

reported in the media and used to demonstrate the apparent need to send troops to the area. The water and sewage system in Phnom Penh was damaged some years ago by the Khmer Rouge. The USA embargo against Cambodia has effectively prevented anything being done to repair the system.

A number of incidents where UN forces have been fired on in the former Yugoslavia have been used consistently within the media as a justification for sending vast number of troops to the former Yugoslavia. The fact that there have been more instances of UN troops being fired on in Cambodia goes virtually unreported. At the time of writing the Khmer Rouge are holding 42 UN troops prisoner.

OUR RESPONSIBILITY

The commander of the UN forces in Cambodia, the Australian Lt Gen John Sanderson is quoted in Janes Defence Weekly as saying that the UN forces have "come to unleash a whole new set of ideas and possibilities in a short period of time", and key to that new set of ideas is the creation of a democratic framework.

However, if we compare that statement with the description of Cambodia in the 50's, what becomes apparent is that the new set of democratic ideas is not new and the UN approach is not intended to create

the democratic framework. That framework can only exist if Cambodia is released from the straightjacket imposed upon them by the west and intended to allow the reinstatement of Pol Pot. For years Cambodia's economic infrastructure destroyed by Pol Pot, disruption made possible by the active material support of, amongst others the British and US governments.

In July last year the Khmer Rouge murdered eight people of Vietnamese ethnic origin including a baby. In December they murdered three fishermen, by slitting their throats, because they were of Vietnamese ethnic origin. At the end of December they murdered 14 people, including six females and four children, and wounded a further 14 because they were of Vietnamese ethnic origin. They are currently trying to whip up hatred amongst the population against people from Vietnamese origins which clearly demonstrates that they will carry out the same type of genocidal policies if they ever do regain power. Yet not only does the press in Britain carry very little information about what Pol Pot and his followers are doing, they continue to enjoy the covert diplomatic support of the British government.

Britain, through the UN are insisting that the aid so desperately needed to repair some of terrible damage inflicted on their economy is

conditional on Cambodia accepting Pol Pot as a part of the 'peace agreement'. However, Pol Pot is refusing to adhere to the peace agreement. Thus the UN have allowed Pol Pot to return, they have allowed him to build an economic base for his war and they have allowed him to threaten the release of aid to Cambodia. The USA, for instance, supplied bulldozers which built the roads which made the Khmer Rouge's logging and mining activities possible while maintaining a ban on the supply of exactly such equipment to Cambodia.

Incredibly it is still the UN's intention to disarm the State of Cambodia army in this situation.

The most constructive thing you personally can do is to put pressure on your MP, either by writing yourself or by asking your trade union to make representations to the local MP to make the UN:-

- Apply sanctions against the Khmer Rouge's economic activities.
- Cease to make aid to Cambodia conditional on their acceptance of a peace treaty which makes the Khmer Rouge a partner in government.
- Take steps to ensure that the leadership of the Khmer Rouge are brought to trial for the mass murders they committed while they were in control of the government in Cambodia.

TUCND

NEWS

Issue No 8

THE START II TREATY - WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

The outgoing Bush administration and the beleaguered Russian administration came to an agreement recently over very serious and significant cuts in their nuclear arsenals. Both were facing very serious problems within their own economies and both were under great pressure to come up with significant changes in their defence establishments.

In a complicated agreement the two sides have come to an agreement to cut the number of warheads in their arsenal. One of the more destabilising aspects of the nuclear arms race was the move towards multiple warheads in their missiles. Part of the Start 2 agreement is to cut out these multiple warheads (although sea-launched multiple warheads are not affected in this way) replacing them in some cases with single warheads. Sea-launched multiple warheads remain acceptable under the agreement but the US is committed to reducing theirs to roughly half the current total.

The agreement was intended to drastically reduce the number of warheads but a number of vehicles will not be affected to the same extent.

One of the other aspects of the Bush proposals is that they are, to some extent intended to bring the number of possible incoming missiles down below a level where the Star Wars programme could become effective. That is with less incoming missiles the possibility of attacking a significant number before they approached their targets is increased. That's the theory but the SDI programme is so far from being workable it remains unrealistic, even with the reduced numbers.

The cuts:-

After the cuts the combined total of warheads held by the USA and Russia will be roughly a third of the current level and half the level already agreed in the Start 1 treaty.

