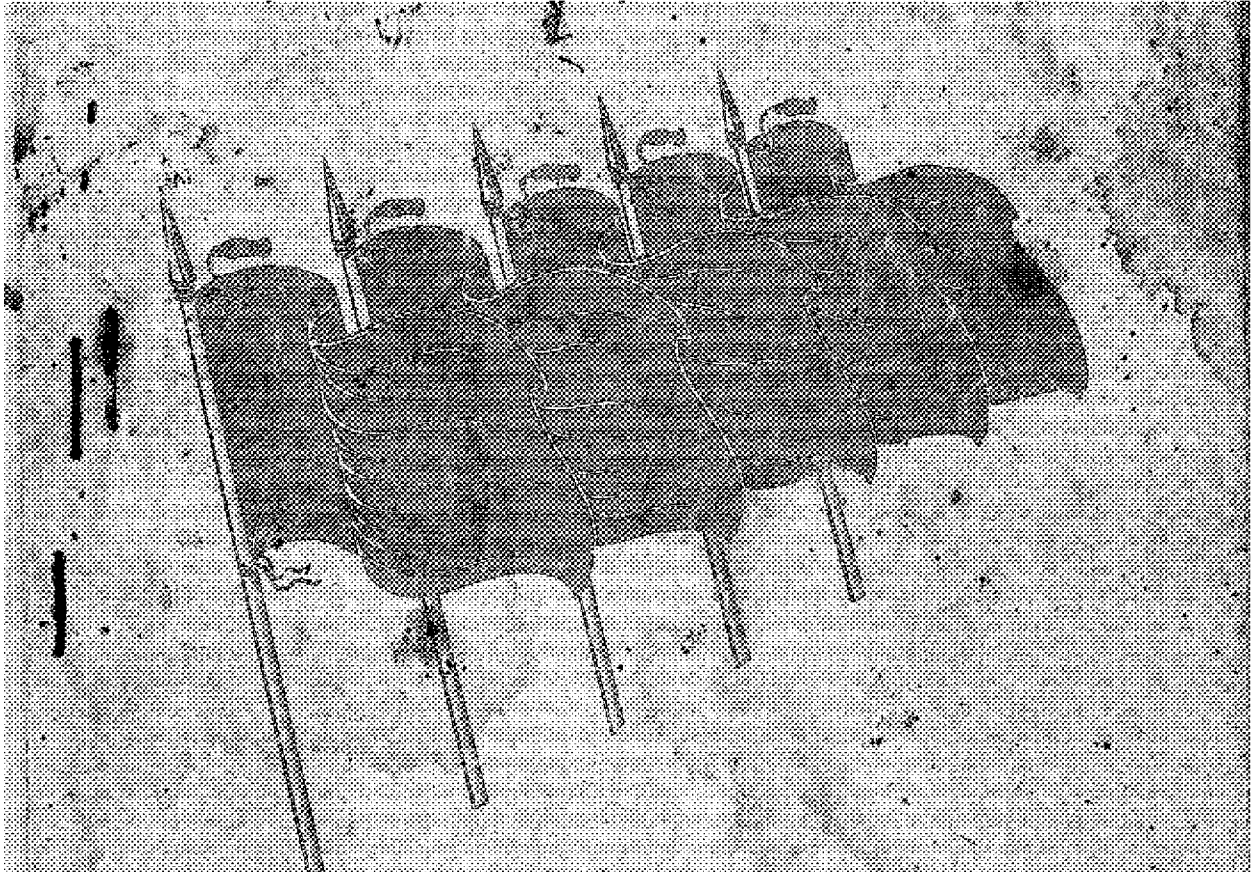


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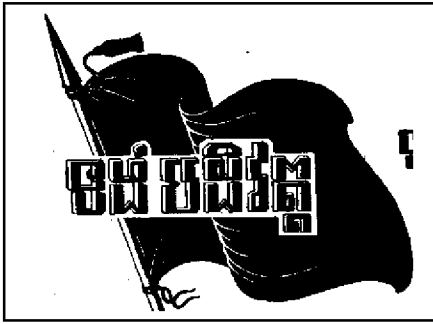
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# Revolutionary Flag

Special Edition, December –January 1975-76

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**The Internal Party Journal  
Monthly Publication**

**Special Edition December-January 1975-76**

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**1960**

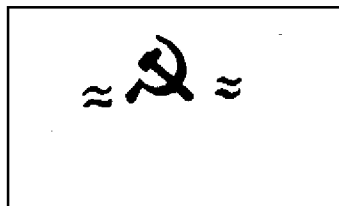
**The 1<sup>st</sup> Party Great Congress to Decide  
on the Strategic Line for the  
Democratic-National Revolution**

**1975**

**The Achievement of the Wonderful and Great Victory  
of the Democratic-National Revolution**

**1976**

**The Continuation of Doing Socialism Revolution  
and of Socialism Building**



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1975 ended. The Democratic-National Revolution movement of our Kampuchean people, under the wonderful, bright and correct leadership of our Communist Party of Kampuchea, received the wonderful and great victory on 17 April 1975. The strategic line for the Democratic-National Revolution, which was decided during the 1<sup>st</sup> Party Great Congress by our Communist Party of Kampuchea in 1960, took only 15 years to be totally and successfully completed.

Now is the beginning of 1976. With this new year comes the period of the new revolution. From 1976 onward, under the wonderful, bright and correct leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, we will wave the attack flag to storm the attack vigorously and constantly at the wonderful and great leap forward pace in fulfilling the tasks of continuation of the socialist revolution and socialist construction in our beloved Democratic Kampuchea.

Today, we wave the strategic flag to storm the attack vigorously and constantly—at the wonderful and great leap forward pace based on our Party's bright strategic line—on doing the socialist revolution and socialist construction. We recall our revolutionary movement in the past 15 years. We recall the strategic flag of constant and vigorous attack—at the wonderful and great leap forward pace based on the Party's bright strategy—when we were doing the Democratic-National Revolution.

**Why do we recall our revolution movement?** We recall our revolution movement in order to learn, strengthen, and expand further the revolutionary stance of the proletariat class of our Party within the entire Party, the entire revolutionary army, the entire revolutionary ranks, and the entire people during the new historical period of our revolution so that we can continue doing socialism revolution and socialism building until we receive the great victory at the wonderful and great leap forward pace.

### 1960

Before 1960, our Party did not yet have a strategic and methodic line. Our challenging task then was to work against the imperialist only, especially the American imperialist and their lackeys. We did not have a revolutionary line as to the strategy and method. It was like we then were walking in a totally dark cave.

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1960, the Party launched the Party 1<sup>st</sup> Great Congress.

