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THE SITUATION IN KAMPUCHEA

Letter dated 11 October 1979 from the Permanent Representative of
Viet Nam to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith for your information the "Investigation report on the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique's crimes against the Phnom Penh population", which was submitted to the People's Revolutionary Tribunal of Kampuchea, and to request you to circulate it as an official document under agenda items 84 and 123.

(Signed) HA VAN LAU
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary,
Permanent Representative of the Socialist
Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations

ANNEX

**INVESTIGATION REPORT ON THE POL POT-LENG SARY CLIQUE'S
CRIMES AGAINST THE PHNOM PENH POPULATION**

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CAMBODIA
Independence Peace Happiness



PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL HELD IN PHNOM PENH
FOR THE TRIAL OF THE GENOCIDE CRIME
OF THE POL POT - IENG SARY CLIQUE

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INVESTIGATION REPORT
ON THE POL POT - IENG SARY CLIQUE'S CRIMES
AGAINST THE PHNOM PENH POPULATION

I - INTRODUCTION

The Phnom Penh people up to April 17, 1975 underwent various instable political regimes. The population of this administrative, economic and intellectual capital city in the period between 1970 and 1975 varied from 2.4 to 2.8 million souls. This demographic growth stemmed from the massive exodus of rural dwellers in the last 3 years of the Lon Nol regime, rigged by the neo-colonialist war, conducted by the Yankees and their henchmen. This unpopular war, which only served the cause of one client clique and foreign interests, gave rise, among all social sectors, to an earnest aspiration for peace - a lasting peace on the basis of social justice. Indeed, the systematic corruption among the rulers, the enormous gap between living levels, forced unemployment arising from the paralysed economic infra-structure and the exploitation of the weaker by the stronger, diverse economic speculations to the benefit of big dealers and at the expense of poor wage-earners, all sorts of prostitutions born of misery, constituted as many factors which led to an increasingly unbearable social injustice.

Nonetheless, the Khmers, always talented and highly capable

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in their productive and creative labor, are a hard-working people endowed with perseverance and wisdom, and having a most famous civilization. Many monuments among the best renowned in the world, the celebrated vestiges of Angkor as well as numerous artistic and literary works and handicrafts speak volumes of that.

Therefore, faced with this degeneracy and degradation of their society during the last years, they craved for the advent of another political regime capable of creating a new society and of meeting their yearnings. This aspiration for a lasting peace, a definitive political stability was all the more ardent as the decadence of their country was obvious. Their sole salvation lay in the Khmer socialist revolution upon which rested all their confidence and hopes. They thus impatiently looked forward to its victory in a near future.

The mere news of the forthcoming final triumph of this revolution thrilled them with joy.

II - THE FIRST DAYS OF THE ARRIVAL OF THE POL POT - LENG SARY ARMY IN PHNOM PENH

On April 17, 1975, at dawn, the black-clad troops of Pol Pot's revolutionary armed forces entered Phnom Penh. Rudely waken up from their sleep by the shooting and B.40 explosions which destroyed public buildings, the Phnom Penh people came out of their houses to welcome them, applauding, jumping, smiling, so great was their joy. From time to time, these bursts of joy were interrupted by bomb explosions. Soon their jubilation got mixed with astonishment. Armoured vehicles flying white pennants and carrying Lon Nol troops side by side with black clad men, passed along streets and avenues of Phnom Penh. They shouted in chorus: "It is peace. The war is over: no more fighting!" Following their example, the Phnom Penh people also waved white flags. Then, in their turn, foreign embassies hoisted the colours of their respective countries. Hospitals displayed their Red Cross banner.

It was then that the order to evacuate the capital rapidly was given out under the pretext of avoiding losses in lives which might result from US air attacks and the wiping out of remnants of the Lon Nol army. The ensuing bewilderment of the population was beyond description.

Furthermore, a few hours later, they discovered that those "black-clad" were cutthroats and looters. To their consternation, the latter opened fire on those who refused or were not prompt enough to comply with their orders. Others, armed with B.40's, began to ransack stores and civilian dwellings. There was no electricity at night. Phnom Penh became a dead city. No radio broadcast. From time to time, in the depth of night, explosions broke the ghastly silence. The following day, black clad men grew still more numerous in streets littered with bodies of people recently killed. By noon-time, they started driving people out of their homes, threatening to destroy everything if the orders were not obeyed immediately. Volleys of AK. 47's fired in the air punctuated their injunctions. "That is for three days only", they affirmed. In point of fact, that was only the first of the measures taken by Pol Pot's "revolution" in implementation of his radical policy a principle of which is as follows : all city dwellers must become farmers, only those who know how to plant rice have right to eat and those who do not, have no reason to live. This accounts for the indirect killing of Phnom Penh people whose first trial was this hellish exodus during which more than 500,000 physically unfit met their death.

On the other hand, is not the devastation of libraries - among them, the National Library - and bookshops, and the systematic destruction of books the evidence of a deliberate effort to obliterate creative intelligence, culture, civilization and sciences? And this systematic destruction was carried out in accordance with a system, an ideological principle easily recognized by the world.

Right of the first day of Pol Pot troops' arrival, the major part of the Phnom Penh civilian population saw with their own eyes how they destroyed, by B.40's hospitals, surgical rooms, the Pasteur

Institute. Patients were pushed away from their beds. Those who could not get up, nor walk, nor even move, were hauled together with their beds to the streets. Some of these were being given serum. Most of these patients died a few hours later.

