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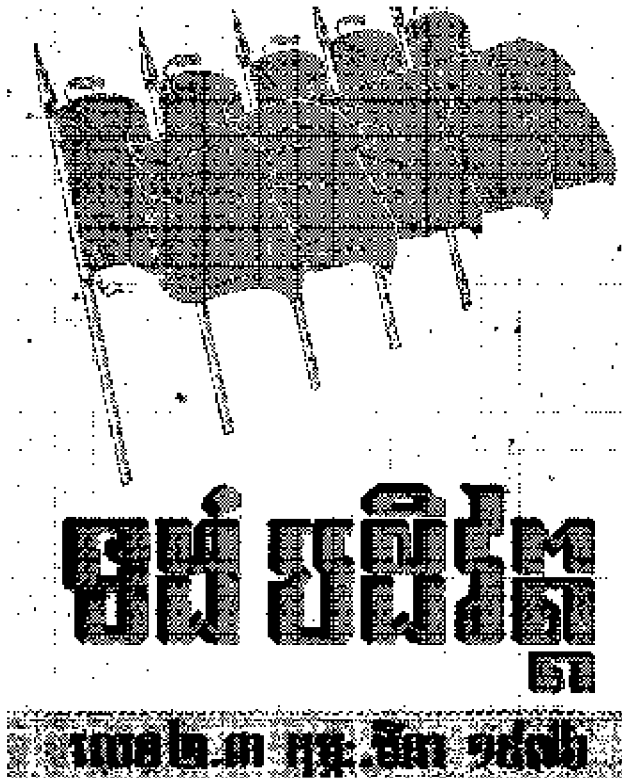
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REVOLUTIONARY FLAG

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Correctly Absorb and Implement The Current New Strategic Political Line Of the Party



The Party Statutes, in the provisions on the fundamental political stances of the Party during the new period of socialist revolution and building socialism in Kampuchea, state that “The current new strategic stance of the Communist Party of Kampuchea is that after achieving complete and permanent national democratic revolution and after having taken a major step in socialist revolution, it is imperative to continue carrying out and achieving socialist revolution and building socialism in Kampuchea to advance to communism in Kampuchea in the future.

In this strategic framework, the Communist Party of Kampuchea must defend the fruits of the revolution and defend the country of Kampuchea well and also carry out the building of the country well.”

Based on the current new strategic stance that is clearly stated in the Party Statutes, the Party raised the new strategic political missions of socialist revolution and building socialism in Democratic Kampuchea as follows:

1. Continue socialist revolution by continuing to attack the remnants of the capitalist class, the private regime, and all private ownership even stronger, even more profoundly, constantly, until it becomes permanent in every field and every category in Democratic Kampuchea.

Socialist revolution is done:

- Ideologically, organizationally, economically, culturally, socially, technically, and scientifically.
- Inside the Party, inside the core organizations, inside the Revolutionary Army, inside all our revolutionary ranks, inside the worker unions, inside the peasant cooperatives, inside the ministries and offices, and inside the entire national society.

2. Strengthen and expand the collective regime of the proletarian class in every field, ideology, organization, economics, culture, social affairs, technology and science strongly, constantly, and profoundly until it becomes permanent.

- Take the collective stance of the proletarian class; carry out the building of socialism; push and whip up the building of socialism in terms of economics, culture, society, technology and science quickly to make it high quality with independence, mastery, and self-reliance: this is the most important thing.

The building of socialism is done inside the Party, inside the core organizations, inside the Revolutionary Army, inside all our revolutionary ranks, inside the worker unions, inside the peasant cooperatives, inside the offices and ministries, and inside the entire national society.

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Why did the Party designate the new strategic political mission like this? And what is the meaning of this new strategic political mission?

In 1976, the First Party Congress designated the strategic political mission of the Kampuchean revolution: national democratic revolution. National democratic revolution fought the imperialists, in particular the American imperialists and their servants, and it fought the feudalists and the reactionary capitalists.

The Communist Party of Kampuchea led national democratic revolution all along until 17 April 1975. The strategic political mission of national democratic revolution gained complete and permanent victory. The American imperialists and their servants along with the various other imperialists were eradicated from our Kampuchean society: not a single person remained.

In terms of democracy, that was permanently achieved as well. The feudalist landowner class and regime were fundamentally attacked and brought down. The peasants were completely liberated from the exploitation of the feudalist landowner regime. Exploitation by land as the means to take in pawn, to loan, to collect interest, and so on, was totally dug out and eliminated.

Our accomplishment of national democratic revolution liberated the country and made it completely independent and completely liberated the peasants. This great victory was due to the Party, the people, and the Revolutionary Army fighting aggressively, busily, strenuously and tensely, struggling to withstand the hardships and sorrows and fighting extremely absolutely until they seized their great magnificent victory.

Having already accomplished national democratic revolution, our Party leads the people in continuing to carry out socialist revolution and to build socialism.

I. What is the essential reality of socialist revolution, and who does it attack?

The first meaning: Attacking and permanently liquidating [វណ្ណសាស្ត្រ] the capitalist class, not letting them raise their heads again.

The second meaning: Attacking the private regime. Everything that is private is capitalist in its essential reality. For example: Private rice farming must not be allowed to exist any longer. It is imperative to organize collectively in order to produce collectively in order to be able to make progress.

But in particular, attacking the private regime of the capitalists where their strongest forces are positioned. As for the private regime of the petty bourgeoisie workers and peasants, it is weak: it is imperative to instruct them to change to the collective regime.

The third meaning: Strengthening and expanding the collective regime in the entire Kampuchean society, in the entire Party, in the entire Army, in the entire ranks of the revolution, and in all the ministries and offices.

The fourth meaning: Strengthening and expanding the collective regime in the entire Kampuchean society, in the entire Party, in the entire Army, in the entire revolutionary ranks, and in all the offices and ministries.

This is the essential reality of socialist revolution. In speaking of socialist revolution, it is imperative to speak of all four of these essential realities of the revolutionary theme.

Another important issue that must be constantly grasped while implementing the strategic political mission of socialist revolution and building socialism is the goal of socialist revolution and building socialism. The goal of socialist revolution and building socialism is **collectivity**. Everything that serves production belongs to the collective.

Even the workers, whenever there is private ownership, their essential reality is capitalist. It is imperative to eradicate private ownership by collectivizing private ownership. It is imperative to struggle to absolutely eradicate without any forgiveness whatsoever all private ownership, whether physical or ideological, that exists within our revolutionary ranks. Therefore, we see that in form the capitalist class has been brought down and dissolved, but the capitalist theme still exists. If it still exists within the ranks of our revolution and within the ranks of our people, and if we do not struggle to absolutely eradicate it, it will be able to strengthen and expand itself and within some period of time, whether five years, ten years, or longer, it will raise its head again; it will become counter-revolutionary revisionism.

Therefore, the contradictions between the capitalist-private regimes and the collective workers remain as they were.

For example: Some members of the cooperatives hide rice: this is private and capitalist in nature. This path does not head toward socialism, toward the collective. Those unhappy with the collective path walk toward the capitalist path, the private path. Those who are happy with the collective walk toward the socialist path, the collective path of the proletarian class. This is a struggle between two contradictory views, stances, and lines.

When we speak in objective terms, the capitalists, the feudalists, the landowners, the petty bourgeoisie, and the wealthy and middle peasants still want the private regime to return, following their old habits. That is, they still hold onto the old private nature they always had. But objectively, this is not of any substantial significance. However, the issue about which we must be vigilant that is more important than the objective is the subjective, the subjective primarily aimed at the inside of our Party. If the stances of the Party are not firm, absolute, and mighty, they surely will be biased in terms of political, ideological, and organizational views and stances, and they will move to strengthen and expand private ownership in material terms and in terms of power. After a while, there will be contradictions and opposition to the proletarian collective, for example opposition to the Party's cooperative line. When one cooperative opposes, two cooperates oppose, three cooperative oppose, and the bias toward the private system repeatedly strengthens and expands. Then the capitalist class or the various other dangerous classes will embed inside the cooperatives and cause even more substantial problems. This is just speaking in terms of the cooperative framework. The union framework is the same. The framework of the Revolutionary Army, the offices, the ministries, the male and female combatants, or the general countrywide framework, they are the same.

However, when the Party has solid political, ideological, and organizational stances in terms of the collective stance of the proletarian class, the cooperatives are solid, the unions are solid, the Revolutionary Army is solid, the ministries and offices are solid, the entire country is solid.

