

## **Strengthening and Improving the Party's Leadership Stance and Leadership Attitude**

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### Suggestions:

1. Further strengthening and improving the leadership stance.
2. Further strengthening and improving the leadership attitude of the party.
3. Further strengthening and improving the organizational line and action line of the party.

### **I. Confirmation of the importance of the party leadership**

The party leadership refers to the whole party which directs the revolutionary movement in accordance with political and organizational lines of the party. In short, it is the leadership by cadres and full rights party members of all levels. However, in actual situation, the leadership is exercised by a cadre or a full rights member. Based on our past experiences, some people demonstrate good leadership while some others show the medium one. Some cannot lead and some others manage the groups in the wrong directions. This is due to the differences of leadership quality. In brief summary, leadership is applicable, but difficult. Thus, in order to avoid subjectivism, leadership stance and attitudes must be better strengthened.

For example: Sometimes, we do not like a work determined by the party; we criticize it through various thoughts. But when doing it, we do not lead it well as the previous comrade did. Occasionally, a party level has many qualifications and possibilities, yet their leadership is quite poor, so the movement is not well encouraged and agitated.

This shows that leadership has its secret; it is not subjective or based on individual wishes. Therefore, cadres at all levels must constantly strive to increase their leadership quality to well manage their members. The leadership related issues must not be subjectively resolved. We must learn from each other, especially from any place whose leadership quality is good.

For example: In the war by people in two battlefields with the same natural obstacles, similar forces and amounts of bullets, the people with good leadership in one battle field can defeat their enemy while the other one fails. This is due to the absolute quality of leadership.

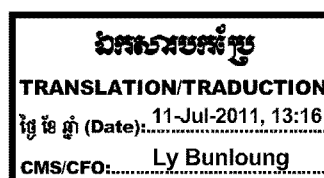
Therefore, all cadres in every battlefield must learn from each other, especially from the battlefield with highest and sharpest achievements.

For example: In leadership to increase production, in spite of the same economic line and natural disasters, the productivity movements are varied. This is due to the different quality of leadership. Good leadership leads to good production movement. In contrast, if the leadership is weak, there will be a poor movement.

### **Various aspects in leadership:**

In good leadership, we must know whom we will lead. These include popular masses both inside and outside of the party ranks. What are the two classified groups composed of? Regarding the popular masses inside the party, they are mixed compositions in term of their original classes, characteristics, capacities, knowledge and qualities. For the outside ones, their

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compositions are even more varied and complicated. Therefore, we must know each of the two categories of the masses so that we will be able to lead them, but not to follow them.

### **In order to lead them well, what should be based on?**

For example: Some cadres who originally belonged to peasant class said they experience difficulties in the leadership of petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals; however, some cadres could well lead their members who are peasants and workers while some others could not. Some cadres who originally belong to petty bourgeoisie and intellectual classes encounter difficulties while leading their peasant and worker members as they are sharply slow and they also could not manage their members who are petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals since they usually come into conflicts. [Illegible] Some female cadres could not work well with male members. They wish to work with female members as it is easy to talk with each other. Yet, while they are working with female members, complicated problems and conflicts usually arise. [Illegible] In fact, the incapacity in the leadership is not due to the different sexes, but it is thanks to the fact that they do not stand upon the party's worker class and are still stuck in private ownership and partisans.

If they stand on the party's worker class, they will be able to lead other people and to be under other people's leadership regardless of any original classes they belong to.

Therefore, in order to be a good leader, the stance of worker class, political line, ideology and organization of the party must be followed and the party's secret must be kept. When they are able to lead the popular masses of both outside and inside the party, they will be able to manage the revolutionary movement, stormy attacks against the enemy in the front line battlefields and the movement to boost productivity in the supporting bases.

Accordingly, in order to constantly improve the leadership quality, each cadre or party member must absolutely stand upon the party's worker class, political line, ideology and organization determined by the party. Don't be loosening. With looseness, we cannot be a good leader.

## **II. Further strengthening and improving the Party's leadership stance**

- Leading must base on the lines and views of the popular masses.
- Leading must be democratic centralism.
- Leading must stand upon high responsibility.
- Leading must be objectively analyzed.
- Leading must be practical.
- Leading must be mainly considered on politics and ideology.

### **1. Leading must base on the lines and views of the popular masses.**

Last year, we very well mobilized the popular force throughout the country to fight against the enemy except the traitorous clique of Lon Nol, Sirik Matak, Son Ngoc Thanh, In Tam, and Cheng Heng. All over the country, people of all classes, status and forces have been led and mobilized to serve and support the liberation war. This is due to our ability to manage them in accordance with the popular masses' line and views. We are convinced that we are able to mobilize them and exercise their forces. In addition, the party has also adopted action line and carried out political line in compliance with each social class as well as properly follow its line to mobilize the popular masses. People have also been properly led by the party based on the line of

popular mass. Generally speaking, the party has pursued different leading lines for Buddhist monks, peasants, etc. in accordance with their concrete situation.

