

Pol Pot
Selected Works



Volume 1

Introduction

Comrade Pol Pot was the Prime Minister of Kampuchea between 1976 and 1979, as well as the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Kampuchea between 1963 and 1981, making him the leader of Democratic Kampuchea between 1975 and 1979.

He was the most controversial figure in the global communist movement and is one of the few communist leaders that most communists in the world denounce. Many denounce him as a CIA-backed dictator who was put in place to make communism look bad and inflict a genocide on the people of Kampuchea and Vietnam. As both the capitalist world as well as the socialist world upheld that view, without doing research on the matter it's hard to believe anything else, but how much of it is really true?

As socialists and communists, analysing the successes and faults of past socialist countries is an important task and no matter what your views on Democratic Kampuchea are.

Democratic Kampuchea was liberated after the Vietnam War had destroyed big parts of the Indochinese countries. While the main conflict was with Vietnam, the US imperialists didn't shy away from bombing neighbouring countries like Kampuchea and Laos, which luckily resulted in their respective socialist revolutions. However, the revolutions of both of those countries were preceded by a period of hardships. In Kampuchea the bombings destroyed many rice fields and destroyed their farm animals, leading to a severe famine in the 1970s.

Laos went the road of allying with the Vietnamese and Soviets, but that resulted in giving away much of their self-determination to the USSR and especially Vietnam, which has enormous influence in the country to this day. Kampuchea wanted complete independence and saw both the USSR and Vietnam as countries that had succumbed to revisionism and reverted to the capitalist path, so they chose to ally with China instead. While this guaranteed their self-determination, it also resulted in the continuation of famine, which had ravaged Kampuchea years before the successful revolution in 1975 already.

Saying that the Kampuchean revolution was all the work of the CIA and that Comrade Pol Pot was a plant to smear socialism and communism is a view no communist should hold therefore, as it completely ignores the victories that were achieved in the struggle for socialism in Kampuchea. I don't intend to change your view on the Democratic Kampuchea regime led by Comrade Pol Pot, but I encourage you to make up your own mind about it. That's why I thought the research of Comrade Pol Pot and the communist movement in Kampuchea would be made easier by a collection of Comrade Pol Pot's works.

This volume will deal mostly with the most important speeches Comrade Pol Pot held. Future volumes might also include the various interviews and talks he did over the years. The speeches here are taken out of many different PDF documents and archives on the Internet, so this was no easy task, but it was one of the more interesting ones to do.

Lastly, I would like to thank everyone for reading this.

WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD, UNITE!

Included Works

Monarchy Or Democracy	3
August 1952	
Words Of Condolence Upon The Death Of Chairman Mao Zedong	8
September 16, 1976	
Long Live The 17th Anniversary Of The Communist Party Of Kampuchea	9
September 29, 1977	
10th Anniversary Of The Founding Of The Revolutionary Army Of Kampuchea	55
January 17, 1978	
Defend Kampuchea Carry On Socialist Revolution And Build Up Socialism	69
September 27, 1978	
Speech In Honor Of The Delegation Of The Communist Party Of China	91
November 5, 1978	
Six Factors Necessary For Victory In The War Of Resistance Against Vietnam	97
January 5, 1979	

Monarchy Or Democracy

Article written in *Khmer Student*, a Kampuchean journal (August 1952)

On June 15, 1952, S.M. Norodom Sihanouk dissolved the government and, at the same time, threatened to dissolve the People's Assembly if it opposed the takeover. This royal coup stirred the whole country and makes us, the citizens, think about its causes.

Certainly, the constitution gives the King the power to dissolve the government, but this coup is an act of injustice because the King flouted democratic rights and committed an act of contempt for the elected assembly which legally represents the people. If the King really cares about the interests of the nation, the security of the people, as he often says in his speeches, he should not carry out this royal coup by force. You should have brought the government together to find the best means of driving out the French army and the accomplices of the French, in order to achieve direct independence for the country. The King should have allied with the Assembly. Why?

History shows us that only the Assembly and democratic rights can grant a few breaths of freedom to the Khmer people, like, for example, at the time of Prince Youthevong. When there is no longer the Assembly, the country will immediately be bound. In 1949, the reigning King allied with Yem Sambaur and our country was, at that time, bound by a treaty with France which will continue to remain for a very long time in Cambodia.

The Khmer people remember this story and do not forget it; only those who think only of their personal interests can forget it. This coup d'etat of June 15 shows us that we are not at all under the reign of a constitutional monarchy, but rather under a regime of absolute monarchy. The King is absolute; he seeks to destroy the interests of the people when they are in a position of weakness; he is concerned that the more educated a people, the easier it becomes to see the faults of kings. The absolute king uses good words, but his heart remains wicked; he uses demagoguery to deceive the people.

I. What is a monarchy?

It is a doctrine that entrusts power to a small group of individuals who have high professional situations, so that they can exploit the majority of other social classes. Monarchy is an unjust doctrine, as infectious as a putrid plague. Humanity must abolish it. The monarchy is an absolute doctrine which exists only through nepotism. Its faults are numerous.

1. The monarchy is the enemy of the people.

History shows us that since our country has existed, we have always been dominated and exploited by the monarchy. The condition of the people is degraded to that of the animal; the people, who are considered a herd of slaves, are forced to work tirelessly, night and day, to feed the absolute monarchy and its harem of courtiers.

2. The monarchy is the enemy of religion.

The people believe that religion is their friend, that is why they have respect and place it above Man. But since ancient times, the monarchy uses demagoguery by making the people believe that it also represents religion, that it respects the Ten Royal Virtues. To convince the people and exploit them more easily, the monarchy had the poets compose the legend of Preah Leak Chinavong, according to which the king always had the right to life and death over the people. But the enlightened monks have always understood the nature of the monarchy very well and have found ways to explain to the people that it should not be trusted. They composed the story of Themh Chey to show that a child of the people, Them Chay, can defeat an ignorant king; Themh Chay dares to oppose the crown. The monarchy destroyed the Buddhist religion by other means, for example by dividing the monks into several groups, creating a higher rank, that of the Samdech (Lord).

3. The monarchy is a friend of colonialism.

The history that we look at, since our country has been under French domination, the Khmer kings are moving away more and more from the Khmer people. Their designation, to access the throne, falls under French authority. Thus, the reigning king is only a pawn of the colonialists, allying with them to preserve his crown and the monarchy. There are always struggles for the throne. Prince Youkanthor was created by the French who entrusted the throne to H.M. Sisowath; There are many struggles of this kind.

4. The monarchy is the enemy of knowledge.

She uses all means so that people are uneducated so as to believe that the King is the Supreme Being. When a people is educated, it becomes the virulent enemy of the monarchy and it desperately wants its abolition. Here are some examples:

- Our great master Buddha was very educated; he soon realized that his father, King Suthotana (Sanskrit: Soddhodana) was unjustly enriched, leaving the people to languish in ignorance, disease, famine, homeless, without schools, without hospitals. Buddha then decided to abandon the monarchy to become the friend of Man and people, by teaching men to love each other.

- Prince Youthevong, very educated, also abandoned the monarchists to instill democracy in the Khmer people.

II. What is a democracy?

It is a regime that entrusts power to a majority from the people. Thus, democracy is totally contrary to the monarchy. These two regimes are enemies and cannot coexist, as the royal coup of June 15 proves.

History shows that these two regimes always oppose each other, and that peace cannot be established until the monarchy is gone. The 1789 revolution in France, under the leadership of Robespierre and Danton, dissolved the monarchy and executed King Louis XVI.

The 1917 revolution in Russia, with Lenin and Stalin as guides, completely abolished the monarchy. The revolution of 1924 in China, the people being under the direction of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, abolished the monarchy and the whole imperial family.

The monarchy is a regime that the peoples of all countries now adopt; it is as precious as diamonds and cannot be compared to any other regime. This is why the Khmer people sing: "The democratic regime in today's world is like a river that descends from the mountains, following plants, that no one obstruct ...". The democratic regime is part of Buddhist morality, because our great master Buddha was the first to have taught it. Thus, only the democratic regime can safeguard the deep value of Buddhism.

III. The royal coup

It is not the first time that H.M. Norodom Sihanouk has abused the will of the Khmer people. We can see that, when the people are weak and let themselves go, the King takes the opportunity to scorn the constitution, as happened in 1949 when he tried to camouflage his absolutism. But, no longer able to camouflage himself, he took, on June 15, the unjust decision to carry out a coup, in defiance even of his monarchist friends, some of whom are in prison.

The question that arises is what force does the king rely on to carry out the coup?

1. This coup is the result of French colonial power.

The proof is found in the royal speech of June 4, at the meeting of the Council of the Kingdom. We note the following passages: "I (the king) recently met Mr. Vincent Auriol, he entrusted me with the affairs of H.E. Son Ngoc Thanh... Recently also, Mr. Letourneau shared my opinion and told me has promised to lighten certain clauses if a future government (Khmer) was ready to repress the resistance fighters (Issarak) and to soften these clauses once the war has ended." In the royal message to the people, the king declared that "we can count on the help that our French and American allies bring to us."

All this clearly proves that this coup was supported by French colonialism.

2. The coup is the work of the monarchy.

Other evidence can be found in the royal messages: "Having inherited this monarchy which dates from sixteen centuries, to govern the people ...". (Message to students). "By my duties as king, by my responsibility before the fatherland, before the people, before history and before my ancestors who bequeathed me this national monarchy ...". (Message to the nation). "Even if I have to become a simple citizen, I will always defend the monarchy". (King's speech to students in Paris). All these King's speeches prove that the coup was solely in the royal interest.

IV. The government

S.M. Norodom Sihanouk is the head of the government resulting from the coup. The other ministers are courtiers who know nothing about politics and ignore the misfortunes of the people. Everyone must think carefully about the fate of the Khmer people who no longer even have the freedom to hold a meeting of more than four people.

V. The government program

The speeches of the king clearly show that the program of the new government for the period of three years when the king will hold absolute power, is divided into two parts:

1. In the first two years, wage war against the insurgents (the national patriots).
2. In the third year, negotiate with France, which promises to grant full independence.

Such a program aims only to gag the people, to arrest and expel those who dare to oppose the policy of the King. Second, it aims to dissolve political parties that oppose the interests of the throne, because political parties do not remain silent. Finally, the king's policy is to provoke a civil war which will burn everything, even the pagodas. The monks, the people, the civil servants will experience painful family separations, they will see their parents, their wives and their children crushed by the tanks, burned by napalm; the crops will be destroyed. The colonialist army, which the absolute monarchy has already called to the rescue, has already committed acts of looting and violence against women ... In the administration, the colonialists will be the masters, as before.

The question then arises of who will be the winner of the first two years of this destructive war. Supposing that the monarchy succeeds in suppressing the national patriots, the question is whether, in the third year, Cambodia appeals for help from Siam, it will have to pay homage to Siam, and if the King, who appeals for help from France, will have to pay homage to France. Thus, King Norodom Sihanouk who appealed to France, must let the colonialists link Cambodia to France by treaties which will allow them to dominate Cambodia forever.

Words Of Condolence Upon The Death Of Chairman Mao Zedong

Phone call made to Beijing after the death of Mao Zedong (September 18, 1976)

On behalf of the Kampuchean revolutionary organization, the Kampuchean people, the Presidium of the State of Democratic Kampuchea, the Permanent Committee of the People's Congress of Kampuchea, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the Kampuchean Revolutionary Army, we have come to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China with extreme grief and regret to extend our boundless revolutionary affection and esteem to the memory of the sublime soul of Chairman Mao Tsetung, the esteemed and beloved great leader of the Chinese people -our fraternal comrades-in-arms, the outstanding teacher of the world proletariat and the oppressed nations and oppressed people, and the closest and most warmhearted comrade-in-arms of the Kampuchean people.

Though Chairman Mao Tsetung has left the Chinese people and the oppressed people of the world, his name and Mao Tsetung Thought will live forever in the hearts of the revolutionary people of China and the oppressed people of the world.

Long Live The 17th Anniversary Of The Communist Party Of Kampuchea

Speech made on the 17th anniversary of the CPK (September 29, 1977)

Respected and beloved comrades representing the workers' collectives,

Respected and beloved comrades representing the peasants' collectives,

Respected and beloved comrades representing the three branches of the Revolutionary Army—Land, Sea and Air,

Respected and beloved comrades representing all government ministries and departments:

We are gathered here today to honor the Seventeenth Anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Kampuchea. I take this occasion to extend my greetings to the entire collectivist working class, which has waged and is waging the struggle everywhere—at every workplace, on every front—to contribute to the national defense, the building up of the country, and the raising of the people's living standard, all toward carrying out, with a high sense of revolutionary responsibility, the glorious task which the Party has entrusted to them.

At this great meeting, I address my deep greetings to the collectivist peasant class, the members of the cooperatives throughout the country, who, as they have done in the past, are today zealously struggling to realize the objectives of the rice production plan. With a strong sense of responsibility and with the aim of contributing to the national defense, to the building up of the country, and to the rapid raising of the standard of living of the people, the peasants are carrying out this plan, which the Party entrusted to them in 1977.

Let me extend warmest and most profound greetings to the Revolutionary Army, which has struggled and continues to struggle to surmount every obstacle on every front, even in our most remote areas, in order to defend the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of our Democratic Kampuchea. They do this with a strong sense of revolutionary responsibility, thus making an important contribution to the building up of the country and to the rapid raising of the living standard of the people.

I address my profound greetings to all the comrades of the revolutionary government ministries and departments, who, as in the past, are today surmounting all difficulties and concentrating all their efforts to carry out the revolutionary tasks which the Party has entrusted to them, in order to make their contribution to national defense, construction of the country, and to the rapid raising of the people's living standard.

I must express my deepest respect for all these comrades because, as in the past, at present and in the future, it is and will be our Revolutionary Army, our working class, our peasantry, our comrades in the revolutionary government ministries and departments, who, united in a single force, assure the defense of our sacred national territory, are building our new Kampuchea, and raising the standard of living of our people by following the slogan: "To progress by great leaps and bounds!"

This year, the celebration of the anniversary of the founding of our Party will be marked by an exceptional event that I will now officially make known to you. In commemorating the Seventeenth Anniversary of its founding, our Party has decided to solemnly proclaim, before our country and the whole world, the official existence of the Communist Party of Kampuchea.

arty of Kampuchea. Our people of all social classes and strata already know that it is the Communist Party of Kampuchea which is the sole genuine leadership of the Kampuchean revolution. Moreover, our people know perfectly well that, in order for successive revolutionary victories, culminating in the great victory of April 17, 1975, to have been possible, the leadership of the CPK was necessary. All the social classes and strata of our people, especially the workers, peasants and other revolutionaries, have learned to know and to appreciate the Communist Party of Kampuchea for many years, even if we had not proclaimed its existence officially. Because, for a long period of 17 years, our Party did not make its existence public, the entire Kampuchean people, especially the poor strata, waited impatiently for the solemn proclamation of the Communist Party of Kampuchea. They waited in order to praise the merits of the Party, which has made sacrifices in order to lead the people and the revolution of Kampuchea, and to liberate the nation and people.

This is why we are convinced that, from this time on, all the Kampuchean people will make the country ring with praise for the correct and clear-sighted Communist Party of Kampuchea, and they will increase the support they have always given to what they knew only as the "Revolutionary Organization of Kampuchea." Everywhere, in the most remote areas, in the depths of the forests and on the mountains, across the plains and in the towns, the solemn proclamation of the Party will be greeted with cheers of joy.

Our friends around the world also know that no people in the world has won a revolution without being led by a working class party. Why then, in Kampuchea, where the people won victory upon victory until the greatest victory over U.S. imperialism, leader of world imperialism, had they never heard mention of the leadership of a communist party? Thus, all these friends have also awaited the solemn proclamation of the official existence of the Communist Party of Kampuchea in order to praise it and the great victory won by the Party, which led the Kampuchean people to the glorious victory of April 17, 1975.

On the occasion of the official proclamation of the existence of our Party, all our people will be greatly elated. Our friends far and near on the five continents will warmly acclaim it, while the imperialists and reactionaries will be most bitter at the prestige and power of the Communist Party of Kampuchea.

The celebration of this Seventeenth Anniversary of our Party is, then, a historic moment for our nation, our people, our revolution and our Communist Party of Kampuchea. This is why, on this occasion, we must honor the memory of all the heroes and heroines from among all the people, the entire Revolutionary Army, and all the members of our Party. These comrades have endured every hardship, made sacrifice after sacrifice for the full liberation of Kampuchea, to make our country 100% independent; to totally liberate the people, particularly the masses of workers, peasants and other laboring people, who comprise more

than 90% of the population. They made these sacrifices in order that Kampuchea and the Kampuchean people, who have suffered enslavement, deceit, oppression and exploitation for centuries, might have honor, glory, prosperity and prestige, such that there would be friends on five continents who would rejoice at the great victories of our revolution.

In honoring the memory of all these comrades and heroes who laid down their lives, moved by noble patriotic feelings, with lofty revolutionary spirit and deep and noble feelings of love and devotion to the people and to the working class, we all pledge ourselves to find inspiration in their noble example, to show our gratitude to them, to be their worthy successors and to accomplish the noble tasks that the Party has entrusted to each of us. We all resolve to turn our sorrows, our anger, and our grief for the loss of these valiant comrades-in-arms into a strength ever more vigorous. We do this in order to fight to accomplish the tasks of the Party, with a heightened sense of revolutionary responsibility, an ardent patriotism, and a profound devotion to the people and to the working class, both in 1977 and in the years to come. It is with the resolve to learn from the example of our comrades in-arms who have passed away, that I propose, on the occasion of the celebration of the Party's Seventeenth Anniversary, the following theme for our great meeting today: let us contemplate and learn from the revolutionary movement of the Kampuchean people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, and learn from our people's movement of revolutionary struggle, which, in the course of the preceding generations, fought for national liberation, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, in order to save the Kampuchean nation and to ensure its survival, so that Kampuchea will never again lose any territory, as it did before, in the era when the various exploiting classes were in power, when it lost some every year, every instant.

To make it easier to understand, my talk will be divided into three sections:

The first part deals with the struggle of the Kampuchean people before the founding of the Party, from the period of slavery to 1960, the year of the founding of the Communist Party of Kampuchea.

The second part deals with the national democratic revolution led by the Communist Party of Kampuchea, from 1960 to 1975.

The third part deals with the new stage of the Kampuchean revolution, the defense of Democratic Kampuchea, continuation of the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

The three parts, which I have just enumerated, outline the history of the revolutionary movement of our people, from its beginnings up to today. Our aim is to give a general idea of our revolutionary movement. We will not go into the problems in detail, in their many aspects, but we are going to stick to explaining what, in our view, is at the root of our victories, It is because we have elaborated a strategy and tactics for our movement, because we have summed up our experiences in the course of our work, and because we have established throughout our struggle a correct line on political questions, on the building up of our forces, on military and economic questions, that we have won our victories. An examination of the various aspects of our movement, from its beginnings up to the present day, will show whether or not the Communist Party of Kampuchea is really a genuine

Marxist-Leninist party, whether it is a genuine proletarian party. All the comrades will be able to make their own evaluations, based on the substance of our revolutionary movement.

These are questions which must be raised. Therefore, this meeting is not only held for a moment, after which you can go back and carry out your normal tasks. This meeting is one in which we must all examine, judge and study the experiences of our revolutionary movement under the leadership of our Communist Party of Kampuchea.

Allow me to present to you the first part of the speech dealing with the movements of struggle of the Kampuchean people before the birth of the Party, from the era of slavery to 1960.

The Struggle of the Kampuchean People, from the slave period to 1960

Kampuchea already has a history of more than 2,000 years. This history shows that Kampuchean society, like every other society, has gone through a number of different stages. Kampuchean society went through a stage of primitive communism. After primitive communism, it entered its slave period, then its feudal period. After this, it entered the stage of capitalism. Just recently, after the capitalist period, Kampuchean society has entered a new era, the era of socialist society. Thus, we have passed through all the historic stages.

Within the framework of primitive communism, there were not yet any classes. Consequently, there was no class struggle. When Kampuchean society entered the slave period, it divided into classes: a class of slave owners and a class of slaves. In feudal society, there were landlords and peasants. In capitalist society, there were the capitalists and the workers. This is the real essence of each society that our country has known.

During the slave period, the feudal period and the capitalist period, particularly during the feudal-capitalist era, our country was also subject to foreign domination. For example, speaking only of the last period, Kampuchean society was a colonial and semi-colonial society, subject to the domination of the French, Japanese and U.S. Imperialists. Thus, all the foreigners came to exploit our country.

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

1. In slave society, there was struggle between the exploiters (slave owners) and exploited (slaves or "owned servants"). These two factions were adversaries, sworn enemies in the life-and-death conflict. Those of the slaves who refused to be exploited, joined together to fight against their oppressors.

Did such struggle actually occur? Certainly it did! This is attested to by what is known about society and about exploitation, as well as by the social sciences. Our own history confirms it, In slave society, the exploited class struggled against the exploiting class. But this struggle

was not guided by a correct line, History shows that the struggle of those times sometimes failed, sometimes triumphed. Some slaves became leaders of armies and defeated the slave owners, making themselves lords in order to exploit others in their turn. This is not a path which served the masses of slaves, it did not serve the exploited slave class. This was a line which served the personal interest of some men and their cliques, in order that they might dominate and exploit others.

Did the oppressed accept oppression? Of course not! They fought back against the exploiters to defeat them. This is what happened during slave society. We can see that, throughout this experience, there was struggle, the slaves rose up in struggle. But this struggle did not culminate in success, because it was based on a line which does not serve the masses and the exploited classes. In the beginning, some leaders managed to deceive the masses. But the oppressed are quick to catch on when they are being exploited and to rise up against their exploiters.

The real substance of our revolution is the elimination of exploiting classes and the liberation of the exploited. We study this lesson to understand that now it is our Party which is in power, and, if it ever follows the path of the slave era, it will be fought and overthrown by the worker and peasant masses. If the political line serves the workers, peasants and the broad masses of people, it will meet broad support. It constitutes a powerful force which assures strong national defense, rapid building up of the country and a rapid rise in the people's living standard. The Party is the true representative of the poor classes. If it is not so, if the Party exploits and crushes the people, the people will fight back and reject it. This is the experience of history. We must always, everywhere, examine ourselves. It is not only the Party as a whole which must do it, but also every Party organization, every cadre, every member of the Party, every official in the factories, in the ports, in the energy service, in the salt marshes. If it no longer represents the basic classes, the exploited people, this Party will have no meaning, it can no longer claim to be the Party of the proletariat. The committees would have no meaning, being a chairman would also be meaningless. "Meaningless" in the sense that they no longer represent the proletariat. Such a party, such cadres, such committees would change their class nature and, thus, at that point, enter into contradiction with the proletariat.

What lesson can we draw from the struggle during the period of slave society?

The positive point is that the exploited people, the slaves, struggled against the exploiting classes, the slave owners. The slaves were trained, forged in the course of successive struggles. This is the great lesson we must all learn from our poor people, who have made every sacrifice in the struggle to liberate the exploited classes and do away with exploiting classes.

But another lesson, which we must not forget, is that without a correct political line, a struggle is bound to fail.

2. The history of our country clearly shows the existence of two classes in feudal society. These are the classes of feudalists and landlords, and the peasant class. The feudalists and landlords were the warlords, who exploited the peasant class in every way. Thus, the

exploited peasantry entered into contradiction with the feudalist and landlord class and fought back against it. This struggle developed everywhere in the country. Some peasant movements were put down and destroyed, others defeated the feudalists and landlords. But the peasant movements which gained victory did not have a political line which could serve the exploited peasant class or end exploitation. On the contrary, the winners, in some places, made themselves feudalists, landlords or warlords, and, in so doing, became the new exploiters of the peasant class. Did the exploited peasant class accept these new feudalists, landlords or warlords? Of course not! The peasants fought to defeat the new exploiters, as they had fought the ones before them.

This shows that there were movements of the exploited peasant class against the exploiting class of feudalists and landlords. But these movements of struggle each met with defeat.

What lessons can we draw from this?

One lesson is that the exploited peasant class was moved to rise in struggle. This struggle went on throughout a long period and developed in one movement after another. It mainly took the form of armed struggle, of war. Through this struggle, the exploited peasant class was trained, tempered with their own blood. They acted with courage and skill and won victories against the enemy.

The other lesson is that the struggle of the exploited class, at that time the peasantry, met repeated defeats despite its heroism.

What was the reason for this?

Mainly, it was that there was no correct line which could powerfully and broadly mobilize the forces of the exploited class to crush the exploiters, the feudalists, landlords and warlords.

In this same feudal epoch, enemies came from abroad, some foreign feudalists and foreign reactionaries and colonialists came to invade our country. As invaders, they entered into antagonistic contradiction with the Kampuchean nation and people. They invaded, exploited and oppressed the Kampuchean nation and people, particularly the peasant class. At the same time, the Kampuchean nation and people, particularly the peasant class, rose up to drive out the foreign invaders, in order to be freed and to free the country and the people, particularly the peasantry. These movements of struggle appeared everywhere, one after another, taking the form of armed struggle. Some movements met defeat and were crushed. But, in other places, they won.

Even so, their victory was temporary, because those who were the victors did not possess a correct line to really liberate the country and really liberate the people, the exploited masses who comprise the peasant class. Once they won, they thought only of their own interest and the interest of their clique. They made themselves warlords and ruled like kings and viceroys, and they became the new exploiters of the peasant class. When the peasant people turned against them, they sought aid and protection from the foreign feudalists and reactionaries, or from the colonialists, cutting off much national territory for them or selling

it to them, in order to continue to reign as kings, in kingdoms indebted to foreigners, collaborating with them in the exploitation of the peasantry.

