



REVOLUTIONARY FLAG
SPECIAL ISSUE
SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER 1976

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<p>THE INTERNAL PARTY MAGAZINE PUBLISHED EVERY MONTH</p>

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**Long Live the 16th Anniversary of the
Birth of the Communist Party of Kampuchea,
Correct, Clear-sighted, and Magnificent!**

Excerpts of the Speech
Of
The Comrade Party Representative
On the Occasion of the Great Victory
Of the 16th Anniversary Ceremony
Of the Birth of the Communist Party of Kampuchea
(30-9-1960 - 30-9-1976)



Today we meet for the great victory of the 16th anniversary ceremony of the birth of our Communist Party of Kampuchea.

On the occasion of the anniversary of our Party, we have the task of making a presentation to inform the gathering about a number of matters related to the history of our Party. When speaking of the history of the Communist Party of Kampuchea or speaking of the revolutionary struggle of the Kampuchean people under the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, it is imperative to speak of many matters, all of which we are unable to completely describe in this brief time.

Therefore, in this framework, we must raise the important matters for discussion. We understand that it is necessary to take up any matter whose content is related to the building of our Party. We mention the matter of Party building aiming to serve the present and future revolutionary movement. This means that we will not describe the distant past of the Party. We will strongly emphasize the mission of Party building in the present day, that is, in the framework of socialist revolution and socialist construction. We raise the matter in this way because at this time we are carrying out socialist revolution and are building socialism. The Party must lead the fight to victory. The decisive factor in victory lies in whether or not the Party is strong, whether or not the people are energetic, whether or not the movement surges forward quickly.

On the other hand, the core content that we must raise for discussion is completely different from the content that we discussed on the 17 April anniversary celebration. Back then, we recalled our successive victories. Now we will speak about the creation of the Party, about building the Party, about doing whatever necessary to make the Party sharp, to make the Party strong and audacious in the fight to seizing victories in every field, both in the past and in the future.

This is the content about which we must have a discussion. Let me divide it into two sections as follows:

- First, a re-clarification regarding the birth of our Communist Party of Kampuchea.
- Second, the specific content of socialist revolution and socialist construction.

I. Re-Clarification on the Birth of the Communist Party of Kampuchea

This past year we informed a meeting on 30 September 1975 that the Party was 24 years old. Previously, on 30 September we always recalled the anniversaries, the 20th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd, one after another up until the 24th anniversary.

Now we say instead to recall the 16th anniversary, as if we had made a new birth certificate for our Party. What is the reason for this? The Party Organization made the assessment that starting now we must organize a clean, pure Party history in the name of our stance of independence - mastery.

Furthermore, when we glance back to the past, we see that beginning with the birth of our nation and society more than 2,000 years ago, our people carried out extended revolutionary struggles one after another. This is because since the existence of Kampuchean society, classes have existed in society. When there are classes in society, there is class struggle in society. Therefore, for more than 2,000 years, our people who were oppressed waged one struggle after another against the oppressor classes in the society up until the struggle against the French empire that came in and took our territory. However, this struggle was not led by a Party. By the time of World War II, after 1946 the peoples of the world carried out struggles against colonialism. In our Kampuchea, our people struggled mightily, but had no Party in the lead. In 1951, we set up a temporary organization in order to prepare to create a Party. At that time, the Party had not yet been born. We just set up the preconditions to organize the Party. We did not yet have our own Statutes. We did not yet have our own strategic and tactical lines. Therefore, we say that our own people's revolutionary Party was not yet born; it was only in the state of being of an ordinary society. In 1954, after the Geneva Conference ended, we totally dissolved ourselves and returned back into a society with oppressor classes to and continued the struggle.

It was not until 30 September 1960 that we organized the First Party Congress throughout the country. At that time, representatives from every base area attended the meetings; there were nearly 20 members. We held the meetings at a time when the enemy was on a strong suppression campaign. They were arresting, imprisoning in chains; they were killing. Our overt organization in the city was victimized. In the rural areas, the enemy carried out fascist activities to smash our base areas and cadres to bits. Even though we were in this situation, we set up and held the First Party Congress in Phnom Penh, understanding that if the Party had no Statutes, there would be no core content, and we would not know what we stood for. Only after having the Statues could we have foundation documents. In tandem with this, we were determined to prepare our strategic and tactical lines. This was because experience had shown if there were no strategic and tactical lines, we would have no goals and we would lead the movement blindly, and that would be very dangerous for the forces of the people. Therefore, it was imperative to prepare both the Statutes and the strategic and tactical lines of national democratic revolution. We had to prepare the fundamentals of these documents before the nationwide Party Congress for the Party to promulgate. This is why the First Party Congress was held in Phnom Penh.

Why, at that time, did we hold the First Party Congress in Phnom Penh, the location of the enemy apparatus, an enemy location thick with enemy police and military forces? Why did we not hold it in the vast countryside, a place where the enemy was weak? Let me inform you that since 1955, in particular since 1958-59-60, the enemy's suppression campaigns were very strong in the countryside. Our base areas in the countryside were totally smashed. Of 100, only ten remained and those ten were not concentrated; they were scattered. The enemy attacked both overtly and covertly. We had many hardships in the countryside. Our major forces in the countryside had been scattered. The enemy was on the offensive against us at that time. We were on the defense. However, we decided that it was imperative to prepare Party Statutes at all cost. Making the calculation between the countryside and the city, we decided to use the city as the location for the Party Congress because in the city we implemented covert and overt lines. When the enemy attacked, that had to be overt. We were fundamentally able to maintain our covert forces. At the time, we met at the train station. At the time, the worker movement was simmering there, and the railroad worker movement played an important role. We had a location of the revolutionary worker class. The important cadres all met together. This was a matter of life-and-death. If the enemy would have been able to arrest us, we would have been smashed throughout the country. Therefore, no matter how noisy Phnom Penh was, we remained quiet all along. The enemy was unable to monitor us. The enemy was not stronger than the revolution; all that was required was a correct line and an absolute revolutionary stance.

The First Party Congress met from 30 September until 2 October. We were able to decide on the Party Statutes and the strategic and tactical lines of the Party, and we made the fundamental decisions on the organization of the Party leadership.

This is the actual history of the birth of our Party. Therefore, this is why we designated 30 September as the day the Party was born. That was 16 years ago.

Sixteen years, if thought of in terms of age, is very young and immature to bear the burden of leading the revolution until gaining the magnificent victory; it somehow seems oversized. However, in truth, our people, our cadres, fought successive struggles and were tempered in the fires of the war against the French empire inside the subsequent political-armed struggle movement, twisting, complex, pitifully difficult, and made huge sacrifices of life. Our revolutionary movement was a movement with many years of experience and had passed through every type of obstacle. So then, it came up with the correct strategic and tactical lines. So then, the 1960 revolutionary line was not a line that had been written on paper or had come from any foreign documents. It was a line that had come from the flesh and blood of our revolutionary movement, from the strenuous revolution struggle movement of our people. The concrete experience of our revolutionary movement had taught us that we had to use political violence and armed violence to defeat the enemy. Otherwise, the enemy would smash us. They would not easily agree to hand power over to us. Specifically, the 1955 election. According to our estimates, we saw that 99 percent of popular opinion throughout the country had supported us. However, state power had remained in the hands of the enemy. The police and the military were in their hands. The ballot boxes were up to them. They made arrests, they imprisoned and put in chains, and they killed as they pleased. This experience of 1955 clearly showed that we could not pass through the assembly, through elections. Only the use of revolutionary violence would enable us to defeat the enemy.

So then, this is why the Party was able to take up the correct strategic and tactical line. We had both covert and overt lines; the important one was the covert. Overtly we had just one or two persons work. When the enemy attacked, they did not hit our core leadership, our covert forces. In tandem with this, we set up the forces of the people in the base areas in secret. So then, without both the concrete experience from our revolutionary movement inside the country and the experiences of the struggles of the people of the world, we would have been unable to set up the strategic and tactical political lines correctly.

The Party determined that it was imperative to wage an armed struggle. We set up covert protection units in the villages to protect both our cadres and our villages in the countryside. We did this by seizing weapons from enemy militias. The enemy tried to smash us, but we struck back. Through this struggle, our forces kept expanding. So then, when gunfire exploded in 1968-69, we were able to fight the enemy; after the 1970 coup we fought even harder until we broke them.

This is an outline of our revolutionary movement and the birth of our Party. We must stand upon our actual revolutionary movement and push it to be even mightier. These days the world is watching us. They have the opinion that our revolutionary movement is one of the world's mightiest movements. This is because if our movement had not been strong, our Party would not have been strong, and we would not have been able to wage war against and defeat the American imperialists. This is very clear, because our country is small, our people are few, and we were short of everything. Now too, our building of socialism is an active movement with the strong momentum of the great leap. We have been able to restore our economy; we have been able to sort out the livelihood

of our people; and we have been able to defend our country with independence-mastery without asking anyone for aid. Going into 1977, the livelihood of our people will be well-off, and we will carry out the regime designated by the Party. According to estimates of the 1976 rice harvest, we will achieve the quotas with a high level stance of independence-mastery, with a spirit of profound patriotism, and with solid ideological stances. The world sees this clearly.

We must strengthen and expand our Party to become even mightier by setting up even mightier politics, ideology, and organization. To make the Party strong, we must fight, we must constantly build the Party internally, and we must constantly prepare and organize firmly. What is Party work? First, it is political work. It is imperative to be crystal clear, to be clear-sighted and to clearly see that we overcome, that no obstacle can impede us. Second, it is ideological work. It is imperative to have solid stances, to be confident, to be absolute, and to be audacious. Third, it is organizational work. It is imperative to be meticulous, to strengthen and expand, and to carry out purges one after another. Even though the numbers may be small, if they are absolute, audacious, pure, they are strong now and on into the future.

