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WHAT ARE THE TRUTH
AND JUSTICE ABOUT THE ACCUSATIONS AGAINST
DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA OF MASS KILLINGS
FROM 1975 TO 1978 ?

15 July 1987

Office of The Vice-President
of Democratic Kampuchea
in charge of Foreign Affairs

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PREFACE

Many friends, scholars, journalists and others have expressed their wishes to have a better understanding on a number of events which have taken place in Kampuchea. They have written us letters or orally asked us for clarifications.

We have successively replied to them but we have not yet the occasion to present in detail those events in their right perspectives.

We would like, therefore, to present for the consideration of our friends and fair-minded people, a brief exposé on "WHAT ARE THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE ABOUT THE ACCUSATIONS AGAINST DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA OF MASS KILLINGS FROM 1975 TO 1978 ? "

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CENSUS OF THE POPULATION
UNDER DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA
FROM 1975 TO 1978

1. Our policy had been to promote fast population growth so as to be able to ensure the country's defence and to speed up the national reconstruction.

We know all along even before 1975 that the threat for Kampuchea comes from the East, Vietnam.

We were fully aware of the weak points of our country who, with a territory of 181,000 square Kilometres and more than two million hectares of arable lands, had not enough population. This weak point would affect the national reconstruction and especially the national defence in the face of rapacious enemy from the East who were waiting for opportune occasion to swallow up Kampuchea.

2. Population growth from 1976 to mid-1978

(1)- On the basis of our policy and plan to ensure fast population growth, we spent a great deal of efforts to solve and improve the living standards of the Kampuchean people in all necessary fields, mainly

those of the peasants who normally suffered the highest death rate particularly infant death rate because of the "rural impoverishment". The peasants in general and those in remote areas in particular who used to suffer the heavy burden of debt passed down from generations to generations and the rice shortage from 3 to 4 months each year, found themselves in 1975 relieved of the debt and tax burden and of usury. In addition, they had lands and water to produce rice. Thus, their life began to improve for all of them had enough rice to eat and clothes. Their health was consequently improving since 1976.

As a matter of fact, the life of quite a good number of the poor people had changed for the better since 1973 in the vast liberated zones.

(2)- We also took care to eradicate malaria throughout the country from the cities to the remotest areas of the country. At the end of 1977, malaria was eradicated from 80 to 90 per cent. As a result, deaths caused by malaria were reduced to 10 to 20 per cent.

At the same time, hygienic measures had been taken in each and every cooperative such as drinking of boiled water, construction of sanitation stations, keeping the villages clean and baby and child care.

(3)- We also speeded up the training of primary health care people especially those in charge of common diseases which occur in the countryside such as high fever, diarrhoea, skin diseases, as well as the training of midwives in the cooperatives.

Concurrently, we encouraged production of traditional medicines and modern pharmaceutical medicines. And we imported medicines worth of US 10 million dollars each years.

Through such policy and measures, we were able to significantly reduce death rate especially infant death rate, and to increase birth rate.

During the three-year period of 1976-1978, the population increased by 640,000. Our mid-1978 census indicated that Kampuchea had 8.4 million inhabitants.

We were able to thoroughly conduct this census in a relatively easy way because all the population live in cooperatives and in various units such as in the factories, the work places, the army, in the Ministries or departments. First, each cooperative or unit conducted its census and sent it to the provincial authorities who made the counts of the population of the province. The central authorities in Phnom Penh made the final count of the population.

Thus, our policy was not a mere paper work. From 1976 to 1978 our population had significantly increased.

Our policy to ensure high growth rate of the population stems from our patriotic ideals. If we have made and continue to make sacrifices since the period prior to 1970-1975, it is because we have been devoting ourselves to the cause and the right of the whole people of Kampuchea to live in honour, dignity and prosperity. That is why we have enjoyed and continue to enjoy the people's support without which our long struggle could not have succeeded.

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3. The number of people who died from various factors during the 1975-1978 rule of Democratic Kampuchea

(1)- The number of people who died from illness and food shortage

According to preliminary but careful assessments, the number of people who died from illness and food shortage during the three-year period throughout the country amounted to more than 20,000 of which the majority were people evacuated from the cities who were not used to hardship of the countryside.