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

3. During the feudo-capitalist era, in particular, just after the Second World War, there were many movements among the people of Kampuchea. These movements were quite different in nature from the movements of earlier times, because colonialism and international imperialism had acquired more experience in sabotaging the movements of the exploited nations and peoples. These movements were:

a. The movement called the "Struggle for National Independence," which included several political parties, such as the Democratic Party, the Freedom Party, the Mother Earth Party, the Hanuman Party, the Arrow Party, and many others which formed later. These parties competed with each other in elections for their so-called "independence."

In reality, however, these parties:

- were created out of the French colonial laws;
- made promises with the French colonialists and were authorized by them;
- represented the classes of feudalists, aristocrats, big landlords, capitalists and other privileged strata.

Was their struggle really that of the people, in the interest of the people? Was it for national independence? Of course not! The essence of their so-called "struggle" was to obtain "independence" for Kampuchea from the French colonialists, in the interest of the feudalists, aristocrats, landlords, capitalists and other privileged strata. Of course, this form of struggle confused and deceived the masses only for a while. But, later, the masses cursed it and opposed it.

b. The Japanese fascists and the U.S. CIA created an "independence movement," which they called "Popular Movement" or "Khmer Serei," with Son Ngoc Thanh at its head. The slogan, "Demand independence from the French," launched by Son Ngoc Thanh, could fool a few students for a while, but later, the "Popular Movement" or "Khmer Serei," was condemned everywhere, spat upon and rejected by the nation and the people of Kampuchea, since its leader was a traitor to the nation. This so-called "struggle" to gain "independence" from France was, in fact, a struggle to gain "independence" for Kampuchea by the U.S. imperialists, whose aim was to transform Kampuchea into a neo-colony and a base for its military aggression.

c. There was another movement of struggle. This was the authentic revolutionary struggle of our people, particularly of the poor peasants, to wrest independence from the French imperialists. This revolutionary struggle developed in several parts of our country. The people made every sacrifice in combat against the enemy. It was an armed struggle, and, in

the course of it, the people built their army and established their bases. But this revolutionary struggle of our people and their revolutionary gains vanished into thin air with the 1954 Geneva Accords.

What was the reason for this?

The lessons, which our people paid for with their blood during the history of their courageous struggle, show that the absence of a clear and correct line to guide the revolutionary struggle was the reason for the successive failures of our people.

Therefore, the following questions were raised.

How do we wage the struggle? What are its strategy and tactics? What are its orientation and its objectives? What forces should we rely on? What form should the struggle take? In fact, there was no independence, initiative or self-reliance.

Without a political line which gives judicious guidance, one becomes blind. Even with great strength and determination, one cannot win. One loses one's orientation, one doesn't know what to hold onto, one proceeds toward certain defeat and, in the end, ruin.

To summarize, our people have fought for a very long time, from the slave period to the struggle against the French, but they met one defeat after another. Throughout this period, the movement of our people has left us two major lessons:

The best lesson is that our people are courageous, moved by fierce patriotism, daring to struggle, daring to sacrifice themselves to fight the enemies of the nation, the aggressors and the exploiters who are the class enemies.

We must grasp this special point well. If we do not, we are gravely underestimating our people. If we do not learn from the movement of our people since its beginnings, we cannot avoid thinking that our people do not dare to struggle, do not know how to struggle, that they are lazy, weak, cowardly, and have accomplished nothing. But, in fact, from generation to generation, our people have always struggled, have always shed their blood. They dare to wage armed struggle, which is the highest form of struggle: they even struggle bare-handed. Our people have struggled, they still struggle, they will struggle forever.

Are such people brave, or, are they cowards?

They are truly a brave people, truly worthy, having beautiful traditions of struggle. We must grasp this lesson and emulate it so as to keep our people's good trait aloft and alive forever. The reality is that the people have struggled, a fact not imagined by some writer. Thus whether or not we have confidence in the masses depends on the examination that we make of our people's movement. Our people have dared to fight foreign invaders in every era. They dared to struggle against the French invaders, they dared to struggle against the Japanese and the American invaders, they have always dared to struggle.

For this reason, we all place our complete confidence in our people, expand and strengthen this confidence, and rely on our people. The force of the people can carry out any task of the revolution.

The second lesson is that, although valiant, if the struggle is misdirected, it is going to lose. In the past, we did not have a line. Our people were very courageous, made immense sacrifices, but they continually met defeat because they did not base themselves on a correct line. There was no line which could resist the foreign enemies who invaded us, there was no line to fight back against the class enemies who exploited us within the country. And so, from this negative experience, how can we draw a positive lesson?

We must have a correct line, we must have the leadership of a true party of the working class with a correct line. When we possess a correct line which can mobilize the people's forces, they will be very powerful.

Now, we must have a line. But what line? A line copied from others will not work. We must have a line coming from a position of independence and initiative, of deciding our own destiny. Self-reliance means relying principally and fundamentally on our own people, our own Army, our own Party, on the concrete revolutionary movement in our country.

Thus, we must elaborate a correct line to win victory. This is why we drew up the strategic and tactical lines of our national democratic revolution, the question to which I will address myself in the second part of my talk.

The National Democratic Revolution, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, 1960-1975

Based on the experiences of the centuries-long revolutionary struggles of our people, struggles marked by repeated defeats, our Party developed a political line to lead the Kampuchean revolution to victory.

In 1957 we created a committee in order to prepare the Party's political line, which was made up of a number of cadres in charge of work in the countryside and others in charge of work in Phnom Penh. The committee studied and researched the history of our people's struggle, summing up the positive and negative experiences in order to draw lessons which could help illustrate the Party's line. The committee also studied the experiences of a number of revolutionary movements elsewhere in the world.

In light of these experiences, the committee worked out a draft proposal for the Party's political line, based upon Marxism-Leninism and the principles of independence, sovereignty and self-reliance, in order to be masters of our own destiny, applying Marxism-Leninism to the concrete realities of Kampuchea and Kampuchean society.

It should be noted that at that time the situation was characterized by difficult and complex struggles, both inside the country and abroad.

Inside the country, enemy repression had caused heavy losses since the time of the 1955 legislative elections. In 1956, the enemy continued to crack down and, in 1957, the repression intensified. In 1958, during the second elections, these attacks became even more severe, especially in the countryside, and many people were arrested. The arrests continued and multiplied in 1959 and 1960, both in the countryside and in the cities. About 90% of our revolutionary forces in the countryside were destroyed in 1959, due to

assassinations, arrests, recantations and surrender to the enemy. In the cities, new forces had been formed but they, too, were eventually reduced by assassinations, arrests, recantations and surrender. This was the difficult situation at home.

Abroad, the situation at that time was also very complex, as a result of the confusion and uncertainty in the international revolutionary line.

It was in this situation that our committee charged with working out the Party's line drew some clear and precise conclusions from our bitter experiences during the elections which the ruling class of that time had organized.

During the 1955 elections, the people's forces throughout the country supported the revolution and the progressive side against the reactionaries and U.S. imperialism. But the people were unable to vote for the progressives, because the ruling class resorted to its guns, courts, laws, prisons and other repressive tools. The 1958 elections showed even more clearly that the people still loved the revolutionaries and supported the progressive policy against U.S. imperialism, wanting to give the progressives state power and management of the affairs of the country and people. But in the elections of 1958, once again, the enemy made use of its guns, laws, courts, prisons and every other repressive tool to prevent the people from voting for the revolutionaries, the patriots and the progressives.

Do these experiences lead us to pursue electoral tactics in the struggle, or, rather, to find other forms of struggle through which to win victory and liberate our nation and people? The concrete situation of our movement posed the problem in this way.

Our own experiences taught us that we must adhere to the principles of independence, national sovereignty and self-reliance, basing ourselves on the experiences of our own revolutionary movement, in order to determine our concrete political line.

It is in this way that the committee worked out a proposal for the Party's line, a proposal which became the basic line presented to the 1960 Party Congress.

The First Party Congress was convened in Phnom Penh on September 30, 1960, while enemy repression was raging. To give an example which illustrates the situation at that time, I would like to mention that among the comrades who were then under arrest or in prison were our most distinguished intellectuals, such as the comrade president of the State Presidium. If the enemy did not hesitate to attack well-known intellectuals, it was even freer to attack the workers, the peasants and ordinary people.

It was in this bleak situation that we successfully convened our Party's First Congress, right in the railroad yards of Phnom Penh itself. Among the Congress participants were 14 peasant representatives, in charge of work in different rural areas, and seven representatives of the cities, 21 delegates in all. In such a tense situation, with the enemy intensifying its repression, the participation of 21 representatives at the Party Congress was, in itself, a life-and-death struggle. Had the enemy discovered the site of the Congress, the entire leadership of the Party would have been destroyed, the line of the Party would never have seen the light of day, the revolution would have been gravely endangered and its future jeopardized.

But we were determined to hold the Congress, because the revolutionary situation urgently demanded the adoption of a correct line to lead us, Without a correct line, the revolutionary movement would have been In grave danger. It would have headed toward defeat. and the entire revolution would have been jeopardized. And so, this situation made us determined to hold the First Congress at all costs, to assure its success, to adopt the Party line, which would enable us to lead the revolution to inevitable victory.

I said that the First Congress of the Party was held on September 30) 1960. Actually, we met for three days and three nights, September 28, 29 and 30, 1960. The meetings lasted for three days without interruption; from start to finish, we were shut up in the room, without leaving.

The Congress marked a historic turning point for our nation our people, our revolution, and for the working class of Kampuchea. It was the day on which the Communist Party of Kampuchea, a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, was definitively born.

The First Party Congress decided three important questions:

1. The basic strategic line of the national democratic revolution;
2. The Party constitution;
3. The election of the members of the Party's Central Committee assuring leadership on a national level.

Now I will deal with some of the essence of the fundamental line of our Party in the national democratic revolution.

What did we decide at that time? Let us look again in order to see if our decisions were correct or not. The fact that we have won one victory after another, leading up to the great victory of April 17, 1975, clearly proves that our line was correct. Nonetheless, we want to make this re-examination to clarify the reasons and the scientific analysis which led us to our fundamental line.

Firstly, the Congress analysed and defined the real nature of Kampuchean society at that time. What was the nature of our society at that time? What were its contradictions? It was absolutely necessary to answer these questions. This was basic to the definition of our tasks. A correct analysis of Kampuchean society allows the correct definition of the tasks of the revolution; on the contrary, an incorrect analysis would lead to equally incorrect tasks.

Kampuchea at that time was a satellite of imperialism, in particular, U.S. imperialism. This meant that Kampuchea was neither independent nor free. Kampuchea was a semi-colony, in a situation of dependency on imperialism in general and, in particular, on American imperialism. This was the conclusion of our analysis.

Could this analysis be made without struggle? Of course not! We had to struggle within our own ranks, and we had to struggle also in certain circles in society. At that time, within our nation, there were some people who believed that Kampuchea had been independent since 1949; others claimed that independence had been won in 1954, thanks to the Geneva

Accords. Aside from the difference on the date, both these views agreed that Kampuchea was independent.

But did the true nature of the society and of the country in those days support this talk of independence? Of course not! Neither the economy nor the culture were independent. Nor was Kampuchea independent politically. Some sectors were independent, but others were not. It was the same for our social life. Not being independent means being dependent on foreign countries, dependent on foreign imperialism in general, headed by U.S. imperialism. Kampuchea was not at all independent in military affairs. The Khmer-U.S. military agreements of May 16, 1955, were proof of this. Besides, the South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) had stretched its "umbrella" over Kampuchea. Consequently, although independent and neutral in form, Kampuchea, in essence, in its true nature, was not.

In actuality, the economy was entirely dominated by imperialism. It was the same for culture. The society and lifestyle were under imperialist influence, especially within the ruling circles.

We thus defined the Kampuchea of those days as a country enslaved by imperialism, a semi-colonial country, because Kampuchea was under foreign domination in economy, culture, social and military affairs, and therefore was not independent.

This analysis should convince anyone that there were contradictions. Kampuchea was certainly not totally dependent, but it was half-way dependent. This being the case, were there contradictions?

Of course there were! There was a contradiction between the Kampuchean nation and foreign imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism. It was not armed aggression, but there was economic, cultural and social aggression, as well as military aggression in the sense that the Kampuchean Army was subject to imperialist control in every way.

Consequently, by its very nature, Kampuchean society was prey to contradictions. It could not have been otherwise. Some people tried to bury the contradictions, insisting that they did not exist, But, in fact, the contradictions existed. There were contradictions between the Kampuchean nation and imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, and they had to be resolved. They had to be resolved through a correct definition of our revolutionary tasks, namely, by uniting the whole nation into a single force in the struggle against imperialism, especially US. imperialism, for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

This was the task of the national revolution. It meant that imperialism had to be driven out and the nation liberated.

This was what we found to be the solution, and we did not waver in applying it. If we could not find the solution, we would not have been able to give a correct definition to our tasks, and we would not have fought against imperialism. Moreover, after finding out the solution, if we had not taken a resolute position, the tasks would not have been defined in a clear way, and we would have been hesitant and unsteady. Sometimes we would have fought, sometimes we wouldn't have.

Our Party correctly determined the contradictions which existed within Kampuchea. Therefore, we took up the task of mobilizing all the people's forces in order to drive out imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism. We mobilized everyone who was against imperialism, against U.S. imperialism in particular. This was one of the correct tasks.

At that time, the exploiting and reactionary classes used to say: "Against whom should we struggle, since there are no Americans here?" But as for us, we based ourselves on the scientific analysis of the society. What was the nature of the society, the true nature of the economy, of the Army, of the culture? Were they independent or not? This was how we proceeded. We were not confined to the formal appearance of things. Because of the essence of its economy, its culture, its social life, its Army, Kampuchea was not independent. Therefore, Kampuchea was dependent or semi-dependent.

In this situation, did we want independence? The people certainly wanted independence. It was, then, necessary to set the task of mobilizing the people to struggle against imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, in order to win independence.

Secondly, the Congress analysed and defined the contradictions within Kampuchean society. At the time that we were working out the Party's line, Kampuchean society was divided into five distinct classes: the working class, the peasant class, the petty bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie and the feudal class. In all, there were five classes.

Were there contradictions between these various classes?

There were, and they were complicated ones. There were contradictions between the workers and the capitalists, between the petty bourgeoisie and the capitalists, between the peasants and the landowners, between the capitalists and the peasants, etc....The contradictions were complex and very entangled. But which contradictions played the dominant role in society at that time?

To answer this question, we had to find, among the many contradictions in society, the one which involved the majority of the population. Which class most exploited the others? Which class was the most exploited and the most numerous?

An examination of the Kampuchean society of that time revealed that the peasants were 85% of the country's entire population. Therefore, the peasants were the overwhelming majority of the population. They were exploited by all classes. They were exploited by the capitalists and the landlords. However, it was from the landlords that the peasants suffered the worst, most varied and most direct exploitation. Thus, 85% of the population, that is, the peasants, were in contradiction with the exploiting class which oppressed them directly, the landowners. Among all the contradictions within Kampuchean society, the contradiction which played the dominant role was that between the peasants and the landlords, because the peasantry represented the overwhelming majority, 85%, of the population. From whom did the peasants suffer exploitation? It had to be a priority to resolve this principal contradiction in order to mobilize the forces of the peasantry, who were the greatest force.

Thus, in Kampuchean society of those days, the contradictions were many and complex, but there was one contradiction among them which played an overwhelmingly dominant role, that was the contradiction between the peasant class and the landlord class.

The landlords exploited the peasants in every way, and this exploitation existed even in the most remote areas of Kampuchea. We made direct investigations for several years in our villages and communities, and we assembled direct details on this subject.

I will give an example: Thmor Koul, in the province of Battambang. During the years 1957-58, this was a region of vast rice plantations. Some 90% of the farmlands were in the hands of the landowners. Of the tens of thousands of people in Thmor Koul, only four to ten persons were landowners, who monopolized 90% of the land. Tens of thousands of peasants shared the remaining ten percent of the farmlands. This is why we concluded that there was impoverishment in the countryside. That is to say, the peasants were becoming more and more impoverished. The rich peasants, who only cultivated their land themselves, eventually became middle peasants. The middle peasants, who cultivated their land themselves and were exploited part of the time, became lower-middle peasants. The lower-middle peasants, little by little, became poor peasants, and the poor peasants, having little by little lost all their land, had to emigrate to the cities, where they became laborers, workers, pedicab drivers, or porters. This was the process of impoverishment in the countryside. Only the landlords became richer.

These were the contradictions in Kampuchean society, everywhere in Kampuchea.

Here is another document resulting from our investigations in the community of Dontey, which is situated in the eastern part of Kompong Cham province, in the Eastern Zone. We studied how the landlords exploited the peasants and what forms this exploitation took.

A pair of black cotton shorts cost, at that time, two to three riels. But it cost the peasants 10 to 15 bushels of rice at harvest time. In this area, for their annual needs, a middle peasant family of five persons, husband, wife and three children, had only 30 bushels of rice per year, including the rice needed for food and seeds. So, with fifteen bushels of rice for one pair of shorts, for two pairs of shorts, they would need 30 bushels of rice, the total income of a middle peasant family for a whole year. (Note: A bushel or "thang" equals roughly 40 kilograms.)

Such then was the intensity of the exploitation which raged in our countryside. Those who did not see these problems did not realize how intense the exploitation was. Therefore, the contradiction was a life-and-death contradiction. This was a profound contradiction in Kampuchean society, one which touched 85% of the population. It was for this reason that the First Party Congress defined this contradiction as an antagonistic contradiction.

This being the case, how could this contradiction be resolved? The peasants had to be mobilized in struggle against the exploiting class, the landlords. That was the only solution. But to win, the peasants had to have other social forces on their side. Our concrete experience had clearly shown that once we succeeded in mobilizing 85% of the people, the rest would follow, except for a small minority.

That is how we defined our tasks in the democratic revolution. By “democratic revolution,” we mean the liberation of the people. Concretely, it is the liberation of the majority 85% of the people, the peasant class. To liberate the peasants, who make up 85% of the population, is to liberate all the people at one blow. Among the 15% remaining, the great majority would follow the masses of the peasantry, who form a powerful revolutionary force. Not only powerful in quantity, but also in quality, since the contradiction between the peasants and the landlords is a life-and-death contradiction. Understanding this force is the key to victory. To consider our peasants backward, unclean, miserable, crude, incapable of making revolution, is to fall into a grave error in analysis. It is not proceeding from a scientific analysis of the contradictions within our society.

In fact, this 85% of the population constitutes an immense force, because of its numbers and because of the profound contradictions which affect it. The contradictions generated hatred, but, in the past, the contradictions were buried. Why? Because the landlord class, the holders of power and the spiritual leaders were in the service of the ruling classes to dope the people. The belief that bad and good deeds from another life resulted in present conditions served to deceive the peasants and prevent them from seeing the contradictions. And yet, the contradictions were there. To arouse the peasants so that they saw them, burned with class hatred and took up the struggle.

This was the key problem, the fundamental problem which was decisive for victory. Such was the conclusion of our analysis and such was our conviction.

In summary, the national democratic revolution had to accomplish two tasks:

1. To fight imperialism;
2. To fight the feudal landowners. To fight not just the individual landowners, but also their system of feudal exploitation.

According to this line, we had to mobilize the poor peasants and the lower-middle peasants. The cadres in charge of work in the countryside did not live in the towns, but in the most remote areas. It was there that we were able to learn how many bushels of rice the peasants consumed each year and how many bushels of rice they had to pay for a pair of shorts. We knew how the poor and lower-middle peasants were exploited. Because we lived with them, and we carried out agitation and propaganda among them about feudal and semi-feudal exploitation, and the exploitation by the merchants and the capitalists.

Comrades, examine the situation at that time! How did the struggles in the countryside develop, beginning in 1964?

In 1964, 1965, 1966 and 1967, the struggles developed with great force. Our movement was very powerful. It was in upheaval. In 1964 and 1965, the movement was already strong. In 1966, it became even more powerful. In 1967, it became an extraordinary force. By the thousands, by the tens of thousands, the peasants demonstrated, rose up, marched on the administrative offices of the communes, districts and provinces, in order to regain control of the land. Every form of struggle was used, including petitions and meetings with deputies. But what is especially important, the peasants armed themselves with scythes, knives, axes

and hatchets, and other traditional weapons. Weapons in hand, the peasants surrounded police stations and military posts, resorting to revolutionary violence because the ruling classes refused to solve the problem of the lands which they had grabbed from the poor peasants in collusion with the landlords. The ruling classes were the feudalists, the landlords and the capitalists. How could they satisfy the demands of the peasants? They couldn't. Their lies and their deceit could only help them for a time. When, after several actions, the peasants still had not recovered their lands, their discontent was transformed into anger, then class hatred, hatred arising from the class contradictions. At this stage, how could the problem be solved? There was nothing left for the peasants but to take up their scythes and axes and drive out the landlords, who had grabbed their land. From that point on, they no longer feared death, because they had nothing, and this was already like death for them.

Such was the movement of our peasants, a movement of great impetus, which was spreading through the entire country.

Some people asked us where our forces were and whether it would be possible for us to make revolution with only our bare hands as weapons. They did not see the seething and roaring strength of our people, with their class consciousness fully awakened. This class consciousness was not due solely to the propaganda and educational work of our Party, but was acquired in the course of struggle, through class hatred and the unresolved class contradictions. Problems like these led our peasants to find the solution in revolutionary violence. The decision to resort to violence came from our people themselves, learning through their own experiences in struggle. Thus, we were able to agitate among and mobilize 85% of the peasants throughout the country. It was a prodigious force, and that is why we dared to struggle. Our Party believed in the people. Why? Because the Party had clearly seen the class contradictions and seen that the people were struggling through their own movement to resolve them. Our role was only to guide them to unite their strength, so that they would not go into combat without concentrating their forces.

This was the analysis formulated by the First Congress. It opened the way to a correct orientation for our Party. If we could not have grasped it, we would have taken a wrong path.

Some people believed only in the importance of parliamentary struggle. The Party certainly had to carry on the struggle in the Assembly, but this was a supplementary form of struggle. It did not constitute the principal form of struggle in our revolution. It was not strategic, but only tactical. The struggle through the press is a form of struggle which was utilized to incite the opinion of the broad masses, but this, too, was not the principal form of struggle.

The fundamental force of our revolution is the peasants. In our country, the situation is different from the industrial countries. The workers were not the principal force of struggle of our revolution. In the beginning, we were also active among the workers. Since 1955, we were able to organize the workers' movement throughout the country. The comrade who is assistant secretary of our Party was given the task of leading this movement. However, our working class was numerically few. The movement was active in each factory, but it could not withstand enemy repression. Every time the movement rose up, it was soon destroyed.

Take the railroads, for instance. The movement there was the most powerful movement of the working class in our country, but it was crushed. Because of the tortures they suffered, some comrades who survived became insane.

Therefore, the working class by its class nature, is the leading force. However, it was few in number and completely under the grasp of the enemy in the factories and workplaces.

Thus, our analysis of Kampuchean society in that period—that the peasants were in contradiction with the landlords—was fundamentally correct.

On the basis of this analysis, we have full confidence in our own forces. Despite what some people said, whatever the difficulties, we remained unshakeable in our belief. Our people struggled very hard, and they struggled under the correct leadership of the Party. One incident among the many others, an incident from that period which I am going to use as an example, shows the richness of our people's forms of struggle.

Krava, in the community of the same name in the Baray District, is a remote village, situated at the edge of the forests on the banks of the Stung Chinit River. The enemy heavily suppressed the people of this community, subjecting them to all sorts of exploitation, particularly land grabbing. The inhabitants had struggled. The enemy had arrested all the men. There was no one left in the village but women and children. The Party then recommended a supplementary form of struggle, struggle in the Assembly.

The peasant women immediately said: "What? Us, struggle in the Assembly? We, who know nothing of Phnom Penh or the Assembly? Struggle with whom and against whom?"

We told them to take a bus from Kompong Cham and, once in Phnom Penh, to take pedicabs and ask the drivers to take them to the house of Chau Sen Kosal, president of the Assembly, and to stay there until he came home. They came in a group, with children in hand, babies in their arms. The pedicabs let them out at the home of Chau Sen Kosal. There, they refused to leave, staying for several days until Chau Sen Kosal finally agreed to arrange for the return of their husbands and lands.

This was how our illiterate peasants, who had never known the Assembly or any city, let alone Phnom Penh, had nonetheless dared to struggle under the leadership of the Party. The forms of their struggle were varied. The people are an immense force, capable of doing anything. Why? The reason is that our analysis of the contradictions and our manner of solving them was correct, and we were able to mobilize the necessary forces for a correct solution.

This is the line we adopted. Once we made the analysis of the contradictions within Kampuchean society, how did we determine the forces of the revolution and its enemies?

There were two enemies who had to be fought: the first was imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism. The second was the feudal class, the landlords, the reactionary compradors.

The forces of revolution were the workers, the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie, and prominent patriots and progressives. If we managed to mobilize only a small number, we would not succeed in the struggle. If we mobilized only some of them, we

would have succeeded to some extent. If we mobilized all these forces, we would win completely. If we managed to mobilize a large powerful force, we would win a tremendous victory. This was the factor determining whether we would win or lose. Therefore, we had to know how to mobilize the forces of the workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie, national bourgeoisie and the patriotic personalities.

How could we mobilize the workers, the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie and the prominent patriots?

We proceeded according to the line already sketched. We had to keep the principal contradictions always in sight. The principal contradictions were with imperialism and the feudal, landlord system, which we had to combat. As to the secondary contradictions, they had to be resolved by reciprocal concessions in a way that allowed the unity of all the forces against imperialism, especially American imperialism, and the system of the feudalists, landlords and reactionary compradors. By basing ourselves on this line, we united all our forces.

