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Report

Subject: The meeting to celebrate the enemy's 23rd anniversary meeting and HOU Yun's (ហ៊ូ យ៉ុង) speech.

On 30 September 1974, a commission of the Communist Party of Kampuchea's Central Committee gathered to celebrate the anniversary of the 23-year-old history of resistance in Amleang (អមលាំង) district. The event was held with the participation of many people in the Khmer Rouge's framework, party's members, and Khmer People's National Liberation Armed Forces from different places, who all dressed in black.

There were slogans on numerous banners, which included:

- Long live the Khmer People's National Liberation Armed Forces!
- Only the Communist Party of Kampuchea can lead the revolution to success!
- The Communist Party of Kampuchea takes the role to lead Cambodia!

Female groups were standing in lines in front of the stage. There were four loud speakers placed far from each other. On the stage, there were about 200 chairs arranged in rows for the people in the Khmer Rouge's framework from various areas who hold positions as cadres, political commissioners, commanders, party's members, and Communist Party of Kampuchea's Secretaries. They included:

1. CHOU Chet (ជូ ជេត), Chief of Southwest Zone
2. Comrade Nang (ណាង) "PHAUK Chhay (ផោក ឆាយ)", Political Commissioner
3. Ta Mok "Ajar Choeun (អាចារ្យចឿន)", Commander of Southwest Zone
4. CHAMROEURN Chey (ចំរើន ជ័យ) "NORNG Suon", Chief of Sector 25
5. Ta Mab (តាមាប) "Ta Sè (តាសែ)", Chief of Sector 35
6. Comrade Krin (គ្រិន) "SAING Rin (សាំង រិន)", Chief of Sector 33
7. Comrade Chhut (ឈុត), Commander of Female Army
8. Comrade Krin "THUCH Rin (ធ្មុច រិន)", Chief of the Office of Propaganda and Culture
9. Comrade Sâng (សាំង), Chief of Prison "from Hanoi"
10. Ta Sy (តាស៊ី), Party's Secretary "former editor-in-chief of Neangkoal (នង្កែល) Newspaper"
11. Comrade Kas (កាស), Chief of the Office of Logistics
12. Comrade Sa Sie (សាស៊ី), Chief of the economy

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13. Comrade Ta Moeung (តាម៉ឺង), party's member
14. Ta Chin (តាជិន), Cadre of District 76 and party's member
15. Ta Yoeung (តាយ៉ឺង), Cadre of District 78 and party's member
16. Ta Lim (តាលីម), Khmer Rouge's framework and party's member
17. Ta Chorn (តាជន), Cadre of District 77 and party's member
18. Ta Pon (តាប៉ុន) "SENG (សេង) Kim Ien (គីន)", Cadre of District 72
19. Comrade Son (សុន), Cadre of District 73, in the Khmer Rouge framework
20. Comrade Suos (ស្លូស៊ី), Cadre of District 74 in the Khmer Rouge framework
21. Comrade Theav (ធ្វាវ), Commander of the army 209
22. Comrade Ta Khla (តាខ្លា), Khmer Rouge framework
23. Comrade Chhum (ឈុំ), Political Commissioner of the Army
24. Comrade Kali (កាលី), Khmer Rouge status: Political Commissioner of the Army
25. Comrade Daok (ដាក), Commander "party's member"
26. Comrade Chim (ជីម), Political Commissioner of the Army "party's member"
27. Comrade Ta Kân (តាកាន), Chief of the economy of District 78 in the Khmer Rouge status
28. Comrade Nouch (នូច), Commander of the army 03
29. Comrade Cheav (ជ្វាវ), Commander of the army 04
30. Comrade Ta Eav (តាអៀវ), Political Commissioner of the Army 101a(ក)
31. Comrade Rin (រិន), Political Commissioner of the Army 102b(ខ)
32. Comrade Ny Em (នីម), Chief of the economy of Sector 25
33. Comrade Thēng (ថេង), Commander of the army 05
34. Comrade Muong (មួង), Commander of the army 06
35. Comrade Ta Sim (តាស៊ីម), Commander of the army 104d(ឃ)
36. Comrade Vân (វ៉ាន), Chief of Special Zone
37. Comrade Hang (ហាង), Cadre of Special Zone