The food shortage had been mainly caused by the Vietnamese agents infiltrated in our State organs who carried out activities of sabotage especially to destroy medicines and other materials and stole tens of thousand tons of rice each year from 1975 to 1978 and sent them to Vietnam through Smach, Krek (Kompong Cham province) and Bavet (Svay Rieng province).

It is to be recalled that Vietnam, with its strategy to annex Laos and Kampuchea, has done its utmost to implement its Indochina Federation strategy. But in Kampuchea, it has successively failed. Thus, after the liberation of Kampuchea in 1975, the Vietnamese began to implement its plan to overthrow Democratic Kampuchea by combining the attacks at the border with the subversive and sabotage activities inside Kampuchea. The sabotages and the sending of stolen rice to Vietnam by their agents in Kampuchea were

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part of the plan to overthrow Democratic Kampuchea from within. They were also criminal acts in order to feed the Vietnamese who were running short of food.

(2)- The number of people who died from Vietnam's agents in violation of the State policy

As a result of such criminal activities of Vietnam's agents, 10,000 people died. Vietnam and their agents had the plan to kill as many as possible but they could not implement their plan at will because the overwhelming majority of our cadres were dedicated people who enjoyed the support of the people.

(3)- The number of people who died from our mistakes

The overwhelming majority of our cadres wholeheartedly worked in the interests of the nation and people of Kampuchea but lacked the experiences in running the State affairs. The situation got all the more confuse of the subversive activities of Vietnam's agents. Thus, in our measures to arrest and punish those Vietnam's agents, we committed mistakes that affected the lives of minor offenders or innocent civilians. From 1975 to 1978, over 3,000 people died in this category.

As we were able to get rid of Vietnam's agents infiltrated in our State organs, we were also able to progressively prevent such mistakes.

Besides, we spared no efforts to educate our cadres and together with them drew lessons of the past. As a result, our mistakes were drastically reduced.

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We firmly believed that we had the possibility and the capacity to solve properly our mistakes in 1980 (at the end of our four-year plan, 1977-1980) if the Vietnamese had not launched their large-scale aggression against and occupation of Democratic Kampuchea on 25 December 1978.

It should be recalled that they had carried out provocative acts of aggression along the border for one year before their invasion at the end of 1978 and the beginning of 1979.

Besides, we had also a lenient policy towards the enemy of the nation and people. And we implemented it as follows :

- (i)- To educate those whom we had concrete evidences that they were enemy's agents;
- (ii)- To relieve them of their duties and send them to work in cooperatives or State farms like ordinary people so that they could educate themselves.

Only a small number of Vietnam's agents who continued to systematically carry out activities to overthrow Democratic Kampuchea were arrested, imprisoned and sentenced.

Those who were imprisoned were mostly the organizers of the 6 coups d'etat and the chief traitors who in connivance with the Vietnamese tried to take control of the Eastern Zone, some members of Zone Committees, Provincial Committees and District Committees and some division commanders or Departments Chiefs.

In the whole country, from 1975 to 1978, there were 8,000. As for those who worked with those traitors either as guards or associates, they were sent to work in State

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farms or cooperatives like ordinary citizens.

(4)- People who died from the struggle against the traitors

The number of people who died from the struggle against the enemy especially in June 1978 was only in dozens.

We were able to keep this figure low because when we took measures to arrest the traitors, we did not send whole army units to arrest the entire centres or departments or zone and provincial headquarters. We arrested one or two at a time. There was no pitched-battle. We could have done so thanks to the support of the population and because we relied mainly on them in our measures to hold in check the activities of the traitors.

For example: When we arrested So Phim, the chief of coup d'etat and so-called chairman of the "National Salvation Front" set up by the Vietnamese in Eastern Zone, we only arrested 8 members of Eastern Zone Committee and 5 division commanders. The majority of cadres in the Zone were loyal to Democratic Kampuchea including the Deputy Secretary of the Eastern Zone Committee. As he was isolated, So Phim fled by car. He tried to impress on people in many places but people did not listen to him. He even tried to be in touch with the Deputy Secretary who categorically refused to see him. Thus, So Phim fled to Prek Po. We were able to know of his whereabouts because of the population in the cooperatives. We used three helicopters to drop leaflets from Prek Tamak to Chhlong denouncing his traitorous activities.

