

**Record of Meeting of the Standing Committee  
11 March 1976**

**Attending: Comrade Secretary – Comrade Deputy Secretary – Comrade Vann វ៉ាន់–  
Comrade Vorn វ៉ន– Comrade Khieu ខៀវ– Comrade Hêm ហែម– Comrade Thuch  
ធុច– Comrade Doeun ឌឿន– Comrade Tum តុំ– Comrade Touch តូច**

**Agenda: Problems on the Eastern Frontier**

I. The situation on the eastern frontier

Comrade Khieu ខៀវ reported to the Standing Committee regarding the situation on the eastern frontier, especially in Mondulkiri មណ្ឌលគីរី and on discussions and contacts with Vietnam, the area of our land they control, and the maps they use.

II. The opinion of Angkar on the border problem

1. Developments in the resolution of the border problems in the past.

Our borders, both West and East, have never been completely resolved, because neighboring enemies have had intentions of expanding and continually seizing our land a little at a time.

In the French era, they seized much. In the Sihanouk era they took some more, in particular a number of islands. They took our land by force, and no one came to help us. During the Sihanouk era, Sihanouk got along well with the French, but the French had interests in Vietnam. Sihanouk contacted the Viet Cong about the land that Diem ឌីម violated and controlled at Dak Dam ដាក់ដាំ. But at that time, Vinh Thanh Phat [?] វិញ តាន់ ផាង came to Phnom Penh and told Sihanouk that Kampuchea should understand them too. If they were to announce recognition, they personally had no problem, but the Prey Nokor ព្រៃនគរ government would denounce them as selling the land to Kampuchea. When they were victorious, it would be no problem, they could resolve it. But the Viet Cong agreed to announce they respected the borders of Kampuchea.

Throughout history, the problem of the eastern border has not yet been solved. In June 1975, during negotiations, our Party brought up this problem, but the Vietnamese

did not respond. Later, they told Comrade Nuon ឆ្លង that this border was made by the imperialists, and to wait to resolve it [illegible].

2. Vietnam seizes the opportunity to aggress against us:

The major problem is not a few square kilometers of land. The major problem is the acts of expansionism pinching off pieces of land. These acts continue. Therefore, it is not a legal problem. They in fact violate us, like in the East in Takeo តាកែវ, etc.

But they cannot violate us. This is because the Party has taken successive political and military measures. Both these [types of] measures, we took simultaneously, differently from the Lao. Vietnam is totally comfortable with the Lao, but Vietnam controls the Lao revolution and takes Lao land.

3. Future measures:

On into the future, our measures will be of two types, military and political.

A. Military: We must have our forces to defend, not allowing any empty space at all, because experience has shown that when there is any empty space anywhere, they come into that spot. If they invaded all our land completely, we would attack them, they are not strong. Like in Ratanakiri រតនៈគិរី and in Takeo តាកែវ, we attacked and defeated them completely in many locations. In Kratie ក្រចេះ, we attacked and damaged them.

Therefore, without military forces we clearly would have lost all our land already, they would have come and pinched it off a little at a time.

But we attack and we negotiate.

B. Political: Political measures have three aspects:

First, we contact Vietnam in friendship. We say we negotiate in solidarity. We do this to prevent the situation from growing more tense, to relax the tension gradually. But we cannot come to a resolution 100 percent idealistically. Where we can agree and can place border markers, we place them immediately, one kilometer, we'll take it, two kilometers, we'll take that. We keep it relaxed to prolong. At any place where we are not yet happy, we negotiate further, especially at Dak Rit ដាក់រិត and Dak Dam ដាក់ដាំ.

Second, [illegible paragraph]

We resolve it like this to gain time to prepare forces on our own for a while. But we must negotiate the land there in friendship to prolong things one year, two years, five years.

Third, we prepare to strengthen ourselves internationally. Sihanouk contacted the French, but could not solve it. With America, it could not be solved. With the Chinese, it also could not be solved. We can not solve it. So, we can only prepare ourselves internationally, especially using Africa. At another period when we will be stronger, and the Southeast Asia revolution will be stronger, we can resolve this. If the Southeast Asia revolution is victorious, we may be able to seize it. Our comrades have a deep understanding, they sponsor us. If we walk correctly, we will have a voice in the non-aligned countries, and the direction is going that way. Whoever is correct and strong is victorious.

But if Vietnam grows stronger, and they will seize the Southeast Asia revolution, and they will have the advantage over us. But now, we see that we go faster than they do. Today, Vietnam is very complicated. They do not yet totally control Laos. The internal resistance in Vietnam is not so easy to totally and quickly smash. So, they fear us, because if they have a conflict with us they will be in even more trouble.

The direction of developments is not in the direction of victory for the counter-revolutionary forces, the reactionaries. Whoever makes a mistake will get their faces and mouths exposed; this cannot be hidden even if they want to. The Vietnamese, they are clearly hiding it, but hiding it from the international world seems difficult.

So, there is only a solution on our own, and this is the only direction to go to solve this. So, we must prolong by implementing measures:

- Military. Do not let them strengthen. We are comfortably prepared; they have no mastery. Dak Rit ដាក់រឹត – Dak Dam ដាក់ដាំ are strong malaria sites. In a while, they will clearly [illegible]

- Politics. Continue negotiating, and strive to strengthen ourselves to get world influence. We take the long term goal as our foundation. The struggle will be strenuous; we cannot just make noises and wriggle free [ប៉ុន្តែសប្បុរស]