38. Comrade Cheat (ជាតិ) “Ros Chea Thô (រស់ ជាតិ)”, Party’s member and deputy chief of
39. Comrade Saom (សោម) “Chhun Sok Nguon (ឈុន សុខងួន)”, Chief of the Office of Propaganda
40. Comrade Neak (នាគ) “Sieng Pao Se (សៀង ប៉ៅសែ)”, Chief of the economy
41. THUON Thoeun (ជួន ថៀន), a doctor
42. Female comrade So Meram (សូម៉េរ៉ាម), Commander of female army
43. Comrade Hâm (ហាំ), Cadre of Sector 15
44. Comrade Sâh (សាង), Party’s member and messenger of sector 15→35
45. Comrade Meang (ម៉ាង), Khmer Rouge’s framework or party’s member
46. Comrade Chan (ចាន់), Khmer Rouge status or party’s member
47. SALOTH Sar (សាឡុត ស), Secretary of the party
48. HOU Yun (ហ៊ូ យ៉ុន), Ministry of Interior in charge of organizing rural and cooperatives
49. Comrade Khom (ខ្ញុំ), Party’s member
50. TIV Ol (ទីវ អុល), Deputy Secretary of State of Ministry of Propaganda
51. POK Dis Komar (ប៉ុកឌីស កុមារ), Deputy Secretary of State of Ministry of Foreign Affairs
52. SOK Thuok (សុខ ធ្លុក), Deputy Secretary of State of Ministry of Security
53. KOY Thuon (កុយ ធ្លុន), Deputy Secretary of State of Ministry of Finance
54. Comrade Kèn (កែន) “NOR Phourisara (ន ភូរិស្សារ៉ា)” member
55. Comrade Ta Hin (តាហ៊ិន), Khmer Rouge’s framework
56. Comrade Nhel (ញែល), Chief of [illegible] in Phnom Penh
57. Comrade Thân “Siek Pitchhay (សៀក ពិតឆាយ)”, Party’s member

Apart from these people, there were many other people in the Khmer Rouge’s framework, whose names I could not remember all, and also progressive people, democratic women, youth league, and many other young members of the Association of Democratic Women who used to be linked with the secret movement of the Association of Democratic Women in Phnom Penh and who used to be members of Association of Khmer Students “AGEK” indoctrinated by Beijing etc.

They have prepared a trench with very strong cover to protect them from aerial bombardment and several other small trenches without covers around it. Outside, there are guards keeping eyes on incoming airplanes. If there is any plane approaching, they will blow the whistles or beat the gong to give signal to turn off the light and stay alert.

At the beginning, CHOU Chet announced the opening of the program. The sound of microphone emitted ordering all comrades to roll down their sleeves, fasten the collar buttons, take off the hats, and prepare to salute the party's flag. Audience and military cadres saluted quietly. "The party's anthem" emitted, blue curtain opened slowly, and blood red cloth with its size of about four meters appeared. On the cloth, there was an emblem of a sickle and a hammer right in the center of the red cloth, which is the same as that of the Soviet's emblem. They clenched their fists and saluted silently.

After that, Hou Yun went on the stage and delivered a very long speech of three hours, during which he talked about Communist Party of Kampuchea's 23-year-old history of resistance and he gave advice to high-profile military cadres.

Hou Yun reminded that during World War II our country was, through war, oppressed by super power countries, which made Khmer people suffered badly, which was not much different from this time. For this reason, people in Indochina resisted against French colonist. They joined hand and rose up against France 1951.

After World War had shown some calmness, super power countries and many countries convened a meeting in the Geneva conference, at which Russia was a representative. In the Geneva conference on Indochina, Cambodia did not send its representatives to attend the meeting. There were only the representatives from Siam and Ho Chi Minh's North Vietnam. At that time, the Geneva conference decided to authorize Ho Chi Minh to control the entire Indochina. Based on the conference's decision, it's clear that Cambodia would disappear from the world map. For that reason, Khmer Organization with its three elites, who were in the same generation with Ho Chi Minh, went to negotiate on Cambodia. The elites included:

1. IEU Kaes (អៀវ កើស)
2. YUTE Vong (យុតិ វង្ស)
3. SON Ngoc Thanh (សឹង ង៉ុក ថាញ់)

However, it was too late to negotiate. Two of them took different roads to mobilize force, while IEU Kaes, because of his anger, chose to contest.