II. On Socialist Revolution and Socialist Construction

We have finished national democratic revolution. In the national democratic revolution framework, there was the Party and a broad Front. Now we are continuing to carry out socialist revolution. Therefore, there is no Front anymore. There is just the hard core. This hard core must be set up tightly, sharply, audaciously. The problem which arises is how we must build the Party to be strong in order to lead the revolution strongly, in order to make our economy strong, in order to make the livelihood of our people progress, and in order to defend our country even more effectively.

What is the essential reality of socialist revolution? What is the objective? Inside the national democratic revolution framework, its core content was different that socialist revolution. National democratic revolution had two aspects. First, the nationalist, meaning to fight the imperialists, to liberate the country. Second, the democratic, fighting the feudalists, the capitalists, the reactionaries, to liberate the worker-peasants.

Inside the socialist revolution framework though, its original meaning was to attack and overthrow the capitalist class. In our national society after liberation, we are already rid of the feudalist regime and the capitalist regime. However, their remnants still remain, for instance the private ownership regime and old customs and habits. We must fight to eradicate these remnants of the capitalist regime and be rid of them by successive education, refashioning, and criticism and self-criticism. This is the object of our socialist revolution: not to let the capitalist regime, the private ownership regime, strengthen and expand, not to let them return. Therefore, there is only strengthening and expanding the collective regime. We all must grasp this essence and the true nature of socialist revolution and operate accordingly.

- What are the characteristics of present day Kampuchean society? How do we analyze this? Only after understanding this matter can we gain mastery, can we operate following the correct line, not attacking all over the place all the time. Our current Kampuchean society has only two classes: the worker class and the peasant class. All comrades whose original nature is bourgeois, intellectual, technical, if they are to live in the framework, they must fit themselves into those classes. For example, if they live or work with workers, they must fit themselves into the worker class. If they work in the countryside in the cooperatives, they must fit themselves into the peasant class. We do not let the intellectuals remain in a separate class. If left separately, we would have another class. Therefore, they would be in contradiction with the worker-peasant classes. Therefore, they must finish fitting themselves in. This is the correct principle. They must live with the worker-peasants; their houses must be together, they must work together, build together, be in the same factories, and be in the same units. Living together like this, our comrades, be they intellectuals or be they technicians, after a while they will transform into workers. Now we are preparing to organize this. Having this become the politics, the ideology, demands a period of combat and demands a transitional period. After transitioning through this period, this will be the politics, the ideology. If left separate, they will become a separate stratum. If they live together, the absolute majority are certain to become worker class.

However, there is another stratum that has come to hold power today aside from the worker class and the peasant class. The power-holding capitalists are gone; the power-holding feudalists are gone; but there is another stratum that has come to hold power: the stratum that are workers, peasants, soldiers that hold power inside the government inside the various factories, ministries, offices, and units. This stratum has more privileges and ownership rights than the worker-peasants. Privileges are one thing; but in particular they have more ownership rights than the worker-peasants. The Party has determined that it is imperative to be vigilant and to not allow this small stratum to strengthen and expand itself into another separate stratum. This is an imperative because their outlook and stances may evolve. If this new power-holding stratum is able to strengthen and expand itself, it will without fail be in contradiction with the worker class and the peasant class. In future days the worker-peasants will strike back at this power-holding stratum. We must be well prepared. Therefore, we must gain advance mastery, and do whatever necessary to not allow these new power holders to have more privileges and ownership rights than the worker-peasants. Therefore, it is imperative that they live with the worker-peasants. Living together means being together in political stances, in ideological stances, and in organizational stances, not strengthening and expanding themselves into a stratum separate from the worker-peasants, not distancing themselves from the worker-peasant classes.

Re-summarizing, present Kampuchean society, organizationally speaking, has only two classes: worker and peasant. But when speaking of stances, of essential content, there is still the essence of many other different classes. The essence of the worker class is present. The essence of the peasant class is present too. The essence of the bourgeois class is still very present throughout our national society. And living habits, living regimes and the influence of various classes, whether bourgeois, capitalist, or feudalist, is

still inside the entire Party and inside the entire revolutionary ranks. This is the reality. We must see this situation and take measure to struggle against this.

- First, struggle to strengthen and expand the worker-peasant regime into a high-level collective regime by being vigilant to not let this new power-holding class strengthen and expand its privileges.

- Second, struggle to eradicate various class stances, whether ideological, cultural, or literary. Fight to successively eradicate them and to subsequently indoctrinate them in the proletarian class stance.

- Why is it necessary to carry out socialist revolution?

We must be crystal clear on this matter. If we are not crystal clear, we will not have confidence in the Party line. There are many reasons that lead us to carry out socialist revolution.

Without socialist revolution, we would not have been victorious like this, and we would have been unable to hold power like we do today.

The essence of our socialist revolution is clear and different from any other. We would like to raise a number of examples, as follows:

1971: We carried out national democratic revolution. The liberated zone was vast. However, the capitalists, the landowners, controlled the entire economy. They gathered up the rice to sell to the enemy to feed the enemy so they could strike back at us. We had militia units on guard at every rice granary, and they could still get it out. They bought some of our cadres and our militia units that were no-good elements. They had money; they gathered up the entire economy. The revolution was poor. The revolution had no money; we could not buy them in order to defeat them. Therefore, the people lacked food supplies. The troops lacked food supplies. The people became the satellites of the capitalists. The troops could not fight strongly.

1972: The Party made an assessment and saw that the situation was like this and decided to close the markets in the liberated zones in 1972. Closing the markets was no minor matter. It was a very mighty revolutionary movement that struck right at the economic foundations of the capitalists and feudalists. We did not use military force to kill them. We got control of the important products, like rice, oil, salt, cloth, and medicine. When we were able to control the strategic products, we gained strategic control over the entire economy. We did not let various merchandise enter or leave the liberated zone. Therefore, in just a short time the markets had nothing at all to sell.

This measure was effective to an extent. However, the capitalists still had money and they dared to purchase at higher prices than the revolution. They were able to buy some cadres that were no-good elements. So then, the people still sold paddy and beans to them.



In tandem with the mission of ensuring security for the people, our Revolutionary Army also fights mightily in the rice fields too.

This photo: Female combatants of our Revelatory Army in Sereisaophoan District, Northwest Zone, spreading fertilizer as fast as their arms and legs can go so that the rice will bloom well.

1973: Seeing that only by organizing cooperatives could we gain control of the economy, in mid 1973 the Party decided to organize cooperatives throughout the country. Actually, cooperatives are socialist in nature; they are socialist revolution. Organizing cooperatives meant organizing collectively in the countryside. After we organized the cooperatives in late 1973, all production was in the hands of the people. The people were strong. The Army was strong. The revolution was strong. Organizing cooperatives had a strategic meaning. During war, cooperatives supply the battlefield with both food and manpower. We were able to make war with independence and mastery. Were it not for the cooperatives, we could not have fought and won the war.

Post liberation: We continue making strong socialist revolution with firm confidence. Were it not for socialist revolution, we would have been unable to restore the economy, unable to defend the country, and unable to build the country. When we made socialist revolution, we strengthened and expanded the collective regime and were able to entirely eradicate private ownership and the capitalist regime. We were able to sort out

the livelihood of the people. We were able to restore the economy and defend the country. To the contrary, if we had left the capitalists live, they would have controlled the economy; they had their forces to seize our cadres from us, to seize our troops, and the imperialists helped from the outside too. They would have been able to attack us seize back state power.

After liberation, we had many problems that had to be sorted out. There was the food supply problem, for example. It is true that we are not yet in a state of plenty, because the rice that we eat this year is the product of 1975. We increased production in 1975 in a situation of having just emerged from a war. We had difficulties, and there were many shortages. But, generally speaking, we were fundamentally able to sort this out.

We have land, water, and people. We rely upon our forces. Therefore, we do it by ourselves. We strive to do this to sort out the livelihood of our people. In 1977 we will see that every more clearly.

Another example: Rubber crepe. Aside from rice, one of our products is rubber. In 1976, we were able to produce from 80 to 85 percent of the rubber crepe that the French capitalist had produced before the coup. This was another major victory that came from socialist revolution, from the stance of independence-mastery. Were it not for socialist revolution and the stance of independence-mastery, we would not have been able to do it so quickly.

The various technical fields are the same. In imperialist countries it is imperative to have various technical diplomas and knowledge before studying in the higher-level schools, taking more than 20 years before being able to grasp the technology. As for us, some comrades were literate and some comrades who could read and write only a little bit, because we were the children of peasants. However, we had transitioned through the successive revolutionary movements, and now we also making socialist revolution too. We required only two or three months to gain mastery and we were able to grasp the technology. Assessing the international rule and assessing our actual possibilities inside our country, we see that this is a new experience.

Therefore, did grasping technology come from technology, from culture, or from the stance of socialist revolution? It came from socialist revolution. So then, only by walking the line of socialist revolution can we walk quickly and build the country quickly. If we follow the international rule, we will require ten to twenty years. We would be unable to build the country quickly, and we would be unable to defend the country. It is exactly this that gives us confidence in the Party's leadership in the line of socialist revolution. No matter who comes to make provocations or who comes to take power, we will not tremble, nor will we break away from the Party.

In the factories, in the ministries and offices, and inside each of the other units, it is the same. Only by carrying out socialist revolution can our work in every field, in particular the mission of building technology, be well and quickly done. Socialist

revolution is the primary core force to giving a mighty impetus. When waging war, we fought and defeated the enemy; this was because we organized the cooperatives in time. That is, the cooperatives are the foundation of socialism. Now we are able to build the country and defend the country even faster, even more effectively, when we are crystal clear, audacious, and we fight on to carry out socialist revolution even harder than before.

- Carrying out socialist revolution is nothing so complicated as to be beyond our capabilities; it not something we cannot do. It is a struggle between the collective stance and the stance of private ownership. Are we capable of struggling to eradicate the remnants that we still carry from the past, or are we not? We truly are capable of struggling and fighting to eradicate this; that's why the Party was able the revolution to victory as it has.

Now, throughout the country, masses are unceasingly active in the collective. How can we let the remnants continue? So then, the fast people must strive to be faster, and the slow must strive to keep up with everyone else. If we all are like this, the movement to build the country and the work of defending the country will gain even stronger momentum.

