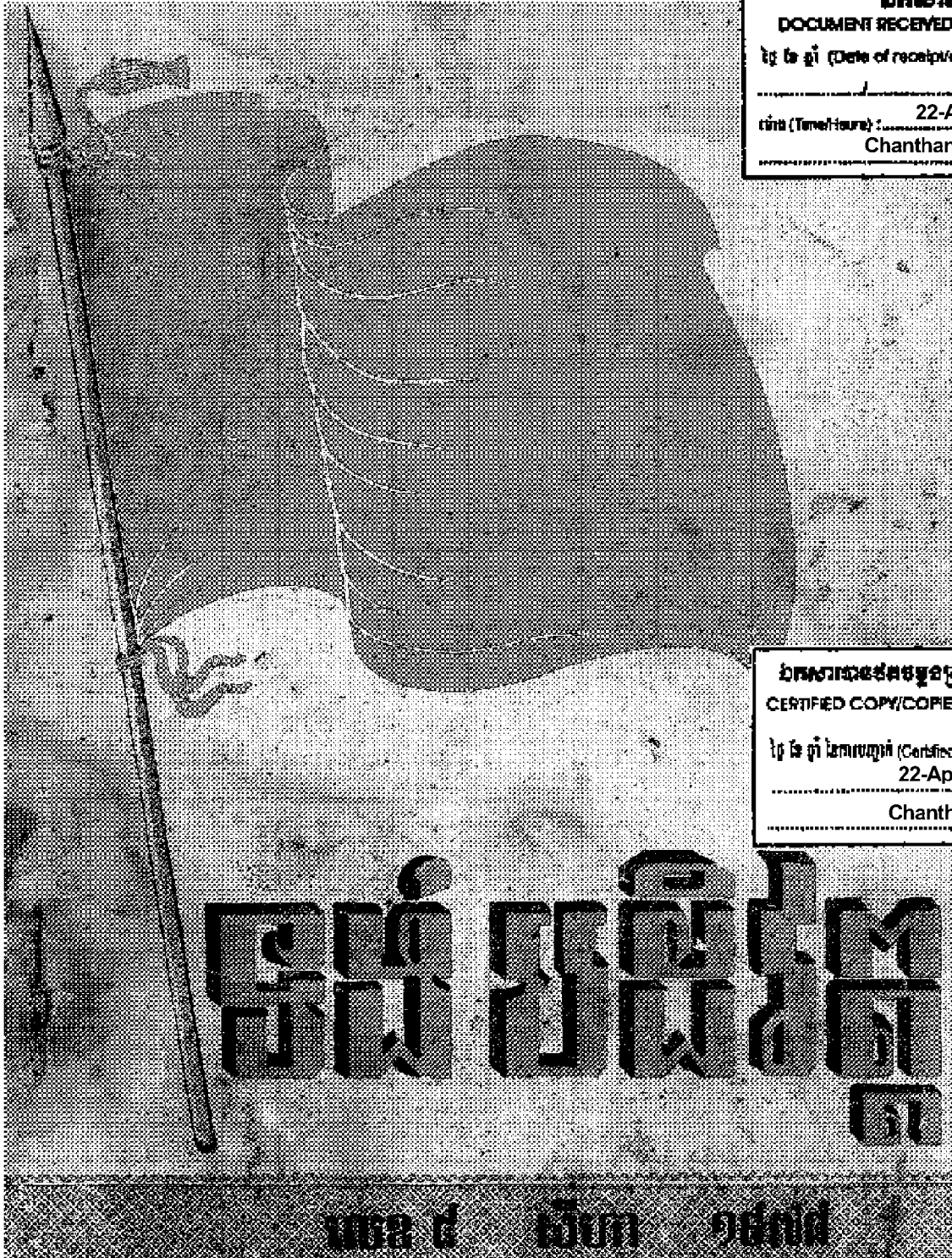


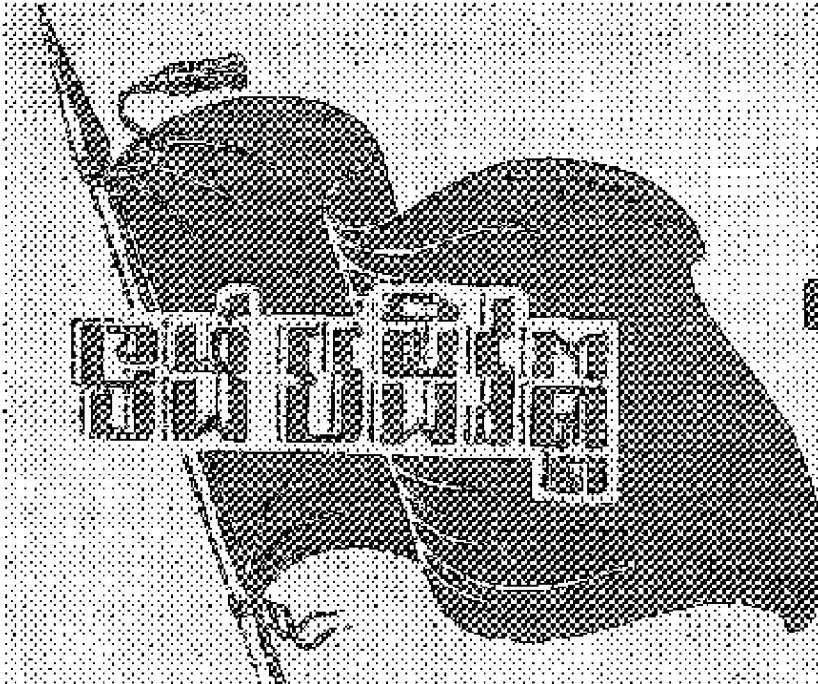
E3/747



**ឯកសារទទួល**  
 DOCUMENT RECEIVED/DOCUMENT REÇU  
 ថ្ងៃ ខែ ឆ្នាំ (Date of receipt/date de réception):  
 .....  
 22-Apr-2010, 09:52  
 ពេលវេលា (Time/heure):  
 Chanthan Phok

**ឯកសារចម្លងត្រឹមត្រូវតាមទម្រង់ដើម**  
 CERTIFIED COPY/COPIE CERTIFIÉE CONFORME  
 ថ្ងៃ ខែ ឆ្នាំ ត្រឹមត្រូវ (Certified Date /Date de certification):  
 .....  
 22-Apr-2010  
 Chanthan Phok

**REVOLUTIONARY FLAG  
 ISSUE 8                      AUGUST 1978**



**THE INTERNAL  
PARTY MAGAZINE**

**PUBLISHED  
MONTHLY**

**ISSUE 8      AUGUST 1978**

**\* Celebrate the 18<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Great Victory of the Founding of Our Communist Party of Kampuchea by Striving to Fight to Build Revolutionary Stances Following the Ten Criteria of the Party ..... 3**

**\* 15 Years in the Typhoon of the Great Kampuchean Revolutionary Movement Under the Bright Red and Always Victorious Flag of the Communist Party of Kampuchea ..... 16**

# **Celebrate the 18<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Great Victory of the Founding Of Our Communist Party of Kampuchea**

## **By Striving to Fight to Build Revolutionary Stances Following the Ten Criteria of the Party**



The decisive factor in the victory of the revolution is Party leadership, the Party of the worker class.