We divided our work according to these different forces. Some of our comrades were assigned to work among the workers; others to work among the peasants; others still among the petty bourgeoisie, intellectuals, students and pupils; and others among the Buddhist priests, the national bourgeoisie and among the prominent progressives and patriots. That is to say, we united all who could be united, not only the workers and peasants, but also the petty bourgeoisie (the pupils, students and intellectuals) and the national bourgeoisie, the prominent patriots and progressives. We united everybody.

But how were we able to unite these people? Our policy had to be correct, our reasoning sound. The people had to understand our reasoning. Our policy had to conform with their interests for them to give us their support. We talked to them, had meetings with them. Sometimes they agreed with us, sometimes they didn't. We came back again and again. First, they didn't see the true nature of U.S. imperialism. But gradually, they ended up seeing it more and more clearly and uniting with us to combat it, to win independence, peace and neutrality.

All the forces had their role to play, but the basic forces were the peasants, who represented 85% of the people. We succeeded in mobilizing them, and this allowed us to unite the others in the course of the work. In this way, we were able to mobilize our forces. These forces, representing 95% of our people, united against the enemy.

It is true that these forces are different in kind: some are strategic forces, others, tactical forces. We consider the workers and peasants to be the strategic forces.

The petty bourgeoisie, the pupils, students, intellectuals of every kind, are allies of the workers and peasants. They were allies in the past, and they are still allies today.

The national bourgeoisie constitutes a supplementary force in the framework of the national democratic revolution. It is not the fundamental force, because it is unstable. Sometimes it takes the side of the enemy, sometimes the side of the revolution, whichever way the wind blows stronger.

As for tactical forces, they are the prominent people from the feudal aristocracy, the comprador capitalist class or the landlord class, who are willing to struggle to some extent against the enemy. We tried to unite all these people. Samdech Penn Nouth and Samdech Sihanouk, Samdech Supreme Patriarch Choun Nath of the Mohanikay Buddhist Order and the Samdech Supreme Patriarch of the Thumayuth Buddhist Order are prominent people whom we strove to rally. We rallied everybody. Our line was right and we applied it correctly.

Following our united front line, we united all the national forces in a large and solid united front, on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance and under the leadership of our Party. We achieved excellent results in organizing these strategic and tactical revolutionary forces, which had the effect of winning to the revolution more and more important forces and of driving the enemy into greater and greater isolation.

We pursued our policy of uniting different forces, even to the point of differentiating among our enemies, so as to target only the most reactionary. We divided our enemies into three groups and, likewise, our position toward each group was different.

1. To win over those enemies who could be won over, even if only under certain circumstances:
2. To neutralize those who could be neutralized, so they could not carry out actions against us:
3. To isolate the most reactionary, in order to defeat them.

In this way, we succeeded in differentiating our enemies and, in certain circumstances, in making use of their internal contradictions. Let us take one case. The traitors Sim Var and Sam Sary were both agents of the CIA. The traitor Sim Var was from Son Ngoc Thanh's group, "Khmer Serei". The traitor Sam Sary was also a CIA agent. But during a certain period, we succeeded in establishing unity of action with Sim Var in order to defeat Sam Sary. Sim Var cooperated with us for two or three years. He then turned against us, and we consequently revised our position towards him.

This was taking advantage of every opportunity to unite broader forces to defeat the enemy. If we had been rigid and sectarian, we would have missed opportunities to unite broader forces to serve the revolutionary movement. But such forces were only tactical. We concentrated on the strategic forces, the workers and peasants, and especially the poor and lower-middle peasants, who were found everywhere in our country.

Clearly, without this kind of line, without this way of applying the line of uniting broad forces, victory would have been out of the question. No revolutionary movement can win victory without uniting all its forces.

We won victory in the national democratic revolution because we organized our forces according to this line.

It was our Party's line to distinguish the strategic and tactical forces, those matters of principle on which we must be intransigent, those questions on which we must be able to

unite, and those questions of detail on which we must make concessions for the sake of unity against the principal enemy. It is this line which guided us.

These last two years since liberation are two key years, because we emerged from our dire difficulties brought on by the devastating war. But we have passed through them successfully and relied basically on our own forces.

Why was this possible? Because our people made the revolution. Without the revolutionary forces of the people, we would not be where we are. The organization of our forces is basically correct. It is certainly not 100% successful, but successful in the overwhelming majority of our work, there are some negative aspects, but the positive aspects predominate. We were able to successfully prepare our forces. We have not fallen into subjectivity, in the sense that we have not made revolution without concern for the reality of our country.

The revolution does not disperse, it unites the forces to the greatest possible extent. The revolution is so grandiose, so profound, it replaces the old with the new. It is a great upheaval. The revolution, then, is not at all an ordinary undertaking. To win, the revolutionary forces must be organized thoroughly.

Since the First Congress of our Party, we have based ourselves on these principles and drawn lessons in the course of struggle. On the basis of these principles, the errors committed were rectified in the course of the work to better organize, consolidate and constantly enlarge our forces. That was why our national democratic revolution was prodigious.

What is the source of the prodigious power of our national democratic revolution? It is the force of the masses of people. This is what decides everything: politics, economics, the military, social questions, the war at the front, as well as production in the rear areas.

The entire population was set in motion. There are no more unused forces. That is the lesson, and we are all profoundly convinced of this.

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

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

The first form of struggle was to use revolutionary political violence and revolutionary armed violence. We resorted to revolutionary violence in both political and armed struggle to oppose and attack the enemy.

The second form was legal, semi-legal and illegal struggle, taking illegal struggle as the basic form.

We took the illegal forms as the basis because, normally, making revolution is "illegal." There is no law of the exploiting classes authorizing revolution. To mobilize the people for struggle is "illegal", but don't we dare to struggle anyway? If you make revolution, you must

dare to struggle, because revolution is “illegal.” Revolution overthrows the old power and installs a new power. It is for this reason that our line specified illegal forms as the basis.

We brought this question up in order to clarify our views and our position. If this question had not been perfectly clear, we could only have waged a legal struggle. If the laws had not authorized our struggle, we would not have dared to wage it, which means we would not have made revolution. Thus, the forms of struggle were a matter of revolutionary principle in our march to victory.

Third were the open, semi-open and clandestine forms of struggle, with the clandestine forms as the basis. We made use of both open and semi-open forms of struggle, but we took the clandestine forms of struggle as the basis, because the enemy did not allow us to make revolution. Consequently, to make revolution, to do agitation among the people, we had to go among the people, do propaganda among them and arouse the people, taking the clandestine form of struggle as the principal form.

Open forms of struggle are not enough. They can only operate on the surface and do not penetrate deeply among the people. Let us take the case of the press. We could have published 100 dailies, but we would have only been able to write within the framework of laws of the state of the feudalist and capitalist classes. Thus, the revolutionary content could not have reached the people. The class content, the content of the struggle to overthrow the exploiting classes, could not have reached the people at the grassroots. It was only when we went to work among the people secretly that the revolutionary content penetrated to the people at the grassroots. We need correct lines of action and correct forms of struggle to be successful in our work, to mobilize our forces.

The Party also attached importance to a good division of labor among the cadres. To some cadres, it assigned open work, to others, work as a deputy in the Assembly, or as a member of the government under the old regime, or as a functionary in the administration, as well as open work in various mass organizations and in the press. These are different forms which can be used to incite the masses. In this way, we divided work among ourselves.

However, there were some sections of clandestine work which were organized to carry out agitation secretly among the people. In Phnom Penh, there were sections which carried out open work, and sections which carried out secret work. It was the same in the countryside, there were some sections for open work and others for secret work. Secret work was the fundamental thing: it allowed us to defend the revolutionary forces and also allowed us to arouse the people. If all of us or too great a number of us had been working openly, the enemy would have been able to destroy many or all of us.

These are the forms of struggle needed to effectively make use of all the forces among the people. We did not use these forces carelessly, so as not to expose them needlessly to destruction. In making use of all these forms, our struggle spread throughout the country. We were able to carry on our struggle both in the countryside and in the cities, both secretly and openly, in the Assembly, in the government. in associations, mass organizations, the press, associations for the expansion of education, even in the cremation societies, associations for defense of the pagodas and associations for defense of Buddhism. We could

wage the struggle there, mobilize the many to the greatest possible extent, using different forms and slogans.

At the same time we were waging a political struggle, we made use of many different forms, in the manner of a people's war. Thus, we would attack the enemy no matter where. We could lead many large scale attacks, as well as small scale attacks.

This was our work of continual mobilization and training of the people. Thanks to the use of all these forms of struggle, we built up our forces. If we had struggled only in the countryside, we would have lacked forces in the cities. Had we, on the other hand, fought only in the cities, we would not have had strength in the countryside. So we struggled both in the countryside and the cities, both openly and secretly, legally and illegally.

It is the same for the role of the cities and the countryside. We fell into neither leftism nor rightism. If we had only carried on our work in the rural areas, thinking that the role of the cities was negligible, this would have been leftism. If, on the other hand, we had considered that the countryside had played only a minor role, and the important thing was the urban struggle, thinking that only the latter is capable of gaining world attention, this would have been rightism. In both cases, we would have neglected the strategic forces of the peasantry. Our Party did not fall into either leftism or rightism, because we fought both sides. We had a well-defined line of action, we struggled at the same time in the cities and the countryside, while taking the countryside as the support base.

Such was our line of action. Why did we take the countryside as the base and why did we not take the cities as the support base?

The cities could not be the base. True, the population there is large, but the city is small, the enemy is all over it. The Assembly, the courts, the prisons, the police, the Army—they were all there. The networks of the enemy's repressive apparatus were concentrated there, and the social composition of the town is very complex.

By contrast, the countryside is vast. The enemy is spread thin there. In some villages, there is not even the shadow of the enemy, militarily or otherwise. In some communities, there are only one or two soldiers or police. This means the enemy forces in the countryside are weak. The peasants there are very numerous. The class composition is good.

This is why we took the countryside as the revolutionary base. First, as the political base with the peasant masses as the force. Second, as an economic base: we could live there, produce and share the problems of livelihood together with the people. Third, as a military base. Fourth, as a base to serve as a headquarters for the various leading bodies of the Party.

This is the role of the rural base. We realized this through practice. From the beginning of 1960, the members of the Central Committee gradually transferred their activities to the countryside. Since 1963, 90% of the Central Committee members moved there. We had to live in the countryside in order to directly mobilize the peasant masses. At the same time, we continued our work in the cities. In this way, we compelled the enemy to disperse his

forces. He could not concentrate them either in the countryside or in the cities. We attacked him simultaneously on both fronts so as to weaken him.

Thus, once the political line of the Party was grasped and assimilated, the struggle movements both in Phnom Penh, the other big cities, and in the rural areas grew rapidly.

1963: This was the year all U.S. aid was rejected. This was a great event in our struggle. It was the result of the people's struggle, the struggle of the pupils, students, intellectuals, workers and peasants, of the Buddhist monks, aided also by the struggle of our prominent people working in the Assembly and the government, and supported by the struggles in the countryside.

1964: January—a huge demonstration mobilized many tens of thousands of people in Phnom Penh against U.S. imperialism and the clique of the traitor Lon Nol. That same year, in the month of March, another big demonstration united hundreds of thousands of people in front of the U.S. Embassy. The crowd attacked the premises, tore down the American flag and trampled it. These were some of the events which illustrate the pitched struggle of the population in the cities.

1965: This was the year diplomatic relations with U.S imperialism were broken off, the culmination of the continued, powerful struggles of our people.

These struggles gave considerable support to the struggle in the countryside. They created favorable conditions for the consolidation and forceful development of the revolutionary forces.

What was the situation in the countryside? In 1964, 1965, 1966 and 1967, the struggles followed one another throughout the country without respite, taking many forms, but mainly the form of the struggle for land reform.

In 1967, the situation was ripe in the countryside throughout Kampuchea. The people armed themselves with knives, axes, clubs and other weapons they could lay their hands on to attack police stations and military garrisons. The revolutionary violence then reached a high level. It was in this ripening revolutionary situation that an armed uprising broke out in 1967 in Samlaut in Battambang Province. This was set off by the people, through their own movement. The Party Central Committee had not yet decided on general armed insurrection throughout the country. The armed explosion in Battambang was explained by the fact that the movement of struggle of the peasants in that region had reached the boiling point. But the Party was there to give leadership to the movement and decided to suspend temporarily the armed struggle in Battambang until the whole country could complete its preparations. If Battambang had rushed into the struggle alone, the enemy could have concentrated all its forces there to crush the revolutionary forces.

Thus, in 1967 the situation in the countryside had reached a new height, like dry straw in the rice fields in March and April, which needs only a small spark to set it on fire. Thus, the situation was ripe.

We arrived at this evaluation of the situation of our people's revolutionary movement after studying and analyzing these struggles. This is why in the middle of 1967, following the experience of the armed uprising in Samlaut, Battambang, the Party decided to initiate an open phase of armed struggle to defend the revolution and, at the same time, to create the conditions for the consolidation and development of the revolutionary forces. If not, the enemy would have destroyed the revolutionary forces. It was necessary to begin the armed struggle because we had already prepared the people: the class hatred and national hatred were explosive. The people were already tempered by all their experiences in struggle; they were struggling with their bare hands, with sticks, with knives.

This was the situation in the countryside and the cities. At that time, the enemy was wavering and incapable of facing the revolutionary forces, because we were attacking simultaneously in the towns and countryside, in perfect coordination.

Basing itself on these experiences, the whole Party was unanimous in its conclusion: if we continued to wage only the political struggle, and, if we did not take up armed struggle, we would be incapable of defending the revolutionary forces, and we would be even more incapable of consolidating and expanding them.

And so we launched the armed struggle in 1968.

January 1968: Insurrection in the Northwest Zone. We captured four to ten enemy guns, which were then used to continue the attack.

February 1968: Insurrection in the Southwest Zone. There nearly 200 rifles were taken from soldiers of the provincial guard and from the military garrisons, certainly not an insignificant number of weapons at that time. They were captured not with guns, but with bare hands, by mass insurrection. As a result, from that time on, we had the means to mount still more powerful offensives.

March 1968: Insurrection in the Eastern Zone, There the enemy had advance knowledge. While the Regional Committee was in the midst of a meeting to organize an uprising like the one in the Southwest, the enemy took its arms out of the area. So, at the hour of the outbreak of armed struggle there were only a few rifles in the Eastern Zone. The enemy was then free to attack the people and the revolutionary forces for more than three months, in April, May and June. Our bases were destroyed. The homes and villages were devastated, the population killed and dispersed. It was only in July that we could make the counter attack. We mounted an assault on an enemy outpost and captured 70 weapons, which we used as capital to build our armed forces.

The people's hands were empty, but they were already trained in revolutionary violence, already trained in the struggle, they had already gained some experience in the struggle. So the people were capable, barehanded, of seizing arms from the enemy.

The Northern Zone rose up in an insurrection in March 1968. Only four guns were captured. We dealt the enemy some sharp blows, and we withstood his counter attacks, but the struggle was very hard.

March 30, 1968: It was the turn of the Northeast Zone for an uprising. Four or five guns were captured. Added to the three or four previously used to defend the headquarters of the Party's Central Committee, we had a total of 10 guns for the entire zone.

Only the Southeast Zone had a substantial number of guns. The other zones only had a very few. What was the quality of these weapons? They were all old models: out of ten shots, nine were duds. We fought on despite this.

From January to May 1969, our guerrilla movement spread through the whole country. The guerrillas were in 17 of Kampuchea's 19 provinces. We took our guns in the course of battle. No zone could come directly to the aid of another, since they were very far apart. Our leading body was dispersed: it was in the Northwest, Southwest, East, Northeast and in Phnom Penh, places very far from each other. All contact involved at least a month's delay, since it meant a trip on foot or by elephant, and it was constantly necessary to evade the enemy to avoid ambush. In a month, the situation would be greatly changed, and the monthly report would no longer correspond to the new situation by the time it reached headquarters of the Central Committee at Ratanakiri. Similarly, the directives sent in reply would be outdated and could not be applied to the new situation. Because of this, the directives could only state our general line, principles and broad orientation. Each area had to rely on itself and correctly apply the political line of the Party. Despite all this, each area successfully defended, developed and consolidated its forces.

As a result, from 1968-69 to March 1970, we established these bases:

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

Second, the guerrilla bases. Guerrilla bases come after the support bases. These are bases which we controlled solidly, but which, in spite of everything, the enemy could penetrate from time to time. In the entire country, our guerrilla bases in the years 1968-69 to March 1970 had a total population of around 300,000.

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

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

Such a force is not negligible. It is not measured only in numbers, it is the force of the poor and lower-middle peasants, the force of a people who have already gained experience in struggle upon struggle. It is, then, a really powerful force.

Barehanded in the beginning, we now had succeeded in building a considerable force. In 1968, we were really barehanded: we didn't have a single weapon, not one doctor, no medicine, no grain or rice. However, we dared to struggle because we had the power of the people firmly in our hands. To have the power of the people in our hands is to have at our disposal all the necessary revolutionary forces: guerrilla forces, armed forces, forces of production to support the revolutionary war. It meant we could get doctors, pharmacists, couriers...it meant we could get everything we needed at both the front lines and in the rear.

As far as our Army is concerned, at the beginning of 1970, the regular units totalled only an active force of 4,000 fighters for the whole country. These 4,000 fighters represented a considerable force for our guerrilla war. But, it was, above all, an army with a high degree of fighting spirit.

For example, in 1968, the regular army in the Northwest had only 70 fighters, divided into seven groups. There were only three handguns for each group of ten. Besides the handguns, there would be one or two grenades, a few flintlock rifles, some poisoned arrows, and nothing else. In 1969, the force grew to 10 groups. It was only in late 1969 that it became a platoon, then in early 1970, a company. Only 30% to 40% were armed.

We were already under heavy enemy attack when we had only seven groups. In 1969, the traitor Tou Long, enemy chief of staff, the traitors Lon Nol, Sirik Matak, Saksuth Sakhon, Sosthene and nearly all the enemy military chiefs mounted a huge offensive against Ratanakiri. They engaged 18 battalions, a third of their army, with infantry units, some armoured cars, artillery and air support. Our regular army in the Northeast numbered just 150 fighters, 150 fighters who could not all fight at the same time because they did not have enough weapons. They had to split into two groups of 70 fighters, each taking turns in the fighting, because of the shortage of guns. Using the tactics of guerrilla warfare, we were able to attack the enemy, defend our support base, consolidate and extend the guerrilla base, and consolidate and extend the guerrilla zone.

Our operations were not limited to Ratanakiri Province. We penetrated Stung Treng Province, then in Mondulakiri Province, and we continued our advance, attacking deep within enemy zones. As a result, at a 1969 council meeting of the enemy cabinet, the traitor Tiou Long, as chief of staff, gave a pessimistic report, admitting that the situation in Ratanakiri was serious. The traitor Lon Nol swore that in Ratanakiri the Khmer Rouge occupied a territory equivalent to three times the area of Kompong Chnang province.

Elsewhere, the situation was no different, In the Southwest, we attacked the enemy simultaneously in the provinces of Kampot, Takeo and Kompong Speu. In the Eastern Zone, our activities reached Highway Seven. At night, our Army was in complete control of Highway Seven. Thus, in the years 1968 and 1969 and until March 1970, our regular units numbered only 4,000 fighters in the whole country, but this army had great fighting spirit.

As for our guerrilla units, in the whole country they numbered 50,000 fighters at the beginning of 1970; 50,000 guerrillas who could attack the enemy everywhere. The guerrillas would go into combat alone, or in groups of two or three, but with only one rifle, a

rudimentary flintlock, or a crossbow, grenade or mine, They fought any way they could, with any kind of weapon. They were very active. They never put themselves on the defensive. They didn't wait for the enemy, but constantly went ahead, searching for the enemy. acting on the principle of attacking in order to better defend themselves. In order to be able to defend the support bases, they had to wage offensive actions, to attack the enemy first. It was only by attacking the enemy first, that he could be kept from coming into our zone. So the guerrilla units went into battle everywhere, since they were made up of people who lived in the area and knew in depth all the terrain, each forest, each stream, each valley.

In its operations, the enemy mobilized their infantry, tanks, artillery, transport vehicles and planes. However, in the Northeast, as in the other mountainous and jungle regions, enemy planes, tanks, artillery, and trucks lost their effectiveness. The bombs and shells fired at random in the vast forests and mountains were lost in the trees and rocks and never caused the slightest loss to our population. As to tanks and trucks, our deep forests and our mountains were inaccessible to them. There remained the infantry. Against them, we set traps, snares and hunting spears of all sorts and we cut down trees to throw obstacles across all the paths and roads. If the enemy tried to penetrate, he was at the mercy of our guerrilla units, which were the masters of the terrain, in their own forests.

This was people's war, based on guerrilla warfare. Guerrilla warfare was waged everywhere, the guerrilla could attack anywhere.

We could thus mobilize all the people to attack the enemy without waiting for the regular units. This is what proves the effectiveness of our line of people's war based on guerrilla warfare, which was invincible.

With guerrilla units of 50,000 fighters in the whole country, we attacked all over, without letting up. Everyone, without exception, no matter where they were, looked for some way to wipe out the enemy. If every group of three guerrillas or unit of 10 guerrillas succeeded in killing or wounding one enemy soldier per day, with 50,000 guerrillas in the whole country, this would make a considerable number of enemy soldiers put out of action each day. This was how the enemy forces were continually weakened by our guerrillas.

We had faith in our line of people's war. We had faith not only in arms, but in our line of people's war.

Our Army numbered 4,000 fighters and our guerrilla units, 50,000. After the coup d'état of the U.S. imperialists and the traitor Lon Nol, these units were immediately converted into regional units and units of the regular army, into regiments and battalions. These were not simply formed from the ordinary village people. They came right out of the guerrilla units, units which already had two or three years of combat behind them. These units were thus trained in combat. This was what most frightened the enemy.

U.S. imperialism, in spite of its electronic systems and spy rings everywhere, was nevertheless mistaken in its strategic evaluation of our forces. It was seriously mistaken in both its political and military estimates. In its political strategy, it assumed that, soon after the coup d'état, the puppet Lon Nol would be able to win over the "Khmer Rouge." But on

the contrary, it was the revolution which united all the national and people's forces in the whole country to mount a crushing attack on U.S. imperialism. Thus, the imperialists committed an enormous strategic blunder in their political analysis.

Secondly, in their military analysis, they believed that we had no army, no military force whatever. They predicted that after the coup d'état, their combined military forces, with the cooperation of the traitor Lon Nol's army, could without difficulty crush us in a single blow. But, in fact, we already had 4,000 fighters in our regular army and 50,000 guerrilla units who were well-trained and seasoned in battle.

Immediately after the coup d'état, broad, spontaneous demonstrations and uprisings broke out everywhere in the country, sweeping the enemy away like a tidal wave, overpowering the enemy in entire regions and villages, communes, districts, and some provinces. Revolutionary administration was immediately set up everywhere. Tens of thousands of weapons captured from the enemy came immediately into the hands of the People's Armed Forces of National Liberation, from the regular army units to the regional forces and the district, commune and village guerrilla units. We then had regular units in sufficient numbers. Together with the guerrilla units, our armed forces moved onto the offensive everywhere in the country, advancing in a powerful offensive and with total mastery.

Thus, the U.S. imperialists made another gross strategic military blunder. But they would have been defeated even if their estimates and predictions had been correct. Even if they had gained precise information about our strengths, they could not escape defeat, because our people's war of national liberation was an invincible war.

We can describe ours as a people's war because it was a war of the people, it was the entire people who were making war, with their own movement. All the energies of the people were set in motion and hit the enemy on all fronts and in every area, with every kind of weapon, with creative spirit and initiative.

Our people's war was invincible. This was our conviction, based on our confidence and pride in our people and our Army. With our people and our Army we were able to liberate our country. Furthermore, we were confident of the power to defend it because, for one thing, we stood for justice, we stood for correct revolutionary principles, we did not violate the sovereignty of any country, we did not interfere in the internal affairs of any country, we had no aggressive designs against any country. For another thing, people's war, already waged for national liberation, is destined to assure the defense of our country. It has a scientific character issuing from the revolutionary practice of the masses and is profoundly based upon the masses.

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

On our Party's military line

1. Build our Army by ourselves, on the principles of independence, initiative and self-reliance, with the direct participation of all the people in the war. To have a Revolutionary Army, you must have a revolutionary people. It is necessary to organize a broad, strong revolutionary movement to be able to organize a strong revolutionary army, with both regular forces and strong regional forces, and guerrilla forces everywhere, capable of attacking at any point and at any moment.
2. Our policy on forming the cadres of the Revolutionary Army. The cadres of our Revolutionary Army were formed right on the battlefield and continued to harden themselves and develop on the battlefield, in combat. Only the cadres of the Revolutionary Army, formed in the fire of combat, can acquire the necessary experience and forge a sound ideological, political and organizational position. Only such cadres are capable of fully analysing the situation of the enemy and of ourselves and of applying the line of combat strictly according to the political line of our Party.
3. Our policy on equipping our Army and using weapons.

We base ourselves on the principle of relying fundamentally and essentially on our own forces. To rely on our own forces means to seek any means to attack the enemy in order to seize his weapons, use them ourselves in battle, care for weapons captured from the enemy and bring out the creative spirit of the masses to repair and fashion every kind of weapon we can. The aid of our foreign friends was only supplementary support, depending on the opportunities and the concrete situations. During the five years of the war waged by our people against the U.S. imperialist aggressors, more than 80% of our armament was weapons seized from the enemy.

As to the use of weapons, our policy consists of using every weapon at our disposal. We use them more or less according to our means, but always economically and depending on the needs and the importance of the fronts, without tying ourselves down by rigid norms. Generally, in the course of five years of war, only 70% of the soldiers in our regular units were armed.

Our Revolutionary Army correctly applied the military line of our Party. This is what gave it its fighting spirit and great effectiveness.

