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STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

SECURITY COUNCIL Thirty-fourth year

Letter dated 18 May 1979 from the Permanent Representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for your information, a press release dated 13 May 1979 concerning the meeting of the Council of Ministers of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea to assess the situation after the recent dry season and to decide on the tasks to be undertaken in the period ahead.

I should be grateful if you would circulate this important text as an official document of the General Assembly, under item 46 of the preliminary list, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN PRASITH

Permanent Representative

of Democratic Kampuchea

^{*} A/34/50.

ANNEX

Press release of 13 May 1979 concerning the meeting of the Council of Ministers of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea to assess the situation after the recent dry season and to decide on the tasks to be undertaken in the period ahead

On 6 and 7 May 1979, the Council of Ministers of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea met under the chairmanship of the President of the State Presidium, Khieu Samphan, and the Prime Minister of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, Pol Pot. During its deliberations, which lasted two days, the Council of Ministers was unanimous in its assessment of the situation after the recent dry season and decided precisely what were the tasks to be undertaken in the period ahead by the Government, the people, the Revolutionary Army and the revolutionary guerrillas of Kampuchea.

- I. ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION DURING THE RECENT DRY SEASON
- A. The Council of Ministers clearly identified the reasons which led the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique to launch aggression on so large a scale against Democratic Kampuchea

The fact that Viet Nam mobilized so many troops to launch aggression against Democratic Kampuchea on so large a scale is not a sign of its strength. Viet-Nam's action in resorting to a large-scale attack stemmed from the series of strategic defeats it had suffered and the impasse it had reached in pursuing its "Federation of Indo-China" strategy.

Viet Nam had not wanted in actual fact to resort to such large-scale and overt aggression. Such a course of action was sure to result in excessive losses for Viet Nam in military, political, economic and diplomatic terms, both at home and abroad, and those losses would continue over an extensive period because the opponent was the people of Kampuchea, who have a long tradition of determined struggle and the advantage of good fighting leadership.

Viet Nam would have preferred to use the quiet approach of a snake to swallow up Kampuchea. It would have preferred to employ such manoeuvres as "special friendship" "special solidarity", infiltration, coup d'état, elimination of the leadership (by poisoning or assassination), and fomenting of domestic revolt. Had such manoeuvres succeeded, there would have been no reaction either within the country or abroad. Viet Nam would then have been able to continue to swallow up South-East Asia with ease.

However, the people and the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea, under the leadership of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, have fought valiantly against Viet Nam and inflicted a series of strategic defeats on it. Because of

all those defeats, Viet Nam has been forced to resort to its ultimate weapon, thereby baring its odious face to the entire world. For more than 30 years, Viet Nam has hypocritically worn the mask of the "revolutionary" and the "fair dealer". Now the mask is off, revealing the jackal face of the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique, execrated by all countries and peoples in the world.

B. The Council of Ministers reviewed the general situation at the front during the recent dry season

Viet Nam hoped that a blitzkrieg strategy would bring it instant victory. It had over-estimated its own strength. With its numerous divisions and many Soviet aircraft, tanks and artillery pieces, it was hoping to succeed with a single blow. In that way, it thought, it could dispose of the Kampuchean problem in a trice. If it managed to crush Kampuchea, it could at one and the same time establish its "Federation of Indo-China" and solve its domestic political and economic problems as well as the complex diplomatic problems arising out of its aggression against Democratic Kampuchea.

However, the dry season is already over and Viet Nam has still not succeeded in attaining its objective and ending the Kampuchean people's struggle. The war continues throughout Kampuchea. The Vietnamese troops are forced to continue to fight the war themselves. What is more, the Vietnamese must send successive waves of reinforcements from their country. Because of their inability to conclude the war in Kampuchea, they have become mired in inextricable difficulties of every kind. Insurmountable problems are emerging for them, in Kampuchea, in Viet Nam itself, in Laos, in South-East Asia, in Asia and throughout the world. They are unable to resolve either the new problems resulting from their aggression in Kampuchea or the old problems, and new difficulties are constantly arising.

