



**ឯកសារទទួល**  
 DOCUMENT RECEIVED/DOCUMENT REÇU  
 ថ្ងៃ ខែ ឆ្នាំ (Date of receipt/date de réception):  
 16-Mar-2010, 11:14  
 ឈ្មោះ (Name/heure):  
 Chanthan Phok

**REVOLUTIONARY FLAG**  
**SPECIAL ISSUE SEPTEMBER 1977**

**ឯកសារត្រឹមត្រូវតាមច្បាប់**  
 CERTIFIED COPY/COPIE CERTIFIÉE CONFORME  
 ថ្ងៃ ខែ ឆ្នាំ ត្រឹមត្រូវ (Certified Date /Date de certification):  
 16-Mar-2010  
 Chanthan Phok

Original KH: 00063116-00063187



Congratulations on the 17<sup>th</sup> Anniversary  
Of the Great Victory  
Of the Communist Party of Kampuchea!

**The Presentation of the Party Representative  
On the Occasion of the 17<sup>th</sup> Anniversary  
Of the Great Victory of the Founding of  
The Communist Party of Kampuchea  
And on the Occasion of  
The Official Domestic and International  
Public Announcement of the Party**

**(30.9.60 – 30.9.77)**



- Respected and beloved comrades representing the collective workers,
- Respected and beloved comrades representing the collective peasants,
- Respected and beloved comrades representing every branch of the Revolutionary Army, land, sea, and air,
- Respected and beloved comrades representing all the ministries and offices,

We gather today to honor the 17<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Kampuchea. Therefore, I take this opportunity to extend my greetings to the entire collective working class that has waged and is waging the struggle everywhere, at every workplace, on every front, to contribute to defending the country, building up the country, and raising the people's living standard with a high spirit of responsibility to fulfill the glorious missions which the Party has handed them.

At this great meeting, I address my most profound respects to the collective peasant class, the members of the cooperatives throughout the country, who today, as they have done in the past, are busily struggling to accomplish the objectives of the rice production plan with a high spirit of revolutionary responsibility to contribute to the defense of the country, to the building of the country, and to the quick sorting out of the living standards of the people.

Let me extend my warmest and most profound respects to the Revolutionary Army, which has struggled and continues to fight to overcome every obstacle on every battlefield, even in our most isolated areas, in order to defend the national sovereignty

and territorial integrity of our Democratic Kampuchea in a high spirit of revolutionary responsibility to make an important contribution to building up of the country and quickly raising the living standards of the people to prosperity

Let me express my profound respect for all the comrades of the revolutionary ministries and offices who today, as in the past, are overcoming all difficulties and concentrating all their efforts to carry out the revolutionary tasks which the Party has handed them in order to make their contribution to defending the country, building up the country, and quickly raise the living standard of the people.

I must also express my deepest respect for all these comrades because, as in the past, at present, and in the future, it has been, is, and will be our Revolutionary Army, our working class, our peasantry, our comrades in the revolutionary ministries and offices, who, united as a single force, assure the defense of our sacred national territory, build our new Kampuchea, and raise the standard of living of our people by following the slogan of the Great Magnificent Leap.

On this occasion of the celebration of the 17<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of our Communist Party of Kampuchea, there is an exceptional event. On this occasion of the celebration of the 17<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of our Communist Party of Kampuchea this year, **our Party has decided to publicly and officially announce the Communist Party of Kampuchea to the country and the world.**

Our people of all social classes and strata already know that it is the Communist Party of Kampuchea is the true leader of the Kampuchean revolution. Furthermore, our people also clearly know that the successive revolutionary victories that culminated in the great victory of 17 April 1975 were possible because the Communist Party of Kampuchea was truly in the lead. All the social classes and strata of our people, in particular the workers, the peasants, and the other revolutionaries, have known, have seen, have understood, and have absorbed the face of the Communist Party of Kampuchea for many years, even though the Party had not officially proclaimed its existence. The fact that our Party did not publicize its existence for the long period of 17 years led our entire Kampuchean people of every class and stratum, especially the poor strata, to wait impatiently for the Communist Party of Kampuchea to come onto the public stage to receive their congratulations for the merits of the Party that made every kind of sacrifice in order to lead the entire Kampuchean people in making revolution to liberate the nation and the people. To then, this is why we all are convinced that from now on all the Kampuchean people will make the country ring with cheers of praise for the correct and clear-sighted Communist Party of Kampuchea adding to the cheers they have always given to what they knew only as the "Revolutionary Organization of Kampuchea." Everywhere, in the most remote regions, in the depths of the forests, on the mountains, and across the plains and towns, the solemn proclamation of the Party will be greeted with cheers of joy.

Our friends around the world also clearly know that never in the entire world has any people ever won a revolution without having a worker class party in the lead. Why then, in Kampuchea where the people won victory upon victory until the greatest victory over American imperialism, the ring leader of world imperialism, had they never heard mention of the Communist Party of Kampuchea being in the lead? So then, they have been waiting for the Communist Party of Kampuchean to publicly announce itself inside and outside the country so that they could congratulate the great of the Communist Party of Kampuchea Party that led the Kampuchean people to seize the glorious victory of 17 April 1975.

So then, this occasion of the official public proclamation inside and outside the country of the existence of our Party, will surely make all our people will greatly elated, and our friends near and far on five continents will warmly acclaim it; and surely the imperialists and the reactionaries will be even more troubled, facing the prestige and power of our Communist Party of Kampuchea.

So then, the celebration of the 17<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of our Party is a special moment in the history of our nation, our people, our revolution, and our Communist Party of Kampuchea. This is why on this occasion we must express our awe and respect for the souls of our ancestors, the heroes and heroines from among our entire Kampuchean people, our entire Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea, and the entire membership of our Party, who endured every hardship and made sacrifice after sacrifice in order to completely liberate Kampuchea, to make our country 100 percent independent, and to completely liberate the people, in particular the worker-peasant masses and other laboring people who are the great majority who comprise more than 90 percent of the population throughout the country, so that the Kampuchean people, who have suffered debasement, oppression and exploitation for centuries, might have honor, glory, prosperity and prestige resounding throughout the world, and so that friends on five continents could rejoice at the great victories of our Kampuchean revolution.

Therefore, on this occasion we honor the memory of all the comrades and heroes who laid down their lives in noble patriotic spirits with lofty revolutionary spirits and profound spirits of love for people and class. We all respect the lost souls and we all resolve to study their noble examples, and we resolve to repay our debt to all those comrades in order to be worthy successors and to accomplish the lofty tasks that the Party has handed to each of us. We all resolve to transform our sorrows, our anger, and our grief for the loss of these valiant comrades-in-arms into an even more vigorous and constant mental and physical strength in order to go on the offensive to accomplish the missions of the Party during 1977 as well as during the years to come with a heightened spirit of revolutionary responsibility and patriotism and a profound devotion to people and class. It is with the spirit of resolve to learn from the example of our comrades-in-arms who have passed away that we propose, on this occasion of the celebration of the 17<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Party, the following theme for our great meeting today: let us contemplate and study the revolutionary movement that the whole Kampuchean people carried out under the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and at the same time study our generations-long mass movement of revolutionary struggle for national

independence, national independence, for true sovereignty, for true territorial integrity, so that the Kampuchean nation will live forever, so that Kampuchea will never again lose territory every year, every moment, like it did during the eras when the various oppressor classes governed the country.

To make this easier to grasp the issues, let me divide my presentation into several major sections, as follows:

- Chapter One:** The resistance movement of the Kampuchean people prior to the founding of the Communist Party of Kampuchea from the era of slavery up until 1960, the year of the founding of the Communist Party of Kampuchea
- Chapter Two:** The national democratic revolution movement under the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea (1960-1975)
- Chapter Three:** The new era of the Kampuchean revolution, that is, the continuation of socialist revolution and socialist construction and the work of defending the country of Democratic Kampuchea

The aforementioned three chapters outline the history of the revolutionary movement of our people. Seeing these three chapters will show you the entire revolutionary movement of the Kampuchean people from its origins up until today. The objective is to give an overall view of our revolutionary movement. Though it does not into detail from every angle in every aspect, let me give you an overall view of our revolutionary movement, on why we achieved victory. We were victorious because we prepared the strategy and tactics for our movement, because we summed up the successive experiences of the revolutionary struggle of our people, and successively raised the correct line, the path to follow in terms of politics, in terms of building up our forces, and in terms of military and economic issues. When look at the various aspects of our movement from its beginning up to the present day to clearly confirm whether or not the Communist Party of Kampuchea is a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, whether or not it is a genuine proletarian party or a phony. All comrades will be able to make their own judgments based on the substance of what our revolutionary movement has successively accomplished. This is the objective that is raised. Therefore, this is not just a meeting to whip ourselves up for an instant, a moment in time, so that we can go back to fulfill our missions as normal. This is a meeting for all of us to assess and judge and study the experiences of our revolutionary movement under the leadership of our Communist Party of Kampuchea.

X X X

Let me begin with Chapter One:

**The Resistance Movement of the Kampuchean People  
Before the Foundering of the Party:  
From the Era of Slavery Until 1960**

Our Kampuchea has a history of more than 2,000 years. This history shows that Kampuchean society, like every other society, has gone through many different social stages. Kampuchean society went through a stage of primitive communism. After primitive communism, Kampuchean society passed through a slave period. After the slave society, Kampuchean society then entered a feudal period. After the feudal period, Kampuchean society entered a period of capitalist society. Just recently, after the capitalist period, Kampuchean society has entered a new era called the era of socialist society. Thus, we have passed through all these societal periods.

Within the framework of primitive communism, there were not yet any classes at all. Consequently, there was no class struggle at all. When Kampuchean society entered the slave society period, the society divided into classes: a class of slave owners and a class of slaves called the slave masters and the slaves. In feudal-landowner society, there were landowners and peasants. In capitalist society, there were the capitalists and the workers. This is the essential reality of each society that our country has passed through. During the slave period, the feudal period and the capitalist period, and particularly during the feudalist and capitalist eras, our country was also subject to foreign domination. For example, speaking only of the recent period, Kampuchean society was a colonial and semi-colonial society subject to the domination of the French, Japanese, and the American imperialists. Thus, foreigners come to exploit our country.

Were there class contradictions in slave, feudal and capitalist societies? There were class contradictions! A number of comrades have studied the history of Kampuchea from the beginning. Our history clearly shows that there was class struggle for a very long time between the exploited and the exploiting classes.

**1. During the slave society,** there was struggle between the exploiters (the slave owners) and the exploited (the slaves or owned “owned servants”). These two factions were adversaries, adversaries in life-and-death conflict. Those slaves who refused to be exploited joined together to fight and struggle against the slave owners, joined together to fight those who exploited them. Did this actually occur? Certainly it did! This is attested to by what is known about society and exploitation as well as the social sciences. Our own history confirms this. In slave society, the exploited class struggles against the exploiting class. But these struggles were not guided by a correct line, were not based on a correct path. History shows that the struggles of those times sometimes failed and sometimes triumphed. Some slaves became leaders of armies and defeated the slave owners, then made themselves into slave owners and into kings in order to exploit others in their turn. This was not a path that served the masses: it did not serve the exploited slave class. This was a line that served the personal interests of some men and their

cliques so that they might exploit others. Did the exploited accept this exploitation? Of course not! They fought back because the slaves were not liberated, the exploited were not liberated. This is what happened during slave society. Through this experience we can see that there was struggle, practiced struggle, but this struggle did not culminate in success, because it was based on a line which did not serve the masses and the exploited classes. In the beginning, some leaders were able to deceive the masses. But the exploited are quick to catch on when they are being exploited, and they rise up against their exploiters. The assessment of the situation at that time and the assessment of the present situation are different. The essential reality of our revolution is the elimination of exploiting classes and the liberation of the exploited. We study this experience to understand that now that our Party is in power, if it ever follows the path of the slave era, it will be fought against and overthrown by the worker-peasant masses. When the political line serves the workers, the peasants, and the broad masses of the people, it receives broad support. It constitutes a powerful force which assures strong national defense, rapid building up of the country, and rapid rise in the living standard of the people. The Party is the true representative of the poor classes. If that were not so, if the Party were to oppress and wreck the people, the people would fight back and reject it. This is the experience of history. We must constantly assess ourselves; it is not only the Party as a whole that must do this; but the factories must assess, the ports must assess, Energy must assess, the salt fields must assess, every location must assess itself. If this Party ceases to represent the fundamental class, does not represent the exploited people, this Party would be meaningless; the Party members would be meaningless; it could no longer claim to be the Party of the proletariat. The cadres would be meaningless. The Party members or chairmen would be meaningless: "meaningless" in the sense that they no longer represent the proletariat. Such a party, such cadres, such Party members would change their class nature and thus, at that point, would enter into contradiction with the proletariat.

What lessons can we draw from the struggles during the period of slave society? A positive point is that exploited people, slaves, struggled against the exploiting class, the slave owners. The slaves were practiced and tempered during the course of successive struggles. This is the great lesson we must all learn from our poor people who have made every sacrifice in the struggle to liberate the exploited class and do away with the exploiting classes. But another lesson which we must learn from is that there was not yet a correct political line to lead the struggle on the correct path.

**2. During the feudal society**, the history of our country clearly shows the existence of two classes: the feudalist landlord class and the peasant class. The feudalist landowners were warlords who exploited the peasant class in every way. Thus, the exploited peasantry entered into contradiction with the feudalist landlord class and fought back against them. This struggle developed everywhere in the country. During these struggles, some peasant movements were put down and smashed; but, others were victorious over the feudalist landowners. However, the peasant movements that gained victory over the feudalist landowners and warlords did not have a correct political line that could serve the exploited peasant class to liberate this class from exploitation. On the contrary, in some places the peasant victors over the feudalist landowners made



themselves into feudalist landowners or warlords, and in so doing became the new exploiters of the peasant class. Did the exploited peasant class accept these new feudalist landowners or warlords? They certainly did not! The peasants fought to smash these new exploiters as they had fought the others before them. This shows that there were movements of the exploited peasant class against the exploiting class of feudalist landowners. However, these resistance movements one after another each met with defeat. What lessons can we draw from the struggle movements against the feudalist landowners and warlords? The lessons are as follows:

- One lesson is that the peasant class that was exploited and oppressed in every way was moved to rise up and struggle. These struggles went on throughout a long period and developed into one movement after another mainly in the form of armed struggle, war. Through these struggles, the exploited peasant class was trained and tempered in their fresh blood. They acted with courage, were skilled in combat, and were victorious over the enemy.

