Party Statutes

Communist Party of Kampuchea

1976
Among ruling parties of the communist world, the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK) led by Pol Pot occupies a disputed and tenuous position. It came to power in 1975 after a violent civil war, promoted radical social reforms costing the lives of an estimated one million of Kampuchea’s eight million people, and engaged in a diplomatic and military confrontation with the neighboring communist state and party in Vietnam. After the Vietnamese occupied the country in 1979, the CPK, its army of 30,000, and its Democratic Kampuchean government took refuge in frontier base areas from which they continue to oppose the Vietnamese sponsored government and party led by Heng Samrin.

The CPK traces its origins to a congress of socialists held in 1960. In reality, the origins of Kampuchean communism and of the conflict between the CPK and the Vietnamese Communist Party must be traced to 1930 when the Comintern decided to sponsor only one communist party for the French colonial federation of Indochina (now Laos, Kampuchea, and Vietnam). For a variety of political and demographic reasons, the resulting Indochinese Communist Party (ICP) was a primarily Vietnamese organization. As nationalist movements gathered momentum, this eventually restricted the effectiveness of the Party both inside Vietnam and outside of it. The ICP was therefore divided, in 1951, into national sections: the Lao Independence Front, the Khmer People’s Revolutionary Party (KPRP), and the Workers’ Party of Vietnam (WPV). Of these, only the Vietnamese Party was internally organized or internationally recognized as a communist party. It assumed a tutelary, directing role over the smaller, proto-communist nationalist parties. This close connection with Vietnamese communism and with Vietnamese nationalism was a plague on the KPRP, in particular, giving rise to internal disputes and defections and ultimately rendering the party ineffective in national politics.

The Congress in 1960 represented a new start. With Vietnamese support and approval, the faltering KPRP was upgraded and reorganized as a separate national communist party. It was reportedly renamed the Workers’ Party of Kampuchea (WPK).1 Its first Secretary, Tou Samouth, was a Vietnamese-trained KPRP veteran. One of the Deputy Secretaries, a French-educated intellectual named Saloth Sar (Pol Pot), was a known “Titoist”. The political line of the new WPK nevertheless reflected continuity with the past. In the view of the

founding Party Congress, the anti-imperialist struggle continued to be the most important task of the Party. In practice, this meant lending support to the Vietnamese revolutionaries in their vanguard struggle against the Americans, mobilizing Kampuchean national opinion against the US presence in Kampuchea and South-East Asia, and delaying class or armed struggles. Due to the systematic suppression of communist activities by the Sihanouk regime, the Party adopted clandestine, conspiratorial forms of struggle. Its very existence was a secret revealed internationally only in 1977.

From the fragments of its history which have become known since that time, it is clear the Party grew slowly but steadily in the 1960s and in tandem with the decline of the Sihanouk regime. Pol Pot became Secretary in 1963 following the assassination of Tou Samouth by Sihanouk's security forces. Under his leadership, increasing emphasis was placed on political and partisan activity in rural areas. As Sihanouk forced more and more cadres and progressives out of the towns and as the rural market economy contracted, the Party edged closer to civil war. Its organizational momentum and its sense of independence from events in Vietnam led it to change its name, in 1966, to the Communist Party of Kampuchea and to adopt a political line of independence and self-reliance in the promotion and leadership of the Kampuchean revolution.

The WPV forcefully disagreed with the new "CPK" political line and its desire to launch armed struggle against the Sihanouk regime. Perceiving all of former Indochina as one strategic theater, the WPV interpreted development in Kampuchea in the light of the geopolitical situation created in 1965 by the US bombing of North Vietnam and its land "invasion" of the South. Prince Sihanouk had simultaneously severed diplomatic relations with the US, thereby preventing the US from securing yet another assault base on Kampuchean soil. Moreover, he extended rights of transit and sanctuary to Vietnamese liberation forces. Thus, in the perspective of the WPV it was neither "correct" nor fraternal for the CPK to attempt to overthrow Sihanouk's government or to provoke a change in his foreign policy. In support of the Vietnamese, the USSR, China, and Eastern European states extended political and material support to the near bankrupt Kampuchean government. Thus, and problematically for the CPK, as revolutionary conditions emerged, fraternal parties urged it to delay armed struggle. In spite of this opposition and with only 2,000-3,000 poorly armed guerillas, the CPK launched its armed struggle in 1968.

A right-wing coup against Prince Sihanouk followed by an American-South Vietnamese invasion of the country in 1970 permitted the Party to secure international socialist support and to become an important national force. It organized a national united front with the exiled Sihanouk and began to raise a national army with generous Chinese and Vietnamese aid. But at its Third Party Congress in September 1971, the CPK firmly rejected Vietnamese proposals for a joint Khmer-Vietnamese military command and mixed combat units. It feared a close alliance with the Vietnamese would limit the capacity of the
front to mobilize non-communist, anti-imperialist forces as in the days of the KPRP. It also feared that Vietnam might employ its vastly superior military force to subordinate the Kampuchean revolution to the requirements of Vietnamese foreign policy. The Vietnamese, fearing the CPK line of independence and self-reliance would lead to defeat on the Kampuchean front, briefly considered deposing Pol Pot. The CPK, in turn, began purging and demoting cadres who had been trained by the Vietnamese.

