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104 和 105

柬埔寨局势

进行国际合作以防止新的难民潮

普遍实现民族自决权利和迅速给

予殖民地国家和人民独立对于

切实保障和尊重人权的重要性

关于人权的两项国际公约

联合国难民事务高级专员办事处

安全理事会

第四十年

1985年10月14日民主柬埔寨

常驻联合国代表给秘书长的信

谨随函附上题为“越南在柬埔寨所犯的种族灭绝罪行：消灭柬埔寨人民的新方法”的文件<sup>1</sup>，供你参考。

谨请将这文件作为大会议程项目 22、80、93、104 和 105 的正式文件和安全理事会的正式文件散发。

民主柬埔寨常驻代表  
大使

秀蒲拉西（签名）

<sup>1</sup> 附件只有英文本和法文本。

## ANNEX

### VIETNAMESE GENOCIDAL CRIMES IN KAMPUCHEA

#### A NEW PROCESS OF EXTERMINATION OF THE PEOPLE OF KAMPUCHEA

1. The world community has been aware that since almost 7 years the Vietnamese forces of invasion and occupation have been bogged down deeper and deeper in Kampuchea, and that the just struggle for national liberation of the people of Kampuchea and their Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea (CGDK) led by HRH Samdech NORODOM SIHANOUK, President of Democratic Kampuchea has been developing favourably in all fields. (1)

But the reality of that struggle entails another feature, which is the use by the Vietnamese occupiers of more and more barbarous methods against the civilian population in order to maintain at all costs their occupation of Kampuchea. Indeed, the war being waged by Vietnam in Kampuchea is not a war of ordinary colonial type known in the world history so far, for the strategic goal of Vietnam since 1930, has been the foundation of an "Indochina Federation" including Kampuchea and Laos under the domination of Vietnam. (1) Therefore, the Vietnamese war of aggression in Kampuchea is a war of territorial annexation.

In invading Kampuchea, Vietnam aims mainly at seizing her rich lands and the fish-abounding waters of the Tonle Sap Lake. The Vietnamese occupying forces have been eliminating those who oppose that criminal aim. As the opposition of the whole people of Kampuchea has become stronger than ever, they have been striving to empty the country of its native population. They have been conducting a systematic policy aimed at destroying the entity of Kampuchea by massacring her people through conventional and chemical weapons, through famine deliberately created and used by them as a weapon, through brutal repression against any forms of opposition. Furthermore, to replace the killed native population, they have been carrying out an out-and-out policy of "Vietnamization" of the country in all fields: physical, spiritual, political, economic, cultural and so forth. (2)

2. Since 1984, the Vietnamese aggressors have resorted to another genocidal crime: they have rounded up several hundred thousands of Kampuchean people from all provinces throughout the country and sent them to die in the battlefield in western Kampuchea.

In previous years, they had already rounded up a large number of people. But this year, in 1985, the extent of this criminal policy is beyond expectation, of inconceivable genocidal character.

Of these people, 50 per cent have been killed or wounded because the Vietnamese forced them to walk through mine-fields or fighting areas. The survivors have been in bad condition and sickly for having dysentery and, especially malaria.

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(1) *"The Situation in Kampuchea in 1985"* --UN document (A/40/636).

(2) *"The Vietnamization of Kampuchea: a process of absorption of a people and nation"* --UN document. (A/40/678)

In its statements made on 25 January 1985 (UN document A/40/109) and on 14 June 1985 (UN document A/40/393), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the CGDK denounced and condemned these new genocidal crimes which have led to the present severe food shortage in Kampuchea. Indeed, as many hundred thousands of people --men, women, old and young-- have been compelled to forced labours far from their villages and fields, they cannot grow rice or do any agricultural work.

3. That situation was of great concern to the ASEAN Foreign Ministers who, in their Joint Communique of 9 July 1985 (UN document A/40/492) "noted with serious concern the oppressive conditions under which the Kampuchean people have to live under Vietnamese occupation, especially the practice of compelling civilians to work in the war zones in the country, which had caused numerous casualties."

