



SPEECH
by

COMRADE POL POT
SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KAMPUCHEA

at

*the great mass meeting
commemorating the 10th anniversary
of the founding of the*

REVOLUTIONARY ARMY OF KAMPUCHEA

Phnom Penh, January 17, 1978

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(Translation)

I would like to extend my respect to all the comrades representatives of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea, all the comrades representatives of workers, all the comrades representatives of departments, organs and all revolutionary units who have come and participated in this meeting.

At first, on behalf of our Communist Party of Kampuchea, the Military Committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and on behalf of the whole collectivist worker-peasant people throughout the country, I would like to extend my deepest, warmest and most cordial respect and admiration towards the whole Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea, including those who are present here, in different units and particularly those at the front throughout the country, who are heroically fighting to defend Democratic Kampuchea, the worker-peasant State power of the Party and our collectivist people.

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We all deeply and whole-heartedly respect and admire our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea for they are the strong dorsal column, the faithful and loyal armed forces, instrument of the proletarian dictatorship of the Party, they have successively fought in the revolutionary war movements from 1968 up to now and they have then won successive victories. They have highly enhanced and held aloft the prestige, honour and dignity of Kampuchea, which had been despised before, those of the whole people, revolution and Communist Party of Kampuchea, both on the national and international arenas.

Therefore, while gathering together to commemorate and greet the 10th Anniversary of our Revolutionary Army, we have very great pleasure and unbounded pride towards the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea, for this Army has fought, surmounted all kinds of difficulties and sufferings, has consented all kinds of sacrifices during dozens years for the national and people's liberation, for the worker-peasant revolutionary State power of the Party, for the prosperity of Kampuchea and its entire people, and for the defence of the Kampuchea's territory to insure its everlastingness.

It is only after being aware of the history of our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea that we would have full confidence in them and would whole-heartedly appreciate and be proud of them. As for the history of our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea, we have had the opportunities to talk and discuss about it many times. In this occasion, I would like to bring up only some problems to inform our meeting.

AT FIRST, I WOULD LIKE TO TALK ABOUT THE FOUNDING
OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY OF KAMPUCHEA.

On this first point, I would like to raise the questions : How the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea was founded ? From which source ? In which circumstances this Army was born, has been further developed and strengthened in size and strength ?

1-The Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea was not born through one, two, four or ten circulars of so-and-so government, of so-and-so Parliament. It was not so-and-so organization which had signed to enlist the youth into the army and give them military uniforms and arms to join the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea. Our Army was born in the people's revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea. It was the Communist Party of Kampuchea which had defined the strategical and tactical lines to fight against imperialism that had come and interfered, aggressed and occupied Kampuchea, to fight against feudalists and reactionary capitalists who had exploited and oppressed the Kampuchea's people. To fight against the imperialists and the exploiting classes, our Party has decided that we have to carry out an armed struggle. And in order to wage an armed struggle, we must have an army. This army has a revolutionary task to fight against the imperialists and the exploiting classes. Under the constant leadership of the Party, this army was born from scratch to one fighter, two fighters, three fighters, four fighters, five fighters fighting against the enemy. They have fought against the enemy through revolutionary violence, particularly through armed violence. They have fought against the enemy with traditional weapons and semi-modern weapons up to modern weapons. They have fought against the enemy with one fighter, one squad, one platoon, one company up to battalion, regiment, division and with many divisions. That is how the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea has been successively developed under the

leadership of the Party which has decided a correct line that is / to have to wage an armed struggle against the enemy, and to have a revolutionary army for this armed struggle.

This brief history of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea has shown that our army was not created by one or two circulars and letters. This army was born in the flames of struggle, starting from scratch up to the present development. This development is not insignificant. This army has been developed by inflicting ignominious defeats on the US imperialists, the most powerful chieftain of imperialists in the world, and up to now by inflicting also ignominious defeats on the Vietnamese aggressors, annexationists, swallowers of territories. They have been so because this army was founded in the struggle under the leadership of the Party.