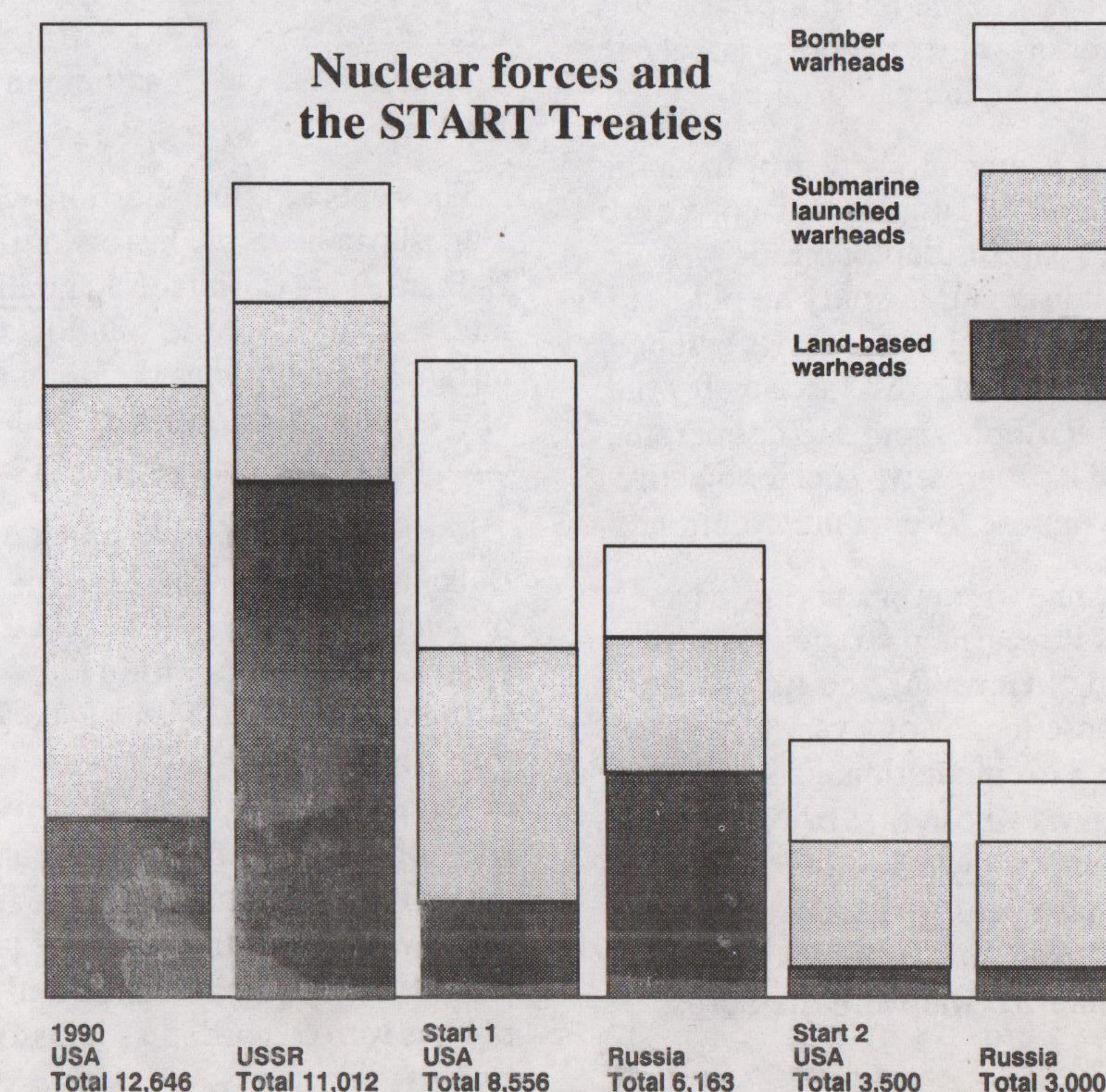
The bits they save:-

The United States asked for the option for them to be able to fit nuclear missiles to the

B1 'Stealth' Bombers as they scrap their ageing B52 Bombers. This makes it that much easier for them to retarget nuclear warheads and therefore increases the threat of their use against third world countries. That in turn increases the pressure on them to develop nuclear weapons themselves. So, for instance, in a situation such as the Gulf, had Iraq been threatened with the use of nuclear weapons and had managed to develop them themselves they would be in a position to threaten to use them against the warships deployed against them.

Russia on the other hand is allowed to retain 90 of the Silos which hold their SS-18 missiles although the missiles themselves will be scrapped. Other missiles will be put in their place. It also means that in the future they could re-equip these silos relatively easily.

Nuclear forces and the START Treaties



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means, however, that they could be re-equipped relatively easily.

The problems:-

The Ukraine have not yet ratified the Start 1 treaty. They are concerned at the belligerent nature of the current regime in Russia. Yeltsin has, in the past, intimated that he would be prepared to use nuclear weapons in disputes with other parts of the former Soviet Union and there are outstanding border disputes between a number of them and Russia. They are therefore seeking guarantees that their security will be underwritten should they be attacked.

