

**Minutes**  
**Meeting of the Standing Committee 9 January 1976**

Agenda:        On Propaganda and Reeducation ប្រែប្រួលនិងអប់រំ – Party Propaganda and Reeducation Goals for 1976 and onward

Composition: Comrade Secretary - Comrade Deputy Secretary - Comrade Doeun ឌុយន៍ - Comrade At អតីត - Comrade Phoas ភាស័ - Comrade Touch តូច

I. Examination of a number of good qualities and deficiencies

1. Good qualities: Propaganda and reeducation has fulfilled its mission to serve the movement since liberation, and there has been nothing to negatively impact the line.

- There has been expansion and prosperity in every sector: the radio, the arts, the magazines, the newspapers. Specifically, it has incited the spirit of national defense and the restoration of the economy, the national construction, and the spirit of solving the livelihood of the people.

2. Deficiencies: We still have deficiencies, not yet being concrete. Speech, explanations, arts performances, these do not yet reflect the heroism of the people and our Revolutionary Army, and do not yet demonstrate for all to see that great force of solidarity between the workers and the peasants, between the people and the Army, and do not yet reflect in a lively way their daily lives.

- Another important deficiency: we still take the ideological sector too lightly. Propaganda and reeducation relating to class stances is not yet networked.

[New document]

## View of the Situation, 9 January 1976

### Objectives of the analysis of the situation

1. The National Defense Situation:

- Along the border to the West:

Up until this day, the enemy has not had mastery, and has not been able to do anything to us. During November and early December, they tried to be strongly active along the western border,

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along the Thai border, and along the coast. Thailand acts as the core for the traitor groups which the CIA sponsors. They send in infantry, armor, and aircraft. Their plans are to take Battambang បាត់ដំបង, Thmar Puok ថ្មពួក, Udor Mean Chey, Kampot កំពត, etc. But we attacked them time after time, and they were struck with our clubs severely, then got shaky and hesitant, and now have withdrawn all their troops.

Therefore, they do not dare. We have defended our western border to the maximum. They tested us once, then twice, but could not penetrate. Thailand has contacted us diplomatically so they can go on a military offensive. If they come at us purely militarily, that can't work. Now they clearly see that they cannot come. Just the opposite, they have made us even more strongly vigilant, and we have taken firmer measures.

- Along the border to the East:

In the East there is nothing happening. Where before there were 100 parts, now there remain only 5 parts. The reason for this is due to the Party having taken measures in every sector, politically, militarily, and diplomatically, one after another.

- Politically: We solve things using revolutionary stances. Upper echelon solves, and lower echelon makes the contacts.

- Militarily: We have firm stances, and expand and strengthen our measures one after another.

- Diplomatically: Our making contact with Thailand and Laos and issuing joint announcements of mutual respect of borders, is one measure to strike

Vietnam on the eyebrows, straight away. Vietnam must make many calculations. Therefore, they turn back to accommodation with us.

Now, the border to the East is much relaxed. What will happen later on, we will monitor that further. But the decisive factors are not with Vietnam, they are with us.

2. The National Construction Situation:

Our national construction is now making fast leaps.

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We have some foundation already for advancing further forward. We have good qualifications and have the funds to keep on operating. This speed will accelerate more strongly if we firmly grasp the Party line in every sector and continue to implement it actively.

3. The situation with the State Authority:

After we announced the Constitution, the state authority of the people has been further expanded and strengthened to an additional level. Having this Constitution is the sealing of the people's state authority both inside and outside the country.

This is another political speed. The announcement of our Constitution makes it complete both concretely and legally. We have solved this cleanly, clean in the sense of implementing the Party line properly, to both fight and also be in solidarity. By standing on these principles, we can solve the problems with Sihanouk.

Outside the country there are no problems. Speaking in general, the reaction to our Constitution was good.

4. Our influence on the international stage:

Our goal of development in the future is to go even faster. But at the same time, there remain many serious problems to solve, both inside and outside the country. Outside the country there are many complications, and we have not yet taken up any attitudes at all. If we take attitudes immediately, there may be many mistakes. If we do not yet do so, we are not wrong, we are just a little slow. The Soviets and the Vietnamese are gathering players and they do dare to play. As for us, we cannot do the same.

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That we are not immediately announcing our stances has two aspects: First, we remain quiet, and they may ask, how are we serving the world movement? Second, when we do have our attitudes, they will support us. This shows that we have a mature policy.

Therefore, we have different characteristics than Vietnam, different from China, and different from Korea.

The important thing is the factor of our acting on our own. If we can defend our borders, build a strong army, build a prospering economy, the Party leads firmly and the people are comfortable and happy, then there are no problems. We can solve the external problems one after another.

## II. The World Situation

### 1. Southeast Asia:

Vietnam: The subjective situation is not good. The economic situation in Vietnam today demands a long time before any solution. They request foreign aid, but they do not get much. China gives them some. The Soviets give them a lot, but they cannot live by begging. Therefore, this is why it spills over to the United Nations, the International Red Cross, and other humanitarian organizations.

