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THE INTERNATIONAL CAMBODIA HEARING

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Enclosed please find a preliminary and unofficial transcript of the Cambodia Hearing 1978.

It is stressed that this transcript is no more than a working document, not authorized by either the participants or the Executive Committee. A number of details such as names etc. are still missing.

This transcript is therefore not for publication and strictly for the receiver's personal background information.



(Hans Henrik Ramm)

President of the Executive Committee

THE NORWEGIAN HONORARY COMMITTEE

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Egil Nansen, Architect

THE INTERNATIONAL CAMBODIA HEARING, OSLO 21-32 APRIL 1978.

First Day of the Hearing, 21st of April, from 11.20 to 17.40.
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Opening speech by Mr. Thorvold STOLTENBERG, Under-Secretary
of State.

.....it created political antagonism and prepared the ground for the takeover in the Spring of 1975. The end of the war does not seem to have brought peace and security to the Khmer people. During the last two or three years we have received very disturbing reports about the human rights situation in the new republic of Kampuchea. A large number of people are said to have died either as a result of forced migration from the cities or as a result of hunger, illness and starvation or as a result of direct persecution from the new authorities. The reports about the situation in Kampuchea show great variation as to the character and to the extent of the human rights violation committee. Some maintain that several hundred thousands have died, others insist that the number is considerably smaller, as if that should be decisive. Kampuchea is today, a closed country, the new leaders seem to think that they can solve the problems of a society by building a society in virtually complete isolation. Journalists are not allowed to enter and foreign diplomats, accredited to the country, are allowed a very limited freedom of movement. It has, therefore, been very difficult to establish the basic facts of the situation, to find out what has happened and what is the situation today. The aim of this Hearing is to try to establish basic facts about what has happened in Kampuchea. This is a very difficult task. My hope is that this Hearing, through the

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presentation of facts and analysis, by the group of distinguished specialists assembled today, will be able to give an objective and fair assessment of the present situation in Kampuchea.

I have not yet met any persons, anywhere, who are against the principle of human rights, in its widest context : social, economic, civil and political. As in many other fields, the problem arises when the words should be turned into deeds. Individuals as well as governments, may easily be frustrated in their efforts to pursue a human rights policy. What can we do ? What sort of tools do we have ? Generally speaking, there are three ways to go: government to government appeals to implement human rights policy, strengthening of international human rights institutions, and last but not least, actions of non-governmental organizations like Amnesty International and public opinion work in general. I see the institutions of hearings in this context, whenever we feel that human rights are violated, we want the facts and we want to give our reactions in support of suppressed people wherever they are. A word of warning in this connection : we must not lose the sense of proportion in our effort to be balanced, to be confident that all facts are on the table and to be satisfied that the view of all parties are heard. I do not see the hearings, we have had recently in this country, on Chile, on South Africa and today, on Kampuchea, as a court with judges, but first and foremost as an action of support for the oppressed and as an action to strengthen human rights. Let not frustration overtake us in lack of immediate results of such public opinion actions. Seeing in a long-term perspective, I strongly believe that hearings, demonstrations and other expressions of public opinion have an important influence. Let us not forget that the question of human rights has been an important source of inspiration in the struggle for individual and national liberation in this century, that the question of human rights has been an important source of inspiration. And let us not forget that the human rights feeling has not been weakened lately but strengthened all over the world. I see the International Hearing on Kampuchea in this context. In cases where governments are forced to admit that present international cooperation is inadequate, hearings like the present one can help to assure that the fate of a people is not forgotten. I wish you the best of luck in your proceedings.

Welcome speech by Hans Henrik RAMM, President of the Hearing.

Dear friends,

It is a great pleasure for me, on behalf of the Committee to welcome all of you. Here, in Oslo, we have behind us, four months of intensive work to prepare this arrangement. I must say that in the beginning, we were very much in doubt whether or not it would be possible at all to carry it all out. The fact that you are all here, is final evidence that it was possible. The initiative to have such a hearing, was taken by an independent group of concerned Norwegians, who later gained the support of all those people, who appear at the bottom of our letter sheets, the Norwegian Honorary Committee. I must say, that this is a very prominent group of Norwegians. Within this group, we have for example, both presidents of the Odelsting, the largest of the two chambers of the Parliament. There are six parliament members in this group in all. They cover all the four major political parties in Norway. These parties have 151 seats out of 155 in the Parliament. In the Honorary Committee, we have also representatives of the cultural and professional life in Norway, as well as several prominent people of the press. The Chairman of the Committee is the well-known and highly respected Bishop Alex JOHNSON. I am very happy that we, in Norway, have been able to establish such a broad basis for this work, speaking in both the political and professional sense. We managed, at a surprising ease, to find a group of people who were willing to sacrifice a large part of their time to help with the preparations. Most of these people are young with little or no experience in this field. With two very important and valuable exceptions, all the work that has been done, has been done on a purely voluntary basis. All the people around with "A"s and "T"s on their badges are people who are doing this purely out of interest and idealism. I must return to the two exceptions, they are two invaluable secretaries, *x please check these 2 names* Mr. Benter HAUG and Benter Haulsrude who have been working around the clock since the beginning of the year, and I know with a much smaller salary than they could have obtained elsewhere. On this basis, I hope that you will understand that there will be flaws in the system, that we might face problems we did not think of in the preparations and that all might not be as professional as I know you busy people of the internation-

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al press could expect. We are amateurs, but we have done our best. Let me, at this point add, that this is also valid as to our Cambodian interpreters. They are not professionals. We have found them after an intensive search around the world. They are refugees themselves and they will do their very best, but as I said, they are not professionals either, not like their European colleagues. I would like to use this opportunity to thank the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, first of all, for economic support that made this possible in the first place and also for valuable practical assistance. I direct my thanks to the under-secretary of State, Mr. Thorvald STOLTENBERG, who just spoke, and whom I thank for the opening speech.

The Norwegian government has taken a strong interest in the important task of protecting human rights wherever it is necessary in the world. I know, that the government has almost unanimous support from the Norwegian people for its work in this field and I would like to add a personal compliment to my government for this. The work for human rights is of the utmost importance. At the same time, it is filled with the danger of misuse. There will always be people who confuse human rights work with highest partisan work for or against specific political beliefs. We have been very careful to avoid such dangers. I must add that the political tradition of all major political parties in Norway is quite clear on this point. Any Norwegian government will always have unanimous support for any human rights initiative, not withstanding the colour of the actual regime. For example, there is no disagreement in Norway about the racist regimes in South Africa or about the fascist regime in Chile. Because of this tradition and because Norway is a small country, quite independent of any former Southeast Asian problem, we have felt that Oslo would be a suitable location for a hearing on Cambodia. We hope we will be able to show credibility and to avoid suspicion. The Cambodian issue is a touchy one with obvious political implications, however we felt that this should not keep us from doing what we have seen as our duty, no matter which country was concerned when large numbers of citizens choose to leave their motherland and when they tell the world that horrible atrocities have taken place. These refugees have, in our opinion, a claim on all of us, citizens of free countries. The least we can do is to listen to them.

We may be sceptical, and we may feel that there can be exaggerations, but we must listen, we must try to decide what is real and we must face that reality. The intention of this Hearing is to try to decide what is reality. We are going to try to uncover the events in the closed country of Cambodia. Since most of the press is not allowed to go into the country and interview the people there, some people must let the press listen to the Cambodians who are here. This is our simple reasoning. We could not, of course, invite all of the Cambodian refugees, a choice had to be made. Those still in camps are excluded for obvious reasons, to take witnesses from the United States would have been too expensive, then, remained those who are in France, there we made a final choice. We feel that the group of Cambodian witnesses we have in front of us today are as representative as can be expected under the present circumstances with a wide distribution of professions, geography and age. I hope you will all realize that these people are ordinary Cambodians, they are in no way professional politicians or professional speakers otherwise. Some of them, have some experience in public appearance, most of them have none. I am sure that you will take this into consideration when you ask your questions and judge the answers.

I would like to refer to the rules of procedure which have been distributed among the panels. I hope you will all study these carefully. There is one addition to the rules that has been decided by the executive committee : in Point 4, it should be added : Witnesses can ask questions to the experts but we can however not have any discussions within the panel of experts or within the panel of witnesses. The witnesses have prepared their statements on beforehand. You will get manuscripts from most or all of them. However, it is not at all sure that what they say, in all respects will be the same as what they have written. Some have written only summaries and each would fill in by speech. Others may feel that what has already been said, makes it necessary to change the manuscripts. However, you should be sure that what is said in actual text is consistent with what has been written. One practical message ; all written texts will be distributed to you as far as our capacity allows it in French, English and Norwegian. Unfortunately, there is a vital exception to this which we have not been able to solve. The manuscript of Mr. PAUL, will not be available

until after lunch. The reason is that Mr. PAUL was delayed 24 hours and arrived in Norway only last night. We immediately gave his manuscript to be printed, but unfortunately that takes time. However, I hope we will be able to manage with the other speakers later. My request is that each of you place a piece of paper in front of you with one of the letters : "F" for French, "E" for English, or "N" for Norwegian on it, so that our technical staff will know with which language to serve you.

I would now like to introduce our experts. I am very proud to say that I feel, that we have among us, all the distinguished authors on Cambodia. I must first mention Mr. François PONCHAUD, who in addition to being an invaluable expert has given us much assistance so that I think it is fair to say that we would not have been able to do this without him. His book is highly renown all over the world. We are also very happy to introduce Mr. John BARRON and Mr. Anthony PAUL whose book, which they wrote together, is the only one which has been
(?) translated into English and into Norwegian. Mr. Anthony PAUL is coming directly from Southeast Asia with new and fresh information. Finally, I am introducing Mr. Jean LACOUTURE and Mr. Charles MEYER, both highly respected and well-known authors and experts. Mr. Jean LACOUTURE is a member of the "Nouvel Observateur" staff and Mr. Charles MEYER is former personal advisor to Prince SIHANOUK. We are all looking forward to hearing their statements.

In the panel of examination which is now inter-related, we are glad to introduce the following to you : Mr. Richard NATIONS, on the staff of "Far Eastern Economic Review", and a close associate of Nayan CHANDER(?), who was not able to come himself. Mrs. Ursula NACCACHE, a Readers' Digest editor in the European office and as I understand, an invaluable contributor to the BARRON and PAUL book. The other members are Norwegian. Mr. Anders BRATHOLM, professor of law, Mr. Tore STUBBERUD, a Norwegian philosopher, who is in close contact with the French so-called "New Philosophers". The painter, Mr. Victor SPARRE, Dr. Reidar HARKET, Mr. Gunnar SØNSTEBY, a veteran from the Norwegian resistance during the war, the author Mr. Kåre HOLT, Mrs. Guri ULFRSTAD, of the Christian People's Party,

Mr. Ashbjørn EIDE of the Norwegian Peace Research Institute, and several prominent members of the press, Mr. Albert-Henrik MOHN, Mr. Gunnar FILSETH, Mr. Eilif STRAUME and Mr. Per-Øyvind HERADSTVEIT, the two latter of the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation. Unfortunately, we got the message yesterday that Mr. François DEBRÉ was taken urgently to the hospital and will therefore not attend this Hearing. It is of great importance that both experts and those asking questions represent as broad a spectre as possible, speaking both in the political and professional terms. I feel that we have managed this with one exception, that nobody present in the panels are unreserved supporters of the present government in Cambodia. I stress that we are very sorry about this. We have invited representatives of the Phnom Penh government and their local supporters, we have also invited Norwegians and others who are sympathetic towards Phnom Penh. For different reasons, none of these showed up today and we regret it very much. However this situation must not and cannot prevent us from doing our task, and that is to hear the testimonies of our witnesses and experts. These testimonies are given to us in sincerity and frankness and we must evaluate it for what we feel it is worth. There will be no verdicts, and no conclusions shall be drawn at this Hearing, other than what the press and the public do themselves. I would like to add that we have received a kind letter from the active and engaged American singer Joan BAEZ. She does not agree with us, she thinks that there should be given a verdict. However we still feel that this is not necessary if Joan BAEZ is right in her beliefs, then the verdict will be given by itself and by the public.

Allow me in the end, to introduce our Presidium : The Presidium consists of the representatives of the four major political parties in Norway and very prominent ones too. All of them, of course, will not be presiding at the same time. Today's presidium is composed of Mr. Gunnar STÅLSETH, Chairman of the Central Party, Mr. Kåre KRISTIANSEN, former Chairman of the Christian People's Party and Senior lecturer Mr. Truls WINTHER. Later, we shall meet the President of the Odelsting, Mr. Per KARSTENSEN, we shall meet the Lord Mayor of Oslo, Mr. Albert NORDENG, we shall meet the Bishop, Alex JOHNSON, and professor Mr. Hans AARÅS. I hereby leave the leadership of this Hearing in the hands of the Presidium.

The CHAIR opens the session and presents
Mr. Anthony PAUL :

Mr. Anthony PAUL is the rowing editor of the "Reader's Digest", editor-in-chief of the "Reader's Digest", Asian edition, President of the Hong Kong Foreign Press Club and is an Australian citizen of 40 years old. He has lived in Hong Kong for six years and was in Phnom Penh just before the fall. His first visit to a refugee camp in Thailand was in 1975, and his last visit was six weeks ago. Between these visits, he has made 30 to 40 visits there. He is co-editor of the book "Cambodia - Murder of an Innocent People".

STATEMENT BY MR. ANTHONY PAUL :

(12 pages already typed previously)

The CHAIR thanks Mr. Anthony PAUL and gives the floor to the questioning panel.

Albert-Henrik MOHN : What are the relationships between Cambodia and Communist China ?

A. PAUL : In the past, it has been very close, going back to the days of Prince SIHANOUK's regime, his friendship with Chou en Lai. The Chinese, many people feel, there is no proof of this, question the extreme policies of the Cambodian government. Chinese interest is obvious, they see growing links between Vietnam and the Soviet Union on the map of Southeast Asia.

The Chinese's only hope of flanking a potential pro-Soviet Vietnamese enemy on the Southern border is by continuing the alliance with Cambodia. The supplies of arms to Cambodia appear to be continuing in the combat with the Vietnamese, supplies from China seem to have been stepped up. However since the death of Chou en Lai, the arrest of the gang of Four in China and the rise of TENG HSIAO PING, the relationship between China and Cambodia is thought by many China watchers and Cambodia watchers to be not as warm as before.

Tore STUBBERUD : Some of the pieces of information received by me, and mentioned by Mr. A. PAUL, as well, speak of re-education programs. What do these programs consist of, in Cambodia ?

A. PAUL : Well, according to the refugees I have spoken to, in some areas, there appears to be no schooling at all. In other areas, a form of marxist indoctrination for the young appears. Every ten days, they have a major meeting in each of the communities, on the 10th of the month, on the 20th, and on the 30th of the month. And in this we have the standard Maoist-type self-criticism program, the criticism of the whole community of itself, discussion of the statements by the Phnom Penh Radio. There is very little formal education as we understand it in the West. In some areas some maths are taught, literature (reading and writing that is) are taught also. But I do not think there is a consistent educational program in the country.

Alex JOHNSON : Mr. Anthony PAUL often mentions a person by the name of Uncle ANGKA. My question is the following : is this one special person, and in that case, where is this person educated?

A. PAUL : ANGKA LOEU is the translation from Khmer into English of the "Organization on High". It is synonymous of the Cambodian Communist Party, given the centralized nature of the Cambodian government, that would be the central committee of the Cambodian Communist Party, and probably the standing committee of the central committee which consists of Pol POT,, and -----, so it is not one person but one very small group of people, perhaps from about half a dozen ^{to a dozen} who count, most of them were educated in Paris in the early 50s and were members of the marxist student organization at that time.

Guri ULFRSTAD : In your book, Mr. PAUL, in one chapter, you write that some people of Khmer origin are able to leave Kampuchea, because they go together with a Vietnamese family. I understand that the Vietnamese is an ethnic group living inside Kampuchea, about half of the 10% of the other peoples living in the country. Has there been and is there still a difference in treatment of the different ethnic groups in the country ?

A. PAUL : The Swedish ambassador in Peking, I think, was the first to visit Phnom Penh, after the fall of the city and he went there in January or February 1976, and he was told by the Phnom Penh authorities that there were no longer any Vietnamese left in the country, that they had all been moved out. Last April, an Asian intelligence source told me that there had been atrocities perpetrated against at least one group of Vietnamese, I think in KOMPONG CHAM Province that a community had been executed as a consequence of a Vietnamese attack at that time. They were the only references I have heard in all my inquiries into Cambodia, the two references, one from the Swedish ambassador and one from an Asian intelligence source who spoke of an existence of a Vietnamese minority in the country or of any + remnant of it. There was a Cham (?) minority, those people were encouraged to leave shortly after the fall of Phnom Penh. Some of them around the BATTAMBONG Province escaped and were re-settled in Malaysia, but that is just about all I know about the minorities' communities in Cambodia. It is rather sketchy.

Mr. Richard NATIONS : Since you have mentioned, in your speech, Mr. PAUL, that some of the most valuable sources, recently, have been Khmer Rouge defectors, I would like to ask what the procedures and conditions for interviewing Khmer Rouge defector have been and whether this satisfies you, that you and others have not been the victims of a campaign of disinformation which may have been organized by interested Western parties with the cooperation of the Thai intelligence and defectors themselves ?

The view from Washington among its best informed analysts is that indeed Pol POT remains in control of the state apparatus, of the party structure and of the military. Now if the pattern of counter-revolution : purges, starvation and devotion of the military to production, is correct, how is it that the Cambodians have managed to not capitulate under Vietnamese attack or not simply collapse from internal contradictions ?

A. PAUL : In answer to the first question, the most valuable recent sources that I interviewed, the defectors, I interviewed in a camp at Sikew (?), Northeast of Bangkok. It is a little bit difficult to enter the camp in the first place, you have to go through some procedures with the Interior Ministry, but nevertheless it is possible, but when I went up there the first time, it is a very long cow ride as Mr. NATIONS knows, and I was in effect thrown out of the camp by the camp commandant the first time. I managed to talk my way in the second time with a copy of the Thai language BARRON-PAUL book on Cambodia in fact, I had to bribe my way into the camp in a sense, I presented him with a copy of the book and he let me then sit down and interview the defectors. So the way I was let into the camp suggests that they did not really want me.

In answer to your second question, I think that Pol POT is in command, I see no evidence to the contrary, I think for the moment. I hope to be circulating a text of what to me is an extraordinary statement, a translation of a text on the Phnom Penh Radio on April 10th, just a few days ago which, in rather hysterical terms, called for the extermination at all costs, which is the translation in English of the enemy amongst us. This suggests to me that he is far from being unchallenged in the party at the moment. On the basis of this statement, I think that the man is under some pressure at the moment from within the party. As for why the Cambodian Army did not collapse, I think there are various military reasons for this : the quality of the Vietnamese troops sent in, was not in the calibre of the people that took Saigon in the end of the war of Indo-China. They are mainly Vietnamese militia units, so there were some setbacks the Vietnamese suffered at the hands of Cambodians who are excellent fighters. The second reason, I think, is that the Vietnamese themselves are practicing restraint. What would be the point of taking Phnom Penh (I think they could take it in four or five days) if they really used main force North Vietnamese army units.

Asbjørn EIDE : Understandably enough, you relied on information from refugees, largely in Thailand. We also know of the difficulties of verifying the veracity of such information, but we should take it as it comes and try to assist it by other evidence even though we are aware of distortions that may appear in the explanations given by refugees for a number of reasons.

But the reason I am asking this question is because I understood that you were present in Phnom Penh just prior to the fall of Phnom Penh, and that makes you, in a sense, a firsthand witness as distinct from your secondhand information about what happened afterwards. Now, as to your firsthand information, I would have liked you to elaborate a little bit on the way in which the so-called counter-insurgency program carried out during the years after the coup may have influenced the political processes, which have taken place after the victory of the Khmer Rouge, in other words whether or not the methods were of such a nature as to stimulate the utilization of extreme barbarity. You are familiar, I guess, with the war reports coming out during the latest stages of the war in Cambodia about violence which seems, in many ways, to be very similar to the one you have described, even mentionings of the eating of human beings.

A. PAUL : As I understand it, you are asking, was the violence of the post-victory program created by the violence of the war before the fall of Phnom Penh. Well, I think that there was no doubt about that. The revenge was very much in the foremost mind of the communist in the early stages of the war, but this persecution of almost anybody that can remotely threaten the communist authority, this is gone on far longer than that kind of immediate post-war state-of-mind would suggest. I do not know if that answers your question, but the length of time in which this barbarity is being pursued in Cambodia, is what I find quite awesome.

Per Øyvind HERADSTVEIT : As to the reliability of the information given in the Hearing, let us take for instance, the atrocities you describe, in the opening of your statement. I suppose you are not an eye witness yourself, so I would like you to state, in detail, the sources of information you have. Secondly, you mention a Swedish ambassador who had gone to Phnom Penh, I suppose you were referring to Jean-Christophe ÖBERG, that is all. You know that he has been called Jean-Christophe ÖBERG but also Jean-Catastrophe ÖBERG after his visit to Phnom Penh, and I want to ask you, is he a reliable source in your mind ?

A. PAUL : As to the incident I mentioned in the beginning, the execution by Comrade DA of a young Vietnamese, I have only one source of that, that is a certain, I quote that later in the speech, PHIN SIN, a colleague of DA and an assistant company commander in the 106th division. The second thing, I really cannot comment on the Swedish ambassador. I am not too familiar with him, I understand that he has a left-wing background, other than that, I do not know anything about him.

Lim Kuon PECH : Mr. PAUL, you said that the Vietnamese could take Cambodia in four to five days if they wished, that it would have been very quick. On what do you base this ?

A. PAUL : As to the size of the Vietnamese Army, if they concentrated their forces for an attack on Phnom Penh, I think they would overwhelm any army that the Khmer could put in the field. And of course, upon their equipment, there is no Cambodian air-force that we could speak of, there are no tanks in Cambodia whereas the Vietnamese have many hundreds of tanks. I think that the Hanoi Army would take Phnom Penh very quickly. I think that the Vietnamese are practicing restraint.

Eilif STRAUME : Do you know anything of the fate of the various religious minorities in Cambodia, and secondly, may we discern a pattern in the distribution of power which resembles, for instance, now in Cambodia to the community of Peoples in China, the beginning of that ?

A. PAUL : Well, the communists publicly boast of the eradication of Buddhism. I have been asking a question to the refugees : when was the last time they had seen a monk. You know that in the Cambodian country side, a monk stands out, he wears a saffron coloured robe. I cannot recall anyone telling me, in the last years, of having seen any monks. I think that the monks have disappeared by early 1976. The monks were forced to grow their own food, the temple pagodas, the "wats" have been put to other uses, headquarters areas, stock warehouses and so on. The other minorities, I know very little about, the moslems, I just have no information on them. As for comparing the life of the Cambodian commune with a Chinese one, I think it is wrong to compare. Obviously, the Chinese commune would be much better off than the Cambodian one, but of course there has been

a long period of time, the Chinese commune is now consolidated, anyway in those areas where Western reporters are allowed to go in China.

Victor SPARRE : I just want to ask : is there any kind of criminal law in function, if people, before they are killed, are put in front of a court and have they any kind of defense in that case ?

A. PAUL : Out of the two hundred or more refugees I have spoken to, not one of them has mentioned any legal proceedings.

A.H. MOHN : We have heard many estimates about killings in Cambodia, what is your personal estimation ?

A. PAUL : Well, we must distinguish between killing and death. I think that the number of LON NOL Army had about two hundred thousand (200,000) men in it, at the end of the war, either in the army or on the list which, doubtless became available to the communists or the names became available as a consequence of interrogation of the "new people" after the fall of Phnom Penh. So we can say that 3/4th of those are dead. Then, as many cases, their families are dead, so killings I suppose around the army itself are a quarter of a million. It is pretty hard to know what the rest of their executions add up to, I would think it would fall short of half a million.

R. NATIONS : I would like to return to the opening anecdote of your speech, referring to the extracting of a liver from one of the victims of an execution. I would like to ask whether from that you imply that the cannibalism is a result of starvation itself or is there not another explanation ? If I may elaborate, possibly a common source on that same type of incident, which I have been told about, suggests that it is not a question actually of nourishment as it is a question of witchcraft, that indeed, livers have been extracted more as a form of superstition, that actually what is happening here is that the Khmer Rouge or rather the Cambodians involved in this are making a potion out of the entrails of their victims in order to drive off the avenging spirits of their victims, and I would like your comment and your views on whether or not you think either of these explanations to be valid.

A. PAUL : I think that this is plausible, however, I do not know anything about Khmer witchcraft but perhaps other members of the expert panel could answer.

..... I wish a good session, to the Cambodia Hearing in Oslo, in the spirit of the declaration of Human Rights," signed : Mr. Knut M. HENNISON, chairman of the Committee for Free Cambodia, and member of the Honorary Committee.

TESTIMONY BY MR. LIM KUON PECH

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

As you already know, Cambodia has passed under the regime of the Khmer Rouge for already three years now. As Mr. Chairman reminded us during the opening of this conference, in the course of these three years, we have hardly received any news from this Democratic Kampuchea, except news about massacres, lack of medicaments, food and about the separation of members of families. That is why I allow myself now to bring you some enlightments concerning all that.

I had been living with the Khmer Rouge since the 19th of November 1973. From that time on, until the fall of Phnom Penh, while living with them, I studied the ideology of the Khmer Rouge's revolution, and I understood the broad political lines of this revolution quite well.

