

not for circulation~~D3667.1.559~~

00000364

E3/1

ABBREVIATED LESSON ON THE HISTORY OF
THE KAMPUCHEAN REVOLUTIONARY
MOVEMENT LED BY
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KAMPUCHEA

Summary

1. Observation of the analysis and explanations of our Party reveals the contradictions within the framework of the National Democratic Revolution, and, in the period of analysis of those contradictions, clearly raises (the question of) the measures or the line of struggle in order to win victory. Further, the analysis allows us to see the contradictions in the current period of Socialist Revolution, and in this period makes the line the correct one in order to win victory.

2. Observation of our operational line in the National Democratic Revolution so far allows us to see clearly and draw experiences from our leadership as to what to do to win, and not be defeated, in our socialist revolution, without too many deviations.

The Essence of the Document

This document is a summary of the revolutionary struggle movement of our people for 2,000 years. A summary of every single aspect, compiled according to the drift of social teachings and the teachings of Marx and Lenin (literally, Marx-Lenin) and the drift of the history of the people's struggle, standing on the basis that the people are the makers of history; the people struggle with their natural surroundings, the people engage in class struggle against the exploiting classes. Compiling a historical document on the standpoint that the people make history is the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, different from the standpoint that such-and-such an

individual ruler is the person who makes history.

3 Secondly, this document is compiled according to the drift of the
people's concrete struggle in order to show that our Party leads the
struggle correctly in accordance with the specific situation.
Therefore the essence of this document (is that) we show it to reveal
clearly the cause and effect; we do not note it as a formula. We
note our own clear explanations.

This question is of great importance in order to lift up
in the palms of our hands the leadership value of our Party.
Analysing on our own where we are and what else we have to do.
This is the significance of our study.

N.B. We are not explaining Chapter I.

4

Chapter II

On the National Democratic Revolution

There are some points in the National Democratic Revolution
that we need to study.

The problem of analysing the contradictions in Kampuchean
society: in analysing the contradictions in our Kampuchean society
we fixed (upon) a number of problems, as follows:

- We had to find the antagonistic contradictions; the
life-and-death contradictions had to be uncovered. This analysis
was a question that caused confusion in the history of our Party -
it was not arrived at easily.

We said that we made the National Democratic Revolution
because analysis showed that the feudal landlords were in antagonistic
contradiction (with)in our country, and outside (it) there were the
imperialists.

In our Party some friends said that this was not so. In the (international) world there were also some friends who said this was not so.

(I) would like to tell you about some problems that we had to struggle with:

5

- The contemptible Sieu [Heng]: he said there was no class struggle. Sihanouk could lead. Therefore in the ranks there was resistance to the National Democratic Revolution.

No. 2 [sic, No. 1]. According to documents that we uncovered in 1976, according to the replies of the contemptible Phin [Touch Phoeun], one group of them (via) resisted the National Democratic Revolution, resisted our Party's analysis of the contradictions. This was the contemptible Phin and his clique. Next there was the contemptible Ya [Ney Sarann] and various other contemptible people. They resisted our analysis of the contradictions.

They said it was necessary to live together in the world [i.e. with other Parties such as the Vietnamese one], and live together with Sihanouk inside the country. Therefore it was not just in analysis of the contradictions that we had to struggle, but also in declaring it. If our analysis had failed, we would have been in greater danger than [the communists] in Indonesia. But our analysis was victorious, because our analysis was agreed upon, because most of our cadres were in life-and-death contradiction with the enemy; the enemy sought to exterminate our cadres constantly. As for the enemy (group), they had the appearance of being in contradiction also, but in fact they could live together with Sihanouk. The contemptible Phin and various other contemptible people could live together with Sihanouk. Some other contemptible

people seemed to be in contradiction (with Sihanouk) but in fact they had their contacts who came in to attack our Party.

[This is almost certainly a reference to the Pracheachon Group and its relationship with the Vietnamese.]

In the outside (world), since 1957 there were some who did not agree that Kampuchean society was already clearly divided into classes. Even by 1965 they still did not agree that Kampuchean society was divided into classes. They had great influence; they just had to say one word and some others inside the country would listen. This meant that on the outside we had to struggle.

