

00003237

00003237

E3/925

**The Cambodian Genocide Program,
Yale University,
and
The Documentation Center of Cambodia**

Joint Monograph Translation Series
No. 1

IENG SARY'S REGIME:
The Diary of the Khmer Rouge Foreign Ministry, 1976-79

Translated by Phat Kosal and Ben Kiernan

New Haven,
January 1997

CONTENTS

Note on the document

Notes on Ieng Sary and the Khmer Rouge Hierarchy
by Ben Kiernan

TRANSLATION

A. [B-1: The DK Ministry of Foreign Affairs]

B. The Party Statutes

C. The Statutes of the Kampuchean Communist Youth [League]
(21 May 1976)

D. The Cell Congress (22 May 1976)

E. The B-1 Ministry Congress (10 July 1976)

Document 1: The current political tasks of Democratic
Kampuchea

Document 2: Angkar's political line in Foreign Affairs

Document 3: Angkar's view of the masses and the mass
line

Document 4: The view of the contemporary world situation
and Southeast Asia

Document 5: The view of the contemporary situation in
Cambodia

Note on the document

This anonymous document was discovered in early 1979 by a Cambodian returning to Phnom Penh from the countryside, who found it and a number of other documents in a house apparently recently vacated by Ieng Sary, Foreign Minister of Democratic Kampuchea. In 1986, the finder kindly gave Ben Kiernan permission to copy this small archive, which included confidential minutes of 1975-76 meetings of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK), of which Ieng Sary was a leading member. The minutes appear to have been Ieng Sary's personal copies. (For a listing, see Ben Kiernan, *The Pol Pot Regime*, Yale University Press, 1996, p. 324 n.60.) Although the author of the document translated here is unnamed, a reading suggests that it must have been a senior aide to Ieng Sary. It is Ieng Sary's revolutionary pseudonym, "Van," which appears frequently in the diary, followed by comments attributed to him. Very likely, the major part of the text is a summary record of speeches and documents prepared or distributed by Ieng Sary.

For instance, the following speech, made at a congress of Party cells of the Foreign Ministry on 18 January 1977, was probably made by Ieng Sary or in his presence:

"1976 was the key year. Our enemies are now weakening and are going to die. The revolution has pulled out their roots, and the espionage networks have been smashed; in terms of classes, our enemies are all gone. However, they still have the American imperialists, the revisionists, the KGB, and Vietnam. Though they have been defeated, they still go on. Another thing is that the enemies are on our body, among the military, the workers, in the co-operatives and even in our ranks. To make Socialist Revolution deeply and strongly, these enemies must be progressively wiped out." (p. 126 of the text)

The text is hand-written, often in shorthand and abbreviated form, on 152 double pages of a blank diary printed by the Lon Nol-era Société Khmère des Distilleries. The first entry appears on

the page with the printed date of 7 January. A previous section appears to be missing. The first hand-written date is 21 May 1976 (on page 7), and the last, 5 January 1979, two days before the overthrow of the Pol Pot regime. This document should be read in conjunction with Laurence Picq's *Beyond the Horizon* (Patricia Norland, trans., St. Martin's Press, New York, 1989), an account of working in the Foreign Ministry by the only foreigner to survive the DK regime.

What follows is our translation of the initial sections, recording internal meetings held in the DK Foreign Ministry in May and July of 1976. The Cambodian Genocide Program and the Documentation Center of Cambodia are preparing a complete translation of this secret diary and at future intervals will publish further excerpts, and a bilingual edition. Our pagination, inserted in square brackets, records consecutive two-page spreads. For the reader's convenience, we have created chapter divisions, under headings listed in the Contents page. The corresponding divisions in the text are marked by consecutive roman letters in square brackets.

PK, BK

Notes on Ieng Sary and the Khmer Rouge Hierarchy

Ben Kiernan

In 1975-76, Ieng Sary, or 'Van', brother-in-law of Pol Pot, was no. 3 in the hierarchy of the ruling Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK), after Pol Pot and Nuon Chea. In August 1975, Ieng Sary was named Deputy Prime Minister in charge of Foreign Affairs, and held that position throughout the Democratic Kampuchea (DK) regime. In August 1978, according to one source, he occupied fourth position in the CPK hierarchy (see below).

Ieng Sary's deputy in the DK Foreign Ministry, Hong (see p. 12 below), has been described as the 'right arm of Ieng Sary and nephew of Pol Pot.' (Y Phandara, *Retour à Phnom Penh*, Paris, 1982, pp. 176, 224, 226, 185.)

Sources on the CPK hierarchy, 1975-1979

On 18 April 1975, the day after Phnom Penh fell to the Khmer Rouge, an anonymous source reported by Associated Press, Bangkok, listed the leaders of the newly victorious but still secret Communist Party of Kampuchea. These were, in order: Saloth Sar, Ieng Sary, 'Son' [Son Sen?], Nuon Chea, and So Vanna alias 'Poem' [So Phim].

When General Nguyen Xuan Hoang visited Phnom Penh as a member of a Vietnamese delegation in July 1975, he was informed by Cambodian party officials of the following rank order of the Standing Committee of the CPK Central Committee: Saloth Sar [Pol Pot], Nuon Chea, Ieng Sary, So Vanna [So Phim], Sombat [Moul Sambath alias Ros Nhim], Vorn Vet, and 'Ta' Mok [Chhit Choeun]. (Interview with Ben Kiernan, Hanoi, 4 November 1980.)

The first three rankings were confirmed by the account of a Democratic Kampuchea helicopter pilot, Pech Lim Kuon, who defected to Thailand on 30 April 1976. Kuon told Bruce Palling in an interview (Bangkok, 3 May 1976) that the top five in the CPK hierarchy were, in order: Saloth Sar, 'Nuon', Ieng Sary, Son Sen, and 'Yan' [So Phim].

The minutes of the 9 October 1975 CPK Standing Committee meeting, which 'allocated tasks and operational matters,' also list Ieng Sary in third-ranking position in the hierarchy, with responsibility for 'both Party and State foreign relations.'

Similarly, minutes of the CPK Standing Committee meetings of 3, 7 and 14 May 1976 all record the first four members present as follows: 'Comrade Secretary [Pol Pot], Comrade Deputy Secretary [Nuon Chea], Comrade Van [Ieng Sary], Comrade Vorn [Vorn Vet].' When 'Comrade Khieu' [Son Sen] was present, he was named next, just before 'Comrade Hem' [Khieu Samphan].

A translated excerpt from minutes of a CPK Standing Committee meeting on 11 April 1977, records that the following members were present: Pol Pot, Nuon Chea, Phin [So Phim ?], Mok, Vorn Vet, Ieng Sary, Moul Sambath, Ke Pauk and Son Sen. (*People's Revolutionary Tribunal*, Phnom Penh, August 1979, Document no. 2.5.23, French version, Khmer text unavailable).

In August 1978, according to a member of the CPK Central Committee, the rank order was: Pol Pot, Nuon Chea, 'Ta' Mok, Ieng Sary, Vorn Vet, Son Sen, and Keu. The first five, including Ieng Sary, were full members of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee of the CPK, the last two reportedly being candidate members. (Chap Lonh, interview with Stephen Heder, Chanthaburi, 12 March 1980.)

Readers are invited to consult the entries on these and other CPK leaders in the CGP's Cambodian Biographical Database, and in the index of *The Pol Pot Regime*.

New Haven, January 1997.

TRANSLATION[A] **[B-1: The DK Ministry of Foreign Affairs]**

[Page 1: printed diary frontispiece; apparently followed by a section now missing]

[2]

3- Firmly grasp and clearly understand the regulations of our party statutes so that we each can become active fighters in advancing the Three Movements in our Ministry correctly and well. Strengthen and expand the Party in our Ministry on the basis of the Three Movements:

1. Self-criticism
2. Economising
3. The movement to learn in all fields of politics, culture and technology

Mechanisms of Learning

1. General lectures on the party statutes
2. Read the statutes point by point and get our comrades involved

THE WEAKNESSES OF THE MINISTRY 'B-1' [Foreign Ministry]

1. Disconnected from the masses
2. Authoritarianism and individual property

[3]

[B] **THE PARTY STATUTES****CONTENTS:**

1. Comprehensive meaning of the statutes

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE PARTY

Our party came into existence in 1954, when there were not yet any Party statutes at all. At that time we had only tactical tasks. Therefore, in order to get our party members to understand, in 1960 there were clear statutes for the party entitled, "Workers Party of Kampuchea." In 1963, we found the title not yet appropriate and only in 1971 did the party congress rename the party in its statutes, the Communist Party of Kampuchea.

Only after 17 April 1975 did Angkar [the Organisation, the CPK] have correct organisation.

1. IMPORTANT POINTS OF THE STATUTES

1. Secrecy and the party standpoint
2. About party members
3. Ten qualifications for selection

I- STANDPOINTS AND SECRECY AS THE BASIS

1. Nowadays the party leads the Socialist Revolution. The soul of the Socialist Revolution is to smash individual ownership; we must be very careful with our party members.

2. The Communist Party is the party of the working class. The party has guided people of all walks of life to struggle in the National Democratic Revolution and finally gained success, and the party has continued to make Socialist Revolution, with leadership to make the Socialist Revolution hard-core and monopolise all fields (politics, economics, consciousness, culture and technology). The party is the highest organising unit of the nation and the working class.

1. the nature of workers
2. the nature of front-line troops

[4]

3. Commander-in-chief (as the one who is responsible before the party)
4. Working closely with the masses, the Communist Party represents the interests of the peasant and worker classes and of the entire nation.

3. New Strategic Standpoint: That is, to make the Socialist Revolution and to build up socialism in Cambodia (Angkar determined that 3 riels are equal to 1 dollar [3 riels = US\$1]) and to continue practising communism in the future.

4. The party takes Marxist-Leninist theory as the basis of its view and as a compass in a combination of theory and real practice which are considered the most important factors.

The core of Marxism is dialectical materialism and historical materialism. (Therefore we will eradicate idealism. Don't be surprised at all whenever there are various problems, because these are normal contradictions.)

* Historical materialism means human society always evolves and never stays still. The soul of historical materialism is the class struggle.

The party takes the proletarian worldview and proletarian life-view (live by thinking collectively).

The worldview and life-view in the party as a whole are in the petty-bourgeois form. The party opposes idealism, such as considering everything either good or bad.

- Experimentalism: mostly concerns taking things to do experiments on.
- Theorems [book-ism]: always bases one's ideas on theories.

5. The party always adheres to its concept and mass guidelines (generally speaking, believe the masses) and love, respect and serve the masses and trust the masses.

6. The Communist Party of Kampuchea was organised according to democratic centralism, with very thorough and firm organisational discipline.

The party opposes independent-mindedness
- sectoral partisanship

[5]

7. The party takes the means of criticism and self-criticism in order daily to build up the party.

8. The party adheres to the principle of independence-mastery and self-reliance. In 1970, Vietnam had [us] join a combined command, but the party has learnt from such experience since 1954.

9. The Kampuchean revolution cannot be separated from the international revolution.

- Proletarian patriotism: never see ourselves better than others or attempt to swallow someone else's country.

- Proletarian internationalism: helping other countries which are exploited or oppressed by others.

CHAPTER I

Article 1:

1. Requirements for joining the Party: The core organisations of the party are the Kampuchean Communist Youth Association and the Pillar Organisation (*angkar bongkoul*)

THE FIRST REQUIREMENT

- a. Must be active in combat, [19]70-74.
- b. Must have a good class background, especially from the proletarian class of the party with increasing firmness.
- c. Must have good moral lifestyle and be politically clean.
- d. Must ask and evaluate the opinions of the masses.
- e. Must have a clear-cut personal biography, describing his/her life from his/her birthplace [*moulthan kammaet*].

THE SECOND REQUIREMENT

1. The Bases: four levels must decide before he/she can become a party member.
2. The Military: five levels must decide before he/she can become a party member.
3. Offices and Ministries: four party levels must decide and agree before he/she can become a party member.

[6]

ARTICLE 2: THE TASKS OF PARTY MEMBERS

1. The tasks among the masses:

- a. Propagandise and educate the masses; work closely with, love, respect, live cordially with, and serve them.
- b. Always promote the involvement of the masses such as to be economical and always active in work.

2. The internal tasks:

- a. Always participate in the livelihood meetings of the party branches regardless of one's position or rank.
- b. Unconditionally obey the organisational discipline of the party.
- c. Try hard to build up the political standpoint of the party.
- d. Strengthen internal unity and solidarity within the party.
- e. Try hard to maintain party secrecy and constant revolutionary vigilance.
- f. Do one's best to do criticism and self-criticism as well as possible.
- g. Must have the standpoint of proletarian patriotism and internationalism.
- h. Try hard to learn scientific and technical lessons.

Article 3: The rights of the party-members

Article 4: The party discipline

CHAPTER 2

Article 5: The ten qualifications

[7]

[C] 21/5/76. THE STATUTES OF THE YUVAKOK LEAGUE

['Yuvakok' is from the Khmer initials of the words 'Kampuchean Communist Youth']

REQUESTS:

First: To make our comrades clearly understand the essence of the statutes so that the party members and the Yuvakok League can become core members of the Ministry.

Second: Comrades of the Yuvakok League need to build themselves up in respect to the standpoints of consciousness, politics and organisation.

Third: In terms of organisation, the Yuvakok League must exist in its own group.

1- SECRECY AND THE BASIC POLITICAL STANDPOINT OF THE YUVAKOK LEAGUE

1. The Youth Organisation is known as 'Sompoan Yuvakok' [Kampuchean Communist Youth League]. When it first came into existence, it was called the "Democratic Youth League" (15 Feb 1961) and in 1971, it was changed to Kampuchean Communist Youth.

2. The Yuvakok League is the right hand of the party.

3. The Yuvakok League must be under the direct leadership of the party.

4. There are two natures of the Yuvakok League:

- its proletarian nature.
- its pioneer nature.

5. Strategic standpoint of the Yuvakok League.

[8]

[D] THE CELL CONGRESS (22-5-1976)

THE REPORTS OF THE CELLS (sakha)I. THE TASKS OF THE CELLS

a. Among the masses, the cells have the duty to make the masses understand the party line and also be aware of their duties in accordance with the line of gathering friends to the maximum so that the masses have national pride and belief in the party's leadership.

Disadvantages: The political level of the masses is still weak. That is to say, they don't yet know how to investigate and control enemies; the masses are still peaceable.

Reasons for advantages: The masses make good progress through lessons successively learned from meetings.

Reasons for disadvantages: The minority of the masses don't yet love the collectives. The masses have no idea to build and make criticisms higher up; there are still conflicts among our party members; our cells are still authoritarian; political learning and literacy among the masses are just based on administrative work.

The Organisational Sector: The masses have regular livelihood and clear learning.

THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE CELLS:

- Politics: Grasp hold of the political layers throughout the country; there are masses who respect and like [us]. Instil more and more the nature of the Yuvakok.

- Organise regular livelihood [meetings]; systematic education plans.

Disadvantages: The cells do not convene meetings and the Yuvakok League has not organised a Yuvakok group. It is afraid to assign tasks. It is observed that the education or livelihood of the Party and the Yuvakok are not beneficial.

Direction: Arrange the livelihood of the cells, grasp hold of the cells' tasks, encourage criticism and self-criticism movements to the boiling point, arrange the livelihood plan of the Yuvakok League organisation and the Pillar Organisation, and build up forces in the cells: strengthen and expand the core forces.

[9]

Brother Van's opinion:

The reports made by the cells are quite good and lessons could be learned in the cells.

CELLS SECTOR:

I. THE GENERAL TASKS OF THE CELLS (according to the party's strategic line), foreign affairs

II. TASKS OF THE CORE UNITS (snout)

1. [nothing in the text]
2. [nothing in the text]

III. THE TASKS OF THE CELLS WITHIN THE MASSES

The tasks of the masses:

1. Propaganda and education
2. Encouraging the involvement of the masses.

IV. THE INTERNAL TASKS OF THE CELLSV. THE SPECIAL TASKS

- Supervise the Yuvakok League.
- Supervise the Pillar Organisation.

WORK AMONG THE MASSES

The masses understand and obey the organisational discipline of the party. The party members must believe in the masses, must encourage the involvement of the masses and must have the mass line.

* All party members must have a clear mass-line and conception.

THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE CELLS

- Within the party, we must eliminate property. We must have meetings.
1. Must call for regular livelihood meetings.
 2. Criticism and self-criticism.
 3. Learn and derive experience from the plans.

[10]

THREE-MONTH PLAN OF THE CELLS

I. THE COLLECTIVE TASKS: Combine oneself to the nation-wide revolutionary movement and practically build up good foreign relationships, especially by gathering more and more friends around the world while reducing the number of enemies to a minimum.

II. THE TASKS OF THE CORE GROUPS (snout)

1. Make the party members and Yuvakok absorb the statutes.
2. Implement the Three Movements:
 1. Criticism, self-criticism.

2. Economization.
3. The movement to build politics and learn technology.

III. WORK TASKS AMONG THE MASSES

1. Propagandise and educate the masses to absorb the party line.
2. Learn from the revolutionary bulletins.
3. Meetings - movements of economization, criticism and self-criticism, motivation to study politics and culture.

IV. THE TASKS WITHIN THE PARTY

- a. Constant education and building within.
- b. Grasp hold of the strengthening and selection process.
- d. Build party members (the problem of expanding by 5 members per three-month period)
 - Yuvakok questions must be clearly divided up - good, fair and poor (expand by 5 members.)
 - Assign the core organisations to control the work of the masses.
 - Monthly cell livelihood meetings on the 30th and sub-cell meetings twice each month.

THE ESSENCE OF THE CELL MEETING: Carry out the Three Movements

Learning:

- Criticism and self-criticism documents (30). monthly lessons.
- The party statutes are to be learned within the sub-cells.

V. SLOGANS:

- Undertake to fulfil the tasks.

[11]

Tasks:

- Enhance the spirit of high revolutionary vigilance and crack down on all the enemy's tactics.

The Ministry B-1 has 4 types of masses:

1. Progressive masses.
2. The first-level medium masses and the second-level medium masses, and those who cannot be corrected.

THE CELL THREE-MONTH PLAN

I. COLLECTIVE TASKS: Grasp hold of the strategic social line.

II. CORE-GROUP TASKS

1. Encourage the party members, the Yuvakok and the masses to grasp hold of the politics and the strategic line of the Socialist Revolution.

2. Promote the Three Movements:

1. Criticism and self criticism.
2. Economization.
3. The movement to learn politics, culture, literacy and technology.

3. Know one's own duties and upgrade self-creativity.

III. THE TASKS OF THE CELLS AMONG THE MASSES

1. Propaganda and education.

- a. Political understanding.
- b. Furiously carry out all work to gain absolute victory:
 1. View of the situation.
 2. A new strategic line.
 3. A world conception repressing individual consciousness.

[12]

- b. Consciousness: Struggle to repress the consciousness of property and freedom, to build up the standpoint of comradeship and the collective standpoint.
- c. Regular livelihood meetings, literacy classes, 3 months for illiterate people.

IV. THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE PARTY CELLS.

1. Promote a deep understanding of the [party] line.

Documents:

- View of the situation.
- A new strategic line.
- The party statutes.

Organisation: The cell congresses in September. Expand the number of party members (by 5 members).

Yuvakok Section: Increase by 15 members.

Pillar members: Transfer 3 and increase by 1.

V. SPECIAL TASKS: Control the Yuvakok and the Pillar [Organisation] constantly.

[Organisation chart in the text]

PARTY

B Section: Brother VAN

Cell Committee

Sub-cell
 Sub-cell on social affairs
 Yuvakok group Committee
 Pillar Organisation

ADMINISTRATION

General Leadership Committee

VAN
 HONG
 ROTH
 PANN
 MUTH

- Office

- Political Section VAN
 SARN
 MUTH
 YOURAN

- Protocol PANN
 LORN

[13]

Statutes of the Communist Party of Kampuchea

Secrecy and the basic political standpoint of the party within the recent period of the socialist revolution and socialism.

1. Our revolutionary party is named, the "Communist Party of Kampuchea"
2. The Communist Party of Kampuchea is the party of the proletarian class. After the party succeeded in its National Democratic Revolution on 17 April 1975, the party has continued to guide the socialist revolution and build up socialism on the basis of monopoly in all sectors. The party has the nature of the highest organisation of the Kampuchean proletarian class.

[14]

[E] THE B-1 MINISTRY CONGRESS (10-7-1976)

THE INSTRUCTIONS OF THE CONGRESS

We met in order to hold the Ministry congress. Meeting for discussion.

PROGRAM

Request:

The Ministry B-1 has a political section, a protocol section, and the office.

1. Know the tasks clearly.
2. The world is casting its eyes on us. They want to know what the Cambodian revolution is like.

WORKING AGENDA**I. THE FIRST SECTION**

1. The current political tasks of Democratic Kampuchea.
2. The party line of Angkar in foreign affairs.
3. The view and the mass line of Angkar.
4. The view of the world situation at the moment.
- The view of the current Cambodian situation.

[15]

5. Report all the activities of the Ministry.
6. Direction to rectify work in the [coming] one-year period (important)

DOCUMENT I**THE CURRENT POLITICAL TASKS OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA**Request:

1. To further absorb and understand the tasks of the Democratic Kampuchea.
2. To enhance the spirit of responsibility for such a supreme task.

Contents:

- I. The contemporary situation of the society of Democratic Kampuchea.
- II. The tasks to defend Democratic Kampuchea and the gains of the revolution.
- III. The tasks to accelerate the rebuilding of the nation.
- IV. The basic principle to implement the tasks of national construction and defence successfully.