Aside from this, there are other factors favoring our struggle to quickly eradicate private ownership and to indoctrinate in the collective stance. Firstly, our Kampuchean society is now a completely collective society. Secondly, we do not use currency. Currency is a most poisonous tool. It entices us at all times to return to private ownership. With currency we always want to buy this or buy that. Now no one thinks of spending money. This is an important precondition that favors our being able to quickly eradicate the stance of private ownership and indoctrinate in the stance of collectivity.

Thirdly, we have no salaries. With no money, we have no salaries. The cooperative have no salaries. The unions have a no salaries. The Army has no salaries. The cadres have no salaries. If to the contrary, if we did have salaries, we would think just of salaries. Each person would certainly just think about their salary, and each person would just think about saving money. So then, how would we be able to carry out socialist revolution? Money would pressure us constantly and entice us not to go toward collectivity. So, our having no money and no salaries is a very favorable quality.

There are a number of other matters related to our revolution and our people and which push us to strive to carry out revolution.

Today enemies in every direction want to wreck our revolution, our country, and our people. I say that they want to wreck our country because previously when there was no revolution they also wanted to wreck our country, and since there was no revolution, they oppressed us as they pleased; they wrecked us they pleased. When we made revolution, the revolution struck them and smashed them and was able to seize power. The enemy became even angrier and searched out every means, waited for every opportunity to come and wreck us again. We must defend our revolutionary state power. In order to do so, we must carry out socialist revolution strongly and constantly. World

experience clearly shows us that if the revolution is not strong, the enemy will strike and retake power. If we do not make socialist revolution strongly, there are only two ways forward: either the enemy will strike and smash us and retake state power, or else we will maintain state power but will become their subjects.

So then, we have no other path other than socialist revolution. We must strive to make ourselves strong. Our country was a slave for a long time. Now we are independent. We want to maintain that independence to be invulnerable. We must be independent before we can have prestige and pride. If we are the subjects of others, either people inside the country or internationals, no matter how much merry making we want to do, we will have no honor or pride.

Another impetus that leads us to quickly build the stance of socialist revolution is the huge sacrifice of life of our people and our Revolutionary Army. During the past war to liberate the nation and liberate the country, more than 500,000 of our people and our troops sacrificed their lives. More than 500,000 were wounded and crippled. The total is more than 1,000,000. If we do not carry out socialist revolution strongly in order to maintain and protect the fruits of the revolution, the sacrifices of more than 1,000,000 people will become worthless. It would be as if we threw away the sacrifices of over 1,000,000 of our people for nothing. We must use this situation to teach in order to build ourselves and our units and to push socialist revolution even more strongly and more deeply.

Following this path, the entire Party, the entire people, the entire army will all be able to carry out socialist revolution. However, it can only be done when there is a movement. So, do not be afraid and do not discriminate in terms of work; whether the work is large or small, do not be complicated. Only when we do a lot can we understand. When we do a lot, there will certainly be many things that are correct and incorrect. However, we gain experience. So, all our Party members, young or old, with long seniority within the Party or not so long, must fight inside either large or small frameworks. This is a mighty class struggle in which we must overcome and fight to seize absolute victory.

2. Building socialism:

The core essence of building socialism is as follows:

- First, it is imperative to strengthen and expand the collective position, to constantly stand on this position and to strengthen and expand ourselves upon this stance, the collective spirit, the collective stance, to organize the collective, to strengthen and expand the collective, to constantly improve the collective.

- Second, standing upon the collective, we build and strengthen and expand materially, technically, scientifically, economically, and in terms of social action, culture, and literature.

We raise two more matters so there will be no confusion. Building socialism does not stand only upon technology. Building socialism must stand upon two factors: it must fundamentally stand upon collectivity. If it does not stand upon collectivity, upon socialist revolution, then building technology will turn into capitalist style building, not socialist construction.

So then whatever the work, don't chase after technology; don't chase after materials. When standing upon collectivity, building materials and technology will be very fast.

This is why the Party dared to determine that we will build our backward agriculture into modern agriculture. This comes from the Party having the faith and confidence in socialist revolution, having confidence in the entirety of the Party's forces, the entirety of the people's forces, and the entirety of the forces of the army. Can we make a go of it, or not? We certainly can. During 1976 we gained much experience in building socialism, especially in rice farming. There are four problems in rice farming: first, water; second, fertilizer; third, seed; fourth maintenance. As for factories, if there is money to purchase them, we can get the factories.

Our primary problem is the water problem. How must it be sorted out? From February until May, we were able to accomplish the paddy dike systems, exceeding plans. Since May, we have improved and sorted out water to a higher level than before by adding canals, dams, feeder canals, and reservoirs. Based upon this experience, we can continue to strengthen and expand. According to estimate, within five years our agriculture will progress greatly. If there is water, there will be rice. The harvest will increase from three tons to four tons to five tons to six tons. There will be huge changes within five years. Starting now, the changes are great, like none in our history. Never has world history seen such change. Foreign comrades see this and are in great awe. With the first years changing that much, the second, third, and fourth years will change even more greatly.

We are able to sort this out using very little capital, standing upon the forces of the Party, the forces of the people, the forces of the army, by standing upon socialist revolution, not upon technology.

In summary, we may achieve the 1976 plan. First, paddy dikes: we have already achieved 30 percent since May, and we have exceeded plans for making canals, dams, and reservoirs. Second, the three ton harvest quota: wait for the January or February harvest when we can measure it. However, by early October, throughout the country we had transplanted 85 percent of the land area to be cultivated. Some locations have had obstacles due to flooding, but we continue to strive to fight to further sort out transplanting. Estimate of the 1976 harvest are 80 percent of the quotas. Getting that much is terrific. In terms of international planning, achieving 80 percent is considered a huge success. We may be able to accomplish it. Specifically, by 1977 we clearly will get enough production. In tandem with this, we have determined to double the rice seed to be stored.

Based upon 1976 experience, we will further strengthen and expand by standing upon socialist revolution and upon the collectivity of the Party's proletarian class in order to build even faster technically in every field.

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This is all that I wish to present. The key matter that we emphasize is the imperative to continue carry out socialist revolution more strongly and more profoundly.

Therefore, the entire Party must concentrate on this matter. To build the country, sort out the livelihood of the people, and defend the country, it is absolutely imperative to stand upon socialist revolution. This is what must be done now. In the future, we must also do this. The matter of continuing to carry out socialist revolution strongly and profoundly is our strategic line.

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In order to absolutely achieve the Party's 1976 goal of three tons of paddy per hectare, the peasants in our cooperatives always meticulously concentrate on caring for seedlings.

This photo: The peasants of the Banteay Trav Cooperative, Bati District, Southwest Zone, pulling grass from clumps of rice plants so that the heads of rice bloom well.

Honing the Ideology Of the Proletarian Class

To Its Sharpest and Mightiest



On the occasion of the great victory of the 16th anniversary of the birth of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, we wish to present five fundamental ideological and strategic documents for all comrades in the Party, in the revolutionary ranks, and in the Revolutionary Army to routinely assess, consider, and study to strengthen their political, ideological, and organization stances in this new stage of socialist revolution and socialist construction, specifically in order to constantly be a mighty political, ideological, and organizational force to go on the offensive to complete the 1976 missions and set up the preconditions for further strong offensives to fulfill the Party's 1977 missions in great leap victories.

I. On Socialist Revolution in Every Field

Objectives:

To closely grasp the true nature of socialist revolution that stands upon class struggle between the proletarian class and the capitalist class, between the proletarian class and the other oppressor classes, between the collective ownership rights of the proletarian class and the private ownership rights of the various oppressor classes, between socialist ownership rights and private ownership rights. With this stance, we have the objective of building the Party and building our cadres and Party members to successively struggle to absolutely eradicate and eliminate the true nature of the capitalist class, the true nature of the various oppressor classes, the true nature of every type of private ownership rights, and then to struggle to absolutely build and firmly indoctrinate the true nature of the proletarian class, the true nature of collective ownership rights and social ownership rights in every field.

An explanation of the objectives:

We study documents on socialist revolution in every field in order to absorb socialist revolution. In order to build ourselves we must understand the true nature of socialist revolution.

We must understand the targets of attack of socialist revolution in order to hit them accurately. The target that has to be struck is the true nature of the capitalist class in every field: economics, culture, social action, psychology, etc. When we know these clearly, we are able to prepare our weapons correctly, then we strike and break them open. If the targets to be struck are not clearly designated or are unclear, we cannot strike them effectively, attacking for one day and missing; attacking for one year and missing; attacking for ten years and still missing.

So then, this matter is not beyond the capacity of the fundamental class. In fact, it is a match with the capacity of the fundamental class. They have no burdensome ownership rights in terms of materials or intellect, so they find it easy to eradicate them. The strength of ownership rights inside the fundamental class is weak.

But socialist revolution is done within various other classes that do have material ownership rights in terms of intellect, like the capitalists, like the intellectuals; they have difficulties; they have ownership rights that impede their understanding and does not let them absorb socialist revolution. No matter how it is explained, the struggle does not open them up. They can only be opened up by the use of concentrated heavy artillery strikes.

Therefore, the targets that must be struck in socialist revolution lie not just within the capitalist class; they exist in the worker class as well. Striking those within the worker class is easier. Within the capitalist class it is difficult.

The targets for building are: building the proletarian stance, collective ownership rights, and socialist ownership rights.

Therefore, we keep a close grasp on this matter. We build ourselves, and we build our Party inside this framework, not all over the place all the time. We strike right at the problem.

Core content of the documents:

1. The true nature of socialist revolution
2. What must we struggle to eradicate, and what must we build upon?
3. Who must we struggle to eradicate, and who must we struggle to build upon?
4. Why do we struggle to eradicate the capitalist class, the oppressor classes, and private ownership, and why do we strengthen the stance of the proletarian class and the stance of the collective?