- However, another lesson is that we see that despite their heroism, the struggles of the exploited and oppressed class at that time, the peasantry, met repeated defeats. What was the reason for this? It was because there was no correct line which could powerfully and broadly gather the forces of the exploited peasant class into a mighty force to smash the exploiting class, the feudalist landowners and the warlords.

During this same feudal era, foreign enemies came to our Kampuchea to invade our territory: some were foreign reactionary feudalists and colonialists. As invaders on Kampuchean territory, these foreign reactionary feudalists and colonialists created antagonistic contradictions with the Kampuchean nation and the Kampuchean people. These foreign reactionary feudalists and colonialists invaded, exploited, and oppressed the Kampuchean nation and people, particularly the peasant class. Therefore, the Kampuchean nation and people, in particular the peasant class, had to rise up to drive out the foreign invaders in order to be freed from the yoke of oppression and to liberate the country and the people, in particular the peasant class. These resistance movements bubbled up everywhere one after another, primarily taking the form of armed struggle to liberate the people. Movements in some places were completely defeated and smashed; however, in other places, they won. Even so, their victories were temporary because the victors did not possess the correct line to really liberate the country and really liberate the people, the exploited masses that comprised the peasant class. Once they won, they thought only of their own interests and the interests of their cliques. They made themselves into warlords and ruled like kings and viceroys in various regions and provinces, and then they became the new exploiters of the peasant class. When the peasantry turned against them, they fled and became collaborators with foreign feudalists and reactionaries and colonialists, cutting off national territory for them and selling territory to them so they themselves could continue to reign as kings large and small in kingdoms in the status of defeated subjects, collaborating with them in the further exploitation of the peasantry.

This was the state of the struggles of the nation and of the peasantry during the feudal era. In reality, there as great heroism in their struggle, but it met defeat upon defeat. This was because there was no political line that could serve the nation and serve true national liberation and to serve the people and serve the true liberation of the exploited people.

**3. Next, during the era of feudalist-capitalist societies,** in particular immediately after World War II, there were many movements among the people of Kampuchea. When we all assess these movements, they were quite different in nature from the movements of earlier eras because colonialism and international imperialism had acquired more experience in sabotaging the various movements of exploited nations and people. We may summarize the resistance movements of our people into the following categories:

1. The movement called the “struggle for national independence” that included several political parties such as the Democratic Party, the Freedom Party, the Mother Earth Party, the Hanuman Party, the Arrow Party, and many others which were formed later. Those political parties competed with one another in elections for their so-called “independence.” However, in reality these parties were created from French colonial law, had compromised with the French colonialists and were authorized by them, and represented the classes of feudalists, aristocrats, major landowners, capitalists, and other upper strata. Was their struggle really one of the people in the interests of the people? Was it a struggle for national independence? No, not at all, because the true essence of their so-called “struggle” was to obtain “independence” for Kampuchea from the French colonialists in the interests of the feudalists, the aristocrats, the landowners, the capitalists, and the other privileged strata. This form of struggle confused and deceived the opinions of masses only for a while: later, the masses cursed, denied, and opposed it.

2. The Japanese fascists and the American CIA created a movement to demand independence which they called the “Popular Movement” or the “Khmer Serei” with Son Ngoc Thanh as its head. The slogan “Demand independence from the French” launched by Son Ngoc Thanh was able to fool a few students for a while, but later the “Popular Movement” or the “Khmer Serei” was condemned everywhere and was spat upon and rejected by the Kampuchean nation and people because its leader was a traitor to the nation. The true nature of Son Ngoc Thanh and his clique was a struggle to demand independence from the French was in fact a struggle to gain independence for Kampuchea by the American imperialists so that the American imperialists could transform Kampuchea into military base for their military aggression and turn it into their neo-colony, that’s all.

3. There was another struggle movement. This was the authentic revolutionary struggle of our people, particularly the poor peasants, to wrest independence from the French imperialists. This revolutionary struggle was carried out in many locations in our country and made every sacrifice to resist the enemy by force of arms; it gradually had its own army and gradually had its own base areas too. However, the revolutionary struggle of our people and the fruits of revolution that it had successively received vanished into thin air with the 1954 Geneva Accords. What was the reason for this? The lessons for which our people paid in their own fresh blood during the history of the people’s

courageous struggles show us clearly that it was the absence of a clear-sighted and correct line on how to wage the revolutionary struggle, what the tactics and strategies were to be, what direction we had to walk in, what forces we could rely upon, and what was to be the form of the struggle. Specifically, there was no independence, mastery, or self-reliance. Not having the correct a political line can be compared being blind. Even with great strength and determination, one absolutely cannot win. To the contrary, one loses one's direction in the dark, not knowing what to cling to, heading toward certain defeat, and in the end, ruin.

Summarizing, our people struggled for a very long time, from the slave period to the struggle against the French, but they met one defeat after another. Throughout this long period, the movements of our people have given two major lessons:

The best lesson that we must study is that our people are courageous, are moved by a fierce patriotism, dare to struggle, dare to sacrifice themselves to fight the enemies of the nation, the aggressors and the exploiters, the class enemies. This is an especially good point. We must see this point clearly. If we do not see this point, we gravely underestimate our people. If we do not study the movements of our people since their beginnings, we cannot help but think that our people do not dare struggle, do not have the where-with-all to struggle, that they are lazy, weak, cowardly, and have accomplished nothing. But in fact, from generation to generation our people have always struggled, have always shed their blood. They dared to wage armed struggle, the highest form of struggle; they even struggled bare-handed. Our people have struggled; they still struggle; they will continue to struggle; they will forever struggle. Are such people brave, or are they a cowardly people? They truly are a brave people, they are truly worthy; they have a tradition of fighting. We must take this as a lesson and emulate it so as to keep our people's good traits forever aloft and not let them be buried instead. The reality is that the people have struggled; this is not something composed by some writer. Thus, whether or not we have confidence in the people depends upon our assessment of our people's movement. Our people have dared to fight foreign invaders during every era. They dared to struggle against the French invaders; they dared to struggle against the Japanese and the American invaders; they have always dared to struggle.

Accordingly, we all place our complete confidence in our people and strengthen and expand that confidence and take a firm stance with the people and rely upon the people. The forces of the people can carry out any revolutionary mission.

The second lesson is that no matter how valiant, if the struggle is misdirected, it is going to fail. In the past we did not have a line. Our people were very courageous and made immense sacrifices, but they continually met with defeat because they did not base themselves on a correct line. There was no line which could resist the foreign enemies who invaded us; there was no line to fight back against the class enemies who exploited us within the country. There was no correct line, so the forces of the people can not be gathered to carry out revolution. And so then, from this negative experience, how can we draw a positive lesson? We must have the correct line; we must have the leadership of a true party of the working class with a correct line. When we possess the correct line of

gathering the forces of the people, these forces will be very powerful. Now we must have a line. But what line? A line copied from others will not work. We must have a line that comes from a position of independence and mastery and self-determination of our own destiny. Self-reliance means relying principally and fundamentally on our own people, our own Army, our own Party, on the concrete revolutionary movement in our country. Thus, we must prepare a correct line to win victory. This is why we drew up the strategic and tactical lines of our national democratic revolution, the issue which I will address in Chapter Two of my presentation.



**On this glorious 17<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Kampuchea our peasants in the cooperatives resolve to fight absolutely to increase rice production to the maximum following the plan set by the Party completely successively, and to even surpass the plan.**

**This photograph: Peasants in a cooperative in Tram Kak District are on the offensive spreading fertilizer to care for the wet season rice so it will grow well.**

Next let me continue on to Chapter Two:

**The National Democratic Revolution**  
**Under the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea**  
**1960-1975**

Based on the successive experiences of the tens-of-centuries-long revolutionary struggles of our people marked by repeated defeats, our Party developed a line to lead the Kampuchean revolution to advance victory. In 1957 we organized a committee in order to prepare the Party's political line. This committee was made up of a number of cadres in charge of work in the countryside and others in charge of work in Phnom Penh. The committee studied and researched the history of our people's struggle, summing up the experiences of what had gone right and what had gone wrong in order to draw lessons to help raise the Party's line. It tandem with this, the committee also assessed the experiences of a number of revolutionary movements elsewhere in the world. Based upon these experiences of what had gone right and what had gone wrong with our revolutionary movement in Kampuchea and some world revolutionary movements, the committee laid out a draft proposal for the Party's political line in accordance with the stances of Marxism-Leninism for implementation in accordance with the actual situation in Kampuchea and in Kampuchean society by ourselves following the principle of independence and mastery.

Let me inform you that at that time there were difficult and complex struggles both inside both inside the country and abroad. Inside the country, enemy suppression had caused heavy losses since the time of the 1955 elections. In 1956, the enemy continued to crack down and, in 1957, the suppression intensified. In 1958, during the second elections, these attacks became even more severe. There were many arrests in the countryside. The arrests were heavy both in the countryside and in the cities during 1959 and 1960. About 90% of our revolutionary forces in the countryside were destroyed in 1959 due to killings, arrests, and monetary inducements by the enemy to entice surrender to the enemy. In the cities, new forces had been expanded, but they too were eventually reduced by enemy arrests, killings, repression, and enticements to surrender, etc. This was the tense situation inside the country. The situation abroad at that time was also complex, complex as a result of the confusion and uncertainty in the international revolutionary line. It was in that situation that our committee charged with working out the Party's line drew upon its own clear experiences: During the 1955 elections, the people's forces throughout the country supported the revolution and supported the progressive side against the reactionaries and American imperialism. However, the people were unable to vote for the progressives because the ruling class had the guns, had the weapons, had the laws, had the courts, had the prisons, and had various other tools to suppress. The 1958 elections showed even more clearly that the people still loved the revolutionaries and supported the progressive policy against American imperialism, and wanted to give the progressives state power so that they could sort out the affairs of the country and sort out the affairs and the living standards of the people. But in the elections

of 1958, once again, the enemy had the guns, the weapons, the laws, the courts and the prisons and every other tool to suppress our people and prevent the people from voting for the revolutionaries, the patriots, and the progressives. Do these experiences lead us to pursue electoral tactics in the struggle, or to find other forms of struggle through which to win victory and liberate the nation and liberate our people? The concrete situation, the concrete movement posed the problem in this way for us to sort out. It had to be sorted out like this. Our own experiences made it clear that we must adhere to the principles of independence, mastery, and self-reliance, basing ourselves on the experiences of our own revolutionary movement in order to determine our concrete political line. It is in this way that the committee drafted the Party's line, the fundamental line presented to the 1960 Party Congress. The First Party Congress was convened in Phnom Penh on September 30, 1960, in a tense situation of intense enemy suppression.

Let me give you an example. Comrades who were major intellectuals, for instance the current comrade chairman of the State Presidium, were under enemy suppression and were arrested and imprisoned in chains. If the enemy did not hesitate to suppress major intellectuals, the enemy would not hesitate to suppress the laborers, workers, peasants and ordinary people. It was in this bleak situation that we successfully convened our First Party Congress, right in the railroad yards of Phnom Penh itself.

Among the Congress participants were 14 peasant representatives in charge of work in different rural areas, and seven representatives of the cities, 21 delegates in all. In such a tense situation, with the enemy intensifying its repression, the participation of 21 representatives at the Party Congress was, in itself, a life-and-death struggle. Had the enemy discovered and arrested us, the entire leadership apparatus of the Party would have been destroyed, the line of the Party would never have seen the light of day, the revolution would have been gravely endangered and its future jeopardized. But we were determined to hold the Congress, because the revolutionary situation urgently required the adoption of a correct leadership line. Without a correct leadership line, the revolutionary movement would have eroded and worn down. It would have headed toward eventually defeat and the entire revolution would have been jeopardized. So then, this situation compelled us to absolutely hold the First Congress at all costs, to assure the successful adoption of the Party line that would enable us to lead the revolution to victory. I said that the First Congress of the Party was held on September 30, 1960. Actually, we met for three days and three nights, September 28, 29, and 30, 1960. The meetings lasted for three days without interruption; from start to finish, we were shut up in the room, without any coming or going. This Congress was a historic turning point for our nation, our people, our revolution, and for the working class of Kampuchea. It was the day on which our Communist Party of Kampuchea, a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, was definitively born.

The First Party Congress decided three important questions:

**First:** The fundamental strategic line of national democratic revolution

**Second:** The Party Statutes

**Third:** The selection and appointment of the members of the Party's Central Committee to lead throughout the country

Now I will inform you about some of the essence of the fundamental line of national democratic revolution of our Party. What did we determine at that time? Let us examine that time in order to assess now whether or not it was correct or not. The fact that we have won one victory after another, leading up to the great victory of April 17, 1975, makes it perfectly clear that our line was correct. Nonetheless, we want to make this reexamination to clarify the reasons and the scientific analysis which led us to our fundamental line.