2-As for another question : From which source, this army was founded and has been developed ?

I would like to tell as follows :

The Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea was born from the workers and peasants, from the people of poor and lower classes. From its founding up to now, its social composition is made up of overwhelming majority of peasants of poor strata. After the latter, there are also peasants of inferior middle strata. 98 per cent of cadres and fighters are from the peasants of poor and inferior middle strata. Besides, there are also from the peasants of the middle strata and other revolutionaries. Through this social class composition of our Revolutionary Army, we can see the source from which our Revolutionary Army was born. It is these poor people who are the source of the founding of our Revolutionary Army. It is these poor people who are the forces to strengthen and develop the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea.

The peasants of poor and inferior middle strata and the peasants of middle strata are very numerous, more than 80 per cent

the entire people of the country. These people are an inexhaustible and immense source in supplying forces to our Revolutionary Army, to make them more developed and more powerful. We are not worry that the source of our army would become exhausted for the people of the lower classes are very numerous. This, if we speak about number. Besides, parallel with this number, our Revolutionary Army has also their genuine nature that is the same as the class nature of these people. The peasants of poor and inferior middle strata can be considered as belonging to the proletarian and semi-proletarian classes in the countryside. With the peasants of poor and inferior middle strata, who are so numerous and belong to such a genuine class nature as lower class, our army can develop and strengthen themselves in number and at the same time they can firmly preserve their class nature as proletarian and semi-proletarian classes. And these peasants of poor and inferior middle strata, belonging to such a good class, are not isolated and scattered but they are under the leadership of the Party and have good qualities in the fields of politics, ideology and collectivist organization. It is these people who supply forces to the army. It is these poor people who are the mothers of our army. If these mothers are good, their sons and daughters are also good. These mothers belong to a good origine ^{of} class and they have been successively and firmly armed with politics, ideology and collectivist organization by the Party. With such good mothers, their sons and daughters would also be as good. Through this awareness, we can see the quality of our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea and have full confidence in our army. In the future, we still have to base on the source of the peasants of poor and inferior middle strata to strengthen and develop our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea. If we base on others sources, then our army would not be strong anymore. Let's say that if in the future, we turn to other sources to select our fighters from, our army would not be strong anymore, despite how numerous modern weapons we could have. If the original source is not good, then this army would not be strong. A strong and healthy mother has

a healthy baby. The good health we are talking here is a strong class nature, a firm revolutionary stand, surmounting difficulties, and struggling valiantly. A mother with a strong revolutionary nature would also have sons with a strong revolutionary nature. These are the sons who have powerfully fought against the enemy and won any enemy whatever strong they were. These are the line and the stand followed forever in organizing our Revolutionary Army.

In the future, we still have to follow this way in building up, strengthening and developing our army mainly from the original source of the peasants of poor and inferior middle strata in order to have an army with a strong genuine class nature both by its own genuine original nature and its genuine proletarian class nature educated by the Party. Our army have no ranks, no salary. They are an army which are carrying our a genuine revolution, fulfilling their high revolutionary tasks in defending the country, the worker-peasant State power of the Party and the collectivist people. Therefore, they must have a very high revolutionary spirit to heroically carry out the fighting. The factor of revolutionary people is the main fundamental factor. As for the factors of materials and technology, they are just secondary important factors. Once we have strong revolutionary people, our fighting would be very powerful.

3- As for the third question : In which circumstances was our Revolutionary Army founded ?

