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DOCUMENT 1

SUMMARY OF ANNOTATED PARTY HISTORY

Copy of the original text, by  
the Eastern Region military  
political service.

On the occasion of our Nth anniversary, it is good to take note of the following points:

- Subsequent to the 1966-1967 decision of the Central Committee and the Committee of Liberation, we took 30 September 1951 as the Party's date of founding.

The reasons were as follows:

- 30 September 1951 was the date of opening of the first conference during which the decision to form the Party was made justifiably and decisively.

- Also, 1951 was the year organization of central committees was begun; the mission of these committees was to set up the Party.

In order to understand this commentary easily, reference must be made to the following points:

1. The importance of each Party anniversary for committees' cadres and Party members.



2. Brief Party history.

3. A certain number of important experiences, according to the observations in the Party history.

4. Summary of past and present victories and activities of the bitter revolutionary struggle, to joyfully celebrate the Nth anniversary of the Party; and the duties of each Party member.

5. Conclusion.

6. Slogans.

I. THE IMPORTANCE OF EACH PARTY ANNIVERSARY FOR COMMITTEES' CADRES AND PARTY MEMBERS.

1. The object of the anniversary of our party, a Marxist-Leninist party, is to guide the revolution to destroy imperialism and its lackeys, and feudalism and its rich reactionaries; to destroy the old society and to rebuild it according to the current people's and democratic revolution. Its object is to direct the socialist-communist revolution in the future. This is a very important political event in the lives of the people, combatants, committees' cadres and each Party member.

This is why on each anniversary of the Party's founding, combatants, Party members, committees' cadres and our entire people must be informed regarding the birth and history of the Party, in order to study the progress and faults of our Party, class organization, cadres, committees and members. Let us study the [good] qualities and faults, so as to move our Party better and better into the future and to improve each one of us, to suit the age of the Party.

2. Our Party is at the age of a man in his prime, capable of directing the revolution by itself, with satisfactory support. If we say that our Party has so far passed through a very arduous period of the revolution, in armed as well as political struggle, we are admitting that our Party is experienced and is capable of directing itself and of gradually improving in quality within the framework of the People's revolution under Party direction. Within the framework of the revolution of the peoples of the entire world, we will be able to transform ourselves into a high-quality communist people, day by day, month by month and year by year, to adapt ourselves to our era's revolutionary movement.

## II. BRIEF PARTY HISTORY

To comment easily, it is best to divide the Party history from 1951 to 1967 into two periods: The first period is the Party history in armed revolutionary struggle from 1951 to 1954. The second period is the Party history in political struggle from 1955 to 1967.

### 1. History of the Cambodian people's struggle before the birth of the Marxist-Leninist Party:

a. In Cambodia's national society there exists a natural contradiction between the oppressors and the oppressed. From this was born the people's struggle.

b. In the French colonialist period, our people, especially the farmers, arose continually and everywhere against the French imperialists and their lackeys. This was a bitter struggle against the expansionist enemy and his lackeys by all inhabitants, minorities as well as major ethnic groups.

For example, the PO KAMBOR, ACHAR SVAR and VISSÉS NHOV movements; the ROLEA and PHEA EAR [presumably ROLEA PEIR] inhabitants' movements; the KOMPONG SPEU, KAMPOT, BA PHNOM, KOMPONG SVAY and KRAING LEAV farmers; the "EN CHEY" [Entrachey] farmers' anti-tax movements; the KRATIE and STUNG TRENG people's movements, etc.

Actually, our people are a nationalist people who are truly angered at the enemy aggressor and his lackeys. They joyfully and courageously consented to struggle firmly against the enemy. Several centuries ago our people, especially the farmers, had a history of audacious struggle.

c. However, our people's struggle did not win victory over French imperialism and feudalism with its lackeys, because our people did not have a policy, a just and scientific proletarian class policy. The enemy was thus able to eliminate our people's strength little by little, until it disappeared. This occurred because of the lack of a policy or a proletarian class policy plan, and the lack of scientific direction by the Marxist-Leninist Party.

d. This is why we base the following basic historical lessons on the experience of the audacious struggle already passed through by our people:

If we speak of strength, we see that our people, especially the farmers, the backbone, are a very powerful force. However, this force did not win victory over the enemy because it did not receive direction from the Party and did not have a proletarian class army, proletarian class policy and proletarian class strategy in the struggle against the enemy.

Therefore, we can clearly conclude that after the experiences

resulting from the struggle of our people, especially the farmers, the factor leading to victory was the Marxist-Leninist Party.

Based on these experiences, we continue to wage our people's and democratic revolution by uniting the strength of the people, especially the farmers, with the Marxist-Leninist Party and the proletarian class. These two factors will certainly bring about the victory of the revolution.

2. Party history in the period of armed revolutionary struggle from 1951 to 1954

a. After World War II followed by the second invasion of Indochina (including our country) by the French and other imperialists, our people, like the other Indochinese peoples, never accepted the French imperialist yoke. So our people rose up in increasing numbers everywhere against the French imperialists and their lackeys, aggressors of our well-beloved Cambodia.

b. Based on the experiences of the unrelenting struggle by our people, especially the farmers, at the end of as well as after World War II [as published], we note that if the Marxist-Leninist Party with a good proletarian class does not direct the people's revolutionary struggle, that struggle will not win out over the enemy.