At that time, SON Ngoc Thanh chose to join "SEATO", while YUTE Vong formed the Democrat Party. Even so, their effort was not successful because later on their activities were perceived by the royalists as dangerous to their interest. Consequently, the royalists tried to get rid of those people. Some of them were assassinated secretly.

Later on, the war in Indochina still did not come to an end. Thus, the Geneva meeting was held again. Only at this time were there Khmer representatives attending the meeting, which made the meeting realize that there are three countries in Indochina— Cambodia, Vietnam and Laos.

Because of such fierce resistance both inside and outside the country, our country achieved success. That was independence, peace, and neutrality. Unfortunately, the independence of the Cambodian people was enjoyed only by the royalists and feudalists, while ordinary Cambodian people remained oppressed by the royalists and feudalists.

For that reason, the party's Organization did not participate under the ruling of the feudalists and royalists. The Organization has organized its cadres into three groups. One group was sent to study in North Vietnam, another group was sent to do political movements in the city, and the last group was sent to establish political movement in rural area.

Up to 1960, the party's movement became so progressive that Sihanouk became extremely horrified and angry. Because he felt afraid that his throne and feudalism would disappear, Sihanouk openly bought off the union workers and youth league and the Association of Democratic Women. In such a situation, the party was in great chaos, since the identities of many members of the Association of Democratic Women and youth league and cadres were identified. Thus, they escaped to take refuge in the jungle. Some was not able to flee. They were murdered in the city by Sihanouk's clique as in the case of comrade Bophan as an example. Others were chased and killed by Sihanouk soldiers though they fled to rural areas as in the case of comrade Sorn (ស៊ីន), Seng (សេង), and Kim Ay (គីមាយ) etc. It was at this stage that intellectuals, students and teachers left the city to take refuge on Kamchai (កំចាយ) mountain range, Chamkar Leu (ចំការលើ), Aural (អូរាល់) Mountain etc. Some of them died of malaria, food poison, and heart burn.

Between 1962 and 1964, another group of union workers remained hiding in rural areas. Because the Organization observed that its members were facing hardship in every aspect, it decided to permit all of its members to resort to armed resistance, since the political movement in rural areas did not prove effective and Sihanouk's soldiers kept on hunting for them every moment.

In 1964 when the first gunfire took place, the party's Organization assigned its union workers to attack to seize weapons from various offices of ministries based in rural areas such as the Forestry and Fishery Office, militia units etc. The union workers, Association of Democratic Women, and youth league in Phnom Penh also carried out the movement in full force through their respective possible means including word of mouth and dropping tracts.

In 1968, the Organization received members from the labour class more than any other classes because only this class was the backbone of the party and acted more easily than other classes. In 1968, the Organization led this class to rise up against various cruel plans of feudalist King Sihanouk. Between 1964 and 1968, about 1000 union workers of the party's league died at the hands of Sihanouk.

Between 1954 and 1970 before March 18, there was also a party attempting to overthrow the royal feudalist regime by inviting Sihanouk to inaugurate at the house

of CHHUON Mchul Pich (ឈ្មោះ គុណពេជ) “Dab Chhuon (ដាបឈ្មោះ)”. That was the first plot.

On 31 August 1969 at ? o'clock, a case was sent from Hong Kong. That was the second coup plot. The reason the coup attempt was not successful was that the party's Organization had informed Sihanouk of the plot because the party's Organization felt that if it allowed SEATO Party to stage the coup to topple Sihanouk successfully, the communist party's Organization would certainly be ineffective in the movement leading people towards socialist-communist regime. For that reason, the party's Organization decided to inform Sihanouk of the plot beforehand.

On 18 March 1970, there was another coup taking place. It was launched when Sihanouk went to receive medical treatment in France. At that time, the Organization decided to let it happen successfully because the Organization foresaw that “it was only at this moment of time that the Organization's leading movement would achieve success”. For that reason, the Organization assigned a representative to contact an allied communist country, China, in advance requesting the country to allow Sihanouk to stay there as the second political [tool].