In our Party, if we do not fight mightily, if we do not rectify constantly, be careful or it will lean toward the private path. If it leans toward the private, it will certainly go capitalist.

Therefore, we must constantly further indoctrinate the political, ideological, and organizational views and stances of the proletarian class to all Party members, to all Party core organizations, and to all the members of the cooperatives and unions that are good so that they absorb them in order to carry out socialist revolution and build socialism.

What point have we reached in waging socialist revolution?

1. We have fundamentally attacked and brought down the capitalist regime. That is, we began waging socialist revolution in 1972, in particular 1973, by dissolving private commerce and then the State conducted commerce by itself and dissolved the markets. By early 1975 the capitalist system had been fundamentally uprooted. The capitalist political - economic regime was attacked and liquidated, but in terms of views and stances the influence of its traditions were still strong. Each person still dreamed of or thought about the private regime.

An example: They still had a desire to do private work in their families. They still saw the collective as having strict discipline and the private regime as being liberal and easy-going, and so on. This was the wave of thought, the power, the soul of the capitalist regime that was still strong.

2. We partially attacked the private regime, in particular on the production side in terms of daily living, but much still remained.

3. We fought to eradicate private ownership in terms of materials and power within the Party and the entire revolutionary ranks, but in part it still remains and is still being contested.

4. We built, strengthened, and expanded the collective regime in terms of production and daily living and made an important large step, like the cooperatives, the unions, and the organization of collective living in the revolutionary ranks. However, it is still not firm.

So then, this is why our Party has said, “It is imperative to continue socialist revolution by continuing to attack the remnants of the capitalist class, the private regime, and all private ownership, even stronger, even more profoundly and constantly, until it is permanent in every field and every category in Democratic Kampuchea.” These remnants, if not attacked and brought down, will not dissolve on their own. To the contrary, they will grow, become strong, and expand again. We must attack them and bring them down until they are all gone, permanently put to an end.

II. What is the essential reality of building socialism, and how is it built?

The first meaning: To strengthen and expand the collective regime of the proletarian class in every field.

The second meaning: To build socialism in every field, economics, culture, social affairs, and technology and science, strongly, quickly, with high quality, and most importantly with a stance of independence, mastery, and self-reliance.

Our building of socialism absolutely must have the solid foundation of the collective regime of the proletarian class in every field. Socialism cannot be built on a foundations of any regime other than the collective regime of the proletarian class.

Building socialism is to make socialism progress, to make it dignified, and to make it prosper, having modern agriculture, modern industry, and modern technology. But this modernity is the modernity of the collective of the proletarian class. This stance must be firmly grasped and correctly implemented. Do not be biased. Be vigilant and do not fall to the capitalist path.

Our country is still poor. Agriculture is still backward. Production is still low. We have not yet mastered water. Mechanized labor and agricultural equipment are still lacking. Our industry is still low and does not yet have much of anything. So then, in economic terms, our resources are low. Culture, social affairs, public health, and technology and science are still weak. Thus, it is imperative to build every field. We are able to build because have prepared the social preconditions fundamentally well. We still have many unused resources that we have possibilities to whip up. So, our Party has decide to set the goal of building and becoming a modern agricultural and industrial country following the slogan “Might, quickness, high-quality: most importantly with a stance of independence, mastery and self-reliance.”

This is the Party’s line of building socialism. When this line becomes an ideological stance, we will surely strive to fight, strive to do to, strive to find ways to do it in every field.

To make this line become an ideological stance and materialize, for one thing we must have firm faith in the line by being aware and by being self-confident, and also we must absorb the experiences of the Party’s revolutionary movements. For example: During the revolutionary war of national liberation, the Party concluded that we had a chance of defeating the enemy within four or five years. Some comrades had faith in the Party, were in unity with the Party, and strived to go on the offensive on the front and rear battlefields without hesitation, and they fought absolutely, without negotiation, compromise, or cease fires.

However, some comrades became hesitant when they encountered obstacles during the process and were suspicious about whether the Party line was right or wrong because they did not have the proletarian class stance to absorb the Party line. So then, this led to breaks in solidarity, and operations did not go well.

It was the same with the Party’s stance of independence, mastery, and self-reliance. There must be faith to absorb and experience to be crystal clear and happy to have the strength of fight without fatigue, to fight even mightier, to fight even more actively. When we do not have the stance of independence and mastery we are the subjects of others. When we are the subjects of others, we cannot liberate our nation. We wage socialist revolution and build socialism from the position of being the subjects of others when we do not have the stance of independence, mastery, and self-reliance.

Building socialism is hard; however, it is not as hard as the fighting during the Five-Year War. Hundreds and thousands are not sacrificed like they were during the war. During the war, we implemented the stance of independence, mastery, and self-reliance cleanly and correctly; in building the country we can also implement it. This is our undying belief.

Our imperative to build the country mightily, quickly, and in great leaps is closely related to the work of defending the country. When we can build our country quickly, this will cast a good influence on the defense of the country. Were we to build the country slowly, this would cast a bad influence on the defense of the country.

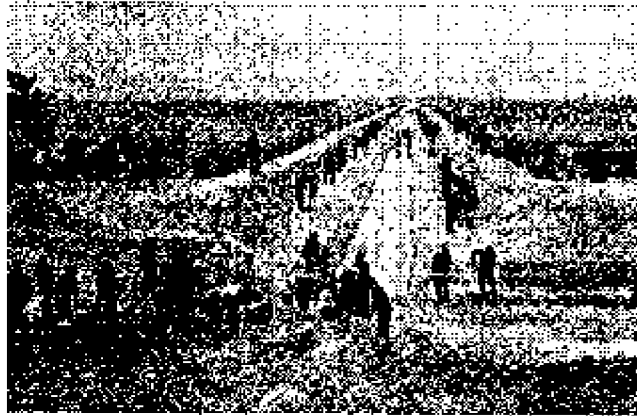
We have the full potential to build the country rapidly in great leaps because we have the sufficient preconditions. The important issue is that it is imperative to absorb the Party line and must strive to actively fight to constantly turn up the heat of building the country and being orderly, not being everywhere all the time, not wandering back and forth: we must go the offensive precisely against the targets the Party has designated.

In a concrete implementational sense, the Party's line of building socialism is that we must build in every sector, but primarily rice farming. So then, how can we run fast? How can we be strong, quick, self-reliant? – This issue requires specific planning to implement.

Our planning is not the feudalist-capitalist style planning to exploit the workers, peasants, and laborers. Our planning to building socialism is to strengthen and light the fires of the stance of offensive combat to build the country in the position of our workers and peasants as masters of the country and masters of the revolution.

An example: The issue of implementing the Party's line of rice farming. Our country has approximately 2,000,000 hectares of land on which rice can be grown. There are 1,500,00 hectares of lowlands ...

[Translator note: Missing pages 17 and 18 of the original text.]



Our cooperative members in Kampong Thom Province assembled major forces to go on a simmering non-stop offensive to put up new paddy dike system and dig new feeder canals, filled with a spirit of the highest resolve that they will finish ahead of the schedule of the plan for this dry season.

[Resuming at top of page 19 of the original text.]

... us. This issue further aids the work of defending the country.

Currently our people are making sacrifices, tolerating hardships, and suffering in order to go on offensives the build paddy dike systems to achieve 1976 yields of three tons per hectare. So then, all Party members and cadres at all levels must stay close to the paddy dike system construction sites to examine, ponder, sort out and manage the operations well under all circumstances.

When we accomplish the paddy dike system plans during three years following the Party's plans this will be a major victory for us.

Another example: What must be done to obtain yields of three tons per hectare during 1976?

This issue also requires concrete planning.

The issue of concretely implementing the Party line requires training in the movement and must use the Party line as its compass in the work in every field. Currently, the hottest movement is the cooperatives. The hottest battlefields are the rice paddies, paddy dike systems, and the water canals. So then, it is imperative to train inside this movement, to strengthen and expand inside this movement, to stay close to this movement, in order to build socialism, because this movement reflects every field:

primarily it reflects the difference between the collective and the private, the capitalists and socialism.

In the past, we built our Revolutionary Army in the fires of revolutionary war. Will were able to build it quickly by using constant hot offensives as a measure. Currently, we are building revolutionary cadres, core organizations, and our cooperatives if the revolutionary movement of rice farming, building paddy dike systems and digging feeder canals to sort out the water issue, that is, the construction in the work sites.

This is the implementational sense of building socialism. It is the same throughout the country: each Zone, each Sector, each district, each cooperative is the same. Every level in all the bases areas, the military, and the ministries and offices must absorb this in order to operate well.