The Communist Party of Kampuchea is the Party of the worker class. The Communist Party of Kampuchea led the complete and permanent achievement of national-democratic revolution on 17 April 1975. Today, the Communist Party of Kampuchea is leading the Kampuchean people in the defense the country, the continuation of socialist revolution, and the building of socialism with an absolute monopoly over every field with the stance of independence, mastery, and self-reliance and controlling the destiny of one's country by oneself.

During these past three years, the Communist Party of Kampuchea successfully and magnificently led the Kampuchean people in fulfilling extremely serious and lofty missions in every field, including defending the country, carrying out socialist revolution, and building socialism. Friendly countries and revolutionary people throughout the world congratulate us and are in awe. As for the imperialist and revisionist enemies, they are hurting badly. In particular, the Yuon territory-swallowing expansionist aggressor genocidal enemy that is the standing enemy of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and the Kampuchean people is vomiting blood, beating its brains out, and splitting open its chest.

The Communist Party of Kampuchea clearly understands their extremely serious mission is the loftiest of them all. So then, the Communist Party of Kampuchea appeals to every member of our Party that it is imperative to strive to build, strengthen, and

expand solidarity and unity inside the Party and make the Party stronger in terms of politics, ideology, and organization in all circumstances. Every member of our Party must go on the offensive constantly, temper constantly, turn up the heat constantly, attack and push constantly inside the seething and extremely profound revolutionary movements of the workers and peasants in the unions and cooperatives and in the Revolutionary Army in order to build the country and carry out socialist revolution and build socialism with excellent and quick results and continue to advance on to communism in our most beloved Kampuchea, in the revolutionary movement, and in the world.

What must every Party member do routinely every day in order follow the solemn theme of the Party's appeal, and in particular, in order to celebrate the 18<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the great victory of the founding of our Communist Party of Kampuchea?

X

X

X

The decisive factor in the victory of the revolution is Party leadership. For the Party to lead to the revolution to victory, the Party must be clean and the Party must be strong. For the Party to be clean and strong, every echelon of Party leadership from the top to the Branches must be clean and strong. For the Party to be clean and strong at every echelon, the membership must be clean and strong. When the Party leadership at every echelon is clean and strong and when the entire membership is clean and strong, this raises the quality of the Party leadership and guarantees its lasting firmness and purity in terms of the Party politics, ideology, and organization. Therefore, the Party leadership at every echelon and all the people must build themselves following the Ten Criteria of the Party and use them as the fundamentals for building themselves. Use them as goals for our routine daily fights. Use them as a mirror for self-criticism and solidarity in constructively criticizing fellow comrades. Use them as our routine food, water, and breath in our routine daily revolutionary activities. We use the Ten Criteria as a combat flag to build ourselves in the fulfillment of our routine daily tasks.

### **Those Ten Criteria are:**

#### **1. Build firm stances in terms of the political line of the Party**

The political line of the Party has great importance. It is as valuable as the life of the country and the nation. When the political line of the Party is correct, the Party can lead the revolution to victory and lead the country and people to liberation. When the political line of the Party is wrong, it cannot lead the revolution to victory, the nation remains enslaved, and the people are exploited.

An example: The political line of our Party. Since our Communist Party of Kampuchea had the correct political line, it was able to lead the people in waging revolution to liberate the nation and liberate the people quickly and victoriously. Since our Communist Party of Kampuchea has the firm and solid political line of independence,

mastery, and self-reliance, the territory-swallowing, aggressor, genocidal Yuon enemy is unable to attack our Kampuchea, unable to overthrow our worker-peasant state authority, and unable to overthrow our Communist Party of Kampuchea. Since our Communist Party of Kampuchea has a correct and intelligent political line, our Party leads the people in defending the entire country, carrying our socialist revolution quickly, building socialism, modifying the livelihood of the people strongly, etc.

Every Party member must constantly have correct and firm stances in terms of political line: neither rightist nor “leftist” in fulfilling the specific political missions of the Party that one repeatedly carries out, and in particular in terms of the current missions of defending the country, carrying out socialist revolution, and building socialism.

Ever since the creation of the Party, the political line of the Party has had to constantly fight through important major obstacles. While passing through the national democratic revolution period on to socialist revolution, the embedded enemies boring from within, the CIA Agents, the running-dog agents of the Yuon, the KGB agents, they all distorted and destroyed the political line of the Party by implementing to the right and implementing to the “left,” impacting the interests of the revolution and the interests of our people. Their intent was to destroy the political line of the Party in order to make the country and nation become the slave of the Americans or the slave of the Yuon enemy. In particular, the Yuon enemy that wore the label of revolution has destroyed, obstructed, and distorted the political line of our Party in flexible ways, by direct and indirect threats, etc. The Yuon enemy is very hot with anger about our Communist Party of Kampuchea’s political line of independence. It is the understanding of the Yuon enemy that in order to swallow up Kampuchea inside their Indochina Federation they must first destroy the Communist Party of Kampuchea’s political line of independence. However, up until now they have not been able to destroy it and they have been seriously defeated repeatedly. In the international world, it is the same. The revisionists and expansionists have plans to destroy the political line of parties that are correctly leading revolutions so that they can gain control of those parties and place them under their management, and they pressure those parties to act as tools to serve the interests of their cliques.

Every Party member has the task of firmly indoctrinating himself in the political line of the Party in order to:

- Correctly implement the political line of the Party
- Defend the political line of the Party by preventing the enemy from overtly or secretly destroying the political line of the Party
- Be creative in making the political line of the Party even more strongly effective in terms of concrete implementation

We, the entire membership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, resolve to implement and resolve to defend the political line of the Party above even our own lives.

## **2. Build firm revolutionary stances in terms of the proletarian ideology of the Party**

To have firm revolutionary stances in terms of the Party's political line, it is imperative to also have firm revolutionary stances in terms of the proletarian ideology of the Party. The political line is the foundation. Ideology is the factor commanding the implementation of the political line. Revolutionary ideology is what makes for correct implementation of the political line of the Party. Non-revolutionary ideologies impede the implementation of the political line of the Party.