The Party 1<sup>st</sup> Great Congress had unanimously decided on the strategic line of the Kampuchea revolution, which was the Democratic-National Revolution to fight the imperialist, especially the American imperialist and their lackeys, the feudalism, and the reactionary capitalist.

The revolutionary forces were the forces of the whole population, based on the worker-peasant alliance. The revolutionary struggle then was in the form of the political-revolutionary-violence

and armed-revolutionary-violence. The Communist Party of Kampuchea was the sole Party to lead the Kampuchea revolution. The objective of the revolution was to achieve the Democratic-National Revolution and to move up to do the socialist revolution and build socialism, and then on to communism in Kampuchea.

This was a big and important historical event for our Party, revolution, people and the entire Kampuchean population. This was the bright light to lead the way for the Kampuchean revolution to liberate the nation, the people and classes. When applying the correct revolutionary line as the strategy, we gained a firm revolutionary confidence among cadres within the Party's ranks at the beginning. When trust existed, there were the strength and force for us to sharpen the attack.

### 1961

The Party stormed the attack on education for the Party's cadres in the countryside and the city so that they were able to absorb and grasp the strategic line of the Democratic-National Revolution up to an important level. Based on the light of this strategic line, the ideology of cadres was developed. Their revolutionary stance became firmer than before. They were able to recognize friend and enemy clearer than before. When there was the correct revolutionary line and clear revolutionary ideology, the Party's organization became more organized in accordance with the Party's organizational conditions. The struggle movements of the mass people in the countryside and the city were better and correctly led in accordance with the Party's line, and they were rising up stronger than in the past under the slogan 'against the American imperialist, demanding the reform of the people's livelihood, and demanding rights and freedom and democracy.' Having received the light of revolutionary strategic line, the quality of the political, ideological, and organizational stance of cadres was improved up to a certain level. The quality of the struggle movements of the mass people in the countryside and in the city became more revolutionary.

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### 1962

The American imperialist and their lackeys, and the feudalist classes and the reactionary capitalist, who were the rulers, intensified their attack and killing on the struggle movement of the mass people more vigorously and savagely.

Firmly grasping the strategic line of the Party, cadres in the countryside and city organized more struggle movements among the mass people. And we were able to protect the Party's forces and mass people, and keep and launch the Democratic-National Struggle Movement more extensively and profoundly than before. The Democratic-National Struggle Movements of the mass people in the countryside and the city, under the leadership of the Party, was in position to attack constantly. The conflict between the imperialist, especially, the American imperialist and the population-people became sharper. The conflicts between the feudalist-landowner and the peasant became worsened. The conflicts between the worker-

laborer and the capitalist became worsened. The revolutionary flame became more blazing. The Party's forces and the revolutionary forces were strengthened and expanded subsequently.

### 1963

It was during this situation of conflict between the enemy and the revolution and this revolutionary blazing situation in 1963, that the Party decided to hold the 2<sup>nd</sup> Party Great Congress in order to put forward in more detail the strategic line of the Democratic-National Revolution and urged us to implement this line more vigorously. The substance of the Party's 2<sup>nd</sup> Great Congress reflected the movement's practical attack in the previous 4 years.

The experiences of the movement's leadership for nearly 4 years in the past had strengthened the view, stance, politic, ideology, and organization of the internal Party up to another level. The Party's 2<sup>nd</sup> Great Congress had especially improved the internal unity and solidarity of the Party, and view, stance, ideology and organization of the movement more firmly and warmly, and promoted the confidence for the future of our revolution. Furthermore, the stance of independence-mastery, self-reliance, and self-determination of own national destiny had been developed further and became...

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...their flesh and blood, which was confirmed in the form of the revolutionary practical movement. What did the practical movement confirm? The practical movement clearly confirmed that the strategic line of the Democratic-National Revolution was correct when it based on the worker-peasant alliance and was under the monopolizing and sole leadership of Communist Party of Kampuchea.

In order to master and lead the Democratic-National Revolution movement to attack the enemy more vigorously in accordance with the decision of the Party's 2<sup>nd</sup> Great Congress, the Party's leadership apparatus had to go down to organize and strengthen the support bases in the countryside. This was an important step in strengthening the Party's leadership countryside. Because of that, the Party's leadership became firmer in character and more united on view, stance, and ideology, and stayed closer with the peasant movement which was the main and important force of the Democratic-National Revolution movement.

The American imperialist and their lackeys, whose leaders were the traitors Lon Nol (លន់ នល់), Sirimatak (សិរិមត៌ៈ), and Son Ngoc Thanh (សឹង ង៉ុក ថាញ់), planned to launch a coup d'état to overthrow the neutral Kampuchea and to destroy the Party's and mass people's forces. Because we were highly revolutionary vigilant and smart, the Party took this opportunity to incite the mass people in the countryside and the city to rise up against the coup of the American and their lackey-traitors vigorously. Using the slogan 'rise up against the coup and the traitors, to defend the country, peace and neutrality', and the slogan 'struggle to demand back the peasant's land, increase the worker salary, demand freedom and rights of student, and intellectual in the city', the demonstration, the meeting, and the open and legitimate and illegitimate struggle movements, and the underground struggle movements to destroy the traitors in the countryside were organized subsequently from one countryside to another, and

from one city to another, causing headache, threat and panic for the enemy until they lost control and failed in their coup planning.

Because there was a correct and clear Democratic-National Revolution strategic line, the Party's 2<sup>nd</sup> Great Congress, and the profound absorption of this line by cadres, Party's members, people and mass, the struggle movements of...

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... revolutionary violence—which primarily used political revolutionary violence and secondary arm revolutionary violence—of the people and mass in the countryside and the city were organized in many different substances and forms.

At the same time the Party's underground military units, which were recruited and organized from the youths of the poor peasant and low level mid-peasant to be the secret bodyguards since 1960, started their activities to guard and protect cadres, to accompany cadres, and to destroy the enemy's savage secret police and spy who came to destroy the bases, suppress and arrest the people and cadres etc... The people and mass saw that if they kept making only political struggle, they would be suppressed by the enemy, so, they must started the armed struggle also.

So, the people and masses that were being suppressed had the view to start the violent armed struggle. They prepared machetes, axes, clubs, bows and crossbows to protect their village-commune, people and cadres of the Party.

### **1964-1965-1966**

During this three-year period, the movement against the American imperialist and their lackeys, and the movements to seize back land in the countryside, to change the people's daily livelihood, and to demand freedom and rights and democracy rose up almost every month. The movements against the American imperialist of the mass people reached their highest point. In 1964, tens of thousands of the people and youth-students in Phnom Penh held a demonstration to attack the American Embassy and their cultural center, and finally expelled the American imperialist ambassador from Cambodia and even refused to accept the poisonous military, economic, cultural and social aid of the American imperialist.