The Khmer Rouge revolution is divided into two parts : -
- the first one is the people's revolution, -- the second one is the democratic revolution. The people's revolution terminated with the victory over LON NOL's regime. Then the Khmer Rouge put the democratic revolution into practice. The democratic revolution means, that only the social stratum encompassing the peasants, the country people and the poor is preserved, whereas all the other social strata must all be exterminated.

I was able to remain alive during this period, because the Khmer Rouge needed me. But even if the Khmer Rouge gave me everything I needed on the material level, I never knew any rights or freedom. I was only waiting for a good opportunity to escape, and on the 30th of April 1976, I succeeded in escaping with my helicopter. Before finishing my speech, allow me to add a few words more :

I listened to Mr. Anthony PAUL's speech. He talked about the Khmer people's cannibalism ! As a Cambodian, I was very shocked, because the Khmer people is a gentle people, a wise people, practicing Buddhism. I do not want to say cannibalism did not exist in Cambodia, but it is very rarely seen and then only under exceptional circumstances such as in times of war. Cannibalism did not exist in Cambodia alone, but in the whole of Southeast Asia.

I have finished my speech, and I thank you.

Eilif STRAUME :: Could you, please, precise the lack of freedom you mentioned, you said, you were given whatever you needed, but you lacked freedom. Could you shortly precise ?

Lim Kuon PECH : When I lived with the Khmer Rouge, while the people was suffering from lack of food, clothing, and housing, I personally was supplied with everything I needed on the material level by the Khmer Rouge. That means I did not suffer physically, like the others. But at the same time, I lacked freedom. I was not allowed to move freely, unless I had a pass delivered by the ANGKA. I did not have the right to see the members of my family, to speak, to discuss or to question. I could only repeat what was said by the ANGKA.

Ursula NACCACHE : You said, you have been a Khmer Rouge since the 19th of November 1973. When Cambodia fell, you were thus, on the Khmer Rouge side, you were a Khmer Rouge yourself. You were not one of those who were expelled from the cities. Could you tell us where you were in 1975 - were you in Phnom Penh during its fall ? And if you were in the city, how did you manage to leave it ?

L.K. PECH : I never said I was a Khmer Rouge. I said I was living with the Khmer Rouge. At the moment of the fall of Phnom Penh, that is to say on the 17th of April 1975, I was not with the Khmer Rouge, I did not enter Phnom Penh with the others. It was only fifteen days later, that I was able to go to Phnom Penh, because the Khmer Rouge needed me to repair the helicopters, and to teach the Khmer Rouge, no one knew and the helicopters better than me.

F.PONCHAUD : We all heard what Mr. Anthony PAUL reported concerning the small details of the actual situation in Cambodia. I see that you do not agree with Mr. PAUL. Do you think that the foreigners, having never known the Cambodian civilization and mentality, could realistically understand the situation in the Democratic Kampuchea ?

L.K. PECH : As I already said this morning, I was deeply shocked by what was said by Mr. Anthony PAUL. And from what I heard in his speech, I think that Mr. Anthony PAUL did not know the situation in Cambodia very well. What he has reported to us, were insignificant details. Being a Khmer, I know my country well, as well as its civilization, its mentality - the behaviour and the nobleness of the Khmer people, and I think, no one knows the Khmer people better than the Khmers themselves. That is why I kindly ask Mr. Anthony PAUL to be very careful when expressing opinions about Cambodia, because Cambodia does not belong to the Khmer Rouge alone, but to all the Khmer people, including ourselves.

Asbjørn EIDE : You speak about the stages of the revolution, and you say that in the second stage, the "Democratic Revolution", there is, in the English text, the "abolishment" of other classes, whereas in the written text here, it says "extermination". The word "extermination" implies a large-scale killing, a genocide, physical killing. I would very much like you to explain what you actually meant. Could you also explain, what kind of planning was carried on within the Khmer Rouge forces, concerning the way in which "abolishment" or "extermination" was going to be carried out after the first stage of the revolution had been completed.

I.K. PECH : I should like to explain you, what "people's revolution" and "democratic revolution" mean. During the war, the rich people, soldiers, merchants and all those who did not agree or who were not with the LON NOL regime, were considered by the Khmer Rouge as friends. That was during the war. That is why during the war, we saw how SIHANOUK was with the Khmer Rouge, as well as his former ministers, the bonzes, the soldiers, the industrialists, all levels of society. And the Khmer Rouge wanted to gather all these forces together in order to make war against the LON NOL regime and the Americans. And after the victory over the LON NOL regime, for the Khmer Rouge, the "people's revolution" was over. So then they went further on with another revolution - the "democratic revolution".

What does "democratic revolution" mean for the Khmer Rouge ? The democratic revolution, after the war, concerns only the workers, the peasants, only the poor people, whereas the other strata of society - the soldiers, the well-to-do people, intellectuals, industrialists, and the rich people, all have to be exterminated.

A. EIDE : Still, I would like you to explain whether or not, in the preparation of this "abolishment", this included plans for large-scale killing ?

I.K. PECH : In the broad political lines of the democratic revolution, there is just room for the peasants, the workers, only for the poor people. The other social strata have to be exterminated, as I already said.

Per Øyvind HERADSTVEIT : Mr. PAUL used the word "genocide", speaking of Cambodia. Do you find this word justified? What is, according to you, the number of those executed?

L.K. PECH : As to the number of dead, I cannot answer you, because I was never working in direct contact with the people. I had to stay only there, where I was to work. Yes, as I already said, only the poor, the peasants and the workers can remain in the Democratic revolution.

E. STRAUME : Sir, how long a time did it take you to understand that you had to leave the country in order to preserve your freedom?

L.K. PECH : After the fall of Phnom Penh, I could remain with the Khmer Rouge for one year.

Gunnar SØNSTEBY : You said, you were in a camp in 1974, and you were indoctrinated. I wonder, did they have any kind of propaganda material? If so, was it written? Did they have books? Was it printed in Cambodia, or did it come from outside?

L.K. PECH : This ideology is not imported from outside. It is the genuine Khmer Rouge ideology, no one else's.

Richard NATIONS : We clearly understand, that the other classes, during the democratic revolution were to be exterminated, but I would like to ask you, did the Khmer Rouge, in explaining the implementation of this policy, make any distinction between the elimination of a class, and the elimination of individuals? If a class has to be eliminated through reeducation and through various sorts of processes, individuals could move from the position of being a feudalism, a capitalist or a member of the old regime to that of one becoming a member of the new class of peasants and workers. If the individuals were to be eliminated as such, this will lead to direct physical extermination. Was this distinction made in the political education that you received during your time with the Khmer Rouge?

L.K. PECH : A person and a social stratum are not the same thing. When a person originates from a social stratum, he always remains dependent on this stratum : he played a role in it and once you have a certain role in society, you can never get rid of it. That is why these people were closely watched by the Khmer Rouge.

Jean LACOUTURE : You said, that while you were with them, the Khmer Rouge did not allow you to stay in touch with your family. Have you any news today from your family or your parents ? Do you not think that your participation in this Hearing will endanger your family ?

L.K. PECH : I understand this problem very well. I mean the problems of the separation of the members of a family. Personally, I am very sad myself, but it is better to die, than to live with the Khmer Rouge.

Victor SPARRE : You said, you were not a Khmer Rouge yourself. But how was it then possible, that you were in charge of your own helicopter, since you did not belong to them ?

L.K. PECH : After the fall of Phnom Penh, nobody knew how to pilot a helicopter. That is why, when the Khmer Rouge wanted to train new pilots, they needed me for a certain time.

R. NATIONS : One of the main objectives of this Hearing is to establish the facts and one of the main issues of today's discussion is whether or not people have been killed as a matter of policy and if so how many. I feel justified in returning again to this point, did you yourself, while you were a member of the Khmer Rouge, see any persons physically executed before your own eyes, and if so, could you give an estimate of how many, and under what conditions and by what means ?

L.K. PECH : I have never seen a single execution with my own eyes.

A. EIDE : I also apologize for stressing on this issue which is very vital to our Hearing here, and I understand wholly your honesty in this matter, but I just want to ask you if you agree with the conclusion that I got from this, and that is, it was

not a policy instructed in the Khmer Rouge training to exterminate all members of different classes because they belonged to different classes, but they wanted to abolish the class as a social institution ?

L.K. PECH : The study of the Khmer Rouge ideology consists of several distinct parts, the books of the Khmer Rouge were not able to be read by everyone. The people, departed from the cities, were given a certain category of books, and if the Khmer Rouge saw that this individual or that other individual could be "recuperated", they would give him a more "political" category of books, so to say. And if they saw furthermore, that this individual respected and carried out the orders of the ANGKA well, a further degree was reached. Otherwise, people would never get the opportunity to see or read that kind of book.

Tore STUBBERUD : I would like to ask you a question on the political organization of the society in Cambodia. Is there a central control over the groups of soldiers or can these groups operate on their own ?

L.K. PECH : In each group, the Khmer Rouge would count the numbers of members, the same way an officer counts his soldiers. Every evening, the Khmer Rouge would gather the people to discuss that day's work, and depending on the village or canton, and depending on the circumstances, meetings would be held either once a day, or three times a day, or once a week or once every ten days. But the workers had to remain in one place. They did not have the right to circulate as they wished. For example, if we had to work in this Hearing, we would have had to stay in this conference room, and would have had no right to leave it, unless we be provided by the ANGKA with a special pass.

V. SPARRE : You told a newspaper, you have seen alot of dead people in the streets of Phnom Penh. Would you be so kind as to tell us about this ? What kind of people were these ? Why were they killed ?

L.K. PECH : When I arrived in Phnom Penh, the city had fallen for already fifteen days. The corpses were already all de-

composed. The clothes were torn, the corpses were swollen and one could no longer distinguish between the soldiers and the civilians.

Charles MEYER : During your stay in the underground, from 1973 to 1975, was there already a systematic policy of the evacuation of the cities ?

L.K. PECH : At that time, the Khmer Rouge were speaking differently, there were many intellectuals and the Khmer Rouge did not want the intellectuals to be aware of all those things.

J. LACOUTURE : You have been the pilot of the Khmer Rouge leaders. Could you give us the names of those, you have transported ? Was there an atmosphere of equality among those in this leadership, among themselves and between them and their collaborators, or was there an hierarchic atmosphere, based on authority and orders ?

L.K. PECH : Among the Khmer Rouge, should it be the chief of state or a minister, one cannot distinguish between a high ranking person and a low ranking one, because they were all behaving the same way, there was no hierarchy. It was impossible to find out who was the boss and who was not, everything clothes, language and behaviour were all similar.

T. STUBBERUD : What texts, what books are allowed to be read in Cambodia ?

L.K. PECH : These books were not imported from abroad, they were written and printed by the Khmer Rouge themselves.

R. NATIONS : You stated that on one hand, you would hesitate suggesting a figure to the number who have died or been killed under the Khmer Rouge rule, and on the other hand that you, personally have not seen any executions. How do you evaluate the general picture that is being given by the observers, and particularly by the Western press, that there has been a massive wide scaled execution, an elimination of the class enemy in Cambodia ? Is it a valid picture, or is it a distortion ?

L.K. PECH : When the Khmer Rouge said something they did it. It is not a slander : it is the Khmer Rouge ideology which said that, and they applied their ideology.

I have never seen, myself, a single execution by the Khmer Rouge. I do not know how many people were executed, but according to the broad political line of the Khmer Rouge, these people all had to be exterminated. I suppose, the other refugees, who managed to escape can tell you more about all that. I have not read the newspapers, and I cannot tell you what happened.

P.Ø. HERADSTVEIT : You just said you have seen corpses in the Phnom Penh streets. Could you tell us, how many corpses you saw ? How were these people killed ? Could you give us the name of any particular street, where there were corpses ?

L.K. PECH : I would like to remind you once more, I entered Phnom Penh already fifteen days after its fall and the seizure of power by the Khmer Rouge. The corpses I saw were all decomposed, and one could no longer recognize them anymore. That is why I cannot tell you how they were killed. The corpses I + saw were near thevar Bridge.

The CHAIR thanks Lim Kuon PECH and gives the floor to the next witness, Pam MOEUN.

TESTIMONY BY MR. Pam MOEUN

Mr. President, Gentlemen of the press,

My name is PAM MOEUN. I am a former lieutenant of the Khmer Gendarmerie, born on the 1st of January 1935, married and I had three children. The first was PAM THACH DARAVUTH, the second PAM YOTHEA, and the youngest PAM YOTHEIN. At the time of the fall of Phnom Penh, I was inside this city, and I witnessed the barbarious action of the Khmer Rouge, on the Khmer population. The 17th of April 1975, is the mourning day for the whole Khmer population : it is the day Phnom Penh was taken by the Khmer Rouge. When the Khmer Rouge entered the city, all its population - children, soldiers, bonzes, welcomed them. Everyone came out of his house waving a white handkerchief, in sign of the forthcoming peace. In truth, this sign became the sign of mourning. The first gesture of the Khmer Rouge, when

they entered Phnom Penh, was to seize the absolute power. They emptied the city in one single day, explaining, to justify this action, that Phnom Penh was to be bombed by the American forces. Everybody- children, soldiers, bonzes, rich and poor, left their houses. They could not take very many of their belongings with them, so great was their fear. Even hospitals were emptied, and one could see patients with fractured limbs or still under intro-veinous feeding.

During this first day, I could see with my own two eyes, the execution of a man wearing a soldier's uniform, on a boulevard, which was called Boulevard MAO-TSE-TUNG. In the population, those who hesitated leaving or who did not want to abandon their houses, were threatened or even executed like this soldier was. It was a great tragedy for me to witness the separation of families, the deportation of thousands of men to destinations unknown to them, and who could not take very much with them. I left Phnom Penh with my family the 19th of April 1975, in the southern direction. We managed to cover only three kilometers in a day, and along the road near the glass factory, we could see many soldier corpses. Nobody, among us, dared to look at the Khmer Rouge for fear of being executed, as were these soldiers. At the road block, set up by the Khmer Rouge at STUNG MEANSHEY to the south of the capital, the Khmer Rouge were looking for those who had been generals, superior and ordinary officers, soldiers and administrative functionaries. Once the identity of such people established, these were taken away to be assembled in the glass factory. During the night, they were driven by GMC trucks to be executed. During the day, they would continue searching for them. As far as I was concerned, I destroyed my identity card and I told my oldest son to answer, when the Khmer Rouge would ask about my former profession, that I was a male-nurse in the Khmer-Soviet friendship hospital. On our way towards the south, we were able to see many bodies of soldiers, executed by the Khmer Rouge. During the night, we were extremely scared and did not dare sleep on the side-walks of the road.

The 22nd of April 1975, my family and I reached CHAMBAK in the Province of TAKEO, at about 40 kilometers south of Phnom Penh. At CHAMBAK, we went to my wife's family. My mother-in-law cried very much ; she believed I had already been executed

by the Khmer Rouge in Phnom Penh. But now, she said, that I already escaped death, why then did I come to search for death here. At that moment I was not able to understand what she meant. We stayed with her for one day, then the Khmer Rouge came and asked me to give my autobiography. They said I had to be sincere and loyal towards the ANGKA - I should not lie. Otherwise, the ANGKA will be in the obligation of executing me.

In CHAMBAK, the village I was in, was TRAPEANG TROYEUNG in the Canton of PREAH REAM, now called area No. 56 by the Khmer Rouge. The Khmer Rouge organized, in this village, a three-day meeting ; everybody had to take part in it. During this meeting, nobody dared to move or to speak, even the small children did not dare cry. The Khmer Rouge, equipped with automatic rifles, formed a sort of belt around us. During this meeting, they told us not to be afraid ; we shall not be condemned, and only six traitors will have to be executed. These six traitors were : LON NOL, IN TAM, SIRIK MATAK, CHENG HENG, SOSTHENE FERNAND and LONG BORET. After this three-day meeting, the Khmer Rouge ordered us and the deported population from Phnom Penh and from other places to build a kind of dam to the east of the National Road from CHAMBAK to SAMRONG YOUNG. This dam had to be 5 km. long, 5 meters high, and 10 meters wide. To build it, we did not have a single instrument, not a single tool : we were ordered to build it with our bare hands, night and day. We had to comply for fear of being executed. My wife and I helped the others build this dam and then on the 30th of April 1975, we saw the chief of the canton, whose name was KONG arrive along with the other village chief, BUTH. They told my wife and me to gather our belongings to go to the Pagoda named THMAR TRAP, near the hill TA MAO on the road leading to the TRAM KHNA area. Inside this pagoda, the Khmer Rouge assembled us and a lot of other people ; all were from Phnom Penh. The pagoda was surrounded by high trees and a very thick forest. Inside was a pond with dams. We never imagined, for a minute, that we were to be executed this very same night. There was not a single bonze inside the pagoda, but plenty of Khmer Rouge aged between 18 and 20. In the crowd, I noticed some members of the administration, merchants, intellectuals and some gendarmes like myself. In the afternoon, at about 14.00, I was able to see through a door, a Khmer leader about 25 years old, with a strong build, looking at us with eyes full of hatred.

That Thursday evening was very dark, it started raining very hard. Everything seemed quiet, and we were all very afraid. We then saw young Khmer Rouge, armed with bayonets and ropes and each having a flash light. They were coming to take two to three families at a time and lead them in the direction towards the west of the pagoda. At 20.30, it was our turn, for my family and me to follow them. I awoke my three children, carried two of them in my arms, my wife took the youngest one and we went out. As soon as we were out, another group of Khmer Rouge rushed towards us, tied our hands behind our backs, and blindfolded us with a piece of black cloth. I protested and asked why do they tie us up like that, and they answered : "You are a soldier, the ANGKA does not trust you, that is why we have to take you. When they tied my hands, I could stretch my fists a bit, so that the ropes did not squeeze me too tightly. Before tying us up, they asked us to take our shirts off, then they took us away. I was walking very slowly. Then twenty paces further, we reached another Khmer Rouge whom they called "the chief". This chief asked me what was my profession in Phnom Penh : I answered him I was a taxi driver. He did not trust me, and asked the same question to my wife, who confirmed what I had said. They then asked my wife to take her skirt off, and me my trousers off. They took away our small child, who was in my wife's arms and the two boys who were by me. My wife got very scared and implored the Khmer Rouge to give the children back. Then they took her away too and I thought : now my wife and children shall be executed by the Khmer Rouge. A moment later, they took me away too. I was given a bamboo stick to follow them : I was blindfolded and was otherwise unable to follow them. As I already said, my bonds were not very strongly tied and following my captors in the dark, I managed to untie the ropes completely. Then, I rushed into the forest, my hands were freed. I thought, they are going to shoot, but I preferred being shot rather than being killed with a bayonet. I hid myself in the forest. The Khmer Rouge followed me, shouting after me to stand up and raise my hands above my head and then they would not shoot. They looked for me a long time with their flash lights, but it was extremely dark and they could not locate me, since I was often changing my position in the forest.

When I was hiding in the forest, I heard the screams of those being executed by the Khmer Rouge. I stayed hidden till about midnight, then I crept through the forest, reached the TRAM KHNA - Phnom Penh railway. I did not dare move during the day time, for fear of being found by the Khmer Rouge. I travelled only by night, and after two successive nights, I managed to reach an area called KOMPONG KANTUOT, to the south of Phnom Penh. On my way, I came across many corpses of people from, who had been executed by the Khmer Rouge, and transported there to be buried in former B-52 bomb craters. Among the corpses, I saw many of those of old people - there were many crutches at the rims of the craters. I crossed many different regions and crossed the ++ following small rivers :,, reached the + -----, and the village of CHAMPOU KAEK. I knew all these + places fairly well. Then I reached Fred Ai (?) in the CEROY MONTREY area. A month later, the 6th of June 1975, I arrived in ROKAR KONG and KOM CHARAM. There, I went to see my uncle, my mother's youngest brother who lived in this area, with the Khmer Rouge before the fall of Phnom Penh, long before. He was very good to me, he gave me a bicycle, a knife, clothes and some dried fish, so that I could reach a foreign country - Thailand.

A month later, I reached the province of SIEMREAP. I was caught by the Khmer Rouge and taken to a place where they husked the rice. A week later, there, the number of people deported was increasing drastically, and we were then ordered to cultivate rice in the village called LOLOK SAR in the canton of + All this in the SIEMREAP Province. I was staying there, hiding among the women whose husbands had already been executed. I was part of the team No.8.

The 1st of July 1975, at 17.00 precisely, the leader of the + village, whose name was Tah Ham(?) came to tell me to get ready to go to work at the foot of a hill. I thought : they are going to execute me, because that is their way of luring people. Knowing that, two other officers and I did not go to this place but escaped instead. After a very difficult journey across the plains and forests, for 19 days, we reached Thailand on the 19th of July 1975.

Upon arrival in Thailand, I swore to myself to do everything in my power to let the world know about the genocide and the barbarous acts of the Khmer Rouge. That is why I wanted to bring my testimony about the massacres carried out by them. In the name of all those executed by the Khmer Rouge, I am bringing this testimony, so that the whole world become aware of it. That is why I am appealing to all the organizations of the world to keep their eyes on the tragic situation in our country and on its miserable population. Today, witnesses who lived this tragedy, are becoming more and more numerous. And if their testimonies are not enough, if they do not yet succeed in convincing the whole world, I beg the creation of a mixed commission consisting of neutral non-aligned countries and of big powers, who could investigate on the spot, in Cambodia itself in order to save the Khmer nation, the Khmer people, thousands and thousands of which were executed by the Khmer Rouge.

I thank you.

Gunner FILSETH : How many executions have you witnessed on the 17th of April on the MAC-TSE-TUNG Boulevard ? How were these executions carried out ? Did you also witness executions in any other parts of the city ?

Pam MOEUN : I lived in Phnom Penh itself. The 17th of April 1975, I was in Phnom Penh. And when the Khmer Rouge entered it, the population came out. But when the Khmer Rouge saw soldiers in uniform on Boulevard MAC-TSE-TUNG, they shot at them. I, personally think it was done to scare people, so that they would execute the Khmer Rouge orders better later on. As far as the number of corpses is concerned, I cannot tell you exactly, but on Boulevard MAC-TSE-TUNG, I saw the corpses of three soldiers, shot because they were in uniform, but I did not know these soldiers personally.

Guri ULFRSTAD : I have no doubt about what our previous witness, Mr. PECH said, about the high morality and spirituality of the Khmer people. I would like to ask Mr. PAM MOEUN, what then, in your opinion, is on the bottom, what made it possible that such masses of people that the Khmer Rouge terrorists now represent, have become such roughnecks and brutal people ? What happened to them ?

P. MOEUN : The Khmer Rouge first executed the military, then the others, because, for them, the military were their enemy No. 1. These executions were to scare the others, thus making the future deportation easier.

Jean LACOUTURE : Has the witness, in his quality of former Gendarmerie Lieutenant, taken part in the operations of repression against the Khmer Rouge ?

P. MOEUN : Sir, during my twenty-two years as a Gendarme, I always stayed in Phnom Penh, and I never killed anybody.

Albert Henrik MOHN : How many people, all in all, have you seen being killed ?

P. MOEUN : When I was taken with the others to be executed, the 3rd of May 1975, my family and I were in the first truck of the convoy. I estimated the number of families, deported along within those trucks to be approximately thirty.

Tore STUBBERUD : Do you think that it is actually the policy of the Khmer Rouge to exterminate the officers and the soldiers? Did they make any specific declarations on that ?

P. MOEUN : Before the Khmer Rouge took me to execute me, they declared that the ordinary common people had nothing to be afraid of. There was no reason to punish them. Only the six traitors would have to be executed. But I think all that was a bunch of lies. First they picked out the military and their families in order to shoot them first.

Per Øyvind HERADSTVEIT : Did the Khmer Rouge declare, they were going to exterminate the soldiers and the officers ?

P. MOEUN : Sir, since the beginning of the war with the Khmer Rouge, I never heard that they were going to execute soldiers.

Charles MEYER : What happened with the gendarmes of your unit ? Have you met any of them again ?

P. MOEUN : After the fall of Phnom Penh, all the military, Gendarmes included, abandoned their uniforms, and hid among the civilians, dressed in civilian clothes like all the others.

They were afraid of being executed. I never met any Gendarmes + from my company, except one - Colonel Pou Ka+.....(?).

G. FILSETH : To return again to the 17th of April : did you notice any wounded persons who had been forced to leave the hospitals ? If so, could you describe their condition ? Were any cars or vehicles used for transportation of those sick and wounded ?

P. MOEUN : The 17th of April 1975, I saw seriously ill people being deported with us on their stretchers, with their families. I saw intro-veinous feeding bottles still hanging over them. What happened to those, having no family to take care of them ?

A.H. MOHN : You mentioned that your uncle was a Khmer Rouge. Were there many Khmer Rouge around you ?

P. MOEUN : My uncle was living with the Khmer Rouge before the latter entered Phnom Penh. And for me, since he was living with them, he must have been one of them. He was my mother's brother. He was the only member of our family to be living with the Khmer Rouge.

Anders BRATHOLM : I have a question concerning the dam you built : this dam was 5 km. long, 10 m. wide, and 5 m. high. How many people took part in this work ?

P. MOEUN : All those deported with me from Phnom Penh took part in the erection of this dam. This dam was located in the CHAMBAI area, named region No. 56 by the Khmer Rouge.

