

Another U.S. fiasco in Indochina

Peking lures the Administration into embracing Cambodia

Washington's obsession with the China card has led to another travesty in American foreign policy. Last week the Carter Administration went on record as supporting the barbarous regime in Cambodia in its Chinese-provoked conflict with Vietnam.

This is the same Cambodian government that President Carter himself denounced only several months ago as the "worst violator" of human rights in the world. Administration officials now acknowledge to reporters a "pro-China tilt" in American policy on the Vietnam-Cambodia conflict, and justify the Administration's remarkable about-face toward the government of Prime Minister Pol Pot as necessary to maintain an unspecified "equilibrium" of power in Southeast Asia.

The "equilibrium" of course, is the Henry Kissinger scheme of giving tacit backing to China's known desire to be the dominant power in Southeast Asia, and cooperating with the Peking leaders on military matters as part of a NATO "second front" strategy in Asia against the Soviet Union.

The decision to "tilt" toward the monstrosity in Phnom Penh shows how much the pursuit of Chinese favors has become the *idée fixe* of Asia policy-makers in and around the Carter Administration. Led by National Security Council Director Zbigniew Brzezinski and Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia Richard Holbrooke, the Administration is driving for a "strategic" relationship with China in Asia, with all other policy considerations secondary to that objective.

However the Chinese have shown themselves vastly Brzezinski's superiors at playing big-power politics. Chinese Deputy Premier Teng Hsiao-ping is cynically, and adroitly, playing his "American Card." With the Cambodian affair, he has managed to get the Carter Administration on its hands and knees, sacrificing self-respect as well as long-term policy.

The announcement by the State Department of official American support for Cambodia was made in part as a response to the formation last week of the Kampuchean (Cambodian) United Front for National Salvation in the areas of Cambodia now occupied by Vietnam and its anti-Pol Pot Cambodian allies. As reported by Radio Hanoi, the Front has called on the Cambodian people to "rise up for the struggle to overthrow the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique," referring to the Phnom Penh regime's top two leaders. The Front

denounced them as "dictatorial, militarist, and fascist." The Front (KUFNS), led by Hen Somrim, a former commander in the Cambodian Army, is also charging the "Chinese authorities" with backing a regime that violates human rights by herding its people into "camouflaged concentration camps."

'Freedom of residence' and an economic recovery program

Significantly, the KUFNS, in its own radio broadcasts, has emphasized its economic and political program to

'A dictatorial, militarist, and fascist regime'

The following are excerpts from the political program of the newly formed Cambodian United Front for National Salvation (KUFNS), announced in a radio broadcast Dec. 4. Beyond its denunciation of the Phnom Penh regime, the program called for "freedom of residence, movement, association and religion ... a planned economy, with markets, banks and a currency, and an end to forced labor."

The reactionary Pol Pot-Ieng Sary gang and their families have totally usurped power, sought by all means to betray the country and harm the people, causing innumerable suffering and mourning to our fellow Kampuchean and threatening our people with extermination. It is the Chinese authorities who have encouraged and backed to the hilt these traitors and tyrants. In fact, they have herded our compatriots into camouflaged concentration camps, robbed our people of all means of production and consumer goods, forced them to overwork, while giving them the minimum of food and clothes, forcing all strata of the population to live in misery as slaves.

Everywhere our people have witnessed massacres more atrocious, more barbarous than those committed in the Middle Ages or perpetrated by the Hitlerite fascists. They spare not even fetuses inside mothers' wombs.

revive the small country, which has been horribly devastated by the death cult-style mass extermination and social regimentation policies of the present regime. Western press reports say the program includes "freedom of residence, movement, association and religion ... a planned economy, with markets, banks and a currency, and an end to forced labor."

Analysts of the region have placed great significance on the formation of the United Front, and see it as evidence of the intention of Cambodian nationalists and the allied government of Vietnam to pursue a military overthrow of the Pol Pot regime. The joint Cambodian-Vietnamese military forces already control major portions of the eastern region of Cambodia, and have begun a dry-season military offensive.

Opposing them are the dwindling forces of Pol Pot, who is being kept in power by a Chinese "advisor" corps, estimated by some press sources at 20,000 and by Vietnamese sources at up to 100,000. Chinese arms, particularly jet fighters, have been flowing into the country in an attempt to shore up the regime's fighting capability, but battlefield reports are clear that these efforts have been almost completely unsuccessful.

Manipulated by Peking

The Carter Administration has decided to ignore these battlefield trends and the character of the Cambodian regime, setting the stage for another American fiasco

in Indochina. The U.S.'s consistent backing of losers in Southeast Asia — first the French, then an assortment of minor puppets, and now the Pol Pot horror — stems from its consistent lack of any real policy, except "stopping" somebody else.

Peking is aware of this and has moved to manipulate every shade of American political opinion for its own designs. Last week Chinese Deputy Premier Teng told syndicated columnist Robert Novak that the United States should drop negotiations with the Soviet Union for a SALT II treaty and instead normalize relations with China to "contain" Moscow.