On national highways along which the Phnom Penh people were driven to the countryside and outlying areas plagued with malaria, the living conditions were despairing : no food allowances nor medicines for a population deprived of everything. The sanitary conditions were shocking. Massive, dragged-out caravans of deportees, progressing at snail's pace-one kilometer a whole morning, even a whole day - trekked along aimlessly, from place to place, pressed on by the rhythms of intimidation shootings. Families then started being shattered : children got strayed, wives lost their husbands. Moreover, they could neither begin nor finish their meals without being disturbed by these terrible rhythms. Every time they tried to get a little rice, dried fish or salt from villagers in exchange of fine clothings or valuable objects, intimidation shootings would chase them away. All along the way, there were searches of suitcases and buggages, obviously for looting purposes (transistor radio sets, jewellery, etc...)

Along side this undescrivable disarray, the "purge" of intellectuals began. For this purpose, Pol Pot resorted to a system of detection merely based on appearance. Those who looked like intellectuals, especially those who wore spectacles of myopia or presbyopia, were listed as suspects and could be arrested at once and sent to the security service. A great number of them did not return to their families. The intellectuals were all regarded and treated as out-laws and parasites. If a few of them managed to survive, it was because they had not revealed their real identity and had lived under disguise with borrowed names. Others owed their good lucks to having anti-regime "rebels" as heads of their cooperatives. The latter protected them by omitting to denounce them to the upper authorities and by sending them to work far away from villages to keep them out of the watching eyes of informers.

The purge of intellectuals practically began even as the Phnom Penh population were driven out of the capital city. It began simultaneously with the purge of the Lon Nol army men. Pot Pot - Ieng Sary used a very simple yet unqualifiably infamous trick : dispatching vehicles equipped with loudspeakers to diffuse an urgent appeal pretending that they needed intellectuals (professors, technicians, physicians) for the reconstruction of the country and former militarymen for national defence.

In their long journey to the most out-of-the-way corners of the country, large numbers of Phnom Penh civilians, mostly old folk, children, lying-in or pregnant women, patients, disabled, succumbed under atrocious conditions : no food, nor medicines, nor midwives. Those who walked along the Mekong during this long march through forests and swamps, were eye-witnessed of other killings : trains of corpses floating on the river, swept away by the current. This ghastly scene lasted several months on end.

III - THE WRETCHED PLIGHT OF PHNOM PENH PEOPLE AND INTELLECTUALS IN DEPORTATION CAMPS

The population was divided into three categories. The Phnom Penh people belonged to the last one, i.e. "citizens" deprived of all rights, "war prisoners", in other words, the vanquished. They were called "new inhabitants" and treated as parasites.

The coercive system applied to the Phnom Penh population consisted in a kind of automation of men : interdiction from thinking, expressing anything contrary to the principles of the "Revolution from maintaining inter-human contacts, from criticizing, from showing emotions and feelings, from moving from one village to another, and, from the beginning of 1977, eating and cooking (apart from boiling water) at home was also forbidden. Failure to comply with these orders to the letter amounted to thinking and this mental activity was considered as a guilty act. Any delay in implementing the order amounted to an act of rebellion liable to be investigated severely. If this continued, the suspects would be sent to "reeducation" centers and in a great many cases, it was capital

punishment decided by the head of cooperative. At home, especially at night time, husbands and wives dared not talk, lest spies and informers should denounce them. The husband would fear that his wife should let slip something about his former profession under Lon Nol, for many had lost their lives because of this kind of imprudence. He would fear that she should tell him of the petty larceny she had made the previous day (some fish, rice, salt, cassava, sweet potatoes or a few bananas for their children).

Angkar, this almighty Organisation of the Revolution, always omnipresent, had its eyes and ears everywhere. It was The Terror personified. The victims, before being done away with, were usually sent away to fetch something. If in the evening, the husband did not return, his wife could be sure that he would never return. She should keep herself above all, from crying nor showing her sorrow during her working hours, for that would be regarded as a act of mutiny against the political line (Meekes) of the "Revolution", seriously endangering the "Revolution". The punishment varied with the degree of gravity : either sending to a deportation camps located most likely in a malaria-infected area, or simply a clean disappearance. When there is public accusation, if the head of cooperative did not mete out any punishment, he himself would disappear. Angkar was ubiquitous, indeed.

How the sick Phnompenhese were treated ? Under the Pol Pot regime, only those whose diseases were evident at eyesight such as wounds, influenza, etc. were considered as ill. Those who suffered from diseases of lungs, heart, liver, kidneys, stomach, in brief, from what was invisible, were regarded as fakes, lazy-bones, rebels and subject to a very close inquiry. Many of them disappeared. Those held to be hopelessly unfit were finished off and thrown into wells. Pol Pot's hangers on told their families there were so many such wells that Korean and Chinese advisers in Phnom Penh dared not drink Khmer water : they only drank coconut milk.

Those considered to be sick were obligatorily hospitalized, which was a dreadful thing : apart from the lack of hygiene and

cleanness, the diet was horrible and medical treatment, more often than not turned out to be fatal. Some died of avitaminosis, malnutrition, others from poisoning. Then luckiest were those who came out with some infirmity resulting from an abscess caused by unasepticized injections.