**Point one:** the Congress analyzed and defined the true nature of Kampuchean society at that time. What was the nature of Kampuchean society at that time? What were the contradictions in Kampuchean society at that time? It was imperative to find the answers. Finding the answers was a fundamental issue in defining our mission. A correct analysis of Kampuchean society would allow the correct definition of the mission of the revolution; on the contrary, an incorrect analysis would lead to incorrect revolutionary missions. Kampuchea at that time was a satellite of imperialism, in particular American imperialism. This meant that Kampuchea was neither independent nor free. Kampuchea was a semi-slave, a satellite, a satellite of the imperialists. Generally speaking, it was a satellite of the imperialists, but especially American imperialism. This was one analysis. Was there a struggle in making that analysis? There was. There was a struggle within our ranks, and there was also a struggle within the nation's society. This is because at that time, within our nation, there were some people who believed that Kampuchea had been independent since 1949; others claimed that independence had been won in 1954, thanks to the Geneva Accords. Regardless of difference on the date of independence, both sides agreed that Kampuchea was independent. But did the true nature of the society and of the country in those days support this talk of independence? According to our analysis, there was no independence. The economy was not independent. Culture was not independent. Social affairs were not independent. Nor was Kampuchea independent politically. Some sectors were independent, but others were not. Not being independent means being subject to foreign countries, subject to foreign imperialism in general with American imperialism as the ring leader. There was no independence in military affairs. The Cambodian-American military agreements of May 16, 1955 make this clear. Besides, the South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) had stretched its "umbrella" over Kampuchea. Consequently, although independent and neutral in form, Kampuchea, in essence, in its true nature, was not. This is because in actuality, the economy was entirely dominated by imperialism. The true nature of the culture was dominated by imperialism. The true nature of society and life were under imperialist dominance, especially within the ruling-class society. We thus defined the Kampuchea of those days as a country that was a satellite of imperialism, a semi-colonial country. This analysis was to make it crystal-clear that there were contradictions because Kampuchea was under foreign exploitation in terms of economy, culture, and social and military affairs. Therefore, it was not independent. Kampuchea was not totally dependent, but it was semi-dependent. If it was semi-dependent, were there contradictions? There were contradictions. There were contradictions between the Kampuchean nation and foreign imperialism,



particularly American imperialism. It was not armed aggression, but there was economic, cultural and social aggression, as well as military aggression in the sense that the Kampuchean army was subject to imperialist control in every way. Consequently, by its very nature, there were contradictions. There were automatic contradictions. However, some people tried to cover up the contradictions, saying they did not exist. But, in fact, the contradictions existed. There were contradictions between the Kampuchean nation and imperialism, especially American imperialism, and they had to be resolved. Therefore, they had to be resolved through a correct definition of our revolutionary mission, namely, uniting the whole nation into a single force in the struggle against imperialism, especially American imperialism, for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. This was the mission of the national revolution. The mission of national revolution meant attacking and driving out imperialism to liberate the country. This was what we found to be the solution, and we did not waver in applying it. If we had not found the solution, we would not have been able to give a correct definition to our mission, and we would not have fought against imperialism. Moreover, after finding the solution, if we had not taken a resolute position, the tasks would not have been defined in a clear way, and we would have been hesitant and unsteady. Sometimes we would have fought, sometimes we would not. Stances would not have been clear. Our Party correctly determined the contradictions which existed within Kampuchea. Therefore, we took up the task of mobilizing all the people's forces in order to drive out imperialism, especially American imperialism. We mobilized everyone who was against imperialism, against American imperialism in particular. This was one of the missions. The exploiting and reactionary classes of that time said: "Against whom should we struggle, since there are no Americans here?" But as for us, we based ourselves on the scientific analysis of the society. What was the nature of the society, the true nature of the economy, of the Army, of the culture? Were they independent or not? This was how we proceeded. We were not confined to the formal appearance of things. Because of the essence of its economy, its culture, its social life, its Army, Kampuchea was not independent. Therefore, Kampuchea was dependent or semi-dependent. In this situation, did we want independence? The people wanted independence. It was, then, necessary to set the task of mobilizing the people to struggle against imperialism, especially American imperialism, in order to win independence. This is the first point.

**Point two:** The Congress analyzed and defined the contradictions directly inside Kampuchean society. At the time that we were working out the Party's line, Kampuchean society was divided into five distinct classes: the working class, the peasant class, the petty bourgeoisie class, the capitalist class, and the feudal class. In all, there were five classes. Were there contradictions between these various classes? There were, and they were complicated ones. There were contradictions between the workers and the capitalists, between the petty bourgeoisie and the capitalists, between the peasants and the land-owners, between the capitalists and the peasants, etc.... The contradictions were complex and much entangled. But which contradictions played the leading role in society at that time? To answer this question, we had to find, among the many contradictions in society, the one which involved the majority of the population. Which class most exploited the others? Which class was the most exploited and the most numerous? An examination of the Kampuchean society of that time revealed that the peasants were 85%

of the country's entire population. Therefore, the peasants were the overwhelming majority of the population. They were oppressed by all classes. They were oppressed by the capitalists and the landowners. However, it was from the landowners that the peasants suffered the worst, most varied and most direct oppression. Thus, 85% of the population, the peasants, were in contradiction with the exploiting class that exploited them directly, the landowners. Among all the contradictions within Kampuchean society, the contradiction which played the leading role was that between the peasants and the landowners, because the peasantry represented the overwhelming majority, 85%, of the population. From whom did the peasants suffer exploitation? It had to be a priority to resolve this principal contradiction in order to mobilize the forces of the peasantry, who were the largest force. Thus, in Kampuchean society of those days, the contradictions were many and complex, but there was one contradiction among them which played an overwhelmingly dominant role, that was the contradiction between the peasant class and the landowner class.

The landowners oppressed the peasants in every way, and this oppression existed even in the most remote hardship areas of Kampuchea. We made personal documentary investigations examining documents for many years in the base areas in villages and communes in the countryside. I will give just one example from Battambang: During 1957-58, the Thmâ Koul (ថ្មីគោល) was a region of vast rice plantations. Some 90% of the farmlands was in the hands of the landowners. Of the tens of thousands of people in Thmâ Koul, only four to ten persons were landowners, but they monopolized 90% of the land. Tens of thousands of peasants shared the remaining ten percent of the farmlands. This is why we determined that there was impoverishment in the countryside. That is to say, the peasants were becoming more and more impoverished. The rich peasants, if they tried to do the labor themselves would, after a while, fall to become middle peasants. The middle peasants who tried to do the labor by themselves and were exploited part of the time after a while became lower-middle peasants. The lower-middle peasants, little by little, became poor peasants, and the poor peasants, having little by little lost all their land, had to immigrate to the cities, where they became laborers, workers, pedicab drivers, or porters. This was the process of impoverishment in the countryside. Only the landowners became richer. This was the state of the contradictions in Kampuchean society. Therefore, these contradictions filled Kampuchean society throughout the country.

Let me inform you about another document, one that resulted from our investigations in Dauntei (ដូនតី) Commune, which is situated in the eastern part of Kampong Cham Province, today's East Zone. We studied how the feudalist landowners exploited the peasants and what forms this exploitation took. A pair of black shorts cost, at that time, two to three riels. But it cost the peasants 10 to 15 bushels of rice at harvest time. In general in Dauntei Commune, for their annual needs, a middle peasant family of five persons, husband, wife, and three children, had only 30 bushels of rice per year, including the rice needed for food and seeds. So, with fifteen bushels of rice for one pair of shorts, for two pairs of shorts, they would need 30 bushels of rice, the total income of a middle peasant family for a whole year. Such then was the intensity of the

exploitation in the countryside. Those who did not see these issues did not see how serious the exploitation was. Therefore, this contradiction was a life-and-death contradiction. This was a profound contradiction in Kampuchean society, one which impacted 85% of the population. It was for this reason that the First Party Congress defined this contradiction as an antagonistic contradiction. This being the case, how could this contradiction be resolved? The peasants had to be whipped up to struggle and fight against the exploiting class, the feudalist landowners. That had to be the general solution. But to win, the peasants had to gather up one another to be on their side. Our concrete experience had clearly shown that once we succeeded in mobilizing 85% of the people, the rest would follow, except for a small minority who would not go along. This is what we set as the mission of democratic revolution. By "democratic revolution," we mean the liberation of the people. Concretely, it is the liberation of the 85% majority of the people who are the peasant class. To liberate the peasants, who make up 85% of the population, is to liberate all the people at one blow. Among the 15% remaining, the great majority would follow the masses of the peasantry who form a powerful revolutionary force. Not only powerful in quantity, but also in quality, since the contradiction between the peasants and the landowners is a life-and-death contradiction. Understanding this force is the key to victory. To consider our peasants backward, unclean, miserable, crude, incapable of making revolution, is to fall into a grave error in analysis. It is not proceeding from a scientific analysis of the contradictions within our society. In fact, this 85% of the population constitutes an immense force because of its numbers and because of the profound contradictions which affect it. The contradictions generated hatred, but, in the past the contradictions were buried. Why were these contradiction buried? Because the landowner class, the mandarin holders of power, and the spiritual leaders of the exploiting classes disseminated information to bury these contradictions. The belief that bad and good deeds from another life resulted in present conditions, etc, served to deceive the peasants and prevent them from seeing the contradictions. And yet the true nature of contradiction existed. Using the social sciences to analyze this shows that the contradictions existed. What remained was just to arouse the peasants to see the contradictions, and to burn with class hatred and take up the struggle. This was the key issue, the fundamental issue which was decisive for victory. Such was the conclusion of our analysis and such was our conviction.

In summary, the missions of national democratic revolution had to accomplish were two: one, to fight imperialism; two, to fight the feudal landowners. Not to fight just the individual landowners, but also their system of feudal exploitation. According to this line, we had to whip up the poor peasants and the lower-middle peasants. The cadres in charge of work in the countryside did not live in the towns, but in the most remote hardship areas. It was there that we were able to learn how many bushels of rice the peasants consumed each year and how many bushels of rice they had to pay for a pair of shorts. We learned how the poor and lower-middle peasants were exploited because we lived closely with them and we carried out agitation and propaganda among them about feudal and semi-feudal exploitation, and exploitation by the merchants and the capitalists. Comrades, examine the situation at that time! How did the struggle in the countryside develop, beginning in 1964? In 1964, 1965, 1966, and 1967, the struggle developed with tremendous force. We clearly saw that our movement was very mighty. In 1964 and

1965, the movement was already strong. In 1966, it became even mightier. In 1967, it became an extraordinary force. By the thousands, by the tens of thousands, the peasants demonstrated, rose up, marched on the administrative offices of the communes, districts and provinces, in order to complain about the issue of land. Every form of struggle was used, including petitions and meetings with people's representatives to sort things out. But what was especially important is that the peasants armed themselves with scythes, knives, axes, and hatchets, and other traditional weapons. Weapons in hand, the peasants surrounded police stations and military posts, resorting to revolutionary violence because the ruling classes refused to solve the problem of the lands which they had grabbed from the poor peasants in collusion with the landowners. The ruling classes were the feudalists, the landowners and the capitalists. How could they satisfy the demands of the peasants? They could not. Their lies and their deceit could only help them for a time. When, after several actions, the peasants still had not recovered their lands, their discontent was transformed into anger, then class hatred, hatred arising from the class contradictions. At this stage, how could the problem be solved? There was nothing left for the peasants but to take up their scythes and axes and drive out the landowners that had grabbed their land. From that point on, they no longer feared death, because they had nothing, and this was already like death for them. Such was the movement of our peasants. The peasant movement throughout the entire country of great impetus was very powerful. Some people wondered how it would be possible for us to make revolution and win with only our bare hands as weapons. This was because they did not see the seething, class-awakened and strength of our people. This class consciousness was not due solely to the propaganda and educational work of our Party, but was acquired in the course of struggle, through class hatred and the unresolved class contradictions. Problems like these led our peasants to find the solution in revolutionary violence. The decision to resort to violence came from our people themselves, learning through their own experiences in struggle. Thus, we were able to agitate among and mobilize 85% of the peasants throughout the country. It was a huge force, and that is why we dared to struggle. Why did the Party believe in the people? Because the Party had clearly seen the class contradictions and seen that the people were struggling through their own movement to resolve them. Our role was only to guide them to unite their strength, so that they would not go one at a time. This was the analysis formulated by the First Congress. It opened the way to a correct orientation for our Party. If we could not have found it, we would have been lost. Some people believed only in the strength of struggle in the Assembly. The Party certainly had to carry on the struggle in the Assembly, but this was a supplementary form of struggle. It was not a strategic force, but rather was a tactical force. There was the struggle through the press to whip up the opinion of the broad masses but this, too, was not the fundamental force. The fundamental force of our revolution was the peasants. In our country, the situation is different from the industrial countries. Our workers were not the principal force of our revolution. Initially, we worked actively among the workers. Since 1955 we had been able to organize the worker movement throughout the country. A countrywide association was organized to whip up the worker movement. The Comrade Deputy Secretary of our Party was given the task of leading this movement. However, our working class was numerically few. The movement was simmering in each factory, but the enemy attacked and smashed it. Every time the movement rose up it was smashed. The movement would reemerge, and the enemy would smash it again.



**This photograph: Peasants in our cooperatives at the blacksmith shop are producing large numbers of tools of all kinds to prepare enough for the upcoming harvest season.**

Take the railroads, for instance. The movement there was the most powerful movement of the working class in our country. They smashed many, to the point that some comrades who survived the severe mistreatment became insane. Therefore, the working class by its true class nature was the leading force. However, it was few in number and completely in the grasp of the enemy in the factories and workplaces.

Thus, the analysis of Kampuchean society in that period—that the peasants were in contradiction with the landowners—was fundamentally correct, and no matter what anyone said, we still had full confidence in our own forces. Despite what some people said, whatever the difficulties, we remained unshakeable in our belief because our people struggled very hard and they struggled under the correct leadership of the Party, which had the correct line. The struggle spread until the women struggled too. There was one incident among many others, an incident which I wish to use as an example to show the richness of form of our people's struggle. Krava (ក្រវា) Village, Kravea (គ្រវា) Commune, Baray (បារាយ) District is a remote place, situated in the upper district at the edge of the forests on the banks of the Steung Chinit (ស្ទឹងជីនិត) Tributary. The enemy severely mistreated the people there, subjecting them to all sorts of exploitation, including land grabbing. The people had struggled. The enemy had arrested all the men. There was no one left in the village but the wives and the children. The Party then instructed a supplementary form of struggle, struggle in the Assembly. The peasant women immediately said: "What? Us, struggle in the Assembly? We, who have never even been to Phnom Penh and who know where the Assembly is? Struggle with whom, and against whom?" We told them to take a bus from Kampong Cham and, once in Phnom Penh, to take pedicabs and ask the drivers to take them to the house of Chau Sen Kosal (ចៅសែនកុសល), president of the Assembly, that certainly the pedicab drivers would know where it was, and to stay right there until he came home. They went in a group, with children in hand, babies in their arms. The pedicabs dropped them off at the home of Chau Sen Kosal. There, they refused to leave, staying for three or four days until Chau Sen Kosal finally agreed to arrange a solution for several of the women who were making demands for the return of their husbands and lands. This shows how our people who did not recognize a single letter of the alphabet, who had never known the Assembly or any city, let alone Phnom Penh, had nonetheless dared to struggle under the leadership of the Party. The forms of their struggle were varied. The people are an immense force, capable of doing anything. Why? The reasons are that our analysis of the contradictions, our manner of solving them was correct, and we were able to correctly whip up the forces that were partners in the contradiction. This is the line we adopted.

