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Thirty-fourth session  
THIRD COMMITTEE  
Agenda items 73 and 86

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAMME FOR THE DECADE FOR ACTION TO  
COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

Letter dated 8 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 "Report on the crime of genocide committed by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique against national minorities", submitted by a committee of inquiry to the People's Revolutionary tribunal of Kampuchea at Phnom Penh. I would request that you kindly arrange for this report to be circulated as an official document under items 73 and 86 of the agenda for the thirty-fourth session.

(Signed) HA VAN LAU  
Ambassador Extraordinary  
Permanent Representative

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA

Independence - Peace - Happiness

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

AUGUST 1979

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COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY INTO  
THE CRIMES COMMITTED BY  
THE POL POT-IENTG SARY CLIQUE  
AGAINST NATIONAL MINORITIES

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA  
Independence - Peace - Happiness

REPORT

on specific instances of the crime of genocide  
committed by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique against  
national minorities in general and the Cham  
national minority in particular

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Comrade Chairman of the Tribunal,  
Comrade Procurator,  
Comrades of the Council of Judges,  
Ladies and Gentlemen, representatives, witnesses and compatriots  
attending this meeting of the Tribunal,

Acting on the orders of the Procurator, a committee of inquiry into the crime  
of genocide committed by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique against national minorities  
has concluded its work and unanimously reached the following conclusions.

I. BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON THE COMPOSITION OF NATIONALITIES  
WITHIN THE NATIONAL STATE OF KAMPUCHEA

According to documents published by the Tourism Service in 1969, the total  
population of Kampuchea was some 7 million, whereas the figure given by the  
Pol Pot-Ieng Sary administration is about 8 million.

Apart from citizens of Khmer origin who constitute the large majority of the  
population (about 90 per cent), there are about 20 fraternal national minorities  
whose members have long since been citizens of Kampuchea. They live on the plains,  
on the plateaux and in the mountainous regions of Kampuchea. They have  
participated in the building and defence of our fatherland for millions of  
centuries of our national history.

At the moment, these minorities consist of the following:

- |                    |                          |
|--------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. The Cham        | 11. The Charai (Gia rai) |
| 2. The Lao         | 12. The Radê (Edê)       |
| 3. The Thai        | 13. The Phnông           |
| 4. The Cu-la       | 14. The Kachos           |
| 5. The Por         | 15. The Lanam            |
| 6. The Kuôï        | 16. The Lun              |
| 7. The Krung       | 17. The Krôl             |
| 8. The Prao (Prou) | 18. The S'ôch            |
| 9. The Kavet       | 19. The Stiêng           |
| 10. The Ta Puon    | 20. The Sam-re           |
|                    | 21. The Cho ong          |

etc.

In addition, there are a fairly large number of Vietnamese, Chinese and Malaysians (Chven) who have taken Kampuchean nationality and have become citizens of Kampuchea.

Owing to the depredations of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime and other causes, we have been unable so far to obtain statistics giving reliable numbers of the Kampuchean national minorities.

For example, the Cham national minority is the most numerous. One document gives the number as 110,000 persons, another document 150,000 persons, and yet another document 700,000 persons. Moreover, there are no statistics available to distinguish the Cham minority, who have long since been Kampuchean citizens, from the Chvens (also called Malayous) who immigrated to Kampuchea later, who have the same Islamic faith and speak the same language. There still exists a certain amount of confusion as to the legal status of the Chvens and there is some doubt whether they can be considered as Kampuchean citizens or as foreigners. Indeed, some textbooks consider them as foreigners.

Furthermore, the former Kampuchean administrations have not compiled any statistics to show the percentage of the total population represented by nomads (some 100,000 persons).

## II. SOME TYPICAL CRIMES COMMITTED AGAINST MINORITIES

We have received 22 communications from different segments of the population, different nationalities, different age groups, men and women, believers in different

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religions and inhabitants of 13 provinces and one city, accusing the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique of extremely serious crimes (see annex).