Our Revolutionary Army was not founded in peaceful time, in any military school or military academy. Our army was founded in the blazing flames of struggle in the revolutionary struggle full of successive difficulties, sufferings, endurances. This Revolutionary Army have struggled against and overcome all kinds of obstacles to build up, further develop and strengthen themselves. Therefore, this Revolutionary Army have passed the tests not at school but in revolutionary wars: the civil war from 1968-1969,

the war against the US imperialists from 1970 to 1975. And from 1975 up to now, our army have fought both against the US imperialists and their lackeys and against the Vietnamese aggressors, swallowers of territories. Thus, this army have been successively developed, strengthened and tempered themselves in the flames of fighting. Being tempered in the fighting like this, this army have become powerful. The fighting has founded, further developed and strengthened our army to become successively more and more powerful. The fighting is a tempering and a test serving to appreciate our Revolutionary Army, our cadres and our men and women fighters through the concrete acts in the actual movement. And through the experiences in this fighting, our army can be further and powerfully developed and strengthened under the leadership of the Party.

In brief, our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea was founded :

- 1- under the leadership of the Party through the line of concrete revolutionary violence, that is by waging a revolutionary war;
- 2- this army was founded from the poor people. That is why this army is so powerful. This people have their origine of class as peasants of poor and inferior middle strata and besides, they have the Party to lead them, in political, ideological and organizational fields, and they are organized in collectivity.
- 3- This army have fought, been tempered and tested successively in the blazing flames of the revolutionary war. Thus, this army has fulfil all characteristics and qualities required as an army of our Communist Party of Kampuchea.

Therefore, in the future, our whole Party, our entire people will strive to build up our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea in conformity with these principles in order to make our army to be ever powerful and not to ever change its nature.

NOW, I WOULD LIKE TO TELL YOU ABOUT THE SUCCESSIVE VICTORIES WON BY OUR REVOLUTIONARY ARMY OF KAMPUCHEA DURING OUR NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION AS WELL AS DURING OUR SOCIALIST REVOLUTION.

How our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea which was founded and has been gradually developed has won its successive feats of arms and victories during the revolutionary war ? We must remind and further illustrate these feats of arms and victories in order:

- On the one hand, to develop more and more our pride, satisfaction, love, respect, admiration and firm confidence in our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea and to endeavour to develop and strengthen our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea to make them steadfastly more and more powerfull in all fields, political, ideological, organizational, and in the line of fighting of the Party.
- On the other hand, to totally break up the propaganda of the imperialists, reactionaries, aggressors, annexationists swallowers of territories who, adhering to the stand of their class interests and their policy of aggression and annexation swallowing of territories, have always used their perfidious propaganda of prophesing and discrediting the revolutionary armies of the poor countries which are short of armament. They have propagated that the armies of these countries absolutely could not win over the aggression and annexation armies of the great powers, imperialists, reactionaries and big countries having many people, big armies and a lot of all kinds of armaments. In the history of our Revolutionary Army, they have also prophesied that our army would be completely destroyed for many times. They have propagated as prophets this with intent to wage psychological war and political war to threaten, frighten and mislead beforehand the peoples and revolutionary armies of the small and / or poor countries, in order to let them to aggress, invade and swallow at their will the territory of others in conformity with their ambition.

For all these above-mentioned reasons, we must remind the successive feats of arms and victories of our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea on the solemn occasion of this 10th Anniversary of its founding.

I would like to tell briefly about the grand feats of arms and victories won successively by our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea during the revolutionary war from 1968 to 1978, by dividing this revolutionary war into 3 periods :

- from 1968 to March, 1970 : period of struggle for national liberation,
- from March, 1970 to April, 1975 : period of struggle for national liberation,
- from April, 1975 to January, 1978 : period of struggle for national defence.

1^a From 1968 to March, 1970, a civil war broke out in our country. Against our revolution, there were reactionaries exploiting classes with militarists Lon Nol, Sirik Matak as chiefs, and the US imperialists as strings-pullers. The enemy forces and our forces at that time were as follows : the Lon Nol's clique, lackey of the US imperialists, had an army of 60 000 men in land, naval and air forces, including soldiers and provincial guards. As for us, in 1968, in all regions we had less than 1 000 guerilleros.

Thus, in comparison with the enemy, we were very weak, very small and the enemy had a very big force. The enemy was like a big elephant and we were like a small ant.