We must closely grasp and implement extremely correctly the Party's strategic political mission of socialist revolution and building socialism. When we do not deviate from the line of socialist revolution and building socialism, we surely will go on fast offensives at leap speed, meaning we will gain absolute victory, because we are walking the right path without wavering.

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Go On Constant Mighty Offensives At Magnificent Great Leap Speed



This is the slogan the Party has raised for 1976 in order to push the implementation of the line of socialist revolution and to push the building of socialism in our country of Kampuchea to achieve the most superb results. So then, this slogan is the combat flag for 1976 and for on into the future for every Party member and cadre at every echelon of the Party to go on the offensive to defend the country, defend the revolutionary state authority, and to build the country to prosperity, strength, skill, and dignity at magnificent great leap speed.

In order to implement this slogan mightily and effectively, every Party member and cadre of the Party at every echelon must absolutely hold close to the Party's mass line and mass view. That is, every Party member and cadre at every echelon of the Party must have faith in the popular masses and hold close to serving the masses unconditionally and make doing so the line or the lantern to light their path in all their every daily routine revolutionary activities. Every Party member and cadre at every echelon of the Party must trust and rely upon the forces of the popular masses, must communicate closely with the popular masses, and must be located inside the revolutionary movement of the worker-peasant people in the unions, the cooperatives, and the Revolutionary Army in the work of defending the country and building Democratic Kampuchea until reaching the final victory of socialist revolution and building socialism during the new strategic period of revolution and then move to communism in the future in Kampuchea. So then, every Party member and cadre at every echelon of the Party must absolutely and completely eradicate and get rid of all traces of isolationism, authoritarianism, militarism, mandarinism, and bureaucracy. Along with this, every Party member and cadre at every echelon of the Party must also absolutely eradicate the leadership and working views, stances, and attitudes of following along behind the masses.

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What essential factors must exist if we want to have the Party's mass line and mass view?

1. It is imperative to see the extremely important role of the popular masses in waging national democratic revolution and socialist revolution and communist revolution on into the future.

During the era of national democratic revolutionary struggle of the past 24 years and in particular during the final era of the more than five-year revolutionary war, the

popular masses played a very important role and were one of the decisive factors in seizing complete and total victory on 17 April 1975. The popular masses personally waged that war. The popular masses fought strongly in combat and also fought to sort out every hardship, complication, and shortage of every kind. The popular masses made the highest sacrifices, unimaginable material and emotional sacrifices in terms of supplies, property, their personal resources, their mental and physical strength, and the flesh and blood of their children and husbands and wives, to the point that they dared to sacrifice their own lives for the cause of the revolution to liberate the nation, liberate the people, and liberate all the poor classes. Without the huge forces of the popular masses, without the unconditional non-stop aid and support of the popular masses, our revolutionary movement could not have prospered and grown as large as it is today and could not have strengthened and expanded itself to be mighty and skilled enough to fight and defeat enemies of every type. In brief, without the huge forces of the popular masses being with our revolution, we certainly could not have achieved national democratic revolution successfully.

After the liberation of the entire country, the entire Kampuchean nation and people, under the correct and clear-sighted leadership of the Party, continue to wage socialist revolution and build socialism in Kampuchea, and the popular masses still play an extremely important role. Immediately after the liberation of the entire country, the popular masses, under the leadership of the Party, were the ones who fought to increase production day and night, overcoming all obstacles and tolerating hardships and suffering of every kind to be able to sort out all types of shortages so that there would be food supplies to support themselves and support the more than two million people who had recently been evacuated from the various cities. Our people not only sacrificed their mental and physical strength to go on night-and-day offensives to increase production, but the brothers and sisters all shared the food from their own mouths to support the people newly-evacuated from the cities, shared their houses for the new evacuees to live in, shared their medicines to treat the new evacuees, and even shared their physical and mental strength and their emotions to help educate and govern the new evacuees politically, ideologically, and organizationally. In summary, immediately after emerging from war, our people sacrificed with all their hearts to join in sorting out the difficulties and the shortages that our people were temporarily passing through. Aside from this, the popular masses went on day-and-night offensives to restore and repair factories, restore lead, see, and air communication routes, build new bridges, new ports, new roads, and creatively invented new means of transportation and invented various utensils and productions tools of every kind that the revolution and the people needed in the work of defending and building the country and in sorting out the livelihood of the people in general, and so on.

Because hundreds of thousands and millions of people and masses that had a high level of political awareness went down into the fray to restore the economy so mightily, day and night, non-stop in every direction throughout the country like this, in a period of less than one year we were able to restore our national economy that had been devastated by the war of aggression of the American imperialists and totally smashed to bits, and we brought it back to life and put in back into normal operation. Not only that, we were able

to push the building and strengthening of our national economy toward future prosperity in major new leaps and bounds in every field including agriculture, industry, and the various handicrafts.

All these examples make clear the huge role of the popular masses in achieving national democratic revolution and in waging socialist revolution and building socialism in the current Kampuchea and in waging communist revolution in Kampuchea in the future. Without the forces of the popular masses, no matter how clever the individual Party members and cadres may have been, they would have been unable to successfully achieve national democratic revolution or socialist revolution or communist revolution.

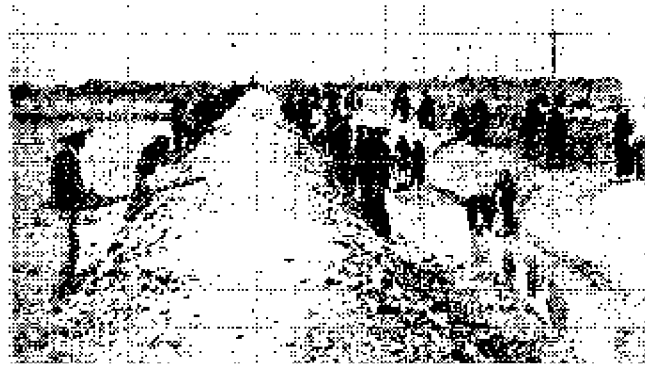
In the past, how have our Party members and revolutionary cadres gotten the Party's mass view and mass line right or wrong?

- Back in the era of the covert political struggle, our Party members and revolutionary cadres always held close to the Party's mass view and mass line and believed firmly in and relied totally upon the forces of the masses and the people. In daily living as in doing the work of revolutionary activities, covert, overt, or semi-overt, our cadres and Party members constantly stuck close to the popular masses, shared the sorrows and joys of the popular masses, and were flexible and modest in serving the interests of the popular masses unconditionally, and they never had never any hard feelings. So then, this is why the popular masses loved, had faith in, trusted very warmly our revolutionary Party members and cadres. The popular masses respected and supported and exchanged their lives to defend revolutionary cadres and to absolutely defend the revolution by not letting any enemy come to destroy them. Because of the forces of the love of the popular masses, their faith, their support and their willingness to give their lives in our defense like this, our revolutionary movement had only its revolutionary stances and its stance of unconditional service to the people. Aside from this, we were bare-handed, but were able to build a firm revolutionary force that quickly grew stronger and was able to counter the extremely vicious, fascist, suppression campaigns of the power-holding classes, the reactionary traitors to the nation and their servants of the American imperialists and was able to defend itself until it advanced forward to going on constant mighty offensives.

- During the pitifully difficult more than five-year revolutionary war era, the great majority of the Party members and cadres of the Party had firm and correct mass views and mass lines in their daily lives and in their revolutionary activities in every field. Our Party members and evolutionary cadres constantly went down close to the mass movements to lead the mass movements and push the mass movements. For example, they went down close to movements to increase production to support the revolutionary war and sort out the livelihood for the people. They went down close to the movement to put up dams, dig feeder canals, dig reservoirs, and sort out the water problem for the people to increase production. They went down into the fray of the movement to establish production cooperatives and the movement to strengthen and expand cooperative production. They went down close to the hottest battlefields on the frontlines to share life and death, hunger and deprivation, hardships and sorrows, along with all the male and

female combatants of the Revolutionary Army in order to constantly and mightily attack and smash the enemy. Since our Party members and revolutionary cadres at every echelon had clear faith in the popular masses, relied upon the popular masses, and stayed close to the popular masses inside the revolutionary movements of the masses on both the forward and the rear battlefields at all times, day and night, rainy season and dry, our national democratic revolution movement achieved total and permanent victory on 17 April 1975.