We must continue to draw inspiration from this experience and apply correctly the line of our Party on the building of our Army, while basing ourselves on the principles of independence, initiative and self-reliance. As our country is still poor, there is no other way for us to be independent and sovereign in every situation, except to continue to apply our Party's military line and the line of people's war while relying on ourselves.

On our Party's line of struggle

Our Party defined its line of struggle in this way: to struggle at the same time on the military level; on the political level, in arousing the population against the enemy; on the economic level, in cutting off all their supplies; and on all other levels, especially in dismantling their

spy rings and in building among the enemy troops a movement of resistance to the war of aggression.

This line of struggle on every level assured us of a superiority which grew each day, while the enemy became exhausted and collapsed in whole regions, The enemy met with one defeat after another: military defeats, political defeats, economic defeats, defeats in maintaining their supplies. Politically, they became each day more isolated. Their forces deserted them steadily, draining their manpower away, to the point where they could no longer find recruits. More than this, their sources of supply became more precarious daily and ended by drying up completely. Their masters, the U.S. imperialists, were obliged to go to great lengths to transport their supplies. They had to send around 40,000 tons of supplies each month just to the Lon Nol clique which was in Phnom Penh.

On our Party's line of combat

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

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

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

At the beginning we saw that the enemy was weakest in the countryside. We combined military attacks by regular and guerrilla units, with mass insurrections to take power at the village and commune levels. Proceeding in this way, each day we enlarged our liberated regions in the countryside and forced the enemy to retreat in some isolated towns, al the same time that we tied down enemy forces in scattered positions where the communications and supplies became more and more difficult for them.

It was in this situation that we took measures to cut off the enemy's routes of strategic communications, following our line of combat, especially our tactic of dividing the enemy into smaller units. It was in this way that from 1970 to 1974 we cut off and controlled all the enemy's strategic ground communication routes, that is, Highways One, Two, Three, Four, Five, Six and Seven. At the same time, in 1972, 1973 and 1974, we succeeded in periodically

cutting off the strategic waterways. Even the Lower Mekong, on which the enemy concentrated the greatest attention, was periodically cut off in those years. When the lines of communication on ground and river were cut in 1974, the U.S. imperialists and the clique of the traitor Lon Nol found themselves extremely isolated in Phnom Penh and a few provincial capitals.

It was in this situation, when the U.S. imperialists and the Lon Nol traitor clique were in their death throes, that our Party's Central Committee, in the course of its June 1974 session, resolved to mount the decisive offensive to liberate Phnom Penh and the entire country. We dared to mount this offensive because we had completely grasped the enemy's situation and our own.

The plan of our offensive was: to attack Phnom Penh, cut off the lower Mekong and attack the provincial capitals still under the temporary control of the enemy. The control of the Lower Mekong was the key factor in the total liberation of Phnom Penh, the attacks on other towns being complementary operations.

Carrying out the decision of the Party Central Committee, during the rainy season of the year 1974, we actively prepared our forces on the political, ideological and organizational levels. At the same time, our Revolutionary Army assimilated still further our Party's line of combat at the front.

Our entire Revolutionary Army enthusiastically received the new mission of the Party and, showing the highest revolutionary heroism, were determined to carry it out at all costs, for the Party, the revolution, the working class and the people, to totally and definitively liberate Phnom Penh and the rest of the country. We readied our forces correctly and painstakingly for the final assault on Phnom Penh and for the attacks on the provincial capitals. It was thus that the decision of the Party Central Committee to liberate Phnom Penh and Kampuchea during the 1975 dry season could be totally and perfectly carried out, following strictly the line of independence, initiative and self-reliance, and taking our destiny into our own hands.

On April 1, 1975, we liberated Neak Leuong. The U.S. imperialists shipped the traitor Lon Nol to Hawaii and changed horses, in the hopes of manoeuvring after their defeat to counterattack the revolution at the moment it gained control of Phnom Penh.

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

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

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

The line of our Party defined in 1960 had set for us the following tasks:

1. to make the national revolution by eliminating the imperialists, especially the U.S. imperialists, from Kampuchea;
2. to make the democratic revolution by abolishing the reactionary system of the feudalists and comprador capitalists.

We had completely realized these two tasks on April 17, 1975; the Communist Party of Kampuchea had led the struggle of our people for 15 years, the struggle of the Kampuchean people had undergone difficult and tragic tests, and some extremely complex situations. But we had a correct political line, we had the Communist Party of Kampuchea to lead us on a correct path. Thus, whatever the difficulties, we fought until the great victory of April 17, 1975.

In the course of those 15 years, our people made immense sacrifices which just added to the immense sacrifices of centuries and of millennia of past struggles. Our national anthem brings out the meaning of this struggle.

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

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

We have seen how many, how enormous were the sacrifices of our people. We must always honor them so as to value the bravery of our people, learn from them and reinforce and develop our heroism from generation to generation.

Let us listen to, respect and sing our national anthem, for it represents the struggle of our people. For more than 2,000 years, our people lived in disgrace and in the darkest shadows, without any light.

Then the daylight shone. The brightest day of all for our people was April 17, 1975. For this reason, we made April 17 the title of our national anthem. This anthem, was composed by generations of our men and women combatants and people. Our national anthem was born following April 17, 1975, when Democratic Kampuchea was born.

Our Revolutionary Army, our fighters and our people are the real composers of our national anthem. Born on April 17, 1975, with Democratic Kampuchea, the anthem belongs to all of us.

We now know the essence of the history of our people's struggle. In order to carry out our task well, we must pay constant attention to our own revolutionary education, without consideration of rank or age. We cannot lead the work of defense and national construction well without rapidly tempering ourselves to develop solid revolutionary qualities.

The young comrades, whether single or married, must generously throw themselves into their own ideological education, overcoming all obstacles. Pledge yourselves body and soul to the revolution! Youth is a period of life in which there are very rapid changes. It is a time when consciousness is most receptive to revolution and when we are in full possession of our strengths.

This, then, is a general directive of our Party. It is the youth of today who will take up the revolutionary tasks of tomorrow. Also, you must continually temper yourselves, so as to provide the revolution with its relief forces. Do not disdain the small jobs, do not fear the difficulties. No matter what work the collective assigns you, apply yourself to do it well. When you do make errors, the collective will help you to correct them. This is the only way to temper yourselves. We will correct the errors in the course of our work, with the new experiences we have acquired. The more we work, the better we learn. We must regularly sum up our experiences. We want to train our young people in all sorts of work. We need cadres skilled in all tasks, as strong in combat against the aggressor as in production.

In comparison to the young, our older comrades already have a little less physical and intellectual strength. But these comrades must educate themselves in order to make a better contribution to the running of the country and to better carry out their revolutionary tasks. Those who have a long revolutionary history must not be narrowminded or opinionated. If they neglect their education, they will no longer be able to do their tasks well. In national defense and construction and in many other areas, we need tested cadres with sound ideological and political positions. All these qualities can only be gained through constant effort.

The veteran comrades, too, must make an effort. Our Party and our revolution need all the forces and especially the tested veteran cadres who have a sound stand. It is necessary to educate ourselves no matter what our age. All our forces are capable of carrying out their tasks. We devote ourselves body and soul to the revolution because of the greatness of our tasks. We have totally liberated our country, and we have fully secured its defense. Nonetheless, to better defend it in the future, our forces must always be sound. They must make a firm and consistent commitment to the defense of our national territory from coast to coast.

We all know the Angkor of past times. Angkor was built during the slave period. It was our slaves who built it under the yoke of the exploiting classes of that time, for the enjoyment of the king. If our people were capable of building Angkor, they can do anything. Our people brought about the glorious April 17, 1975. We must lift up our nation's soul, our nation's

pride, to carry out the work of national defense and construction and to secure our country's future.

The second part of my talk dealing with the national democratic revolution is over. We move now to the third part, dealing with the new period of the revolution, in which the tasks are the defense of Democratic Kampuchea, the continuation of the socialist revolution and the construction of socialism in Kampuchea.

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

On the New Stage of the Kampuchean Revolution, defense of the democratic revolution, continuation of the socialist revolution and socialist construction

Now let us examine and analyze the situation in Kampuchea and Kampuchean society after April 17, 1975, in order to concretely determine the contradictions and the manner of resolving them, while precisely defining the revolutionary tasks of this new period.

precisely defining the revolutionary tasks of this new period. Firstly, with the tremendous victory of April 17, 1975, our country was totally and definitively liberated. We fully and completely regained our independence and sovereignty 100%, which we now enjoy to an extent unprecedented in the 2,000-year history of our country. We are independent in every sphere: politics, economics, military affairs, culture, literature, art, social affairs, etc. We are all deeply proud and happy with this situation.

But, because we have won total independence, does this mean that we no longer face the threat of foreign enemies, foreign imperialists and reactionaries, who once again seek to make us dependent in military affairs, politics and economics, as well as in other spheres?

The concrete situation shows us clearly that foreign imperialists and reactionaries always harbor the strategic and fundamental aim of weakening our country and reconquering it.

Thus, a contradiction exists between the foreign imperialists and reactionaries on the one hand, and Democratic Kampuchea on the other. This is the contradiction with foreign enemies, who wish to commit aggression against us and annex our independent and sovereign Kampuchean territory.

This contradiction and that of the preceding period are of different natures, because, in the previous period, Kampuchea was under the yoke of the imperialists, colonialists and their lackeys, the reactionaries. Our revolutionary task, then, is no longer the same; no longer is it the revolution for national liberation and independence. Our revolutionary task now is to defend our country, to defend Democratic Kampuchea: defend our independence, our

sovereignty and our territorial integrity within our present borders, defend the worker and peasant power of our Party, and safeguard the sacred victories of the revolution.

Now that we have achieved national independence, this is the primary task facing us.

Secondly, at the same time that our nation was completely liberated, 80 was our people, most particularly, the masses of workers, peasants and other laborers.

The workers, peasants and other laboring people constitute 90% of the population, with the peasant class alone representing 85%. Thus, when we add the workers and other toilers to the peasantry, the figure of 90% is entirely correct.

Once free, the laboring people have become the motive force which attracts and wins over the other 10% of the population. Among the capitalists, landlords and other strata who make up this 10%, there are many elements who are for the revolution, and who even take part in the revolution. Among these strata, there are some patriots who rejoice that the nation is liberated from the humiliating state of enslavement in which it had been maintained for centuries, and now is full of dignity and enjoys great prestige everywhere. These elements do not constitute a negligible force; they represent eight to nine percent of the population.

So, in all, 98% to 99% of the population has been liberated. This is an immense victory for our revolution and for all our people, because for generations, our people and nation had been enslaved by the imperialists, colonialists and reactionaries. The masses of workers, peasants and other laboring people, in particular, suffered the greatest misery.

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

The concrete situation of our new Kampuchean society and the excellent fact that our people have been completely liberated and have united resources and efforts to defend and build the country energetically have not prevented our new society from encountering contradictions.

On the one hand, there are contradictions among the people, because we all carry vestiges of our old class character, deep-rooted for generations, and, after all, the transition to revolutionary proletarian character is still quite recent. We consider these to be contradictions among the people, which can be resolved by education, study, criticism and self-criticism, and periodic self-examination of our own revolutionary lifestyle, under the supervision and with the aid of the collective; all this, under the leadership of the Party. It is important to consistently carry out thorough-going educational work, which is aimed at developing collectivist and socialist ownership and gradually eliminating the idea of private ownership. Our goal is to continue to build the revolutionary strength of the people, so that each of us becomes a revolutionary of the new Kampuchea, who zealously defends and builds the country, and who contributes to the rapid raising of the people's living standards.

Our cooperatives, which are collective organizations of our people throughout the country, have demonstrated their great strength since their beginnings in 1973. During U.S. imperialism's war of devastation, the collective force constituted by the cooperatives was capable of defeating U.S. imperialism and, at the same time, of producing enough to meet the needs of the front and improve the conditions of life of all our people. Likewise, after liberation, thanks to the collective strength of the cooperatives, we were able to fully guarantee national defense, develop production, and successfully improve the living conditions of nearly eight million inhabitants of our country. All this was done in complete independence and by relying on our own resources. It is the same in other areas, The work done collectively yields excellent results, while work undertaken in an individualistic manner leads inevitably to inextricable difficulties and failure.

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

Similarly, within the new Kampuchean society, there are life-and-death contradictions owing to the presence of enemy agents, who belong to the various spy networks of the imperialists and international reaction and who secretly implant themselves to carry out subversive activities against our revolution.

These antagonistic contradictions are also due to another infamous handful of reactionary elements, who carry out their counter-revolutionary work and seek to destroy our Kampuchean revolution. These elements are small in number, one to two percent of the population. Some camouflage themselves and try to pass for the people, while others work openly.

We do not consider these traitors, these counterrevolutionary elements, to be part of the people. They are enemies of Democratic Kampuchea, of the Kampuchean revolution and of the Kampuchean people. Contradictions with these elements must be solved by the measures proper for enemies: separate, educate and win over the elements which can be won over; neutralize the elements which are wavering, preventing them from doing any damage to the revolution; and, finally, isolate and eradicate only the smallest possible number of those elements who are cruel and persist in acting against the revolution and the people, and collaborate with foreign enemies to destroy their own people and their own revolution.

Thirdly, we have all just seen that our people, 90% of whom are workers, peasants and other laboring people, have liberated themselves. In addition, there are also patriotic elements, constituting eight to nine percent of the population, who followed and joined the revolution. This comes to a total of 98% to 99%.

To liberate 98% to 99% of the population, especially the working people, is to liberate a vast productive force. Historical materialism has clearly shown that man is the determining factor in production. So, our people—who, in the past were a wasted force, suffering unspeakable humiliations and brutal exploitation, deprived of all initiative and any chance of

working to improve their conditions, who could not build up their country and make it prosper—today, our people are free. They have smashed the old system of production, which was based upon exploitation.

Should we stop there or take on new tasks? We must continue to consolidate and develop new, independent, equal and collective relations of production in order to increase production, build up the country and raise the people's living standards by great leaps and bounds. All this was completely unknown in the exploitative and oppressive old society, under the old relations of production. It is for these reasons that the Party has set socialist construction in all areas of Democratic Kampuchea as its new task.

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

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

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

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

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

As I have already indicated, the new period of our revolution began only two years ago. Thus, we are not yet in a position to draw definitive conclusions. We must gradually learn from our experiences, perfect our work and continue to advance in pursuit of the new tasks of our revolution.

In the course of this period, in which we have made the socialist revolution and built socialism in our country, we can say that we have tried hard, and we have achieved good results. However, the road ahead is a long one.

Generally, in carrying out the tasks of our revolution, we have encountered favorable conditions, as well as difficulties of all sorts, and we have some strengths and weaknesses, both from the subjective and objective points of view. But, in summing up, our strengths predominate, and we are gradually advancing towards success in carrying out the new tasks of our revolution.

I am now going to give a concise summary in two parts. The first deals with the situation of the socialist revolution, which we consider to be the important and fundamental basis for the accomplishment of the new tasks of our revolution. The second part deals with the situation in the mass revolutionary movement in defense of the country and for the building of socialism.

The general situation of the socialist revolution

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

1. The old relations of production, based upon exploitation and oppression, have been abolished and the new, independent, equal, socialist and collective production order is being gradually consolidated and developed.
2. The forces of production, especially the laboring people representing 90% of the population, are completely liberated. They are undergoing a transformation and are now developing into a tremendous strong movement for production, full of enthusiasm, vitality, initiative and creative spirit. This immense force, which was sleeping for centuries because of its oppression at the hands of various exploiting classes, has awakened and is bravely and vigorously moving into action.
3. The collective peasant cooperatives throughout the country, which were founded in 1973 during the air war waged by U.S. imperialism, are developing and being strengthened, both quantitatively and qualitatively. Since their founding in 1973, the cooperatives have passed many tests and are successfully serving the revolutionary movement in every area. During the war, the cooperatives were the source of everything: manpower for the Army, the economy, transport and other areas. After the war, they were given the task of promoting production, thus improving the living conditions of the people. They carried this out in complete independence, relying on their own strength, and have taken full responsibility for supporting and feeding the new people, completely liberated on April 17, 1975.

Presently, our cooperatives are collective units, very solid from the political, ideological and organizational point of view. They are carrying out their revolutionary tasks well, transforming our once barren, arid and miserable countryside into a countryside each day more luxuriant, provided with reservoirs of every size, networks of canals covered with rice paddies and green fields. Each cooperative has become a small collectivist society, an entirely new society, freed from corrupt and depraved culture and traditions. It is a new healthy society, which is consolidating and developing itself constantly, where equality and harmony prevail. The living conditions such as food, health services, culture and education, are being consolidated and developed.

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

4. Apart from the aforementioned questions, we continue to operate without the use of money, with no daily salary. Our entire people, our Revolutionary Army, all our cadres and all our fighters live in a collective system through a communal support system, which is being improved with every passing day. This is a successful step toward the solution of the

contradictions between the cities and the countryside, between the workers and the peasants, between manual workers and intellectuals, between the cadres and the masses, between the economic infrastructure and the superstructure. We continue to solve these contradictions in accordance with the nature of the contradictions themselves. However, we already have initial sketches and basic plans for future work. We have endeavoured to follow the concrete experience of our movement, in order to improve, promote, consolidate and develop this experience, so it will correctly serve our revolutionary movement.

5. There is another important aspect of the situation which gives us cause for celebration and strengthens our confidence in the revolutionary movement. This is the immense power of our people, who are enthusiastically and eagerly participating in the socialist revolution and socialist construction. Concretely, all those who, in the old society, belonged to the class of poor and lower-middle peasants are fully satisfied with the collective system and with the cooperatives, and they support them with all their hearts.

Formerly, they and their families could only provide for themselves for two to five months of the year. To be able to survive the rest of the year, they were obliged to abandon their homes, their villages and rice paddies to go to work as pedicab drivers and porters at a miserable wage. Now, they eat well all year long. Their living standard is up to that of the middle peasants of the old society. What is more, they have doctors and medicines in their cooperatives. They are learning to read, to write and do arithmetic. They are benefiting from political education, which broadens their understanding daily. More important, they themselves have the power to direct and manage their cooperatives.

Thus, they have become the true masters of the lands, the rice paddies, harvests, indeed, of the fruits of their labor. In a word, they have fully gained their dignity. These former poor and lower-middle peasants represent 75% of the total population. This immense force is very powerful in its numbers, but, even more, in its revolutionary force.

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

The former middle peasants and petty bourgeoisie make up 20% of the total population. Added to the 75% above, this constitutes 95% of the people. This figure represents a powerful force from the standpoint of politics, as well as of ideology, organization, and proficiency in all branches of activity, especially in production, and raising the living standard and national defense. They are a motive force, who bring with them the remaining 5%, most of whom are patriots and want to take part in the revolution. From the strictly

material viewpoint, the living standard of this 5% has fallen in some respects, because in the cooperatives, the living standard is only that of middle peasant.

But this standard of living is perfectly adequate. What is important to them, however, is that they can see with their own eyes that our country has at last become independent, our people are truly worthy of admiration, our countryside is being completely transformed, and the future of our country and people is bright. Many things reinforce their confidence in the new revolutionary regime. They can be thus assured that under the new system their children will grow up honorably and be made into good citizens and patriots, who are devoted to the people and take part in the work of national defense and national construction. They will make the contributions they should to the prosperity and greatness of their country. In the old days, our people never imagined these things were possible. Among this five percent, at least three to four percent are for the revolution.

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

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

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

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

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

The situation of the Kampuchean Revolution in the area of national defense and socialist construction in all fields

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

All of our comrades and our people have now completely grasped the line and the stand of our Party and the government of Democratic Kampuchea. Our Kampuchean people adhere to the sacred principles of living peacefully, honorably, and as masters of their own country. They are building a national society in conformity with their profound aspirations and with a line which they have chosen for themselves.

In the past, our people were forced to live the lowly existence of slaves. Our country was plundered and oppressed by foreign reactionaries, feudalists, colonialists and imperialists. We lost much of our territory. Our present borders are the distressing result of successive waves of foreign aggressions, expansions and annexations.

Since April 17, 1975, when Kampuchea was totally and fully liberated, the people have become the true masters of our country and our destiny. Our people have a strong and correct sense of patriotism. Although their history has been one of misery, our people do not dig up past grudges, but turn their attention toward the present and the future.

Our people do not harbor animosity towards anyone, nor have we any intention of committing aggression or expanding our territory at the expense of anyone else. We don't want even one inch of anyone else's land. Ours is a small country with a small population. The political system of Democratic Kampuchea absolutely does not permit us to aggress against any country. A small and weak country does not usually go and swallow a big country. World history records that it is only the reactionary ruling classes of big countries, those of the Hitler type, who invent pretexts to provoke and accuse small countries of encroachment, and then use these pretexts to justify their own aggression and expansionism.

Democratic Kampuchea has no reason to commit aggression against anybody. We have an area of 181,000 square kilometers with upwards of six million hectares of farmland. Our Tonle Sap Lake, Tonle Sap River, Mekong River, Basac River and ponds and lakes abound in fish. Our dense forests, soil and subsoil have rich natural resources. We have only eight million people. In terms of land under cultivation, each peasant household can handle an average of five hectares of land. In view of this, Democratic Kampuchea has absolutely no need to annex anybody's land. Moreover, we have just come out of a war of tremendous devastation. We need all the time and all the strength that we can muster, in order to build up our country and improve and raise our people's living standard in as short a time as possible. We very much need and treasure our independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. We are striving constantly to develop close, friendly relations with all the countries in the world, both near and far, as is evidenced by the visits of Kampuchean delegations to many countries around the world, beginning in 1975, immediately after the liberation of our country.

We also resolutely respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of other countries. However, our people and our Revolutionary Army are determined to defend our independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity within our present borders. Today, our Kampuchean people have taken the destiny of their country into their own hands. This has become possible because of the history of bitter, tortuous and heroic struggles, and the

innumerable sacrifices which resulted in the defeat of U.S. imperialism and its running dogs on April 17, 1975, Thereafter, these people will absolutely never allow anyone to aggress, interfere, subvert, provoke or violate our country, or alter its border. This correct stance of our people has won support of friends near and far, on the five continents, because it is just. Over the last 2 years, despite many problems we have had to solve since the war's end, our people and our Revolutionary Army firmly grasping the nature of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, and all forms of reactionary enemies, and constantly maintaining revolutionary vigilance, have smashed all attempts at aggression, subversion, provocation by enemies of all kinds. We have successfully protected, strengthened and expanded the fruits of the revolution, the state power of the revolution, and totally safeguarded the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and borders of our country by relying on principles of complete independence, initiative and self-reliance. Our success in this has created excellent conditions for the better defense of Kampuchea and has given us a great opportunity to plunge deeper into the building of our country.

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

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

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

In the field of agriculture, our Party has focused on solving the key problem of water conservation in order to maximize rice production, which is the fundamental staple food. In the past dry season of 1977, the people of our cooperatives built many large water reservoirs in every village and region, each with a storage capacity of 100 million to 200 million cubic meters of water; medium-sized reservoirs of 50 to 60 million cubic meters of water; and small reservoirs of 50 to 60 million cubic meters of water in every district. Together, these reservoirs contain 2.8 billion cubic meters of water, including the waters in canals, which have a total length of several hundred kilometers. These projects can irrigate rice fields of about 250,000 hectares in both rainy and dry seasons. The people of the cooperatives also built five dams on the Prek Thnot Stream to aid the irrigation of 60,000 hectares of farmland; two dams on the Chinit Stream for the irrigation of 20,000 hectares of farmland; three dams on the Pursat Stream for the irrigation of 30,000 hectares of farmland; one dam on the Battambang Stream for the irrigation of 40,000 hectares of

farmland; and other dams on the Scam Reap, Knabanh and other smaller streams. In total, in 1977 our cooperative peasants built all sorts of water projects, which solved the water problem during all seasons, dry as well as rainy, for 400,000 hectares of farmland. All of these have been built by our workers and peasants relying entirely on their own efforts, with their own bare hands and their hoes.

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

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

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

In the field of culture and education, our Party's aim is to learn through the practice of serving the movement to defend and build the country. Theory goes with actual practice, study with the actual serving of the production movement. Our schools in the cooperatives and the factories are very important. Our education has a strong national and mass base. At this time, efforts are being made to expand the learning of science and technology. In the immediate future, our important goal is to eradicate illiteracy. In the old society, there were some grade schools, high schools, colleges and universities, but in the countryside, 75% of the people were illiterate, especially the poor and lower-middle peasants. Even in the cities, 65% of the working people were illiterate. Now, after just two years of national liberation, only 10% of the adult population remains illiterate. We are solving this problem through the mass line and with compulsory mass education.

Education in the old society, copied from foreign systems, was alien to the concrete conditions of the country. It was incapable of defending and building the country, and incapable of improving the people's livelihood. It was totally reliant on foreign aid. Now, in order to serve the movement to defend and build the country well and rapidly, many movements to learn science and technology have been launched. We learn through experimentation and work at the same time, and through summing up our experiences. Technology, culture and theory are learned simultaneously. Technological knowledge of rice production, rubber production and other industrial technology has been mastered to a great

extent. We can see that our present system of education effectively serves the movement to defend and build the country and to improve the people's livelihood. Along with this, our children, youth, workers, peasants, men and women combatants have also received education in revolutionary patriotism. They all know quite clearly who are the enemies and who are the friends of their revolution and of the people's revolutionary movements for national liberation around the world. They firmly stand on the side of the revolutionary people of the world.