This is not as serious a problem as it may appear, given the political will on the part of the USA. The Ukraine do not hold vast numbers of nuclear weapons.

They are also saying that the USA should pay for the dismantling of the nuclear weapons on their territory.

Trident:-

The momentum behind the cuts is developing and both the US and Russia are cutting dramatically and rapidly. It would seem that one of the inhibiting factors is simply the rate at which they can dismantle the warheads. It makes the British position, of carrying on with a rapid increase of nuclear warheads, with the deployment of the Trident system, look that much more ridiculous. We depend on the United States to produce the missiles for this and they will be reducing their production of these. This may increase the cost to Britain of buying their missiles.

The Conservative chair of the Defence Select Committee, Nicholas Bonsor, has admitted that "Trident may have to be reviewed over the next couple of years" as a result. This may mean that the number of warheads are reduced on Trident to the same level as deployed in the Polaris programme. There is also the possibility that the US will scrap their Trident programme, possibly deploying other missiles in the existing boats.

Conclusion:-

Despite the drawbacks the treaty is a major step forward in the disarmament process. The incoming Clinton administration may well have to modify the programme but all indications are that this will be to increase the pace rather than reduce it. Aspin, Clinton's Defence Secretary, for instance, has already made it clear

WHAT NEXT IN YUGOSLAVIA?

BY JIM MORTIMER (Former General Secretary of the Labour Party)

The civil war in Bosnia is a nasty and cruel business. None of the participants has a monopoly of virtue or atrocity. The civil war has confirmed yet again that within the frontiers of the former Yugoslavia there are many extreme nationalists and religious fanatics who will stop at nothing to gain their objectives.

If it has done nothing else the civil war has thrown into sharp relief the achievement of Tito. He came to power because in the second world war he inspired and led millions of Yugoslavs of all ethnic groups to resist the Nazis. There was no country in Europe where the resistance was stronger or where, proportionately, the loss in human life was greater.

There is much to be learnt from the experience of Tito. He was not a Serb but a Croat. Instead of ethnic factionalism and hostility he put forward a social message. Its essence was the need to resist fascism, for the different ethnic groups to cooperate around a progressive social objective and to oppose foreign intervention.

He came to power not only as a result of the armed struggle against fascism of Germany and Italy but also as a consequence of a very bitter war against extreme nationalists within Yugoslavia whose first priority was their enmity towards other ethnic groups. It needs to be remembered that the principal sufferers in their bitter internal war were the Serbs.

Hundreds of thousands of Serbs were killed by other ethnic groups. Most of the Croat nationalist leaders collaborated with the Nazis. Hitler created an 'Independent' Croatia.

It was never difficult to arouse ethnic enmity within Yugoslavia. Tito's achievement was that for 35 years he kept it under control and gave the population, irrespective of their ethnic origin or religion, a social objective which could appeal to all. The objective was to build a socialist society, with experiments in workers' self-management, and resistance to foreign intervention either from the capitalist West or from Stalin in the East.

The roots of ethnic hostility within Yugoslavia lie in the history of the Balkans. This is why foreign military intervention is not the solution; the intrigues and at times the domination of rival imperial powers have always been the basic cause of the problem.

For hundreds of years much of the Balkans, including considerable parts of Yugoslavia, were under Turkish Islamic domination within the Ottoman Empire. The struggle to throw off the foreign yoke never ceased. Turkey through the centuries was not the secular state it became under Kemal Ataturk after the first world war. It was the centre of Islamic power within which religion and politics were regarded as indissoluble.

Other empires also had interests in the Balkans. The Hapsburg Empire of Austro-Hungary dominated parts of what was to become northern and western Yugoslavia. To this day the predominant religion in Slovenia and Croatia is Roman Catholicism, reflecting the historic influence of the Hapsburg Empire. The Russian Empire of the Czar sought to extend its influence, particularly into Serbia, where the main religion, as in Russia, was the Orthodox Church.

Thus the Balkans became a cock-pit in which rival empires, together with their allies, could inflame ethnic hostility for their own purposes. It is in this connection that the role of Germany assumed significance.

German big business has always sought to extend its influence into the Balkans. Its ally was Turkey: its opponents were the imperial interests of Britain, France and Russia. This became the profile of the first world war.

When Yugoslavia became affected by the more recent upheavals in Eastern Europe Germany pressed strongly for the break-up of the country. They endorsed the claims of the nationalists in Croatia and Slovenia who had been their allies in the second world war. The USA, always anxious to see the defeat of any government claiming to be socialist, joined in the pressure. It was an indication of

it. Aspin, Clinton's Defence Secretary, for instance, has already made it clear that the military structures planned by the current regime can not be paid for out of the budget allocated and they are extremely unlikely to increase the budget.