For example: In the evacuation of people from the areas under the control of the enemy to the liberated zones, we took strong and optimistic views of mass population to successfully send them away to the countryside with no worry that people could be fraught with difficulty due to the lacks of everything. In addition, we were not afraid that people in the liberated areas could not help the evacuated people.

With strong popular views, we believe that our people could do everything. Although we were in the situation that we were lack of rice as we are now, we dared to evacuate many more people. Based on our past experiences, we see that people could resolve the problems.

For example: While Vietnam and Laos ceased fires, did we believe that our Kampuchean masses, people, military, could carry on fighting in tense situation where the US imperialists were increasingly bombing? This is the stance of the popular mass views. If we did not have strong popular masses' views, we would not decide to fight against them alone as we are doing right now.

All in all, we must have both strong popular masses' views and proper popular masses' line. We must have action line in accordance with the knowledge level of the popular masses in order to lead them well. While leading the popular masses inside the party, we must be able to control the concrete situation of each individual in order to determine and take measures, and develop requests properly for each period by avoiding subjectivism and idealism.

## **2. Leading must be democratic centralism**

Regarding this matter, we would like to discuss collective leadership related problems and separate individual responsibility.

For example: The national congress is annually held to draw and sum up experiences collectively and then we separately work in our bases. And then, with a definite time, we are invited to attend the annual congress to draw and sum up our experiences again. This has been repeatedly practiced. This is a picture of democratic centralism which has been successfully implemented by the party throughout the country. By doing this, we have implemented collective and separate leadership properly and even better. With this kind of good leadership, although it is in the changing and dictatorship situations, each place can operate with independence and self-reliance. And when all levels could do this, the party leadership will be improved and qualified.

In the past, the central level, sector level and zone level have done very well. We must continue to do it very well at both district and branch levels since there are a lot of things to be improved. They do not know how to hold a congress; especially at the branch level, they still have a work habit which depends on machines and just follow orders from the district and sector levels. Therefore, the party aims at building and strengthening the branch level to be a strong organization of the party in the bases and a master in the implementation of collective leadership and personal responsibility. The district and sector levels must undertake field visits to help direct, assess and evaluate the situation and help draw experiences directly. If this can be done, the leadership quality of the party will be improved.

## **3. Leadership must stand upon high responsibility.**

Leadership must be responsible for all political issues, ideology and works. It must be responsible for the party, revolution, people, nation, classes, and all comrades. Therefore, in

order to carefully and deliberately avoid mistakes, we must strive to work very hard to improve the party, revolution, people, nation, classes, and all comrades.

For example: The responsibility for the party: If a complicate conflict occurs in any framework, comrades at that level must jointly resolve it and strive to educate each other to put an end to the conflict with the spirit of high responsibility and avoid bothering the party.

For example: The responsibility for people: For the evacuated people, the party at the bases shall be responsible for both spirit and materials. Although there is lack of everything, we must try our best to resolve it.

If there is no spirit of responsibility, there will be no effort to address the problems, but accusations on people. This makes people feel even more insecure and more angers with the revolution.

For example: The responsibility for comrades: In the communication between one office, zone, sector, and comrade to another respectively, they must be united and help each other with the spirit of high responsibility although there are some misconducts on the part of behaviours and speeches toward each other; we must be patient and tolerant with each other.

Therefore, cadres at all levels must strive to further build the stance of high responsibility.

#### **4. Leading must be objectively analyzed.**

For example: In 1968-69, the ruling class fought us and some foreign countries put pressures to prevent our military and political struggles. However, we analyzed that the party and Cambodian people could fight back. We, therefore, took some measures to resist. Although there are some difficulties, we could further protect, strengthen and expand our forces. This was due to our objective analyses.

For example: In the situational and movement analyses throughout the country, while Vietnam and Lao ceased fires, and the American imperialists increased their war in Cambodia, we could correctly analyze the situation in order to properly take military, political, and diplomatic measures of both inside and outside the country. Thanks to our proper analyses, we were able to take measures to promote the movement further. On the contrary, if we had just analyzed the situation based on the world pressures by considering the American imperialists as the extremely powerful country, we might have taken wrong measures, disarmed and joined the ceasefire discussion resulting in our destructive movement with no individual identity, and prestige like what we are having now. We had correctly analyzed, adopted proper measures, and had good encouragement. As a result, we received a great historical victory.

In order to objectively analyze, we must carry out analyses based on the revolutionary movement of the popular masses and control the breath of revolutionary movement, and evaluate the ability of popular masses whether they are able to do it or not. We must estimate the force of the enemy and our force correctly. If we could objectively analyze, proper measures will be taken.

People, the party's organization, cadres and comrade must objectively and comprehensively analyze the situation by looking at all good points and difficult points of the enemy in order to evaluate their ability and then put practical measures in accordance with their forces. Doing like this enables us to lead and use them.

For example: In the analyses of the spies, sometimes if we just think that their force is so strong and continuously spread the rumours, it will create confused atmosphere. We must analyze their strong and weak points and then take measures to resist and eliminate them.