In the field of social welfare and public health; we have been successful. In order to keep the whole people healthy, our Party has founded a revolutionary medical corps made up of people who have a high sense of sacrifice and dedication to producing medicines from local ingredients and natural herbs. Our medical personnel deepen their medical skills while carrying out actual work. We have expanded the pharmaceutical center and are building hospitals in Phnom Penh, in cooperatives, villages, districts and sectors throughout the country. On an average, for every 100 families in the cooperatives, there is a hospital building with three nurses and one pharmacist. Our people's health is rapidly becoming excellent. We have successfully wiped out various social diseases and addictions. We are now concentrating on the eradication of malaria. In the past year, which was the first of the four-year plan for the eradication of malaria, we achieved 70% to 80% of our program's objectives. We must continue striving to raise rapidly the people's standard of living and improve their health, because we need to increase our Kampuchean population to 15 to 20 million over the next 10 years. As for the decadent remnants of the previous society, left over from imperialism and the exploiting classes, like lumpenism, prostitution and other crimes; these have been completely wiped out by the great mass movement to "clean up and wipe out."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

If we take a look at the world situation, we find that it is favorable to the people and the revolution. The oppressed people and nations, the people of the nonaligned countries and the third world countries have achieved a high political awareness. They are beginning to be firmly convinced of their own strengths, to know their allies and to have a high level of understanding of the true nature of the policies of imperialism and expansionism. They are resolutely taking their destiny into their own hands. At the same time, they are greatly tightening their unity with one another, in order to smash and wipe out all attempts by imperialists and expansionist great powers of all kinds to create disunity, division and dissension. This is a powerful historical tide which no force on earth can stop. The revolutionary and progressive people of the world will certainly score more victories. Our Party and the people of Kampuchea must exert all our efforts to contribute to this historical tide and surge forward more powerfully.

I lend the presentation of my report in our mass meeting here, having described the history and the line of our people's movements, from the beginning up to the present, on the occasion of the Seventeenth Anniversary of the founding of our Party, as well as on the occasion of the official unveiling of our Party. The essence of the line of our Party, the revolutionary movement of our people, our Revolutionary Army and our men and women combatants is so far-reaching that it cannot be described in totality here.

What I have described is just a sketch of the general view, made with the desire to explain to you the aim of our country's revolutionary movement from the beginning up to now. At a later date, we will meet to consolidate, expand and deepen our discussions on each problem. We must study, sum up and learn from the experiences of our people's revolutionary movement, in order to build our Party, ourselves and our forces, promote our revolutionary movement, and repay the service of our fallen people and comrades-in-arms, who died leaving their achievements in our firm grasp. These achievements now belong to

all of us, therefore, we must strengthen and develop them. With due revolutionary humility, we can say that the situation of our revolution to date has been excellent. From all points of view, the situation is excellent, in qualitative as well as quantitative change.

None of the splendid results of our work in the past would have been possible without the monumental efforts exerted by our people of all generations, by our Revolutionary Army in all its successive stages, and by the men and women combatants and cadres in all ministries and departments. All of us have endeavoured with the highest sense of revolutionary responsibility to carry out our revolutionary tasks well under the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea. Only under its guidance could we have achieved such excellent results. Our journey has been long, considering the length of the revolutionary movements in our country. However, at the same time, we must have revolutionary humility. We must see our victory as a great victory, but we must also see that our tasks are still numerous and more difficult: defending the country, safeguarding Democratic Kampuchea, protecting the Kampuchean revolution, preserving worker-peasant state power, and the heavy task of building the country rapidly into a prosperous and glorious country, so as to raise our people's standard of living and bring happiness and glory to our people, as well as contribute to the well-being of the revolutionary people of the world.

In conclusion, on behalf of the entire Communist Party of Kampuchea, I express best wishes to comrade representatives of the workers and peasants, Revolutionary Army, ministries, and all departments who are in this meeting, and, through you, I would also like to extend best wishes to all comrades, workers, peasants and combatants who could not come to this meeting. May all of you enjoy good health, great strength, sharp vigilance and complete success in vigorously carrying out all the tasks entrusted to you by the Party.

LONG LIVE THE SEVENTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KAMPUCHEA!

LONG LIVE THE CORRECT AND CLEAR-SIGHTED KAMPUCHEAN COMMUNIST PARTY!

LONG LIVE THE GREAT KAMPUCHEAN PEOPLE!

LONG LIVE THE EXTREMELY INVINCIBLE AND HEROIC KAMPUCHEAN REVOLUTIONARY ARMY!

LONG LIVE GLORIOUS DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA!

Speech Commemorating The 10th Anniversary Of The Founding Of The Revolutionary Army Of Kampuchea

Speech at great mass meeting on the anniversary of the army (January 17, 1978)

I would like to extend my respect to all the comrades representatives of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea, all the comrades representatives of workers, all the comrades representatives of departments, organs and all revolutionary units who have come and participated in this meeting.

At first, on behalf of our Communist Party of Kampuchea, the Military Committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and on behalf of the whole collectivist worker-peasant people throughout the country, I would like to extend my deepest, warmest and most cordial respect and admiration towards the whole Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea, including those who are present here, in different units and particularly those at the front throughout the country, who are heroically fighting to defend Democratic Kampuchea, the worker-peasant State power of the Party and our collectivist people.

We all deeply and whole-heartedly respect and admire our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea for they are the strong dorsal column, the faithful and loyal armed forces, instrument of the proletarian dictatorship of the Party, they have successively fought in the revolutionary war movements from 1968 up to now and they have then won successive victories. They have highly enhanced and held aloft the prestige, honour and dignity of Kampuchea, which had been despised before, those of the whole people, revolution and Communist Party of Kampuchea, both on the national and international arenas.

Therefore, while gathering together to commemorate and greet the 10th Anniversary of our Revolutionary Army, we have very great pleasure and unbounded pride towards the Revolutionary Army Of Kampuchea, for this Army has fought, surmounted all kinds of difficulties and sufferings, has consented all kinds of sacrifices during dozens years for the national and people's liberation, for the worker-peasant revolutionary State power of the Party, for the prosperity of Kampuchea and its entire people, and for the defence of the Kampuchea's territory to insure its everlastingness.

It is only after being aware of the history of our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea that we would have full confidence in them and would whole-heartedly appreciate and be proud of them. As for the history of our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea, we have had the opportunities to talk and discuss about it many times. In this Occasion, I would like to bring up only some problems to inform our meeting.

AT FIRST, I WOULD LIKE TO TALK ABOUT THE FOUNDING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY OF KAMPUCHEA.

On this first point, I would like to raise the questions: How the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea was founded? From which source? In which circumstances this Army was born, has been further developed and strengthened in size and strength?

1-The Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea was not born through four or ten circulars of so-and-so government, of so-and-so Parliament. It was not so-and-so organization which had signed to enlist the youth into the army and give them military uniforms and arms to join the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea, one, two, Our Army was born in the people's revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea. It was the Communist Party of Kampuchea which had defined the strategic and tactical lines to fight against imperialism that had come and interfered, aggressed and occupied Kampuchea, to fight against feudalists and reactionary capitalists who had exploited and oppressed the Kampuchea's people. To fight against the imperialists and the exploiting classes, our Party has decided that we have to carry out an armed struggle and in order to wage an armed struggle, we must have an army. This army has a revolutionary task to fight against the imperialists and the exploiting classes. Under the constant leadership of the Party, this army was born from scratch to one fighter, two fighters, three fighters, four fighters, five fighters fighting against the enemy. They have fought against the enemy through revolutionary violence, particularly through armed violence. They have fought against the enemy with traditional weapons and semi-modern weapons up to modern weapons. They have fought against the enemy with one fighter, one squad, one platoon, one company up to battalion, regiment, division and with many divisions. That is how the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea has been successively developed under the leadership of the Party which has decided a correct line that is to have to wage an armed struggle against the enemy, and to have a revolutionary army for this armed struggle.

This brief history of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea has shown that our army was not created by one or two circulars and letters. This army was born in the flames of struggle, starting from scratch up to the present development. This development is not insignificant. This army has been developed by inflicting ignominious defeats on the US imperialists, the most powerful chieftain of imperialists in the world, and up to now by inflicting also ignominious defeats on the Vietnamese aggressors, annexationists, swallows of territories. They have been so because this army was founded in the struggle under the Leadership of the Party.

2-As for another question: From which source, this army was founded and has been developed?

I would like to tell as follows:

The Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea was born from the workers and peasants, from the people of poor and lower classes. From its founding up to now, its social composition is made up of overwhelming majority of peasants of poor strata. After the latter, there are also peasants of inferior middle strata, 98 per cent of cadres and fighters are from the peasants of poor and inferior middle strata, Besides, there are also from the peasants of the middle strata and other revolutionaries. Through this social class composition of our Revolutionary Army, we can see the source from which our Revolutionary Army was born. It is these poor people who are the source of the founding of our Revolutionary Army. It is these poor people who are the forces to strengthen and develop the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea.

The peasants of poor and inferior middle strata and the peasants of middle strata are very numerous, more than 80 percent the entire people of the country, These people are an inexhaustible and immense source in supplying forces to our Revolutionary Army, to make them more developed and more powerful. We are not worry that the source of our army would become exhausted for us people of the lower classes are very numerous. This, if we speak about number. Besides, parallel with this number, our Revolutionary Army has also their genuine nature that is the ae as me class nature of these people. The peasants of poor and inferior middle strata can be considered as belonging to the proletarian and semi-proletarian classes in the countryside. With the peasants of poor and inferior middle strata, who are so numerous and belong to such a genuine class nature as lower class, our army can develop and strengthen themselves in number and at the same time they can firmly preserve their class nature as proletarian and semi-proletarian classes. And these peasants of poor and inferior middle strata, belonging to such a good class are not isolated and scattered but they are under the leadership of the Party and have good qualities in the fields of politics, ideology and collectivist organization. It is these people who supply forces to the army. It is these poor people who are the mothers of our army. If these mothers are good, their sons and daughters are also good. These mothers belong to a good origin of class and have been successively and firmly armed with politics, ideology and collectivist organization by the Party. With such good mothers their sons and daughters would also be as good. Through this awareness, we can see the quality of our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea and have full confidence in our army. In the future, we still have to base on the source of the peasants of poor and inferior middle strata to strengthen and develop our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea. If we base on other sources, then our army would not be strong anymore. Let's say that if in the future, we turn to other sources to select our fighters from, our army would not be strong anymore, despite how numerous modern weapons we could have. If the original source is not good, then this army would not be strong. A strong and healthy mother has a healthy baby. The good health we are talking here is a strong class nature, a firm revolutionary stand, surmounting difficulties, and struggling valiantly. A mother with a strong revolutionary nature would also have sons with a strong revolutionary nature. These are the sons who have powerfully fought against the enemy and won any enemy whatever strong they were. These are the line and the stand followed forever in organizing our Revolutionary Army.

In the future, we still have to follow this way in building up, strengthening and developing our army mainly from the original order source of the Peasants of poor and inferior middle strata in its to have an army with a strong genuine class nature both by nature own genuine original nature and its genuine proletarian class educated by the Party. Our army have no ranks, no salary. They are an army which are carrying our genuine revolution, fulfilling their high revolutionary tasks in defending the country, the worker-peasant state power of the party and the collectivist people. Therefore, they must have a very high revolutionary spirit to heroically carry out the fighting. The factor of revolutionary people is the main fundamental factor. As for the factors of materials and technology, they are just secondary important factors. Once we have strong revolutionary people, our fighting would be very powerful.

3- As for the third question: In which circumstances our Revolutionary Army was founded?

Our Revolutionary Army was not founded in peaceful time, in the blazing school or military academy. Our army was founded in flames of struggle in the revolutionary struggle of successive difficulties, sufferings, endurances. This Revolutionary Army has struggled against and overcome all kinds of difficulties to build up, further develop and strengthen themselves. Therefore, this Revolutionary Army has passed the tests not at school but in revolutionary wars: the civil war from 1968-1969, the war against the US imperialists from 1970 to 1975, And from 1975 up to now, our army has fought both against the US imperialists and their lackeys and against the Vietnamese aggressors, swallows of territories. Thus, this army has been successively developed, strengthened and tempered themselves in the flames of fighting. Being tempered in the fighting like this, this army has become powerful. The fighting has founded, further developed and strengthened our army to become successively more and more powerful. The fighting is a tempering and a test serving to appreciate our Revolutionary Army, our cadres and our men and women fighters through the concrete acts in the actual movement. And through the experiences in this fighting, our army can be further and powerfully developed and strengthened under the leadership of the Party.

In brief, our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea was founded:

1- under the leadership of the Party through the line of concrete revolutionary violence, that is by waging a revolutionary war;

2- this army was founded from the poor people. That is why this army is so powerful. This people have their origin of class as peasants of poor and inferior middle strata and besides, they have the Party to lead them, in political, ideological and organizational fields, and they are organized in collectivity.

3- This army has fought, been tempered and tested successively in the blazing flames of the revolutionary war, Thus, this army has fulfilled all characteristics and qualities required as an army of our Communist Party of Kampuchea.

Therefore, in the future, our whole Party, our entire people will strive to build up our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea in conformity with these principles in order to make our army to be ever powerful and not to ever change its nature.

NOW, I WOULD LIKE TO TELL YOU ABOUT THE SUCCESSIVE VICTORIES WON BY OUR REVOLUTIONARY ARMY OF KAMPUCHEA DURING OUR NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION AS WELL AS DURING OUR SOCIALIST REVOLUTION.

How our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea which was founded and has been gradually developed has won its successive feats of arms and victories during the revolutionary war? We must remind and further illustrate those feats of arms and victories in order:

-On the one hand, to develop more and more our pride, satisfactions, love respect, admiration and firm confidence in our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea and to endeavour to develop and strengthen our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea to make them steadfastly

more and more powerful in all fields, political, ideological, organizational, and in the line of fighting of the party.

-On the other hand, to totally break up the propaganda of the imperialists, reactionaries, aggressors, annexationists, swallows of territories who, adhering to the stand of their class interest and their policy of aggression and annexation swallowing of territories, have always used their perfidious propaganda of prophesying and discrediting the revolutionary armies of the poor countries which are short of armament. They have propagated that the armies of those countries absolutely could not win over the aggression and annexation armies of the great powers, imperialists, reactionaries and big countries having many people, big armies and a lot and all kinds of armaments. In the history of our Revolutionary Army, they have also prophesied that our army would be completely destroyed for many times. They have propagated as prophets this with intent to wage psychological war and political war to threaten, frighten and mislead beforehand the peoples and revolutionary armies of the small and / or poor countries, in order to let them to aggress, invade and swallow at their will the territory of others in conformity with their ambition.

For all these above-mentioned reasons, we must remind the successive feats of arms and victories of our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea on the solemn occasion of this 10th Anniversary of its founding.

I would like to tell briefly about the grand feats of arms and victories won successively by our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea during the revolutionary war from 1968 to 1978, by dividing this revolutionary war into 3 periods:

- from 1968 to March, 1970: period of struggle for national liberation,
- from March, 1970 to April, 1975 : period of struggle for national liberation,
- from April, 1975 to January, 1978 : period of struggle for ; national defence.

1-From 1968 to March 1970, a civil war broke out in our country. Against our revolution, there were reactionaries exploiting classes with militarists Lon Nol, Sirik Matak as chieftains, and the US imperialists as strings-pullers. The enemy forces and our forces at that time were as follows: the Lon Nol's clique, lackey of the US imperialists, had an army of 60 000 men in land, naval and air forces, including soldiers and provincial guards. As for us, in 1968, in all regions we had less than 1 000 guerrilleros.

Thus, in comparison with the enemy, we were very weak, very small and the enemy had a very big force. The enemy was like a big elephant, and we were like a small ant.

In that situation, the imperialists' and exploiting classes' prophets inside the country and abroad, prophesied that the "Khmers Rouges" will be surely and completely annihilated. But what has been concretely the result of it ? We have succeeded to defend and strengthen ourselves. From almost empty hand in 1968 to March 1970, we have had an army of 4 000 men, and 50 000 guerrilleros in the whole country, waging guerrilla war in 17 provinces out of 19 provinces throughout the country. We have had a liberated zone as our backing-bases with 60 000 people. We had guerrilla-bases where were living 300 000 people. We had our

guerrilla-zones where were living 700 000 people. Thus, on the whole in 1970, we had a liberated zone, guerrilla-bases and guerrilla- zones with more than 1 million people. Our forces have been always increased. We have always succeeded to defend, develop and strengthen ourselves, i.e. the army, people, liberated zone, guerrilla-bases, guerrilla-zones, regular army and guerrilleros— units. These forces have been very strong in the civil war and have inflicted very heavy defeats on the enemy. Why could we defend, develop and strengthen the forces of our army and our revolution? Because we have had a correct line and carried out correctly the people's war of the Party. Therefore, the imperialists 'and exploiting classes' prophecies against our revolution inside the country and the world over, have been completely broken down and dissolved. They have propagated and carried out political war and psychological war in order to dupe us, to mislead the world opinion, but the history of our revolutionary movement has clearly shown that from 1968 to March, 1970, we have won such great victories, Those victories have been indeed the first ones but we consider them as grand fundamental victories leaving our Party, our army and our people to build up their position are being independent and sovereign and to strongly develop and strengthen it in the fighting through tremendous difficulties and sufferings. The position of being independent, sovereign and self-reliant and master of one's destiny has come from this period and its foundation had been developed and strengthened during this period.

2-During the period of national liberation war against the US imperialists from 1970 to 1975, the imperialists' and reactionaries' prophets have still foretold. They have propagated against our revolution with all kinds of means in order to dupe our people, our army, our Party and the world opinion, to be frightened at the great powers and to accept to bow their head to be oppressed by them at will. At that time, the enemy had forces as follows:

1 – the Lon Nol clique had from 60'000 to 200'000 men,

2 – more than 100'000 of Thieu-Ky penetrated into our territory,

3 – many ten thousands of US imperialists troops aggressed our territory in April and May 1970.

Besides, they used many planes flying all over Kampuchea's airspace. Therefore, the enemy forces included US imperialists, Saigonese troops of Thieu-Ky and the Lon Nol clique. Furthermore, the Thai reactionaries, the South Koreans, the Taiwanese etc... participated in carrying out activities against us. All these forces are very big. Therefore, the imperialist and reactionary side has foretold that the Kampuchean revolution will be completely destroyed and defeated. But as concrete result, we have won the grand victory of April 17, 1975. Our Revolutionary Army which in 1970 had only 4000 men of regular army and 50'000 guerrilleros, have been rapidly developed and organized into battalions, regiments and divisions. The army and the people have been developed, they could be self-sufficient in economy, they have won the grand victory of April 17, 1975. This has been a great victory in the Kampuchea's history and also grand victory in the world's history when, for the first time, the US imperialists have suffered such an ignominious defeat. The Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea has won over the US imperialists because this army has been led by our

party, comes from the worker-peasant people, has been composed with sons and daughters of peasants of poor and middle strata, and steadfastly tempered in the flames of the revolutionary war. Therefore, this army has become always more and more powerful, bigger and bigger, starting from scratch until having more and more armament, fighting the enemy aggressor and winning one victory after another. Our victories have broken down the perfidious theories, principles and stand, the perfidious and poisonous propaganda which have stated that "a small country could not fight", "a poor country could not fight and stand up", "a small country has to be dominated", "a poor people have to be dominated". We have broken down the poisonous propaganda of the imperialists and reactionaries. so that the peoples in the world have been encouraged and become more powerful to continue their struggle and win victories.

3- Now, during the fighting against the Vietnamese aggressors, annexationists, swallows of territories, the prophets have foretold once again. They are the prophets of the US imperialists, reactionaries and various expansionists in the world, they have foretold that: "the Vietnamese army who had been tested in the war for many dozens years, would take Kampuchea within only 24 hours". They have made this propaganda in order to mislead the world opinion, to frighten the small countries and poor peoples through their poisonous theories that stated as follows: "a small country could not struggle", "a small country has to be dominated", "It is not possible to be independent, sovereign and self-reliant", etc... But despite these propagandas, they still can not mislead the world opinion. The world opinion at that time has been divided into two, but as a whole, it has supported and expressed its sympathy with Kampuchea.

The majority of it has been confident that the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea would surely defeat and wipe out the Vietnamese aggressors for this Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea had already defeated the US imperialists. But a small number have expressed their anxiety for us too. They have thought we might not be able to stem the Vietnamese aggression.

I would like to tell about the fighting results and qualities of our Revolutionary Army. The Vietnamese army who have come and aggressed Kampuchea since May 1975 have been as follows:

1- The security forces for border defence: These forces have machine-gunned against our People who have been carrying out agricultural works, against our army in patrol. They have all the time pounded inside our territory. And they have been those who have repeatedly moved their installation into our territory. And they have been also those who have let their people to build houses with some columns on their soil and the other ones on our soil, and even up to many villages inside our territory. That Swallow our territories from 10 centimeters, 20 centimeters, 1 meter, 2 meters, one kilometer, 2 kilometers and so on. They have been those who have repeatedly carried out provocations along our borders. Only in the Southwest, in 1975-76, they have machine-gunned and pounded all the time, causing an average 30 killed or wounded in each month. And in Svay Rieng, as a whole, they have carried out continuous provocations and in some places the situation has been even more tense than in the South-West. Therefore, from May 1975, from Kompot province to

Ratanakiri province, the Vietnamese security forces for border defence have carried out innumerable provocations along the borders.

2- The regional army is the army of the province. All the Vietnamese provinces along our borders have their own regional army. These forces have participated with the security forces for border defence to constantly create troubles and difficulties to our population along the border, behaving arrogant and naughty conducting themselves as "fathers of Indochina", as "big brothers of Indochina", saying that "the tinies in Indochina have to obey me".

3- The military region forces are the regular army of each military region to be used as the core of military intervention in various provinces in the frameworks of the military region.

I would like to point out that these 3 Vietnamese categories of forces, security forces for border defence, regional forces and military regional forces, have used to launch attacks against us for many times from May 1975 and particularly in 1977. But these 3 Vietnamese categories of forces have been aware of the efficiency of our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea which have put them to rout anytime they have aggressed us.

For this reason, in order to launch large-scale aggression against the territory of Kampuchea in November and December 1977, and in January 1978, the Vietnamese have had to dispatch many divisions of their regular army from their headquarters in Hanoi, including sophisticated arms, many hundreds tanks and pieces of heavy artillery and used them-as the core-forces to break through our thin line of border defence and penetrated many kilometres deep in our territory and dozens of kilometers in some places, particularly on National Road No7 and in Svay Rieng province in the East Region, in Takeo and Kampot provinces in the Southwest Region, They have sowed mournings, devastations and sufferings on our people, villages, cooperatives, cattle, poultry, cultivated lands, rice-field and properties.

If the Vietnamese have acted and behaved like that, what kind of revolution is this? What kind of "special friendship" is this? What kind of "negotiations" for solving the border problem is this?

We have seen only ideology of big country's chauvinism, arrogance and cruelty towards us, annexation and swallowing of our territories, violation and aggression against our country, subversions, attempted coup d'état to overthrow the regime of Democratic Kampuchea, etc... And we have seen only this ideology of big country's chauvinism being strengthened and becoming thicker and thicker like verdigris formed on copper, from the top to the bottoms of the Vietnamese.

However, I would like to tell about the concrete results of this large-scale Vietnamese big aggression and expansion against Kampuchea. Did they win or fail? They have suffered a very heavy defeat, and our victory has also been a great one, comparable also with the glorious victory of April 17, 1975. It was the grand victory of the people and the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea over the Vietnamese aggressors, annexationists, swallows of territories on January 6, 1978.

1- The Vietnamese defeat in the military field

Concretely, the Vietnamese aggressor army in all fronts have been driven out by our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea up to the borders. The enemy had suffered 29 000 killed or wounded more than 130 big and modern enemy tanks, cost many million dollars each, have been destroyed or damaged, many dozens of enemy pieces of heavy artillery have been destroyed or damaged. Five enemy divisions of their regular army have been broken down.

I would like to point out why we have won so great victories over the enemy? As a whole, we have carried out well the people's Kampuchea war line of the Party and particularly our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea have grasped and carried out with efficiency the line of fighting the enemies of the Party. The enemy have relied only on their tanks and artillery. When our Revolutionary Army attacked, destroyed, damaged or immobilized their tanks, then their infantry were in confusion. And it is not difficult to attack tanks. Anybody can do it. We use many mines to attack enemy tanks, putting them across national roads, provincial roads, small or big paths where the tanks are moving, because the enemy tanks cannot pass through our rice-fields. Swampy area, main and secondary canals of irrigation. Therefore, once we use lines to attack them along these roads, the enemy tanks would be destroyed and damaged by our mines, leaving them all over the places along those roads. At the same time, we use the B-40, DK-75 and DK-82 arms to attack the enemy tanks. By this kind of attacks, the enemy tanks were useless. As for the enemy pieces of heavy artillery, they have also to move along those roads by trucks or full-track vehicles. Thus, they could not escape from our mines. It was the same for the enemy's transportation: transport of ammunitions, killed and wounded soldiers, food supply and so on.

In this situation, what the enemy infantry men could do? How could they get tanks to help them? How could they get pieces of heavy artillery to help them? How could they get ammunitions supply? How could they get food to eat? And in this situation, our Revolutionary Army have steadfastly and powerfully attacked them. In a short time, they have -been broken out, destroyed, put to rout, and driven out to the borders.

I would like to tell that as for infantry, the side which has more revolutionary and proletarian stand would win. Another weak point of the Vietnamese aggressor army, annexationist and swallower of territories is that they have had no rice to eat and have eaten only bran in pieces. By eating only bran, they surely could not win in their aggression.

2- The Vietnamese defeat in the political field:

In the political field the Vietnamese aggressors have also suffered very heavy defeat. They have been considered in the world as baleful aggressors, annexationists and swallowers of Kampuchea's territories. The overwhelming majority of the independence- and justice-loving countries and peoples the world over have seen clearly that. The face and the policy of the ideology of big country's chauvinism, of "Indochina "federation" of the Vietnamese aggressors, annexationists, swallowers of territories of the small countries, neighbours of Vietnam, have been denounced as clear as daylight. Through this, Vietnam have been very isolated, strongly condemned, officially or unofficially and it has been in an impasse.