Americans, said Teng, need not fear that China will doublecross them and normalize relations with the Soviet Union after the U.S. makes its move toward China — a possibility entertained by many "traditionalists" in the State Department opposed to the Brzezinski-Holbrooke policy. To entice U.S. conservatives, Teng proposed that Taiwan could still maintain its own system of economy and government while united with China.

The *New York Times* reported on its front page Dec. 6 that the Administration is "seriously concerned" about the conflict between Vietnam and Cambodia and the Treaty of Peace and Friendship recently signed between Vietnam and the Soviet Union. China has denounced the treaty, which Vietnam signed to help bolster its national security, as evidence of Vietnam's "puppet" status of the Soviet Union, a

The USSR-Vietnam treaty

Here is the official translation of the articles of the "Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation" signed by the Soviet Union and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in Moscow Nov. 4.

Article 1: In accordance with the principles of socialist internationalism the High Contracting Parties will go on strengthening relations of unbreakable friendship, solidarity and fraternal mutual aid. They will steadfastly develop political relations and deepen all-round cooperation, will give each other all-out support based on reciprocal respect for state sovereignty and independence, equality and noninterference in each other's internal affairs.

Article 2: The High Contracting Parties will join efforts for strengthening and expanding reciprocally advantageous economic, scientific and technical cooperation with the purpose of accelerating socialist and communist construction, of steadily raising the material, cultural and living standards of the peoples of their countries.

The Sides will continue long-term coordination of their national-economic plans, will correlate forward-looking measures towards developing crucial branches of the economy, science and engineering, will exchange knowledge and experience accumulated in socialist and communist construction.

Article 3: The High Contracting Parties will facilitate cooperation between organs of state power and public organizations, will promote broad ties in the spheres of science

and culture, education, literature and the arts, the press, radio and television, public health, environmental protection, tourism, physical culture and sports, and in other fields. They will stimulate the development of contacts between working people of the two countries.

Article 4: The High Contracting Parties will pursue an all-out and consistent struggle for the further strengthening of fraternal relations, of unity and solidarity among socialist countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

They will bend every effort towards the consolidation of the world socialist system, will make a vigorous contribution to the development and protection of socialist gains.

position the Administration has now adopted.

The *Times* article followed by one day similar statements by Holbrooke, who told the *Washington Post* in an interview that the Carter Administration has not normalized relations with Vietnam because of the Vietnam-Cambodia conflict. Later, a State Department press spokesman labeled the Cambodian United Front an "instrument" of Vietnam, while the *Post* quoted an unnamed Administration official as saying the normalization of relations with Vietnam is being considered only within the "strategic" context of United States relations with China and the Soviet Union.

U.S. business stymied

Aside from the strategic disaster of the Administration's current "policy," the concern voiced by the State Department over Vietnam's relations with the Soviet Union is a blatant fraud. Hundreds of American corporations are known to be itching to begin full economic and trade relations with Vietnam, but are being blocked by the refusal of the State Department and the National Security Council to normalize relations with Hanoi.

Officials of the newly formed U.S.-Vietnam Trade Council report that Vietnam is offering extensive trade and other arrangements to American firms, arrangements these officials argue could reduce Vietnam's overwhelming dependence on the Soviet

Union for economic aid. One American businessman who recently visited Hanoi for three weeks was shocked when he returned and tried to brief State Department officials on the extensive information he had gathered during his stay. The State Department wasn't interested.

To internationalize the real issues in the Indochinese conflict, the Vietnamese have sent a letter to the United Nations Security Council laying the blame for the present situation on "the Peking authorities' expansionist policy in Southeast Asia" whose aim "is to exclusively occupy the East Sea, to pit the three Indochinese countries against one another, and to push the Association of Southeast Asian Nations into opposing Vietnam and Laos." They are pursuing a "policy to divide Southeast Asian countries in an attempt to carry out Chinese hegemony in the region," the letter charged. (The full text accompanies this report.)

Most of the region's leaders share this assessment of the situation, despite the delusions entertained by Holbrooke that the U.S. "shares" with Southeast Asia the suspicions of Vietnamese intentions in signing the treaty with the Soviet Union. The Indian weekly *New Wave* reports that the Indonesian Foreign Minister, on a recent trip to New Delhi, told Indian officials that "Chinese aggressiveness" left the Vietnamese no option but to seek such a treaty with the Soviets.

—Dean Andromidas

Article 5: The High Contracting Parties will go on bending every effort for protecting international peace and the security of the peoples, will vigorously counteract all the designs and machinations of imperialism and reactionary forces, will support the just struggle for the final eradication of colonialism and racism in all its forms and manifestations, will support the struggle of the non-aligned countries, the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, for strengthening independence, in defence of sovereignty, for the right to freely dispose of their natural resources, for the establishment of new international economic relations free from inequality, diktat and exploitation, will support the striving of the peoples of Southeast Asia for peace, independence and cooperation among them.