"Speaking on behalf of ASEAN Foreign Ministers at the end (9 July 1985) of the two-day annual ministerial meeting, outgoing Chairman of the ASEAN Standing Committee, H.E. TENGKU AHMAD RITHAUDDEEN, Foreign Minister of Malaysia, told a news conference that at any given time, there were about 20,000 Khmer civilians forced to work in war zones in Kampuchea (...). The civilians were asked to do such work as digging trenches and building walls (...). 'There are about 20,000 of them working at any given time and they are rotated. Over the (six-month) period, about 200,000 people have been forced to work (...). This must stop' (...) he said. Deputy Foreign Minister of Malaysia, H.E. ABDUL KADIR SHEIKH FADZIR said that ASEAN had not gathered the information from the tripartite resistance coalition, but 'from many sources' (...). Forcing civilians to work in war zones was increasing Kampuchean hatred of the Vietnamese." (3)

4. In its issue of April 30, 1985, Thai newspaper "The Nation", in an article entitled "10,000 wounded Khmers treated in Phnom Penh" wrote: "About 10,000 Khmer people are now hospitalized in Phnom Penh and outlying towns for malaria, mine injuries and gunshot wounds, suggesting that they have been forced to work in jungles and embattled zones close to the Thai-Kampuchean border.

International aid workers based in the Khmer capital and international Press visitors have also noted that the degree of the forced labour has peaked this year, "The Nation" learned yesterday.

The international aid agencies and Press sources have also said that the number of Khmer people under the forced labour programme this year is higher than the total from 1979, when the Heng Samrin regime was installed, to last year.

Out of the 10,000 Khmers, 5,500-6,000 have malaria, including about 3,400 cases of cerebral malaria, while about 4,000 others have lost limbs because of landmine explosions or gunshots. Among the latter, about 500 people sustained gunshot wounds, according to the sources, who have access to information from nurses at hospitals.

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(3) "200,000 Khmers under Vietnam's forced labour". The Nation, Bangkok, July 10, 1985. "Vietnam forcing Khmers to do war work." Bangkok Post, July 10, 1985.

The landmine injuries and gunshot wounds suggest that the amputees were forced to work under combat conditions, according to the sources.

The medical situation was so serious that Phnom Penh authorities recently admitted to a senior international aid official that there are cases of malaria at the hospitals... The sources have also discovered from nurses at the hospitals that these patients were mainly from provinces adjacent to the Vietnamese border, including Takeo, Svay Rieng and Prey Veng, as well as Phnom Penh.

The Khmer officials told the foreigners that many have fled to the Thai-Khmer border, which was also confirmed by Thai intelligence sources, who said that the number of Khmer officials seeking refuge here has risen significantly this year.

The international aid agencies have detected growing dissent among the Kampuchean people against the Heng Samrin rule and Vietnamese control, and have concluded that "nationalist reaction has become inevitable. In other words, they are convinced that nationalism has become a significant factor in the country."

5. In its issue of June 13, 1985, the same newspaper, in another article entitled "Big malaria upsurge seen in Kampuchea - Forced labourers filling hospitals", wrote: "A surge of virulent malaria in Kampuchea has put thousands of people into hospitals, according to United Nations officials recently in Phnom Penh and other parts of the country."

The upsurge began last year when Kampuchea (the Vietnamese regime in Phnom Penh --NDLR) in an effort to stop guerrilla infiltration sent tens of thousands of conscripts to clear jungles and build roads and defence works along the Thai border, said TATSURO KUNUGI, the UN official in charge of Kampuchean relief.(...)

Aid workers reported recently that hospitals in Phnom Penh were packed with malaria patients returned from the border and that the case rate among some groups of conscripts was more than 50 per cent."

6. On July 25, 1985, JOSEPH DE RIENZO from Reuter, wrote: "A doctor who ran Kampuchea's largest hospital has fled to Thailand to escape what he said the Vietnamese plans to colonise his country."

