

DOCUMENT III

“The Party’s Four-Year Plan to Build Socialism in All Fields, 1977-1980”

(Party Center, July-August 1976)

Introduction: *David P. Chandler*

Translation: *Chanthou Boua*

Introduction

Between 21 July and 2 August 1976, the Standing Committee of the CPK, which consisted of approximately ten men and women, met to consider the Party’s Four-Year Plan, scheduled to be announced in September 1976 and to come into effect at the beginning of 1977. The 110-page typewritten text, translated below, was never published, and much of the Plan itself appears never to have been set into motion, but the document is still one of the most revealing to have come to us from the DK era.

The first eighty-five pages are devoted to plans for agriculture and industry. Most of these (some sixty-five pages) deal with agriculture. This emphasis in itself is not surprising, but the optimism about achieving ambitious agricultural targets springs in part from what the CPK leaders see as the uniqueness of Kampuchea’s achievements:

We have leaped over the semi-colonial, semi-feudal society of the American imperialists, the feudalists and capitalists of every nation, and have achieved a socialist state straight away.

Because the country is “strong in terms of political force, collective force and land,” and because “we are faster” than other socialist countries, DK’s revolution is

new experience, and an important one for the whole world, *because we don’t perform like others*. We leap from a people’s democratic revolution to a socialist revolution, and swiftly build socialism. We don’t need a long period of time for transformation. (emphasis added)

These advantages mean that the Plan can be implemented without any preparations beforehand. Setting it into motion is peculiarly urgent in view of the CPK’s policy of “independence, mastery, and self-reliance” and its rejection, at least on paper at this stage, of foreign aid.

Sensibly enough, the document argues that exports of agricultural products, rather than minerals or manufactured goods, could best provide the income needed by DK for autarchic economic growth. No other resources existed in the country. Specifically the Plan calls for doubling the production of rice in DK between the beginning of 1977 and the end of 1980, with DK to recoup US \$1.4 billion from milled rice exports in this period; the price per metric ton is assumed to hold steady at US \$200. This income, in turn, was to be used to purchase agricultural machinery and other industrial equipment, both for the areas where the rice is grown and for the central government.

To achieve these results, the document declares that beginning in 1977, three metric tons of paddy are to be harvested from every rice-growing hectare in Kampuchea. This national target, drummed into people throughout the Party’s years in power and recalled by many survivors, had been achieved occasionally in pre-revolutionary times, particularly in the northwest and on government-sponsored agricultural stations. But before 1970, production levels throughout most of the country had hovered around one metric ton of paddy per hectare, and yields were probably even lower during the civil war in the early 1970s. The Plan’s target of three tons per hectare, therefore, meant not only more than doubling the *average* rice yield in the 1960s, but doubling the yield *at once*:

According to the document, Kampuchea had 2.4 million hectares of land suitable for rice in 1976; the figure was apparently drawn from the 1960s.¹ Of this total, however, only 1.5 million hectares were to produce three tons per hectare in 1977, while 200,000 more were to be harvested twice, with annual yields of six or seven metric tons per hectare.

Three regions—the northwest, the east, and the southwest—all relatively prosperous in pre-revolutionary times, were to provide 72 percent of the three tons per hectare land and 65 percent of the land to be harvested twice. In the northwest, the land to be harvested twice was to increase from 60,000 hectares in 1977 to 200,000 hectares in 1980, making up 40 percent of the national total. Because the land to be harvested once in the northwest remained steady at 400,000 hectares, presumably 140,000 hectares of previously uncultivated or unproductive land was to be brought under cultivation to produce three tons per hectare by 1980. In the lifetime of the Plan, production of paddy in the northwest was to increase by a million

metric tons, and exports were to rise from 450,000 tons in 1977 to 850,000 tons in 1980. Over the period, the northwest was to earn US \$520 million from rice exports (60 percent of the national total). Half of the revenue was to revert to the zone with the remainder ticketed as a "gift to the state."

Other zones, in contrast, were to provide uniformly only 20 percent of export revenue to the state. Moreover, production was not expected to rise as high in these other zones as it was in the northwest.

To be sure, the northwest had been Kampuchea's "rice bowl" in colonial times and before the revolution, but in the eyes of the CPK, what differentiated the region in 1976 from others in Kampuchea was that over a million "new people," largely from Phnom Penh, had been relocated there since April 1975, alongside perhaps 200,000 former residents of Battambang city. All these men and women were put to work under grueling conditions, either opening up new land for cultivation or increasing yields on already cultivated land, working alongside rural "base people" presumed to be more loyal to the regime.

"New people," therefore, are an unacknowledged key to the success of the Plan. These socially unredeemable men and women, whose revolutionary consciousness remained in doubt throughout the DK period, are to provide the labor to allow Kampuchea to complete its "leap."

The importance of the northwest to the CPK can also be inferred from the fact that target figures for other zones are often only sketchily presented. For example, regions 41 and 42 in the northern zone are assumed to have exactly the same hectarage available for double-cropping (Table 16), while in the western zone (Table 19) no estimates at all are given for yields in 1978-1980. Similar lacunae occur in Table 28, dealing with the northeast. In general, however, the tables relating to estimated *revenues* from rice exports are meticulously filled in, even where the production figures are missing. The gaps in the tables reinforce the impression, confirmed in other parts of the text, that the document was hastily flung together.

Aside from revolutionary consciousness, double-cropping, and collectivization, growing more rice is thought to be connected with solving the "problem of water." By the end of 1980 (Table 38), "80 to 90%" of the problem would be solved. The high priorities accorded to irrigation and water storage (enshrined in DK's coat of arms) meant that for hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions of Khmer, the "great leap forward" of the DK era was a time when they "dug ditches and raised embankments" (*chik prek , loeuk tomnup*) at a furious pace. In fact, many survivors recall only this work, and the "three tons per hectare" slogan, when asked to comment on the ideology of the regime.

Unfortunately, because engineering skills from former times, along with all non-revolutionary talents, were denigrated by DK—at least at this stage—many of the dams and embankments so painfully put together soon collapsed.² The effect of DK's pell-mell deconstruction of embankments and storage ponds from earlier times, (often fastidiously arranged over several generations in response to local conditions) may still be causing problems for farmers in Kampuchea, while the "problem of water" remains unsolved, at least at the national scale envisaged here.

Several serious problems brushed aside by the document confronted agriculture in Kampuchea in the middle of 1976. These included shortages of high quality seed, livestock, and agricultural tools, as well as the absence of chemical fertilizers and pesticides—to say nothing about marketing mechanisms, transport, milling, cash incentives, and the havoc of the recently concluded civil war. Instead, for example, Table 40 nonchalantly proposes "buying a factory that makes DDT" in 1980.

Although rice cultivation is the key ingredient of the Four-Year Plan, other crops including cotton, jute, tobacco, fruit, and vegetables are also to be expanded. Everything is expected, somehow, to improve. Goals often take the form of lists such as "animals for meat and milk: oxen, pigs, hens, ducks, turkeys, pigeons, rabbits, French hens, sheep and goats" without setting priorities or selecting regions particularly suitable for a specific animal or crop. Other problems are side-stepped by insisting that they will be solved. Table 41, for example, states that by 1980 DK will be producing 1,000 tractors per year and 6,000 threshing machines, without indicating where the steel, machinery, or skilled labor to make these items are to come from.

The next twenty pages deal with "Building Socialism in the Industrial Sector." The emphasis on agriculture, these pages assert, means the DK has avoided the pitfalls of other socialist nations which rushed into untimely industrialization along Soviet lines. Sensibly enough, the text proposes to stress light industry, so as to raise people's standards of living. Such an emphasis, moreover, coincides with Kampuchea's natural resources. However, perhaps because those writing the document believe that genuine socialism somehow involves heavy industry as well, the text adds that

In our second plan, we'll expand heavy industry... because by then the livelihood of our people will have been raised and advanced to a *certain level*. (emphasis added)

The text, indeed, devotes more space to these long-distance goals than to immediate ones. After sensibly admitting that "we must postpone ferrous

metals for the time being” because of shortfalls in capital, ore, processing equipment, and technological skills, the text suggests that an iron industry will “gradually” take shape. To fuel such an industry, “we must start thinking about our coal... *if there is any, we'll find it.*” (emphasis added)³

The pages dealing with communications and transport are relatively straightforward. They call for roads, waterways, and railways to assist the movement of raw materials and crops to cities and to the deep-water port of Kompong Som, where facilities would also be improved.

Closing off the discussion of agriculture and industry, Table 56 notes that US \$1.29 billion, or over 90 percent of total earnings between 1977 and the end of 1980, will spring from export sales of rice. The remaining earnings are to come from exports of rubber (\$70 million, or 5%) and assorted agricultural products.

Students of politics in DK might be more interested in the final twenty pages of the text, which deal with such topics as culture, education, social action, and health. These pages claim that Kampuchea’s uniqueness, in revolutionary terms, springs in part from the regime’s decision in 1975 to abolish money. In other socialist countries, after all, retaining money has meant that governments “haven’t gotten free from capitalism;” indeed, “so long as *the capitalist* exists, he will strengthen and expand.” (emphasis added) Although Mao and others in China had occasionally toyed with abolishing money (or at least abolishing wages) in China,⁴ the document claims that by actually abolishing money in DK, “vestiges of capitalism, together with the capitalist standpoint” have been destroyed for good along with the pursuit of individual profit. To the leaders of DK, the abolition of money and collectivization unleashed creative and productive forces by “smashing” (*komrec*) individualism and family loyalties. To accelerate the process, the plan calls for the collectivization of “eating, drinking, and desserts” in 1977, promising desserts (*bongaem*) on a daily basis for everyone in 1980—the only material reward mentioned anywhere in the Plan.

As far as health is concerned, hospital staff are to be increased to 1,300 persons by 1980, and hospital facilities are to be “strengthened, expanded, and beautified.” Table 59, however, admits that malaria poses serious problems in DK, and pledges to eradicate “70-100%” of the disease by 1980.⁵

Although raising people’s living standards is a critical goal of the Plan, and supposedly flows in part from the encouragement of light industry, the section dealing with this topic reads like a set of notes. The “material needs

of the people” appear as follows:

water pitchers, water bowls, glasses, tea pots, cups, plates, spoons, shoes, towels, soap, toothbrushes, toothpaste, combs, medicine, note-books, books, pens, pencils, knives, shovels, axes, spectacles, chalk, ink, hats, raincoats, lighters and flint, lamps, *etc.* (emphasis added)

Without suggesting how these material needs will be met, or which ones are more important than others, the text concludes circuitously that many will not be met by asserting that “we must provide people with 50 to 100 percent of their material necessities beginning in 1977.” In fact, as thousands of survivors of the era have recalled in interviews, hardly anyone’s material needs (except those of CPK cadre and soldiers) were met to anyone’s satisfaction between 1977 and 1979.

The next substantial section of the text deals with “culture, literature, art, technology, science, educating the people, propaganda and information” in a somewhat breathless fashion. While insisting on the value of “revolutionary culture,” the only cultural activity mentioned in the text is revolutionary songs, especially those “that describe good models in the period of socialist revolution.”⁶

Education is treated briefly, with the Plan proposing to introduce primary education—presumably on a national scale—in 1977, adding superior levels later on, with the emphasis falling heavily on practical work. Many survivors of the DK era, particularly “new people,” do not remember any schools at all; in some villages, primary schools existed after 1977, but only for base people and their children. The CPK’s educational lines were never spelled out in detail, and teachers were not selected or trained systematically, although the Plan asserts in passing that reliable ones must “grasp the Party’s educational line and apply it concretely and continuously.”

Similarly, proposals for technical education, presumably crucial for later stages of Kampuchea’s economic development, take the form of subjects to be offered, rather than procedures to be followed, syllabi, or the allocation of resources for particular fields of inquiry. Courses are desirable, for example, in “fresh and saltwater fish, river and sea-water, energy, medical knowledge, *etc.*” (emphasis added)

The document closed with a peroration citing “various factors” which might affect the implementation of the Plan. In descending order of importance, these are the Party, the “worker-peasant alliance,” and the army. In addition,

We must have international friends to help and support us, especially in the field of politics and consciousness, to prevent outside enemies from being

able to isolate and suppress us.

The text says nothing about the forms that this support might take, although it seems clear that the unnamed friends are China and North Korea, while "outside enemies" probably include Vietnam as well as countries in the capitalist camp.

Strengthening and expanding in the CPK, while keeping its existence secret from outsiders, is seen as crucial to the Plan's success. The Party must depend on workers and peasants who are not yet members, and also, on

those who are taking up lives as new peasants and workers: intellectuals, petty bourgeois, capitalists, feudal landlords, and former government officials.

The rewards offered to this segment of society, aside from those flowing naturally from collectivization, are not spelled out. These people will be channeled and led by the Party, whose "five stand-points" listed at the end of the text, are worth quoting in full:

1. Independence, mastery, self-reliance, control of one's future;
2. Revolutionary patriotism; revolutionary pride in one's nation, revolution, people and Party;
3. Believe totally in the Party, the revolution, the people, the workers, the peasants and the army;
4. Let the great revolutionary movement of the people spring up with the speed of a super great leap forward;
5. Save up, improve, and think up new ideas to win the fight, and spring forward bravely. Use little capital, which is the nation's important national resource, but produce many high quality results.