In the countryside, the peasant movement against the feudalism-landowner and the ruling classes such as the provincial governor, district governor, commune chief, police, soldier, secret police, tax and conscription official, and the movement to take back land rose up more and more etc...

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Leadership cadres left for the countryside and went down to work with the peasant, worker, and youth-student movements personally in order to set ablaze the revolution, national wrath, and class wrath so that it could stay constantly hot.

In this hot movement of 1964-1965-1966, the Party had built many more devoted cadres and underground organizations. The political, ideological and organizational stance of the Party became firmer and more united. The stance of independence-mastery, self-reliance and self-determination of own national destiny was stronger in the revolutionary movement.

## 1967

The revolutionary struggle became more vigorous. The violent armed struggle exploded in the countryside, the outstanding one at that time was the <<Sâmlaut Event>> (សំឡាត់). In the city, the demonstration movement and meeting were held to support the struggle movement of the people against the traitor Lon Nol and his cliques rose up simultaneously. They took place forth and back from the city to the countryside countrywide. The people, especially the poor peasant and the low level mid-peasant, clearly understood that if they did only the political struggle, they would be suppressed, raided, arrested, and imprisoned by the enemy. So, they must do armed struggle nationally and democratically.

So, the situation in 1967 became ripe for the political and revolutionary movements of the people and the mass in terms of violent arm struggle and political struggle.

Some important conclusive experiences of the Democratic-National Revolution movement from 1960 to 1967 showed that:

### **1-The Party's line**

Our Party had made a correct decision on the strategic line for Democratic National Revolution, and mastered the leadership in implementing it from one period to another based on the practical situation and constant attack stance.

We put together the national struggle and the democratic struggle by using the right strategy, method and the slogans for our daily activities. We gathered up the people and the mass forces, and incited the...

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...national-democratic movement, and expanded them based on the power of the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the Party.

### **2-The Party's ideology**



When the movement became strong, the ideology would progress; and the spirit of patriotic and loving the revolution would boil constantly. Class ideology and class struggle escalated, and class conflict would take place every month and year. Attacking on class was seen more tense and in a life and death manner within the Party's ranks, the people and mass. So, the stance of class ideology and class struggle was hotly and constantly sharpened within the Party, the people and the mass, making these people to continue to storm the attack constantly and more vigorously.

Our Party strongly believed that when the revolutionary ideology of cadres, Party's members, the people and the mass was boiling like that, it gave enough conditions to attack the enemy vigorously and ardently.

### **3-The Party's organization**

The clear line was already tested for right and wrong within the movement. The clear ideology was tested and tempered again and again in the constantly hot movement. The organization was also tested, strengthened and expanded in the movement. The attacking [experience] led the Party's members and cadres to clearly understand, absorb, and grasp the Party's line, and to be able to see by themselves what was right and what was wrong. Through constant ideological tempering in the struggle movement, the Party was able to screen out some of those who still were reluctant and confessing to the enemy. At the same time, the Party was also able to strengthen and expand more old-new cadre ranks. And the old-new cadres, who had been built within the movement, would have constant conflicts with the enemy. These comrades must attack the enemy violently. Many cadres went down to the countryside to incite and actively organize the peasant at every place, especially in the remote countryside, and took the opportunity to strengthen and expand more cadres and more Party's members in those places.

Good cadres and good Party's members always stayed directly within the movement and made their attack in the movement,...

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...and built political, ideological and organizational stance in the movement, improved their leadership ability in the movement, and tested their wrong-right in the movement.

All our cadres and Party's members stood firmly on the stance of the revolutionary movement of their own Party and on the self-reliance and independence-mastery stance. They believed in their own people, own movement, and own Party's leadership. They saw the struggle movement was correct. If we did not attack and struggle against the imperialist, the feudalist, and the reactionary capitalist, these groups would smash the revolution into pieces. If we did not attack them, they would attack us constantly. They would not let us stay peacefully.

Within the movement, especially from 1960 to 1967, our Party—followed the light of the 2 great congresses of the Party and based on the practical experience of the movement in their own country—was able to strengthen the stance of independence-mastery, self-reliance, and

self-determination of own national destiny up to another level. We became better than we were in the past. We strongly believed that our people were strong, and our Party had the ability to lead the people in the countryside and the city well. We strongly believed and...

[Description of the photo]

Photo of women building irrigation

**Brothers/sisters of the cooperative in the North Zone are attacking to build new dikes and to dig new canals across the paddy, making them into the chess square shapes so that they will be able to master the water in this dry season.**

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...clearly saw that our people were able to make both the violent political struggle and the violent arm struggle at the same time. We strongly believed that when they stormed the attack on the enemy, they would definitely win, and if they stormed the attack continuously, they would win them continuously.

## 1968 – 1970

### **1-Inciting the revolutionary struggle movement based on the Party's line**

The Party had decided, from 1968 onward, we must do both the political struggle and arm struggle simultaneously. So, in January 1968, we opened fire in the Northwest Zone (in Battambang province (បាត់ដំបង)); in February 1968, we started in the Southwest Zone; in March 1968, we did in the East Zone; in late March 1968, we did in the North Zone; and in March and April of the same year we did it in the North Zone.

So, in early 1968 the armed struggle began in general in 17 out of 19 provinces.

During this period of simultaneous political and armed struggles, the world situation was not in our favor objectively. But our Party was confident with our line and movement,...

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...and saw clearly that there was a possibility for us to strengthen and expand our movement successfully. At this point, learning from this lesson, our internal Party decided to strengthen and expand our selves subsequently by taking the subjective stance as the basic factor for making decision based on the stance of self-reliance and self-determination of own national destiny. The important meaning of self-reliance was that we must base on our own people as the main forces. So, in 1968 we incited the people to rebel and seize the village-commune authority from the enemy and to confiscate weapons from them to continue our guerrilla warfare.

At that time the good factor about our subjective stance was that the Party was directly and constantly leading the people; we had the correct line, ideology and organization; and cadres of the Party Centre at all Zones united in a single string. The people rose up vigorously with violent political and armed struggles. So, even the world situation was in fact not in our favor and we lacked of everything, we were still able to attack the enemy and to disperse them successfully.

## **2-The Party's ideology**

The ideology of the internal Party, of the internal military, and within the people was that of sacrificing everything for the absolute and vigorous attack. We even saw clearly that we must stand on self-reliance and self-determination of own national destiny stance.

