

**SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY  
PRIME MINISTER  
IN CHARGE OF  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS**

**IENG SARY,**

**Chairman of the delegation  
of Democratic Kampuchea at the  
33rd Session of the United  
Nations General Assembly  
Delivered on October 12, 1978**



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Mr. Chairman,

During the past year, the struggle of the peoples of the non-aligned countries, the third world countries and the independence- and justice-loving countries have made still more powerful strides. The cause of defending national independence, state sovereignty, territorial integrity and the right of the peoples to decide by themselves their own destiny, has greatly progressed. The imperialist and expansionist big powers and their followers have been immersed in greater difficulties in the face of successive waves of the revolutionary movements, the movements for national liberation and the

movements for the defense of national independence, of the peoples the world over.

In Southeast Asia and in Asia, the will of independence of the peoples has defeated the interference, intervention and the plan of expansion of the expansionist big power and its followers. The latter have made an about face and have striven to change their attitude towards the Southeast Asian countries: before, there were nothing but criticisms, insults and invectives; now there are nothing but diplomatic smiles, affabilities and complaisances. But in the face of all these efforts and maneuvers, the peoples and the countries in Southeast Asia have constantly remained vigilant. The China-Japan Peace and Friendship Treaty with its article against hegemonism has constituted a new event which has strengthened the course of history. This clause against hegemonism has greatly encouraged and pushed forward the struggle for the defense of independence and peace of the peoples and the countries the world over and especially those in Asia and the Pacific. The just cause for an independent and peaceful reunification of the Korean motherland and the reasonable measures put forth by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in order to solve the Korean problem have been actively supported by the peoples the world over. The struggle of the countries in the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea against the military presence and the threats of the imperialist and expansionist big powers has also been strengthened. In this situation when the movement for independence is in full development, the Solomon Islands have become independent and a member of our organization. We would like to express here our warm greetings of welcome.

In the Middle East, the struggle of the Palestinian people and all the Arab peoples to exercise their national rights and to recover their territories, has not developed according to the will of the imperialist and expansionist big powers. This struggle will still remain long and bitter. The Palestinian and Arab peoples have learned precious lessons through their sacrifices. Their will for independence will continue to light the way of their struggle.

The Summit Conference of the Organization of African Unity, held in Khartoum, Sudan during last July, has reflected the common will of the 400 million Africans to prevent all intervention and interference of the expansionist and imperialist big powers and their followers, and to hold in hand their own destiny. The peoples of Zimbabwe, Azania and Namibia, using revolutionary violence in their



struggle for independence and for the right to decide their own destiny against colonialism, racism and apartheid, are on their way towards victory, despite obstacles created by the rivalries of the imperialist and expansionist big powers.

The struggle of the countries in Latin America to exercise their national rights has also progressed. The victory won by Panama to recover its sovereign right to the canal is the result of a stubborn struggle waged by the Panamanian people. It is also the result of the solidarity among the peoples of Latin America.

The peoples of Europe have had to go through great suffering during two successive world wars set afire by imperialism. At present, they have been aware of the danger of a new war from the rivalry between the expansionist and imperialist big powers in order to take possession of Europe aiming at dominating the world. That is why, during the previous year, the soaring of the struggle of the peoples of Europe against the policy of hegemonism is growing stronger and stronger.

As an anti-bloc force and representative of the will for independence of the third world peoples in struggle, the non-aligned movement has always developed with dynamism. At the end of last July, the Conference of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the non-aligned countries crushed the maneuvers of intimidation and division of the imperialist and expansionist big powers and their followers. Particularly, the Conference has defeated the attempts of the expansionist big power and its followers to modify the principles of non-alignment in order to drag the non-aligned movement to accept their ideology and to serve their activities of aggression and expansion. The non-aligned countries wage at present an active struggle to prevent the expansionist big power and its followers from taking advantage of the forthcoming Sixth Summit Conference to drag this movement into their bloc. If only a small number of Heads of State and Heads of Government participate in this Conference, this Summit would not reflect the common concept and position of the non-aligned movement as the Summits in Belgrade, Cairo, Lusaka, Algiers and Colombo did. The documents adopted by this Summit would take an impression of the ideology of the expansionist big power. But this would not constitute a lasting factor. The permanent and fundamental factor of the non-aligned movement is constituted by the will for independence and to remain outside the blocs, the struggle for national liberation and the struggle for the defense of na-



tional independence, which encourage the peoples of several billions of men and women, and the genuine non-aligned countries. This will and these struggles have boldly developed from day to day.