In that situation, the imperialists' and exploiting classes' prophets inside the country and abroad, prophesied that the "Khmers Rouges" will be surely and completely annihilated. But what has been concretely the result of it ? We have succeeded to defend and strengthen ourselves. From almost empty hand in 1968

to March, 1970, we have had an army of 4 000 men, and 50 000 guerilleros in the whole country, waging guerilla war in 17 provinces out of 19 provinces throughout the country. We have had a liberated zone as our backing-bases with 60 000 people. We had guerilla-bases where were living 300 000 people. We had our guerilla-zones where were living 700 000 people. Thus, on the whole in 1970, we had a liberated zone, guerilla-bases and guerilla-zones with more than 1 million people. Our forces have been always increased. We have always succeeded to defend, develop and strengthen ourselves, i.e. the army, people, liberated zone, guerilla-bases, guerilla-zones, regular army and guerilleros-units. These forces have been very strong in the civil war and have inflicted very heavy defeats on the enemy. Why could we defend, develop and strengthen the forces of our army and our revolution ? Because we have had a correct line and carried out correctly the people's war of the Party. Therefore, the imperialists' and exploiting classes' prophecies against our revolution inside the country and the world over, have been completely broken down and dissolved. They have propagated and carried out political war and psychological war in order to dupe us, to mislead the world opinion, but the history of our revolutionary movement has clearly shown that from 1968 to March, 1970, we have won such great victories. These victories have been indeed the first ones but we consider them ^{as} grand fundamental victories leaving our Party, our army and our ⁺ people to build up their position of being independent and sovereign and to strongly develop and strengthen it in the fighting through tremendous difficulties and sufferings. The position of being independent, sovereign and self-reliant and master of one's destiny has come from this period and its foundation had been developed and strengthened during this period.

2^a During the period of national liberation war against the US imperialists from 1970 to 1975, the imperialists' and reactionaries' prophets have still foretold. They have propagated

against our revolution with all kinds of means in order to dupe our people, our army, our Party and the world opinion, to be frightened at the great powers and to accept to bow their head to be oppressed by them at will. At that time, the enemy had forces as follows :

- 1- the Lon Nol clique had from 60 000 to 200 000 men,
- 2- more than 100 000 troops of Thieu-Ky penetrated into our territory,
- 3- many ten thousands of US imperialists troops aggressed our territory in April and May 1970.

Besides, they used many planes flying all over the Kampuchea's airspace. Therefore, the enemy forces included US imperialists, Saigonese troops of Thieu-Ky and the Lon Nol clique. Furthermore, the Thai reactionaries, the South Koreans, the Taiwanese, etc... participated in carrying out activities against us. All these forces are very big. Therefore, the imperialist and reactionary side has foretold that the Kampuchea revolution will be completely destroyed and defeated. But as concrete result, we have won the grand victory of April 17, 1975. Our Revolutionary Army which in 1970 had only 4 000 men of regular army and 50 000 guerilleros, have been rapidly developed and organized into battalions, regiments and divisions. The army and the people have been developed, they could be self-sufficient in economy, they have won the grand victory of April 17, 1975. This has been a great victory in the Kampuchea's history and also a grand victory in the world's history when, for the first time, the US imperialists have suffered such an ignominious defeat. The Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea have won over the US imperialists because this army have been led by our Party, come from the worker-peasant people, have been composed with sons and daughters of peasants of poor and inferior middle strata, and steadfastly tempered in the flames of the revolutionary war. Therefore, this army has become always more and more powerful, bigger and bigger, starting from scratch until having more and more armament,

fighting the enemy aggressor and winning one victory after another. Our victories have broken down the perfidious theories, principles and stand, the perfidious and poisonous propaganda which have stated that "a small country could not fight", "a poor country could not fight and stand up", "a small country has to be dominated", "a poor people have to be dominated". We have broken down the poisonous propaganda of the imperialists and reactionaries so that the peoples in the world have been encouraged and become more powerful to continue their struggle and win victories.