We continued political struggle in Phnom Penh and in other cities. We also continued political and armed struggles in the countryside. We struggled in two forms at the same time to attack the enemy. In the city, we continued political struggle and we armed ourselves to protect our movement. In the countryside, we incited the peasant to organize the political and armed struggle movements. At the same time, the Party urged the people to launch the guerrilla warfare everywhere, using both the traditional and modern weapons. At that time the ruling classes announced that they would attack the Khmer Rouge until our tongue was squeezed out. They had gathered up all kinds of their forces to attack us. All the enemy's commanders included 'A' Lon Nol, 'A' Chou Long (ជឿ ឡុង) and other big commanders joined together to attack us. On the contrary, not just that they were unable to deal with us at that time, but we even strengthened and expanded the liberation zone successfully and continuously. But at the same time we also faced many difficulties. Although that was the case, we did not surrender to the enemy because we were constantly armed with political and ideological education. Our Party grasped...

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...the internal Party and the people firmly. That was because we had a strong ideology and absolute attack stance to endure all kinds of hardships. Our past experiences showed that we

had succeeded because the Party had tempered in the movement and in the fire of war, and united and stormed the attack together in a single string. Another experience was that the people at the bases had endured many real hardships. If these people were the middle and upper classes people, they would not be able to endure these things. This work had led us to have more confidence in the line and organization of the Party, which based on the Party's class line and the revolutionary movement.

### **3-The Party's organization**

Our Party had strengthened and expanded many forces in all sectors in just for a period of 2 years. The political bases in the countryside had been expanded. The supportive bases in the countryside had been expanded further throughout the country. The Revolutionary Army had been also expanded. In some places the company units had been organized since early 1970. These military units were able to attack and deal with the enemy well. When the enemy sent many battalions to suppress us, our Revolutionary Army troops were able to deal with them well, and they even defeated the enemy continuously.

So, for the period from 1968 to early 1970, the Party was stronger and expanded further, the people was stronger and expanded further, the Army was stronger and expanded further, and the supportive bases were stronger and expanded further.

While our revolution was growing and blooming like that, came the coup d'état on 18 March 1970.

## **1970 to 1975**

### **1-The situation after the 18-3-70 coup d'état**

In March 1970, the American imperialist and the traitor Lon Nol launched a coup d'état. Shortly after the coup d'état, the political situation inside and outside the country was changed. Inside the country, the Party conquered more people forces and even some of the feudalist and capitalist of the ruling classes, who used to oppose us in the past, decided to join us. We were able to take them to our side because before the coup, our Party...

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...had already adopted the Front policy. So, after the coup d'état, our Party broadened this Front policy to accept them. A majority of the people and the high-ranking officials inside the country decided to join the Front. The American imperialist and the traitor Lon Nol were isolated by the entire people and population. The people had saw that a long time ago that the Lon Nol group would join the American imperialist to launch a coup d'état against the people. At that time the Party decided to adopt the Front policy in order to collect the population forces as extensively as possible in order to fight against the American imperialist and their lackeys. This Front was led by the Party, and the main and supportive forces were the worker-peasant alliance forces. The world supported us and clearly saw the strength of our forces.

In that situation the Party led the attack immediately. The people forces and the Revolutionary Army, who had been trained in the revolutionary political and armed struggle movements, were rebelling to seize power in the village-commune throughout the country. The people and mass rose up to organize the great demonstrations and rebellions throughout the country. The revolution stormed the attack on them politically and militarily, putting the American imperialist and 'A' Lon Nol in a deadlock position. Millions of people from all directions were marching into Phnom Penh in an attempt to catch and smash 'A' Lon Nol. For just a period of one month, we were able to liberate 70% to 75% of the village-commune countrywide. When the American imperialist saw this situation, they sent their troops to attack us directly. Tens of thousands of their troops crossed our eastern border from South Vietnam to attack us. The American imperialist troops were the best and most well-armed troops in the world. They had all kinds of tanks and aircrafts. Hundreds of thousands of Thieu Ky's (ធ្វើ គី) troops also came with them in Cambodia territories to attack the Kampuchea revolution in order to save the traitor group of Lon Nol. So, the traitors' forces at that time included those of Lon Nol, American and Thieu Ky. We called the invasion of Cambodia by the American and the traitor forces of the South Vietnam << the Americanization war in Cambodia>> and <<the Vietnamization war in Cambodia>>. That situation was critical and cruel. American and 'A' Thieu had sent their forces to attack us, and then organized forces for 'A' Nol to implement the policy of Khmerization war in Cambodia to comply with 'A' Nixon's policy which meant using Khmer to fight Khmer while he [Nixon] would provide money and weapons.

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During that time if we compared our forces to those of the enemy, the enemy's forces were much stronger because they were backed by the American and 'A' Thieu-Ky's forces. But our Party saw that if we attacked American constantly, more American would be killed in Cambodia; and the longer they stayed the more troops would be killed. So, we knew that if we kept attacking them constantly, they would not be able to endure the loss in the long term. As for 'A' Thieu- Ky's troops, we could attack them easily because our troops used fight them in the past. Moreover, our people hated 'A' Thieu-Ky's troops so much. Even some of 'A' traitor Lon Nol's troops also fought against 'A' Thieu-Ky's troops. Our Party promoted the patriotic spirit highly so that we could fight American and 'A' Thieu-Ky invaders and 'A' traitor Lon Nol. And at the same time, we appealed to the world people to struggle against the American imperialist and their lackeys. We had supports from the world subsequently and even supports from some of the American people. So, the << the Americanization war in Cambodia>> and <<the Vietnamization war in Cambodia>> was embarrassingly defeated.

At the same time, in 1970, while the movement of storming the attack at the frontline was going on, the Party moved the people in the liberation zone to produce their own food to support themselves and the revolutionary war.

In 1971, the Party held the Party's 3<sup>rd</sup> Great Congress. The conclusive substance of the Party's 3<sup>rd</sup> Great Congress was to continue popular war and to implement the line of popular war of the Party against the invasive war of the American imperialist and their lackeys in order to liberate Cambodia, making it to become an independent, peaceful and neutral country. At the same time we continued implementing the democracy to overthrow the feudalist-landowner and the reactionary capitalist in order to liberate the whole population especially the peasant. This task was still in the framework of Democratic National Revolution. The important thing was to organize forces in all sectors so that we could do our works vigorously. At the same time the Party's [3<sup>rd</sup>] Great Congress had unanimously agreed the Party's 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Congresses was a great victory for us because we had correctly decided on the implementation of the strategic line of the Democratic National Revolution. The light of the Party's 3<sup>rd</sup> Great Congress had basically defeated the policy of Khmerization war of the American imperialist during their military operation known as the Operation Chenla II (ចេនឡា II).

In 1972, while the attacks at...

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...the frontline were going on, at the rear line the Party began promoting the struggle movement to eliminate the old production means and to establish new ones in order to push the food production movement further so that we would be able to support ourselves and the popular war as well. At the same time, the Party incited the people to attack the capitalist class by taking control over the commercial activities by its self. In this year of 1972, the movement to attack the enemy at the frontline was vigorous, and the class-struggle movement in the liberated zones countrywide was up to another level. Within the hot movements at the frontline and the rear line, the revolutionary forces of the Party in all sectors were also strengthened and expanded, especially the forces of worker-peasant alliance.