- After the liberation of the entire country, the Party's cadres at every echelon governed the state authorities throughout the country. We had broad authority and rights and had all kinds of economies and were able to support ourselves with independence and mastery. Moreover, we had peace and happiness to a large extent in comparison with wartime because no more enemy aircraft or infantry came to attack, to strafe or bomb, or wreck the lives and property of our people like that had during wartime. So then, we had great possibilities to implement the mass lines and think of helping sort out the livelihood of the popular masses and gradually make them better off. But to the contrary, regrettably and most painfully, many of our Party members and cadres turned to being playful in victory and forgot their extremely heavy debt of merit to the popular masses and forgot the role of the people and masses in waging national democratic revolution and their extremely important role in waging socialist revolution and building socialism in the current Kampuchea. Those comrade instead took to arrogant posturing toward the popular masses and set themselves up as having special power rights over the popular masses, ordering them around and threatening them and pressuring and clamping down on the popular masses anyway they pleased. As for the shortages in the livelihood of the popular masses, our comrades could not see them, or if they did see them, they disregarded them and did not bother their heads or pay attention to trusting and helping and assisting the people warmly. Our comrades considered the forces of the popular masses as merely a labor force to perform major or minor, light or heavy, labor work, that's all. Our comrades did not see the forces of the popular masses as being a vast and mighty strategic force of the Party that could achieve anything at all in terms of the military, politics, economics, culture, social affairs, foreign affairs.



Immediately after the harvest was over, cooperative members in Siem Reap Province assembled forces to go on a non-stop day-and-night offensive to put up paddy dikes and dig new feeder canals.

Before the culm stems in the rice paddies had even withered or decayed, a picture of twin paddy dikes and perfectly straight main feeder canals had already clearly appeared.

2. It is imperative to have the stance of making propaganda and educating the popular masses.

Reading this issue, what are the positives and what are the shortfalls of our revolutionary cadres?

- In terms of positive qualities, during the more than five-year revolutionary war, our Party members and cadres at every echelon, no matter how busy they were, waged war against the enemy day and night, rainy season and dry; and no matter what, our revolutionary cadres strove to seize opportunities to make propaganda and educate the popular masses by organizing meetings and convening cooperative conferences, peasant society conferences, women's conferences, and workers' union conferences, and they convened short study sessions, disseminated newspapers and revolutionary magazines or made propaganda and educated by word of mouth frequently, regularly, meticulously, and constantly.

After the liberation of the entire country, immediately after the tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands of new evacuees from the various cities went to the rural base areas, at many locations our Party members and revolutionary cadres went down to make propaganda to educate the popular masses, to convene short study sessions, hold mass meetings, hold cooperative or production team conferences, or make propaganda by word

of mouth to equip them with views on the new revolutionary situation and give to them or explain to them or instruct them on the new revolutionary missions of defending the country and building the country to clean up their ideologies and to have them fight to tolerate the temporary hardships and difficulties, to have them see their honor in joining in to increase production and defend the country, and so on. So then, at any location where our Party members and revolutionary cadres trusted, made propaganda to, and educated the popular masses like this, even though in terms of material livelihood there were some shortages and hardships, the popular masses were mentally warm toward us. So then, they were crystal clear. They fought to tolerate the temporary hardships and sorrows and shortages; they were not complicated or hopeless; they went down into the fray to join in labor to fight to increase production happily, clearly believing that their efforts and their sweat and blood were truly to sort out the livelihood of both the people and themselves too and to join in the defense and building of the country to make it abundant, flourishing, and glorious.

- In tandem with the above positive qualities, we still have many shortfalls regarding the stance of making propaganda to educate the popular masses. Many of our comrades do not yet pay attention to any extent on making propaganda to educate the popular masses and do not yet see the importance of making propaganda to educate the popular masses. Many of our comrades still have the incorrect view that now that there is peace there is no enemy and it is not necessary to make propaganda and educate any more, and the popular masses are all already inside our revolutionary framework, whether they understand it or not, whether they like it or not, and they cannot go anywhere else. Other comrades use the pretext that they are very busy with work and that if they bother with rounding up the forces of the popular masses for propaganda and education, a lot of work time will be lost. So then, they say it is not necessary to organize political and ideological propaganda and education and it is enough to just organize the work to sort out food and water to consume, that is enough. Other comrades even go to the extent of having the view that it is not necessary to make propaganda and educate the popular masses to understand too much as that will make them difficult to lead because if the popular masses understand much of the political, ideological, and organizational lines of the revolution, they will struggle against the comrades when they do wrong. So then, those Party members and cadres not only do not whip up propaganda to educate the popular masses, they even impede doing so, not permitting other comrades to make propaganda and educate the popular masses, using the pretext that that this is a loss of manpower, a loss of work time, and that is only theory and not concert labor, and so on. Those comrades are afraid that if there is frequent propaganda and education for the popular masses, the revolutionary awareness of the popular masses will increase and they will not be able to be revisionist and will not be able to recklessly lead them as they please without regard to any Party line.

But in any case, just let our Party members and revolutionary cadres lack the stance of making propaganda to educated the popular masses correctly and frequently, and the bad consequences are numerous for the revolutionary movement and for the leadership of those revolutionary cadres as well. This is because a total lack of or a shortfall in making frequent, regular, and meticulous propaganda and political and

ideological education, the popular masses do not understand very much, are not very politically aware and do not have much revolutionary awareness. So then, they do not fight very hard to overcome the various obstacles and difficulties in their routine daily living or in going on offensives on work of all kinds. Thus, the work force is not mighty and cannot be guaranteed for the long term. This type of labor force is large only in numbers but is unable see anything through to the end; when they encounter obstacles or any minor difficulties, our popular masses will surely become complicated and pull back; when the enemy or no-good elements incite break ups or attract them, the popular masses that lack education and study and lack a solid and profound understanding of the revolution easily believe them and very easily fall into the enemy's traps. So then, the arrogance and complication that subsequently occurs among our popular masses leads to difficulties for the revolutionary state authorities in the base areas for the leadership cadres at those locations and for the Party as well.

- Seeing the above-mentioned good and the bad elements of making propaganda to educate the popular masses, every Party member and cadre at every echelon of the Party must pay a high level of attention to this issue of making propaganda to educate the popular masses. No matter how busy they may be, they must know how to seize the time to make propaganda to educate the popular masses in our base areas and within our framework regularly and constantly become even stronger, it is then that the Party members and leadership cadres at those locations must concentrate on even more frequent political and ideological propaganda and education as a force to strongly and constantly whip up and push the offensive movements doing work of every kind. So then, as a solution to this, our comrades might seize noon rest times at the work sites or idle time at night after lifestyle meetings to organize joint newspaper and magazine reading with short discussions immediately afterwards or to organize brief discussions on some issue that it has been seen that the people do not yet understand and about which they are not yet crystal clear. Aside from this, our comrades should seize morning or half-day opportunities once every month to hold meetings of the masses to equip them with situational views on the missions, new working goals, and so on, in order to whip up the masses even stronger. Aside from this, every once in a long while, our comrades may seize two-day opportunities to convene cooperative conferences or hold regular short study sessions. When we do this frequently, our popular masses surely will understand and make rapid progress in terms of revolutionary politics, ideology, and organization. So then, our popular masses will gradually have a high level of revolutionary awareness and certainly will become the sharpest combat force making the strongest offensives both in fulfilling their missions, in work large and small of all kinds, and in countering and attacking and eradicating every enemy maneuver and every act of aggression and sabotage of enemies of every kind, whether inside or outside the country. Thus, our popular masses will become a strong iron lance for defending the revolution, defending the Party, defending the revolutionary state authorities, and defending the nation forever.

3. Concentrate on sorting out the livelihood of the people

In the past, we have had numerous favorable qualities in sorting out livelihood for the people. Immediately after the liberation of the entire country, nearly 3,000,000 people had to exit the various cities empty-handed, without food supplies, without any means and tools at all to increase production. This was a very heavy burden for the Party and for our revolutionary state authorities in the base areas that had to feed and supply everything to those nearly 3,000,000 people. But even though we had just emerged from the war of destruction and we were short of everything, our comrades strived to figure out and resolve food supplies, shelter, clothing, medicines, and dishes and pots for our people appropriately and in a timely manner.