They will unwaveringly come out for the development of relations between countries with different social systems on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, for expanding and deepening the detente process in international relations, for the final exclusion of aggression and annexionist wars from the life of the peoples, in the name of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Article 6: The High Contracting Parties will consult each other on all important international issues affecting the interests of the two countries. In case one of the parties becomes the object of attack or of threats of attack, the High Contracting Parties will immediately begin mutual consultations for the purpose of removing that threat and taking appropriate effective measures to ensure the peace and security of their countries.

Article 7: The present Treaty does not affect the rights and obligations of the Parties under bilateral and multilateral agreements now in force, concluded with their participation, nor is it directed against any third country.

Article 8: The present Treaty is subject to ratification and will come into force on the date of exchange of the instruments of ratification which shall take place in the city of Hanoi at the earliest date.

Article 9: The present Treaty is concluded for the period of 25 years and will be automatically prolonged every time for another 10-year period, unless either of the High Contracting Parties gives notice of its wish to terminate it twelve months before the expiration of the respective period.

In Southeast Asia, doubts about China's intentions

The following are excerpts from an article entitled "Doubts Over Peking Trip," which appeared in the Indian weekly paper New Wave Nov. 26, 1978. The article focuses on relations between India and China, but contains insights on the situation in Southeast Asia. Particularly appropriate are the comments cited in the article that were made by the Indonesian Foreign Minister during his recent trip to India, which stand in stark contradiction to comments by U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia, Richard Holbrooke last week.

The Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, had come to New Delhi (last week — ed.) straight from Hanoi, and had first hand knowledge of what is happening there. It is true that the Indonesians still persist in their "once bitten, twice shy" attitude towards the Chinese, but they are no lovers of the Vietnamese and the Soviets either. His view that Chinese aggressiveness has left no option for the Vietnamese except to seek a treaty of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union, should therefore carry conviction in New Delhi.

The Indonesian Foreign Minister is fully convinced that the Vietnamese would neither invoke the treaty in their dispute with Kampuchea (Cambodia — ed.) nor allow their nonalignment to be compromised. There is therefore no reason why our foreign policy makers should have any doubts about the treaty signed between the Vietnamese and the Soviet Union. The Indonesian Foreign Minister was not speaking for himself alone when he said that before signing the treaty the Vietnamese had taken steps to remove whatever doubts lingered among their neighbors about their intentions.

Indeed, the treaty which Vietnam has signed with the Soviet Union is on the same lines as the Indo-Soviet treaty, and the clauses of the two documents which lay down that in the event of aggression or threat of aggression against either contracting party the two sides would hold consultations for effective steps to end the threat and eliminate aggression, are identical. It seems that the Vietnamese as also the Soviet Union deliberately took the Indo-Soviet treaty as the model for their draft instead of the treaties which the Soviet Union has signed with some other countries like Angola and Ethiopia.

With our own experience of the Indo-Soviet treaty, our Foreign Minister does not need any assurance that the Vietnamese treaty would not result in Soviet intervention in Southeast Asian affairs, contrary to what the Chinese allege. But the Indonesian Foreign Minister seemed to feel that the Chinese have failed to remove the suspicions in these countries about their own intentions. These doubts have in fact, been strengthened by Chinese involvement in Kampuchea, their pressures on Laos, and their aggressive attitude against Vietnam.

Third World battles

At the UN, heated debate over the role

Nonaligned nations around the globe have been steadily pursuing an effort stemming from before the Colombo Non-Aligned Nations' meeting in 1976 to rescue news control from the mouths of British-sponsored propaganda outlets which systematically "filter, mutilate, and distort", developments of vital interest to these nations. The largest press agencies of the West, notably Reuters (British) and Associated Press and United Press International (U.S.) are among the major targets.

At the center of this battle is the controversial Tunisia-Group of 77 (Third World nations) study entitled "The New World Order of Information." The study asserts that "in the absence of adequate regulations, one must expect a veritable invasion of television programs and broadcasts constituting a violation of national territory and individual homes and

Free expression ...

Third World diplomats and journalists have numerous cases where Western journalists' exercise of "free expression" passed over into disinformation and outright falsehood. Some examples:

- At the height of the recent demonstrations against the Shah of Iran, UPI reported from Teheran that the Shah had been assassinated, causing panic on Iranian financial markets. Iran expelled the UPI correspondent responsible.
- The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) broadcast appeals from exiled Shi'ite leader Ayatollah Khomeini to strike, demonstrate and blow up the oil fields; the government responded by jamming BBC Persian language broadcasts and expelling BBC correspondents.
- Maltese Prime Minister Dom Mintoff addressed the European Commission last month regarding consistent British press falsification of matters relating to him personally and to his government's policies. Malta over the past two years named the BBC, the *Daily Telegraph*, and the *Daily Mail* as failing to retract stories as they had agreed, and was forced to take court action to receive retraction and civil penalties.