In 1973, the Party saw clearly that the enemy was becoming weak. The Party then adopted the policy to attack the enemy strategically. Although we were having the regiment units only, we were still able to attack the enemy continuously in both the dry and the rainy seasons. The important objective was to attack the Khmerization war. When the traitors' forces were smashed in pieces, the American imperialist's base and support inside the country would be gone because whenever American had invaded a country, they depended on the traitors' forces inside that country. So, we had to attack and smash the traitors' forces in pieces militarily, politically and economically until they became exhausted. The traitors could not draft the people into their army anymore because the people were all staying on our side. All peasants were with us. Most of the poor people were on our side. The middle class people were also with us. The enemy did not have any more men for expanding their military. Because we had the line to take people from the enemy into our side, year by year, there were not any people on their side anymore. When the people were gone, so were the economy, the military, and politic. So, the traitors were seriously isolated. At the same time in that year of 1973, the cooperativization in the countryside was expanded extensively, making the rear line forces to become basically strong and large for supporting the frontline. The canal, dam and pond construction movements etc... and the dry and rainy season rice, and the strategic crops

movements were blooming everywhere to serve the popular war, leading it toward many victories continuously. Furthermore, 1973 was the year in which American imperialist embarrassingly lost their sky-war against our Cambodia. So, the American imperialist turned back...

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...to implement the Khmerization war by providing all kinds of war materials and economy-finance to the traitor Lon Nol in Phnom Penh. But the American imperialist was still not able to rebuild the traitors' forces who had already become bloody exhausted.

In mid-1974 the Party decided to launch the strategic and final attack in order to liberate the entire country. The Party had decided on the attack plan as follows:

-To attack the key positions along the lower Mekong to sever the enemy's food and route line.

-To attack the areas around Phnom Penh in order to launch the final attack afterward.

-To attack some provincial towns which were under the enemy's temporary control in order to keep them off balance.

-To attack every position simultaneously so that the enemy would not be able to send their forces to reinforce each other.

In late 1974, the Party put forward the specific details of the plan and improved the mid-1974 strategic attack plan further. The Party clearly specified that we must determine to end the invasive war of the American imperialist and the fate of the traitors in Phnom Penh in the dry season of 1975. We must launch the attack simultaneously, vigorously and constantly countrywide on 01-01-1975, and must attack directly on each target.

1974 ended. At 0:00 hours on 01 January 1975 the gun fires started and the attacks were launched countrywide as planned by the Party. Just in a short period of January, we destroyed many enemy's positions and a great number of their forces around Phnom Penh and along the strategic roads of both water and land routes, and in some provinces which were then under the enemy's temporary control.

At the beginning of February 1975, the enemy became more broken in general. They were in blood boiling situation throughout the country. The enemy became really weak. Along the Mekong River, their forces, positions, and materials had been basically smashed. On the battlegrounds around Phnom Penh, the enemy was in the worse blood boiling situation because they had lost many forces and positions for defending Phnom Penh. Many of their war materials included aircrafts, tanks and artilleries had been also destroyed. Their forces being sent from the provinces for reinforcement could not improve the situation. They were just the temporary helpers, and were smashed in pieces subsequently.

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On the battlefields in the provinces, the enemy's forces were broken in the whole unit because they did not get any help. Some of them were even starved.

Politically, the traitors and their clique could speak only about when their death would come. The American imperialists admitted that they were desperate. The struggle movements of the people in Phnom Penh and Battambang became stronger. The diplomats, foreign organizations and foreigners had left Phnom Penh because they had no hope for the traitors anymore.

Economically, in February they had already run out of money, and the American aid was not enough. They could no longer pay their staff any salary. They had run out of their rice stock. There was no available means for transporting rice from outside. At the beginning of March 1975, the enemy was not able to master almost everything included military, politic and economy.

On 01 January 1975, we liberated Neak Loeung (នាក់ល្បើង). 'A' traitor Lon Nol fled the country. The revolutionary army was in the position to master everything. They continued their assault vigorously to liberate Phnom Penh.

On 12 April 1975, the ambassador of the American imperialist and their staff embarrassingly fled in panic to board their helicopters.

On 17 April 1975, we liberated Phnom Penh and the entire country. The Democratic National Revolution was wonderfully and successfully completed under the bright light of the strategic line of the Democratic National Revolution of the Party's 1<sup>st</sup> Great Congress, 2<sup>nd</sup> Great Congress, and 3<sup>rd</sup> Great Congress subsequently.

## **Some important lessons during the period of 1970 to 1975 are as follows:**

### **1-About the building of the Party's forces to lead in the popular war to liberate the nation and the people**

These issues are very important. If the Party has the correct line to lead, it will be a real victory. If the Party has the wrong line to lead, it will be a real defeat.

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#### **1-The preparation of the Party's forces on politic**

Based on this aspect and some experiences, when the Party was built up to lead the revolutionary war from 1970 to 1975, there was a very tense, tough and serious fight for



political view and political line continuously between our Party and the objective thrust of the world. In these aspects, based on our subsequent experiences, the political line of our Party was based mainly on the independence-mastery and self-reliance stance. At the same time, we also collected some supports from the world forces, but basically, the determined factor was self-reliance in all sectors. Standing on this stance, we organized the Party, the revolutionary military, the state authority, the people, the economy, the supportive bases, the cultural-social affairs, and the foreign affairs etc... But this stance was under pressure from many outside forces. And because they did not understand this stance well, some of them were even against it because they were having a different view. They thought that because we were small, we could not take the independence-mastery and self-reliance stance, and that we must depend on the world. Because of this problem, there was fighting for the different view,...

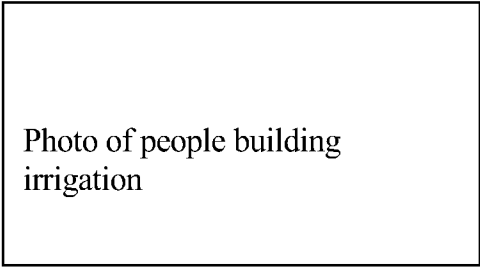


Photo of people building  
irrigation

[Description of the photo]

**After harvesting and collecting crops for safekeeping, our revolutionary male and female combatants and cadres go down to the worksite to join the cooperative peasant to attack on digging and building new canal and dike so that they will be ready to storm the attack on the rice farming work in the upcoming rainy season in order to achieve the 3 tons per hectare plan on the average.**

**In this photo: The cooperative members of Ânlung Mien (អន្លង់មៀន) village, in Trâpeang Chong (ត្រពាំងឆង) district, Pursat (ពោធិសាត់) province, are storming the attack on digging a main canal which will be used as the water way to flow water into the rice paddy.**

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...stance and organization. We agreed to unite with the world, but we had to absolutely stick to the stance of independence-mastery, self-reliance, and self-determination of own national destiny. When we had this stance, we would have a good solidarity with the world. Based on our experiences, even though our Party was small and our people was less, if we had a correct line and were united within the Party, the people and the military, we would absolutely win. Within the Party there were also a small number of opposition forces who had been influenced

by foreign country. But the Party Centre had grasped this problem well and announced their existence countrywide. This opposition group had been totally isolated until they decided to show their opposition activity openly and revealed their betrayal faces. Besides these, there were some other elements, just a small number, who did not stick with the movement, did not understand about the movement, and did not test themselves. They were individualism, privatism, and having an improper attitude toward the Party's line.