3^e Now, during the fighting against the Vietnamese aggressors, annexationists, swallows of territories, the prophets have foretold once again. They are the prophets of the US imperialists, reactionaries and various expansionists in the world. they have foretold that : "the Vietnamese army who had been tested in the war for many dozens years, would take Kampuchea within only 24 hours". They have made this propaganda in order to mislead the world opinion, to frighten the small countries and poor peoples through their poisonous theories that stated as follows : "a small country could not struggle", "a small country has to be dominated", "It is not possible to be independent, sovereign and self-reliant", etc... But despite these propagandas, they still can not mislead the world opinion. The world opinion at that time has been divided into two, but as a whole, it has supported and expressed its sympathy with Kampuchea.

The majority of it has been confident that the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea would surely defeat and wipe out the Vietnamese aggressors for this Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea had already defeated the US imperialists. But a small number have expressed their anxiety for us too. They have thought we might not be able to stem the Vietnamese aggression.

I would like to tell about the fighting results and qualities of our Revolutionary Army. The Vietnamese army who have come and aggressed Kampuchea since May 1975 have been as follows :

1- The security forces for border defence : These forces have machine-gunned against our people who have been carrying out agricultural works, against our army in patrol. They have all the time pounded inside our territory. And they have been those who have repeatedly moved their installation into our territory. And they have been also those who have let their people to build houses with some columns on their soil and the other ones on our soil, and even up to many villages inside our territory. That is to swallow our territories from 10 centimeters, 20 centimeters, 1 meter, 2 meters, one kilometer, 2 kilometers and so on. They have been those who have repeatedly carried out provocations along our borders. Only in the Southwest, in 1975-76, they have machine-gunned and pounded all the time, causing in average 30 killed or wounded in each month. And as in Svay Rieng, as a whole, they have carried out continuous provocations and in some places the situation has been even more tense than in the Southwest. Therefore, from May 1975, from Kampot province to Ratanakiri province, the Vietnamese security forces for border defence have carried out innumerable provocations along the borders.

2- The regional army is the army of the province. All the Vietnamese provinces along our borders have their own regional army. These forces have participated with the security forces for border defence to constantly create troubles and difficulties to our population along the border, behaving arrogant and haughty conducting themselves as "fathers of Indochina", as "big brothers of Indochina", saying that "the tinies in Indochina have to comply with my orders", "whatever I do, you the tinies, you have to obey me".

3- The military region forces are the regular army of each military region to be used as the core of military intervention in various provinces in the frameworks of the military region.

I would like to point out that these 3 Vietnamese categories of forces, security forces for border defence, regional forces and military regional forces, have used to launch attacks against

us for many times from May, 1975 and particularly in 1977. But these 3 Vietnamese categories of forces have been aware of the efficiency of our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea which have put them to rout anytime they have aggressed us.

For this reason, in order to launch large-scale aggression against the territory of Kampuchea in November and December 1977, and in January 1978, the Vietnamese have had to dispatch many divisions of their regular army from their Head quarters in Hanoi, including sophisticated arms, many hundreds tanks and pieces of heavy artillery and used them as the core-forces to break through our thin line of border defence and penetrated many kilometers deep in our territory and dozens of kilometers in some places, particularly on National Road No7 and in Svay Rieng province in the East Region, in Takeo and Kampot provinces in the Southwest Region. They have sowed mournings, devastations and sufferings on our people, villages, cooperatives, cattle, poultry, cultivated lands, rice-field and properties.

If the Vietnamese have acted and behaved like that, what kind of revolution is this? What kind of "special friendship" is this? What kind of "negotiations" for solving the border problem is this?

We have seen only ideology of big country's chauvinism, arrogance and cruelty towards us, annexation and swallowing of our territories, violation and aggression against our country, subversions, attempted coup d'Etat to overthrow the regime of Democratic Kampuchea, etc... And we have seen only this ideology of big country's chauvinism being strengthened and becoming thicker and thicker like verdigris formed on copper, from the top to the bottoms of the Vietnamese.