At the end, So Phim committed suicide. Thus there was no fighting between the "rebellion forces" and our

units. The traitors did not have significant forces because the population did not support them.

(5)- People who fled the country

From 1975 to 1978, a number of people evacuated from Phnom Penh were not happy to live in the countryside, in the cooperatives and fled the country to seek refuge abroad. There was altogether over 20,000.

We knew that there were people from cities who were not happy with the life in the cooperatives. Even for these people, we also had a policy not to reject them but to win them over to our side :

- (i)- We did our best to explain to them our policy on national defence and construction.

Through our efforts to explain to them and through concrete results of our efforts in national construction such as dams, reservoirs, irrigation canals, ricefield ditches, two-crop ricefields and increased rice crops as well as factories, in addition to our social and health care policies for the whole people, those people gradually understood our policy on national defence and construction. They were progressively sympathized with this policy and its results as well.

- (ii)- At the same time we had also a policy to permit professional activities outside the cooperative framework. We began to have a number of intellectuals work in the ministries or government Departments, especially to the technical schools in Phnom Penh and in major provincial cities and in laboratories of factories. Three years was so short a time for us to implement much of this new political orientation.

First and foremost we had to ensure that the whole people of Kampuchea had enough to eat. In this, we laid emphasis on the poor peasants who numbered 65 to 70 per cent of the whole population and who used to have 7 to 8 months food shortage each year. We did so in order to be able to mobilize and unite the majority if not all the national forces for national defence and construction. That is to have popular forces within the Kampuchean nation for :

- national defence, and
- national construction: on the basis of agriculture, Kampuchea would have enough food supplies, agricultural produce to export and would expand gradually industry.

We did so in order to have equilibrium within the society in terms of popular forces, national defence and construction.

CONCLUDING REMARKS ON THE DEMOCRATIC
KAMPUCHEA RULE FROM 1975 TO 1978

In the management of the State affairs we did good thing and also committed mistakes. With high sense of responsibility towards the nation and people of Kampuchea, we have already come to the conclusion that the good outweighed the mistakes. We have a clear conscience. We paid great attention to the people's living conditions and we solved these problems one after another.

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We did our best to ensure the survival of our nation and people. We have a clear conscience because we have been fully aware that during our three year rule, we were able to bring about a great deal of gains for the people and nation of Kampuchea. As for the loss of lives of the Kampuchean people by any means during that period, it is still small in comparison with other countries in the world whether during big historical changes or peaceful time. Even though we had to face Vietnamese subversive activities in Kampuchea and their acts of aggression at the border, we always relied on the people to crush these subversive activities and to defend our country. There was neither vengeful acts nor pitched-battle.

We were able to do so because of our confidence on the people and of their support and because we were fully in control of the situation through the people in various department and in the cooperatives. That is why when the Vietnamese launched large-scale war of aggression against Kampuchea by using several hundred thousand of troops at the end of 1978 and the beginning of 1979, we continued to have confidence on the people and remained confident that we would be able to carry out the national resistance against the Vietnamese aggressors. All this had been rooted in our confidence on the whole people of Kampuchea especially the peasants.

Whenever we learned that people died from the subversive activities of the enemy infiltrated in our ranks or from the mistakes of our cadres who were loyal to the nation and people, we worried very much. There were peasants as well as intellectuals who died as a result of such activities of the enemy. Even some children or relatives of the leadership or cadres were equally victim of such activities of the enemy who invented all kinds of pretexts.

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At the first one to two years, we could not oversee everything because it was a tremendous burden upon us in the discharge of our responsibilities to run new power apparatus throughout the country. The Vietnamese attacked us from the border and carried out sabotage and subversive activities inside Kampuchea. As for our legislative, executive and judiciary bodies, they were only at their early stage, they could not function effectively and efficiently at once. Even so, whenever we learned of the death of innocent people, we never failed to investigate and take appropriate measures. Therefore, the people continued to have confidence on us.