C. Review of the situation at the front

Viet Nam launched its aggression against Kampuchea in late December. In January it was gloating, in the belief that it could dispose of the Kampuchean problem by the end of the month with a victory on the battlefield. However, at the end of January, it had managed to gain control only of Phnom Penh, some provincial capitals and a few strategic roads. The war goes on, with our Revolutionary Army also making both large and small attacks. Faced with this situation, the Vietnamese enemy has clearly realized that the war in Kampuchea is far from over. Consequently, the Vietnamese have had to send in further reinforcements:

- (1) By dispatching three new divisions from Viet Mam:
- (2) By moving troops from some areas in Kampuchea and concentrating them in other areas in order to carry out campaigns of repression. Thus, in February, Viet Mam launched campaigns of repression in the south-western zone and the central zone. But by the end of February, we smashed every one of those campaigns and continued to launch guerrilla attacks.

Thus, in late February and early March, Viet Nam failed in its attempt to smother the struggle of our people and our Revolutionary Army in both the south-western zone and the central zone.

In late March and in April, the Vietnamese enemy again regrouped its troops with a view to conducting campaigns of repression in the west, north-west and north, and penetrated deeply into those three areas.

Thus, during the dry season, Viet Nam launched two major campaigns of repression:

- (1) In the south-western and central areas;
- (2) In the west, north-west and north;

not to mention the medium-scale and small-scale campaigns it conducted throughout the country.

The aim of the Vietnamese enemy is to shatter the struggle of our people. But it has not achieved its goals and the struggle of our people continues on all fronts and in all areas of the country, where we are everywhere on the attack. We have defended and preserved our forces everywhere. Our leadership remains intact in all zones. We have the support and close unity of our people in combating the Vietnamese aggressor. We also have the support of the entire world.

Thus, as the rainy season begins, Viet Nam's war of aggression with the support of its Soviet master, has not succeeded in smothering the struggle of our people. Our people's war that began in January is being vigorously carried on everywhere throughout the country.

The Soviet Union and Viet Nam have mobilized all their resources and have done everything they could to gain a lightning victory. But they have failed to attain their objective. Of course, we are encountering many difficulties, but they are only temporary. The Vietnamese enemy, on the other hand, is beset with serious difficulties, fundamental difficulties of all kinds, in Kampuchea, in its own country and throughout the world. Most important of all, our people's war has not been extinguished. It continues to be waged vigorously. These are the chief factors which enable us to move forward.

D. Assessment of the enemy's situation and our situation, in each field, now and in the future

A review of the course of the war requires an assessment of four factors, namely, the military, the political, the economic and the diplomatic. Our conduct of the people's war is based on these four factors.

(1) The military factor

During the recent dry season, from the point of view of manpower and matériel, the Vietnamese enemy enjoyed military superiority over us. That is why they were able to penetrate into Kampuchea at many places. That is the strong point of the Vietnamese enemy and its Soviet master. We cannot mount a frontal attack on the enemy's heavy forces. We can, however, carry out guerrilla attacks, and this we can do throughout the country. That is our strong point and Viet Nam's weak point. It is because Viet Nam has weak points that we are able to attack it, so that the military situation is confused throughout the country. We are able to attack the Vietnamese enemy, hold it at bay, wear it down and destroy its troops. In such a situation, the enemy's great weakness is its lack of manpower to finish the war and smother the struggle of our people.

In order to get out of this situation, the Vietnamese enemy must solve two problems:

- (a) Mobilization and dispatch of additional Vietnamese forces from Viet Nam;
- (b) Conscription in Kampuchea.

Can the enemy solve these problems as it wishes? It cannot. In order to achieve the "Khmerization" of its war, Viet Nam must continue for a long time the "Vietnamization" of the war. "Vietnamization" of the war is the linchpin of "Khmerization" of the war.

