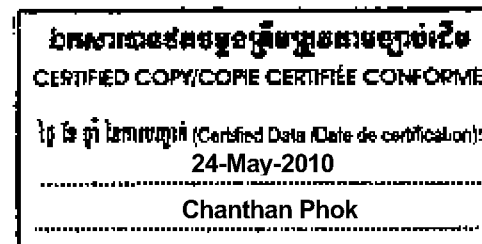


EMBASSY OF FRANCE
TO THAILAND

No. 838/AS

The Ambassador of France
To Thailand

Bangkok, 6 October 1977



His Excellency
The Minister of Foreign Affairs
Asia-Oceania Division
Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam

Subject: “Official” information about the Communist Party of Kampuchea

Based on information provided variously by the Chinese, Cambodian and North Korean press agencies and radios during Mr Pol Pot’s visit to China and to North Korea, as well as during the 17th anniversary of the CPK, we are able to gather the following precious few “official” details about the ruling Party in Cambodia:

1/ History of the Party

- Founded on 30 September 1960 during a first 3-day and 3-night secret congress of 21 delegates (14 representing the “peasants” and 7 the “city dwellers”) in a building in the Phnom Penh railway station. Pol Pot was appointed member of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee.
- 1961 (unspecified date): Pol Pot becomes Deputy Secretary General of the Central Committee.
- 2nd congress in 1963: Pol Pot is elected Secretary General of the Central Committee.
- 1970 (unspecified date): Pol Pot becomes Chairman of the Military Committee of the Central Committee.
- 3rd congress in September 1971: Pol Pot is re-elected to both positions.

See
circulation
overleaf

- 4th congress in January 1976: Pol Pot is re-elected to both positions.

2/ Composition of ruling bodies

- Secretary General of the Central Committee: Mr Pol Pol (also Prime Minister and Chairman of the Military Committee of the Central Committee).
- Deputy Secretary General: Unknown (charged with managing the workers' unions between 1955 and 1960).¹
- Members of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee: Mr Ieng Sary (Vice-Prime Minister in charge of Foreign Affairs), Mr Vorn Vet (Vice Prime Minister in charge of Economic Affairs)

3/ Even though his name was not mentioned, it is highly probable that Mr Nuon Chea, President of the Standing Committee of the People's Representative Assembly, Head of the Political Department of the Armed Forces, and Ex-Interim Prime Minister, is also a member of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee. This might be the case as well for Mr Son Sen, Vice-Prime Minister in charge of National Defence, who must be, at the very least, a member of the Central Committee.

It is impossible to provide the same amount of information on Mr Khieu Samphan, whose real power seems to be much more limited than his official rank would suggest. Several tenuous yet converging indications make this a distinct possibility. Khieu Samphan would thus belong to the most recent "stratum" of the Khmer Rouge movement, since he, Hou YOUN and Hu NIM only joined the resistance in 1967. One member of this trio (with which his political destiny is generally associated), Hou YOUN, has vanished from the scene. He was probably killed in combat in 1975. Hu NIM (theoretically the Minister of Information) has not been mentioned by Radio Phnom Penh since February 1977. In addition, Khieu SAMPHAN holds the position of Head of State, which is generally honorary in a Socialist state. Furthermore, the only refugee with some knowledge of the

¹ According to Pol Pot, in his 27 September speech.

ruling circles in Phnom Penh¹ mentioned him as not belonging to the first tier of leaders. Finally, Pol Pot, in his 27 September address, referred in passing to “the Comrade President of the State Presidium” (Khieu Samphan) whom he politely characterized as “an intellectual”. Knowing how the Khmer Rouge treat that category of the population, and having read the rest of the address, which is largely dedicated to the glorification of the peasant class (“the only true revolutionary force”), makes it easier to understand the importance Khieu Samphan’s peers place on the position of Head of State.

¹ Pech Lim Kuon, helicopter pilot who escaped in April 1976. (See dispatch No 8/DA-AS dated 6 May 1976