Basing ourselves on dozens of talks and inquiries with many different sectors of opinion and having exchanged ideas with first-hand witnesses who belonged either to the Khmer majority or to the national minorities,

With a view to verifying the truth and the widespread nature of the crimes described in the different communications and brought about as a result of a policy of discrimination towards national minorities,

Basing ourselves on the results of the inquiries made on the spot at the sites of the massacres,

We affirm that the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique has committed specific and particularly serious crimes against members of national minorities who are genuine citizens with rights and duties similar to those of other citizens and who live in the national community of Kampuchea. The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique has denied any legal existence to the national minorities in the national State of Kampuchea. At the same time, it has practised coercion, repression, mass extermination and assimilation. In so doing it has carried out a clear plan of genocide with a view to abolishing national minorities as such.

The national minorities who have suffered from this crime of genocide are the following:

1. The national minorities living on the plateaux and in the mountainous regions, mainly in the provinces bordering Viet Nam, Laos and Thailand,
2. The Moslem community most of whom belong to the Cham national minority who inhabit many provinces and urban centres, mainly in Kompong Cham and near Phnom Penh.

Let us consider now the crimes committed by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique:

The 1976 constitution drawn up by this clique does not recognize the existence of the national minorities which form part of the Kampuchean national community.

Following the liberation of Phnom Penh on 17 April 1975, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary administration publicly announced and strictly applied a policy of discrimination which consisted in dividing the population into three categories, each of them having a different legal status and different rights and obligations.

Beside this policy, which was generally applied to the whole population, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique imposed another national policy specifically aimed at the national minorities which may be summed up as follows for the different provinces:

"The Kampuchean revolution is one. The Kampuchean nation is one and the Khmer language is the only language.

"From now on there are no longer any different nationalities ... (there follows a list of the different nationalities in the different regions).

"Individuals must change their names by taking new ones related to the Khmer race (names could be given either by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary authorities or chosen by individuals themselves).

"The beliefs, languages, ethnic particulars, dress, usages and customs and religions of former nationalities are abolished.

"Those who fail to carry out this order will reap the consequences."

Obviously this is a fascist policy, a policy of coercion and assimilation backed up by severe and immediate penalties to be applied to those who fail to obey it. This policy leaves no freedom of choice to the national minorities or gives them any time-limit to prepare themselves or to adapt to the new situation.

Crimes committed against national minorities inhabiting the mountain regions of the north-east zone including the provinces of Preah Vihea, Strung Treng, Ratanakiri, Moldolkiri, Kroche ...

Although the large majority of these national minorities have long lived in the north-east zone which served as a base for the revolution, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique do not classify them among the category of basic citizens or as citizens in the first category. As a general policy, the clique has driven them from their former homes and herded them into concentration camps situated in the plain, together with other Kampuchean from all corners of the country. Those who try to escape or refuse to go to the concentration camps were imprisoned, tortured and massacred.

Mr. Buôn Thoang, one of the members of the Ta Buôn minority in the province of Ratanakiri, gave the following testimony.

Following the liberation of the Stung Treng province in January 1979, thousands of families belonging to different national minorities in the region came to the revolutionary authorities asking for information about their husbands and children who had been carried off by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique for "a re-education course". Since then they have not come back because they belong to citizenship categories II and III and do not speak the Khmer language or speak it badly or are still practising in secret their ancient beliefs and customs. Our soldiers have helped them carry out searches in the forests and around the town of Stung Treng and they have found places where thousands of persons have been massacred and their bones scattered about. Some families still recognized the belongings of their dear ones who had vanished, such as sandals, jackets, trousers and so on ...

The black designs and the policy of discrimination of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique designed to exterminate national minorities was clearly revealed in these massacres. This criminal policy was laid down continuously from 1968 onward and systematically, openly and barbarously implemented in the years 1977-1978. The following massacres clearly reveal this criminal policy:

1. Mr. Sâda of the Lao national minority, leader of the north-east zone during the period of resistance against the French colonialists and the political struggle against the Sihanouk administration;

2. Mr. Chan Den of the Lao national minority, a member of the zone committee, with responsibilities as a member of the National Union Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea;
3. Mr. Kham Phay, member of the provincial committee of Stung Treng, falsely condemned as a CIA agent and executed with his family;
4. Mr. Ta Kien of the Lao national minority, leader of the Voeunsai district, province of Rattanakiri;
5. Mr. Thong Nam of the Lao national minority, chief of staff of the Voeunsai district;
6. Mr. Khvong, member of a national minority, assistant staff officer of the district of Voeunsai;
7. Mr. Thong Samey, member of a national minority, assistant to the political agency for the north-east military zone.
8. Hundreds of former officials belonging to different national minorities, carrying out their responsibilities in localities far from their families, have gradually disappeared or have been falsely condemned as CIA agents and subsequently executed. At the moment, there are four or five survivors almost all working in different branches at Phnom Penh.
9. In particular, during the two years 1977 and 1978, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique has massacred without warning and on a large scale officials from national minorities, ranging from the provincial to the village level, who had been trained during the period of resistance against the American imperialists, as well as army leaders and guerrillas down to the section level.