One of the major obstacles to the disarmament process is the opposition presented by the British government. The New World Order is proving to be deeply problematic. It could turn very sour indeed, with a range of wars and border disputes throughout the world. The British attitude is pushing international politics in the direction of resolving such disputes by the force of arms rather than by negotiation.

Britain's decline that, after some initial reluctance, it went along with German and American policy. Yugoslavia was destroyed and the nationalists everywhere, including Serbia, increased their influence.

The distinctive feature of Bosnia is that its population there is no ethnic majority. As part of Yugoslavia it was an area of ethnic minorities. The tendency of the British press to identify Bosnia with its Moslem minority is misleading.

If there is one lesson to be learnt from the stormy history of the Balkans it is that a permanent peaceful solution will never be found by foreign military intervention, least of all if it seems to support, directly or indirectly, the Moslem tradition of the hated Ottoman Empire. For centuries the southern Slavs fought for their independence.

In the end the multi-ethnic peoples of Yugoslavia will have to find their own way forward. It can be done. The answer will be found in a progressive social policy, substantial devolution of power, respect for the rights of minorities and religious toleration. In the haste to break-up Yugoslavia these issues were hardly given a thought.

A peace imposed by military intervention would store up trouble for the future and encourage extreme nationalism of all kinds. Negotiations and progressive social policies provide the best answer.

Jim Mortimer - January 1993

THE MATRIX CHURCHILL SCANDAL

Perhaps one of the more scandalous aspects of the recent trial of the three executives from Matrix Churchill is that they were put on trial at all. Not that it isn't scandalous that equipment of such significance to the Iraqi war effort was manufactured in this country or scandalous that Matrix Churchill lied about what they were doing, but that the pretence that the government should deny their responsibility in encouraging this trade is scandalous.

It is clear that the Iraqi government were able to establish a wide ranging system of procuring technology and equipment for all aspects of its military programmes from a number of European states. It is simply not credible to argue that our government were unaware of the detail of this system or of the military significance of the equipment it processed, such was the scale of this network. It is also simply not credible to believe that MI6 does not see arms exporting companies are a source of information about the state of military preparedness in the countries purchasing the equipment. In fact the trial revealed that at least one of the defendants had been in regular contact with MI6.

There have been British companies involved directly in supplying equipment and technology for Iraq's chemical weapons programme, their nuclear weapons programme, their radar surveillance systems and construction of industrial establishments for such programmes. There have been a number of sales of equipment through middlemen and through foreign companies which transferred the equipment on to Iraq.

Allan Clark made it clear that he was aware that equipment was being supplied to Iraq and that he approved and supported this supply. In effect he revealed that the sale of militarily significant equipment was used as a way of furthering a covert foreign policy and thus avoiding the necessity of having to explain to parliament precisely what that policy was.

The reason why Iraq was supported was not simply because of its oil reserves. Other oil rich states in that area have been supported but they have been encouraged to phase off the shelf rather than develop their own

military industries. There appear to be two reasons why Britain should wish to support the development of such a potent military industrial capacity. The first would appear to be as a counterposition to the Islamic fundamentalist Iran. The other would be to develop a military complex on the southern borders of the then Soviet Union to force it to respond by deploying troops, equipment in the area and develop a communications infrastructure linking its southern borders with its own military industrial areas.

Britain and the US appear now to have shifted their support from Iraq to Turkey, supplying considerable amounts of technological support for the build up of their military industrial complex, in the hope they will perform a similar function as that intended for Iraq.

Iraq had the advantage of not being a feudal state like many of the others in the region. What happened to Iran in 1973 could potentially happen to a number of the states in the region. (The fact that the Western powers clearly regarded this as an advantage would have indicated to Hussien that they may view the invasion of Kuwait sympathetically).

The fact that the Iraqi state is a vicious and repressive regime, without regard for the needs and interests of ordinary people in Iraq, clearly counted for little with our government.

What is clear that considerable efforts were made to conceal the encouragement being offered to the Iraqi regime by the British government and that the trial of the Matrix Churchill executives was another attempt to disguise this encouragement. They were either confused and misled by the Iraqi procurement processes, it is clear that Matrix Churchill lied about what they were doing in Iraq, or they were aware and complicit in Iraq attempts to develop its formidable war machine.

The net result of our governments economy with the truth and of the games they played in the region has been that hundreds of thousands of people have been killed, both by the regime and by the US, British and others in their war against Iraq on

behalf of the equally repressive feudal rulers of Kuwait. The current policy is to maintain the Gulf area as politically unstable for perhaps decades to come. This is why Britain continues to support Israel and effectively ignore the Palestinian question. It is also why we are supporting a massive arms build up in all the other states in the region.