Ursula NACCACHE : Sir, the Khmer Rouge asked you to give them your biography and to tell them what your previous profession had been. You told them that you had been a taxi driver. Do you know what happened to those who actually told the truth, stating truthfully the fact that they were military ? Do you know what their fate was ?

P. MOEUN : When I arrived in my native village, everyone there knew I was an officer, even if I lied to the Khmer Rouge, saying I was a taxi driver. It was useless. I was to be executed anyhow.

The CHAIR thanks the witness and gives the floor to Mr. KONG SAMRACH.

TESTIMONY BY MR. KONG SAMRACH

It is a very big honor for me today, to come to this tribune, to testify before this conference, what I lived through in Cambodia, which is now called "Democratic Kampuchea". I lived twenty-seven months in Cambodia. My name is KONG Samrach. My parents were peasants. I was born on the 20th of June 1939. I + studied in the Sihanouk High School in KOMPONG CHHAN(?). I continued with superior education at the law faculty in the Phnom Penh University. I was a civil servant during the period of Prince SIHANOUK's regime and worked in the Ministry of Social Affairs. I left Cambodia before the village leader came to fetch me for execution.

On the 17th of April 1975, I was in Phnom Penh itself. I saw the liberation army enter the city in small groups of five to ten persons. At 13.00, I saw another group, dressed in black and armed, walking along the streets, entering every house, telling people to leave their houses, and saying : "You have to leave the city as fast as possible, do not take anything with you, because the Americans are going to bomb the city. Take just a few things, enough to live on for two or three days." They said the forces of the Khmer Rouge are going to watch your houses and your belongings, when you are gone. You can trust the liberation troops. Full of despair, I left my house and followed the direction in which we were told to go. The streets were black with people, even on the sidewalks there was no room left. People were pushing each other, in order to go further. At every street corner there were armed guards watching us and + ways two or three corpses. On the Monivonk (?) Boulevard, near the sewage gutters, I also saw corpses thrown there.

After having left my house, and walked for 2 km., I arrived at the law faculty. Night was falling, but we continued our road until CHBAR AMPOU. Exhausted, we stopped for a rest near the National Road No. 1. The following morning, we resumed our walk and arrived at the VEAL SBAU Pagoda. I took my family inside the pagoda, for a rest and to wait for news and to try to understand the situation a little as well. At CHBAR AMPOU, loud speakers

were installed, through which, cells were made to former ministers, members of Parliament, artists, soldiers, senior civil servants, asking them to register themselves in order to go back to work in Phnom Penh. I saw many people going to write their names in a register placed on a special table. They were put in trucks, which left in the direction of Phnom Penh. Three days later, nothing more was heard of them. We were asked to leave the pagoda and to proceed along the road. We followed the National Road No. 1 and arrived at KBAL KOH, then we stayed four days there, after which we proceeded towards the village where I was born, KOH SOTIN. When we arrived to a plywood factory, boats took us to the village of SVAY, near the PREK PAR River, then we proceeded farther in chariots. When I arrived in my village, a week later, I was then taken to the village's committee and interrogated, then they allowed us to go home. The former military and Gendarmes were kept in custody, then directed towards reeducation camps. These reeducation centres were located in the following areas : O-KDOUNG, + the hevea plantation at CHUP and in SVAY MING, near(?) and CHI HE. Some of these people after four months of reeducation were able to come back home. But the army and Gendarmerie officers did not come back before the end of 1975.

Ten days later, the civil servants, the merchants, the industrialists were called in turn in order to be reeducated in another centre which was located at ANLOUNG PORNG near the PEAM CHAING plantation. In this reeducation centre, there were about 400 men and women divided into groups of twenty. Each group included an armed Khmer Rouge soldier between the ages of 12 and 15, who was there to watch over the group and to force it to proceed with the education in the Khmer Rouge ideology. People were forced to work in the terrible heat, under the rain, day and night, without stop. The men were ploughing virgin land, digging ditches, erecting dams, raising crops. The women were cooking and gathering vegetables during the daytime, and in the evenings men and women were forced to study ideology in common. We were forced to work very much and were given just a little food. We could not protest against our conditions : whether we wanted to work or not, we had to work anyway. The barracks built to shelter us had no walls, just a roof. There were no fences around this reeducation centre. The discipline was extremely severe, and nobody had the intention of escaping from the centre.

In July 1975, there was an administrative reform, and this reeducation centre passed under the authority of the canton of O RAINING AUR. We were asked to transport all the material to the hevea plantation of PEAM CHAING. It took us four days. We saw people working like ants. Then, we were allowed to return to see our families. Ten men and women were seriously ill, and their families were allowed to take them with them. Out of sheer luck, the civil servants, merchants and industrialists who were at this place were not executed. In the hevea plantation, we saw the Khmer Rouge destroying brick houses and building wooden ones instead to shelter the workers. The sap of these heveas is of a very low quality and very hard. The smell was unbearable. Many heveas were sick, because the young workers did not have any experience in this field and did not have the right technical skill to deal with the heveas. The bricks from the destroyed houses were used to build roads, the iron was used to manufacture nails, which were used to build wooden houses.

The 17th of December 1975, seeing as there were no executions among the new population of KOH SOTIN, the supreme organization ordered the KOH SOTIN area committee to transfer thirty three thousand (33,000) persons into the province of KOMFONG THOM, chiefly in the district of STAUNG. Thus, I arrived in the STAUNG, on the 19th of December 1975. The STAUNG population was ready to welcome the "new people" which was going to live with them, and I noticed among them, that many were widows and small children. When we inquired about them, we were told, that the men were requested by the ANGKA. One month later, the Organization started calling men among the "new people" and we heard about the disappearance of this one or that one. The requested ones never came back. Those, who remained, who had not been requested or called upon, had to work very hard in places chosen for them by the Organization.

The young men and girls were separated from their parents, the men from their wives and children, and dispersed among different work camps. Women who had grown-up children, were forced to work like men. Children over 10 had to work like grown-up people. The members of one family could see each other once a month - such was also my case.

During the dry season, I was sent to work on the shore of the TONLE SAP lake, at about 25 km. from the village. During the rainy season, I was sent to the hills, at about 15 km. from the village. But even when my working place was not far from the village, I did not have the right to see my family. I was forced to work very much, but was given very little to eat. For instance, in 1976, during the harvesting season, we were given each a box of rice of about 200 gr. per meal. In April the ration became half of such a box, and in September, one such box was given to be divided up among eight to ten persons ! Many people died from starvation, from lack of food. In the village where I was living, I saw ten families, father, mother and children dying all of them. And each family included from four to ten members. Every morning, carts would pass to gather up all the dead. In 1975, there were about 800 people in this village. In 1977, there were only about five hundred left, among those five hundred left, only forty of them were men who belonged, all of them, to the former population. There were no births, but the number of deaths was permanently increasing. I, personally, calculated, that the population of this village had lost from 30 to 40% towards the end of the first quarter of 1977. In 1977, the Organization collected all the kitchen utensils and working tools, put them in the cooperative, and ordered all of us to go to eat together in one place. For each meal, we were given one single bowl of rice soup. There were also hospitals in the village, but no hygienic measures, and no medicine could be found in these hospitals. They were merely places used to pile up sick people. The sick people were piled up there so that members of their families would not have to bother with them anymore and could thus go to work and serve the ANGKA. These hospitals were merely places where one waited for death to come. Members of the families were not allowed to take part in the funeral ceremonies of their deceased. They were not allowed to leave the place of their work. The serious deadly diseases were : diarrhoea, amoebian dysentheria and beri-beri. The pregnant women very often presented vaginal hemorrhages and 80% among them had uterine diseases. The girls were extremely emaciated, one could see only their bones. They were colourless and apathetic. The orphans had no clothing, they were extremely skinny and were forever searching all over the place for small bits to eat, as would stray dogs.

There was no school in this village, no pagoda. The buildings in the pagodas and the churches, had all been demolished and those places transformed into poultry farms garages and storage houses for rice. The Organization forbade the population to have faith and forced it to believe only in the ANGKA ideology.

Mr. President, honorable members of the commission, Ladies and Gentlemen, the Khmer people begs of you and of the international public opinion with insistence to help it, by interceding with the government of the Democratic Kampuchea, so that it stop its genocide policy and that it give back to the Khmer people all the freedom you here, Ladies and Gentlemen, love so much and want so much, just as much as does the Khmer people !

I thank you.

Tore STUBBERUD : You described to us the executions of people for fornication. You said, among other things, that breasts and vaginas of women were cut off. I have a question to ask you : have you eyewitnessed these things yourself ?

KONG Samrach : I did not see any execution for fornication with my own eyes, but I heard about them.

Gunner FILSETH : Was there a ban on any kind of intimate relations between married persons ?

S. KONG : The ANGKA did not forbid sexual relations within the family, but we were not allowed to have as many of them as we wanted. You met only when you were allowed to do so by the ANGKA. The majority of the population had to work in camps, located very far away from each other.

Richard NATIONS : I would like to ask you first, whether or not, in leaving Cambodia, you came to Thailand ?

S. KONG : Sure, when I left Cambodia, I followed the Northwestern direction : when I was in high school, I learned from my geography lessons that Thailand was Northwest of Cambodia.

R. NATIONS : Could you please describe for us, which Thai officials you spoke with, and which representatives, if any, of any foreign governments briefed you or rather debriefed you, when you were in the refugee camps ?

S. KONG : Yes, when I reached Thailand, the Thai authorities asked me for information, and at this time, I did not have any reason to hide my identity. Then, they took me to a trial and imprisoned me for twenty-five days for having crossed the border without authorization. In the refugee camp, I was welcomed and interviewed by the humanitarian organization of the French Embassy and then I asked them to give me an authorization to live in France.

Gunnar SØNSTEBY : Sir, I had actually the same question as Mr. STUBBERUD, regarding diverse parts of details of torture. It looks like I have another manuscript than you have and I do not know why. But it seems to me, that parts of the details on torture have been left out by you : is it done on purpose or is it just mixed with the translation ?

S. KONG : If you see this manuscript, you will see that I wrote it very poorly. I wrote it and mailed it to the Oslo committee. But my French being poor, I have made a lot of mistakes. Considering, I had a very limited time for my testimony at this Hearing, I could not tell you things more in detail.

Hans-Henrik RAMM : Could I perhaps permit myself to confirm that in order to save time, we asked KONG Samrach to shorten down his manuscript. That might be the background. Thank you.

Albert Henrik MOHN : How did the ANGKA people live ? Did they get enough food ?

S. KONG : As to the rice distribution, it happened the way I have been describing it in my speech. During the harvesting period, we were each given a 200 gr. milk can of rice at every meal. As the season would wear out, so would the rations distributed to the workers. The decreasing of the rations was not dictated by any strict rules, and was decided arbitrarily. We could not protest or ask for bigger rations.

A.H. MOHN : My question is : the communists, the ANGKA people, were they starving when you were starving ?

S. KONG : I am talking only about my own village. Generally speaking, those who were in charge of distributing the rice took their rations first, for themselves and once they themselves were satisfied, only then would they distribute the rest to the others. Sure, the Khmer Rouge were eating as much as they wanted, whereas we, the people, could only eat what we were given.

Per Øyvind HERADSTVEIT : I am coming back to the way these atrocious executions you were talking about, were committed. My question still concerns people who were fornicating. I ask you therefore, the two following questions : did this kind of punishment exist before the Khmer Rouge revolution ? And, are you convinced, personally, that this kind of punishment is still given ? Are you saying the truth ? Or is it only founded on hear-say ?

S. KONG : As I already said, what I am reporting, concerns solely the place where I was living. I cannot speak about other places, which I have not seen, and where I have not suffered : the zones we were concentrated in were very restricted zones. Before the revolution in Cambodia, like in other countries, like in Norway, there was a police, justice and tribunals. Now there is nothing of the sort. Once something wrong is done, there is only a ditch in which to bury corpses.

P.Ø. HERADSTVEIT : Excuse me, please, but you spoke about this punishment in your testimony. But you have not eyewitnessed this kind of punishment yourself ? It is important to know, if such a punishment still exists, or has existed in Cambodia previously. You do not know ? That is it ?

S. KONG : Before the revolution, there was no punishment nor any execution for fornication. This started only after the take over by the Khmer Rouge.

Jean LACOUTURE : Sir, you reminded us, in your testimony, about the difference between the "old" and the "new people". Could you, please precise, if there were obvious differences between the way, the authorities treated the "old" and the "new" people.

S. KONG : The hardest work was given to the "new people", whereas the easiest work - cooking, watching the stocks, distribution of goods of rice, were for the "old people". The "new people" did not have the right to partake in any of these easy tasks. A person belonging to the "new people" cannot marry a person from the "old" one.

Ursula NACCACHE : I understand, from your address, that you left Cambodia in 1977. We know, from different sources, that there were uprisings in several parts of Cambodia, during 1976, as well as attempts to overthrow the regime. Did it happen in your area ? Did something change ?

S. KONG : In the village where I was living, I saw Khmer Rouge arrest and take their own companions :: the chiefs of the village ++ whose names were, and, the chief of the canton, and the village commissar who had connections with the regional chief. These arrests took place, the first time in the beginning of 1977, and the second time in April 1977. This change of village chiefs was giving us only one week of respite, after that, life would become even more difficult. The new chiefs put the directives of the Organization into practice in a much more drastic fashion.

Guri ULFRSTAD : I understood from your speech, that when you reached one of the villages, on your way out of Phnom Penh, you were met there by childhood friends who were now leading the Khmer Rouge forces in the village, and I understand they helped you, and advised you how you should move on. And that tells me, that they cannot be completely in control, in the grip of an ideology. Is there any chance, that they are playing their role out of sheer fear, that they are forced to do what they do ?

S. KONG : According to what I wrote in my manuscript, if I am not mistaken, I said that my childhood friends, who were now with the Khmer Rouge, said to me, they could do nothing to help me. They only whispered to me, that if somebody comes to see me, or to ask me something, I should not answer but stay mute and silent.

G. ULFRSTAD : Excuse me, but that is a way of helping is it not ?

S. KONG : These childhood friends wanted to help me but could do nothing for me. I thought, that inside themselves, they were willing to help me, but, as you know, Madame, as in any red country, each one watches the others around him. If I make a mistake, I am punished, and as I said, Madame, in Cambodia there are no prisons, no tribunals, one mistake is enough. Then you disappear. You are executed. For the Khmer Rouge, if a husband does something wrong, all his family, small children included will be executed ! As one says in our country, when you pull the bad grass out, you have to pull all of it ! That means the roots as well.

R. NATIONS : Mr. President, you may rule this question out of order since it has already been asked, but I think, in the light of one of the basic issues, before the conference, which is whether or not we are getting accurate and direct accounts, or accounts which are filtered through interested parties, I would like to return to my former question : I would like to ask if during your time in the Thai refugee camp, Mr. Samrach, you spoke with any representatives of the national government, whether Thai or any foreign government, who did not come from a humanitarian organization or refugee agency ? Whether you had any suspicion, or reason to suspect, that these people represented the national intelligence or police and whether or not, you were interrogated or briefed by anyone, who described to you the conditions inside Cambodia which had been gleaned from accounts given by other refugees who had left Cambodia under similar circumstances as yourself ?

S. KONG : In Thailand, I did not tell the Thai authorities about what was happening in Cambodia. I figured that even without my testimony, they already knew about it. I only gave them my name, my former profession (my real name and real profession). But I did not tell them about what was going on in Cambodia.

As far as foreigners are concerned, when I arrived in Thailand, no one came to see me, besides the Thai authorities and the humanitarian organization. This humanitarian organization distributed different types of help among us. Besides, the humanitarian organization, of the French Embassy, took the names of the persons wishing to go to France. I already said, I have met no journalists or any other foreigners in Thailand who want-

ed to ask me what was going on in Cambodia. Some came and wanted to interview me, but I did not want to answer their questions. Even when I arrived in France, I never answered any questions, because I wanted to live in a province, very far from Paris, and have met no journalists.

R. NATIONS : I think, I should do with the witness. He answered very clearly. He said in fact, that he was not briefed by representatives of neither the national Thai government, nor of a foreign government, which we had reason to suspect, represented intelligence. And if that is correct, then the question is answered.

U. NACCACHE : Mr. KONG Samrach, I think, you have a wife and children. Could you tell us a little about them ? When have you seen them for the last time ? Were they all still alive, and in which state of health were they when you saw them the last time ?

S. KONG : I saw my family once ten days before I left Cambodia. But now, I do not know if they are still alive or dead

The CHAIR thanks the witness and the questioning panel, and closes the first day's session.

Second day of the Hearing, 22nd of April, from 9.10 to 18.03..
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Hans Henrik RAMM welcomes to this second day of the Hearing and gives practical data about the proceedings.

The CHAIR introduces the next speaker,
 Mr. Charles MEYER:

I do not need to introduce Mr. MEYER to you, he has spent twenty-five years in Indochine, thirteen of which in Cambodia, and he was an advisor to Prince SIHANOUK. Once back in France, in 1970, he wrote a book of which the title is "Derrière le sourire Khmer" ("Behind the Khmers" smile").

STATEMENT BY MR. CHARLES MEYER :

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We are in possession today, I believe, of a sufficient number of serious testimonies, which have been cross-checked, to consider that from the 17th of April 1975, the Democratic Kampuchea has been, indeed, the theatre of bloody executions. However, I feel it necessary that we accept, only with great reserve, the balance in figures of the victims, such as it is proposed here and there, and that we admit that any estimation is actually impossible. We shall, at last, take it for granted, that the Khmer people is living under an emergency regime, which violates the International Declaration of Human Rights and does not even defend itself against this assertion.

The situation in Cambodia as seen from the narratives of the refugees in Thailand and in Europe, raises up legitimate anxiety and many questions. However, the government of this country, which became the most closed in country in the world, does not consider it worth answering the accusations, or even the questions concerning its internal situation. It is not up to us to judge it, or to comment on its choice of isolating the country.

In the light of the available information, meaning mainly, the official speeches, the listening of radio Phnom Penh, the testimonies of the refugees, the reports from Chinese, Yugoslavian and Romanian journalists, as well as my long and direct experience of Cambodian affairs, I would like to submit to this Hearing, some elements, which may perhaps, help explaining the actual situation. But I want to emphasize, that there is no simple, clear and evident explanation, and that peremptory affirmations should always be avoided..

First of all, it is important to destroy, in the Western mind, the image of the "naturally nonviolent Cambodian", who is impregnated with Buddhist benevolence.. Their neighbours have already known, for centuries, that violence slumbers behind their smile, and that it is dangerous to wake it up. This is, however, what happened in 1967, when a peasant revolt was brutally crushed in the BATTAMBANG region, and when there was a national minority uprising in the province of RATTANAKIRI. It also occurred in 1970, when Vietnamese residents were massacred the week following LON NOL's seizure of power.

For five years, a total war opposed the military, so-called "republican" relatively corrupted regime to a revolutionary marxist movement, dwelling in clandestiness since its founding. The American air force gave its support to the republican regime, crushing the Cambodian villages under heavy bombing, but was not, for all that, accused of genocide. The following events should not let us forget this. As far as the fratricide struggle between Cambodians themselves is concerned, supported episodically and on both sides by the Vietnamese, this struggle was merciless, as it is usual in all civil wars.

Seen from Europe or from America, the Cambodian case seemed to be a mere extension of the war in Vietnam. The return to peace would therefore be achieved through a global agreement, with minor variations in the scenario, as far as different states were concerned : Vietnam would form a sort of federation of the North and of the South, Laos would provide itself with a coalition government, whereas in Cambodia, the return of Prince SIHANOUK would solve all the problems. But all this showed a lack of insight in the complexity of the Indochinese affairs.

I believe that today, as yesterday, one has to be extremely careful in analysing the politics of the Phnom Penh government, or more precisely, the behaviour of the victors of April 1975. The fact is, that these analyses should keep in mind the weight of the past, the ideology of the leaders, the threat from outside, and of course, the psychological, economic, religious and other factors.

The execution of the political leaders, generals and dignitaries of the regime resulting from the 1970 coup d'état, could seem to be a softened application of the 1877 Cambodian penal code, which in its first section, enumerates twenty-one kinds of slow-death penalties for crimes of treason and revolt, whereas it admits that the death penalty, a quick one, could be extended to the whole family of the culprit. This punishment could have been used between 1965 and 1970 against captured Khmer Rouge, and would have been used systematically in case of the government's victory. So, as far as the dignitaries of the regime are concerned, we are, after all, within the tradition.

The fate reserved to the defeated leaders, may nowadays be considered as being excessive, but it remains, we could say, in the tradition, according to the "rules of the game", accepted by all the present parties. Extending this affirmation, one could say, that the massacre of the defeated, which immediately followed the battle, is still, if I dare say, a "comprehensible" practice. As a matter of fact, it is not exceptional at all, if we remember what happened in Europe during the Second World War, and of course, in the colonial wars which followed it.

But in the present case, one has also to deal with the executions of persons guilty of having belonged to the former regime; civil servants and officers, landowners and tradesmen, well-to-do bourgeois and liberal intellectuals : all those, who are considered unrecoverable, and whose survival appears to be a threat to the new social order. Furthermore and contrary to their Chinese-influenced neighbours, the Cambodians do not believe in reeducation, and are not ashamed of admitting it.

At last, it seems that a great number of people had been killed on the spot, for the simple reason that they disagreed with an order, or contested it, violated the rules, which they did not know, by the way, or simply refused to work twelve hours a day. Testimonies by refugees often mentioned that kind of assassination, committed by low-ranking military cadres, preoccupied with inspiring fear.

In his speech on the 28th of September 1977, the prime minister POL POT had implicitly admitted that excesses had been committed. One should understand this beginning of autocriticism, inside the frame of the traditional Cambodian pattern : one should never admit, that he even slightly, erred, or made a mistake.

The first decision made by the victorious Khmer Rouge, and which deeply scandalized the Western World, was the expulsion of the entire population of Phnom Penh city, i.e. two million people, the three quarters of which were, by the way, peasants who fled the countryside during the war. For Westerners, this scandal was doubled with a sacrilege : the destruction of the symbols of our consumption society ; air conditioners, Hi-Fi chains, diverse gadgets and first of all, the abolition of money.

The reasons given by the Khmer Rouge, to justify the evacuation of Phnom Penh : imminent attack by the American air force, impossibility to feed the population, are not convincing at all. I think the real intention of the revolutionaries was to punish this city, considered for a long time by the peasants as the "big harlot". You see, we should better straighten out our old impressions of the Cambodian society a little, and remember the extreme poverty of the peasants in some provinces. Already in April 1970, these peasants from the KOMPONG CHAM Province, started a march on the capital and were stopped at the Phnom Penh gates, behind which the bourgeoisie was trembling at the sight of the peasants' approach. One should also know that the urban Cambodian civilization was, in reality, a colonial-occidental and a commercial-Chinese one.

At the same time, as they were systematically "disurbanizing", the new leaders proceeded with the rural population's transference, about which we have little information. Some of these transferences are part of the program of mass mobilization for the execution of big, general interest works, such as digging of irrigation canals and erection of dams. Others appear like permutations and displacements of people, the economical significance of which is not evident.

Once more, I think, it is necessary to refer to Cambodian history : we learn from it, that population transferences from one province to another, were very usual until the middle of the last century — either as the result of the Khmero-Thai conflict, or after periods of internal troubles. It seems those transferences could be interpreted as a constant worry of the government, not to allow the peasant communities to take deep roots in one spot. This worry was, perhaps, caused by the fact that once firmly established on their land, those communities became impermeable to the decisions of the central administration. History shows us numerous examples of such occurrences.

This traditional aspect is naturally reinforced by the policy of a regime which intends to build up a collectivist society of a marxist or marxist-inspired type.

The Cambodian village, the PHUM, consisted of a certain number of families, of houses, the Buddhist pagoda and the land around. However, the pagoda was the only religious, social, magical center and somewhat the "anti-power", the shelter from the absolutism. To bring the monks back to the laymen's life was therefore, not sufficient : one should break the ties uniting the faithful with their pagoda.

It was also necessary to uproot the population from its familiar geographic environment, from its traditional space organizing, with its land spirits, its forbidden or restricted areas. The new ideology, thriving on Western sources, claims that nature must be subdued, and condemns the balance and the compromise with the environment. The alliance between man and nature had, therefore, to be broken, so that the new man, the communist man, could become free and a master of his own future.

The radicalism and the excesses of the Cambodian revolution, shock the Western World, and even the so-called advanced countries of Asia and Africa. But, nevertheless, it exerts a kind of fascination by its going beyond measure ; because of its madness, some say. For those, who knew the Khmers well, this going beyond measure is not a revelation. Angkor Vat, and other less known monuments, such as Koh Kar, are doubtlessly architectural ensembles, unique in the world, but they also illustrate the megalomania of old Khmer kings. Much closer to us, hardly a quarter of a century ago, the kingdoms' leaders were still remaining, though modestly, in this line, wishing to prove that their country was the biggest, the most beautiful, the most neutral, the most Buddhist. And this is all to their credit, being a slightly exacerbated form of patriotism in a small threatened country.

The actual revolutionary leaders maintain the tradition of their immediate predecessors, but with, in addition, the dreadful efficiency of the Angkor sovereigns. They proudly claim today to have gone farther than their Chinese friends, in the cultural revolution, by abolishing money, by abolishing all kind of private property, all traces of the old society. They affirm that they were more successful than their Vietnamese neighbours, as to the reinsertion of the city-dwellers, and the agricultural development. And this is true. In short, Cambodia claims that it stays alone, in the vanguard of the socialist states, and is the only communist state in the world.