[16]

I. THE SITUATION OF THE SOCIETY OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

1. Concerning the victory on 17 April 1975, foreigners always ask why we dare say that the victory is bigger than that of the Angkor era, because after Angkor, our country has retrogressed. Maybe in 1935, it was said that [the Hindu god] Vishnu came and built Angkor, until 1863 [when] the French came and took over. Angkor took 600 years to build.

The answer is that we can say the victory of 17 April 1975 overshadows the Angkor era because:

1. We have totally liberated our country from foreigners and from the yoke of exploitation. One may say that in the Angkor era also there was independence, but at that time the people did not leap

forward fast. On the other hand, the fact that we put up our people as the masters of the nation is even greater.

2. Within Cambodian society at the moment, there is equality without rich or poor, and there are no longer capitalists, feudalists or petty-bourgeoisie, only workers and farmers.

3. We have regained the soul of the nation (but in the Angkor era, the soul of the nation was embedded under all the noble classes). The point is that everyone puts the national and collective interest above everything, without concern for private ownership. The 3 above reasons are considered the greatest victory.

How would the victory be brought about? It, of course, did not come by chance. It was owing to the countless sacrifices of our people and thanks to the bravery of our combatants overcoming all difficulties, especially under the correct leadership line of Angkar.

II. THE TASK OF DEFENDING THE COUNTRY AND THE GAINS OF THE REVOLUTION

Since the victory of 17 April, we have two tasks. Those are to defend the country and the gains of the revolution. The American imperialists are desperate in their tactics and they are not happy with our revolution. What's more, they are doing anything possible to destroy us: for example, the ruined Mayaguez ship and the bombing in Siem Reap. However, nowadays, the imperialists can not aggress our country with weapons. On the other hand, some opponents are opposed to us by maintaining that we must need foreign aid so that we can build up our nation and they do not want us to set a good example for the world.

[17]

The main task is to defend our country and the gains of the revolution.

III. THE TASK OF BUILDING THE COUNTRY

Since the war ended, our nation must develop our country rapidly. Angkar has raised this [goal] and has furiously attacked it for one year already. As a result, now we are successful without dependence on foreigners. Of course, our country remains in a difficult situation, but we observe that the difficult factors are not basic at all, such as lack of food, cattle and buffalo, and the people have many illnesses. But as for food, if we recall the [situation] last year, we see that we are progressing a lot.

Emerging from the war, we focus on agricultural tools. This year, we have made these agricultural necessities available to a great extent both in the rural and urban areas, but we have never met with starvation. This year alone, we have rice, cassava and corn. Since 17 April 1975, we have opened a new historical page in which we have brought back the entire production mechanism.

If we are compared to Vietnam and Laos, we see that Vietnam still remains a mixture of classes like Cambodia in 1965, whereas we have a complete class purification. In terms of rice production, Vietnam lacked 1,200,000 tons and Laos invited French companies to help, but we met basic needs which is unique in our history. In China, it is not good and in Russia, pretty good. Our strength is the entire labour force used for agricultural work; no one remains unoccupied. In terms of agriculture, just for one year, we achieved a great deal of production. Functioning of industries has

gone smoothly and small factories have been put back into function. Another factor making it easy is the movement of task alteration, experiment, and the availability of agricultural tools.

- Modern agriculture within a 10- to 15-year period.
- Modern industry within a 15- to 20-year period.

IV. THE BASIC STANDPOINT TO IMPLEMENT THE TASKS OF NATIONAL CONSTRUCTION AND DEFENCE

1. Self-independence and self-reliance.
2. The standpoint of collective interest as a priority.
3. A standpoint of long-term struggle and combat.

[18]

4. Our line of activities is to pay attention to the political and consciousness standpoints, most importantly to the matter of organisation and technology.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Do you agree with this document and do you think the practices carried out so far are correct or still contain gaps which may affect the interest of the 17 April victory ?
2. With respect to national defence, do you all agree with the document distributed or not ?
3. In terms of national construction, do you think we should encourage agriculture and rely on agriculture and build up industry in the manner of self-independence and self-reliance both in terms of ideas and standpoint, or what ?
4. In terms of national defence and construction, should we give priority to consciousness and political elements, and take technology as secondary ?

THE ENEMIES OF CAMBODIA

1. The arms and legs of the traitors, who are their lackeys
2. The imperialists and the liberals who bury themselves to carry out secret activities.
 - [They] spy on us

[19]

- [They] divert the line.
- [They] provoke internal rebellion.
- The consciousness of private property is an enemy of the revolution.

MEASURES:

- Take the people as the basis by educating people, collectives, and syndicates to understand.
- Constantly educate our troops to understand the tasks of defending the country.

- Whereas, our Ministry of Foreign Affairs must make a major contribution to national construction by whatever means to gather more friends in the international arena and progressively reduce enemies to a minimum.

III. National construction needs a human labour force and we no longer have exploitation of our productivity

- In terms of advantages, we have a great deal of rich soil.
- Resources: people in collectives (digging a canal from the Pursat River to the Maung River, 50 km. long, took only three and a half months)
- Our capital we take from agriculture (1,600,000 [hectares])

DOCUMENT 2

ANGKAR'S POLITICAL LINE IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Requests:

1. Further instil and strengthen the foreign affairs line of Angkar.
2. Build up the firm standpoint and implement the line to achieve the tasks entrusted by Angkar.

Contents:

- I. Angkar's view of the situation as the standpoint and basis concerning the world situation.
- II. The political line of Angkar in foreign affairs.
- III. The basic standpoint to implement Angkar's political line in foreign affairs.

[20]

COMMENTARY

I. THE VIEW OF THE SITUATION CONCERNING OUR BASIC STANDPOINT AND THE WORLD SITUATION

1. The world situation is complicated and evolves constantly, which makes the revolutionary forces grow stronger and stronger and go forwards even though there have been some turning points.
2. The world is divided up into three blocs:
 - a. The imperialist and new and old colonialist blocs are heading downhill and grasping at their last straws to continue their method of exploitation. Strategically, they are getting weaker and weaker; but tactically, they struggle and attack violently, which may undermine the strength of our revolution if we don't adhere to high revolutionary vigilance.

b. The second bloc is the revolutionary forces, "the forces of socialism"; but in reality, these forces are opposed to socialism and to revolution. Shortly speaking, they are known as the "Revisionist bloc". This bloc is in a state of building up their power to dominate other blocs, but they could not embrace the world and they are still weaker than the first bloc in all fields.

Furthermore, they have many weaknesses and difficulties both inside their own countries and in Africa and in the Middle East.

c. The third bloc are the countries which are unable to dominate the first and the second blocs; and they are delicious bones that the first and second blocs fight for, in order to expand their influence both economic and military. The third bloc is weaker than the first and second, but many of them have been trying to get back independence, the right to decide the destiny of their countries. The neutral movements are also within this bloc. The world revolutionary forces ongoing armed struggle and the struggle movements of workers and labourers to improve their living conditions are also in this bloc, especially the revolutionary movements in Southeast Asia.

[21]

3. The first and the second blocs are fighting one another for exclusive control over the third bloc countries.

4. The fourth concept: The ruling classes despaired of the American imperialist after we gained victory, and they went up to China and the free (world) (เสรี) for help, for instance Thailand.

5. The revolutionary movements in Southeast Asia are undergoing rapid increase and progress in Thailand and Malaysia.

II. THE POLITICAL LINE OF ANGKAR IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Based on its view of the world situation, Angkar has laid out lines as follows.

We have gathered more and more friends and, in the meantime, we reduce enemies to a minimum so that our enemies cannot isolate us.

Two essential points: Gathering friends and reducing the number of enemies: do not let the enemies isolate us, but instead, we isolate them: hereby, we do not waste time and it does not affect national reconstruction. We don't have to keep ourselves concerned about it but we have to realise that the enemies take actions to fight us and; in the meantime, we must strengthen and expand relationships with friends all over the world, especially revolutionary and peace-loving nations to defeat the American imperialists and the free (world). Concentrate mainly on the revolutionary forces in Southeast Asia and the progressive forces in both the Non-aligned Nations and the Third World and secondarily on the forces of justice in the world.

Essentially, we must gather the revolutionary force in Southeast Asia such as in Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia etc. We must pay attention to the close solidarity, mutual help, and the progressive force in the neutral block and the forces of justice.

Pay attention to close solidarity with the pure Marxist-Leninist forces, especially those with no conflicts with us.

Our foreign affairs policy is to reduce tension so that it doesn't affect the process of national construction.

[22]

The 5 qualities with foreigners

We are in the great family of the Non-aligned Nations because:

III. The basic standpoint to implement Angkar's line in foreign affairs

1. Try hard to strengthen subjectivity (*attanomati*) as the basis and of highest importance.
2. Strictly adhere to the standpoint of independence and mastery; endure all hardships and difficulties. In image, we must remain sincere and friendly as always.
3. The activity line is half-open and half-secret, but secrecy is the main basis.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What do you think of the view of the world situation?
2. Which bloc do you think is the strongest and the most successful one for the future?
3. What's the basic essence of the foreign affairs line?
4. What's the basic standpoint to implement the political line of Angkar?

[23]

DOCUMENT No. 3 (Consciousness Section)**III. ANGKAR'S VIEW OF THE MASSES AND THE MASS LINE****Request:**

1. We grasp hold and are aware of the roles of the masses who are the greatest and inexhaustible force.
2. We know how to work and monitor and listen to the masses' opinions at each time of decision.

Contents:

- I. The roles of the masses in the history.
- II. Angkar's concepts towards the masses
- III. Practical experience emerging directly from the mass movements within the contemporary period of revolution, national construction and national defence.
- IV. The mass line of Angkar.

I. THE ROLES OF THE MASSES IN HISTORY

The masses are a grouping of individuals en masse and they are the ones who create a society. They are the labourers who are the producers, the workers who are cleaner than other classes. Workers have the nature of organisational discipline, collective spirit. Whereas the petty-bourgeoisie, the exploiting feudalists, and capitalists "do not belong to the masses".

In history, the masses are the ones who feed the society, and create history. If we look back to ancient times, we see that at that time, there were slaves and masters; and later on, there were

feudalists governing but they were all defeated by the craftsmen. Then, Marx found out the facts and encouraged struggle to fight against the capitalists and build socialism.

II. THE MASS CONCEPT OF ANGKAR

1. The rich and the poor are naturally inherent in human beings and they are fated by God (according to Christianity).

[24]

2. The free (world) view says that equality cannot exist among the masses. There must be individual [ownership?].

In our Angkar everyone is equal. The masses have rights and power. The masses are the ones who feed the society. We must have belief and confidence in the masses. They have always persevered despite all obstacles. Human beings are the ones who divided up the society that we must eradicate. We see the masses as the greatest force. The masses are the ones who make history.

III. CONCRETE EXPERIENCE EMERGING FROM THE MASS MOVEMENT DURING THE COURSE OF OUR COUNTRY'S HISTORICAL STRUGGLE

- In 1955, when we were bare-handed, so we encouraged the involvement of the masses vigorously to fight with the (petty-bourgeois) Democratic party and we defeated them. This shows that without the masses, we would not have won.
- In 1958, there were traitors among us.
- In 1963, some lost belief in the masses but Angkar further educated and strengthened them.
- In 1965, we cut off diplomatic ties with America.
- In 1966, there was no more leadership; there was a fascist group in charge.
- In 1967, there was resistance in Battambang.
- In 1968, armed struggle for self-defence.
- In 1970, we relied on the masses to fight the American imperialists.
- In 1972, there was external pressure.
- In 1973, we established co-operatives.

Since 17 April 1975, the masses are the builders and defenders of the country.

IV. ANGKAR'S MASS LINE

We must listen to the requests of the masses, take into consideration the masses' opinions, in order to avoid being subjective. Must learn from the masses because the masses may bring up bad, fairly good, and good points that we must balance as well.

THE TWO ESSENTIAL POINTS:**1- The mass concept:**

The masses are the strength. We must believe, respect, love, and serve the masses.

[25]

2-The mass line:

Learn and listen to the requests of the masses and pay attention to the masses' opinion. Assign the masses, observe and educate them systematically, and balance their opinions.

DOCUMENT 4

**THE VIEW OF THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD SITUATION AND
SOUTHEAST ASIA**

Requests:

1. To analyse the current world situation clearly, we need clear-cut views and correct measures.
2. Clearly analyse and then determine the work direction in the right way in order to gather friends and isolate enemies to the maximum.

Contents:

- I. The view of the current world situation.
- II. The view of the strategies of the American imperialists in the world.
- III. The view of the strategies of Russia and its allies throughout the world.

[26]

- IV. The view of the Southeast Asian situation and the strategies of Viet Nam and ASEAN.
- V. The view towards the neutral nations and the third bloc
- VI. The tasks of our Democratic Kampuchea in the international arena.
- VII. The view of the world revolution.

COMMENTARY**I. THE VIEW OF THE CURRENT WORLD SITUATION**

As far as the situation of Cambodia is concerned, our enemies have isolated us to an extent because they slander us, and some countries have been convinced and believe them. However, for the past year, such exaggerated propaganda has faded. Some friendly countries have praised us and asked if we can make it or not, but at some points they haven't understood clearly yet. Some other countries are aware that we are winning, but they have yet to support us. On the contrary, they have sought tactics to obstruct us from winning. Therefore, the world has seen our revolution as absolutely dedicated. We find that the first bloc is not happy and they are trying every possible means to obstruct and falsify our victory in an attempt to isolate us in the international arena. Nowadays, their tactics have been first, to destroy (us) completely and then make plans but they were defeated

because we captured the plans in time and now their tactics are to undermine our standpoint and provoke internal rebellion.

THE SECOND WORLD

Regarding their view, they argue that no country can gain victory without support from others nations. They do whatever possible to infiltrate their agents into our internal forces and these pests continue at all times to block our economic progress.

THE THIRD WORLD

Not yet clear-cut; but they see that this victory is pure and unique yet they can not do what Cambodia has done.

The first and second blocs conspire with each other against the third bloc.

[27]

The ambition of the first and the second blocs to grasp hold of the third has made the people of the third bloc suffer a lot. In the meantime, revolutionary movements also broke out everywhere. The third bloc is not in agreement yet. Particularly, the first and second blocs can not infiltrate our country yet, but they are seeking any means to achieve their ambitions.

II. THE VIEW OF THE STRATEGIES OF THE AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS IN THE WORLD

Even though they were defeated, but they are now still seeking every means to grasp hold of the world. Nevertheless, despite all kinds of weapons and facilities, they have been successively defeated. Strategically, the influence of the American imperialists has vanished to thin air in Southeast Asia.

Anyway, don't be careless; we must observe their tactics even though less than before. Nowadays, they are feeding a group of traitors to become their spies. In other words, they are trying to smash our ruling mechanism. They have sought all methods of psychological tactics to test the possibilities.

III. The view of the strategies of Russia and their allies around the world

Nowadays Russia is strengthening its influence in the world and is very active in Asia, Africa and South America. In order to gather strategic forces, Russia has two tactics:

I. try to strengthen and expand their military forces; it has spent a great deal of capital in a sole attempt to extract influence in return.

The strength of Russia is not great. In terms of economics, it is weaker than the American imperialists.

In Asia, it is also hard for Russia to step in.

IV. THE SITUATION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

After Indochina gained victory, there was the outbreak of the revolutionary movements in Southeast Asia which have been expanding. The question is whether Vietnam can play a role?

Vietnam's objective is to grasp hold of Southeast Asia, based on the victory it gained in Indochina. But Cambodia does not sit still; we overcome difficulties to set up communications with both the states and the struggle movements in those countries.

V. THE VIEW OF THE NON-ALIGNED NATIONS

- They want independence.

[28]

Disadvantages:

The third bloc remains in contact with the first and second blocs. Nowadays, the latter are racing against each other in an attempt to grasp hold of the third (bloc). Our standpoint is that we rise up against those who interfere in our country.

VI. CONCERNING THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

The revolutionary movements are expanding steadily and could wipe out the imperialists and the free (world) from their countries.

VII. OUR INTERNATIONAL TASKS

1. Continue implementing the foreign affairs policy effectively and actively to reduce enemies. Create a more relaxed atmosphere, gather more friends to the maximum.
2. Continue to fight to get friends in Southeast Asia and to make friends with the neutral countries in the world as well.
3. Pay attention to solidarity with Marxist parties.
4. Do our best to uphold subjectivity and the great movement of the Great Leap Forward.

DOCUMENT 5

THE VIEW OF THE CONTEMPORARY SITUATION IN CAMBODIA

Requests:

1. To what extent has Cambodia progressed? We want our friends to see the overall national situation.
2. Taking into consideration the view of the internal situation of the country, to what extent have we fulfilled our collective tasks in contributing to the 3-ton per-hectare plan?

Contents:

1. About national defence matters. Here we may look at 4 aspects:
 1. Defend the internal affairs of the nation.
 2. Defend our nation against the pests attempting to destroy our internal affairs.

3. Defend the Eastern border.
4. Defend the Western and Northern borders.
5. Defend our territorial sea.

I. THE SITUATION OF NATIONAL CONSTRUCTION IN ALL FIELDS

[29]

- Agricultural construction
- Industry
- Social affairs and medical systems
- Cultural construction
- Administrative construction

III. THE VIEW OF THE CURRENT SITUATION OF OUR COUNTRY AT THE MOMENT

- Generally, what is the situation like?
- What are the difficulties?

IV. THE ACTIVITY-LINE OF OUR COUNTRY NOWADAYS

V. OUR DUTIES TO FULFIL THE CORE TASKS IN CONTRIBUTION TO THE BUILDING OF THE ENTIRE NATION

COMMENTARY

I. THE NATIONAL DEFENCE SITUATION

Generally speaking, in April 1975, the overall situation was OK, which enabled us to build our country in all fields. After 17 April 1975, we had plans to protect our internal affairs. From January up to now, in March 1976, they attempted to destroy our ruling machine. There followed turmoil breaking out in various embassies, bomb explosions to destroy the Royal Palace. We found out the network of the perpetrators who had disguised themselves within our military ranks from 1965 or 1968. We can see the chain connecting since the war, so it's quite complicated. It took us 3 months before we found out the chain of bad elements. Therefore, we must investigate thoroughly all staff of both sexes in every Ministry.

Now, their unpromising plans have been completely destroyed. However, we must continue further criticism as the enemies are attacking our standpoint, so we must see that and be careful.

[30]

2. The pests buried within. In our country, 1% to 5% are traitors, [who are] boring in. So we must investigate their personal biographies clearly and carry out self-criticism, especially in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. All the embassies want to know about [our] leaders for two reasons, first to report to their countries and second, to fulfil their various goals.

Nowadays, in particular, embassies that have much connection with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs may spy and undermine the standpoint of our combatants and cadres.

3. The situation concerning the Eastern border. Generally speaking, we have made good progress; we can defend our border. However, there are still petty disturbances. They are doing this just to encourage their components inside.

4. The situation on the Western and Northern borders. The situation there is stable. In the West, there was the spread of chemical poison at Thmar Puok. In Preah Vihear, 30 robbers came in to carry out activities. In Koh Kong, there were clashes; and at sea, there were intrusions for fishing. Laotians also came in as well, but we caught them and sent them back. Nowadays, there is 100% security.

II. CONSTRUCTION IN ALL FIELDS

AGRICULTURE:

Generally speaking, from July 1975 to July 1976, we see that agriculture increased by 10 to 20 times. Very early in the year, we could grow some short-term rice. In the Northeast, there is enough rain, and in the North, there is concern in Pursat; in the West, there is too much rain; whereas in the Southwest and East, the situation is normal. This year, the plan is to complete construction of the rice paddy embankment system by 30% and we have completed the plan 100%. We have an inadequate labour force due to illness. We must work on the rich soil first. The movement to make natural fertiliser has been productive throughout the country. Therefore, our agriculture has been productive and has grown. Our [peasant] brothers and sisters are very happy and work enthusiastically, but there are still difficulties for our [ethnic] Chinese brothers and sisters, as they are still unaccustomed.

INDUSTRY

Nowadays, we gather spare parts for machinery to set up large and modern factories

[31]

All the factories are functioning, but there is still a lack of cotton. The cement, iron-smelting and electricity works in Kirirom are not yet back in operation. Our factories have produced tens of tons of soft drink, beer, wine, and rubber, per day. Therefore, our workers are now emerging from long-festering poverty.

TRANSPORTATION: Roads, navigation and railways are comfortable. We have taken out all mines planted in the Mekong River, but have not yet pulled ashore all the sunken ships. Our harbours have been constructed. Many foreign ships have now asked permission to use our harbours. Our oil-refinery is functioning. We have discovered almost 100 tons of coal.

AUTHORITY: In early 1976, the administrative system was not clear, but with the resignation of Sihanouk, we have now installed a really clean [administrative structure].

We have organised the People's Representative Assembly, the State Presidium and the Council of Ministers. We have cleared away the feudal regime. Our current authority is stable and firm. Angkar rules directly and absolutely monopolises authority.

SOCIAL AFFAIRS AND MEDICAL CARE

- We have built up medical specialists. We are able to produce medicine. We master this field 100% at the moment.
- With respect to culture, we have published booklets for learning. We both work and learn at the same time. We don't follow the educational system of the old regime.

III. THE VIEW OF THE SITUATION IN OUR COUNTRY

As far as national defence and construction are concerned, our view is that:

1. The situation in our country is stable, not of much concern. Still, we have difficulty at some points, as we are in the period of transition. Our enemies such as the US imperialists are obstructing our way. Our food supply is not yet adequate, even though we still have enough to survive and have never starved. However, this is just a subsidiary issue to deal with. It is not of much concern to us, actually we just grow, grow, and grow a variety of crops. Our base farmers are very active and they will become better off, and our new farmers are also getting better off now.

[32]

All private property will become state property of the collective movement so that we have the conviction that the situation in our country will be good. Therefore, we have to run, to build up quickly, not let our enemies plague us.