This instability will also be used as a justification for retaining nuclear weapons, even perhaps for developing new ones. In reality Britain possesses nuclear weapons because of the military pressure this allows us to exert on those who oppose our government and because of the political prestige it carries with it. What has happened in Iraq is a direct result of the way we use this prestige, of the British governments role in international politics. It is scandalous that the government should seek to disguise their activities by prosecuting the executives of Matrix Churchill.

THE NTUDCC CAMPAIGN FOR CIVILIAN SHIPBUILDING

The National Trade Union Defence Conversion Committee have just launched a campaign for an expansion of both the civilian shipbuilding industry and the British shipping industry. They are asking sympathetic groups to lobby their MPs to sign an Early Day Motion which is going to be put to parliament in the near future. The intention is to get as large a number of MPs to sign this as possible.

At the moment, although there is a very substantial and expanding market for merchant vessels internationally, the level of government support for both of these industries is such that it is virtually impossible for shipyards currently making warships to move into producing merchant ships.

Currently European legislation forbids access to the "Shipbuilding Intervention Fund" for shipyards making warships. Also the level of funding from our own government is such that merchant yards in Britain have a great deal of difficulty competing against foreign yards which do enjoy government support.

The experience of those countries which encourage a close relationship between shipping companies and shipbuilding companies is that both benefit considerably from such a relationship. Both Japan and Denmark do this very effectively. So, the existence of a healthy shipping industry is clearly important to the possibility of a healthy merchant shipbuilding industry.

However, not only does Britain not encourage such a relationship but we do not support our shipping industry at a level which would allow it to compete with foreign registered vessels. The British ship owners organisation estimate that if the current trend of owners registering their ships abroad continues they may well be no British registered vessels in 5 years time.

The type of support offered by our competitors varies considerably from country to country. In Japan, for instance, as well as support in the form of direct subsidies (\$348.9 million in 1991 plus a further 20 million in subsidies on R&D) a shipowner can borrow 60% of the cost of the vessel from the government, repayable at 7.5% interest over 13 years. Shipyards also enjoy tax relief on capital investment, which is one of the reasons why 85% of the steel is cut and 65% of the welding done by computer controlled machines in their bigger yards.

The United States while consistently arguing against subsidies to industry in the GATT negotiations, subsidises its shipping industry through the Differential Subsidy regulations. This can amount to as much as \$2 million per year on some vessels.

In Denmark however, the support is offered through a range of concessionary credit and tax relief mechanisms. They operate a system, for instance, where tax relief can be claimed on investment capital in shipping. They also allow shipping companies tax relief on seafarers wages, which means that the staffing costs for a Danish ship are now 20% lower than in Britain.

When this was proposed for Britain it was blocked by the Treasury. However given the rapid decline of our shipping industry it is clear that the loss of income to the treasury (about £300,000 per year per ship) will happen anyway in the not too distant future, because those seafarers will be out of work. On the other hand the average foreign earnings on a British

registered vessel is roughly £10 million per year.

The NTUDCC have written to MPs with copy of a pamphlet, produced by the NTUDCC, outlining the case for substantially more support for both of these industries. A copy of this pamphlet has been sent to Trades Councils throughout the country and they are being asked to contact their MPs urging them to sign the EDM. Both the local and national press have also been sent this material.

The CSEU have been approached asking them for support for this campaign.

For more information on this campaign contact:-

The NTUDCC
65 Bishops Rd
Newcastle Upon Tyne
NE15 6RY

Trident Alert March and Rally: Glasgow 24 October 1992

OK the pit closure campaign was at full steam and so there were only a couple of thousand people assembled outside the Peoples palace before the march but what a good spirit and what an inspiring turnout!

People had come from as far south as Cornwall and as far North as Shetland to register their opposition to HMS Vanguard The first Trident Submarine which was to arrive on the Clyde the following morning. [Where it was warmly welcomed by Faslane Peace Camp, but that's another story...] CND groups of all shapes sizes and ages were there but as well there were political parties, student unions and some trade unions. My party found itself marching just behind Scottish FTAT as the march set off toward George Square. The sassenachs among us were heartened by the applause we got from Glasgow's Saturday shoppers; would that bystanders south of the border wall felt the same!

By this time the light drizzle had eased and we had almost arrived at George Square. Suddenly one of the Durham students told us that Doctor

Who had joined the march, pointing to an old police box on our route. Well any hyper intelligent alien time lord would be bound to oppose 4000 Hiroshimas I suppose.