But in tandem with our favorable qualities, we also have many deficiencies in sorting out livelihood for the people. The primary reason is because our comrades do not yet have the correct and solid mass view and mass line of the Party. Our comrades do not yet feel the pain of the shortages and the hunger and the illnesses of the people at all. In short, they do not yet know whatsoever the hot and the cold along with the people. Other comrades go and see the hardships of the people and say that is normal: so then, they do not yet feel pain and do not strive to sort it out and do not yet consider such work to be the mission of Party members and cadres at every rank of the Party who must serve the people unconditionally and who must run to resolve livelihood for the people in a timely manner. At other locations, our comrades do not only not feel the pain of deficiencies in the living standards of the people, they even have rude attitudes and speech and have taken various actions that impact the livelihood of the people. Example: Some of our comrades do not sort out the livelihood of the people and then take attitudes not appropriate to a revolutionary toward the people when the brothers and sisters don't work fast enough to please them or don't meet their personal objectives.

Example: Other comrades not only do not help sort out living standards for the people, but when the Party sends rice, salt, fermented fish paste, clothing, and dishes and pots to be distributed to the people, some of those comrades dare to deceptively take a portion of those items and hide them for their personal use and distribute to their own families or their cliques.

Example: At other locations, the revolutionary offices and ministries in the villages, subdistricts, districts, and Sectors, guard and protect for themselves any land that is fertile and any ponds, lakes, and creeks that have lots of fish, and they do not allow the popular masses to make a living by cultivating them to increase production. And the ministries and offices gathered up and guard and protect for themselves all the important implements for increasing production. As for the people, they work the rice fields by hand and our comrades do not see this, or if they do see it, they pay no attention, feel no pain, and do not figure out how to resolve this appropriately. The ministries and offices guard and protect for themselves to govern and control any ponds, lakes, creeks, streams, or rivers that are plentiful in fish.

Another example: At some locations, the soil is very good and fertile and there is no shortage of water, but because our cadres do not know how to instruct the popular masses to increase production and plant various vegetables in order to sort out and modify the living standards of the people in that area, they have nothing to eat: no corn, no potatoes, no vegetables, and so on.

Since some of our Party members and cadres do not feel the pain and do not sort out the livelihood of the people or go down to manage sorting out the livelihood of the people to make them better off, in spots our people face shortages and fall ill. So then, there is a shortage of labor manpower, and our people that had little before have even less and are damaged. Politically we are greatly damaged because the enemy seizes the opportunity of our vacuum of omission to incite the people to break away from the revolution, and a number of the people rebel and oppose the revolution and cause us many worries by making us waste time and manpower to counter them and sort out arrogance that never should have occurred. In summary, when we sort out the livelihood of the people well (as well as we are can, given the possibilities), we round up and herd all the forces of the popular masses. The forces of the people are a vast labor force, both mighty and enormous, both a physical force and a solid political force. But, if we cannot sort it out well or we do not figure out how to resolve of the livelihood of the people, we will incur damages and losses of every kind, both physical losses and losses of manpower for defending the country and building the country, both in terms of the politics and the political influence of the Party and our revolution.

Seeing this, the Party members and cadres at every echelon of the Party must pay high-level attention and strive to sort out the living standards of the people in a timely manner with a high spirit of responsibility to the Party and the people. Currently, we have many possibilities when compared to wartime. During the war, it was tense, and very difficult for the Party to fight to sort out the living standard of the people. Now we are at happy and at peace and can travel back and forth from one area to another as we please to communicate and exchange products with one another and we can go on offensives to increase production of every kind day and night at every location. We have huge resources in terms of means and materials. We have a state authority that can manage all these affairs in order to figure out and resolve the livelihood of the people at all times, and also now, after this harvest season, we have sufficient rice and can distribute it to the all the people to eat their fill, and so on. So then, we have full potential to sort out the livelihood of our people appropriately, with everyone getting their fill.

The solutions are numerous, but we wish to raise just several specific solutions:

- **In terms of diet**, for one thing we manage the distribution of rice that has already been harvested to our people so that they all get their fill equally, without any going too heavily or too lightly, without there being too little or too much at any location. We have salt. The only issue that remains is assigning the manpower and the means of transportation rapidly in a timely manner to taking it to distribute it to the people meticulously and properly, reaching each of them equally. Manpower must be assigned to make fermented and dried fish in each cooperative and to supply salt to each cooperative

for making it in accordance with their potential and in accordance with the population of each cooperative. As for the rivers, tributaries, and lakes where fish can be found, they are all in our hands, and the issue is managing their distribution for every cooperative to come to fish according to their individual contributions. Aside from this, our revolutionary cadres must figure out modifying the livelihood of the people and make them better off by assigning them to make the fish sauce and soy sauce that can be made in each region. Furthermore, our cadres must go down to closely lead our people to give them instructions to plant various vegetables, corn, potatoes, arum, eggplant, sesame, beans, cabbage, gourds, pumpkins, and so on, and various fruits like bananas, papaya, jackfruit, oranges, coconuts, mangoes, and so on, in order to make gradual progress in modifying the living standards of our people and to whip up the people to raise swine, chickens, ducks in order to modify their living standard.

- **In terms of clothing**, Our revolutionary cadres must think about sorting out the appropriate clothing for the people, mosquito nets, blankets, kerchiefs, and a change of clothing for washing. Our revolutionary cadres must strive to sort out the clothing issue for the people, for one thing by striving to greatly increase production and to exchange for cloth for skirts and blankets for the state to distribute to the people. Moreover, it is imperative to instruct and whip up the movement of the people to plant a lot of mulberry to raise silkworms and cotton and to push and assist and support in every way the textile handicrafts in the village and subdistrict cooperatives to their mightiest.

- **In terms of housing**, it is imperative to think about and gradually prepare to do whatever necessary so that our people have proper shelters to live in and protect them from the rain, the wind, the heat of the day, by gradually organizing forces to cut and saw wood, and by organizing brick kilns and tile kilns in every base area and by organizing reed weaving and leaf sewing for setting up good houses for the people to live in. (This is not an immediate issue like putting up paddy dikes and digging feeder canals, but it is an issue that our comrades must think about and prepare for and eventually sort out, starting now.) The primary issue in the immediate term that our cadres must think about in terms of shelter and housing is thinking about first tightly roofing and covering the walls of the old existing houses because the rainy season and frequent storms are approaching and during that time the people will have their hands tied up in rice farming offensives. So then, if our leadership cadres do not think about this starting now, our people certainly will be left without any shelter at all and be left exposed to the rain and the wind, and that will lead to much illness, and this will impact the manpower for the rainy season rice farming offensives very seriously. As for the base areas and the various work sites where much manpower is assembled and that are far way from populated locations, our comrades must think about building appropriate houses and camps for them to sleep and rest in during the rainy season our combatants cannot sleep on the ground in the middle of the fields like they can during the dry season.

- **In terms of medicine**, since modern medicine is currently not very plentiful, in their positions as leaders, our cadres must think about making large sufficient quantities of traditional medicines of every type to treat and maintain the health of our people during the offensive to put up new paddy dike systems and dig new canals during this dry

season, and also for storage for when our people have their hands tied up in the rice farming offensive during the approaching rainy season. The Ministry of Social Affairs and Public Health must think about the entire country, but primarily modern hospitals in the base areas must have mastery in going around to look for the maximum quantity roots to combine into traditional medicines for every type of disease in order to guarantee the maintenance of health of our people and to care for the labor forces of our people for offensives to increase production, defending the country and building the country constantly to the mightiest at magnificent great leap speed.



This is the scene at our cooperative work site putting up paddy dikes and digging feeder canals at Srae Veal, Kampong Cham Province.

4. The popular masses must constantly be organized

Every field of work regardless of what it is must have orderly, correct, meticulous popular mass organization appropriate to the actual situation at each location and appropriate to the type and the dimensions of each job. For example, currently, in putting up new paddy dike systems and digging new feeder canals, the popular masses must be clearly organized into units, into groups, or into various sections in order to receive missions at their respective spearheads. There must be this kind of organization so that the forces of the popular masses will not be scattered and disorderly or be too concentrated at one location. Popular mass organization must be clear by the work spearhead, by the mission, and by the dimensions of each job. By doing this, the popular masses can use their capacity in doing their jobs and we can have mighty forces to go on many work offensives better, more rapidly, and more meticulously. There must be organization like this for our popular masses to be in unity in going on offensives in all kinds of work by extending a hand to one another, not jealously comparing one another, not having any idle forces being abandoned, not being complicated, and not having any disagreements with one another.

In summary, in all work there must be clear popular mass organization for the forces to go on constant mighty offensives at magnificent great leap speed.