In addition, there was also a theory that the national capitalists could lead the revolution.

Therefore we had to struggle in order to analyse our society clearly.

No. 2. We decided clearly on the enemy of the revolution.

7 No. 3. We decided clearly on (what were) the revolutionary forces. And we implemented the essence, we implemented these forces clearly. If we had implemented the forces incorrectly, we would not have won the fight. The worker-peasant forces were the basic forces. Next were the national petty bourgeoisie and the capitalists who undertook to follow the revolution.

Concretely, we did not rely on the forces of the workers. The workers were the overt vanguard, but in concrete fact they did not become the vanguard. In concrete fact there were only the peasants.

Therefore we did not copy anyone. We analysed our society concretely, and we raised our line according to our concrete situation. This is an experience that various other parties also observe.

If backward agricultural countries take the workers to make up E3/1
the big force force to fight the enemy, they will not succeed.

Also now, heavily industrialised countries who want to struggle must also raise the peasantry, who can fight the militia. They can be relied on as a force. But publicly they must stand on the workers' front, and they can win the struggle because the workers' front is the best vanguard of all.

8

To make revolution, forces must be prepared correctly so that victory is possible. And to make war, forces must be correctly prepared. To attack one or two outposts the forces must also be correctly prepared, for complete victory. Prepare the allied worker-peasant forces to make them strong, and (then) the gathering in of various other class forces can be accomplished. When we had in place our worker-peasant alliance, then Sihanouk and Penn Nouth came over to us. If we had not had the forces of the worker-peasant alliance, we would not have been able to gather in those forces. Although they did not want to join us, when the storm came they had to come and take shelter in our refuge. This was because we had already prepared our refuge.

On the economic front it was the same; we had to prepare forces correctly in order to be strong. If the preparation is not correct, there is no strength. If we had not done this, we would have had no territory or economy. In order to achieve 3 tonnes and 6 tonnes [per hectare], it is necessary to prepare forces correctly, effectively and strongly. By strong here, (I) mean the quality of the forces must be high, and the quantity must be numerous. But (the latter is) secondary. The quality (is what is) important.

9

Our programme of operation was that we raised everything ^{E3/1} in the form of a struggle that was overt, semi-overt and semi-secret, by taking secrecy as the basis.

This question is for the cadres who have already implemented (this) to study, so that they will increasingly have faith. The new cadres must also study. Moreover, this is an experience for the (outside) world, too.

Our line of people's war in accordance with the standpoint of independence-mastery-self-reliance must be studied again, in order to build up and strengthen and propagate this stand that we already have, more and more, and to build more and more cadres, according to this extended standpoint.

In 1968-69, we advanced the people's war; it was a very good experience.

10 1. It led us to strengthen and temper our stand of independence and mastery.

2. It led us to defend, strengthen and propagate our forces.

Without that test, without the war from 1968-69 to 1970, we could have been in danger. Because without 1968-69 we would have had no experience of independence-mastery. We could have ^{again} fallen into the ways of the period of struggle against the French. Because even though it was quite true that we had a line of independence-mastery and self-reliance, we had not yet been tested. Therefore our testing, in the period 1968-69 on, strengthened our standpoint. As for the war against the US imperialists, that merely advanced it. Because we already had capital from 1968-69.

- We had capital in terms of our stance

- We had capital in terms of forces.

11 However the forces factor was secondary. The factor of (our) stance was the basic one.

We raise this question in order to build up our Party, to build up our male and female combatants, further.

Now we have entered a period of some prosperity. If we do not follow the standpoint of independence, mastery and self-reliance, we could be taken to pieces by grain, bullets, and various other material things. In the armed forces, use what is necessary, do not use what is not yet necessary. In particular, for cadres who cannot make the transition, care must be taken to educate them, to adorn their standpoint of independence-mastery so that they adhere.

In summary, we analyse by means of cause and effect, and raise a line with cause and effect. We do not just take (on) previous formulae or just follow previous formulae.

For example: how did we take the form of secret struggle as the basis? In 1965 some people told us that if we took the secret form as the basis, it would endanger the revolutionary forces. Only when we have extended forces of broad strength [they said], can we defend our forces. But we had our explanation [sic], which was: We must take secret struggle as the basis.