Today, like it was yesterday, whether they are monarchists, republican or revolutionaries, the Khmers are extremely susceptible, which, one must admit, makes the relations with them, often difficult. Our Cambodian friends who are present here, are not going to contradict me on this. Those presently ruling Cambodia are not exceptions to this national characteristic. But they are neither madmen, nor blood-thirsty monsters : I have known several of them well. They are, mostly, sons of peasants, more or less formed at the French marxist school , disgusted by a feudal system, and they feel that they found, deep within the peasant population, the real illumination and the road leading to a renewal.

I am probably going to shock many of you here, but I think that these Khmer Rouge leaders really do incarnate a certain category, I repeat, a certain category of peasants, who identify themselves with the Khmer Rouge. The same way, Prince SIHANOUK had really been before 1970, the "father" for the majority of the population. Allow me to underline that all this is in no way an approval or a defending of the terror used against those, who are politically "lukewarm", or in the opposition. In reality, the "Cambodia file" is not all that simple and many pieces are missing.

In the beginning of this lecture, I mentioned the exterior factors which have doubtlessly contributed to the hardening of the internal political line of the revolutionary leaders. One of these factors had been the GRUNK, the Royal Government in exile in Peking, and its leader, Prince SIHANOUK. The GRUNK had a rather ambiguous representative and diplomatic role, and was accepted by the communist party, because it was useful for its cause. There is no doubt, that in 1970, this reference to Prince SIHANOUK had largely contributed to rallying the traditionalists to the revolutionaries.

Since the first months of 1972, it became clear, that the war of liberation from the military regime supported by the United States, was also a revolutionary war, the purpose of which was to set up a popular power, owing nothing to the past, and in which there would not be room for Prince SIHANOUK. That was, by the way, confirmed to us yesterday, in the testimony by Mr. Lim Kuon PECH. But up to 1975, the Western diplomacy and press pretended to consider SIHANOUK as being the sole representative of what was the "national resistance"; the liberation army was considered as "Sihanoukian forces". That was more than enough to convince the extremely suspicious communist leaders that, when the time will be ripe, the West, naturally colonialist and imperialist, will do its best to help reestablish the monarchy.

The last minute bargaining between the Americans and Prince SIHANOUK, concerning his quick return to Phnom Penh, only confirmed this fear. There is, by the way, no doubt that the 17th of April 1975, the prince would have been triumphantly acclaimed by the capital's population, and begged to seat again on the

throne. But the peasant revolutionaries had not fought for five years to run the risk of losing the chances to seize the power at the last minute... SIHANOUK will therefore be allowed to enter his country only three months after the evacuation of Phnom Penh's population, and the definitive elimination of his outspoken or suspected partisans.

Finally, it is impossible to speak about Cambodia without mentioning the problem of its relationship with Vietnam. Let us just mention the fact that Hanoi's propaganda, repeated by the USSR and the European popular democracies, does not find, today, words indignant enough to expose the Cambodians' atrocities. That is rather unusual for countries, theoretically belonging to the same camp.

As a matter of fact, we can move as far back in time as possible to find out that the relationship between the two countries was always under the sign of a permanent animosity, nourished by the unrelenting advance of the Vietnamese, coming from the North to conquer new territories. Is it necessary to remind you that the occupation of Southern Vietnam by Vietnamese was achieved in the 17th century, that in 1835 the whole of Cambodia was undergoing a Vietnamese domination, the brutality of which remained deeply rooted in all the memories ?

There is no doubt that without the French colonial intervention in the middle of the last century, Cambodia would have ceased to exist, being divided between Vietnam and Thailand. But the Vietnamese have always considered, they had rights on the totality of the Indochinese world. In 1939, a newspaper could write (a Vietnamese newspaper) : "The day will come, when Indochina will no longer be a union of distinct and individual countries, but a single country, which will have been fertilized with Annamite blood, and thus given its dynamism and its action of power".

From 1958 to 1970, one cannot count all the border incidents. First with the pro-American governments in Saigon and then with revolutionary forces who had, however, sanctuaries and supply roads on Cambodian territory. After the LON NOL coup in 1970, Hanoi made itself the spokesman of the militant solidarity of the Indochinese peoples, and brought, indeed, an important help to the Cambodian and Laotian underground movements.

This Vietnamese help, however, was not disinterested : from 1972, the hegemonic Vietnamese pretensions caused violent Cambodian reactions ; among the revolutionary leaders as well as among ordinary combatants. The relationship between the partners of this alliance, circumstantial partners, an alliance almost against nature, will not cease deteriorating. After the victory in April 1975, they will become openly hostile.

When the Cambodians declare, that the word "imperialism" is translated as "proletarian internationalism" in Vietnamese, they do it because they have proceeded to a certain amount of experiences of which we know only the main ones.

Some weeks after they seized the power, the Vietnamese communists occupied the Cambodian Island of Pulo Way, which, by the way, they will soon be obliged to evacuate. The most surprising thing however, is the friendly manner in which they welcome all those, who flee from the Khmer Rouge, including even those who were the most compromised with the fallen regime and the Americans. They accepted even SON NGOC THAN and his Khmer Serei, previously financed by the CIA !

There should presently be about one hundred thousand Cambodian refugees in Vietnam probably even more. Some of them undergo, as we know, an ideological education, in the orthodox Vietnam-Soviet line, and are prepared to take the destiny of Cambodia into their hands, in the spirit of a close collaboration with Vietnam. But first, the Khmers will have to be liberated from their regime...

For several months, a battle is going on, on the Khmero-Vietnamese border, each side accusing the other of being responsible for it. For the outside world, this is merely a border conflict, but both Hanoi and Phnom Penh, claim, that they have no territorial claims whatsoever. However, the Vietnamese admit, they have claims upon the Cambodian maritime territory, without precisising which one.

In reality, the problem lies elsewhere. The Phnom Penh government accuses that of Hanoi of wanting to recreate the Indochinese federation, under its leadership. Naturally, the Vietnamese protest with indignation against such allegations ...

But the fate reserved to South Vietnam, hastily reattached to the North, after a very official promise that reunification will be achieved with respect to the Southern particularism, could have already shocked those, who believed in the Vietnamese good will. After the soft "Prague coup" in Laos, and after the signing, the 18th of July 1977, of the treaty of friendship and cooperation between Vietnam and Laos, the intentions of the Vietnamese left no more doubts to the Cambodian revolutionaries.

Laos, is since then, under Vietnamese control and Soviet influence, which, to the tens of thousands of Laotian refugees in Thailand, looks like an unbearable protectorate. The Hmong minorities, napalm-bombed by the Vietnamese air force, have also a rather special conception of the Indochinese solidarity and the rights given to all the local ethnics.

But Cambodia refuses to partake in the Laos' fate, and to sign an agreement which will submit it to the Vietnamese "cooperants", on the ground of "special relations". This threat is not one of those, which will help a liberalization of the Phnom Penh regime. Just the contrary. What one can regret is, that this threat cannot convince the Khmer leaders that a presence of a group of international observers in Cambodia, could be extremely useful.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the violation of Human Rights in Cambodia is without doubt very real and, I believe that all men of good will should be alarmed of it and should find means to get heard by the government of the Democratic Kampuchea. It will, by the way, be fair, to question the fate of the ethnical minorities in Vietnam and in Laos, where the Human Rights are disregarded as well.

However, the accusations against the Cambodian regime, even if they are partly, or even totally justified, should not become a pretext for a Vietnamese intervention, for a so-called "liberation" of the Khmer people. One knows that the former colonial powers often used the "savageness" argument, to impose their domination and their "civilizing mission". They have heirs today, moved by the same ambitions : only the vocabulary changed ...

Please allow me to express the wish that the work of the Hearing receive the echo it deserves, and contribute to defend the justice, the freedom and the independence of Cambodia.

Before I finish, I should like to add some words about the problems which arose yesterday, between those who were asking questions and those answering them. Those difficulties are normal : the two sides belong to two different civilizations, having different ways of thinking. Some can consider that the questions asked are irritating, even preposterous and void of interest. On the other hand, the answers may be felt as vague, unsatisfactory, dilatory. This lack of mutual understanding could, meanwhile, be softened if the questions were simple, and first of all if the "drawer system" formulation were avoided. One should also keep in mind, when asking the questions, the traumatism undergone by the Cambodian refugees, who often lost their families and who are in an extremely sensitive mood, you can imagine. I also ask you to understand that the image of the Khmer Rouge, presented here by some Westerners, could be seen by their victims themselves as an insulting and racist one. I repeat - we are not here to condemn or to judge the Cambodian revolution, but simply to try to understand it, regretting its excesses.

I thank you.

The CHAIR thanks Mr. Charles MEYER and gives the floor to the question panel.

Albert Henrik MOHN : Mr. MEYER, you mentioned the monk minorities being bombarded with napalm by the Vietnamese Air Force. Can you tell us some more about this, please ?

Charles MEYER : I did not speak about bonzes, I spoke about the HMONG minority formerly called MEO. It is a minority which numbered about four hundred thousand in Northern Laos, and which had been exterminated with napalm by the Vietnamese Air Force those last weeks. Several thousands managed to cross the Laotian border.

Ursula NACCACHE : Mr. MEYER, you say in your statement that the Khmer Rouge incarnate only one portion of the peasants, which recognize themselves in them (in the Khmer Rouge). I always thought that the Cambodian peasant was very attached to his land, whereas the Khmer Rouge introduced an absolute collectivism. I had always understood, that the Khmer peasant was attached to Buddhism, whereas the pagodas had been transformed into grain silos, and the bonzes, expelled. I had always understood as well that the Khmers were attached to their culture and to their ancestors, whereas the Khmer Rouge substituted marxism in the place of the ancestors and culture. In what respect, and that is my question, could the Khmer Rouge incarnate the peasants ?

C. MEYER : As Mr. PECH Lim Kuon said so well yesterday, there were, in Cambodia, a significant number of poor peasants, even very poor ones. In some provinces, peasants could not become landowners. Their methods of cultivation were bad and anyhow, their situation could not have been worse after the revolution. Besides, I think that the Khmer Rouge knew how to make these poor peasants dream; dreaming is a very important thing in Cambodia as anywhere else and maybe, in Cambodia more than anywhere else. One of the biggest achievements of Prince SIHANOUK was that he managed to make the Cambodians dream : he guaranteed them peace, which is true, but he also gave them dreams. As far as the attachment to the pagoda is concerned, I think that there is, among peasants, a certain expectation of the return of Buddhism. Have they entirely abandoned their Buddhist beliefs ? I do not think so. It is true, they no longer have any bonzes, but one should know that in some provinces there were very poor miserable pagodas. You have seen pagodas in rich regions, but in the other regions, a pagoda was a miserable dwelling, falling into ruins, with one or two monks. I repeat, I think that one part of the peasants, the most miserable one, the poorest one, followed the Khmer Rouge leaders.

Per-Oyvind HERADSTVEIT : Mr. MEYER, if one can imagine an overthrow of the actual Cambodian regime, would such an event occur through an internal uprising or through an external intervention ?

C. MEYER : That is the whole question. Either the Vietnamese forces will invade Cambodia in order to overthrow the regime and install in its place a regime devoted to them, which is probably already formed, and here we face the perspective of a Chinese invasion or some other type of invasion, or something will happen from within. I am, personally, convinced that changes will come from within Cambodia. I do not know if it will be another revolution, but the revolutionary process which is going on now, is most definitely not finished.

Asbjørn EIDE : Mr. MEYER, I have a question concerning your statement about the execution of persons guilty of belonging to the old regime. You say, that the Cambodian revolutionaries do not believe in reeducation, and admit that without shame. Does this mean that practically all the higher officials and the military belonging to the old regime, have been executed and what figures would you give for the number of people who have been executed on these grounds ?

C. MEYER : I told you right from the beginning, that it was absolutely impossible to give any figures. For the simple reason that we do not know, and have never known the exact population of Cambodia. As to the liquidation of the officers' corps, we have testimonies showing that, indeed, there were mass liquidations, but how many, we do not have a single idea.

Eilif STRAUME : Mr. MEYER, you say, that in his speech of the 28th of September 1977, Prime Minister POL POT has implicitly admitted that excesses were committed. Could you, please, say more about it ?

C. MEYER : It is a very renown speech, which had been of a considerable importance. POL POT did not "admit". He did not say "We committed excesses". He said - I do not have the text under my eyes, approximately this : ".... if we commit, if we are going to continue committing excesses, the people will overthrow us", which was admitting, excesses had been committed.

Anders BRATHOLM : Mr. MEYER, do you think that the population which formerly lived permanently in the cities, will be allowed to return to the cities in some years, or do you think that they plan to leave the population permanently in the rural districts ? And another question, what about the monetary system ? Do you think they are going to reintroduce it ?

C. MEYER : As to the cities, the "punishment" of the population is going on and going on massively, without details. Nobody knows how long that will continue. It is very possible, that the population of Phnom Penh will never be allowed back to the capital. In the eyes of the revolutionaries, this population had been contaminated by a virus. A contaminated population has to be cured, if possible. If it is not possible, it has to be eliminated. I think that that is the spirit of this second phase of the Democratic Revolution. The people belonging to the former society do not have the possibility of being reeducated. As to the monetary problem, it presents a measure pushed to its extreme, an example of this pride of the Cambodian revolutionaries, who could thus affirm : "We have abolished money", which is finally, the dream of all human societies, we must admit. How will they proceed, in the future, with international trade ? They already have international trade. I have no idea, how this problem will be solved, because they buy things from Japan for about ten million dollars a year and pay in cash, and in dollars.

CHOU Try : You told us that all the executions, which have taken place in Cambodia under POL POT and that Mr. POL POT admitted it in his speech, which you quoted "were actually executions committed by lower cadres, lower-ranking officers", is this not a policy of the Khmer Rouge ?

C. MEYER : I think that it is right, and there are two aspects in the summary executions : those who have been decided at the higher level by the ANGKA, and those who are local happenings, village happenings. It is rather well known in all the revolutions when a small local leader just "overdoes" it and executes people according to his own will. Thus, there are two aspects in summary executions, but it is very difficult, I think, to distinguish, in the cases we have heard of, then one from another, and to know exactly if it came from the higher level, the medium one or the lower one. Those, who managed to

escape those executions do not know themselves who had given the orders.

A. EIDE : Two questions : first I would like to take up what you have just said about the "virus" of those, who have lived in the city. Does this imply that we shall see also in the future large-scale executions, not only of people who have had official positions or who have been rich merchants and so on, but also of those who have been exposed to city life ? My second question concerns a different kind of execution, which we were told about yesterday by the witness KONG SAMRACH, concerning the extreme sentences used against people having sexual intercourse. I wonder if you can, on the basis of your knowledge, of Cambodian traditions, explain firstly, if this is a deliberate policy, or something which just happened only in some places ? Secondly, why is this policy (if it is a deliberate policy) being pursued ?

C. MEYER : It is sure that this problem of the city dwellers, contaminated by the virus, concerns only the adult population. One can suppose that children will undergo a new type of education, and will not regret the ancient civilization, which, as I already mentioned was, as to Phnom Penh, not the real Cambodian civilization, but a hybrid one :: occidental, Chinese, Vietnamese everything you want, but certainly not Khmer. As to the punishments inflicted for sexual intercourse, it is known, that in the Asiatic World, as, by the way, with many revolutionaries, only chastity is revolutionary. There is this belief that abstaining from sexual relations, one is much more disposed to the revolution. There is this behaviour which we have seen in Asia, in China, in Vietnam, a bit everywhere. It is possible that there were cases when it went as far as executions. But I do not think one should generalize.

Victor SPARRE : Mr. MEYER, you said that the revolutionary development is not yet ended in Cambodia. What, in your opinion should we do : should we let them alone ? Is it at all possible to give any help from the West ? Do the Khmer people want any help from the West, and how do you evaluate this Hearing ? Can it give any positive help to give to the Khmer people ?

C. MEYER : There are, in this Cambodian affair, two distinct aspects : the first one being the violation of Human Rights. Nobody can remain indifferent to flagrant violations of Human Rights, wherever they take place, in Chile or in Cambodia. Therefore it is our duty to interfere, with all, of course non-violent means, with the authorities to stop these excesses. As to the Cambodian revolution itself, and to the actual Cambodian regime, one should not forget that the Democratic Kampuchea is a country which belongs to the United Nations, and whose regime is a purely Cambodian business. We must neither condemn it nor judge the Cambodian revolution.

The CHAIR reminds the panel that it should try to bring out the facts of the present situation in Cambodia, rather than to move into the direction of mapping out any way for the future as to how to develop strategy on the international level. I think that we should concentrate on trying to bring out the facts now, about the present situation in Cambodia.

PECH Lim Kuon : Mr. MEYER, you told us about massive bombings by the Americans, who crushed the Cambodian villages. Could you please precise what have been the consequences of that ? That was my first question.

C. MEYER : Two aspects of the Western intervention in Cambodian affairs have been forgotten : In 1970 this country had its own problems, that is for sure. There was a coup d'état, and there was an appeal which was helped a bit, by the Americans. The result of this appeal was the flow of dollars, generalized corruption in the city (the result of which is the punishment the city is undergoing today), and B-52 bombings in Cambodia. The hundreds of thousands of tons of bombs poured over Cambodia did not, as far as I know, raise many protests in the Western World. So, I think that today, it is maybe a way of cleaning our own conscience, when we accuse the Cambodians and Cambodians generally speaking, not only the Khmer Rouge, of behaving like savages. I think we should consider what has been done before, by us, or with the help of our indifference.

PECH L.K. : I should like to ask a second question. If I am not mistaken, you believe that the Khmer Rouge allowed the population to believe in Buddhism. Could you explain this more clearly ?

C. MEYER : The problem of Buddhism in Cambodia and of the place occupied by Buddhism is a very big one. I know that the current usual image was that all Cambodians are pious Buddhists, all Cambodians love their monks (there were 60.000 monks for a population of 7 million, one should admit that it is alot). There was, without doubt, a deep Buddhist faith. As to the attitude of Cambodia towards the Buddhist Church, I am perhaps more cautious considering my own observations, but I think Cambodians remain Buddhist. It is true that the regime abolished the pagodas, abolished the pagoda as a symbol, but I believe that even among the Khmer Rouge, a Buddhist faith is dormant.

U. NACCACHE : Mr. MEYER, we speak alot about executions in Cambodia since yesterday. However, I think everybody knows that from the total amount of deaths which occurred in Cambodia, those caused by the Khmer Rouge executions represent but a small proportion. Many more died from starvation, diseases and lack of medical help ; they number from fifteen to twenty times more than those dead from executions. We talked very little about those who died from lack of help or from the treatment they underwent. However, in your statement you say, that the Khmer Rouge succeeded pretty well, reinserting city dwellers in the agricultural world. How could you explain this enormous contradiction ?

C. MEYER : Of course, there has been an extraordinary amount of "waste" during the agricultural reinsertion, but there have been no revolts, no uprisings : all city dwellers left and went on the roads with a kind of resignation which in itself, is a rather puzzling problem. I said that the Cambodians succeeded in the agricultural sphere. As to the reinsertion in the villages, I should apologize, I am not that sure. But agricultural success is incontestable. They are exporting presently.

U. NACCACHE : At what price ?

C. MEYER : At what price ? Of course ...

Gunnar FILSETH : Mr. MEYER, as a previous adviser to Prince SIHANOUK, what information have you about the personal relationship between the Prince and Mr. POL POT and the other members of the ANGKA ?

C. MEYER : I think that before 1975, Prince SIHANOUK had never met POL POT. Maybe they met, when POL POT was in the palace as a child, but SIHANOUK was the same age, and if they met in some palace alley, they did not know each other. But SIHANOUK knew pretty well KHIEU SAMEHAN, the actual head of State. The others + of course, he met YENG SARI in Peking. He perhaps knew Sun Sen(?) there was of course HOU YOUN, but this one disappeared, and nobody knows where he is, the same with HOU NOM. He had normal relations with these people before 1966, but after 1966 things changed to the worse. I can tell you an interesting confidence: one day Prince SIHANOUK said to me : "If I would have been the son of a peasant, like HOU YOUN, I would have been at his place."

A.H. MOHN : Mr. MEYER, Cambodia used to be a big rice exporter. What is the situation today regarding food for themselves and export ?

C. MEYER : As to the local consumption, I think that that is a question to ask the Cambodian refugees, who can tell you exactly what has been their elementary regime during their stay in the country. I noticed, by the way, that this question has not yet been asked. I think that it is an important thing. As to the rice, we know today, that they exported one hundred thousand tons to Burma, and one hundred thousand tons to Singapore. We also know they exported a little rubber to Singapore (which I think, does not correspond to standard norms). In short, their foreign trade is still extremely rudimentary. I shall remind you that before the war, before 1970, Cambodia was exporting 450.000 tons of rice per year, and approximately 45.000 tons of rubber. They were the main items of Cambodian export.

P.O. HERADSTVEIT : I have two questions. The first : do you know what happened to Prince SIHANOUK ?

C. MEYER : I am more or less seeing his children regularly, who are in France and who do not have any news. The only information available comes from Chinese journalists, who passed by Phnom Penh, the last one being from Mr. VICTOROVITCH, a Yugoslavian journalists, who knew Prince SIHANOUK pretty well, who knew him before 1970. When VIKTOROVITCH was in Phnom Penh, he asked to see the Prince, but was told : "You know, the Prince is working very much, he is writing his memoirs and has no time to see you". That was the last indirect information we received.

P.O. HERADSTVEIT : My second question, if you allow is : where should one look for exact information ? In your statement, you quoted, among the information available to us, the reports of Chinese, Yugoslavian and Romanian journalists, which are in your opinion, the best informed journalists in the international press ? Whom could we trust ?

C. MEYER : There are two aspects : there are journalists who are invited to Cambodia, who knew nothing about Cambodia on beforehand, who are taken from one place to another, who are shown dams, model farms, etc., and who give a very partial view of things. These journalists become, consciously or not, propaganda agents for the regime. It is the same with all socialist countries. I think that those who really know but do not write about it, are the Chinese journalists. Of course, their conclusions are reserved for some other people, not for their papers. And I think that besides the testimonies by refugees, there is nothing about the situation in Cambodia. There is, of course, the analysis of the official speeches and the "picture" part we could glimpse through those Yugoslavian, or even Chinese journalists who have visited Cambodia. Pictures can speak.

Guri ULFRSTAD : Mr. MEYER, you said that before April 1975, there were sixty thousand Buddhist monks in Cambodia. And as the monks carry their saffron robes, they are easily recognizable. But I seem to remember that a witness here said, that you never see Buddhist monks anymore in their saffron robe. How do you explain that ? Where are they all ? Because you said that you think that Buddhism is still a part of the Khmer Rouge set up.

C. MEYER : I did not say that Buddhism was a component of the general picture of the Khmer Rouge. I said that it was probable that Buddhist sentiments were still dormant in the hearts of the Khmer Rouge. Next, I think that the sixty thousand monks, some dignitaires, have been executed (among them, the Venerable + Pan Khat (?) that we are almost sure, as well as the religious leader of the BATTAMBANG province). As to the ordinary monk, he was deprived of his saffron robe and sent to the rice paddy like everybody else. That is not difficult, you know. One is not a Buddhist monk for an entire life : one can be a monk for two, three, six months, one year, one can leave the pagoda at his own will. That happened if a monk committed a crime : his robe was taken away from him during a short ceremony in front of the pagoda, and he became an ordinary man.

V. SPARRE : I have a very simple question. We hear about people dying of hunger, and we hear about export of rice. My question is : is the farm land of Cambodia good enough to feed the population ?

C. MEYER : The Cambodian land is not as rich as some say. But, there is land enough to feed everybody abundantly and even more. The problem of the Cambodian rice paddy was a problem of output : before 1970, the Cambodian rice paddy had the lowest production in the whole of Southeast Asia, that is to say not even 1,2 tons per hectare. The aim of the revolutionaries (considering their exaggerations : they claim to achieve three crops a year, a feat which cannot be taken seriously) is two crops a year and double output : 2,5 tons per hectare. That is absolutely possible.

Tore STUBBERUD : Mr. MEYER, I should like to come back to the question about the development of the agriculture. My question is simple : could one imagine that the actual regime is exporting rice instead of giving it to eat to its own people ?

C. MEYER : It is very possible. The only one export product being rice, and since an import of some prefabricated goods is necessary (if only spare car parts, for instance), rice is sold and the population deprived of it.

T. STUBBERUD : One question more : do you know any figures ? What quantity of the production is eaten by the people, what quantity is exported ?

C. MEYER : There are of course no statistics here, but I think that here again one should ask the witnesses. It will be easy to figure out the production, if we know the quantity allotted to the people. I think, one of them said to us, that they were given two hundred grams at the time of the harvest. That represents hardly one third of a normal consumption by a working man.

KONG Samrach : Do you know, Mr. MEYER, what is the actual rice production in Cambodia, and can you compare the actual production of rice in Democratic Kampuchea to the production prior to the revolution ? If the crop is insufficient and if the Phnom Penh government continues exporting rice when this particular harvest is bad and the population therefore is deprived of food, should they, in your opinion, Mr. MEYER, continue exporting ?