Enemies of every type, both overt and covert, concentrate on strongly attacking the Party and the revolution ideologically. If they can attack and bring down the revolutionary ideology and indoctrinate non-revolutionary ideologies in its place, they can achieve their intentions to govern the Party.

For example: Specifically, the Yuon enemy that has the intention of governing and controlling and attacking and overthrowing our Communist Party of Kampuchea: they always attack the ideology of our Party, such as when they attacked the ideology of revolutionary violence:

The Yuon enemy broadcasted that in the situation of Kampuchea, revolutionary violence must not be used, that the struggle had to be through the Assembly. They attacked the ideology of independence, mastery, and self-reliance by broadcasting that small countries cannot be independent and masterful and instead they have to rely upon large countries, and so on. The Yuon enemy did everything they could to make the ideology of our Party subject to them, fear them, rely upon them, and allow them to be the leader of "Indochina." However, these filthy activities of the Yuon enemy were attacked and smashed, and their counter-revolutionary traitorous faces were unmasked for everyone to clearly see.

What has to be built to build firm revolutionary stances in terms of ideology?

It is imperative to build correct and firm proletarian class ideological stances in every field, materially, power rights, and life morals.

It is imperative to build correct and firm collective ownership stances in every field, materially and in power rights, and live in a collectively organized regime. It is imperative to build a high-level stance of absolute renunciation of private ownership in every field, materially, power rights, and life morals.

It is imperative to build a stance of active audacious combat, tolerating hardships under all circumstances in absolute class struggle in the work of defending and building Democratic Kampuchea in the direction of socialist revolution.

It is imperative to be extremely vigilant toward stances of individual ownership, thick private ownership in terms of materials, power rights, and life morals.

Every Party member must fight to eradicate non-proletarian ideologies and fight absolutely to build the proletarian ideology of the Party to make himself into a good revolutionary and a good member of our Communist Party of Kampuchea forever.

### **3. Build firm revolutionary stances in terms of internal Party solidarity and unity**

The Communist Party of Kampuchea is the firm core and is the symbol of national solidarity and unity and the entire Kampuchean people. The Communist Party of Kampuchea has had an excellent tradition of building internal solidarity and unity and has passed through tense, strenuous, and complicated combat in order to maintain and protect solidarity and unity within the Party. The territory-swallowing genocidal Yuon aggressor enemy and their running-dog agents that are embedded and boring holes from within the Communist Party of Kampuchea are acting both overtly and covertly to attack and split solidarity and unity inside our Party. They have attacked all along to break up the political line, the ideology, and the organization of our Party. They split the people and combatants from the Communist Party of Kampuchea. However, our Communist Party of Kampuchea, the membership, the people, and the combatants adhered to firm revolutionary stances in terms of solidarity and unity inside the Party and counterattacked the Yuon aggressor enemy and its running dogs and maintained and protected the purity of the Party's stance of solidarity and unity. Because the Communist Party of Kampuchea maintained, protected, strengthened, and expanded the Party's stance of internal unity and solidarity, the Yuon enemy has not been able to destroy the Party and has not been able to top swallow up our beloved Kampuchean territory. When the entire membership audaciously strengthens and adheres to the Party's stance of internal solidarity and unity, now and in the future, neither the Yuon enemy nor any other enemy will be able to invade and expand into and swallow and eradicate the Kampuchean race.

In the sense of concrete implementation, all Party members at every echelon must constantly have the stance, personality, spirit, habit, and activities to maintain and protect and build and strengthen internal Party solidarity and unity following the political, ideological, and organizational lines of the Party. Each Party member must have the characteristic of being in solidarity with the absolute majority, from 95 to 100 percent, with the trust, warmth, love, and satisfaction of the masses for himself and for the general framework.

Each Party member must be extremely vigilant toward stances, personalities, spirits, habits, and actions that oppose and attack the Party and attack fellow comrades by using stances of private ownership and cliques.

Our Party is small. It is still young. However the stance of solidarity and unity within our Party is firm and clear-sighted and bright, and it has had the might to fight and win against American imperialism and aggressions, to fight and win against Yuon aggression, expansion, territory-swallowing, and genocide, to fight and win against the revisionist and expansionists, and to fight and overthrow the feudalists, landowners, and

capitalists to reach the stage of mighty socialist revolution with firm confidence in its future bright victories.

Party members of every generation have constantly and absolutely waved high the flag of internal Party unity and solidarity in order to continue the mission of attacking and eradicating the territory-swallowing genocidal Yuon aggressor enemy from one generation to the next and to maintain and protect the Communist Party of Kampuchea, which is the soul of the Kampuchean nation and people so they will live on forever.

#### **4. Build firm stances in terms of the Party's lines of organizing, building, and leading work**

The organizational line is the line to implement the political line of the Party and turn it into concrete form. When the correct political line is correct and the ideology is correct, but the organizational line is wrong, the political line of the Party absolutely cannot be achieved. The organizational line exists to serve the political line. The organizational line is the foundation of our Party, meaning the Kampuchean people must carry out the revolution by themselves under the sole leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea.

The Communist Party of Kampuchea was organized by the Kampuchean worker class and grew inside the Kampuchean people's revolutionary struggle movement. The Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea was organized based upon the Kampuchean worker-peasant classes under the absolute leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea. The Kampuchean revolutionary state authority was organized by the Kampuchean people under the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, and so on.

The territory-swallowing genocide Yuon aggressor enemy is very hot with anger about the correct organizational line of our Party. They try to seize the opportunity to insert their running dogs into the Communist Party of Kampuchea. They tried to insist on educating and organizing the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea so that they could control our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea. They secretly organized state authorities with their puppets in order to serve their own interests. The Yuon enemy used pretexts with the Kampuchean revolution to organize this or that following their stance to swallow Kampuchean territory. However, the Communist Party of Kampuchea and the Kampuchean people absorbed the organizational line of the Party and attacked and smashed to smithereens the Yuon enemy's plans to secretly disguise and organize and were able to maintain and protect the organizational purity of the Party and deadlock the Yuon enemy in extremely shameful defeat.

Along with this, every Party member must strive to build firm and correct stances of centralized democracy, mass views, mass lines, and class lines of the Party.



It is imperative to strive to build a high stance of leading work collectively, correctly, and firmly with a stance of separate mission responsibility and carrying out missions separately.

It is imperative to build stances and attitudes of leading work close to the masses in the unions and the cooperatives and in the Revolutionary Army, and to have creative initiative, mastery, and momentum in going on constant hot offensives.