Crimes committed against national minorities in the south-west zone, particularly in the province of Kos Kong:

Mr. Sai Buôn Thoong, an official of the Thai national minority, reports:

The zone of the Thai national minority at Kos Kong was a very strong base of the Revolution. The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, after usurping leadership, embarked on a campaign against the policy of national unity and equality formulated by the former party and engaged in propaganda designed to divide the Khmer (a majority in the nation, but a minority in Kos Kong) and the Thai (a national minority, but a majority in this province).

At the beginning of 1974, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, by deceitful means, summoned all the Thai officials working in the administration or in social organizations at the provincial level to a political course organized in the central area with the purpose of exterminating them. Subsequently, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique assembled its armed forces in order to kill Comrade Sai Buôn Thoong, Chief of the Army, and at the same time take unawares and destroy all the armed forces of the region. This criminal plan was discovered however, and could not finally be carried out. Nevertheless, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique succeeded in massacring all the Thai political officials and their families; 600 people had already been killed by April 1974. In the face of armed riposte, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique was forced to withdraw its forces. Thus the Kos Kong

province was totally liberated and has been under the control of the regional separatist forces since 1974. These forces were forced to struggle against all the Lon Nol forces and also against the Pol Pot forces.

The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique then assembled its armed forces on about 15 May 1974 with a view to completely "uprooting" the Thai national minority in the province of Kos Kong. This national minority and the separatist armed forces struggled valiantly in self-defence. Finally, they co-ordinated their activities with the general uprising led by the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea which liberated Phnom Penh on 7 January 1979 and subsequently liberated the entire country.

The total population of the Thai national minority used to be about 20,000. After liberation on 7 January 1979, only about 8,000 survivors remained in the area. In hamlets which were formerly inhabited by 500 to 600 families, only between 5 and 7 families remain today; this is the case, in particular, in the Srôc Dôn Sima hamlet. The urban centre at Kôkapi had 700 families, but now there remain only 30. The same is true of the Nônta Khiên village which was inhabited by 10,000 people, but now contains only 20 families.

The province of Battambang, at Srây Sisophon, used to be inhabited by 1,800 families belonging to the Lao national minority; after liberation, there were only 800 families left. Moreover, in each family there were close relatives missing. The percentage of the population which was massacred in this province exceeded 50 per cent. The survivors unanimously affirm that if the armed forces of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea and the armed forces of Viet Nam had arrived a few days or a week late, there is no doubt that the entire Lao national minority would have been totally exterminated, down to the last baby. The Pol Pot butchers had made the necessary preparations to carry out this criminal scheme.

So far, it has not been possible to find a single person belonging to the Cu La national minority. In the past, this minority consisted of some tens of thousands of people who specialized in the trade of polishing diamonds and other precious stones in the Pailin region and also worked in some other regions for their livelihood.

The fascist Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique found every pretext and resorted to all the most barbaric means to exterminate totally the Cham national minority (who are believers in Islam).

The fascist policy of forced and immediate assimilation pursued by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique was carried out on a broad and systematic scale using the most blood-thirsty methods designed to exterminate the Chams as a national minority who are also believers in Islam.

Mr. Sit Sacarya, 20 years old, a former student at the "Khmero-Soviet Friendship" Institute of Higher Technical Studies at Phnom Penh, charges:

"I was forced to leave Phnom Penh and go to the Svay Bacao hamlet in the village of Tachês, Kompong Trolach district, Kompong Chnang province on 24 May 1975. Shortly after I arrived, I learnt that the women had been

ordered to cut their hair short, and that it had been proclaimed that there cannot be a Cham nation in the country of the Khmers. I was thus forced to change my name, Sit Sacarya, to Duon. My wife was also forced to take the name Sarây instead of Saros. My first son is now called Vuon instead of Kadarây, and my second son is called Si instead of Mat Sen. My mother was also forced to take the new name Am instead of her former name Saryag.