C. MEYER : I repeat, we do not have figures about the rice production. I do not personally believe that the actual production has reached the 1970 level. It is certainly lower. One does not know the actual acreage of the rice paddies. One knows that in North Vietnam like in China, there are "model areas", where possibly, they manage to have two harvests and to reach 2,5 tons per hectare. It is probably possible. But how much land has been abandoned ? How much land is poorly productive ? Nobody knows. It will be interesting to ask the refugees about that - in their escape they crossed different regions of Cambodia. How did they judge the agricultural situation ? Crossing a rice paddy, a Cambodian knows almost immediately what will be the output of this paddy. But we have no figures, we are completely in the dark.

E. STRAUME : Mr. MEYER, you say that the radicalism and the excesses of the revolution in Cambodia are shocking the Western World and even the so-called advanced countries of Asia and of Africa. I should like to hear a bit more about this critic coming from Asiatic and African countries, if it is possible. Thank you.

C. MEYER : I shall not speak, of course, about Vietnam, whose critic is a priori suspicious. But I almost certainly know that the Chinese have been very troubled by the excesses of the Cambodian revolution. Even Koreans, and that is something. In other more moderate countries, I heard Thai revolutionaries saying that the Cambodians are going too far. I met last August Indonesian revolutionaries (underground ones, of course) saying to me : "But where are the Cambodians going ?" Revolutionaries are fascinated by the Cambodian affair, but also very troubled. They seem mad, but what revolution did not seem mad in its beginning ? Even the French revolution in 1789 !

PECH I.K. : Mr. MEYER, you said in your statement that the return of Prince SIHANOUK to power would solve all the problems. As far as I know, Prince SIHANOUK did not have any power since the coup of 1970, and even less after the liberation of Phnom Penh. I should like to know, what do you think about it.

C. MEYER : It is sure that the overthrowing of the monarchy in 1970 was something irreversible and it was accepted by the revolutionaries as such. But what is surprising is the general strong belief that Prince SIHANOUK could have been accepted as a real historical leader of the Cambodian revolution. That is a surprise. Well, it is not a surprise, to the Western World, since the Western World knew very little about Cambodian affairs. But what is strange, is that some portion of the Cambodian city dwellers were waiting for the return of Prince SIHANOUK which proves that the town population was totally cut from the reality of the Cambodian villages. Did Prince SIHANOUK believe in his return himself ? He said he did. But did he really think it ? He has so many faces in his personality, that it is hard to know. Could he have come back ? Why not, if the Americans would have thought of that fifteen days earlier. But in this case, the revolution would have continued : the war would not have been finished.

G. FILSETH : Mr. MEYER you know about the personal relationship between Prince SIHANOUK and the Chinese leaders. Do you think that the Chinese leaders actually would prefer another SIHANOUK regime or a regime lead by more moderate leaders than the present one ?

C. MEYER : It is sure that the Chinese would, internally, prefer a less conspicuous regime. That is evident. But the main task for the Chinese is to keep a regime which forms a barrier to the Soviet implantation, on the spot. I think that that is essential, and I think they are ready to defend any regime whatsoever which will oppose the Soviet influence and the Soviet interferences. The Chinese leaders will absolutely abstain from any interference in the internal affairs of such a country.

The CHAIR thanks Mr. Charles MEYER and gives the floor to Mr. OUM NAL.

TESTIMONY BY MR. OUM NAL

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Before starting my statement, I should like to apologize for the changes I introduced in my speech and in what I am going to say, there will be many repetitions from Mr. MEYER's speech. My manuscript, written by myself, had been sent here on beforehand, and I am going to try to read it to you. The difference with Mr. MEYER being that he is an expert, he is giving explanations, is reasoning, whereas myself, I live my document when I read it. I go down to the rice paddies, I live with the people, and I am ready to testify about events which happened at every turn of my adventures, of my life in Cambodia. The testimony I am going to present you now is based on my own experiences, lived by myself during a one year period; from the 17th of April 1975 to the 16th of April 1976. But before starting with the testimony itself, I should like to briefly project the picture of the Democratic Kampuchea for you once more.

There was, once upon a time a revolution not like other revolutions in that country. The most extraordinary of the revolutions, and a super "big jump". That was the slogan for us; all Cambodians who lived during the fall of Phnom Penh and who survived it. Extraordinary, because it is out of the ordinary. There are no similar examples. Super "big jump", because it scorches along the road and doing that, it naturally destroys everything which is on its way. Just imagine, that in a few days the country had lost two thousand years of history, traditions, culture and religion. There are no more schools, no

more education, no more families, no more freedoms, no more cities and no more money. It is also an original revolution, by its evacuations of the cities and of the provinces. A radical one, I shall come back to that later, as to the methods used by the Khmer Rouge.

I do not pretend to go deep into this problem, but I simply say that in order to attempt understanding all this, one has to go back to the beginning, i.e. to study the ideology of the actual leaders, which is beyond my competence. But what I heard so many times, and what is constantly repeated by the Khmer Rouge, is that the former millenary regime has to be destroyed and another one created in its place. To do that, a precise detailed plan has to be devised and put into practice, without any faults or any weaknesses.

These are its guidelines : evacuate the cities, annihilate the cities and the provinces. In doing that, the Khmer Rouge pursued several aims at once. By annihilating the cities, they were annihilating the social classes : bourgeoisie, traders and exploiters of all kinds. Once this achieved, it would be easier to build a new classless society, in a convenient cadre : the farmland, where there are no more, as they declared, exploiters and exploited, no more masters and servants. But in reality, in all the official documents, in the press of the Democratic Kampuchea, at the Phnom Penh radio, one always hears about the class of workers and of peasants. The last ones are divided into poor peasants and relatively poor. But the Khmer Rouge civil servants, and their soldiers are all passed over in silence as well as their cadres, so dreaded at all the levels. This leveling of the classes is something extremely important for the new Democratic Kampuchea. That was something they had to achieve first, in order to keep the promise made to their soldiers of the revolutionary army, and to the militant peasants who contributed to the final victory. Once the victory achieved, there were no more exploiting city dwellers, no more powerful feudals ; everybody was like everybody, everybody was equal, everybody was in the rice paddies.

The desire to annihilate classes was so strong that in some model villages, I myself lived, all the straw-sheds and barracks had the same dimensions, the same height - I took part in

the building of those myself. The ANGKA kept its promise : Once something is promised, it is due. The peasants and the soldiers were thus trusting the ANGKA. But once the classes were leveled, another big task was awaiting the leaders : to mould a new society in the image of a revolutionary peasant population, void of social shortcomings, loyal to the ANGKA, fighting and pugnacious, conscient, hard in work, always ready to blindly obey instantly orders from above. In order to achieve that, one has to "mould" the individual by subjecting him to a revolutionary test, transforming him into an individual devoted, with soul and body to the ANGKA, the party, cleaned of all the dirt from the former regime, up to the total elimination of any personal thought, any memories of the former regime, old times, any family nostalgia about one's parents and children, and even comfort. In order to achieve that, the Khmer Rouge multiply reeducation camps across the country which are also used as selection centres, with the elimination of those refractory or who cannot be recovered.

Doing away with cities means doing away with foreigners who were nursing the source of evil, of domination, importing reactionary ideas and all kinds of bourgeois vices and corruptions. This way, any kind of spying activity was banished, as well as any kind of plotting activity which could hinder the consolidation of the newly established regime.

Doing away with cities meant doing away with trading activity, the exploiting of peasants who never profited from it. To do this, one has to abolish money ; money is the biggest source of evil. Money corrupts the individuals, money generates all the hostile activity to the regime.

After the victory of the 17th of April 1975, to evacuate the cities meant to achieve a strategic goal : to prevent or to break any possible form of resistance. To empty the cities and to fill the country land was to solve the crucial problem of feeding the thousands of improductive parasites. Thus after the war, loud speakers, installed along the roads or the rivers kept hammering : the cities are made out of stone, out of concrete - one cannot get anything to feed oneself, there, whereas the rice paddies can provide food, once cultivated. All this is

by the way, the main idea of the actual leaders : one has to be self-sufficient, count only upon himself. This idea was immediately put into practice on the national level. Cambodia had to be self-sufficient, and not to owe anything to anyone. Thus the political consequences we know : political isolation of the Democratic Kampuchea, closing of the borders, up to the abusive suppression of any connections, even postal ones inside, as well as outside the country. The "self-sufficiency" order was totally observed, on all the levels of the system ; from the cooperatives, organized in different regions of the country, the regions, the *zônes*, the cantons, the communes, the villages down to the single individual.

According to the revolutionary theory, the single individual should also be self-sufficient, should be able to face any kind of situation ; to be able to find what to eat, where to shelter, what to wear. Only actions contrary to the revolutionary rules are forbidden.

In short, what the actual leaders would like, would be to make out of the tiny Cambodia, an entirely new society, cleansed, in an incredibly short time, of two thousand years of history, culture, civilization and religion : a society belonging, body and soul to a totalitarian dictatorship, to a collectivism where there is no more room left for any ideas of freedom and private initiative.

Their plan was established on a two-year basis, from the date of the victory in 1975, to reeducate politically and ideologically, the new population which had to be recuperated, and those refractory ; eliminated, the big purges having been conducted during the days immediately following the victory.

I apologize before this assembly, the time being very limited, it will be impossible for me to tell you about all the contents of my speech.

I shall speak thus about the administration and the framing up of the population, which have already been mentioned by a few of our friends : at the top, there is the supreme revolutionary directory, called the ANGKA. The ANGKA subdivides itself, infiltrates all the level of society and exists in all the hierarchies of the administration.

As to the army, which is very respected by everybody, it controls the roads, and ways of communication, keeps a watch on the security of the regime and can also take care of the reeducation of the youth, grouped into "mobile shock groups", used in the works where more hands and more efficiency are needed.

The sons and daughters of the "new people" cannot be recruited as revolutionary soldiers, only the sons of revolutionary peasants can.

The population is divided between the "old" and the "new" people. The "old" people or "basic people" are the former inhabitants of the areas liberated during the course of the war and who, in spite of themselves, joined the cause of the revolution. The "new" people are those evacuated from the towns and the provinces and who are treated not more and not less than prisoners of war ; they are accused of having supported the former regime. Everywhere, in the communes and the villages, the "old" population, also called "basic people", took part in the officering of the "new" people.

The "new" people does not have the right to move from one village to another, in doing so, one can face trial or be considered as a spy. There are rare cases of persons who could move, from one precise place to another, with the help of a special pass, in order to accomplish a mission ordered by the ANGKA. The ANGKA has the supreme, inviolable power. It has the power to requisition the services of any organism, whatsoever in the country, of any man, at any time, in any place.

As to the officering of the people, three steps could be distinguished during the first year I stayed there (April 1975 to April 1976) :

- the first step lasted from the 17th of April to the end of May or the end of June 1975 (depending on the regions and the distances the population had to travel) : it was the step of the "historical exodus", when all the inhabitants had to go in the countryside, and into the forests.

- the second step consisted of the installation of this people in different villages, without any consideration as to the demography or as to the acreage and fertility of the lands to

be exploited. But those responsible had to win time ; politically, economically and ideologically. The new people had to be quickly taken under control. So as soon as people reached the new villages, they were divided into working groups of one hundred to one hundred and fifty families each, according to the importance of the village. Each village had, at this time, from one hundred to one hundred and fifty families. Simultaneously, the social organizing was started by the directory committee of the village.

When the "battle for rice" started, there was also the beginning of sessions of political education for everybody, which took place about once every two evenings. Economically speaking, this mass of city dwellers, unproductive until now, had to be quickly thrown in the rice paddies, with the beginning of the cultivating rain season : end of June, beginning of July.

Before this moment, the idea of private property still existed or at least existed for a certain category of things : each family was allowed to have a patch of land, to cultivate vegetables in order to feed itself, and to build a straw-shed or a barrack for shelter. Each family was also allotted food distribution, consisting exclusively of rice and salt, and could cook its meals itself.

- The third step was the continuation of the second, with a more strict application of the rules of collectivism. That took place in March-April 1976. I want to stress, that I am mainly speaking of the Northwestern provinces, meaning the province of BATTAMBANG, where I was living. Thus, in the beginning of 1976, there were no more individual patches of land. Several families were sharing one barrack or house, without any internal wall or separations. The rationing and the family cooking was no longer tolerated. Everybody had to eat in the community refectory ; children apart from the adults. From this time on, everything which existed in the country, belonged to the ANGKA -- from a chicken, an egg, a tree to a fruit. Nobody could touch any of those things, since that was a violation of the ANGKA's property.

Finally, the population was requested to get rid of all of its belongings, and to do that in joy, praying good fortune to be

able to serve the ANGKA' - to get rid of a husband, of a wife, of children. Sessions of brainwashing and ideological reeducation became more and more intensive, and picking up of the former technicians and intellectuals was more and more frequent and widespread. It was during such a selection that I was myself picked up and sent to a concentration camp in the BATTAMBANG Province on the 10th of January, to get out only on the 6th of April 1976. But many of us left these concentration camps only for farther unknown destinations.

As to the organization of the work itself, the work is based on a classification of individuals according to their physical resistance, their strength. The population was thus divided into three categories of strength :

- Strength 1 : individuals from 17-18 to 60 years of age, the best productive group, used for any hard work : forest cleaning, hard rice paddy work, erection of dams and if necessary, plough pulling in the place of animals. And I have seen this and I lived this.
- Strength 2 : individuals with weak health : pregnant women, women who just delivered babies, able to deal only with household and kitchen work.
- Strength 3 : old people, as well as very small children (from 6-7 to 12-13 years of age). The old men were busy weaving, yarnning, making basketry, small woodwork and repairing of artisanal agricultural tools. The old women took care of the newborn babies. The small children were herding the field animals, feeding them and gathering their excrements which were used as fertilizers.

This social organization was already sophisticated in the province of BATTAMBANG, when I was there in the beginning of 1976 : the population was structured like in the army. The inhabitants were grouped into cooperatives (the medium sized cooperative numbers one thousand families), divided into regiments (four regiments each). Each regiment is subdivided into battalions, then into companies down to groups of ten, then three persons. In each three person group, one person is responsible for the two others, and everybody is watching one another. At the head of each formation there is a leader, responsible, among other things for the distribution of the work.

That kind of army like structure is not only convenient as far as the distribution of responsibilities is concerned : its main task is to supervise the security and to maintain control. Among every thirty to forty person group, there is always a spy who has to report to the ANGKA every slightest deviation in behaviour. This led to an original expression : "the pineapple-eyed ANGKA", comparing the organization to this multi-eyed fruit.

The division of work is as follows : there are the workers who are working in the towns or in the provinces, where they tried to put some of the factories which remained from the old regime back into function. And some small factories like, for instance, factories producing current consumption goods, started to work (bicycle tire factories, cigarette factories, fabrication of dry batteries). The agriculture is taken care of by the second group : the peasants, who are actually in the "traditional agriculture" stage, based on the use of human labour and empiric agricultural tools : the plan was to build the country out of nothing, out of a rudimentary culture and then to progress in a new way. When progress will be achieved, the mechanization will be used in agriculture. The last stage will be the industrialization.

As to the working schedule, just imagine a whole country transformed into one huge working camp, whose people have even lost the notion of dates. In my time, there were only three days of holiday a year, and even that was to celebrate the victory of the 17th of April. That was the opportunity I used to flee Cambodia. The whole country works by the ring of the bell, ten, twelve or even more hours a day, depending on the area. The working day starts at 6.00 and goes on till 11.30 on an empty stomach, since we are allowed only two meals a day. In the afternoon we work from 13.00 to 17.50, under the scorching sun or under rain. Sometimes, depending on special circumstances, (on the areas and on the time of year), there are night shifts from 19.00 to 21.00 or even to 23.00.

As to the food and meals, the party said : only those who work have the right to eat. The sick adults and the children get only half of the ration, the ration consisting exclusively of rice and salt. We were given one hundred and fifty grams of

rice a day (half of a Nestlé condensed milk can) per person and that for the four months which followed the evacuation of the cities. Towards the end of 1975, and in the beginning of 1976, the ration was increased to three hundred grams per person per day (that is, in the BATTAMBANG Province). Please note that the normal quantity of rice used by a Cambodian in the old times was from six hundred to eight hundred grams and that was an addition to other things we used to eat. The salt, other indispensable basic aliment, was given in the quantity of one kilogram per family of eight to ten persons a month. No meat, no poultry, no fat, no oil, not even any fish — this basic Cambodian food, abundant in the Cambodian lakes and rivers. No sugar either. Some privileged people could get a little, exchanging it for other things, which is officially forbidden. So, the people was left to find other things by itself, as it could. So, as soon as the meal time arrived, everybody rushed to the swamps or to the nearby forests, to look for some complements to their diet : roots, comestible tree trunks, leaves, fruits, which often brought up cases of alimentary intoxication.

As to the public health, I witnessed hallucinating things in the hours which followed the victory of the Khmer Rouge : the assassination, without exception, of wounded and sick people in all the civilian and military Cambodian hospitals, as soon as the revolutionary guerillas arrived. The doctors, the surgeons and the medical personnel were the first to be thrown out in the streets : I had myself to leave my hospital wearing the overgarment. Those, of the patients who could move by themselves, or who could be assisted by their families were found dead a few days later, along the road I followed myself. Some of them were on stretchers, some in wheelchairs. I recognized some of the stretchers which belonged to humanitarian organizations.

During the exodus towards the countryside, no kind of medical assistance was provided, so in the middle of this hottest Cambodian month of the year, April, old, sick, exhausted people children were dying every day from amoebian dysentheria, from dehydration. The lack of food and bad hygienic conditions did not improve the situation. People were eating and sleeping on the ground right near dead corpses and excrements.

Later on once the installation in the villages completed, nothing was done to help the people : those fallen sick were doomed to die. I witnessed myself, in different villages, several deaths of children. This happened not only to the "new" people, but to the "old" people, surrounding us, as well. I often had to treat militant peasants ; but secretly, since they were themselves afraid of violating the revolutionary rules. That was in the area situated at thirty kilometers from Phnom Penh, in the Phnom Praseth region.

In the course of the last quarter of 1975, there were hospitals in some communes, with some hospital beds. But it was hospitals just by name ; there were no possibilities of establishing any diagnoses, or of curing people there, because the revolutionary personnel there was made up of nurses with three months training and thus incompetent. We only had medicaments from local pharmacopea, and I witnessed, in several places, the preparation of those medicaments out of leaves, roots, tree marrow, crushed and made into pills. The only injectable solutions were the vitamin C (C-vita in Cambodian), kept in old penicillin bottles found all around and therefore hygienically speaking, very dubious as well, as the physiological serum, locally made and bottled in soda-bottles.

In the different regions I had been deported to, it was very difficult getting a permit for hospitalization; even for the "old" people and even for the revolutionaries. (They were afraid ANGKA will think they are lazy, I witnessed it.) I lived for two months with the committee which had the task of welcoming the "new" people, and stayed close to the Khmer Rouge for two months). As to the ordinary people, they wanted to be admitted in the hospitals not so much to be cured as to be able eat more ; the meals were a bit bigger there.

I want to tell you in a few words how the reeducation was carried ^{out} in the camps for intellectuals, and the cultured people, called "techniciens" in Cambodian. There is a new vocabulary now, and when one speaks of "technicians", he means all the intellectuals, all the cultured people ; professors, doctors, engineers, down to the specialized workers and the students.

The map behind me is the map of the province of BATTAMBANG; the main province of Cambodia, the main rice producer and where many prisoner's camps are built. In January 1976, the Democratic Kampuchea had promulgated the new constitution which was proclaimed on the 5th of January 1976. The next day, they came to fetch us, saying we were invited to a big meeting of information about the Democratic Kampuchea, during which the new constitution will be read to us. We were three hundred and ninety seven to take part in this meeting from my village (which was located Northwest of the big lake, at twenty-one kilometers from SISOPHON). The meeting took place in a pagoda transformed into a reeducation centre. Long barracks were built for us, surrounded by barbed wire, and we were surprised to see, towards the evening, that we were surrounded by soldiers. We were given some food, and the next day, the meeting started after a hearty meal. A representative of the province (corresponding to a governor of the former regime) opened the seance and made a summary speech on the situation in Cambodia, and on the contents of the new constitution. Once the constitution read, this governor invited all of us to speak, saying that the ANGKA was very happy to have us with it, and that later, providing we remain faithful to the ANGKA, we shall be reeducated, then recuperated and even, maybe, sent to work in different services like in the old times. We were given a kind of psychological test ; everyone was given a piece of paper, and asked to write down his autobiography ; everything from the past, the family, former profession, activities. At the end, we were asked to express our wishes : ANGKA would be happy we express our wishes. That was the biggest trap, unfortunately, especially for our young people, our students of law, of medicine, who asked to speak in public : they were still used to speak freely. Thus, they publicly asked for the re-opening of the universities, the rehabilitation of Buddhism and the monks, and the reunification of the families. Only the following day we realized, we were led into a trap - it was merely to test, to see if we still were reactionaries.

The CHAIR has to stop the witness, the president was very liberal with time :

We are now going to give the word to the examining panel, but before that, it is my pleasure to introduce a new member of the presidential

board which had not been able to take part in the conference before, Mr. KARSTENSEN, who is a member of Parliament for the social-democratic Party and who is one of the presidents of the Parliament. We wish you a hearty welcome, among us, Mr. KARSTENSEN. Now I am going to give the word to the examining panel and I remind you, that we are going to make it a little easier for you to follow up your questions, in the way that you can ask more than one additional question, but please, short questions and to the facts.

Albert-Henrik MOHN : Could we please have the ending of the story you were just telling us, Please ?

OUM Nal : With pleasure Sir, and I want to apologize myself for having badly calculated my timing.

Near the city of BATTAMBANG there is a prison, built under the French protectorate and that is where we were brought after this meeting. As I said previously, at this meeting we were asked to express our wishes and that was the trap. The next morning a part of us were taken away in trucks and driven preceded by a military jeep, but the majority remained and it was proceeded farther with the "exams". The routine went on day after day, without any changes whatsoever : five times, we were given a piece of paper, five times we had to write all over again. The explanation was given as follows : the majority among us, is loyal, but some are not yet loyal, and do not yet show their loyalty towards the ANGKA. Those, among us, who understood it was a trap, who persisted in repeating the same answers, and the same conclusion, those who said they were ready to sacrifice everything for the ANGKA and wanted to remain peasants, received the best marks. That is what I did myself. Nevertheless, I was taken to prison along with forty-four other colleagues, ten friends of mine, medical doctors, some engineers I knew too; professors, teachers and medical students. At the gates of the city of BATTAMBANG - an empty city - there was a military chief stopping all the convoys. He stopped our bus, took a list with twelve names, among whom three doctors I knew, and nine other persons, some engineers, who received their education abroad (one in Czechoslovakia, one in Australia and one in the USA). The ANGKA said it was taking them back to Phnom

Penh. For those, who lived through the deportation period, to take somebody back to Phnom Penh meant simply to take to a destination unknown, from which they will never return. Those, who stayed, more than thirty of us, were taken to this prison and stayed there, working forcibly inside and outside the prison. Here too, we underwent political reeducation sessions, every third or fourth evening. Here too, we went through the same "exams"; the selection was permanent. New prisoners were permanently arriving. The twenty comrades who were taken away from us previously arrived too, they had been first taken to SISOPHON. Their hands were roped behind their backs, their feet were chained. The soldiers unlocked the chains in front of us, while we were working, and we saw the scars on their hands. We did not recognize them, so much had they changed in twenty days, smelling very bad, covered with skin diseases.

The CHAIR : Thank you Mr. MORN for giving him the opportunity to give us the last of his facts and thus making the prophecy of the president come through.

Richard NATIONS : Dr. NAL, I would like to ask you, apart from the medics that you saw dead on the roadside during the evacuation of Phnom Penh, did you personally witness any people executed or tortured, and if so, how many, and by what means ?

Oum NAL : Fifteen days after my deportation from the capital, on National Road No. 5, along the River TONLE SAP, at about fifteen kilometers to the North of the capital, I witnessed, by chance, a summary execution ; the first one I saw along this road. It was very warm, about 14.00, I took a rest by my car (one could take his car along, at this time, though one had to push it). I suddenly saw, coming from a truck standing across the road, a man dressed in black and armed with a gun, and in front of him, a young man, his shirt rolled around his neck. They came down from the road (it was a road built atop a dam). Two hundred-three hundred meters further on, and when I started to really follow this, all of a sudden and before the boy had time to turn his head, the gun fired. I saw the dust rising then heard two other shots. The body did not move anymore, and disappeared in the grass under the road. Later on, when I approached the truck (the truck had already left), I discovered

the reason for all this : this truck, for the first time since the deportation brought some rice to the evacuated "new" people. There was alot of people around, so many that one could hardly move. I asked around and I also saw this truck proceeding with rice distribution farther. I was told that this boy cheated on rice : each family was allotted about three kilograms of rice, but this boy maybe hungry and perhaps having a big family to feed, presented himself three times and was caught the third time and executed. This is the story of this first execution I witnessed with my own two eyes.

R. NATIONS : Do you believe the reports that we have heard of mass executions and summary tortures ?

Oum NAL : In order not to speak about things I have not witnessed with my eyes proper, I shall allow myself only to report the following : I had personal connections with a former male nurse, who served the Khmer Rouge and who, in December 1975, was part of the welcome committee for the "new" people at the SISOPHCN Railway station. I was a sort of his protégé, and could thus come close to this welcome committee. There were fourteen of us, including me, and I lived two months with them, and I kept close to all the problems - not that I took part in them, but often, pretending to work, overheard their talks. I did not dare ask my friend any questions myself, that was a strong offense - but he told me one day by himself, that among the SISOPHCN population and the population of the surrounding small towns, all those who belonged to the former regime administration : the chiefs of the villages, the chiefs of ten or fifty houses groups the customs officers, the policemen, had all been taken away, executed and buried with a bulldozer. He told me that himself, and I only repeat what he told me.