It is imperative to totally eradicate stances and attitudes of working bureaucratically, mandarinism, authoritarianism, militarism, revisionism, personalism, subjectivism, and not accepting responsibility to the Party and to the revolution and the people for anything at all.

## **5. Build firm revolutionary stances in terms of the Party's revolutionary vigilance to maintain secrecy and protect revolutionary forces**

The Party's revolutionary vigilance to maintain secrecy and protect revolutionary forces was an important fundamental factor that led the revolution to victory. This issue is a precondition of every party leading a revolution, and is a factor for measuring the level of political awareness of a Party member, measuring the spirit of responsibility that a Party member has toward the Party, the revolution, and the people, and measuring a Party member's love for the Party, the revolution, and the people.

The territory-swallowing expansionist genocidal Yuon aggressor organizes its running-dog agents in order to embed and bore holes from within our revolutionary ranks in order to steal the secrets of our Party and revolution and in order to smash our revolutionary forces politically, ideologically, and organizationally. The Yuon enemy continues these espionage activities to steal our Party's secrets and destroy our revolutionary forces, but their cheap activities have been again defeated, like they have been defeated all along.

Every Party member must concentrate more on building a correct and firm stance of revolutionary vigilance in maintaining secrecy and protecting revolutionary forces in all circumstances and during every act of work or speech or attitude in every type of living, both short and long term, both inside and outside the Party.

It is imperative to struggle to completely eradicate from within each of us any revisionism and any irresponsible stances toward revolutionary vigilance in protecting secrets and protecting revolutionary forces that appear as actions and behaviors in work, speech, attitudes, or living.

As for cadres or Party members, whether they are good or bad, whether their revolutionary stances are firm or not, and whether their spirit of vigilance is strong or not, may be recognized in part by their stances of revolutionary vigilance in maintaining

secrecy and protecting revolutionary forces. When any cadre or any Party member is not systematically revolutionarily vigilant, this causes systematic breaks in secrecy and systematic damage to revolutionary forces; when the Party has educated and refashioned them many times but they refuse to change, measures at the appropriate level must be taken.

## **6. Build firm revolutionary stances in terms of the Party's "independence, mastery, self-reliance, and mastering one's own destiny"**

When we examine the activities of the revisionists and expansionists of the world to destroy parties leading revolutions, and in particular when we examine the activities of the territory-swallowing expansionist genocidal Yuon aggressor to destroy our Communist Party of Kampuchea, we see that their primary aim is to attack and bring down the Party's stance of "independence, mastery, self-reliance, and mastering one's own destiny." If the Yuon enemy successfully weakens or brings down our Party's revolutionary stance of "independence, mastery, self-reliance, and mastering one's own destiny," our Party and revolution will certainly become satellites of the Yuon, slaves of the Yuon, and be dependent upon the Yuon. The Yuon will come to act as our masters in the interests of the Yuon. In a word, the Yuon enemy will have a good chance to swallow up Kampuchean territory and eliminate the Khmer race.

It is in this concrete situation that we see even more clearly and correctly the clear-sightedness and timely agility of the Communist Party of Kampuchea in raising and educating in a firm revolutionary stance of "independence, mastery, self-reliance, and mastering one's own destiny" to whip up the entire Party, entire people, and entire Army to have a high-level of independence, mastery, self-reliance, and mastering one's own destiny to transform themselves into the mightiest of revolutionary movements to go on typhoon-like offensives against the enemy. With revolutionary pride in the status of an independent Party, an independent nation, an independent people, a warrior race, skilled builders of great, wondrous masterpieces with recordings on stone murals of the national and international history – there was no way at all we could allow ourselves to surrender to becoming the slaves of the Yuon enemy or allow the Yuon aggressor to easily swallow-up our territory and eliminate our race. Bare-handed, without a single weapon, but with the wondrously mighty weapon of the stance of independence, mastery, self-reliance, and mastering one's own destiny, all eight million Kampuchea people under the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea rose up and seized weapons from the enemy, smashed the enemy, and built their own forces to push the national democratic revolution movement and set it ablaze throughout the country from 1968 on until the great victory on 17 April 1975. From the national democratic revolution stage until the stage of socialist revolution and building socialism, the stance of independence, mastery, self-reliance, and mastering one's own destiny kept strengthening and expanding. And this was not just inside the national framework: this has stunned the entire world and leaves them in awe. They are in awe at seeing our Communist Party of Kampuchea dare to wave the flag of independence and attack and break the flag of aggression and

expansionism of the Yuon enemy and their expansionist, revisionist clique. They praise us in awe when they see our Communist Party of Kampuchea wave the flag of self-reliance and self-mastery and attack and break the faces of the Yuon, who wave the flag of going around with their alms satchel begging in every alley and bringing the alms home to distribute to one another to lick.

The stance of independence, mastery, self-reliance, and mastering one's own destiny is an undefeatable stance, a stance that never dries up in terms of people or materials. It is an undying stance, an immortal stance that lives in glory, dignity, and might with national and international honor.

Our Communist Party of Kampuchea has advanced from few to many, from small to large, from weak to strong, because our Party has had a firm revolutionary stance in terms of independence, mastery, self-reliance, and mastering one's own destiny. As for the Yuon party, it has gone from many to few, from large to small, from strong to weak. They invade Kampuchea because they are the slaves of the revisionists. They have lost their independence. They go around begging and licking because they do not rely upon themselves. They have lost mastery. They are under the command of their expansionist revisionist bosses.

To every member of the Communist Party of Kampuchea: Let us maintain our national independence and sovereignty and territorial integrity and national honor by striving to strengthen and expand the Party's firm revolutionary stance of "independence, mastery, self-reliance, and mastering one's own destiny" and make it even more effective and mighty from generation to generation, and through this, make even stronger armed combat to attack and eradicate the expansionist genocidal Yuon aggressor. Whatever the hardships, it is better to be independent; do not be slaves. Whatever the complications, it is better to maintain our position of mastery; do not abandon our position of mastery and do not let anyone else come to be our masters. Whatever the shortfalls, it is better than relying on others; do not rely on others. No matter how hungry you are, it is better to be your own master; do not bring in others to be your masters. In a word: We make our revolution on our own under the sole leadership of our Communist Party of Kampuchea.

So then, all Party members must have a high stance of "independence, mastery, self-reliance, and mastering one's own destiny" in fulfilling the various missions of the Party in every field in all circumstances.

## **7. Build firm revolutionary stances in terms of making and assessing biographies and revolutionary life views**

Initially, every Party member must have a correct view and grasp the objectives of building revolutionary stances in making and assessing biographies and revolutionary life views.