In an effort to marshal the resources required to win the war, the CPK began collectivizing agriculture in the liberated zone in 1973. The redistribution of wealth and power in favor of the poor and lower-middle peasantry gave peasants positive political incentives to join the revolution in spite of determined US military support for the Lon Nol regime. Enlarging the army, the revolutionary administration, and the Party in accordance with this class line also served to isolate or to neutralize Sihanoukists, "feudalists", and bourgeois elements in the national united front. The radicalizing effect of rapid wartime recruitment of peasant revolutionaries was clearly in evidence in the latter stages of the war when Phnom Penh and other towns were forcibly evacuated. Internal Party documents characterized this as part of the continuing process of "dissolving" and "destroying" remnants of the old ruling classes. Kampuchean society was thereafter officially judged to be "classless". The Party was ill-prepared, however, to direct the peasant zeal which it had unleashed. At the time of its victory, it had no political line or program for the transition to socialism.

Belatedly, the CPK adopted a "socialist revolution" line at its Fourth Congress in January 1976. The building of socialism, in its view, entailed a struggle between "collectivist" and "individualist" property. It was based on a "class" struggle of "proletarians" against the remaining traces of the ideology, organizational life, and cultural forms of the defeated "capitalist and other oppressor classes". The forced enrollment of the entire population into collectivist units known as "cooperatives", and the abolition of market exchange, family labor and the currency of exchange flowed from an illusive vision of collective harmony, power, and wealth. The vision faded rapidly as hunger, widespread exhaustion, epidemic disease, death, and production failures took their heavy toll. Years of secret, conspiratorial practice led the Party leadership to suspect the loyalty, capacity, and opportunism of its cadres in these failures. In far-reaching purges in 1977-1978, many were accused of conspiring secretly with "enemies" inside or outside of the Party or country. Several thousands of cadres were secretly executed as "traitors", "Enemy" elements within the society, primarily former intellectuals or merchants, were also singled out for execution.

The centrifugal effects of radical policies, the use of violence to resolve internal Party disputes, general economic setbacks, and renewed radical attempts to promote the "socialist revolution" contributed to the Party's inability to resolve comparatively minor border disputes with the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Concurrent postwar difficulties in Vietnam, blamed partly on the US
for imposing a trade embargo and increasingly on China for reducing and finally terminating its economic aid, had fostered a sense of strategic isolation and vulnerability in that country. The VCP desired political, economic, and military reassurances from the CPK. When these were not forthcoming, it suspected the CPK of being an agency of the Chinese Party. VCP demands for reassurances served to convince the CPK of its desires to create a new “Indo-China Federation”. Military clashes on the border developed into open warfare as negotiations between the two states failed. In the wake of its total military occupation of Kampuchea in early 1979, the Vietnamese installed the Heng Samrin government in Phnom Penh. The existence of a new Kampuchean People’s Revolutionary Party (KPRP) was announced in 1981. The statute of this party, which had 700 members in 1983, has not been published.

The following text is the CPK Statute agreed in January 1976. Its “socialist revolution” line was replaced in 1979 by a renewed struggle for national liberation and independence. To facilitate the formation of a coalition of national forces, the CPK also took the remarkable step of publicly announcing its dissolution in 1981. This cleared the way for an alliance with Prince Sihanouk and the anti-communist Khmer People’s National Liberation Front. Because secret work has always been the principal form of struggle in the CPK, even after it assumed power, the announcement of its dissolution is widely regarded with scepticism. Revised Party rules, if agreed at an unknown secret Party Congress, have not yet come to light.
1. See the intelligence report, “Organisation et développement des infrastructures communistes locales”, Phnom Penh, Deuxième Bureau, FANK, Etat-Major Général, May 1972, p. 1. The taking of this name and Vietnamese support of this Congress are not acknowledged in the official revisionist histories of the CPK.

2. Little is known of the work of the first Congress but Nuon Chea, Deputy Secretary of the CPK, acknowledged the primacy of the anti-imperialist struggle in discussions of the Party’s history with Danish journalists visiting Democratic Kampuchea in 1978. Interview of Laura Summers with Peter Bischoff, Copenhagen, 28-29 November 1981.

3. This was revealed in 1978 by Hoang Tung, a spokesman for the Vietnamese Communist Party Central Committee. See the essay by Gareth Porter in the collection edited by D. W. P. Elliott (1981) at page 92.

4. This was acknowledged by Nuon Chea in 1978. See Note 2.

5. The dissolution of the Party was reportedly decided at an enlarged Central Committee meeting held in September 1981. The texts of the official Party communiques are reported in Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Asia & Pacific Area, Vol.IV No.235 (7 December 1981), pp.H7-H11.
THE STATUTE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KAMPUCHEA

Approved by the IV (1976) Party Congress.

The Fundamental Principles and Political Standpoints of the Party in the New Era of Socialist Revolution and in the Building of Socialism

1) Our revolutionary Party is named the “Communist Party of Kampuchea”.

2) The Communist Party of Kampuchea is a Party of the working class. After having led the People’s National Democratic Revolution to the total and decisive victory of 17 April 1975, the Party continues now to have an absolute monopoly of leadership in all domains of the Socialist Revolution and in the building of socialism.

The Party, in its true nature, is the supreme organ of the working class of Kampuchea, the most persevering and courageous vanguard army, the high command which directs all revolutionary activities while retaining close ties with the masses. In view of this fact, the members of the Communist Party of Kampuchea are workers and peasants of extremely high political consciousness, indomitable vanguard elements who set the example for others.

