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Organization of the Red Khmer: 1974

R E P O R T

THE RED KHMER'S ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES

Source PHAN VAN TAY, formerly an economic expert helping the Red Khmers at the 2010th Region Liaison Committee and the 25 zone Liaison Committee, operating in KOMPONG CHNANG and KANDAL Provinces from Oct. 1970 to Nov. 1973, disclosed about the Red Khmers organization and activities in CAMBODIA as follows :

I - TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION :

After LON NOL's seizure of power from SIHANOUK (Mar.18,1970), the Red Khmers received full support from NVN so that they could have a powerful force to resist the LON NOL government.

After Mar. 1970, the Cambodian territory was divided by the Red Khmer Central Executive Committee into three regions, each comprising of many zones. These three regions are : Northeast Region, Southeast Region and Southwest Region.

1. THE NORTHEAST REGION: code number 304, includes the Provinces of PURSAT, BATTAMBANG, SEAM REAP, KOMPONG THOM, STUNG TRENG, KRATIE and RATANAKIRI.

2. THE SOUTHEAST REGION: code number 203, includes the Provinces of KOMPONG CHAM, PREY VENG, SVAY RIENG, and KOMPONG SEILA. KOMPONG SEILA is a part of KAMPOT and KOH KONG Provinces combined together in 1971.

3. THE SOUTHWEST REGION: code number 201, includes the Provinces of TAKEO, KAMPOT, KOMPONG CHNANG, KOH KONG, KANDAL, and the PHNOM PENH Special zone.

The Southwest region, according to Source's knowledge, includes the following zones, some of which might not consist of the whole territory of the old Province :

- TAKEO Prov. comprising of 2 zones : zone 30 South of the TOUK River and zone 33 North of TOUK River.

- KAMPOT Province : zone 31.

- KOMPONG SPEU Prov. : name of zone unknown.

- KOMPONG CHNANG Prov. : zone 35.

- KOH KONG Prov. : name of zone unknown.

- KANDAL Prov. and Southern PHNOM PENH : zone 25.

- PHNOM PENH Special zone : zone 15, includes the area in Northern PHNOM PENH, limited by the TONLE SAP River, Highway 3, and a small area (details unknown) of KOMPONG SPEU and KOMPONG CHNANG Provinces.

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II - ADMINISTRATION :

Presently the Red Khmers claim that they have controlled 4/5 of the total

Khmer population. In the areas controlled by the Red Khmers, they have organized their administration in a vertical direction : the Central, regions, zones, districts, villages, hamlets. But this system is not yet completed.

Source knows the names of a number of Red Khmer cadre as follows :

- Central Executive Commissar : TA MOC (background unknown)
- Secretary of the Southwest Region Party Executive Committee : TA MOC.
- Ass't Secretary of the above Committee : CHOUK CHEK (face unknown to Source)
- Commissar of the above Committee : TA SICK (face unknown to Source).
- Secretary of the PHNOM PENH Special Region : TA VON.
- Secretary of zone 15 : TA ON.
- Secretary of zone 25 : NONG SOUL alias CHEY SOUL, former editor of a paper (name unknown) of the Red Khmers during the time SIHANOUK was in power.

After ~~SIHANOUK~~ the overthrow of SIHANOUK, he changed his name to CHEY SOUL. He is known to be a revolutionist who had the people's trust. It is rumored that President LON NOL is trying to look for CHEY SOUL to appeal for his cooperation.

- Ass't Secretary of zone 25 : SOCK BOUK CHAM RON, concurrently Chairman of zone 25, responsible for the zone's economy and finance and leader of the young man and woman associations.

- Commissar : CRU SOCK, in charge of military affairs.
- Secretary of the KOMPONG SVAI Dist. Party Committee : HOUK SE.
- Secretary of the KACH THOM Dist. Party Committee : TA CHIA.
- Dist. Unit Leader concurrently leader of the local Battalion of KACH THOM Dist. : TA CAT.
- Secretary of SA AN Dist. : TRUNG PHOM.