1. The true nature of socialist revolution

The true nature of socialist revolution is the true nature of class struggle between the proletarian class and the capitalist class and is different from the true nature of the national democratic revolution that was a class struggle between the people and the

imperialists, the feudalists, and the reactionary capitalists. This was the original meaning of socialist revolution.

In current Kampuchean society there is still class struggle between the proletarian class and the various oppressor classes, between the collective ownership of the proletarian class and the private ownership of all the various other classes. This is why we add attacking the various oppressor classes and attacking private ownership.

Therefore, the true nature of socialist revolution is class struggle between the proletarian class and the capitalist class and the various other oppressor classes and between the collective ownership of the proletarian class and private ownership.

Is raising it this way correct or incorrect? In our society are the imperialists all gone yet? Are the feudalists and the capitalists all gone yet? The imperialists in appearance are scattered, but they still are troublesome for us. The feudalist class and the capitalist class have in fact been overthrown, but the true nature of the contradiction still exists. It still exists in terms of politics, in terms of ideology, in terms of stances, and in terms of class rage. Therefore, we do not bring it up incorrectly. As for private ownership, it still exists. There is still private ownership among the worker class. We struggle to eradicate this private ownership for the sake of collective ownership and socialist ownership.

If we attack only the capitalist class, we do not gain mastery and we are not vigilant about whatever is non-capitalist.

Another experience: In the international world, being revisionist comes from being in deadlock attacking only the capitalists. Anything that is not capitalist is not seen, not attacked. But the private ownership that occurs within the Party, in the army, and among the people is not seen, is not attacked. Therefore, private ownership keeps on strengthening and expanding. When private ownership expands, collective ownership shrinks.

So this is why we attack private ownership. This attack has to be constant and long-term. Private ownership cannot be eradicated immediately. It demands constant, strenuous, and successive attacks.

We bring it up like this following the actual situation of our revolutionary movement. We bring it up like this so it will be firm. If not, our workers, our peasants, our petty bourgeoisie will strengthen and expand their ownership rights. Private ownership is the true nature of the capitalists. Private ownership strengthens and expands and seizes the opportunity to seize collective property to sell and barter. So then, it is the true nature of the capitalists. The only difference is whether the capitalists are small or large.

Is bringing it up like this being rightist? Generally speaking, it is not being rightist.

Is it being leftist? This question is outdated because we have already done this. We have already attacked and overthrown the capitalist class, the feudal class, and we are still on the attack. The private ownership of the petty bourgeoisie, of the peasants, of the workers, we attack that too. We did not attack haphazardly. We attacked by setting up a collective regime. We built. As for them, they have been charging that this was being leftist for a long time now. During the political struggle when we struggled with Sihanouk, they charged that we were being leftist. During the armed struggle, during the civil war, they charged that we were being leftist; they said we were taking risks. But when we reassess this, we see that by struggling like this we were able to protect forces, to strengthen and expand forces, to prepare and organize the views and stances of the people, the Party, and the Army to counter the 1970 coup. When we did not negotiate in 1973, they charged that we were being leftist. Our withdrawing the people from the cities, our not using money: they charged that was being leftist. But we had our reasons, and the movement has shown that we were correct. Now everyone accepts that we were correct.

Therefore, in assessing whether our line was left or not, it is imperative to base that upon the movement. That must not be based on dogma.

2. What must we eradicate, and what must we build upon?

Upon every field: upon world view (our understanding), upon life view (our understanding of our lives), upon our lives, upon our economy in every field, upon culture, upon the arts, upon literature, upon sentiments, upon ideology, upon ideas.

Struggle to eradicate what? Eradicate capitalist world views; eradicate the world views of various classes; eradicate private world views.

Build what? Build world view, proletarian class life view; build proletarian class economy; build proletarian class sentiment; build proletarian class morality.

The meaning in actual implementation:

Ordinarily in our Party, generally speaking, there are positive and negative qualities. As a positive, the true nature of socialism exists to an certain extent. We have struggled and eradicated anything that was capitalist, that was oppressor class, and that was private ownership stance to an important extent. But shortcomings still exist in terms of world view, life view, economics, and various class moralities. So then, that is why they appear as manifestations of material ownership in some miscellaneous problems. These problems are still minor, but they are private ownership, a manifestation not yet fully in accordance with socialist revolution. It is not yet pristine. When we take a stance of socialist revolution and look, we see that, whether we look at ourselves or look at our units. So then, socialist revolution and socialist construction are not yet smooth. There are still entanglements.

There is also still some ownership in terms of power. Aside from this, our thinking in our lives, life views, and world views are not yet pristine, not yet pristine in a proletarian sense. The thinking differs from the collective, differs from socialism. The thinking is preparatory, confused between the private and the collective. At times it is crystal clear; at times it is not. It is not clean.

In work process: Leadership work, other work, joint work, and separate work, generally speaking, are strong. But there is another aspect that we must examine: there are still a number of shortfalls; there is still some slowness. This comes from the stances of some of our comrades not very concerned with the socialist revolution movement; also inside each of us these two aspects still exist.

Among our cadres there is a talent for socialism, but there are still shortfalls. For example: Their talent for frugality in the use of machinery and various things. They do not yet conserve and do not yet maintain. So, this has great impact on socialist construction. One impact: there is nothing else left for use. Another impact: we have to purchase more. That cadres are like this is not primarily a cadre problem; it is a Party problem.

This example makes it clear that there are still contradictions: contradictions between socialism and non-socialism. They are not strong contradictions, but they do impede the socialist revolution movement and socialist construction. Many tools are made, but many lathe bits are broken since socialist revolution is not yet good. A good spirit of socialism has progressed from not having the know-how to maintain collective property. It is the same in the various ministries. It is the same in the cooperatives. When the Party is solid, it will certainly cast a good influence upon the masses in the cooperatives. So then, organizing and caring for cattle, water buffalos, hoes, knives, and hatchets is not doing it by yourself, but organizing other persons to be responsible for that, then successively educating, indoctrinating, and building them.

About matters being slow, is that strong, or not? In the Party, in the offices, in the factories and in the cooperatives, some people are surging forward strongly, some are making moderate progress, some are playful and non-concerned, and some are lazy. Those surging forward strongly must push the others on by indoctrinating them in the stance of socialist revolution. Those with intermediate momentum must push the others to gain momentum. As for those who are playful and non-concerned, this comes from revolutionary fires not being strong. Leaving it like this will impact our socialist revolution movement, impact the life of our revolution, and impact the defense of the country. For example: If only 1.5 tons of paddy per hectare can be achieved, not three tons, this impacts the work of defending the country and building the country. Seeing this, in order not to procrastinate, it is imperative to light a mighty fire for them. Is it too late, or not? It is not too late, because the 1976 plan is not yet finished. We have already transplanted most of the land, but we must prepare the remaining 20 percent to help link it to the previous 80 percent that had some shortfalls. This is the first thing. Second, it is imperative to care for the 80 percent well by pulling weeds, adding water, adding fertilizer, and by pushing the spirit of socialist revolution and the stance of socialist

revolution. If we further procrastinate and are not vigilant in caring for the 80 percent that has been already done, it will become even weaker.

3. Who must we struggle to eradicate, and who must we struggle to build upon?

It is imperative to struggle to eradicate and to struggle to build inside the entire Party, inside all core organizations, inside the entire revolutionary ranks, inside the entire worker-peasant collective, and inside the whole society. In particular, it is imperative to struggle to eradicate and to struggle to build each individual and even more importantly each cadre and each Party member.

Each Party member, each cadre, must eradicate everything inside us, regardless of whether it is large or small, that is oppressor class and is private ownership in terms of stance, view, sentiment, habit, literature, or arts. Building is the same. It is imperative to build everything that is collective and socialist, to build proletarian class world views and proletarian life views, to build proletarian class stances in terms of thought, in terms of living habits, in terms of morality, in terms of sentiment, etc.

The method of building: It is imperative to have clear boundaries between private ownership and collective ownership and the between stance of the private and the stance of the collective. Think privately or think collectively. Anything turning toward the private must be eradicated. Ordinarily, on some matters we stand on the side of the collective, but in others we stand on the side of the private. When we stand on the side of the private, this contradicts the collective. On everything, in thinking or in doing, do not stand on the side of the private; it is imperative to stand with the collective. In both thought and sentiment, prepare and build the reflex of sitting oneself down on the side of the collective. Sort out contradictions inside the Party and among the people by standing on the side of the collective in order to think, in order to figure out, and in order to solve. Stand on the side of the collective to organize. If we stand on the boundary, things will be in turmoil and not firm. When the objective entices, even a little, come to the private side. When we are standing on the collective side, even though the objective pulls us, we have time to think; when we think, we become aware that we are sliding toward the private side and we can immediately run back toward the collective side.

In listening to reports, it is imperative to stand upon the collective. Even when sorting out contradictions between our country and some other country, stand on the side of the collective. When they profit, our joint revolutionary movement loses. Sorting out person-to-person contradictions is the same. If we stand with this person and raise one to negatively impact the other, doing so would be a loss. If we see some individual and correct them by putting them down without seeing their virtues and mentioning their virtues to build them, that would be a mistake.

So, immediately stand on the side of the collective. Don't stand on the boundary. Stand deeply into the collective side. Get ready; prepare yourself; sit down immediately, looking at the collective chair. In assessing any problem, you must assess yourself to see

whether or not you are on the collective side. Whenever we say that we are standing on the collective side but the outcome of the solution impacts the collective, our stance is not yet correct; our line of solution is not yet correct; we must reassess our stance.

Morals are the same. Suppose that you are living along with women. After a while, the material atmosphere leads to sentimentality. If we stand upon the collective, we must immediately sort out this arrangement. If we strengthen and expand the arrangement of living close to these women, that is a strong private stance. After a while that strong private stance impacts morality.

And don't place blame on the objective saying they gave us private chairs to sit in, because no one gave us chairs. Private chairs surround us. We must find a collective chair and constantly hold tight to that collective chair.

4. Why do we struggle to eradicate the capitalist class, the oppressor classes and private ownership and why do we strengthen the stance of the proletarian class and the stance of the collective?