According to our own knowledge of world history, whenever there was big changes in each country, there were people who died in such events far more numerous than during the 1975-1978 period in Kampuchea. Such were the cases of the American Civil War, successive wars in Europe or in the past centuries, and the revolutions in various countries including Vietnam in this century. Even during Vietnam war in the 60s or 70s there were much more people who died than in Kampuchea.

At present, in South Africa, in other parts of the world the repressions are of incalculable bloody characters. The repressions by Soviet tanks against the peoples of Hungary and Czechoslovakia in the 50s and 60s were committed without any slightest hesitation by the foreign expansionists against the peoples they wanted to dominate. The present Vietnamese war of aggression against Kampuchea has unbound barbarity because the Vietnamese have already strategic objectives to eliminate the Kampuchean people.

To be fair, the number of people who died in Kampuchea from 1975 to 1978 is less than people who died by car accidents in some countries where each year 30,000 people or more died from road accidents.

Why have the Vietnamese and the Soviet Union and their supporters and some other propaganda apparatus tried hard to deceit the world about the mass killing of two to three million people in Kampuchea from 1975 to 1978 ?

This is not a new story in History. People have seen many times such gross distortions of facts. Whenever a big country wants to invade and occupy a small country, the former always resorts to such accusations against the latter with a view to mislead national and international public opinion through its propaganda apparatus.

Where is justice ?

The Vietnamese and Soviet Union and their allies and those who are their echo have accused Democratic Kampuchea of mass killing of two to three million people from 1975 to 1978. If so,

(1)- Why does Democratic Kampuchea have tens of thousand troops who are carrying out guerrilla activities throughout the country and enjoy the support of the people of Kampuchea in the nearly 9 years of national liberation struggle against the Vietnamese aggressors who are now driven into a total impasse and will meet their final defeat ? Was there any such event in History without the support of the people ?

(2)- Why did the Vietnamese claim a few years ago that the Kampuchean population were 7 million ? If there were two to three million people who died from 1975 to 1978, there must only be 4 to 5 million left. Was it not another Vietnamese deceitful propaganda ?

Actually, the overwhelming majority of the countries and peoples in the world have already been aware of the truth and have rendered justice. Any reasonable person could have understood this problem. We would like to express our deep gratitude to those who firmly side by justice.

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THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE
WHO DIED FROM THE VIETNAMESE WAR
OF AGGRESSION AND OCCUPATION IN KAMPUCHEA
FROM 1979 TO THE END OF 1980

1. The number of people who died in 1979

During the 1978-1979 dry season, and at the beginning of the 1979 rainy season, about 500,000 people died including 10,000 combatants of the Democratic Kampuchea Army.

The causes of the death were :

(1)- In their large-scale war of invasion and occupation of Kampuchea, the Vietnamese aggressors did not refrain from using all kinds of weapons to eliminate the national resistance in Kampuchea. For them, neither the Democratic Kampuchea Army or the innocent civilians did not matter, they killed, massacred, destroyed or razed whoever or whatever stand on their way.

For example, in Svay Rieng province, when the Vietnamese pushed through our defence lines, almost all the population in the border areas fled westward because they knew all along the true nature of the Vietnamese. They knew that the latter would not spare their lives.

A relatively small number of them fled Northward to the district of Kanh-Chreach, Kamchay-Mear (Prey Veng province) but the majority fled westward on Highway 1. It was the latter who were massively massacred because they were caught by the Vietnamese troops. The population of the districts of Kompong Trabek and Ba Phnom (Prey Veng province) also fled westward on the same Highway 1. Thus hundreds of thousands of people crowded together at Neak Luong ferry, unable to cross the river. In Neak Luong alone, many tens of thousands people were massacred. The Vietnamese arrived behind them, they shot and machine-gunned them and fired heavy artillery shells on them. Vietnamese amphibious tanks, rushing in the direction of Phnom Penh, mercilessly machine-gunned and crushed those fleeing innocent civilians on Highway 1. At Neak Luong, those tanks continued to crush the innocent civilians. The Vietnamese troops also machine-gunned those civilians who tried to swim across the Mekong river whose water became red with blood.