The Communist Party of Kampuchea represents the interests of the working class and of the peasantry and those of the entire nation of Kampuchea.

3) The new strategic standpoint of the Communist Party of Kampuchea in the current era is as follows: After having led the People’s National Democratic Revolution to total and decisive victory and having taken an important step in the Socialist Revolution, it is now the duty of the Party to continue the Socialist Revolution and the building of socialism until they are fully realized, thereby advancing steadily towards communism in Kampuchea in the future.

Within this strategic perspective, the Communist Party of Kampuchea must strongly defend the achievements of the Revolution and strive to build the country correctly.

4) The Party takes Marxism-Leninism as the foundation for its world outlook and as a guide in its every action, employing this doctrine of Marxism-Leninism in a flexible manner conforming to the specific conditions of Kampuchea, the principle of unifying theory and practice, and the standpoint of dialectical and historical materialism.

Translated by Ong Thong Hoeung and Laura J. Summers.
The Party forcefully, correctly upholds the proletarian worldview and life-view and struggles uncompromisingly against the non-proletarian, anti-revolutionary worldview and life-view of the petty bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie, feudalism, imperialism and all reactionaries. In accordance with this standpoint, the Communist Party of Kampuchea struggles uncompromisingly against idealism, empiricism, dogmatism, and revisionism.

5) The Communist Party of Kampuchea adopts as its own the outlook of the masses and the mass line. The Party has confidence in the masses. In an unswerving fashion, it regards “To Serve the Masses Unconditionally” as the fundamental guideline for its every action. It is the duty of every Party member to maintain very close ties with the masses. In this new strategic era of the revolution, it is the duty of the Party to continue to work with the great revolutionary movements of the worker-peasant masses in unions, the cooperatives, and the revolutionary army in defending and building Democratic Kampuchea until the final victory of the Socialist Revolution and the building of socialism and while advancing steadily towards communism in Kampuchea in the future.

In accordance with this standpoint, the Party is resolutely opposed to the maladies: individualism, authoritarianism, militarism, careerism, bureaucratism. Alongside these, the Party is also opposed to the attitude which only favors following the masses.

6) The Communist Party of Kampuchea is organized according to the principles of democratic centralism. The Party respects and systematically practices democratic centralism. It has a strict and indivisible discipline for each person takes it upon himself to encourage the combative spirit of the Party member thereby safeguarding the solidarity and unity of the Party in every domain: the political, ideological, and organizational. The Party wages a vigorous struggle against all acts of indiscipline whatever they might be, whether political, ideological, or organizational, and however they manifest themselves whether in the form of egoism, liberalism, sectarianism, or factionalism. For all of these acts sap the unity and solidarity of the Party. The Party wages a determined struggle against the formation of factions and against fractional activities which split the Party.

It is imperative for the Party to maintain its revolutionary vigilance in order to turn aside all activities and manoeuvres of any sort — direct or indirect, open or secret — intended to undermine it. It is the duty of all Party organizations, all Party members to uphold high ethical standards and to remain politically, ideologically, and organizationally clean. Party members should continue to shape their revolutionary life histories in a clear-cut, proper, straightforward, and open manner.

7) The Communist Party of Kampuchea adopts criticism and self-criticism as a means of daily struggle and construction so as to be able to eliminate or correct its shortcomings and mistakes and to usher forth and enlarge upon its strong points, thereby ensuring its continuous development.

8) The Communist Party of Kampuchea adopts the standpoint of indepen-
dence, self-reliance, and control of the destiny of its own nation and Revo-

lution in all circumstances.

9) The Kampuchean Revolution led by the Communist Party of Kampuchea is an integral part of the international revolution. In view of this fact, the Communist Party of Kampuchea fulfills its national and international revolutionar
duties in absolute accordance with the principles of patriotism and prol
eetarian internationalism. The Communist Party of Kampuchea and the Kam-
puchean revolution are fully one with fraternal Marxist-Leninist communis
t parties of the world and with the world revolution on the basis of reciproc
t respect for independence and sovereignty and in opposition to narrow-minded
ationalism and big nation chauvinism.

The Communist Party of Kampuchea is fully conscious of its extremely oner-
ous but most valorous tasks. Each Party member should strive to expand and
to consolidate the solidarity and unity of the Party in all domains: the politi-
cal, ideological, and organizational, and in all circumstances. The Party member should always go to the fore, engage himself, forge himself, and ignite his combative
spirit in the flame of the great revolutionary movements of the worker-peasant
masses in the unions, the cooperatives, and the revolutionary army so as to
complete the Socialist Revolution and the building of socialism with the best
results in the shortest possible time and to advance steadily towards communism
in Kampuchea, our beloved country. In doing this, we will also make an important
contribution to the world revolutionary movement.

Chapter I. On Party Members

Article 1. Conditions for Joining the Party

Membership in the Communist Party of Kampuchea is open to anyone, male
or female, belonging to one of its organizational core groups (the Communist
Youth League or Pillars Organization) who is at least 18 years of age and who
fulfills the following two sets of conditions:

First Condition

(a) There must be a very active and unbroken record of militancy repeat-
edly tested in revolutionary work within the unions, the cooperatives, and
the revolutionary army conforming to the political line, the ideological stand-
point, and the organizational line of the Party.