Another day, we went to fetch sweet potatoes and manioc, I was not part of this expedition, but before they left, a Khmer Rouge told them that they will have to follow one side of the road, because on the other side there are plenty of bones.

Asbjørn EIDE : My first question concerns the health in the rural areas and the excesses in the health services. How would you compare the excesses in the health services for poor peasants after the takeover, with the situation which prevailed before the takeover ?

O. NAL : Yes, you mean, what is the difference between the health service offered to the peasants under the old and the new regime ? I can tell you that Cambodia, under SIHANOUK or under LON NOL, was not very rich in medical centres in remote villages though in every province there were means allowing to face ordinary health problems. There was always a big hospital, always small district hospitals, health centres in all the cantons. Of course, it was not sufficient, but at least the peasants in this time, even if they had to go far away, and travel a bit longer, could always come and ask for medical help. And there was the minimum which was necessary to save them.

After the 17th of April, there was, as I told you, in the last quarter of 1975, field hospitals in some communes (I am speaking about the Phnom Praseth area, thirty kilometers to the Northwest of the capital) : I saw wounded people carried away. There were many land mines and bombs in this area, and when the Phnom Penh inhabitants arrived to reclaim the forests, the bombs exploded, wounding people. One afternoon, I saw a wounded person transported in a hammock, asked about it and was told there was a hospital in the communal centre.

But I saw later on, in the BATTAMBANG region, how these hospitals were made : they were headed by old men from the old time, healers, who were, with the help of children, cutting leaves and roots, grinding them and mixing with manioc flour in order to produce pills. Pills of all sorts. And, rare thing in this revolution, you could even obtain rice alcohol; usually you could not get it, but here, if you had a disease which necessitated an alcohol mixed mixture, you could get it. But that was all, curing with the help of traditional pharmacopea

A. EIDE : My second question was, whether any real changes took place in the peasants' situation and I would like you to tell us whether in the field of nutrition (you mentioned that the fish from the lakes had been a kind of staple food before but not anymore) was it prohibited or not to eat fish, or what happened to the fish ?

O. NAL : I shall ask you something : how is it that you, in the West, have not asked one question : how did those millions of city dwellers, which were deported, manage to survive since they were hardly given any food at all ? There is one thing, which is true, but for you it is hard to believe : in the Phnom Praseth area, where I was, the rice paddies were sandy-soiled and one could not hope finding anything edible there. But as soon as the paddies were flooded and the rains started, the fish appeared, small fish. And there was fish everywhere, even in the puddles on the streets; passing by a street, one could see fish playing in the puddles, and wonder if this fish did not fall there from the sky. It was one thing seeing the fish; and another thing going to catch it. We had only one hour free time after lunch, and that is when everyone would run to do what he could - catch fish, gather vegetables, etc. It was not forbidden. But we could not go to the big lake, which was far away to catch fish there. Cambodia is literally bursting with fish, crabs and so on, and without this slot more people would have already been dead.

Gunnar FILSETH : Dr. NAL, you said you were expelled from your hospital on the 17th of April. Could you give us some more details about that ? Were you forced to go before your patients, or did you leave together with them ? Did you see them on the road later on ? Could you describe their condition?

O. NAL : The 17th of April 1975 was a day of confusion and of joy, mixed with fear and dread. I lived at about one kilometer from the hospital, where I had been nominated chief assistant doctor in 1972 and was responsible for its administration and its functioning. The 17th of April, I put an arm band on my left arm, took my overalls and decided it would be better going to the hospital in my overalls, with a Red Cross flag on my car (it was still curfew). I arrived at the hospital at 8.30. On my way, I crossed some Khmer Rouge who entered the city in small groups of two, three, and five, and which were not numerous. I did not pay very much attention to them and arrived in the hospital where I met my colleagues (almost all of them had received their formation in Paris). The first thing I did, was to go to see those who had been wounded the day before, the 16th of April, from strong bombings and fierce battles which took place North of the capital, around the National Road No.5.

There were about twenty people in the selection hall, where I went every day with multiple fractures, abdominal wounds, thoracic wounds, screaming and waiting for help. Since it was curfew, there was a lot of confusion and much of the personnel from the hospital was not able to come. I called for the surgeons, but the first ambulance car I sent, did not return. I got no news from the second one either. I managed to reach one of the surgeons by phone, and he told me that in his area, at the South of Phnom Penh, there was something happening, some public tremor and soldiers arriving. I was busy with my wounded, hands full of physiological serum, asking the nurses to proceed with perfusions, when a soldier arrived and asked me : "Comrade, what are you doing ?" I answered him, I was looking after my last patients and giving them help. This young soldier, his face blank, obviously did not want to hear more, and said : "Comrade, our revolutionary doctors will replace you, and you will be invited to leave the hospital." I did not leave the hospital immediately, I thought that maybe a mistake was made, after all, this chap was young and could perhaps not make the distinction between a doctor and a nurse. I went back to the wounded. There were about twenty of them, waiting their turn to be operated, on the rolling beds, at the doors of the operating room. Members of the Khmer Red Cross were proceeding with blood transfusions. I asked how many surgeons were there in the surgery and was answered : two, who could not stand it anymore, so much work had fallen on them. I went down to see those, who came to give us a hand, and went to see my friend, the chief doctor, to report to him about the situation. Half an hour later, a male nurse came in and told me that all the nurses had been ordered to leave the wards. That was about 10.30. At about 11.30, there was a tremor across the whole hospital, I saw people walking all around and then, a nurse came in saying that not only the nurses, but even all the sick had to leave. That was hard to believe. What was going to happen, if the sick had to leave the hospital ? I asked a Khmer Rouge, standing by the door : "How is it that even the sick have to leave ?" He answered very briefly, but without hatred, that he received a very precise order from the ANGKA : Everybody had to be evacuated and that was all.

G. FILSETH : Dr. NAL, could you describe the state of these patients, when you saw them later on, on the road ?

O. NAL : It was luck, I had to take the National Road No.5, which is exactly leading to my hospital. I told you that during the last years and months, I had been responsible for this hospital, which was receiving help from humanitarian organizations, American and others. I recognized our hospital stretchers pretty well, I recognized our hospital rolling beds, our stretchers, down the road ditches. I saw corpses, but I cannot tell you I recognized any of our sick in them. But I saw some of my patients alive, with infected abdominal wounds, lying on their stretchers, the perfusion serum still hanging over them. I saw a young man, with an extremely infected wound in his back, worms were swarming in the wound. Out of sheer luck, I had some strong antiseptic on me, an American one, which I poured on his wound to kill these worms. Later on, a few months after the evacuation of the capital, I found one of my patients, who was still carrying an artificial anus, i.e. the large intestine, taken directly outside. He saw me and asked me if he had still chances of staying alive.

Anthony PAUL: ~~As to the~~ persons conducting the series of examinations on you, which you mentioned earlier, what do you estimate was their educational level ?

O. NAL : I can tell you whatever rank and whatever class they belonged to in the revolution, they have very often hidden their identity and were known only by assumed names. For instance, one of the "governors", a chief of canton, was named HUN, but that was not his real name. I did not know his real name, but I know he had been a teacher under SIHANOUK, who adhered very early to the revolutionary cause. He was usually assisted by one or two aids, whereas one morning, there was, among those aids, a person whom I knew and who was in the group of revolutionaries I was staying with (due to the help of my friend, the nurse), whose name was CHOT, and who was a former regime professor, teaching English in a college, and who had, therefore a high education. I cannot tell you about the others, since I did not know them.

Ursula NACCACHE : You were with other doctors in the Northwest of the country. You were doing a peasant's job, you were working in the rice paddies. You are a doctor, not an agricultural worker. Who was then, doing the doctors' job ? Was it peasants

who became doctors, and who were treating the wounded ? What was the educational level of those who did your work from then on ?

O. NAI : I was lucky to be part of this "welcome to the new population" committee, and I should add that the canton of SISO-PHON was one of the best organized in the BATTAMBANG Province.. Train loads of people were pouring into this province : every second or third day, there was one train with two to seven thousand people in it, arriving to bring more people, to populate this rice-rich province. That is why probably, a hospital was organized at the railway station itself and thanks to the protection of the nurse, I could meet a young revolutionary doctor, the brother of the canton chief I told you about before. I was, of course, very careful approaching him and abstained from asking dangerous questions. I did not know about his past, I had never met him, when he was studying medicine, though I knew many medical students, being, myself a teacher at the stomatological faculty. But I was told he was a simple nurse. I cannot tell you more. Anyway, I did not have the possibility of getting in touch with revolutionary doctors, I only visited the places, where sick people were looked after, through the intermediary of this comrade doctor. But, being very impartial and without accusing him, I can tell you that it seemed to me that he did not possess a great deal of medical knowledge. One day, a problem arose : setting up a maternity ward in SISO-PHON. The wife of my protector-nurse was to become the senior midwife there. I knew her : she had been a village midwife previously, and one day, her child was wounded and she took it to me ; that is how I met her. Now, she had to become responsible for a maternity which was still empty. She, then asked me to translate from a French medical book, the lessons on obstetrics. We had to do that secretly, not to be exposed to the critics of the other revolutionary comrades.

So, for the time being, there are hospitals here and there, but which are headed by old time healers or by nurses, who received a three-month formation. This chief of canton affirmed, the nurses were formed in three months and the doctors and surgeons - in six months.

U. NACCACHE : You spoke of malnutrition and lack of food. The rations were about one third of what was needed for survival. What diseases have you noticed in the villages, which were due to this malnutrition ? What was the mortality in your village for malnutrition ?

O. NAL : I do not think it necessary to be a doctor in order to be able to recognize these things. I am still speaking of the SISOPHON Station, where I could welcome the incoming train convoys. Thousands of people passed before my eyes and I could scrutinize my own people, all in not recognizing it anymore. It was like in the movie: people I had met 6 months ^{before} in Phnom Penh could no longer be recognized ; either they had become too skinny, walking skeletons, weak, pale, or on the contrary, swollen with oedema. I could hardly recognize some of my friends ; their hair became white within a six month period. It was almost like a movie make-up. Everytime a convoy would arrive, young soldiers would be waiting with hammocks, instead of stretchers in order to carry those who were seriously sick. I saw many people with legs swollen with oedema ; polycerebral oedema, due to a lack of everything the organism needs. These oedemas were so swollen that sometimes they were bursting and a liquid would pour out of them. Among the young people, whom I think were more resistant, there were many deaths due to dysentheria, caused by these deficiencies. I overheard the doctor, responsible for this hospital, who was in a big anxiety, and who once came to me asking me secretly how is it that 90% of the young girls did not menstruate anymore. I carefully answered that this problem had to be taken right from the beginning and that these girls did not menstruate anymore because of nutrition deficiencies and diverse psychic traumatisms.

The CHAIR : We thank you very much, Mr. Oum NAL, for your very interesting information. We are sorry to interrupt you. The President thinks you should know about the statement given today by Mr. CARTER on the Cambodian question. The text is as follows :

"America cannot avoid the responsibility to speak out in condemnation of the Cambodian government, the worst violator of human rights in the world today. Thousands of refugees from Cambodia have

accused their government of inflicting death on hundreds of thousands of the Cambodian people through the genocidal policies it has implemented over the past three years. Witnesses have recounted abuses that include mass killings, inhuman treatment of the supporters of the previous government, the forced deportation of urban dwellers, and the total suppression of recognized political and religious freedoms, as well as deprivation of food and health care for the general population. Summary executions continue in Cambodia today, and fear of the authorities is pervasive. This supports the growing international protest against the policies of this inhuman regime. On April the 7th, the Canadian House of Commons, in the unanimous motion, expressed the horror of all its members, in acts of genocide carried out in Cambodia, and called on all governments, which maintain relations with Canada, to protest against the slaughter. In the private sphere, a Norwegian Committee supported by leaders of the major Norwegian Political parties, will hold hearings in Oslo, beginning today to illuminate through public testimony the tragic situation existing in Cambodia. Amnesty International has issued an appeal to the Cambodian government, to respond to allegations of continuing summary killings in that country. We welcome and applaud these initiatives. We also welcome the recent action taken by the United Nations' Human Rights Commission, which, this year, in consequence of a British initiative, adopted by consensus a resolution asking the Cambodian government to respond to allegations of Human Rights violations. The American government again condemns the abuses of Human Rights which have occurred in Cambodia. It is an obligation of every member of the international community to protest the policies of this, or any nation, which cruelly and systematically violates the rights of its people to enjoy life and basic human dignities."

We shall now proceed with the next witness, who is Mr. EAR Soth.

TESTIMONY BY MR. EAR Soth :

Mr. Chairman of the Hearing, Norwegian Government, peoples of the whole world who love freedom,

My name is EAR SOTH, I am 40 years old, and I was born in the village of SRANG, located in the KONG PISEI Canton, in the province of KOMPONG SPEU. My profession was prospector of precious gems in the BOR PAÏLIN Canton.

On the 17th of April 1975, when the Khmer Rouge seized power, I was nominated, by them, as commissar for the order and security service in the Khmer-Thai border region. I was responsible for the zone located between PAÏLIN and KOM RIENG.

At this time, I was able to gather automatic weapons and cannons spare parts for the Khmer Rouge, and filled twenty-eight GMC trucks with them. In the night of the 20th of April 1975, at about 22.00, I was patrolling, with the Khmer Rouge in an area located between BOR TAING SOU and OLAK. During that night, I saw several hundreds of refugees, attempting to cross the border in this area, and I witnessed the shooting of these hundreds of refugees by the Khmer Rouge, who used automatic machine guns, mortars 60mm, M 79 and B 40 mortars. After the shooting, more than one hundred bodies were found, and forty-three persons were arrested. Among these forty-three persons, the majority were women and children. These forty-three prisoners were taken by the Khmer Rouge and kept in the pagoda of BOR TAING SOU. Here, after having interrogated these forty-three persons, the Khmer Rouge piled them in one Landrover and one Jeep and drove to about three hundred meters from the pagoda and shot them with automatic rifles, letting no one escape.

The 25th of April 1975, the Khmer Rouge had deported the population of PAÏLIN towards the province of BATTAMBANG by the National Road No. 10 (N.R.10). During this deportation, there were so many people (PAÏLIN had 380,000 inhabitants) and alot of them were so tired that they abandoned their belongings everywhere on the roadsides ; they no longer had the strength to car-

ry them. These belongings included stranded cars, motorcycles, bicycles, clothing, food and alot of other things. At 7 kilometers from PAİLİN, I saw, with my own two eyes three big heaps of corpses (about one hundred of them altogether). The corpses were already decomposed and were emitting such an unbearable smell, that it was hardly possible for us to walk among them. Five kilometers further, near a village called PANF ROLIM, I saw two other big heaps of corpses, in uniforms, of the soldiers of the republic. The majority of them had shoulder bands and I suppose that they were superior officers. I evaluated to about seventy, the number of corpses in this place. I also found there, a baby of about two months, abandoned by its exhausted mother, under an unbrella, to protect it from the blazing sun : it was unbearably hot. Nobody paid any attention to this poor baby, for fear of execution or condemnation by the Khmer Rouge. I could also see small children who had lost their parents, and who were crying, screaming, imploring the people to help them, but no one paid any attention to them. They were afraid.

At the Bridge No. 7, I met a certain Mr. NET, whom I knew, who implored me to help him ; his wife had just given birth to a baby on the roadside of R.N. 10. A ring of people formed around the lady, to bring her help. A heavy rain started falling and the lady was carried under the Bridge No. 7, but she was losing alot of blood, and nobody could help her. The mother and child died very shortly after. During the night, people were lying on the roadsides, scattered everywhere, without even looking for a decent place to rest, so exhausted were they. As there was not room enough on the roadsides for everyone, others were always moving forward, along the road ; they could not stop, even if they were dying of exhaustion and lack of sleep ; those behind kept pushing ahead, to make them move further on. Even though this area is a very quiet one, the road going through the mountains and forests, people kept moving on until dawn. When there was suddenly room on the roadsides, people pressed their steps quickly past these spots : bodies of people who had died during the night lay there emitting a pestilential smell. I have often seen the Khmer Rouge driving GMC trucks and looking, in the crowd, for the families of former policemen, gendarmes and military men, and upon finding them, would take them into the trucks and drive them down the side roads to unknown destinations for purposes no one knew either.

Along N.R. No.10, there were often Khmer Rouge roadblocks, to search us : and were looking for military or civil servants. At the slightest doubt, arrest was immediate.

Later, we reached the TRENG Pagoda. There was a tremendously big open space inside, but no matter how big it was, it could not contain all the people. This place was a former military camp, and there were many engagements between the former regime army and the Khmer Rouge here. Many bomb shells and other explosives were lying here, some of which were unexploded, and when people walked over them, they exploded, killing and injuring many people. Those wounded were taken to the hospital, but the Khmer Rouge paid no attention to them whatsoever.

Along the road which led to SAMLAUT region, on the shore of the River DANG TONG, I saw another pile of dead bodies, about one hundred of them. A bulldozer was burying them. The people were extremely tired but were not allowed to stop : Khmer Rouge guards were standing along the road, their rifles pointed at the crowd. From time to time, they would shoot in the air to scare people and to make this human tide move faster, thus reaching their destination faster.

The 29th of April 1975, we arrived in the village of SDAU and the Khmer Rouge had confiscated all our belongings : whether they be cars, motorcycles or other. We were ordered to leave the N.R. 10 and follow a dirt road instead. Seeing as it rained the whole previous night, people tried to make their way through the mud and through enormous puddles of water on the roads. The old ladies and children were not able to follow the general movement, they cried, implored to help them, not to abandon them there.

The 1st of May 1975, I arrived in KOMPONG KOL, and there I was ordered by the Khmer Rouge to take part in the sugar works as a simple worker. At KOMPONG KOL, we were given each a seven kilo box of rice for 10 days, whereas the children got a three kilo one. A family would receive five hundred grams of salt for ten days. But this food was given only to those who worked in the sugar works. I, personally, stayed and ate there for three weeks then there were no distributions anymore, and we were ordered to eat together in a common dining hall. For one

month we were given there, only rice soup and one month later, different vegetables were mixed in with this soup. (there were for instance, green vegetables mixed with chunks of banana tree trunks). Those who were not working in the sugar works, went very hungry : they worked alot for the Khmer Rouge, but had to solve their own food problems themselves. They were digging sweet potatoes in different places, gathering some fruits or vegetables wherever they could. I stayed at the sugar works for about three months. One morning at 6.00 when all the workers would stay in ranks at the entrance of the factory in order to be counted and controlled, as every morning, a Khmer Rouge leader whose name was RETH, pulled a young 19-year old girl out of the ranks, and executed her in cold blood, with three gun shots. Others were then ordered to take the body and throw it in the River KOMPONG KOL. Towards the middle of 1975, the same Khmer Rouge leader RETH, took three families of the sugar works away in a GMC truck, lying to them, saying they were going to work at another sugar factory, in the KOMPONG TRAM Region. These three families were : Mr. KE SUY HOK, engineer-agronome, manager of a plantation, his wife and two children ; Mr. UK TEK, head of department, his wife and two children ; Mr. THIM DUONG, general manager, his wife and two children, plus his eighteen-year old sister. One hour later, we saw the same truck coming back, carrying seven or eight armed Khmer Rouge, and a bunch of clothes, which those three families had taken along with them. And those families were not to be seen again. Some days later, the workers of the factory managed to find their bodies, abandoned in an orange grove, near the River KOMPONG KOL.

The 30th of December 1975, I was appointed by the Khmer Rouge political commissar to indoctrinate young people in communist ideology. These young people were working at the sugarcane plantation, close to the KOMPONG KOL sugar works. I took about six hundred young men with me to plant sugarcane near the hevea plantation of KHBAL KHLA. This hevea plantation was located at 5 kilometers from the KOMPONG KOL sugar works. I camped there for two days and on the 5th of January 1976, a Khmer Rouge leader named MOUL, came to arrest a Khmer Rouge group leader named SENG HORN, during lunch hour. MOUL took the scarf which was around SENG HORN's neck and bound this one's hands behind his back with it. He beat him in front of the hundreds of workers and took him a hundred meters away and there, MOUL shot him down with an M 16 rifle. The workers, who were eating their

rice soup at that time, all stopped eating, out of fear, and because they thought such an execution to be unfair. They felt, it did not concern only one particular person but could happen to anyone.

Later, I moved my camp and settled at one kilometer further, at the pagoda of KHBAL KHLA because there was more room there. There were no bonzes in this pagoda. One afternoon, by 14.00, I saw a Khmer Rouge executing people they had brought in a truck, then climbed back into the truck and left in the direction of BATTAMBANG. When they left, I took another political commissar with me, whose name was MOUL and the chief of the technical section Med.(?).. to see what had happened there. We found six bodies : a father, a mother and their four children. The belongings of these people were scattered around. Among them, one object drew our attention : an identity card, showing that the father was a chief manager in the railroad, under the republican regime.

The 2nd of January 1976, I saw four Khmer Rouge take a famous + comedian away, Mr. (So.....(?)) in a GMC truck, telling him they were driving him to BATTAMBANG to teach comedy to young Khmer Rouge over there. In reality, they took him to execute him at a crossroad, near the KHBAL KHLA hevea plantation.

Towards the middle of 1976, a Khmer Rouge named CHHEN, executed a young man, who had come from far away and who came to beg for some rice soup at the KHBAL KHLA Pagoda. This execution took place at about five hundred meters from the pagoda.

When I took my workers to work near the N.R. 10, I could see, there, four other high mounds of corpses. These mounds of corpses were in the forest which is crossed by the N.R. 10.

Two weeks later, I saw three corpses near a coconut palm plantation and near the corpses was a coconut. I thought, that perhaps these people were trying to steal coconuts and were then shot by the Khmer Rouge as punishment. Another afternoon, I found eight corpses, among which I recognized two former professors who had worked under the republican regime. These eight men were killed with mattocks.

When I finished my work along the N.R. 10, I took my workers to plant new sugarcane in a region formerly called DAUN MEAY. There, I saw a mother and her daughter come to ask a Khmer Rouge whose name was NGORN, for some rice soup. Instead of giving them rice soup, NGORN took them to execute them. It was about 18.00 and it was raining very hard. Another day, nobody knew why, a young worker went to see the Khmer Rouge NGORN and begged him to kill him, since he could not bear this life anymore. NGORN took him away and executed him near a well at DAUN MEAY. At the sugarcane plantation of AMPOU PHLEANG, the Khmer Rouge leader KUON, and his brother-in-law, YI, took the Khmer Rouge group leader SENG and executed him at the foot of the DAUN MEAY Hill, accusing him of not having followed the ANGKA directives. I often ran across corpses at the foot of this hill; they were those of people, who went digging sweet potatoes in the sugarcane plantation and were therefore punished by the Khmer Rouge. Other people, who came from very far, and who did not possess any identity papers, were also executed by the Khmer Rouge at this same place.

In 1976, twelve workers of this sugarcane plantation stole three rifles from the Khmer Rouge and fled to Thailand. They were led by a group leader of the Khmer Rouge, whose name was + IIM PENG CHHENG. Today his name has been changed to (.....?) and he is now living in the U.S.A. Among these twelve workers, there was another Khmer Rouge, SAROEUN SAM, who is now living in France. Some of them went to France, some stayed in Thailand, because they did not want to leave the country.

One week after this escape, the chief of the North region, Comrade HORN was appointed manager of the sugar works of KOMPONG KOL. Upon his arrival, he took seventeen young sugarcane plantation workers to a spot located at about seven hundred meters from the AMPOU PHLEANG Plantation and executed all of them. Among these seventeen, there was a young Khmer Rouge group leader, named (.....tchan.....?). In January 1977, another Khmer Rouge, named KAL shot two sugar plantation workers, CHAAT and I did not know the other one, at 22.00. KAL accused them of having crossed the plantation in order to steal some sugarcane. In the same month of January 1977, a high ranking Khmer Rouge, from the BATTAMBANG region, came to arrest Comrade HORN, took him away in a jeep, back to this province. we do not know if

HORN is dead or alive, but his mother, his two brothers and his sister have all been shot by the chief of the Khmer Rouge cooperative named NOP. This execution took place at a spot located two kilometers from the sugarcane plantation. The arrest of Comrade HORN, the execution of his mother, brothers and sister took place after an incident during which a Khmer Rouge + named Van(?) killed another Khmer Rouge on the spot and wounded two others, who were taken to a hospital and died later from their wounds.

In March 1977, the Khmer Rouge, Comrade NOP arrested Mr. PAK + LIM, engineer and manager of the sugar factors ; Mr.? head of department ; Messrs. DAUNG CHHAN and NOP NON, mechanics; and Mr. SOUSUN, electrician. Later on, the same Khmer Rouge, Comrade NOP arrested and executed his own colleagues - the other Khmer Rouge, among which were Comrades KUON, YI, PAK, SAROEUN, MCEUNG and CHHEN.