THERE ARE THREE TYPES OF CONSCIOUSNESS

- The consciousness of belief in the [party] line and commitment to fulfil [tasks].
- The consciousness of instability, still reluctant, not clear-minded. When they get stuck, with no way to get out, they calm down but still wait and judge the situation to seek out the possibilities.
- The consciousness of another, which goes with this: concern about not seeing what the future will be like.

We have now have passed through the flames of war, making us proud in having been tempered. In the next generation, when the scars of war fade away, we will recollect our period of the struggle we have undergone.

IV. OUR LINE OF ACTIVITIES

We have learnt by experience for 6 months and we see that the movement is the strongest ever seen.

We must make sure that we are on the right path. The criticism and economization movements must be directed to the goals set. This line of activities must be collectively discussed.

Activities in the Ministry must be monitored. We must know what to do first and what to do later, and where it should be done. We must critically think whether or not we can draw benefit from that particular activity. Our activity-line is to seek rich oil and water sources first. A national plan: We must grow corns and green beans...

For industry, we must gather together all our labour force to manufacture equipment to serve agriculture: hoes, water pumps and threshing machines ...

The line of national defence depends heavily on the people and troops. The activity-line of the B-I Ministry must have a commitment of sacrifice and close solidarity with Marxism-Leninism and progressive countries, for success.

[33]

V. OUR TASK TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL TASKS

We in the field of foreign affairs, we must do whatever we can to know how to establish connections with foreigners so that they feel warm and cordial with us. Gather friends to the maximum so that enemies cannot isolate us.

We make a contribution to the plan of three tons per hectare. We must fulfil our tasks to the maximum; for example, driving cars, cooking rice, working in embassies and markets. Our concept is to have a firm standpoint and spread the standpoint everywhere, so we must try hard to be economical, or send the various equipment to the rural areas.

Another contribution in the work of the ministry is that we must share experiences and sum up experiences in our local way.

CORE: THREE TONS PER HECTARE:

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What's the situation of our enemies? How are they able to attack us?
2. What's the situation like on our side? How do you contribute to the plan of three tons per hectare?

CONCLUSION:

The congress has unanimously agreed.

- It is very interesting that the enemies have no capacity to attack us from outside. But their tactics are to smash our engine of leadership.
- [They] verbally attack Angkar's standpoint and political line. Our enemies mostly attack via this route, so we must have revolutionary vigilance, and adhere to criticism and self-criticism.
- Our people provide favourable conditions.

[34]

14-7-1976: OBJECTIVES TO DIRECT THE WORK OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS FROM JULY 1976 TO JULY 1977

Requests:

1. Our comrades see the collective work directions and various directives of the Ministry.
2. We gain knowledge of the work in all sectors of the Ministry.

I. THE COMMON TASKS OF THE MINISTRY

The common task of the nation is to defend the country, protect the interests of the revolution and construct the country. Our common task is to do our best to fulfil our duties, and overcome difficulties actively. For our neighbouring countries, we must reduce tension and create a friendly environment with them to the maximum. We must also build up our subjectivity.

In the meantime, we must move heaven and earth to fight for friendship with other countries in the Southeast Asia, the Non-aligned Nations and throughout the world so that our enemies can not isolate us. We must do our best to strengthen our solidarity with Marxist-Leninist parties, the revolutionary movements in Asia and in the rest of the world, on the basis of mutual interest. This spirit contributes to achieving the common task of the nation for 1976, that is, the plan of three tons per hectare.

II. CORE WORK

1. Link the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the tasks of the nation. Defend the country, protect the interests of the nation, continue the Socialist Revolution and build up socialism.
2. Overcome difficulty to build up the standpoint and the consciousness of the entire Ministry. Do away with a non-revolutionary standpoint. Enhance the consciousness of patriotism, internationalism and proletarianism.
3. Try hard to build up core leadership and cadres in the Ministry to the maximum; build up the quality of cadres in all fields.

III. ESSENTIAL WORK

1. Continue to push forward the Three Movements:

- Criticism, self-criticism
- Economization
- Lesson learning

actively and vigorously so that the entire Ministry is well absorbed.

[35]

Criticism can be done by monitoring daily work so that we consider the results of the work against the standpoint and spirit.

2. Very close relations with our neighbouring countries.
3. Controlling and monitoring embassies inside and outside the countries
4. Improve all fields to achieve reach self-mastery and perform duties in the best possible way, especially in the political sector so that it can become a headquarters of the Ministry. (Keep up on the world evolution of politics, military and economics)
5. Be ready to receive ships, and to prepare ships to be sent out.

6. Protect the Ministry against the infiltration of secret agents of enemies and other intelligence.

IV. ALL WORKING SECTORS

1. Propaganda and education unit
2. Office
3. Farming
4. Political sector
5. Protocol office
6. Secretariat and Assembly
7. Civil aviation

1. The activities of the propaganda and education unit

The policy is to instil the collective ideas of the new Kampuchean society clearly and in depth. Educate the people in the guidelines and tasks to defend the nation and protect the interests of the revolution, the guideline to construct society in Cambodia by disseminating propaganda and education about various basic standpoints in order that our comrades in the entire Ministry will carry out their respective duties effectively. Besides, we educate them to be aware of the situation in the country and to adhere to the correct standpoint and also to make them aware of the world situation as well, especially the fact that the world now is divided up into three separate blocs 1) first world, 2) second world, and 3) third world; and that the revolutionary movements throughout the world are now in a rapid increase. Our goal is to properly carry out foreign affairs policy.

[36]

Regarding spirit, we must instil in them the spirit of proletarian patriotism and internationalism. Instil in them in depth a firm proletarian standpoint in all fields. In the meantime, encourage an acceptance of the causal genesis of dialectical materialism and history (everything is always interconnected, everything always changes from a small to a big size, and everything always remains in conflict).

According to world history, human society always evolves through class struggle against dictatorial regimes.

2. Office

Grasp hold of all tasks, personnel, their regular livelihood. (Our) duty is to control all the embassies inside and outside the country. Monitor all activities, standpoints and spirits of the personnel. Build up non-party cell members, and cadres in all fields. Pay attention to the need of all the cadres and all the works in the office, aviation affairs and protocol office etc. *(We) Must consider at all times to handle pests buried inside, to effectively protect our ministry.* Be well prepared to receive ambassadors and guests. The chiefs of the Offices must hold regular meetings and push forward the Three Movements with the pointed stick.

To function well in the offices, (we) must have a firm standpoint, a high spirit and assignment as necessary, self-mastery, and a strong standpoint to crack down on espionage war, so that spies can not infiltrate into our Ministry.

3. The farming sector

Instil in them [ourselves and guests] the standpoint of self-sustainability. Have clear farming plans, and plans to ask for support from Angkar. Meet our own production plans such as vegetable cultivation and animal husbandry. This must be done within our capacity, not too large or too small. Plans must be set up by the B-1 Ministry and the M-1 office, must be clear. Be thrifty in the reception of guests, especially daily eating.

[37]

We must have strategic crop-growing plans, such as choosing good rice seed for receiving guests. Regarding farming, we must try hard to prepare all necessary agricultural tools and natural fertiliser to the maximum, by requesting support from Angkar. Have a clear plan in supplying markets and have clear record books. We must learn every detail for each month in order to conduct a review to take effective measures and to serve the Ministry effectively. Assigns clear sector chiefs and educate them to understand their collective tasks especially those of the Ministry. Focus on educating combatants of both sexes in a collective standpoint. Focus on others and get rid of sector partisanship.

4. Political sector

Do whatever possible to transform this sector into the headquarters of the Ministry because:

- Politics needs to be strengthened in terms of its revolutionary and collective nature, through progressive awareness, and is the basis to ascertain any analysis or request. Concentrate on building political and spiritual standpoints as a priority. The issue of technique and assignment is very necessary. Instilling Contents: reflect in depth on the situation of the new Kampuchean society. The national collective task is to continue the Socialist Revolution and protect the gains of the revolution and build up socialism in Cambodia. Grasp hold of the collective political tasks of the Ministry; grasp the other basic standpoint of Angkar to carry out our duties well. Grasp tightly the situation of the revolutionary movement inside and outside the country so that we can be confident in the implementation of the collective political line of Angkar and the collective tasks of the Ministry in a proper and effective way.

Spirit: Instil the spirit of proletarian patriotism and internationalism on the basis of deepening the collective standpoint and destroying private ownership and selfishness. Disseminate the revolutionary conception and worldview regularly and constantly.

[38]

Assignment: Instil the standpoint of assignment, leadership and working atmosphere with respect for organisational discipline and pure democracy. More specifically, pay attention to the leadership of collectives and strengthen core party organisation in the fields of politics. The Organisation should play the most sacrificing role, as front-line combatants, commanders-in-chief with clear-sighted basic conception and the mass line.

Technique: Concerning the working environment, we must have strict assignments; grasp tightly in both hands the particular situation of each country, each region. Keenly observing the situation can reflect the good points or bad points of the Democratic Kampuchea. Along with this, (we) must observe the evolution of the first, second, and third worlds in order to make it easy to adopt necessary measures. This sector must have close relations with the general leadership of the Ministry.

5. The protocol sector

Overcome difficulties to educate and improve understanding of the tasks to serve politics.

Train more in terms of politics, spirit and assignment. Training in the reception protocol of foreign diplomatic delegations, guests, and arrange cars and manage houses appropriate to their rank. Overcome difficulties to educate the spirit of high revolutionary vigilance and build up a firm political standpoint and a socialist standpoint, but be soft and stable in behaviour. Keep secrecy and follow up this sector strictly.

6. The governing secretariat is the sector helping the offices to deal with the compilation of [in/out] documents, letters of congratulation, national ceremonies, the Military Days of our friendly nations, letters exchanged across all the embassies, and states, and preparations for international conferences; take a role in figuring out whether or not it is beneficial. This section is further charged with responsibility to co-ordinate communications between embassies inside and outside of the country and to make recommendations on the market place.

7. Aviation

Arrange strict security, sell tickets, receive guests well, and build up personnel strictly and fruitfully. Be careful always with the pests waiting to destroy our internal body in this area. Educate in politics, spirits and technique.

[39]

8. Secrecy sector

This sector is under the leadership of the Office. Reports must be clearly made to the office. Educate in political and spiritual standpoints constantly. Assign and push forward the Three Movements. *Get rid of freedom. Plan to increase production.*

V. THE WORKING DIRECTIVES

1. In order to fulfil the working directives, we have to gather together all friendly nations around the world to isolate enemies. Establish extensive relations so that enemies can not isolate us. We must work hard by storming to strengthen and expand our subjective factors.

2. Understand clearly the collective tasks, core party activities, and political work required to be done to speed up the movements vigorously.

3. Educate and instil in the entire Ministry the most important minutes of our congress.

THE CONCLUSION OF THE CONGRESS

FOR 5 DAYS,

1. The national collective tasks, and great revolution movement congress, defends and protects the interest of the nation to the flaming point. The 17 April 1975 victory overwhelms the Angkor Era. Agreement on the issue of national defence and reconstruction.

2. Agreement on the foreign affairs line which reflects the practical situation of the country and the world.

3. Agreement on the conception and the mass line, trust the masses.
4. Agreement on the views and standpoints towards the world situation.
5. Agreement on the concept and the way we are heading at the moment. See great possibilities in the country and dedicate everything for the sake of collective interest.

[40]

6. Agreement upon the reports made by the Ministry, both the disadvantages and advantages, to push forwards the Three Movements. Get rid of the standpoint of private ownership.
7. Agreement on the working direction of the Ministry.

[41]

I. THE VIEW OF THE CURRENT CAMBODIAN SITUATION

II. MONITORING OF ACTIVITIES IN EACH SECTOR

1. How far has our Socialist Revolution progressed in all fields?
2. To what extent have we built up our socialism?
3. In all fields of our Ministries, what are the disadvantages and advantages? And to what extent regarding each point? So far, have we enhanced the spirit of high revolutionary vigilance or not?

CONCLUSION:

Get rid of private ownership spiritually. Since the early stages, our people have always struggled and never surrendered or bowed their heads to enemies. From 1945 to 17 April 1975, our people again struggled in their National Democratic Revolution. In 1972, because our Angkar is wise, we fought the capitalists and defeated the enemy.

[42]

In 1973, we set up the collective system. By 17 April 1975, Angkar had destroyed the capitalists throughout the country in terms of government.

Private ownership = capitalism

- The socialist revolution is the class struggle between the proletarian and the capitalist class. Generally speaking, the situation of the socialist revolution has a great deal of advantages that evolve better and better compared to the 1975 revolution.

STRENGTHS:

1. Assignment:

- A collective system throughout the country
- Cities and countryside are alike

- Equality
- No circulation of money

2. Spirit:

- Never think about private ownership

WEAKNESSES:

1. Assignment:

- Loose organisational discipline
- Not yet in close solidarity as a single body

Reasons:

This is because our revolution is young, so we need to enhance the spirit of high vigilance and push ourselves further to be careful at all times.

2.

- How far has the process of building socialism progressed?
- Agriculture, the plan of completing 30% of embankments and achieving 3 tons of rice per hectare.
- Industry
- Social and cultural affairs
- National defence
- The gathering of friends around the world

The paddy area of 1,400,000 hectares, comprises 5% quick-ripening rice paddy, 80% medium-term rice and heavy rice, and 5% water-chasing [dry season] rice. In total, for 90% of rice paddy = 3 tons per hectare.

- Ration system is 13 Thang of rice paddy for [each of the] 7,700,000 people
- In total throughout the country, we have gathered almost one million tons of fertiliser
- Rubber export to 20,000 tons of crepe rubber; 5,000 tons above the plan.

[43]

- Industry: All the factories have been put back into function
- Social and medical affairs: In the zones, for use at their discretion. For a three year period for malaria.
- Culture and technology
- National defence: The armed forces are divided into three types, militia (*chhlop*), regional troops and front-line troops. The front-line troops comprise infantry, navy and air force
- The collection of friends in the international arena. We have so far gathered friends in Asia, the Pacific, Africa, and South America.

WEAKNESSES:

- Our people's livelihood is very difficult
- Lack of the economising spirit in all fields

MONITORING ACTIVITIES IN THE MINISTRY

Assignments sector:

Declare the strategic line to pursue the socialist revolution. We have clearly understood this line and lived in a collective system.

Consciousness:

If compared to the earlier period, (now) we have understood clearly and like living in the way of collective system.

Politics:

Happy with the regime Angkar has established.

CONCLUSION:

According to the reports, we see that our comrades have continuously kept abreast and never fall behind the nation-wide movements. Inside the Ministry, we see that the assignment is in a good process consistent with the collective way. The essence of continuing the socialist revolution and building socialism is through the three major objectives.

Criticism is dedicated, strict and deep class struggle.

[44]

THE MINUTES OF THE SUB-CELL MEETING

1. Examining the standpoint of private ownership with respect to the consciousness and materialism of comrades to see how much our comrades have progressed.
2. Examining the standpoint of the party and the 10 provisions of the party, on which basis we have to educate ourselves and the nature of the party members.
3. Examining the tasks given by the party, strengths and shortcomings.
4. Examine the revisionists' standpoint on foreign views.

Critical comments by Comrade Thy

Shortcomings:

Think about the family too much, which brings the spirit lower and lower.

Criticism by Comrade (Ms) Cheat

Shortcomings: Must more vigorously educate our people in case they still hide their techniques such as how to kill insects.

[45]

RELEVANT COMMENTS OF COMRADE PAU

Private ownership: The spirits of materialism and sector-partisanship are still tugging back and forth.

Materials: Think a lot about medicine.

- Lacking the nature of command.
- Not spiritually educated in terms of assignments and commands.
- Not deep enough into the mass movement.
- Not strong enough in terms of leadership standpoint.

The request has already been made and sent to the comrades. Pay attention to educating the people who work on the same tasks.

Comrade Brother "Bang" Sim:

Shortcomings: still monopolise power and authority. Hot-tempered behaviour and rough language.

- The work responsibility standpoint is not yet tough, not deep and patient.
- Loose livelihood, well disciplined but sometimes careless: must be constantly vigilant.
- The standpoint of leadership needs to have a literature of leadership; don't be aggressive.

Comrade Brother "Bang" Souen:

Shortcomings: the tendency to be optimistic in myself; need to be spiritually cautious when this takes place as it might affect the party line.

[46]

Monitor spirit, avoid too much optimism.

Shortcomings: The building of the proletarian class standpoint is not yet strong. For example, the livelihood is not yet stable if you have unstable spirit.

- The standpoint is not yet firm.
- Clear this time because individual ownership is all around. But you have to prevent such a spirit.
- Be careful with standpoint.
- The spirit is mixed up in the face of trouble
- How would the spirit develop in the future? Can we cope with it?
- Be interested in the work direction.
- Constantly educates all your comrades in your sector.
- The installation of political spirit must be constantly monitored
- Try hard to build up the old and new core members and strictly observe those members lest some spies may be infiltrated into our group.
- Interested in the working movements of our comrades.
- Connections with the base must be collectively discussed
- The people need to know the techniques of how to use herbal medicine in the rural areas (?).

[47]

PROGRAM

1. Speeches about learning.
2. Opening ceremony

THE LEARNING SCHEDULE: 1976

I. REQUESTS ARISING FROM THE STUDY

1. To build and strengthen the political, spiritual and organisational standpoints in the phase of our Socialist Revolution and building of socialism.
2. Further instil the standpoint of carrying out duties to complete the Party's 1976 Plan and start the 1977 Plan successfully and win victory to the maximum.
3. Raise the spirit of high revolutionary vigilance against enemies both inside and outside.

II. STUDY DOCUMENT

1. Documents on consciousness as follows:

1. Socialist Revolution in all fields (one day)
2. Class disputes in Cambodian society today (one day)
3. The proletarian class dedication of the party and on the matter of revolutionary state power (one day)
4. About class struggle: the private ownership of other classes against the collective ownership of the proletarian class (one day)
5. Review of dialectical materialism. (one day)

2. Political documents as follows:

1. The view of the current Kampuchean revolution (one day)
2. The building of socialism at the moment includes:

- Examining the Party's 1976 Plan
(two days)
- Speeches on the Party's 1977 Plan

3. Organisational documents as follows:

1. The party statutes (one day)

[48]

2. Strengthen and expand the leadership of the party in the new phase of the party's socialist revolution and socialist construction (one day)

Revolutionary self-criticism section:

1. Collective, in plenary (one day)
2. In groups (five days)

SPEECHES ON ORGANISATION

The school committee:

1. Comrade Phom, Comrade Khei

- (The school committee) has 30 groups as school cells. They are:

1. Comrade Kou, Secretary
2. Comrade Noev, Deputy
3. Comrade Pou
4. Comrade Sary
5. Comrade Sarn
6. Comrade Sith
7. Comrade Chhean
8. Comrade Ngoun
9. Comrade Morn
10. Comrade Sarun
11. Comrade Chhoeun
12. Comrade Muth
13. Comrade Pok
14. Comrade Chey
15. Comrade Khampy

Opening speech of the education committee:

1. The opening of this course is the most important event.
2. Each of our comrades has been involved in class struggle and rice farming as a total experience.
3. Learning to strengthen forces.

Groups 1-5 Building I
 Groups 5-9 Building II
 Groups 10-14 Building III
 Groups 15-19 Building IV
 Groups 20-25 Building V
 Groups 26-30 Building VI

[49]

Group 18 Brother [Bang] Sen; group 19 Khem; group 20 Chhean; group 21 Haun; group 22 Brother [Bang] Neang; group 23 Comrade Cheng; group 24 Comrade Nuth; group 25 Korn; group 26 Nai; group 27 Chhon; group 28 Khampy; group 29 Koeum; group 30 Morn.

ESSENCE OF LIVELIHOOD

1. Daily monitoring of spirit.
2. Spirit of learning
3. Instilling Discipline
4. Solidarity issues
5. Keeping Secrets
6. Sanitation
7. Criticism and Self-criticism

DOCUMENTS ON CONSCIOUSNESS (30-11-1976)

SOCIALIST REVOLUTION SECTOR

Requests: What do we struggle to eliminate and what to build up?

Our main objective is to fight the capitalist regime and private property and instead to build a collective system. Our key issue that should be taken into consideration is mainly to eradicate private property.

1. The real nature of the socialist revolution:

Any type of revolution has the real nature of class struggle. In the phase of socialist revolution the contending classes are the proletarian class and the capitalist class. However, in Cambodia at present, if there is still private property in Kampuchea, especially in our ranks, the revolution remains at risk.

[50]

2. What do we try to eliminate and what to build up?

With respect to all fields, all world views, livelihood views, culture and performing arts... For example: After 17 April [1975], our comrades brought their families to Phnom Penh and assigned them to do this or that.

Some of our comrades at the phase of socialist revolution are still pessimistic. That's because they are still deeply influenced by private property.

3. Whom do we struggle to get rid of and whom to build up?

We try to clear the party and non-party organisations, the party ranks. Essentially every one must work hard to build up subjectivity. Don't compare yourselves with other people but with the movement and the party line.

For example: As long as the party is strong, the functioning of the co-operatives and the unions is smooth and speedy.

Nowadays, the issue lies with our leading cadres. The lack is that each party member still puts property above the mass movement. As the leaders of the masses, you must value yourselves correctly and place yourselves lower than the masses and the movement. When you value yourself wrongly, you intoxicate yourselves with private property. When we have seen bad results, we must try to build up the collective standpoint and eradicate the private.

If there are many problems facing us, we must ask whether it is the issue of private property or collective matters, and which side should we stand on?

- Must pay attention to preparing organisation to form a very strong collective.
- To open your mouth or think, you must base yourself on the collective not on the private.

[51]

4. For what purposes do we struggle to eradicate the capitalist class, exploiting classes, private property, and strengthen the standpoint of the proletarian class and the collective standpoint?