Parallel with their struggle to defend and safeguard their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, the peoples the world over have fought to demand that the imperialist and expansionist big powers proceed to nuclear and conventional disarmament. They have not been misled by the propaganda of these big powers, for they have been aware that it is precisely these big powers which have over-armed themselves, have carried out a policy of aggression, expansion and rivalry, threatened world peace and security and prepared for war. The relative peace which prevails at present in the world, is achieved thanks to the stubborn struggle of the peoples the world over and it is not due to the imperialist and expansionist big powers.

The victories won successively by the peoples of the non-aligned countries, the third world countries and the independence- and justice-loving countries have put the imperialist and expansionist big powers, the colonialists, the neo-colonialists, the supporters of apartheid, the racists, the Zionists and all the forces of aggression, exploitation and domination, into confusion. The will of the peoples to always further their solidarity in struggle, has crushed all the maneuvers of dissension. The peoples who wage the revolutionary struggle, the struggle for national liberation and the struggle to defend national independence, have reciprocally expressed, on the basis of equality and mutual respect, their political and moral encouragement and support, which has strengthened their determination to struggle. This reciprocal encouragement and support is a powerful material force, which has put into pieces all the criminal activities of the demoniac forces.

This excellent situation is very favorable for the pursuit of the struggle of the peoples the world over. But it is normal that there are still complex problems caused by the development of the struggle, which opposes the revolutionary forces, the forces for independence, peace and democracy against the imperialist, expansionist, colonialist, neo-colonialist and counter-revolutionary forces, and most particularly caused by the more and more bitter contradictions between the imperialist and expansionist big powers in the different regions of the world. At present, regional wars are still carrying on in many places in the world. The possibility of a world war remains. In



this situation, the peoples of the world constantly have heightened their revolutionary vigilance and prepared for all eventualities to make the cause of revolution, independence and democracy triumph.

In this situation, we think our General Assembly has all the possibilities to strengthen the cause of genuine independence and peace by sharing its contribution to eliminate the illusions sowed by the expansionist and imperialist big powers on some positions and concepts such as the so-called necessity to depend on a big power, the spirit of Munich, the fallacious measures of disarmament, etc. The forces of many billions of people armed with an unshakable will for independence, and a more and more awakened political consciousness, are the immense forces which will decide the future.

Mr. Chairman,

The bold soaring of the struggle of the peoples of the world has brought about a great encouragement to the Kampuchean people who are struggling to defend the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Democratic Kampuchea and to build up the country in the new stage of their revolution, by abiding by the position of independence, sovereignty and self-reliance under the correct leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and comrade Secretary Pol Pot.

The situation of our country is excellent.

The Kampuchean people, who were exploited, ragged, oppressed, despised and dragged into the mud for a very long time, have put an end to this dark period forever. Through the glorious victory of April 17, 1975, which marks the total and definitive liberation of Kampuchea, our people, in their capacity as masters of the country, have grasped in their hands the right to decide for themselves their own destiny and that of their country. A new society where equality, justice and genuine democracy prevail, with neither rich nor poor, with neither exploiting classes nor exploited classes, has been definitively established in Kampuchea. In their capacity as masters of this society our people have enthusiastically waged a struggle to fulfill their tasks in the new stage of their revolution, creating an immense and bold revolutionary mass movement in the whole country.

During the previous year, in the field of national construction, the Kampuchean people have achieved new results. This year, the total area of irrigated lands in all seasons has reached 700,000 hec-



tares (1.7 million acres). Modern agriculture began to develop. A new countryside has each year changed its aspect. The cottage industry, industry, mass techniques and sciences have begun to take form progressively, on the basis of agriculture. The objective of the Kampuchean people is to fulfill the plan of building up a modern agriculture in 10 to 15 years, and an industry in 15 to 20 years. According to the first achieved results, this plan will be entirely fulfilled in the framework of a collectivist socialist society, which is completely a new one in the history of mankind.