History has clearly shown that after World War II, the French imperialists and their lackeys employed all means, policies, methods and maneuvers to destroy the force of the people's struggle. At the time existed the DAP CHUON, KAO TAK, CHANTARAINGSAY, SAVANGVONG, PUTH CHHAY and ACHAR YI etc. movements, and the other political parties' movements, which were all movements against the revolution and the revolution's force. The people were

separated from the revolution's ranks, according to the degree of control the enemy imposed on them.

c. Based on the above, to bring the movement and direct the struggle to victory over the enemy, it is necessary and it is sufficient to have the proletarian class Marxist-Leninist Party as the leader. It is necessary to cultivate certain other qualities to form a proletarian class Marxist-Leninist Party in our country, in conformity with the slogan: "IT IS THE PEOPLE WHO CARRY OUT A COUNTRY'S REVOLUTION."

d. What qualities were necessary to form the party at that time? There were then few proletarians in our country. So, their struggle was weak. Because of this, was it or was it not possible to form the proletarian class Marxist-Leninist Party?

To give legislation to the revolutionary movement of our people,  
So, we were not able to form it in our Cambodia because the number of proletarians and their [good] qualities <sup>were</sup> ~~was~~ insufficient to direct the revolution at that time. Meanwhile, we based ourselves on our concept of our national society to form it in our country. This concept was as follows: Our country is an underdeveloped agricultural country. It was under the French imperialist colonialist yoke. In the colonialist and semi-feudal society, there were two basic conflicts: the first conflict was between the people and the French imperialists, that is, between the proletarian and French colonialism. The second conflict <sup>with</sup> ~~is~~ between the feudal lords and the people, that is to say, between feudalism and the farmers. In sum, the basic contradiction in both of these cases was the contradiction was between the farmers and the French imperialists, and between the farmers and the feudal lords. From this was born a very powerful proletarian class revolutionary

movement. However, if it had been left alone, it would have failed. Therefore, direction by the proletarian class Marxist-Leninist Party was necessary.

e. From where does the proletariat arise? From where does Marxism-Leninism derive? Proletarian class Marxism-Leninism was injected into our revolutionary movement by the international communist movement and the Vietnamese communists. It is certain that our communist combatants were a number of Cambodians who were trained in the Indochinese Communist Party, about 40 men in 1951; in the French Communist Party, 10 men in 1951; and in the Thai Communist Party, 3-4 men in 1951.

f. These Cambodian communists took the following path in forming the proletarian class Marxist-Leninist Party in Cambodia:

- To give impulsion to the revolutionary movement of our people, especially the farmers, against the French imperialists, with the firm support of the Indochinese Communist Party (new name: Vietnam LAO, DCNS Party), we held a conference in 1951 and decided to organize a committee to teach Marxism-Leninism in the revolutionary movement to our people (the farmers). From this committee came the leaders of our proletarian class party and our new communist combatants.

Parallel with the formation of the proletarian class Marxist-Leninist Party by communists trained in the Indochinese Communist Party, there was also the movement of communist combatants trained in the French Communist Party and the international communist movement. These persons derived from military trainees and students in France. They collaborated closely with the

party formation movement committee toward the end of 1953. //

The communist combatants trained in the Thai Communist Party had also participated in the country's revolutionary movement since prior to 1952.

It was these communists who brought Marxism-Leninism and proselytized it among the people, above all the farmers, according to their level of instruction.

The certain evolution of the formation of our party in the period of armed revolutionary struggle from 1951 to 1953 was the following:

- In 1951 a Party propagation and formation committee was set up, made up of (Comrades Ng. M., S.H., T.S.M. and Ch. S.M.), the plan of action of which was:

- to draft provisional statutes;
  - to draw up a political program; and
  - to carry out a survey of conditions and sufficient good qualities
- (?) [as published]

- Then a conference of representatives from the whole country was organized in order to form a just and durable party. From the progress and evolution of the formation of the party in our country as related above, it can be observed that the party was formed little by little, adopting the following two factors: It was a people's revolutionary movement of all social levels, above all the farmers; and education in proletarian class Marxism-Leninism by the nucleus trained in the Indochinese, French and Thai



communist parties and with the support of the Vietnamese Communist Party. Therefore, during the period of armed struggle, the history of our party clearly showed that the basic factor in its formation was the revolutionary movement of the people, especially the farmers, and the spirit of the proletarian class Marxist-Leninist doctrine, which brought the international communist movement to our country.

The conditions for the formation of the party in our country were not different in principle from those of the revolutions which formed the world's Marxist-Leninist parties. To the best of our knowledge of France, England, the USSR, China, Vietnam, etc., all followed the same principle of revolution, that is, the people's revolutionary movement; and the people are the workers (in the industrial countries) or farmers (in the underdeveloped agricultural countries).

The formation of the Party was certainly according to Marx and Engel's "declaration of the Communist Party" [Communist Manifesto?], Lenin's disciples' Party, the Great October Socialist Revolution, China's people's democratic revolution, and revolution throughout the world.

During the period from 1951 to 1954, our party developed the [good] qualities to build the party bit by bit. It directed the revolutionary movement little by little. It surmounted obstacles to win victory over the French imperialists and their lackeys at the 1954 Geneva Conference, with the party and people of Vietnam, Laos, and the entire world.

WHAT WAS THE DEGREE OF FORMING [GOOD] QUALITIES TO BUILD OUR PARTY IN THE  
ARMED REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

From 1951 to 1954, counting the months and days, it lasted about 3 years.

For the period of forming [good] qualities to build our party, let us sum up the following principal experiences, both [good] qualities and faults.