They have another difficulty about the regime inside their country, which is a capitalist regime. As we know it, in Prey Nokor វៀតណាម [Ho Chi Minh City], the State controls only rice, salt, and fuel. Aside from that, the capitalists control everything.

Therefore, Vietnam does not have the capability to pounce on us. They have control over Laos; that is fact. But at some future time, whenever Kampuchea becomes stronger, Southeast Asia will greatly change, and Vietnam will not be able to keep up. Laos may slip free from their clutches.

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Speaking in general, Vietnam lacks sufficient capacity to control Southeast Asia.

Today, on the international stage, their political influence has not yet fallen low, but it is no longer at its peak.

But they still maintain their intention of Indochina. In the past, they grasped, missing by a little bit, especially regarding Kampuchea. They are more than a little hot about that. But Vietnam is not large tiger, neither is it a small catlike tiger, it is only the size of a fish tiger.

Laos: In severe difficulty in every sector, economics, politics, inside and outside the country, especially in economics. One example: In Vientiane, they all are there, and they do nothing, just wait to eat. The State must support them, if not, they would revolt. If they evacuate them to the countryside, they fear they would revolt in the countryside too. Therefore, the milk aid which the Soviets transport in to them only supports those in Vientiane; but their regime is that way, they have to open stores to sell it to them.

But aid from Vietnam and the Soviets is limited. Therefore, they take it all, aid from anywhere, from Kampuchea, from China, from other countries, regardless of whether they are capitalist or not. They take it not to support themselves, but just to solve things for a while.

Therefore, there is nothing for them to bother us about. Just the opposite, they come to study our experience; they contact Thailand. They say we have stances which are proper, flexible, strong, and deep. They saw our joint announcement with Thailand, and saw our stances in this way. They do not dare play with Thailand. This shows that Laos is not a 100 percent satellite of Vietnam. That Laos comes to us clearly makes Vietnam think much. If Laos has contacts with Kampuchea and with the world as well, they will have measures to resolve things. Before, they resolved things only with Vietnam.

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The goal of Vietnam is to surround us through Laos and Thailand. But now that we have shaken hands with the Lao and the Thai, Vietnam wants to come to us as well.

Therefore, the situation is very favorable to us in the sense that Laos needs us. They are fully satisfied with us. There are no bad feelings or irritations.

The group of countries who are not servants of imperialists: The goals of the countries who serve the imperialists in Southeast Asia keep falling apart. Those goals will never return. The Party has examined this and made its conclusions from the beginning. If the international capitalist regime collapses in crisis, the small ones will not be able to rise up. In Southeast Asia, if we attack more strongly, in at most five years it will open up. Imperialist America cannot come to help. Their objective situation, their hands are hanging low, both the leaders and followers. If each party keeps on striving on their own a little further, expanding their attacks further, they will win.

In this situation, Thailand cannot come to do anything to us. They have no way to do so, but why do they make trouble with us on the border? Do they not learn from experience? How can they have learned from experience, if their moves are like that? Their regime defends their state authority, defends their class, is an imperialist regime and reactionary, just that.

## 2. The non-aligned countries:

The Non-Aligned Movement is actively expanding. This movement expanded for a time, had to change its nature, and then moved forward again. Now it is changing its nature, its qualities. In changing its nature, there may be complications for a while before it distinguishes the right path and casts away the bad. Example: Previously, Egypt during the Nasser era, rose to a peak, later it fell back to Algeria. But Algeria went down the wrong road, and will certainly fall like Egypt. Perhaps it will turn to Kampuchea too, but we do not want to walk down that road.

In Angola, soon the situation will change. We will wait and watch the Organization of United Africa before taking any stance. Vietnam takes Algeria and casts off Mauritania who was their friend too, since Algeria is strong among the non-aligned countries, and they want to gather up players. But if they misstep, they cannot come to us. Algeria is not stronger than the Soviets. The Soviets being so strong, they still cannot gather players, this is because they are going down the wrong road.

In summary, we will not run after the world. The world situation is developing. Sometimes it goes at normal speed, sometimes in leaps, sometimes it remains still or it goes in reverse. But after a while, it leaps once again.

Therefore, the decisive factors are with us. We must really strive own our own to build the country and solve the livelihood of the people. If we can strive and we are strong on our own, then they will respect us. The policy of our diplomats outside the country is dependent upon what happens inside of the country. We do not carry out diplomatic policy outside the country with deceptive moves or diplomatic policy in the style of the reactionaries' policies, because they carry out diplomatic policy by showing off their power. The American, the Soviets, the French, they all show off their power. But no matter how much power they have, if no one follows them, they cannot go on. As for us, we walk along the proper political line of the Party. Only what is proper is respected. Therefore, we do not play diplomatic tricks or commit fraud just for fleeting interests.