(b) There must be a good social class background-composition, especially,
the standpoint of the working class acquired by the person concerned as a
result of participation in revolutionary movements directed by the Party.

(c) Private and political life must be ethically proper, with no enemy en-
tanglements.

(d) An investigation of the person will be conducted by the authorized body
in order to seek the opinion of the masses in the milieux in which the person lives
or works such as the cooperatives, unions, company units, or other units.
(e) There must be a clear and consistent life history with details of the person's native village or the milieux in which he lives and works.

Second Condition:
Before entry into the Party is permitted, several echelons of the Party organization must examine and collectively approve admission of the candidate. To wit:
(a) At the Base level: The following four echelons of the Party organization must examine and collectively approve:
- The Cell
- The Party Committee of the District
- The Party Committee of the Region
- The Party Committee of the Zone
(b) The Army:
1. Regular Forces of the Central Committee: The following five echelons of the Party organization must examine and collectively approve:
- The Company Cell
- The Party Committee of the Battalion
- The Party Committee of the Regiment
- The Party Committee of the Division
- The Party Committee of the High Command
2. Regular Forces of the Zone: The following five echelons of the Party organization must examine and collectively approve:
- The Company Cell
- The Party Committee of the Battalion
- The Party Committee of the Regiment
- The Party Committee of the Division
- The Party Committee of the Zone
3. Regional Forces: The following five echelons of the Party organization must examine and collectively approve:
- The Company Cell
- The Party Committee of the Battalion
- The Party Committee of the Regiment
- The Party Committee of the Region
- The Party Committee of the Zone

NOTE:
(a) For a certain number of military units in Zones or Regions not yet organized into large units, the following four echelons of the Party organization must examine and collectively approve:
- The Company Cell
- The Party Committee of the Battalion or the Party Committee of the District
- The Party Committee of the Regiment or the Party Committee of the Region
- The Party Committee of the Zone or the Organizational Committee representing the Party Central Committee
(b) For District or Sub-District militias, the following four echelons of the Party must examine and collectively approve:
- The Cell of the Militia Unit or of the Base Level
- The Party Committee of the District
- The Party Committee of the Region
- The Party Committee of the Zone

(c) For Offices and Ministries attached to the Central Committee of the Party, the following four echelons of the Party organization must deliberate upon and collectively approve membership:
- The Cell
- The Party Committee of the Office or Ministry
- The Control Commission of the Organizational Committee of the Central Committee
- The Organizational Committee of the Central Committee

For Offices or Services attached to Zones, Regions, and Base units, four echelons of the Party organization must examine and collectively approve membership, namely,
- The Cell
- The Party Committee of the Office or Service or the Party Committee of the Region
- The Control Commission of the Party Committee of the Zone
- The Party Committee of the Zone

(d) A body for the investigation and presentation of new candidates must be constituted by collective decision as follows:

1) Base Level (3 echelons)
- The Cell
- The Party Committee of the District
- The Party Committee of the Region

2) The Army (4 echelons)
- The Company Cell
- The Party Committee of the Battalion
- The Party Committee of the Regiment
- The Party Committee of the Division

3) Offices and Ministries: (3 echelons)
- The Cell
- The Party Committee of the Office or Ministry
- The Control Commission of the Organizational Committee of the Central Committee or the Party Committee of the Zone.

NOTE: Certain base or combat units, not yet organized according to the above scheme, must proceed with the primary cell in such a way as to leave three echelons of the Party organization for organizing a body for the investigation and the correct and collective presentation of candidates.

(e) The Probationary Period
There are two probationary periods. The length of probation depends upon
the quality of the candidate. This can be determined, firstly, by referring to the Ten Criteria of the Party; secondly, by an examination of the militant activity of the candidate in frontline or near frontline movements; and thirdly, by examination of the class composition of the person concerned.

**First Quality:** probationary period, 6 months

**Second Quality:** probationary period, 12 months

The examination of the candidate and the decision or judgement placing him in either the first or second category and thereby fixing the length of probation, must be taken collectively by all the Party bodies responsible for examining, judging, and approving new Party candidates (Base Level, Office, and Ministry = 4 bodies; Army = 5 bodies).

At the end of the probationary period of the candidate, all bodies responsible for admitting new members must review and collectively take decisions to certify the candidate as a new member of the Party (Base Level, Office, and Ministry = 4 bodies; Army = 5 bodies). It is only in this way that the status of full Party membership of the person concerned is legally conferred by the Party.

(f) Seniority in the Party is calculated from the moment a person is recognized as a legal member of the Party.

**Article 2. On the Obligations of Party Members**

All members of the Party have the following obligations:

1) **Obligations among the masses are:**

   (a) to carry on propaganda work, to instruct the masses on the organizational, ideological, and political line of the Party; to join very closely with the worker-peasant masses within the unions, cooperatives, and the Revolutionary Army; to behave in a highly responsible manner towards the masses; to serve the masses wholeheartedly and unconditionally; to be modest with the masses; to strive to learn from the masses;

   (b) to exhort mass movements, most importantly, those of the masses of workers and peasants within the unions, the cooperatives, and the Revolutionary Army so that they will always be fervent in defending and building Democratic Kampuchea in accordance with the aims of the Socialist Revolution and the building of socialism.