In principal [good] qualities, we see:

Regarding ideology and politics, we aroused the spirit of nationalism and independence against the imperialists to a large degree. During this period, we accomplished the utmost in the areas of ideology and politics. However, the accomplishment remained minimal; it was like a shadow. There existed only the organization of a committee and the education movement to form the [good] qualities to organize the party. We also strengthened a number of party members and a number of party committee cadres to [be able to] direct the revolutionary movement. However, the principal experience, deemed an important quality of our party during this period, was waging the armed revolution until the 1954 Geneva Conference.

If we speak of the party's conduct in the armed revolutionary struggle, it can be seen that the leadership qualities were like "rather raw" meat. Even for a short period, this revolutionary struggle was a basic experience and great capital for the party in our people's and democratic revolution, capital which it is not easy to find elsewhere.

- In faults, we see:

From the ideological point of view, we have not yet won the support of the revolutionary class, which is the real master of the country and the

perpetrator of the revolution. We ~~had~~ not educated it in the idea of "SELF HELP." We ~~have~~ <sup>had</sup> not asked enough for aid for our people and party. The nationalists ~~have~~ <sup>had</sup> not acted enough like professionals. They ~~have~~ asked for aid from abroad and ~~have~~ looked with contempt upon their compatriots' national force.

From the political point of view, we did not have a political line, strategy, stratagems and independence.

From the organizational point of view, the composition of the party was still not adapted to the various social classes. Its organization had not yet achieved unity throughout the country. Direction in each "region" was in the form of "monopoly," contrary to democracy. A great number of leaders were above all profiteers, and a certain number of others were worse. It was these persons who destroyed our achievements to a large degree, above all during the period of political revolutionary struggle from 1955 to 1959.

These faults are normal in all parties, above all for our party, born just 3 years <sup>previously</sup> ~~ago~~. During this short period of time, we had not yet had all sorts of experiences. We did not understand the Marxist-Leninist doctrine very well. We did not have firm control of the struggle between the social classes. Nor did we understand <sup>the</sup> political and organizational questions very well. Several reviews [révisions] were necessary to understand them little by little.

We can clearly see the exactitude of these experiences in both principal [good] qualities and principal faults.

When we see the state of the party clearly, we can develop the [good] qualities and correct the faults so as to build the party, better and better and more and more depending on the path of Marxism-Leninism. However, if we think only of the faults without taking the good qualities into consideration, or vice versa, we can in no way build our party on the path of Marxism-Leninism, as in the case of SIV HENG from 1955 to 1959.

### III. HISTORY OF THE PARTY'S POLITICAL REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE FROM 1955 to 1959

So as to comment easily, we will again divide this period into two parts: from 1955 to 1959, and from 1960 to 1967.

#### PERIOD OF PARTY FORMATION FROM 1955 TO 1959

a) After the 1954 Geneva Conference, a temporary central committee, not in conformity with the party's conditions, was set up. It was composed of S.H., T.S.M., Ng. M., S.V. and N.T.Nh., with SIV HENG as secretary. After Geneva, we transformed armed struggle into political struggle. Our party engaged in political struggle with the enemy, above all during the 1955 election and with regard to the Cambodian-American military agreement (sweeping away the American strategic bases), to introduce the policy of neutrality to Cambodia. We fought unarmed behind and within the enemy's center of power. However, our party, only 3 years old, lacked the following three things: ideology, policy and organization.

With this state of affairs, the temporary central committee, with SIV HENG as secretary, foundered. Around 1956, this committee headed in the direction of urban movements; some bad activities took place and a second committee was formed.

This gave rise to a rural committee, responsible for rural action throughout the country. It was composed of three persons, with SIV HENG as chairman. The urban committee, secretly or overtly responsible for all cities throughout the country, was composed of four persons, with Comrade T.S.M. as chairman.

b) After the armed struggle, the party engaged in political movements in the countryside and in the cities. The combatants' bitter struggle against the enemy became very intense. The party firmly directed the political struggle, above all in the press and during the 1954-1955 elections. This changed the political atmosphere in the country and at the levels of the people.

c) However, according to our observation, the movement to form the party in the cities and the countryside showed that from the end of 1954 to 1959, the committee in charge of the urban movement, with T.S.M. as chairman, continued its revolutionary activities against the enemy either secretly or overtly. Although this committee acted capriciously because of its lack of means, it succeeded in forming a few committees in cities which did not yet have any, and in infiltrating the enemy government, thanks to its efforts. The workers', students', intellectuals' and mass movements progressed quickly and took up increasingly numerous places alongside the revolution.

In addition, from the middle of 1956, the committee in charge of the rural movement, headed by SIV HENG, committed worse misdeeds after its betrayal of the party.

Comrade  
80  
11/11

From the ideological and political point of view, SIV HENG taught the people that there were no social classes in our Cambodian society. This meant that there was no struggle between the social classes; and that the people, above all the farmers, did not wage revolution. They had to follow the ruling class with SIHANOUK at the head, like SIV HENG had followed it. SIV HENG betrayed the principles of the party struggle, such as the policy of the committee in charge of the urban movement, which decided to combat SAM SARY and the DAP CHUON groups.