For the "imaginary invalids" and old people thought to be idlers and saboteurs of first degree, the punishment went from diminishment to total deprivation of food allowances (the luckiest got a handful of rice for one or two meals).

To the daily working hours were added extra-work called "socialist labour". Right after the midday lunch, everybody was harnessed to other jobs : planting vegetables, weeding, etc. At 1 p.m., as the bell rang, the ordinary work called "fundamental work" ("Ker Snaul") resumed. At 5.p.m., the "fundamental work" being suspended, they were shifted to "socialist work" till dusk. After a quick bath, they were allowed to dine. When there was too much to do, especially in the transplanting season, women got to work till 10 p.m. , sometimes 11 p.m. Those women who had unwashed babies to nurse suckled them before going to bed, utterly exhausted. At 4:30 a.m., the dreadful bell resounded all over the village. All the Phnom Penh survivors , even now, still shudder when they happen to hear something resembling that sinister bell.

There were practically no days-off. The so-called holidays were devoted to indoctrination, to brain-washing, if not to other works even harder than in week days. So, holidays were undesirable and even abhorred. During periods when there was not enough work, sessions of mutual criticism were organized every evening. It was a kind of self-inflicted moral punishment in public. Those who were not diligent enough in working, those who spent too much time caring for their families or were late for the farmwork, were virulently stigmatized, or even subject to inquiry. These sessions, presided over by the chairman of the cooperative, usually ended very late in the night.

There cannot be anything more inhuman, more shocking than

this regime of working, this coercive system, this robotization which bled human beings white, overtaxed human capacities and diminished men physically and intellectually. In a nutshell, that is a system really hostile to man in general and, in this case, to the Phnom Penh people in particular. This sweating work of slaves, of war prisoners imposed upon the Khmer people in general and the Phnom Penh population in particular, was aimed at a two-fold purpose : one of economic and the other of ideological order. These two objectives were interdependent. The major concern of the leaders of the regime consisted in increasing the production of paddy (from 1 to 3 tons/ha and, in the last two years, from 3.5 to 7 tons/ha). The second target was to achieve the robotization of men so that they will have no other thoughts than those permitted by Angkar. All this had its origin in Maoism and the political principles preached by the Peking leaders who wanted to turn the Khmers into rice-producing machines which consume no fuel and not too much rice.

Spying Organization and System based on the principle
of "Angkar's omnipresence" (Phnck Monas)

Judging from his coercive system, Pol Pot was firmly resolved to systematically wreck the former feudal and capitalist society as well as the ancient Khmer family. The new society will be one peopled by automats which he can handle at will. The division of the population into 3 categories was designed to sow dissension between Khmer city-dwellers and other fellow-citizens. All relations between these 3 categories of "citizens" were forbidden, gatherings were absolutely banned, talks between two or more people closely spied on. Denunciation was encouraged with rewards. Children were taught to spy on and denounce their parents. In other words, Angkar made everyone distrust everyone else so that they entertain adverse feelings for each other. This famous Organization of Revolution of Pol Pot sowed panic and spread division among the population. The slightest manifestation of unity to oppose this policy was savagely repressed. In Koh Phâl, Kompong Cham, a general uprising started by Malyans ended up in a bloodbath : the whole village were massacred by Pol Pot.

Repression Against Old People, Women and Children

a) Pol Pot did not want women to be with child, because they constituted the main pillar in agricultural production. Any request for a childbirth leave deemed too early was very ill taken and the requester would see her daily ration severely reduced. Tormented by hunger, the expecting mothers would make up their mind to go to work again. If such indispositions as vomittings, fatigue... became too frequent, they would be sent to the hospital. They would implore their team leaders then to allow them not to go there. Their husbands would be authorized to see them only two or three times a month or, if they were sent to work in remote places far from villages, one time every three months. Very few men were given the favour to work in a village within reach of their wives. For this, they must work as servants to mighty people in the village. Those poor pregnant women lacked everything : no special diet indispensable for the on-coming baby's health, nor affection, nor comfort. Some of the husbands were driven to commit illicit acts in order to alleviate their wives' plight. It was then that the tragedy began : picking a fruit without authorization amounted to stealing socialist property, which entailed one or two days of imprisonment, in many cases, the culprit simply disappeared : the penalty depended on the the local authorities.

Due month after delivery, the baby's mother must resume work. Any delay would get her frowned upon for lack of determination in her role as "revolutionary" It goes without saying that under such conditions, the new-born was far from having a good health. According to a study of Doctor Nuth Savocun on the matter (see his report), the statur-ponderal and intellectual future of Phnom Penh children born under the Pol Pot - Ieng Sary has been impaired for good, as well as that of those who are now below 15 years of age. Indeed, the latter, driven out of the capital city together with their parents in the midst of the hottest season, were poorly clothed, undernourished, had no medicines and this, all along an interminable journey on food. In the camps, they never ate their fill, for the reason that they did not work.

b) The old people underwent a slow, piecemeal death : Angkar made them toil hard, disregarding their decaying health and physical force and gave them a starvation diet . In case of breakdown during work, the penalty went from a clean reduction to a total suppression of food allowances. The ideal solution adopted by local authorities to do away with those unproductive aged consumers was to simply ignore them or to finish them off in case they grunted or yelled.