Can it continue the "Vietnamization" of the war at whatever pace it chooses? Let us consider the following:

Before its aggression against Kampuchea, Viet Nam was already suffering from a serious famine. Now that it has attacked Kampuchea, the famine can only grow worse. On the military front, large numbers of Vietnamese soldiers are being killed in the attack on Kampuchea. Consequently, the people and youth of Viet Nam are seeking to evade conscription by going underground or fleeing abroad. With each passing year, the flight of Vietnamese is exacerbating the political crisis in Viet Nam and affecting the sources of new manpower. On the aggression front in Kampuchea, after only four months, desertions are become increasingly frequent.

A review of the situation in Viet Nam and on the Kampuchean front alone shows clearly that Viet Nam is beset by countless difficulties. In addition, it is enmeshed in great difficulties in Laos, on the Vietnamese-Chinese frontier, in South-East Asia and throughout the world.

In such circumstances, the Vietnamese enemy cannot continue the "Vietnamization" of the war in Kampuchea as it pleases.

The longer our people's war goes on, the greater will be Viet Nam's difficulties. During the dry season, we took a toll of more than

40,000 Vietnamese, dead or wounded. If we eliminate 20,000 more during the present rainy season, Viet Nam will have lost over 60,000 men. So by the next dry season it has to find 60,000 additional men to replenish its ranks. That is not an easy task when the people and youth of Viet Nam are continuing to flee their country, when the situation in Laos continues to evolve and when Viet Nam continues to encounter complex problems elsewhere.

Thus, the strategy of "Vietnamizing" the war in Kampuchea is meeting with countless difficulties. In the circumstances, "Khmerization" of the war is unattainable.

If we fight the Vietnamese enemy for a year. he will be trounced for a year. If we fight him for two years, he will be trounced for two years, and so on for five years, for 10 years, or ad infinitum. We have devised a long-term strategy. If we unrelentingly launch guerrilla attacks throughout this rainy season, during the next dry season and in all the seasons to come, Viet Nam will not be able to withstand. However stubborn it may be, Viet Nam will not be able to withstand.

(2) The political factor

An assessment of the political situation, both in Viet Mam and in Kampuchea, shows that the outcome of the war of aggression against Kampuchea will not be a bright one for Viet Mam, but will be extremely sombre.

The Vietnamese people have suffered greatly as a result of the inability of those in power to settle the military issue in Kampuchea speedily, the loss of large numbers of Vietnamese soldiers on the Kampuchean front and the existence of conscription in Viet Nam. The lives of the people and youth of Viet Nam are already blighted by more than 30 years of war. Now they are still being required to wage a war of aggression in Kampuchea and to go off to fight against China. The longer the war continues, the more the Vietnamese people will suffer, both physically and mentally and in terms of their living conditions, so that the political situation in Viet Nam will go from bad to worse.

In Kampuchea, on the other hand, the past four months have confirmed the great unity of the Kampuchean nation, both at home and abroad, in combating the Vietnamese enemy, an aggressor and annexationist that swallows up territories. Viet Nam and its puppets have no political base in Kampuchea. They can engage in demagogy as much as they please, but they cannot and will not succeed. In the first place, Viet Nam's puppets are complete nonentities, with the Vietnamese doing everything in their stead. Secondly, their Vietnamese masters have no material for their demagogy towards the people of Kampuchea. Starved and poverty-stricken, the Vietnamese can only come and plunder our people. More specifically, during these past four months, they have plundered our people's rice and livestock. Not content with having robbed the people of everything, the Vietnamese have raped their daughters. They cannot deceive the people of Kampuchea by sleight of hand. Accordingly, the political base of the Vietnamese in Kampuchea cannot be expanded or consolidated. It is doomed to destruction.

The entire Kampuchean people execrates them and is dealing them every more powerful blows.