All the above issues will be required to be addressed in order to guarantee the smooth process of our revolution and the building of socialism in our country in a fast "Leap Forward".

- We base the rapid building of socialism on the socialist revolution.

Relevant ideas:

About the Socialist Revolution

CONCEPTUAL UNDERSTANDINGS:

Advantages
Disadvantages
Correction of concepts

CONCRETE ISSUES

Disadvantages: Private property, faulty self-evaluation, and fear of making criticism and working without specific plans (old habits)

According to Document 1

Experience shows that among the party members and cadres (there is) still a deep attachment to power and material property.

2]

Document 2

ABOUT CLASS CONTRADICTIONS

Questions: Class contention in the socialist revolution must not be confused between friends and enemies or between antagonistic contradictions and principal contradictions. See that class struggle is tough and tense.

Combating Forces

Content of the document

CLASS DIVISIONS

Class divisions in contemporary Cambodia

1. The form of class allocation
 1. Worker class
 2. Peasant class

Today, there are the worker-peasant class, and our revolutionary ranks.

2. The class essence

There are the worker class, the peasant class, the petty-bourgeois class, the capitalists, the nobility and the feudalist classes. The clean class essence is the bond, the sentiment, etc.

2. The type of class contradictions in the internal contemporary Cambodian society and contradictions from outside.

Even though we have eliminated all the exploiting classes in class form, yet their class essence is still there, so it remains an antagonistic contradiction with the worker-peasant, which we must be able to see.

3. Class struggle in contemporary Cambodian society and against the enemies from outside, and the resolution of contradictions.

[53]

4. The concept of long-term tough and tense struggle.

CONCLUSION OF DOCUMENT 2

* The shortcomings of the school are the lack of control over class contradictions and class struggle: so for the past year we have remained in the status of an observer.

- When we come across contradictions, we analyse them incorrectly and we can not distinguish which are internal and which are antagonistic contradictions.

Therefore, before we analyse contradictions, we must find out the class sources of their causes. Must analyse the contradictions based mainly on class.

DOCUMENT 3:

ABOUT THE AUTHORITY AND THE PROLETARIAN CLASS DEDICATION OF THE PARTY

Requests: definition: the co-operatives, Ministries.... are all authorities.

1. The real essence of the revolutionary state authority of the worker-peasant class under the leadership of the party.

* The authority serves the worker-peasant classes. We must protect this authority by protecting the political line of the party. For example, the line of 3 tons [per hectare], and the co-operative line.

2. The real essence of the proletarian class dictatorship of the party.

1. Provide the worker-peasant people with all democratic rights and freedoms.
2. Proletarian class dictatorship overwhelms the capitalist and other exploiting classes.

PAGE 54:

3. Concepts, standpoint, and various measures to defend and strengthen the worker-peasant authority of the party under the absolutely firm proletarian class dictatorship of the party.

- Must have correct concepts and standpoints in order to adopt appropriate basic measures.

THE CONCLUSION OF THE EDUCATION COMMITTEE ON DOCUMENT 3

1. Through relevant past experience of [sic]

Shortcomings: 1. In terms of assignment, there are still compositions from other classes, so we have to select people carefully.

Shortcomings: 2. (Lack of) proletarian class dedication of the party.

- In the National Democratic Revolution, dedication is [to] the Front.
- In the Socialist Revolution, must cut out other classes -- capitalist, feudal and various other exploiting classes.

DOCUMENT 4

About class struggle between the private property of other classes and the collective property of the proletarian class.

Requests: - Through our past experience, from the political era until now, our comrades have been in danger of not making much progress because of a deep (attachment to) private property.

For example: The party told comrades "Here they come... We must run into the forest", but they [just] said, " Well, that's okay".

- Resolutely eradicates the private property.
- 1. The real essence and phenomenon of private property of classes other than the proletarian class.

COMMENTARY

Every individual possesses [the idea of] private property in terms of politics, consciousness, and material. The real nature of private property is the real nature of the exploiting classes.

1. The eradication of private property means the eradication of the nature of the capitalist class.

[55]

2. Workers and labourers also possess private property but that personal property does not exploit people.

2. The danger and disadvantages of private property

- Individual interest always causes bad consequences.
- Maintenance of old habits, the working system of the old regime.

3. The struggle to wipe out private property through political, spiritual and organisational measures in order to build up, strengthen and expand the collective property of the proletarian class.

1 - Build up socialist consciousness, carry out economization, take into consideration the party line and the co-operatives.

2- Assignment measures: Collective assignments in terms of livelihood, work and learning.

- The second type: If somebody commits any wrong doings, he or she must attend a re-education meeting immediately.

* Be careful not to see private property as a petty thing. In material terms, it is petty, but the real essence is capitalist ownership.

DOCUMENT 5

DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

Definition: Everything in the world is material, not ideal.

1. Everything is inter-connected.

For example: The issue of 3 tons [per hectare] is related to rice, to vegetables, to boiling water, for the health of the people.

2. Everything changes (evolves).

3. Everything always changes either in quality or quantity.

[56]

- See that the second and the third issues evolve constantly. We must pay attention to the corrective process to avoid subjectivity.

4. Everything is in contradiction.

- Don't get tired of settling contradictions.

- Must settle contradictions in accordance with the provisions of the party.

POLITICAL DOCUMENT: VIEW OF THE SITUATION OF THE CONTEMPORARY KAMPUCHEAN REVOLUTION

Requests to raise certain issues, as follows:

1. The situation of the socialist revolution. What are its weaknesses and strengths?

2. What is the situation of socialist construction like? What are its weaknesses or strengths and how should we resolve them?

3. What are the weaknesses and strengths of the living conditions of the worker-peasant people at the moment? How should we resolve them?

4. What are the weaknesses and strengths regarding the gathering of friends throughout the world and how should we resolve them?

5. What are the weaknesses and strengths concerning the situation of national defence and how should we resolve them?

Requests:

We introduce this document to draw conclusions on the current situation of the Kampuchean

[57]

revolution to clearly see our weaknesses and strengths. In other words, to be clear where we are and how we should proceed? If you do very clear analysis, you can find a clear solution.

Concerning examining our weaknesses and strengths, we must observe both subjectivity and objectivity. Then, how should we go forward?

This document is our basic document. Regarding these requests, we also need to clearly understand the problem of national defence in more detail as well, in order to raise the spirit of high revolutionary vigilance and strengthen it further to settle all problems effectively.

In conclusion, we must sum up the major experiences of our revolution, identify good experiences and define what are the shortcomings. If we can do this well, we can go ahead successfully.

1. The situation of the Socialist Revolution

Generally speaking, the situation of the socialist revolution in our country has so far remarkably progressed, and has many advantages. However, we still have disadvantages and some weaknesses as well, but if compared with the phase of the Socialist Revolution in our country, those weaknesses are overwhelmed by this progress. Therefore, the weaknesses are just secondary issues.

Advantages:

1. Assignment: We have conducted communal assignments and strengthened communal systems of all kinds. Both in rural and urban areas, both among the worker-peasant people, and among the military, and in the offices, ministries, and the entire society, we have strengthened and expanded communal organisation. Generally, this keeps progressing, and becomes stronger and larger. No co-operatives will be destroyed. While in cities, no unions will fall down either in terms of communal organisation. There will be no downfall of communal organisation in the military. In 1976, we strengthened and expanded our socialist communal system in all fields by striking private property and razing it to the ground, and in some places, reorganising. It can not strengthen and expand.

[58]

Concerning the non-circulation of currency, money is a tool of dictatorship of the capitalist class. We won't use money again, and will never ever think about re-circulating currency any more. We don't think about that in our ranks and neither do the people. The more we forget about money, the happier we feel; not using money is good and comfortable. The same is true of salary systems. Nor do we miss the system of special private rations for individuals. We don't think about that in our ranks and neither do the military soldiers. This way is becoming more preferable to our people.

Therefore, if we examine dialectical materialism, it evolves progressively. The quantity starts to improve steadily and the quality also improves. In our ranks, some have a sharp determination to renounce money and privateness, so do the people.

Therefore, we look again at our revolutionary framework and the world revolutionary framework. In revolution, we never had the issue of not using money at all. Now we have concretely implemented this. Before, we used money; and now we are making revolution without the circulation of currency, and this will continue. This is the assignment not to use money. Our view and standpoint have progressed as well. This is a promising aspect. Observing this in the world revolutionary situation, it is noticeable progress.

For example: Concerning the removal of the people, the world estimates that some day we will let the people return to cities. This shows that those who understand us understand only in strategy. You may ask why they have such an idea. This is because they have never practised this way, transferring people from urban areas to rural areas. The problem [they think] is how to supply food and shelter.

They find us even stronger with the issue of non-circulation of currency. The world thinks we will re-introduce circulation of money at some point in the future, but we never think about this any more and neither do the people, apart from a handful of traitors.

See that we have preserved the revolutionary achievements by transferring people and terminating the use of currency. Money is a major asset. If we use [money], it is very powerful.

[59]

not weaker than armed forces. Military is a dictatorial armed organisation of a class. Money is a poisonous tool of dictatorship, especially of the capitalists. We can eliminate it. It will not re-emerge.

In all, our socialist revolution progresses well and rapidly, in terms of organisation.

2 Politics and consciousness: There is a lot of progress. Within our ranks, in the party, military and core organisations, progress has also been made. The eradication of private property in general has been carried out. The conditions are increasingly absolute and deep. The people have a progressively firm view and standpoint on the eradication of private property; it is just that some places have progressed fast and some others slowly. In all, it has developed.

Therefore, how can the capitalist regime stand up? It cannot stand up. If it struggles to rise up, we flatten it to the ground again.

The feudalist class, large land owners and noble feudalists cannot stand up again either. They are going to vanish by the resolute weapon of our proletarian class.

The private property is our object to be eradicated as well, so how can it grow up again? It only stands to shrink and die. It still exists to a great extent, but it cannot develop. It is diminishing.

[60]

Briefly speaking, our socialist revolution has made good progress overcoming all kinds of difficulties: food, illness, material and technical shortages and additionally, the reactionary force inside the country are stubborn as well, but that is a secondary issue.

Mainly, the enemies outside the country are attacking us by all means. In these circumstances, our socialist revolution will never retreat. Therefore, our progress has not come under easy conditions. We have progressed under difficult conditions. Obstacles outside and inside the country have tempered us. This is our great experience. From this, we will make ourselves alert in situations of comfort where there is no flame to scorch us.

With these good conditions for our socialist revolution, the conditions for our national defence are a level better as well.

Weaknesses:

1. Organisation: It is true that our organisation process is making much progress, but it is not tight and not yet tried and true. It is still young and it still develops continuously. We can compare this to a baby who is healthy, but if we don't take good care of the baby, it might get diarrhoea.

[61]

Therefore, do not be subjective and claim that the assignment process is tight and experienced enough: in fact it is not yet, it has a long way to go and it will have to face further combat and many more diseases.

However, this is not a disadvantage, but a common state of things that are evolving. In the future, it might progress in the wrong way or in the right way. Depending on how much attention we pay to it, the objective factors might be windy, cold or hot weather, and if we keep lacking this or that, this baby will get fever again. If we can clearly see this weakness and take measures in advance, then we can master the problem. [We must prepare] political, spiritual, economic and military remedies etc. One thing we should be afraid of is that we may be subjective and become careless. In this case, it might not make good progress due to both subjective and objective factors or to either of them.

Our socialist revolution is still young because we have just emerged from the oppressing society and because we are still within the world framework that exists in a regime of oppression. We see this very clearly: our revolution forces are still small and young. The reactionary forces inside and outside in the world are strong. So far, we have won victory because our forces are new and progressive. Scientifically and materially, our forces are stronger. If we use correct measures, the progress will continue but if we don't have correct political, spiritual, economic, military and livelihood measures, the progress will vanish. Through our experience so far, we have had correct measures and we have made successive improvements. In other words, if we have a good bamboo net with tight mesh-- no shrimps can get out.

Briefly speaking, we have so far made good progress. If we are not careful, we may go backwards. But if we are not subjective, we will move forward.

[62]

Basically, the socialist revolution's situation is good. Shortcomings are not a disadvantage; that's because we are still new and young. We must keep improving. We must have political, spiritual,

economic measures, and measures in terms of people's livelihood, military affairs and subjective and objective measures. With all these measures, the outside objectivity can not harm us.

Outsiders always question whether or not we can go on, whether or not we can make socialist revolution. Have we asked this question in our party? Maybe. First, we must dedicate (ourselves) to make socialist revolution. If we have to do it, we have to seek a way. This is the basic standpoint: Can we go forward or not? We have so far managed despite many difficulties. No one believed that we could succeed but we did. Here we are not talking about the National Democratic Revolution. We have begun a Socialist Revolution and have even made it the fastest in the world. We don't have much in the way of equipment but we have a hard-core standpoint, which enables us to succeed. We will keep paving and improving the way further, then we can definitely go on. So far, we have used a short-cut, but it is the very correct path. In the (outside) world, socialist revolutions have spilled a great deal of blood, but we have not spilled much blood. But for taking this path, we would have experienced much bloodshed. If we used currency, or markets and no co-operatives, foreigners would hire people to become traitors attacking us and imposing turmoil among the people. We don't have support or a base to turn to; so this is the main cause of our ruin; but now we have everything from a political and spiritual, economic, military and livelihood standpoint in good order. In the future, can we go forward? If we are strong at all levels of all fields, we will be able to go on?

Our future measures are:

- Our party has strong standpoints to strengthen and expand socialist politics and spirit and will go on with the future strengthening of socialist organisation.

[63]

- Further strengthen military, political, spiritual and organisational standpoints.

- Further improve the economy and the living standards of the people. Even though we face obstacles from outside, there is no problem as long as we have strong internal factors. Regarding the internal factors, we have them in place already. The key standpoint is the absolute standpoint to make socialist revolution.

We determine to continue making our socialist revolution with clear measures, not in blindness. We go on in self-mastery of the situation, not taking risks at all.

2. The situation of building socialism

What are the weaknesses and strengths? How can we solve all problems in the future?

Strengths

The situation of building socialism is very progressive. The process of national reconstruction in all fields within the framework of socialism is going forward progressively.

1. In terms of farming, we have strengthened and expanded our co-operatives and at the same time, we have carried out the farming plan for the year 1976 to a vigorous extent. Since the dry season, we have produced at a substantial level to settle the water problem, we have so far built embankments and canal systems by 30 %. In the meantime, we have additionally built more water reservoirs and channels. Our canals, channels and reservoirs are all socialists. These have come very quickly. As far as the rate of growth is concerned, within the 3 or 4 years ahead, we will be able to basically resolve the water problem.

2. All the main crops we planted earlier this rainy season to supply the people's livelihood include short-term rice, corns, beans, and potatoes. In reality, we have met the basic needs of the people to some extent. In fact, there are difficulties everywhere, but thanks to our storming activities with the focus on short-term rice and subsidiary crops, we have been able to solve the problem.

3. Vigorous storming rainy season rice-farming to achieve 3 tons per hectare

[64]

Within our capacity with respect to both the subjective and objective [conditions] we have stormed vigorously. We haven't yet got the production but at this speed, we see light. On 1.5 million hectares, compared to last year, we have expanded the cultivated land far more extensively. Concerning transplanting, we have achieved much greater results than last year - where we could only do broadcasting last year [it is now possible to do transplanting?]

[65] (ILLEGIBLE)

[66]

VIEW OF THE SITUATION OF THE KAMPUCHEAN REVOLUTION TODAY

1. The situation of the socialist revolution:

The socialist revolution has fought the feudalists, capitalists and the private system.

The socialist revolution has made much progress. It has developed in politics, consciousness, and organisation. Comparing the good and weak points, we can see more good points. The weaknesses are secondary. Therefore, we see that its development is good.

Practical examination:

1. organisation: The co-operatives and unions live collectively. All the offices, ministries, armed forces and assignments are being strengthened.

Before, a co-operative had 30 families, but there are now 1000 families to a co-operative, and these co-operatives never collapse. Besides, we have disbanded the sub-district people's committees, so we can assume that our co-operative standpoint has become fairly strong. In some countries, they have had co-operatives for 10 years but they still have members asking to leave the co-operative.

[67]

In cities, worker's unions do not collapse. On the contrary, within a one-year period, our combatants of both sexes have put back to normal all the ministries in which, there had been problems earlier.

At the end of 1976, the party has expanded the communal system. No feudalist or capitalist or other classes could come up to take over power at all; neither did the other classes. Nothing at all is private in the entire society.

Some issues related to organisation: there are no markets; no one ever thinks about markets.

Concerning currency, we haven't used money for the past year, which is unique in the world. However, now we still have some exchange, but in the future, we will end exchanges. Co-operatives produce for the state and the state will then support the co-operatives free of charge.

In all, our socialist revolution has progressively developed with a leap forward.

2. Political and spiritual observation:

With this one-year period, we have had progressive development. Our people have given their goods to the collective. In our internal ranks, we have an increasingly firm political and spiritual standpoint. The private property of the capitalists and feudalists has been eliminated as our co-operative and unions within the ranks fought vigorously, especially against private and capitalist property.

Our progressive development was very hard to achieve. We had to overcome [shortages of] food, shelter and medicine and other necessities and, in the meantime, [problems in] our foreign affairs with outside enemies attacking us such as the American imperialists and the revisionists.

Our experience is that we must be very careful of comfort.

Weaknesses:

1. Organisation: Our organisation is not yet tight. It is still young and new. There are still enemies hidden inside co-operatives, unions, the armed forces, offices: don't be subjective. Consciousness of politics and property is still authoritarian.

[68]

The words " young and new " mean the workers haven't yet eradicated private property and the cadre ranks haven't yet understood this. In all, we are still young in terms of political and spiritual standpoint

In conclusion, our socialist revolution and the non-revolutionary elements are still fighting each other. If we don't make socialist revolution, we would be slaves, so which one should we choose?

- In 1968, we carried out political struggle.
- In 1973, they entered negotiations, while we alone went ahead.
- One year, we still went ahead, so we will be able to go on and on.

Advantages:

Food supply:

- In 1975, we ate rice from 1974 (low production in that year)
- In 1976, we ate rice from 1975 (little)
- In 1977, we ate rice from 1976 (possibly enough for us)
- In 1977, we have enough.

We managed this because:

1. Our party is firm

2. Co-operatives were carefully selected
3. Armed forces were carefully selected
4. Made efforts to meet the needs of the people's livelihood.

2. The situation of building the socialist revolution

What are the weaknesses and strengths? And how will we address them?

Strengths:

In building up our socialism in all domains, our directions are in accordance with the framework of socialism.

1. Our rice farming plan for 1976 was 30% completed. This was good.
2. We can meet the needs of the people's livelihood by short-term rice production, corns and potatoes.
3. Storming activity to achieve 3 tons [per hectare]. Rice production is according to ... [illegible]. Out of the area of 1.5 million hectares, some areas harvested 5 tons of rice per hectare, 4 tons per hectare, 3 tons per hectare and some others 2 tons per hectare. In total, we achieved about 70% to 80%.

Weaknesses:

1. Co-operatives and unions are not tight in terms of politics, consciousness and techniques.
2. The food supply is delayed.
- 3- The rainy season rice farming has not yet mastered [the situation] according to the party's proposal of 1.5 million hectares. We are not yet masters according to the party's request.

[69]

3. The situation of the people's livelihood at present.

Strengths: The movements to meet the needs of the people's livelihood has been successively pursued:

- Going to provide enough food step by step.
- Shelter for the people.
- Better health care.

Weaknesses:

1. The people's livelihood is in a shortage of food, medicine
 2. Shelter
 - 3.
4. About the gathering of friendly forces around the world.

Strengths: The gathering of many friends.

1. Close friends: China, Korea and Albania. They have become more and more understanding of us and have supported us more.
2. Our second category of friendly countries: Yugoslavia also supports us.
3. Non-aligned countries.

5- The national defence situation

Document 2: On the results of the 1976 Plan and follow-up tasks to complete the 1976 Plan.

Requests: On the results of the 1976 Plan.

[70]

We now talk about the agricultural sector. In 1976, the party laid down its plan of 3 tons per hectare. Do we observe that we have done this or not? So far this year, we have 90% completed the plan of 3 tons per hectare.

First, rainy season rice-farming: 70% to 80% achieved within a half-year period.

Second, short-term rice farming: light rice production increased 80% to 85%.

Third, water-chasing rice. If we calculate the three categories [of rice farming] together, we achieved 90% of the plan.

Why did the party mark the year of 1976 as the key year? [Because] in 1975, three million people from Phnom Penh -----> shelter, food supplies

First: Just emerged from the war

Second: Reconstructed the country systematically

Third: We can defend our country.

What about the real practices?

First, 13 Thang of food for 100 % of the people.

The ration of the first force --- 3 cans of rice [per day]

the second force--- 2.5 cans of rice

the third force--- 2 cans of rice

the fourth force--- 1.5 cans of rice

Second, keep enough rice seeds (double)

Third, rice exported to overseas countries (tens of thousands of tons).

Can our revolution progress or not?

Some comrades do not believe in the Party's plan because they do not analyse it based on the proletarian line of the party, but on their own subjective opinion.

OUR INFLUENCE IN THE WORLD

- The influence on the first world bloc : On the standpoint of mastery.
- The influence on the second world bloc : Rice exports, and [we] have influence throughout the world, and we have gathered friends to the maximum.

THE REASONS FOR OUR VICTORY

1. Party Leadership Factors:

First: The party has well absorbed its leadership line, its plan, especially its economic and agricultural line.

[71]

Besides, our socialist revolution is so deep and vigorous in the successive class struggles. We must continue fighting private property and building the collectives.

2. The people factor:

Our people are very brave. The people brought about the victory during the war, and built the country in 1976. Even though the people were still in a difficult situation, they fulfilled the party's plan successfully.