Another places where our people died in a great number were in Leach and the Cardamom ranges (Pursat province). People from the capital city of Phnom Penh fled to these areas. Our ranks and file, factory workers in Phnom Penh, and civil servants of various Ministries or Departments also fled to these areas. The population of Takeo, Kompot, Kompong Speu also fled to these areas. Thus hundreds of thousand people crowded together in Pursat, Leach, Bakan and Koh Kralah. The Vietnamese tanks machine-gunned and crushed those fleeing population on Highways 2, 3 and 4 when they were trying to cross Kompot, Takeo, South Kompong Speu, etc., and on Highway 5 from Phnom Penh to Pursat. And at Pursat, the Vietnamese continued to chase those people who were forced to flee in the direction of the Cardamom ranges on Road 56 from Pursat to Leach.

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Another Vietnamese prong (tanks and troops) that arrived in Battambang from Kompong Cham through Highway 6, continued their advance towards Pursat from the West. The population were thus crowded together in Leach. Here, they were massively massacred by the Vietnamese troops who did not stop there. They pursued their chase of the population who were trying to flee Westward across the Cardamom ranges such as on the Leach-Veal Veng and Leach-Sre Peang or Anlong Reap roads. Those who were able to reach the Metuk river, at the Thai border, were also caught by the Vietnamese who mercilessly massacred them such as on Metuk bank at the level of the Thai village of Khao Lan.

Hundred of thousand innocent civilians, men, women, children including babies and old age people, were massacred in Pursat, Leach and on the Cardamom ranges.

Those who were able to escape the Vietnamese massacre found themselves at a loss in the forests of the Cardamom ranges. Many of them died of starvation. Another groups of people from Takeo and Kompot were caught by the Vietnamese troops in Trapeang Andoeuk at the border between the districts of Chhouk (Kompot province) and Tram Kak (Takeo) were also massacred by the Vietnamese troops.

In Kompong Cham, Kompong Thom, Siemreap, Preah Vihear, there were also similar events.

In addition, the inhabitants of villages along Highway 6 from Kompong Cham to Kompong Thom and Siemreap were also massacred by the Vietnamese troops from their trucks.

(2)- During the 1978-1979 dry season and the 1979 rainy season, the Vietnamese aggressors plundered

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and destroyed all the crops and food supplies of the Kampuchean people :

- They plundered crops and sent them to Vietnam;
- They plundered food supplies for their troops in Kampuchea;
- They destroyed rice stocks, or paddy in the fields as well as other crops and trees in the villages. Their undeclared objectives were to eliminate all the sources of the national resistance. As a result, there was acute large-scale famine in Kampuchea.

Starting from July and August, the Kampuchean people began to die of starvation. The number of death from starvation reached the peak in September. Altogether, about 500,000 people died of starvation during the 1979 rainy season.

Thus, in 1979, about one million people died in Kampuchea either from the massacres by the Vietnamese troops or from the famine deliberately created by the aggressors.

2. The number of people who died in 1980

In 1980, people continued to die.

- (1)- They continued to die of starvation.

In the whole Kampuchea, there are more than 1,000 communes. Each commune has an average of 6 villages. Actually, each family lost at least one member, a husband or wife or a child. Thus, every day, in each commune, there were an average of 3 or 4 people who died of starvation. Therefore, every day throughout the country, 3,000 to 4,000 people died of starvation. During the whole year

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1980, there were more than one million people who died of starvation.

(2)- There were also people who were massacred by the Vietnamese aggressors. People were arrested, imprisoned or tortured to death and girls and women were raped to death by the Vietnamese troops who also shot down villagers and children from the palm trees or coconut trees or killed our population at will, one or two or dozens at a time. Such barbaric criminal acts of the Vietnamese aggressors took place in every parts of Kampuchea. As a result, 4,000 to 5,000 people died each month, in those manners in the hands of the Vietnamese troops.

(3)- There were also people who died from toxic chemicals used by the Vietnamese aggressors either by dropping from aircrafts or by firing artillery shells containing toxic gas or by putting those toxic chemicals in water sources such as streams, lakes, ponds, wells.