The objective of making the biography of each Party member is primarily to make the subject know himself clearly. What is knowing one's self? It is knowing one's

original class, knowing one's social relationships, knowing one's character, and clearly knowing one's strong points and weak points. In brief, it is grasping closely the contradictions within one's self, the contradictions in one's political, ideological, and organizational stances, so that one can build one's self and so that the collective can help in the refashioning. Assessing biographies is done in order to seek out and understand the world view of each Party member and to see what world views our comrades have had in the past. When one grasps one's world views, one is able to correctly recognize one's life views.

Building a Party member to have revolutionary world views and revolutionary life views is building fundamental stances for our Party members and our Party. If we want to firmly indoctrinate them in the Party's political, ideological, and organizational stances, there must first be firm fundamental stances before they can receive the Party's political, ideological, and organizational lines. Those foundations are revolutionary world views and revolutionary life views. By experience, any comrade who industriously assesses his revolutionary world views and revolutionary life views, whether personally by himself or collectively, he generally has firm fundamental stances. When he encounters obstacles his spirit is not broken. When he encounters victory, he does not get playful.

Assessing revolutionary life views helps remind us what we are living for. It helps constantly alert our conscience about: Why did we join the revolution? What are we making revolution for? Who are we serving by making revolution? When we constantly sharpen our revolutionary life views, there are no more complications about private ownership issues. Some of our comrades still have complications on private ownership because their revolutionary world views and revolutionary life views are not constantly sharp.

Currently and in the future, what concrete, tangible revolutionary world view and revolutionary life view must we have? Our concrete revolutionary world view is seeing clearly that our Kampuchea now has to fight the genocidal expansionist Yuon aggressor. Currently, it is like this. In the future, it will be the same. We also see clearly that the Kampuchean people under the leadership of our Communist Party of Kampuchea are fighting bravely to eradicate the Yuon enemy, are making socialist revolution non-stop, are building socialist non-stop, and have won repeated victories.

With a clear revolutionary world view like this, when we build, when we determine our revolutionary life views, that is when we determine our lives and determine political, ideological, and organizational stances, our sentiments, etc, how do we ensure they are appropriate with and not in contradiction with revolutionary world views? Our most appropriate and most correct revolutionary life view is to absolutely fight the Yuon aggressor, to absolutely carry out socialist revolution, to absolutely build socialism following the Party line. Do not, when everyone in the whole country is already fighting the Yuon aggressor, bow your head alone to be a running dog for the Yuon. Do not, when everyone in the country is making socialist revolution non-stop, busy yourself alone with private ownership. Do not, when everyone in the country is going full speed to build socialism, lay alone swinging in a hammock playing a fiddle while the land

surrounding the house is barren and not one pepper or one clump of lemongrass is to be found.

The problem is not like that, comrades!

This is why the Party has clearly determined that it is imperative to build firm revolutionary stances in terms of making and assessing biographies and revolutionary life views.

Each Party member must have correct and firm revolutionary stances with a high spirit of responsibility in repeatedly making and assessing and building their revolutionary biographies and revolutionary life views. It is imperative to be absolutely honest in assessing one's biography and revolutionary life views and in correcting one's small and large negative qualities and in repeatedly pushing to build, strengthen and expand one's positive qualities to progress quickly.

### **8. Build firm revolutionary stances in terms of class:**

The Party's objective is that any classes joining the ranks of the revolution and the ranks of the Party must eliminate their original class stances by building the firm proletarian stance of the Party. It is excellent that each of us has strived to carry out revolution and has received the honor of being a member of the Communist Party of Kampuchea. However, to make things even more excellent, each of us must strive to build ourselves throughout our entire lives into good members of the Party. Some comrades have been in the revolution from when their hair was black until their hair has now become white, but because they did not concentrate on educating and building themselves in terms of the workers class stance of the Party, they did not make quick progress but just worried up and down about private ownership, rank and face, playing family favorites, and so on. Some others fell out of the revolutionary ranks and the ranks of the Party. Seeing this, we should praise our comrades of every generation who strived to fight and build themselves following the Party's leadership and the proletarian class stance of the Party. Those comrades knew how to love and knew how to think of the welfare of their parents, wives, and children, but all of them knew how to love the Party and think of the interests of the Party and the interests of the nation and the revolutionary people above all else, even their own lives. They sacrificed unconditionally for the Party, the nation, the people, and the revolution. Regardless of whether it was hard or easy, hot or cold, those comrades constantly went down into the fray of the mass movements to act as models in every type of work to increase production to sort out the livelihood of the people. Those comrades, even though they had been victorious in feats of combat and labor, were still respectful and respectful of discipline unconditionally and they modestly presented themselves before the people for constructive criticism. They lived as ordinary common communists.

Our Party is very warm toward all those comrades. They all have received the trust of the Party and the confidence of the people and the masses. This is the reward that

they have received. This reward is a lofty one, one with which no rank, salary, or anything else can be compared.

Only by striving to fight to eliminate original class stances and striving to fight to build the proletarian stance of the Party can each member of the Party be clean and strong and the entire Party be clean and strong.

### **9. Build firm revolutionary stances in terms of clean life morals, and be politically clean**

Any member of the Party who has good life morals, who is clean and correct and who is not corrupt or a hooligan, and who is not entangled with the enemy, casts a good influence and is of benefit in building the political ideological, and organizational stances of the Party. This member has a good future, a future that develops along with the revolutionary movement which makes mighty progress every day. To the contrary, any member of the Party who has bad life morals, who is not clean, who lives a life different from the revolutionary style, who is corrupt, who is a hooligan, who is entangled with the enemy whether a little or a lot, casts a bad influence on building the political, ideological, and organizational stances of the Party. If such a member does not strive to reform, the direction of development of that member's revolutionary life will certainly and without fail will flow counter to the currents of the revolution.

Do not take this ninth issue lightly. In particular, cadres with authority rights at each echelon must pay really serious attention to this point 9. Do not be subjective. We have already seen many bad examples. Some cadres were in the revolution for many years, but when it came to authority rights they became playful, forgot themselves, and became reckless; before long, this impacted their life morals. Those under their leadership stopped trusting them and the people and the masses lost faith in them, and this caused complications for the Party that were difficult to resolve.

Our cadres and combatants working next to the Yuon border must have a really high level of vigilance in terms of life morals. Past experience has shown that the Yuon enemy has used Yuon females to entice our cadres and combatants, turning them into corrupt hooligans to entice them into serving their policies of aggression, expansionism, territory-swallowing, and genocide against Kampuchea. These are the exact policies of the Lê Duân - Phạm Văn Đông Yuon gang.

