

The June 1976 edition of *Banners of Revolution* carries two articles. The first stresses the urgent need to plant supplementary crops to supplement food rations in the period before the 1976 harvest.¹ The second presents wide-ranging 'excerpts from the guiding views' of a unnamed 'representative of the Party organization at a zonal conference', which is believed to have relied on the remarks of Pol Pot in the West Zone. A translation of most of the latter has been previously published.²

Need Supplementary Crops to Achieve Three Tons Per Hectare

The leading article reiterates that 'the strategic duty for 1976 is to farm paddy to ensure three tons per hectare are obtained'. It points out, however, that 'in order to advance toward achievement of this strategic objective of three tons per hectare this rainy season', the labour force must have 'sufficient strength to launch storming attacks'. This requires 'a maximum sorting out popular living standards during the cross-over period' and in particular preventing any 'adverse impact on major battle forces' in the months of June, July, August, September and October. The article claims that 'many months ago, the Party had already stipulated that in order to sort out popular living standards, we must fight tactically, that is fight using light and medium rice, corn, beans, tubers and a variety of vegetables.'³

The article admits that 'obstacles still exist' to the achievement of the Party's goals, but insists that these 'are not major obstacles'.⁴

Private Plots

¹ 'In Tandem with the Movement to Farm Paddy, We Must Launch Storming Attacks to Plant a Variety of Other Crops and Vegetables Everywhere', in *Banners of Revolution* (Number 6, June 1976), pp.1-26.

² See 'Document 2: "Excerpted Report on the Leading Views of the Comrade Representing the Party Organization at a Zone Assembly" (Introduction and Translation by Ben Kiernan), in David P. Chandler, Ben Kiernan, and Chanthou Boua (trans and eds), *Pol Pot Plans the Future: Confidential Leadership Documents from Democratic Kampuchea, 1976-77* (New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies Monograph Series 33, 1988), pp.9-35.

³ 'In Tandem with the Movement to Farm Paddy, We Must Launch Storming Attacks to Plant a Variety of Other Crops and Vegetables Everywhere', in *Banners of Revolution* (Number 6, June 1976), pp.1-2.

⁴ 'In Tandem with the Movement to Farm Paddy, We Must Launch Storming Attacks to Plant a Variety of Other Crops and Vegetables Everywhere', in *Banners of Revolution* (Number 6, June 1976), p.11.

These supplementary crops and vegetables must be grown by everyone and everywhere according to the slogan 'Plant, Plant, Plant!' Children and elderly people and others categorized as physically weak are to be mobilized to work along with the more able-bodied to plant 'non-stop' in 'every form', 'big and small' to ensure that simultaneously with the strategic 'movement to launch mighty storming attacks to plow, harrow and transplant to farm rainy season paddy', there is also a tactical 'movement to grow supplementary crops and every kind of vegetable. There should be supplementary crop and vegetable 'planting by collectives and by individuals, on paddy and other fields or with one or two sprigs around the house and around offices, ministries and worksites,' as well as around paddy fields themselves. This seems not only to authorize, but to encourage private plots, at least small and temporary ones.'

Achievements So Far

According to the article, this combination of strategic and tactical agriculture has been 'generally grasped' by cadre and is already working well 'in many areas' due to 'the highly effective deployment and employment of forces'. An 'exciting and the most vivid contrast is the transformed scenes in a number of high ground areas,' which 'in the old days had been parched and arid in both the rainy and dry seasons'. The article asserted that these 'are now endowed with big feeder canals dug dozens of kilometers long' and 'full of water'. As a result, 'the areas surrounding these feeder canals have come almost as briskly and lushly alive as areas on the banks of major rivers.'