There was space enough for all of us in George Square and it was a good chance to meet friends in the peace movement from all over the country and to listen to speeches from (among others) Labour MP John McAllion and the SNP's Alex Salmond. The first band was a bit forgettable but the second had the whole of the North

East party dancing until it was time to take the Tyne & Wear CND/Peace Action Durham coach back home. The day had gone well, news coverage was favourable and Scottish CND collected the pledges of many thousand Glaswegians to oppose Trident.

Thankyou Scottish CND and thankyou to the people of Glasgow for cheering.

Steven Alcroft



Part of the demonstration against Trident which took place in Glasgow last year

CND NATIONAL CONFERENCE 1992

CND's National Conference took place in Cardiff on the 28th and 29th of November 1992.

This years conference had a two category system for the motions submitted. One set of motions had to be policy motions and 7 of these were discussed. A further seven short motions were discussed dealing with the priorities for the campaign in the coming year. Unfortunately only the first two motions in this priority ballot are accepted as being the work for CND in the coming year.

The two which were accepted were campaigns on Trident and on the Nuclear Test Ban treaty and against the proliferation of nuclear weapons. The Peace Dividend and Arms Conversion was a major priority for the campaign last year but this was downgraded this year.

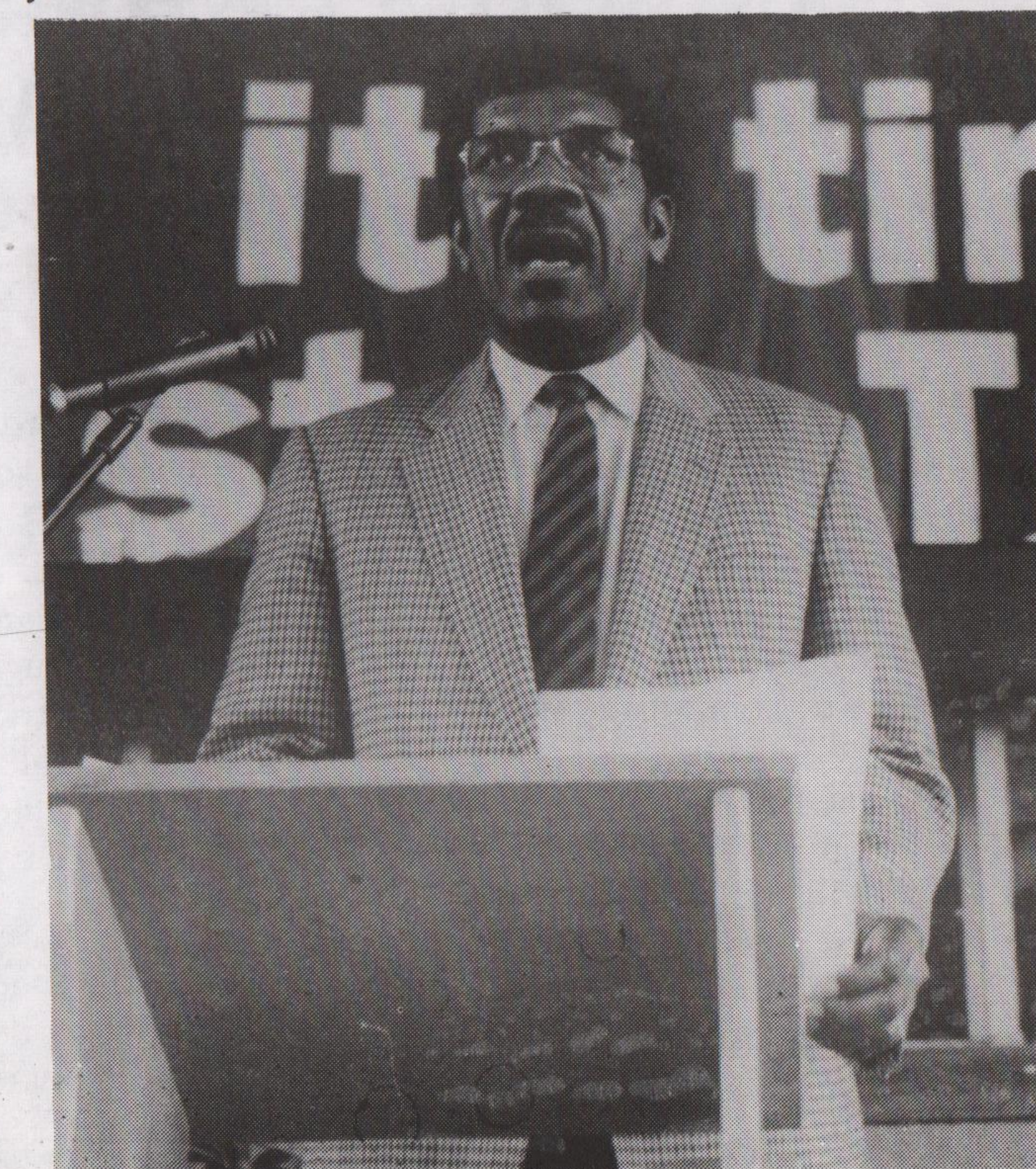
The implications of this for TUCND's work have yet to be worked out but clearly it means that less resources will be available from the campaign nationally.