Enemies embedded and boring from within, CIA agents, running-dog agents of the Yuon, and KGB agents attack our revolutionary stances in terms of life morals in order to attack the revolution and build their traitor forces. When revolutionary stances in terms of life morals are attacked and brought down, the political, ideological, and organizational stances will collapse in turn.

Experience shows that members of the Party that were not very clean in terms of life stances have mostly been members who were liberal by nature in their lives and did

not respect the collective living regime. Our cadres and Party members must clearly see the dangers that arise from unclean life morals and strive to eradicate liberal life stances and build their stance of cleanness according the revolutionary methods.

### **10. The potential of building one's self and receiving leadership roles in the future:**

Our Communist Party of Kampuchea has successively led the people in carrying out revolution from one stage to the next. We had had to fight the expansionist, land-swallowing, genocidal Yuon aggressor enemy from generation to generation. Therefore, all members of the Party of every generation have had to repeatedly build themselves so that Party leadership could be strong.

In order to receive leadership roles in the future, it is imperative to temper one's self in the current mighty revolutionary movement. It is imperative to be really modest and not be arrogant at all. It is imperative to patiently struggle to endure hardship and suffering.

It is imperative to assess the positive political, ideological, solidarity and unity, and organizational characteristics in leading work, and so on, that our comrades have previously had and currently have to see their potential to build themselves to make quick forward progress and to see their potential to be responsible for leadership in the future.

X X

X

The fight to eradicate the expansionist territory-swallowing genocidal Yuon aggressor keeps on increasing. The movement to carry out socialist revolution grows more and more profound. The movement to build socialism grows mightier and mightier. Facing this situation of strong fighting demands that every member of the Communist Party of Kampuchea repeatedly builds their revolutionary stances in accordance with the Ten Criteria of the Party to be even stronger and firmer from generation to generation.

On the occasion of the 18<sup>th</sup> anniversary of our Communist Party of Kampuchea on this coming 30 September, every member of our Communist Party of Kampuchea is very excited, happy, and proud at the progress of our Party during the past 18 years of the seething revolutionary movement. Congratulations on the 18<sup>th</sup> anniversary, 18 years of hugely successful revolutionary combat of our Communist Party of Kampuchea during which all members of the Communist Party of Kampuchea have successfully fought to build their revolutionary stances according to the Ten Criteria of the Party.

-----X-----

# **15 Years in the Typhoon of the Great Kampuchean Revolutionary Movement**

## **Under the Bright Red and Always Victorious Flag Of the Communist Party of Kampuchea**



18 years: For 18 years in the typhoon storm of the great Kampuchean revolutionary movement under the bright red and always victorious flag of the correct and clear-sighted Communist Party of Kampuchea, eight million Kampuchean people tightly grasped their weapons and made the journey out of the national democratic revolution stage and made their way into the stage of socialist revolution and building socialism. Even though it was actually 18 years, it still seems recent. Everything is still remembered because it has been a historic journey to the new era of the Kampuchean nation, Kampuchean people, and the Kampuchean worker-peasant classes, with the Communist Party of Kampuchea in the lead.

On that night of 28 September 1960, 18 years ago, all the comrade representatives of the Party from the countryside and the city attended a meeting in a room of the Party Congress quietly, vigilantly, but full of happiness and firm confidence in the victory of their Party Congress.

Phnom Penh, the capitol city of Kampuchea, was semi-feudal at that time. Who assumed that in only 15 years Phnom Penh would become the capitol city of Democratic Kampuchea? It was Phnom Penh, in particular the base of the comrade railway workers that receive the honor of convening the First Congress of the Communist Party of Kampuchea.

Outside the compound, the government intelligence agents, police, and soldiers, both overt and covert, walked back-and-forth trying to search out and smash the Khmer Rouge movement.

The enemy did its work. The revolution made revolution.



The Congress proceeded solemnly for three days in an atmosphere of solidarity and unity. Near daybreak on 30 September, the Congress came to a successful conclusion in monolithic unity regarding the strategic and tactical lines, the Party Statutes, and the organization of the Central Committee leadership. The Congress held the closing ceremony to salute the Party Flag ... "Rise up all yee slaves. Rise up all yee who suffer hardship" ... these words rose in the heart of each one of us. The light that was beginning to appear in the east helped raise the spirits of all of us slaves to rise up bravely, and this light was an omen of the glorious aura of the First Party Congress that was beginning to shine through into the far-away countryside, forests, and mountains and in the city to awaken all eight million Kampuchean people to rise up and struggle to make revolution to liberate the nation and liberate the people.

The Kampuchean people had their own revolutionary party in the lead: the Communist Party of Kampuchea.

The White House of the American imperialists began to shake and tremble! The feudalist-landowner-capitalist regime in Kampuchea began to shake and tremble! The plans for the "Indochina Federation" of the Yuon enemy began to dissolve!

All the comrade representatives returned to their respective battlefields, like commandos swooping from their positions strenuously waving red flags taking thousands of tons of ammunition to smash enemy posts. No force whatsoever could resist the great force of internal solidarity and unity of the Communist Party of Kampuchea. No force whatsoever could resist the force of the great solidarity of the entire Kampuchean people that was based on the foundation of the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea.

During 1960, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, and 67, the Kampuchean revolutionary movement developed and improved both in terms of quantity and quality.

In both the countryside and the city the people's movement to struggle and fight was in a constant state of offense against the enemy following the slogan of nation, democracy, and livelihood. The contradictions between the American imperialists and their servants and the nation and people kept increasing. The contradictions between the feudalist landowners and the people kept increasing. The contradictions between the workers-laborers and the capitalists kept increasing. The flames of revolution were set alight by the people themselves. The people understood the revolution. The people believed in the revolution. The people made revolution by themselves.

In 1967, the contradictions between the American imperialists and the nation rose ever higher. The people who had been indoctrinated in the stance of revolutionary violence armed themselves with knives, hatchets, machetes, clubs, and so on. The Covert Guards of the Party that had been organized and held in reserve to be responsible for the situation since 1960 began to carry out activities to guard, patrol, protect cadres, and smash government intelligence agents and spies that came to destroy revolutionary bases,

destroy the people, and destroy the Party. In 1967, the situation of the revolutionary struggle in terms of politics became even mightier. In the countryside, the people rose immediately in armed violence. Armed struggle, both with the America imperialist and their servants and with the cruel feudalists and landowners. So then, the situation in 1967 was ripe in terms of politics, the movement, indoctrination in political violence, and weapons.

