LET US CONTINUE TO FIRMLY HOLD ALOFT
THE BANNER OF THE VICTORY OF
THE GLORIOUS COMMUNIST PARTY OF KAMPUCHEA
IN ORDER TO DEFEND DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA
CARRY ON SOCIALIST REVOLUTION
AND BUILD UP SOCIALISM

Speech made by Comrade Pol Pot
Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of Kampuchea
on the occasion of
the 18th Anniversary of the founding
of the Communist Party of Kampuchea

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Dear Comrades,

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

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

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

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

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

1- What are our reflexions on the occasion of the 18th Anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Kampuchea?

2- The present situation of the Kampuchea's revolution.
I

WHAT ARE OUR REFLECTIONS ON THE OCCASION OF
THE 18TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF Kampuchea?

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

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

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

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

That is why we have to always pay all our attention to the building up of our Party.
The building up of the Party has to cover three fields:

1- Building up the Party in the political field

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

2- Building up the Party in the ideological field

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

3- Building up the Party in the organizational field

In order to win the victory, we have to have a correct organizational line. Since its founding, our Party has always had good, medium and weak elements.
But the number of good elements is preponderant. Through the successive movements, there have been defections, but their number was small. The majority has unceasingly developed and improved.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1- We would have been defeated by the US imperialists and their lackeys,

2- We would have been subjugated by the Vietnamese until the genocide of our race.

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

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

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

1- the military tasks to liberate the country and defend it,

2- the works of production.

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

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

1- to build up a powerful party in all fields, political, ideological and organizational,

2- to build, strengthen, develop and defend the mass revolutionary forces so that they will be always powerful.
The only way to achieve it is:

Primo: to carry out the practice,

Secundo: to draw experiences and to learn the lessons from these experiences.

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

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

In brief, we have to build up the Party as follows:
1 - to build it up correctly in all fields, political, ideological and organizational;
2 - to build it up in the successive revolutionary movements,
3 - to carry out the practice and at the same time, to draw experiences and learn the lessons from these experiences.

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

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

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

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II

THE PRESENT SITUATION

OF THE KAMPUCHEA'S REVOLUTION

1. Situation of our National Defence

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

After the liberation of Kampuchea on April 17, 1975, the enemies from outside always wanted to take possession of Democratic Kampuchea and subjugate her. The US imperialists wanted to take possession of Kampuchea in order to subjugate her once again. The Vietnamese and their followers, the Soviet international expansionists, wanted also to take possession of Kampuchea and to subjugate her.
From 1975 to 1977, the US imperialist strategy aiming at retaking Kampuchea has predominated. But the US imperialists have failed. Their plans of attacks launched both from outside and inside have come to grief. We could say that from the middle of 1977, the US imperialists and their lackeys have no more possibility to retake Kampuchea, for their plans have suffered a fundamental and strategic defeat.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Division Count</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>more than 2 divisions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>3 to 4 divisions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>5 to 6 divisions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>5 to 6 divisions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
June : 3 to 4 divisions
July : more than 3 divisions
August : 3 divisions
September : 2 divisions

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

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

In the economic and financial fields, the Vietnamese meet also with severe difficulties. Starvation has become more and more severe and is still getting worse and worse in the days to come. This state of starvation is the proof of the incapability of the Vietnamese administration and the baleful result of its wrong and stupid economic line. This is due to their regime which is neither a revolutionary nor socialist regime. It is a regime of exploitation under which the poor people are always exploited and the people suffer starvation. Besides, in agressing Kampuchea, Vietnam has further ruined itself.
In the political field, the Vietnamese meet with difficulties, both at home and abroad. At home, the people have unceasingly risen up. Abroad, Vietnam has met also with difficulties. Before, everybody believed that the Vietnamese were revolutionaries, that they were socialists. Now everybody has clearly seen their true nature: they are aggressors of Kampuchea. They are neither revolutionaries nor socialists. Vietnam is not a non-aligned country. It belongs to an alliance: it is member of the Soviet economic alliance and political alliance and consequently, it is automatically member of the Soviet military alliance. The Vietnamese have become mercenaries at the service of the Soviet strategy of aggression and expansion. Vietnam has also established military bases in foreign territory. Now that it has also carried out provocations against the People’s Republic of China, its true nature has further clearly appeared and its difficulties become more inextricable.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. Situation of our socialist revolution

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

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

2- the collectivist regime continues to develop and strengthen throughout the country within our cooperatives,
3- the collectivist regime continues to develop and strengthen within our Revolutionary Army, our revolutionary organs and services,

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

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

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

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

However, on the occasion of the 18th Anniversary of our Communist Party of Kampuchea, we have to proceed to an examination of our socialist revolution to see if, since liberation, it has been correctly carried out or not. Indeed, the whole people, all of us, we have no doubt on this subject. But nevertheless, we have to examine this question in order to strengthen our position in assimilating the line of our Party.