Of the seven motions which were discussed in the policy section five were accepted in total, one had part

remitted to incoming national council and the last was remitted in total.

No1 was on defence diversification. No2 was on Nuclear Proliferation. No3 was on Trident. No4 was on the role of the Fylingdales radar monitoring station, which is both part of the international system run by the United States to track aircraft and missiles throughout the world but also performs a function of monitoring phone communications in Britain and Europe. No5 was on the development of Tactical Air to Surface Missiles, the new generation of air-launched cruise missiles designed to replace and enhance the role played by the WE177 free fall nuclear bombs currently deployed by the British government. No6 was on Peace-keeping and military alliances and was intended to define CND's policy on military intervention by

NATO, the WEU and the UN in military conflicts throughout the world. A section which stated outright opposition to such military interventions was remitted on the grounds that it smacked of pacifism, although the movers of this motion



Bill Morris speaking addressing the conference

were keen to stress this was not the case. No7 was called Action '93 - Relaunch and was intended to define some of the organisational methods the campaign should adopt in the coming year. The discussion on this was cut short by a call for it to be remitted to the national council. This was agreed by a narrow margin.

Bill Morris, General Secretary of the T&GWU made a moving speech to the conference on the Saturday where he stressed the need for continued work on Conversion and on the Peace Dividend. Maria Elena Hurtado, General Secretary of the World Development Movement and Solange Fernex, a French Green MEP, also addressed the conference.

There were three amendments proposed, to the constitution.

The fist was to reduce the size of our national council from 20 to 15 directly elected people and from 4 vice chairs to three. This was lost.

The second related to CND's EC, which meets between the national council meetings, roughly once per month. This was not, until now, embodied in the constitution. One Trade Union delegate pointed out that the proposed change did not refer to

The article below has been written by Friends of Cambodia, and has been circulated to a number of organisations for publications. There is a brief addition section written by the editor which includes a series of requests for activity.

CAMBODIA - WHERE THE KHMER ROUGE MAKE MONEY FOR ARMS OUT OF ILLEGAL LOGGING

Thirty years ago Cambodia was described as interlaced with roads and highways, a bus called at a village some 30 Kilometres away from the capital every hour, the children all went to school and 26 varieties of rice were grown in one village alone!

Only when one comes across the descriptions of the Cambodia as it was then does the full trauma of the destruction even start to register. In the early 1960's Cambodia was emerging from French colonial rule and beginning to modernise. Yes, of course it was a poor country , but with a bright future. What happened next is

the size, content or its powers and role. Since the EC has proven to be a very significant body in CND's structure the omission of a description of what it should be was clearly a flaw in the framing of the amendment. The amendment was carried.

The third, moved by two of CNDs officers, was to reduce the frequency of national council meetings from four to three per year. This was overwhelmingly defeated.

There were seven emergency motions submitted, of which two were debated. One, submitted by TUCND was on the Arms Trade and the other on Nuclear Testing and was submitted by Greater Manchester CND. Both of these were passed.

ELECTIONS

The Chair, Margery Thompson, and the Treasurer, Jenny Maxwell, were returned unopposed.

The four vice chairs are as follows:-

Jannet Bloomfield - Jannet was, until a couple of years ago, the West Midlands CND worker and has been a vice chair for two years.

Clair McMasters - works for Anti Apartheid and has worked as CND's youth worker in the past.

now well recorded, but it is still worthwhile to set out the major events that brought Cambodia to where it is today, a desperately poor country, with the highest infant mortality rate in the world - even higher than some of the stricken countries of Africa, with half the adult female population functionally illiterate and a maternal mortality rate twice that of Africa and India.

A very average developing country in the 1950's where now, in 1992, 20 children out of every hundred will be dead before their 5th birthday.

Jane Travers - Lives near Exeter. She currently acts as the officer responsible for liaison between TUCND and CND's officers.

John Handelar - Was, until a few months ago, the Youth CND worker. Unfortunately they had to make him redundant which made him eligible to stand for office within the campaign.

All four are very able and have a great deal of experience.