From the organizational point of view, it was very sad and regrettable to see the temporary central committee and the rural committees in disagreement on ideology, policy and organization. As secretary, SIV HENG thought only of money and traded with circles which the party deemed counter-revolutionary. Because there had not been any indoctrination, criticism and self-criticism sessions and no directives on organization, liberalism was born in each individual, which had a bad influence on the masses. We feel that this is why from 1955 to 1959 the rural committees lost about 90 percent of their cadres and party members because of the organization's inability to combat the enemy. They had become passive, and carried out no heroic acts. Only 10 percent of the revolutionary movement remained active and persisted in struggling against the enemy in bitter and respectable fashion, against all obstacles. Comrade T.S.M.'s temporary central committee remained active, and was responsible for the urban movement. A number of regional committees from various sectors, organized toward the end of 1954, were traitors and submissive to the enemy. As secretary, SIV HENG bowed to the enemy and betrayed the revolution and the people in 1959.

d) WHAT WERE THE PARTY'S PRINCIPAL EXPERIENCES FROM 1955 to 1959

What were the causes of the progress in [good] qualities? And what were the causes of the loss of 90 percent of the rural movement?

We can sum up the [good] qualities in the formation of the party from 1955 to 1959, as follows:

1. The [good] qualities to progress in forming the party had two basic parts:

- From the ideological and political point of view, the urban movement and a minority of the party organization in the countryside led the people in the struggle against the enemy secretly or overtly in the elections in 1955, 1958, 1962, etc., and in the press against SEATO, the Cambodian-American military agreement of 16/5/55, and the traitors SAM SARY, SON NGOC THANH and DAP CHUON.

The movement continued the struggle in 1955 and influenced the Cambodian people in the future struggle against imperialism and feudalism, and for peace and revolution throughout the world.

- From the organizational point of view, a number of party members and cadres in the cities and countryside strengthened the revolutionary base above all among the people, students and intellectuals. During this period, the workers' movement as a revolutionary class was completely in favor of the revolution.

2. Regarding the party's destruction through its faults, we see that from the ideological and political point of view the principal faults are:

lack of awareness to itself be the master of the country and perpetrator of the revolution; lack of responsibility in carrying out its duties; lack of confidence in the people's support; and requests for foreign aid.

Another serious disadvantage was the influence of revisionism abroad, which gave rise to confusion of political ideas and weakened the revolution's situation.

It was the period of revisionism which destroyed our party.

- Concerning rural organization, the loss of the 90 percent caused regret and sadness to the party and the people. It was the fault of organization lightly carried out with reference to just any so-called revolutionary movements. The worst is that the leader was a profiteer and traitor who did not have support (from the people); then the indoctrination, criticism and self-criticism sessions on organization were suspended, and the party's situation was no longer absolutely stable. When indoctrination was not carried out, the party's organization was condemned to being subject to eventualities and without support.

These experiences are called experiences "against the mainstream." However, if studied and analyzed well, they are the most profitable experiences. When we study them correctly, we will push our party movement toward true victory.



PERIOD OF PARTY ORGANIZATION FROM 1960 to 1967

The great faults during the historical period from 1955 to 1959 were a lesson which the party learned seriously in 1959, at the very moment SIV HENG's treason was taking place.

The committee in charge of the urban movement was named the committee in charge of the country's general affairs. It was composed of four persons, with Comrade T.S.M. as chairman. This committee was responsible for continuing the revolutionary movement and developing the party's organizational situation in the countryside, where the party had suffered a 90-percent loss of strength. It had to organize and draw up a political line, a strategy and party strategems, and establish the party's Marxist-Leninist statutes to organize the second general assembly toward the end of 1959.

*?[on original]* However, toward the end of 1959 the enemy violently attacked the revolution in the countryside. Numerous bases were invaded by the enemy, who slaughtered everyone there. In cities where activities were overt, a great number of members were apprehended and killed quietly and savagely; the Cambodian- and French-language newspapers were seized and closed down. The second general assembly had to be delayed until 30/9/60. Subsequent to an important decision by the designated organizing committee, it was opened from....to....(sic) [as published] with the participation of representatives from all branches of operations, overt as well as secret, in the cities and the countryside.

This second general assembly approved a political line, strategy, <sup>tactics</sup> strategems and Marxist-Leninist statutes for the party. It decided to form the Marxist-Leninist Party in Cambodia, to continually wage the Cambodian revolution, and to form a party central committee plenipotentiary (?) [as published] to operate as leader. This committee was composed of eight persons, with Comrade T.S.M. as secretary.

The preparations for and opening of the second general assembly were carried out in a spirit of complete independence, of energetic self-help, and with the awareness of being the perpetrator of events and the master of one's own destiny and of being certain of final victory even in the situation where the enemy was attacking violently. That is to say, it was with the second party general assembly that the party began to lead a new life in a truly revolutionary atmosphere.

During this period of time, the party's main activities were indoctrination, <sup>converting</sup> proselytizing and carrying out the political line, strategy, strategems and the party's Marxist-Leninist statutes. From this was developed internal unity in all areas. This attitude was the first step, and served the basic position [as published]. It was a problem of [having] a nucleus very necessary for the time. It gave rise to the people's revolutionary struggle movement in all countries, and helped it progress.

- It was to make the organization of the front forces and the organization of the party force proper, progress.
- It was to reorganize and straighten out the situation of the first-priority organizations in the countryside, purifying, strengthening, enlarging

and reorganizing them. This straightening out activity, which began toward the end of 1959. permitted the establishing of a correct organization, initially for the whole country, subsequently for the first-priority locations in 1962 [as published]. (It was during this period, on 20/7/62 to be exact, that Comrade T.S.M., secretary of the party, was kidnaped by the enemy, leaving no trace. This was great grief for the party which had just been reorganized.)

At the beginning of 1963, on the 20th and 21st of the second month (February?) [as published], the third party general assembly was opened to study past activities and draw experiences from them in order to rectify and improve the political line, strategy, strategems and party statutes, and to approve a decision for a new operational direction which would correspond to the situation at that moment.