c) "Children are the pillar of this new society", claimed the Pol Pot clique who, in fact, gave them some privileges over the adults and aged. These privileges, however, must be justified by their effective endurance in labor, the quantity and quality of their work. Angkar made them toil not only as hard as grown-ups, but even harder : they had to build dikes, cut ditches, open trails under the scorching sun, without flinching. Many succumbed from delirious fever and in their rare moments of lucidity were, nonetheless, aware that they were expertly exploited. Sent to build huge dikes in malarie-infested out-of-the-way corners, every evening, they would cry silently in their huts battered by rain and storm , thinking of their parents, in particular of their mothers to whom they had no time to bid farewell before their hasty departure. They bring almost nothing along : neither mosquito-nets, nor covers. They quivered like bridlings, not daring to show their mental collapse in this "edifying struggle" to rebuild the country. Said the Organization of the Revolution : it is for their parents' welfare that they are real pillars of the Nation. They wanted to send letters to their parents but could not because they did not know how to read nor to write. They brought what little they had of tobacco to those Phnom Penh youths with whom they secretly kept friendly relations so that the latter wrote for them to their beloved. They wanted to write to their brothers and sisters, but did not know their whereabouts, the latter being enrolled in other mobile brigades and sent to other unknown places. They regretted that they had not had the time to learn to read and write, and in this new society where they were loded, the Organization of the Revolution had told them over and over again that the most efficacious school consisted in these enslaving works.

d) Repression Against Buddhist Priests : Destruction
of Religious Faith

Bonzes were forced to give up their frocks. Representatives of Angkar shamelessly humiliated them by compelling them to work like others, produce like others and for others. They looked ridiculously awkward with their shaved heads in those awful black clothes, without knowing it. This double humiliation could only drive them to suicide according to the Buddhist tenets in the sense that even though Buddhism does not admit suicide, it preaches indifference in the face of death. They continued their contemplation and refused to accomplish that humiliating forced labour imposed upon them, to kill oxen, buffaloes or pigs.

Along with the destruction of pagodas and Buddha statues, let us examine how Pol Pot destroyed the religious faith.

Every time Pol Pot's militiamen surprised old women praying before the Buddha statuettes they kept in secret, they would say : "If Buddha is really mighty, he must protect you. And suppose I kill you now, are you sure he'll come to your rescue ?" Thereupon, the thugs would throw the statuettes into nearby ponds or rivers, or stamp on them, grinning. Take, for instance, these slogans of Pol Pot : "Buddha is of no avail to the new society ; he does not help to produce at all. Mao does help produce to support men", "Pray God and you'll see if he gives you something to eat. Pray Angkar and you'll see whether you are given food to eat or not . Sure, children who prayed Angkar and showed their gratitude to it, got their food allowances, whereas old peoples, facing the choice between Buddha and their stomach, had to opt for the latter. Thus, Pol Pot got the Buddhist faith destroyed.

Sanitary Action :

Practically, the hospitals and physicians created and trained by Pol Pot were merely places and means to carry out the massacre of the Khmer population in general and of the Phnom Penh one in

particular. True, scientific medicines were adopted, but they were exclusively reserved for the rulers. Those death convicts of probation, i.e. the population had no right to them. For them, empirical medicine called national medicine was substituted for scientific medicine. In some cases, the two went in pair or were mixed dangerously. Medicaments were administered without prior diagnosis. Physicians with at best 3 months of training, sometimes teenagers having no theoretical knowledge, indulged themselves in scandalous surgical operations, in monstrous experimentations on patients considered as guinea-pigs. Those who refused to serve as guinea-pigs, were charged with instigation of rebellion against the medical science of the Khmer Revolution, if not of plain contempt of the Khmer Revolution.

Never before in the history of mankind had there been such hellish medical organizations. Never before had the Phnom Penh people seen such a horrible, monstrous spectacle. What is more, it was them who were at the same time victims and actors, that is to say, guinea-pigs. Those who dared declare themselves sick, were sent to those slaughterhouses. In fact, it was a purge aimed at eliminating those physically unfit for the hard work of agricultural production, for the sick were useless consumers who did not produce anything. As directive to physicians to kill those outdash, the Pol Pot used this famous watchword: "Keeping them alive, gets nothing; killing them, one loses nothing" (Touk Kâ Nin Cham Negh, Dâk Chégn Kâ Min khât). Small wonder those hellish hospitals were nests of lice, bugs, fleas and mosquitoes. Naturally, the mortality rate in those establishments reached an all-time high, 90% in some of them. To be true, the job of Pol Pot's physicians, in those hospitals, consisted essentially in burying corpses, acting as both assassins and grave-diggers. Such was the task of the physicians trained by Pol Pot. How can one understand and interpret this queer attitude of Pol Pot's medical body which brought down scientific medicine to the empirical level through atrocious, murderous experimentations and therapeutics arising merely from a sadistic fancy? Coconut milk was administered as glucosed serum: Newly concocted solutions were injected into patients' veins without any prior diagnosis whatever, only to see how was their effect. Solutions which