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

Without the collectivist socialist regime, it is clear that we could not successfully defend our country and that our national territory and our race would disappear. But our socialist revolution has laid solid collectivist foundations in the whole society of Kampuchea, so that the entire country has become an immense and powerful backing base, ensuring the total success of our tasks for national defence, in full independence and sovereignty.
During its history, our country has progressively lost more or less important parts of its territory. Why? Because the regimes at that time were incapable of defending the country and the people's forces were not united enough. In return, our collectivist socialist regime has been able to totally defend and safeguard the national independence, territorial integrity, national honour and dignity and race of Kampuchea in full independence and sovereignty.

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

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

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

So, in the future, shall we always continue to more efficiently carry out the socialist revolution, develop, consolidate and improve our collectivist socialist regime everywhere, in the cooperatives, factories, worksites, revolutionary services and organs, in the political field as well as in the ideological and organizational ones, so that it can more deeply root into our collectivist worker-peasant people. Our collectivist socialist regime will be then more powerful and better.

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

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

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

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

They are more and more aware of that this regime is a regime of genuine democracy which they have wished for since a long time and that it guarantees the democratic rights of the overwhelming majority formed by the poor strata as well as the other social strata.
What are the foundations of democratic freedoms? In order that the people could benefit by democratic freedoms, they must have rice-fields, water for irrigation, draught-animals, tools for production to have their lives ensures. In a word, the people must have the rights over all means of production.

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

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

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

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

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

Thanks to the cooperatives, our people have become masters of rice-fields and lands and masters of crops. Everyone has had lands to work with and enough rice to feed oneself. Likewise, our Revolutionary Army who were fighting at the front, were sufficiently supplied with rice. The living conditions of our fighters' families who were at the rear were fully ensured. All that had powerfully contributed to heighten the combative determination of our Revolutionary Army. The whole people and the whole army have had a greater faith in the Communist Party of Kampuchea and in the future of the nation.
In 1973, at the time when the US imperialists and the Vietnamese have undertaken manoeuvres to re-captively dupe themselves on the back of Kampuchea and resorted to all kinds of pressures in order to force the Communist Party of Kampuchea and the Kampuchea's people to lay down arms, our Communist Party of Kampuchea was always abiding by an unshakable position and was determined to carry on the struggle, to defend the honour and dignity of the nation, its people and its revolution. It was firmly determined to lead the people and the cooperatives in carrying on the struggle in the sole battlefield which was Kampuchea, to lead them in the people's war in order to, at the same time, fight against the enemy, ensure the production and solve the problems of their living conditions in full independence and sovereignty.

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

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

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

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

By saying so, do contradictions exist in the present society of Kampuchea? It is quite normal that they exist. There are factors of unity as well as factors of contradictions. However, the factors of unity are far more important and predominant, for more than 99 per cent of our people are united with the Communist Party of Kampuchea, follow the line of the Communist Party of Kampuchea in order to defend the country, carry on the socialist revolution, build up socialism and raise the people's standard of living. As for contradictions, we are striving to solve them by basing upon education and relying on the collectivist people's forces. We are solving them progressively. Our motivations are reasonable, legitimate, realistic and known to everyone. We can then powerfully defend and build up our country and successfully solve the people's living conditions.

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

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

3. Situation of our construction of socialism

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

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

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

This year, the movement of agricultural production has faced a great obstacle due to floods. That was one of the biggest floods in the history of Kampuchea and the biggest one since seventy years. However, in spite of that, our people are not anxious at all for, thanks to the collectivist forces, they can solve all the problems. The only problem they brought up to the Party was that of seeds.
The Party has already solved this problem and it has especially supplied seeds of early paddy, medium paddy, corn, manioc, sweet potatoes, beans, soy-beans and peanuts.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Along with the water problem, we have still to select seeds with high yield and increase the use of fertilizers. We have already trained a number of technicians specialized in the interbreeding of varieties of paddy, care against the paddy diseases, analysis of soils and agricultural hydraulic. We are increasing their number at the national scale as well as at the level of districts and cooperatives. This year, some of our varieties of paddy can yield from 5 to 8 tons per hectare in a single crop.
In brief, we have all the necessary conditions for passing from a backward agriculture to a modern one in a period of 10 to 15 years. This problem is closely linked to the problem of national defence, to the problem of national construction and to that of the rapid rising up of our people's standard of living. Consequently, we must at all costs achieve this objective.