This document notes and resolves some points that were not yet clear, both inside and outside the country.

13

Chapter III

On the Socialist Revolution and Building Socialism

In Chapter III, on the analytical side, we (shall) analyse as follows:

Analysis No. 1: The task of national defence.

Our country is not independent. In every field -- military, political, economic, cultural, social welfare -- we are independent.

But is there a condition of conflict? There is. Foreign enemies still seek to threaten us. Internal enemies, too, still seek ruses to destroy us.

Both foreign and internal enemies seek to fight us; they have fought us already, and are in the process of seeking to fight us once again.

Therefore we specify the tasks of national defence, so that we master these tasks in turn, and do not forget them. After noting the tasks in this way, we (would) still forget, let alone if we did not note them again. We note them once again in the Constitution.

14

In the (outside) world, people do not note the tasks of defending their country.

Analysis No. 2: The tasks of continuing the socialist revolution.

Our analysis is that:

- We have liberated the full strength of the people.
- We have smashed the old relations of production.
- Prepare new relations of production.
- The collective system is increasingly strengthening and spreading
- Money is not in circulation.

- The way of life (exists) as carefully provided for.

These are the basic, big contradictions we resolved:

- We basically resolved the contradictions between

E3/1

town and countryside. If some contradictions remain, they are secondary contradictions, not basic ones.

15 - We basically resolved the contradictions between cadres and masses. We basically resolved this... (for) cadres inside and outside the Party, high-level and low-level cadres, etc. There are still contradictions over authoritarianism, militarism, bureaucratism; or there are still cadres exercising a regime over the people in this or that area. These are secondary contradictions which must be further resolved, but they are not basic contradictions.

 - We have also resolved the contradictions between workers and peasants [sic].

 - We have also basically resolved the contradictions between producers who perform physical labour and producers who perform mental labour. Some of the filth of former classes remains; we will resolve this further.

 Therefore our stride is now very long.

16 Besides these, are there still other contradictions? There are. Contradictions between (us and ?) original classes that still exist in remnants. These emerge as standpoints, as attitudes, as self-interest in terms of material things or in terms of work. All this is because we have not achieved pure socialism. That is why we must pursue the tasks of socialist revolution further. There is still the fight between the collective and the private, between self-interest and collectivity in the Party and among the people. Therefore we have to continue to pursue socialist revolution, so that the collectivity becomes increasingly firm and widespread, and self-interest becomes increasingly worn out and blunt, so that it cannot come back again.

For example, (if) the people lack food and drink, and we abandon the people so that they go back to private (ownership), this means that we are not making socialist revolution.

For example, (if) we recruit only (people of) middle-level backgrounds, (or) only higher layers, to become cadres, this means that we are not making socialist revolution. And after a while the private system, the capitalist system, comes back.

To summarise again, we have analysed the contradictions and have noted the explanations as to why we must continue the socialist revolution, and according to the period of these explanations we strengthen our stand; do not let there be confusion between self-interest and the general interest. The general interest is the essence of the socialist revolution. Self-interest is the essence of the capitalist class.

17

Analysis No. 3: The tasks of building socialism

Now that the productive forces of our people have been liberated, what else must we do? On what road should these liberated forces march? If they march along the old road, that is the same capitalist road. Therefore they must march in a socialist direction, which we call building socialism. That is why we have both carried out collectivisation and organised cooperatives since 1973, and have continued to do it after liberation. (We) gather forces to build up the country, in the direction of collectivity. If this is not done, the oppressor classes (will) come back.

One other explanation is that if we build up the country by standing on the collectivity, we can do so quickly. We have seen very rapid changes in these two years, compared with the previous 100 years. One hundred years ago there were nowhere any reservoirs like these (we have now).

(Some ?) ask, if we allow (people) to carry on privately again, would it not be good? If we let (them) have freedom again, would it not be good? That freedom is the freedom of the capitalist. As for this collective system, it is the rights and freedoms, the shared democracy, of the entire people. It is not just the rights and freedoms of the worker-peasants; even the rich peasants have rights and freedoms in production work.

These are our explanations. We must educate our male and female combatants in these explanations, so that they do not slip or tremble.