should be administered intramuscularly were injected intravenously, for lack of professional knowledge and practice. How could they help committing those errors, those so-called physicians of 14-15 years of age who couldn't read neither their mother tongue nor foreign languages ! To malarians, those teenager-physicians administered either chinese-made quinine or all kinds of fruit or tree barks having a bitter taste similar to that of quinine. Short of these ingredients, they gave them aspirin instead. Otherwise, they gave whatever was available, even products meant for other diseases. Every morning, medical assistants distributed to all patients, the same medicines, mostly those prepared by Pol Pot's druggists according to their own fanciful invention and technics. It goes without saying that fatal reactions were frequent. If occasionally they gave proper medicament, it was because they were tired of burying corpses. The holes they dug for their victims were 0.5 meter deep only, so many they had to dig. By the way, let's note that the victims' parents and kinsfolk never could see their beloved for the last time before burial. This was forbidden. It was a heart-breaking tragedy unforgettable for all the survivors. Many other atrocious images remain engraved for ever in their memory scenes of utter despair in which their wives, husbands, children died from ordinary medicaments misused, with mothers sobbing by the side of their children who died without uttering a sound. Many patients witnessed ignominious acts performed before the burial of the dead : the grave-diggers stripped them of all belongings : clothings, wrist-watches, golden teeth, etc... And Khmer traditions have the dead well clothed and perfumed !

The equipment necessary to surgical operations and the conditions under which they were carried out in districts and Srocks were simply scandalous. One would say that was mere children's games : rudimentary tools of tinker, no operations room, needless to speak of anesthetics and antiseptic. Besides horrible dissections without precise techniques, one should note that sort of primitive acupuncture performed by 14 or 15-year-old children having very little knowledge, even none, in biology.

Destruction of Khmer morals and Customs

Pol Pot - Ieng Sary's destruction of Khmer morals and customs effected painfully the whole Kampuchean population except those who sold themselves.

Religious and traditional festivals, artistic performances - expression of the Khmer traditional art - were totally banned as well as various beliefs and traditional wedding ceremonies. The ban on Prâchum Hen (Festival of the Dead) plunged the Kampucheans into the most anguishing moral abyss of their lives for the celebration of this festival is believed to lead to an absolution of the sins they happened to commit. Also suppressed were the ceremonies of burial and incineration. The Khmer tradition requires that the bodies be incinerated and Pol Pot wanted them buried in atrocious, shocking and scandalous conditions : neither coffins, nor clothes, nor ceremonies. All details of the incinerating ceremonies to which the Khmers are faithfully attached, were brutally trampled underfoot. This violation of the traditions of incineration constituted for the Khmer and utterly unpardonable offence.

Forced Marriages (Pol Pot-Style Wedding)

Pol Pot hated marriages of love and children born of Phnom Penh people to be mentally well-balanced and sensible. The forced weddings he organized all over the country seemed to arise from two causes : the hatred for beautiful girls and the aversion for the usages and customs of all civilizations in general and of the Khmer civilization in particular. So, he very often paired the most reluctant and proudest beautiful maids with his horribly ugly, crippled or one-eyed soldiers. These very frequent forced weddings usually ended up in a total failure and resulted in suicides of the wives, passive resistance and all but provoked a general rebellion among women.

Mrs. Nguon Vouch Ny, whose youngest sister is Miss Nguon Sopheap, 23, now working at the Ministry of Information and Culture,

was one of the victims of that tragedy. She was a widow whose late husband had been dispatched to Phnom Penh by the authorities of Khum Krâla, Srok Kompong Seon, Kompong Cham province, where she herself was deported. A Master of Arts mother of two children, Mrs. Nguon Vuoch Ny and 19 other widows in the village were forced to marry Pol Pot crippled soldiers. Of course, these 20 widows refused to comply, which got them shut up in an infernal cell. At the climax of their pains and despair, they vowed to choose death rather than accept this kind of re-marriage, if again they were forced to the same fate after release from prison. The prior Mme Nguon Vouch Ny, beautiful and learned, was a faithful wife. She poisoned herself with "Sleng" grains (strychnos Vonies) to avoid this inescapable dishonor, leaving behind two little girls. The latter are now 10 and 12 years old, i.e. in state of bearing witness.

The 19 other widows were finished off after being raped by Pol Pot's militiamen. Before those 20 widows, who all were "new inhabitants", i.e. 3rd-category citizens, were subject to this infamous offence, a group of maidens of the Mobile Brigade had been chosen for those marriages. They had offered resolute resistance and two of them had hung themselves to oppose those forced marriages.

If some women had to comply, it was because they feared for the security of their parents: their refusal could endanger the latter's lives. That they sacrificed their bodies to those savages, was a gesture of renouncement, a philosophic attitude.

Inhuman Treatment of Intellectuals

Phnom Penh civilians, especially intellectuals, were closely watched during working hours as well as in their daily life. They were considered as undesirables, culprits and, so to speak, death convicts on probation. In Pol Pot's eyes, the intellectuals were the incarnation of the exploiting class and, consequently, corrupted beings by nature and evil doers. The authorities of every village, every khua, could dispose of them whenever they felt like. In Prek Krâk (Srok Stung Trâng, Kompong Cham), Mr Chan, former teacher and many other civil servants including a former runner, and large numbers of students, were, all in one day, killed with axes on /...

boats ferrying them to the middle of the river. This crime followed an urgent order from the superior quarter noticing that intellectuals still infested the country. It ascribed to every head of cooperative a quota of 15 convicts. This formal order must be executed under the eyes of the Organization inspectors.

Physical tortures were commonplace. They were made to draw ploughs and harrows in the fields in the place of buffaloes and oxen, which, in the rulers' eyes, were more useful to the Revolution than those city-dwellers who ate much and sought to work the least possible. We only specify, to the purpose of all ulterior inquiries, that those facts took place in Battambang. An eye-witness, who lived by that time in Srok Práneth Fresh, would be glad to produce his testimony. Moreover, other survivors still living in various places of Kampuchea, are also willing to bear witness.