The conditions of living of our people have greatly changed in all fields. Corruption, deprivation and debauchery have been totally eliminated and have given way to a new and sound society in conformity with the genuine national traditions of our people. Besides, 90% of the population, including the poor peasants, middle poor peasants, middle peasants and other laborers, who had lived a most miserable life, now have several times higher and fully secure conditions of living. Everyone enjoys the same advantages of the revolution and new society. Everyone eats his fill, has decent clothes and shelter, has medicine, medical care and hospitals in each cooperative and trade union. Everyone also has the opportunity to raise his cultural level. The people are satisfied with the revolution and resolutely defend their own new regime.

Therefore, is such a regime good or not? Does social justice prevail or not? Who has the right to judge it? It is surely not the imperialists, expansionists or the Vietnamese, who have an enormous debt of blood towards the Kampuchean people! Only the Kampuchean people have the right to do so. And the people have judged that this regime is a good and just one. That is why they support and defend it with such great determination. If this regime was not good and just, the finest speeches and propaganda would not satisfy the people. If this regime exploited and oppressed the people, the people would surely have no confidence in it and would rise up to overthrow it. The history of Kampuchea is full of such experiences. It is the same for other countries.

As for those who had an easy life in the old society, that is nearly 10% of the population, their material conditions of living have been cut down approximately to the level of everyone in the country. They can then live like everyone else. They have participated in the revolution for they also are patriots. They are more and more aware that it is only in this new social regime that the nation of Kampuchea can live



today in genuine independence, national honor and dignity. Besides, they see that justice and equality prevail and the exploitation of man by man does not exist any more in this society. They are more and more aware that this regime is really democratic, in conformity with their wishes, and guarantees the democratic rights to the poor people, who constitute the overwhelming majority, as well as to all the other social strata.

What is the basis of the democratic rights? In the old semi-feudal society of Kampuchea, or in the imperialist, expansionist Vietnamese society where the system of exploitation reigns, what rights have the immense majority of the population, such as the poor people and workers, if they have no means of production at all? Indeed, they have only the right of being exploited and of selling themselves and their labor power. If it is so, where are the democratic freedoms? They indeed exist only in form and on paper. As for the reactionary, exploiting, feudal and capitalist classes, they have the right of exploiting, oppressing, sucking the people's blood, of killing them by means covered up by delicacy and hypocrisy. They live in opulence and superfluity they have snatched from the people's sweat and blood. Several million poor people live in misery and suffering; they have no work, are forced to sell themselves, their sons and daughters and have no future at all. And those who dare to struggle to overthrow their regime of exploitation have been atrociously repressed in the most fascist way.

In Democratic Kampuchea, in a collectivist regime, the whole people are masters of all the means of production. Every peasant is master of the rice-fields and lands. Every worker is master of the factories. They have then exercised the right of decision, management and administration. These are the genuine democratic freedoms, the genuine assurance of a life as real masters of their own destiny. The old relations of production, of exploitation and oppression have been totally abolished. In the new regime, the new independent, equal, socialist and collectivist relations of production have been developed and strengthened. The production obtained, thanks to the sweat and blood shed by the people, is entirely in the hands of the people.

But that does not mean there are no more contradictions in Democratic Kampuchea. And if there are contradictions, that is normal. But 99% of the Kampuchean people have entirely agreed with the policy of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea to defend



and build up the country and a new society and to constantly improve the people's standard of living. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea is always concerned about the moral and material happiness of the whole Kampuchean people and works to this end. It has considered this noble duty as a revolutionary virtue and mobilized all the national and people's forces to fulfill it. As for the existing contradictions, we have solved them fundamentally through education by relying on the forces of the collectivist people, for our motivations are reasonable, legitimate, realistic and known to everybody, and because our movement of national defense and construction and of improving the people's standard of living is powerful. As for the enemy's agents, who are obstinate in fighting against the revolution and the Kampuchean people, they are only a handful and are isolated from the nation and people. They are firmly under control by our people armed with an awakened political consciousness.