Another Vietnamese political defeat is that the Vietnamese people are clearly aware of that the policy of aggression has led the people and the country to sufferings and devastations.

Another political aim of Vietnam to prepare setting an organisation, a party or a movement belonging to Vietnam and coming from Vietnam to be installed or declared on some Kampuchea's territories that the Vietnamese could occupy has completely failed.

3- The Vietnamese defeat in the economic and financial fields:

In their large-scale and systematic aggression against Democratic Kampuchea, the Vietnamese have to spend a lot of economic and financial means at the time when their country and people are short of food, of many million tons of rice and of money for solving problems after the war.

They have spent a lot for aggressing the others. They have hoped they would win and get profit in returns. But when they have been defeated, they have lost everything, both capital and interest, their national and people's economy and finances have more suffered and been devastated.

Thus, when they have going to beg again, alleging as a pretext that they have met with "difficulties after the war", "difficulties because of drought", it might be difficult to find someone to give alms, particularly those who have been aware of.

After being aware of the Vietnamese defeats in military, political, economic and financial fields, we could appreciate the grand victories of our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea in their task for defending our Democratic Kampuchea.

Our friends, near or far, and the independence- and justice-loving countries and peoples the world over have strongly acclaimed our grand victories.

We have firmly safeguarded and aloft the banner of "being independent, sovereign, self-reliant and master of its own's destiny", the banner of "independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity", the banner of "honour and dignity of the Kampuchea's nation and people". And we have strongly broken down the Vietnamese banner of "aggression, annexation, swallowing of territories", the Vietnamese banner of "being frightened at big countries by defeatism", the Vietnamese banner of "big country's chauvinism", the Vietnamese banner of "one Party, one country, one people" has also been broken down with the most ignominious way.

Dear comrades,

We have seen our grand victory over the Vietnamese aggressors for

- our whole Party is united as one in leading the fighting to wipe out the enemy,
- our whole people are united as one, having a high revolutionary political and ideological stand having a firm stand of collectivist organization, participating in the fighting against the enemy at each own battlefield, at the «front and in the rear,

- our valiant Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea have correctly and efficiently carried out to the maximum the military line, the people's war line and the line of fighting of the Party,
- all our revolutionary departments and services have fulfilled well and actively their tasks,
- we have had rice, paddy all over our rice-fields,
- our friends, near or far and the independence and justice-loving countries and peoples the world over has supported and expressed their sympathy with our cause of national defence against the Vietnamese aggressors.

We have clearly seen that aggression has been defeated and independence has surely won. We have clearly seen these grand victories, but they are only for the first step. We have to see again that the enemies of all kinds are pursuing their activities to injure us to put our country under their domination by various means: aggression, spying, threatening, intimidation, subversion, undermining, attempting to overthrow our revolutionary power by coup d'état, assassination, machine-gunning and pounding along the borders and so on.

Therefore, all of us, we must firmly grasp the main tasks of our Party:

- to defend Democratic Kampuchea,
- to carry on the socialist revolution,
- to edify well socialism,

Concretely, we have:

1- to increase higher our revolutionary vigilance, to be always well armed with the political, ideological and organizational stand of the Party, to keep the secret, to defend our Party, our revolution, our collectivist people, our revolutionary power and our Revolutionary Army.

To improve develop and strengthen our forces of national defence, regular army, regional army and guerrilla forces, to be ever powerful and to destroy the enemy networks and activities of psychological war and spying.

2- to hold aloft the spirit of fighting and to impetuously fulfil the 1977's plan of 3 tons and 6 tons per hectare and the 1978's plan of 3,5 tons and 7 tons per hectare. And every factory, worksite, unit, department, service have to carry out efficiently their own works to achieve fully or beyond the plan.

We have all to redouble our endeavours so that no force or anyone remains unmoved in order to participate in defending and edifying well the country and to rapidly improving the standard of living of the people.

All the forces have to actively move forward to impetuously perform their tasks and to win new victories.

3- to do our utmost to be in solidarity with the revolutionary and progressive forces the world over, in conformity with the foreign policy of the Party which has been clearly stated

in the Constitution of Democratic Kampuchea. We preserve and firmly adhere to the policy of independence, peace, neutrality and non-alignment. Democratic Kampuchea resolutely remains in the Great Family of the Non-aligned countries.

Within the Third World countries, particularly within the Great Family of the Non-aligned countries, there are indeed some complex internal situations. But these countries, particularly the Non-aligned countries have many favorable conditions, that is:

- they are numerous in the world and they have many populations.
- they have deep, acute and several contradictions with imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, dominationism, expansionism, annexationism,
- they are carrying out strong and multiform struggles against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, dominationism, expansionism, annexationism, etc, against all acts of aggression, expansionism, annexationism, swallowing of territories, subversion, intimidation. they are stubbornly and steadfastly struggling for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, equality, justice and for the principle of being independent, sovereign, self-reliant end master of one's destiny of each country.
- and particularly for Kampuchea, the overwhelming majority of the Non-aligned countries have successively supported and expressed their sympathy with it during the 5 years national liberation war against the US imperialists as well as since the liberation of the country on April 17, 1975. The overwhelming majority of the Non-aligned countries have respected the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea and have established with us relations of perfect equality. Democratic Kampuchea needs very much such friendly countries.

4- As for the conflict with Vietnam, how would Democratic Kampuchea have to solve it? Concerning this problem, our government has clearly stated several times already. On this occasion, I would like to state it once again on behalf of the government of Democratic Kampuchea following the Article 21 of the Constitution of Democratic Kampuchea. This article reads as follows:

"Democratic Kampuchea is endowed with "goodwill and firmly determined to maintain close and friendly relations with all countries having common border with her, and with all countries, near or far, throughout the world on the strict basis of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity.

"Democratic Kampuchea firmly abides by the policy of independence, peace, neutrality, non-alignment. No foreign country whatever is allowed to establish military bases in her territory. She resolutely struggles against all foreign interferences in her internal affairs, against all kinds of acts of subversion and aggression from outside, military, political, cultural, economic, social, diplomatic or through the so-called humanitarian acts.

"Democratic Kampuchea resolutely does not interfere in the internal affairs of any country whatever. Democratic Kampuchea resolutely respects the principle that each country is

sovereign and has the full right to dispose and decide by itself its internal affairs without any foreign interference."...

We firmly abide by our foreign policy stipulated in our Constitution.

If the Vietnamese side stops its interference, subversion, machine-gunning, pounding, aggression and annexation against Democratic Kampuchea by eliminating completely its ideology of big country's chauvinism towards Kampuchea, its principle of "Indochina Federation", its principle of "one party, one country, one people" in "Indochina", which are the roots of the Vietnamese policy of intimidation, threatening, subversion, aggression, annexation, swallowing of territories against Kampuchea, then there would be no contradiction between us and a genuine friendship would be established and would be further developed and strengthened.

This is the aim of the government and people of Kampuchea, which is so small and has no interest in creating troubles to anyone. She wishes only to have peace in her independence and territorial integrity.

Dear comrades,

Our glorious Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea has been developed strengthened for ten years already, by fighting through and surmounting all kinds of obstacles, and by daring to consent all kinds of sacrifices for our party, our class, our revolution, our people and our country. The way through which all the comrades of our Revolutionary Army have gone in a very noble, brilliant and glorious one in the history of Kampuchea. The revolutionary heroism of the comrades of our Revolutionary Army is very sublime, worthy of profound respect and admiration. We are all very proud of this Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea.

But we all have also been aware of the heavy revolutionary tasks of our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea to defend Democratic Kampuchea, the worker-peasant state power of the party, to defend our party, our revolution, our class, our people, and to participate in the national edification and rapid improvement of the standard of living of the people.

The tasks of our comrades of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea are indeed heavy, but they are very noble and glorious.

Let comrades further hold loftier the banner of victory of our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea:

1- by striving to educate yourselves and your units to make them always good, sound and firm in conformity with the political, ideological and organizational stand of the Party and also with the line of the people's war and the line of fighting of the Party.

2- Every unit has to impetuously fulfil their revolutionary tasks as vanguard, overcoming all obstacles and difficulties to win new great victories.

Long live the correct and clear-sighted Communist Party of Kampuchea!

Long live the powerful Revolution of Kampuchea!

Long live the glorious people of Kampuchea!

Long live the valiant and powerful Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea!

Long live the valiant and powerful Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea!

Long live the valiant and powerful Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea!

Let Us Firmly Hold Aloft The Banner Of The Victory Of The Glorious Communist Party Of Kampuchea In Order To Defend Democratic Kampuchea Carry On Socialist Revolution And Build Up Socialism

Speech at 18th anniversary of the Communist Party of Kampuchea (September 27, 1978)

Dear Comrades,

First of all, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, I would like to bow before the memory of all our dear compatriots, cadres, men and women fighters who have consented the sacrifice of their lives during our struggle for people's and national liberation and our present struggle for defending Democratic Kampuchea.

We have to respect the memory of all our heroes and heroines and remember forever, from generation to generation, their illustre example in our memory.

On behalf of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, I would like also to extend my most profound congratulations to the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea who are at present fighting in order to defend Democratic Kampuchea and the worker-peasant revolutionary power and inflicted on the Vietnamese aggressors, annexationists and swallows of territories, heaviest defeats,

I extend my warmest greetings to the collectivist worker and peasant classes and to, all comrades from different revolutionary organs and services who are struggling to build up and defend our beloved Kampuchea.

During this meeting organized to celebrate the 18th Anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, I would like to talk about the two following subjects:

- 1 - What are our reflexions on the occasion of the 18th Anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Kampuchea?
- 2 - The present situation of the Kampuchea's revolution.

WHAT ARE OUR REFLEXIONS ON THE OCCASION OF THE 18TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KAMPUCHEA?

Our Party is now 18 years old. What works has it achieved? What experiences has it acquired? What are its tasks to come? We have to examine the circumstances in which our Party was born and has grown up. Such examination will allow us to learn from these past experiences in order to build up and make our Party more powerful in the future.

Our Party was born and has grown up in successive, tortuous and complex revolutionary movements, passing from one form of struggle to another one: political struggle, armed struggle combined with political struggle, war for people's and national liberation against the US imperialists until it has taken power over the whole country, and at present, socialist revolution, construction of socialism and national defence.

Following the experiences acquired by our Party, the key-factor of the victory is to have a leading party. The victory is possible only when the party is correctly and powerfully built up. It is so and it will have to be always so; If we think that the Party is already built up and that is not necessary to continue to build it up, then we will ineluctably meet with failure.

Our Party has won victory. It has still to move forward, by constantly and firmly keeping its revolutionary nature, in conformity with the genuine nature of the working class. It is only by this way that it will always be able to serve and lead our people and to ensure the perennality of Kampuchea's race.

That is why we have to always pay all our attention to the building up of our Party.

The building up of the Party has to cover three fields:

1 - Building up the Party in the political field

The Party must have a correct political line corresponding to each stage of the revolutionary movement to ensure its leadership and achieve the victory. But if after having achieved the victory, the Party does not continue to elaborate a correct line, it will meet with failure. We would be mistaken if we have subjectively asserted that our Party is already strong, for it has defeated the US imperialist aggressors and the Vietnamese aggressors, annexationists and swallows of territories, and the international expansionists, and that it is thus not necessary to carry on the political building up of the Party. On the contrary, we have to attach even greater importance in carrying on the political building up of the Party in order to achieve new successive victories.

2- Building the Party in the ideological field

After having established a correct political line, we would still have to have a correct, powerful and militant ideology to win the victory. That is why our Party has defined that it has to arm itself with a vanguard position, that is to have a firm determination and great valiance in conformity with the proletarian nature of the Party. The Party has to be vanguard everywhere, at the front, in the rear, in the revolutionary services and organs. It is by building it up in this way that the Party will be able to powerfully lead the movement and that it will be able to keep the initiative of the struggle in all circumstances, whether favourable or difficult.

3 - Building up the Party in the organizational field

In order to win the victory, we have to have a correct organizational line. Since its founding, our Party has always had good, medium and weak elements.

But the number of good elements is preponderant. Through the successive movements, there have been defections, but their number was small. The majority has unceasingly developed and improved.

In our present revolutionary movement, it is still so. There are good, medium and weak elements.

In the base organizations, where the Party's committee is strong, the tasks of national defence and construction and of improving the people's living conditions are powerfully and successfully carried out. However, where the Party's committee is weak, the tasks of national defence and construction and of improving the people's living conditions do not achieve any good results. It is the same in the revolutionary services and organs and in the Army.

Therefore, where the cadres are weak, we have to proceed to the reorganization, train the cadres and develop their qualities. And where there are good cadres, we have still to train them and further strengthen their qualities so that they lead even more powerfully the movement.

On which base does our Party has to rely on in order to train cadres?

The Party trains cadres mainly in the revolutionary mass movement. It is through the test of successive revolutionary movements that the Party's cadres temper and educate themselves in the political, ideological and organizational fields, and learn how to carry out well their work. It is only when the Party is strong that it can be master of the situation in all circumstances. If the Party is weak, it will be dominated and overflowed by the situation and will not be able then to lead the revolutionary movement.

1968, 1970, 1973, have all been turning points marked by complex situations and have demanded the existence of a Party capable to lead the revolutionary movement and bring about adequate solutions. Our Communist Party of Kampuchea has brought them in full independence and sovereignty, and has victoriously overcome all kinds of storms.

From 1973 to 1975, our people have struggled against the US imperialists and their lackeys in the sole battle-field, which was then Kampuchea. The situation was complex both at home and abroad. On the international arena, both the US imperialists and the Vietnamese have mobilized the world opinion to force negotiate the cease-fire, following the objectives and manoeuvres of Kissinger - Le Duc Tho. At home, we have had to fight at one and the same time imperialists, the Thieu clique, the Lon Nol clique and the Vietnamese who have carried out the most perfidious manoeuvres to stab us in the back and take possession of our territory. If our Party had not found a solution for such a complex situation, we would have been all subjugated. Whether by the US imperialists or by the Vietnamese. But our Communist Party of Kampuchea has a line to lead the people to victoriously carry out the struggle at one and the same time against the US imperialists, the Thieu clique, the Lon Nol clique and the Vietnamese who wanted to swallow our territory. We have won all these glorious victories in full independence and sovereignty. To win at one and the same time four so cruel enemies, it is a unique exploit in the annals of Kampuchea and also a rare event in the world. This is a very glorious victory!

If we had let ourselves deceive by the manoeuvres of the US imperialists and the Vietnamese and if we had ceased the fire, we would have suffered an immense defeat:

- 1 - We would have been defeated by the US imperialists and their lackeys,
- 2 - We would have been subjugated by the Vietnamese until the genocide of our race.

In the past, during the 5-year war for people's and national liberation against the US imperialists (1970 - 1975) in the most difficult conditions, we have always struggled by abiding by the position of independence, sovereignty and self-reliance to a highest degree. Today, while the conditions are better than before, we cannot be but only more independent and sovereign in our struggle against the Vietnamese aggressors, annexationists and swallows of territories.

Our Party has educated all of us that we have to temper in the revolutionary movements. We all have to fully participate in the revolutionary movements. It is only in this way that we can be aware of both favourable factors and difficulties and acquire many experiences. The revolutionary movement is always developing. In order to lead this movement, we have to control it, to be aware and master of it. Whether he is new or veteran in revolution, a cadre has to fully participate in the movement in order to grasp the contradictions, acquire experiences to correctly solve them. The more a cadre has gone through tests in the revolutionary movements, the more he has accumulated experiences.

Particularly, the comrades in charge of high responsibilities have to be well experienced in:

- 1 - the military tasks to liberate the country and defend it,
- 2 - the works of production.

We have to know how to wage the war in order to be able to defend the country. We have to know how to produce in order to be able to build up the country and improve the people's living conditions. These are the tasks of the Party as a leading party.

In order to be able to defend the country and develop production, we have to know how:

- 1 - to build up a powerful party in all fields, political, ideological and organizational,
- 2 - to build, strengthen, develop and defend the mass revolutionary forces so that they will be always powerful.

The only way to achieve it is:

Primo: to carry out the practice,

Secundo: to draw experiences and to learn the lessons from these experiences. In practice, there is always a negative aspect and a positive one. After having discerned what is correct and what is wrong, we strike the balance of the experiences. By doing so, we can develop our knowledges.

The knowledge comes from practice. Practice is the source of knowledge. After each practice, we apply democratic centralism to strike the balance of the experiences and learn the lessons from those experiences. If everyone of us correctly applies this principle, one will be able to educate oneself rapidly and achieve excellent results.

In brief, we have to build up the Party as follows:

- 1 – to build it up correctly in all fields, political, ideological and organizational,

2 – to build it up in successive revolutionary movements,

3 – to carry out the practice and at the same time, to draw experiences and learn the lessons from these experiences.

There are the lessons we have drawn from the building up of our Party in the past. In the future, we have to always proceed this way. In order to become strong and efficient, each Party's level, each this way. It is by this way that we will be able to achieve victories. Thus, we can ensure our own education, build up the Party and we are sure to ever safeguard the integrity of our territory without losing any inch of it. At the same time, we are sure to be able to build up our country (whose honour and dignity have been jeered and which has been exploited, oppressed and despised during many centuries) and transform it into a developed country having a modern agriculture and an industrial base, as a country enjoying a genuine independence in all fields, political, military, economical, cultural and social.

Therefore, our personal education and the building up of the Party are primordial tasks which constitute the decisive factor: of the victory. The task of building up the Party does not fall on the sole Party's level, but on all of us, from the Central Committee to the basic cells. This task falls on the present generation as well as on the future ones.

These are our reflexions on the occasion of the 18th Anniversary of our Communist Party of Kampuchea.

THE PRESENT SITUATION OF THE KAMPUCHEA'S REVOLUTION

1. Situation of our National Defence

The National Defence is the priority problem, for if the National Defence is fully ensured, all other tasks can be successfully carried out. On the contrary, it would be impossible to fulfil all these tasks.

After the liberation of Kampuchea on April 17, 1975, the enemies from outside always wanted to take possession of Democratic Kampuchea and subjugate her. The US imperialists wanted to take possession of Kampuchea in order to subjugate her once again. The Vietnamese and their followers, the Soviet international expansionists, wanted also to take possession of Kampuchea and to subjugate her.

From 1975 to 1977, the US imperialist strategy aiming at retaking Kampuchea has predominated. But the US imperialists have failed. Their plans of attacks launched both from outside and inside have come to grief. We could say that from the middle of 1977, the US imperialists and their lackeys have no more possibility to retake Kampuchea, for their plans have suffered a fundamental and strategic defeat.

After this defeat, the strategy of Vietnamese and the Soviet international expansionists aiming at taking possession of Kampuchea has taken precedence and played a preponderant part. The Vietnamese and the Soviet international expansionists have united to attack Kampuchea, for they have the same objectives.

Vietnam has always dreamed of taking possession of Kampuchea since 1930, following its strategy of "Indochina Federation" and its policy aiming at creating "only one country, one people under the leadership of one sole party" in an "Indochina" belonging to Vietnam. It wants to become the big power in "Indochina" and in Southeast Asia.

As for the Soviet international expansionists, they have a global strategy which includes also the control of Southeast Asia. In order to take possession of Southeast Asia. In order to take possession of Southeast Asia, they have to solve the problem of Kampuchea which constitutes the key-obstacle for Vietnam as well as for them. If they succeeded in taking possession of Kampuchea, they would continue their thrust in Southeast Asia to seize the economical wealth and control the strategical sea routes, such as the Strait of Malacca.

Therefore, the Vietnamese and the Soviet international expansionists have united together to attack our country.

Immediately after the liberation of Kampuchea, the Vietnamese aggressed and took possession of our islands Koh Way. Along the ground borders, they have perpetrated unceasing attacks to intimidate us. But vainly. We have always firmly abided by the position of independence, sovereignty, and self-reliance and of being masters of our own destiny. That is why the Vietnamese have been in a tearing rage. At the end of 1977, together with the Soviet international expansionists and their followers, they have started to launch large-scale attacks against Kampuchea. They wanted to take possession of Kampuchea at one go following their strategy "lightning attack, lightning victory". The Vietnamese thought that the victory of this strategy "lightning attack, lightning victory" would solve all their problems, military, political, economical, financial, both at home and abroad.

That is why they have mobilized 14 divisions, including 5 crack divisions for shock attacks. They have used a great quantity of heavy artillery pieces and tanks, including a lot of Soviet tanks. Soviet advisers have also participated in the command of the operations in the battlefield.

But we have put them to rout on January 6, 1978. This-defeat of January 6, 1978 is the bitter defeat of the strategy "lightning attack, lightning victory" of the Vietnamese and the Soviets. It is also the bitter strategic defeat of the Vietnamese plan of "Indochina Federation" and of the Vietnamese policy aiming at creating "only one country, one people, one party" in the Vietnamese "Indochina".

After this defeat, the Vietnamese have continued to aggress us. But the maximum effective of their enraged forces does not reach half of that at the end I of 1977.

To be more precise, here is the importance of their forces enraged in their aggression against Kampuchea (by taking into account only the effective forces):

February: more than 2 divisions

March: 3 to 4 divisions

April: 5 to 6 divisions

May: 5 to 6 divisions

June: 3 to 4 divisions

July: more than 3 divisions

August: 3 divisions

September: 2 divisions

Since February, we have continued to successively put numerous Vietnamese troops into pieces.

At present, the Vietnamese are facing numerous and severe difficulties in all fields. In the military field, they meet with enormous difficulties. They are short of effectiveness. The Vietnamese divisions attacking us along the borders are numerous only by names, but they do not have enough effectives. The fact they use planes shows that their infantry is weak. From July to the beginning of this September, we have shot down 8 fighter-bombers and helicopters. And on September 27, we have just shot down another one. The Vietnamese aviation cannot play a strategic role. We have already experienced and defeated the air war of the US imperialists. The US imperialists had attacked us by air from 1970 to 1975, particularly from February to August 1973, during 200 days and 200 nights. In the great storm of this air war, they had engaged strategic and tactical planes of all kinds, including B 52, F 111, F 105, F 104. The Vietnamese air forces are not up to one-thousandth part of those of the US imperialists. Vietnam is a backward agricultural country. The resort to the aviation will bring to it still greater difficulties, both in the political field and in the economic and financial fields.

In the economic and financial fields, the Vietnamese meet also with severe difficulties. Starvation has become more and more severe and is still getting worse in the days to come. This state of starvation is the proof of the incapability of the Vietnamese administration and the baleful result of its wrong and stupid economic line. This is due to their regime which is neither a revolutionary nor socialist regime. It is a regime of exploitation under which the poor people are always exploited and the people suffer starvation. Besides, in aggressing Kampuchea, Vietnam has further ruined itself.

In the political field, the Vietnamese meet with difficulties, both at home and abroad. At home, the people have unceasingly risen up. Abroad, Vietnam has met also with difficulties. Before, everybody believed that the Vietnamese were revolutionaries, that they were socialists. Now everybody has clearly seen their true nature: they are aggressors of Kampuchea. They are neither revolutionaries nor socialists. Vietnam is not a non-aligned country. It belongs to an alliance: it is member of the Soviet economic alliance and political alliance and consequently, it is automatically member of the Soviet military alliance. The Vietnamese have become mercenaries at the service of the Soviet strategy of aggression and expansion. Vietnam has also established military bases in foreign territory. Now that it has also carried out provocations against the People's Republic of China, its true nature has further clearly appeared and its difficulties become more inextricable.

Therefore, Vietnam has met with difficulties of all kinds in all fields, military, political, economical and financial, both at home and abroad. That is the disastrous consequence of the bitter defeat of its aggression against Kampuchea. If it persists in its aggression, its difficulties will become more and more inextricable.

Up to now, we have fully ensured, in full independence and sovereignty, the defence of our Kampuchea and our territorial integrity: Our strategical task is always to resolutely defend the territory and the race of Kampuchea. We are convinced to succeed it, for:

1 - We have the Communist Party of Kampuchea which ensures a firm and correct leadership,

2 - We have a great people, more than 90 percent of them are poor and middle-poor peasants and other labourers closely united with the Party and satisfied with the collectivist regime from which they directly enjoy all the advantages. As for the other 10 percent, they like also revolution and participate in it. They are patriots. Not at any price, they do not want that the Vietnamese swallow Kampuchea.

3 - We have a heroic Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea who have already defeated the US imperialists and their lackeys.

4 – We have an economy allowing us to be self-sufficient.

5 – We have a sound and stronger and stronger collectivist socialist regime.

All this has strengthened our conviction that we can successfully defend our territory in full independence and sovereignty. Besides, the independent and sovereign Kampuchea, while struggling to defend her independence against the acts of aggression and annexation perpetrated by the Vietnamese and the Soviet international expansionists and firmly holding aloft the banner of independence, enjoy the support, sympathy and encouragement from more and more friends, near or far, the world over.

As for the countries in Asia and Southeast Asia, they have become more and more aware of the stake of the struggle waged by Democratic Kampuchea against the aggression of the Vietnamese and the Soviet international expansionists. Indeed, we struggle to defend ourselves. But our struggle is also in relation with the general situation in Southeast Asia, for the aggression of the Vietnamese and the Soviet international expansionists against Kampuchea belongs to their strategy of aggression against Southeast Asia and their global strategy. More and more countries in Asia and Southeast Asia have become more and more aware of this. Other countries, big or small, the world over, have begun to discern more clearly the Vietnamese strategy and that of the Soviet international expansionists concerning Kampuchea and Southeast Asia. That is why some countries have condemned them, whether openly or implicitly. And more and more countries have asked: "Would the collusion with Vietnam or any moral, political; diplomatic as well as economical and financial aid to Vietnam not encourage the Vietnamese to take possession of Southeast Asia? Would it not be favourable for the Vietnamese and Soviet strategy in Asia? Would it not be an aid to the Soviet economic alliance called COMECON? And if the Vietnamese and Soviets succeeded in taking possession of Kampuchea, what course would the situation in Asia take? And if the Vietnamese and Soviets succeeded in extending their expansion in Southeast Asia, what would be the situation in Asia and in the world?" That is why Vietnam meets with greater and greater difficulties in its diplomatic manoeuvres against us. It has more and more unmasked itself and has been more and more isolated. Kampuchea has

more and more friends and has been more and more strongly supported by a growing number of countries and peoples the world over.