The third party general assembly was an important new step in accelerating building the party in order to set forth once and for all the party's ideology, policy and organization. Starting with the basic position and the decision of the third party general assembly, the central council and all party organizations carried out activities to build the party and direct the revolution, and they advanced from victory to successive victory, transforming the party into one which now played a leading role in the revolution, which had a solid revolutionary position, and which had arrived at a stage where, as of 1964, the party had a great deal of influence. In parallel, the party gradually attracted interest on the international level, according to the correct revolutionary attitude.

Thus, as of 1964, the party was organized to launch itself into organizing the working class in a correct manner, based on Marxist-Leninist doctrine. It now had an absolutely revolutionary nature and played an absolutely revolutionary role even on second-priority battlefields. The working class and the Cambodian people placed all their confidence in our party. At the same time, the organization of our party contributed its part to the international revolution in the resolute struggle against the imperialists, especially the American imperialists and their lackeys, in defense of world peace. Meanwhile, in organizing the party from 1960 to 1967, in parallel with the principal [good] qualities were also numerous large faults regarding which the party had to demonstrate its flexibility in order to study correctly to accelerate the speed of party organization in the future.

The principal [good] qualities of party organization during the period from 1960 to 1967 were:

- From the ideological point of view, the party was formed progressively, aware of being the perpetrator of events and in the spirit of self-help and having confidence in oneself, a spirit of independence. It became aware of the class (proletarian) position and this class's struggle. This position is absolutely revolutionary, a position of responsibility in waging the revolution, a nationalist and internationalist workers' position. Although ideological indoctrination had a few awkward points and faults, it progressed ceaselessly according to the political line to make the party into a workers' and revolutionary party; this permitted the various party echelons to have a generally firm revolutionary attitude. This gave them confidence in the party

at all times, at present as well as in the future.

- From the political point of view, the party introduced and developed in the revolutionary movement the questions of strategy and strategems, to a large degree. Despite a few successive faults in developing its political position, the party was nonetheless able to arrive at a stage where its strategic position was fairly solid, and become master of events in the political strategic field in a fairly stable manner, as, in the political field of strategems, it was able to attack the enemy. The party built its revolutionary force with a view to overthrowing the enemy regime and building the people's revolutionary regime. From this, it created the struggle movement to combat imperialism and feudalism, and it has always been able to contain the enemy.

- From the organizational point of view, the party strengthened and enlarged the organizational system throughout the country, strengthened and enlarged the base organizations and central ruling organizations according to the principles of the policy designed to make the party revolution a workers' revolution within the framework of the real revolutionary movement. The organizational system throughout the country had a unified nature from top to bottom, from the central [as published] to the lower echelons in the countryside and the cities. This system applied the democratic principles, rallying and directing the masses and making criticisms and self-criticisms within the party. Internal unity developed increasingly in all areas. The movement to build the revolutionary concept and revolutionary views was also evolving toward a better state of affairs at all party echelons, above all

among the youth, who had been forged by the revolutionary movement severely and arduously.

The three points--ideology, policy and organization -- were injected into all the ruling organizations, and were developing in depth in the base organizations, although faults still existed in the party and injured the revolutionary movement in a few places and at certain periods of time, causing a certain bad influence within the party. It was because of the large faults that the revolutionary policy was shaken: the revolutionary spirit became less active, hardly distinguishing the lines between classes, forgetting the duty of combating imperialism and feudalism to seize state power, forgetting the duty of directing the party, and not taking into account the importance and role of the masses in the revolution. Because of this, the ardor of the revolutionary struggle and the fury and bitter struggle of the class (proletarian) against the enemy to carry out its revolutionary nationalist democratic duty against imperialism and feudalism regressed, and became very passive in a few places and during certain periods of time. Moreover, according to the ideological, political and organizational conditions (of each place), a few missteps were also committed, for example, indifference to the composition of workers and farmers in organizations from the base to the central. The various committees still had a few weak elements. While the ideological, political and organizational situations were occurring, bureaucratism, lack of control of activities and non-completion of construction still existed to a great degree.

During the period of party organization from 1960 to 1967, many [good] qualities were acquired through experience, which allowed the elimination in

time of the principal faults so as to make the organization of the Marxist-Leninist Party in our country progress toward a firm position according to the policy of making it into a workers' organization. These [good] qualities were:

- The spirit of endurance, national honor, awareness of the party's people's revolution, individual responsibility, the spirit of self-help, self-confidence and the awareness of being master of the country and the perpetrator of the revolution. These qualities had a leading character and gave patience, which engendered other rather numerous advantageous factors.

- Knowing how to gain experience, then study it and learn lessons from the good as well as the bad experiences during the period of armed struggle as well as during the period of political struggle after 1955. The fact of gaining experience from the organization of the party in its revolutionary movement, studying it and learning lessons, had great importance for developing Marxist-Leninist doctrine in the party as well as ideological, political and organizational questions, because these lessons are obvious and something concrete which every person can see for himself.