In the region of BATTAMBANG, there were mainly people deported from the capital city of Phnom Penh and from other provinces. These people were led into areas very far from the national roads and were called the "new people", i.e. the people who were living under the republican regime authority before April 1975. In this "new people", the children were separated from their parents and were forced to work very hard : in the morning from 6.00 to 11.00 in the afternoon from 13.00 to 17.00 and in the evening from 19.00 to 23.00. The "new people" had to work very hard, pull ploughs like oxen through the mud, and were not sufficiently fed and if they got sick, they were not given enough medications. That is why we witnessed hundreds of deaths every day from diseases, devastating the "new people". The women of the "new people" were forced to work as hard as men. The pregnant women, having to work so very hard and not receiving food enough, had to undergo abortions. Young girls stopped menstruating, because of the lack of food. Those who gave birth, were suffering uterine troubles

After the seizure of power by the Khmer Rouge, there was only hunger. Food, abundant before, became very scarce now. I think the Khmer Rouge, did not build the country, as they claimed. On the contrary, they destroyed everything which existed before the

war, like, for instance, the tall brick houses and the pagodas. Before the 1970 war, there was a population of about seven million in Cambodia. During the five years of the war, from 1970 to 1975, about five hundred thousand died. But from 1975 to 1977, the Khmer population has been reduced to less than four million. The balance sheet becomes more and more in the red, because people are dying of starvation due to famine, organized by the Khmer Rouge. Presently, I think that the number of deaths is permanently increasing. Those who managed to stay alive or to escape death, became living skeletons ; one could see skin and bones. The Khmer race will disappear if this number of deaths continues increasing at this rate, because while the number of deaths increases, the number of births is nil.

By 1980, there will be no Cambodians left. That is why my family and I decided to escape from our dear country, we loved so much. Our reasoning is that living under the Khmer Rouge became hell. Never, in the whole world, has there been a regime resembling this one and I think, not a people could live under such a regime. I left Cambodia on the 28th of March 1977, and arrived in Thailand the 27th of April 1977.

Allow me to use this opportunity to express my gratitude and my thanks to the Norwegian people, who took the initiative of organizing this Hearing on Cambodia, in order to alert international public opinion and show it what is actually happening in Cambodia. What the Khmer Rouge are doing in Cambodia, does not concern the Khmer people alone but I think concerns the people of the whole world as well.

I thank you.

The CHAIR thanks the witness.
(lunch intermission)

(..... the first panel question is not taped, name unknown)

EAR Soth : I can say that under the Khmer Rouge regime, there are also Khmer Rouge who are not happy with it. That is why there were sometimes pitched battles among the Khmer Rouge themselves. But I cannot give you any details on such battles - I just heard about them, or even heard them from far away : sometimes we heard cannon sounds for two or three days.

Anthony PAUL : You were Khmer Rouge from April 1975 until your departure from Cambodia in 1977. At that time you lived in areas quite close to the Thai border, and observed the atrocities during all that time. Why did it take you so long to leave Cambodia ?

EAR S. : At the moment of the fall of Phnom Penh, I myself was in the region of PAULIN-KOM RIENG, close to the Thai border. And the 26th of April 1975, I was deported to the Province of BATTAMBANG. I went to work in a factory which was located at about 100 kilometers from the border. I would often look for a good opportunity to escape, to leave my country, but could not find one. Only when I realized, I could not live such a way any longer, did I then decide to find a way to leave the country.

A. PAUL : Why were you in danger of death in 1977 ? Were you involved in any conspiracy against the Phnom Penh authorities ?

EAR S. : I can tell you that the day I left my country, we could see workers of the sugar works being executed by the Khmer Rouge almost every day. Even Khmer Rouge were executed by their pairs. That is why I said to myself that if I continue to remain with them any longer, I, too, will be just waiting for my turn to come to be executed.

Gunnar FILSETH : You were elected as leader of guards on the 17th of April. What relations or connections did you have with the Khmer Rouge prior to this date ?

EAR S. : Before the fall of Phnom Penh, I can tell you that I had already been arrested once by the Khmer Rouge. I was kept by them for three months and twenty-one days, then I realized that everything the Khmer Rouge would say was only a bunch of lies. I could not stand all this anymore, and I escaped from them. After the 17th of April 1975, I was living not far from the Thai border. A school friend of mine, a Khmer Rouge named + Phao.....(?) lived there. We studied together in the same high + school in the province of Ta.....(?). He appointed me responsible for order and security at the border of the Khmer-Thai region. When I was deported from this region to the BATTAMBANG Province, I went to work at the KOMPONG KOL sugar works, and at

the beginning, I was just an ordinary worker. At the works, I met another childhood friend, a Khmer Rouge named Comrade HORN, and who was a big chief, responsible for three provinces of the Northern regions. This Comrade HORN put me in charge of the sugarcane plantation of six thousand hectares. I had more than three thousand eight hundred workers under my orders. Later on, Comrade HORN was arrested by other Khmer Rouge, all those who were connected to this Comrade HORN, as I already said, + like Mr Pop.....(?) and the other Khmer Rouge, were liquidated as well. Since I had connections with HORN myself, I figured that my life was in danger as well, and decided to flee.

G. FILSETH : The incident you are referring to on the 20th of April : were you a commander of this patrol, which killed these people at the Thai border, or were you a soldier ?

EAR S. : I was a member of the committee responsible for the border region, but in reality, I did not have any authority over the troops of the Khmer Rouge. I was armed like the others but when we were moving, the army was always moving first and making decisions. When I met those hundreds of refugees, attempting to cross the border, I did not know; I could not imagine they were going to be executed. I could not discuss it with the other Khmer Rouge and the executions took place very quickly. I could not do anything for those who were arrested. But a few days before, there had been some Khmers who had fled Thailand to return to Cambodia; they were arrested and ready to be executed, but I managed to obtain their mercy ; I explained to Comrade + Pac.....(?) that if we shoot these people, the other ones, ready to leave Thailand for Cambodia would not dare come back. + The nephew of the doctor(?), was already taken to the forest and about to be shot but I succeeded in using my influence with Comrade Pac.....(?) and the man was freed.

Ursula NACCACHE : Sir, the 17th of April 1975, you were the leader of the guards of the Khmer Rouge, and seven months later, we find you in a quality of a political commissar teaching ideology to the other people. What kind of education did you receive, to be nominated political commissar ?

EAR S. : Before, I knew nothing of the Khmer Rouge ideology. I thought that even if this ideology were not good, if I did not follow it (as well as the directives of the Khmer Rouge), I would be considered at once an enemy. I wanted to know them perfectly, therefore I went to see my friend, Comrade HORN, to be educated as a political staff of the Khmer Rouge. HORN then gave me a lot of communist literature. I studied carefully this communist doctrine and I was able to teach it later on to others, to the workers of the sugarcane plantation. I was then appointed political commissar at this plantation.

U. NACCACHE : Between the time you were a guard and the moment you became a commissar, you saw, as you said, hundreds of corpses. These corpses were those of people killed by the Khmer Rouge. Meanwhile you accepted to become a commissar in order to teach this doctrine, belonging to these people, those assassins. How could you do that, facing your conscience ?

EAR S. : I must tell you that I was deeply affected by the executions of the Khmer population, very shocked. I can tell you that I was not a Khmer Rouge. If I wanted to live with the Khmer Rouge, I had to behave as they did. It is like an alloy which has the color of gold, when one finds out it is not gold, but just gold colour, this metal is not worth anything anymore.

The CHAIR thanks for the testimony and for the answers.

TESTIMONY BY MR. CHAN Vong :

Mr. President,
Honourable Journalists,
Experts,

My name is CHAN VONG, I am born on the 7th of May 1943, in + the province of Svay(?). Before the fall of Phnom Penh, I was aid clerical accountant at the sugar factory of KOMPONG KOL. After the fall of Phnom Penh, the 17th of April 1975, I remained at the same KOMPONG KOL factory as a worker, taking care of the food storage. The workers and myself, were not deported from the sugar works, the Khmer Rouge kept us there, but confiscated all our belongings, everything we acquired before

the fall of Phnom Penh. They also told us that from now on, there would no longer be any wages, any market, any school or any religion. Any trip to the province, to the city or to other areas would be forbidden. Reforms were made, as far as the work was concerned ; everybody had to take part in the work - men, women and children, even the old people. The children over ten had to work like the old persons, and be separated from their parents. The children under ten, should work too, but could stay with their parents.

The distribution of food rations was proceeded as follows : for adults, 7 kilograms of rice and five hundred grams of salt, for a ten day period. For children ; three kilograms of rice, and five hundred grams of salt for a ten day period. But this rationing took place only for one month and a half. Later on, we were compelled to eat in a common refectory. There were seven refectories :: three inside the factory itself and four in the sugarcane plantation. Later, there were again distributions of rice rations : one hundred and fifty grams of rice per adult and fifty grams per child under nine. We were told : "if you consider you have not enough rice which ANGKA distributes, you have to look by yourselves for other vegetables to mix them with your rice ; bananas, papayes or whatever else."

In this place, where I was working, there were about three thousand eight hundred people (children and old persons included), but towards the end of 1976, this number reduced to two thousand seven hundred and fifty. I do not know what happened to the others.

As far as massacres and executions are concerned, I can tell you the following : when the Khmer Rouge seized power and occupied the whole factory, they executed three families of men who were in charge of the factory. These three families were : Mr. KE SUY HOK, engineer agronomist, his wife and his two children; Mr. THIM DUONG, his wife, his two children and his eighteen year old sister, Mr. THIM DUONG was the director of the factory ; and Mr. UK TEK, specialist of the planting of sugarcane, his wife, his two children and his small fifteen year old brother. But this little brother was not executed, because he managed to escape while the Khmer Rouge were shooting the others. On the 13th of April 1976, the Khmer Rouge took away seventeen workers of the factory, to execute them. Two of these seventeen men

were executed inside the factory itself and this, I saw with my own two eyes, whereas the fifteen others were taken five hundred meters away and executed there. The Khmer Rouge ordered me and my comrades to bury the bodies. These are things I have seen with my own eyes. I have never seen the Khmer Rouge organization jailing people or judging them by a proper tribunal.

From the 21st of April to the 23rd of April 1977, the Khmer Rouge took a certain number of workers away to execute them at a place called the village of Phau.(?)....., located at about two kilometers from the sugar factory. These workers were: Mr. + PAK LIM, former technical director of the factory, Mr.(?) + Mr. NOP NON and Mr. NOEUNG CHHEN, technicians, Mr., ++ and, tractor drivers. There were also other workers whose names I did not know.

I shall tell you now about the production of the sugar. Before the fall of Phnom Penh, the 17th of April 1975, there was + a big sugar works at KOMPONG TRAM(?) in the province of KOMPONG + SPEU. Then, there were three small sugar works in Skanl(?), ++ province of Kandal(?), one in Memotte (?), province of KOMPONG + CHHAM, and a third one in KOM RIEN(?) at PAULIN. All these sugar works were destroyed by the Khmer Rouge, during the 1970-1975 war. After the fall of Phnom Penh, the only one working factory was at KOMPONG KOL, with six hundred hectares of sugarcane plantations. Before the 17th of April 1975, the average production of sugar was of thirteen tons a day. The sugarcane plantation was supplying fifty tons of cane per hectare, whereas after the 17th of April 1975, the production fell to forty-five tons per year, the plantation giving only fifteen tons per hectare. You see, that the production has considerably fallen. One can ask why ? I think it is because the technicians who had had several years of experience in this factory had all been liquidated by the Khmer Rouge.

I am now finishing my speech, and I would like the conference of the Cambodian Hearing to proclaim justice for these twelve workers, who committed no crime, and who were liquidated by the Khmer Rouge.

I thank you.

The CHAIR thanks the witness for the testimony.

Tore STUBBERUD : Sir, I did not understand quite well, why the sugar works technicians were killed by the Khmer Rouge ?

CHAN Vong : The technicians who were working at the sugar works were liquidated by the Khmer Rouge, because they (the Khmer Rouge) reasoned that during the revolution, they did not need those technicians. Even ordinary workers can replace those technicians, and work as well as them.

T. STUBBERUD : Have you seen any concentration camps in Cambodia ? If so, what were the conditions of life in those camps, as compared to those of the free workers ?

CHAN V. : Since the seizure of power by the Khmer Rouge, I have never seen any worker imprisoned by them and have never seen the Khmer Rouge putting their prisoners into concentration camps either.

Richard NATIONS : I would like to record that the previous witness, EAR Soth, told me that as a Khmer Rouge soldier, he was in a privileged position, was better fed, better clothed, had five sets of clothes in a year and that he and his family had all the rice they needed. He also had access to pharmacy for medicine. That was a question I asked him personally. What I would like to address to the present witness is during his time, at the sugar factory, were there any major breakdowns in the technical equipment, any new spare parts brought in, any technical assistance from the outside, from foreign countries and finally did the technical staff in the past have any specific ethnic character, particularly Chinese ?

CHAN V. : While I worked at the KOMPONG KOL sugar factory, I never saw any foreigner bring in any heavy machines or equipment there. Twice I saw Chinese technicians visiting the sugar factory for three days. But, I did not know the purpose of this visit, since I do not understand Chinese.

R. NATIONS : I asked, the technical staff which they removed; did they belong to any ethnic minority, a non-Khmer group ?

CHAN V. : When I was working at this sugar factory, there were no other workers other than Cambodians. No technicians from other countries.

Ursula NACCACHE : You said that when you arrived in KOMPONG KOL, there were three thousand five hundred inhabitants. Towards the end of 1977, this figure was reduced to two thousand seven hundred, meaning that 20% of the population died. Could you give us the proportions of those who have been executed and those dead from starvation and diseases ?

CHAN V. : Madame, when I worked at KOMPONG KOL, those dead from executions, physically liquidated formed about 15% of the whole, whereas those who died from starvation or from diseases made up about 5%.

U. NACCACHE : You mean that the majority of those eight hundred people who died were executed ?

CHAN V. : The majority of those who died, were executed or physically liquidated. The minority died from sicknesses and lack of food.

Victor SPARRE : We understand that there are no kinds of court cases in Cambodia. Does that mean that there is no chance of defending yourself if you are accused of being against the regime ? And how is that ? Who has the right to condemn a man to death ? How does it happen, what are the reasons ? How easily could a man be condemned to death, and who decides it ?

CHAN V. : When the power was taken over by the Khmer Rouge, prisoners were never judged by any tribunal. They were directly liquidated, except a small number of Khmer Rouge soldiers.

V. SPARRE : Is it their officers who decide that one is to be shot ? Or can any soldier decide, if the man is to be shot ?

CHAN V. : I am speaking about privates, here, whose execution was also ordered by the Khmer Rouge.

The CHAIR thanks the witness (recess)

TESTIMONY BY MR. CHENG VIBOL

My name is CHENG Vibol, I am 36 years old. Before the change of regime, I was working at the military hospital Centre No.403.

I was married and had five children. I lived with the Khmer Rouge for two years and six months : from the 17th of April 1975 to January 1977.

The first high ranking officers executed by the Khmer Rouge + were Lieutenant-Colonel(?) and twelve other high ranking officers. To execute them, the Khmer Rouge used the following trick : they were extremely kind to the officers and invited them to come with them in a Landrover, saying they were going to fetch the Khmer Rouge doctors who were in the forest. That was a trick often used by the Khmer Rouge, not to scare those they wanted to execute. The place, where the Doctor + Tampok(?) and the twelve other officers were executed, was located at six kilometers from the hospital centre No. 403. This + place was a village called(?) on the National Road No. 10, between BATTAMBANG and PAÏLIN. Here, the Khmer Rouge asked the officers to leave the National Road and to take a dirt road. These officers were executed at two kilometers from National Road No. 10. It happened on the 18th of April 1975 at 13.00.

When I saw the situation was not a healthy one, I took my wife and we left BATTAMBANG for KOMPONG PREAH, which was located at thirteen kilometers from BATTAMBANG on National Road No. 5, on the 19th of April 1975. I hid myself under a false identity and said I was a truck driver. At that moment, the Khmer Rouge needed drivers to teach their own Khmer Rouge to drive trucks. I was then nominated "teacher" and my task was to teach the Khmer + Rouge for three months. This happened at Bai.....(?). After these three months of teaching, the Khmer Rouge ordered me to go to work in the fields for one month and a half. When the Khmer Rouge found out I had belonged to the medical corps under the former regime, they wanted to take me and kill me. But as I was warned about it on beforehand, I asked a cousin of mine, who was working with the village leader to deliver me a pass which would allow me to work with him.

This new place was at Village No. 41, region No. 4, cooperative No. 2. I had left KOMPONG PREAH on the 3rd of April 1975. The 9th of September 1975, as the Khmer Rouge Organization needed X-ray specialists to teach it to its members, Comrade VIBOL who had the same name as myself, medical commissar and responsi-

ble for three hospital centres (the hospital of BATTAMBANG, the hospital of BONGKOL BOREY and hospital no. 403), asked me to work with him. I thus worked at the BATTAMBANG hospital for one year and thirteen days. The Khmer Rouge organization asked me to teach other Khmer Rouge to look after patients, drive ambulances and prepare some medicaments with the help of ancient homeopathy.

At this hospital, there were between ten to twenty deaths a day from illnesses. People were dying from hemorrhagic dysentheria, anemia, from oedema, malaria, beri-beri, cholera and infections. All these diseases were due to lack of hygiene and of all kinds of vitamins, because the sick had nothing to eat. We were also lacking a lot of medicaments. To treat diseases, the Khmer Rouge used only ancient homeopathy, made with roots and tree bark. From the roots and the bark they were producing tablets. Coconut milk was used as serum. Another sort of serum which was bottled in Pepsi-Cola bottles, was produced out of the sugar we were using every day, then this serum would be injected intraveinously. The manufacturing of these "medications" was not carried out according to any medical rules, and one could often observe people dying from them. The death of the people was considered by the Khmer Rouge, as a kind of experiment. They paid no attention whatsoever to the health of people. The big massacre centres, already in use by the Khmer Rouge were: PHNOM + SAMPEAU, thirteen kilometers from BATTAMBANG, the road(?) + leading to Sam.....(?), at 37 kilometers from BATTAMBANG, + Kmo.....(?), at twelve kilometers from BATTAMBANG, and CHHMAR SAMRAU in the Japanese agricultural centre, at thirty-five kilometers from BATTAMBANG. All these centres were well known to all the BATTAMBANG population. I was aware of the existence of these massacre centres, because I had heard a Khmer Rouge political commissar discussing them with a colleague. Besides these centres, there were other places, in villages and towns of BATTAMBANG.

The people executed by the Khmer Rouge were simple peasants, workers, civil servants, former commandos, soldiers, village leaders, chiefs of ten houses, of fifty houses of one hundred houses and the intellectuals. They were often executed in the rice paddies.

As far as the education is concerned, the different establishments of the city of BATTAMBANG were closed, the books were burned by the Khmer Rouge, the ministries and public places were closed. The public archives, which would be found in these places, were all burned as well.

Religion : different statues standing in the pagodas for time immemorial, and highly venerated by the Khmer population, have all been destroyed by the Khmer Rouge. The statues of Buddha were thrown into the ponds. The cultural patrimony, soul of our Khmer people, has been destroyed by the Khmer Rouge. Religious documents (textbooks) lying at the heart of our culture, have been all burned. All the buildings in the pagodas have been demolished. The Khmer Rouge were even breeding pigs in the pagodas ; a thing never done before. In 1976, upon a directive of the ANGKA, the Organization, the Khmer Rouge ordered the bonzes to become civilians. The bonzes who protested against this directive, were all executed.

There were no markets anymore, since the Khmer Rouge did not use money. As to the population's standard of living, they no longer had any houses and sheltered under miserable straw-roofed houses, which they had had to build themselves with bamboo and small tree-trunks. When it was raining, everybody was drenched and freezing. The Khmer Rouge were feeding the population with rice soup only, in which there were some bananas, papayas, sweet potatoes, leaves and this kind of food was previously given only to the pigs. This rice soup consisted mainly of water, because for a bucket of sixty litres, the Khmer Rouge would use only one kilogram of rice.

The Khmer Rouge forced the people to work very hard : from 6 to 11.00, then a break for rice soup lunch, from 13.00 to 17.00 work again, and then a one hour break and work again from 18.00 to 22.00. Only then could one take a rest. For three years, the Khmer Rouge, so to say distributed no clothes at all to the population : on the contrary, they confiscated the clothes, the population already had, by force. People were dressed in rags, and when it was cold, people did not even have blankets to protect themselves from the cold.

The Khmer Rouge divided the population into two social categories : the first category comprised of Khmer Rouge soldiers and the "old people", who were equal and sufficiently fed, and who had whatever they needed for daily life ; the second category consisted of the "new people", those after the 17th of April 1975, considered by the Khmer Rouge as prisoners of war.

Before finishing my speech, I would like to say that we, Cambodians make a plea to the President of this Hearing, to the international public opinion, to the journalists who have the power of the written words, please help the Khmer people ! The freedom of the Khmer people is humiliated by the Khmer Rouge, in a barbarous, savage fashion. One has never seen such a thing in the history of the world. We found our hopes on you, to find justice for the Khmer people

I thank you.

Ursula NACCACHE : Sir, I read in your statement, that you have a wife and five children. Did you succeed to flee with your whole family ? If not, could you tell us, what was your wife doing ? You were yourself a hospital nurse, what was her job ? What were your children doing ? When did you see them for the last time ?

CHENG VIBOL : When I worked in the hospital centre of BATTAMBANG, my wife worked in the cooperative No. 2, Region no. 4, village No. 41. We did not remain together. At this time, my children were not with my wife either, but stayed with the Khmer Rouge. My oldest son, aged 19, and my 16-year old daughter had been mobilized by the Khmer Rouge in the mobile corps. My third child was with the Khmer Rouge, who were teaching him art and dancing. The 10th of January 1977, following the directives of the ANGKA, meaning the Organization, all former civil servants had to go into the cooperatives, in order to reinforce their revolutionary consciousness. That was when I could meet my wife again. Three days later, I left the hospital centre, I had been ordered, by the ANGKA to harvest rice at ten km. from the cooperative.

U. NACCACHE : You did not tell us if you managed to flee with your wife, or with some of your children. When did you see them for the last time ?

CHENG V. : After I was sent by the ANGKA to harvest rice at eight km. from the cooperative for one month and a half, I was sent near TONLE SAP for two months, for the erection of the + dam of TAKOT in Tapon (?). In TONLE SAP, we cultivated rice + for the dry season. When I went on the dam of TAKOT in Tapon (?) the Khmer Rouge wanted to arrest and execute me and then I had to flee. I escaped the 1st of January 1977, and it took me twelve days to reach Thailand. I was lost in the forest for nine days and nine nights, without anything to eat. Fifteen days after my arrival to Thailand, a friend, who had worked in the cooperative No. 2 informed me that my wife and children had been executed as a retaliation for my escape.

Tore STUBBERUD : Mr. CHENG Vibol, you told us that the families in Cambodia were separated ; the children were taken away at the age of three. Allow me to express the opinion that this does not seem very rational ; I imagine that if a child was staying with his mother or father, he would be quieter and, therefore, more useful to the regime. In your opinion, what motivated these separations of the families ?

CHENG V. : Children over three were separated from their parents by a directive of the Organization, which wanted to indoctrinate them from a very low age.

T. STUBBERUD : Could you please give us a brief picture of this ideological indoctrination of the small children. How was it done ?

CHENG V. : As far as I could hear, though I have never seen it myself, the children were taught the alphabet, nothing more. The directives of the Organization were giving much more importance to dancing artistic teaching. Children were taught to work from this age already. The teachers were very ignorant people and only repeated the Khmer Rouge ideology to the children. They knew nothing else.

Victor SPARRE : Sir, are you a believing Buddhist ? And is it possible today in Cambodia to openly practice the Buddhist faith or is there any possibility of practicing the Buddhist faith in privacy ?

CHENG V. : I can tell you, Sir, that for a long time already, since Angkor, the Khmer people have been believing in Buddhism and practicing it. The Khmer Rouge do not believe in religion. I can tell you that, because they have destroyed everything which concerns religion, and were even breeding pigs in pagodas which were highly venerated places for the Khmer people. The Khmer Rouge destroyed all statues of Buddha in order to practice their religion, almost all the Cambodians knew the words of the Buddhist prayers. But even, when the Khmer Rouge forbade us to practice our religion, I prayed anyway thus practicing religion secretly, so that the Khmer Rouge would not know anything about it.

Gunnar FILSETH : You have been referring several times to the ANGKA. You said in your report that ANGKA told you that about sixty thousand of those, evacuated from Phnom Penh, died of hunger in 1976. Which specific ANGKA or Khmer Rouge authorities are you referring to ?

CHENG V. : I shall tell you about the death of the people at +(?), 42 km. from BATTAMBANG. The majority of those, + who were at(?) was deported from Phnom Penh. It was estimated that the Phnom Penh population deported to BATTAMBANG, was of the order of four million. In 1976, the population of +(?), was estimated to be sixty thousand. I was able to know these figures because the medical commissar, working with me in the BATTAMBANG medical centre told me about them. In + order to replace the inhabitants of(?), who were dead, the Khmer Rouge expelled the workers of the jute and textile factories in BATTAMBANG, and deported them to(?). I was able to find out the number of those dead among the original sixty thousand population of N.....(?), because I overheard a discussion of the political commissar of the Khmer Rouge, responsible for three hospital centres (hospital in BATTAMBANG, hospital in MONGKOL BOREY, and hospital No. 403). And I heard this discussion with my own ears.