It was absolutely forbidden to keep and moreover to read books of the ancient regime. Novels of love, in particular, were considered most harmful, source of corruption. "Men's feelings impede the advance of the socialist revolution," said cooperative heads over and over again.

On the other hand, if by inadvertance, an intellectual used some French or English term, he got jeopardized seriously. His parents and friends were then on tenterhooks, expecting the worst, till the Khmer authorities sent for the culprit to dispatch him to an unknown destination from where he never returned. That was the case with many Phnom Penh youths working at the Stung Thom construction site (Kerathen), Prek Kâk. The latter committed this imprudence during quiet talks between them in their huts before going to bed. A secret agent of Angkar, posted outside, overheard them, and the next day, those who let slip the fatal French words disappeared. In the same construction site, another young man, seized by a profound nostalgia and an infinite distress, started humming a French song before his friends, at the great exasperation of a "basic inhabitant" standing nearby. Despite his friends' imploring, the young Phnom Penhese kept on singing defiantly and more and more loudly. When he got over, thus having somewhat

alleviated his anguished heart, he said: "Now, I can die". Naturally, the following day, Angkar men came to take him away. Since then, his parents have kept themselves in a complete mutism and renounced every human contact. The mother, consumed by her growing inconsolable sorrow, died a month later and shortly after, the father hanged himself in his hut, leaving an inscription reading: "May my soul never fall again on this cursed land!".

Treatment of Artistes

No less shocking was the plight reserved to artistes by the Pol Pot - Ieng Sary clique who vowed an implacable hatred against them, not so much as human beings but as incarnation of aesthetical values. Movie and theater actors, singers were considered as worst corruptors on the same footing with intellectuals.

Apart from some songs and musical pieces composed by Pot Pot's men, all other musical compositions, especially Western ones, were absolutely prohibited on the whole territory of this so-called Democratic Kampuchea. To ensure the strict implementation of this ban, Pol Pot ordered all the singers done away with. Without the protection of villagers, there would be no singers left, at present. Movie and theater actors did not escape from this purge either. The most famous and most well-known artistes were liquidated first of all, especially karate and judo champions whom Pol Pot soldiers invited to compete in velocity with bullets of their AK.47. "Bell-bottomed" trousers discovered in suitcases were considered as hidden "arms of corruption" - an attempt against the Revolution.

Those unbearable physical and moral conditions prompted many people, including intellectuals, to flee. But a flight from the concentration camp - everybody who lived under the Pol Pot regime knew only too well - was not an ordinary adventure, but an act of suicide, and this suicide was collective because it would reverberate on the fugitives' families. As soon as the flight was discovered, their wives and children were killed. Villagers of diffe-

rent districts in Srok Stung Treng and elsewhere often saw carts carrying entire families to places of massacre in thickets beyond their villages. They all can serve as witnesses. In case an exhumation is needed, the wood Phnum Monty, 1km from Prek K&K, will amply prove this assertion.

Crimes perpetrated in Phnom Penh Under the Pol Pot -
Sary Regime

According to statements of a number of workers living in Phnom Penh under Pol Pot, the total population of the capital city by this time was estimated at only more than 32,000, including 12,000 - 13,000 workers. From 1975 to 1977, only 37 factories functioned. These minor workshops bombastically called "enterprises" were in fact saw-mills, a tobacco factory, small workshops producing fibro-cement, tyres, paper, etc... From 1977 on, part of those workshops stopped functioning, being short of raw materials. Phnom Penh workers sometimes worked 20 hours per day and their food rations however were hardly higher than those of city-dwellers evacuated to the countryside. To catch up some of their due of sleep, many workers feigned to fall ill, which got them the ill reputation as idlers, rebels and harsh punishments. At the slightest sign of discontent, the rulers saw CIA or KGP agents everywhere in the ranks of their subordinates. The suspects were summoned almost every day to the security service where they were tortured before being killed. The horrors in the Toul Sleng concentration camp are going to speak of below constitute a typical specimen of the torture system adopted by Pol Pot.

According to a statement of Mr. Ung Pech, now mechanic in Phnom Penh, who lived there under the Pol Pot regime, over 1,000 students and personalities residing abroad before 1975 successively went back to Phnom Penh in 1975, 1976, 1977 and even 1978. Many of them, of whom we have a list discovered in the Toul Sleng concentration camp together with reliable evidency, were tortured before being done away with. Others were sent to do hard labour in factories or administrative offices, and put under close surveillance. Those

who seemed to be too critical or too vocal were sent to torture in "re-education" houses or in the security service. Rare were those who were lucky enough to return to their posts. If a number of them (85 out of 1,000) survived, it was because they kept to themselves their thoughts and feelings. They very rarely talked to one another or even did not at all. The surveillance and discipline on this matter was extremely severe.

In the Toul Sleng prison - real concentration camp and torture center - we discovered important documents on the elimination by means of torture of eminent intellectual personalities in Kampuchea - those who were still in Phnom Penh on April 27, 1975 - and of the 1,000 intellectuals back from France on the Pol Pot - Ieng Sary clique's request to take part in the reconstruction of the country. According to two surviving students who returned from France in 1977, the FUNK Committee in Paris, animated by Hing Un and Ok Sokun, was responsible for the repatriation of these 1,000 personalities and students. Also according to them, the latter were flown from Paris to Peking by the regular CHINA AIR LINES and from Peking to Phnom Penh by Chinese BOEING 707's.