(3) The economic factor

As the economy of Viet Mam was already in an extremely difficult situation, the war in Kampuchea is a heavy additional burden.

In Viet Nam, the economy is already in a disastrous state. With the war of aggression in Kampuchea, it is becoming even worse. The difficulties have increased tremendously as a result. Viet Nam's foreign trade is breaking down, collapsing and shipping away from the Vietnamese enemy as through a sieve, because Viet Nam is corrupt and must, in addition, support the burden of its war of aggression in Kampuchea. All the assistance from the Soviet Union and its supporters will be of no avail in a protracted war. In Kampuchea, the Vietnamese enemy has plundered the rice which it cost us so much effort to produce so that they could send it to Viet Nam, without any concern for the famine which our people might suffer. In addition, this year the enemy has conducted campaigns of repression to prevent our people from growing rice. All this creates antagonism between the enemy and our people. Now, wherever the enemy reaches, it completely destroys our people's livestock and rice. Its aim is to starve our people and thus smother their struggle. But our people will not accept death by starvation: they join together and fight the Vietnamese enemy in order to be able to overcome the food problem and annihilate the enemy.

(4) The international factor

During the recent dry season, Viet Mam acquired a most odious reputation in South-East Asia, in Asia, in Oceania, in Africa, in North America, in South America and in Europe. All mankind has condemned it. Only the Soviet Union and its few followers support it. In the international arena, Viet Mam is like a mangy dog which everyone chases. Driven into a corner, all it does is snarl and bare its teeth at everyone, thus revealing more clearly than ever its true nature.

In brief, a review of these four factors - military, political, economic and international - shows us that Viet Nam is stronger than we only temporarily and only in the military sphere, and even in the military sphere it is embroiled in growing and increasingly complex difficulties. It is basically weak in the political, economic and international spheres. Thus, as time goes on, political and economic factors and international support for our struggle will exert growing pressure on Viet Nam, creating increasingly serious difficulties for it in the military sphere. As a result, its military forces will grow progressively weaker. And once Viet Nam is weakened militarily, those political, economic and international forces will exert ever stronger pressure on it, until it is totally defeated.

The Council of Ministers of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea fully grasped the situation, in all its aspects, at the front in Kampuchea during the recent dry season.

However, the Council is well aware of the ferocity, barbarity and stubborness of the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique and its Soviet masters. It clearly perceives their pernicious manoeuvres, which they will doubtless continue in the military, political, economic and diplomatic spheres, and especially their stubborn pursuit of the "Vietnamization" of the war in Kampuchea, which they intend to make the nucleus, the soul and the linchpin of the "Khmerization" of their war in Kampuchea, and their intention of creating the necessary conditions to achieve that goal.

In the light of this assessment of the situation, the Council of Ministers of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea decided on the tasks to be undertaken in the period ahead.

II. GENERAL TASKS IN CONTINUATION OF THE PEOPLE'S WAR TO COMBAT THE VIETNAMESE ENEMY AGGRESSOR AND TO WIN NEW VICTORIES

The Council of Ministers stated specifically that we must continue to hold aloft the standard of battle and forcefully and vigorously prosecute the people's war against the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique of aggressors and annexationists, who swallow up territories and seek to exterminate the Kampuchean nation, by:

- (a) Adhering firmly to the position of independence, sovereignty and reliance on our own forces;
- (b) Uniting with all forces devoted to independence, peace, justice and democracy which oppose Vietnamese regional expansionism;
- (c) Adhering to the position of long-term struggle, of enduring all difficulties and of overcoming all obstacles in the way of victory;
- (d) Adhering to the position of powerful and resolute offensive in fighting the Vietnamese enemy, an aggressor and annexationist which swallows up territories, with noble revolutionary heroism.

More specifically:

(1) We must vigorously continue the people's war, on the basis of guerrilla warfare, and actively carry out guerrilla attacks everywhere, taking the offensive, unceasingly demonstrating sovereignty, creativity and initiative, and drawing up and carrying out plans for daily destruction of the enemy's manpower.