3. The Revolutionary Armed Force factor:

The troops are the dictatorial tool of the party, when we face many shortages of food and medicine...

4. The Rear Base factor:

Ministries, offices and other technical departments.

TECHNICAL ISSUES CONCERNING RICE PRODUCTION

1. Water problem: We have built embankments and canals by 30% since May 1976.

2. Fertiliser: -Throughout the country, we have produced one million tons of fertiliser.

- Cattle urine, pig shit, fish waste and other kinds of fertilisers that have not yet been used.

3. About rice seeds and some techniques

- Good (rice) seeds
- Techniques: Ploughing, broadcasting, raking and sowing.

FOLLOW-UP DUTIES TO COMPLETE THE 1976 PLAN

Must protect, preserve and harvest the product successfully.

- Must harvest the Slab Seik rice (variety).
- Prepare threshing machines.
- Enemies seek out all means to destroy our rice.

SLOGAN: " Don't Lose Even A Single Grain "

[72]

CONCLUSION OF THE EDUCATION COMMITTEE

1. The discussion at school clearly showed that our comrades understood clearly about agriculture. We are able and we will get rid of the idea that farmers do not know how to build the country.

So we can see that our cadres have techniques as their capital to do farming for 1977. We are clearly strong.

2. We also have to pay attention to the food issue and keep promoting it step by step. We increase rations step by step but we must be thrifty - surplus must be sent to the state.

- Shortcomings of the activity line in the utilisation of forces. [Illegible clause]. One more thing to notice is that we mostly focus on rice paddy embankments but not canals.

- The matter of fertiliser utilisation: First, fertilise before ploughing and after that, broadcast the rice seeds.

- The selection of rice seeds, big grains and bunches. Especially, you must regularly ask the cooperative's or collective's opinions.

- Maintenance, water supply, fertilisation, and weeds.

For example, in Bavel, a lack of equipment: because of the lack of such maintenance. We also did not manage the utilisation of these things

[73]

DOCUMENT 3

CERTAIN ISSUES RELATED TO THE 1977 PLAN

I. Agricultural issues:

A. Rice Crop:

- One crop per year - 1,400,000 hectares
 - Two crops per year - 200,000 hectares

1,600,000 hectares

The harvest: We calculate 3 tons per hectare for one crop and 6 tons for two crops.

- One crop (rice land) - 4,200,000 tons
 - Two crop (rice land) - 1,200,000 tons

5,400,000 tons

We can ask if it is possible or not. Well, it is possible, not beyond our capacity.

B. Other Crops:

1. Food crops: Corn, beans, peanuts, Soya bean, sesame, fruit crops and a variety of vegetables.
2. Industrial crops: Cotton, krachaov and thmey [kinds of plants used for industrial purposes], sugar cane, kapok trees, coconut, cassava [damlong chhoeu], etc.
3. How to grow: co-operatives and unions, armed forces, ministries and offices, in a year of 360 days, we can spend only 7 days on all these things.

C. Favourable Conditions For Agriculture

1. The water problem :

First: We continue [building] embankments and big and small canals

Second: We establish reservoirs

Third: We dig canals and channels

2. Fertilisation: the fertilisation is still old-fashioned. We need to use machines to cut grass and weed plants. We have cattle and pig manure and must set up stables in order to collect urine.

3. Seeds: Must be well selected.
4. Pesticide: Must use natural chemicals.
5. Agricultural tools.
6. Techniques of cultivation and maintenance.

D. Animal Husbandry:

1. The building of our socialism is based on animal husbandry.
2. Industry and handicrafts:

[74]

II. [sic] VARIOUS FACTORS TO COMPLETE THE 77 PLAN

1. What are the factors for the completion of the plan? Who completes this plan?

- First: The party must be strong
- Second: The people must be strong
- Third: The armed forces must be strong
- Fourth: The offices of the ministries and all technical departments must be strong

2. What does "strong" mean?

A. The party must be strong in terms of political, consciousness and organisation.

1. Politically: absorb the party line well, especially the concept of successful implementation of agricultural and industrial tasks and other sectors.

2. Strong in consciousness: Eradicate private property completely.
3. Well trained in all cells: Don't be afraid of contradictions; do not flee them. If we flee the movement, we would not have any experience.

B. The people factor: Grasp hold of the people in consciousness, politics, and organisation. Gather the popular forces to the maximum through constant propaganda. Take care of the people's livelihood (pregnant women must take one month's pre-natal and post-natal rest).

THE COMMENTS OF THE EDUCATION COMMITTEE ON THE 1977 PLAN

- Through the discussion, we see that our cadres grasp the agriculture line of the party.
- See that experience has appeared about water, rice seed, fertilisers, and animal husbandry. The continuance of the 1976 tasks may face a lack of labour force to do the harvesting but we can cooperate with one another. We must also look at the composition of the co-operatives.
- The 1977 problem. a lot of machines were used in the Northwest.
- In the East, be careful with bad elements and pay attention to industries and handicrafts.
- In the Southwest, pay attention to the water problem.
- In the North, the rice crops is crippled. Avoid the state of being active in image but producing no result.
- In the West, find more rice land downstream. The zone is poor.
- In the Northeast, the population is small, one ton of white sesame costs \$ 5.50 and one ton of rice costs \$ 200, and one ton of crepe rubber costs \$ 1,000.
- Mondul Kiri: Industrial crops, animal husbandry
- [Region] 103: crops

[75]

- [Region] 505: Industrial crops
- Industry needs agricultural tools.

DOCUMENT ON THE ORGANISATIONAL SECTOR

Statutes of the Communist Party of Kampuchea

Requests:

To strengthen the principles and the political line and the standpoint of consciousness and organisation, because this is the basic document of the party.

Basic provisions and Political Standpoints of the Party.

IN THE NEW PHASE OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND THE BUILDING OF SOCIALISM

1. Our revolutionary party is named "The Communist Party of Kampuchea".

ABOUT THE ORGANISATIONAL HISTORY OF THE PARTY

2. The proletarian class party

3. Build up socialism leading to communism. Therefore, we must temper ourselves strongly in socialist revolution.

[76]

4. The party takes Marxism-Leninism as its basis.

- Concept of class contradictions
- Proletarian class dictatorship
- Eradication of private property
- Take the position of the exploited classes as your own.

5. The party has the mass concept and line.

The most important thing is to work closely with the masses to resolve the masses' livelihood at all times.

6. The Principle of Democratic Centralism.

- High revolutionary vigilance

7. The party takes criticism and self-criticism as a daily means and the nature of leadership as it shows the correctness and incorrectness. Therefore, we must not do criticism or self-criticism for the sake of doing it.

8. The party adheres to the standpoint of independence and self-reliance. Practically, the party must work on its own, so it is difficult with the matter of contradictions.

9-The Kampuchean revolution which is led by the Communist Party is an inseparable part of the international revolutionary movements.

CHAPTER I

ARTICLE 1: ABOUT THE QUALIFICATIONS TO JOIN THE PARTY

CHAPTER II

10 QUALIFICATIONS:

1. Examine the implementation of the party line. In terms of politics, must examine stage by stage systematically.

2. Proletarian consciousness to eradicate private property in terms of consciousness, materials and individualism and must examine the consciousness systematically as well.

3. Firm standpoint in terms of solidarity, unity, political line, proletarian consciousness and high vigilance to avoid the breakdown of the party line.

4. Strong standpoint in terms of the organisational line, leading in accordance with the collective line of the party.

5. Keep secrecy.

[77]

6. Standpoint of independence, and self-reliance within the framework of the party line.

7. Firm standpoint in terms of the examination of revolutionary self-criticism and of revolutionary biographies.

8. Firm standpoint in terms of proletarianism.

9. Firm standpoint in terms of clean moral and political life.

10. Ability to build oneself up and lead in the future.

THE STATUTES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KAMPUCHEA

The requests arising from the study of the party statutes this time.

As requested by the party in June, we determined on study of the party statutes in order to understand them clearly. Learn and learn in order to absorb the statute of the party in terms of the collective principle of the statute and all the chapters of the statutes from chapter I, chapter II, chapter III... to chapter VIII. In all, the request to strengthen and expand the understanding of the essence of the statutes for concrete implementation. This enables us to absorb the standpoint of the party's tactical and strategic line. The political line in the statutes, the consciousness line in the statutes, the organisational line in the statutes and everything in the statutes. When we understand, and absorb the statutes, we understand the implementation of the party line and the provisions of the party. It's the same with our consciousness.

Therefore, you must frequently study the statutes. You study to relate them to the movement and yourselves.

[78]

Through our experience, if one absorbs the statutes thoroughly and it becomes our standpoint, we can not establish other statutes, another standpoint, another consciousness or another line.

If we don't absorb them, first, we have no idea about them in implementation and secondly, we may be deceived or misled into doing something in contradiction to the statutes and we might flow in the wrong way with others unknowingly. If we well absorb it, we are firm and, however, anyone pulls us away, we won't go. On the contrary, we can realise who is doing things opposed to the statutes.

The less you absorb the statutes, the less you serve the socialist revolution and the building of socialism. The more you absorb, the better you serve.

BASIC PROVISIONS AND POLITICAL STANDPOINTS OF THE PARTY

In new stage of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism.

1. Our revolutionary party is named "The Communist Party of Kampuchea".

We had to change to this name in order to disconnect from other parties. Even the party's history had to be arranged to disconnect it totally.

Besides, we have so far implemented a mixture of other statutes, which has affected solidarity and unity within the party. Call it just a label or a name but in fact, it's the standpoint and the struggle.

2. The Communist Party of Kampuchea is the party of the worker class, not the party belonging to other classes, not the party of the feudalist, capitalist or petty-bourgeois classes. We must grasp this matter in order to understand the nature of the worker class and build up ourselves and our ranks in terms of standpoint of the worker class. Immediately, do not sit with classes other than the working class in analysis or solutions. In politics, consciousness or various means, we must stand with the working class.

3. The new strategic standpoint of the CPK at the moment, following the full implementation of the National Democratic Revolution and after making a considerable part of the Socialist Revolution, is to continue with and fulfil the Socialist Revolution and build up socialism in Cambodia further towards communism in the future.

[79]

This is the line, so it must become the standpoint and a tool. We must carry out this line.

A group of traitors organised another party in order to overthrow our Communist Party of Kampuchea and overthrow our tactical and strategic line, our socialist revolution, our co-operatives, and the practice of non-circulation of currency and sell the country to foreigners. If someone says anything in contradiction to the line or outside the line, and you just ignore it, there is great danger. If that person speaks [in that way] because they don't understand, we must educate them. But if we follow up and see that that person is opposed to the party line, [we] must take measures.

4. The Party determined to take Maxism-leninism as the basis for its concepts

It does not take Maxism-leninism to copy however it likes. It implements Marxism-Leninism by standing the concrete situation in our country and our revolution. And by observing correctly and observing the movement.

For example, negotiations. The world presented us from 1971. They said that Marxist-Leninist principles were not just to struggle by armed forces alone. Lenin also negotiated, by signing the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, in 1917 with Germany. At that time, Lenin faced difficulties both within and without. The food problem was a difficulty. Lenin undertook to negotiate with Germany to hold off one enemy, in order to gain the opportunity to face another enemy who was attacking the revolution from within.

We do not fully understand this. At that time, the situation was difficult. As for us, had we negotiated, we would have become slaves. Secondly, had we negotiated, Lon Nol would have had time to take a breath, to strengthen and expand his forces. Lenin, when the enemy moved in, he stepped back. As for us, we were pushing the enemy back; had we allowed them to step back, it would not be Marxism-Leninism.

At this point, we say: we must practice Marxism-Leninism flexibly, according to the concrete situation. Take the laws of Marxism-Leninism to observe them flexibly in our situation.

What is Marxism-Leninism? It is the total experience in the class struggle up to now. Some have concluded already, some in the wrong way and some others in the right way. We must reflect on our movement and creatively improve according to our movement and our revolution.

[80]

Sometimes, studying Marxism-Leninism is like a religious text, examined as a text, but it can not be put into practice in the movement and can not lead to the movement. This way we stand to lose.

The party instils and takes the firm proletarian world view and proletarian life view: that is, firm in the proletarian tool for working and thinking. If we stand on the side of other classes, we can not find firm basis. We have no firm basis. But If we stand on the proletarian class standpoint, even if we are strategically wrong, we are basically right, whether in building, or in building our consciousness, or in criticising our internal building.

5 The CPK strictly and dedicatedly adheres to the mass line and concept.

We must further strengthen and expand the mass concept because we still have many shortcomings. For example, in the way of thinking, we don't rely on the mass concept much and we think on our own by taking different situations into consideration and sometimes we do not take the class concept as the basis at all. We often base (ourselves) on other classes who approach us and complain about their difficulties and try to gain favour from us and we think we are respecting the masses. This is also a mistake.

If we have a true mass line and concept, no matter how difficult or complicated the situation, we will always find a way.

For example, observe the border situation, if we don't rely on the mass concept, we see that the enemy would be strong and would swallow [our land]. But if we calculate that the masses are strong, no matter what the problem, we have belief in them. If the enemy attacks us, the people will keep up guerrilla attacks. The enemy could not stay around. We can resist no matter how the enemy attacks.

For example, observe the situation of the enemies, if we do not rely on the masses, we see that the enemies attack us here and there, and that the enemies are strong.

[81]

For example, resolving the people's livelihood is similar. If we see the people sick and thin but you keep thinking about yourself, you will be dark and hopeless. We must rely on the masses of the co-operatives, the masses within the party, the masses within the armed forces for short-term rice farming activities and to grow other subsidiary crops to resolve [the shortage]. Is it possible or not?

Yes, it is. We educate them and they grow crops everywhere and we achieve a solution. Therefore, if we do not rely on the mass, we will have complicated views and standpoints. This leads the masses to face complicated problems, too.

6. The Communist Party was organised on the principle of Democratic Centralism.

This is our old provision. It is the effective provision in terms of organisation and leadership of our party. The Democratic Centralism has two natures: The first is the nature of democracy and the second is the nature of centralism. To just practice democracy is not provision of the party. Centralism also is not provision of the Democratic Party alone but of rightist free democracy. Absence of discipline, vanguard, and organisation is dangerous for the revolution. The enemies could easily infiltrate; this is not the way to a firm and solid party. This is rightist.

Centralism alone means a single individual or one group, or one committee. They can not gather forces in terms of consciousness, morale, or activities. Others will not be clear in their mind. The masses won't be clear, won't accept, and won't be strong. Therefore, we have to combine centralism and democracy. The meaning of the concrete implementation is not in its form but in its essence. If we have any problem, we must discuss it in committee, conference or public congress. We must also go down to the bases to conduct surveys and observe the situation and follow the situation.

[82]

We must not just hold meetings but we must also direct our standpoint as well to make it strong.

7. The Communist Party of Khampuchea takes criticism and self-criticism as daily means to struggle to build up the internal forces of the party. Criticism and self-criticism refers not only to cell meetings, but learning how to make livelihood criticism at committee meetings and assessments of advantages and disadvantages is also a form of self-criticism and criticism. In every frame work, we seek the advantages and disadvantages and find the correct solutions; this is what we call criticism and self-criticism. If you keep doing internal constructive criticism and self-criticism through the political, consciousness, and organisational standpoints of the party and gather the masses to our side, according to the political consciousness and organisational standpoint of the party, enemies will not be able to undermine us.

8. The Communist Party of Khampuchea adheres to the standpoint of independence, self-reliance, and self-support, and absolutely decides the destiny of its own resolution in all circumstances.

This standpoint arose from our concrete movement. We have begun this already. Especially, while we are reconstructing our country, everyone asks to come and help us. We are in a difficult situation, we lack everything. However, we have the standpoint of independence, self-reliance, and self-support. We do this not just for the sake of being self-supporting. It is for independence. Because if they come, they spy on us. They come to contact [one another]. They don't just give medicine or materials. They come themselves. If one comes, that is difficult. If two come, that is difficult. If many come it is increasingly difficult and complicated for us. Therefore, they don't come to help us but instead they increasingly pose difficulties and complications.

Therefore, based on the past experience, we now have the correct standpoint

9. The Kampuchea revolution led by the Communist Party of Kampuchea is an inseparable part of the international revolutionary movement. Therefore, the Communist Party of Kampuchea fulfils the tasks of the national and international revolution on the principle of absolute proletarian patriotism

[83]

and internationalism. The Communist Party of Kampuchea and the Kampuchea revolution are dedicated to solidarity with the Marxist-Leninist parties in the world and the world revolution on the basis of absolute mutual territorial integrity respect and equality. We are opposed to narrow nationalism and to the doctrines of the great powers.

Another line is that relations with the world parties and world revolution must be established on the ground of equality and mutual respect. We make no profit from violation of other countries but we don't let them violate us either. This must be put into practices not just for the sake of speaking. If they just pay their lip service and turn to destroying us, we will absolutely take counter-measures.

CHAPTER I

ARTICLE 1 : ABOUT THE QUALIFICATIONS TO JOIN THE PARTY

Given the situation we have observed since the implementation of the new statutes, we have not yet expanded the party systematically. According to the statutes, cells must go down to ask the masses about their auto-biographies, and ask whether or not the masses are content or not.

CHAPTER II

About the 10 qualifications for the selection for the various leadership organisations of the party.

Must strengthen these 10 qualifications to become a monopoly tool to select correct cadres in conformity with the principles of the party and to examine yourselves and build yourselves. A correct grasp of the line will be reflected in the movement. Educate them to train themselves in the movement.

[84]

CHAPTER III & CHAPTER IV

Take interest in the tasks of the cells and of the committees at all levels. There are two tasks: internal tasks, and tasks among the masses.

[85]

DOCUMENT 2: STRENGTHEN AND EXPAND LEADERSHIP

1 Try to strengthen and expand the Democratic Centralism.

COMMENTARY:

Our jobs are very big in all fields, politics, military, national construction and defence.....Therefore, leadership demands high level collectivisation, or leadership will fail.

2. Grasp hold of and stand firmly on the political line of the party which is the tactical and strategic line of the party and the various function lines of the party.

- Leadership must rely on the party line.

- Often look at the political line of the party.

3. Good leadership demands strict attention to political and consciousness work, meticulously and clearly.

1. Learn to involve yourselves in the movement.
2. Conference meeting.
3. Livelihood of the cells.
4. Political and consciousness work of individuals.
5. Criticism and self-criticism.

4. Leadership must do critical analysis of problems or any event according to the nature of conflict.

- Work leaders must find out the cause of the conflict.
- If you want to improve yourself, you must find out the causes and then take direct measures to make progress.

5. Good leadership demands a correct and effective activity-line by working openly and secretly, taking secrecy as the basis.

The activity-line comes from the movement. We must hold meetings to learn from working experience.

6. Good leadership requires clear plans and strict schedule, more especially you must grasp statistics in hand.

7. Correct leadership must rely on the masses inside the party, in the ranks, and among the people.

8. Correct leadership must build up, strengthen and expand the standpoint of mastery, creativeness, initiative in combat, active attack, constant revolutionary optimism in any circumstances.

9. Good leadership must strengthen constant solidarity and internal unity.

1. Must instil the spirit of responsibility, solidarity, internal unity, patience and spirit of struggle.
2. Correctly implement all the party lines.

[87]

10- Good, increasingly strong and lasting leadership demands great attention to building the ranks of cadres arising from the mass movement at all levels in terms of both quantity and quality.

OUTLINE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LIVELIHOOD CRITICISM

I. CONSCIOUSNESS

5 standpoints of struggle to eradicate private property:

1. Advantages:

- Nature of quick improvement.
- Instil a collective spirit (for example)

- When facing difficulty, compare yourself with the people and with the period of struggle.
- Progressively follow up and eradicate fame-seeking and to achieve this, we must temper ourselves in the movements.
- Task fulfilment standpoint and organisational discipline.

2. Disadvantages: Spiritual attachments.

- Unit partisanship, sector partisanship, Ministry partisanship and self-comfort.
- When seeing something wrong, dare not criticise it, especially higher-up. Mis-evaluate oneself, consider oneself cleverer than the masses.
- Love of reputation and want good positions, ranks, good positions, mostly hot work. [Erased] work is not yet meticulous, constant.

IMPROVEMENT DIRECTIONS: The adverse effect of property in blocking the socialist revolution movement.

[88]

FUTURE IMPROVEMENT DIRECTIONS

You must follow up the daily evolution of consciousness by constantly instilling the collective consciousness based on the socialist revolutionary line.

- Must be closely involved in the mass movement and labour movement.
- Build up the hard-core proletarian party standpoint

3. The class struggle in contemporary Kampuchean society

Advantages:

- Eradicate the nature of the original classes.
- Get used to work.
- World view and revolutionary life-view.
- Eradication of idealism

Shortcomings:

- The class-struggle standpoint is not firm and sharp. The proletarian nature is cool.

For example:

- Not patient in work but often relaxed.
- No dedicated standpoint, often flow with the objective conditions.
- [They think] the struggle against private property is a small task and does not require much struggle.
- Not dedicated to comply with the organisational discipline and the class struggle is still sinking and floating.
- Not comprehensive in solidarity, not close.
- Not yet sharp in criticism, still compromised, still feel the way by facial expression.

Direction: Must build up the proletarian nature of the party by means of the people's struggle movement.

3. The proletarian dictatorship of the party
4. Dictatorial materialism

II. POLITICAL SECTOR

1. The view on the current Kampuchean situation: the gathering of friends all over the world.

Advantages: Do one's best physically and spiritually.

Disadvantages: Could not provide enough supplies for people.

2. The 1976 Plan and the promotion of the 1977 Plan

[89]

III. ORGANISATION

1. The party statutes

Lack of proletarian class nature of the party- nature of sacrifice-creativity and organisational discipline.