However, I would like to tell about the concrete results of this large-scale Vietnamese big aggression and expansion against Kampuchea. Did they win or fail? They have suffered

a very heavy defeat, and our victory has also been a great one, comparable also with the glorious victory of April 17, 1975. It was the grand victory of the people and the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea over the Vietnamese aggressors, annexationists, swallowers of territories on January 6, 1978.

1- The Vietnamese defeat in the military field :

Concretely, the Vietnamese aggressor army in all fronts have been driven out by our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea up to the borders. The enemy had suffered 29 000 killed or wounded more than 130 big and modern enemy tanks, cost many million dollars each, have been destroyed or damaged, many dozens of enemy pieces of heavy artillery have been destroyed or damaged. Five enemy divisions of their regular army have been broken down.

I would like to point out why we have won so great victories over the enemy ? As a whole, we have carried out well the people's war line of the Party and particularly our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea have grasped and carried out with efficiency the line of fighting the enemies of the Party. The enemy have relied only on their tanks and artillery. When our Revolutionary Army attacked, destroyed, damaged or immobilized their tanks, then their infantry were in confusion. And it is not difficult to attack tanks. Anybody can do it. We use many mines to attack enemy tanks, putting them across national roads, provincial roads, small or big paths where the tanks are moving, because the enemy tanks cannot pass through our rice-fields, swampy area, main and secondary canals of irrigation. Therefore, once we use mines to attack them along these roads, the enemy tanks would be destroyed and damaged by our mines, leaving them all over the places along those roads. At the same time, we use the B-40, DK-75 and DK-82 arms to attack the enemy tanks. By this kind of attacks, the enemy tanks were useless. As for the enemy pieces of heavy artillery, they have also to move along those roads by trucks or full-track vehicles. Thus, they could not escape from our mines. It was the same for

the enemy's transportation : transport of ammunitions, killed and wounded soldiers, food supply and so on.

In this situation, what the enemy infantry men could do? How could they get tanks to help them? How could they get pieces of heavy artillery to help them ? How could they get ammunitions supply ? How could they get food to eat? And in this situation, our Revolutionary Army have steadfastly and powerfully attacked them. In a short time, they have been broken out, destroyed, put to rout, and driven out to the borders.

I would like to tell that as for infantry, the side which has more revolutionary and proletarian stand would win. Another weak point of the Vietnamese aggressor army, annexationist and swallower of territories is that they have had no rice to eat, and have eaten only bran in pieces. By eating only bran, they surely could not win in their aggression.

2- The Vietnamese defeat in the political field :

In the political field the Vietnamese aggressors have also suffered very heavy defeat. They have been considered in the world as ^{baleful} aggressors, annexationists and swallowers of Kampuchea's territories. The overwhelming majority of the independence-and justice-loving countries and peoples the world over have seen clearly that. The face and the policy of the ideology of big country's chauvinism, of "Indochina Federation" of the Vietnamese aggressors, annexationists, swallowers of territories of the small countries, neighbours of Vietnam, have been denounced as clear as daylight. Through this, Vietnam have been very isolated, strongly condemned, officially or unofficially and it has been in an impass.

Another Vietnamese political defeat is that the Vietnamese people are clearly aware of that the policy of aggression has led the people and the country to sufferings and devastations.

Another political aim of Vietnam to prepare setting an organization, a party or a movement belonging to Vietnam and coming

from Vietnam to be installed or declared on some Kampuchea's territories that the Vietnamese could occupy has completely failed.

3- The Vietnamese defeat in the economic and financial fields:

In their large-scale and systematic aggression against Democratic Kampuchea, the Vietnamese have to spend a lot of economic and financial means at the time when their country and people are short of food, of many million tons of rice and of money for solving the problems after the war.

They have spent a lot for aggressing the others. They have hoped they would win and get profit in returns. But when they have been defeated, they have lost everything, both capital and interest, their national and people's economy and finances have more suffered and been devastated.