To build socialism to be mighty. Only after eradicating everything that is capitalist class, everything that is oppressor class, everything that is private, can we whip up the movement to build socialism quickly and well. In the factories, in the cooperatives, in the offices, conserve well, use well, work well, build socialism well, and defend the country well. Defend the fruits of the revolution well, and cast good influence outside the country. Sort out the livelihood of the people well. The people will grow even stronger. The forces of the revolution will grow even stronger.

Therefore, the primary root-and-trunk source is the true nature of socialist revolution, the imperative to struggle to eradicate everything that is capitalist class, everything of the various oppressor classes, everything that is private ownership. This is speaking in general terms. Speaking specifically, it is the same. In a cooperative, even if there is only one Party member, if their proletarian stance is good they will clearly build core organizations following the stance of socialist revolution to push the socialist revolution movement in that cooperative to become mighty.

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- Summary:**
1. It is imperative to tightly grasp the true nature of socialist revolution. What is to be attacked? Socialist revolution must have a true nature of attacking the capitalist class, attacking the various oppressor classes, and attacking private ownership. After attacking them, we continue to attack absolutely under the leadership of our Communist Party of Kampuchea.
 2. What is to be built? Build the collective of the proletariat.

3. The way to eradicate and the best way to build in order to get effective results is to have clear boundaries between private ownership and collective ownership and between the private stance and the collective stance of the proletarian class of the Party.

II. On Class Contradictions in the Present Kampuchean Society, Class Struggle and Sorting Out Class Contradictions In the Present Kampuchean Society

Objectives:

To demonstrate for us to see the true nature of the proletarian class in current Kampuchean society and see what class contradictions exist. Through this, see how class struggle must be done and how class contradictions must be clearly sorted out without there being any confusion between the antagonistic life-and-death contradictions between us and the enemy and the internal contradictions inside our Party and among the people. To know how to correctly sort out the antagonist contradictions as well as the contradictions inside the Party and among the people.

Class composition in the current Kampuchean society is different from class composition was in Kampuchean society back during the national democratic revolution period. The class contradictions are also different than they were during the national democratic revolution period. We see this in order to clearly distinguish the antagonistic contradictions and the internal contradictions, so that they can be struck accurately. We see this so that we will hold in advance the view that class contradictions and class struggle has been longstanding, to avoid confusion that now that the Party holds power throughout the country and the worker-peasant classes hold power throughout the country and the struggle is over, and to have the view of tense, strenuous, long-term class struggle.

Core content:

1. Distinguishing class in current Kampuchean society
2. Visible signs of class internal contradictions inside current Kampuchean society and contradictions from outside
3. Class struggle in current Kampuchean society and with the enemy from outside
4. Sorting out the categories of internal conflicts in Kampuchean society and those from outside

5. The view of tense, strenuous, long-term class struggle

1. Distinguishing class in current Kampuchean society

1. The organizational forms of class

In our current Kampuchean society, what class elements are there in organizational form? They are as follows:

1. There is the worker class. We do not yet think about whatever stances they may have; we just think about their occupation.

2. There is the peasant class, whether old peasants or new peasants. Aside from these two classes, what else is there? There are no feudalists-landowners. According to our assessments, there are none. Are there any capitalists? There are none. There is no class organization making a living as capitalists. Is there a petty bourgeoisie? There are no petty bourgeoisie intellectuals, professors, mandarins, or students. This is speaking strictly organizationally.

There are only workers and peasants in the ranks of our revolution. There is the Party, the core organizations, and our Revolutionary Army and its male and female combatants. In September 1975 we designated that there would be no other strata distinct from the worker and peasant classes. We designated anyone working inside the worker framework as being a worker. We designated anyone working inside the peasant framework as a being a peasant. Fundamentally, making these designations was correct. However, we must not forget that aside from the workers and peasants, there are still the revolutionary ranks. The revolutionary ranks are also a stratum, the stratum that holds power. We must not forget them. If we forget them, they will be boxed in and they will strengthen and expand into a separate stratum. They set themselves up as worker-peasants, but in fact they hold power over the worker-peasants.

With this, what do we want to build these people into? We do not want anyone to strengthen and expand themselves to hold power other than the worker-peasants. One day they will have a contradiction with the worker-peasants. Now there is an aspect of unity with the worker-peasant classes, but there is also an aspect of contradiction with the worker-peasant classes. We must eradicate that aspect of contradiction, the being separate from the worker-peasants which impacts the worker-peasants. So then, any faction working inside the worker-peasant framework must be the flesh and blood of the worker-peasants, selected from within the worker-peasants, and must sort out problems with the stance of serving the interests of the worker-peasants.

The concrete meaning:

It is imperative to keep on building our ranks at each location, in the factories and in the cooperatives. After being selected, they must continue living among the worker-

peasants in the sense of sharing joys and sorrows with the worker-peasants and performing labor work with the worker-peasants.

This is why the successive measures taken by the Party have always set a good pattern in this direction. We demobilized the committees serving the people in the villages and moved them into the cooperatives instead.

In tandem with this, the base areas in general sent all these village cadres go to work as cooperative members or go work as cooperative cadres. This is a good pattern.

The subdistricts throughout the country. A considerable number of subdistricts have already become cooperatives or no longer remain as committees serving the people of the subdistrict. They have become cooperative members or cooperative cadres. This is a good development.

Aside from this, a considerable number of district cadres have gone down into the fray in the cooperatives. Doing this is a great gain. Cadres going down close to the cooperatives:

- See the problems of the cooperatives, and report them and sort them out in a timely manner
- Grasp sentiments along with the cooperatives
- Gain mastery over the enemy

Therefore, our ranks do not strengthen and expand themselves into a separate stratum.

The Revolutionary Army is also inside our ranks. How do we prepare them? If we strengthen and expand them separately, a new stratum will be born. If we have them go to the base area cooperatives, they will not become a separate stratum. Therefore, they must go join in activities with the workers or the peasants in the locations where they operate. They must help plow, help transplant, and help put up paddy dikes. They go to help do this, but they do not go into the cooperatives. They still remain in their units, because the Army is the instrument of the proletarian dictatorship of the Party. However, they must go help in the work of the cooperatives. As for rice farming, they farm rice within their own framework in order to support themselves.

When we organize like this, our ranks will have things really easy. Therefore, they will not create a separate stratum.

In summary, in organizational form, in our society there are only two classes: workers and peasants. In tandem with this, we must pay attention to the revolutionary ranks, and those ranks must be sorted out so that they can go to work on activities to

increase production along with the worker-peasants. If it is not sorted out like this, there will be contradictions.

If these ranks strengthen and expand themselves into a separate stratum distinct from the worker-peasants, this will lead the worker-peasants into becoming capitalists. This is the present state of the international world.



This photo: Peasants in our cooperative on an offensive weaving enough mats to be kept in ready for gathering the rice harvest during the upcoming harvest season.

2. The core content of class

Examination shows that in our society there is worker class core content and peasant class core content. In tandem with this, there is still petty bourgeois core content. There is still capitalist class core content. Feudalist, landowner, and mandarin core content also exist. Core content is class stance, class feeling, sentiment, habit, thinking only about wanting to oppress, the influence of the petty bourgeois class, capitalist class, and the feudalist class inside our worker-peasants, inside the ranks of our male and female combatants, and inside our ranks in the Revolutionary Army. Also, as for the demobilized capitalists and the demobilized feudalist, their core content still remains,

and there are still lots of them. They live in socialism only by organization; they were coerced organizationally to do so. Can their ideology gradually become crystal clear? Some elements may gradually become crystal clear; some elements oppose us; however, none of them have an economy; they have no organization; and they are under the class dictatorship of the worker-peasant classes.

2. Characteristics of class internal contradictions inside current Kampuchean society and contradictions from outside

Class contradiction inside Kampuchean society:

What are the class contradictions inside current Kampuchean society? Assessing the organizational form of class and the core class content in Kampuchean society, we see the following contradictions:

Fundamentally, the contradictions are between the proletarian class and the capitalist class.

Aside from this, there are class contradictions with the feudalist, landowner and privileged classes (subdistrict chiefs, district governors, provincial governors, government officials, police, and soldiers)

Therefore, in form, there are only the worker class and the peasant class, but the peasants include both old and new peasants. Among the old peasants there are poor peasants, lower-middle peasants, mid-level peasants, upper-middle peasants, and wealthy peasants. Among the new peasants are the petty bourgeoisie, the capitalists, the feudalists, and other workers and laborers. Therefore there are contradictions within the old peasants from upper-middle peasants on up, in particular with the wealthy peasants, that are life-and-death contradictions. There are also contradictions within the new peasants, contradictions with capitalists and feudalists that are life-and-death contradictions. When individuals reform, they are not life-and-death contradictions, but they do not easily reform.

These contradictions are buried, because the forces of the proletarian dictatorship are stronger, and they cannot move. Some elements may reform, but many elements do not reform. When they die, they instruct their children to struggle on against the communists.

We have the state power of revolutionary dictatorship above them, and we strengthen and expand the worker-peasant alliance. They are isolated and they are gradually exhausted.

In the base areas, as for the characteristics of the contradictions that we can detect, most of them are government officials, policemen, soldiers, and students. This comes from the capitalists and the landowners not showing themselves. They are the instigators,

but they do not show their faces. When they held power, they did not show their faces; they just paid government agents to show their faces.

Aside from antagonistic contradictions with the capitalist landowner class, there are also internal contradictions that arise from low-level and high-level political awareness. We must resolve that through education.

In summary, inside the current society there are:

1. Secondary internal contradictions
2. Antagonistic life-and-death contradictions between the workers and peasants on one side and the capitalists and feudalists on the other side

The essential reality of the contradictions is the same: previously, the feudalist and capitalist classes were above the worker-peasant classes. So then, the worker-peasant classes waged revolution and overthrew the capitalist and feudalist classes. Now the worker-peasant classes are on top.