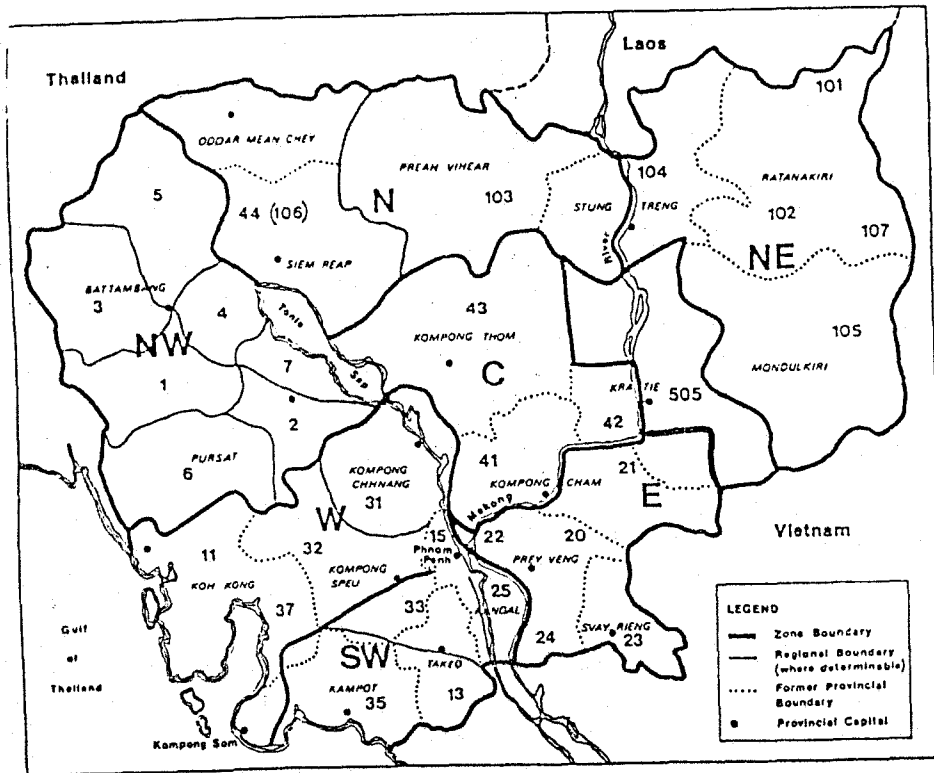
Like the other documents translated in this book, DK's Four-Year Plan reveals the thinking of its leaders at a particular time. Its tone, like that of the documents preceding it, is relatively optimistic; the men and women who compiled it probably believed that the Party's assumption of power a few months before and their own retention of key positions with the CPK itself would help to trigger a process whereby socialism could occur in Kampuchea faster and more thoroughly than ever before or anywhere else. The Party's leaders, in turn, and the members of the Party entrusted to carry out the Plan, had been tempered by many years of clandestine comradeship, tested by a war in which they believed they had defeated the United States and were supported by powerful socialist allies. They probably assumed that they were historically "correct"—unlike all the regimes that had preceded them—and were therefore in a unique position to influence the destiny of Kampuchea.

It is possible, of course, that the *hubris*, style, and assumptions of the

document sprang less from the optimism of these leaders than from their perhaps legitimate fears that allowing time for discussion of the Plan in Party circles, or time for the people at large to become accustomed to socialist practice, would undermine their own precarious authority with the CPK and in Kampuchea. To consult with other socialist countries, and in particular with Vietnam, would be to admit a similarity of historical experience, or a willingness to learn from others. These were actions that the CPK leaders were unwilling or unable to take. It seems likely—although first-hand evidence on this point is lacking—that many experienced cadre viewed with alarm the provisions of the Plan relating to collectivization and rice exports. They knew the targets were impossible under the tumultuous conditions of Kampuchea in 1976. Some of them may also have thought the human costs prohibitive, as indeed they soon became, particularly in the Northwest. There is no evidence that such views were welcomed by the Party Center. Indeed, there is ample indirect evidence, supplied by the final documents in this collection, that by the end of 1976, Pol Pot and his associates had become frightened and enraged by what they saw as widespread opposition to their policies.

Some of this opposition may have come to light in discussions of the Plan (see Documents 5 and 6), but at this early stage, it seems likely that the people who compiled this extraordinary manifesto believed that it provided a blueprint for the transformation of the country under their inspired command, beginning less than a year after the Party had come to power.

Administrative Divisions of Democratic Kampuchea 1975-1979



Translation

Introduction

Is it necessary for Kampuchea to have a multi-year plan? Are the circumstances right for making a plan? Do we have the qualities and the resources? We have been liberated for a little over a year. What capital have we accumulated?

According to documents from other countries, after a war, they had three-year plans in order to prepare the economy. At the end of their three-year plans, they prepared their own five-year plans. After the destruction of war, therefore, they first prepared the economy for three years. They didn't prepare the five-year plan until the three years were completed.

Now we want to build the country quickly, and build socialism quickly. Should we wait three years before we start a plan? On reflection, it is clearly too long to wait for three years until 1979; doing so would interfere with our strategy. We must create the resources and character to leap forward. It isn't necessary to wait three years like them.

Immediately, as requested by the Party, we prepare the Plan to build our economy.

What qualities do we have? What are the difficulties? What things are easy? What is our situation in relation to the truth? If we are masters of our situation, we will have a clear direction and form definite beliefs.

According to observations, we began preparing our economy at the end of 1975 and the beginning of 1976. This is, a very short period of time. These are the easy and difficult tasks we have observed.

Easy Tasks

Social Aspects

Our society is basically a collective society, and we are in the process of continuing our revolution. Truly, we are not preparing ourselves to destroy the people's democratic revolution; we are not preparing ourselves as a step toward socialism. In fact, our society is already a socialist society, both in the countryside and in the cities. In our society nowadays, we can see new relations of production; these are collective. There are no longer the oppressive characteristics of the old society. Because the new relations are good, the new production force is good, and indeed, the entire production force is collective, no matter how we allocate the forces of human beings, livestock, and equipment.

This good situation is our foundation. We have leaped over the neo-

colonial, semi-feudalist society of the American imperialists, the feudalists and capitalists of every nation, and have achieved a socialist society straight away. The situation is completely different from other countries.¹ For example, when China was liberated in 1949, the Chinese prepared to end the people's democratic revolution before they prepared to carry out the reforms leading to socialism. A long period of time was required. In 1955 they started the peoples' communes. Take the example of Korea, liberated in 1945. Not until 1958 did they establish co-operatives throughout the rural areas; at that time, co-operatives consisted of between twenty and thirty families. After liberation, it took them a long time to reach socialism. They didn't carry out a genuine socialist revolution until 1958. They needed fourteen years to make the transition. North Vietnam did the same. Now a similar situation applies in South Vietnam. They need a long period of time to make the transition.

As for us, we have a different character from them. We are faster than they are. If we examine our collective character, in terms of a socialist system, we are four to ten years ahead of them. We have new relations of production; nothing is confused, as it is with them.

Party Leadership

Certainly our Party doesn't hesitate. We didn't go through a period of land reform or social change. Instead, we leaped from a people's democratic revolution into socialism. Our line is correct, both in terms of strategy and tactics. The line has filtered down into the entire Party and is experienced continuously.

Natural Resources

These are such things as land, livestock, natural resources, water sources such as lakes, rivers and ponds. Our natural characteristics have given us great advantages compared with China, Vietnam, or Africa. Compared to Korea, we also have positive qualities.

Difficult Tasks

In addition we have a certain number of difficulties.

Industrial Base

As for industries of all types, heavy and light, there are hardly any, especially in the field of heavy industry. There are no minerals or power resources. There is a little light industry, but this is dependent on foreigners for raw materials. In a word, our industry is weak. Because our industrial

base is weak, our technology is also weak. The Chinese are different from us. They have a larger industrial base in both light and heavy industry. The same is true of Korea, although to be sure this was provided by the Japanese colonialists. Nonetheless, it's an industrial base; they were smelting steel long before (liberation). North Vietnam is similar. After liberation, they had minerals, iron, coal etc.

Compared to other countries, in industrial terms, we are extremely weak. Moreover, we don't use old workers, because if we used old workers without carefully selecting and purifying them first, there would be many complications, politically, which would lead to more difficulties for us.²

We have no foreign assistance to help us.

We have no assistance from outside for industry or agriculture. North Vietnam, after liberation in 1954, was greatly assisted by China and Russia. The same is true at present. China and Korea, after liberation, were greatly assisted by Russia. Broadly speaking, other [socialist] countries were greatly assisted by foreign capital after liberation. For us, at present, there is some Chinese aid, but there isn't very much compared with other countries. This is our Party's policy. If we go and beg for help we would certainly obtain some, but this would affect our political line. It's not easy to ask the Russians. Vietnam goes around begging from them. We don't follow them. This is because, if we asked help from them, a little or a lot, there would be political conditions imposed on us without fail.

Capital, various types of production, cash resources, and financial resources are small.

We discarded old money because we didn't wish to entangle ourselves with old affairs. We raise this issue to show that we lack capital. If we allowed foreign (investors) to move in, we'd have capital, but we would become politically entangled.

Analysis and Conclusion

To conclude, we are strong in terms of political force, collective force, and land. We are weak in materials and techniques. In this situation, can we build the country quickly by stressing independence, mastery and self-reliance? Do we need foreign assistance? Do we need to delay and wait until some qualities are formed before preparing the plan? Alone, will we be able to succeed? And can we move as quickly as the Party line suggests? We raise these problems so as to analyse and solve them.

After examination, we see that combining virtues and defects and

using advantages as the basis, because technology is not the decisive factor; the determining factors of a revolution are politics, revolutionary people, and revolutionary methods. Lenin carried out a revolution with empty hands.³ We did the same thing; we made a revolution in difficulties and with empty hands. But we had a clear line and a firm standpoint. We made a revolution, and we beat our enemies. Building the country in economic terms is the same thing. At present, the revolutionary force of the Party and the people is a very strong force. This force will transform our land, which is our most important resource, so as to produce harvests rapidly. We can transform our agriculture rapidly. On the other hand, even though truly we have strength, our Party is strong and our people are strong. If we fight in the wrong direction, our movement would not be strong. For example, if we fought in the industrial fields we would not be strong, because we lack industrial characteristics. We fight in the field of agriculture because we have agricultural resources. We'll move to other fields when the agricultural battle is finished. By the speed of the movement, we can see that the battle is a rapid one. We stand on agriculture as the basis, so as to collect agricultural capital with which to strengthen and expand industry. We'll solve the conflict by standing on agricultural capital, in accordance with our stand of independence, mastery, and self-reliance. We don't solve the problem as some other countries do. Our characteristics are different. Our line is different. Our philosophy is different. Our standpoint is different, and so solving problems takes different methods.⁴

Can we succeed or not?

We see that we have the qualities to succeed totally. We succeeded in 1975 and also in 1976. The year 1977 will be even more successful. This is speaking only of agriculture. As for industry, we can also make some progress. We can observe that in the year just passed, we have administered the country well. In the future, as long as we have agricultural capital with which to purchase factories and individual machines, we can certainly succeed, because we have the line. For example, take a tractor-producing factory: if we had different types of lathes and furnaces, we would be able to produce tractors ourselves. We will succeed with heavy industry, too, as long as we have the capital to do so. As for rubber, if we have the capital, we can buy machines or factories with it, so as to expand the rubber industry and achieve other developments as well. If we begged from other people, all of these problems would be even more difficult.

To sum up, if we have plentiful agricultural capital, we can rapidly strengthen and expand our industries. According to our present qualities, our

resources, we can build our country along the lines laid down by the Plan, in the direction of independence and mastery. Only with economic independence can we be assured of economic independence and of our capacity to defend the country.

According to the above account, we conclude that we can accomplish [the Plan]. We must unite together on this issue. If we don't unite, our work will be haphazard and hesitant, and we will descend into intellectualism. If we don't unite, the Plan has no meaning, and we would revert to our original confusion.

The world is looking at us, and analysing us according to their points of view. They can say we are to the left, because we neglect small producers and petty bourgeoisie. Others are jealous of us, take issue with us and are provocative. Our revolutionary movement is a new experience, and an important one in the whole world, because we don't perform like others. We leap from a people's democratic revolution to a socialist revolution, and quickly build socialism. We don't need a long period of time for the transformation. Ours is a new experience, and people are observing it. We don't follow any book. We act according to the actual situation in our country.⁵

PART ONE

THE PARTY'S FOUR-YEAR PLAN TO BUILD SOCIALISM
IN ALL FIELDS, 1977-1980

Why did we choose a four-year period? Why not one, two, three, or five years? We chose four years for the following reasons:

1. We want to stop in 1980 in order to begin a second four-or five-year plan in 1981. This reason is of secondary importance.
2. The important reason is that we wanted to have a rather long period of time to arrange our direction and strategy. One year at a time is too short. A one-year period would be to apply the methods of combat to a long-term strategy.

The building of socialism must have the Plan as its pattern. Can we make the Plan, or not? We have already decided that we must make the Plan.⁶ Without the Plan, we cannot build socialism as a unifying theme; we wouldn't know what to do, or what to buy. On the other hand, with the Plan, we know what to do, how much to do, what to buy, and how much to buy. At the end of four years' work, there will be some concrete achievements, and we'll know what we have to do for the next Plan. This is the only way to achieve strategic direction, transforming our economy from primitive to modern agriculture.

In this way, we won't stumble on the way. We accumulate capital and apply it in the right direction. We don't scatter. There is a direction common to the entire country, identical for each zone. If we have no plan as a unifying theme we would have no mastery in the task of building socialism. Instead, we would be moving around in circles, doing a little of this, a little of that, changing all the time. If we thought of something, we'd do it; if we needed to ask for something, we'd ask for it, because there was no Plan, no program. This is not the correct way to proceed; it's a way of falling apart, and certainly we would encounter the difficulties of confusion and complications. Not only would this slow down our advance; it would be an obstacle in the way of our combat in all fields.

Therefore, there must be a plan to cover every aspect, so we can rapidly serve the revolution and the task of building socialism efficiently.

Economics, Finance and Capital

1. Building socialism in agriculture

Objectives

1. To aim to serve the people's livelihood, and to raise the people's standard of living quickly, both in terms of supplies and in terms of other material goods.
2. To seek, gather, save, and increase capital from agriculture, aiming to rapidly expand our agriculture, our industry, and our defense rapidly. All this is to be to the limits and possibilities of each year and of the four-year period as a whole.

About Rice Production

Objective: To produce rice for food to raise the standard of living of the people, and in order to export so as to obtain capital for the imports which we need.

Thus *padi* and milled rice are our capital base. Besides rice, we have other agricultural products such as rubber, corn, beans, fish, and other forest products. These products are only complimentary. For 100,000 tons of milled rice, we would get \$20 million; if we had 500,000 tons we'd get \$100 million.⁷ We must increase rice production in order to obtain capital. Other products, which are only complimentary will be increased in the future.

Plans for production, obtaining capital, and for total expenditures in the period 1977-1980

Rice fields: As of June 1976, there were more than 2.4 million hectares of rice fields, including lowland and upland fields, fertile, first-class fields and others not so fertile.⁸

Because of problems with rice-growing areas, we have taken into account only 1.42 million hectares, or 58% of the total, as the area to be harvested once a year, figuring that this area produces an average of three tons per hectare. Please read TABLE 1.⁹

Fertile, first-class fields produce rice twice a year: We have allocated only a very small amount of hectareage to this kind of field, but the hectareage should increase on a yearly basis. Production should be between six and seven tons per hectare for both harvests, according to the soil, and zone and the region. Read TABLE 2.