To defend the country it is necessary to gather forces, to make the socialist revolution it is necessary to gather forces, and to build socialism it is necessary to gather forces.

For example, if we gather only a few forces, forces that are in frequent contradiction, can we defend the country well or not? We cannot defend the country well, therefore we have to gather all the forces that can be gathered -- by standing on the worker-peasant classes. Even feudalists, rich peasants, capitalists or whatever, if they are with us they are not with the enemy, and this is to our profit. During the National Democratic Revolution they were in contradiction with us over the question of the loss of their land. But they could stay with us because they also had some land to work. These people did not go off and become soldiers (for us), but they were still a political force for us.

And in this present situation, too, we exhaust all possibilities to gather whatever forces can be gathered, by showing those who are with us what is in their own interest. The ones who are in contradiction with us are abandoning their own interests. But those who are genuinely united with us are able to live with us, both them and their children and grandchildren. If they live with the enemy, for example if they run off to Thailand, they are taking a risk in leaving; they go to be Thai slaves, employed by the Thai, with the Thai using them as troops to come and fight back against the Kampuchean revolution. This means danger for them. But if we educate them, get them to learn to love the nation, to see the blossoming progress of the country, we can increasingly win them over. Some of them will not come, but some of them certainly will come over to us. These forces are merely tactical, auxiliary forces. Their children and grandchildren have better qualities, because the contradiction is not direct as in the case of their parents, and they have better elements than their parents. If the parents have 100 oppressive elements, their children have only 50. If we allow them to get mixed in with the movement for a time, we can use them as a tactical force in our favour; do not let them go over to the enemy's side.

To defend the country (we) have to gather forces to build socialism, gather forces to the maximum. This includes gathering them politically, in consciousness, and organisationally. This is speaking generally for the whole country. It is the same speaking for each cooperative. If we gather forces well,

the profit to our forces is very great. If we gather the various auxiliary forces well, they will be increasingly clean and clear, and will increasingly become a force for us; before, they planted sweet potatoes and got only one clump, now they get two or three clumps, to the very great profit of the revolution.

These are the explanations of our analysis and policy direction. So do they show the movement to be correct or not ?

21 Our movement in this period of two years shows that our explanations must be the basis. Therefore we must continue onward.

- Defence; the enemy still wants to come and commit further aggression against us. It is necessary to raise revolutionary vigilance higher, and make it adhere more closely (to the need ?). Gather and prepare defence forces so that they are increasingly good as time goes on.

- Continue the socialist revolution as time goes on, let our journey approach closer and closer to socialism as time goes on, let it increasingly distance itself from capitalism as time goes on, in order to prevent capitalism coming to cause complications.

- Let the building of socialism be increasingly strong as time goes on. We have travelled far already. We have built a lot already. If we compare it with the old society, we see that we have done a very great deal already, (it is) better than the old society.

22 We see that we are (moving) very rapidly now. But our progress still lacks a lot as well. It lacks activity serving the standpoint of independence-mastery in every field; this is incomplete. Therefore there is still much to do in the building of socialism.

Formerly, in the old society, it was as if there was plenty; there was sufficiency. But the country was enslaved, indebted, to others. As for us, we want to build up the country in independence-mastery.

Therefore we have to build socialism and we have to do it by launching offensives, and (we have to) launch offensives by completely resolving contradictions. It is important to resolve the water problem.

In order to launch powerful offensives, it is necessary to gather forces to make them correct and good. And gathering forces to make them correct, can only be done when there are cadres, only when cadres are built according to the correct line.

23 On our journey in the future, we will come across more new contradictions. We must analyse (them) clearly, have correct explanations, in order to note correct measures (to deal with them).

In this period we are noting the goodness of our movement, and making our contribution to the analyses of the world revolutionary movement. But in order to make our contribution so that these analyses are good, we must continue to do (the following) in the future, so that they are good:

1. Defend the country so that it is good.
2. Continue the socialist revolution so that it is good.
3. Build socialism so that it is good.

In order to continue to make these good in the future, the latch needs to be analysed so that it is the correct one, and (so that) there are good cadres, core leadership cadres, with a powerful mass movement following right behind, according to the Party's political line.