In the Toul Sleng concentration camp, now opened to all visitors, there were rooms of interrogation and torture equipped with monstrous devices : electroshock generators, suspension to the ceiling, iron bars, choppers, chains, fetters, etc... On the floor, tufts of hair torn off from the scalp, traces of congealed blood are still visible. The walls and ceilings are also smeared with blood. The garden in front of the prison direction were turned into burial ground where the flat almost earthwork suggests that the dead were most improperly buried : indeed, each hole was only 0.50m deep. In the two workshops, busts and portraits of Pol Pot are seen everywhere : One can imagine under what constraint, painters and sculptors were made to do this work.

We also found out heaps of clothings, probably, of the victims who were stripped naked before interrogation. Inquiries on this matter are being carried on.

Mr. Ung Fech, on the other hand, told that the Pol Pot authorities sent him to Kampong Som to repair and handle mechanical machines. There, he happened to see Chinese ships unload countless boxes of arms and ammunition. This points to the plan to establish a Chinese logistic base in Phnom Penh where we found a great number of stocks of arms and ammunition far exceeding the needs of national defence of the whole Kampuchea. Undoubtedly, this was in preparation for a big-scale offensive against Viet Nam and Laos. Pot Pot - Ieng Sary's preparations for the war of aggression against the neighbouring brother countries and treason toward the Indochinese revolution as well as toward the nation and people of Kampuchea, are more than evident. With regard to the Khmer people, this act of treason consisted in exporting an enormous quantity of rice and rubber of the Khmer people to China. According to documents we have discovered, rice exports in 1977 totalled 480,000 tons, as compared to the figure of 400,000 - 430,000 laid down by Pol Pot. The same document says that China demanded no less than 625,000 tons. We are going to give below the conclusions of a scientific study on the yearly national production of rice under the Pol Pot regime in relation to the diet so scandalously imposed by the traitors upon the Khmer population.

The annual gross production of paddy in the 1975-1976 rice-planting campaign is estimated at 3.36 million tons and the diet of porridge plus three months of cooked rice accorded to the less than 6 million inhabitants, gradually reduced to 5 million, is far below 1.2 million tons, for 1.2 million tons for 6 million inhabitants would amply cover the consumption at home with a yearly quota of 1 ton for every 5 inhabitants. Where did the remaining 2.4 million or at least 2 million tons of Khmer rice go every year? What kind of trade with China is this, with, as importation, two Chinese bicycles per village, even per district, and these Chinese medicaments which were very rarely found? The part allotted to the Khmer population in 1975-1976 is estimated at only 600,000 tons, i.e. 1 ton for 10 inhabitants per year; 500,000 tons in 1976-1977 and 400,000 tons in 1977-1978. And the Khmer population was steadily reduced from 6 to 4 million in a 4 year period. The birth rate under the Pol Pot regime was insignificant, since often

children were born only to die a few days later.

In 1976-1977 and 1977-1978, the exportable volumes varied from 2.14 million to 1.76 million tons, while according to documents discovered by us, China demanded at least 480,000 tons and at most 625,000 tons for 1977. Unquestionably, the difference constituted an important reserve to prepare for the big-scale offensive against Viet Nam and Laos. Unfortunately, on his departure, Pol Pot brought along with him part of these stocks and destroyed the remaining part together with almost all the economic infrastructure. Phnom Penh people who came back home could see huge stores of rice burning for weeks. According to their estimate, those stocks of rice destroyed would suffice supply for the consumption of 4 or 5 million inhabitants at home for 2 years.

Take for example the important granary of Tonle Bet facing Kompong Cham city, which burned for more than a month. The passers by could salvage only a negligible quantity of rice almost completely charred and, therefore, unusable. The first comers to Phnom Penh could see, at the Phnom Penh railway station, carriages full of provisions which Pol Pot troops had not enough time to take away. The latter had taken the road to the cardomone on the first days of the collapse of the regime. On the other hand, Mr. Vandy Kaoun, former guard of cassava fields in a rubber plantation in Meak, Srok of Skung Trâng, Kompong Cham, in the year of 1977 and 1978, reported that he had seen large numbers of trucks transporting rice toward the North. Clearly enough, those unusual nocturnal transports carried out for months were aimed at hiding provisions in strategic stocks located in different places of the territory.

Pol Pot's softening measures designed to remedy the general political situation, were not as easy to implement as he had believed. Accustomed to their despotic rule, the Pol Pot clique could not quell that smouldering rebellion of the population this way. A dangerous disorder impelled them to take other parallel measures: eliminate the "ough heads." These maneuvers were far from being politically efficient but boomeranged instead: the orders were not carried out and the "basic inhabitants" decised them