- (4)- Tens of thousand people were also wounded and permanently mutilated by the war.

Thus, during the whole year 1980, about 1.5 million people died, victims of the Vietnamese aggressors.

During the two-year period of 1979 and 1980, more than 2.5 million people died from the Vietnamese war of aggression in Kampuchea.

At present, this war continues unabated. The Kampuchean people continued to bear the sorrow and sufferings caused by this war. In addition to the above-cited criminal

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acts the Kampuchean people have been facing two criminal schemes laid down by the aggressors in their desperate attempts to extricate themselves from their bogged down situation in Kampuchea.

(i)- They forcibly enlist new recruits among the Kampuchean people's sons so as to use them as their auxilliary forces and send them to die at their places;

(ii)- Since 1985, they have rounded up the Kampuchean population and sent them to forced labour according to their "K.5" scheme which has two following objectives:

a/- To forcibly enlist the Kampuchean population to serve their war of aggression as their auxilliary forces;

b/- Their "K.5" scheme is a means to massacre the Kampuchean people and is part and parcel of their strategy to eliminate the Kampuchean people and replace them by the Vietnamese settlers.

However, the people of Kampuchea have overcome this extremely difficult period never known in their history and have stepped forward in their national liberation struggle. They have thus gradually changed the situation in their favour and have been able to defend themselves. Since 1983, our army were dispatched to the heartland of Kampuchea, they have been carrying out activities in the villages throughout the country. They have been able to protect the lives of the Kampuchean population. The Vietnamese aggressors can no longer commit their crimes at will.

Before, they prevented our people from carrying out production activities or looted all the crops of our population. Now, with the protection of our army, the population have been in a better position to produce food supplies. Before, the Vietnamese encircled the villages and forcibly enlisted the Kampuchean male population into their army. Now they can no longer do so at will.

The same goes for their round-up of the population to be sent to "K.5" forced labour.

To sum up, at present the Vietnamese ability to rely on the village administrative committee members, to enlist Khmer soldiers to plunder rice from the villagers, and to round-up the population for their "K.5" forced labour have been reduced by 30 to 40 per cent.

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THE NUMBER OF KAMPUCHEANS WHO
FLED THE WAR IN KAMPUCHEA
SINCE 1970

1. During the five-year war (1970-1975)

During the five-year war (1970-1975) there were Kampucheans who fled the country to seek refuge abroad.

(1)- There were big and medium-size business people took the money to invest abroad as well as others who fled the war.

In this category, there were many thousands.

(2)- People who fled to South Vietnam

Those people who fled to South Vietnam did not do so during the 1975-1978 Democratic Kampuchea rule. They did from 1972 to 1975. Most of them were soldiers and their families or relatives, and civil servants. There were about 60,000 to 70,000.

After the 1975 liberation, there were a great number of those people who returned to their homeland during the Democratic Kampuchea rule. They returned home:

a/- A number of them came back to stay with their families or relatives in the native villages;

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b/- At the end of 1975, the government of Democratic Kampuchea negotiated their voluntary repatriation with the Vietnamese authorities. From 1975 to 1978, more than 40,000 of Kampucheans returned home from South Vietnam.

(3)- People who fled to Thailand

During the five-year war, there were also people who fled to Thailand but their number was not high. They were mostly people living in the border areas.

To sum up, during the five-year war (1970-1975) there were about 100,000 people who fled the country to seek refuge abroad.

2. During the three-year period (1975-1978) of Democratic Kampuchea rule

During the three-year period of Democratic Kampuchea rule, there were also people who fled the country:

- A number of them sought refuge in Thailand;
- Most of them sought refuge in France, the US, and other countries. Altogether, there were about 25,000 people. However, during the same period, there were also many thousands of Kampuchean nationals who returned to Kampuchea from abroad. This does not include those who returned from South Vietnam.

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3. Since the Vietnamese invasion and occupation of Kampuchea in 1979

Since the Vietnamese invasion and occupation of Kampuchea in 1979, there were more than 400,000 people who fled the country and sought refuge abroad.