Those elected for the National Council are, in order of the number of votes they gained:- Jeremy Corbyn MP, Rae Street, Ken Benjamine, Chris Sinton, Wade Tidbury, Heather Williams, Niki Kortvelyessy, Ken Cameron, Dave Durham, Alan Simpson MP, Mary Brennon, Suzy Cornwall, Martin Jones, Nigel Chamberlain, Joan Horrocks, Ana Rehin, Mathew Pelling, Jane Powel, Peter Lanyon and Wilf Philips.

The two runners up were Jim Addington and Dave Andrews.

A fuller written report, which includes the text of Bill Morris's speech and the full text of the motions carried, is available from TUCND's office on request.

By 1968, the USA had begun its illegal carpet bombing of the Cambodian/Vietnamese border, the result in human terms by 1973 was about a million dead in a country of some 7 million. Little surprise the support that went to the highly disciplined Khmer Rouge who promised prosperity for the peasants (90% of the population). On this wave of support the Khmer Rouge came to power in 1975. But by January 1979 when they were ousted by the invading Vietnamese forces a further 1 to 2 million people had died and the world heard of the killing fields. From 1979 to the peace agreement signed in October 1991, the western world deliberately isolated Cambodia - denying meaningful aid, cutting out the country from international air and telecommunications networks and imposing a trade embargo. When one searches for reasons for this incredibly callous behaviour, the US drive to punish Vietnam through Cambodia and for the different reasons the same approach from China seem to be the only justification. John Pilger put it very well in saying the "wrong" side rescued Cambodia in the cold war.

But of course this is all past history, surely it is now possible for the West to make amends and release really significant aid? Things have improved, at least on paper - at the recent Tokyo meeting 33 countries actually promised Cambodia more aid than the UN Secretary General was expecting, but this money is yet to be seen on the ground. In the meantime , the current government of Cambodia has achieved remarkable advances particularly in the fields of education and food production. For the first year since 1975, rice production in 1989 has exceeded the 1967 total - a tribute to the tenacity of the Cambodian people.

However, the Khmer Rouge are still a real threat. They have consistently flouted the peace agreement, it now seems clear that they never had any intention of keeping it, Their main tactic being consistent from 1979 - that is playing for time until Cambodia

collapses and they can step into the vacuum again. Recent research demonstrates that their policies have not changed. Their leaders are still the same people and they have no guilt for the previous action. The UN agreement gave the Khmer Rouge many cards to play, they have continued to lay mines, blow up bridges, refuse access to their zones, refused to demobilise or give up arms with impunity. Although there is now welcome talk of sanctions, including a moratorium on logging contracts with Thai consortiums, it seems that the UN have not the will to impose the Peace Agreement. It can be imposed. There are a number of effective actions the UN can take. It can deny the Khmer Rouge any election facilities in other zones in Cambodia, for example by refusing the right to set up election HQs. It can be a peace enforcement strength, not merely a

peacekeeping strength. With some 40,000 State of Cambodia forces and some 20,000 UN forces, the estimated 10,000 to 15,000 Khmer Rouge forces will not be hard to intimidate. It can enforce the recently agreed trade embargo against the Khmer Rouge trump card, the gemstone mines at Pailin, the major town in their zone, instead of declaring this sanction to "not be effective for the near future". These activities bring the Khmer Rouge revenue to continue buying armaments on the black market.

Friends of Cambodia, the campaigning group in the UK are taking these issues up. Western powers do bear some responsibility for what has happened to Cambodia and should enforce the UN agreement.

Viv Mackay (Chair, Friends of Cambodia)

THE UN POLICIES ARE EITHER FAILING MISERABLY OR THEY ARE INTENDED TO REINSTATE THE KHMER ROUGE.



Cambodia could be a lovely place to be brought up in, instead its a nightmare thanks to the Khmer Rouge and their backers

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It is worth comparing the efforts made through the UN to direct the progress of events within the former Yugoslavia with the complete lack of resolve to do anything effective to counter the activities of the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia.

A great deal of publicity has been given to the supply of relief aid to people in Bosnia but little has been given to the now well established fact that large quantities of this aid has been diverted to the warring factions. This contrasts to the efforts of our own Foreign Office in 1979 to undermine relief to Cambodia by feeding stories that aid was being channelled to the invading Vietnamese forces. Stories which were latter shown to be without foundation.

Sanctions have been established against Serbia and a great deal of effort is going into enforcing these sanctions. Sanctions against the Khmer Rouge, to prevent logging and gemstone mining providing the economic base for their war against the people of Cambodia.

A UN commission has been established to investigate war crimes committed by Serbs and yet the UN has refused consistently to consider such measures against the leaders of the Khmer Rouge.

The damage to the water supply in Sarajevo has been consistently