Once we made the analysis of the contradictions within Kampuchean society, how did we determine who were the enemies of the revolution enemies and who were revolutionary forces? There were two enemies who had to be fought: the first was imperialism, particularly American imperialism. The second was the feudal class, the landowners, the reactionary compradors. The forces of revolution were the workers, the peasants, the

petty bourgeoisie, the national-level capitalists, and the prominent patriots and progressives. We had to gather up whatever forces there were in the national society, gather them all. If we only gathered up a few, we would not succeed in the struggle. If we mobilized only some of them, we would only have succeeded to some extent. If we mobilized all these forces, we would win completely. If we managed to gather up a large powerful force, we would win a tremendous victory. This was the factor determining whether we would win or lose. Therefore, we had to know how to gather up the forces of the workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie, national-level capitalists, and the patriotic personalities. Therefore, how could we mobilize the workers, the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie and the prominent patriots? We proceeded according to the line of looking around for any major contradictions to be attacked. The major contradictions were with imperialism and the feudal landlord system, which we had to combat. As for the minor contradictions, they had to be resolved by reciprocal concessions in a way that allowed the unity of all the forces against imperialism, especially American imperialism, and the system of the feudalists, landowners and reactionary compradors. By basing ourselves on this line, we gathered up all forces. We divided our work according to these different forces. Some of our comrades were assigned to work among the workers; others to work among the peasants; others still among the petty bourgeoisie, intellectuals, students and pupils; and others among the Buddhist priests, the national capitalists and among the prominent progressives and patriots. That is to say, we gathered up all forces who could be gathered up, not only the workers and peasants, but also the petty bourgeoisie (the pupils, students and intellectuals) and the national-level capitalists, the prominent patriots and progressives. We gathered up everybody. But how were we able to gather up these people? Our policy had to be correct, our reasoning correct. The people had to understand our reasoning correctly. Our policy had to conform with their interests for them to give us their support. We talked to them, had meetings with them. Sometimes they agreed with us; sometimes they did not. We discussed and considered back and forth. First they didn't see that the American imperialists was bad. Later, they ended up seeing that the American imperialists were bad. They joined with us to combat the American imperialists in order to win independence, peace and neutrality. All the forces had their role to play, but the basic force was the peasants, who represented 85% of the people. We succeeded in gathering up many them. Gradually we gathered up other forces too. In this way, we were able to mobilize our forces by making more than 95% of our people responsible in general for attacking the enemy, but they were different in kind: some are strategic forces, others, tactical forces. We consider the workers and peasants to be the fundamental strategic forces.

The petty bourgeoisie, the pupils, students, and intellectuals of every kind, are allies of the workers and peasants. It was the same in the past and it is still the same today, in the status of their original class.

The national-level capitalists constituted a strategic assistance force in the framework of the national democratic revolution. They were not a fundamental force, because sometimes they took the side of the enemy and sometimes they came to side of the revolution, whichever way the wind blew stronger.

As for tactical forces, they were the prominent people from the feudal aristocracy, the comprador capitalist class or the landowner class, who are willing to struggle to some extent against the enemy. We tried to gather up all these people. Samdech Penn Nuth and Samdech Sihanouk, Samdech Supreme Patriarch Chuon Nath of the Mohanikay Buddhist Order and the Samdech Supreme Patriarch of the Thammayuth Buddhist Order were prominent people whom we strove to gather up. We gathered up everyone. Our line was right and we applied it correctly. Our line was correct and we fundamentally implemented it correctly following our united front line, we united all the national forces in a large and solid united front, on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance and under the leadership of our Party. We achieved excellent results in organizing these strategic and tactical revolutionary forces, which had the effect of winning to the revolution more and more important forces and of driving the enemy into greater and greater isolation. We want to say that we pursued our policy of gathering together all forces that could be gathered, even to the point of differentiating our enemies for further attack.

We divided our enemies into three groups to:

First, to win over those enemies who could be won over in some circumstances.

Second, to neutralize those who could be neutralized, so they could not carry out actions against us

Third, to isolate the most vicious, in order to attack them

We differentiated our enemies and, in certain circumstances, were able to make use of their internal contradictions.

Let us take one case. The true nature of the contemptible Sim Va (ស៊ីម វ៉ា) and the contemptible Sâm Sary (សំ សារី) was the same, CIA. Sim Va, in the contemptible Son Ngoc Thanh's clique, was CIA. The contemptible Sâm Sary was also CIA. But in some circumstances we were able to split him away and we were able to attract Sim Va in order to attack and defeat Sâm Sary. He cooperated with us for two or three years. He then turned back against us, and we consequently revised our position towards him. This was taking advantage of an opportunity to gather forces to attack the enemy. If we had been rigid and sectarian, we would have missed opportunities to gather forces to serve the revolutionary movement and would have lost forces. But such forces were only tactical. The strategic forces that we strove to work were the workers and peasants, especially the poor and lower-middle peasants, who were found everywhere in our country.

Let me make it clear. Without this kind of line, without this way of applying this line of force gathering, victory would have been out of the question. During the history of national democratic revolution, we seized this victory because we set up forces following this line. We gathered forces correctly, following this line.



It was our Party's line to distinguish the strategic and tactical forces, what matters on which we had to dare to struggle, what we had to dare to be in solidarity, and what minor details on which we had to dare make concessions and allowances for the sake of solidarity in attacking the principal enemy. This line was the path of our leadership.

I would like to make it clear to you that now, when we are making socialist revolution, we are not doing it to test our luck and take risks. We are making socialist revolution today and building socialism today. If we act to test our luck and take risks the people will not support the revolution and will not be able to follow along.

These last two years since liberation are two key years during which we emerged from dire difficulties brought on by the devastating war. But we have passed through them successfully with the highest level of self-reliance. Why? Because the people made the revolution. Without the revolutionary forces of the people, we would not be where we are. We set up forced fundamentally correctly; not 100% correctly, but correctly in the overwhelming majority of our work. There were some negatives, but the positives predominated, and we were able to prepare our forces to the maximum. Therefore, we were not subjective, in the sense that we have not made revolution obstructively. This is because revolution does not disperse; rather, revolution gathers up forces to the maximum. This revolution is so vast, so profound, that it transforms the old into the new. It is a great upheaval. The revolution, then, is not at all an ordinary undertaking. To win, it was imperative that the revolutionary forces be organized meticulously.

Since the First Congress of our Party, we have based ourselves on these principles and drawn experience based on these principles in the course of struggle. Whatever went right and whatever went wrong, we improved following these principles in order to constantly strengthen and expand forces. That was why our forces were very strong during the history of national democratic revolution. It was because the forces of the popular masses were strong that anything could be achieved: politics, military, economy, social affairs. The battlefield made war strongly; the rear battlefield increased production strongly. What was the source of the prodigious power of our national democratic revolution? The entire population was set in motion. There are no more buried forces.

That is the lesson, and we are all profoundly convinced of this.

After preparing and building the revolutionary forces to defeat the enemy, what forms of struggle did we have to use?

The First Congress of our Party specified the following forms of revolutionary struggle:

The first form of struggle was to use revolutionary political violence and revolutionary armed violence. That is, we used revolutionary violence in both political and struggle and armed struggle by using revolutionary. This violence was the force to resist the enemy and strike the enemy.

The second form was legal, semi-legal and illegal struggle, taking illegal struggle as the basic form. We took the illegal forms as the basis because, normally, making revolution in itself is illegal. There is no law of the exploiting classes authorizing revolution. To gather up the people for struggle is illegal. But do we dare to struggle, or not? If you make revolution, you must dare to struggle, because revolution is illegal. But, dare to struggle, or not? Revolution overthrows the old power and builds a new state power. It is for this reason that our line specified illegal forms as the basis. We raised this issue in order to clean up our views and our stances. If this issue had not been perfectly clear, we could only have waged a legal struggle. If the laws had not authorized our struggle, we would not have dared to wage it, which means we would not have made revolution. Thus, the form of the struggle was a matter of revolutionary principle in our march to victory.

The third category was the overt, semi-overt and clandestine forms of struggle, with the clandestine forms as the basis. We made use of both overt and semi-open forms of struggle, but we took the clandestine forms of struggle as the basis, because the enemy did not allow us to make revolution. Consequently, to make revolution, to do agitation among the people, we had to go live among the people, do propaganda among them and arouse the people, taking the clandestine form of struggle as the principal form. Overt forms of struggle are not enough. They can only operate on the surface and do not penetrate deeply among the people. Let us take the case of the press. We could have published 100 dailies, but we would have only been able to write within the framework of laws of the state of the feudalist and capitalist classes. Thus, the revolutionary content could not have deeply penetrated to the people. The class content, the content of the struggle to overthrow the exploiting classes, could not have reached the people at the grassroots. It was only when we went to work among the people secretly that the revolutionary content penetrated to the people at the grassroots. We need correct activity lines and correct forms of struggle to be successful in the work of force-gathering. Therefore, the Party also attached importance to a good division of labor among the cadres. To some cadres, it assigned open work, to others, work as a people's representative in the Assembly, or work in the government under the old regime, or as a functionary in the administration, as well as open work in various mass organizations and in the press. These are different forms which can be used to incite the masses. In this way, we divided work among ourselves. However, there were some sections of clandestine work like this: there were sections which carried out overt work, and sections which carried out secret work. It was the same in the countryside, there were some sections for overt work and others for secret work. Secret work was fundamental, both in defending the revolutionary forces and whipping up the people. If all of us or too great a number of us had been working openly, the enemy would have been able to destroy many or all of us. These are the forms of struggle needed to effectively make use of all the forces among the people. We did not use these forces everywhere all the time, so as not to expose them needlessly to destruction. In making use of all these forms, our struggle spread throughout the country. We were able to carry on our struggle both in the countryside and in the cities both secretly and openly, in the Assembly, in the government, in associations, mass organizations, the press, associations for the expansion of education, even in the cremation societies, associations for defense of the pagodas and

associations for defense of Buddhism. We were able to wage the struggle and gather forces to the maximum to whip up the masses to struggle in various forms using different forms and slogans. We made use of many different forms in the style of people's war. Though we were carrying out political struggle at that time, the forms were numerous, and thus we could attack the enemy anywhere in large-scale attacks, as well as small-scale attacks. This was our work of continually gathering and training the people. Thanks to the use of all these forms of struggle, we built up our forces. If we had struggled only in the countryside, we would have lacked forces in the cities. Had we, on the other hand, fought only in the cities, we would not have had strength in the countryside. So we struggled both in the countryside and the cities both openly and secretly, legally and illegally.

It is the same for the role of the cities and the countryside. We were neither leftist nor rightist. If we had only carried on our work in the rural areas, thinking that the role of the cities was useless this would have been "leftist". If, on the other hand, we had considered that the countryside was useless, and the important thing was the urban struggle, thinking that only the latter is capable of gaining world attention, this would have been "rightist" because we would have abandoned the strategic forces. Our Party was neither leftist nor rightist, because we fought both on both fields. We had our struggle bases:

First, the struggle was both in the countryside and in the cities;

Second, we used the countryside as a support base.

The cities struggled. The countryside struggled. However, our operational line was that the countryside was the support base. Why did we take the countryside as the base and why did we not take the cities as the support base? The cities could not be used as the support base. Though the population there was large, the cities were small, the enemy was everywhere there. The Assembly, the courts, the prisons, the police and the soldiers were all there. The networks of the enemy's repressive apparatus were concentrated there, and the class composition of the cities was very complex. By contrast, the countryside was vast. The enemy was spread thin there. In some villages, there were no enemies, no soldiers. In some communes, there are only one or two soldiers or police. This meant the enemy forces in the countryside were weak. The peasants there were very numerous. The class composition was good too. This is why we took the countryside as the revolutionary support base. First, as the political support base with the peasant masses as the forces. Second, as an economic support base: we could live there, increasing production and sorting out living standards along with the people. Third, as a military support base. Fourth, as a support base to serve as installations for the various leadership echelons of the Party. This was the meaning of the countryside as a support base. We set up operations like this. So then, from 1960 on, the members of the Central Committee gradually went down to the countryside to work, and from 1963 on, 90% of the Central Committee members moved there. It was imperative to live in the countryside in order to directly whip up the peasant masses. As for the cities, we continued our agitation work there. We did it like this to make the enemy to disperse his forces, to split the enemy so that they could not concentrate to strike us as they pleased either in the countryside or in

the cities. We attacked simultaneously on both of these battlefields so as to weaken the enemy. Thus, once the political line of the Party was absorbed, the struggle movements in Phnom Penh and the other big cities and in the countryside became very powerful.

-1963: This was the year all American aid was rejected. This was the result of the struggle of the people, the students, the intellectuals, the workers and peasants, the monks aided also by the struggle of our prominent people working in the Assembly and the government, and supported by the struggles in the countryside. This was one of the major events in the struggle of our people.

- 1964: In January, there was a huge demonstration of thousands of people in Phnom Penh against American imperialism and the traitor clique of Lon Nol. Later, in March, there was another huge demonstration of hundreds of thousands of against the American Embassy. The crowd attacked the American Embassy, tore down the American imperialist flag and trampled it on the ground. This was the tremendous struggle of the people in the cities.

-1965: Diplomatic relations with American imperialists were broken off. This was the result of the successive brightly burning struggles of our people, etc.

In conjunction, these struggles gave the countryside the opportunity to build forces and strengthen and expand revolutionary forces to become mighty.

What was the situation with the struggle in the countryside? In 1964, 1965, 1966 and 1967, struggles followed one another thickly and closely. In 1967, the situation of the people throughout the country in the countryside was ripe. The people armed themselves with knives, axes, and clubs and attacked police stations and military garrisons using a high level of violence. It was in this ripening revolutionary situation that gunfire broke out in 1967 in Samlaut (Battambang). The Party Central Committee had not yet decided to open fire throughout the country, but Battambang exploded first because the peasant resistance movement boiled over. But the Party was in the lead, and in 1967 the Party decided that Battambang in the Northwest Zone had to temporarily suspend the armed struggle in Battambang so that the whole country could equally complete preparations to attack. If Battambang had attacked alone, the enemy could have concentrated all its forces there to smash the revolutionary forces in Battambang to bits.

Thus, in 1967 the situation in the countryside had reached a new height, like dry, brittle straw in the rice fields in March and April, which needs only a small spark to set it on fire. Thus, the situation was ripe. We assessed; we analyzed; we grasped the situation that the situation of our people was like this. This is why in the middle of 1967, following the experience of the breakout of gunfire in Samlaut, Battambang Province, the Party decided to initiate the open phase of armed struggle attack the enemy, to defend the revolution, and to create the conditions to further strengthen and expand our revolutionary forces. Were it not for armed struggle, the enemy would have smashed our revolutionary forces. It was necessary to open the curtain on armed struggle because we had already prepared all the people: the class hatred and national hatred were boiling

over. The people had already been tested in the struggle against the enemy, struggling with their bare hands, with sticks, with knives.

This was the situation in the countryside and the cities. At that time, the enemy was wavering and incapable to counter our revolutionary forces because we were attacking simultaneously in the towns and countryside in very good coordination.