To sum up :

- (1)- During the five-year war (1970-1975) there were about 100,000 people who fled the country including the 40,000 who fled to South Vietnam and returned home after 1975;
- (2)- During the three-year rule of Democratic Kampuchea (1975-1978), there were more than 25,000 people who fled the country;
- (3)- Since the Vietnamese invasion and occupation of Kampuchea, there were more than 400,000 people who sought refuge abroad.

CONCLUDING REMARKS:

Who are the criminals ?

Democratic Kampuchea who share weal and woe with the people in the struggle against the Vietnamese enemy or the Vietnamese aggressors ?

The realities and the above-cited figures clearly give a response to this question. The Vietnamese aggressors have been the criminals who have committed genocidal crimes

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against the people of Kampuchea and sown immeasurable sorrows and sufferings to them. The figure of people who fled the Vietnamese war of aggression and occupation in Kampuchea amply indicates the magnitude of the sufferings and destructions caused to the people and nation of Kampuchea. Among the more than 400,000 people who fled Vietnam's occupation, there were also peasant people. Normally, the Kampuchean peasants are very attached to their villages and lands. They very rarely abandon their villages and lands which have been passed down to them from generation to generation. Even trips to other places inside Kampuchea are for them not an ordinary events. Now, they have been compelled to seek refuge abroad, in very crowded refugee camps or in France, the US, Canada, Australia, etc. whom they never heard of and whose language they did not know. This because they could not support the repressions and other crimes of the Vietnamese aggressors. Had they not left, they would have died.

All these realities clearly testify who the criminals are : Democratic Kampuchea who shares weal and woe with the people in the present struggle against the Vietnamese aggressors or the latter themselves !

We would like to raise this question to those who are sincere with the reality and who have the goodwill to understand the reality. History will gradually reveal such a reality. The attempts of the Vietnamese aggressors and their supporters to fake history will never pass.

In addition to those 400,000 people who fled the country, there have been many more hundreds of thousand people who are the "internal displaced persons" or "internal

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refugees". They wander from one place to another one district to another and from one province to another or to come to live at the border areas waiting to cross to Thailand so as to fled the Vietnamese iron fists. Those Kampuchean people have not hesitated to go through minefield areas or to flee ahead of the Vietnamese troops because they never accept to live under the Vietnamese occupation.

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- IV -

WHAT ARE THE REALITIES
ABOUT THE ACCUSATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHT VIOLATIONS
BY DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA
INSIDE KAMPUCHEA AND IN THE BORDER
REFUGEE CAMPS

1. Inside Kampuchea

Our army have been operating throughout the country. through these activities we have been able to drive the Vietnamese aggressors into a total impasse in Kampuchea. The Vietnamese will meet their final defeat. Why have our army been able to do so ? After the Vietnamese aggressors broke our defence line in 1978 and our army had to retreat, we had only about 20,000 combatants left. Their casualties were not high but they were disintegrated and were compelled to go back to their native villages and lead ordinary life of the villagers. With only an army 20,000 strong, we have been able to wage successful struggle against the Vietnamese aggressors because of the support of the people of Kampuchea. Without that support, we would have nothing to eat, no territory to take refuge, because the Vietnamese forcibly set up administrative apparatus in all villages and at other levels up to the capital city of Phnom Penh. Not only the people but also the forcibly enlisted Khmer soldiers, self-defence guards and village administrative committee members in their majority also support us. They

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have done so, because we have a correct policy towards them, they have seen that we are patriots and are devoting ourselves to the struggle against the Vietnamese aggressors to liberate the nation and people and themselves. However this does not mean that we have not committed mistakes. We have enjoyed their support because as a whole we have correctly implemented our policy. In the present circumstances, whoever do harm to the people is tantamount to pushing them into the hands of the Vietnamese. The same thing applies to the Vietnamese, if they do harm to the people, they will certainly push them into the hands of the national resistance-forces. Brief, everybody are now locked in "the tiger cage". Whoever do harm to the people will be the prey of the tiger. Thus, in such circumstances, to survive, it is imperative :

- (i)- To have a correct policy towards the people;
- (ii)- To do no harm to the people so as to be able to live with them.