**What kinds of experiences leading us to become independence-mastery, self-reliance?** They were the practical experiences of our mass people movement, and the practical experiences in the world like the attack on...

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...the French, the Geneva Agreement in 1954, and the Vietnam Paris Peace Agreement in 1973 etc...

We will not become independence-mastery and self-reliance firmly until we do the revolution by ourselves, develop the revolutionary line by ourselves, and take responsibility by ourselves in a high spirit.

After having a movement, we must test ourselves in the movement, learn from the movement, be polite and putting ourselves under the movement. This is the key to strengthen the view, stance, and line of our Party. So, we must be polite and learn from the mass people movement. Must learn from the movement in order to understand the line and know how to correct it. So, do not disconnect from the bases, from the movement, from the people at the village-commune, and from the cooperative.

## **2-The preparation of the Party's forces on ideology**

After having a line, we must have the ideology for an absolute attack. We must not hesitate, associate and compromise with the wrong ideology.

How did our Party attack to develop the ideology from 1970 to 1975? The attack between the revolutionary ideology and that of the anti-revolution and between the absolute struggle ideology and that of the compromising ideology was taking place constantly; and that attack was not an easy one. It was tense, complicate, and even a more difficult fight than politic. Based on our experiences since 1970, the ideology of being overjoyed, of individual and private possession, of material and power, and of non-proletariat was still existing and mixing up in [our movement]. At the same time then the proletariat class stance was not yet seriously strengthened and expanded. This ideology was allowed to mix up in the task of war to liberate the nation and people. So, the Party had to attack constantly to eliminate the wrong ideology and develop the proletariat class ideology.

In the congress of the Party Centre in May 1972, our Party announced that the existence of the non-proletariat class within the Party was an emergency situation. The core substance of

the document for education was then about class and class struggle, about the dictatorship Party's proletariat class, about the interaction of materialism, and the history of materialism. At the same time the Party started the process of organizing the cooperative at the beginning phase.

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So, the [cooperative] movements were blooming within the mass people countywide. Then, in mid-1973, the Party Centre held another congress to examine the status of class struggle within the Party and the mass people. It showed that there was a big step of victory, but various phenomena of the ideology of the secondary capitalist and feudal-capitalist of the counterrevolutionary classes still existed within the Party, state authority, military, and the militias etc... We continued our attack by learning about it from the movement. [We saw that] the shortages still existed on the left and on the right, and the development of the proletariat class ideology was not yet done correctly.

Because of our struggle to develop it, we were able to fulfill the National-Democratic task successfully at that time. In early 1974, many problems had arisen, for example, as a consequence of the enemy making the peaceful alliance [with us], some soldiers, local authority and cadres were damaged. To some extent that affected our movement because some troops at the frontline had been damaged. The reason then was because the proletariat stance was still vague and unstable. In mid-1974, the Party took a measure to suspend the expansion of the Party and the underground organization. Based on the experience in 1972-73 we had worked hard to develop that [proletariat stance], but when the enemy counterattacked on our revolutionary moral stance, they caused us some damages.

We prepared the ideology to ensure the right leadership for the frontline and the rear line so that we would be ready for the final attack in the dry season of 1975.

Experience on the ideology showed that:

1-The ideology changed constantly, so we must work on the ideology constantly. In the past, we had done it well and improved it up to a certain level, but then it moved backward. So, we must do it constantly, and must not be subjective on this.

2-There were many ideological substances which the Party had worked hard to develop. There were many types of them, but in conclusion, it was only the ideology of the proletariat class and the stance of the proletariat class.

-The proletariat class possessed nothing. It possessed no material, no power, no individual possession, and no view.

- [Proletariat class] was highly organized, and it highly respected Angkar's disciplines.

-[Proletariat class] was progressive production and invention. And at the same time, the document on the interaction of materialism and...

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...the history of materialism would also be helpful for strengthening the proletariat class stance.

3-Based on the revolutionary movement of the mass people within the Party, military and people, at everywhere they did the revolution, if a wrong-right ideology arose, we had to learn from that movement and used it as the lesson in the entire Party.

### **3-Building the Party's forces on organization**

After having a correct line and good proletariat class's ideology, [we] must prepare the organization correctly and orderly included the organizations of the Party, military, people, state authority, and various centers etc...

How to prepare them?

1-Use the Party's organizational line based on the class line. The Party's political line will not be implemented successfully until it is based on the Party's class line,

In implementing this, there are 2 things:

One, for those already in the ranks, we must arm them with the proletariat class stance so that they will serve the Party correctly. Two, for the new recruits, we must base on the base-people class.

Because the Party's organizational line like this, we will be able to maximize our work against the opportunist elements and the activity of the enemy burrowing within effectively.

2-Variou conditions of the Party's organizational line are:

-[They must be] from the revolutionary movement, and were routinely tested in the revolutionary movement.

-Good class background.

-Good revolutionary morals on lifestyle and politic.

-Two aspects on the status of our Party's organization as of today:

On one hand, there is a good progress, but on the other hand, it is not yet pure within the Party, military, and mass people organizations at various ministries and centers etc... This is the shortfall aspect which we need to improve so that we can continue to prepare the organization further to deal with enemies' activities such as that of the imperialist, the remaining of the feudalist-capitalist class, and various counterrevolution elements.

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Some experiences showed us that:

1-In order to strengthen and expand a clean and good organization, we must base on the mass people movement. Do not use a narrow framework to select, screen, strengthen and expand with just a specific class. We must take the mass people movement to decide on it continuously.

2-When strengthening and expanding the organization of the Party or within the revolutionary rank, we must implement the Party's organizational line, Party's class organizational line and the Party's conditional organizational line continuously. Do not do it just one time and stop.

3-For other elements such as the opportunist, the coincidental group, and the movement-dropout group, we must be very careful with them as much as possible. And based on this vigilance, we test them step by step. Do not assign them the important work, but examine and monitor them continuously for as long as possible. Based on our experiences, these elements cannot serve the movement, and they are even dangerous to the revolutionary movement.