2. Strengthen and expand the provision and leadership standpoint of the party, lack of a stand to grasp the tactical and strategic political line, the function line and the political and consciousness standpoint.

CONCLUSION:

Advantages:

- Absorb the policy of the socialist revolution to a level.
- Have a sharp impetus and consciousness, quick consciousness and improvement by constant attention.
- Fulfil the tasks day and night without any conditions.

Shortcomings:

- Not yet understand politics in practice. Just get it done without realising its affects on the party line or do it without firm standing on the line.
- Mediocre consciousness, not yet standing on the firm position of the socialist revolution still waiting for one another to do things.
- Still hesitant. They can not stand on their own without the party. The collectives can not be left to themselves.

THE ADVICE OF ANGKAR

- Examine your behaviour and contacts with foreigners, but take the standpoint as the basis.
- Examine your own basic shortcoming.

The main issue is to understand foreign policy according to our organisation line.

- In conclusion, in strengthening and expanding, you must look at the key problems, advantages and disadvantages.

- In all documents, raise important issues concerning private property.
- Build your life-view in order to fulfil the core tasks of each of us. Do not strengthen and expand the common views too much.
- Take the learning documents to reflect on our daily tasks.

First: Clearly examine the tasks based on illuminating our study, according to the strong points.

Second: Be tough and detailed with life-view, in order to carry out tasks. In consciousness, is there anything complicated? What is good consciousness?

[90]

II. POLITICS

Examine your standpoint on events, hard-cored or not.

III. As party members, can we comply with the statutes or not?

- The 10 [membership] qualifications of the party
- Leadership tasks

CONCLUSION:

- Take our strength as our main capital
- Key shortcomings, find out the causes and solutions

I. CONSCIOUSNESS:

1. About the socialist revolution in all fields

- Conceptually, the socialist revolution must possess the true nature of the class struggle between the proletariat and the capitalist class.
- Personally, what must you struggle to get rid of? Private thinking to solve problems, not turning to the collective, not asking for opinions, resorting to one's own private [self].

2. About class-conflict and class-struggle.

Concept: 1. Class Divisions in Cambodia. There are worker and peasant classes that do not understand the different political layers, do not control the state power, and cannot resolve contradictions.

4. [sic] About the proletarian dictatorship of the party.

Not yet personally dictatorial in terms of standpoint: still inclined to comfort and coziness, good food, easy jobs and not firm and patient when facing difficult work.

The reason is the class nature.

[91]

5. About Dialectical Materialism

Concept:

1. Everything is inter-related

- When Angkar organised the production plan in Takhmau
- Connection to get things from the bases----- talk about the Ministry [sic]

2 + 3: Everything always evolves

Haven't systematically followed up your consciousness.

4. About contradictions: Surprise + contradictions and want to avoid contradictions.

All the tasks entrusted by Angkar have not yet been fulfilled effectively. e.g. Not yet serve guests well or on time. The vegetable cultivation is not productive. The reason is that we don't have firm class standpoint--you are in the middle layer.

Solution: Keep learning from the documents

Constantly involved in the concrete movement

- Absolutely eradicate the non-proletarian standpoint by learning from the mass movement throughout the country
- In terms of working, we absolutely must have work plans and detailed schedules whether big or small
- Eradicate all old habits, and adhere to mastery and constant creativeness

[92]

Life-view Questions

- 1- Examine the evolution of consciousness from the national revolution to the socialist revolution?
- 2- Do the comrades see the key shortcomings to be solved immediately?
- 3- Do the comrades think they are personally important? What consciousness is that?
- 4- What are the tasks Angkar has entrusted now ?
- 5- Do the comrades consider power holding ?
- 6- Strengthen and expand consciousness from the top to the bottom?
- 7- Danger of not daring to criticise, what is the standpoint taken ?
- 8- When the collective and the party changes (our) tasks, how does our consciousness change ? What are the consequences, what are the current tasks?
- 9- We have strengthened and expanded. There are complicated difficulties affecting those below ?
- 10- Wrong line, but dare not struggle, what is the consciousness then?
- 11- Tasks so far [according to] the party's practical line. As habitual thinking, mores, not according to the line. How do we resolve this?
- 12- Before, middle class stance. After studying, what stance do we determine to take? Middle [class] consciousness, but what background up to now. Have the comrade drawn experiences ?
- 13- Fulfilling tasks according to strength and capacity. Going ahead, can you fulfil or not, not needing outside contacts?

- 14- Leadership so far, has it thought of building the cadre ranks?
 15- Control stance, is there boredom in the situation so far, complicated or clean? Experience.
 16- In the situation of boredom, are you following the masses' tail?
 17- Class standpoint and class struggle. So far, how has the comrade implemented correctly or incorrectly?
 18- Observe the solutions in study. What key asset does the comrade see in the construction of your standpoint?
 19- Unstable consciousness, but after study, how have you fixed a firm standpoint ?

[93]

- 20- How has Marxist-Leninist theory analysed individual evolution and how careful should we be ? How does it clarify correct and incorrect pride?
 21- Since the liberation of Phnom Penh, what is the most outstanding standpoint-- the peace standpoint or the material standpoint? What are the advantages and disadvantages?
 22- After studying, you see your children fall sick leading to inferior consciousness. After studying, what is this ?
 23- *(nothing was on the original text)*

Constructive Ideas from the Collective (11-12-1976)

1. Comrade Nou

Advantages: Make efforts to complete the tasks

Shortcomings:

1- Not clear consciousness according to the collective ideas. Experience: the way of thinking is still private, still forgiving of himself.

He still has a nature of private consciousness, bad-tempered in reactions, not class dictatorship. Organisation: still lacking on the issue of solidarity.

Reasons:

- What is to be corrected next.
- Strengthen the class struggle.
- Possess firm spirit.
- Work closely at the grass-root levels

Working Movements

2- Comrade Chheam: Pretty well fulfil the tasks for the party.

Disadvantages:

1. Not yet strong and firm in terms of the proletarian class standpoint of the party. Lack of creativeness standpoint, self-reliance, and the strong nature of the party.

[94]

- Not yet have the proletarian spirit and not firm and aware of what to combat first.
- No clear connection and not actively involved in the key aspect.
- Still sometimes influenced by the old spirit of private ownership.
- Fallen into the middle class, have a lot of work to do but take most free time, not given good service to foreigners.
- In terms of assignments, the structure building is not yet strong, still too independent-minded in terms of thoughts or speech.

The replacements at the grass root level may affect the grass root people. Sometimes, he happened to pass some bad words because he wanted to draw benefits. However, he must be careful at this point.

3- Comrade Dean: Very tough with his tasks while he entered Phnom Penh.

Disadvantages:

1. Still have the spirit of private ownership.
 - Still cause complicated problems, and shadowed by the middle class.
 - Very excited when meeting children who were sick.
 - So far in the ministry: still influenced by the middle class.

After the learning, he must upgrade his proletarian standpoint.

4- Comrade Meoun: Understand the concept of mass line.

Disadvantages:

Still have the standpoint of the middle class, self-comfort by relying on the top comrades, control the people in an effort to gain achievement recognition, and when facing problems, he withdraw himself from that situation.

- Sector partisan: Consider only one side and escape from disputes, not yet willing to combat.
- In the old regime, he lived in the atmosphere of official partisan and experienced short struggling period. He not yet dare to dedicate his life.
- Not yet involved in the movements up to the hot level.
- Not yet involved in the collectives to the constant-hot point.
- Not yet in class struggle movement at hot level.

[95]

- The matter of power possession: He still loves power.
- When implementing the political line of the party, he still balances many aspects for their own interests.
- In terms of standpoint analysis, must pay attention to the lesson learning of all issues, learn how to find out the reasons or the causes to the depth.
- Can not grasp hold of disputes among the mass, must have good faith in the mass.
- Must pay attention to the lesson learning to build up the mass to follow the recent evolution of the socialism.

- Must have the standpoint of the party members and pay attention to the fulfilment of the tasks and build up strong non-party tasks and strengthen the cadre line.

- Pay special attention, especially to unstable spirit, and look at the spiritual background and how it has evolved.

- Build up the communal spirit and properly evaluate the mass, do not be subjective.

5- " Bang " Roun:

Advantages: Good progress in the building of the class standpoint.

- The matter of eradication of ownership, families relationship and reputation.

- The tasks to gather the most friends possible.

- The nature of being faithful to the party.

Reasons:

The party and the ministry have paid great attention to this issue and he has the nature of self-consciousness from the communes.

Disadvantages:

- Not firm spirit, so not able to fulfil the tasks.

- Bad-tempered and not-patient with difficulty.

- Not firm spirit, always rely on one another systematically. That is to say he feels happy when he is in an easy circumstance but escape when facing complicated problems.

- Materialism, not yet well trained from the bottom up.

- Not worried, not afraid and too much believe that they will keep up the movements of the socialist revolution. Must consider that you are not qualified enough.

[96]

- Believe that he is active enough, so spirit of improving yourself also stops here. Therefore, do not compare yourself to others and say that you are good enough, you must reflect yourself to the party line.

The above mentioned factors actually affect the socialist revolution.

Direction: All the analysis must be based on the genesis of materialism.

- Must place yourself down among the population.

- Destroy the private ownership, habits of rank and reputation preference.

- Involve yourself actively in the movements to the boiling point.

- Participate in all the communal movements without thinking of your personal interest.

6- Comrade Thy: Struggle and overcome difficulty to seek various supplies.

Disadvantages:

- He is not deeply enough involved in the class struggle movement, not qualified to be a member of the proletarian class of the party. During his task performance, he still has much free time and relaxation and sometimes even did not fulfil the tasks.
- In terms of criticism, he just agreed to whatever the others said.
- In terms of speeches, he spoke in an authoritative imperative way to other comrades.

- He still has the spirit of the private ownership, always demand accurate quantity when buying or exchanging things.

7- Comrade Hong

Advantages:

He is noticed to have made successive progress and at the time of socialist revolution he has changed his character rapidly.

Disadvantages:

- He still has the thick influence from the petty bourgeoisie class. However, this class becomes weak where another class is strong. This is the middle class and easily influenced by the enemies.

[97]

If we take a close look at the class, it has no standpoint of exploitation but it takes the soul of the capitalist which is opposed to the interest of the collectives and obstruct the smooth process of the collective practices: when possessing this standpoint, you were reluctant when facing difficulty.

Therefore, you must keep improving and instilling yourself with the nature of our party to replace the non-beneficial standpoint of the petty-bourgeoisie. You must overcome some difficulty to serve the common interest of the collectives.

If our country is to take up socialist revolution, we must practice the collective systems or we fall into the capitalist regime again. We must take the strong standpoint of the proletarian class of the party.

You must learn from documents to which you can reflect your activities.

* You must take notice as well that in our ministry everyone has not yet well absorbed the line of the socialist revolution. As the party members, you must build up yourself to have firm standpoint and to become the core-members of the ministry and to expand non-party organisation.

If we still harbour the nature of self-comfort, we will put ourselves in a dangerous situation.

[98]

1- The Personality Of Comrade Thy:

1- Disadvantages: Free independent-minded in terms of eating, using equipment and dressing.

- He's the kind of " Yes man ".

- The standpoint of the class struggle is still weak.
- See mistakes but not dare to correct.
- In most cases, do analysis but not do criticism.

2- The private ownership: still has family, concerned about eating and family's living condition and thinks only about the interest of his own ministry.

- Regarding the task assignments
- Assignments and struggling
- Complicated spirit, underestimate his ability to the tasks entrusted.

3- Dedication For The Proletarian Class:

4- Disadvantages: Materialist, not taking all aspects into consideration, and escape from the problems facing.

II- About Politics

Disadvantages

Lack of unity, always agree to others' ideas blindly.

On The Matter Of Friends Gathering:

Disadvantages: Not fully grasp hold of his tasks. can not fulfil the tasks successfully. Not actively involved in the practical movements.

Poor communication with the grass-roots: Not yet taken the party statute into practical implementation because of lack of the party standpoint.

Notice: Lack of strong spirit, his spirit becomes weaker and not firm. not clear-cut. and has no firm class struggling standpoint.

Advantages: Has eradicated the private ownership to a noticeable extent.

Questions:

1. In terms of freedoms, have you grasped hold of the evolution of freedoms or not ?
2. In terms of private ownership, from the lesson learning, what measures should you take to cope with it ? You must understand that the reason is arising from the matter of ranks and reputation ambition.

[99]

Personality Of Comrade Nou

Private ownership: Still has private household assets like dishes or pots.

Spirit: Still loves personal interest and reputation.

- Do not like being criticised. When someone passed words humiliating his reputation, he got furious and took revenge on that individual.

The class struggle:

- Do not be careful with the pests.
- Still obstinate, the nature of the petty-bourgeoisie class.

About the Administration:

Materialism

- Thriftiness
- Bottles for holding pills.
- Surprised when seeing the changes.

Political Sector:

Disadvantages : *(nothing in the original text)*

Assignment: The provision of the party.

Advantages: Loyal to the party.
Eliminate the private ownership.

Disadvantages: Still deeply love the private ownership.

The Comments Of Brother " Van "

1. Can fulfil the tasks of the socialist revolution or not.
2. Concerning our spirit, what's wrong and what's right with it.
3. How much do we understand the political standpoint ? How dedicated are we to continue our socialist revolution ?
4. About the party statute.

Conclusion -Advantage: Mainly with the base levels.
-Disadvantage: Key and major problems.

[100]

Relevant Comments Of Comrade Hong

1. Spirit: Lack of the class struggle to the boiling point. still foster the old spirit of the private ownership.
- Careless in the investigation into the internal force of the party.
- Adherence to the provision of the party and the organisational discipline are not yet firm.

The Class Dispute:

- Still soft in terms of standpoint against the capitalist regime.

- Wrong analysis on the disputes.
- Still have sentiments for the exploiting class.
- Improper analysis standpoint.

Authority:

- Standpoint of petty-bourgeoisie, often ignorant.
- Have the standpoint of compromise with other classes.

The Private Ownership:

- Do not understand the collective system.
- Conservative way.

2. Politics:

Want to escape from the disputes with the extreme rightist.

3. Assignments: No collective democracy.

In Conclusion:

Advantages: Loyal to the party, follow the party line and unity.

Disadvantages: The private ownership, love power and non-party tasks.

- 1- Examining the tasks.
- 2- The standpoint of the political assignment.
- 3- Ask wherever you have questions.

1- Activity line:

- Absolutely destroy the private ownership even though small or big. We will never compromise.
- And build up the spiritual and political and collective assignment standpoint. Systematically, by motivating promisingly this concept inside the party, non-party organisations and among the mass to the depth through the general meeting or conference in clear and firm declaration.

[101]

Spirit:

Too free speech, run counter with the line; character, world view of the exploiting class.

Politics:

Assignments:

You must make the mass witness the problems arising out of the nature of the capitalist and the capitalist classes and motivate the mass to eradicate the two classes.

About Personal Background

Brother Van' s Comments Help Comrade Hong

Comments raised this time are very deep and reflects the high dedication in the movement of the socialist revolution.

The collective ideas came out from the burning heart and very appropriate to the situation of the construction of socialism in our country. I believe that if such burning ideas keep coming up like this, by the year 1977, we will become a " Leap Forwards " country.

- All comrades must set examples in this process.

Comments in three ways

1. Self-assessment planning
2. Sharing opinions
3. Comments on certain issues.

1- It is not yet strict and tough on the matter of strengthening and expansion of this point. Therefore, some do not understand deeply and do not have anger. The explanation is not clear whether the document is for what purpose.

Self-criticism is to serve the revolutionary tasks and the leadership throughout the ministry.

[102]

2- Content:

a. Dedicated to fulfil the revolutionary tasks and as the party members, you must build up the force to serve the revolution and you must be loyal to the party line.

Looking back into the past. In May 1975, our ministry was bare-handed at that time, but since that time we have been successful.

- Do not think about reputation, ranks, and not arrogant at work.
- Work hard, patient with work, struggle with hardship.

b. Disadvantages:

- Still go easy with the work and if possible, escape from the tasks.
- Sometimes get someone else to do it.
- Can not control fully the core tasks.
- Grasp hold of people in hands, do not do anything in a rush.
- Regarding all tasks, do not rely on the top Angkar thoroughly.

Reasons: 3 points of disadvantages:

1. Not yet well absorb the socialist revolution line.
 - Not yet grasp hold of the nature of class struggle firm in hands.
 - Do not understand the social disputes (?).

2. Spirit of petty-bourgeoisie, self-comfort, class compromise.
3. Not understand well the assignment provision of the party.

Solution Direction:

- Enhance the spirit of responsibility, pure democracy, collective leadership, and individual responsibility.
- Must prepare clear-cut programs.
- Daily views on inside and outside situation must be captured.
- The political standpoint is not firm in the analytical process of any solution-finding to the disputes.
- In terms of spirit, the class anger is still weak --still have much of compassion and sentiment.

[103]

Assignment: The matter of working leadership must be considered strictly. Must be close and get to know clearly about each individual.

Conclusion:

Advantages: Dare to die for the party forever.

Disadvantages:

- Not firmly grasp hold of the tasks. still have the standpoint of the compromise.
- The fighting spirit is not yet guaranteed, still keep secret at some points and the proletarian standpoint is not yet firm.
- Still careless with work.

Solution Direction:

- Push forwards to lead the ministry successfully.
- Must systematically learn lessons from one another and be mature at politics.
- Must be within a specific cell.

Certain Problems:

1. Three movements: These three movements are appropriate within the process of the socialist revolution and there is no contradiction.

The reason of lacking vigorous motivation:

- It's because there is a lack of leadership
- The people in the leadership line haven't yet well absorbed the party line.
- Use things in an economical way.
- Lesson learning movements: If we don't push our people to do lesson learning, it's hard for us to lead them.
- The meetings have not gone over the 3 movements constantly.
- We must be closely and more concerned about the base livelihood than ours.

- In terms of relation with Angkar, you must carefully select people.

[104]

01-08-1978

My request to all our comrades who are going on revolution inside Cambodia and*(the original Khmer sentences are not clear here)*.

Self-criticism Of Comrade Meoun

1. Spirit

Disadvantages:

- Self-comfort standpoint, compromise, spirit of pessimism.
- The attacks against the internal enemies are not strong.
- Can not grasp hold of the outside tasks and turn to ignore the class struggling.

2. The Political Sector:

Disadvantages:

- unstable-minded when hearing that people are starved.
- When having heard from the lesson learning that there were the enemies' pests inside the party, they felt surprised and frightened.
- Lack of standpoint to disseminate the party line
- Can not see the disputes inside other friendly countries and not stable-minded.
- Still infested with complexity with our friendly country--Korea.

1977 Plan:

- Make out effort to fulfil your respective tasks.
- Not yet given up the private ownership.
- Self-comfort.

[105]

Reason: Still have the old standpoint of the middle class.

Direction: Keep learning the party line.

Brother Van' s Comments About Comrade Meoun

1. Our foreign affairs policy came out from our practical struggle.

In 1960, The party determined 6 factors:

1. Leadership by the party.
2. People are full of consciousness.

3. Strong military.
4. Have firm basis for support.
5. Strong economy.
6. Gathering as many friends as possible all over the world.

Must do the best to maintain close friends and do whatever possible to satisfy them; do not make them resentful.

The self-opinion is a major one.

First - The personal opinion factor outside.

Second - The personal opinion inside embassies.

Disadvantages:

- Do jobs freely without clear plans or programs.
- Working in an embassy, you must have the most secrecy and do not let out secrecy fall into the hands of the opportunists.
- In diplomatic work, you must not speak about anything beyond party provisions. Don't speak freely.
- Do not care much about money through the embassy, for we might get into trouble.
- Know how to praise them, learn experience from them and at the same time, you must know how to thank them.

Have loyal political standpoint, protect the party line and when coming to the time of socialist revolution. They still feel happy with the line of the socialist revolution. We have also attacked vigorously the private ownership to build up the collective ownership.

Assignment:

Must grasp hold of the party statute and carry out the tasks regularly and strictly.

[106]

Revolutionary self-assessment of Brother " Touch "

Assignment:

Disadvantages:

Irresponsible standpoint, not yet make out all the efforts and capacity to do the jobs.

The Swedish embassy came in, but no one investigated the autobiographies of all the embassy's personnel.

- Negotiation with Thailand. lack of spirit of responsibility.
- Going to Colombo[sic] and United Nations.

* The Nature Of The Competing Classes(?)

How much progress has the socialist revolution made? Look at yourself closely.

- Still regret their knowledge and intelligence.
- Disadvantages: Want to go on revolution and want self-comfort as well.
- Find it hard to get rid of the bad spirit from the body which is always obstructing. (?)

2. Politics:

Disadvantages:

- Do not know well the existence of oneself and do not understand the leadership line of one's own party.
- Lack of national soul in mind and get easily influenced by foreigners.

3. Assignment:

- Lack of the nature of commandership, leadership and working spirit.
- Do not like the party's work.

The Revolutionary self-criticism of Comrade " Cheam "

1. Spirit:

Disadvantages:

- Not yet possess proper ideas and not yet absorb the nature of the proletarian class.
- The tasks that the party entrusted are without clear plans.
- Still possess the idea of private ownership and want self-comfort.

1. Pay attention to the encouragement of the massive movements to combat against the private ownership that is the real nature of the capitalist regime.

2. Strengthening and expansion:

- The private ownership, free independent-minded in their jobs and too much free movement.
- Still authoritative and exercise Marshall.

The issues of dispute settlement are not yet self-mastering and inclined to escape from the disputes and sometimes not solve the disputes well.

[107]

Disadvantages:

- motivate the main three movements not yet to the hot point. Must find out reasons.
- Not yet firmly and tightly grasp hold of the mass in terms of spiritual, political and assignment standpoint and the autobiographies of our comrades.
- Betray the provisions of the party in terms of leadership and in their jobs.