Dr. SO SAREN, former Vice-President of the Kampuchean-Soviet friendship hospital, told reporters at a refugee camp yesterday that Kampucheans were being sent to unhealthy and insecure border regions (...)

He said he decided to flee the pro-Hanoi state because "the Vietnamese intend to kill us off".

SO, who made an official visit to the Soviet Union in January, said Vietnamese officials took part in all policy decisions in Kampuchea.

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Deputy Vietnamese Health Minister NGUYEN TANG AM was permanently attached to Kampuchea's Health Ministry, he added.

Diplomats in Bangkok confirmed Vietnamese Deputy Ministers were generally assigned to all Kampuchean Ministries (of the Phnom Penh regime --NDLR).

SO said there was lack of medicine to treat civilians conscripted for labour in malaria areas near the Thai-Kampuchean border. Opposition to conscription was widespread but muted because of the "presence of Vietnamese spies everywhere," he said.

Four waves of conscripts had been sent from Phnom Penh and other provinces to prevent infiltration by anti-Vietnamese Kampuchean guerrillas since March 1984, he said.

He said permanent resettlement of "volunteers" began in April in the guerrilla-plagued central Tonle Sap Lake region. It would start next year in frontier province."

7. On August 22, 1985, an AFP article entitled "Alarming new outbreak of malaria in Cambodia", its special envoy, LAURENT MAILLARD, wrote: "Cambodia is confronting with an alarming new outbreak of malaria. (...) According to reliable sources in Phnom Penh, the new outbreak of malaria resulted from the dispatch of tens of thousands of people to infested regions along the border with Thailand to build fortifications against the infiltrations of the Khmer guerillas. The spread of malaria would have already caused hundreds of death, according to some estimations made from evidences given by people coming back from the concerned regions. (...) The hospitals in the country are however full of sick people affected by malaria. (...) Some sources put forward the number of several ten thousands of cases. (...) No official indication has ever been given on the exact number of persons participating in the fortification works. The Cambodian who had come back estimated that there were permanently during the dry season (October to April) 100,000 to 200,000 persons on the work sites all along the Thai border. According to witnesses, each province, revolutionary Committee, administration or firm must send a variable percentage of volunteers. The selection, according to these witnesses, was made by drawing of lots or by designation by political responsables. These sources said that there were cases of desertion." (Translation from French).

8. Ms. MARIE ALEXANDRINE MARTIN, Naturalist and Ethnologist, Research Scientist at CNRS (France), with ten years of experience in Cambodian environment, gave a detailed description of that new Vietnamese crime, in a research published by the magazine "Politique Internationale" No 28, Summer 1985, and entitled : "Cambodia: A new colony for exploitation". Excerpts of that research translated from French are as follows:  
(...) "Thai newspapers have confirmed, since January 1985, alarming rumours circulated as early as Autumn 1984 that the Vietnamese army had rounded up on a massive scale the Cambodian population to carry out military labours. This was also reported by "The International Herald Tribune", and the Italian daily "Il Giornale" published a full-page report on the story. (...) Testimonies

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abound: In 1984 and 1985, thousands of Khmers coming Phnom Penh and the provinces of Battambang, Kandal, Kompong Thom, Kompong Cham, Kompong Chhnang, Kompong Speu, Pursat, Prey Veng, Siemreap, Svay Rieng and Takeo fled to the border population centres in order to escape from those labours. The present research has been conducted among them. (...)

#### CONSTRUCTION OF HOUSES FOR THE VIETNAMESE SETTLERS

It is well-known that each household should share its land and house with Vietnamese civilians or help them to build a house. However, at Angkor Borei, nothing like this was scheduled; there was some talks of draining the flooded region, of raising a platform for the construction of houses "for the Cambodians". About 20,000 persons, all able-bodied men and young women-- were rounded up from several districts to carry out those tasks in this small town of the province of Takeo. Comprising 400 houses, the new village is called Angkor Borei Thmei and located at some 15km from Phsar Angkor Borei, the old village. As a result of the shortage of wood in the region, palm trees (the exploitation of which is a source of revenue for a part of the Cambodian population) were cut down to build walls. It took two months to complete the works. To the bewilderment of the Khmer workers, the Vietnamese civilians crossed the nearby border and took possession of the village. This example suffices to show the state of bandage to which the Khmer people are reduced, and testifies to the continuity of the Vietnamization process in the demographic field.