4-Lifting the vigilance spirit as high as possible for the organizational work because all kinds of enemies, inside and outside, have the plan to destroy us strategically from one generation to another.

The task of defending the country is still critical. We must continue to build the Party's political and ideological stances vigorously in this new period.

## **2-Building the people forces and the Democratic-National Front Forces so that they will become the forces to carry out the task of Democratic-National Revolution through the war to liberate the nation and people.**

The people had joined and engaged in the war to liberate the nation, but at the beginning they were not yet strong.

-On politics, they understood only about unity, fighting American imperialist and 'A' Lon Nol traitor group. Their view and stance did not yet become profoundly revolutionary.

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-Their production was still private.

-When they were in need, they still depended on the landowner, rich peasant, capitalist and trader.

-That was why the Party set a plan to prepare them. At that time, [the Party] used the organizational measure as the key for doing it. The Party started by grasping commerce and other important means first before we moved on to grasp other sectors.

-The market was eliminated so that the capitalist could not use it to serve their interest.

-The new relevant means of production was set up and the old one was eliminated. The high-low levels new relevant means of production were set up in the 1<sup>st</sup> category liberated zone and the 2<sup>nd</sup> one based on the practical situation.

-Lands were taken away from the traitors plus the remaining lands were redistributed to the poor peasant and low level mid-peasant who used them to produce foods.

-The cooperatives were organized.

-The production movement especially rice and food production movement was promoted.

Because of this organizational measure, the people had to depend on the revolution and the revolution was able to control them.

So, 1972 was a turning point for our preparation of the people forces at our bases. In doing so, we were able to gather up forces. But if we just propagandized and educated them and did not seize the economy from the feudalist-capitalist, we would not have any forces. After we had had forces at the bases, we could collect more forces from other strata. When we had the people forces, we could push the movement to attack the feudalist-landowner and capitalist until they lose control over anything. Then the people status was improved, the revolutionary movement was up, and the revolutionary leverage was also up. The worker-peasant alliance then was strengthened and extended under the leadership of the Party.

This experience showed us that:

1-We must base on the practical movement in order to examine forces. Taking the practical movement of the mass people to be examined in order to see how big our forces were,...

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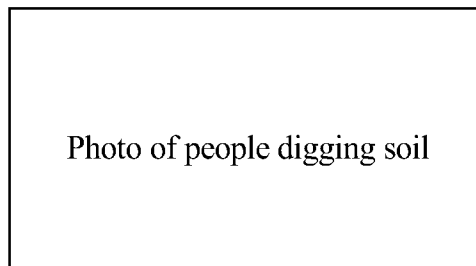
... how to expand them and how to organize them. There must be measures in place for dealing with the feudalist-capitalist classes. Absolutely do not compete with them in a peaceful way.

2-In order to collect people forces vigorously and regularly, we must constantly organize the movements, which included the dike building, dam construction, food production and weaving movements etc... based on our slogan 'constantly incited, constantly burned, and constantly hot'. After the country has been totally liberated, we have incited the food

production movement throughout the country. Within this movement, we develop new view, new stance, and new technique for our people.

### **3-Building, strengthening and expanding the revolutionary state authority of the Party and the revolutionary dictatorship of the Party**

-On this issue, there is also fighting between the independence-mastery and self-reliance line and the aggressive line toward Kampuchea.



[Description of the photo]

**After building new dikes and canals to make them look like the chess squares shapes throughout the rice fields, the members of our cooperative are storming the attack on digging up termite hills and tree stumps in order to clear and smoothen the surface of the paddy so that the water can be flown in and out easily.**

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-There is fighting against the feudalist-landowner, rich peasant, and the capitalist because these groups also want to grasp the state authority.

-There is fighting between the Party's organizational line of the state authority and various opportunists who came to take control of the state authority through circumstances.

-There is a struggle between our Party of the revolution and the no-good elements in the upper echelon of the Front rank who want to regain state authority.

The objective of our revolution is to destroy the old state authority and build the new revolutionary state authority which we have conquered subsequently. We strive to strengthen and expand this authority, but at the same time the enemies are also trying to capture back the state authority through the organization they directly organized. Their indirect method is that they use various means to put their people, whom they have reconnected, into the village-

commune authority. Their other indirect method is that they will continue to appoint their people and the opportunist elements and our bases cadres and our military and economic cadres—who have been convinced by them—into the leadership forces. They keep doing that until they are able to capture the state authority within the Party through....

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...their people and the opportunists. This fight will go on continuously and will become bloodshed. But this plan was smashed subsequently because we had the correct view on the real nature and the invasive intention of the enemy. So, we have to arm the Party, people, and military the correct stance and view so that they will master it well.

The fight to seize the state authority between us and various oppressive classes at each base in our liberated zones took place in 1972-1973 when they were preparing their forces to get in our organization. These classes wanted to have the right/power in the new regime. But this group was not able to capture it because the proletariat class stance was constantly armed and strengthened by the Party.

Starting from 1970, the opportunists came in our organization and became the shelter for the enemy to do their counterrevolution activities. But those in this group were purged by us subsequently. The above no-good elements in the Front also intended to keep their previous right/power through this circumstance in a hope that they would be able to strengthen and expand their state authority in the upper level in the new regime. The American and French imperialists also hoped that they would be able to reconnect themselves with these elements.

We were able to seize the victory because we correctly adopted the real nature of the revolutionary state authority until the time of the adoption of **the revolutionary new constitution** was announced. We subsequently implemented the revolutionary dictatorship policy on state authority, politic, military, and economy etc... Our Party grasped them all. From now on, we must continue to grasp, strengthen and expand the revolutionary authority of the Party so that this authority will remain pure. Although the feudal-capitalist has been overthrown, the American imperialist and their lackeys have been defeated, and the various enemies have been smashed in pieces, these groups still make their activities to find a way to capture back the state authority from us. Their long term method is to break down [our unity] and manipulate our line, especially on moral codes.

Our important means for dealing with this is the internal Party, the internal people and military must be united on politic, ideology and organization.

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**4-About building, strengthening and expanding the revolutionary military of the Party, and about implementing the military line and the attacking line of the Party**



To build our Party's revolutionary military, we basically stand on the independence-mastery and self-reliance stance for organizing military and building cadres, and for developing weapon using and attacking line etc... But there is still a stance against these lines from the enemy. And there is a tough fight and life-death war for this.

### **1-The Party's popular war line**

At the beginning, the enemy's military was stronger than ours. But we were politically stronger than they were although we were temporarily weaker militarily. We adopted the line to let the entire people to join us to engage in the popular war at both the front and the rear battlefields where they fought the enemy politically and economically in all sectors.