Therefore, we must not analyze anything based on subjectivism. When we analyze something subjectively, wrong measures will be taken. This will lead to failure such as broken internal solidarity and unity, which is destructive to the movement.

#### **5. Leading must be practical.**

Leading is a comparatively maximized practicality. Loosen leadership must be avoided and it must be practical and relevant to popular mass movement.

For example: In the leadership to carry out storm attacks against the enemies in battlefields, we must clearly know our situation, the enemy's situation, and our force and ability. When we tightly control the fighting line and constantly carry out stormy attacks, it will be very effective. If our leadership is loosen, we will not be able to carry out shock assaults against the enemies and we will be destructive.

For example: In order to strengthen our branches at zone or sector levels, field visits to instruct and evaluate the concrete situation in the bases must be conducted to draw experience so that the branch quality is improved. If our leadership is loosen or indirect, the branch will not be strong.

Therefore, in order to have strong leadership, in reality, we must have enough practical experience of responsibility, clearly control and know our problems. And in real practice, we ourselves must closely monitor our first-hand experiences of both right and wrong, use them by ourselves and subsequently learn both the right and wrong experiences from other place.

#### **6. Leading must mainly be considered on politics and ideology.**

The way to learn regarding criticism and self-criticism will hold revolutionary life views throughout the country and zones. If we could do it well every year, it will very much help educate and indoctrinate more political lines and ideologies to our cadres. In addition, it is a capital to continue our work and helps our comrades to clearly understand the political stance and ideology so that they are absolutely determined and will continue their work.

Therefore, we must continue to organize education programs throughout the country. In every zone and sector, we must continue and strive to help educate people in our districts and branches in order to enable them to continue the education process with self-reliance in the future.

### **III. Further strengthening and improving the leadership attitude of the party.**

Last year, the leadership attitude of the party was generally mature and much more appropriate. Authoritarianism, mandarinism and bureaucracyism were eliminated to a great extent. Therefore, we were able to lead the movement with good solidarity both inside the party rank and the people. There were not many conflicts. People paid more respect and were more satisfied with the leadership of our cadres.

At the same time, there is still authoritarianism in the bases. Thus, we must jointly improve the leading works attitudes to be more appropriate in order to make people love and satisfy us more. Furthermore, we must prevent authoritarianism, mandarinism and bureaucracyism from happening again. Moreover, there must be action line and ways to strictly and properly continue the process and avoid the loss of people's benefit. Sometimes, it is a proper stance, but due to the lack of caution of action line, it results in political disadvantage.

For example: If the spies are arrested to be executed in the meeting before the people, some people may be frightened of us. They think that we are extremely cruel. The stance to smash the spies is correct but it is inappropriately carried out.

Like it or not, it is already authoritarianism. Therefore, it provides more negative impacts on politics.

For example: Some people are lack of rice seeds, water or rice and these problems are not resolved. This is a picture of mandarinism and bureaucracyism because we do not get involved in the settlement of the problem.

Another leadership attitude is to manage the work with clearly working directions for each period. Knowing the important work to do first is significant and the auxiliary one is done later. All works should not be done at the same time in a disorderly manner.

For example: At the front battlefield, we must carry out storm attacks against enemy. We should not be engaged in holding conference or meeting.

In the supporting bases, we must carry out storm attacks to be involved in and boost agricultural production, not just engaged in building houses, walls and roads.

Education about these problems must be clear. Generally speaking, the leadership attitudes stem from our leadership stance. If our leadership stance and attitudes are inappropriate, our work will be wrong and not go on the right direction. This leadership attitude is action line which affects the party's political and organizational lines.

Therefore, comrades who have significant roles in the party at each level must settle the significant problems as quickly as possible and in a timely manner to avoid the interruption to the work process.

For example: Comrades the zone and sector secretaries must be responsible for military problem since it is significant.

In addition, the leadership attitude must be properly based on the party's action line in order to make our speeches, measures, and slogans... in line with circumstances, environment, individual, our compositions, open and secrete works, the front's broad framework, the party's framework, foreign affairs and foreign comrades, etc. Do not be stiff as a poker [or] do not be on your high horse.

However, action line must absolutely stand upon the political line, ideology, and organization of the party, and to avoid using ways and pictures to detour the party's political line, ideology and organization.

For example, the educational contents in the Party's schools for zone and sector levels are highly based on the cadre compositions in the zones and sectors. The educational contents in the framework of district and branch levels are lower in accordance with their compositions, capacity, and responsibility. For the popular masses outside the party, the educational contents are also in line with their compositions, capacity, and responsibility... Do not be stiff as a poker.

The same applies for the indoctrination of intellectuals, peasants, workers, and Buddhist monks. In addition, they must constantly and properly know and implement the party's action line. If it is subjectively done, not properly controlled and implemented, the education will not be good.

The bases of popular masses, military, and the party in the liberated zones have been built. We must also build the bases of popular masses, military, and the party in the zones temporarily controlled by the enemies. However, it is quite different. Therefore, the party's action line must be actively understood, controlled, and implemented to well serve and fulfil their political duties

of the party. Otherwise, the revolutionary movement will not be well served and lead to its destruction.