Governing rations: From 1977, the ration for the people will average 13 *thang* or 312 kilograms of *padi* per person per year throughout the country.¹⁰ Thus rice production, taking into account the availability of rice-fields, can be calculated as in TABLE 3.

TABLE 1
POPULATION AND RICELAND IN KAMPUCHEA - 1977

Zone and Region	No. Of People	Persons Per Ha	All Riceland	Ha Per Person	Riceland Cultivated Once A Year	Percentage ^a
1. NW	1,790,000*	2.70	662,900 ha	.3700	400,000 ha	60%
2. East	1,700,000	3.26	521,400 ha	.3067	350,000 ha	67%
3. SW	1,500,000	3.22	466,200 ha	.3108	300,000 ha	54%
4. North	1,000,000	4.00	250,000 ha	.2500	150,000 ha	60%
5. West	600,000	1.94	309,300 ha	.5155	100,000 ha	32%
6. NE	200,000	6.80	29,400 ha	.1470	18,000 ha	61%
7. Region 106	400,000	2.77	144,200 ha	.3205	80,000 ha	55%
8. Region 103	83,000	4.94	16,800 ha	.2020	10,000 ha	59%
9. Centre Armed Forces	40,000	10.00	4,000 ha	.1000	4,000 ha	100%
10. Zone Armed Forces	20,000	2.86	7,000 ha	.3500	7,000 ha ^b	100%
11. Offices and Ministries	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total:	7,333,000	3.04	2,411,200 ha	.3288	1,419,000 ha	58%

^a Percentage of all riceland.

^b To be increased to 8,000 ha by 1977-80, and to 10,000 ha by 1980.

* 1968 population of Battambang and Pursat - 908,000. Therefore, this figure had almost been doubled by the second evacuation of late 1975. Probably 800,000 were sent there.

Pol Pot Plans the Future

TABLE 2
QUANTITY OF FIELDS TO BE USED TWICE A YEAR DURING THE PERIOD 1977 - 1980 THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY

Zone and Region	1977	%	1978	%	1979	%	1980	% ^a
1. NW	60,000 ha	15%	100,000 ha	20%	150,000 ha	37%	200,000 ha	50%
2. East	40,000 ha	13%	60,000 ha	20%	77,000 ha	25%	96,000 ha	32%
3. SW	40,000 ha	13%	53,000 ha	18%	70,000 ha	23%	90,000 ha	30%
4. North	35,000 ha	23%	44,000 ha	29%	55,000 ha	33%	66,000 ha	44%
5. West	22,000 ha	22%	25,000 ha	25%	30,000 ha	30%	35,000 ha	35%
6. NE	3,300 ha	18%	4,000 ha	22%	5,000 ha	27%	6,000 ha	33%
7. Region 106	11,000 ha	15%	16,000 ha	23%	21,000 ha	30%	24,000 ha	34%
8. Region 103	2,000 ha	20%	3,000 ha	30%	4,000 ha	40%	5,000 ha	50%
9. Centre Armed Forces	1,000 ha	25%	2,000 ha	50%	3,000 ha	75%	4,000 ha	100%
10. Zone Armed Forces	3,000 ha	42%	5,000 ha	62%	7,000 ha	87%	10,000 ha	100%
11. Office & Ministries	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total:	217,300 ha	16%	312,000 ha	23%	422,000 ha	31%	536,000 ha	37%

^a Percentage compared to fields used once per year.

III—"The Party's Four-Year Plan to Build Socialism in All Fields"

TABLE 3

PLAN FOR RICE PRODUCTION THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY DURING THE PERIOD 1977 - 1980

Zone and Region	1977	1978	1979	1980	Total For Four Years
1. NW	1,620,000T	1,900,000T	2,250,000T	2,600,000T	8,370,000T
2. East	1,290,000T	1,410,000T	1,510,000T	1,620,000T	5,830,000T
3. SW	1,140,000T	1,210,000T	1,320,000T	1,440,000T	5,110,000T
4. North	695,000T	758,000T	935,000T	912,000T	3,200,000T
5. West	432,000T	450,000T	480,000T	510,000T	1,872,000T
6. NE	73,000T	78,000T	84,000T	90,000T	335,000T
7. Region 106	306,000T	336,000T	366,000T	384,000T	1,392,000T
8. Region 103	42,000T	48,000T	54,000T	60,000T	204,000T
9. Centre Armed Forces	18,000T	24,000T	30,000T	36,000T	108,000T
10. Zone Armed Forces	39,000T	54,000T	66,000T	90,000T	249,000T
Total:	5,555,000T	6,268,000T	6,995,000T	7,742,000T	26,560,000T ^a

^a Total rice produced. Total production for fields harvested twice per year is figured as 6 tons per hectare; ordinary fields harvested once per year is estimated at 3 tons per hectare.

Pol Pot Plans the Future

TABLE 4

CAPITAL EXPENDED ON RICE PRODUCTION THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY DURING THE PERIOD 1977 - 1980

Zone and Region	1977	1978	1979	1980	Total For Four Years
1. NW	830,000T	930,000T	1,030,000T	1,130,000T	3,920,000T
2. East	730,000T	830,000T	880,000T	930,000T	3,370,000T
3. SW	670,000T	720,000T	770,000T	820,000T	2,980,000T
4. North	470,000T	520,000T	570,000T	620,000T	2,180,000T
5. West	260,000T	275,000T	285,000T	295,000T	1,115,000T
6. NE	67,000T	67,500T	68,000T	68,500T	271,000T
7. Region 106	176,000T	186,000T	196,000T	206,000T	764,000T
8. Region 103	31,000T	33,000T	34,000T	36,000T	134,000T
9. Centre Armed Forces	14,000T	15,000T	16,000T	17,500T	62,500T
10. Zone Armed Forces	9,300T	10,800T	12,300T	14,300T	46,700T
Total:	3,257,300T	3,587,300T	3,861,300T	4,137,300T	14,843,200T ^a

^a Total expenditure can be broken down as follows:

- 1) for the livelihood of the people, 13 thang (312 kg) per year per person throughout the country
- 2) for seed
- 3) for reserves and welfare

III—"The Party's Four-Year Plan to Build Socialism in All Fields"

TABLE 5

TOTAL INCOME, EXPENDITURE AND CAPITAL EARNED FROM SELLING RICE FOR THE WHOLE COUNTRY DURING THE PERIOD 1977 - 1980

Types of Capital	1977	1978	1979	1980	Total For Four Years
Total Rice Produced	5,555,000T	6,268,000T	6,995,000T	7,742,000T	26,660,000T
Rice For Expenditure ^a	3,257,000T	3,587,000T	3,861,000T	4,137,000T	14,843,200T
Remainder	2,297,700T	2,680,700T	3,133,700T	3,604,700T	11,716,800T
Rice To Be Exported	1,304,800T	1,628,900T	1,848,800T	2,128,900T	6,955,400T
Money Earned ^b	\$277.68M	\$325.10M	\$368.70M	\$424.10M	\$1390.64M
Percentage Increase in Rice Capital From One Year To Another	100%	124%	132%	153%	501%

^a Total expenditures of all types.

^b Calculated as usual on the basis of \$200US per ton of rice.

Po! Pot Plans the Future

TABLE 6

TOTAL EXPENDITURE FOR THE BASE AND FOR THE STATE DURING THE PERIOD 1977 - 1980^a

Year	Expenditures For The Base		Expenditures For The State		Four Year's Total	
	Amount Of Money	Percentage	Amount of Money	Percentage	Amount of Money	Percentage
1977	\$197.68M	71.3%	\$ 80.00M	28.8%	\$ 277.68M	-
1978	\$227.90M	70.1%	\$ 97.20M	29.9%	\$ 325.10M	-
1979	\$262.30M	71.2%	\$106.40M	28.7%	\$ 368.70M	-
1980	\$296.60M	70.0%	\$127.56M	30.0%	\$ 424.16M	-
Total:	\$984.48M	70.8%	\$404.16M	29.2%	\$1390.64M	100%

^a Zones, regions, and organized units produce rice. Rice creates capital when it is sold overseas. The major part of the capital is to build the zones, regions, and organized units. The rest is for the state to fulfill its program of defending and building the country.

Out of the total capital of \$1390M gained from selling rice for the four years, \$984M or 70.8% is to build and defend the base and for the people's livelihood. And \$406M or 29.2% is to defend and build the country as a whole, this also includes supporting the NE and Region 103.

III—"The Party's Four-Year Plan to Build Socialism in All Fields"

TABLE 7

PLAN FOR RICE FIELDS TO BE USED ONCE PER YEAR AND TWICE PER YEAR

Region	Size Of Field Used Once Per Year	Size Of Fields Used Twice Per Year (Must Be Increased Every Year) ¹²			
		1977	1978	1979	1980
Region 1		10,000 ha			
Region 2		15,000 ha			
Region 3		20,000 ha			
Region 4		8,000 ha			
Region 5		12,000 ha			
Region 6		-			
Region 7		5,000 ha			
Account For	400,000ha	60,000 ha	100,000 ha	150,000 ha	200,000 ha
Percentage Comparing Field Used Once And Twice	100%	15%	25%	37.5%	50%

Pol Pot Plans the Future

2. Production of Rice and Capital (accumulation) for the Period 1977 - 1980 in North-West Zone

TABLE 8

PLAN FOR RICE PRODUCTION AND CAPITAL ACCUMULATION

Types of Input and Output	1977	1978	1979	1980	Total	Percentage
Production From 1st Quality Fields: 7T	420,000T	700,000T	1,050,000T	1,400,000T	3,570,000T ¹³	
Production From Ordinary Fields: 3T	1,200,000T	1,200,000T	1,200,000T	1,200,000T	4,800,000T	
Total Production	1,620,000T	1,900,000T	2,250,000T	2,600,000T	8,370,000T	

III—"The Party's Four-Year Plan to Build Socialism in All Fields"

3. Expenditure for Reconstruction, Defense, and Livelihood of the People in North-West Zone for the Period 1977 - 1980

TABLE 9
PLAN FOR VARIOUS EXPENDITURES FOR THE FOUR-YEAR PERIOD

Types of Expenditure	1977	1978	1979	1980	4-Year Total	Percentages
For Reconstruction Of The Zone:						
1. Agriculture	17M	20M	22M	25M	84M	32.3%
2. Industry	11M	15M	18M	24M	68M	26.1%
3. Energy	5M	7M	8M	9M	29M	11.5%
4. Communication	3M	5M	8M	8M	24M	9.2%
For Defense	2M	3M	3M	3M	11M	6.2%
For Livelihood Of The People:						
1. Medicine	2M	2M	3M	3M	10M	3.8%
2. Clothing	5M	3M	3M	3M	14M	5.3%
3. Household, Hygiene and Culture	5M	5M	5M	5M	20M	7.6%
Total:	50M	60M	70M	80M	260M	100.0%

Pol Pot Plans the Future

TABLE 10
YEARLY RICE HECTARAGE - E ZONE

Region Rice Hectarage Cultivated Once A Year Hectarage of No. 1 Riceland, Cultivated Twice A Year Which Must Be Increased Each Year

		1977	1978	1979	1980
20	125,000 ha	8,000 ha	12,000	15,000	20,000
21	54,000 ha	10,000 ha	15,000	20,000	25,000
22	80,000 ha	10,000 ha	15,000	20,000	25,000
23	160,000 ha	5,000 ha	8,000	10,000	12,000
24	92,000 ha	7,000 ha	10,000	12,000	14,000
	100%	11%	17%	22%	27%

- In all there are 511,000 hectares, but we calculate that 350,000 hectares are cultivated once, producing three tons per hectare per year.

- Concerning No. 1 land, good land cultivated twice, with water and sufficient fertilizer, a target would be six tons per hectare per year. This land must be expanded in every Region, every year.

III—"The Party's Four-Year Plan to Build Socialism in All Fields"

2. Production of Rice and Capital Accumulation for the Period 1977 - 1980 in E Zone

TABLE 11
PLAN FOR RICE PRODUCTION AND CAPITAL SEEKING

Type of Input-Output	1977	1978	1979	1980	4-Year Total	Percentages
Production From 1st Quality Fields: 6T	240,000T	360,000T	462,000T	570,000T	1,632,000T	
Production From Ordinary Fields: 3T	1,050,000T	1,050,000T	1,050,000T	1,050,000T	4,200,000T	
Total Production	1,290,000T	1,410,000T	1,512,000T	1,620,000T	5,832,000T	
For Consumption By 1.7M People	530,000T	530,000T	530,000T	530,000T	2,120,000T	
For Seed And Social Welfare	250,000T	300,000T	350,000T	400,000T	1,300,000T	
Remaining Paddy	510,000T	580,000T	630,000T	690,000T	2,400,000T	
In Rice	306,000T	348,000T	378,000T	414,000T	1,440,000T	
In Money: \$200 Per One Ton Of Rice	\$61M	\$69M	\$75M	\$82M	\$287M	
For Reconstruction Of Zone	\$50M	\$54M	\$60M	\$66M	\$230M	80%
Gift To The State	\$11M	\$15M	\$15M	\$16M	\$57M	20%

Pol Pot Plans the Future

3. Expenditures for Reconstruction, Defense, and Livelihood of the People in Eastern Zone for the Period 1977 - 1980

TABLE 12
VARIOUS EXPENDITURES FOR THE FOUR-YEAR PERIOD (IN US DOLLARS)

Types of Expenditure	1977	1978	1979	1980	4-Year Total	Percentages
For Reconstruction Of The Zone:						
1. Agriculture	18.0M	21.0M	23.0M	25.0M	87.0M	37.8%
2. Industry	14.0M	14.0M	17.0M	20.0M	65.0M	28.2%
3. Energy	3.0M	4.0M	5.0M	6.0M	18.0M	7.8%
For Defense ¹⁴	1.0M	1.5M	2.0M	2.0M	6.5M	2.8%
For Livelihood Of The People:						
1. Medicine	2.0M	2.0M	2.0M	2.0M	8.0M	3.4%
2. Clothing	5.0M	4.0M	3.5M	3.0M	15.5M	6.7%
3. Household, Hygiene and Culture	5.0M	4.5M	4.0M	4.0M	17.5M	7.6%
Total:	50.0M	54.0M	60.0M	66.0M	230.0M	100.0%

III—"The Party's Four-Year Plan to Build Socialism in All Fields"

SW ZONE

1. Yearly Rice Hectarage: In the SW total rice hectarage is 450,000 ha. We figure that 300,000 is cultivated once a year with an average production of three tons.
 - Concerning the No. 1 rice fields to be cultivated twice a year and must be expanded in every region as in the table below.