Thus, when they are going to beg again, alleging as a pretext that they have met with "difficulties after the war", "difficulties because of drought", it might be difficult to find someone to give alms, particularly those who have been aware of.

After being aware of the Vietnamese defeats in military, political, economic and financial fields, we could appreciate the grand victories of our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea in their task for defending our Democratic Kampuchea.

Our friends, near or far, and the independence and justice-loving countries and peoples the world over have strongly acclaimed our grand victories.

We have firmly safeguarded and hold aloft the banner of "being independent, sovereign, self-reliant and master of its own's destiny" the banner of "independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity", the banner of "honour and dignity of the Kampuchea's nation and people". And we have strongly broken down the Vietnamese banner of aggression, annexation, swallowing of territories", the Vietnamese banner of "Indochina Federation of Vietnam", the Vietnamese banner of

"being frightened at big countries by defeatism", the Vietnamese banner of "big country's chauvinism". The Vietnamese banner of "one Party, one country, one people" has also been broken down with the most ignominious way.

Dear comrades,

We have seen our grand victory over the Vietnamese aggressors for

- our whole Party is united as one in leading the fighting to wipe out the enemy ,
- our whole people are united as one, having a high revolutionary political and ideological stand having a firm stand of collectivist organization, participating in the fighting against the enemy at each own battlefield, at the front and in the rear ,
- our valiant Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea have correctly and efficiently carried out to the maximum the military line, the people's war line and the line of fighting of the Party ,
- all our revolutionary departments and services have fulfilled well and actively their tasks ,
- we have had rice, paddy all over our rice-fields ,
- our friends, near or far and the independence- and justice-loving countries and peoples the world over has supported and expressed their sympathy with our cause of national defence against the Vietnamese aggressors ,

We have clearly seen that aggression has been defeated and independence has surely won. We have clearly seen these grand victories, but they are only for the first step. We have to see again that the enemies of all kinds are pursuing their activities to injure us to put our country under their domination by various

means: aggression, spying, threatening, intimidation, subversion, undermining, attempting to overthrow our revolutionary power by coup d'Etat, assassination, machine-gunning and pounding along the borders and so on.

Therefore, all of us, we must firmly grasp the main tasks of our Party:

- to defend Democratic Kampuchea ,
- to carry on the socialist revolution ,
- to edify well socialism.

Concretely, we have:

1- to increase higher our revolutionary vigilance, to be always well armed with the political, ideological and organizational stand of the Party, to keep the secret, to defend our Party, our revolution, our collectivist people, our revolutionary power and our Revolutionary Army.

To improve develop and strengthen our forces of national defence, regular army, regional army and guerilla forces, to be ever powerful and to destroy the enemy networks and activities of psychological war and spying.

2- to hold aloft the spirit of fighting and to impetuously fulfil the 1977's plan of 3 tons and 6 tons per hectare and the 1978's plan of 3,5 tons and 7 tons per hectare. And every factory, worksite, unit, department, service have to carry out efficiently their own works to achieve fully or beyond the plan.

We have all to redouble our endeavours so that no force or anyone remains unmoved in order to participate in defending and edifying well the country and to rapidly improving the standard of living of the people.

All the forces have to actively move forward to impetuously perform their tasks and to win new victories.

3- to do our utmost to be in solidarity with the revolutionary and progressive forces the world over, in conformity with the foreign

policy of the Party which has been clearly stated in the Constitution of Democratic Kampuchea. We preserve and firmly adhere to the policy of independence, peace, neutrality and non-alignment. Democratic Kampuchea resolutely remains in the Great Family of the Non-aligned countries.

Within the Third World countries, particularly within the Great Family of the Non-aligned countries, there are indeed some complex internal situations. But these countries, particularly the Non-aligned countries have many favorable conditions, that is :

- they are numerous in the world and they have many populations.
- they have deep, acute and several contradictions with imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, dominationism, expansionism, annexationism.
- they are carrying out strong and multiform struggles against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, dominationism, expansionism, annexationism, etc. against all acts of aggression, expansionism, annexationism, swallowing of territories, subversion, intimidation. They are stubbornly and steadfastly struggling for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, equality, justice and for the principle of being independent, sovereign, self-reliant and master of one's destiny of each country.