2) **Obligations inside the Party are:**

   (a) to participate, regularly, once a month, in the cell meeting; all members of the Party, no matter what their position and even if they work at the top, are required to belong to and to participate regularly in a Party cell meeting.

   (b) to respect unconditionally, in a highly responsible manner, the disciplinary regulations of the Party;

   (c) to strive conscientiously to grasp the Party’s political, ideological, and organizational lines in order to allow them to penetrate more profoundly into the spirit, the better to arm themselves ever more for the ever more increasingly efficacious implementation of the Party’s policies, ideology, and organization;
(d) to strive conscientiously, continually, and firmly to safeguard, strengthen, and enlarge solidarity and unity inside the Party;

(e) to strive conscientiously to protect Party secrets with an always alert, watchful revolutionary spirit;

(f) to strive to practice correctly, meticulously, and energetically the system of criticism-self-criticism examination of the revolutionary consciousness for constructing themselves and for building the Party into a model of unending, active struggle, a bulwark in the defense and building of Democratic Kampuchea, conforming to the aims of the Party’s Socialist Revolution and the building of socialism;

(g) to have a correct and firm standpoint of proletarian patriotism and proletarian internationalism;

(h) to strive to understand the ways, techniques, and sciences necessary for improving capacity and effectiveness in the work of defending and building Democratic Kampuchea in accordance with the aims of the Socialist Revolution and the building of socialism.

Article 3. On the Rights of Members

Each and every member of the Party enjoys the right:

– to participate in discussions and offer opinions on all aspects of the Party’s work in conformity with the principle of democratic centralism;

– to stand for election and to select others for leadership posts in the leading bodies of the Party.

Article 4. On Party Discipline

In order to safeguard, strengthen, and enlarge solidarity and unity within the Party, thereby maintaining continually its purity, the Party adheres to the principle of scrupulous respect for Party discipline and for the Party Organization. Party discipline is extremely strict but it rests upon the principle of the awareness of each member. No matter what his position, the member is obliged to respect and to enforce Party discipline.

Respecting Party discipline and respecting Party organization means respecting the Party’s political line, respecting the Party’s ideological and organizational standpoints and its Statute.

All Party members, irrespective of their rank, who dispute the political line, the ideological standpoint, the organizational standpoint, and the rules of the Party; who sap the solidarity and unity of the Party; who form factions; who engage in acts of sabotage in order to destroy the Party, the revolution, and the people; who neglect their obligations as members; who let out secrets undermining the Party, the revolution, and the people; who misappropriate Party funds and possessions; who indulge in debauchery; who fail to participate in a cell meeting for three consecutive months, etc.; all these acts violate the discipline of the Party organization. Perpetrators will therefore be subject to one of the following punishments:
(a) warning — reprimand,
(b) transfer — relieved of duties,
(c) exclusion from the Party — punishments will vary according to the seriousness of the infraction committed by each person concerned, this being a matter of determining whether the anti-Party activity is of an organized nature or even a treacherous conspiracy against the Party.

Party discipline must be scrupulously upheld, relying necessarily on collective decision-making. As much as possible, this collective decision-making must involve several echelons of the Party organization depending on the importance of each problem.

Chapter II. On the Ten Criteria for Selecting Cadres for the Party’s Leading Bodies

Article 5. To improve the quality and to secure forever the strength and the purity of the leading role of the Party in political, ideological, and organizational life, it is necessary to have some criteria to be used in the process of selecting cadres for the leadership committees of the Party. These ten criteria are:

1) A firm revolutionary standpoint on the political line of the Party.
   Cadres must display a correct and firm standpoint in all circumstances, not be opportunists of the right or of “the left” in executing concrete tasks thus far entrusted to them by the Party, and especially in the defending and building of Democratic Kampuchea during the period of Socialist Revolution and the building of socialism.

2) A firm revolutionary standpoint on the working class viewpoint of the Party.
   Cadres must have:
   — a correct and firm working class viewpoint in every domain: material, political, moral;
   — a correct and firm standpoint on collective ownership in every domain: material, political, moral, and live in a manner which is consistent with the collectivist system of the Party;
   — a determined and active combative outlook, able to endure hardships in all circumstances in the class struggle for defending and building democratic Kampuchea in conformity with the aims of Socialist Revolution and the building of socialism.
   Cadres must be particularly vigilant in confronting the egoist, individualist standpoint in every domain: material, political, moral.

3) A firm standpoint on unity and solidarity inside the Party.
   Cadres must have the standpoint, demeanor, outlook, empathy and energy necessary for constantly safeguarding, defending, constructing, enlarging, and strengthening the unity and solidarity of the party in accordance with the political, ideological, and organizational standpoint of the Party. They
must be absolutely capable of uniting with the largest possible number, from 95-100% acceptable by the mass of the people in their own area and outside of it.

Cadres must be particularly vigilant in confronting the standpoint, demeanor, outlook, empathy, and will dictated by individualism, egoism, and fractionalism against the Party and its comrades.

4) A firm revolutionary standpoint on the organizational line of the Party.

Cadres must have a just and firm standpoint on the organizational line of the Party.

They must have a correct and firm standpoint on democratic centralism, the mass outlook, the mass line, and the class line of the Party.

Cadres must have a just and firm collectivist standpoint on the management of work and be highly conscious of their own responsibility in the execution of tasks.