Basing itself on these experiences, the Party throughout the country was unanimous in its conclusion that if we continued to wage only the political struggle without taking up armed struggle, we would be incapable of defending the revolutionary forces, and we would be even more incapable of strengthening and expanding them.

And so we launched the armed struggle in 1968.

In January, in the Northwest Zone opened fire. We captured four to ten enemy guns and continued to attack the enemy. The enemy counter-attacked and we resisted one another back and forth.

In February, the Southwest Zone opened fire. The Southwest obtained the most weapons because they demonstrated against the enemy and seized nearly 200 rifles from the police and soldiers. 200 weapons was not an insignificant number of weapons at that time, so they had the weapons for intense combat. They were captured not with guns, but with bare hands, by mass demonstrations.

In March 1968, the East Zone opened fire. The East Zone had not yet taken weapons. There the enemy had advance knowledge. The Zone Committee was in the midst of a meeting to organize the seizure of weapons, like the Southwest had done, when the enemy withdrew its weapons from the area. So, the East was bare-handed, with only three or four weapons. The enemy was then free to mistreat the people and persecute the revolutionary forces for more than three months, during April, May and June. Our bases were smashed to bits. The homes and villages were smashed to bits, and the people were smashed and scattered. It was only in July that we were able to make a counterattack. We organized a strike on an enemy post and smashed the enemy and seized 70 weapons, which we used as capital to create our armed forces. The people were completely bare-handed, but the people were already indoctrinated and trained in revolutionary violence and were experienced in the struggle against the enemy. So, even bare-handed, they were able to seize arms from the enemy.

The North Zone opened fire in March 1968. Only four guns were seized from the police. They were able to strike the enemy, but the enemy struck back. There was combat back and forth between us and the enemy, but we encountered many difficulties.

The Northeast Zone opened fire on 30 March 1968. Four or five guns were seized from the enemy. Using the three or four guns previously used to defend the headquarters of the Center's office, we had a total of less than 10 guns to attack the enemy in the Northeast Zone.

Speaking of weapons, the Southeast Zone had the most. The other locations only had a very few weapons. What type of weapons? They were all old: of ten rounds, only one fired. We were still able to fight. From January to May 1969, our guerrilla strikes spread throughout the country. Our guerrilla movement was in 17 provinces attacking and seizing weapons from the enemy. No zone could come directly to the aid of another, since they were very far apart. Part of the leadership was in the Northwest; part of the leadership was in the Southwest; part of the leadership was in the East, part of the leadership was in the Northeast, and part of the leadership was in the in Phnom Penh, places very far from each other. When contact was required, it took a month to make contact, since it meant a trip on foot or by elephant, and it was constantly necessary to evade the enemy to avoid ambush. During that month, the situation would be greatly changed, and the situation report would no longer correspond to the new situation by the time it reached the Center's office in Ratanakiri. Return instructions sent in reply would be outdated and did not apply to the new situation. Because of this, the instructions could only state our general line, principles, and broad orientation. Each location had have independence, mastery, and self-reliance to correctly implement the line of the Party. Despite all this, every location strived to strengthen and expand forces and was able to do so. As a result, from 1968-69 to March 1970, we established these bases:

**First, the support bases:**

In the Northeast, we had a solid support bases with a population of more than 30,000. By a support base, we mean a base which is inaccessible to the enemy. Counting the support bases in the Northwest Zone, East Zone and Southwest Zone, our support bases had a population of around 60,000. A population of 60,000 in support bases is quite considerable.

**Second, the guerilla [militia] bases:**

Guerilla bases come after the support bases. These are bases which we controlled solidly, but which, in spite of everything, the enemy could penetrate, not frequently, but they could penetrate. In the entire country, our guerilla bases in the years 1968-69 to March 1970 had a total population of around 300,000.

**Third, the guerilla [militia] zones:**

A guerilla zone means a zone divided between us and the enemy. It is a combat area. We could penetrate it to hit the enemy, but the enemy could also penetrate it. It is an area in great disorder. In the guerilla zones in the country as a whole, we had a population of around 700,000 people.

And so, during the civil war of the year 1968-69 to early 1970, we had a total population of more than a million people, counting the support bases, militia bases and militia zones in the whole country.

Such a force is not negligible. It is not measured only in numbers; it is the force of the poor and lower-middle peasants, the force of a people who have already gained experience in struggle upon struggle. It is, then, a really powerful force. We had succeeded in building a considerable force. In 1968, we were really barehanded; we didn't have a single weapon, not one doctor, no medicine, no paddy or rice. However, we dared to struggle because we had the power of the people firmly in our hands. To have the power of the people in our hands is to have at our disposal all the necessary revolutionary forces: guerrilla forces, armed forces, forces of production to support the revolutionary war. It meant we could get doctors, pharmacists, couriers. It meant we could get everything we needed to at both the front lines and in the rear battlefield.

- As far as our Army is concerned, by the beginning of 1970, the regular concentrated units totaled only an active force of 4,000 fighters for the whole country. These 4,000 fighters represented a considerable force for our guerrilla war. But, it was, above all, an army of strong quality.

I take as an example the regular army in the Northeast Zone. In comparison to the Southwest and East Zones, the Northeast Zone far fewer troops. In 1968 the Northeast Zone had had only 70 fighters, divided into seven squads. There were only three handguns for each squad of ten. Besides the handguns, there would be one or two grenades, a few flintlock rifles, some poisoned arrows, and nothing else. In 1969, the force grew to ten squads. It was only in late 1969 that it became a platoon, then in early 1970, a company. Only 30% to 40% of the combatants in each unit were armed.

But let me inform you that we were already under heavy enemy attack when we had only seven squads. In 1969, the contemptible Tiou Long, enemy chief of staff, the contemptible Nol, the contemptible Sak Suthsakhon, the contemptible Sosthene, and nearly all the enemy military commanders together mounted an offensive against Ratanakiri. They sent 18 battalions to attack Ratanakiri (one third of their army) with infantry units, armored vehicles, artillery, and aircraft. Our regular army in the Northeast Zone numbered just 150 fighters, 150 fighters who could not all fight at the same time because they did not have enough weapons. They had to split into two groups of 70 fighters, one fighting while the other rested because of the shortage of guns. Using the tactics of guerrilla warfare, we were able to attack the enemy, defend our support base, strengthen and expand the militia bases, and strengthen and expand the militia zone. We were not limited to Ratanakiri Province. We penetrated into Steung Treng Province, then into Mondulakiri Province, and we continued our advance, attacking deep within enemy zones. As a result, at a 1969 council meeting of the enemy cabinet, the traitor Tiou Long, as chief of staff, gave a pessimistic report, admitting that the situation in Ratanakiri was serious. The contemptible Nol swore that in Ratanakiri the Khmer Rouge occupied a territory equivalent to three times the area of Kampong Chhnang Province.

Elsewhere, the situation was the same. In the Southwest, we attacked in the provinces of Kampot, Takeo and Kampong Speu one after another. In the East, we attacked and reached Highway 7. At night, the East Zone army had total mastery over Highway 7. Thus, in the years 1968 and 1969 and until March 1970, our concentrated regular units

numbered only 4,000 fighters in the whole country, but the quality was strong and it was very combat-active.

- As for our guerilla units, in the whole country, they numbered 50,000 fighters at the beginning of 1970; 50,000 guerrillas who could attack the enemy everywhere. The militias would go into combat alone, or in groups of two or three, but with only one rifle, a rudimentary flintlock, or a crossbow, grenade or mine. They fought any way they could, with any kind of weapon. They were very active. They never put themselves on the defensive. They did not wait for the enemy, but constantly went ahead, searching for the enemy, acting on the principle of attacking in order to better defend themselves. In order to be able to defend the support bases, they had to go the offensive to attack the enemy first. It was only by attacking the enemy first, that the enemy could be prevented from coming into our zone. So the guerrilla units went into battle everywhere, since they were made up of people who lived in the area and knew in depth all of their terrain, each forest, each stream, each valley.

The enemy attacked us with infantry, armored vehicles, artillery, military transport vehicles, and planes. However, in the Northeast, as in the other mountainous and jungle regions, enemy planes, tanks, artillery, and trucks lost their effectiveness. The bombs and shells fired at random in the vast forests and mountains were lost in the trees and rocks and never caused the slightest loss to our people. As for the tanks and trucks, our deep forests and our mountains were inaccessible to them. There remained the infantry. Against them, we set traps, crossbows and punji-stake pits, and we cut down trees to throw obstacles across the paths and roads large and small. When the enemy tried to penetrate, our guerrilla units had mastery and drive them back because they were entering our people's forests. This was people's war, based on guerrilla warfare. Guerrilla warfare was waged everywhere, the guerrillas could attack anywhere, thickly and closely. We could thus mobilize all the people to attack the enemy without waiting for the regular units. This is what proved the effectiveness of our line of people's war based on guerrilla warfare, which was mighty. Therefore, with guerrilla units of 50,000 fighters in the whole country, we attacked all over, without letting up. We attacked locations all over the country; we were not quiet; we were on the move attacking everywhere. A team of three guerillas or a ten-man squad did whatever it had to do to smash and kill or smash and would three enemies per day. So how many dif 50,000 fighters throughout the country get per day? I don't know how many, but it was a lot. The enemy force was worn down by our guerilla force. We had faith in our line of people's war. We had faith not only in arms, but in our line of people's war.

Our army numbered 4,000 fighters and our guerrilla units, 50,000. After the coup d'etat of the American imperialists and the contemptible Nol, these units were immediately converted from sector units to concentrated units of the regular army, into companies and battalions. These units were not simply formed from the ordinary village people. They came right out of the guerrilla units, units which already had two or three years of fighting behind them to become regular units. These units fought hard. This was what most frightened the enemy. The American imperialists, in spite of their dense electronic systems and spy rings everywhere, were mistaken in their strategic evaluation



of our forces. They were seriously mistaken in both their political and military estimates. In their political strategy, they assumed that, soon after the coup d'etat, the contemptible Nol would certainly be able to gather up the "Khmer Rouge." But who from the Kampuchean revolution could they gather up? It was the revolution which gathered up all the national and people's forces in the whole country to mount a crushing attack on American imperialism. Thus, the imperialists committed an enormous strategic blunder in their political analysis. Secondly, in their military analysis, they believed that we had no army, no military force whatever. They predicted that after the coup d'etat, their combined military forces, with the cooperation of the contemptible Nol's army, could strike and smash us in a single blow. But, in fact, we already had 50,000 guerrillas who were well-trained and seasoned in battle. Immediately after the coup d'etat, huge, spontaneous demonstrations and uprisings broke out everywhere in the country, sweeping the enemy away like lightning from eight directions, overpowering the enemy in droves in the villages, communes, districts, and some provinces. Revolutionary administration was immediately set up everywhere. Tens of thousands of weapons captured from the enemy came immediately into the hands of our National Liberation Armed Forces, from the regular army units to the regional forces and the district, commune and village guerrilla units. We then had regular units in sufficient numbers. Together with the guerrilla units, our armed forces went on the offensive everywhere in the country, advancing in a powerful offensive and with total mastery. Thus, the American imperialists had made another gross strategic military blunder. But they would have been defeated even if their estimates and predictions had been correct. Even if they had gained precise information about our strength, they could not have escaped defeat, because our people's war of national liberation was an invincible war. We can describe ours as a people's war because it was a war of the people: it was the entire people who were making war, with their own movement. All the energies of the people were set in motion and hit the enemy on all fronts and in every area, with every kind of weapon, with creative spirit and initiative. Our people's war was invincible. This was our conviction, based on our confidence and pride in our people and our Army. With our people and our Army we were able to liberate our country. Furthermore, we were confident of the power to defend it because, for one thing, we stood for justice, we stood for correct revolutionary principles, we did not violate the sovereignty of any country, we did not interfere in the internal affairs of any country, and we had no aggressive designs against any country. For another thing, people's war, already waged for national liberation, was destined to assure the defense of our country. It has a scientific character issuing from the revolutionary practice of the masses and is profoundly based upon the masses.

Our female fighters were very courageous. In the history of our army, we have had women's units, both battalions and regiments, these units took part in hand-to-hand combat on the front lines. They fought on a number of fronts, especially on the Lower Mekong, at the outskirts of Phnom Penh, where they attacked and cut off its contact with other parts of the country in 1975, as well as in Phnom Penh in the general offensive of 1975. What made this possible? It was possible because our whole people made the revolution, and because we had a powerful revolutionary movement.

As for the military line of our Party, we operated as follows:

1. To build our Army by ourselves, on the principles of independence, mastery, and self-reliance, with the direct combat participation of all the people in the war.

To have a Revolutionary Army, you must have a revolutionary people. It is necessary to organize a broad, strong revolutionary movement to be able to organize a strong revolutionary army, with both regular forces and strong sector forces, and guerrilla forces everywhere, capable of attacking at any point at any moment.

2. Our policy on building the cadres of our Revolutionary Army.

The cadres of our Revolutionary Army are built directly on the battlefield and continue to strengthen and expand themselves on the battlefield in direct combat. Only the cadres of the Revolutionary Army formed in the fires of combat, can have necessary experience and the sound ideological, political and organizational to know both the enemy situation and ours clearly with full mastery and actually implement the strategic line of the Party correctly and accurately.

3. Our policy on arming our Revolutionary Army and using weapons.

Our revolution was based fundamentally and primarily on self-reliance. Self-reliance means to seek any means to strive to attack the enemy in order to seize the enemy's weapons and use them ourselves in battle, to care for the weapons seized from the enemy, and to bring out the creative spirit of the masses to repair and fashion every kind of weapon we can. The aid of our foreign friends was only supplementary support, depending on the opportunities and the concrete situations. During the five years of the war waged by our people against the American imperialist aggressors, more than 80% of our armament was weapons seized from the enemy. Furthermore, the line on the use of weapons and war materials was to use whatever we had at our disposal, large or small, many or few, but always economically and depending on the needs and the importance of the fronts, without tying ourselves down by rigid regimes. In general, during the course of five years of war, only 70% at most of the combatants in each of our regular units were armed. Our Revolutionary Army implemented the military line of our Party correctly and well to the maximum. This is what gave it its fighting quality and extreme effectiveness. We must continue to study this experience. We must strive to correctly implement the line of our Party in building the military with the highest level of independence, initiative and self-reliance. In our position as a poor country that is still poor, there is no other way for us to be independent and sovereign in every situation, other than to continue to implement our Party's military line and the line of people's war with self-reliance.