The movement was mighty. Ideology was fast and progressive. Class ideology and class struggle strengthened and expanded both inside the ranks of the Party and inside the ranks of the people. This seething revolutionary ideology pushed the movement of revolutionary combat even more. Constantly tempered inside the movement of repeated revolutionary struggle like this, the cadres and Party members absorbed more and more of the Party line and implemented the line well, and they gained more and more experience in making revolution. Cadres and Party members both new and old who had been tested and had grown up inside the combat movement were extremely valuable assets for the Party. The more the ranks of the Party fought, the cleaner and stronger they became. Another new victory in the revolutionary movement during 1960-1967 was the strengthening and expanding of the stance of independence, mastery, self-reliance, and mastering one's own destiny. The revolutionary movement clearly demonstrated that the people were immensely strong and the Party had the capacity to lead the people and lead the mass movements to wage revolution and win both in the countryside and the city. The people could struggle by political violence or armed violence and were able to repeatedly go on the offensive against the enemy both overtly and covertly, and could win. The revolutionary movements of the masses were able to go on victorious offensives against the enemy and were able to protect the forces of the Party and the forces of the revolution and strengthen and were able to expand the forces of the Party and the forces of the revolution and push the movement even further. The Party and the people were in monolithic unity in a life-and-death combat movement and gained more and more confidence in one another and clearly saw that the movement of armed struggles could truly be carried out.

1968! The situation of the combat movement of the masses was like water flowing through broken dams in the far-away countryside that met at the Chatomukh River Intersection, and the Communist Party Kampuchea decided it was imperative to wage a combined political-armed struggle. The decision of the Party resounded in every direction.

“No armed struggle means death.”

“No armed struggle means death.”

This was the opinion of the cadres, the Party members, and the masses. This single opinion was a voice welcoming this correct and clear-sighted and timely decision of the Party. Another opinion was the sound of the screams and threats of the Yuon party that opposed the armed struggle of our Party.

Responding mightily to the decision of the Party, in January 1968 gunfire exploded in the Northwest Zone. In March, the East Zone exploded. In late March, it was the Northeast. In April, the North exploded. The sound of the revolution's guns responded back and forth constantly from Zone to Zone.

In just four months, our Party had opened fire in 17 of the 19 provinces throughout the country. Our revolutionary movement was truly as mighty as a typhoon storm. The White House shook even more, but busily prepared to make a coup to attack and overthrow Kampuchea.

The power-holding classes declared that they would strike the Khmer Rouge until Khmer Rouge tongues hung out, but a black moon was seen rising right over the castle's summit.

The Yuon stupidly slept and ate and judged that the Khmer Rouge movement would be completely smashed to bits, thinking, "That's all for independence and mastery: serves them right!" The Yuon had miscalculated, because it was the "Indochina Federation" instead that was being smashed to bits. The Communist Party of Kampuchea and the Kampuchean revolution were still standing tall, and were striding forward in victory in a movement of combined political-armed struggle.

During the two years of combined armed-political struggle, the Party led the people and led the movement even more closely, and the Party line was tested and clearly confirmed in its correctness. The ideology of the cadres, Party members, troops, and people become even stronger in the flames of combat. Every sector of the revolutionary forces strengthened and expanded greatly. The political bases among the people and the countryside grew. The support bases throughout the country strengthened and expanded. The army also expanded and grew. When situation of the Kampuchean revolution was prospering excellently like this, suddenly the coup exploded.

On 18 March 1970, the American imperialists and the Lon Nol traitors carried out a coup. Immediately after the coup, the political situation changed both inside and outside the country, further favoring the Kampuchean revolution. In this situation, the Communist Party of Kampuchea immediately went on the offensive.

The forces of the people and the army trained inside the armed-political revolutionary movement conducted demonstrations in villages and subdistricts throughout the country. At that time even though there were enemy platoons and companies at posts and forts, they were immediately broken and scattered. The people rose up to hold great demonstrations and strikes throughout the country. Thus, the revolution was on the offensive both politically and militarily and put the American imperialists and Lon Nol in a deadlock. Millions of people entered Phnom Penh, some in vehicles and some on foot, intending to capture and smash and get rid of the contemptible Lon Nol. In just one month, our Party liberated 70-75 percent of the villages and subdistricts throughout the country. With a little more time, the revolutionary movement

would certainly have completely swept clean the contemptible Lon Nol traitors, and none would have remained.

The American imperialists saw this and came to directly attack the Kampuchean revolution. Almost 100,000 of them came, including their army and air force. Hundreds of thousands of the contemptible Thiêu-Ky Yuon came to attack the Kampuchean revolution, both to rescue the contemptible Lon Nol and to seize Kampuchean territory.

Facing this situation, our Party whipped up high-level patriotic spirit to attack the American imperialists, to attack the contemptible Thiêu-Ky Yuon enemy, and to attack the contemptible Lon Nol traitors. The revolutionary movement throughout the country came to a mighty boil. The international world actively supported the Kampuchean revolution; there was even support from the American people too. In 1973, the Paris Agreements and the Vientiane Agreements put an end to the war in Vietnam and Laos. Kampuchea continued making war on our own. Then the American imperialists gathered their forces to attack our Kampuchean revolution very strongly, but they were defeated. The 200-day and 200-night air war of the American imperialists was shamefully defeated. Also in 1973, our Party raised the principle of going on a strategic offensive of constant day-and-night fighting, both rainy season and dry. The contemptible Lon Nol traitor's army was smashed to bits. The American imperialists had no more fundamental forces to help the contemptible traitor Lon Nol: there was no manpower, no economy, no politics: everything was gone. Also in 1973, the Party decided to organize cooperatives throughout the country. The cooperative movement was at a mighty boil in class struggle and in going on offensives against the enemy on the forward battlefields and in increasing production to make long-term revolutionary war. The forward battlefields were on the offensive; the rear battlefields were on the offensive. The cooperative movement made an extremely active contribution to the liberation of the nation and the people in accordance with the stance of independence, mastery, self-reliance, and controlling the destiny of one's own nation by one's self. In June 1974, our Party determined to open the decisive strategic attack to liberate Phnom Penh and liberate the entire country. The Party made the following determinations:

- To attack the lower Mekong River as the key to cut-off enemy food supplies and routes of communication
- To attack and surround Phnom Penh in order to make the decisive attack against Phnom Penh
- To open attacks against some provincial towns that the enemy had temporary control of.

At 1 a.m. on 1 January 1975, every military unit including militias and district, sector, and Zone and Center military forces at every spearhead had to attack, pound, and penetrate following the plans set by the Party.