- Another important point was the fact of having launched once and for all an absolutely revolutionary movement in all its branches, whether the movement is large or small. According to the principle, "THEORY FOLLOWS PRACTICE," this struggle movement will be the flame which continually fires the party to expand it. It is the only well-purified source which will apply increasing fruitful ideology policy and organization to the structure of Marxist-Leninist doctrine. It is through this revolutionary struggle that

exposition, explanation, carrying through to completion and application with flexibility of the party's Marxist-Leninist political line and principles could be accomplished. The ruling organs, above all the ruling organ at the party's highest echelon, are chosen and named by applying democracy during meetings, and based on the principles derived from the abovementioned revolutionary struggle movement. From that, the quality of leadership clearly improves. By following the points listed above and the party principles, the party can surely take charge of the revolution and achieve internal unity. The states of disunity and unity are two opposite things which still exist internally (in the party). The great problem is to take this internal contradiction well in hand and resolve it, and to build internal unity. During the period from 1960 to 1967 in its history, the party successfully confronted numerous and serious obstacles to building internal unity in all areas. Doing so is one of the party's principal achievements.

III. [as published] A FEW OF THE PRINCIPAL EXPERIENCES, ACCORDING TO OBSERVATIONS IN THE PARTY HISTORY

By observing the <sup>evolving</sup> convolutions and fortunate and unfortunate evolutions of the party's history from 1952 to 1967, we can briefly note a number of principal experiences which will serve as basic lessons for organizing the Marxist-Leninist party in our country and further strengthening it in future, and for leading the revolution toward brilliant successes, successes which will succeed each other ceaselessly until the final victory of the national and democratic revolution now, and the socialist revolution in the future.



1st experience: To have the correct political line and the political base point for the correct strategy and strategems, and to take these well in hand. Our party's primary and [most] important question is to really have a strategic political line to determine the revolution's direction, responsibility, real structure, goal, enemy, force, ruling organ, etc. These factors must then be taken in hand and used as base, foundation and support factors so as to advance correctly on the path, the way, or the determined direction. The party's experience has clearly demonstrated that the lack of a strategic political line, the bad handling of this strategic political line, and the lack of control over strategic events inevitably cause shakiness and vacillation according to eventualities, when the enemy uses cold war methods; when the enemy uses hot war methods, we are buffeted by the tempest. In any case, we drift without knowing where we are going, and we thus easily fall prey to the "rightist" or "leftist" tendencies.

Thus, from the beginning, to lead the revolution to victory, the revolution's direction must be determined, and this direction must be taken in hand for always. The revolution's direction is none other than the strategic line. At the same time, along this strategic line there must be political base points, which are the strategems, so as to progress toward successive victories over the enemy. (The strategic line must be followed and there must be strategems) [parentheses as published] in each campaign, on each battlefield, and for short periods of time, to lead to final victory.

2nd experience: To develop ideology, so that there is always the revolutionary attitude and the class (proletarian) attitude in the party. Another

problem in organizing the party is to conduct internal ideological indoctrination so that that initial attitude taken is conserved firmly, and the Marxist-Leninist class leaning and devotion to the class struggle is retained always to win power by annihilating the enemy regime and setting up workers' and farmers' regime, and to create class ardor and fury. This ardor and fury must be aroused according to the contradiction of the day, whether it be large or small. Thus, ideological force will be converted into a burning material force which will dare to engage in struggle, attack the enemy and win final victory over the enemy even if he is very strong.

3rd experience: To note the good as well as the bad experiences of the party and its revolutionary movement, and to learn lessons from them. One of our party's experiences demonstrated that if the past good as well as bad experiences of the party and its revolution are not analyzed and learned, we can not only not build, enlarge and strengthen the party in the ideological, political and organizational areas, but we will also lead the party to disaster, and the revolution will encounter numerous difficulties. Because when error and justice are discerned in confused fashion, we do not know exactly which is the bottom and which is the top, in order to head in that direction. We would make the same mistakes as in the past because we were still following a personal idea.

4th experience: The organization of the party in its armed and political movements. An important problem being reflected upon, studied and learned is the building of our party during the periods of armed and political revolutionary struggle. What is the effectiveness of this building for waging these armed and political struggles? Building the party and the organ directing the

revolution during the armed and political struggles, and the two struggles themselves, the two faces of revolutionary violence, are altogether very important activities which we must carry out; we must seriously learn how to do so so as to always play the role of master of events in accelerating the revolutionary movement.

5th experience: Burning ardently and actively, the revolutionary movement is the very spirit of Marxism-Leninism. The progress of the party organization clearly showed that, when we want to organize, strengthen and enlarge the party according to what we have learned from books and empty theories which are without action or real struggle movements against the enemy, no good results can be obtained. We only succeed in making the revolutionary spirit rigid. The party members and committees' cadres have no [good] qualities except for a few qualities without practical value.

6th experience: Take care to choose qualified leaders. One important experience in organizing the party is the choice and organization of the various organs, above all the ruling organs; and the higher the ruling organ, the more important this is. This care attempts as much as possible to keep out profiteers, opportunists and those who approach other ruling elements. Thus, to choose leaders, their ideological conditions, political attitudes and organizational abilities must be determined, and factors for judging must be based on the work completed and their real and sustained accomplishments.

7th experience: Take care to include working class ideology and organization in the composition of the party ranks. Our party was formed in an underdeveloped agricultural country. The party was thus born out of a basically

agricultural movement. Our country's farmers are greatly oppressed by the imperialists, the feudalists and the bourgeois. The revolution's structure is thus well founded. However, our farmers still do not have a working class nature; they still have a special farmers' agricultural nature. The party is composed of elements from the middle class and intellectuals, a large number of which still retain the structure and nature of their origins.

Thus, to make the party more working class in nature, it is necessary to to concentrate to the maximum degree on the working class spirit and on establishing the Marxist-Leninist ideology within the ranks of our party. This ideological education work must be carried out, repeated and always perfected in order to insure that the party has a communist structure and to guarantee that the conduct of the revolution will always be successful. In parallel with education in the working class spirit, it is also necessary to set up a working class organization. The party's ruling ranks must have a majority working class composition.