#### WOOD CUTTING FOR VIETNAM

In 1982, people were rounded up to fell trees in the park surrounding Angkor. Superb "Chhoeuteal", which provide top quality timber and which had been planted by the French about a century ago, were felled, cut up and loaded on boats departing for Vietnam. This precious timber was also transported in military trucks bound for an unknown destination.

In 1983, the destruction of whole sections of forests was carried out throughout the country: the most beautiful trees were either loaded on Vietnamese military trucks or left on the spot without being burned, presumably awaiting the same fate. In addition to the "Chhoeuteal", the workers had to fell the imputrescible "Koki", reserved by the Cambodians for the construction of boats and exceptional works such as pillars of pagodas; the "Phchek" generally used in making house pillars and cross roads; a variety of Leguminosae the wood of which is of first-class quality and widely used in cabinet-making, as well as a great many of other species. The primary target of such clearings was quickly known, that is to destroy the sanctuaries of the resistants. The Khmers have then connected those works to other manual tasks assigned to the population (in particular, the repairing of roads used by the Vietnamese army's trucks).

#### STRATEGIC FENCES

Strategic fences, "robang yuthesah", were raised in 1983 by the conscripted populations around their villages. In official parlance, they were there to protect the populations. Actually, they were built to help the Vietnamese to fight against the Yothea (Khmer Rouge soldiers) and the Sereika (nationalist resistants) who had made regular visits (especially the former, with the full agreement of the villagers). Those strategic fences were built

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around most of the hamlets in the regions where the guerrillas had been active. The door is closed from 5-6pm to 5-6am. Consequently, the population cannot go out during these hours and visitors should get an entry permit in order to go into the village in daytime. Houses located outside the perimeter of the town were burned down and their owners had to move behind the fences.

Japanese cameraman NAOKI MABUSHI was the first to have reported the building of such strategic fences. In April 1983, he filmed the burning of one of these fences by the inhabitants of a village in the province of Siemreap, following the rout of the Vietnamese by the Khmer Rouges. The fence is usually formed by two to three ranges of poles or bamboo canes, separated by bamboo-pikes, thorn-bushes and sometimes by mines. In the border provinces of Takeo, Prey Veng, Svay Rieng near Vietnam, where the villages are well guarded by the "bodoi" (Vietnamese soldiers), such fortifications are not necessary. However, they are widely built not only in the northern provinces (Battambang, Siemreap), but also in Kompong Cham, Kompong Thom, Kompong Chhnang, Pursat, Kompong Speu.

They can be found even near population centres, as is the case of Phum Kumro, a model village, 1km from Kompong Speu city, recently created after the model of strategic hamlets once built by the Americans in South-Vietnam.

The conscription was indeed spreading to the very urban centres. In late 1984, the Khmers living in Battambang city and its suburbs (about 20,000 people) had been rounded up for two months to build a 3-metre high dyke, "baret", around their city. All professional sections of the population took part in the labour, including school students and civil servants, on Sundays. It is difficult to admit that this construction is built to protect the Cambodian population, for there are very few Khmer civilians. Apart from some small shopkeepers and state workers, this provincial chief-town is especially peopled by Vietnamese tradesmen and "bodoi" who have transformed some pagodas in the city, such as Wat Kandal, Wat Sangker, Wat Kampher, into barracks and/or into political prisons. It is not either by chance that a strategic fence is built around Leach, the district chief-town of Phnom Kravanh, which has come under hot attacks of the Khmer Rouges since 1979 and where the Vietnamese have set up their headquarters in the old buildings of the sub-prefecture. This is also the case with Siemreap City which is the headquarters of one of the most important bases of the Vietnamese army in Cambodia. There is no more doubt possible when small strongholds should be built around the barracks set up by the "bodoi" outside the villages. (...)