"On 5 October 1975, Pol Pot agents arrested me in order to kill me for the 'crime' of being an official at Phnom Penh and, at the same time, for the 'crime' of being a Cham. Fortunately, all the local people at Svay Bacao went to the headquarters of the authorities to tell the mobile troops that I was only a blacksmith under the former régime and that I am not a Cham. It was for this reason that I was released.

"On 15 March 1977 my older brother Pôlydan, a former student at the Faculty of Law, was killed for the simple reason that he was heard speaking the Cham language with my son in the village of Kôk Banteai. It was also in this village, before my brother's death, that on 5 February 1977 my niece Matos, aged 18 years, a pupil at the 'Providence' secondary school (Phnom Penh) was taken away to be killed because she had a certain level of education and because she was a member of the Cham national minority. My younger brother Sit Das Da, a former student at the School of Agriculture, was also killed for the same reasons as my niece.

"On 5 December 1978 a certain Phuoc, an official of the 'commune' in the village of Tachês, told my aunt Mas who was living at Svay Bacao the news that in February 1979, after the harvest, all the surviving Chams in the land of Kampuchea will be completely exterminated. This information is highly alarming to us even though we were already doing everything possible to change ourselves into Khmers, and now we are trying even harder to protect ourselves."

Mr. Tinh Dusôp Abdul Kôdôm, a former doctor at the Preak Ketmealea hospital at Phnom Penh, reports:

"After being forced to leave Phnom Penh on 17 April 1975 I had to change my name to Sôth and say that I was an illiterate labourer working in the port. At the same time, I tried to behave like an idiot. In the following year, on 5 February 1976, I was arrested and savagely tortured. I was made to eat, drink and evacuate on one spot with my feet shackled together. The Pol Pot agents interrogated me about only two things: what were you doing before 1975 and, are you a Cham?

"Since I persisted in my initial declaration, they released me after six months of imprisonment. I returned to my hamlet like a corpse returning to life.

"My father, however, openly declared that he was a Cham and believed in Islam. He was led away to be killed on 10 February 1976.

"Although my uncle Sleyman changed his name to San and tried to lead a life similar to that of the Khmers, he was finally recognized because he had



many pupils so that he was unable to conceal his identity. The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary agents arrested him with his wife and children. They exterminated all nine members of his family and buried them together in the same grave on 12 March 1976."

The facts described above are not isolated instances of a policy of discrimination among nationalities but are instances of the widespread consequences of a "national policy" implemented in a systematic manner at the orders of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique. This blood-thirsty clique is still massacring Khmer families who, out of love for their fellow men, protect Chams who find refuge with them.

The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, in addition to these methods of barbaric and widespread massacre, have other special methods which they use only against the Cham national minority, such as:

Tying together the arms of a group of 5 to 10 people, weighing them down with stones and pushing them all into the Mekong river (in villages situated along the river in the Khlông (Kratié) and Krôchmar (Kompong Cham) districts, etc.

Using armed forces to encircle hamlets and then using B-40 and B-41 bombers and cannons to raze the hamlets to the ground. The survivors and wounded are thrown into the depths of the forests to die of starvation or fall prey to the wild beasts of the jungle.

Throwing a child into a sack, filling it with paddy and then tying it up and throwing it into the river. In some places such as Codatinh (Kompong Cham), the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary agents threw new-born children into plastic bags and tied them to the branches of trees for their amusement. At another place where Mr. Abdul Kôdôm remains as an eye-witness, the torturers of the "commune" threw five children aged between 1 and 5 years (three girls and two boys) into a dried-out well; they then threw dry straw and coconut leaves over the children, sprinkled them with about three litres of petrol and then set alight the coconut leaves and threw them into the well to amuse themselves, while the children screamed desperately as they perished.

Binding the arms of victims and forcing them to walk along a bamboo trunk suspended across a chasm of between 50 and 70 metres in depth, the "Chros Stung Treng" chasm situated in the province of Kompong Cham. The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique also used buses to transport bound groups of believers in Islam and then throw them into this deep chasm. It has been learned that there are about 20,000 dead Chams in the "Chros Stung Treng" chasm.