2. In the camps

As for our refugee camps inside Thailand territory, we would like to invite those fair-minded people to see by themselves. We fully respect the sovereignty of the Kingdom of Thailand. If we were not to respect it this would have meant that we consider Thailand and the Thai people as our enemy. This would have meant that we commit suicide and put to death our nation and people.

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In our struggle against the Vietnamese aggressors to liberate our nation and people, we have enjoyed the support of friendly countries such as Thailand. We can never and will never do naything that would violate the sovereignty of the Kingdom of Thailand. We have educated this matter to our ranks and file. We told them that whoever violate Thailand sovereignty or whoever do harm to the Thai people are actually acting against their nation and people or siding with the Vietnamese to eliminate their own nation. And whenever we learned that one or two people from our ranks and file who violate Thailand sovereignty, we have never failed to educate them and to apologize to the Thai people and the Royal Thai Government.

As for the population in the camps, those fair-minded people who visited them said that they were well organized in comarison to what they had seen in the world.

3. What policy are we going to implemen in the future ?

To answer this question, we would like our friends to consider the situation of Kampuchea in the future.

Past and present experiences have taught us that for a small Kampuchea, like so many other third world countries, to remain independent is extremely difficult due to the fact that nowadays any part of the world, - and there is no exception - become the subject of rivalry between the two global strategies. We are afraid that Kampuchea would become another "Lebanon". We are of the view that in the present complex geo-political context of South-East Asia and Asia-Pacific which will be all the pore complex, there is only one way out for Kampuchea.

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She must have her own national forces enough to defend herself in cooperation with her friends and a good many other forces in the world. Only in such a situation can she survive as an independent, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea. If not, she would be automatically swallowed up by Vietnam. Her geographic location makes it that she would be swallowed up by nobody else than Vietnam. She would not only lose her independence but would also completely disappear as a nation and people.

In such a situation, as patriots who have been struggling side by side with the nation and people of Kampuchea, and have devoted ourselves to the cause of the nation and people we will continue to abide by the great national union policy no matter how complex the situation is. We believe that the Kampuchean people understand and support this policy. Towards other political parties, we will continue also to implement that policy and we will do our utmost to unite with them within the national framework. That is why we have clearly made known that in the future we will abide by the liberal democratic regime as contained in the 8-point peace proposal of the CGDK. In such a multi-partite regime, it is only natural that some parties could find a common political platform to set up a coalition or an alliance. But on the other hand, it would also be possible that some parties could not come to term with each other. There would also be a possibility of parties having hostile policies against each other. Nevertheless, we will continue unswervingly to abide by our great national union policy. We have implemented it better and better among the Kampuchean people inside Kampuchea. We have also adopted the following policies vis-à-vis the Kampuchean nationals living abroad :

First, We have made known our Great National Union Front policy since December 1979;

Second, We dissolved the Communist Party of Kampuchea in December 1981;

Third, We have clarified the political stance of Democratic Kampuchea on the 7 most outstanding issues on 6 July 1985;

Fourth, We have clearly indicated that the CGDK's 8-point peace proposal of 17 March 1986 will be

the basis of our future national Charter.

Fifth, We have also expressed our national defence policy in a memorandum of 8 March 1987.

We have made known our afore-cited policies so that our friends and the world community at large as well as the Kampuchean nationals living abroad would be able to understand and monitor our implementation of those policies. Inside Kampuchea, the people understand better and better our policies through our deeds.

The situation in Kampuchea, at present and in the future, like in a good many Third World countries, is plagued with complex issues. We should overcome all those complex issues in the implementation of the great national union policy in order to have enough forces for the present national liberation struggle and for the national defence in the future as well.

As we firmly stand on the basis of the policy of great national union and of having good relations with all countries in the world, we will continue to endure regardless of wind-strokes from any direction, because now the Vietnamese continue to occupy Kampuchea and even after their withdrawal they will be permanently at our doorstep waiting for favourable opportunity to swallow up Kampuchea. We have to endure in order to be able to mobilize the forces of our nation and people and to enjoy the international support to an independent, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea.

We are fully aware that "the death of our nation would also spell the death of our people and race by the Vietnamese hand, as well as the death of ourselves, our own families or relatives".

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