As for the line of attacking the enemy, the Party determined to fight both militarily and politically to strengthen the people against the enemy, economically by cutting off all the enemy's food supplies and especially by eradicating their various espionage networks and by building a movement among the enemy troops not to serve the enemy by coming to attack the people. The Party's line of struggle on every level gave us the advantage over the enemy that grew stronger each day, while the enemy became eroded and worn

down and fatigued and exhausted in droves every single day. When enemy was defeated, the people abandoned them non-stop causing them to run out of forces and isolating them to a greater level. Their food supply became more precarious daily and in the end dried up completely. Their bosses, the American imperialists, were obliged to go to great lengths to transport their supplies. They had to send an average of 40,000 tons of supplies each month just to Phnom Penh.



**This photograph: Female combatants of our Revolutionary Army southwest Of Phnom Penh are fighting to maintain vegetable farms to prosper quickly and provide a lots of produce.**

On the line of combat against the enemy, our Party also concretely defined its line of combat in great detail in order to be able to attack the enemy under any circumstances. Our line of combat was to launch offensives continuously, giving constant play to creative spirit and initiative on every front. We waged conventional warfare and guerrilla warfare at the same, time, while using guerrilla warfare as the foundation in order to harass the enemy everywhere without let-up, and while using conventional warfare to wipe out enemy troops. We combined large, medium and small-scale attacks one after the other follow ceaselessly, day and night, in dry season and in rainy season, relentlessly, so as not to leave the enemy time to catch their breath or reorganize, consolidate and develop their forces, We divided the enemy into smaller units, attacking the flanks, the rear, the weak points, and avoiding frontal attack at all times.

In this way, we could attack the enemy at any time, whether our forces were small, medium-sized or large. At the same time we could preserve our forces and wipe out the enemy to the greatest extent possible.

The line of our Party, which consists of struggling in every area and in using every form of combat, allowed us to direct strong and repeated blows against the enemy and to win victories on every front throughout the country.

Concretely:

- At the beginning we concentrated on attacking the enemy's weak positions in the countryside with combined military attacks by regular and guerrilla units, with mass demonstrations to strike the enemy and take power in the villages and communes. In this way, we liberated and expanded in the countryside every single day and isolated the enemy encircling them a few large population centers, at the same time that we tied down enemy forces in scattered positions where the communications and supplies became more and more difficult for them.

- It was in this situation that we took measures to cut off the enemy's routes of strategic communications, following our line of combat, especially our tactic of dividing the enemy into smaller units. This way from 1970 to 1974 we cut off and controlled all the enemy's strategic ground communication routes, that is, Highways 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7. At the same time, in 1972, 1973 and 1974, we succeeded in periodically cutting off the strategic waterways. Even the Lower Mekong, on which the enemy concentrated the greatest attention, was periodically cut-off in those years. When the lines of communication on ground and river were cut in 1974, the American imperialists and the clique of the traitor LON Nol found themselves extremely isolated in Phnom Penh and a few provincial capitals.

- It was during this situation, when our Party's Central Committee, in the course of its June 1974 conference, resolved to mount the decisive offensive to liberate Phnom Penh and the entire country.

We dared to mount this decisive offensive because we had fully grasped both the enemy's situation and our own. The plan of our offensive was as follows: to attack Phnom Penh, cut off the Lower Mekong and attack the provincial capitals still under the temporary control of the enemy. The control of the Lower Mekong was the key factor in the total liberation of Phnom Penh, the attacks on other towns being complementary operations.

Carrying out the decision of the Party Central Committee, during the rainy season of the year 1974, we actively prepared our forces politically, ideologically and organizationally, and in terms of the combat line on the battlefield. Our entire Revolutionary Army audaciously fulfilled the Party's mission of making the decisive attack and resolved with the highest heroism to absolutely make that decisive attack for the Party, the revolution, the class, and the people to completely and permanently liberate Phnom Penh and the entire country. We readied our forces correctly and painstakingly for the final assault on Phnom Penh and for the attacks on the provincial capitals. It was thus that the decision of the Party Central Committee to liberate Phnom Penh and Kampuchea

during the 1975 dry season could be totally and perfectly carried out, following strictly the line of independence, mastery, and self-reliance, and taking our destiny into our own hands at the highest level.

- On April 1, 1975, we liberated Neak Loeung. The American imperialists dragged the contemptible Nol by the head to Hawaii and changed horses, in the hopes of maneuvering after their defeat to counterattack the revolution when it gained control of Phnom Penh.

- On April 12, 1975, the contemptible Gunther Dean, the American ambassador, and the American military command in Phnom Penh fled in disgrace aboard a fleet of helicopters sent to rescue and evacuate them.

- On April 17, 1975, the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea mounted an all-out assault and totally liberated Phnom Penh at 9:30 a.m.

So then, we won the great victory as the result of the final offensive for the total liberation of Kampuchea and the Kampuchean people on April 17, 1975. We thus brought to a close the national democratic revolution.

The line of our Party defined in 1960 stated:

1. To make national revolution by eradicating the imperialists, especially the American imperialists, from Kampuchea;
2. To make democratic revolution by abolishing the reactionary regime of the feudalists and comprador capitalists from Kampuchean society.

We completely realized these two tasks on April 17, 1975. The Communist Party of Kampuchea had led the struggle of our people for 15 years. The struggle of the Kampuchean people had undergone difficult and tragic tests, and some extremely complex situations. But we had the correct political line, and we had the Communist Party of Kampuchea to lead us on the correct path. Thus, whatever the difficulties, we fought on until the great victory of April 17, 1975. In the course of those 15 years, our people made immense sacrifices which just added to the immense sacrifices of centuries and of millennia of past struggles. Our national anthem brings out the meaning of this struggle.

Our national anthem is not the work of one or two composers: it is the work of our whole people, who wrote it with their own blood, the blood which our people generously shed over the centuries. It is a stirring call to our generation and to future generations. The sacrifices of our people are handed down and written in our national anthem. Each sentence, each word, expresses the true nature of our people's struggle. It is this blood, changed into class and national hatred, which led to the victory of April 17, 1975, and which calls us to resolutely defend the state power of the people, defend the motherland, and build Kampuchea to plenty and prosperity is symptomatic great leaps and bounds.

We were determined and we still are determined to do everything to transform each drop of blood shed by generations of our comrades in arms into a stance of resolute patriotism, into a firm class stance, in order to guard forever our territorial integrity and to lead well the work of national construction aiming to rapidly render our country prosperous, to bring our people's standard of living to a higher level in the near future, in a society where true justice, equality and harmony reign.

We have seen how many, how enormous, the sacrifices of our people were. We must always honor them so as to value the bravery of our people, learn from them and reinforce and develop our heroism from generation to generation. Let us listen to, respect and sing our national anthem, for it represents the struggles of our people. For more than 2,000 years, our people lived in disgrace and in the darkest shadows, without any light. Then the daylight shone. The brightest day of all for our people was April 17, 1975.

For this reason, we made "17 April, the Great Victory" the title of our national anthem.

Our national anthem was composed by generations of our men and women combatants and people. Our national anthem was born following April 17, 1975, when Democratic Kampuchea was born. It is the national anthem of our Democratic Kampuchea and all of us throughout the country.

We now know the essence of the history of our people's struggle. We must strive to build ourselves to fulfill our missions well, to fulfill the mission of defending the country well, building the country well until we have built ourselves well. Those of us in the ranks must all strive without regard to echelon or position.

1. The young comrades, whether single or married, must strive to go on the offensive to build yourselves to be crystal-clear and without any entanglements at all; you must be crystal-clear inside the revolution. Youth is a period of life in which there are very rapid changes. It is a time when consciousness is quickest to absorb to take in revolution and when we are in full possession of our physical strength. This is a general directive of our Party. It is the youth of today who will take up the revolutionary tasks of tomorrow. To guarantee yourselves you must constantly train; do not fear small work; do not fear large work, be it difficult or easy. When the collective delegates it to you, go all out to do it. When you do something right or wrong, let the collective assist you. This is tempering. Do not be choosy at your work. Do it gradually, and gradually draw experience. Now do not fear work. Do not be choosy. When we do a lot, we learn a lot and we understand many issues. We want you to learn every field; this requires cadres who understand many issues. It is imperative to both have the know how to strike the aggressor enemy strongly and increase production strongly.

2. In comparison to the young, our older comrades already have a little less physical and intellectual strength. But these comrades must educate themselves in order to make a better contribution to the running of the country and to better carry out their revolutionary

tasks. Those who have a long revolutionary history must not be narrow-minded or opinionated. If they neglect their education, they will no longer be able to do their tasks well. In national defense and construction and in many other areas, we need tested cadres with sound ideological and political positions. All these qualities can only be gained through constant effort.

3. The veteran comrades, too, must make an effort. Our Party and our revolution need all the forces and especially the tested veteran cadres who have a sound stand. It is necessary to educate ourselves no matter what our age. All our forces are capable of carrying out their tasks. We devote ourselves body and soul to the revolution because of the greatness of our tasks. We have totally liberated our country, and we have fully secured its defense. Nonetheless, to better defend it in the future, our forces must always be sound. They must make a firm and consistent commitment to the defense of our national territory from coast to coast. We all know the Angkor of past times. Angkor was built during the slave period. It was our slaves who built it under the yoke of the exploiting classes of that time, for the enjoyment of the king. If our people were capable of building Angkor, they can do anything. Our people brought about the glorious April 17, 1975. We must lift up our nation's soul, our nation's pride, to carry out the work of national defense and construction and to secure our country's future forever.

X X X

**The second part of my talk dealing with the national democratic revolution is over. I wish to move on now to the Chapter Three of my presentation, dealing with the new period of the Kampuchean revolution, defending Democratic Kampuchea and continuing the socialist revolution and the construction of socialism in Kampuchea.**

The new stage of our revolution began only two years ago. In contrast with the national democratic revolution, which covered many decades and in the course of which we had undergone many revolutionary tests and amassed vast experiences before reaching the glorious April 17, 1975, this new stage is still very short, and our experience is consequently quite limited. Nonetheless, we must examine together this new period of the Kampuchean revolution, its situation and our first experiences, and the experiences from our concrete revolutionary movement will certainly lead us improve our work and make further progress.

Now let us examine and analyze the situation in Kampuchea and Kampuchean society after April 17, 1975, in order to see what other contradictions exists and how we must resolve them by precisely defining our revolutionary missions during this new period.

Firstly, with the tremendous victory of April 17, 1975, our country of Kampuchea was totally and permanently liberated. We fully and completely gained 100% independence and sovereignty, which we now enjoy to an extent unprecedented in the 2,000-year history of our country. We are independent in every sphere: politics, economics, military affairs, culture, literature, art, social affairs. This is a most excellent point for us. We are all extremely proud and happy with this situation.

But, because we have won total independence, does this mean that we no longer face the threat of foreign enemies, foreign imperialists and reactionaries, who once again seek to make us dependent in military affairs, politics and economics, as well as in other spheres? The concrete situation shows us clearly that foreign imperialists and reactionaries always harbor the strategic and fundamental aim of weakening our country and re-conquering it. Thus, a state of contradiction exists between the foreign imperialists and reactionaries on the one hand, and Democratic Kampuchea on the other. This is the contradiction with foreign enemies, who wish to commit aggression against us and annex our independent and sovereign Kampuchean territory. This contradiction and that of the preceding period have different natures, because, in the previous period, Kampuchea was under the yoke of the imperialists, colonialists and their lackeys, the reactionaries. Our revolutionary task, then, is no longer the same; no longer is it a revolution for national liberation and independence. Our revolutionary task now is to defend our country, to defend Democratic Kampuchea: defend our independence, our sovereignty and our



territorial integrity within our present borders, defend the worker and peasant power of our Party, and safeguard the sacred victories of the revolution. Now that we have national independence in our grasp, this is the primary revolutionary facing us.

Secondly, at the same time that our nation was completely liberated, so were our people, most particularly, the masses of workers, peasants and other laborers. The workers, peasants and other laboring people constitute 90% of the population, with the peasant class alone representing 85%. Thus, when we add the workers and other laborers to the peasantry, the figure of 90% is entirely correct. Once free, this 90%, the laboring people, have become the motive force which attracts and wins over the other 10% of the population. Among the capitalists, landowners and other strata that make up this 10%, there are many elements who are for the revolution, and who even take part in the revolution. Among these strata, there are some patriots who rejoice that the nation is liberated from the humiliating state of enslavement in which it had been maintained for centuries, and now is full of dignity and enjoys great prestige everywhere. These elements do not constitute a negligible force; they represent eight to nine percent of the population. So, in all, 98% to 99% of the population has been liberated. This is an immense victory for our revolution and for all our people, because for generations, our people and nation had been enslaved by the imperialists, colonialists and reactionaries. The masses of workers, peasants and other laboring people, in particular, suffered the greatest misery.

But now, in our new and just society, are there still contradictions? If so, what are they? What forms do they take and how must they be resolved? Let us examine this with the aim of correctly defining the tasks of our revolution in its new stage.

The concrete situation of our new Kampuchean society and the excellent fact that our people have been completely liberated and are in solidarity and unity joining together to defend and build the country unceasingly have not prevented our new society from encountering contradictions.

- On one hand, there are contradictions among the people, because we all carry vestiges of our old class character, deep-rooted for generations, and, after all, the transition to revolutionary proletarian character is still quite recent. We consider these to be contradictions among the people that can be resolved by education, study, criticism, self-criticism and periodic revolutionary lifestyle assessments, under the supervision and with the aid of the collective, all under the leadership of the Party. It is important to consistently carry out thorough-going education and indoctrination work, which is aimed at developing collectivist and socialist ownership and gradually eliminating the idea of private ownership. Our goal is to continue to build the revolutionary strength of the people, so that each of us becomes a revolutionary of the new Kampuchea, who zealously defends and builds the country, and who contributes to the rapid raising of the people's living standards. Our cooperatives, which are collective organizations of our people throughout the country, have demonstrated their great strength since their beginnings in 1973. During American imperialist war of devastation, the collective force constituted by the cooperatives was capable of defeating American imperialism and, at the same time, of

producing enough to meet the needs of the front and improve the conditions of life of all our people. Likewise, after liberation, thanks to the collective strength of the cooperatives, we were able to fully guarantee national defense, develop production, and successfully improve the living conditions of nearly eight million inhabitants of our country. All this was done in complete independence and by relying on our own resources. It is the same in other areas. The work done collectively yields excellent results, while work undertaken in an individualistic manner leads inevitably to inextricable difficulties and failure.

On the basis of this analysis of the new Kampuchean society, our Party set as its revolutionary task the carrying out of the socialist revolution with greater energy, greater firmness and in greater depth, thus to guarantee success in all areas, both presently and in the future.