During these more than three years past, our people have successfully defended and safeguarded the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their country. They have successfully solved the heavy and important post-war problems, such as the problem of food, without going like Vietnam, begging to anyone. They have successfully built up and developed their country in full independence, sovereignty and self-reliance. That is, indeed, thanks to a correct leadership. But the fundamental and determinant factor is the people. If the Kampuchean revolution has defeated the U.S. imperialist aggressors during the more than five-year war for national liberation, it is because the whole people have participated in the revolution. At present, if Kampuchea can be self-sufficient in food, develop by her own forces and successfully struggle against the interventions and aggressions of the enemies of all kinds and especially against Vietnam, an aggressor, annexationist and swallower of territories, it is again thanks to the active participation of the whole people in the revolution. Thanks to the Kampuchean people's firm unity, deep devotion and faithfulness to the collectivist regime, thanks to their struggle to successfully and enthusiastically defend and build up the country in an immense and impassioned mass revolutionary movement, the future of Democratic Kampuchea can be nothing but brilliant.

In this situation when Democratic Kampuchea has unceasingly developed and progressed, and when there is no more shadow of an imperialist and expansionist power in our territory, it is normal that



the enemies of all kinds feel for Kampuchea a deep aversion and carry out a feverish campaign of slanders. In the history of mankind, have the imperialists, expansionists, colonialists and neo-colonialists ever expressed their satisfaction and congratulations to any countries and peoples who have made revolution and won their independence? They do not oppose the revolution and independence in words only. Parallel with their insults, contempt and disparagements, they have massacred millions of people. Among the third world countries, are there any people who could escape from these massacres? Most particularly concerning Democratic Kampuchea, from 1970 to 1975, the barbarous war of aggression of the U.S. imperialists who wanted to put Kampuchea under their neo-colonialist yoke, killed and wounded more than one million inhabitants and devastated 80% of the country. At that time, was there any imperialist country which expressed the least concern towards the Kampuchean people? The imperialists, expansionists, colonialists, neo-colonialists and all forces of exploitation and domination, in all epochs in the past, present as well as in the future, are the implacable enemies of the revolution and independence. The great leaders of the world revolution, such as Lenin and the great October Revolution, have also been attacked, accused and slandered by the enemies of the revolution, who have been mobilized to savagely attack them.

But the problem that our General Assembly would have to take into consideration is to see if we have to let the imperialists, expansionists and their followers continue to attack, despise and slander the other countries, continue to interfere in the internal affairs and violate the sovereignty of the independent countries or not? Must we let them continue to use the forum of the United Nations to propagate the logic of exploiters, brigands and murderers, completely to the contrary of the United Nations Charter, or not?

Mr. Chairman,

In order to successfully build up the new society and improve their standard of living, the Kampuchean people have to wage a stubborn and bitter struggle to defend the gains of the revolution and Democratic Kampuchea. Since April 17, 1975, which marks her total and definitive liberation, the enemies of all kinds have not only slandered and disparaged the revolution of Kampuchea and Democratic Kampuchea but still they have most implacably sought to thwart and destroy the peaceful efforts of the Kampuchean people



and the results they have won.

The U.S. imperialists, who have never digested their defeat, have continued to foster their ambition of retaking Kampuchea and transforming her once again into their neo-colony. Their activities, aimed at destroying the gains of Kampuchea's revolution, have been all put into pieces by the people and the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea. Since the middle of 1977, their strategic forces aimed, both in Kampuchea and outside, to foment a coup d'etat and overthrow Democratic Kampuchea in coordination with the attacks launched from outside, have collapsed. The hopes of the U.S. imperialists to take possession of Kampuchea have died away once again.

Parallel with the activities of the U.S. imperialists, the Vietnamese aggressor and swallower of territories has carried out feverish and most barbarous activities aimed at destroying Democratic Kampuchea.

The reason is that Vietnam has had for a long time the ambition of annexing and swallowing Kampuchea and exterminating the Kampuchean race. It was not only since the liberation of Kampuchea that Vietnam has started to seek destroying our country. In the past, up until the beginning of the Second World War, Vietnam has swallowed Kampuchea's territory called Kampuchea Krom, an area of 65,000 square kilometers, with a present population of four million inhabitants. This territory takes up the southwestern part of the present Vietnam, of the region of Prey Nokor (at present Saigon) to the west, and the delta of Mekong. Is Vietnam of today any different from Vietnam at the time of the feudal system or at the time when it was under the colonialist or imperialist yoke, and is there any change in its ambition towards Kampuchea? The only difference is that Vietnam of today has hidden behind the so-called banner of revolution in order to attack and aim at taking possession of Kampuchea. In 1930, Vietnam founded a party to which it has given the name of "Indochinese Communist Party." Its aim was to create a Vietnamese "Indochina Federation" in place of the French "Indochina Federation," gathering the three countries in a federation to be ruled with an iron rod by Vietnam. Through that, Vietnam would swallow Kampuchea in a definite period of time. But as the label of "Indochina Federation" could not achieve the anticipated results, in 1975, Vietnam baptized its plan "special friendship and special solidarity," with nevertheless the same contents, that is to make Kampuchea a puppet of Vietnam. The Vietnamese plan is first of all



to take possession of Kampuchea and then extend its expansion over to the other countries in Southeast Asia.