Failures and Solutions

The article laments, however, that 'in some other places, the grasp of the Party's strategy and tactics for increasing production is still not firm and the implementation of the line is still not good.' Although 'the movement to increase production is mighty alright, the implementation of the combat line is still not lively and flexible.' To illustrate, the article cites fertile island and river bank land on which nothing is being planted in 1976, but where vegetables had previously been abundantly grown. This is because the entire labour force, young and old, has been gathered 'to go to the frontlines', that is to grow paddy, 'in disorderly congestion'. Land at the rear is abandoned due because the

⁵ 'In Tandem with the Movement to Farm Paddy, We Must Launch Storming Attacks to Plant a Variety of Other Crops and Vegetables Everywhere', in *Banners of Revolution* (Number 6, June 1976), pp.2-3.

⁶ 'In Tandem with the Movement to Farm Paddy, We Must Launch Storming Attacks to Plant a Variety of Other Crops and Vegetables Everywhere', in *Banners of Revolution* (Number 6, June 1976), pp.2-4.

leaderships' 'deployment of forces is neither lively, flexible nor appropriate'. Readers are therefore admonished that 'we must deploy and employ forces more appropriately and effectively,' particularly as regards 'which forces are to go to the frontlines and which forces are to be kept at the rear to plant supplementary crops and supplementary vegetables.' Thus, 'any place where the movement to grow supplementary crops and supplementary vegetables is still weak must learn from the experiences of other places and whip up a dynamic movement' to do so. In so doing, however, an adverse impact on the availability of labour forces is to be avoided. Elderly forces and children can do the supplementary agriculture by growing corn, tubers, gourds and pumpkins wherever these can be planted, while the more able-bodied forces growing paddy 'on the frontline battlefield' can also grow 'two to three to four to five' plants on the paddy dikes.'

Production by Cadre, Workers and Combatants: The Good Examples

The article asserts that 'our cadre and combatants in offices, ministries and factories have also found opportunities to increase production by farming paddy and other fields and planting vegetables to sustain themselves.' It praises some 'for being entirely self-sustaining in vegetables and 60-70 self-sustaining in paddy and rice,' and thus for creating an 'atmosphere of attachment to labour'.⁷

The Bad Examples: Offices and Ministries

The article dwells more on failures in this regard. It says that 'many other offices and ministries remain weak in terms of increasing production,' and are 'still entirely or almost entirely dependent on the Organization or the State' not only for items which they could not be expected to produce, such as clothing, rice, salt, preserved fish and fresh fish and meat, but also for vegetables. They are 'a heavy burden on the grassroots, the people and our co-operatives' and are 'living and working in isolation from the grass-roots and the people'. This is further demonstrated because 'when they have free time or are on work breaks, they either play badmitten or ping pong or sit around engaged in useless chit-chat,' rather than doing what they should be doing, 'increasing production by watering and otherwise tending the plants'.⁸

⁷ 'In Tandem with the Movement to Farm Paddy, We Must Launch Storming Attacks to Plant a Variety of Other Crops and Vegetables Everywhere', in *Banners of Revolution* (Number 6, June 1976), pp.4-5.

⁸ 'In Tandem with the Movement to Farm Paddy, We Must Launch Storming Attacks to Plant a Variety of Other Crops and Vegetables Everywhere', in *Banners of Revolution* (Number 6, June 1976), pp.5-6.

⁹ 'In Tandem with the Movement to Farm Paddy, We Must Launch Storming Attacks to Plant a Variety of Other Crops and

Embourgeoisification: Worse Than the New People

The article warns that such phenomena demonstrate that 'capitalist and mandarian outlooks and stances are gradually infiltrating the offices and ministries'. It explains that those working in 'offices and ministries are very much retrograde' when compared to the people engaged in the battle to increase production in the grass-roots. 'They are even outdone by the new people who have come out of Phnom Penh,' because all the people 'are proletarian', that is, persons without property, 'who are engaged in a constant battle for their livelihood.' By contrast, 'even though no salaries exist' for those working in offices and ministries, they 'enjoy eating and clothing rations' which are sufficient for their needs 'regardless of whether they do anything or not'. They thus have capital, 'capital taken from the grass-roots, from the people.'