In less than 10 months since the beginning of the Vietnamese open aggression against Kampuchea, the situation has radically changed. The peoples the world over have been more and more clearly aware of that:

- on one hand, Kampuchea is genuinely independent, peaceful, non-aligned, revolutionary and socialist.

-on the other hand, Vietnam has aggressed Kampuchea, provoked the war against Kampuchea and in the region of Southeast Asia and that Vietnam is a pawn of the Soviet international expansionists, a member of the Soviet political, economical and military alliance, which betrays the revolution and is a false socialist.

In brief, in their aggression against, Kampuchea, the Vietnamese have suffered bitter defeats of strategic significance, both at home and on the international arena.

In the future, will the Vietnamese still carry on their aggression against Kampuchea? They will carry it on. This is evident, for the Vietnamese themselves as well as the Soviets and their followers want to swallow Kampuchea and extend after their expansion in Southeast Asia. We can but see the Vietnamese strategy in regards to Kampuchea, "Indochina" and Southeast Asia, as well as the whole strategy and the Asian and Southeast Asian strategy of the Soviet international expansionists.

The Vietnamese and their followers go on attacking us and carrying out all kinds of military, political and diplomatic manoeuvres against us.

We must never be subjective. We must always heighten our revolutionary vigilance facing the Vietnamese aggressors, annexationists and swallows of territories to defend and ensure the perennality of Democratic Kampuchea, our people and our Kampuchea's race, so that they would not disappear as the Kampuchea Krom did in the past. We must always be masters of the situation and take in good time measures in all military, political, economic and diplomatical fields and in the food supplies.

Our subjective and objective conditions are much better now than they were at the end of 1977.

As for the Vietnamese, they are facing severe difficulties, subjectively and objectively, both at home and abroad, in the military, political, economic, financial and diplomatic fields. The more they persist in their aggression against Kampuchea, the heavier their defeats will be in every field.

On this occasion, the Kampuchea's people, through the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, would like to make the Vietnamese people be aware of that:

1 – The power holders in Hanoi cannot and will not be able in any case to take possession of Kampuchea.

2 – They will only further spray ruins and sufferings over Vietnam and the Vietnamese people after having already endured thirty years of war.

3 – The power holders in Hanoi ought to learn the lessons of the history. They ought not to take themselves for Napoleon or Hitler or the US imperialists. In spite of their formidable might, all these latter were defeated by the peoples. And this happened in the past! What to say about the present period which is a revolutionary one when everybody wants independence and to be master of his own destiny! Will the Vietnamese people be able to take themselves for Hitler?

4 – In such a situation, the Vietnamese must immediately put an end to their aggression against Kampuchea.

Democratic Kampuchea and the peace-loving and generous people of Kampuchea stretch a friendly hand towards the Vietnamese people. If the power holders in Hanoi stop their aggression against Kampuchea, if they give up their strategy aiming at integrating Kampuchea into Vietnam according to the out-of-date scheme of “Indochina Federation”, friendship will grow at once between the two countries and peoples. Democratic Kampuchea solemnly declares that she will sign a treaty of friendship and non-aggression with Vietnam in Phnom Penh or in Hanoi or in any other place. By that time, our two countries and two peoples will live in a good neighbourhood, in peace and genuine friendship. That are the sacred aspirations of the Kampuchea’s people and Democratic Kampuchea.

2. Situation of our socialist revolution

Our socialist revolution has been carried out well successively strengthened and developed, for

1 – the collectivist regime continues to develop and strengthen throughout the country within our working class,

2 – the collectivist regime continues to develop and strengthen throughout the country within our cooperatives,

3 – the collectivist regime continues to develop and strengthen within our Revolutionary Army, our revolutionary organs and services,

4 – the regime of the collectivists socialist property of means of production in our whole society continues to develop and strengthen,

5 – the other bases of our collectivist socialist regime continue to develop and strengthen,

6 – more than 99 percent of our people take part in socialist revolution, support socialist revolution and resolutely defend their collectivist socialist regime;

Such are the fundamental factors of the victory of our socialist revolution during last year.

However, on the occasion of the 18th Anniversary of our Communist Party of Kampuchea, we have to proceed to an examination of our socialist revolution to see if since liberation it

has been correctly carried out or not. Indeed, the whole people, all of us, we have no doubt on this subject. But nevertheless, we have to examine this question in order to strengthen our position in assimilating the line of our Party.

The socialist revolution we have carried out since liberation is correct. The whole Party, the whole people, the whole army are fully aware of this.

Without the collectivist socialist regime, it is clear that we could not successfully defend our country and that our national territory and our race would disappear. But our socialist revolution has laid solid collectivist foundations in the whole society of Kampuchea, so that the entire country has become an immense and powerful backing base, ensuring the total success of our tasks for national defence, is full independence and sovereignty.

During its history, our country has progressively lost more or less important parts of its territory. Why? Because the regimes at that time were incapable of defending the country and the people's forces were not united enough. In return, our collectivist socialist regime has been able to totally defend and safeguard the national independence, territorial integrity, national honour and dignity and race of Kampuchea in full independence and sovereignty.

But we can ask as follows: despite the victories we have won up to now in our tasks for national defence, will we be always in a position to successfully ensure our national defence in the future, in five or ten years for example? Indeed, there are regimes, like that of Lon Nol, which have collapsed in 5 years. Our regime is completely different from that of Lon Nol, like between the sky and the earth. The people hate the Lon Nol regime and have fought to overthrow it. No matter how much dollars, weapons and materials of all kinds the US imperialists had poured on it, they could not save it from collapse.

As for the Communist Party of Kampuchea and the Kampuchea's revolution, they have deep roots into the people of Kampuchea. Therefore, the enemies of all kinds, particularly the Vietnamese aggressors, annexationists and swallows of territories, will never succeed in overthrowing Democratic Kampuchea, no matter how obstinate they may be in launching their attacks.

In 1975, shortly after liberation, at the time when we had to face severe difficulties, they did not succeed in overthrowing our regime. In 1976, they did not succeed either. In 1977, they have mobilized very important forces to aggress us, but they have suffered new defeats. It will be the same in 5 years, 10 years, 50 years, 100 years. The Vietnamese will never succeed to destroy us unless we open the door to the return of the capitalist regime. It is very clear that if we let the capitalist regime be restored in our country, we will never be able to ensure the defence of our country. Our enemies, particularly the Vietnamese and the Soviet international expansionists, will succeed in taking possession of Kampuchea. In this perspective, we will not only lose independence, national honour and dignity, but also the totality of our national territory and our race, as we have already lost Kampuchea Krom.

So, in the future, shall we always continue to more efficiently carry out the socialist revolution, develop, consolidate and improve our collectivist socialist regime everywhere, in

the cooperatives, factories, worksites, revolutionary services and organs, in the political field as well as in the ideological and organizational ones, so that it can more deeply root into our collectivist worker-peasant people- Our collectivist socialist will be then more powerful and better.

Another proof of our socialist revolution power is that it has aroused along a very powerful movement in national construction. Since liberation, in the agricultural field as well as in the industrial, cultural, social and welfare ones, by firmly abiding by the position of independence, sovereignty and by relying on our own forces.

The living conditions have been ensured for everyone. The standard of living of 90 percent of our people, including poor peasants, middle-poor peasants, middle peasants and other labourers, has risen up compared with what it was under the former regime and is fully ensured. Those 90 percent that form the fundamental strata of our people are the most satisfied with the socialist revolution and they resolutely defend it. Before, they were the most cruelly exploited and lived a most miserable life. Now, they are liberated and enjoy the fruits of the socialist revolution. They have to defend this regime for this support and make revolution. Consequently no force can overthrow this regime Before, the Ratankiri and Mondulkiri population had but known only humiliations and contempts. In the former society, they lived like beasts under an extremely cruel regime of exploitation. At present, . they have three meals daily, have desserts and sugar and have suitable clothes, like the whole population in the country. They have blankets, mosquito nets and suitable housings. The living conditions of the poor peasants and middle-poor peasants in the other remote regions of the country have also been improved in the same manner.

If so, is this regime good or not? Does social justice prevail or not? Who has the right to judge it? It is certainly not the imperialists, expansionists and the Vietnamese who have contracted a heavy blood debt towards our people, who have the right to judge it. Only the Kampuchea's people have the right to judge it. And the people have judged that this regime is a good and just one. That is why they support and defend it. If this regime was not good and just, it is certain that the finest speeches and propagandas would not satisfy the people.

As for those who had an easy life in the former society, their material living conditions have been approximatively reduced to the level of those of the whole people. They can live like everyone else. Besides, they take part in the revolution and are also patriots. They become better aware of that only a socialist system can allow the Kampuchea nation to live in genuine independence, in national honour and dignity. Furthermore, they have clearly seen that social justice and equality prevail, that there is no exploitation of man by man, there is neither rich nor poor. Everybody participates in the building up and the defence of the country, in the improvement of the the living conditions. All that constitutes a guarantee for everyone to have better and better living conditions in the same rhythm with the development of the country.

They are more and more aware of that this regime is a regime of genuine democracy which they have wished for since a long time and that it guarantees the democratic rights of the overwhelming majority formed by the poor strata as well as the other social strata.

What are the foundations of democratic freedoms? In order that the people could benefit by democratic freedoms, they must have rice-fields, water for irrigation, draught-animals, tools for production to have their lives ensured. In a word, the people must have the rights over all means of production.

In the semi-colonial and semi-feudal society of the former regime, or even in the present US society which is the top of capitalist society, the poor and the workers who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population have no employment, no land, no mean of production. They run out of food and clothes. When they are ill, they have no medicine and die like beasts. They are riddled with debts and have to sell themselves or sell their sons and daughters. Can they be considered as having democratic rights and freedoms? When the people are forced to be sold as slaves, can one speak of democratic rights and freedoms? They exist only on paper. In the concrete situation of such a society where injustice prevails, the most beautiful moral cannot prevent the people from selling themselves and from selling their children as slaves, for they would be condemned to die if they do not do so.

Consequently, by giving everyone the means of production in the framework of the collectivist regime, our revolution has taken correct and just measures. These are measures which give everybody genuine democratic rights and freedoms and the right to lead an ensured life as the genuine masters of their own destiny.

We must recall that our socialist revolution is not a copy of a dogma. It comes from the requirements of our war for people's and national liberation which led us to proceed this way in order to achieve victory.

In 1970-1971, we liberated 75 to 80 percent of national territory. At that time, we had the political and military power, but not the economic one... We took measures to introduce some democratic reforms but the rice-fields and lands fundamentally remained private ownerships. What was the situation? The landowners and merchants gathered all the rice to sell it out to the Lon Nol clique and to the Vietnamese. The poor strata of our people ran out of rice. To live, they were forced to leave their lands, to sell their cattle and all their belongings to the landowners and to the merchants and go and seek for a job with a miserable salary to carry the luxury goods bought by the merchants from the zones controlled by the enemy into the liberated area. Thus, the landowners and merchants were ruling as masters. As for the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea who were fighting at the front, they were running out of rice and fed with rice soup at every meal. Such situation was very dangerous for the people's and national liberation war. If this continued, either we would have been defeated by the US imperialists and the Lon Nol clique, either we would have fallen under the Vietnamese domination. Now, the aim of our people in fighting for national liberation and for their liberation was to be masters of their own destiny, to hold it in their hands in full independence and sovereignty.

That was why in 1973, the Central Committee of our Party decided to create cooperatives of inferior and superior level in the whole liberated area.

Thanks to the cooperatives, our people have become masters of rice-fields and lands and masters of crops. Everyone has had lands to work with and enough rice to feed oneself.

Likewise, our Revolutionary Army who were fighting at the front, were sufficiently supplied with rice. The living conditions of our fighters' families who were at the rear were fully ensured. All that had powerfully contributed to heighten the combative determination of our Revolutionary Army. The whole people and the whole army have had a greater faith in the Communist Party of Kampuchea and in the future of the nation.

In 1973, at the time when the US imperialists and the Vietnamese have undertaken manoeuvres to reciprocally dupe themselves on the back of Kampuchea and resorted to all kinds of pressures in order to force the Communist Party of Kampuchea and the Kampuchea's people to lay down arms, our Communist Party of Kampuchea was always abiding by an unshakable position and was determined to carry on the struggle, to defend the honour and dignity of the nation, its people and its revolution. It was firmly determined to lead the people and the cooperatives in carrying on the struggle in the sole battlefield which was Kampuchea, to lead them in the people's war in order to at the same time, fight against the enemy, ensure the production and solve the problems of their living conditions in full independence and sovereignty.

Therefore, the whole people in the cooperatives, the whole army, the whole nation were united in a monolithic block with the Party, were waging in the same rhythm a stubborn and valiant struggle at the front as in the rear. An immense and powerful offensive movement has spread throughout the country against the enemy, crushing at one and the same time the air war of the US imperialists and the traitor Lon Nol army who were collapsing by whole pieces until their total destruction on April 17, 1975. In the parallel direction, this impetuous offensive movement has inflicted a most ignominious defeat on the manoeuvres of the Vietnamese who wanted to swallow Kampuchea.

Those facts have shown that the creation of cooperatives in 1973 has given to the socialist revolution a great power, the source of which is that our people, who are entirely satisfied with the socialist revolution, support and defend it.

Our Communist Party of Kampuchea has led out people to carry on the socialist revolution and to create the collectivist regime. Through the trade-unions of the collectivist workers and the cooperatives of the collectivist peasants, the Party has established a solid and powerful worker-peasant alliance which has enabled to mobilize all the people's forces and all the national forces during the five year war (1970-1975) as well as at the present time.

Our enemies sarcastically asserted that the tiny Kampuchea could not pretend to be independent and sovereign and to rely on her own forces. It is for they have underestimated the strength of our people who are armed with a solid collectivist spirit, who have a solid collectivist organization and who are carrying on a deep socialist revolution under the correct and clear-sighted leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea.

By saying so, do contradictions exist in the present society of Kampuchea? It is quite normal that they exist. There are factors of unity as well as factors of contradictions. However, the factors of unity are far more important and predominant, for more than 99 percent of our people are united with the Communist Party of Kampuchea, follow the line of the Communist Party of Kampuchea in order to defend the country, carry on the socialist

revolution, build up socialism and raise the people's standard of living. As for contradictions, we are striving to solve them by basing upon education and relying on the collectivist people's forces. We are solving them progressively. Our motivations are reasonable, legitimate, realistic and known to everyone. We can then powerfully defend and build up our country and successfully solve the people's living conditions.

As for the agents of the enemy who persist in opposing the revolution of Kampuchea, the nation of Kampuchea, they are but a small handful and they are reduced to a complete isolation amidst the nation and the people. They are, in all circumstances, under the control of the collectivist people.

Such is the present situation of our socialist revolution. It is our duty to strive to develop, strengthen and improve our socialist revolution to make it ever better and stronger.

3. Situation of our construction of socialism

After examining the positive and negative aspects, favourable factors and difficulties, factors of progress and various obstacles, we can affirm that our movement of the socialist construction continues to progress in all fields.

The cooperatives which constitute the base of our collectivist regime continue to progressively develop and consolidate as much in political as in ideological and organizational fields. Our people are more and more aware of the merits of their collectivist regime which is the source of the impetuous offensive movements for national construction in all fields during the past dry season as well as during the present rainy season.

Our plan of hydraulic projects has been fundamentally carried out throughout the country during this year 1978. Various dams, reservoirs and canals of all sites built this year have enabled us to irrigate supplementary 300'000 hectares. Adding this figure to the 400'000 hectares achieved in 1977, we have already got 700'000 hectares of irrigated areas in every season.

This year, the movement of agricultural production has faced a great obstacle due to floods. That was one of the biggest floods in the history of Kampuchea and the biggest one in the last seventy years. However, in spite of that, our people are not anxious at all for, thanks to the collectivist forces, they can solve all the problems. The only problem they brought up to the Party was that of seeds.

The Party has already solved this problem and it has especially supplied seeds of early paddy, medium, paddy, corn, manioc, sweet potatoes, beans, soy-beans and peanuts.

The floods have caused damages to a number of housings in the flooded regions. At present, the whole Party, from the level of Central Committee, zones, regions, districts to services and organs are mobilized to master these floods. We have supplied the people of the flooded regions with construction materials, especially wood and latania leaves. The population has already started to reconstruct houses as water begins to draw away. As soon as the floods entirely drew away, all the collectivist forces are mobilized to undertake the construction works and to rapidly solve the housing problem for the whole population.

Except these damages, the floods did not cause any victim among the population. Oxen, buffaloes and other domestic animals were all saved. In the former society, such a great flood would have caused important devastations to the people. But we could solve all the problems by ourselves in full independence and sovereignty, without going and imploring for helps. We have lands, water, we have the collectivist regime, and by our production works we are fully capable of solving all the problems caused by these floods.

As for Vietnam, the official figures mention that supplementary 2 million inhabitants will run out of rice after floods. Vietnam is now begging for new aids. It lacked already 2 million tons of rice. The floods have worsened this deficit. It is obvious that it will not be able to solve this problem. Why is it so? Because of the regime. The Vietnamese regime is a regime that betrays the revolution and exploits the people. In spite of that disastrous situation, Vietnam persists in carrying on its aggression against Kampuchea. It should reasonably stop its aggression against Kampuchea. and work to improve the living conditions of its people. Such is the true nature of the power holders in Hanoi!

a. In the agricultural field

Concerning the building up of our agriculture, in conformity with the resolution of the 4th Congress of our Party held in January 1976, our Party has defined the following slogan: build up a modern agriculture from a backward agriculture in a period of 10 to 15 years, starting from 1977. Such is the resolution we have adopted in front of the whole people and nation. Are we able to meet this engagement?

Undoubtedly, the building up of a modern agriculture raises numerous problems that must be solved. Which base do we take? We take rice production for base. We have defined as objective a minimum of 7 tons of paddy per hectare in the whole country. If we rot only 3 or 4 tons per hectare, even with a massive use of tractors and chemical fertilizers, we still could not regard our agriculture as a modern one.

In these conditions, will we be able to build up a modern agriculture? Our lands are for the most of them fertile. The key-problem is to create necessary conditions for mastering the water problem. By basing on our experiences in the past three years, we can assert that the water problem can be totally solved within a period of 8 to 10 years. Consequently, in a period of 10 to 15 years, we will then get a better mastery of the water problem throughout the country. Here and now, in all regions, gardens of paddy of our modern agriculture are emerging.

Along with the water problem, we have still to select seeds with high yield and increase the use of fertilizers. We have already trained a number of technicians specialized in the interbreeding of varieties of paddy, care against paddy diseases, analysis of soils and agricultural hydraulic. We are increasing their number at the national scale as well as the level of districts and cooperatives. This year, some of our varieties of paddy can yield from 5 to 8 tons per hectare in a single crop.

In brief, we have all the necessary conditions for passing from a backward agriculture to a modern one in a period of 10 to 15 years. This problem is closely linked to the problem of

national defence, to the problem of national construction and to that of the rapid rising up of our people's standard of living. Consequently, we must at all costs achieve this objective.

As for the various industrial cultures, we have also greatly developed them during this year 1978. From 1975 to 1977, we had concentrated all our efforts on rice culture in order to solve the food problem. Now, we have already fundamentally solved this problem in full independence. During 1978, we devoted one part of our forces to develop the industrial cultures in order to meet the needs of our light industry.

The jute production, this year, over-rates the planned objectives and the needs of our factory of jute bags in Battambang. We set out to build a new factory of jute bags of the same capacity as the existing one.

The cotton production also over-rates the planned objectives in Battambang as well as in Kampong Cham and other regions. At present, cotton plants are covered of beautiful fruits: each plant based 70 to 80 fruits. We must redouble our efforts in giving them cares in order to get a good harvest. Thus, we will have enough cotton for the needs of our textile factories in Battambang, Phnom Penh and Kampong Cham.

We have also developed the sugar cane culture, either in the cooperatives or industrially, in the State farms.

As for the rubber culture, the Vietnamese have destroyed a part of it, namely in Memot and Krek.

But we have much enlarged the growing areas and we are more and more enlarging them.

We have also developed other industrial cultures as well as those for exportation.

As we have already solved the food problem, we keep on developing industrial cultures and exportation cultures, such as corn, peanuts, beans, soy-beans, sesame, tobacco, etc. In order to increase capital for the building up of our industry.

b. In the industrial field

In the field of the building up of our industry, we have also elaborated a line to develop our industry in the framework of an independent economy. By basing ourselves on agriculture, we develop our light industry and move forward to the progressive building up of the heavy industry.

To build up an independent light industry does not present any difficulty. There is no problem of raw materials such as cotton, jute, sugar cane and other agricultural products. We have full possibilities to increase their production. During this year, we have entirely reconstructed a number of factories: the textile factory in Kampong Cham, the phosphate fertilizer factory in Tuk Meas. We have finished restoring some factories, such as the plywood factory, the glass factory.

As for cement factory, we have put a third stove into work. We are proceeding to the repairing of the sugar refinery in Battambang. At the same time, we build new factories, notably a paper-mill. A second factory making tyres and four crepe-rubber factories.

Besides, we have developed small factories and handicraft workshops in the zones and regions, such as small textile and fertilizers factories, handicraft workshops of textile and of making soap. We have also progressively proceeded to the building up of heavy industry. Our heavy industry does not have the same characteristics as the one of the big countries. We build it up in conformity with the possibilities of our country.

One of the heavy industries we have to build up is siderurgy. We are constructing a steel-work capable of meeting the quarter of our present needs. At the same time, we are building up a new foundry of medium capacity in order to develop our experiences in this field. The iron ore we have found out will be sufficient to meet the needs of our siderurgy and we carry on our mining researches.

We are also building up engineering factories, namely 4 factory of making diesel engines of 12 horsepower, a factory of repairing tractors, in addition to the existing repairing workshops in Phnom Penh and in other zones and regions.

We are building up power-stations. At the end of our four year-plan (1977 - 1980), the consumption of electricity of all factories, formerly existing and newly-built, will exceed 80 000 kilowatts, that is 10 times higher than before the coup d'état. At that time, the electricity consumption in the industrial sector did not exceed 7 000 kilowatts.

In the field of oil energy, we have proceeded to the preconstruction of our refinery which will be entirely finished by the end of 1979. It will treat 600 000 tons of crude oil per year.

Besides, we will progressively develop our chemical industry. Presently, we are building up a factory of making acetic acid, a factory of making caustic soda which produces soda and chlore.

The Fourth Congress of our Party has laid out the following objective: turn Kampuchea, a backward agricultural country, into a country endowed with an industrial base in a period of 15 to 20 years. This objective aims at creating the conditions of an industrial country and to endow Kampuchea with light industry, food industry, iron and steel industry, power industry, oil industry and chemical industry. Such are the orientations defined by our Party in January 1976 we have to keep in mind in carrying out our daily tasks.

To achieve this objective, apart from the above-mentioned industries, we have built various workshops in the zones, regions, districts and cooperatives. We proceed so that these workshops progressively turn into factories in the future. Thus, we are striving to develop cottage industry and industry everywhere.

Where can we find capital to build up our industry?

Our capital comes essentially from the work of our people. Our people, by their work, develop agricultural production. Those are capital to improve the living conditions of our people, to progressively develop agriculture and to build up industry.

Before, our people built Angkor monuments but remained poor and miserable. Now our people are building up a new Kampuchea, genuinely prosperous, endowed with a modern agriculture and an industrial base. We must be conscious of this reality in order to be proud

of our people and have faith in them, to strengthen our confidence in the line of independence, sovereignty and self-reliance of our Party.

We have also another important source of capital. That is the fact that we have no salary. The absence of salary constitutes in itself a great source of capital. These accumulated capital are used for the building up of our agriculture and our industry.

So we are able to rapidly build up our country in the agricultural and industrial fields in full independence and sovereignty and in relying on our own forces at a highest level.

Another problem: how to find technicians to build up our industry?

We want to rapidly build up our country to reinforce our national defence and to rapidly raise up our people's standard of living by abiding by the position of independence in order to serve the movement at present and to meet the strategical long-dated needs.

Now, we have already created technical schools. Some of them derive from the Department of Industry, others from the Department of Education. In these schools, we train our technicians and scientists by short cut ways:

First short cut way: to learn to read, to write, and to calculate at the same time with technics and sciences.

Second short cut way: to learn what is indispensable to serve production in agriculture as well as in industry, and to put away from the programme everything that does not serve production.

Through our concrete experiences, this method of teaching has permitted a very rapid training of technicians. At present, the technicians trained by this method progressively master technics and can serve the movement in numerous sectors.

Third short cut way: to train technicians and scientists by relying on the people's masses. Those who have not succeeded in learning in one branch are guided towards another one. They can master technics in according to their capability and can serve the movement.

Fourth short cut way: to study and practice at the same time. After each term of study, the technicians go to the factories for practical application.

Consequently, just after being out from school, they have already mastered the technics for they have been trained to the practical work in factories. In our teaching system, theory serves practice and practice in turn, enlarges theory. But practice constitutes the fundamental element. Consequently, this education is within the reach of the masses. Pure theory discourages the masses. But pure practice, after a time, goes in an impasse. So, our training system is based on the alliance of theory with practice, by taking practice as fundamental element.

Besides, we have sent young worker technicians to friendly countries, for example to China, to study the oil refining process. After one year of study, they will come back home and assume the task of running our oil-refinery.