This ambition of regional hegemonism of Vietnam squares with the expansionist plan in Southeast Asia of the expansionist big power, which has an ambition of world hegemonism. The principal aim of the expansionist big power is Europe, which is the key for its world domination. To this end, it has striven to mobilize all its strategical main forces to take possession of Europe, strangling it from the north as well as from the south. In a parallel direction with that, it has intervened in many countries in Africa and in the Middle East. However, as it has a world ambition, it has already tried several times to dominate Asia through what it calls an "Asia Collective Security System." In this framework, Southeast Asia is a zone that it wants to dominate politically, militarily, economically, and most particularly, it wants to control the maritime route through the Strait of Malacca and linking the countries of Asia, Europe and Africa. In order to carry out this strategy, the expansionist big power has used Vietnam as its pawn in Southeast Asia. Vietnam itself has proclaimed that in Southeast Asia, it is the "outpost" of the bloc that it calls "socialist," that is, the bloc belonging to the expansionist big power. The mad persecutions carried out by Vietnam against the Chinese nationals and its frenzied and impudent provocations launched along the borders against China as well as the efforts of the expansionist big power to strengthen its naval base and its missile bases in Vietnam, these all belong to their plan of surrounding China and of dominating Southeast Asia. The numerous Vietnamese divisions quartered in foreign territory and supplied by the expansionist big power, occupy indeed, this country and use it to intervene in other countries.

But the expansionist big power and Vietnam can dominate Southeast Asia only if they succeed in taking possession of Kampuchea. Our country is not a big country and has no abundant natural wealth. But her geographical situation in the middle of Southeast Asia constitutes a key position in the plan of the expansionist big power and Vietnam. If they succeed in taking possession of Kampuchea, they would have supplementary forces and also a springboard in order to carry on their expansion in the whole of Southeast Asia.

From 1970 to 1975, the Vietnamese plan to take possession of Kampuchea suffered successive defeats although, during that



period, the Kampuchean people had to face the war of aggression of the U.S. imperialists. After the liberation of Kampuchea, the Vietnamese army has unceasingly provoked incidents along the borders. At the beginning of June 1975, Vietnam attacked and occupied the islands of Koh Way belonging to Kampuchea. The world then started to discern the true annexationist nature of Vietnam. But more important than these border attacks, Vietnam and the expansionist big power relied on their agents planted in the army and state administration of Kampuchea to foment coup d'etats, overthrow Democratic Kampuchea and set up a puppet regime in Phnom Penh. The attacks launched from the outside by the Vietnamese army along the borders, were aimed at encouraging their inside accomplices and also at sabotaging the efforts of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, preventing it from solving the great post-war problems and from preparing the national defense. But these attacks did not set aside the possibility of encroaching on one or two kilometers of the territory inside Kampuchea's borders. However, this Vietnamese plan has suffered successive defeats thanks to the revolutionary vigilance of the people and the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea. We have not informed the world public opinion at that time, for we have sought for solving peacefully the problem, in the spirit of solidarity with Vietnam. But Vietnam has taken advantage of it to carry out in the world a campaign of odious slanders against Democratic Kampuchea.

In the middle of 1977, Vietnam exerted great pressures on Kampuchea to accept the "special friendship and special solidarity" that Vietnam succeeded in selling in other places. It has launched attacks along the ground and sea borders. Its planes have carried out savage bombings on the southwest zone of Kampuchea. At the same time, it has prepared its strategical forces to launch lightning attacks against Kampuchea like the operation launched by the expansionist big power in 1968 in Central Europe. At the end of 1977, 14 Vietnamese divisions including five crack divisions, launched large-scale attacks of invasion and aggression against Democratic Kampuchea. The expansionist big power, master of Vietnam, and which has participated in elaborating this plan, hoped to win victory. That is why, its nationals have participated in the aggression against Kampuchea, as advisors and members of tank crews.

