Samphan, head of the Interior Resistance

ministers live in the liberated zones.

What kind of people would hold such views as expressed by Nagin in the Daily World? What kind of ends would be served by not supporting Prince Sihanouk and the NUF and refusing to recognize the Royal Government as the sole government of Cambodia?

Marxist-Leninists answer that these are the views and actions of social-imperialists and revisionists. The Soviet Union is no longer a socialist country. The working class is no longer in power. Capitalism has been restored within the country and relations with the countries and people of the world can only be described as socialist in words, but imperialist in deeds. The

office in Moscow but receives absolutely no aid from the Soviet government and is treated as a "movement" and not as a government.

"One of the greatest dangers of the present movement when the NUF is scoring stunning military successes is that the US, Lon Nol, and Sihanouk with the co-operation of China will reach some kind of accomodation with the aim of heading off the revolution." So we are to believe Sihanouk who has the complete support of the Cambodian people and liberation forces, and the Cambodians' main international supporter, the People's Republic of China are conspiring with the US and Lon Nol. What proof is offered these absurd allegations? Only the cheap words of the Daily World. The facts point in the opposite direction to a US-Soviet-Lon Nol alliance in opposition to the Cambodian national liberation struggle.

"The Maoists claim the Soviet Union should recognize Sihanouk's Royal Government in Exile as the government of Cambodia. But Sihanouk's "government" governs nothing and there is no assurance that it ever will, even if the NUF triumphs." The Royal Government is not a 'government in exile' but exercises effective control over 90% of the territory of Cambodia and 80% of the population. 11 of its 12



Students have played a key role in the movement against US aggression in Indochina



The CPUSA has abandoned the revolutionary principles of communism developed by Lenin and Mao Tse-tung

Soviet Union continues to col-
lude with the US imperialists to
try to bully the people of the
world. The CPUSA has long ago
made its peace with the US mon-
opoly capitalists and betrayed
the working class. They have
continually tried to hide the
counter-revolutionary nature of
the Soviet revisionists and
their alliance with the US im-
perialists.

Views and actions such as op-
position to the Cambodian nat-
ional liberation struggle by the
Soviet Union and the CPUSA have
placed them outside and in di-
rect opposition to the ever-
broadening united front against

13 imperialism. Through their own
words and actions the Soviet
social-imperialists and CPUSA
revisionists are exposing them-
selves to more and more people
as the scabs and sell-outs that
they are!

NO SUPPORT FOR THE PUPPET
REGIME OF LON NOL!

VICTORY TO PRINCE SIHANOUK,
THE NUF, AND THE ROYAL
GOVERNMENT!

PEOPLE OF THE WORLD UNITE TO
DEFEAT U.S. IMPERIALISM AND
SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM!

SIHANOUK INTERVIEWED

JANUARY 17, 1973 - GUARDIAN



Some Western friends who came here to see me asked me why in my government I have so few Sihanoukists and so many Marxist Cambodians. They asked me why in the royal administration inside Cambodia there are so many Reds and so few Sihanoukists. For instance, among the 11 members of my government inside Cambodia in the liberated zone there are 10 Communists and one Sihanoukist, my cousin Prince Norodom Pourisala.

I have won many Sihanoukists but the most distinguished Sihanoukists are Lon Nol and Sirik Matak—those who betrayed me, the so-called most distinguished Sihanoukists. All the reactionaries. I proposed them to be neutralist, to be progressive, but they preferred to be reactionary and to be pro-American, to be capitalist, to be very bourgeois. They do not like the revolution. They do not like progressivism. So it is not my fault there are no more Sihanoukists but Communists.

They know China will never colonize Cambodia. They know quite well that China will never send any soldiers outside her frontiers, any military units to the other countries. You can see the Soviet Union trying to isolate China and to surround it, with its pact with India for instance. The Soviets signed a pact with India because India and China are not on good terms, and with Bangladesh as well, and the Soviet fleet is in the Indian Ocean. The Chinese themselves certainly have told you about the threat of the Soviet Union on their northern frontiers.

So what happened after that was just what I predicted. The majority of my ministers, because they are bourgeois-minded, capitalist-minded and because their way of life has always been of a Western style, did not approve of my policy of friendship with the Communists. They even said I was a traitor because I gave some facilities to the Vietcong.

In fact I thought that as an Indochinese patriot I had to be in solidarity with our neighbors who are our brothers who have to fight for their freedom. If we were not in solidarity with them, under the pretext of neutrality, one day our neutrality, our independence, our peace would be wiped out. Since we have the imperialists so close to us, we have to try to push away the imperialists in order to have peace.

Neutrality must not mean neutrality between the aggressors and the people suffering under aggression. Neutrality must not mean neutrality between imperialism and the people who have to fight against it. So we gave some facilities to the Vietcong, it is true. But the Vietcong had some hospitals for their wounded inside my country and in non-populated areas they had some of what your press call "sanctuaries."

These sources were especially helpful in writing this pamphlet:

The Second Indochina War, Wilfred Burchett, 1970
Guardian, Jan. 17, 1973 (Silber interview with Sihanouk)
Guardian, May 9, 1973 (articles by Burchett and Silber)
Guardian, June 13, 1973 (article by Burchett)

For further information about the Revolutionary Union,
please write us at one of the following addresses:

R.U.
P.O. Box 3486
Merchandise Mart
Chicago, Ill. 60654
(national mailing
address)

R.U.
P.O. Box 2663
Madison, Wis. 53701

R.U.
P.O. Box 1754
Milwaukee, Wis. 53201



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