In Oct. 1973, Source heard that a number of the exile members of SIHANOUK had returned to the Red Khmer controlled areas, one of them was IN SA RI (background unknown). These people cooperated with the Red Khmers Central to form the Provisional Revolutionary Government.

III - MILITARY

Before the topple of SIHANOUK, the Red Khmers only had guerilla units operating sporadically in the mountainous areas.

After SIHANOUK had been overthrown, COSVN helped the Red Khmers consolidate and build up their forces by providing arms and training their cadre.

Despite the help of NVN, the largest unit of the Red Khmers forces presently only reaches the Rgt size, however their morale as well as fighting capacity are poor.

IX - THE PRESENT POLICY OF THE RED KHMER CENTRAL :

In early 1973, the COSVN Central Liaison Committee distributed to the subordinate liaison committees operating in CAMBODIA a document about the policy of the Red Khmer Central as follows :

1/ MILITARY :

- The Red Khmers forces will increase their strength by forcing the young men and monks in their controlled areas to join the army.
- The Red Khmers claim that they have enough cadre for military training and thus no longer need the NLF's help in this respect.
- The Red Khmers officially request NVN to provide various types of weapons to equip their forces.
- The Red Khmers will organize attacks to rob the ammunition and food stores of the LIBERATION troops.
- The Red Khmers advocate the policy of fighting till the end to reach complete victory.

2/ POLITICS :

a. Local Politics

- Reject all negotiations with the LON NOL Party.
- Only keep up temporary relationship with SIHANOUK to please the people. When the Red Khmers become really powerful, SIHANOUK will be eliminated from the leadership.
- Turn the liberated rural areas into real Red ~~areas into real Red~~ areas and the hard-core cadre will be assigned to lead the administrative machine from the local to central levels.
- Allow military forces to infiltrate into the contested areas to force the people to go and live in the liberated areas.
- Following each attack into the Khmer Republican government-controlled area, the Red Khmers burn and destroy the people's houses and fields then drive the people into the liberated areas.

b. Foreign Politics

After a few talks with HOUK SE, Commissar of zone 25, concurrently Secretary of the KOMPONG SVAI District Party Committee, Source was told that :

- The Red Khmer Central does not like the Soviet Union because they think that the Soviet revisionist policy does not suit the Red Khmers' viewpoint.
- The Red Khmer Central is prepared to receive merchandise aids from

China.

- The Red Khmer Central and NVN have many contradictory viewpoints (please refer to report No. 058/78) , therefore the Red Khmers do not want the presence of the LIBERATION troops in CAMBODIA.

3/ ECONOMY

- Appeal to the people living in the liberated areas (the Red Khmer-controlled areas) to boost up labor productivity.

- Strictly forbid the consumption of luxurious items.

- Strictly forbid free trade between the people. The foodstuff produced by the people must be sold to cooperatives which in turn sell them to consumers.

4/ FINANCE

- In the areas presently controlled by the Red Khmers, the people are not forced to pay taxes. But at the exchange exits along the Viet-Cambodian border, the Red Khmers levy heavy taxes on the luxurious items (details unknown).

V.- THE PSYCHIC VULNERABILITIES OF THE RED KHMERS

According to Source, the Red Khmers have the following vulnerabilities :

1/ POLITICS

- The people like SIHANOUK but dislike the RED KHMERS. This is because life in the liberated areas is full of miseries and hardships.

- The people who were forced to go into the liberated areas resent the Red Khmers. This is because the Red Khmers do not give them any material help. Meanwhile their properties had been ruined by the Red Khmers following their attacks against the LON NOL troops.

- The Red Khmers think that the monks are good-for-nothing and that they exploit the people. Therefore presently they only allow a few old monks to remain in each pagoda. The young monks have to fulfill their military obligations. The land of the pagodas previously used for growing flowers to offer to Buddha, is now used for growing vegetables, potatoes and manioc.

The freedom of worship of the Khmer people is thus limited and this is against their desire.

2/ MILITARY

- The majority of the Red Khmer troops have poor fighting spirit. They are very afraid of the ARVN troops and the attacks by helicopters and artillery.

- The combat techniques of the Red Khmers are also very poor. They lack progress-searching spirit; the more they rely on the help of NVN and the NLF, the