But the heroic Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea has most judiciously carried out the line of the people's war of the Communist



Party of Kampuchea by waging everywhere and fundamentally the guerrilla war and by using the conventional war to destroy the living forces of the enemies. They have thus put into pieces the large-scale aggression of Vietnam and inflicted on it an ignominious defeat on January 6, 1978. The strategy of "lightning attack, lightning victory" of Vietnam and the expansionist big power has been totally crushed. Nevertheless, Vietnam tried to continue to attack Kampuchea from outside at the beginning of February, March, April, May 1978, suffering defeats each time. Being desperate, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese party has directly given instructions to a member and many assistants of its Central Committee, so that they have personally come and organized with their remaining agents in Kampuchea a coup d'etat aiming once again at overthrowing Democratic Kampuchea at the end of May 1978. But Vietnam once again suffered one of the most ignominious defeats. Since the middle of 1978, Vietnam has been driven into the strategy of the protracted people's war of Kampuchea, a strategy which will again wear out more Vietnamese forces both in the military, political and economic fields, as well as in the international arena, until its total annihilation if Vietnam persists in carrying on its aggression against Kampuchea.

In their combat against the Vietnamese acts of aggression and annexation, the people and the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea have overcome all obstacles. They have firmly abided by the position of independence, sovereignty, self-reliance and of being masters of the destiny of their country. They have endured all difficulties and made many sacrifices. That is a noble national task they have fulfilled. Our people and our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea have made these sacrifices for the sacred interests of their country, for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity of Democratic Kampuchea and their right to set their own destiny. That is undeniable. But if the Kampuchean people did not hold aloft the banner of independence, of national honor and dignity, if they did not struggle with determination and crush the banner of aggression and annexation, the banner of "Indochina Federation" and the banner of hegemonism, what would have been the situation in Southeast Asia and in Asia? The expansionist big power and the Vietnam annexationist and swallower of territories would have been still more arrogant and presumptuous, and they would have carried on their expansion in Southeast Asia. Consequently, the interests of many



countries in Asia, Africa, Europe and America would have suffered.

Therefore, the victory won by the Kampuchean people against the acts of aggression and annexation of Vietnam and the position of Democratic Kampuchea as an independent, neutral and non-aligned country with neither foreign troops nor foreign military bases in her territory, these are favorable factors for the cause of independence and peace, particularly in Southeast Asia, and for the interests of Asia and the world in general. Indeed, the struggle of the Kampuchean people concerns not only Kampuchea, but it is also the struggle against the strategy of the expansionist big power in Asia. That is why the peoples the world over, especially the peoples in Asia and Southeast Asia, have expressed their sympathy and encouragement, and have given their active and sincere support to the present struggle of the Kampuchean people to defend their national independence. We highly appreciate this just stand and we would like to avail ourselves of this opportunity to express our warm thanks.

After being defeated at the front of Kampuchea, Vietnam has to face inextricable difficulties at home as well as in the international arena. Being driven into the strategy of a protracted war, the Vietnamese forces wear down more and more. The Vietnamese people have to face greater and greater starvation and rise up stronger and stronger against the Vietnamese administration. Insecurity has developed in south Vietnam and reached the northern part. In the international arena, the peoples the world over have clearly discerned the perfidious and hypocritical face of Vietnam's aggression, an aligned country and instrument of the expansionist big power.

The foreign aid and the aid from the United Nations has been directly or indirectly used by Vietnam to maintain and develop its forces in order to carry on its aggression against Kampuchea and extend its expansion in Southeast Asia. More and more countries have now asked: will the cooperation and the moral, political, diplomatic, economic and financial assistances they have given to Vietnam, help Vietnam to take possession of Southeast Asia? Would they not indeed serve the strategy of the expansionist big power in Southeast Asia and in Asia? Vietnam receives aid from various sources. This does not mean that it is independent. Its master, the expansionist big power has told Vietnam to receive this aid, for it has not enough bread for itself and has no possibility of giving Vietnam enough aid. The countries and international organizations which have given aid to Vietnam, became more cautious and reconsidered the problem of



their aid.