#### GENERALIZATION AND OFFICIALIZATION OF LABOURS IN SUPPORT OF MILITARY OPERATIONS

According to Cambodian high officials, the first five years of the Vietnamese occupation (1979-1983) corresponded with a "smooth period". At that time, Hanoi made attempts without much brutality, to put the population into its orbit while trying to win over the civil servants who had not to carry out manual labour.

The result was meagre. If at the beginning, on the whole, the people have willy-nilly complied with the conscription, the feeling between Khmers and occupiers on the contrary has not improved. The atmosphere has been worsening and the Vietnamese have had to resort to drastic solution.

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#### A DECISION FROM HIGH LEVEL

1984 started the second period of the Treaty signed in February 1979 between the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. It is time to take drastic decisions.

On the day of full moon of January 1984, during two meetings, one at the Presidency of the Presidium and the other at the Central Committee of the Party, it was decided that the conscriptions will be from now on, public, programmed and compulsory for all Cambodians fulfilling the following criteria: Khmer or Chinese nationality, 18 to 45 years old for men, and 18 to 35 years old for women. The occupation does not matter: peasants, small merchants, civil servants, all will participate, even students during their vacation. Women with infants are theoretically exempted, however, if their husbands have fled the country, they are obliged to replace them. That provision, as well as that relating to the schoolboys, is not in the official circular signed by Mr. SAY PHU TANG. Yet, recently, women who have rejoined their husbands at the Khmer-Thailand border, had carried out these labours, leaving in their villages their young children with a neighbouring woman; high-school students who had been informed of their impending participation in the clearings, have fled before the end of their school year. Those measures do not affect the Vietnamese civil population whom the Khmers continue to see arriving every day on their territory.

#### NATURE AND AIM OF LABOURS

Hanoi's intention has clearly been spelled out: through the labours imposed on the Cambodian civilians, it aims at waging a merciless struggle against all groups of guerrillas so as to eliminate militarily the anti-Vietnamese resistance. The three movements, i.e. the Khmer Rouges, Prince SIHANOUK's Front and Mr. SON SANN's Front have been explicitly named. Still, the aim of the strategic fences built around villages is to check the freedom of movement and action of the resisters. However, in some regions --the names of which are withheld here for the sake of the villagers' security-- the infiltration is going on. In other parts of the country, the contacts between the population and the resisters are conducted in a different way.

What kind of labour is this? To the official parlance "polakam kapie mitophum" (labour to defend the motherland), the Cambodians prefer the term "kap prey" (to clear forests, to fell trees). Actually, the labour is divided into three kinds of activities:

"Kap prey thveu chie viel", (to transform the forest into open-space) so as to deprive the guerrillas of the sanctuaries. Since 1983 till now, the population has been forced to do so. In the beginning, the inhabitants were rounded up to work within their respective provinces. Here a trail, a road, a river make their way through a thick or light forest: trees within a perimeter of 500 metres and 2km on each side of these beautiful structures --one of the wealth of Cambodia-- were felled.(...) In the province of Kompong Chhnang where attacks on trains are frequent, the population has to fell trees along the railroad track. In other places, no communication line is involved, but the Yothea and the Sereika, who are stationed in forests, go out from time to time to attack Vietnamese patrols or command posts. Trees are then felled in large tracks of territory, difficult to evaluate. Those



who have to clear forests are confined in a specific sector. They could however see endless lines of workers, but could not say more.

This more than two-year-old practice has failed to put an end to the guerrilla warfare in the interior of the country. Fightings have even been increasing since 1983 as a result of the support accorded by the population to the anti-Vietnamese Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, formed in June 1982. The military opponents have not been wiped out in the interior. They have even received reinforcements sent from the border sanctuaries. This is why Vietnam had to precipitate its action in 1984.