Cadres must have an exemplary way of conducting themselves for leading the mass and working with it inside the unions, the cooperatives, and the Revolutionary Army and display an ever ardent sense of initiative, innovation, independence.

Cadres must be particularly vigilant in the face of the standpoint and manner of working typical of bureaucracy, careerism, authoritarianism, militarism, liberalism, subjectivism, irresponsibility, and adventurism vis-à-vis the Party, the Revolution, and the People.

5) A firm revolutionary standpoint on the revolutionary vigilance of the Party, on secrecy and on defense of revolutionary forces.

Cadres must have a just and firm standpoint on revolutionary vigilance in order to preserve secrecy and to defend revolutionary forces in all situations and in all activities: to work, speak, and handle themselves well both within and outside the Party. Watchfulness is particularly necessary in the case of liberalism and irresponsible attitudes towards revolutionary vigilance, preserving secrecy, and defending revolutionary forces which are apparent in words, deeds, mannerisms, and daily life.

6) A firm revolutionary standpoint on the “independence, self-reliance, and control of one’s self” of the Party.

Cadres must be highly conscious of “independence, self-reliance, and control of one’s self” in executing all Party tasks and in all circumstances.

7) A firm revolutionary standpoint on the writing and verifying of revolutionary life histories and revolutionary life outlooks.

Cadres must have a just and firm revolutionary stance and be highly conscientious in the writing and verifying of life histories and the shaping of revolutionary life outlooks. Cadres must be sincere in appraising life histories and revolutionary outlooks and correct shortcomings by themselves so as to improve their revolutionary qualities as rapidly as possible.

8) A firm revolutionary standpoint on class.

Cadres must have a good social class background-composition, especially, the working class standpoint of the Party gradually acquired as a result of work in revolutionary movements directed by the Party.
9) A firm revolutionary standpoint in matters of personal and political morality. 

Cadres must be of sound moral character and uphold ethical standards, be unblemished by corruption, depravity, or collusion with the enemy. Cadres must be particularly vigilant in opposing libertinism in everyday life.

10) Potential for constructing one's self and for assuming leadership responsibilities in the future.

The past and present quality of the politics, ideology, sense of unity and solidarity, organization, management, etc. of the person concerned must be examined. Has there been progress in study sessions? Is there potential for assuming leadership responsibilities in the future?

The “Ten Criteria” listed above should be used for examining and evaluating those concerned. Cadres chosen for leadership posts within the Party are those who, more than others, fulfill these “Ten Criteria”, and notably those numbered 1, 2, 3, and 4.

Chapter III. On the Party’s Organizational Principles

Article 6. The Communist Party of Kampuchea takes democratic centralism as the basis for its organization.

1) All leading bodies of the Party must employ the system of collective leadership; responsibility for their actions must, nonetheless, be assumed by the individuals concerned.

2) All decisions of the Party must be taken collectively.

3) Leading bodies at every echelon of the Party organization must be chosen collectively.

4) The minority must submit to the will of the majority; the lower echelon, to the echelon above; the individual, to the collectivity; the immediate interest, to the general organizational interest; all constituent echelons of the Party organization, to the Central Committee.

5) Lower echelons of the Party organization must periodically present reports on their work to higher echelons. Also, higher echelons must periodically evaluate the general situation and issue directives to lower echelons.

Chapter IV. On the Organizational Structure of the Party

Article 7. The organizational structure of the Party is as follows:

1) for the whole country, the highest leading body of the Party is the Congress of representatives of the Party.

When the Congress is not in session, the highest leading body of the Party in the whole country is the Central Committee.
2) for each Zone [phumipeak], the highest leading body of the Party is the congress of representatives of the Party for this Zone. When the congress is not in session, the highest leading body of the Party in the Zone is the Party Committee of the Zone.

3) for each Region [tambon] or Town, the highest leading body of the Party is the congress of representatives of the Party for this Region or Town. When the congress is not in session, the highest leading body of the Party in each Region or Town is the Party Committee in the Region or Town.

4) for each District [rok], the highest leading body of the Party is the congress of representatives of the Party in the District. When the congress is not in session, the highest leading body of the Party in each District is the Party Committee in the District.

5) for each cell, the highest leading body is the general assembly of the cell (this applies to the large cell) or the general assembly of cell groups (this applies to small cells). When general assemblies are not in session, the highest leading body of each cell group is the cell committee (this applies to large cells) or the secretary and deputy secretary (for small cells).

6) The internal organization of the Party inside the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea is the same as the scheme above, for the corresponding echelons.

Article 8. Geographical areas or Party organizations which have distinctive social, cultural, military, or political characteristics can be organized into special sections if need arises. The Central Committee of the Party will assume direct or indirect leadership of these sections as required.

On Cells

Article 9. Each cooperative, industry, company unit, worksite, ministry, or revolutionary office can have a party cell if there are at least two or three members. For the cell which has from three to eight members, a secretary and a deputy secretary must be chosen to manage daily work. For the cell with more than nine members, a cell committee must be organized to lead the cell. If required in the work of the cell, sub-cells can be organized.