We had successfully incited the people to join us, so the people did everything for us. They joined the military and took care of transportation and food production tasks etc...

Politically, we attacked them on many aspects. We attacked them constantly because they were traitors, corrupted, and fascist. We squeezed their throat firmly.

Another political point of the popular war was that we expanded and took the people away from the enemy and prevented the enemy from seizing the people back from us. Each time we attacked, we took back with us all the people from the battlefield. This was an important point because we attacked directly at 'A' Nixon's theory of using Khmer to kill Khmer. We attacked the enemy's economy by cutting off their economic line. We could do that because the sources of the economy were mostly in our liberated zones.

We incited the people in the city to struggle in many forms to attack the central leadership machine of the enemy.

### **2-On building military, arming, and attacking line**

The class nature of the military is the proletariat class under the Party's absolute leadership.

The elements must be based on the absolute majority of poor peasant and low level mid-peasant, who had been directly tempered in the war movement politically, ideologically, organizationally and technically.

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Based on our independence-mastery stance, we armed them based on our ability to do it and with weapons we had confiscated from the enemy.

Our attacking line was based on the guerrilla warfare and full scale war techniques. Sometimes, we based on guerrilla warfare technique, but other times it was important that we used full scale war technique. We attacked the roads, inside the enemy's positions, outside the positions, and broke and cut off [their defense line] etc... When we launched the final attack, we attacked their positions around Phnom Penh and in the provinces, and those positions along the Mekong River which were considered as the key points.

## **5-Building the Party's economy-finance**

During the period of the popular war, we prepared, built, strengthened and expanded the economy-finance by ourselves because it played an important role in the war to liberate the nation and people. Had the economy-finance not been smooth, we would be defeated.

Our line of economy-finance was as follow:

**The 1<sup>st</sup> important point** was the rice and food production line. This production work was the core task at the rear line. The entire rear line served in this production work. This line led a good movement, especially since 1972. This line served the independence-mastery and self-reliance stance well up to the highest level.

**The 2<sup>nd</sup> important point** was that the state grasped [controlled] all important sectors of commerce. That turned the [trade] situation upside down as it was serving the interest of the revolutionary war. That cut off the limbs of the local traders and of those who were serving the interest of the foreigners and imperialist. That prompted them to side with us. This strong measure had served well the need of the revolutionary war, of the production work, and of the people's daily living.

**The 3<sup>rd</sup> important point** was the organizing of the low-high levels cooperative in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> categories liberated zones. That was the measure for fighting to eliminate the old relevant production means and develop the new one. The cooperative was the base of the poor peasant and low level mid-peasant. This cooperative organization was the attack on the imperialist, feudalist-landowner, capitalist.

**The 4<sup>th</sup> important point** was the abolition of money. This measure started in 1973. The abolition of money was meaningful for...

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...the Democratic National Revolution, plus, it had weakened the enemy financially. The meaning of democracy was served as the means to eliminate private possession of material, stance and ideology. It was the main force in doing the Democratic-National Revolution. If we did not have these measures, we would not have any forces of economy-finance.

We were able to succeed because we had enough forces included strong military, nearly countrywide state authority, and more people forces under the absolute leadership of the Party.

We were able to move forward because the Party was monitoring the movement constantly, and this movement showed us what we must do and what we must not do.

## **6-About building the Party's cultural-social affairs to serve the popular war**

The cultural-social affairs were the strength of the old state authority. This strength had been strengthened-expanded and taken rooted in the feudalist, reactionary capitalist, and

imperialist character for thousands years. So, the task of the Democratic-National Revolution was to attack and overthrow this strength of the old cultural-social affairs. After the Party's 3<sup>rd</sup> great congress in 1971, we had basically cleaned it up, and we continued to clean it up subsequently.

The struggle to overthrow them was profound.

Two factors led to the fall of the old cultural-social affairs:

**1-The Party's leadership factor** which made a clear distinction between the culture of the revolution and that of the non-revolution, and developed the clear and absolute stance of attack.

**2-The 2<sup>nd</sup> factor was that we had forces**, so we were able to implement fast. If we had only the material force but our stance was not strong, we would not be able to implement it.

So, we had attacked, overthrown and rooted out the military, politic, economy, and cultural-social affair of the feudalism-capitalist regime. But the leverage of the old culture of the old society still remains, so, we have to continue our struggle to eliminate them.

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In building new culture of the new society, we do not depend on technology. We stand on the revolutionary stance to build technology. Anything is non-revolution, we do not do it.

If we adhere to the revolutionary stance of the proletariat class, we will move forward fast because we walk on a straight path, not a winding path.

## **7-Building, strengthening and expanding supportive bases to serve the war to liberate the nation and people**

Immediately after the coup d'état, we liberated 70% to 75% of the country territory. The liberated bases were extensive, some of which were classified as the old supportive bases and others as the new liberated bases.

They were called the supportive bases because the people there were strong, the military was strong, and the economy was strong, and the geography was in our favor. Even after a large area had been liberated, if we just held on to the old supportive bases only, we would not be able to serve the revolutionary tasks well. So, the Party considered the bases in the entire liberated zone as the supportive bases, but they were classified as high-low and strong-weak bases based on their conditions. Based on this view, every place must organize the 3 arm forces and firmly grasp the state authority and the people. At the same time a strong economy must be built, and the Party's leadership must be strong. For any place where these things were in place, it was considered as the supportive base. In doing so, even some areas around Phnom Penh could become the supportive bases. We must set up the supportive bases throughout the country. Everywhere was the supportive base.

## **8-The Party's foreign affairs**

This role was part of our revolutionary work in liberating the nation and people. Although this role was not the determined factor, it related to the strategy and method of our popular war.

How did this work out?

1-The Party's foreign affairs were mainly based on the subjective factor, on our own movement and revolutionary forces, and on the victory inside the country. In the future, we must continue to stand on the subjective factor and the independence-mastery self-reliance stance.

2-The spirit of revolutionary vigilance must be highly promoted in all sectors included politic,...

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...ideology, and organization. These things played an important role strategically.

## **9-On the issue on prevention and elimination of the espionage activities aimed to destroy our revolution**

The espionage war by the American imperialist and their lackeys and by other sources aimed to burrow inside us as deep as possible in order to smash our military and revolution so that they could take control over us. Their activities were to attack us methodically and strategically. Obviously they did whatever they could to prevent us from winning the war. But after the revolution had won the war, they still continued their activities to change the revolution's color. However, we destroyed them subsequently.

This experience showed us that:

1-There must be a clear stance to analyze the enemy-foe and strategy-method and then there must be precise measures and high revolutionary vigilance in place.

2-There must be people-mass who are armed with a high revolutionary vigilance stance. To eliminate...

**[Translator note: The rest of this issue is missing].**