inordinate and irrelevant because their families found themselves more and more involved. By the end of 1978, the superior authorities, exasperated by their own powerlessness, ordered their out-throats to massacre all the population. Realizing that more than 90 per cent of the population were waiting for the propitious moment to coordinate their actions with the Front of National Salvation, Pol Pot ordered to dig immense common graves all over the country and conduct mass-killings in every village (In Prek Kâk, Kompong Cham, only 7 families, deemed unconditionally faithful to the regime, were spared). It was widespread horror. In every village, there were talks about a secret decision of Pol Pot: "They are going to replace the Khmer population by millions of Chinese." This was confirmed more and more with every passing day. In fact, those ditches dug everywhere began to be filled up with corpses. Most terrifying was that one dug in the Stung Trâng pagoda (Kompong Cham): over 5 thousand bodies were buried there. In other places in smaller ditches, people discovered choppers, anvils, barrels of alcohol, undisputable instruments of crime. In "Dau Moine" (Prek Kâk village, Srok Stung Trâng), those instruments were discovered before the crime was committed and Chim, chairman of the Srok Committee, suspected organizer of crimes of this kind, was arrested by the local people already enjoying the protection of the Front of National Salvation. However, in other villoges, those crimes were carried on at an accelerated tempo. The order was explicit: wipe out in time those people who were going to overthrow the regime with the moral support of the Front of National Salvation.

The traitors included in their plan of massacre even crippled soldiers and workers now becoming useless to their "revolution".

Irey Veng province is now almost empty: not a living soul. In the seners of the market, skulls and bones were discovered: a matter of fact, this market had been turned into a torture centre under the Pol Pot regime.

C O N C L U S I O N

After the proclamation and propagation of the 11 principles of the Front of National Union for the salvation of Kampuchea, stating among others that all the deportees can now return to their native places, Phnom Penh people began to come home. However, the supplies being still inadequate to ensure a regular distribution, they had to sojourn temporarily in villages outlying the capital city, waiting for Phnom Penh to become habitable again.

Indeed, after more than three years, Phnom Penh has changed beyond recognition : heaps of garbage and rubble, rampant vegetation, destroyed public buildings, wrecked religious monuments. Water lacking, carcasses of vehicles littered the streets or lay abandoned in hell. Countless cars and trucks still usable disappeared. One wonders where they are gone. In libraries, books were scattered everywhere : more than half of them were lost or rotted in the gardens. Inside splendid villas now crumbling into dust, T.V. sets, ice boxes and other pieces of furniture were broken or completely smashed.

With a superhuman effort, the Government of the Front of National Union for the Salvation of Kampuchea has been gradually re-activating the public services : hospitals, ministries and different public offices. Several thousand people are authorized to live in the city to take part in this task of reorganization. They are technicians and former functionaries called in, in urgency, for the purpose. Hospitals are still lacking in adequate equipments and medicines, especially antibiotics. Only a few factories have begun to hum. Over thirty superior bonzer have retaken their frocks and are now living in their crumbling pagodas, not long ago turned into stocks of arms and ammunition. Almost all the means of transports and telecommunication are unusable, in brief, all the economic infrastructure is destroyed by the Pol Pot - Ieng Sary clique.

In the field of culture, damages are immense. Many objects of great value disappeared or were destroyed. The five libraries in Phnom Penh and important university ones as well as objects of

art and books of the House of France were savagely ransacked. The large National Library was turned into a store of plates, more than 75 per cent of its books disappeared. At present, records show a very negligible number of technicians, artistes, physicians and intellectuals back in Phnom Penh.

Statistics on this matter are being established. According to the recent partial census based upon choice samples, we have gathered the following initial results, concerning the number of Phnom Penhese killed during the period under the genocidal regime of Pol Pot.

It is objectively impossible for the time being to take a general census of surviving Phnompenhese. According to data of static measure, we have registered 18 doctors of medicine (against 500 before 1975) who have already come back to Phnom Penh (eminent specialists, professors among others). Anyway, till now, no prominent Khmer personalities of national and international renown have returned to Phnom Penh. Apart from some ten high diploma holders and about twenty political personalities now residing abroad, we discovered in Toul Sleng a fairly long list of high personalities of whom many were coldbloodedly killed and others put to torture then condemned to death. The written statements of those murdered personalities are highly eloquent on the matter; speak volumes for the fate of other victims and open the door no less important documents on Pol Pot - Ieng Sary's policy of genocide and high treason.

Following are the names of some celebrities executed by them:

- Huot Sambath (diplomat) executed on Sept. 9, 1976
- Y Sup Kunthy (diplomat) executed on Sept. 9, 1976
- Mouk Savuth (ONU official) executed on Sept. 23, 1976
- Chim Kok Huo (diplomat) executed on Oct. 23, 1976

Personalities who were subject to interrogation and probably executed :

- Phung Ton, Director of Higher Education and Rector of the Phnom Penh University
- Chen San, former Cambodian Ambassador to the USSR
- Chhuk Háng Mao, Education expert attached to UNESCO
- Râth Kuth, Professor of the Faculty of Medicine in Phnom Penh
- Chou Savon Hân, Doctor in physics
- Nou Phon Ton, Professor of secondary education, UNESCO fellow
- Miss Ap Heng Chhéng Im, Master of Arts

- The consequences of the towering crimes perpetrated by Pol Pot - Ieng Sary on the Kampuchean people are uncouthable and disastrous for both the present generation and the posterity. The Phnom Penh people who were worst hit, inherit from this barbarous regime lasting diseases which affect them for life and cruel recollections for ever engraved in their memory. More than ever before, they are now determined to build a new life, a new society primarily based on humanism. They all are handicapped, more or less diminished physically and intellectually and need urgent cares.

Phnom Penh, August 15, 1979

VANDY KAONE

Doctor of sociology Masters of Arts
Professor of Philosophy