Article 10. Tasks of the Cells

Cells have the following two tasks:

1) Among the masses:

To carry on propaganda work, to instruct the people, being guided by the political line, ideological standpoint, and organizational standpoint of the Party and in conformity with the tasks of defending and building Democratic Kampuchea, the standpoint on revolutionary class struggle and the building of the socialism of the Party in the place of work, as well as in the unions, cooperatives, and revolutionary army.
Along with this, cells must observe and push mass organizations such as the unions, the cooperatives, and the revolutionary army in each place of work, so that they will deploy their every effort in conscientiously carrying out revolutionary tasks related to the defending and building of Democratic Kampuchea, the aims of the Party’s Socialist Revolution, and the building of socialism.

2) Inside the Party:
(a) to instruct Party members and members of the organizational core groups of the Party on the policies, ideology, and organization conforming to the tasks of defending and building Democratic Kampuchea and on the standpoint concerning the class struggle in the revolution and the building of the Party’s socialism;
(b) to remain close to the Party organization in its work in order to strengthen, enlarge, and purify the Party membership and that of the organizational core groups of the Party;
(c) to allocate specific tasks to Party members and members of the Party’s organizational core groups in a conscientious, continuous way so that they will lead the masses of workers, peasants and revolutionary soldiers, constantly arousing revolutionary movements conforming to the political line of the Party, the aims of the Party’s Socialist Revolution, and the building of socialism;
(d) to hold a cell meeting once a month;
(e) to administer use of the possessions of the cell; to observe Party discipline about reporting on the situation and work done to the echelon above.

Article 11. The ordinary general assembly of the cell is convened every three months in order to:
1) review cell activities carefully, singling out experiences revealing of strong points and shortcomings.
2) set a new program of action conforming to the Party line. The work to be done inside the cell and outside of it must be carefully specified in the program.
3) choose a new cell committee (employing the Ten Criteria for selecting Party cadres. To become official, the newly chosen cell committee must be approved by the Committees of the District, the Region, and the Zone).

On the District Committees

Article 12. The District Committees must convene ordinary congresses of representatives of the District every six months in order to:
1) review, follow up on, and evaluate the activities of the District Committee, singling out those experiences revealing of strong points and shortcomings;
2) set a new program of action conforming to the Party line. The work to be done inside the committee and outside of it must be carefully specified in the program;
3) choose a new District Committee (employing the Ten Criteria for selecting Party cadres. To become official, the newly chosen District Committee must be approved by the Committees of the Region and Zone).

Article 13. The tasks of District Committees are:

1) to keep in close touch with the activities of cells and cell members within the unions, cooperatives, and revolutionary army, directing them in their work inside as well as outside the Party so as to constantly rekindle revolutionary movements conforming to the political line of defending and building Democratic Kampuchea and the aims of the Party’s Socialist Revolution and the building of socialism;

2) to follow in an on-going, conscientious manner, the policies, ideology, and organization of the masses within the unions, cooperatives, and revolutionary army in the district, constantly instructing them on the political, ideological, and organizational line for the defense and the building of Democratic Kampuchea and on the aims of the Party’s Socialist Revolution and the building of socialism;

3) to scrutinize in a constant, conscientious manner, the life history, politics, ideology, and organization of the cells, cadres, Party members, and members of the organizational core groups of the Party, carefully and continually instructing them on the policies, ideology, and organization for defending and building Democratic Kampuchea and conforming to the aims of the Party’s Socialist Revolution and the building of socialism;

4) to supervise use of the possessions of the District Committee. To adhere to Party discipline. To report on the situation and on work completed within the district to the echelon above.

Article 14. The District Committee must meet once a month in ordinary session in order to review, follow up on, and evaluate past work and to set a program for work that needs to be done.

On Regional or Town Committees

Article 15. The Regional or Town Committees must convene ordinary congresses of representatives of the Region or Town every six months in order to:

1) review carefully the activities of the Regional or Town Committee singling out those experiences revealing of strong points and shortcomings;

2) set a new program of action conforming to the Party line. The work to be done inside the Party and outside of it, within the Region or the Town, must be carefully specified in the program;

3) choose a new Regional or Town Committee (employing the Ten Criteria for selecting Party cadres; to be official, this newly chosen committee must be approved by the Zone Committee and the Central Committee).
Article 16. The tasks of the Regional or Town Committees are:

1) to follow closely the activities of District Committees and cells, as well as those of cell members in the unions, cooperatives, and revolutionary army so as to be able to direct activities within and outside of the Party in a very active and conscientious manner conforming to the tasks of defending and building Democratic Kampuchea, the aims of the Party’s Socialist Revolution, and the building of socialism;

2) to observe the masses in the unions, cooperatives, and revolutionary army within the Region or Town in a firm and conscientious manner, constantly educating them on the political, ideological, and organizational line conforming to the tasks of defending and building Democratic Kampuchea, the aims of the Party’s Socialist Revolution, and the building of socialism;

3) to scrutinize in a continuous and conscientious manner the life histories, policies, ideology, and organization of district and cell committees, cadres, Party members, and members of the organizational core groups of the Party, educating them constantly on the policies, ideology, and organization conforming to the tasks of defending and building Democratic Kampuchea and on the aims of the Party’s Socialist Revolution and the building of socialism;

4) to supervise the use of the possessions of the Regional or Town Committee. To observe Party discipline. To report on work and on the situation in the Region or Town to the echelon above.

Article 17. The Regional or Town Committees must hold an ordinary meeting once a month in order to review, follow up on, and evaluate past work and to set a program of work to be undertaken.