Urgent Rectification of Offices and Ministries Needed

The article declares that these are matters requiring 'attention and urgent correction'. Unless there is vigilance, 'mandarin and capitalist stances will be able to strengthen and expand', and 'gradually, the essence of the offices and ministries will change and they will undergo embourgeoisification.' Readers are admonished that they must understand that production by offices and ministries 'is not merely in order to serve immediate requirements for improving their own living standards and sustaining themselves, but is, rather, in order to make a socialist revolution to eliminate mandarin and capitalist stances and build up socialist and collectivist stances of attachment to the people, the grass-roots and the co-operatives.' They must 'cultivate, strengthen and expand a pattern of behaviour of devotion to labour and to joining in making a contribution to socialism.'

Army Must Double Production

The article re-iterates that the 'core and crucial duty of the Revolutionary Army is the defence of the country and of security domestically within the country'. However, 'in tandem with this, our revolutionary army must join in building

Vegetables Everywhere', in *Banners of Revolution* (Number 6, June 1976), pp.6-7.

⁶ 'In Tandem with the Movement to Farm Paddy, We Must Launch Storming Attacks to Plant a Variety of Other Crops and Vegetables Everywhere', in *Banners of Revolution* (Number 6, June 1976), pp.6-7.

⁷ 'In Tandem with the Movement to Farm Paddy, We Must Launch Storming Attacks to Plant a Variety of Other Crops and Vegetables Everywhere', in *Banners of Revolution* (Number 6, June 1976), pp.6-8.

up the country within the context of socialist revolution and socialist construction.' The article gives army cadre and combatants credit for having 'hitherto' displayed 'a spirit of launching storming attacks to exert efforts to farm paddy and manufacture fertilizers', but declares that they 'must give a further impetus to these movements' as well as they movement to grow supplementary crops and vegetables. 'In particular', it declares, they must 'give a mighty impetus to the movement to double the farming of paddy'. It asserts that because of their youth and physical strength army forces in general 'possess a very much greater potential than the people in the grass-roots to conduct mighty storming attacks to increase production.'²

Border Battlefields and Interior Paddy Fields

The article adds that army 'units of organization bivouacked in the interior of the country are the best-qualified' to increase production 'because they are not directly and regularly attached to a battlefield, as are the units of organization along the borders or the seacoast.' The former 'must ensure 100 percent self-supply with an equal ration of 13 *th_ng* for both men and women', along with 'a certain annual reserve' of 'at least 20 percent of their needs' and an additional surplus 'to be handed over to the state for building up the country'.³

Class Nature of Army: From Peasant to Worker

The article explains that farming paddy is not merely a way for the army to get by or even to produce more. It explains that members of the army were 'previously the offspring of the scattered peasantry', but now they 'have become the highly and scientifically organized workers of the Party' who must be good both at fighting and producing.⁴

The Next War and the Future of Army-Farmed Land

The article comments that 'one day, if or when there is another war, our Revolutionary Army will have to fight to

² 'In Tandem with the Movement to Farm Paddy, We Must Launch Storming Attacks to Plant a Variety of Other Crops and Vegetables Everywhere', in *Banners of Revolution* (Number 6, June 1976), pp.8-9.

³ 'In Tandem with the Movement to Farm Paddy, We Must Launch Storming Attacks to Plant a Variety of Other Crops and Vegetables Everywhere', in *Banners of Revolution* (Number 6, June 1976), pp.9-10.

⁴ 'In Tandem with the Movement to Farm Paddy, We Must Launch Storming Attacks to Plant a Variety of Other Crops and Vegetables Everywhere', in *Banners of Revolution* (Number 6, June 1976), p.10.

defend the nation'. It explains that under such circumstances, 'the paddy land and crops of the Revolutionary Army will be handed over to the people, to the co-operatives.'
It also explains that this means that the paddy land being farmed by army cadre and combatants 'is not their private property or the property of their units of organization'. It warns that 'our Revolutionary Army must constantly nourish this stance.'³

³ 'In Tandem with the Movement to Farm Paddy, We Must Launch Storming Attacks to Plant a Variety of Other Crops and Vegetables Everywhere', in *Banners of Revolution* (Number 6, June 1976), pp.10-11.