TABLE 13

RICELAND CULTIVATED ONCE AND TWICE (PER ANNUM)

Region	General Rice Hectarage Cultivated Once Per Year	Rice Hectarage Cultivated Twice Which Must be Increased Each Year			
		1977	1978	1979	1980
13		17,000 ha	20,000 ha	25,000 ha	30,000 ha
33		5,000	8,000	10,000	15,000
35		8,000	10,000	15,000	20,000
25		10,000	15,000	20,000	25,000
Total	300,000 ha	40,000	53,000	70,000	90,000
Percentage Comparing Fields To Be Cultivated Once And Twice Per Year	100%	13%	17%	23%	30%

Pol Pot Plans the Future

2. Production of Rice and Capital Seeking for the Period 1977 - 1980 in SW Zone

TABLE 14

PLAN FOR RICE PRODUCTION AND CAPITAL SEEKING

Type of Input-Output	1977	1978	1979	1980	4-Year Total	Percentages
Production From 1st Quality Field: 6T	240,000T	318,000T	420,000T	540,000T	1,518,000T	
Production From Ordinary Fields: 3T	900,000T	900,000T	900,000T	900,000T	3,600,000T	
Total Production	1,140,000T	1,218,000T	1,320,000T	1,440,000T	5,118,000T	
For Consumption By 1.5M People	470,000T	470,000T	470,000T	470,000T	1,880,000T	
For Seed And Social Work	200,000T	350,000T	300,000T	350,000T	1,100,000T	
Remaining Paddy	470,000T	500,000T	550,000T	620,000T	2,140,000T	
In Rice	260,000T	300,000T	330,000T	370,000T	1,260,000T	
In Money: \$200 Per Ton Of Rice	\$52,000,000	\$60,000,000	\$66,000,000	\$74,000,000	\$252,000,000	
For Reconstruction Of Zone	\$37,000,000	\$47,000,000	\$55,000,000	\$63,000,000	\$202,000,000	80%
Gift To The State	\$15,000,000	\$13,000,000	\$11,000,000	\$11,000,000	\$ 50,000,000	20%

III—"The Party's Four-Year Plan to Build Socialism in All Fields"

3. Expenditure for Reconstruction, Defense, and Livelihood of the People in SW Zone for the Period 1977 - 1980

TABLE 15

PLAN FOR VARIOUS EXPENDITURES FOR THE FOUR-YEAR PERIOD (IN US DOLLARS)

Types of Expenditure	1977	1978	1979	1980	4-Year Total	Percentages
For Reconstruction Of The Zone:						
1. Agriculture	11M	15M	19M	21M	66M	32.6%
2. Industry	7M	10M	13M	16M	46M	22.7%
3. Energy	3M	4M	5M	6M	18M	8.9%
4. Communication	3M	4M	5M	6M	18M	8.9%
For Defense Of Zone ¹⁵	2M	3M	3M	4M	12M	5.9%
For Livelihood Of The People:						
1. Medicine	2M	2M	2M	2M	8M	3.9%
2. Clothing	4M	4M	4M	4M	16M	7.9%
3. Household, Hygiene and Culture	5M	5M	5M	5M	20M	9.9%
Total:	37M	47M	55M	63M	202M	100.0%

Pol Pot Plans the Future

NORTHERN_ZONE

1. Yearly Rice Hectarage

TABLE 16

TOTAL RICELAND CULTIVATED TWICE AND ONCE A YEAR IN N ZONE

Region	Rice Hectarage Cultivated Once Per Year	Hectarage Of No. 1 Riceland, Cultivated Twice A Year, Which Must Be Increased Each Year			
		1977	1978	1979	1980
41		13,000 ha	16,000 ha	20,000 ha	23,000 ha
42		13,000 ha	16,000 ha	20,000 ha	23,000 ha
43		9,000 ha	12,000 ha	15,000 ha	20,000 ha
Account For	150,000 ha	35,000 ha	44,000 ha	55,000 ha	66,000 ha
Percentage Comparing Riceland Cultivated Once And Twice Per Year	100%	23%	29%	36%	44%

- In Northern Zone the total riceland is 230,000 ha but we account for only 150,000 ha. (i.e., ordinary rice cultivated once per year with an average production of 3 tons per hectare.)

- Number one riceland, cultivated twice a year with an average production of 7 tons per hectare. The size of this type of land must be increased continuously in every region as shown in the above table; mastery of water, fertilizer, and other cares.

III—"The Party's Four-Year Plan to Build Socialism in All Fields"

2. Production of Rice and Capital Seeking for the Period 1977 - 1980 in N Zone

TABLE 17

PLAN FOR RICE PRODUCTION AND CAPITAL SEEKING

Type of Input-Output	1977	1978	1979	1980	4-Year Total	Percentages
Production From 1st Quality Riceland: 7 Tons	245,000T	308,000T	385,000T	462,000T	1,400,000T	
Production From Ordinary Riceland: 3 Tons	450,000T	450,000T	450,000T	450,000T	1,800,000T	
Total Production	695,000T	758,000T	835,000T	912,000T	3,200,000T	
For Consumption by 1M People	320,000T	320,000T	320,000T	320,000T	1,280,000T	
For Seed And Social Work	150,000T	200,000T	250,000T	300,000T	900,000T	
Remaining Paddy	225,000T	238,000T	260,000T	292,000T	1,015,000T	
In Rice	130,000T	140,000T	160,000T	175,000T	605,000T	
In Money: \$200 Per Ton Of Rice	\$26,000,000	\$28,000,000	\$32,000,000	\$35,000,000	\$121,000,000	80%
For Reconstruction Of Zone	\$20,000,000	\$22,000,000	\$25,000,000	\$30,000,000	\$97,000,000	
Gift To The State	\$6,000,000	\$6,000,000	\$7,000,000	\$5,000,000	\$24,000,000	20%

Pol Pot Plans the Future

3. Expenditure for Reconstruction, Defense, and Livelihood of the People in Northern Zone for the Period 1977 - 1980

TABLE 18

PLAN FOR VARIOUS EXPENDITURES FOR THE FOUR-YEAR PERIOD (IN US DOLLARS)

Types of Expenditure	1977	1978	1979	1980	4-Year Total	Percentages
or Reconstruction Of The Zone:						
1. Agriculture	6.0M	7.0M	8.5M	10.0M	31.5M	31.0%
2. Industry	4.0M	5.0M	5.5M	7.0M	21.5M	22.0%
3. Energy	1.5M	2.0M	2.5M	3.0M	9.0M	9.2%
4. Communication	2.0M	2.0M	3.0M	3.5M	10.5M	10.8%
or Defense Of Zone ¹⁶						
or Livelihood Of The People:						
1. Medicine	1.0M	1.0M	1.0M	1.0M	4.0M	4.1%
2. Clothing	3.0M	2.0M	2.0M	2.0M	9.0M	9.2%
3. Household, Hygiene and Culture	2.5M	3.0M	2.5M	2.5M	10.5M	10.8%
Total:	20.0M	22.0M	25.0M	30.0M	97.0M	100.0%

III—"The Party's Four-Year Plan to Build Socialism in All Fields"

WESTERN ZONE

1. Yearly Rice Hectarage

TABLE 19

TOTAL RICELAND CULTIVATED ONCE AND TWICE PER YEAR IN W ZONE

Region	Region Hectarage Cultivated Once Per Year	Hectarage Of No. 1 Riceland, Cultivated Twice A Year, Which Must Be Increased Each Year			
		1977	1978	1979	1980
31	100,000 ha	8,000 ha			
32	50,000 ha	3,000 ha			
37	15,000 ha	5,000 ha			
15	40,000 ha	3,000 ha			
11	10,000 ha	3,000 ha			
Account For	100,000 ha	22,000 ha	25,000 ha	30,000 ha	35,000 ha
Percentage Comparing Riceland Cultivated Once And Twice Per Year	100%	22%	25%	30%	35%

- In Western Zone the total riceland is 300,000 ha. We account in general for only 100,000 ha to be cultivated once a year with production of 3 tons.
- As for the good land, cultivated twice per year and must be increased each year, with average production 6 tons per hectare per year.

Pol Pot Plans the Future

2. Production of Rice and Capital Accumulation for the Period 1977 - 1980 in W Zone

TABLE 20

PLAN FOR RICE PRODUCTION AND CAPITAL SEEKING

Type of Input-Output	1977	1978	1979	1980	4-Year Total	Percentages
Production From 1st Quality Fields: 6 Tons	132,000T	150,000T	180,000T	210,000T	672,000T	
Production From Ordinary Riceland: 3 Tons	300,000T	300,000T	300,000T	300,000T	1,200,000T	
Total Production	432,000T	450,000T	480,000T	510,000T	1,872,000T	
For Consumption By 600,000 People	180,000T	180,000T	180,000T	180,000T	720,000T	
For Seed And Social Work	80,000T	95,000T	105,000T	115,000T	395,000T	
Remaining Paddy	172,000T	275,000T	195,000T	215,000T	857,000T	
In Rice	100,000T	105,000T	117,000T	129,000T		
In Money: \$200 Per Ton Of Rice	\$20,000,000	\$21,000,000	\$23,000,000	\$25,000,000	\$89,000,000	
For Reconstruction Of Zone	\$16,000,000	\$16,000,000	\$18,000,000	\$22,000,000	\$72,000,000	80%
Gift To The State	\$ 4,000,000	\$ 5,000,000	\$ 5,000,000	\$ 3,000,000	\$ 17,000,000	20%

III—"The Party's Four-Year Plan to Build Socialism in All Fields"

3. Expenditure for Reconstruction, Defense, and Livelihood of the People in W Zone for the Period 1977 - 1980

TABLE 21

PLAN FOR VARIOUS EXPENDITURES FOR THE FOUR-YEAR PERIOD (IN US DOLLARS)

Types of Expenditure	1977	1978	1979	1980	4-Year Total	Percentages
For Reconstruction Of The Zone:						
1. Agriculture	5.5M	5.5M	6.0M	6.0M	23.0M	31.9%
2. Industry	2.9M	3.0M	3.0M	6.0M	14.9M	20.6%
3. Energy	1.5M	1.5M	2.0M	2.5M	7.5M	10.4%
4. Communication	1.5M	1.5M	1.5M	1.5M	6.0M	8.3%
For Defense Of Zone	1.0M	1.0M	1.5M	1.5M	5.0M	6.9%
For Livelihood Of The People:						
1. Medicine	600,000	500,000	500,000	1.0M	2.6M	3.6%
2. Clothing	1.5M	1.5M	1.5M	1.5M	6.0M	8.3%
3. Household, Hygiene and Culture	1.5M	1.5M	2.0M	2.0M	7.0M	9.7%
Total:	16.0M	16.0M	18.0M	22.0M	72.0M	100.0%

Pol Pot Plans the Future

REGION 106

1. Yearly Rice Hectarage

TABLE 22

TOTAL RICELAND CULTIVATED ONCE AND TWICE PER YEAR IN REGION 106

District	Total Riceland Cultivated Once A Year	No. 1 Riceland Cultivated Twice A Year That Must Be Increased Each Year			
		1977	1978	1979	1980
Chikreng		2,000 ha	3,000 ha	4,000 ha	5,000 ha
Saut Nikum		2,000 ha	3,000 ha	4,000 ha	5,000 ha
Siem Reap		3,000 ha	4,000 ha	5,000 ha	6,000 ha
Pouk		1,000 ha	2,000 ha	3,000 ha	4,000 ha
Account For	80,000 ha	11,000 ha	16,000 ha	21,000 ha	24,000 ha
Percentage Comparing Riceland Cultivated Once And Twice Per Year	100%	13%	20%	26%	30%

- Total riceland is 144,000 ha. We account for 80,000 ha to be cultivated once a year with an average production of three tons per hectare.
- Good land to be cultivated twice a year must be expanded every year in important districts, especially Srok Siem Reap, Srok Pouk, Srok Chikreng, Srok Saut Nikum, Srok Kralanh, etc.

III—"The Party's Four-Year Plan to Build Socialism in All Fields"

2. Production of Rice and Capital Seeking for the Period 1977 - 1980 in Region 106

TABLE 23
PLAN FOR RICE PRODUCTION AND CAPITAL SEEKING

Type of Input-Output	1977	1978	1979	1980	4-Year Total	Percentages
Production From 1st Quality Riceland: 6 Tons	66,000T	96,000T	126,000T	144,000T	432,000T	
Production From Ordinary Riceland: 3 Tons	240,000T	240,000T	240,000T	240,000T	960,000T	
Total Production	306,000T	336,000T	366,000T	384,000T	1,392,000T	
For Consumption By 400,000 People	130,000T	130,000T	130,000T	130,000T	520,000T	
For Seed And Social Work	46,000T	56,000T	66,000T	76,000T	244,000T	
Remaining Paddy	130,000T	150,000T	170,000T	178,000T	628,000T	
In Rice	78,000T	90,000T	102,000T	106,000T	376,000T	
In Money: \$200 Per Ton Of Rice	\$17,600,000	\$18,000,000	\$20,400,000	\$21,000,000	\$77,000,000	
For Reconstruction Of Zone	\$13,600,000	\$14,000,000	\$16,400,000	\$17,000,000	\$61,000,000	80%
Gift To The State	\$ 4,000,000	\$ 4,000,000	\$ 4,000,000	\$ 4,000,000	\$16,000,000	20%

Pol Pot Plans the Future

3. Expenditure for Reconstruction, Defense, and Livelihood of the People in Region 106 for the Period 1977 - 1980

TABLE 24
PLAN FOR VARIOUS EXPENDITURES FOR THE FOUR-YEAR PERIOD (IN US DOLLARS)

Types Of Expenditure	1977	1978	1979	1980	4-Year Total	Percentages
For Reconstruction Of The Zone:						
1. Agriculture	5.5M	6.0M	6.0M	6.0M	25.5M	38.5%
2. Industry	3.6M	3.8M	3.9M	5.0M	16.8M	27.3%
3. Energy	1.0M	1.2M	1.5M	1.5M	5.2M	8.5%
4. Communication	700,000	1.0M	1.0M	1.0M	3.7M	6.0%
For Defense Of Zone	300,000	500,000	500,000	500,000	1.8M	2.9%
For Livelihood Of The People:						
1. Medicine	500,000	500,000	500,000	500,000	2.0M	3.4%
2. Clothing	1.0M	1.0M	1.0M	1.0M	4.0M	6.5%
3. Household, Hygiene and Culture	1.0M	1.0M	1.0M	1.5M	4.5M	7.3%
Total:	13.6M	14.0M	16.4M	17.0M	61.0M	100.0%

III—"The Party's Four-Year Plan to Build Socialism in All Fields"

REGION 103

1. Yearly Rice Hectarage

TABLE 25

ESTIMATED RICELAND TO BE CULTIVATED ONCE AND TWICE PER YEAR IN REGION 103

Region 103	Riceland Cultivated Once A Year	Riceland Cultivated Twice A Year That Must Be Increased Each Year			
		1977	1978	1979	1980
Account For	10,000 ha	2,000 ha	3,000 ha	4,000 ha	5,000 ha
Percentage Comparing Riceland Cultivated Once And Twice Per Year	100%	20%	30%	40%	50%

- Total riceland is 16,000 ha. We account for 10,000 ha to be cultivated once a year with an average production of three tons per hectare.
- Number one riceland to be cultivated twice a year with an average production of 6 tons.

Pol Pot Plans the Future

2. Production of Rice and Capital Seeking for the Period 1977 - 1980 in Region 103

TABLE 26

PLAN FOR RICE PRODUCTION AND CAPITAL SEEKING

Type of Input-Output	1977	1978	1979	1980	4-Year Total	Percentages
Production From 1st Quality Riceland: 6T	12,000	12,000T	24,000T	30,000T	84,000T	
Production From Ordinary Riceland: 3T	30,000T	30,000T	30,000T	30,000T	120,000T	
Total Production	42,000T	48,000T	54,000T	60,000T	204,000T	
For Consumption By 83,000 People	26,000T	26,000T	26,000T	26,000T	104,000T	
For Seed And Social Work	5,000T	7,000T	8,000T	10,000T	30,000T	
Remaining Paddy	11,000T	15,000T	20,000T	24,000T	70,000T	
In Rice	6,600T	9,000T	12,000T	14,000T	41,000T	
In Money: \$200 Per Ton Of Rice	\$1,300,000	\$1,800,000	\$2,400,000	\$2,880,000	\$8,380,000	
For Reconstruction Of Zone	\$1,300,000	\$1,800,000	\$2,400,000	\$2,880,000	\$8,380,000	100%
Support From State	\$1,000,000	\$1,000,000	\$1,000,000	\$1,000,000	\$4,000,000	47%

III—"The Party's Four-Year Plan to Build Socialism in All Fields"

3. Expenditure for Reconstruction, Defense, and Livelihood of the People in Region 103

TABLE 27
 PLAN FOR VARIOUS EXPENDITURES FOR THE FOUR-YEAR PERIOD (IN US DOLLARS)

Types of Expenditure		1977	1978	1979	1980	Four-Year Total	Percent-ages
For Reconstruction Of Zone:							
1. Agriculture	<u>Region</u>	500,000	800,000	1,000,000	1,300,000	5,600,000	45.1%
	<u>State</u>	500,000	500,000	500,000	500,000		
2. Industry	<u>Region</u>	200,000	300,000	500,000	600,000	2,900,000	23.3%
	<u>State</u>	300,000	300,000	300,000	400,000		
3. Energy	<u>Region</u>	150,000	200,000	300,000	300,000	950,000	7.6%
	<u>State</u>						
4. Communication	<u>Region</u>	100,000	100,000	200,000	200,000	800,000	6.4%
	<u>State</u>		100,000		100,000		
For Defense Of Zone	<u>Region</u>	50,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	350,000	2.8%
	<u>State</u>						
For Livelihood Of People:							
1. Medicine	<u>Region</u>	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	400,000	3.2%
	<u>State</u>						
2. Clothing	<u>Region</u>	100,000	100,000	100,000	200,000	1,000,000	0.8%
	<u>State</u>	200,000	100,000	200,000			
3. Household, Hygiene and Culture	<u>Region</u>	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	400,000	3.2%
	<u>State</u>						
Total:	<u>Region</u>	1,300,000	1,700,000	2,400,000	2,900,000	12,400,000	100.0%
	<u>State</u>	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000		

Pol Pot Plans the Future

NE Zone

1. Yearly Rice Hectarage

TABLE 28
 ESTIMATED RICELAND TO BE CULTIVATED ONCE AND TWICE PER YEAR IN NE ZONE

Region	Riceland Cultivated Once A Year	No. 1 Riceland Cultivated Twice A Year That Must Be Increased Each Year			
		1977	1978	1979	1980
101	900 ha	300 ha			
102	2,300 ha				
104	5,400 ha				
105	3,300 ha				
107	1,400 ha				
505	16,000 ha	2,000 ha			
Account For	18,000 ha	3,300 ha	4,000 ha	5,000 ha	6,000 ha
Percentage Comparing Riceland Cultivated Once And Twice Per Year	100%	18.3%	22.2%	27.7%	33.3%

III—"The Party's Four-Year Plan to Build Socialism in All Fields"

2. Production of Rice and Capital Seeking for the Period 1977 - 1980 in NE Zone

TABLE 29
PLAN FOR RICE PRODUCTION AND CAPITAL SEEKING

Type of Input-Output	1977	1978	1979	1980	4-Year Total	Percentages
Production From 1st Quality Riceland: 6 tons	19,000T	24,000T	30,000T	36,000T	109,000T	
Production From Ordinary Riceland: 3 Tons	54,000T	54,000T	54,000T	54,000T	216,000T	
Total Production	73,000T	78,000T	84,000T	90,000T	325,000T	
For Consumption By 200,000 People	65,000T	65,000T	65,000T	65,000T	260,000T	
For Seed And Social Work	2,000T	2,500T	3,000T	3,500T	11,000T	
Remaining Paddy	6,000T	10,500T	16,000T	21,000T	53,400T	
In Rice	4,000T	6,000T	9,600T	12,000T	31,000T	
In Money: \$200 Per Ton Of Rice	\$800,000	1.2M	1.9M	2.5M	6.4M	
For Reconstruction Of Zone	\$800,000	1.2M	1.9M	2.5M	6.4M	100%
Support From State	1.0M	1.0M	1.0M	1.0M	4.0M	62%

For For Plans Use Future

3. Expenditure for Reconstruction, Defense, and Livelihood of the People

TABLE 30
PLAN FOR VARIOUS EXPENDITURES FOR THE FOUR-YEAR PERIOD IN THE NE ZONE (IN US.DOLLARS)

Types of Expenditure		1977	1978	1979	1980	Four-Year Total	Percent-ages
For Reconstruction Of Zone:							
1. Agriculture	Zone	400,000	500,000	600,000	800,000		
	State	400,000	500,000	600,000	500,000	4,300,000	41.3%
2. Industry	Zone	130,000	200,000	400,000	500,000		
	State	200,000	200,000	300,000	400,000	2,330,000	22.4%
3. Energy	Zone	50,000	100,000	200,000	300,000		
	State	100,000	500,000			800,000	7.6%
4. Communication	Zone	50,000	100,000	200,000	400,000		
	State	100,000	50,000	100,000	100,000	1,100,000	10.5%
For Defense Of Zone ¹⁷	Zone						
	State						
For Livelihood Of People:							
1. Medicine	Zone	70,000	100,000	200,000	200,000		
	State	100,000	100,000			770,000	7.4%
2. Clothing	Zone	70,000	100,000	200,000	200,000		
	State	100,000	100,000			770,000	7.4%
3. Household, Hygiene and Culture	Zone	30,000	100,000	100,000	100,000		
	State					330,000	3.1%
Total:	Zone	800,000		1,000,000	2,500,000		
	State	1,000,000	1,200,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	10,400,000	100.0%

III—"The Party's Four-Year Plan to Build Socialism in All Fields"

CENTRE ARMY

1. Yearly Rice Hectarage

TABLE 31

ESTIMATES OF RICELAND CULTIVATED ONCE AND TWICE PER YEAR

Types Of Land	1977	1978	1979	1980
1. Riceland Cultivated Twice A Year	1,000 ha	2,000 ha	3,000 ha	4,000 ha
2. Riceland Cultivated Once A Year	4,000 ha	4,000 ha	4,000 ha	4,000 ha

Pol Pot Plans the Future

2. Production of Rice and Capital Seeking for the Period 1977 - 1980

TABLE 32

PLAN FOR RICE PRODUCTION AND CAPITAL SEEKING

Type of Input-Output	1977	1978	1979	1980	4-Year Total	Percentages
Production From 1st Quality Riceland: 6 tons	6,000T	12,000T	18,000T	24,000T	60,000T	
Production From Ordinary Riceland: 3 Tons	12,000T	12,000T	12,000T	12,000T	48,000T	
Total Production	18,000T	24,000T	30,000T	36,000T	108,000T	
For Consumption	12,000T	12,000T	12,000T	12,000T	48,000T	
For Seed And Social Work	2,000T	3,000T	4,000T	5,500T	14,500T	
Remaining Paddy	4,000T	9,000T	14,000T	18,000T	45,000T	
In Rice	2,400T	5,000T	8,000T	11,500T	26,900T	
In Money: \$200US Per Ton Of Rice	\$480,000	1.0M	\$1,600,000	\$2,300,000	\$5,380,000	
For Reconstruction Of The Unit	\$480,000	1.0M	\$1,600,000	\$1,800,000	\$4,880,000	89.2%
Gift To State				\$ 500,000	\$ 500,000	10.8%

III—"The Party's Four-Year Plan to Build Socialism in All Fields"

83

3. Expenditure for Reconstruction of the Unit for the Period 1977 - 1980

TABLE 33
PLAN FOR VARIOUS EXPENDITURES (IN US DOLLARS)

Types Of Expenditures	1977	1978	1979	1980	4-Year Total	Percentages
1. Agriculture	400,000	800,000	1,200,000	1,400,000	3,800,000	78.0%
2. Craftmanship	80,000	200,000	200,000	200,000	680,000	13.9%
3. Energy			200,000	200,000	400,000	8.1%
Total:	480,000	1.0M	1,600,000	1,800,000	4,880,000	100.0%

Pol Pot Plans the Future

ZONE ARMY

1. Yearly Rice Hectarage

TABLE 34
ESTIMATES OF RICELAND CULTIVATED ONCE AND TWICE A YEAR

Types Of Land	1977	1978	1979	1980
1. First Quality Riceland Cultivated Twice A Year	3,000 ha	5,000 ha	7,000 ha	10,000 ha
2. Riceland Cultivated Once A Year	7,000 ha	8,000 ha	8,000 ha	10,000 ha

III—"The Party's Four-Year Plan to Build Socialism in All Fields"

2. Production of Rice and Capital to be Gained for the Period 1977 - 1980

TABLE 35

PLAN FOR RICE PRODUCTION AND CAPITAL GAINED (IN US DOLLARS)

Type of Input-Output	1977	1978	1979	1980	4-Year Total	Percentages
1st Quality Riceland: 6T	18,000T	30,000T	42,000T	60,000T	150,000T	
Ordinary Riceland: 3T	21,000T	24,000T	24,000T	30,000T	99,000T	
Total Production	39,000T	54,000T	66,000T	90,000T	249,000T	
For Consumption	6,300T	6,300T	6,300T	6,300T	25,200T	
For Seed And Social Work	3,000T	4,500T	6,000T	8,000T	21,500T	
Remaining Paddy	29,700T	43,200T	53,700T	75,700T	202,300T	
In Rice	17,800T	25,900T	32,200T	47,400T	123,300T	
In Money: \$200US Per Ton Of Rice	3.50M	5.10M	6.40M	9.48M	\$24,480,000	
For Reconstruction Of The Unit	3.50M	4.10M	4.60M	7.40M	19.60M	80%
Gift To State		1.00M	1.80M	2.08M	4.88M	20%

Pol Pot Plans the Future

3. Expenditure for Reconstruction of the Unit for the Period 1977 - 1980

TABLE 36

PLAN FOR VARIOUS EXPENDITURES (IN US DOLLARS)

Types Of Expenditures	1977	1978	1979	1980	4-Year Total	Percentages
1. Agriculture	3,000,000	3,700,000	4,500,000	4,500,000	15,700,000	80%
2. Craftmanship	500,000	500,000	1,000,000	1,900,000	3,900,000	20%
Total:	3,500,000	4,200,000	5,500,000	6,400,000	19,600,000	100.0%

III—"The Party's Four-Year Plan to Build Socialism in All Fields"

TABLE 37
TOTAL PLAN EXPENDITURE FOR BASE (AREA) FOR NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION, DEFENSE OF BASES
AND LIVELIHOOD OF THE PEOPLE FOR THE PERIOD 1977 - 1980 (IN US DOLLARS)

Types Of Expenditures	1977	1978	1979	1980	4-Year Total	Percentages
For National Reconstruction:						
1. Agriculture	68.20M	81.30M	92.90M	102.00M	344.40M	34.9%
2. Industry	46.91M	56.20M	67.60M	86.50M	257.21M	26.1%
3. Energy	15.30M	20.05M	24.70M	28.80M	88.85M	9.2%
4. Communication	12.45M	16.85M	22.50M	23.80M	75.60M	7.6%
For Defense Of Bases	6.35M	9.10M	10.10M	11.10M	36.65M	3.7%
For Livelihood Of People:						
1. Medicine	8.37M	8.30M	9.30M	9.30M	35.27M	3.6%
2. Clothing	19.97M	15.90M	15.50M	14.90M	66.27M	6.7%
3. Household, Hygiene, and Culture	20.13M	20.20M	19.70M	20.20M	80.23M	8.1%
Total:	197.68M	227.90M	262.30M	296.60M	984.48M	100.0%
Increase In Percentage From One Year To Another	100%	115%	132%	15%	498%	

III—"The Party's Four-Year Plan to Build Socialism in All Fields"

2. A number of problems related to the production of rice

A. Water problem

Increase the degree of mastery over the water problem from one year to another until it reaches 100 percent by 1980 for first-class rice land and reaches 40-50% for ordinary rice land.

TABLE 38
PLAN FOR SOLVING THE WATER PROBLEM

Types of land	1977	1978	1979	1980
land cultivated twice	50-60%	60-70%	70-80%	80-90%
land cultivated once	10-20%	20-30%	30-40%	40-50%
	or	or	or	or
	10-15%	20-25%	25-30%	30-35%

In order to gain mastery over water there must be a network of dikes and canals as the basis. There must also be canals, reservoirs, and irrigation pumps stationed in accordance with our strategy. We can observe that there is the possibility that we'll achieve the above goal for first quality rice land—525,000 ha. in 1980 as long as we grasp and tightly maintain our direction.

In our second plan from 1981 onward we can increase first quality rice land to over one million hectares and gain mastery over water to 100 percent; and in over one million hectares of ordinary rice land, we can gain mastery over water from 50 to 60 percent.¹⁸

B. Fertilizer problem

TABLE 39
PLAN FOR PRODUCTION OF ALL TYPES OF FERTILIZER

Types of fertilizer	1977	1978	1979	1980
Natural fertilizer	5,600,000T	6,700,000T	7,800,000T	8,900,000T
	5-10,000T	10-15,000T	15-20,000T	20-25,000T
Artificial fertilizer	Not yet in process			
Refuse fertilizer	Must collect whatever is possible			

The reserves of fertilizer in Stung Meanchey are to be given to the army, offices, and ministries that need it.

C. Agricultural Chemicals

TABLE 40

PLAN FOR PRODUCTION OF AGRICULTURAL CHEMICALS

Types of chemical	1977	1978	1979	1980
Natural chemicals	200-300T	300-400T	400-500T	500-600T
Artificial chemicals	pending	pending	Buy factory that produces DDT.	Carry on the work at the factory.

D. Experimenting with Different Seed Strains, 1977-1980

- Choose good seeds that yield greater harvests. Organize research to find seeds that have high quality, high yields, durability and strong straight stalks; seeds that are easy to work with and easy to harvest.
- An area must be set aside for experiments in order to increase rice production, according to the types of seed chosen, fertilizer, and weather conditions. Together with this, we must set up a meteorological station.¹⁹

E. Agricultural Tools

These should be modified, as time goes on, in the direction of modernization and mechanization. Examples are irrigation pumps, mechanical ploughs, and machines for broadcasting, planting, transplanting, harvesting, and threshing, as well as instruments for transporting, digging, collecting, and pouring. They should also include rice-milling equipment, chemical sprays and so on.

TABLE 41

PLAN FOR THE PRODUCTION OF AGRICULTURAL TOOLS

Types of tools	1977	1978	1979	1980
For first quality land	30-40	40-50	50-60	60-70
For ordinary land	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25
Irrigation pumps, 30 and 40 centimetre	200	400	600	800
Irrigation pumps, 15 centimetre	200	400	600	800
Rice mills 16-20 h/p	200	300	400	500
Small threshing machine	3,000	4,000	5,000	6,000
Big threshing machine	100	200	300	500
Tractor	200	400	600	1,000

Types of tools	1977	1978	1979	1980
Mechanical saw	100	200	400	600
TOTAL:	5,000	5,900	7,900	10,200 ²⁰

Notice: The above numbers are what we produce ourselves and exclude imports.

F. The Problem of Energy

The important thing is to serve the first quality land that is harvested twice. It is a matter of serving agriculture. We must use electric-powered engines, and we can burn gas, charcoal, and use wood to make steam.

TABLE 42

PLAN TO GENERATE ENERGY FOR AGRICULTURE

Types of energy	1977	1978	1979	1980
Gas power and power from burnt charcoal and wood	50-60%	60-70%	60-70%	70-80%
Electricity	Prepare to set up electric factory and electric power station.	Buy and build electric factory and electric power station in important zones.	Build electric factory and electric power station in important zones.	Has power station from 20 to 30 percent.

Three Other Cereals

A. Request: It is important to set these crops aside for consumption and also for feeding animals. Crops for export are beans of all types, especially, and certain quantities of corn.

B. Types: Red corn, green beans, red beans, peanuts, etc. We also include all types of root crops in this group as well.

TABLE 43

PLAN FOR THE PRODUCTION OF CORN, BEANS, AND SESAME

Type of crop	1977	1978	1979	1980
Red corn	50,000ha	60,000ha	70,000ha	70,000ha
All types of bean and sesame	50,000ha	60,000ha	70,000ha	70,000ha
TOTAL:	100,000ha	120,000ha	140,000ha	140,000ha

Industrial Crops

- A. *Request:* A portion should be set aside to increase our industrial base. Another portion should be exported. Goods for export include rubber, kapok, coconuts and so on.
- B. *Types:* These include rubber, cotton, jute, coconut, sugar-cane, kapok, tobacco, Khmer dyes, lacquer and so on.

TABLE 44
PLAN FOR PRODUCTION OF INDUSTRIAL CROPS

Type of crops	1977	1978	1979	1980
Rubber ²¹	25,000T	30,000T	35,000T	40,000T
Cotton	10,000ha	12,000ha	13,000ha	15,000ha
Jute	15,000ha	20,000ha	25,000ha	30,000ha
Coconuts (new plants)	500,000 plants	1,000,000 plants	1,000,000 plants	1,000,000 plants
Sugar cane	30,000ha	40,000ha	50,000ha	50,000ha
Kapok	1,000,000 plants	1,500,000 plants	1,500,000 plants	1,500,000 plants
Tobacco	10,000ha	12,000ha	13,000ha	15,000ha
TOTAL:	65,000ha	84,000ha	101,000ha	110,000ha

Note: Area of land in hectares, excluding rubber, coconut, and kapok. In previous times, rubber plantations covered 40,000ha.

Fruit

- A. *Requirements:* Primarily to support individual units; also for export.
- B. *Types:* The important fruits in our country are bananas, paw-paws, mangoes, oranges, lemons, custard apples, pineapples, jackfruit, mangosteen, durian, pepper, coffee, and so on.
- C. *Directions for production:*
1. Look after existing gardens.
 2. Grow more fruit in co-operatives, factories, families, offices, ministries, and units. Grow individually and collectively, in tune with the Plan and the proper place.

Vegetables

- A. *Requirements:* Everyone should be self-supporting 100% throughout the year in terms of fresh, dry, and preserved vegetables.
- B. *Types:* These include cabbages, egg-plants, tomatoes, pumpkins, cucumbers, beans, lettuce, garlic, onions, potatoes (all types), mushrooms, chillis, capsicum, mint (all sorts), ginger, bamboo, and so on.

C. Directions for production:

1. Look after existing gardens.
2. Grow new vegetables according to plans in co-operatives and families, factories, offices, ministries, units, collectives and on an individual basis.

Trees and Forest Products

- A. *Plants:* bamboo; hollow bamboo; ferns; teak; etc.
- B. *Trees:* Cultivate older forest trees, and grow new ones such as *srol*, *tbeng*, *koki*, etc.

The organization must be such as to permit work in co-operatives, army units, and other public units.

Forest Crops Useful for Insecticides and Medicine

- A. *Types:* *s dau* trees, quinine, manioc, strychnine, cardamom, medicinal pepper, rattan, camphor, grapes, and trees useful for Khmer medicine, etc.
- B. *Directions for expansion:* Seek more information from the masses, and from traditional healers, so as to attain abundance. Plant according to the available possibilities.²²

Forest By-products

- A. *Types:* liquid, solid, and root resins; vines; *samrong* dye; honey; bees' wax; varnish, etc.
- B. *Possibilities for expansion:* Organize resources for use inside the country as a basis, and then export small quantities. Make arrangements for raising bees systematically.

Animal Husbandry

- A. *Draught animals:* oxen, buffalo, horses
1. raising on co-operatives
 2. raising as a state industry, i.e. Northeast, West, Northwest, Region 103, 106, etc.
- B. *Animals for Meat and Milk:*
oxen, pigs, hens, ducks, turkeys, pigeons, rabbits, French hens, sheep, and goats
- C. *Providing for these Animals' Needs:*
1. Food: grass, hay, chaff, etc. We need also to produce food mixtures such as banana chaff, rice-dust, potato flour, pish meal, etc.
 2. Medicines must be prepared to prevent animal diseases.

TABLE 45
PLAN TO RAISE MORE DRAUGHT ANIMALS NATIONALLY
DURING THE PERIOD 1977-1980

Type of Animal	1977	1978	1979	1980
1. Ox	200,000	250,000	300,000	400,000
2. Buffalo	30,000	50,000	70,000	100,000
3. Horse	500	1,000	1,500	2,000

3. Methods for making progress: locate good breeding stock, and breed them systematically, beginning in 1977. Also, pay attention to hygiene for animals, arranging for enclosures, feed, sanitation.

TABLE 46
PLAN TO RAISE MEAT STOCK

Type of Animal	1977	1978	1979	1980
1. Ox	50,000	80,000	100,000	150,000
2. Pig	800,000	1,000,000	1,200,000	2,000,000
3. Hen	1,500,000	2,000,000	3,000,000	5,000,000
4. Duck	1,500,000	1,500,000	2,000,000	3,000,000

TABLE 47
PLAN TO PRODUCE FOOD AND MEDICINE FOR ANIMALS

Type of food	1977	1978	1979	1980
Food for draught animals	20%	30%	40%	50%
Food for meat stock from factory	50%	70%	80%	90%
Medicine for all types of animals	50,000 head	100,000 head	150,000 head	200,000 head

Fish and Other Water Creatures

A. *Fresh water fish*: fresh, dried, *prahoc* (preserved), *paok* (preserved), smoked, fish sauce, fish meal

B. *Other fresh water creatures*: eels, lobsters, turtles, frogs, etc.

TABLE 48
PLAN OF PRODUCTION OF FRESH WATER FISH
AND OTHER CREATURES

Types	1977	1978	1979	1980
Fresh fish	100,000T	150,000T	200,000T	250,000
Dried fish	50,000T	70,000T	80,000T	100,000T
<i>Prahoc, paok</i> (preserved)	50,000T	70,000T	80,000T	100,000T
Smoked fish	20,000T	30,000T	50,000T	70,000T
Fish sauce	300,000 litres	500,000 litres	700,000 litres	1,000,000 litres
Fish meal	10,000T	15,000T	20,000T	50,000T

C. *Salt water fish*: fish, crab, prawn, salt water fish sauce

TABLE 49
PLAN OF PRODUCTION OF SALT WATER FISH AND OTHER
CREATURES; SELLING PRICE IN
BAHT AND VOLUME OF FISH SAUCE IN LITRES²³

Types	1977	1978	1979	1980
Fish, prawns, and crabs	5,000,000 baht	7,000,000 baht	10,000,000 baht	15,000,000 baht
Salt water fish sauce	100,000 litres	200,000 litres	300,000 litres	500,000 litres

PART TWO

BUILDING SOCIALISM IN THE INDUSTRIAL SECTOR

A. Request

1. Prepare the basic economic conditions for producing various equipment in order to simultaneously achieve independence - master our economy; for instance, various agricultural tools and raw materials to avoid carrying others and buying from them forever. So we strive to become our own masters step by step. Standing on this first request we must consider heavy industry i.e. we must prepare to establish the accompanying conditions step by step.
2. Serve the people's livelihood (requirements) such as clothing, mosquito nets, blankets, crockery and industrial foodstuffs such as fish sauce, soya sauce, bean paste, and other commodities necessary for the people's livelihood.
3. Increasingly develop agricultural equipment that will even more ease the people's labor and expand the productive forces.

B. On the leadership criteria to build socialism in the industrial sector we stand on agriculture as the base in order to expand industry.

Within this industrial (sector), we first of all pay attention to light industry that directly serves the people's livelihood. Together with this we also prepare the conditions for heavy industry.

The experience in other countries is that they take heavy industries as the base, as in the USSR, Eastern Europe, Korea. In the USSR and Eastern Europe their industry has a firm base but agriculture is weaker. In Korea they turned back to agriculture in time after they had made heavy industry and have resolved the problem the best. The Chinese were first concerned about heavy industry but later on turned back to agriculture and light industry. Now light industry has advanced while heavy industry and agriculture also have a firm base. In North Vietnam there are also a number of heavy industries but they are not yet firm. Light industry also has no strong base and neither does agriculture.

General observation shows that others have followed the Soviet experiment in general outline. Turning to us, we stand on our situation and our direction. Our economy stands on agriculture now. But should our industry stand on heavy or light industry? In accordance with our situation we must divide the capital we have earned through agriculture into two:

- first for light industry and
- second for heavy industry.

We walk on two legs, i.e. we operate light industry together with heavy industry, so that heavy industry serves light industry. If we don't operate heavy industry together with light industry we'll still be carrying foreigners.

But we must expand light industry to master it step by step from the start, because if we do not operate light industry our people's livelihood will still be carrying that of others; such as plates, pots, water bowls, spoons, scarves, mosquito-nets, mats, foodstuffs. Formerly they bought everything from foreign countries from liniment to Maggi sauce.

We only have to earn capital from agriculture, because we have no other capital, unlike other countries, where their first plan includes a lot of foreign aid capital.²⁴

So we expand light industry as well as heavy industry, but in stages: sometimes we stress light industry, sometimes heavy industry. In our second plan we'll expand heavy industry a lot because by then the livelihood of our people will have been raised and advanced to a certain level.²⁵

I. THE PLAN TO BUILD LIGHT INDUSTRY

Framework: Centre, Zone, and some Regions

A. Types of Light Industry

1. Various textile industries - sacks.
2. Various foodstuff industries - cigarettes, sugar, edible oils, vermicelli.
3. Paper industries - educational and office stationary.
4. Industries producing goods for everyday use. Clothing, mosquito nets, blankets, mats, shoes, hats, tables, cupboards, chairs, plates, pots, pans, serving spoons, spoons, water bowls, water pitchers, jars, thermoses, glasses, bottles, (big and small) teapots, cups, toothbrushes, toothpaste, combs, scissors, cleaning materials, hygiene soap, towels, medical equipment, muslin, cotton wool, alcohol, knives, axes, sickles, ploughs, tailoring, leather, etc.
5. The bicycle industry and bicycle spare parts.

B. Plan for Light Industry Production

1. *The sector directly serving the people:* such as tailoring, clothing, scarves, mosquito nets, blankets, shoes, plates, pots, serving spoons, spoons, water bowls, water pitchers, soap, toothpaste, towels, muslin, alcohol etc. Produce from 60 to 100 percent from 1977 to 1980.
2. *Other parts:* organize to build also, but step by step in this Four-Year Plan, especially:
 - *Muslin for mosquito net:* We must produce 5 million metres per year.

- *Cotton*: Find a way to buy cotton looms so that we have one or several production lines to serve the common needs, such as for blankets, clothing material, dresses (*sampor*), scarves, muslin, etc.
- *Tailoring*: Must be set up as factories in every important location.

II. THE PLAN TO BUILD HEAVY INDUSTRY

A. Types of Heavy Industry

- various machine-tool industries producing tools for agriculture aiming evermore at greatly increasing the production forces and evermore easing the direct (demands) of the people's force
- ferrous and various other non-ferrous metals industries
- the chemical industry
- coal and various mineral industries
- the electrical power industry
- various construction industries
- the petroleum industry
- rubber and all kinds of rubber processing industries
- the salt industry, etc.

B. Direction of Construction

We must postpone ferrous metals for the time being for two reasons. First we have no capital with which to buy an iron-smelting factory. Second, we haven't yet grasped the technology. If we wait to make an iron-smelting factory first, we will have to wait longer. So we must expand various machine-tool industries by buying iron from others for the time being, and then gradually set up an iron-smelting factory.

1. Machine-tool Industries to Serve Agriculture

The important direction is to expand industries that serve agriculture in order to even more strongly increase the productive forces and to even more ease (demands) in the direction of people's toiling forces.

Whenever our agriculture has advanced we'll have much capital to expand all sectors of industry ever more progressively and quickly.

TABLE 50

Types of Industry	1977	1978	1979	1980
A. Machinery industries to serve agriculture— produced domestically				
—irrigation pumps	200	400	600	800
30 and 40 centimetres	sets	sets	sets	sets
—irrigation pumps	200	400	600	800
15 centimetres	sets	sets	sets	sets

—rice-milling machines	200	300	400	500
20 horse power	sets	sets	sets	sets
—threshing machines	3,000	4,000	5,000	6,000
(small)	sets	sets	sets	sets
—threshing machines	100	200	300	500
(large)				
—tractors	200	400	600	1,000
	sets	sets	sets	sets
—saw-milling machines	100	200	400	600
	sets	sets	sets	sets

B. Additional purchases from abroad

30% of what is needed

2. Iron and Various Non-ferrous Metal

- From 1977 onwards we must make contact to buy an iron-smelting factory of overseas standard in order to install it in 1978, and we will expand it simultaneously. We must produce from 5,000 tonnes to 10,000 tonnes by 1979 and 1980.²⁶
- From now on we must prepare the iron sector and systematically collect old iron. This is the direct responsibility of the Industry department.
- Together with these we set up block and sheet metal factories.

3. Chemical Industry

Produce chemical elements that serve iron-smelting as well as agriculture, for instance:

- all types of necessary acids
- caustic-ammonia
- chlorine - chloric calcium
- paint, acetylene, oxygen, diesel
- From 1977 onward we must simultaneously organise these.
- Industrial experts must visit other countries in order to learn from other countries' experiences.

4. Various Mineral Industries and Coal

We start thinking about our own coal from now on.

- Must collect all documents and carry out further research;
- The research must have direction, not head all over the place; i.e. research with common direction as well as for particular necessities. The most important are coal and iron; if there's any we'll find it. We must set up factories to refine them.²⁷

5. *The Electrical Power Industry*

- Must also organise the resources for electrical equipment from 1977 on.
- Must have 50,000 - 60,000 kilowatts of electrical power starting from 1977 to 1980.
- We set up in Phnom Penh and Kompong Som most importantly, then in the NW, East, SW, N and W.
- We do it with the combustion power of crude oil and coal.
- Research for places to build more hydro-electric (plants) as in Prek Thnot where old plans have already been prepared. Make plans to build hydro-electric stations that produce on average 10,000, 20,000, and 30,000 kilowatts in this Four-Year Plan.

6. *Various Construction Industries*

Our important construction factories are (those making) cement, fibro-cement, bricks, tiles, sand, gravel, stone, saw-mill factories, nails, screws, window and door hinges, window and door latches, etc.

7. *Petrol*

- Continue the preparation of the petrol extraction plant at Kompong Som.
- Simultaneously search for oil wells, especially in the sea.²⁸

8. *The Rubber and Rubber Refining Factories of All Types*

- Strengthen and expand the factories in the East and North in order to raise production.
- Organise the rubber refinery plants of all types to serve agriculture, industry, and medicine from 1977 on.

9. *Salt Industry*

- Must organise to produce sufficient salt to meet requirements from 1977 on, according to the following plan:

Type of Salt	1977	1978	1979	1980	Four-Year Total
Marine salt	from	from	from	from	from
	50,000	60,000	70,000	80,000	260,000
	to	to	to	to	to
	70,000	80,000	90,000	100,000	340,000
	tons	tons	tons	tons	tons

III. COMMUNICATIONS, TRANSPORT, AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS

Request:

- In order to serve the building of socialism in agriculture and industry so that they progress hand in hand. It is the means of communication and transport that gives appropriate speed to agriculture and industry.
- In order to suitably serve internal and external trade according to the Party's increasingly lofty requests.
- In order punctually to provide for increasingly high living standards or the people.

So it (transport) is a bridge, a vein connecting things to one another. Standing on this request we must organise in such a way that they go hand in hand, throughout the country, in the Zones, Regions, districts, sub-districts and co-operatives.

1. *Water Transport*

A. River and Sea Routes:

1. lakes, rivers, streams, canals
2. the sea, near to the shore to start with

TABLE 52
PLAN TO BUILD MOTORIZED BOATS AND SHIPS
THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY

Types	1977	1978	1979	1980
Motorized boats (100 tons)	150	250	300	400
Motorized boats (50 tons)	50	50	100	100
Sea-going ships (20 tons)	30	60	100	200
	(20-50 tons)	(50-100 tons)	(100-300 tons)	

We must organise resources to simultaneously master sectors like timber and saw-milling. Some Zones and Regions must simultaneously set up their own workshops or factories to build these 10-100 ton ships as well.

So saw-milling and planning machinery must be produced and bought for the whole country and the large zones.

B. Wharves

1. *Sea Wharves*

Sea wharves must be strengthened and expanded step-by-step each year to master the increasing import and export requirements. So we

must also have the mechanical equipment for this work, such as irrigation pumps, cranes (big and small), forklifts, construction machinery, warehouses, customary regulations, buoys, meteorology, radio, water, electricity etc.

2. River Wharves

The important ones are in Phnom Penh, and we must also consider Tonle Bet, Neak Leung, Kompong Cham, Chihe, Peamchikong, Stung Trang, Krauch Chmar, Kratic, Kompong Chhnang, Kompong Thom, Kompong Kheang, Phnom Penh, Kompong Plouk, etc.

- Must look after and beautify water routes; must start from 1977.

2. Railways

A. Must extend the old railway lines and add more carriages. This must be administered realistically and be mastered from now on.

B. Must extend a new railway line from Phnom Penh to Kompong Som. Must have a clear annual plan until this new railway is finished (1977-1979).²⁹

C. Wood for trains. Organise forces to cut down rubber trees not *Klong-theng*. It is more economical to use rubber trees.

TABLE 53
YEARLY PLAN OF RAILWAY TRANSPORT³⁰

Year	Tonnage Transported
1977	1,000,000 to 1,500,000 tons
1978	1,500,000 to 2,000,000 tons
1979	2,000,000 to 2,500,000 tons
1980	3,000,000 to 3,500,000 tons

3. Road Transport

A. Direction for Building up Road Transport

1. Repair all national highways and bridges.
2. Repair all provincial roads and bridges.
3. Repair and beautify all big and small roads through the bases.
4. Strengthen and extend roads alongside reservoirs, dams, and canals.

So we must organise various resources and be masters according to the year (in stones, rubber, metal crushers).

TABLE 54
YEARLY PLAN FOR ROAD-BUILDING

Type of road	1977	1978	1979	1980
National highways, including bridges	70%	80%	90%	100%
Provincial roads, including bridges	70%	80%	90%	100%
Big and small roads through the bases	79%	80%	90%	100%
Roads alongside reservoirs, dams, and canals	Gradually strengthen and extend every year			

Must organise to produce all types of land transport equipment and be masters in serving the movement punctually from one year to the next.

1. Equipment repaired by the people: ox-carts, buffalo-carts, horse-carts, bicycle-carts, trailers for use in the co-operative.
2. Mechanical and various semi-mechanical equipment, tractor and trailer, motorcycle and trailer, car and trailer, etc.

TABLE 55
PLAN TO PRODUCE TRANSPORT EQUIPMENT

Types	1977	1978	1979	1980
People's equipment (for the co-operative)	80-100%	80-100%	80-100%	80-100%
Mechanical means (for the bases; Zones and Regions)	60-70%	60-70%	60-70%	60-70%

This percentage represents the yearly target for transportation so that it increases in capacity each year. Zones and Regions will help with transportation whenever the co-operatives cannot do enough.

The higher level has the duty to transport and gather goods to be exported from some Zones and Regions to Phnom Penh and Kompong Som port, and to transport imports from Kompong Som port and Phnom Penh to the Zones and Regions, otherwise Phnom Penh and the Regions cannot transport the full quantity.

Request: Transportation must meet 100% of the annual need.

4. Civil Aviation

A. *Domestic*: Prepare various resources, planes and pilots in order to start this work from 1978, especially the Phnom Penh - Siem Reap route for guests.

B. *International*: Prepare engines, administration, strengthen and expand civil aviation (with foreign planes).

5. Telecommunication and Postal Services

Prepare resources and repair as new so that these can be used gradually from the end of 1977 on, especially in Phnom Penh, the receiving and broadcasting of telecommunications.³¹

IV. TRADE

A. Types of Trade

1. Domestic Trade

- must have definite annual plans for the volume of goods
- all types of goods
- relations between (organisations of) state and state, state and co-operative

2. Overseas Trade

- must have definite annual plans for the volume of goods
- different types of goods

Exports: rice, rubber, various cereals, minor crops, timber, fish, artisan products

Imports: screws and nuts, spare parts, agricultural and industrial machinery, necessary goods for the livelihood of the people, goods for national defense.³²

B. Organisational Direction

- Prepare and be complete masters every year of the machinery trade and big and small warehouses in the bases.
- Fix the volume of goods collected from the bases - master completely the annual volume of imports and exports.
- Seek and select markets for complete mastery over each type of goods for one or many years.
- Meticulously consider the quality of goods in accordance with international regulations.

V. TOURISM

(importantly Siem Reap - Angkor)

- A. *Request*: It is important to serve the political influence of the Party.³³
Must organise:

- hotels, water, electricity
- communication routes - especially aviation, Siem Reap airfield
- places to relax and visit - the regions of Angkor (Wat), Angkor Thom, Banteay Srei, the system of dikes, irrigation channels, canals, rice fields, vegetable gardens, fishing areas, Bareay Tuk Thla, etc.
- various artisanry
- organisation and administration

- B. *Method of Procedure*: Prepare the resources step by step from 1977 onward.

VI. TECHNOLOGY AND THE SCIENCES OF ECONOMICS, AGRICULTURE, AND INDUSTRY

- A. *Request*: Serve agricultural and industrial production by simultaneously but rapidly building up the ranks of our nation's technicians.

B. Method:

1. Experimental Offices in the Bases

- agriculture: Zones, Regions, districts, co-operatives, state work sites
 - industry: in important factories
- Method is to go from small to big, from assembly in important places and then spreading out simultaneously.

2. Actuality Poly-technic School: Centre and Zones

Method is to build some technical workshops of various kinds going step-by-step from small to big, from few to many, for practical work and study of theory at the same time.

VII. FINANCE: ACCUMULATION AND CREATION OF CAPITAL

- A. *Request*: - There must be capital to serve the construction of the country in the fields of agriculture and industry which are being expanded every year and in every plan.

- To provide for what is necessary to the people's living conditions which are rising every year.
- To serve national defence which is increasing every year.

So this capital must be seriously attended to, accumulated and economised from all things and increased to the maximum as planned.

B. Plan to Accumulate Capital

Our capital has come from the export of various agricultural products - especially rice.

TABLE 56
 PLAN TO ACCUMULATE CAPITAL FROM VARIOUS PRODUCTS³⁴

Types Of Capital	1977	1978	1979	1980	4-Year Total	Percentages
ice	246M	302M	346M	404M	1,298M	92.9%
ubber	10M	15M	20M	25M	70M	5.0%
hers	3M	6M	8M	12M	29M	2.0%
total:	259M	323M	374M	441M	1,397M	100.0%
increase In Percentage from One Year To Another	100%	124%	141%	170%	539%	

PART TWO

FIELDS OF SOCIAL ACTION, HEALTH, AND RAISING THE PEOPLE'S LIVING STANDARDS

Request:

Pay attention to the improvement of social action, health, and raising the people's living standards, every year and in every plan, in order to nurture, strengthen, and increase our people's physical force. This leads to an improvement in political forces and consciousness. To increase mechanisation greatly is to ease greatly the workload on people's living standards within the context of strengthening and expanding the socialist system is to prevent the socialist system becoming tattered or becoming private and capitalist again. Therefore, increase it within the framework of the collectivist system.

Example:

The people customarily eat whatever they like. buy whatever they like to eat, so long as they have the money. So only those who have money are free to buy whatever they like to eat. In the socialist part of the world at present the problem has been posed that too strong an emphasis on collectivisation leads to a disappearance of the individual or family nourishment. That's why they allow some privateness and still use money. As we see, this path doesn't completely repress capitalists. They already have socialism as a base but they haven't gotten clear from the capitalist framework: China and Korea are examples. Here we do not mention the revisionists. Within this group the capitalist and private sectors are in the process of daily strengthening and expanding their base in every aspect. So long as the capitalist system exists, it will strengthen itself and expand and become an obstacle to the socialist revolution.³⁵

As for us, we organize collective eating completely. Eating and drinking are collectivised. Dessert is also collectively prepared. Briefly, raising the people's living standards in our own country means doing it collectively. In 1977, there are to be two desserts per week. In 1978 there is one dessert every two days. Then in 1979, there is one dessert every day, and so on. So people live collectively with enough to eat; they are nourished with snacks. They are happy to live in this system.³⁶

Therefore we organise so that an absolutely clear collectivism is absolutely clear, without capitalist vestiges (tails); otherwise we are afraid that it will arise again. If there are still capitalist vestiges there is still privateness. These vestiges, together with the capitalist standpoint and view, bring danger for the collective system and the socialist system whether in the short term or the long term, whether by war or by peaceful means.

Where to Build, Strengthen and Expand Socialism in the Field of Health

A. Build, strengthen, and expand the ranks of low and medium-qualified staff in various techniques:

- Build, strengthen and expand them in the framework of the Centre, Zones, Regions, districts, co-operatives and factories.

B. General and special disease hospitals:

- Build them in the framework of the Centre, Zones, Regions districts, co-operatives and factories.

TABLE 57

PLAN TO BUILD, STRENGTHEN AND EXPAND HOSPITAL STAFF AND HOSPITALS

Types that need to be built, strengthened, and expanded

1. Low and medium qualified staff

	1977	1978	1979	1980
Centre	300	400	500	500
Each Zone (small-big)	200-300	300-400	300-500	300-500
Each Region (small-big)	100-150	150-200	150-200	150-200
Each District (small-big)	50-100	50-100	50-100	50-100
Each co-operative and factory (small-big)	2-10	3-10	5-10	5-15

2. General hospitals

Centre	1	Add another hospital in 1977		
Zone	1	with between 300 and 500		
Region	1	beds. From 1978 on		
District	1	strengthen, expand, and		
Co-operative or factory	1	beautify them.		

3. Special hospitals

for tuberculosis, leprosy, insanity (Centre)

Tuberculosis hospital	1	Strengthen, expand and
Leprosy hospital	1	beautify.
Mental hospital	1	

C. Factories and Centre producing medicine and medical instruments

1. Do it according to the popular methods and on the theme of correcting and advancing them and simultaneously following industrial methods.
2. Follow modern science.³⁷
3. Produce special medicine people and animals to protect against smallpox, cholera, etc. in Chrouy Changvar.
4. Produce muslin, cotton wool, glasses, plates, and various medical instruments.

Working direction: Prepare to proceed to a concrete plan starting from 1977.

TABLE 58

PLAN TO PRODUCE MEDICINE THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY DURING 1977-1980

Types of Pharmaceutical factory	1977	1978	1979	1980
1. Factories using popular methods				
Centre	1	• Further strengthen, expand, and improve in an orderly		
Zone	1	fashion.		
Region	1	• Must collect people, the Khmer herbalists and		
District	1	instruments in each category in order to serve		
Co-operative	1	the movement and gain mastery.		
2. Modern Pharmaceutical factory				
Centre	2	• Further strengthen, expand, and improve in an orderly fashion.		
Zone		Gradually organise resources for the 2nd Plan.		
3. Factory at Chrouy Changvar				
		Quickly strengthen, expand, and improve to meet the yearly request, for both people and animals.		
4. Factory for medical instruments				
		Organise production to meet the yearly request.		
5. Factory for inhalants (oil and wax ointments)				
	4m.	6m.	10m.	15m.
	boxes	boxes	boxes	boxes

D. *Eradicating malaria in all forms:*

TABLE 59
PLAN TO ERADICATE MALARIA

	1977	1978	1979	1980
Eradicate Malaria	20-30%	30-50%	50-70%	70-100%

Procedure:

Must have an organisation to assign and accept responsibility for arranging directions within the framework of the Centre and the Bases, Zones, Regions, districts, co-operatives and military units.

Must organise to produce equipment and carefully supply necessary medicine.

E. *General hygiene:*

- Establish an organisation and instigate a mass movement for general hygiene in every field
- Household hygiene and villages
- Water, food, clothing
- Sweeping and washing up, etc.

**RAISING THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF THE WORKER-
 PEASANT PEOPLE**

1. *People's Villages*

- Peasant co-operative villages
- Workers' villages

Procedures to build up people's villages

- There must be maps and diagrams as clear plans to begin with, and start work, step-by-step each year.
 - Build a neat, clean, and proper house for each family.
 - With watering places for people and for animals.
 - Places for animals to live in, have roofs
 - hygienic toilets
 - sheds for fertilizer
 - carpentry workshops
 - kitchens and eating houses
 - schools and meeting places
 - medical clinics
- vegetable gardens, large and small. Villages and homes must be located in the tree glades and among all sorts of crops; villages and homes must not have just the sky above and the earth below them.

- barbers (and hairdressers)
- rice barn/warehouses
- a place for tailoring and darning, etc.

2. *Material Necessities for the People*

- On a co-operative, family, and individual basis
- Clothing - scarves
- Bed supplies - mosquito nets, blankets, mats, pillows
- Materials for common and individual uses: water pitchers, water bowls, glasses, teapots, cups, plates, spoons, shoes, towels, soap, toothbrushes, toothpaste, combs, medicine (especially inhalants) writing books, reading books, pens, pencils, knives, shovels, axes, spectacles, chalk, ink, hats, raincoats, thread, needles, scissors, lighters and flint, kerosene, lamps, etc.

Procedures:

- We must produce and, to start with, import some thing in order to serve the people's livelihood to the maximum each year.
- We must provide the people with 50-100 percent of their material necessities from 1977 on.³⁸

3. *The People's Eating Regime*

Food: Rice, vegetables, fish, meat, preserved fish (*paok, prahoc*), salt, fish sauce, soya sauce, etc.

Desserts: Fruits, sugar, cakes, beans, and various things, etc.

TABLE 60
PLAN OF THE RATION SYSTEM THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY

Types of food	1977	1978	1979	1980
1. Rice - Four Systems				
For work forces				
No. 1	3 cans	same	same	same
No. 2	2.5 cans	same	same	same
No. 3	2 cans	same	same	same
No. 4	1.5 cans	same	same	same
2. Two side dishes	soup - dried food	same	same	same
3. Dessert	once every 3 days	once every 2 days	daily	daily

Note: Fish and meat must be set as follows, each week:

- meat two times
- fresh fish, two times
- dried fish, preserved fish (*prahok, poak*) three times

Warm rice and side dishes and fresh vegetables are the basic (ration).³⁹

- Organise, nominate and administer people to take responsibility for cooking tasty and high-quality food and desserts; i.e. there must be a separate group, not people taking turns, who are responsible for cooking and making desserts and consider it a high revolutionary duty.

4. *The Working and Resting Regime*

- Three rest days per month. One rest day in every ten.
- Between ten and fifteen days, according to remoteness of location, for rest, visiting, and study each year.
- Two months' rest for pregnancy and confinement.
- Those under hospitalisation (are considered) according to the concrete situation.

This system must be applied throughout the country from 1977 on. Resting time at home is nominated and arranged as time for tending small gardens, cleaning up, hygiene, and light study of culture and politics.⁴⁰

5. *The regime for studying culture, science and technology to nurture politics and consciousness*

- Nominate and organise a daily and weekly time-table for cultural, scientific and technological education at the level necessary to serve the concrete movement.
- Set times for livelihood meetings of the people's organisations - political study and consciousness building according to the time set.

6. *Care Centre for Infants and Children, for the Aged and Disabled*

- Organise child-care centres in various bases; in co-operatives, factories, offices, ministries, military units.
- Organise centres to look after and educate children and lead them in increasing production according to the concrete situation in various bases; co-operatives, factories, offices, ministries, military units.
- Organise centres to look after and educate the aged and disabled and where they can be involved in light production activities according to the concrete situation in various bases.

This is to be implemented from 1977 on, with meticulous organisation and responsibility.

PART THREE

THE FIELDS OF CULTURE, LITERATURE, ART, TECHNOLOGY, SCIENCE, EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE, PROPAGANDA, AND INFORMATION

I. The Fields of Revolutionary Culture, Literature, and Art of the Worker-Peasant Class in Accordance with the Party's Proletarian Standpoint

- A. Continue the struggle to abolish, uproot, and disperse the cultural, literary, and artistic remnants of the imperialists, colonialists, and all of the other oppressor classes. This will be implemented strongly, deeply and continuously one after the other from 1977 onwards.
- B. Continue to strengthen and expand the building of revolutionary culture, literature and art of the worker-peasant class in accordance with the Party's proletarian standpoint. Organise work towards continuously and progressively strengthening and expanding them as assigned annually, from 1977 to 1980 to meet the requests of worker-peasant masses for the nurturing of culture, political awareness, and consciousness. Especially the strengthening and expanding of songs and poems that reflect good models in the period of political/armed struggle and in the revolutionary war for national and people's liberation, in the period of national-democratic revolution, and songs that describe good models in the period of socialist revolution and the building of socialism.

II. Field of Education, Instructing of the People, Propaganda and Information

1. *Education System*

- Primary education - general subjects - three years
- Secondary education
 - General subjects - three years
 - Technical subjects - three years
- Tertiary education in technical subjects - three years

A. *Daily education methods*

- Half study, half work for material production
- In primary education it is important to give attention to abolishing illiteracy among the population.

Set Plan for the Educational System

- *Primary education*: from 1977 onwards

- *Secondary education especially in the technical part* must simultaneously begin to some extent from 1977.

In our educational system there are no examinations and no certificates; it is a system of learning through the collective and in the concrete movement of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism in the specific bases especially the co-operatives, factories, and military units.

B. *General subjects*

- reading and writing
- arithmetic
- geography (importantly that of the nation)
- history of the revolutionary struggle of the people, the revolutionary struggle for the nation, the revolutionary struggle for democracy, the revolutionary struggle for socialist revolution and the struggle to build socialism
- natural science, physics, chemistry (as base)
- the Party's politics, consciousness and organisation

C. *Build, strengthen and expand the ranks of educational cadres*

We must choose (people with) backgrounds that adhere to the revolutionary movement and have the quality to grasp the Party's educational line and are able to apply it concretely and continuously strengthen and expand their own capacity in the concrete movement.

2. *Instruction of the People, Propaganda and Information*⁴¹

- A. *Radio Broadcasting*: organise general listening sessions using loud speakers for all important places and mobile work brigades.
- B. *Films*: of the revolutionary movement's present and past, especially the present. Organise many groups to produce many films to show to the people in general.
- C. *Art*: Step-by-step (a little is enough) in order not to disturb the productive forces raising production.
- D. *Newspapers*: pictorial magazines, political magazines and general knowledge.

Procedures:

- Be careful in building, strengthening and expanding the ranks by choosing (people of) backgrounds close to the revolutionary movement (who) can apply the Party's policy to instruct the people and disseminate propaganda and information.
- Organise printing in foreign languages, especially English, starting from mid-1977 onwards.

3. *Scientific Technology*

- A. Workshop or place for experimentation in co-operatives and important factories.
- B. Technical schools at primary and secondary level in important traders such as
- rice and other cereals
 - rubber and other industrial crops
 - forestry and fruit trees
 - animal breeding
 - fresh and salt-water fish
 - river and sea water
 - energy
 - medical knowledge etc.
- C. Poly-technical School with practical primary and secondary levels
- Procedure:
Organise these simultaneously from 1977 onwards, according to the Plan and its annual program.

SECTION TWO

VARIOUS FACTORS WHICH UNDERLIE AND LIMIT ACHIEVEMENT OF THE PARTY'S FOUR-YEAR PLAN TO BUILDING SOCIALISM IN ALL FIELDS, 1977-1980

We have prepared the Four-Year Plan to build socialism; who is going to implement and fulfill this Plan? Good or bad implementation or fulfillment depends on the forces who have to do it. The most important necessary factor for victorious achievement of the Party's first Four-Year Plan is a strong vanguard party. The strong forces of the worker-peasant alliance are also necessary. Third, there must be strong national defense forces. Fourth, as complimentary factor, we must have international friends to help and support us, especially in the fields of politics and consciousness, to prevent outside enemies from being able to isolate and suppress us.⁴²

So we must carefully consider these various factors in order to improve them and fulfill the Plan well.

- The Party as a vanguard factor sets the achievement.

The forces of the vanguard party are the factor which sets the achievement of the plan. So there must be:

1. Good political work
2. Good consciousness work
3. Good organisational work
 - Strengthen and develop good committees at every level
 - Strengthen and develop good cadres at every level
 - Strengthen and develop good party members
 - Strengthen and expand good branches
 - Strengthen and expand the vanguard system of doing good work
 - Strengthen and expand good core groups

It is important to stand firmly on the Socialist Revolution in order to successfully strive at implementing the Four-Year Plan to build socialism, so that it is achieved.

Procedures:

- It is important to grasp and seep into every corner with concrete implementation according to the good line of activities of the Four-Year Plan and its yearly application within the framework of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism. Stand absolutely and firmly on the socialist revolution in order to build socialism well, i.e. fulfill the *Four-Year Plan to Building Socialism in all Fields, 1977-1980*.

A strong Party means the plan will be fulfilled well. The same goes for each Zone, and for each Region and district.⁴³ Our plan is an estimate

based on comparison. It is the first plan, but it has everything. The Party must grasp it firmly. So all over the country (we) must build up the Party. The Party must grasp the Plan in general, and must grasp the annual, trimester and semester plans. So it is not just the Centre but (that is) the Party throughout the country. A strong Zone Party and a strong Regional Party mean strong districts and branches. The force of the masses will spring up. Some zones can fulfill the Plan in three years. Some can fulfill the Plan 100 percent in four years. Some can achieve 70-80 percent of the Plan in four years.

- We have many resources which allow us to fulfill the Plan. There are also some obstacles such as (lack of) various raw materials;⁴⁴ but we can resolve these as we go.
- The view of becoming submerged in the building of socialism is an important issue, because to build socialism is to implement the Plan well. If the Plan is implemented haphazardly, our building of socialism wouldn't be good. So the vanguard issue is the important factor, the achieving factor, no different from when we were at war.
- The Plan is the correct road, the important thing is the implementors, i.e. those who do the concrete work. Our movement is strong even if we achieve only an average of 80 percent of the Plan, and our work will further improve with independence-mastery when we come to the Second Plan.

FACTORS STRENGTHENING AND EXPANDING THE FORCES OF THE WORKER-PEASANT ALLIANCE

The forces of the worker-peasant alliance have a fixed, basic role in the implementation of the Plan. So there must be:

1. Good political work Stand firmly on the socialist
2. Good consciousness work revolution in order to launch
3. Good organisational work attacks to implement and fulfill
the Four-Year Plan to build socialism.
4. Absolutely implement the Party's revolutionary authority over the counter-revolutionaries.
5. Implement democracy well for the worker-peasant people in order to strengthen and expand their belief in the revolution, and stir up the great mass movement strongly and continuously.
6. Build up concretely, according to background:
 - build workers
 - build peasants