The external contradictions are:

- Secondary contradictions
- Life-and-death contradictions

3. Class struggle inside current Kampuchean society and with enemies from the outside, and sorting out the contradictions

There are two types of internal contradictions inside Kampuchean society:

- Secondary contradictions
- Antagonistic life-and-death contradictions

There are also two types of external contradictions:

- Secondary contradictions
- Life-and-death contradictions

Negative manifestations of class struggle phenomena inside Kampuchean society: There are phenomena of killing cattle and water buffaloes, spreading leaflets, and demonstrations are not numerous, but they are negative manifestations of class struggle. Wrecking the collective belongings of the cooperatives and making propaganda against the collective regime are gathering various forces to struggle against the revolution, to struggle against the proletarian class.

As for us, we carry out class struggle. When we evacuated the people from the cities, we carried out class struggle. When we strengthen and expand the cooperatives, that is doing class struggle to strike and scatter the forces of the capitalists and feudalists. When they live privately, they have power. When we organize the collective of the proletariat, we have power.

We see this so that we can further strengthen our stance of class struggle and not make a determination that class struggle has ended.

There are many successive negative manifestations of class struggle from the outside.

So then, how must we sort this out? Sort it out by closely grasping views and stances regarding the normal state of contradiction that occur in our national society and having clear stances and views regarding the normal contradictions that arise from the outside and not seeing those contradictions as only occurring once in a while and then disappearing. It is imperative to see that they are normal and successive contradictions. As for views and stances, it is imperative to clearly see that there are secondary contradictions and life-and-death contradictions. Internal contradictions must be sorted out as internal contradictions; they are our flesh and blood, they are not counter-revolutionary; they do not provoke and attack the revolution; these are contradictions due to misunderstanding. They must be sorted out by successive education.

As for antagonistic contradictions, there are two ways to sort them out:

One way is to educate, to do political, ideological and organizational work within the general framework in order to lessen or postpone the contradictions and not let them be sharp all the time.

But in tandem with this, it is imperative to take meticulous organizational measures of every kind. Among these measures is one fundamental measure, that is, implementing the dictatorship of the proletarian class over this group. We are a proletarian dictatorship in the sense that we are not being frivolous toward that group, and we give freedom to the worker-peasant people. As for the feudalist and capitalist groups, they must be in a narrow framework. Who should freedoms should be given to and who should they not be given to must be clear. Be vigilant to do not let the feudalists and land owners constantly move about to distant places, like going to find salt, going to find roots to make medicines, or going to tend cattle. If this group moves about, they will contact one another. It is imperative to educate our cooperatives to be vigilant toward this group.

As for antagonistic contradictions from the outside, it is imperative to take measures to educate the people constantly in meticulous measures to organize and defend the forces and the foreign policy of gathering friends constantly. In the experience of our revolution, the fundamental measure is secrecy. Taking secrecy as the fundamental, we

can defend forces, and the enemy cannot strike and hit. Work overtly. Work covertly. But stand upon the foundation of secrecy.

4. The view of long-term, tense, strenuous class struggle

Raise this view in order to see that class struggle is long-term, tense, and strenuous, both within Kampuchean society and with those coming from the outside politically, militarily, by sabotage, and by boring holes within us. When we have this view, we can estimate the path by which they will come, and we gain mastery in advance.

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Summary: It is imperative to closely grasp the stances and views of contradictions that normally occur and exist time after time inside our country and those which come from outside the country. When we already have these stances and views, we can truly take constant, meticulous measures.

III. On State Power and the Party's Proletarian Class Dictatorship

Objectives:

To grasp the essential reality of the revolutionary state power of the Party and the essential reality of the proletarian dictatorship of the Party. To have clearer views regarding the matters of revolutionary state power and defending and strengthening the revolutionary state power of the Party through the Party's proletarian dictatorship at all times. To absolutely not allow other classes and enemies to be able to come and seize back the state power of the revolution.

Core content:

1. The essential reality of the peasant-worker revolutionary state power under the leadership of the Party
2. The essential reality of the proletarian dictatorship of the Party
3. Views, stances, and various measures to defend and strengthen the worker-peasant state power of the Party under the proletarian dictatorship of the Party strongly and absolutely

1. The essential reality of the peasant-worker revolutionary state power under the leadership of the Party

The essential reality of the peasant-worker revolutionary state power under the leadership of the Party is that this state power is the state power of the Party and the proletarian class for serving the interests of the worker-peasant classes. Its essential reality does not serve any class other than the worker-peasant classes. We must closely grasp this matter in order not to mistakenly hold that this state power is used to serve any other class, whether the petty bourgeoisie, the feudalists, or the capitalists. Otherwise, these groups will demand their rights and we will keep giving in to them. They themselves must turn into worker-peasant in accordance with the mission of serving the state power. If we use state power to serve these people, that would be a mistake, and not an ordinary mistake; that would strengthen their forces.

As for the elements that are the capitalists, the feudalists, and the land owners that have come to be the new peasants, we must educate them and build them into worker-peasants. We have the potential to reform a number of them. Some of them will not reform; they look for successive opportunities to oppose the revolution.

Where does this state power come from? The revolution state power of the worker-peasants of the Party did not occur by itself; it did not occur through elections or assemblies; it did not occur by conspiracies between any classes; it did not come from negotiations. It came from difficult, strenuous struggles, from arms to politics and from politics back to arms again, from overt and covert struggles both illegal and legal, from political violence, from armed violence, and from the sacrifice of many of the lives of the people, the ranks of the Party, and our Revolutionary Army. The various oppressor classes, fundamentally the capitalists and the feudalists, joined with the imperialists to fight the people and fight our revolution most strenuously, using all force of every type, using every type of trickery and deceit, and using every kind of diplomatic activity. Through our violence, we seized state power. Seeing the tense state of combat in order to seize state power is seeing the price of state power. All state power in the cooperatives and factories came from long-term fighting and bloodshed.

After having seized state power, what missions do we have regarding this state power?

We must defend it, improve it, strengthen it, absolutely not let the enemies outside the country seize it back, and not let the various oppressor classes that were overthrown be able to return and seize state power again. Standing upon our state power, we organize our national defense and organize building the country to plenty and prosperity. Without state power we would be unable to build the country, to sort out the livelihood of the people, or to reform the livelihood of the people to be glorious and dignified. Only when revolutionary state power is in the hands of the Party can the country be quickly built up and the livelihoods of the people quickly rise. Therefore, it is absolutely imperative to defend state power, to strengthen state power, and to improve state power to have better composition in accordance with the Party's stances and the Party's lines: state power in

the cooperatives: state power in the factories, and state power throughout the country. When the enemy is unable to attack the entire country, they attack the cooperatives; they attack the factories. Sometimes they attack both the cooperatives and the factories throughout the country. So then, raise the spirit of revolutionary vigilance at every location. Defend state power to be strong. Do not let state power fall back into the hands of the enemy.

2. The essential reality of the proletarian dictatorship of the Party

The proletarian dictatorship of the Party is:

1. Democratic rights and freedoms for the worker-peasant people
2. Proletarian dictatorship over the capitalist class and the other oppressor classes

On the revolutionary side, the worker-peasants have power rights. Standing upon these power rights, we are a dictatorship above the oppressor classes, not allowing them to have the right and freedom to re-strengthen and re-expand their forces to attack the proletarian state power. Therefore we are not afraid to be acting as a dictatorship over the oppressor classes. Give them equality, let them have the freedom to do as they please like the worker-peasants, and clearly they will strengthen and expand their forces in order to wreck our revolution, makes things difficult again, and scatter us. This is the stance. So then, this is not based upon the morality of the feudalist and capitalist classes. It is based upon the morality of the proletarian class.

In selecting cadres for the cooperatives and factories, we do not select from the capitalist elements or the elements of any other class. This also goes to the proletarian dictatorship. If we were to select them, they would have the right to organize materials, and even more dangerously they would have the right to induct others of their kind to lead the cooperatives and factories.

3. Views, stances, and various measures to defend and strengthen the worker-peasant state power of the Party under the proletarian dictatorship of the Party strongly and absolutely

We were able to seize this state power of the worker-peasant class through long-term bloodshed. The oppressor classes both inside and outside the country hold a powerful grudge toward us; they, in a feud, want to come back to seize state power. Standing upon this view, we must have the stance that it is absolutely imperative to defend state power by using the weapon of proletarian dictatorship, using the weapon of proletarian dictatorship to prevent the oppressor classes inside the country from being able to join with enemies outside the country to attack us.

When the views and stances are correct, the measures taken are fundamentally correct. We worry that the views have not yet been taught. We worry that the stances

have not yet been taught. When views and stances are not are incorrect, not solid, are relaxed, this is dangerous. Therefore, we must constantly have solid stances and views.

In tandem with this, it is imperative to take organizational measures to purge our state power, to make it clean, firm, and strong.

Purge the enemy within the people to make them clean, good, firm, and strong.

Measures to reform the livelihood of the people, military measures to strengthen the Army to be the armed instrument of the dictatorship of the Party.

Internal factors are the decisive factors. As for the external enemy, if the internal factors do not exist, they will be unable to do anything to us. When our measures are correct and meticulous like this, they are unable to do anything to us. In order to take correct and meticulous measures, it is imperative to grasp the Party's lines in every field.

We look at the state of the contradictions and sort out the contradictions one after another. Therefore, organization is not in deadlock. In some periods, some elements were able to serve the mission. But in this new period, some elements are unable to serve the new missions, and not just unable, sometimes they are even in contradiction with the new missions. So then, we must dare to improve organization to serve the movement in a timely manner. Old resources cannot come to serve the new missions. Additional new resources indoctrinated after national democratic revolution can serve the new missions. Without new resources, without a new essential reality, there are contradictions. There are many types of contradictions, some just troublesome, some opposing.

If immediately after liberation we had not continued making socialist revolution, we would already be slaves, if not the slaves of the American imperialists, then the slaves of someone else. This is because the composition was mixed. If we had not made the cooperatives, we could not have achieved national democratic revolution. But some elements do not accept this new situation.

The enemy attacks the cooperatives in order to dissolve the cooperatives, to have just mutual assistance groups, and to have markets again. Without the cooperatives, the essential reality of the revolution is gone, and the essential reality of the imperialists will return. With markets and cities comes turmoil, slavery.