At present, Vietnam is deluding various countries in kneeling down and begging these countries for aid in order to use them to resupply their forces and carry on its aggression against Kampuchea.

Before the defeat of its aggression in Kampuchea, Vietnam was very arrogant and presumptuous. It praised the power of its army, launched threats and insults against the Southeast Asian countries. But since their defeat on January 6, 1978, and during the first part of 1978, the expansionist big power and Vietnam have been forced to change by 100 per cent their stratagem, their tactics and their attitude towards the Southeast Asian countries. Previously, for them, all was bad. Now, all is good. They try to carry out in Southeast Asia diplomatic maneuvers and like a "cat hiding its claws" they are always smiling. Their objective is to exculpate themselves from their aggression against Democratic Kampuchea and from their insults against the Southeast Asian countries, and also aim at isolating Kampuchea from the other countries in Southeast Asia, surrounding her from behind so that when the situation is favorable to them they will launch a new large-scale attack against Kampuchea. The diplomatic maneuvers of Vietnam and the expansionist big power are really too clear. They have failed even before they have been carried out thanks to the vigilance of the peoples of Southeast Asia, who have been fully aware of the perfidious nature of Vietnam and of the expansionist big power.

The Vietnamese aggression like all other aggressions never pays! Such is the lesson of history!

The Kampuchean people want only to live in peace in order to be able to mobilize all their time and forces to build up the country, a new and prosperous society, in national honor, dignity and independence.

Democratic Kampuchea does not put any condition on Vietnam for solving the problem. It is rather the Vietnamese aggressor, annexationist and swallower of territories which, in Hitler's style, has put conditions on Democratic Kampuchea. Indeed, when he threatened and aggressed the countries in East Europe, Hitler forced these countries to negotiate, to capitulate and put their territories under his rule. Vietnam acts in the same manner. It has invaded Kampuchea in the savage and fascist way, and it says that Kampuchea has to negotiate with Vietnam. Such are the conditions of Vietnam, which wants on the one hand, to force Kampuchea to capitulate and to be under its



yoke, and on the other hand to hide its face of aggressor and swallower of territories, to mislead world public opinion and legalize its acts of aggression and annexation. If the problem created by the Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea has not been solved, it is not because there has been no negotiation or intermediary. From 1970 to 1977, before as well as after liberation, the negotiations between Kampuchea and Vietnam had been held nearly 100 times; at the summit as well as at the level of Central Committee; in the revolutionary bases of Kampuchea, in Hanoi and in Phnom Penh. Moreover, there were many negotiations held along the borders at the level of the Committees of zones, regions and districts. But the problem could not be solved. For that, we would have to eliminate the root, that is to eliminate the Vietnamese ambition of swallowing Kampuchea and the Vietnamese strategy of "Indochina Federation."

If Vietnam immediately stops its aggression against Kampuchea, the war would stop automatically. If Vietnam respects the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea and abandons its strategy of "Indochina Federation" and annexation of Kampuchea, through concrete acts, in conformity with the principles of non-alignment, the Pancha Sila and the United Nations Charter, then friendship between the two countries and two peoples, Kampuchea and Vietnam, would be born automatically, developed and strengthened progressively. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea has already made clear this position several times.

In June 1975, during the visit of the top delegation of the Communist Party of Kampuchea in Hanoi, the Kampuchean side officially proposed to the Vietnamese side to sign a treaty of friendship and non-aggression between the two countries. But the Vietnamese side has not taken into consideration and did not respond to this goodwill of Kampuchea. Despite that, today if Vietnam stops its aggression against Kampuchea and accepts the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea, through concrete acts, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea would propose once again to Vietnam, to sign a treaty of friendship and non-aggression. The high ranking leader of Democratic Kampuchea will sign this treaty whether in Phnom Penh, or in Hanoi, or elsewhere, if Vietnam shows that it really wants to have friendly relations with Kampuchea.

But as in the past, Vietnam has not taken into consideration the good-will of Democratic Kampuchea. It persists in carrying on its



acts of aggression and annexation against Democratic Kampuchea. At present, the Vietnamese army unceasingly launch their attacks of aggression along the borders. Moreover, Vietnam is actively mobilizing its forces to prepare to launch a new large-scale attack during the forthcoming dry season, that begins next November. The diplomatic activities that Vietnam has most feverishly carried out in Southeast Asia, Africa and other regions in the world are also part of its plan of attack during the forthcoming dry season. Several divisions of the Vietnamese army quartered in foreign territory are also getting ready to carry out this plan. The activities of the expansionist big power, which increases the number of its advisers and the quantity of its armament to reinforce Vietnam, constitute an integral part of this plan.