The first phase of the labours planned for the whole population of Phnom Penh was to destroy the forest along the Tuk Sap river in Prey Nop, crossing NH4 near Kompong Som. The inhabitants of the twenty districts of the capital and its suburbs and those living in the provinces of Kandal, Kompong Speu and Kompong Som City were rounded up in April 1984 to carry out those labours.

"Leuk Phloy", (to lay out roads). Early in 1984, refugees reported the laying out of a road linking Leach (province of Pursat) to the seaside (province of Koh Kong), which was started in 1983 by the Cambodian civilians; the conversion of the Angkor/Varin cart track into a road open to the army trucks; projects concerning the province of Oddar Meanchey and the construction of a military airfield near Phnom Malai. At that time, nobody could however mention this fact, for the runaways were still very few. It was not until 1984 that the peasants --very attached to their lands-- fled to the border areas as a result of their being physically threatened, and provided accurate testimonies. From these testimonies it emerges the fact that the Vietnamese army have set up a whole network of roads which include every border sanctuary. (...)

"Chik pralay leuk tumup", (to dig a canal, to raise a dyke). This expression refers to a dyke coupled with a 700km-long canal the construction of which is under way from the border with Laos up to the sea, in Koh Kong province. This decision was taken in January 1984 with the aim of checking the penetration of the guerrillas into the interior of the country. Some sections were already completed in Preah Vihear and northern Oddar Meanchey, in Battambang (near Yeang, about 10km from Nong Chan and Rithisen) and in western Koh Kong. Lookout posts built at regular spaces would later complete the works, a situation which reminds us of the Great Wall of China. On an average, the construction is about ten kilometres from the border, this distance varying according to the topographical outlines. A ten-man team built about 50 metres of such a construction in three months. At the present time, more people are mobilized for that purpose. So are all the provinces. This third category of labours was decided despite the numerous mines scattered throughout the route and the ravaging malaria which strikes a great many people.

#### DURATION OF CONSCRIPTION AND STRUCTURES OF RECEPTION

Those who are rounded up should devote three months per year to the clearing or to the construction of the dyke and strategic roads. As a general rule, each household should send, if possible, one of its member to each contingent, if not once a year. If need be, the rate is doubled: there are many cases of peasants being rounded up twice in the same year or twice in

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a row. Thousands of people (about 2,500 to 20,000) have to leave their provinces every three months. This suffices to show the extent of the labours and the astonishing rate at which they are conducted. The constructions should have been completed in late 1986.

Trucks are sometimes used for the transportation of workers, in particular for those coming from the South. In such a case, it is the commune which has to pay the expenses of the journey to the State. In Battambang, many others had to walk two or three days before reaching the working site. There, nothing was planned for their reception. Their first task was to build a makeshift shelter, individually or in team (krom of 10 to 12 persons). They had to bring everything: rice and fish (collected in the village or in the town and put in common), mosquito-nets, spoons, and their own instruments. The collective cooking of meals was carried out in rotation by a team member. The work sectors were defined according to the respective provinces, districts and communes. Everybody should respect a daily timetable of 8 hours on an average. (...)

#### DANGERS FACING THE POPULATION

Theoretically speaking, each commune designates a nurse or a medical officer to accompany and to assist the workers at the working sites. Doctors are assigned to district hospitals where the sick and gravely wounded are sent to. Those who are in a more serious condition could be sent to Phnom Penh. This personnel does not always meet the required qualifications, and medicines are rare. As an exception, at one place at least, (Ampil Pram Doeum, in the region of Pailin), the workers were attended, free of charges or in exchange for payment, by the Vietnamese military doctors stationed in the village's barracks. There, the workers were on several occasions visited by Khmer Rouge soldiers who advised them to flee the region infested with malaria and mines. At Ream and Prey Nop, Kampot province, the "paras" (nationalist resistants) told the same thing to the villagers but, said the Cambodians, it was not easy to escape when one was guarded at gunpoint.