In tandem with this, within the new Kampuchean society, there are life-and-death contradictions owing to the presence of enemy agents, who belong to the various spy networks of the imperialists and international reaction and who secretly implant themselves to carry out subversive activities against our revolution. These antagonistic contradictions are also due to another infamous handful of reactionary elements, who carry out their counter-revolutionary work and seek to destroy our Kampuchean revolution. These elements are small in number, one to two percent of the population. Some camouflage themselves and try to pass for the people, while others work openly. We do not consider these traitors, these counterrevolutionary elements, to be part of the people. They are enemies of Democratic Kampuchea, of the Kampuchean revolution and of the Kampuchean people. Contradictions with these elements must be solved by the measures proper for enemies: separate, educate and win over the elements which can be won over; neutralize the elements which are wavering, preventing them from doing any damage to the revolution; and, finally, isolate and eradicate only the smallest possible number of those elements who are cruel and persist in acting against the revolution and the people, and collaborate with foreign enemies to destroy their own people and their own revolution.

Thirdly, we have all just seen that our people, 90% of whom are workers, peasants and other laboring people, have liberated themselves. In addition, there are also patriotic elements, constituting eight to nine percent of the population, who followed and joined the revolution. This comes to a total of 98% to 99%. To liberate 98% to 99% of the population, especially the working people, is to liberate a vast productive force. Historical materialism has clearly shown that man is the determining factor in production. So, our people who, in the past were a wasted force, suffering unspeakable humiliations and brutal oppression, deprived of all initiative and any chance of working to improve their conditions, who could not build up their country and make it prosper—today, our people are free. They have smashed the old system of production, which was based upon oppression. Should we stop there or take on new tasks? We must continue to consolidate and develop new, independent, equal and collective relations of production in order to increase production, build up the country and raise the people's living standards by great leaps and bounds. All this was completely unknown in the exploitative and

oppressive old society, under the old relations of production. It is for these reasons that the Party has set socialist construction in all areas of Democratic Kampuchea as its new task.

To sum up, according to our analysis of the situation in Kampuchea and Kampuchean society after liberation on April 17, 1975, our revolutionary tasks are as follows:

1. To defend Democratic Kampuchea with determination, to defend its independence, its sovereignty, its territorial integrity within our present borders, to defend the worker and peasant state power of the Party and to defend the sacred conquests of our revolution to the best of our ability.

2. To continue to improve and deepen the socialist revolution; concretely, to continue the consolidation and the development of the socialist collective system in every area.

3. To concentrate all efforts to build socialism in Democratic Kampuchea, that is to build socialism better and faster in all fields.

In the light of the new tasks of our revolution, let us now examine our work, the favorable conditions and the difficulties, the strengths and weaknesses, the unity and the contradictions, and the manner in which we have resolved these contradictions.

As I have already indicated, the new period of our revolution began only two years ago. Thus, we are not yet in a position to draw definitive conclusions. We must gradually learn from our experiences, perfect our work and continue to advance in pursuit of the new tasks of our revolution. In the course of this period, in which we have made the socialist revolution and built socialism in our country, we can say that we have tried hard, and we have achieved good results. However, the road ahead is a long one.

Generally speaking, in carrying out the tasks of our revolution, we have encountered favorable conditions, as well as difficulties of all sorts, and we have some strengths and weaknesses, both from the subjective and objective points of view. But, in summing up, our strengths predominate, and we are gradually advancing towards success in carrying out the new tasks of our revolution. I am now going to give a summary in two parts:

**The first part** deals with the situation of the socialist revolution, which we consider to be the important and fundamental basis for the accomplishment of the new tasks of our revolution. The second part deals with the situation in the mass revolutionary movement in defense of the country and for the building of socialism.



**In celebration of the 17<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the great victory of the foundation of our Communist Party of Kampuchea, resolve to defend the Party, defend the people, defend the land borders, sea borders and islands well and absolutely.**

**Part two** is about the general situation of the socialist revolution of the masses in national defense and socialist construction

- The general situation of the socialist revolution in Kampuchea is on the whole good. We have solidly laid the foundations of our collectivist socialism, and we are continually improving them, while consolidating and developing them. Concretely:

1. The old relations of production, based upon exploitation and oppression, have been abolished and the new, independent, equal, socialist and collective production order is being gradually consolidated and developed.

2. The forces of production, especially the laboring people representing 90% of the population, are completely liberated. They are undergoing a transformation and are now developing into a tremendous strong movement for production, full of enthusiasm, vitality, initiative and creative spirit. This immense force, which was sleeping for centuries because of its oppression at the hands of various oppressor classes, has awakened and is bravely and vigorously moving into action.

3. The collective peasant cooperatives throughout the country, which were founded in 1973 during the air war waged by American imperialism, are developing and being strengthened, both quantitatively and qualitatively. Since their founding in 1973, the cooperatives have passed many tests and are successfully serving the revolutionary movement in every area. During the war, the cooperatives were the source of everything: manpower for the Army, the economy, transport and other areas. After the war, they were given the task of promoting production, thus improving the living conditions of the people. They carried this out in complete independence, relying on their own strength, and have taken full responsibility for supporting and feeding the new people, completely liberated on April 17, 1975. Presently, our cooperatives are collective units, very solid from the political, ideological and organizational point of view. They are carrying out their revolutionary tasks well, transforming our once barren, arid and miserable countryside into a countryside each day more luxuriant, provided with reservoirs of every size, networks of canals covered with rice paddies and green fields. Each cooperative has become a small collectivist society, an entirely new society, freed from corrupt and depraved culture and traditions. It is anew healthy society, which is consolidating and developing itself constantly, where equality and harmony prevail. The living conditions such as food, health services, culture and education are being consolidated and developed.

While strengthening and developing qualitatively, our cooperative units also continue to increase in size. On the average, 50% of the cooperatives are made up of 700 to 1,000 families, 30% of 400 to 600 families, and 20% of 100 to 300 families. One can see that, in general, our cooperatives are on the scale of communes. Only a small number still remain the size of villages.

4. Apart from the aforementioned questions, we continue to operate without the use of money, with no daily salary. Our entire people, our Revolutionary Army, all our cadres

and all our fighters live in a collective system through a communal support system, which is being improved with every passing day. This is a successful step toward the solution of the contradictions between the cities and the countryside, between the workers and the peasants, between manual workers and intellectuals, between the cadres and the masses, between the economic infrastructure and the superstructure. We continue to solve these contradictions in accordance with the nature of the contradictions themselves. However, we already have initial sketches and basic plans for future work. We have endeavored to follow the concrete experience of our movement, in order to improve, promote, consolidate and develop this experience, so it will correctly serve our revolutionary movement.

5. There is another important aspect of the situation which gives us cause for celebration and strengthens our confidence in the revolutionary movement. This is the immense power of our people, who are enthusiastically and eagerly participating in the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

- Concretely, all those who, in the old society, belonged to the class of poor and lower-middle peasants are fully satisfied with the collective system and with the cooperatives, and they support them with all their hearts. Formerly, they and their families could only provide for themselves for two to five months of the year. To be able to survive the rest of the year, they were obliged to abandon their homes, their villages and rice paddies to go to work as pedicab drivers and porters at a miserable wage. Now, they eat well all year long. Their living standard is up to that of the middle peasants of the old society. What is more, they have doctors and medicines in their cooperatives. They are learning to read, to write and do arithmetic. They are benefiting from political education, which broadens their understanding daily. More important, they themselves have the power to direct and manage their cooperatives. Thus, they have become the true masters of the lands, the rice paddies, harvests, indeed, of the fruits of their labor. In a word, they have fully gained their dignity. These former poor and lower-middle peasants represent 75% of the total population. This immense force is very powerful in its numbers, but, even more, in its revolutionary force.

- As for the elements who were middle peasants and petty bourgeoisie in the old society, they are equally satisfied with the collectivist system of the cooperatives. So far as their food supply is concerned, their situation has not changed. But, even more than the guarantee that they and their families will have enough to eat, they are now also fully assured of adequate medical care. In addition, they have access to education, culture and political study, which opens broader and broader spectrums to them, permitting them to become revolutionary and patriotic citizens of new Kampuchea, who each day grows more aware politically. Finally, the practice of democratic centralism fully guarantees them the right to participate in the leadership and management of the cooperatives.

The former middle peasants and petty bourgeoisie make up 20% of the total population. Added to the 75% above, this constitutes 95% of the people.

-This 95% is a powerful force from the standpoint of politics, as well as of ideology, organization, and proficiency in all branches of activity, especially in production, and raising the living standard and national defense. They are a motive force, who brings with them the remaining 5%, most of whom are patriots and want to take part in the revolution. From the strictly material viewpoint, the living standard of this 5% has fallen in some respects, because in the cooperatives, the living standard is only that of middle peasant. But this standard of living is perfectly adequate. What is important to them, however, is that they can see with their own eyes that our country has at last become independent, our people are truly worthy of admiration, our countryside is being completely transformed, and the future of our country and people is bright. Many things reinforce their confidence in the new revolutionary regime. They can be thus assured that under the new system their children will grow up honorably and be made into good citizens and patriots, who are devoted to the people and take part in the work of national defense and national construction. They will make the contributions they should to the prosperity and greatness of their country. In the old days, our people never imagined these things were possible. Among this five percent, at least three to four percent are for the revolution.

Thus, to summarize, 98% to 99% of the population are for the revolution. They make the socialist revolution and build socialism with all their heart, and they have complete confidence in the bright future of our country and people.

6. Along with the five factors listed above, there is another important one: the implementation of the Party's dictatorship of the proletariat in all areas of our revolutionary activity.

We promote broad democracy among the people by a correct application of democratic centralism, so that this immense force will mobilize enthusiastically and rapidly for socialist revolution and construction, at great leaps and bounds forward. As in the past, this force, full of spirit and enthusiasm, full of creativity and initiative, is taking part in defense of the country, in socialist revolution and construction. When the strength of all our people is unleashed, the revolution is already victorious. Our revolutionary movement during the 5 years of war of national liberation has shown that was true. Our revolutionary movement at this time confirms that this is always true.

On the other hand, we absolutely, without hesitation, apply the dictatorship of the proletariat to our enemies and to the tiny handful of reactionary elements who oppose the revolution, who seek to destroy it, who sell out to the foreign imperialists and reactionaries in order to ruin their own nation, their own people and their own revolution.

The general situation of our socialist revolution shows that we have laid the foundations of our collectivist socialism. Therefore, we must continue to strengthen them, develop and improve them unceasingly.

As for revolutionary situation of our Kampuchean people in the area of national defense and socialist construction in all fields, I wish to inform you of the following in outline:

- Regarding work to defend Democratic Kampuchea, safeguard our independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity within our present borders, and preserve the worker-peasant state power of our Party, and the fruits of victory of our revolution, we have totally succeeded. We have defended, safeguarded, and preserved all these things on the basis of the principles of independence and initiative.

All of our comrades and our people have now completely grasped the line and the stand of our Party and the government of Democratic Kampuchea. Our Kampuchean people adhere to the sacred principles of living peacefully, honorably, and as masters of their own country. They are building a national society in conformity with their profound aspirations and with a line which they have chosen for themselves. In the past, our people were forced to live the lowly existence of slaves. Our country was plundered and exploited by foreign reactionaries, feudalists, colonialists and imperialists. We lost much of our territory. Our present borders are the distressing result of successive waves of foreign aggressions, expansions and annexations. Since April 17, 1975, when Kampuchea was totally and fully liberated, the people have become the true masters of our country and our destiny. Our people have a strong and correct sense of patriotism. Although their history has been one of misery, our people do not dig up past grudges, but turn their attention toward the present and the future. Our people do not harbor animosity towards anyone, nor have we any intention of committing aggression or expanding our territory at the expense of anyone else. We don't want even one inch of anyone else's land.

Ours is a small country with a small population. The political system of Democratic Kampuchea absolutely does not permit us to aggress against any country. A small and weak country does not usually go and swallow a big country. World history records that it is only the reactionary ruling classes of big countries, those of the Hitler type, who invent pretexts to provoke and accuse small countries of encroachment, and then use these pretexts to justify their own aggression and expansionism. Democratic Kampuchea has no reason to commit aggression against anybody. We have an area of 181,000 square kilometers with upwards of six million hectares of farmland. Our Tonle Sap Lake, Tonle Sap River, Mekong River, Bassac River and ponds and lakes abound in fish. Our dense forests, soil and subsoil have rich natural resources. We have only eight million people. In terms of land under cultivation, each peasant household can handle an average of five hectares of land. In view of this, Democratic Kampuchea has absolutely no need to annex anybody's land. Moreover, we have just come out of a war of tremendous devastation. We need all the time and all the strength that we can muster, in order to build up our country and improve and raise our people's living standard in as short a time as possible. We very much need and treasure our independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. We are striving constantly to develop close, friendly relations with all the countries in the world, both near and far, as is evidenced by the visits of Kampuchean delegations to many countries around the world, beginning in 1975, immediately after the liberation of our country.



We also resolutely respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of other countries. However, our people and our Revolutionary Army are determined to defend our independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity within our present borders. Today, our Kampuchean people have taken the destiny of their country into their own hands. This has become possible because of the history of bitter, tortuous and heroic struggles, and the innumerable sacrifices which resulted in the defeat of American imperialism and its running dogs on April 17, 1975. Thereafter, these people will absolutely never allow anyone to aggress, interfere, subvert, provoke or violate our country, or alter its border. This correct stance of our people has won support of friends near and far, on the five continents, because it is just.

During the past two years, despite many problems that we have had to solve since the war's end, our people and our Revolutionary Army firmly grasping the nature of American imperialism and its lackeys, and all forms of reactionary enemies, and constantly maintaining revolutionary vigilance, have smashed all attempts at aggression, subversion, provocation by enemies of all kinds. We have successfully protected, strengthened and expanded the fruits of the revolution, the state power of the revolution, and totally safeguarded the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and borders of our country by relying on principles of complete independence, initiative and self-reliance.

This success has created excellent conditions for the better defense of Kampuchea and has given us a great opportunity to plunge deeper into the building of our country.

Our Democratic Kampuchea once again solemnly declares that we will absolutely not provoke any country and we resolutely and firmly stand on the principles of mutual respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and equality.

Our task of national defense has been very successful up to now. Nevertheless, we have to keep a high level of revolutionary vigilance in order to be on the alert against all potentially aggressive and provocative attempts by the enemy.