8th experience: The problem of building internal unity well. It is important to build absolute internal unity which will give force to the Party to conduct the revolution correctly and successfully. Regarding the problem of unity, above all internal unity, our party's experience has shown that disunity on the political point of view, with the personnel divided into partisan groups, should be a cause for alarm, and is a danger for the party. These problems cause anxiety and suffering, because instead of attacking the enemy outside, we are offering our own flesh as prey for the enemy.

9th experience: Learn from the experiences of foreign parties in order to perfect our own party, building it according to the real situation of the Cambodian revolution. In learning from the experiences of foreign parties and the international communist and workers' movement, we must also take into account the complex present-day problem, the principles of independence and the spirit of being master of events, and also remember the idea of studying good as well as bad cases and considering whether or not they could be utilized, according to the real state of our party and country. It is very necessary to develop the abovementioned experiences. This learning and its application helped greatly in building our party in the past, above all during the period from 1960 to 1967. Now we must still follow the learning principles and methods. In parallel, however, the party also has numerous bad experiences resulting from the learning and copying of foreign experiences. This learning often had bad results for the party with regard to both large and small problems. On the one hand, it made us completely ignorant; on the other hand, it hindered and even sometimes destroyed the revolutionary movement and progress in organizing the party.

In this case, it is better to learn nothing from foreign experience.

IV. SUMMARIES OF PAST AND PRESENT VICTORIES AND THE PRESENT STATE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE MOVEMENT; AND SUMMARY OF THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF ALL PARTY MEMBERS AND COMMITTEES' CADRES TO WELCOME THE PARTY'S NTH ANNIVERSARY JOYFULLY.

In the past:

- During a 9-year period of struggle, the party led the nation to fight in the revolution and chase the French colonialists out of Cambodia.

- In 1954, it aroused the struggle in the country against the "CAMBODIAN-AMERICAN" military treaty.
- It launched the press campaign to attack "SEATO".
- It forced the feudal, bourgeois and reactionary class, the landowners, to follow the policy of neutrality.
- It led the nationalist movement, attacking the traitors SON NGOC THANH, SAM SARY and DAP CHUON.
- It waged the nationalist struggle movement which forced the feudal class in power and the imperialist lackeys to refuse the American imperialists' poisonous aid in 1963.
- It aroused the attack movement against the American Embassy and other Free World embassies.
- It led the nationalist struggle movement which forced the class in power, lackey of the American imperialists, to break diplomatic relations with the American imperialists.
- It led the nation to overthrow the government of the traitor LON NOL, lackey of the American imperialists, and destroyed the plan for the so-called legal coup d'etat in 1970.(?) [as published]
- By facts obvious on the battlefield in our country, our party played the role of leader in the revolutionary struggle movement, that is to say, conducting politics with support of arms, as it has solemnly proclaimed since 1968 (?) [as published].

Beginning with the example of BATTAMBANG, the revolutionary movement with politics supported by arms expanded brilliantly from province to province, as in the provinces of RATTANAKIRI, MONDOLKIRI, STUNG TRENG, KOMPONG CHAM, KOMPONG THOM, KOMPONG CHHNANG, KOMPONG SPEU, PURSAT, KOH KONG, KAMPOT, PREY VENG, SVAY RIENG, ETC.

Our region (Eastern Region) worked to cooperate with this political movement supported by arms in the country from 1968 to 1970, to raise higher the banner of struggle to destroy the mortal enemy of our nation and people, to tear them into pieces, as in the case of SANTE, TEADAK, KANDOL CHRUM, etc.

In short, the political movement with support of arms won successive, numerous and great victories which scared the imperialists, especially the American imperialists and their feudal, bourgeois and reactionary lackeys, to tears.

These latter were evidently tormented in every area and never found a way to get out.

At present:

The year .... (sic) [as published] is the Nth anniversary of the party's birth; our people, combatants, and members of party committees are currently conducting a campaign under party direction to fight actively, violently attacking the American imperialists and their lackeys THIEU [and] KY (sic) [as published] and THANOM [and] PRAPHAT, the foreign aggressors, and the traitors LON NOL, SIRIK MATAK, CHENG HENG, IN TAM and SON NGOC THANH, our people's internal mortal enemies.

During this period, through its perspicacity, the party advanced the revolutionary situation in Cambodia by modifying it, and thus turned a new page of history. This was a step by the Cambodian revolution toward a brilliant victory over the worst kind of enemy.

The obvious proofs of the party's victories are:

- directing the revolutionary movement, liberating 9/10 of the territory and governing 5 million inhabitants.

- thanks to party direction, our Cambodian revolution formed the new regime of farmers and workers, now the masters of 9/10 of the territory.

Our revolutionary regime is organized systematically and in measured fashion from the hamlets to the provinces throughout the country, to administer this regime in a large area of territory. Politically speaking: In all countries, the revolutionary regime is sincerely and actively supported by the great majority of patriotic people at all levels of society who support the cause of independence, peace, integrity, liberty, democracy and the country's brilliant life.

Abroad, the reputation of the Cambodian revolution is influencing the entire world, and the revolution is very actively supported by the peoples of the entire world who love peace, justice and humanity. They are happy to see that the National United Front of Cambodia under party direction is becoming fruitful.

Militarily speaking: The strength of our three branches of forces is winning brilliant and repeated victories over the enemy on all battlefields.