In such a situation, the people and the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea constantly heighten their vigilance. They are closely united with the Communist Party of Kampuchea led by comrade Secretary Pol Pot, in their resolute struggle to defend and insure the perennality of Democratic Kampuchea.

Mr. Chairman,

The present struggle of the Kampuchean people cannot be separated from the struggle of the peoples the world over. The people and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea continue to mobilize all their physical and moral forces to express their solidarity with and their support to the revolutionary struggles, to the struggles for national liberation and to the struggles for the defense of national independence, waged by the peoples the world over, the non-aligned countries, the third world countries and all the independence-, peace-, and justice-loving countries. In a parallel direction with our efforts to defend and build up our country so that it can be rapidly strengthened and developed during the new stage of the revolution, we consider this solidarity and support as a noble duty. Our country is small, our people are still poor. They are just out from a devastating war and have still to face the war of aggression of Vietnam. But whatever it may be, we will use all our possibilities and capabilities to express our support, especially in the moral field and in the determination of struggle against imperialism, expansionism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, apartheid and Zionism.

The problem before our General Assembly, as it has been put to the other sessions, is as follows: must all these demoniac forces be allowed to cast a slur and destroy the independence, sovereignty, ter-



territorial integrity and unity of various countries in the world, to sow dissension and to trample under foot the inalienable right of the people to decide their own destiny?

Take for example the Korean problem! In 1975, the General Assembly adopted resolution 3390B. The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea under the leadership of President Kim Il Sung proposed reasonable measures to solve the Korean problem independently and peacefully, without foreign intervention. But the U.S.A., obstinate in carrying on their policy of aggression and division of Korea, impudently violated resolution 3390B. We demand that the U.S.A. withdraw all their troops and dismantle all their military bases in south Korea, stop interfering in the internal affairs of Korea and carrying out the policy of "two Koreas" and that the U.S.A. dissolve the so-called "United Nations High Command" and transform the military Armistice Agreement into a Peace Agreement. The problem of reunification of Korea has to be solved by the Korean people themselves.

Another example, Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia. It should not have any ambiguity which would allow the colonialists and racists of South Africa to continue to control this port. Namibia has to be independent within its territorial integrity. We always resolutely support the struggles of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania for independence and their right to decide their own destiny.

The independence, unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each country and the right of each people to decide their own destiny are sacred and inalienable. We think that our General Assembly can carry out its tasks well only if it stands firmly by the side of the people in struggle and resolutely opposes all acts of expansion, dissension against a country or casting a slur on its independence.

We always firmly support the struggle of the Palestinian people and all the Arab peoples. We understand perfectly this struggle against Israeli Zionism, for at present our people are shedding their blood to prevent Vietnam from annexing and swallowing the Kampuchean territory and exterminating the Kampuchean race, like Israeli Zionism has acted against the Palestinian people and annexed the Arab territories. The true nature of Vietnam is identical to that of Zionism. The Palestinian people must be able to exercise their national rights, particularly the right to return to live in their motherland, the right to decide their own destiny and the right to



create their independent state on the Palestinian lands. The Arab territories must be returned to the Arab countries.

We always and resolutely support the struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and their right to decide by themselves their own destiny and for establishing the new international economic order.

Mr. Chairman,

In the situation when the forces of the imperialist and expansionist big powers have been everywhere attacked and paralyzed by the peoples the world over, the cause of the peoples' struggle to defend and safeguard the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and the right to decide their own destiny, has always developed progressively.

The Kampuchean people, who are shedding their blood so that the banners of national independence, national honor and dignity will always fly high on Democratic Kampuchea's soil, are resolutely in solidarity with the struggle of the peoples the world over for the triumph of the cause of the revolution, the cause of national liberation and the cause of national independence. The future of the struggle of the peoples the world over is brilliant.

Our present General Assembly can bring about a direct contribution to this struggle. In this meaning, Mr. Chairman, you assume an important part in our work. We would like to express our congratulations and wish you great success in fulfilling your high functions.

Thank you!