IV. On the Class Struggle between the Private Ownership Of the Various Classes Opposed to the Collective Ownership of the Proletarian Class.

Objectives:

To indoctrinate more specifically and clearly on the essential reality of private ownership, its dangers for the collective stance, the socialist stance, revolutionary socialism, socialist construction, and the danger of making or opening a path for the oppressor classes and external enemies to seize victory over the revolution. Therefore, it is imperative to have clear views and stances regarding the contradictions between every type of private ownership of the various classes opposing the collective ownership of the proletarian class. It is imperative to struggle to absolutely eradicate private ownership, no matter what form it takes.

Explaining the objectives:

This document is a continuation of the above three documents, however we have separate objectives regarding private ownership so that it will rise to the surface. Private ownership appears everywhere, and wherever it exists, it impedes the socialist revolutionary movement and the building of socialism. We mention this to draw more attention to the fact we must be vigilant and fight successively to eradicate it, to make it shrink, so that collective ownership will keep on expanding. Our leadership stance is that we must indoctrinate on this matter. By doing so, we will not fall into revisionism. Otherwise private ownership will surround us a little at a time and we will not be able to escape.

Core content of the document:

1. The essential realities and the negative manifestations of private ownership of the various classes other than the proletarian class
2. The bad characteristics and dangers of private ownership
3. The struggle to eradicate private ownership through political, ideological, and organizational measures in order to build and strengthen the collective ownership of the proletarian class

1. The essential realities and the negative manifestations of private ownership of the various classes other than the proletarian class

The essential reality of private ownership is the essential reality of the capitalist class, the core content or the make-up of the capitalist class. The capitalists stand upon the foundation of private ownership to live and to work. Private ownership is the soul of the capitalist class. Without private ownership, the capitalist class loses its soul. They

trade and make a living privately, and through private ownership they profit; they oppress the workers they oppress the peasants and the other middle classes. They oppress with their private laws, their commercial laws.

Other classes also have private ownership. For instance, the feudalist-landowner classes also stand upon private ownership. The capitalists are private, but they are private merchants. The feudalists-land owners stand upon private ownership in the form of gathering labor and renting land. This private ownership is not as modern as that of the capitalists. As for the wealthy peasants, their essential reality is half-capitalist and half-feudalist land owner. Therefore, they stand upon private ownership. All three of these groups are fundamentally propped up by private ownership.

Aside from this, no one else has private ownership in the status of an oppressor. There are the upper-echelon petty bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie in the cities, the major and minor merchants in the markets and the upper-echelon petty bourgeoisie in the countryside that are the upper-middle peasants. These groups stand upon private ownership to an important extent in order to carry out their occupations and to make profit. Thus, they oppress others, whether a little or a lot.

The low level proletariat and the middle proletariat also have private ownership. The poor peasants and the lower-middle peasants also have private ownership. The workers and laborers have private ownership too. However, this private ownership is not their foundation. These classes are the subjects of others. They do not stand upon private ownership. They are located with a private ownership regime where they use private ownership to oppress themselves. They do not use private ownership as a weapon to oppress and to attack others. But they lie within a private ownership regime, so their habits of thought, living habits, and working habits also lie within a private property framework. Therefore, they think about wanting private things, living privately, working privately, and celebrating privately. But this private ownership is not their foundation; it is the influence of the private ownership regime of the capitalist class. Therefore, when we attack private ownership and build instead a collective regime, these classes are easy to deal with. So then, don't see some of their contradictions with the collectivization movement as being antagonistic contradictions. As for the private ownership of the capitalist class, the land owners, the wealthy peasants, it is thick and it demands mighty, absolute struggle; it demands class dictatorship.

This may be summarized in the following table:

Private Ownership

I.	1. Capitalist 2. Land owner 3. Wealthy peasant	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;"> } 10 </div>	
		Upper-middle peasant	
II.	4. Upper proletarian		4
		Upper merchant	
III.	Lower petty bourgeois, Middle petty bourgeois Poor peasant, Middle peasant Lower lever worker-peasant		<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;"> Received Influence </div>

Negative manifestations of private property:

Regionalism and unit preference are manifestations of private ownership. Mandarinism and authoritarianism are manifestations of private ownership. Individualism, rank and face, prestige, and braggadocio, are all manifestations of private ownership.

There are many others too: private thinking and living habits, private work, and making a living privately are general problems.

Whenever there is private ownership in a collective, whenever one unit thinks just of themselves, thinks of just their own accomplishments, even though the Sector or Zone instructs them to watch the units surrounding them and the Sector pushes them, they do not do so. This is a manifestation of private ownership.

Other manifestations: Private ownership in organization, organizing by one's personal sentiments, by one's family, by one's clique, and not standing upon the political, ideological, and organizational line of the Party. So then, that is wrong.

It is like this in the cooperatives too. It is like this in the factories as well. Organizing by bringing just anyone inside the leadership, standing upon one's self. This is private ownership.

The cooperatives organize, live, and work in a collective pattern according to the Party line. But the pattern of strengthening and expanding private ownership with the goal of private ownership is wrong, following one's own private ownership.

Everything is related to private ownership and collective ownership. These things fight with one another all the time. The ideology fights; the politics fights, the organization fights. The organization inside and outside the Party, the organization of life and work, comes from a stance of collectivity or a stance of private ownership.

2. The bad characteristics and dangers of private ownership

No aspect of private ownership is good. It was like that during national democratic revolution as well. During all of our successive struggle operations, during the political struggle, during the armed struggle and during war, private ownership has always had a negative impact on the revolution. For example, anyone who thinks a lot about family interests always deceives the revolution, renounces the revolution, and lives separately seeking family happiness, not seeking happiness inside the Party. After a while this becomes a quality, a contradiction with the Party. The enemy entices some elements with moderate private ownership not to work hard, just to stay quiet and be happy. But some elements who work hard have also betrayed the revolution.

Entering into socialist revolution and socialist construction, there were a few minor contradictions between private ownership and collective ownership, prestige contradiction, rank, job and position. Aside from this, there were major contradictions, for instance some people being systematically immoral, not being able to fight it themselves and the collective being unable to assist them in fighting it because of serious private ownership. So then they fell, a bad thing for them and a bad thing for the Party too.

A number of others had thick private ownership and surrendered. They did not go the enemy like before because there were no enemies, but they were gradually in contradiction until it became antagonistic contradiction, collaborating with the enemy from the outside to attack the Party. Generally speaking, it was class contradiction. But specifically, it came from private ownership. It is a danger to both us and the revolution.



In order to sort out clothing with independence – mastery, our peasants in cooperatives are expanding textile handicrafts everywhere.

This photo: Our peasants in a cooperative in the Preah Vihear sector are concentrating on working silk.

3. Struggle to eradicate private ownership through political, ideological, and organizational measures in order to build and strengthen the collective ownership of the proletarian class

Seeing the bad characteristics of private ownership, measures must be taken:

1. Political-ideological measures are enlightened measures understanding the essential reality of each class in the current Kampuchean society that are in contradiction with one another, routine contradictions. Private ownership includes the private ownership of the oppressor classes; this is an antagonistic contradiction. As for our private ownership inside the Party, that is not an antagonistic contradiction, but it successively strengthens and expands into antagonistic contradiction.

Even if it does not become antagonistic, it impedes our progress. When private ownership is small, our progress is great. When private ownership is great, collective ownership is small, so our progress is slow. It is not only slow, but it impedes revolutionary work. If we do not struggle to eradicate it, it keeps on transforming quantitatively, and after a while it transforms qualitatively into antagonistic contradiction. Sometimes we do not want to betray the revolution, but private ownership keeps expanding and develops like this. It keeps on expanding, and one day it takes on its identity and becomes an antagonistic contradiction.

Thus, we must see the danger of private ownership so that we will know it. Wherever we go, we will know. We personally will know. The collective will know and will help constructively criticize us. So then, this is why we must indoctrinate for the Party Center and indoctrinate for the entire Party, indoctrinate for the entire Army, and indoctrinate for the core organizations so they will strenuously struggle and will have the weapons to struggle in a clear-sighted manner. In so doing, Party internal unity will be very solid. Anyone walking contrary to the Party line will be seen by the masses, then it will be necessary to take some measures with the masses in unity with the Party.

2. There are two categories of organizational measures. The first category of organizational measures is the primary measures: organizing the collective, strengthening and expanding, improving, and purging/screening within our collective organization. It cannot be 100 percent done one time. It must be done in steps in the collective style, living collectively, managing collectively, working collectively, and leading collectively. Some elements that have never lived collectively will face hardships. However, gradually they will get used to it. The collective regime will make progress, and the masses will see the identity of the collective regime. Eating will be easy; work will be effective; raising children will be easy; security will be guaranteed. Therefore, in combination with political and ideological work, this will lead our collective regime to become more solid and to expand. Private ownership will shrivel and after a while it will fall away.

Seeing up the collective in this way, we gain mastery. Go on the offensive against private ownership; constantly push against private ownership so it will not have time to breathe and strengthen and expand itself. Attack like this, meaning make strategic, storming attacks. This is the strategic measure, the fundamental measure.

The second category of organizational measure is the secondary measures. When there are small infractions, political-ideological work must be done, warnings and constructive criticism. Secondly is dismissal from the Party, transfer of mission according to the level of the wrong that was done, on up to the high-level organizational measures. These measures are counter-measures. These are tactical measures.

To gain mastery, it is imperative to concentrate on political-ideological measures and Category 1 organizational measures.

Summary: The Party raises this document to once again show our views toward private ownership, what its essential reality is, what its dangers are, so that the entire Party will take strategic and tactical measures to attack and completely eradicate it.

V. Recalling Dialectical Materialism

Objectives:

To further indoctrinate regarding the four rules of dialectical materialism in order to increase quality in terms of views and stances in analyzing various matters of every kind that exist in our revolutionary work. There must be analytical views and stances following Marxist-Leninist science, following dialectical materialism, before those analyses can be fundamentally correct. When analyses are fundamentally correct, this leads to taking fundamentally correct measures.