Another representative was sent to invite Sihanouk to go to stay in China, which was according to the plan, so that it would be easy to pursue the policy of mobilizing the masses due to the fact that Beijing had ample radio facilities to broadcast to the people and Sihanouk was popular among the people. The Organization, therefore, formed an overseas government immediately by appointing King Sihanouk as the chairman of the National United Front of Kampuchea so that King Sihanouk could make an appeal through the radio quickly to his partisans to join force with the party's Organization on time. Soon after the Organization formed it, 3000 teachers as well as many other elites, intellectuals, students, and people joined with the Organization. The 7th friend, North Vietnam, also provided armed assistance.

It was not until 25 September 1970 that Sihanouk became suspicious when he saw the names of the appointed members of cabinet who were all the intellectuals whom Sihanouk himself gave capital punishment since 1960. He did not show any reaction because the Organization deceived him constantly.

In late 1970, some union workers who had been sent to study in Hanoi also returned. Therefore, the armed force also increased in number, but it was not strong yet. At that time, the 7th friend, North Vietnam, took some advantages by stealing from and robbing our people of their property to be used to feed their people. They also murdered some Khmer cadres secretly, since we did not have adequate facilities and a strong army yet.

Later on, the Organization implemented a plan according to the slogan of the first phase “Attack the countryside” “Surround the city, which was the second phase”. The implementation of the plan achieved considerable success. Hence, in 1971 the Organization decided to oblige all of its military cadres to leave Vietnam's military units by shifting to self-reliance.

In the short period, the Organization endeavoured to educate the “liberation” front step by step through political and documentary means to discourage those soldiers from favouring Sihanouk any more. If they remained favouring Sihanouk, they the faithful resistance fighters would end up with nothing. Later on, they were educated step by step to move into life theories as the democratic nation, stirred up class struggle, class hatred, life and death dispute within classes, class division in Cambodian society or attack the feudalists, capitalist-comprador, reactionary. At that time, the Organization did not attack King Sihanouk openly yet.

HOU Yun stated that in 1971 Sihanouk became clear about the situation. Thus, he ordered HUOT Sambath (ហ្គុត សម្បត្តិ) to leave the United Nations to form another new force, the third force “Sihanouk’s Army”, in Kratie and Stung Treng provinces because Sihanouk was a person who hated theories and principles. Because the Organization knew about his plan, the Organization assigned IENG Sary to leave immediately for Beijing to prevent HUOT Sambath from carrying out Sihanouk’s plan successfully. When his plan failed, Sihanouk was so worried that he nearly became mad. Later on, the Organization decided to provide him only with pleasure with wine and girls by making arrangements for him to go to different countries to join parties, but not beyond the allied countries. The Organization made such arrangements to make Sihanouk forget territorial matter and to encourage him to appeal on Beijing radio.

In late 1971-72, the army had sufficient force. We knew our stance of resistance clearly. It was at that time that the Organization dared to openly celebrate its first ever anniversary and distribute its 21-year-old history of resistance. Nowadays, the Organization is less worried because the Organization in the Southwest Zone has Khmer People’s National Liberation Armed Forces, relatively more important leading cadres in the framework, stronger army, and bigger land area, which incurs the expenses to over five million Riels on the salary of administrative staff and Khmer Rouge soldiers. Each staff receives 240 Riels per month. However, the Organization feels some concern for other zones because the Organization lacks cadres, since each cadre, before going to take leading position or hold any position, must be educated and trained for lengthy period of at least from one to three years and must have the history of serving in “Communist Youth League of Kampuchea or Association of Democratic Women”.

Hou Yun said that it had been 23 years since the birth of resistance of Communist Party of Kampuchea as of 30 September 1974 and that the resistance had been successful both in the country and abroad “on the international arena”. HOU Yun claimed that his party ranked number three in the world after People’s Republic of China and Albany and that some allied countries had requested to learn from his party. These included, for example, Communist Party of China and Korea.

HOU Yun also reminded that although the party had made such a remarkable progress, it had not gone through all circumstances yet because one part of our country was half feudalism and half colonialism and imperialism because all the five principles were dependent on foreign countries.