Indeed, in addition to light wounds due to the handling of unusual instruments, to a number of deadly accidents due to falling stones (Ta Kriem in Battambang) or trees (in Kompong Chhnang), two deadly calamities plagued those working sites: malaria due to the virus of *Plasmodium falciparum* and explosion of mines which the workers had to detect without the help of any instrument. (...)

Another calamity: most of the zones where the population is sent to clear forest are fighting zones. This is particularly true at the border where gunfire could be more or less heard. The civil servants, who had been sent to Phnom Khla Kon (2km west of Sisophon) to administer the nearby working sites, heard every night the firing of 122mm rockets, 82mm shells, B40 on their encampments. They slept in trenches most of the time. At Tonle Toch, when the shelling became too intense in daytime, the workers were brought back to their encampment located a few kilometres from the place and where the shellings were less frequent. The heaviest losses were sustained perhaps on the road linking Varin to Oddar Meanchey. Daily fightings caused many dead among the workers.

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#### EFFECTS ON THE WHOLE POPULATION

In addition to the mourning due to the disappearance of relatives, each household is faced with new economic difficulties following the death of one of its members who belongs to a Krom Samaki. It is thus difficult for a woman with children to feed, and whose husband, son or daughter have to leave the production team for clearing labours, to feed also those who stay behind in the village. Contrary to what happened to the civil servants, the family of the conscript got no regular retribution: if a peasant household sent nobody to participate in rice planting, it would get nothing at harvest time. As a consequence of these vital problems, whole families arrive at the border: the man escaping from a labour camp to avoid a possible death, the woman and the children fearing famine due to the rounding up of the head of the family.

Another consequence of these human levies is the void left in some public services, especially in the Health Service. (...)

#### MILITARY OBJECTIVE OF THE VIETNAMESE

Let us repeat it: there is no doubt possible. These gigantic labours should be placed within the framework of the military solution which Vietnam was planning for Cambodia, at least as an experiment. Moreover, Hanoi has made its intentions known throughout the country. A great many workers -- especially those from towns and their nearby villages-- were told in late 1984 that the dry season military offensive would have as objective the elimination of all sanctuaries of the resistants along the border. The population did not believe it because of its strong belief in the Coalition Government. (...) General LE DUC ANH, member of the Politbureau of the Vietnamese Communist Party and Vice-Minister for Defence, had made it clear: "As they (the anti-Vietnamese resistants) are opposing and undermining the revolution by force of arms, we must destroy them by military attacks, raze their bases, build and consolidate our defence lines, build and consolidate our friends' positions of mastery at the border area". The large scale forced labours imposed by Hanoi on the Cambodian population throughout the country testifies to the incapability of the "bodoi" to break down the resistance, and give credit to the assertions of the refugees that the Khmer Rouge soldiers are everywhere and the nationalist resistants more and more present in the interior of Cambodia, sometimes mingled with the civilian population. It should be recalled that the "clearing" began a few months after the formation of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, while the population had chosen to accord their support to the three components, without exception. In his article, General LE DUC ANH did not fail to stress that the results of the military struggle "in the inland front" would be decisive. Now the support of the population goes to the resistants, hence the setting up of a vast logistic network to make up this weakness. (...)

During late combats, the Vietnamese by bombing a camp sheltering only civilians (Dangruk), occupying on Thai territory some hills which have permitted them to overrun more easily the Sihanoukist base of Tatum, have demonstrated their will to annihilate at all costs a resistance which gives them

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more and more problems. If the politico-ideological jargons are generally void of semantic meaning, some utterances could find here again their strong meaning, for it is quite a "heroic struggle" the Khmer people are waging. (...)

France committed to Human Rights, American intellectuals who had generously fought for the freedom of Vietnam and the international community could not ignore this new episode of the sufferings of the Khmer people, who have fought for 16 years against death to preserve their national identity. The witnesses are here, within reach of our eyes and our ears. The American satellites have undoubtedly taken photographs of these "labours". It would suffice to lift the political and ideological locking to allow a nation to survive, to a people to escape from death."

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