On Zone Committees

Article 18. The Zone Committee must call an ordinary congress of representatives of the Zone once a year in order to:

1) review carefully, follow up on, and evaluate the activities of the Zone Committee singling out the experiences exposing strengths and shortcomings;

2) set a new program of action conforming to the Party line. The work to be done inside the Party and outside of it must be carefully specified in the program;

3) choose a new Zone Committee (employing the Ten Criteria of the Party. To become official, the newly chosen Zone Committee must be approved by the Central Committee.).

Article 19. The tasks of the Zone Committee are:

1) to follow closely the activities of the Regions, Districts, and cells, and those of Party members in the unions, cooperatives, and revolutionary army within the Zone, directing them in their work inside the Party and outside of it so as to rekindle revolutionary movements continuously and actively in conformity with the policy of defending and building Democratic Kampuchea, the aims of the Party’s Socialist Revolution, and the building of socialism;
2) to control the policies, ideology, and organization of the masses in the unions, cooperatives, and revolutionary army within the Zone; educating them carefully and constantly on the policies, ideology, and organization conforming to the tasks of defending and building Democratic Kampuchea, the aims of the Party's Socialist Revolution, and the building of socialism;

3) to scrutinize the life histories, policies, ideology, and organization of the Party in the Regions, Districts, and cells; the cadres, Party members, and members of the organizational core groups of the Party in the Zone, instructing them carefully and continuously on the policies, ideology and organization conforming to the tasks of defending and building Democratic Kampuchea, the aims of the Party's Socialist Revolution, and the building of socialism;

4) to supervise use of possessions of the Zone Committee. To observe Party discipline. To report on the situation and the work of the Zone to the Central Committee.

Article 20. The Zone Committee must hold an ordinary meeting once every three months in order to review, follow up on, and evaluate past work, and to set a program of work to be undertaken.

On the Central Committee

Article 21. The Central Committee must call an ordinary Congress of representatives of the whole country every four years in order to:

1) review carefully the activities of the outgoing committee singling out experiences revealing its strong points and shortcomings in the political, ideological, or organizational domains, and all the important work accomplished;

2) adopt the political line and the rules of the Party;

3) choose a new Central Committee (employing the Ten Criteria of the Party)

Article 22. The convening of the Congress can be brought forward or delayed depending on the concrete situation.

The number of participants in the Congress of representatives of the whole country is fixed by the Central Committee.

Article 23. The tasks of the Central Committee are:

1) to put into effect the political line and the Party rules in the whole of the Party;

2) to issue directives to Zone, Regional, and Town Committees, as well as to all leading bodies in the whole country, keeping a check on their activities in order that they always faithfully implement the political, ideological, and organizational line conforming to the tasks of defending and building Democratic Kampuchea, the aims of the Party's Socialist Revolution, and the building of socialism;
3) to keep a check on and to structure in a conscientious way the life histories, the political, ideological, and organizational standpoint of cadres, of Party members and of all the members of the organizational core groups of the Party, instructing them constantly in politics, ideology, and organization;
4) to represent the Party in relations with fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties.

Article 24. The number of members and alternate members of the Central Committee must be fixed by the Congress of representatives of the whole country. Alternate members may attend plenary sessions of the Central Committee, but they do not have the right to participate in decision-making. Depending on the work load, when a member(s) fails to appear, the Central Committee may decide to fill its ranks by stating one or more alternate members.

Article 25. The plenary session of the Central Committee is convened by the Central Committee every six months in order to review, follow up on, and evaluate completed work and to set a new program of action.

Chapter V. On the Organizational Core Groups of the Party
(Communist Youth League of Kampuchea and the Pillars Organization)

Article 26. The Communist Youth League of Kampuchea and the Pillars Organization are the organizational core groups of the Party. They are the right hand and the essential auxiliaries of the Party in putting into effect the political line, ideological standpoint, and organizational standpoint of the Party among the masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers in the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea.

Chapter VI. On the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea

Article 27. The three categories of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea are: regular forces, regional forces, and militia.

The Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea is under the sole and exclusive control of the Communist Party of Kampuchea in all domains.

Article 28. The Revolutionary Army is organized on the basis of democratic centralism. The Central Committee of the Party is responsible for putting this democratic centralism into effect in accordance with the concrete situation. The organizational structure of the party within the Revolutionary Army is as follows:
- Party Cell of the Company,
- Party Committee of the Battalion,
— Party Committee of the Regiment,
— Party Committee of the Division.
Sub-cells of the Party must also be organized within the Company unit. In addition to Party organizations, the army must create sections of the Communist Youth League of Kampuchea.

Chapter VII. On the Finances and Possessions of the Party

Article 29. The finances and possessions of the Party come from its diverse productive activities and subsidies. Accounting and disbursements are carried out collectively.

Chapter VIII. On the Observance and Modification of Party Rules

Article 30. Party rules must be observed from the standpoint and in a spirit of service to the Party and the Revolution in order that the Revolution will always move forward.

The Party wages a firm struggle against the standpoint and attitude favoring the implementation of Party rules in accordance with subjectivism, individualism, and fractionalism.

The only body with the power to amend the Statute of the Communist Party of Kampuchea is the Congress of representatives of the Communist Party of Kampuchea from the whole country.