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

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

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

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

As for the rubber culture, the Vietnamese have destroyed a part of it, namely in Memot and Krek.
But we have much enlarged the growing areas and we are more and more enlarging them.

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

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

b. In the industrial field

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

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

As for cement factory, we have put a third stove into work. We are proceeding to the repairing of the sugar refinery in Battambang. At the same time, we build new factories, notably a paper-mill, a second factory making tyres and four crepe-rubber factories. Besides, we have developed small factories and handicraft workshops in the zones and regions, such as
small textile and fertilizers factories, handicraft workshops of textile and of making soap. We have also progressively proceeded to the building up of heavy industry. Our heavy industry does not have the same characteristics as the one of the big countries. We build it up in conformity with the possibilities of our country.

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

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

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

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

Besides, we will progressively develop our chemical industry. Presently, we are building up a factory of making acetic acid, a factory of making caustic soda which produces soda and chlore.
The Fourth Congress of our Party has laid out the following objective: turn Kampuchea, a backward agricultural country, into a country endowed with an industrial base in a period of 15 to 20 years. This objective aims at creating the conditions of an industrial country and to endow Kampuchea with light industry, food industry, iron and steel industry, engineering industry, power industry, oil industry and chemical industry. Such are the orientations defined by our Party in January 1976 we have to keep in mind in carrying out our daily tasks.

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

Where can we find capital to build up our industry?

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

Before, our people built Angkor monuments but they remained poor and miserable. Now our people are building up a new Kampuchea, genuinely prosperous, endowed with a modern agriculture and an industrial base. We must be conscious of this reality in order to be proud of our people and have faith in them, to strengthen our confidence in the line of independence, sovereignty and self-reliance of our Party.

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

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

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

We want to rapidly build up our country to reinforce our national defence and to rapidly raise up our people's standard of living by abiding by the position of independence and sovereignty. So, we also have a line for the rapid training of technicians and scientists in full independence and sovereignty in order to serve the movement at present and to meet the strategical long-dated needs.

Now, we have already created technical schools. Some of them derive from the Department of Industry, others from the Department of Education. In these schools, we train our technicians and scientists by short cut ways:
First short cut way: to learn to read, to write, and to calculate at the same time with technics and sciences.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

c. In the field of culture and education

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

d. In the field of social affairs and health

In the field of social affairs and health, we have also achieved important progress. The health of our people has been notably improved. We have fundamentally wiped out malaria and we go on developing and strengthening these excellent results. All the social diseases have been definitively eradicated for we have eliminated all the corruption and depravation of the old society. A new sound society, without oppression and where prevails equality is in full development. The living conditions of the whole people have been more and more ensured in all fields. Our policy of increasing the number of our population has scored its first satisfactory results. From mid-1977 to mid-1978, there have been 392,000 births for a population of 7,800,000 inhabitants, that is with a rate of 50 per thousand. Before the 1970 coup d'état, this rate was only 40 per thousand and the death rate amounted to at least 18 per thousand. Now, the death rate is only 13 per thousand for the infant death rate has much decreased. The growth of our population is much more important than before the coup d'état. However, it is still not enough compared with the wishes of our Party for having a population of 15 to 20 million inhabitants from now up to 10 - 15 years. We have then to give full importance to improve the conditions of living and health of our people and that, in order to increase more rapidly our population.

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

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Dear Comrades,

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

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

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

Secundo: together with the task of national defence, we have the task of carrying on the socialist revolution, of building up socialism and of rapidly raising up the living conditions of our people. At the front, our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea is fighting to ensure the national defence. We all, at the rear, are determined to serve as powerful and precious support for the front and we are determined to closely unite with the front by vigorously waging the struggle in order to fulfil the plan of national construction by 100 per cent and even more in all fields, for the present year and the years to come.

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

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

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

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

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

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

- Long live the 18th Anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Kampuchea!
- Long live the correct and clear-sighted Communist Party of Kampuchea!
- Long live the powerful revolution of Kampuchea!
- Long live the great people of Kampuchea!
- Long live the powerful and valiant Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea!
- Long live the glorious Democratic Kampuchea!