5. The mass movements must be constantly whipped up.

In doing anything, do not just take organizational measures; it is imperative to concentrate on making propaganda to educate and whip up the movements strongly to be constantly hot by discussing to demonstrate to and enlighten the popular masses so they see the importance and the benefits to them, both long and short term, of every mission. Even in the movement to put up paddy dikes and dig feeder canals to resolve the water problem, in the dry or the rainy season rice farming movements, in the various other movements to increase production, or in the industrial factories in the repair movements or in constructing more new communication routes, and so on, it is imperative to clean up the ideology of the popular masses to make them crystal clear and not let them have the understanding that they are working under coercion. It is imperative to discuss to make them see the benefits to them, not just the material benefits, but to make them see their major honor in making a contribution to restoring the economy, and building the country and building socialism in Kampuchea with their own hands. It is imperative to discuss and make them see that all the work that they are doing is a contribution to the strong defense of the country and the building of the country to make it strong, skilled, happy, prosperous, and dignified, with honor and prestige equal to all others in the world, and is not work to serve the interests of any one individual or clique like it was during the old society. When our popular masses clearly understand like this, they are happy and pleased with all their hearts to do any kind of work. So then, we strongly and constantly whip up these mass movements.

6. Every Party member and every cadre of the Party at every level must go down and stay close inside the mass movements.

By doing so, they can grasp the movement constantly, monitor the movements, and instruct and rectify the movements immediately and in a timely manner. Go down close to the movements in order to understand the movements, to lead the movements, and to push the movements to be fast, strong, and constantly hot. By doing so, we constantly whip up the mass movements and make the mass movements stay at a high boil constantly, never weakening, never falling at all. Thus, the cadres of the Party at every echelon and every Party member must absolutely eradicate and get rid of and be crystal clear about feudalism leadership and working methods, bureaucracy, leading from far away, by letter, by circular, and by giving orders in the old feudal style. In the movement of socialist revolution and building socialism where all the popular masses under the leadership of the Party must go on the offensive to build and to defend the country quickly in great magnificent leaps, revolutionary cadres at every echelon and every Party member absolutely must go down close to mass movements, for one thing to understand the movements, rectify the movements, and lead the movements, and moreover, to build their stance of increasing the leadership capacity of the Party to gradually be more solid and stronger.

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Party members and cadres at every echelon of the Party must see the good points of the people in every field. Our people have a high level of sacrifice, have the stance of respect for organizational discipline, respect Party leadership unconditionally, and have a laboring nature along with the highest spirit and stance of the collective. Today all of our people live and work collectively in production cooperatives and under the leadership of the Party. All of this is the socialist nature of our people which is very favorable to the current movement of socialist revolution and building socialism in our Kampuchea. Our people have all the qualifications to advance to socialism. The issue lies in each of our Party members and cadres having the correct mass view and mass line of the Party in leading the popular masses. When each of our cadres and Party members have the mass view and mass line of the Party as has been described above, we certainly can whip up great, strong, and constant offensive movements at great magnificent leap speed to implement the line of socialist revolution and building socialism in Kampuchea and receive excellent results extremely quickly.

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Meticulously Prepare

The Preconditions

For the 1976 Rainy Season Offensive

To Achieve the Goal of

Three Tons Per Hectare



According to the Party's 1976 decision, our cooperatives must go on the offensive to increase production to get three tons per hectare on the average and in general, for one thing to sort out the livelihood of the people, but moreover to get the resources to defend and build the country quickly at great magnificent leap speed.

During the year of 1975 that has just passed, even though our people and our nation had just merged from a war of great devastation and lacked cattle and buffaloes, lacked seed, and lacked the various tools to increase production, the people strived to go on the offensive to sort out all those shortfalls and fought to increase production day and night until they achieved many good results, surpassing all the previous years. These results are pleasing to us, when we compare them to the scarce resources and the means that we had. But in tandem with the above positive qualities, we must draw experience regarding our shortages during 1975 in order to strengthen and push the movement to increase production during this year of 1976 to be better and more excellent in order to achieve the target of three tons per hectare on average and in general absolutely and completely successfully. During 1975, even though we obtained many results that surpassed the previous years, when we examine the preparations to go on the offensive to increase production in the rainy season, we have almost complete shortfalls materially, objectively, and subjectively.

The objective deficiencies were in mid April when we had just ended the war. Moreover, the nearly 3,000,000 people in the various cities were relocated to live and to increase production in the countryside. By July and August, the relocation movement of these new evacuees was still not yet completely over. As for our revolutionary state authorities in the base areas along with all the people in the cooperatives, they were busy both night and day helping to run to help to sort out the living standards both material and

spiritual for those nearly 3,000,000 people. So then, as we approached the transplanting season a large portion of our people had not yet reached stable locations and begun to think about preparing to go on offensives to increase production. Generally speaking, during the past year of 1975, we did not have the chance to think in advance about preparing the offensives to increase production to make them go easily. So then, we were short of everything, cattle, buffaloes, plows, harrows, seed, food supplies, and even hoes, knives, machetes, and hatchets.

Subjectively, we also had deficiencies, in particular when we went down into the fray to work the rice fields.

Deficiency number one is the issue of preparing manpower in order to use manpower most appropriately and efficiently. Some locations round up massive layers of labor forces and it there is confusion and no one knows what anyone is supposed to do. Some forces are left over and abandoned, left idle. Other locations become short of manpower because there are too few people, either not enough for the paddy land of large dimensions, or else because too many people are sick and there are no forces to replace them.

Deficiency number two is the issue of water management and distribution. Some locations are drought stricken. Other locations are soaked and damaged by flood waters. As for location natural disasters that we are not yet able to master, that is one issue. However, as for locations that have water, have dams, have canals and are capable of mastering nature, they still allow damage such as this to occur. For example, upper paddies still hold a lot of water, but since we have not made arrangements to let it flow to the lower paddies, the lower paddies are dried out and cracked and the seedlings are wilted and are damaged. At other locations, the lower paddies are flooded and the seedlings are all destroyed, but the upper paddies nearby are shriveled and wilted. This is because we have not yet mastered the management and distribution of water, letting water flow in and out and distributing it to every paddy.

Deficiency number three is when the seedlings and plants are green and growing well, as a result of recklessness and non-meticulous management, we let cattle and buffaloes eat whole paddies of seedlings in the paddies, or we chase cattle and buffaloes helter-skelter trampling through the seedlings and whole fields of them are damaged.

Deficiency number four is that at some locations, since cadres are not assigned in detail to care for the seedlings, we let rats, crabs, grasshoppers, and caterpillars, and so on, eat and cut and destroy hundreds of hectares of rice.

Deficiency number five is that at other locations they use of fertilizer without any experience and conscientiousness not knowing when to spread fertilizer, not knowing the type of fertilizer that must be used. Our brothers and sisters just keep on spreading until it become excessive and cause whole paddies of seedlings to rot and die.

And so on.

In summary, we see that our movement to increase production during 1975, even though the brothers and the sisters went on the offensive to work at it day and night and got more results than ever before, advance preparation was lacking. As for the other offensive movements, even though they were strenuous and at a mighty boil, they were not yet orderly and easy; they were still somewhat ragged.

Based on our experience of what went right and what went wrong during 1975, during the rice growing season this year we must make orderly advance preparations to go on the 1976 rainy season offensive aimed at absolutely achieving three tons per hectare on average and in general.

1. Advance preparations before rice farming time

1. It is imperative to double or triple the amount of seed to protect against the natural disasters that always occur every single year such as high waters that lead to flooding and damage to the seedlings or drought that leads to the wilting and death of the seedlings. In both of the above-mentioned cases we will then have the additional seed to sow to repair and fill in the paddies immediately without any loss of time.

2. As for implements, plows, harrows, hoes, knives, and so on, it is imperative to make preparations to repair them, to rebuild plowshares and plow carriage parts and handles or to build more new plows and harrows to fulfill the requirements in advance. Avoid the disorder of going down to plow and harrow before running to find plows and harrows and running to make the carriage parts and handles, and so on.

3. It is imperative to feed the cattle and buffaloes that are an important labor source in working the rice fields and let them fatten and grow and already be at full strength during the dry season by giving them fodder and water, making sure they sleep on full stomachs, and not using them without mercy until they break down. This is because if the cattle and buffaloes are already tired and broken down during the dry season, how can they have the strength to go on the offensive to plow and harrow at full strength during this rainy season?

4. It is imperative to prepare food, salt, fermented fish, spoiled beef, and fish paste and pack it in jars ready to be taken to the rice fields so that it will not be necessary to buzz around here and there to find it when the time comes to work the rice fields. Moreover, when we have sufficient food supplies already prepared and in reserve, during the rainy season when we are busy and have our hands tied up day and night transplanting, we will have food to feed the forces of our members of the cooperatives so that they will not be exhausted and then fall ill and impact the labor forces and impact the offensive movement.