In brief, we want to rapidly build up our country in the agricultural and industrial fields as well as in that of training technicians. All that aims at powerfully ensuring the national defence, quickly improving the people's living conditions in accordance with our position of independence, sovereignty and of relying on our own forces at a high level, and aims at building up an independent economy.

These are the excellent results achieved in our construction of socialism in the economic field. But in comparison with our long-dated plan and in consideration of the poverty of our country, we have still a long way to go. We have to endeavour to always move forward and win new and great victories. We have to learn from the examples of heroism of our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea in order to strengthen our determination to throw ourselves still more vigorously into the struggle for well developing our agriculture and industry by great leaps and bounds. It is a great honour for us that the Party, the nation and the history have entrusted us with these tasks. We all take on the engagement not to let a so precious occasion uselessly pass away.

c. In the field of culture and education

In the field of culture and education, we have carried on the elimination of the old reactionary, servile, corrupt and depraved culture so that it would not be an evil in our society. And, on the basis of our progressist national and people's traditions, we go on developing the new culture to put it into the service of the national defence and construction and the new life of our people, so that to make it sounder, more blooming and more prosperous, and to put it also into the service of the political and ideological education and the inculcation of the revolutionary consciousness, the love for motherland, our independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. The children and young people as well as the adult and old aged people study as they participate in the movement of national defence and construction. They learn general culture together with technics in tight liaison with the labor and production works. The whole people could study and increase their knowledge. Illiteracy has been eliminated in a general way and will be completely eliminated in a near future. At the same time, our people have well grasped the significance of the genuine revolutionary internationalism. They perfectly know how to differentiate the friends from the enemies of their own revolution as well as of the revolutionary and national liberation movements of the peoples the world over.

d. In the field of social affairs and health

In the field of social affairs and health, we' have also achieved important progress. The health of our people has been notably improved. We have fundamentally wiped out malaria and we go on developing and strengthening these excellent results. All the special diseases have been definitively eradicated for we have eliminated all the corruption and depravation of the old society. A new sound society, without oppression and where prevails equality is in full development. The living conditions of the whole people have been more and more ensured in all fields. Our policy of increasing the number of our population has scored its first satisfactory results. From mid-1977 to mid-1978, there have been 392,000 births for a population of 7 800, 000 inhabitants, that is with a rate of 50 per thousand. Before the 1970

coup d'état, this rate was only 40 per thousand and the death rate amounted to at least 18 per thousand. Now, the death rate is only 13 per thousand for the infant death rate has much decreased. The growth of our population is much more important than before the coup d'état. However, it is still not enough compared with the wishes of our Party for having a population of 15 to 20 million inhabitants from Row up to 10 ~ 15 years. We have then to give full importance to improve the conditions of living and health of our people and that, in order to increase more rapidly our population.

In brief, during last year, our people, under the leadership of our Communist Party of Kampuchea have achieved many and important successes in all fields.

More and more peoples and friendly countries rejoice at these excellent results and have expressed their warm sympathy and support. Our Party and our people avail themselves of this opportunity to express to them their most sincere thanks. They consider the sympathy, encouragement and solidarity of all friends, near or far, as a most precious support to their position of independence, sovereignty and self-reliance and to their policy of independence, peace, neutrality and of non-alignment and we are determined to always be in solidarity with all the revolutionary forces, all the progressist, peace- and justice-loving forces the world over for independence, peace, freedom, justice, friendship and social progress against imperialism, expansionism, annexationism, racism and against all the reactionaries.

Dear Comrades;

The present situation of our revolution is excellent in all fields, thanks to our Communist Party of Kampuchea which, by its correct and clear-sighted political line, has led all of us in the struggle and has made us victoriously overcome 411 obstacles. We have to gras» well this excellent situation in order to continue to fulfil our tasks and to win new and great successes in all fields.

Primo: the task of national defence. This task is the task of absolute priority. It is only by successfully ensuring the national defence that we could successfully fulfil the other tasks. We always have to enhance and heighten our revolutionary vigilance in order to be masters of the situation in all fields, and to face the perfidious manoeuvres of the enemies of all kinds, especially the Vietnamese aggressors, annexationists and swallows of territories.

This task of national defence falls on our whole Communist Party of Kampuchea, our whole people and our whole Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea. Particularly, the comrades who are struggling at the front Must consider this task as a glorious task entrusted by our whole Communist Party of Kampuchea, our whole people and our whole race and they must be determined to successfully fulfil it at all costs.

Secundo: together with the task of national defence, we have the task of carrying on the socialist revolution, of building un socialism and of rapidly raising up the living conditions of our people. At the front, our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea is fighting to ensure the national defence. We all, at the rear, are determined to serve as powerful and precious support for the front and we are determined to closely unite with the front by vigorously

waging the struggle in order to fulfil the plan of national construction by 100 per cent and even more in all fields, for the present year and the years to come.

On this occasion when we are celebrating the 18th Anniversary of our Communist Party of Kampuchea:

- we take on the resolution to learn by the lofty revolutionary heroism of our people at every epoch, who have consented all kinds of sacrifices in the struggle against the enemies of all kinds to defend and safeguard our territory and race up to now.

- we all take on the resolution to learn by the noble revolutionary heroism of our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea at the front.

Inspired by these noble examples, we are determined to more than ever vigorously wage the struggle in order to carry out well our tasks with a high spirit of responsibility to the Communist Party of Kampuchea, our people and the history.

At Last, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, I would like to extend my best wishes to all comrades, to those who are present at this meeting as well as to all the comrades in all units, bases, organs and services, who are struggling to achieve their tasks for the service of the nation and people of Kampuchea so that they win always greater and new victories.

I wish all our collectivist people new and greater victories in all fields. I wish our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea of three arms: land, naval and air, new and greater victories over the Vietnamese enemy aggressors, annexationists and swallows of territories.

- Long live the 18th Anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Kampuchea!

- Long live the correct and clear-sighted Communist Party of Kampuchea!

- Long live the powerful revolution of Kampuchea!

- Long live the great people of Kampuchea!

- Long live the powerful and valiant Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea!

- Long live the glorious Democratic Kampuchea!

Speech In Honor Of The Delegation Of The Communist Party Of China

Speech held at the banquet of the Chinese delegation in Phnom Penh (November 5, 1978)

Respected and beloved Comrade Wang Tung-hsing, Vice-Chairman of the Communist Party of China,

Respected and beloved Comrade Yu Chiu-li, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Deputy-Prime Minister of the State Council,

Dear Comrades members of the Delegation of the Chinese Party and Government,

Dear Comrades,

Today, the Delegation of the Communist Party of China and the Government of the People's Republic of China led by Comrade Vice-Chairman Wang Tung-hsing, Chairman of the Delegation, and Comrade Deputy-Prime Minister Yu Chiu-li, Deputy-Chairman of the Delegation, has arrived in Phnom Penh in order to pay a friendly official visit to Democratic Kampuchea at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and the government of Democratic Kampuchea, we have great pleasure to have the honour to extend to Comrade Vice-Chairman Wang Tung-hsing, chairman of the Delegation, to Comrade Deputy Prime Minister Yu Chiu-li, Deputy-Chairman of the Delegation, as well as to all Comrades members of the delegation, our warmest and deepest fraternal welcome.

The visit of Comrade Vice-Chairman Wang Tung-hsing and the Delegation of the Chinese party and Government is a continuation of the visits of high level delegations which have been successively exchanged between our two Parties and two Governments. This is a brilliant stage of the harmonious and firm development of the ties of the great friendship and great militant revolutionary solidarity sealing together our two peoples and two countries, Kampuchea-China, since long time.

By coming and paying a visit to Democratic Kampuchea, you have brought with you the profound feelings of revolutionary brotherhood of the Chinese communists and the brotherly Chinese people for the communists and the people of Kampuchea. This is another brilliant evidence reflecting the profound affection that the Communist Party of China, the Chinese people and the government of the People's Republic of China always have towards the Communist Party of Kampuchea, the Kampuchea's people and the government of Democratic Kampuchea. It is also a new and powerful encouragement for our people and our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea in fulfilling their tasks of defending the country, carrying on the socialist revolution and building up socialism.

Our party, our people and our government highly appreciate this invaluable attitude and sentiments of the Chinese comrades-in-arms and would like to express to you our most sincere thanks.

Dear Comrades,

By coming and paying a visit to Democratic Kampuchea, Comrade Vice-Chairman Wang Tung-hsing and the other Comrades in the Delegation of the Chinese Party and government have brought us cheering news out the new and brilliant victories won by the Chinese people in fulfilling their tasks during the new stage of their history, under the correct leadership of the Communist Party of China having Comrade "Chairman Hua Kuo-feng as wise leader.

After eliminating the "Gang of Four" the situation of the socialist revolution and construction in China has most favorably developed and got into a new period of rapid development. After having successfully put an end to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the Chinese people of all nationalities, under the leadership the Communist Party of China led by Comrade Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and enlightened by the line of the 11th Congress of the Communist Party of China, are arduously and enthusiastically holding aloft the banner of struggle of the three great revolutionary movements, that is the class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, and they have won brilliant victories in all fields, political, economic, cultural, scientific, technical and diplomatic. At present, the brotherly Chinese people are redoubling their efforts to fulfil their noble tasks put forth by Comrade Prime Minister Chou En-lai following the directives of Comrade Chairman Mao Tse-tung aiming at achieving the four modernizations in transforming China into a modern and powerful socialist country endowed with modern agriculture and industry, a vanguard science and technology and a capability of advanced and powerful defence before the end of this century.

There is another fact which has made us most particularly happy, that is the prestige and influence of the People's Republic of China are highly increasing on the international arena- This is the result of the very excellent internal situation of China. It is also the fruits of the revolutionary line of Comrade Chairman Mao Tse-tung in foreign policy that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Comrade Chairman Hua Kuo-feng have always adhered to and carried out. The visits of Comrade Chairman Hua Kuo-feng to Romania, Yugoslavia and Iran and the signature of the China-Japan Treaty of peace and friendship are the great victories of the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China and have also actively contributed to the defence of the independence and peace of the peoples and countries in Asia and in the world.

But the fact which has comforted and satisfied the peoples the world over and especially those of the Third World, is that the Communist Party of China and the Chinese government have constantly carried out the revolutionary line of Comrade Chairman Mao Tse-tung in foreign policy, by abiding by the strictest and most genuine proletarian internationalism. The People's Republic of China has unvaryingly carried out the Pancha Sila, has maintained relations based on a strict equality with all countries, big or small and has become a model in the international relations. The Communist Party of China and the People's Republic of China have become a very important factor of confidence of the revolutionary movement, the exploited and oppressed peoples the world over as well as the peoples and the countries in struggling to defend and safeguard their independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and the right to determine their own destiny.

The rigorous and sound revolutionary position and proletarian internationalist spirit of the Communist Party of China and the People's Republic of China have enjoyed respect and admiration from the justice- and peace-loving peoples and countries the world over, particularly the Third World and non-aligned peoples and countries.

On the other hand, these rigorous and sound revolutionary position and proletarian internationalist spirit are a great obstacle to the strategy of world domination of the imperialist big power and the international expansionist big power, and to their tactics aiming at swallowing the countries one after another. The People's Republic of China constitutes a powerful bulwark which opposes the strategy of aggression and expansion of the international expansionists and the Vietnamese in Asia and in Southeast Asia. That is why the international expansionist big power and Vietnam are dead set against the People's Republic of China and they have feverishly carried out activities aiming at surrounding and isolating China in Asia and in Southeast Asia.

The racist policy of barbarous and fascist persecution carried out by the Vietnamese against the Chinese nationals and their policy of frenzied provocations against China along the border, as well as the efforts of the Soviet international expansionists to reinforce and extend their naval and missile bases in Vietnam, fall within the framework of their anti-Chinese policy and their policy of threatening the Asian and Southeast Asian countries.

However, the adventurist policy of the international expansionists and the Vietnamese has suffered successive defeats and encountered inextricable difficulties. It is still suffering bitter defeats and encountering more inextricable difficulties in Asia, Southeast Asia and in the world.

Dear comrades,

We are very delighted at these great successive victories won by the brotherly and comrade-in-arms Chinese people. We consider these victories as our own victories. We wish the brotherly Chinese people new and greater victories in their new Long March under the great banner of Comrade Chairman Mao Tse-tung, their great leader and educator under the leadership of the Communist Party of China having Comrade Chairman Hua Kuo-feng as wise leader.

Dear comrades,

This present visit of Comrade Vice-Chairman Wang Tung-hsing and comrades members of the delegation of the Chinese party and government constitutes a great encouragement to the people and the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea who are holding aloft the banner of struggle to achieve their tasks of defending the country, carrying on the socialist revolution and building up socialism by firmly abiding by the position of independence, sovereignty and of relying fundamentally on their own forces.

At present, our people are valiantly and arduously struggling in order to totally achieve the plan of building up socialism for the year 1978 in the fields of agriculture, industry, social affairs, health, culture, teaching and education, and in order to further raise the standard of living of our people although this year our country has been victim of severe floods, rarely

happened in her history, and although at the same time, our people have to tackle and oppose the large-scale barbarous acts of aggression, annexation, swallowing of territories and elimination of our race unceasingly perpetrated by the Vietnamese enemy against Democratic Kampuchea.

In their aggression against Kampuchea, since the end of 1977 up to now, the Vietnamese have suffered heavy defeats. Their strategy of “lightning attack, lightning victory” aiming at taking possession of Kampuchea has suffered a total defeat and they have been driven into a strategy of “protracted struggle” which is the most unfavorable for the aggressors, whatever may be. From this fact, their sinister expansionist strategy aiming at swallowing Kampuchea has failed and has been unmasked in bad daylight. It is the same for their strategy of “Indochina Federation”, their strategy of expansion in Asia and in Southeast Asia, and their role as a pawn of the Soviet international expansionists in Southeast Asia.

However, in spite of their strategical defeat suffered in their aggression against Kampuchea, the Vietnamese and their masters are still persisting in arrogantly, madly and openly carrying on their savage aggression against Democratic Kampuchea, in defiance of their international opinion, for they have not given up their strategy aiming at taking possession of Kampuchea in order to extend their domination over Indochina and Southeast Asia, in conformity with the Asian and world strategy of their master.

During the past rainy season, with the active participation of the Soviet international expansionist big power in setting forward plans of aggression and sending thousands of military advisers and huge war materials, the Vietnamese have prepared and are preparing actively their forces of aggression in order to launch a second strategical large-scale attack of invasion against Kampuchea during this dry season. And in order to camouflage this plan of their second strategical aggression, the Vietnamese and their master have carried out coward manoeuvres aiming at misleading the public world opinion and own peoples.

But the Vietnamese and their masters, the Soviet international expansionists cannot do as they please against our nation and the people of Kampuchea. In their aggression, they will surely suffer heavier and more ignominious defeats than those they have already suffered at the end of 1977 and during this year. The heroic nation and people of Kampuchea, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea have inflicted a historic feat on April 17, 1975 on the US imperialists and their lackeys and have conquered their independence and national dignity and honor, and that, it was in extremely difficult conditions, both objective and subjective. Today, when the conditions are much better than ever before, particularly in comparison with those at the end of 1977 and in 1978 in the subjective as well as in the objective field, the heroic nation and people of Kampuchea, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea will ineluctably inflict a total defeat on the second strategical aggression of the Vietnamese and their master against Kampuchea. The Vietnamese will suffer ignominious defeats at one and at the same time in the military, political, economic and diplomatic fields, at home as well as in Southeast Asia, Asia and the world over.

The only and best way for the Vietnamese is to immediately put an end to their aggression against Kampuchea and accept to conclude a friendship and non-aggression treaty between Kampuchea and Vietnam for the interest of both Vietnam and Kampuchea as well as that of Southeast Asia, Asia and the world.

That is the sacred wish of Democratic Kampuchea and her people. That is also the wish of the countries and peoples of Southeast Asia, Asia and the world over. We think that it is also the desire of the Vietnamese people.

Dear comrades,

In the past, Comrade Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Comrade Prime Minister Chou En-lai, the Communist Party of China and the brotherly Chinese people have given us wholehearted and unconditional aids and supports in a lofty proletarian internationalist spirit, contributing to the strengthening and development of independence and sovereignty. On this auspicious occasion, the Communist Party of Kampuchea, the Kampuchea's people and the government of Democratic Kampuchea wish to renew once again their deepest thanks to the Party, to the Government and to the brotherly Chinese people.

Our two parties and our two peoples, Kampuchea-China, have always attached great importance to carefully look after the development, strengthening and blossoming of the great friendship and great militant solidarity which always unite us together. Up to now, this great friendship and this great solidarity have been each day flourishingly and powerfully developed and they have successfully gone through the most various tests. It is because our friendship and solidarity strongly rely on a correct and sound revolutionary political basis, that is mutual respect, reciprocal affection and esteem based on equality mutual and sincere understanding, aids and supports. Such a friendship and such a solidarity are an important factor contributing to the defence of independence, sovereignty, friendship, peace and stability in Southeast Asia, Asia and in the world.

We are deeply satisfied with the ties and these Kampuchea-China's great friendship and great solidarity. We will do our utmost to develop and strengthen these great friendship and great solidarity to make them always more flourishing, stronger and everlasting. We are firmly convinced that this present visit of Comrade Vice-Chairman Wang Tung-hsing and comrades members of the delegation of the Chinese party and government of Democratic Kampuchea will surely bring about the most important contribution to the strengthening and development of the Kampuchea-China's great friendship and great solidarity, so that they would become a fat stone wall which will crush any enemy's adventurist attempts.

In these profound sentiments, we would like to extend our wishes:

- for the total and brilliant success of the friendly official visit of the Delegation of the Chinese Party and Government!
- for the everlastingness of the great friendship and great revolutionary militant solidarity between the two Parties, two peoples and two countries, Kampuchea – China!
- for the health and longevity of Comrade Chairman Hua Kuo-feng!

- for the health of Comrade Vice-Chairman Wang Tung-hsing!
- for the health of Comrade Deputy Prime Minister Yu Chiu-li!
- for the health of all Comrades members of the Delegation!
- for the health of all Comrades present here!

Six Factors Necessary For Victory In The War Of Resistance Against Vietnam's Aggression

Statement following the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea (January 5, 1979)

Beloved Comrades!

Beloved Compatriots!

Having been motivated by a lofty sense of patriotism for many generations against enemies of all kinds who had come and done harm to, aggressed on and annexed Kampuchea, the whole nation and the whole people of Kampuchea have become most accustomed to valiantly uniting together and struggling against these enemies, in their capacity as a nation and a people having a glorious tradition of struggle, a high level of civilization and a lofty sense of heroism.

It is as a nation and a people having such a glorious tradition of struggle that the Kampuchean nation and people have always waged struggle against Vietnam's strategy, which is aimed at annexing and swallowing Kampuchea's territory through its strategy of "Indochina Federation." During the past 48 years, the Vietnamese enemy has unceasingly carried out its strategy of annexation and swallowing up of Kampuchea's territory through all sorts of maneuvers, sweet or savage, open or secret, threats, subversions, attempts at coups d'état, acts of aggression and invasion. They have carried out all these maneuvers and acts without a break, aiming to carry out their arch-criminal strategy. But this Vietnamese arch-criminal strategy has suffered successive, heavy, ignominious and bitter defeats.

In the face of these great defeats during the past 48 years, especially in 1977 and 1978, the Vietnamese enemy, Soviet international expansionism and the Warsaw Pact have once again attempted to savagely fling themselves about in order to mobilize all their forces, including huge quantities of infantry, tanks, heavy artillery and planes, and to carry out invasions of Democratic Kampuchea, especially since December 25, 1978, which are aimed at annihilating Kampuchea's nation and people. However, the heroic Kampuchean people and the heroic Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea have most valiantly fought against them by holding aloft the banner of Kampuchea's revolution, the banner of independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of glorious Democratic Kampuchea, the banner of the dignity and honor of the Kampuchean nation and people, and by resolutely fighting against the Vietnamese enemy, annexationists and swallows of territory, and their master with blazing implacable hatred and high revolutionary heroism.

The news of the victories won on the fronts of Ratanakiri, Mondulkiri, Kratie, East Zone and South West Zone, by the people and the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea, as well as the sublime and noble revolutionary heroism of the latter, who are determined to fight and to win victory over the Vietnamese enemy, have reached every day the Kampuchean nation and people. The whole nation, people and Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea are filled with a high revolutionary pride towards their heroic comrades-in-arms on these fronts. They have firm confidence in them, respect and admire their lofty revolutionary heroism. This heroism has been written in golden letters in the history of the defense of the continuing

existence of Democratic Kampuchea and the Kampuchean nation against the Vietnamese enemy and their master.

Concretely, though they have mobilized their forces to invade and penetrate into the territory of Democratic Kampuchea, however deep it may be, the Vietnamese enemy, the Soviet expansionists and the Warsaw Pact are drowning in the immense movement of people's war in the whole of Kampuchea. In Ratanakiri, the people's war against the Vietnamese enemy is vigorously blazing up. In Mondulakiri, the heroic people and the heroic Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea are mobilizing their forces to drive out and destroy the Vietnamese enemy. At the front of Kratie, we are fighting and cutting the enemy into pieces, wearing out and destroying their living forces every day. At the East Zone front, we are valiantly fighting against the enemy. In the South West Zone, the heroic Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea and the heroic Kampuchean people are surrounding the enemy and destroying them piece by piece.

Facing such a struggle by the heroic Kampuchean people and the heroic Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea, can the Vietnamese enemy, Soviet international expansionism and the Warsaw Pact take possession and swallow up Kampuchea's territory? Can they annihilate the Kampuchean nation? Absolutely not. The Kampuchean nation and people resolutely refuse to kneel down in front of the Vietnamese enemy. The experiences in the history of Kampuchea's people as well as those in the history of the peoples throughout the world against aggressors have clearly proved this truth.

Beloved Comrades,

Beloved Compatriots,

The Vietnamese enemy, Soviet international expansionism and the Warsaw Pact are striving with might and main to take possession of Democratic Kampuchea. Do the Kampuchean nation and people and the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea allow the Vietnamese enemy to swallow Kampuchea's territory? Do they allow the Vietnamese enemy to annihilate the Kampuchean nation? We all together have determined firmly and definitely to keep raising aloft the banner of the Kampuchean nation, her independence, sovereignty in her territorial integrity and national honor and dignity and of the Kampuchean race, although we have to undergo many hardships and sacrifices.

Based on this firm conviction and on our successive experiences, we set up the conception, the position and the lines of struggle and defense of Democratic Kampuchea and Kampuchea's race as follows:

—Firstly: resolutely uniting with the whole Kampuchean nation and people to fight against the Vietnamese aggressors, annexationists and swallows of territory by destroying the enemy's living forces and safeguarding our own to the maximum.

—Secondly: constantly endowing and strengthening the conception and the position of waging the people's protracted war for defending the territory and to win final victory.

—Thirdly: in order to work out this historic task from one victory to another until the great total and definitive victory, we should:

a. Constantly defend, build, develop and strengthen the Party at every level to make it be the vanguard, leading and fulfilling all tasks in full mastery of the situation under any circumstances.

b. Carry on the tradition of safeguarding, building and developing and strengthening all the people's forces throughout the country based on the worker-peasant alliance. Along with this, we should unite with all Kampuchea's nationals living abroad. All the people of Kampuchea are determined not to become lackeys of the Vietnamese, not to lose their own nation, not to let the Vietnamese oppress, exploit and plunder them at their will. The Vietnamese enemy has increased and is increasing the contradictions between it and the whole Kampuchean nation and people. These contradictions are very deeply rooted and increasing more and more from day to day. So, the Vietnamese enemy is in the blazing flames of the national hatred of the whole Kampuchean nation and people. We are fully aware of the true nature of these basic, sharp and life and death contradictions.

c. We should the whole time, defend, develop and strengthen the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea and in a lively manner and with creativity carry out the line of people's war and the fighting line of the Party everywhere, under any circumstances, in every form, so as to make the Vietnamese enemy fall into the lowest ditch by the forceful movement of our people's war.

d. We should keep on strengthening and developing tremendous movement of production in all fields: agriculture, cottage industry and industry, so as to be the full master of food supplies and various commodities.

e. In every zone and region, the revolutionary backing bases, new and old, should be further strengthened and developed so that we can carry on the protracted struggle in independence and sovereignty to a great extent.

f. We must keep on uniting with all friends in the world, near or far, with all peoples and countries the world over who bring us their support in our struggle for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, peace and stability of Democratic Kampuchea, of Southeast Asia, Asia and of the world as well.

Through these six above-mentioned factors, we perfectly see that the Vietnamese enemy is facing inextricable difficulties in all fields: military, political, economic, financial. Besides, in the international arena, they are extremely isolated and they will meet with more and more difficulties.

Therefore, the fact that the Vietnamese and the Soviet international expansionists and the Warsaw military Pact are splashing about in attacking us in a mad dash to tear up and break into Democratic Kampuchea, is but a plain passing parade. Indeed, they cause us temporary tactical difficulties. However, through the strategy of protracted people's war, with its six above-mentioned factors that we are relying on, the Vietnamese enemy will unfailingly and finally be defeated.

It is with the firm belief in our line, in our heroic people, in our Revolutionary Army, in our successive experiences, in the historic world experiences, in the analysis of strong and weak points of the enemy and our own, for the time being and in the future, strategically and tactically, and being granted support to our just cause from friends and peoples and countries the world over, we clearly see that the Vietnamese enemy, the Soviet international expansionists and the Warsaw Pact could indeed make us undergo only temporary difficulties. But, in our prospect's strategic conception, we will certainly win. The Kampuchean nation, people, race, tradition, civilization will last forever.

—Long live the just and clear-sighted Communist Party of Kampuchea!

—Long live the powerful Kampuchean revolution!

—Long live the great Kampuchean people!

—Long live the valiant and powerful Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea!

—Long live glorious Democratic Kampuchea!