+ Examine the main problems that actually caused the mass inability to accept such things from us. Maybe, they can not accept because some are quick to understand and some others slow or some are quick to come to self-consciousness and some others lack the spirit of self-consciousness.

+ Not yet close to the mass, so that can not grasp hold of the massive requests. In addition to that, we have not instilled them with enough spirit of the proletarian class and lack educational measures, and public propaganda so we fail to solve daily problems.

Van' s Comments About Comrade Cheam

Advantages:

1. Loyal, never secret.
2. Maintain the close working relationship with the mass.
3. Fulfil the tasks without any conditions.
4. Educate and correct immediately what went wrong.

If compared to the socialist revolution, there is still a great lack.

1. Not yet possess a high spirit of responsibility; for example, still slow in working process, reluctant and do not understand well.
2. The leadership behaviour: Still exercise Marshall and authoritative with our people. especially with base people. Get rid of the dictatorship and bad-tempered state.
3. Do not try hard to learn lessons deeply and constantly.
4. Too independent-minded, especially too free speech when getting furious with someone, they use words of dividing classes into this type or that type: for instance. this is the front group for example.
5. The building of the proletarian class nature.
6. The education about Angkar is still low.
7. Still soft with efforts. still free independent-minded to do whatever they want.

Solution Direction:

[108]

Must bear in mind the nature of our own class. Grasp hold of the proletarian class of the party. Do not be wrongly proud of yourself.

- The sub-cell livelihood meetings must be held irregularly.
- Must push forwards the three main movements in the ministry to the maximum.
- Place ourselves down to let the mass criticise us and do not argue with the mass

The self-criticism of Brother "Dean"

1. The Spirit:

Disadvantages:

- Still miss family and children and want enough property.
- The standpoint of the middle-class still follows your bodies like your shadow and is still vividly heard .
- The private ownership in terms of power and orders.
- Badly behaved towards land owners and in an impolite way.
- In most cases, get easily surprised when the situation changed or met with the turning-point.

- The gathering of friends is not yet to a satisfactory extent.
- The installation of our comrades is not yet constant.

BROTHER VAN' S OPINIONS FOR BROTHER DEAN

Advantages:

1- At the time of the socialism, we fulfilled the tasks entrusted by the Angka.

2- *(not understand the original sentence at all)* ពុំមានផ្តល់នូវភារកិច្ច ជាយើងដែរ ។

3- Try hard to build up yourselves.

We see that our socialist revolution at this moment is very deep and evolve progressively. Therefore, to well fulfil the tasks, we must get rid of the private ownership.

- Our standpoint must be dedicated towards enemies; for instance, Japan brought letters to us with the intention to spy us.
- Another problem is that we must do critical analysis when going to see the Russian dramas. You must walk away so that you walk in the right way.

[109]

- On the other hands, we are fairly strong in terms of standpoint. However, you must be always careful in your jobs, speeches and exchange of ideas.

3. Dedicated to continuously do lesson-learning in our embassies.

- Must be more economical.
- We determine that Laos is our enemy.

The self-criticism Of Bang " Sou "

About The Tasks To resist Against Thailand:

Disadvantages:

- Ownership, materials, seniority and authoritarianism. The indirect control over the youth.
- Being afraid of tiredness and hardship is the standpoint of the capitalist.
- Too free independent-minded in the decisions on various activities by supposition only.
- Thailand is our strategic and vital enemy.

Disadvantages:

- As shown by the negotiation in Sisophon, it is still in the process of observation.
- The class struggling standpoint has not been tough and always ignore the surrounding problems.
- The secrecy standpoint is too strict with foreigners.
- Do not vigorously deal with disputes and escape from them.
- Still underestimate the issue of private ownership which belongs to the capitalist regime and lack of burning anger against the private ownership.

II. THE VIEW ON THE SITUATION

III. ASSIGNMENT: Livelihood meetings are not yet to the depth.

The Main Disadvantages: Bureaucracy, dignitary partisan (Neameoun, Niyum) authoritarianism and spirit of luxury.

Reasons:

- The class struggle standpoint is not firm.
- The absorption of the party line is not yet to the depth.
- Lack of the standpoint of responsibility in the socialist revolution.

The Solution Direction:

[110]

Questions:

1. Examining the situation of the Cambodian and Thai border, how much progress have we made ?
2. Could you examine what is the key ownership ?

Bang Van' s Comments About Comrade Sou In Thailand

* The nature of the tiger is cannibalism, so tigers never change this nature. Concerning this matter, if you have such a feeling, do not hide inside your mind, you must tell the collective.

Advantages:

1. Dedicated to the cause of the revolution until the 17 April 1975 and always trust the party line.
2. The relation with Thailand causes no effect on the building of the socialism.
3. Never have any contradiction to advice.

Disadvantages:

The relevant standpoints of you as comrades are not yet strong and firm in terms of politics, spirit and assignment.

Main Disadvantages:

- The spirit and the proletarian class standpoint is not yet firm and always think that only intellectuals are suitable for leadership. The higher their degrees are, the more careful you must be.
- those in leadership must respect the worker class and the proletarian class.
- Politics: The political standpoint is still reluctant. For example, the enemy critically revealed something about our corruption, and we don't handle them. This means that the enemy is feeling our standpoint.
- We must bear in our mind the class standpoint before we talk to such people and we must have the inside spirit and thought that they are real enemies but we act outside as if we were friendly to them.
- Concerning the relation with the capitalist countries, you must be firm and strict with appointment time so that they can not control our standpoint.

Assignment:

- We must do our best to the observation. If you go to meet an embassy official. If you have three persons to go there, the head must talk to the ambassador and the other two observe the facial expressions in order to do experience learning in our meetings.

[111]

- In terms of the spiritual building, our party requests each to do this by 10 %.
- 36 people in Poy Pet must do their best to produce 2,000 Things of rice.

The self-criticism Of Bang Mai

I. Spirit:

Disadvantages:

- Want enough livelihood supplies, not economical and not much concerned and suffer when seeing people facing livelihood difficulties.
- Do not have the standpoint to counter-attack the enemies.
- The class struggle is still soft and weak.

The Proletarian Dedication:

Disadvantages:

- Not yet motivate the massive involvement and not yet given the power and full rights to the mass.
- The private ownership concern remains in every step of thinking.
- Not firm assignments, they are still loose.
- Still love materialism.
- Still have careless standpoint which is the standpoint of the middle class.

II. Politics:

Private Ownership VS Collective Ownership

III. Assignment:

- Still love the private ownership spirit, still love and concern about family and children.
- Not yet do analysis of every dispute to the depth and with consideration of all aspects.

The Revolutionary Criticism Of Comrade " Bean "

I. Spirit:

1. Disadvantages:- Love private ownership, reputation and achievements, not yet exclusive unity within the party and the collective system is still narrow. So far, attack here and there.

2- Still playful, not yet clear division of classes and not yet control the disputes.
-In terms of class revolution, there remain compromises especially with..... (nothing here in the original text)

3. Disadvantages:

- Lazy, self-comfort and want delicious food.
- Not pay much attention to the class struggle and still go easy with it.
- Let foreigners degrade the national value because of lateness and irregular appointment time.

[112]

- The national revolution, ownership, materials and achievements at Peam Chhilaing and the commerce in the capitalist way.

Disadvantages:

- Still cling to the old nature of the old regime. Do you still compare with others like Vietnamese, Korean performance in Siem Reap or not? (No)

Spirit: Ranks, old habits.

Materialism: Not self-mastering on disputed, still put yourselves higher than the mass.

self-criticism Of Bang " Kong "

Spirit:

- The tasks are not yet well fulfilled.
- Private ownership and-sentiment for family and children.
- Private ownership, reputation and rank.
- still left behind with foreign influence-
- Private ownership, sentiment, family and children.

Class Struggle: Still underestimate the class struggle.

[113] (CONTINUE FROM HERE)

The Total Result Of The Lesson Learning In 1976

Requests:

1. Build up and strengthen the spiritual, political and assignment standpoint.
2. Strengthen our comrades and cadres through refresher training.
3. Enhance the spirit of high vigilance.

We have cleared away the past misunderstanding which is the first step.

Statements At The Closing Of The Party Training Course - December 1976

- The first victory: We have seen the strength and weakness and the solution direction already.

In order to carry out the solution direction of the party:

1. Strengthen the spiritual, political and assignment standpoint.
2. Expand the spiritual standpoint.
3. Strengthen the internal unity and solidarity within the party.

[114]

Meeting On 15 December 1976

1. Make reports on the situation in all fields and also the spiritual and political standpoint.
2. Concept and task direction for 1977.
3. The branch meeting.
4. The Kampuchea Communist Youth meetings.
5. The opening of the courses in the ministry.
6. The plan to recruit cadres to guarantee effective leadership.

The Number of People In Takmao

Male Youth	Elderly	Female Youth	Children
12 people	9 people	4 people	13 people
4 people	4 people	5 people	14 people
6 people			
2 people	5 people	9 people	9+27+23=59

The front unit wants M₁ want to learn politics.

In the ministry B₁ = 640 people out of which 54 people are children, 98 working at the market places (62 women and 36 men), 18 people working in the sawing sector.

The ministry of B₁ = 36 children -----> 3 women

The ministry of M₁ = 118 -----> 8 children

Siem Reap 25 ---> 2th - 60 people

Kampot 20 ---> 15th - 23 people

Kampong Som 36 ---> Technology + Chinese Embassy - 85 people

B₁ = 130 people - Korean = 13 people

Leave allowance: 10 day's work and day's rest.

House # II: - 6 core women, out of which 2 from the mass.

- 9 youths, all from the mass.

1. Review of the current situation of our country.
2. The enemy's situation.
3. The 1977 plan.
4. The working direction of the ministry.
5. The main and immediate tasks.

[115]

I. THE CURRENT SITUATION OF OUR COUNTRY

We have continued our socialist revolution in all fields.

Contents: Brainwash the old concepts of the capitalist, feudalism and imperialist which are the pests attempting to destroy our leadership machine. We have basically handled those who are the lackeys of the above categories. The fact that we have wiped out all these elements proved our great success.

In the our military field, there used to be somewhat disarray but now we have successively conducted good selection.

Concerning the 1977 harvest, we guarantee enough food rations for our people. This shows that our development direction is moving forwards more and more smoothly. The leadership line is also good and can cope with all obstacles.

We have three types of armed forces, militia, regional troops and front-line troops (infantry, navy and air armed forces). These help to make the process of socialist revolution and build socialism even better. All the above factors can prove that we are able to defend our country. With foreigners, do not use the words " Socialism Building ".

2. The Tricks of The Enemies:

Do the enemies feel happy like us or not ? The West and the East enemies both want to destroy us. The question is whether or not they dare send their troops to attack us openly. The West is in a state of turmoil as the Thai Communist Movement is giving repeated blows and the American Imperialist is able to provide some help in kind to Thailand as they have also tricks to get back interest as well.

This enemy struggled very hard with their military activities along our both territorial and space boundaries, espionage along boundary and among the refugees. However, we would settle these problems. Another trick is that they are trying to build up connection with the pests inside our party line in addition to some other outside tactics to ruin us. It is their strategic goal: therefore, you must be careful.

While the East enemy also has the objective to destroy our leadership machine in order to force us to enter into Indochinese Union under their leadership and the Soviet Union is also part of this attempt.

Therefore, the East has much more difficulty to attack us as the North Viet Nam and the South Viet Nam are in a state of turmoil, not pure: so they don't have ability to send their troops to attack us.

[116]

They just have some feeble firings along the border and that's it. Their tactics is to embed their agents within our line to cause internal rebellion and then there would be excellent opportunity for them to interfere.

In 1976, this enemy met with serious defeats but they never give up their tactics. Therefore, we must be very careful at all times. We must be firm and bear in mind the revolutionary concept and standpoint. They both try to isolate us secretly so as to shut down our revolutionary influence to make the free countries more opened wide.

Can they do it? We think that it's no way even though they try hard to defame us throughout the world.

3. As far as the 1977 plan of the party is concerned, our people this year have enough to eat at this time, the party has raised the two plans.

- In 1977, we focus on agriculture, rice farming.

The first time - 1,400,000 hectares

The second time - 200,000 hectares

In order to carry out this plan:

1. The party must lead.
2. Armed forces must be strong.
3. People must be firm.
4. The water solutions, fertiliser and rice seeds must be settled and selected.
5. Our foreign affairs is good- gather friends and reduce enemies. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs lack cadres. We have only as many staff as mentioned above.

The 1977 Working Plan Of The Ministry

* Based on the above-mentioned situation, we see that the ministry's objective is to push forwards vigorously all activities in all fields of the ministry to achieve at least 80% of the plan.

In terms of political affairs, we need cadres to take daily, trimester, semester and annual measures.

[117]

- The protocol sector must control all embassies inside and outside the country and also the guest reception.

Secretariat: Must pay attention to the statements and the blessing letters.

- The Office Of B.: Hospital, diet ration, nursery for children, party building and non-party tasks.

- Markets And Supplies:

In terms of commerce, we think about marketing and entertainment places for embassy people.

- Waiters and waitresses
 - Technical units.
 - Agricultural and husbandry units.
2. Must be careful with the reception of the socialist guests, must choose carefully workers to serve this type of guests.
 3. Prepare and arrange embassies outside the country for 6 to 8 countries.
 4. Be prepared to the committee of Head of State.
 - Chamber of people's representatives
 - Committee of the governments
 - Committee of the mass
 - Committee of the armed forces
 5. Request guest to visit our country, especially Asian and African countries.

6. Be prepared to choose our delegation to pay visits abroad.
7. The objective to strengthen the party and non-party.

The Immediate Tasks:

- First: Open the training course
 Second: The congress of the Yuvakok
 Third: The congress of the cells
 Fourth: Preparation for Chinese delegation reception.

Cuban delegation will arrive on 28th and today is 24th; so we must prepare checking at the airport carefully.

III. The Congress of The Branches

1. Report about the situation of each cell in all fields including advantages and disadvantages.
2. The 1977 work plan.
3. The assignment of the cell committee and the establishment of sub-cells.

[118]

Lesson learning Course:

The Spiritual Document:

1. The socialist revolution in all fields-class struggle.
 2. The view on the current situation of Cambodia.
 3. The party statute, The Kampuchea Communist Youth and the organisational discipline.
 4. The 1977 work-plan of the Ministry.
- Do self-criticism for two days.

IV. The Plan To Recruit Our Cadres

The cell congress on 18 January 1977.

Slogan:

1. Struggle to eliminate the private ownership of all types from our bodies and strengthen the collective standpoint to the maximum.
2. Determine to successfully fulfil the plans of the cells for the year 1977.
3. Enhance the spirit of high revolutionary vigilance and keep secrecy.
4. Constantly strengthen and expand internal unity and solidarity within the party to the best possible.

[119]

The Opening Of The Party

Since the existence of the party in 1960, the party has taken over the leadership during the political and armed struggling and the five years of war.

The party has adhered to the task of leadership. All comrades in the Central Party are the sharp front.

The Importance Of The Congress:

The leadership party is the top Angkar in the ministry under the leadership of the Central Party. Some party members didn't attend this congress.

Report:

Request: To allow all the party members to get the knowledge of the 1976 and 1977 plans of the Central Party.

[120]

2. To make them understand major experience so far and able to find out advantages, disadvantages and solutions.

The Collective Political Tasks:

In 1976, the Central Party has determined the common tasks. There are three common tasks:

1. Continue the socialist revolution to the depth.
2. Dedicatedly complete the core tasks.
3. Defend the nation.

- How much progress has been made? In conclusion, we laid down all these tasks in the right direction and thanks to the " Leap Forwards Speed ".

- We are able to get rid of the private regime.
- The private ownership: We are much better.
- In all, the collective tasks of the socialist revolution are always overwhelming or dominant.
- We have found out many cases about CIA pests and វិនិស្ស័យនិសេធ etc.
- In our communes in 1976, we have had many difficulties but we could motivate the socialist revolution movements.

* The socialist building takes the form of the collective process throughout the country and also the political spirit has expanded.

The building of socialist spirit is still relatively slow. Each of you has made progress but still slow, especially those in the party line.

- Industry, threshing machines and iron-melting machines.

3. The National Defence Tasks: We must effectively defend our water, space and territorial boundaries.

V. Core Tasks:

- Strengthen the communes from village levels to sub-district levels.
- Three tons per hectares; we have exported 90% of the total product which amounts to 100,000 tons to 150,000 tons per year.

Tasks of all fields:The Building Of The Party:

The quality of our party members is much better than before. Even though some cadres lost their lives, it is a previous sacrifice for the cause of the socialist revolutionary movements. In general, the building of the party throughout the country is of good quality.

[121]

The Building Of The Populous Force:

Our co-operatives are firm and the evacuated people are now stable.

The Revolutionary Authority:

- We erased the sub-district committees and replaced them by the communal committees.
- The building of friendly relationship with countries all over the world is in good progress. The speeches made in Colombo[sic] was considered good throughout the world.

The Supporting Base: In the Northeast and Pailin

- The protection of the party and authority from the (KGB which is the secret agency of the Soviet Union). We have crushed down all the enemies' activities to a great extent. The party considers the year 1976 the key year and now we have successfully passed through the year.

* Some Experiences in the year 1976

1. Throughout the country, our experience is that wherever the continuance of the socialist revolution is in good progress, the building process of socialism is also good.
2. In the process of socialist revolution, you must constantly enhance the spirit of high vigilance and avoid too much of pacification.
3. There must be clear plans for farming and a good gathering of all labour forces to fight towards the right target.

In all:

1. The situation is getting better and better.
2. The Leap Forwards is under process.

The Common Political Tasks of The Party In 1977:

- Continue the socialist revolution to the deepest possible.

- Pay attention to the elimination of the private ownership.
- Continue the socialist revolution, especially in the cadre line.
- Continuance of socialist building in all fields.
- Defend the country, protect the revolution and defend the leadership machine.

The Core Tasks Of 1977:

1. Try to strengthen and expand the co-operatives.
2. Push forwards hard the great movements of rice farming.
3. The special tasks to produce harvest to the maximum.

[122]

Tasks In All Fields:

V. REPORT ON THE CELL ACTIVITIES IN 1976

Request:

1. You must understand clearly the work plan of the one-year period and able to find out what are the advantages.
2. Hold discussions through which you exchange experience and lessons for the sake of the Ministry.

Content:

1. Reminding the achievements of the common tasks on all sector so far.
2. The result of the task implementation for the year 1976.
3. The conclusion

The Detailed Speeches:

1. Continue the socialist revolution and socialist building.
2. The building of socialism in the ministry.

Work in all sectors: The building of the party- the political standpoint is not an easy thing to build up.

Disadvantages:

- Still love ownership, reputation, ranks and sector partisan, lack of absorption of the party statute in the implementation process such as propaganda, education and strengthening of the party influence.
- The building of the Yuvakok: The Yuvakok plays a vital role.
- Offices: there are still disadvantages, lack of work plans and effective ministry defence.

Political Sector:

Disadvantages: The political analysis is not yet clear-cut because there is still influence from the exploiting class.

Protocol: Concerning the polite conduct towards the guests, what kind of conduct do you take up ?
- Cars, food, accommodation for guests.

Advantages: Relations with guests.

[123]

Market Supply And Farming:

III. Some Experiences:

1. If we don't overcome the difficulty to educate the party, the Kampuchean Communist Youth and the mass, we can not make good process.
2. Do not build up cadres in reservation for the guests.
3. Guest reception must be in accordance with the standpoint of the ministry.

IV. Conclusion.

Advantages: Grasp hold of one's own tasks.

Disadvantages: The socialist revolution is not yet pure, still mixed with private ownership, power and reputation ambition

Direction: Try hard to fight more and more vigorously.

Conclusion: Not dedicated and still keep things secret from the congress.

1. Reluctant with the criticism process because they don't normally do clear self-criticism on their own.
2. In terms of politics, the relation from one cell to another is not sincere.
3. Still possess the idea of the middle class and still have self-comfort. The whole party has slow activities.
4. The party members must respect absolutely the party statute, training and sub-cell meetings and learning.
5. Cadres still love private ownership, especially sector partisan.

The Leadership Role Of The Party:

1. Take up high responsibility.
2. Instil the political and spiritual standpoint, hold training sessions, sub-cell meetings regularly.

Advantages:

- The party cell at the party congress was very motivated.

Disadvantages:

- Continue the socialist revolution not yet to the depth in terms of private ownership and partisan.
- Two ladies committed traitorous acts in the ministry, the experience which should be taken is that:

1. Trace carefully the autobiographies of individual members.
2. High spirit of revolutionary vigilance.

[124]

View On The World Situation Related To The Kampuchea Revolution

Request:

1. To understand to a greater extent the situation.
2. To have clear and collective standpoint, understanding and present tendency.
3. To have clear conception related to the division of the world blocs.
4. To have clear conception towards the neutral countries and រដ្ឋស្ម័គ្រចិត្ត.
5. To have clear standpoint and concept towards the world trend.

Content:

1. The division of the world today and its influence on Cambodia.
2. Concept and standpoints of the world towards the Kampuchea revolution.
3. The overall situation of the Southeast Asian and the struggle movements of the people in this region which have relation with our revolution.
4. The situation in Vietnam, Laos and Thailand
5. Our concept, standpoint and function line on the international arena.

Detailed Speeches:

1. The world is divided into three blocs: The first bloc is the American Imperialists; the West German, Japanese, French, English Imperialists and the capitalist countries including European countries, Canada. In these countries, they use money as the main tool and they always have disputes with one another and they are រដ្ឋស្ម័គ្រចិត្ត. The second bloc includes Soviet Union, the East Europe. In 1960, this bloc changes their direction by stopping revolution. The third bloc comprises the largest population but most of them are poor and less independent.