2. Preparations at rice farming time

1. It is imperative to be vigilant about water, for one thing looking after pumping water in and out of the paddies to meet the requirements, and for another thing, it is imperative to assign guards to and examine and assess the dams, paddy dikes, and feeder canals regularly, meticulously, and routinely and to prevent them from collapsing or leaking and to prevent the feeder canals becoming clogged, events that lead to the spillage and waste of water or the flooding and damaging of seedlings. Furthermore, it is imperative to think about and manage water distribution to reach both all the lower paddies and all the upper paddies.

2. It is imperative to care for the seedlings well and meticulously by weeding and by spreading fertilizer appropriate to the time the rice needs it. Look after pumping water in and out of the seedbeds appropriate according to the requirements. Look after and care for the seedlings by industriously going to examine and assess them and to re-transplant any spots where the old seedlings are damaged or have died for some reason.

3. When the seedlings are growing well, it is imperative to be vigilant about insects, crabs, caterpillars, worms, and so on, eating and destroying them. So then, it is imperative to organize the making of insecticides and organize walking around to care for the seedlings and spraying insecticides regularly.

4. When the seedlings are green and growing well, it is imperative to be vigilant about cattle and buffaloes eating them or trampling them to bits. So then, it is imperative to organize teams to be responsible for tending cattle and buffaloes well. At the rice paddies near paths where cattle and buffaloes walk, it is imperative to build fences to protect against the cattle and buffaloes from being able to trample or eat them.

3. It is imperative to master sorting out the labor force.

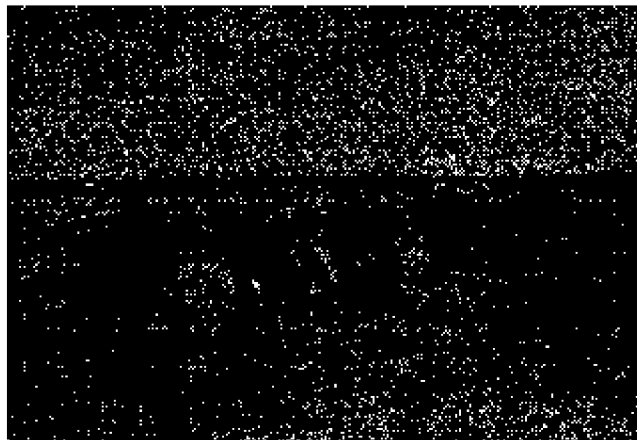
1. It is imperative to grasp the labor force in each cooperative tightly in hand, to know how many sharp forces there are and how many intermediate forces there are in order to manage and use them most effectively. Furthermore, it is imperative to have reserve forces as replacements when the members of our cooperatives fall ill so that the work will not be impeded or the offensive movements will not be blocked.

2. It is imperative to have a view of broad cooperation with the various cooperatives that are nearby. Do not have the narrow view of only thinking about sorting things out inside one's own framework. As for the issue of the labor force, it is imperative to assess the reality of whether or not our cooperative has gone on a busy offensive to use all of its labor force and see if we can pull out some idle forces from our cooperative to help the offensives of nearby cooperatives that lack manpower.

As for the water issue, it is imperative to make contingencies for the lower paddies and the upper paddies of nearby or adjacent cooperatives. Avoid thinking

only about whether one's own paddies have enough water and paying not attention to nearby paddies being flooded or dried up and cracked. So then, it is imperative to think of contingencies to help open dams and open feeder canals to distribute water to one another to and putting water into or out of the rice paddies in accordance with their requirements.

As for the issue of seedlings, it is imperative to know how to reserve them for contingencies to cooperate in distributing seedlings from one cooperative to another. When one cooperative has a lot of seedlings and cannot transplant them all or cannot transplant them in time, it is imperative to look at distributing them to other cooperatives that lack seedlings and not leave them to rot or leave them until they get old and damaged in the seedbeds before calling others.



Combatants of a Border Defense Unit in the Southwest Zone use their free time from guarding and patrolling the forests to busily transplant in the rice fields in order to support themselves and to join in sorting out the livelihood of the general populace as well.

4. Leadership issues

In their positions as leaders, our cadres must have prepared all the preconditions to master every contingency.

1. It is imperative to master nature both in times of drought and times of major flooding. For example: When there is no rain and there has been a long drought, what reservoir or what dam do we have to flow water from and what rice paddies do we flow it to. When floodwaters inundate the rice paddies, where do we have to open the paddy dikes or which sluice gates do we have to open and which feeder canals do we let the water flow into, which reservoirs do we let that water flow to, and so on. For all these issues, our cadres must have plans ready in advance before we can gain mastery at times

of natural disaster, and we will not be panicked, confused, or hesitant: to the contrary, we will be clam and will manage forces to counter nature as we intended.

2. It is imperative to master food supplies, how much rice we must ready to be sufficient, how many forces must be assigned to transport salt to be stored and distributed to each cooperative, finding fish and making meat and fish paste and preparing it and storing it in advance. Another kind of mastery of food supplies is instructing and organizing the planting of vegetables on farmland and high land so that the members of our cooperatives will constantly have vegetables to eat so their diet will not be so meager that they do not have the strength to go on constant mighty offensives.

3. It is imperative to go down to do political, ideological and organizational work to whip up and push the movements to constantly be hot and mighty. Do not be afraid when working because this revolutionary political, ideological, and organizational work pushes the movements to be faster and far better.

4. All cadres must go down to stay close to the rice paddies to push the mass movements and to draw repeated experience from what went right and what went wrong in order to help instruct and rectify the movements immediately in a timely manner without losing rice farming time.

In summary, we must prepare all the preconditions of every kind in order to go on the 1976 rainy season offensive in an orderly and meticulous manner to absolutely reach the goal of three tons per hectare on average and in general.

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Whip Up The Movement of Criticism/Self-Criticism

**To Build Oneself and Build the Party
And Constantly Make it Even More Profound**

In Order To

**Lead and Implement the Party's New Strategic
Missions of Socialist Revolution and Building Socialism
Successfully In a Great Magnificent Leap**



Objective: To go on the offensive to build the Party during the new period of socialist revolution and building socialism of the Party

After achieving national democratic revolution completely and permanently and after having made a major step in waging socialist revolution, the Party continues waging and achieving socialist revolution and building socialism in Kampuchea by continuing to attack the remnants of the capitalist class regime, the private regime, and all private ownership even more strongly and even more profoundly until it becomes permanent in every field. The Party continues to lead the waging of socialist revolution and building socialism in every field, ideology, organization, economics, culture, technology and science, and so on, and continues to wage socialist revolution in terms of ideology by continuing to eradicate and continuing to smash the ideology of private ownership both in terms of materials and in terms of stances to keep it from raising its head and keeping it from strengthening and expanding, building socialism in terms of ideology by fostering the true nature of socialism, socialist habits and socialist reflexes, building socialist world views and socialist habits in living and in thoughts in all types of work, and building economy, technology and science. Everything is based on the foundation of socialism. The goal of the Party is to make socialism enter the ideology, enter the economy, enter the culture, enter everything. Everything is based on the proletariat. Everything is based on the collective. So then, the journey that we must walk is strenuous and profound class combat. It is a subjective fight within each Party member and each of our cadres. It is a fight within the Party. It is a fight within all of our ranks and in all of our national society. The Party leads this repeated combat with an absolute and strenuous stance until it becomes permanent.

In order to serve socialist revolution and building socialism, each Party member and cadre at each echelon of the Party and our entire Party must fight to absolutely eradicate and completely eliminate non-proletarian stances, private ownership stances in terms of both materials and power, and sharpen proletarian stances. Only when proletarian class stances are sharp can the fight to wage socialist revolution be mighty, profound, and constant, and the fight to eradicate private ownership be won. If we do not sharpen proletarian class stances from the stance of the collective, private ownership stances will strengthen and expand. If private ownership stances do strengthen and expand, things will move toward the capitalist. This is dangerous: dangerous for each Party member, dangerous for the Party, and dangerous for socialist revolution and building socialism.