Our forces are on the attack and are master of events. They have beseiged and contained the enemy. Our enemy, the boss and well as the lackeys, is weakening and can do nothing to prevent the blows falling upon his back, while awaiting total defeat.

Economically speaking: Over a large area of 9/10 of the territory, the revolutionary regime has controlled economic resources, the nucleus of man's life, such as rice, corn, vegetables, meat, fish, wood, etc.

The other areas have been and are in the process of changing about, and becoming even better, in parallel with the three areas cited above.

In sum, thanks to party direction, the Cambodian revolution has won increasingly greater victories over the enemy, weakened and isolated him, and reduced him to a state of no return and no salvation. His head is continually bowing lower. He sees no way or means to come about. He has no hope of aid or salvation before his certain fate.

It is because of this that we have concluded:

- We can defend our revolutionary regime.

At present: - We can strengthen our revolutionary regime.

- We can enlarge our revolutionary regime.

All this demonstrates that the state of our revolutionary regime has currently arrived at a stable position.

The party took the position of strength, attacking finally and chasing

absolutely the third force which was the obstacle, this third force tended to split our country's political forces in three or four directions. The party took the position of strength, rejecting absolutely the game of negotiations and arrangements under any method, form and trick.

The party raised the banner to struggle absolutely, in no way deceiving or confusing peace and independence in the people's hands with peace and deceitful independence (impure) in the hands of the imperialists, feudalists and reactionary bourgeois.

At the same time, the party is playing the role of active leader in the revolutionary war, and continuing the attack against the enemy on all fronts, political, military and economic; it stands on its position of independence, master of events, having firm confidence in itself that we will win total and final victory over the enemy of the revolution to accomplish our present revolutionary, nationalist and democratic duty and to organize a socialist and communist society in the future on Cambodian territory, our beautiful country.

On the party's Nth anniversary, all committee members must compete to:

- combat the external enemy, the imperialists, above all the American imperialists and their lackeys THIEU [and] KY, THANOM [and] PRAPHAT the aggressor pirates; combat the traitors LON NOL, SIRIK MATAK, CHENG HENG, IN TAM and SON NGOC THANH, who are selling our country and people; and combat the feudalists, bourgeois and reactionaries absolutely and violently on every battlefield the party names.

- study well the circular giving directives on celebrating the anniversary [21st] on "30/9/73" [as published], and promise to and take on themselves the responsibility of carrying out these directives.

- combat and chase out the revolution's enemy and everything which is not of the working class within our organization. Then, as soon as possible, arouse in our organization the ardor for struggle, party spirit, working class attitude and the spirit of abnegation for the revolution. Put the common interest over personal interest. Cultivate the revolutionary reflex, the spirit of sacrifice, optimistic confidence and revolutionary heroism.

- use revolutionary prudence ten times more, to destroy the ruses of the enemy who is attacking the party by all cold war and hot war means.

It is for us to warmly celebrate the party's Nth anniversary, and to be ready to welcome the subsequent anniversaries in the 1970's energetically and satisfactorily.

#### V. CONCLUSION

1) This presentation of a summary of the party history, the first of its kind, naturally lacks many things. We must correct and embellish it, and add to it even more (victories). However, this summary of the party history can still serve as a basis for discussions and studies in the regions, from which lessons can be drawn to organize the party in the future.

2) This presentation of a summary of the party history shows that during this period each year [as published], our party was formed and has evolved progressively, and this was not easy.

It was a revolutionary, difficult, mortal, harsh and complex struggle for the nation, combatants, party members and committees to apply the Marxist-Leninist doctrines.

The external enemy is attacking the party savagely by both hot war and cold war methods. The internal enemy is also actively attacking the revolution. The building of internal party unity has encountered many bad experiences. All this demands physical and moral strength, intelligence, revolutionary spirit and a spirit of responsibility on the part of party and committees' members, to resist the tempest.

Today, the party has arrived at a fairly good state in all ideological, political and organizational areas. However, the party's 22-year march has been very circuitous. We must understand well that the party history was written with the flesh, blood, bones, sweat and physical, moral and intellectual strength of the people, combatants, party members and committees' cadres, both dead and still living. They made many sacrifices to organize the party. Thus, on this anniversary, as on any other anniversary, even an ordinary one, we must correctly evaluate the party history at its true worth.

It is because of this that we must seriously learn the party history, so as not to commit the same faults as in the past. We must follow the right path, which the party has laid out for us, to consolidate the building of the party as fast as possible.

In parallel with this, we must love the party, adore it, and serve it sincerely with no reservations or preconditions, to repay the efforts with

which the party has educated us to be unreservedly revolutionaries and communists. Nothing is more precious and honorable than to belong within the party's ranks, and nothing is better than to be a communist.

We must all defend this honor and become ever worthy, throwing ourselves into the flame of the greatest movement to make ourselves into "workers and revolutionaries," to attack the external enemies, the imperialists and their feudal, bourgeois and reactionary lackeys, and to attack the internal enemies who have no revolutionary quality.

SLOGANS:

Long live the party's Nth anniversary!

Long live the brilliant Cambodian Communist Party!

Long live Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the strongest force!

Long live the Cambodian people's great revolutionary movement under the direction of the party!

Down with American imperialism, the warmonger!

Down with the traitors LON NOL, SIRIK MATAK, CHENS HENG, IN TAM and SON NGOC THANH, lackeys of American imperialism!

Down with the lackeys THIEU [and] KY, unscrupulous lackeys of American imperialism!