In the effort for national reconstruction, our Party bases itself on the concrete conditions in the country. Ours is a backward agricultural country, which has been devastated by the destructive war of aggression waged by American imperialism. With complete confidence, we rely on the powerful revolutionary spirit, experience and creative ingenuity of our people. We take agriculture as the basic factor and use the fruits of agriculture to build industry, in order to rapidly transform Kampuchea from a backward agricultural state into a modernized one. We also intend to rapidly transform the backward, agricultural Kampuchea into an industrialized country by standing firmly on the principles of independence, initiative and self-reliance.

In the field of agriculture, our Party has focused on solving the key problem of water conservation in order to maximize rice production, which is the fundamental staple food. In the past dry season of 1977, the people of our cooperatives built many large water

reservoirs in every village and region, each with a storage capacity of 100 million to 200 million cubic meters of water; medium-sized reservoirs of 50 to 60 million cubic meters of water; and small reservoirs of 50 to 60 million cubic meters of water in every district. Together, these reservoirs contain 2.8 billion cubic meters of water, including the waters in canals, which have a total length of several hundred kilometers. These projects can irrigate rice fields of about 250,000 hectares in both rainy and dry seasons. The people of the cooperatives also built five dams on the Preaek Thnaot Stream to aid the irrigation of 60,000 hectares of farmland; two dams on the Chinit Stream for the irrigation of 20,000 hectares of farmland; three dams on the Pursat Stream for the irrigation of 30,000 hectares of farmland; one dam on the Battambang Stream for the irrigation of 40,000 hectares of farmland; and other dams on the Siem Reap, Steung Kralanh and other smaller streams. In total, in 1977 our cooperative peasants built all sorts of water projects, which solved the water problem during all seasons, dry as well as rainy, for 400,000 hectares of farmland.

All of these have been built by our workers and peasants relying entirely on their own efforts, with their own bare hands and their hoes.

In tandem with this, a vigorous mass movement to collect and produce natural fertilizers and agricultural chemicals from locally abundant natural raw materials has also made progress. During 1976, we collected about 80% of the rice crop, in accordance with our plan. This provided us with enough food for our people, an average of 312 kilograms per capita, and also enabled us in 1977 to begin exporting tens of thousands of tons of rice, in order to accumulate capital for our national defense and construction efforts. Natural rubber and other agricultural products are also being produced.

In industry, our Party also bases itself on the concrete conditions in the country, paying special attention to the factories, which serve agricultural production and the people's livelihood. With this in mind, we have built many new factories, and we have repaired and converted existing ones which were previously dependent on foreign raw materials into factories which now rely basically on locally available raw materials.

Along with industry, we are paying great attention to the expansion of handicrafts at the level of various local and regional production units, in order to help accelerate economic growth. Our aim is to set up, consolidate and gradually develop large, medium and small industrial and handicraft networks in Phnom Penh, various villages, districts, sections and cooperatives, and to strengthen and expand them steadily.

In the field of culture and education, our Party's aim is to learn through the practice of serving the movement to defend and build the country. Theory goes with actual practice, study with the actual serving of the production movement. Our schools in the cooperatives and the factories are very important. Our education has a strong national and mass base. At this time, efforts are being made to expand the learning of science and technology. In the immediate future, our important goal is to eradicate illiteracy. In the old society, there were some grade schools, high schools, colleges and universities, but in the countryside, 75% of the people were illiterate, especially the poor and lower-middle

peasants. Even in the cities, 65% of the working people were illiterate. Now, after just two years of national liberation, only 10% of the adult population remains illiterate. We are solving this problem through the mass line and with compulsory mass education. Education in the old society, copied from foreign systems, was alien to the concrete conditions of the country. It was incapable of defending and building the country, and incapable of improving the people's livelihood. It was totally reliant on foreign aid. Now, in order to serve the movement to defend and build the country well and rapidly, many movements to learn science and technology have been launched. We learn through experimentation and work at the same time, and through summing up our experiences. Technology, culture and theory are learned simultaneously. Technological knowledge of rice production, rubber production and other industrial technology has been mastered to a great extent. We can see that our present system of education effectively serves the movement to defend and build the country and to improve the people's livelihood. Along with this, our children, youth, workers, peasants, men and women combatants have also received education in revolutionary patriotism. They all know quite clearly who are the enemies and who are the friends of their revolution and of the people's revolutionary movements for national liberation around the world. They firmly stand on the side of the revolutionary people of the world.

In the field of social welfare and public health, we have been successful. In order to keep the whole people healthy, our Party has founded a revolutionary medical corps made up of people who have a high sense of sacrifice and dedication to producing medicines from local ingredients and natural herbs. Our medical personnel deepen their medical skills while carrying out actual work. We have expanded the pharmaceutical center and are building hospitals in Phnom Penh, in cooperatives, villages, districts and sectors throughout the country. On an average, for every 100 families in the cooperatives, there is a hospital building with three nurses and one pharmacist.

Our people's health is rapidly becoming excellent. We have successfully wiped out various social diseases and addictions.

We are now concentrating on the eradication of malaria. In the past year, which was the first of the four-year plan for the eradication of malaria, we achieved 70% to 80% of our program's objectives.

We must continue striving to raise rapidly the people's standard of living and improve their health, because we need to increase our Kampuchean population to 15 to 20 million over the next 10 years.

As for the corrupt remnants of the previous society, left over from imperialism and the oppressor classes, like hooliganism, prostitution and other crimes, these have been completely wiped out by the great mass movement to eradicate and sweep clean.

The good results thus achieved by our Kampuchean people under the correct and clear-sighted leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea during past years constitute great new victories in the present phase of our Kampuchean revolution.

However, we still have a long way to go to fulfill the expressed desires of our people. We must double our efforts and rapidly raise the standard of living of our people in all fields even further so that each person continues to be strong and healthy and have a resolute sense of patriotism and so the Kampuchean population can increase in number rapidly enough to effectively defend and build our Kampuchea into a prosperous and developed country by leaps and bounds. We have no reason to reduce our population or to level it off. Today, our population, which is nearly eight million, falls short of the country's potential need, which is for more than 20 million people. Therefore, our aim is to increase the population as quickly as possible.

At present, although our people's standard of living has not reached the point of affluence, the people are at a level at which they are basically assured of all needs in all fields, for all people, without exception. Compared with 1975, when the devastating war had just ended, at present, we have made considerable progress.

This is what I would like to tell you about in outlining our achievements so far in the fields of national defense and socialist construction in our country.

Many friendly people and countries are rejoicing at the successful achievements of our Kampuchean people. They have expressed great sympathy and support for us.

Our Party and our people regard the sympathy, encouragement and solidarity from friends near and far, all over the world, as the most powerful support for our political stand of independence, initiative and self-reliance, and our politics of independence, sovereignty, neutrality and nonalignment. Our Party and our people take this opportunity to express our most sincere thanks to those friends, near and far.

Our Party and our people firmly believe that their efforts to carry out the revolution in our country well, to defend and build the country and to rapidly raise the standard of living of our people, while upholding the principles of independence, initiative and self-reliance, are a small contribution to the revolutionary movements of the world's people in the struggle for national liberation for those people whose countries are under oppression, and to the struggle to defend independence sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations, especially the nonaligned and third world countries.

X X X

When we take a look at the world situation, we find that it is favorable to the people and the revolution. The oppressed people and nations the people of the nonaligned countries and the third world countries have achieved a high political awareness. They are beginning to be firmly convinced of their own strengths, to know their allies and to have a high level of understanding of the true nature of the policies of imperialism and expansionism. They are resolutely taking their destiny into their own hands. At the same time, they are greatly tightening their unity with one another, in order to smash and wipe out all attempts by imperialists and expansionist great powers of all kinds to create

disunity division and dissension. This is a powerful historical tide which no force on earth can stop. The revolutionary and progressive people of the world will certainly score more victories.

Our Party and the people of Kampuchea must exert all our efforts to contribute to this historical tide and surge forward more powerfully.

I would like to end the presentation of my report in our mass meeting here having described the history and the line of our people's movements from the beginning up to the present, on the occasion of the Seventeenth Anniversary of the founding of our Party, as well as on the occasion of the official unveiling of our Party. The essence of the line of our Party the revolutionary movement of our people, our Revolutionary Army and our men and women combatants is so far-reaching that it cannot be described in totality here. What I have described is just a sketch of the general view, made with the desire to explain to you the aim of our country's revolutionary movement from the beginning up to now. At a later date, we will meet to consolidate, expand and deepen our discussions on each problem. We must study, sum up and learn from the experiences of our people's revolutionary movement, in order to build our Party, ourselves and our forces, promote our revolutionary movement, and repay the service of our fallen people and comrades-in-arms, who died leaving their achievements in our firm grasp. These achievements now belong to all of us: therefore, we must further strengthen and develop them.

With all due revolutionary humility, we can say that the situation of our revolution to date has been excellent. From all points of view, the situation is excellent, in qualitative as well as quantitative change. None of the splendid results of our work in the past would have been possible without the monumental efforts exerted by our people of all generations, by our Revolutionary Army in all its successive stages, and by the men and women combatants and cadres in all ministries and departments. All of us have endeavored with the highest sense of revolutionary responsibility to carry out our revolutionary tasks well under the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea. Only under its guidance could we have achieved such excellent results.

Our journey has been long, considering the length of the revolutionary movements in our country. However, at the same time, we must have revolutionary humility. We must see our victory as a great victory, but we must also see that our tasks are still numerous and more difficult: defending the country, safeguarding Democratic Kampuchea, protecting the Kampuchean revolution, preserving worker-peasant state power, and the heavy task of building the country rapidly into a prosperous and glorious country, so as to raise our people's standard of living and bring happiness and glory to our people, as well as contribute to the well-being of the revolutionary people of the world.

So then, we have looked at all the aspects on the occasion of this meeting.

In conclusion, on behalf of the entire Communist Party of Kampuchea, I wish to express best wishes to comrade representatives of the workers and peasants, Revolutionary Army, ministries, and all departments who are in this meeting, and,

through you, I would also like to extend best wishes to all comrades, workers, peasants and combatants who could not come to this meeting. May all of you enjoy good health, great strength, sharp vigilance and complete success in vigorously carrying out all the tasks entrusted to you by the Party.

**HURRAY!            THE SEVENTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE  
FOUNDING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF  
KAMPUCHEA!**

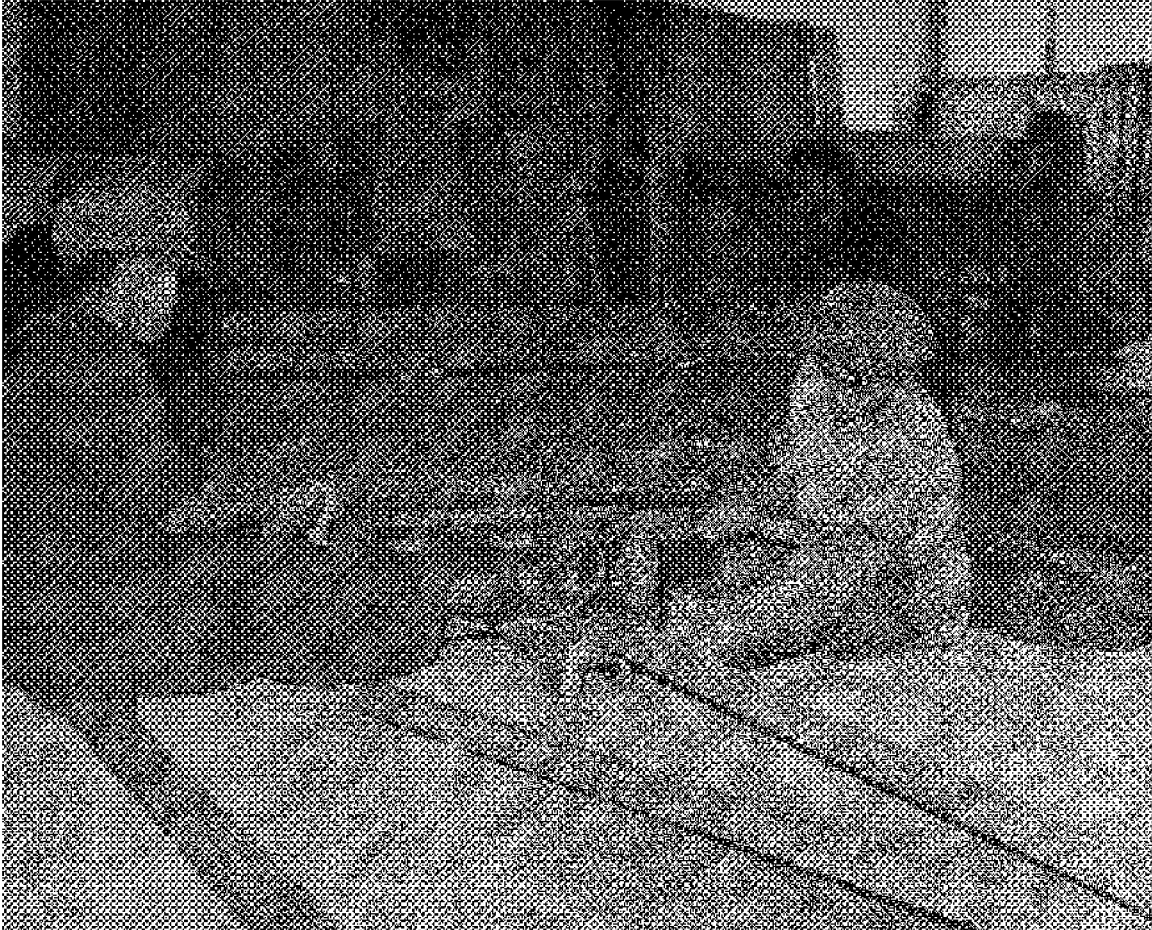
**HURRAY!            THE CORRECT AND CLEAR-SIGHTED  
KAMPUCHEAN COMMUNIST PARTY!**

**HURRAY!            THE GREAT, WONDERFUL KAMPUCHEAN PEOPLE!**

**HURRAY!            THE WONDERFUL, INVINCIBLE, AND HEROIC  
REVOLUTIONARY ARMY OF KAMPUCHEA!**

**HURRAY!            THE GLORIOUS DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA!**

**HURRAY!            CLEAR-SIGHTED AND MARVELOUS MARXISM-  
LENINISM**



**Our revolutionary workers are on the offensive assembling many rice threshing machines to serve the requirements of the peasants in our cooperatives and make a contribution to the completely successful decisive attack on three and six tons.**