The fight to build the Party internally during the past

In the past inside our Party, the fight between revolutionary and non-revolutionary stances, between proletarian class stances and collective stances versus private ownership stances, was a constant fight. The Party led this fight constantly. In particular, in mid 1972 the Party announced an emergency regarding petty bourgeoisie class stances and capitalism class stances inside the Party this was the opening stage of the struggle within the Party by going on a profound offensive. Through this struggle, the entire Party fought by studying and by sorting out the livelihood of the people. The Party did not just fight within the Party: the Party also fought in the society by opening a stage of education to prepare the preconditions to establish the cooperatives. This movement simmered among the masses throughout the country. The Party used the movement of class struggle and the movement of propaganda and education to whip up the establishment of the cooperatives in order to assess the ideological situation within the Party.

In mid 1973, the Party examined class struggle within the Party and within society and saw a major step toward victory both inside the society and inside the Party. There can only be class struggle with society when the Party has absorbed it. But examining this, it was seen that in mid 1973 there were still petty bourgeois stances and capitalist stances. They appeared in many different manifestations in the state authorities, in the Army, in the militia, and in the Party. The Party fought on. Then the air war was tense and the struggle within the Party was also tense. So then, this tempered our Party greatly. Inside this tense movement, we sharpened our ideology of class struggle: we sharpened it inside a hot movement, not in a cool situation. Through this struggle, proletarian stances keep strengthening. The Party was able to fulfill its missions. The Party led the people to fight the American imperialists and to fight the feudalists and the wealthy peasants, and organized the cooperatives. However, many problems remained. Non-revolutionary ideologies and non-proletarian stances still appeared. So then, this is why in early 1974 there were many problems with the enemy conducting pacifist agent activities which damaged a number of our troops, our state authorities, our male and female combatants, and our cooperative committees. Since the proletarian stance of the Party was not yet solid, the enemy was able to bore holes from within our ranks. The Party was not yet clean, not yet solid, not yet strong, so the enemy was able to counterattack. The Party

assessed this situation and decided to close the door to the Party and the core organizations. Along with this, there were internal purges [សំរិតសំរាំងផ្ទៃក្នុង]. These measures were primarily to build ideology: to struggle to build ideology within the Party, the Army, and the state authorities. We sharpened the ideological stances of the Party in order to guarantee Party leadership on the forward battlefield and Party leadership on the rear battlefield, to prepare the plan for the decisive attack during the 1975 dry season. We clearly knew that we had difficulties in ammunition, and for this reason we had to prepare ideology to be strong. In tandem with this, the Party made preparations on the rear battlefield to strengthen and expand the cooperatives. The cooperatives could only be strengthen and expanded when the Party was sharp. We built the Party correctly and in a timely manner and the outcome was the great victory of 17 April 1975. The ideological stance of the Party was the decisive factor, in combination with various other factors.

After the liberation of the entire country, the fight within the Party between proletarian class stances and collective stances versus private ownership stances continued on. The Party's positives were on the political, ideological, and organizational side. So then there appeared the movement to put up paddy dikes, the movement to strengthen and expand the cooperatives, the movement to modify the livelihood of the people. The majority of the cadres went down close to the people, went down close to the cooperatives, went down close to the paddy dike and feeder canal worksites.

In tandem with this, there were many other issues.

Issue number one: Inside our Party, collective vies, collective spirit, collective stances were not yet sharp; they were not yet reflexes. Individual ownership, private ownership, ownership by section, were still strong. At some locations, some individuals, some cadres, were still entangled, and the desire to live separately was still serious. It was a contest back and forth between the collective and being separate. In this state, if the Party had fought moderately, forward progress would have been slow. If the Party had not fight, there may have been a reversal.

Issue number two: The Party also takes notice that inside our revolutionary ranks and inside our Party ranks, there still are some Party members and some cadres who have petty bourgeois and capitalist stances who still hold power. Private ownership ideologies in terms of stances still exist. The leading issue is ownership in terms of authority that appears in many manifestations, immorality, authoritarianism, subjectivity, militarism, dictatorship, individualism up to the point of impacting the lives of the combatants and the people, by violating the Party line, violating Party principles, without collectivity, without democracy.

Issue number three: The stance of responsibility for the livelihood of the people, thinking about the livelihood of the people, respecting the wishes of the people, listening to the opinions of the people, as for some Party members and some cadres, is still weak. At some locations, some cadres implement the Party line irresponsibly, without thinking of the livelihood of the people.

An example: the people out of the village unnecessarily, having hem go to the middle of the fields without shelters, where no crops are planted. The consequences: the people get sick and this impacts the interests of the people and the sentiments of the people, and the manpower to increase production, to put up paddy dikes, and to dig feeder canals.

An example: Not thinking about allocating forces to plant vegetables to support the battlefields putting up paddy dikes and digging feeder canals. The consequences: the people lack vegetables and the cooperatives lack vegetables.

An example: Some locations clamp down on the rights and freedoms of the people, not letting the people fish in the lakes to sort out their livelihood.

All these manifestations arise from private ownership stance and ideology, a lack of the collective stance and the stance of responsibility to the Party and the people.

Our Party must clearly grasp the situation of private ownership ideologies within the Party, in particular the ideology of ownership of the right to power, in order to take successive measure to eradicate them. In particular, the Party must whip up the masses in the Party to fight within the Party so that the masses are a force in the struggle to build the entire Party, and whip up the criticism/self-criticism movement to build oneself and build the Party stronger and more profoundly until all types of private ownership stances are permanently eradicated. In this movement to fight to build the Party internally, the entire Party, each Party member, and each cadre at every echelon must have an absolute, uncompromising attitude because the fight for socialist revolution and to build the country is a tense class fight inside the Party, inside our entire revolutionary ranks, and inside the entire Kampuchean society.

So then, Party Branch meetings must be regular, follow the Party Statutes, and must have the theme of the internal struggle by way of criticism/self-criticism to build oneself, build the Branch, and build the Party in terms of ideology, politics, and organization mightily, profoundly, and constantly.

The theme of Party Branch meetings for involvement in doing criticism/self-criticism and self-building in terms of political, ideological, and organizational stances

In order to build every type of Party Branch to have firm political, ideological, and organizational stances, and to increase leadership capacity to fulfill the missions of defending the country and building the country successfully in leaps and bounds during this current new stage of socialist revolution and building socialism of the Party, the theme of the monthly Party Branch meetings must include the following important themes:

I. In political terms

Assessment and self-involvement of the stance of the spirit to fulfill the missions of waging socialist revolution and building socialism and the work of defending the country, according to one's specific routine daily work.

II. In ideological terms

1. Assessment and self-involvement on one's struggle to eradicate individual ownership in terms of power (authoritarianism, militarism, a preference for giving orders)

2. Assessment and self-involvement on one's struggle to eradicate individual ownership in terms of materials

3. Assessment and self-involvement on one's proletarian class morality in daily life in every field, in particular in terms of females and alcohol

4. Assessment and self-involvement on one's building the ideology of collectivism of the proletarian class

5. Assessment and involvement on one's building the stance of revolutionary modesty and respect for the masses, studying from the masses. Has one done anything to impact the masses in terms of speech, attitudes, or various actions committed?

III. In organizational terms

1. Assessment and self-involvement on one's collective stance in leading work. How has one struggled to eradicate revisionism, subjectivism, egotism?

2. Assessment and self-involvement on one's spirit of separate responsibility in mission fulfillment.

3. Assessment and self-involvement on one's spirit of Party organizational discipline

4. Assessment and self-involvement on one's stance of going on the offensive to fulfill missions following the slogan "The Great Magnificent Leap." Thought, judgment, consideration, and innovation in implementing the activity lines of the Party in fulfilling one's specific missions.

IV. Miscellaneous issues

It is imperative to do self-involvement on a number of other issues to build oneself and build the Party:

1. What is one's stance and spirit of internal solidarity and unity?
2. What is one's stance and spirit of revolutionary conservation?
3. What is one's stance and spirit of revolutionary vigilance in maintaining secrecy?

The above-mentioned themes of self-involvement, criticism/self-criticism, self-building, Party building in terms of politics, ideology, and organization have great importance, because these themes are related to the Party's theme of socialist revolution and building socialism during the present period. The Party firmly believes that all our Party members clearly see the importance of the fight to build themselves and build the Party following the above themes and overcoming all obstacles, both subjective and objective, to fight to do criticism/self-criticism strongly, sharply, following the Party's stance and the provisions of criticism/self-criticism aimed at building themselves and building the Party to have firm political, ideological, and organizational stances following the Party's stance of the proletarian class, increasing the quality of the leadership of the Party, and fulfilling the missions of building the country and defending the country successfully in leaps and bounds during this new stage of the Party's socialist revolution and building socialism.

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REVOLUTIONARY FLAG