We must strengthen and develop our guerrilla units and intensify guerrilla activity; we must build up, develop and strengthen our Revolutionary Army in every sphere - political, ideological, organizational and, progressively, in combat techniques.

(2) We must persevere in our efforts to build up, strengthen and develop the people's forces, both in the areas under our control and in those temporarily under enemy control. The population of the areas under our control is with us and is fighting the Vietnamese aggressors. The population of the areas temporarily under enemy control is also part of our people and also constitutes forces fighting against the Vietnamese aggressors and annexationists who swallow up territories and exterminate nations.

We must pay sustained attention to political, ideological and organizational work, and strive whole-heartedly to solve the problems of our people's living conditions according to our abilities and means. We must make every Kampuchean into a valiant warrior fighting in every way and by every means against the Vietnamese enemy, the aggressor and annexationist which swallows up territories.

The entire Kampuchean people, in the areas under our control and in the areas temporarily under enemy control, are filled with bitter hatred for the Vietnamese enemy, and this hatred is constantly increasing. This tremendous strength of the Kampuchean people is dealing severe blows to the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique of aggressors and annexationists who swallow up territories and is plunging it into the deepest abyss of the people's war.

- (3) We must continue to work for the consolidation and development of the great unity of the Kampuchean nation, both at home and abroad, in order to combat the Vietnamese aggressors and annexationists who swallow up territories and exterminate nations, until they are completely expelled from Kampuchea, and to build an independent, united, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea.
- (4) We must endeavour to solve the problem of supplies for the people's war, boosting production by every means and in all circumstances. We must preserve all the products of our work so that we may be masters of the situation and prevent the Vietnamese enemy from coming to destroy them. We must show a great spirit of solidarity in resolving the problem of material living conditions.
- (5) We must endeavour to develop solidarity with all countries and peoples in the world, particularly those of South-East Asia which are also threatened by the aggression and expansionism of the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique.

The Council of Ministers of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea is fully aware that the historical circumstances of the struggle of the Kampuchean nation and people against the Vietnamese aggressors and annexationists who swallow up territories and exterminate nations mark a new era in the struggle of the Kampuchean nation and people, and of the nations and peoples of the world and all mankind, against the Vietnamese regional expansionists and their masters who are engaging in continued exactions and acts of aggression and expansion and

making threats in the most arrogant fashion in all parts of the world, particularly South-East Asia, Africa, the Middle East, South Asia, Asia, Oceania, Europe and Latin America.

The entire nation and people of Kampuchea, both at home and abroad, are victims of the acts of aggression, annexation and national extermination committed by the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique. Accordingly, they have enthusiastically united in a single monolithic bloc and are holding aloft the standard of the independent and sovereign Kampuchean nation to combat the Vietnamese aggressors and annexationists who swallow up territories until they are completely expelled from the territory of our beloved Kampuchea.

At the same time, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the Kampuchean nation and people are firmly convinced that they will continue to have the support - ever-stronger, in ever-growing numbers and in an ever-increasing variety of forms - of all forces committed to independence, peace, justice, democracy and neutrality throughout the world, in their just struggle against the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique of aggressors and annexationists, who swallow up territories and seek to exterminate the Kampuchean nation. All such forces view the struggle waged by the nation and people of Kampuchea as their own, and are opposing and will continue to oppose the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique of aggressors by every means and to demand the withdrawal from Kampuchea of all Vietnamese forces of aggression.

The Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the Kampuchean people take this opportunity to express their sincere thanks to all countries, Governments, peoples, political organizations and individuals who have taken and are still taking forceful action in support of the just struggle of the Kampuchean nation and people.

The nation and people of Kampuchea will prevail in their just struggle!

The defeat of the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique of aggressors and annexationists, who swallow up territories and exterminate nations, is ineluctable!