At the set time, every spearhead went on the attack and struck; the contemptible Lon Nol's troops broke and ran. After attacking for only three months, the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea took Neak Loeung. The tongues of the contemptible Lon Nol traitor commanders were hanging out. The faces of the American imperialists turned purple. On 1 April, the contemptible Lon Nol traitor commanders fled the country for America. On 12 April the American imperialists ran to their helicopters and fled back to America.

On 17 April 1975 at 9:30 a.m. the ringing of bells of great victory were heard throughout the country and the world. Phnom Penh was liberated. All of Kampuchea was liberated. The bright red flag of the Communist Party of Kampuchea waved high in the sky confirming that the Communist Party of Kampuchea had won! The Kampuchean people had won! The Kampuchean worker-peasant classes had won! The Kampuchean revolution had won! had won!

“A small spark the size of a wild chicken's eye had been turned into a flame as bright as day due to the movement.”

Always loyal to the First Party Congress, the cadres, Party members, troops, and people did not rest for one minute. Everyone, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, continued to wave the flag of combat following the line of the great socialist revolution movement and building socialism to advance toward communism with independence, mastery, self-reliance, and controlling the destiny of one's nation by one's self.

During 1975 through 1978, the great movements of defending the country and waging socialist revolution and building socialism raised the living standards of the people very strongly.

The territory-swallowing expansionist genocidal Yuon aggressor enemy raised 14 divisions in an attempt to attack Kampuchea in a stroke, but they were smashed to bits and defeated by the people and the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea and shamed both in Kampuchea and on the international stage on 6 January 1978.

Embedded enemies boring holes from within, CIA agents, running-dog agents of the Yuon, and KGB agents struggled to catch their breath and rise up again to seize power from the Communist Party of Kampuchea and the Kampuchean people, but they were attacked and smashed in droves by the Kampuchean people, defeating the American imperialists, defeating the “Indochina Federation” plans of the Yuon, and defeating the expansionist plans for Southeast Asia of the revisionist cliques.

Private regimes and private ownership continued to dissolve and disappear from Kampuchean society. The collective regime and collective ownership of the proletarian class of the Party continued to strengthen and expand in a great movements of combat to defend the country and build socialism.

The great movement to build the country and raise the livelihood of the people in accordance with the Party's line to build socialism met with repeated successes and fundamentally sorted out the livelihood of the people that had just emerged from the American imperialists' war of destruction and set up the fundamental preconditions to go on further mighty offensives in agriculture and industry.

Movements to support the revolution and socialism in Kampuchea by increasing numbers of friends throughout the world is strong and strenuous and has confidence in the bright future of socialist revolution in Kampuchea under the sole leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea.

After 18 years under the combat flag on the mighty offensives of the Communist Party of Kampuchea under the leadership of the Party Center with Comrade **Pol Pot** as Secretary on the offensives during the national democratic revolution stage and the stage of socialist revolution and building socialism, the Party concludes that:

“The Party has to have correct strategic and tactical political lines, strong ideology, and solid organization. There must be core cadres with a high stance of sacrifice and a high spirit of respect for organizational discipline, with a strong offensive fighting spirit, not fearing hardships, not fearing life or death, and with the correct mass views to take the political, ideological, and organizational lines of the Party to make propaganda and educate and organize the people and to whip up the people and the masses to wage revolutionary struggle in attacking the enemy, in class struggle, and in fighting to sort out the livelihood of the people. The movement of revolution struggle of the people must be repeatedly whipped-up. When a mass movement is at a boil in accordance with the political line of the Party, the movement further strengthens and expands the political, ideological, and organizational lines of the Party, and the movement builds, strengthens, and expands the cadres and the Party members too. The movement then builds, strengthens, and expands the forces of the masses and gathers up the masses in drives to join in making an even stronger revolution. Completing this cycle many times over many years, the revolutionary movement makes stronger and stronger progress, progress in terms of politics, ideology, and organization, strong progress in terms of the forces of the people and the masses, and progress in terms of the numbers and the quality of the cadres at every echelon.

When a Party has a unified and correct political, ideological, and organizational line, has core cadres, has the people and the broad masses with the worker-peasant alliance as a foundation, and has successive hot combat movements, this Party will have a mighty army in terms of politics, ideology, and organization, will have much revolutionary experience, will have an economy, and will have everything. Therefore, this Party and this people, will truly and absolutely wage revolution and achieve victories, victories that come from independence, mastery, self-reliance, and controlling one's destiny by one's self.”

Beloved Comrades! In the communiqué of Comrade **Pol Pot**, the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, on the occasion of great

victory of the celebration of the 17<sup>th</sup> [seventeenth] anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and on the occasion of the Party's official public declaration both domestically and internationally, in closing the Comrade said, "Our journey has been a long one ... but at the same time, we must be revolutionarily modest; we must see our great victory and see that we still have many serious missions in defending the country, defending Democratic Kampuchea, defending the Kampuchean revolution, defending the state power of the worker-peasant people, and we have another serious mission, that is, building the country toward rapid progress and prosperity in order to rapidly raise the livelihood of our people to dignity and prosperity and also make a contribution to the rapid progress of the peoples of the world."

So then, our cadres, our Party members, and our Revolutionary Army, in order to fulfill the mission of fighting and defeating the territory-swallowing expansionist Yuon aggressor enemy that is trying to eliminate the Kampuchean race, continue carrying out profound socialist revolution and building socialism to raise the livelihood of the people, and necessarily must continue to build strong political, ideological, and organizational stances in every field by:

1. Tempering inside the combat movement
2. Being revolutionarily modest before the masses and allowing the collective to constructively criticize
3. Build stances of clean living in the revolutionary style
4. Striving to constantly study and learn politics, ideology, organization, and science and technology that is appropriate to the revolution.

We build solid political, ideological, and organizational stances following the principle of the proletarian class of our Communist Party of Kampuchea so that the Party will be strong, and to gather the forces of our eight million people to make revolution, and to whip up the movement to attack and smash the territory-swallowing expansionist genocidal Yuon aggressor and achieve victory in order to wage socialist revolution even more profoundly, to build socialism, and to rapidly raise the livelihood of our people.

**Cheers!        The 18<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of  
Kampuchea!**

**Cheers!        The correct, clear-sighted and marvelous Communist Party of  
Kampuchea!**

**Cheers!        The mighty and marvelous Kampuchean revolution!**

**Cheers!        The huge and marvelous Kampuchean people!**

**Cheers! The Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea, mighty, skilled, brave, and marvelous!**

**Cheers! The glorious Democratic Kampuchea!**

**Cheers! Clear-sighted and marvelous Marxism-Leninism!**

-----x-----