[125]

II. Concept And Standpoint Of The Three Blocs:

1. The First Bloc: Strongly opposed to us, they always intend to destroy us. They are our real enemies. They can not plague us. They met with US \$ 47 billion deficit. Japan can not militarily invade us but they may infiltrate through their own embassy.

2. The Second Bloc: The Soviet Union is the master mind. They are our enemies like the first bloc as well. They always want us to become free by following them. Therefore, do not be reluctant with them. We must be careful with the KGB which is the secret Ministry of the Soviet Union.

3. The Third World: There are three tendencies:

- Sacrifice everything with us and loyal to us. Those are China, Albania, and Korea.

- Normal friends: Yugoslavia, Romania and Algeria.
- Some other countries do not feel content with us. They always oppose to us such as the puppets of the Imperialists- Taiwan and South Korea.

III. The Situation In The Southeast Asia Which Is Related To Cambodia

Burma, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, Singapore. These countries were under the colony of the American Imperialist but later on, they turned their heads to the Soviet Union.

In Thailand, the population rose up vigorously with their struggling movements as well as in Malaysia and Kalimantan in Indonesia.

IV- The situation in Vietnam, Thailand and Laos

Does Vietnam dare to attack us? The party asserts that they don't dare to do so because of the following factors:

- lack of food supply, still scattered with festering internal disputes between the South and the North. still have many Catholic people and capitalists. However, they still continue finding new tactics.
- Laos : too bad and weak to fight us
- Thailand : not dare to send troops to fight us.

V- Our function-line

1- The world situation at the moment is giving us favourable conditions.

- We have the ability to launch offensives everywhere.
- We have strengthened the relationship with friends around the world.
- We have also expanded a wide range of friends all over the world.

In all, the congress has come to a unanimous agreement in terms of concepts and standpoint. Thailand and Vietnam do not have any possibility to plaque our revolution at all.

[126]

The View on the Kampuchea Revolution Situation

Request :

- 1- to allow our friends to discuss about the current situation
- 2- to have the standpoint and spirit of responsibility as the master of the nation and revolution :

Content :

- 1- The enemies' s situation confronting the Kampuchea revolution
- 2- The situation of the Cambodian people and their livelihood.
- 3- The situation of the party and military.
- 4- The current disputes in the society.
- 5- The concept and standpoint to find solutions to the disputes and our revolutionary work plan in the future.

Speeches :

- 1- The situation of the enemy in Cambodia

1976 was the key year. Our enemies are now weakening and are going to die. The revolution has pulled out their roots, and the espionage networks have been smashed; in terms of classes, our enemies are all gone. However, they still have the American imperialists, the free [world], the KGB, and Vietnam. Though they have been defeated, they can still block us. Another thing is that the enemies are inside our body, among the military, the workers, in the co-operatives and even in our ranks. Making Socialist Revolution deeply and strongly, these enemies must be progressively wiped out as soon as possible.

II. The situation of our people's living conditions at present

In October 1976, one can of rice is for 6 people since January 1977 the people's living condition has become improved and later on in the year rose to the standard of the middle-class farmers. In addition, in 1977 we have made plans to produce medicine. Our people feel very happy and have built up their localities and achieved stability now.

[127]

III The situation of the party and the revolutionary troop at the moment

Our political and spiritual standpoint is generally high in the army, co-operatives, and unions, still we have not enough firm party members yet. The difficult point is that there is still the existence of the private ownership within the party. Whereas the cell and sub-cell meetings are not conducted regularly yet. Our military composition was carefully selected and our Central Armed Forces are 70 % self-sustaining, which is a very rare case in the world.

IV- The types of the disputes

The adversarial disputes and the internal disputes

- The adversarial disputes are those against the revolution. If there are such disputes, we must hand over them to the security sector to deal with; that is to do research to find out its systematic relation. For this types of dispute, no need to do things like education, it is to no avail.

- The internal disputes take place in the partyline, collectives and unions. These must be solved through livelihood meetings, criticism to find certain solutions as this kind of dispute is vital.

- The internal disputes will always develop if we don't find solutions in time and it may rise up to an adversarial dispute.

V-The concept and standpoint of the party towards the solution of the disputes

- If you want to solve the disputes, you must educate the internal force to have clear understanding. The matter of dispute-solving also demands struggling dedication to clear off private ownership, to promote criticism and reliance on the mass. Our immediate task is to fulfil our 1977 plan successfully.

Conclusion

- Our overall Kampuchea situation is good and stands on the firm ground in the process of the building up of socialism.

- The early 1977 situation in Cambodia is good, which allows us to continue our socialist revolution.

We must go on class struggle to the depth between private ownership and our collective ownership.

[128]

The Cell Plan of 1977

- 1- Have the original models
- 2- Common tasks
- 3- Non-party tasks
- 4- Tasks in the fields
- 5- The function-line of the cells

I- Original Models

- 1- Through the two-day discussion, we see that the world situation is good for our cells. The special aspects in 1977, which our cells should pay attention to is that "*high revolutionary vigilance and self-mastery to get rid of the enemies both inside and outside the country.*"
- 2- The overall situation in the Ministry is good and we have basically gained victory.

II- The collective political tasks:

- 1- Continue the socialist revolution vigorously and to the depth by making out all the effort to pull out the roots of the capitalism, feudalism, and the exploiting classes. Continue to eliminate private ownership to the depth in 1977. We dedicate that we will never allow these exploiting classes, private regime and private ownership to grow up from the ground again.
- 2- Continue to fulfil the task of building up socialism vigorously and to achieve Leap Forward Plan. Make tough effort to strengthen and expand our collective base of the proletarian class in all fields, especially the political, spiritual and assignment standpoint by dedicating to arrange our Ministry of Foreign Affairs in a scientific and systematic manner in order to enable the Ministry to successfully proceed on its way to attain the goal of the 1977 plan and the building-up of cadres to have the spirit of responsibility, independence, self-mastering and compliance with the organisational discipline of the Ministry.

[129]

- 3- Continue to participate in the national defence task to protect the victory of the revolution and must pay attention at all times in order to instil and promote to the boiling point the spirit of high revolutionary vigilance to get rid of all phenomenon, standpoint and concept of pacification from the cells, the Kampuchea Communist Youth, mass and our ministry. Must pay attention to the education and instillation of the political and spiritual standpoint in order to assign strong defence units.

III- THE CORE TASKS OF THE MINISTRY

1. Make efforts to strengthen and expand the party and the Kampuchea Communist Youth in terms of standpoint, spirit and assignment so that they become strong cells, party and the ministries to undertake firm leadership in all fields directly and dedicatedly. We must strengthen the cells, party and the ministries as a solid wall for us to move forwards with the socialist revolution, the building of socialism and the protection of the ministry to become hard core-line in all activities of all fields of the ministry.
2. Push forwards the relationship strengthening with foreigners both inside and outside the country. Furthermore strengthen the solidarity and friendship ties with our friends of long good history together, especially with the third world countries to a more vigorous extent, mainly focusing on the national liberation struggle movements in Southeast Asia.

With this respect, we must pay attention to the struggle movements and national liberation in the Southeast Asia. Pay attention to the political relation in accordance with the five provisions with other nations with which we can establish relation. We must also clearly define our enemies within each period so that it's easy for us to carry out our actions, whether to be impartial with them or otherwise to isolate them. This is based on our own opinion.

IV. Work In All Sectors:

1. The Building Of The Party: Overcome difficulty to build up all the cells to become core cells of high quality and to have firm political standpoint and standpoint of the responsibility.
 - a. Build up the political standpoint: You must try to instil constantly and clearly the concept of class disputes and class struggles which are at the moment very tough in the Cambodian society at the point of the socialist revolution. We must be able to see clearly who are friends and who are enemies, what are internal disputes and what are adversarial disputes and what are the national disputes with enemies outside. If we can make a clean-cut distinction, we are self-mastering in terms of standpoint and concept. We must take proper and practical measures to deal with all types of disputes.

We must continue to instil the strategic line of the socialist revolution and build up our socialism. We must grasp hold of collective political tasks, core tasks and all other tasks in all fields to put into the practical activities. Grasp hold of the basic political standpoint of the party in all fields to use as a compass to direct examination and analysis and the solution finding of all the problems and disputes and the adoption of effective measures. Based on the basic political line of the party, we must keep abreast of all successive events of the revolutionary movements inside and outside the country. We must be able to see clearly the weakness and the strength in terms of self-opinion in order to take clear measures and have self-mastering and to avoid the loss of control falling behind the events and becoming irresponsible observers. A more important thing is that we must clearly understand the situations in our neighbouring countries in Southeast Asia and other situations relevant to our revolution. We do this with the intention to get rid of some confusing ideas from ourselves - pacification or (pacifism), inclination to surrender (). The party members must pay attention to the state of inclination to surrender because it () still exists in our cells, and for this reason we must eliminate this concept.

[130]

- b. The Spirit:

We must instil vigorously and to the depth the spirit of the proletarian class of the party by distinguishing the composition of each class in the society at present. We must upgrade the spirit of

the proletarian class dedication and according to the real nature and essence of this class, still the proletarian patriotism, and internationalism of the party. We must also instil the spirit of the revolutionary pride of the people, military, and the party by placing complete trust on the people, military and the party. We are dedicated to eliminate the spirit of foreign subordination and beliefs in foreigners. We must further upgrade the national reputation and uphold the massive concept and massive line of the party.

[131]

We must further instil the communist morale, especially in livelihood and in the battles with enemies and the Marxism and Leninism.

c. Assign to continue with instillation of the party statute. Struggle to build up and disseminate the party leadership line in accordance with pure democracy, especially the collective leadership. Continue to strengthen and select the internal force of the cells by trying hard to build up our cadres to be of quality and effectiveness in the fulfilment of their revolutionary tasks. We must pay attention to the motivation to the maximum and proper spearheading of the three movements:

1. Regular sub-cell meetings through criticism and self-criticism must be done to suit themselves to the tasks the cells entrusted.

2. The economization in all things

3. The lesson learning to build up the political, spiritual and assignment standpoint and technique. We must pay attention to the building of technician-line to bear firm standpoint in all fields, in the ministries, offices, political sectors and protocol office. Pay attention to markets, farming and food supplies and rice cooking to serve the revolutionary movements. Must pay great attention to the social affairs and the building of political, spiritual and assignment standpoint in all fields.

3. Build up the Kampuchea Communist Youth to become the right hand of the ministry, cells and the son born from the party. Therefore, the cells must overcome to strengthen and expand the real nature of cells by disseminating and educating the political, spiritual and assignment standpoint and working closely with them according to the clear plans and programs. Must pay special attention to the strengthening and the expansion and purification of the Kampuchea Communist Youth and to the constant and proper implementation of the democratic provisions of the party.

3. The Functions Of The Offices

1- Must pay attention to further education of our staff in the offices for the year 1977 to enable them to understand the nature and contents of their office tasks to well serve the entire ministry and to assign work in compliance with the instructions by cells. Must instil them with political and spiritual standpoint of the proletarian class and make them dedicated to the fulfilment of collective tasks such as managing or arranging houses and looking after various buildings for reception or firm shows.

[132]

They must get ready the arrangement of Chamkar Mon Residence and guest houses in Svay Rieng, Kampong Thom, Kampong Chhnang, Siem Reap, Battambang, Pousat, and Kampong Som and also maintain all the household equipment's properly. We must instil the staff involved in food cooking,

the spirit of economization, polite behaviour towards guests by strengthening the scientific assignments. After the guests leave, they must learn new experience from the reception of those guests. B1 must hold meetings to train them more. Concerning air line field, we must enhance the spirit of high responsibility and vigilance in their jobs. To this end, we are going to set up new facilities to ease the ticket selling and ticket control. We must guarantee security and trace the personal biographies in the entire ministry and must gather weapons and ammunition and send them to the military Head Quarter. We must always investigate the enemies in the ministry. Do readily prepare hospitals to accommodate foreigners.

4. Political Sector:

This sector is under direct leadership of the cell committee and based on the self-opinion of our ministry which has so far succeeded in all fields for the year 1977. This sector is very important and we must pay great attention to the building of spiritual standpoint in order to put up plans to establish relationship with foreigners inside and outside the country or on visits in order to carry out effective political line of the party and to strengthen and expand relationship to a greater extent with foreign friends all over the world in 1977; for example:

- a. Keep abreast of the world situation, especially the situations of our neighbouring countries by close examining and analysis of all aspects of those situations and then take clear measures to launch attacks in a manner of self-mastering and preparation before hand to deal with the situations.

[133]

- b. Must pay attention to the strengthening and expansion of relationship with neutral countries which are our main supporting forces to protect our nation against any attempted isolation by the enemies.
- c. Must have clear plans to fight for friends, the third world countries; must think and balance analytically whether or not the overseas visits that would be made by our leaders or the ministry are beneficial. You must also balance the same way concerning the invitation of the foreigners to pay visits in our country. We must invite ministers only. We must have clear plan to set up our embassies overseas and prepare our necessary staff as well.

5. The Protocol Sector:

This sector is under the leadership of the cells. This sector must grasp hold of their respective tasks. Their core tasks are to well receive the guests, express polite and wise behaviour and learn experience from their tasks for improvement.

You must set up clear programs and procedures with diplomatic corps and guests to raise the value and reputation of our nation. You must co-operate with the political sector and offices of the ministry. You must enhance the spirit of high revolutionary vigilance and maintain the secrecy, otherwise the foreigners might capture our internal affairs and you must also prepare some presents for foreign visitors who come for study-tours in our country or for us to visit their countries. We have done this twice.

6. Markets and supplies are part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs under the absolute leadership of the cells as this sector is linked to many sources and self-sustaining. You must educate our youth of both sexes who are involved in this job to understand the political and spiritual standpoint of the party; have spirit of high revolutionary vigilance and maintain secrecy. You

must be careful in using this sector for trading and market communication to serve the foreign policy of the party. It is the friendship market, not the capitalist market. You must explain the real essence to youth of both sexes and teach them to be polite, well behaved, strict and wise to satisfy buyers. Tell them to be careful at all times, otherwise foreigners may look down on our nation through your behaviour. You must educate them to eliminate the standpoint and concept of the sector partisan, private ownership of our cadres and youth of both sexes. Teach them to be flexible and to cooperate well with other sectors.

[134]

You must have clear plans. Having equipment means food supplies, vegetables, fruits, meat. You must draw up six-month plan for goods imported and you must be economical and maintain the collective goods to the maximum.

7. Farming Sector:

Transform assignments into a co-operative image and educate our farmers to have proper spiritual and assignment standpoint in the compliance with the party line. You must constantly instil the spiritual and collective standpoint in whatever way to make farmers grant supply to our state as planned. You must have clear plans in terms of food supply, vegetables, fruit trees and animal husbandry and you must have clear lists and records too about the things the state supply and those supplied back to the state. You must get rid of the concept of the family concern and pay great attention to farming, animal husbandry and vegetables.

V- The Leadership line to complete the 1977 plan

1- You must instil and grasp hold of the collective 1977 tasks of the cells and put them into practice in the revolutionary movements of the mass in our Ministry. We must also learn experience and alter or correct all the tasks creatively and in an initiative and creative way. You must be dedicated to maintain secrecy. You must not let the mass in the Ministry know all of our plans.

-Determine to overcome difficulty to fulfil the tasks entrusted 100 % in the path toward the Great Movement and Great Leap Forward of the party.

-Enhance the spirit of high revolutionary vigilance to crush down all the black tactics of the enemies both inside and outside the country.

[135]

Assignment Issues

VI. The cell committee of the Ministry

- | | |
|------------------|------------------|
| 1- Brother Van | Secretary |
| 2- Comrade Hong | Deputy Secretary |
| 3- Comrade Roeun | Member |
| 4- Comrade Ven | Member |
| 5- Comrade Cheam | Member |

VII. Other issues

The conclusion of the congress

E3/925

The congress has been successfully finished. We have seen all the plans and today we have finished the 1976 plan.

21/01/ 77 The work task meetings of the sub-cells
contents

- 1- Sub-cell assignment procedures
- 2- Assignments of the markets and farming committee
- 3- Discussion about work plans
- 4- Miscellaneous issues

I. Sub-cells

- 1- The market sub-cell, Brother Reoun, Thy, Cheat, Hau, Lim, and Launh
- 2- The farming sub-cell, Sarng, Sem, Inn, Choiy

- We meet the two sub-cells every month and if possible, we integrate the two into one cell.

II. Market sector

- | | |
|-----------------|--------------|
| ■ Brother Reoun | Chief |
| ■ Comrade Thy | Deputy Chief |
| ■ Comrade Cheat | Member |
| ■ Comrade Lim | Member |
| ■ Comrade Hau | Member |

{136}

The farming committee

- Sarng
- Brother Sim
- Comrade Inn
- Comrade Leng
- Comrade Choiy

- 1- Self-mastering of the work plan
- 2- With respect to practical activities, you must observe the political, spiritual standpoint and technique.
 - Experience learning meetings must be held weekly and ask for ideas from superiors before the meetings take place.

Ta Kmao

- 1- 20 pigs
- 2- Inn
- 3- Peoung
- 4- Heoun
- 5- Hao
- 6- Heng

S-21

- 1- Leing
- 2- Khei
- 3- Ra

- 4- Lat : arrange a place for flower growing

S-1

- 1- Brother Sim
- 2- Comrade Choiy
- 3- Comrade Pheak
- 4- Comrade Peit
- 5- Comrade Vart

- 1- The preparation committee : Three-month plan → one month work plan
- 2- Vegetables : 80% to 100% 700 Kg
- 3- Onion : 10 tons
- 4- Garlic : 8 tons
- 5- Lettuce : 5 to 6 tons

- Pork : 155 + 30 = 180
- Female pigs : 20 heads

Pig raising:

- Market : 500
- Office 1 : 200
- Office 2 : 20
-

[137]

As of 2-77

- Ducks of eggs - 1000
- Ducks for meat - 2000
- Male duck - 900. Female duck 100

- Chickens. make best effort to support the party.
- land for farming bananas and potatoes---4 hectares

Day of the 25th -- self-criticism of comrade CHEAT

- A force of 5 people assigned to Takmao Market

- Fertilizers supplied through Angka

Conclusion of discussions

This task is important for our Ministry. Each party members must make best effort to achieve the 1977 plan. Try to get involved in the base. Involving in the base makes leadership possible.

- Sunday--Meeting exchange experience in farming.

Working meeting in Takmao

1. Stress on farming plan
2. Organisation + duty for individuals
3. Other issues.

--Solidarity issues---Signs of not keeping up with deadlines set by the party.

[138]

Content of letter

I would request Comrade.....

[139]

June 25, '77

The Party sub-cell meeting

To Comrade Huot: Strengthen our standpoint. Check out the

Disadvantages and struggle to correct them.

- Assignment and leadership with struggle standpoint.

[140]

Brother Nart:

- Spirit of responsibility for pushing forwards the massive movement.

- How much progress in terms of assignment and massive movement.

- What is the lack?

- What are the disadvantages.

[141]

Brother Path

Still lacks firm political standpoint, party standpoint and must learn more.

[the rest is illegible]

[142]

Dear Comrade.

I have not yet seen anything more and

[143]

From your darling.

My regard to all the comrades. Today I would say goodbye to you because I was

Accused to have confiscated watches for private possession and I will be sent away.

[144]

My Dear.

Having seen you is like having seen our children. Now they took me away again.

My Dear, please take good care of our children. I will not be nearby you anymore. Goodbye and with all my love for you. Dear Comrades, it has been several months since I first saw you all. My best regard to all of you.

October 20, 1977

Content of Letter

Dear Comrade Phal,

This time I would request.....

[145]

Our people struggle very hard. A Youn [contemptible Vietnamese] usurps our land again.

[146]

6.9.78

Dear

5.1.79

Dear our Comrades

[147]

To

[148]

Request

Dear Brother Morn,

Revolution makes us feel the warmest.

[149]

Request

Dear Brother Morn

[150]

Request

Dear Brother Morn,

Brother Morn, the revolution makes us feel the warmest. I would request to visit my family. Can you allow me?

[151]

The slogans at the Party Hall, Nov.30,76.

1. Determine to build and strengthen the party in all fields! Determine also to firmly struggle to do spiritual revolution in conformity with the proletarian standpoint and absolutely and constantly under the umbrella of the party.
2. Determine to vigorously implement the socialist revolution line and to absolutely built up socialism of the party! Determine also to defend our Kampuchea territorial integrity, territorial and sea boundaries at all cost!
3. Determine to strictly and absolutely implement the leadership line and the work plan and programs subjective. Eradicate all the messy way, loose and have Leadership and working such as taking risk, have no sense of responsibility.
4. Determine to strengthen our great internal unity and solidarity to the maximum and most constantly. Eliminate the standpoint of the petty bourgeois capitalist feudalist as well as peasants and actors and actresses and instil and consolidate the absolute proletarian standpoint of the party!
5. Determine to vigorously implement the modern agriculture line to the Soonest possible in between 10 and 15 years ahead. Absolutely grasp hold of Absorb and implement the national defence and construction line of the party to The best possible and most effectively.
6. Absolutely determine to closely unite will all revolutions in the Southeast Asia and throughout the world. Eradicate totally individualism, private ownership, self-opinion, authoritarianism and military-ism,

[152]

rankism and bureaucracy.

7. Determine to most effectively implement the activity line and combating line in order to realise the plan of 3 tons per hectare in 1976.

8. Determine to implement the leadership line and party's assignments
Depending on the pure democracy and collective standpoints of the party!

9. Determine to vigorously implement the industrial construction line to the soonest possible in between 15 to 20 years ahead!

10. Continue to completely get rid of the standpoint of private ownership in materials, power, and livelihood moral.

11. Continue class struggle within the party, military, and all revolution lines.