- and particularly for Kampuchea, the overwhelming majority of the Non-aligned countries have successively supported and expressed their sympathy with it during the 5 years national liberation war against the US imperialists as well as since the liberation of the country on April 17, 1975. The overwhelming majority of the Non-aligned countries have respected the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea and have established with us relations of perfect equality. Democratic Kampuchea needs very such friendly countries.

4- As for the conflict with Vietnam, how would Democratic Kampuchea have to solve it? Concerning this problem, our Government has clearly stated several times already. On this occasion, I would like to state it once again on behalf of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea following the Article 21 of the Constitution of Democratic Kampuchea. This Article reads as follows :

"Democratic Kampuchea is endowed with goodwill and firmly determined to maintain close and friendly relations with all countries having common border with her, and with all countries, near or far, throughout the world on the strict basis of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity.

"Democratic Kampuchea firmly abides by the policy of independence, peace, neutrality, non-alignment. No foreign country whatever is allowed to establish military bases in her territory. She resolutely struggles against all foreign interferences in her internal affairs, against all kinds of acts of subversion and aggression from outside, military, political, cultural, economic, social, diplomatic or through the so-called humanitarian acts.

"Democratic Kampuchea resolutely does not interfere in the internal affairs of any country whatever. Democratic Kampuchea resolutely respects the principle that each country is sovereign and has the full right to dispose and decide by itself its internal affairs without any foreign interference."...

We firmly abide by our foreign policy stipulated in our Constitution.

If the Vietnamese side stops its interference, subversion, machine-gunning, pounding, aggression and annexation against Democratic Kampuchea by eliminating completely its ideology of big country's chauvinism towards Kampuchea, its principle of "Indochina

Federation", its principle of "one Party, one country, one people" in "Indochina", which are the roots of the Vietnamese policy of intimidation, threatening, subversion, aggression, annexation, swallowing of territories against Kampuchea, then there would be no contradiction between us and a genuine friendship would be established and would be further developed and strengthened.

This is the aim of the Government and people of Kampuchea, which is so small and has no interest in creating troubles to anyone. She wishes only to have peace in her independence and territorial integrity.

* * *

Dear comrades,

Our glorious Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea has been developed and strengthened for ten years already. This Revolutionary Army has gone through a long way already, by fighting through and surmounting all kinds of obstacles, and by daring to consent all kinds of sacrifices for our Party, our class, our revolution, our people and our country. The way through which all the comrades of our Revolutionary Army have gone is a very noble, brilliant and glorious one in the history of Kampuchea. The revolutionary heroism of the comrades of our Revolutionary Army is very sublime, worthy of profound respect and admiration. We all are very proud of this Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea.

But we all have also been aware of the heavy revolutionary tasks of our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea to defend Democratic Kampuchea, the worker-peasant State power of the Party, to defend our Party, our revolution, our class, our people, and to participate in the national edification and rapid improvement of the

standard of living of the people.

The tasks of our comrades of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea are indeed heavy, but they are very noble and glorious.

Let comrades further hold loftier the banner of victory of our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea :

- 1- by striving to educate yourselves and your units to make them always good, sound and firm in conformity with the political, ideological and organizational stand of the Party and also with the line of the people's war and the line of fighting of the Party.
- 2- Every unit has to impetuously fulfil their revolutionary tasks as vanguard, overcoming all obstacles and difficulties to win new great victories.

Long live the correct and clear-sighted
Communist Party of Kampuchea !

Long live the powerful Revolution of Kampuchea !

Long live the glorious people of Kampuchea !

Long live the valiant and powerful
Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea !

Long live the valiant and powerful
Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea !

Long live the valiant and powerful
Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea !