

Meeting of the Standing Committee

9 October 75

Agenda:

1. Delegation of work and the operational process
2. Preparations for living in common
3. A number of specific work arrangements
 - Commerce
 - Military

1. Delegation of work and the operational process

1. Comrade Secretary: General responsibility over the military and the economy
2. Comrade Deputy Secretary: Party Affairs, Social Action, Culture, Propaganda and Education
3. Comrade Van វ៉ាន់: Foreign Affairs work, both Party and State
4. Comrade Hêm ហែម: Responsible for the Front and the Royal Government, and Commerce for accounting and pricing
5. Comrade Thuch ធ្មុច: Domestic and International Commerce
6. Comrade Khieu ខៀវ: Responsible for General Staff and Security

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7. Comrade Vorn វ៉ន: Industry, Railroads, and Fisheries
8. Comrade Doeun ដួន: Chairman, Political Office of 870

9. Comrade Phea ភា: Responsible for Culture – Social Action and Foreign Affairs.
10. Comrade At អាត: Propaganda and Reeducation, both internal and external
11. Comrade Chey ជ័យ: Agriculture
12. Comrade Yêm យ៉ែម: Bureau 870 [ការិយាល័យ ៨៧០]
13. Comrade Pâng ប៉ង: Government Office [មន្ទីររដ្ឋាភិបាល]

Due to the situation of many shortages and much work, especially work concentrated into 870, both inside and outside the country and national defense is being arranged at the Center and there are few cadres:

Measures:

1. We will strive for efficiency, scientifically, to arrange work well.
2. As we go along, we will select additional cadres.

Each sector must have total mastery in the sense of implementing the Party line and the decisions of the Party, with initiative, being on the offensive to arrange carefully and in detail, quickly, and in succession.

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In order to achieve objectives, for one thing there must be a stance of special high responsibility by grasping the general Party lines, in particular the line of contacts with one's section must follow the lines clearly, and the process must be clear in the sense of implementation with initiative and management. Therefore, we will take the Party's lines and decisions and reserve inventiveness. Each section must make its calculations. But each person is not enough, and the committees must work to have their members absorb and join initiatives. If it is done like this, then it is a great force. If we are forgetful, they will arrange replacements. In bringing up projects, we must ask the Standing Committee's opinion so it may decide and approve. Must avoid trends [និន្នាការ].

1. Asking only the Standing Committee. If it is done like this, there would be no concentrated democracy [ប្រជាធិបតេយ្យប្រមូលផ្តុំ]. The Standing Committee cannot run if everything comes here in entirety [រត់មិនរួចទេ បើមកទាំងដុល].

2. Working in each individual sector without asking the Standing Committee. This is a mistake. Therefore, that is why we must solve [problems] by taking the Party's decisions and implementing directly and well. In order to know what we have implemented well or what not well, that is [up to] whether the masses accept it, or not.

Example: Commerce supplies materials to the people well. Propose examining each matter clearly, examining collectively. We make all calculations by making proposals to the Standing Committee. We resolve all problems as we go.

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If we work like this, we train ourselves. Then we gain experience in our work as we go. Then we are not only people who gather up documents, we are thinkers, deliberators. If we completely delegate everything [អោយទាំងដុល], the Standing Committee will have no basis for examination/inspection.

When there is some problem, like international policy, the comrades in Foreign Affairs must examine and weigh why there is such a problem, and we are the ones who handle the problem. We must work scientifically to increase the quality of our leadership, in a position of mastery.

Administratively, there must be mastery. The important objective is that minutes/records must be clear, what is asked must be known from decisions of the Center, of the Standing Committee, minutes documenting meetings of the Center, what day, what month, whatever needs to be done to make it clear is what must be done. If minutes are not clear, that will lead to difficulties in review. If this can be done, it will lighten the load. Now the work is still little. But in one year, in two more years, the work will keep increasing, like economic work, for example. Foreign Affairs work will be the same way. When a telegram comes in, immediately when it is received the office must hand it to the responsible section immediately, so they can examine and consider it and make proposals to the Standing Committee. Some matters are urgent. Military matters are given to the military, commerce matters to Commerce, Party matters to the Party section. Therefore, if we move closer together, this will facilitate concentrating our work force.

At the same time, when some comrade is not present, some other comrade can replace him if we all have some comrade be responsible for doing so. Therefore, if we operate like this, each person has mastery. Initially, we cannot grasp everything, but in half a year, we will be fluent in our specialties. Our methods of work are two:

- Work with one another
- Work separately

When the Standing Committee meets, each person reports.

In the past, all work was concentrated with Comrade Doeun ឌីន. At a later date it must be given to each section to consider.

Example: Foreign Affairs work, at a later date it all must be considered.

We do not want the work concentrated at the Standing Committee.

The Office of the Standing Committee makes contacts back and forth with each section.

The Standing Committee monitors each section's implementation of the line.

The Office has the task of monitoring implementation.

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For example, proposing how much malaria medication the medical side has. Culture must think about writing books. Therefore, cadre aides must be actively selected.

Must begin operating tomorrow.

2. Living together

- Move in on the 15th
- Each individual section can depart for work as a section
- Food and drink on-site

3. A number of specific work arrangements

1. Commerce:

Bring it up at a later date.

2. Military affairs

Setting up the General Staff

A. Assignment of tasks

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- Policy: Comrade Khieu ខៀវ
- Military:
 - Grasp/control the forces
 - Set up divisions
 - Organize the new Army, Navy, Air Force
 - Set up military installations
 - The battle line/policy
- Logistics:
 - Weapons
 - Ammunition
 - Food supplies and uniforms
 - Transport
 - Medicine

B. Work goals/direction

- Open study sessions for remaining cadres
- Grasp personal histories
- Screen

Appoint a Party Committee

- Army Conference

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2. Preparation of forces in Ratanakiri រតនៈគីរី – Mondulkiri មណ្ឌលគីរី

- Steung Treng សំទឹងត្រែង Ratanakiri រតនៈគីរី: One division
- Mondulkiri មណ្ឌលគីរី: One division
- Kratie ក្រចេះ: One division

Mondulkiri មណ្ឌលគីរី deploys at:

- Mreuch ម្រើច
- Koh Miel កោះ មៀល
- Au Reang អូរាំង
- Lapalkhe ឡាប៉ាល់ខេ

If Angkar makes the decision, will move them there in the dry season.

3. Setting up divisions to be standardized

- Three regiments
- Three 12.7 guns
- Combatant strength, male and female: 4,000
- In late October will go to inspect installations for about one week
- Build a new Army – Navy – Air Force – Artillery – Radio Communications
- Want to set up quickly
- Dissolve the 11th Division and incorporate into other divisions

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- Increase force strength for logistics

- Set up storage for bombs [គ្រាប់អាវុធបកាត់], napalm bombs, etc, at -----
- Small arms ammunition to be stored in Phnom Penh
- Prepare rice with mastery
- Build a weapons production factory at Kirirom គីរីវង្ស
- Machine shop at Tuol Kouk ទួល គោក for weapons repair

On the Chinese side:

- Navy:

- The Chinese went to inspect Chkê Pruh ឆ្នែត្រុះ as a site to build a port. The Chinese found good points and bad points as follows:

Good points:

- Good people
- Fresh water
- Mountains
- Highway 4
- Not stormy

Bad points:

- Winding stream entry [ព្រែកចូលវៀច]
- Sandy
- Far from the battlefield

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- Expensive
- Sites where they want to place radar:

- Bokor បូកែត
- Koh Rung Saloem កោះរុងសាឡើម
- Koh Kong កោះកុង

2. Air Force:

1. Radar intended to be placed at the following sites:

- Tmat Porng ត្នាតពង
- Battambang បាត់ដំបង
- Phnom Traom ភ្នំត្រាម

Radar is for:

-
- Following the situation
- Reporting

Chinese proposals:

- Khmeraphoumin City ក្រុងខេមរភូមិន្ទ
- Anduang Teuk អណ្តូងទឹក
- Bokor បូកែត
- Trapeang Rung ត្រពាំងរូង

2. Aircraft:

- Have inspected

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- Kampong Cham កំពង់ចាម
- Battambang បាត់ដំបង
- Uddor Mean Chey
- There are a total of 100 aircraft
- T28s can still be flown
- C41s burnt up
- Three C47s at Uddor Mean Chey

Chinese proposals:

- Solve materials
- All types of fuels
- Proposed/requested documents on 123
- Prepare pilots

Have doctors give physical exams

Construction of airfields

- Pochentong ពោធិ៍ចិនតុង
- Siemreap សៀមរាប
- Uddor Mean Chey

- Propose expansion of Pochentong ពោធិ៍ចិនតុង by adding one runway

3. Radio communications: Have the task

- To serve immediate needs

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- Serve wartime needs
- Spy on the enemy
- Required manpower 1,500 persons

China proposed:

- Setting up in Sihanoukville ក្រុង ស៊. ន. first
- Setting up telephone on Highway 3

Telegram and telephones, including:

- Telegrams, wired and wireless
- Telephones, wires and wireless

Our direction is to be on the coast and in Ratanakiri រតនៈគីរី.

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Opinions of the Comrade Secretary

I. Appointing the General Staff Committee

Speaking in general, agree to the proposal. The leadership process is still being arranged. It must be a collective process because the new work demands collective leadership.

Military technology is heavy and broad.

Must have Committee of Staff Assistants for military policy and logistics.

Appoint and set up

- It is not necessary for the political side to give political training, it only necessary to have cadres to take revolutionary life views and personal histories.

- On training, Comrade Khieu ខៀវ can train.

- Politics, the Division Secretaries can train the team and group chairmen and the combatants.

- Study at the Party School only grasps general views. Therefore, we can select cadres at only battalion and regimental level using only proper personal histories, and they can join the leadership office.

If we can find enough cadres to fulfill the tasks, it is alright put them in the committee right away. If we can select them into the committee, that is good.

Technology

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- Military
- Logistics

Must have clear personal histories to enter the committee. The assistants can be new ones.

Comrade Mean ម៉ាន and the Division

In general, we must monitor closely in politics, in ideology, and in organization to get a close, agile and detailed grasp.

Example: Comrade Mean's ម៉ាន unit in general is good, but reeducation is not very deep and Comrade Mean ម៉ាន is new as well, and the previous organization was in the style of [illegible].

As for Comrade Mean ម៉ាន, in part, his personal history is like this. Later he fought vigorously on the Highway 6 battlefield. He can withstand difficulties, because he had to cross the Mekong River ទន្លេមេគង្គ. And he can fight.

[From] his previous history, we may get the idea he could not stand it and fled, but he did not join the enemy, he came in to Angkar, and Angkar sent him to the base.

Must be careful about speech that he is seen as a traitor which would lead him to not see the future. We will analyze the circumstances of his fleeing appropriately, and don't disseminate it.

- In making life view [meetings] must be cautious. If we use the word traitor, that is serious. Previously, he may have feared the enemy, and fled to find a place.

We must closely grasp Party matters. Sometimes it is too serious, leading to not be able to reeducate. The point for dissemination is that in Party matters he fought, in organization he fought.

The matter of Comrade Phan ផាន must be kept really quiet; the reports must be analyzed because the spies give shifty responses. Finding his history through our own networks is better. Enemy networks cannot be believed.

Judging whether it is true or not, that will be through our networks.

But his activities must be watched, how he manages his troops, politically, ideologically, organizationally, because this unit is the strongest. Comrade Phan ផាន is strong in attack. We have inspected, and he is really strong. He has been strong since 73-74. This unit studied mostly from the 12th Division. He proposed wearing black. The line of combat of the 12th Division is skillful. It seems it has good characteristics in combat, but we must follow up on that further.

He lives in the most normal manner.

Therefore, there is much possibility for rebuilding/reeducation in the future.

Decision: Command another division.

If he cannot command it, bring him to work in the General Staff.

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Example: Comrade Mean ម៉ាន might come to the political or military side. Select some [other] comrade to be Division Secretary instead.

Leadership must be agile. If it does not go well, it impacts the cadres of this zone and that zone, so it must be resolved. Comrade Mean's ម៉ាន unit was a favorite unit of the East, and was given many special privileges. Comrade Mean ម៉ាន was formerly close to Comrade Chhouk ឈុក.

The problem is not difficult, because Mean ម៉ាន has many good points.

- Military organization: How many in a division, in a regiment, if we cannot add forces?

- If we pull the remaining people back for use on the radio side, leaving only three regiments.

- A battalion has 350 to 400. In case there are more, do not yet remove them.

- Don't not let the troops move anywhere.

Leave Comrade Ngoeun's ងឿន unit in place for a while, and recruit from it to send to different places. Troops who want to build families, let them do so, especially the older ones, they go in and out.

- The problem of setting up the new Army, Navy, Air Force, Armor. Our line of organization is that our army must be built quickly in accordance with our personnel and economic capacities.

The general line is to build and defend the country, to build the country and defend it based on the force of the masses. Therefore, organize it with the people we have for now, and the shortage economy.