Dialectical materialism is the most fundamental of Marxist-Leninist document. It is the original source of Marxism-Leninism. Grasping this document leads to analytical stances that are correct in every aspect. Analysis that is correct in every aspect leads to taking up measures that are also correct in every aspect.

Core content:

1. Everything is related.
2. Everything changes (develops).
3. Everything changes from quantity to quality.
4. Everything has contradictions.

1. Everything is related.

This means that everything has a mutual influence on everything else. This means that nothing can exist in isolation and has never existed in isolation.

Assessing our revolutionary work or even various matters aside from revolution, they all fall under this rule.

Example: A human being cannot exist alone. There must be friendly relationships and other labor forces, whether few or many.

Example: Economic problems cannot exist alone. Military problems cannot exist alone. There must be mutual cause and effect. There must be national defense before the country can be built.

Domestic policy also cannot exist alone; it must interact with foreign policy. Foreign policy cannot exist alone; it must conform to domestic policy.

Industry must be related to economics. Agriculture must be related to industry.

Going to the matter of our leadership, how do we analyze each matter? It is imperative to stand upon Rule 1. Seeing one matter, we must use Rule 1. Thus, we must seek out the other matters that are related. What others matters are this matter related to? Don't just look at that one matter alone. If we look at it alone, the analysis will not be clear. This is a reflexive stance that we must assess. This is an analytical habit.

Example: A person cut the leg of a water buffalo in a cooperative. This must be analyzed. If not, it will be put it in the corral and the next morning it will be sent out to graze again. We must ask if the boy tending it cut it or the adult tending it cut it, or if someone else cut it, and for what reason. Was the cause mischievous hands, or was the cause opposition to the cooperative? Who was related to this matter? Where did the minder tend it? This is to seek out persons other than the minder that may have cut the buffalo's leg. What kind of element is the minder? What class is he? What are his political stances? What circles are his stances related to? If the minder did not cut it, ask the minder if anyone walked past the location where he tended the buffalo ... etc. We seek them out. Following them is a measure. If we don't find them in one day, in two days, three days, or four days, we will find them.

It is the same with thin cattle. This must be analyzed. Why are the cattle thin? Is it a material reason or an ideological reason?

We raise this matter to clarify the rule of dialectical materialism in order to have the habit of analyzing in accordance with this rule.

Another example: There are two cooperatives. Cooperative 1 reports that Cooperative 2 is having this or that kind of trouble. Cooperative 2 reports that Cooperative 1 is having this or that kind of trouble. According to these reports, the Branch initially grasps that there is a contradiction between the two cooperatives. When we analyze based on the report of Cooperative 2, we are based on the subjective, not upon the rule that everything is related to everything else. We must stand on the report of Cooperative 2 to make the analysis. Not only that, we must analyze the class composition of Cooperative 1 and the class composition of Cooperative 2 and their strong and weak points. We see the essential reality of Cooperative 2, that it has many no-good elements and has had problems constantly in the past. Cooperative 1 mostly has good a composition. Analyzing like this, we are able to take measures to purge Cooperative 2.

When we do not stand on Rule 1, we analyze subjectively with personal sentiment, and this is very dangerous. The bad causal factor arose from us not analyzing the problem from every angle. Whether the quality of our analyses are correct or incorrect casts an influence on the quality of our leadership, on whether it is correct or incorrect.

The battlefield situation: The enemy has attacked and broken the ready lines. Some commands analyze alone and see that the enemy is strong, not seeing the enemy's weak points. Therefore, the troops scatter in defeat. Another command makes an analysis of the enemy's strong and weak points and our strong and weak points. In doing so, they seek an opportunity to attack and are able to restore the situation. So the forces are the same, but the measures taken are different. This comes from an analytical stance not based on Rule 1.

During the political struggle, the enemy was going on strong suppression campaigns and was making quiet arrests one at a time. Some people were fearful, seeing that the enemy was strong. But we made an analysis following Rule 1. The enemy suppression was strong. We were in difficulty. However, the people held a strong rage toward the enemy. We took measures to whip up the masses to struggle.

1973: B-52 attacks were strong. The objective situation strongly pressured us. This was our difficulty. But how did we analysis this? We made an analysis based on Rule 1, analyzing the enemy's strong and weak points and our strong and weak points, analyzing the good and bad effects of negotiation. We saw the danger of negotiation, the danger of becoming their slaves. We resolved to attack.

The meeting of March 1976: We knew the situation that the 1975 rice harvest was good, but just to an extent. Some ran out in March; some would run out in April. In general, they would run out in June. This was our difficulty. But we did not just see the difficulty. We saw our strong points: the Party, the people, the land, corn, potatoes, etc. We arranged tactical transition crops in order to go on the offensive during the rainy season. Therefore, for the most part, this was sorted out. Some were able to sort it out, but not well. This came from not correctly analyzing transitional tactics from every angle. By May and June when they moved, it was a little too late.

So then, in thinking about a problem, it is imperative to think from many angles: the good aspects, the bad aspects, the aspects of profit, and the aspects of loss. Sometimes we profit tactically but lose strategically. Sometimes we profit both tactically and strategically.

However, with each of us analyzing alone, even if we use Rule 1, we cannot grasp everything. Therefore, analysis must be collective.

2 and 3

- **Everything changes (develops).**
- **Everything changes from quantity to quality.**

Everything changes (develops). Nothing ever remains quiet, motionless. It develops. There is constant change. Sometime it changes toward progress. Sometime it changes toward non-progress; however, it always changes.

Example: Our Party has constantly changed since its birth; it was never motionless. Generally speaking, our Party developed toward progress and it fattened in terms of quantity and quality to become a Party leading the state power throughout the country to achieve the missions of national democratic revolution and continue building socialism. If we speak about individuals within the Party, a large portion developed and made strong progress. A number of others did not develop in time with the movement: they opposed the Party and betrayed the revolution. Each Party member, speaking as a Party member, has three characteristics: First, politics; second, ideology; and third organizing and working.

Each Party member changed politically as follows:

Some Party members progressed rapidly. Some progressed slowly. At times some elements devolved, moved backwards. Some made constant forward progress; this is good development. Be vigilant toward individuals who devolved backwards, even a little. We must even be vigilant about ourselves. This is because one cannot say that he did not betray the Party and then did not strive to overcome and make forward progress. This is because each of us constantly develops; we cannot remain still. When we devolve backwards a little, we keep falling one step at a time, then another, until we surrender to the enemy and betray the revolution. So, in the leadership view, everyone must assess their development. When we make forward progress, we must push. When we fall backward, we must be vigilant.

Example: An individual develops and makes forward progress. However, he has ownership in terms of morality. This ownership keeps developing. After a while, it does not just remain in his mind; it becomes concrete action. He refashions himself and strives to resist a bit, but after a while ideological ownership pressures again, and he commits immoral acts again.

Even we ourselves, when we have ideological disappointments we must be vigilant, because according to Rule 2, this ideology does not remain still. We must be vigilant and not let it change quantitatively. We hold to this rule to assess the Party, to assess Party members, and to assess ourselves. When we see that a development is not good, we must eradicate it immediately and not allow it to grow further.

Another example: A two individuals have a minor spat. This is a manifestation of a contradiction. This manifestation develops. Sometime it develops by disappearing. Sometimes it develops to greater contradiction, a spilt, and they cannot remain together. So it is imperative to look at contradictions. When there is any good manifestation, we strengthen it. When there is some bad manifestation, it is imperative to struggle to sort it out immediately.

Another example: Our revolution was originally weak. However, it was not quiet. Either it would progress or it would dissolve. It would not stay the same. We held to this rule. We prepared politically, ideologically and organizationally to make it progress. When anything impacted out movement, we sorted it out immediately. We did not act as observers.

In each unit, in each Sector, in each Zone, and in each Branch, it is the same. When we set up bad pre-conditions, solidarity breaks up and scatters. So, when there is any sign that organization is incorrect, it is imperative to struggle immediately to do political work and do ideological work so they will understand that that style of organization is incorrect and does not follow the Party organizational line, and that this style of organization is correct according to the Party organizational line.

Leading a Branch is the same. When there is any sign of political, ideological, or organizational incorrectness, we must struggle to sort it out immediately. If not, there will be turmoil and complications, both internal complications and complications inside the movement. The methods of resolution are to educate, to build, to study together, and to do criticism and self-criticism together.

It is the same with each of us. When there is something uneasy, do not let it grow. Suppose that there is a budding of material ownership: do not let it grow. Eradicate it immediately. Thus, we gain mastery over ourselves to an extent, and along with the collective, we grow stronger. When something like that happens, we cannot procrastinate. It will certainly become a complicated contradiction.

4. Everything has contradictions.

1. The routine situation is contradiction. When we have contradictions, do not panic.
2. There are two types of contradictions:
 - Secondary internal contradictions
 - Antagonistic life-and-death contradictions

What are internal contradictions? What are antagonistic contradictions? It is imperative to be clear on this matter. Whenever we have a stance of thick ownership, minor contradictions become antagonistic contradictions. We are unable to work with one

another or be with one another. Therefore, we must grasp the state of the contradiction. Internal contradictions must be sorted out as internal contradictions.

3. Sort out contradictions according to the state or the category of the contradictions, whether they are internal or are life-and-death contradictions.

This matter is related to leadership. In the Branches, in the units, when we incorrectly analyze contradictions, we incorrectly sort them out, and there is turmoil.

To the contrary, when the contradictions are already life-and-death, we cannot imagine that they are internal. It is imperative to clearly analyze contradictions in order to take clear measures.

To make clear analyses, for one thing, each of us must hold to Rule 4. But furthermore, analyses must be collective.

Summary: The four rules of the interaction of cause and effect are related to the leadership of our socialist revolution. In leadership, when we grasp and analyze problems large or small according to Rule 4, this raises the quality of our leadership.

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This photo: Land Transportation workers casting boat propellers with the highest stance of independence - mastery