1. Politics is almost entirely dependent on others. [They] must follow orders from others.
2. The military is entirely dependent on American aid in weaponry.
3. The economy is dependent on foreign companies.
4. Social affairs are dependent on foreign countries.
5. Concerning culture, [they] use foreign words, while Khmer words are hardly used in each office.

From now on, the military cadres must liberate the whole country. However, please bear in mind that before we attack the outside enemy, we must attack the enemy inside each of us first. Comrades must make a clear distinction between friends and enemy and must adopt the following stance:

1. Labour stance
2. Political stance
3. Solidarity stance
4. Ideological stance
5. Organizational stance

A. All soldiers in the framework must be ready for various hard work in the future. They must love labour, which is the most important principle for moving toward building a socialist nation.

B. All Khmer Rouge frameworks must be close to the people “the people of the party”, respond to requests, and learn from the people because the people are renewable source of knowledge regarding work techniques.

C. Must instil the spirit of obeying the organizational disciplines and of the group to be consistent with the workers’ materialism discipline.

D. Must self-temper to replace “the original nature” which is not revolutionary and union workers. If not attaching one’s self to labour, the person will definitely still have the feeling of exploiting the labour of others, which is the feeling of the reactionary, the capitalists, and the feudalists. According to materialism theory, there are only workers and union workers who build the world and build each society. The labour-union workers class is the biggest class in any society. As far as democratic principles are concerned, it is not reasonable at all that the state authority did not fall into the hand of this class.

E. Instil the spirit of materialism and realism which serve the reactionary and oppressive classes.

F. All frameworks must understand perfectly that politics is “the 1st force”, while military force is only a tool of the political force. Therefore, it is necessary that all frameworks receive political education.

G. Military cadres must have good attitude and morality as the following:

1. Love, respect, and serve the people “the people of the party”, workers, and farmers to the fullest extent. Do not exercise authoritarian power against the people either

openly or secretly. Do not intimidate people. Always be polite to the people, since the Organization upholds the slogan “People are fish, the Organization is water”.

2. Be absolutely faithful to the work of the masses and the interest of the masses. Do not take the property of the masses even a chilli or a tin of rice either through hot or cold mean. Strictly avoid taking bribe from the masses.

3. If any mistake is made, it is a must to apologize people.

4. Exhibit gentle behaviour based on the people’s tradition regarding ways of speaking, walking, standing, sitting, eating, and making jokes.

5. Do not have an affair with women.

6. Do not drink in a manner which is wild and non-revolutionary.

7. Never gamble.

8. Do not take cash and property of the people and the Organization.

9. Must do work like people do.

10. Always follow the opinions of the Organization’s union.

11. Make good self-criticism constantly in each branch of the Organization in a frank manner. Build solidarity and internal unity stronger and stronger. Never attack each other outside the Organization or speak ill of each other to gain personal influence.

12. Must have self-conscious spirit. Carry out the revolution on your own. Do not depend on others or foreign countries to carry out the revolution on your behalf. Bear in mind that this revolution is Cambodian people’s revolution. Therefore, Cambodian people must do it themselves and be in control of the country’s destiny. They must not be dependent on foreign countries to do it on their behalf.

13. Must have self-mastered spirit to address all issues related to the people’s livelihood in term of feeling and materials.

14. Each military cadre must get rid of the nine types of viewpoint. They are as the following:

- Liberalism
- Authoritarianism
- Selfishness
- Privatism
- Self-Isolationism
- Egotism
- Nepotism
- Individualism
- Partisanship

15. Always have fierce anger towards the enemy.

16. Each military cadre must have good fairth in our resistance. Although it has a lot of twists and turns, we will certainly gain victory. Therefore, all military cadres must strictly follow the above plan before leaving to take any leading position at any place. Surely, you will be successful.

HOU Yun emphasized that in the upcoming water-receding season the military cadres be ready to attack both politically and militarily especially they must be ready to fight to defend National Road Number 3 “Phnom Penh-Kampot” because there were some people who appealed to the people to join the army so that they would be rewarded with ranks, and they also asked to open National Road Number 3. They went to ask for ranks from LON Nol by telling him that they had been successful in communicating with Khmer People’s National Liberation Armed Forces.

HOU Yun said that the Organization had already taken measures on that matter.

01 October 1974
Signature
[signature]