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Make it modern, thinking from low to high. Stand on the economic foundation of our country. We cannot organize it like Israel អ៊ីស្រាអែល. Albania អាស់ប៉ានី was/is the same too. And we praise the stance of independence and mastery. Aid, we will take it, but in the stance of independence and mastery as well. If accepting it would impact this stance, then that cannot be. If fully complete, we can attack. If not fully compete, we can still attack. So, what aid they do provide, we will manage it appropriately, according to this principle.

Example: Even on the radio side, we must study from them, and manage ourselves. The opinion is that we need them to provide aid in radios, and we will study this equipment, then repair it, [and then get] to the point that we can build it ourselves. As for where to put installations, we will go along as the situation develops. Now we place them on:

1 - The coast

2 - The land borders.

On the land borders we will place two or three or four sites, West, East, North. We need about ten sites. Where news comes in from the border, go there.

Example: From Ratankiri រតនៈគីរី to Kratie ក្រចេះ, one station
Steung Treng ស្ទឹងត្រែង – La Ban Siek ឡាបាណសៀក

So, in Kratie ក្រចេះ, Ratanakiri រតនៈគីរី, Steung Treng ស្ទឹងត្រែង use only two stations, in the East, one or two.

- Reporting from the bases the Coastal Zone, one station
- Koh Kong កោះកុង reporting to the Zone
- The Northwest, one station, [for] the border army reporting.
- One at Siemreap សៀមរាប
- Must have one for Preah Vihear ព្រះវិហារ
- In the North, there is no need.

This matter must be kept quiet.

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The Standing Committee and the General Staff must have one, but initially the Standing Committee won't yet use one, will share with the General Staff first.

Anything related to the military, the Standing Committee will use the one at the General Staff. We only tell them that we set them up at the border. The installations we will set up as the situation develops. We will send however many people to study. We select those who already understand to study. After they study, we will bring them back to expand. As for radar, ask them if they can operate in combination with the Navy and Air Force? Angkar proposes they work in combination. We are short of people and technology. As for artillery, have them bring whatever they will give us. Whatever they want to teach us to fire the artillery let them teach. We send only those that have some understanding to study, and those that learn will teach others in turn. The same with the armor. Comrades, however many you will give us, hand them over. We need light class [armor]. Teach us, and then we will teach ourselves in turn.

- Radios 30 - 40 persons
- Armor 30 - 40 persons

Port

1. Go to study in every country, in every sector. When they learn, we will pilot them back, and don't have many technicians come with them. So the objective is to get the small ones [boats] first. The major problem is to be quiet when they arrive and when they conduct activities. As for the radar, it will be combined. Four sites on the coast, two in the East, two in the West. May designate several months for study, armor and artillery several months; we request four to five more.

Aircraft:

Ask them how many they will let go for study, how many to study fighters, helicopters, and for how many months. However many are chosen, that many will study.

C47s - How many months of study?

T28s- C-41s we will study ourselves as we go. Mechanics, find other people.

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As for the military airfields, we have plans to build at different sites. We can perhaps examine Kampong Chhnang កំពង់ឆ្នាំង, strengthening and expanding it. If it is too far, we can build in Sector 15. So, our goals are different. Immediately, combine with Pochentong ពោធិ៍ចិនតុង.

Our direction is not to expand too much, since:

- Maintenance problems
- We do as our economics permit.

Our important line is infantry. So we must concentrate on production factories for weapons, ammunition, and mines.

At the same time, we must have some tanks.

Example: In Ratanakiri រតនៈគីរី there is only one gun per village. In three to four more years, let it be 100,000 – 200,000 people. As for guns, use one-shot-one-bullet [semi-automatics].

As for aircraft, no need for one division. Headquarters placed at two sites, one in Ratanakiri រតនៈគីរី, another in Mondulkiri មណ្ឌលគីរី.

- Rice, two [condensed milk] cans [500 grams] – plant potatoes. The Army will use the form of production teams.
- The General Staff has decided to use the Ministry of National Defense.

The matter of going to Laos

The ceremony at Sam Neua សាមនឿវ. Laos has its 30th anniversary. Regarding this, the problems are:

1. Technical
2. Political

- Going, is it a gain or not a gain? At first we could not grasp this. We said [we would] go to Vientiane for the political gain. Now they hold it at Sam Neua សាមនឿវ instead. We have already responded that we are going. If we had not yet told them, then there would be no problem. But now, if we do not go, it will have a political impact. Therefore, going is more to our gain.