At the present time, it is not possible to draw up statistics of the total number of victims among the Cham national minority under the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime. Nevertheless, it is certain that the number massacred by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique amounts to between two thirds and three quarters of the total Cham population. Some examples may be cited to clarify this point:

At Chruï Changvar (Phnom Penh) there used to be about 1,200 Cham families. However, seven months after the liberation of Phnom Penh and the subsequent liberation of the whole country, only 60 Cham families are known to have returned to their homes.

Miss Chari Rya, a survivor, on her return from Battambang, reported that of eight Cham families who had left the same district of Phnom Penh, only a very small number remained after the liberation:

1. In Mr. Ly's family, consisting of seven people, only one young girl remains.
2. In Mr. Ek Min's family, consisting of nine people, no one remains.
3. In Mr. Sman Chêk's family, consisting of 12 people, only one young girl remains.
4. In Mr. Siês's family, consisting of seven people, only two children remain, one aged 10 and the other aged 12.
5. In Mr. Los's family, consisting of six people, only one child aged 12 years remains.
6. In Mr. Hachi Slês Chasda's family, consisting of 12 people, only the daughter-in-law remains.
7. In Mr. Solayman Sutri's family, consisting of six people, only three remain: the mother, the daughter Chari Rya and a small child.
8. In Mr. Lap Ly's family, no one remains.

Thus, out of a total of 68, only 9 survived.

In the district of Kompong Xiem, in Kompong Cham province, there used to be about 20,000 Chams. Up to now, not one survivor has been found.

In the district of Koong Mias, in Kompong Cham province, there used to be tens of thousands of Chams. Up to now, only four have been found who risked death by fleeing to save their lives when the butchers led away the Chams for mass extermination.

The name of the Kos Phol hamlet ("island of happiness and prosperity"), in the district of Khauchemar (Kompong Cham) was changed to Kos Phes ("island of ashes") by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique after it encircled the hamlet with the armed forces and destroyed it with B-40 bombers so as to exterminate the entire population.

In the places where there were political uprisings organized by the Chams armed only with clubs, the fascist oppressors crushed them savagely as at Kos Phol.

Furthermore, massacres against the Chams of a serious genocidal nature occurred in many places, notably in the district of Khlông (province of Khoché), Krôchmar, Thbông Khmum, Pônhea Krek, Chamkar Lo, Kimpong Svay (Kompong Cham), the district of Kimpong Trolach (province of Kompong Khnang), the district of O Russây (province of Pô Sat), etc.

The Cham officials in the ranks of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime were also massacred at a steady rate. Finally, Mr. Mat Hly of the Cham national minority, a

former deputy in the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary National Assembly, was forced to leave the ranks of that clique in order to participate with a number of officials and surviving members of the Cham population in the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea from 1978 onwards.

### III. CONCLUSION

1. In studying the crime of genocide committed by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique against the people of Kampuchea in general, it may be seen that this crime committed against national minorities has been manifested very clearly and in a very serious form. This crime against the national minorities has been carried out either on the basis of political and legal measures of forced and immediate assimilation or of armed violence leading to outright massacre as in the case of the Thai and Cula national minorities, or by using both these methods as in the case of the Cham national minority.

2. In considering the crime of genocide committed under the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime and on the basis of the legitimate demands set forth in all the letters of denunciation, we propose that the Tribunal should consider and adopt measures of severe punishment against the two main criminals who have been accused of committing the crime of genocide, representing the régime, the most odious régime of our time, which practices this great crime, namely, the two great criminals Pol Pot and Ieng Sary.

We do not have the necessary information to study the very tragic fate of the Vietnamese minority who lived in Kampuchea for many years and were loved by the working people of Kampuchea, but they were considered by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique as a sworn enemy to be destroyed first of all. There are very few survivors among the Vietnamese.

Furthermore, the Khmer minority originating from South Viet Nam is also high on the list for extermination because the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique slanders and deliberately condemns them en masse even within its own ranks by claiming that these Khmers have "the head of a Duon and the body of a Khmer" for the simple reason that they formerly lived in Viet Nam and speak the Vietnamese language.

Lastly, it must be noted that the Chinese minority of Khmer nationality and the Chinese, who are considered as foreigners, were also subjected to massacres at the beginning of 1975 because they were accused en masse of being "capitalists". But since 1976, the life of the Chinese in the Communes has improved. They have certain privileges compared with other groups as a result of effective intervention by the Government of the People's Republic of China.

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