G. FILSETH : Do you think this was his personal estimation, or did he have any specific source for this information ?

Cheng V. : The Khmer Rouge had lists of people living in this or that region, but I did not see these lists.

G. FILSETH : Did this political commissar tell you if he had any specific source for this information ? He gave this figure of sixty thousand : was it his private estimation, or did he tell you whether or not he had any specific source ?

CHENG V. : Concerning sixty thousand people, I should say that the Organization knew very well what was going on, because they had everybody listed. It is not knowledge I got myself, but which I got from the Organization through this political commissar I knew.

Richard NATIONS : Have you had any contact with the Khmer Seray ?

CHENG V. : I was only living with the Khmer Rouge, but I was not one of them. I was just a member of the medical corps, working with the Khmer Rouge. I was not opposing them and I was not one of their members. I was able to live with them for two years, because I was useful to them. They needed me to teach X-ray technique to their young members.

R. NATIONS : There should be a translation problem : the anglicized word in Cambodian for the free Cambodian troops, which were LON NOLIST-SIHANOUKIST forces based inside of Thailand, is Khmer Seray. This is what I am talking about. Has the witness had any contact with these forces ?

CHENG V. : When I was leaving my country for Thailand, I did not have any contact with the Khmer Seray. I cannot tell you anything, because I had no contact with them. I arrived in Thailand the 12th of June 1977. I was imprisoned by the Thai authorities for one month, for illegal crossing of the border. Then I was sent to the Camp of ARANYA PRATHET.

John BARRON : I understand you are saying that immediately prior to your flight, the authorities discovered your two backgrounds and that therefore you knew, you would be killed. What made you think, that the discovery of your background would be a cause for your execution ?

CHENG V. : As far as my escape is concerned, I made the decision to leave my country because I felt that situation was becoming more and more dangerous from day to day. I noticed very often that Khmer Rouge would wander around the place I was living in. From the experience I got, discussing with high ranking Khmer Rouge leaders, I understood that former civil servants of the old regime would have to be exterminated before 1977. The place, where the Khmer Rouge were executing people was at the + Pagoda Kh.....(?), a big charnel house, at six km. from BATTAMBANG, to the East of the River SANG KÊ. Another big charnel house was on the West bank of the same river, eight km. from BATTAMBANG : a pagoda where people used to celebrate the(?) festival, because it was an historical temple.

Anthony PAUL : You had a nephew, a member of the ANGKA committee, who was disloyal enough to ANGKA to protect you, and you had an acquaintance with a political commissar, who spoke of sixty thousand deaths as a consequence of ANGKA's policy. Did you, while still in Cambodia, ever discuss with the Khmer Rouge, the overthrow of the Phnom Penh authorities ?

CHENG V. : As to the execution of the sixty thousand people from MOUNG, this political commissar did not add very many details because usually the Khmer Rouge did not speak very often; they hid many things.

A. PAUL : Did you, in the ARANYA PRATHET Camp, have any connections with the group of young people, who called themselves "sportsmen's division No. 22"?

CHENG V. : At the time when I was in the ARANYA-PRATHET Camp, I had never heard of the "group 22", if I would have known of it, I would have mentioned it.

The CHAIR:thank you Mr. CHENG Vibol. We have to finish. Recess, then a statement by Mr. JEAN LACOUTURE.

Mr. LACOUTURE is a well known Paris journalist, writing in "Le Monde" and in the "Nouvel Observateur". He closely studied the situation in the Far East and has visited Cambodia seven times before the revolution. Among his books, there is one called "Cambodia, as seen from China".

("Cambodge vue de la Chine"): a dialogue between Prince SIHANOUK and Mr. LACOUTURE on Cambodia. We are happy to have you among us, Sir, and I leave you the Chair.

STATEMENT BY MR. JEAN LACOUTURE

Mr. President
Ladies and Gentlemen,

The state of mind of an ordinary man is insignificant when one faces the tragic situation of the Khmer people. But these preliminary remarks will probably not be without interest, as they refer to the meaning of the present Hearing.

I must admit that I am somewhat astonished to be here, and as an "expert", whereas, not far from here, there is a competing meeting assembling people with whom several of us were at the time of the wars between the peoples of Indochina and two great powers of the West. I am also surprised to be called an "expert" since I do not speak Khmer, made only seven trips to Cambodia between 1945 and 1968, and am French; citizen of a country which has great responsibilities with regards to the misfortunes of Cambodia and is, therefore not in the best position to give lessons.

As a matter of fact, my old connections with some of the actual leaders of Cambodia (such as KHIEU SAMPHAN, IENG SARY, THICUN FRASIT or THICUM MOUMM, not to speak of the poor HOU YOUN, who has probably been liquidated a long time ago) and the support (probably not very efficient) which I have given the revolutionary side through my articles, should have let me take part in the colloquium organized by the adversaries of this one. However, I do not regret being present here since I am convinced that those, who gathered here are really searching for the truth in order to help a tortured people survive.

At the door of this room, an interesting open letter by the Professor COLDWELL was distributed yesterday, which questioned the aims and the organization of this Hearing. This warning could, perhaps have given us doubts, as to the cogency of our participation, but as far as I am concerned, it only convinces me all the more of the usefulness of our presence here.

Mr. COLDWELL's first question concerns the country where this work is taking place.

It is true, that some of us would not like to organize a trial of a revolution (even a fake trial) in Pretoria or in Santiago of Chile. In Norway, we feel completely free to express ourselves, we are not subject to any pressure and do not observe any particular political ambitions. The hospitality of its social-democratic government looks rather respectable for whomever comes from countries with a conservative regime. Furthermore, the Russel Tribunal, approved by our interpellators, was also held in a Scandinavian capital and could work freely.

The other objection formulated by Prof. COLDWELL reads as follows : The Nuremburg Trial did not limit itself to hearing former Nazis. We are not a trial and do not pretend to be one. No sentences will be pronounced here for the reason, among others, that Mssr. POL POT and IENG SARY, although invited, I believe, are not present here. Furthermore, we cannot accept the comparison made between the Khmer refugees and the Nazi war criminals. A great number of the refugees who are present here, had nothing to do with the LON NOL regime. At least one of them, present here, was a brilliant resistant to LON NOL. And although I have been a constant and virulent adversary to LON NOL's system ; corrupted, incapable and dispicable, whose stupid politics were at the bottom of the actual misfortunes of Cambodia, it seems to me absurd to compare it with Hitlerism, this opportunistic, blind and insane regime. When one is not capable of knowing the signification of the words, which correspond to a correct political analysis, it is better for him not to mix in politics at all.

Prof. COLDWELL quotes here, in his defense, some names of the US left's militants. Some of them are our friends. But is he quite sure that all of them (and especially after a conflict had burst out between Cambodia and Vietnam) are still sympathizing with the Khmer regime and convinced that the new Kampuchea is really democratic ?

As to Mr. COLDWELL's last argument, accusing the American strategy of being chiefly responsible for the tragic situation which afflicts today, the Cambodian people, many of us, present here, have denounced it, repeated it, as far as in Washington. Long before denouncing the oppression of the Khmer people by

POL POT's group, we constantly made attacks on the scandalous American intervention, the awful destructions caused by this invasion to the population and the land of Cambodia. And I must admit that I was rather astonished to hear this morning a declaration by the US president. In spite of the fact that he is Richard Nixon's successor, I do not think a condemnation of Cambodia should come, today, from Washington. I do not forget either, that the French colonization bears responsibilities for the Cambodian situation, which has left this country stagnating in technical underdevelopment.

However, one can see today, that the total number of victims of those two kinds of foreign imperialisms is probably much lower than that of the three-year old "liberating" regime.

We are so sure of our accusations, after having interrogated a great number of refugees, in Saigon as well as in Paris, and now here in Oslo, having read the transcriptions of radio Phnom Penh's broadcasts, and the reports of the few diplomats who had been invited to Cambodia, because certain things are now clearly established. They prove, that this regime is not only one of the most oppressive ones history has known, but also that while claiming its socialist descent, it disgraces this word and this idea, to which we remain deeply attached. Besides, this regime has nothing to do with the objectives and principles of marxism.

We shall be careful not to mention any numbers of the victims but when we remember that cities with millions of inhabitants were emptied during the hottest season of the year, that this people, thrown into the streets were not given any food nor drink, which was practically a condemnation to death of at least a third of this human herd, we shall only underline the facts which are indisputable, and which are sufficient, in our eyes, to condemn this system, both on the level of socialism as well as on that of elementary human rights.

By closing their country totally to any foreign visitors with the exception of some careful diplomats (who are careful because it is their job and their nature), and of some journalists, careful not to alter the relations of their governments with the Phnom Penh one, POL POT and his group violated one of the fundamental rules of international relations, especially the relations between socialist countries.

No revolutionary, not even the most radical one, has ever dared to do such a thing, thus depriving itself not only of visitors and of critical interlocutors, which are indispensable for the progress of a revolution, but even of food and medications from abroad, indispensable for the Khmer's minimal vital needs. This policy is not only contrary to the humanitarian principles and to the proletarian internationalism : it is close to a medieval type chauvinism, and it contradicts the experiences of Lenin, Castro, Mao or Enver Hodja, who know that socialism is impossible in isolation. Being a journalist, I could only express my satisfaction about the expulsion of my colleague journalists by the Khmer Rouge : I have not forgotten that seventeen of our unfortunate comrades, who tried to do their work in the Cambodian underground during the war, have been assassinated, most of them beaten to death with wooden rods by those, about whose heroic fight they had chosen to report.

The present master of Cambodia are not only hostile to internationalism : they are also hostile to the technical and scientific civilization, cradle and objective of marxism. In order to destroy the urban civilization, synonym of progress and social exchanges, POL POT and his group made deserts out of their towns. They forced the population to exhausting and terribly long rural works of which there have been no parallels since the nazi camps, a population composed of old people, who could not readapt themselves to that kind of life and practically, condemned to an extermination. Neither Castro, eventhough Havana had been a more corrupted city than Phnom Penh, nor the Algerians (although Boumedienne told me once, he had the intention of doing it in Algiers), nor even the Chinese, although Shanghai is a city beyond measures, have dared to inflict such an ordeal on the people they were in charge of. And everybody know now, through the confidences made by the Khmer leaders to their Chinese friends, that this decision was not taken in order to spare the population from American bombings, and not even because all this people could not be fed, but to disperse and to dismember a society in which an opposition could work and in which a resistance could be organized. By dispersing them through the countryside, the Khmer Rouge rendered their potential adversaries powerless. Better some hundreds of thousands of corpses than the risk of an opposition.

What a caricature of the class struggle this system of two "peoples", established by the POL POT regime finally is ! How in reality is the Cambodian people divided and distributed ? Is it in function of wealth, of soil exploitation or of patriotism ? Not at all : it is in function of the physical presence of such or such a one in the LON NCL controlled zone : this is the "new" people, guilty, as a matter of fact, in virtue of a mysterious decree from heaven. On the other side, there are the revolutionaries and the underground : these are "the good ones", though one can hear more and more often of purges inside this camp itself. The same way as in the Middle Ages, people were considered "good Christians" or "heretics" depending on whether or not their land belonged to a prince who was, favourable to Rome. Such is the politico-social principle on which this revolution is based, which claims it follows Marx's and Lenin's ideas.

We would not protest in a lesser measure against such a regime if it simply appealed to fascism of which it is professing the taste for pure violence and extremist chauvinism. What is important first of all is not the denomination taken by a system, but the degree of prosperity, of justice and of freedom it gives its citizens.

But our protest, at least, as far as several of us are concerned is even stronger because the big idea, the big hope of socialism here, is corrupted and dishonoured by a frenzied practice based on depraved principles.

It is in order to break down the wall of silence of the world public opinion (which is, in reality, the silence of an accomplice) that we gathered here to shout out our indignation and to assert our total solidarity with the Khmer people ; a good, generous and courageous people. And we are here also to denounce this masquerade, this caricature, which pretends to give the world a lesson in socialism, whilst it concerns uniquely the arrogant desires of a handful of people.

The CHAIR thanks the expert.

Albert Henrik MOHN : Mr. LACOUTURE, you painted a very clear picture of the ugly Khmer Rouge. What do you think motivates that ?

Jean LACOUTURE : I think that the objective of the actual Phnom Penh regime is, first to proceed with a fundamental transformation of the society, radically liberating it from any links with the past and second, to assume a total independence of the Khmer people and to eliminate all forms of foreign influence and impregnation. These objectives have been announced in congresses in the Khmer underground, recalled in 1975, on the eve of their seizure of power, or immediately after, and they are basically respectable objectives. But it seems to me, these objectives have been totally perverted by one fundamental factor : fear. The extremism of this system could be explained, I think by the insecurity in which the victors of 1975 found themselves, insecurity due to: the weakness of their social and economic basis in the country; the small number of serious revolutionary cadres on which they could count; the permanent danger they felt coming from Vietnam (whether or not they are right, this feeling is nevertheless very deep among revolutionary and nonrevolutionary Khmers). And I think that it is this very feeling of insecurity which gave the regime, based, in the beginning, on sound ideas, this frenzied and irrational character.

Richard NATIONS : Mr. LACOUTURE, I am entirely in sympathy with the sentiments expressed in your statement, and your desire to achieve a certain conceptual clarity, however the purpose of this Hearing is to arrive at what the facts in this case are. You have given us a picture of savagery and brutality and a sort of stavisism which drags the whole Khmer revolution. What I would like to ask, is whether or not, or rather how is it that you are satisfied that we are not subject to a massive disinformation campaign which is being directed by the intelligence organizations of interested powers in order to manipulate public opinion, to discredit communism, socialism and in fact to create the view that you put forward at this moment (there are historical examples where this has happened : the Chinese revolution of 1949 is one of them. There have been more recent ones, and given the conditions under which information is now coming out of Cambodia, or rather I should put it the other way around, given the lack of any normal channels of the flow of information, where we have only refugee sources, Asian intelligence, Western intelligence sources and the official radio of the regime's declared enemy) to establish the picture of Cambodia ? How is it that you feel, how is it that you are certain that the view that we have of Cambodia is correct ? And that we ourselves are not being

manipulated by intelligence ? And I must underscore this; I ask this question with no intention of implying that there is a lack of good will or expertise, or good faith on the part of any of the witnesses or experts, or the organization of this particular meeting.

J. LACOUTURE : You are implying that we are under the fire of propaganda by that or another big power. I have been a journalist for thirty-two years, I lived in many countries. Many attempts have been made to exert a pressure on me, either by totalitarian regimes where I was a correspondent, or by other types of regimes, supposedly liberal ones, but which had means of exerting a very complex pressure. And very sincerely, I do not believe I am manipulated. If I take this attitude today, with some others, it is not out of joy, since, for years I wished the victory of the Khmer Rouge, pleaded for them, and compromised several friendships for this cause. It is not just for the pleasure of it that I am renouncing now to a political view held for several years. If today, our only source of information is some official Khmer information (which often is quite eloquent by itself, and which has been often quoted in this very room), which is not very encouraging ; (the official Khmer texts are often depicting this type of regime quite well); if we consider that our other source of information is only the refugees, who, we can understand pretty well, have suffered alot and may naturally, have a feeling of rancor or a will of revenge; if such is the situation as to the information we receive, it is because Cambodia is the only one country in the world which does not allow any informant to come in, who does not depend directly on a government which needs to preserve its relations with Cambodia. We are told, yes, such or such a journalist from Eastern countries have been to Cambodia : Chinese and Vietnamese, at the beginning, then Romanian and Yugoslav. But we know fairly well that these journalists are very dependent on their governments, and are not really free to express themselves. Moreover, what came out of their reports is rather in disfavour of the actual way of life of the Khmer.

I say, that if this regime is actually hiding, at any price (contrary to any other Asian regime) all the information, well, we are told it is another civilization, but we have been able to go to China, to North Korea and that is not Switzerland. These

regimes are known to be strict as to the possibilities of visiting, and which have material problems ; we have been able to visit these countries which are radical revolutionary countries. In Cambodia, I am not even speaking about myself - I can be considered as a bourgeois journalist - I am speaking of real revolutionaries, belonging to any country in the world and writing for newspapers which do not owe anything to their governments, who have been the companions of the Khmer Rouge during the war : that these people be denied the rights to go see what is happening in Cambodia, I say it is a crime against international society, and that it constitutes another proof of the tragic situation there. Of course, we should not be satisfied to see the door slammed in our face, and then claim that crimes are committed behind this door : it is a bad indication and not a sufficient one. But we have testimonies of people who lived in this country under the revolutionary system and who got out of it and who are speaking to us. One can, of course contest this source, and say that this one or that other particular one has been infiltrated, has been brain_washed by the CIA. But when we hear stories which are not similar, but which cross-check one another at months' intervals, in very different countries at very different moments and have very diverging aims, coming from very different social stratas, professions and various Cambodian areas, then we finally get a very reliable source of information upon which Mr. François PONCHAUD's book was written, which for a long time, remained the main source of information. The author speaks Khmer, knows Cambodia and has questioned hundreds of interlocutors.

R. NATIONS : I would like to briefly underscore that I asked that question not from a hostile point of view, but again as a journalist myself, who has to deal with the same subject and who has to answer the same question, in the light of the objectives of this particular conference, which has to face the critical inquiries of those sceptical about the information that is coming out.

Ursula NACCACHE : Mr. LACOUTURE, I think one can say, the Khmer Rouge used a vacuum technique : they emptied the cities, they abolished the Khmer culture, they separated families. You knew, during the revolution, before 1975, some leaders of this revolution, such as KHIEU SAMPHAN, IENG SARY, THIEUM MOUMM, Etc.

I think, you discussed with them about what they were going to do once they win the war. Was this planned? Did they say they were going to use a vacuum technique? What were they going to propose, to replace what they had destroyed: cities, culture, religion, families? Or is there a very big disparity between their intentions and their acts?

J. LACOUTURE : Neither with KHIEU SAMPHAN in 1961 or 1962 in Phnom Penh, when he was state secretary in Prince SIHANOUK's government, nor with IENG SARY, who was an advisor or a body guard of Prince SIHANOUK in Peking in 1972, nor with THIEUM PRASIT during his missions to Paris during the war, and not even with THIEUM MOUMM, whom I knew the best and whom I met quite often in Paris during the war, and HOU YOUN whom I met in 1961 and 1962 in Phnom Penh, did I hear about the decision of radical emptying of Cambodian cities or of the total elimination of the practice of Buddhism in the country. On the contrary, the texts we had at that time and the conversations we could have with the leaders of the Cambodian revolutionary left, were more in the line of a wide front and of a class collaboration. I know, it is a normal strategy during a war, which undergoes a transformation after the war, during the peace. But, anyhow, nothing in these conversations with the leaders could lead us to suppose those kinds of measures. Of course, would we have been more attentive to what was going on in the Khmer Rouge occupied areas, we would have seen that the policy of systematic emptying of the cities and of urban agglomerations was already in practice for several years, and that what was done in Phnom Penh in 1975, as well as in BATTAMBANG, KOMPONG CHHNANG and other places had already taken place in big agglomerations which were under Khmer Rouge control. This had been suggested to us by such and such or other informers, from such and such or other country, but we refused to believe it; at that time we considered ourselves as indefectible allies of the revolutionary Khmers. Maybe we did not know how to do our job well enough so impassioned were we by the cause of the Khmer Rouge.

U. NACCACHE : I thank you very much for this answer, which was very frank and honest. What interests me, is your personal road since you supported the Khmer Rouge revolution when it was still in preparation. And now, you are almost a spokesman for those, who condemn this regime. What has been your personal road?

J. LACOUTURE : I think, that my individual case is not very interesting. But I can tell you that many people have been seen supporting the Soviet revolution, then condemning stalinism. Many revolutions undergo perversions. The revolutionary activities against feudalism, capitalism or imperialism are highly respectable ones, but the practice of power leads, sometimes to another type of behaviour, and that is, in a way, what happened here. I am not going to say, as some French intellectuals say today that power by definition is evil in itself because there are powers, practiced honestly and in confirmation with a given ideological line, even if some accommodations with the facts are accepted. As to me personally, I refused to believe the terrible information about Cambodia, about the emptying of the city of Phnom Penh for several weeks and even months, and I can say that I was really impressed and even started questioning my support of the Khmer revolution, only when I read articles published in the beginning of 1976, seven or eight months after the Khmer Rouge takeover, by our friend François PONCHAUD, present here, and who published in "Le Monde" a series of three articles revealing very seriously what he knew about the situation in Cambodia. I did not read, and did not want to read the articles he had published previously in "La Croix", but his "Le Monde" articles shook me very deeply and from that time on I wanted to meet systematically Cambodians who knew the previous situation, and I evolved progressively up to the point, I consider today, that this revolution, I called with all my wishes, and supported with all my writings, was actually the perversion of a revolution.

PECE Lim Kuon : Mr. LACOUTURE, you said in your statement that you have been only seven times to Cambodia and that you were French and did not know the very complex Cambodian problem to its depths. I want to ask you : why, and how could you judge the actual Cambodian problem and what do you mean by the "peoples of Indochina", because, as far as I know, Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam are three very different countries.

J. LACOUTURE : As to your second question, it happens that "Indochina" is a geographical name in use long before the French colonization : the word has been formed, as far as I know by a Danish geographer. It is a geographical name, the same way, as we speak of the "peoples of Europe", when there are very different peoples in Europe, or "peoples of Southeast Asia, which are

also very different and of "peoples of Indochina", because it is a collection of peoples living between India and China, and which is very currently used in the scientific vocabulary.

As to judging the actual regime of Phnom Penh, I reckon and I have already said it (everybody knows it) that we lack a certain amount of information. It is thanks to you that we have a certain amount of it, and it is serious enough since you answered me yesterday that you preferred to die rather than to live in today's Cambodia. Your judgement has been more severe than the one I formulated myself. You are Khmer and you have more the right to judge than me. But it seems to me, that one can judge a country which one visited, and even countries one has never visited. In my youth, I severely judged nazism though I had never been to Germany and did not speak German ; I severely criticized Italian fascism, though I did not speak Italian and had only made touristic trips to Italy ; I severely criticized and was politically active against Franco-ism, but I did not speak Spanish and had visited Spain only as a tourist. I made accusations against Japanese militarism, though I did not speak Japanese and at that time, had never been to Japan. The difference between countries and cultures does not mean one cannot express a judgement, when a form of terror appears somewhere if one is in possession of serious reports on the subject.

I had not been in the extermination camp of Dachau, or in the Auschwitz one, when I judged and wrote, like many others, that the nazi extermination camps were a shame for mankind. So, I think that the participation in a certain culture is not compulsive to judge it politically and show one's indignation.

Per Øyvind HERADSTVEIT : I have two questions for you, Mr. LACOUTURE. First :: in order to qualify you, what is your ideology, your political attitude, if you have one ?

J. LACOUTURE : It seems difficult for me not to have a political attitude since I practiced political journalism for a very long time. Let us say that I am sympathetic towards socialism and that I have supported the majority of socialist regimes for a very long time in the world, those at least which do not mix socialism with ultra-nationalism and with terror.

P.O. HERADSTVEIT : Are you a communist ?

J. LACOUTURE : No, I am not a communist, I am not a marxist.

P.O. HERADSTVEIT : My second question is, where, in which points is the Khmer Rouge doctrine in contradiction with Lenin's experiences ?

J. LACOUTURE : The Lenin formula of socialism has often been resumed to "electrification plus the Soviets". The electrification in Cambodia is nowadays reduced to a total condemnation of the urban technical and scientific civilization. Instead of switching electricity on, the Khmer Rouge seem to have switched it off. In this particular point, it seems to me that they are in a radical contradiction with the teachings of the traditional marxists-leninists, especially those who followed Lenin. As to the Soviets, one does not hear of a general consultation of self-criticism being spoken of anywhere. All we know about the rules in Cambodia today is that decisions are made by a small group of people, which is actually the same perversion as that of Lenin by Stalin in 1922 - 1923. I think that we actually in Cambodia ^(see) a stalin-type perversion with an extreme concentration of power in the hands of a small group of persons called ANGKA LEU, or the Politburo of the CCP and a total contradiction with marxism-leninism, by refusing urban and technical civilization.

P.O. HERADSTVEIT : I just received a press release from the alternative hearing in Oslo, saying that the present Hearing has contributed in nothing to enlighten the situation in Cambodia. What do you think of it ?

J. LACOUTURE : It seems difficult for me to have an opinion on a colloquium which is actually going on. I think that even before this Hearing started, the alternative one announced that nothing honest could come out of this colloquium, in which we are taking part. This Hearing was, according to them, financially supported by the CIA and organized by agents of the imperialist powers. I think that we learned here interesting things that many of the addresses we heard here have been useful and impartial, like for instance, the one given by my friend Charles MEYER this morning, which was very well balanced and very non polemic towards the actual Cambodian regime. And I do not know if I am

alone here, to have been deeply upset by Dr. OUP NAL's testimony which we heard this morning, not only his speech but especially his answers concerning the alimentary situation in present day Cambodia and those about the sanitary conditions. The picture he gave us of this train, passing through SISCAPHONE full of men women and even children, coming back from these terrible twelve hour days of work, totally undernourished ... I do not know if you have been upset, touched and if you learned anything from it, but as to me, these few minutes we spent here, were worth coming to Oslo.

R. NATIONS : I would like to continue my role as the devil's advocate : I would like to bring up a few of the points which are mentioned by the alternative hearing, and by those who are critical of this Hearing. These are some of them : In the "Financial Times" of February 30th(?), an article was published, which said a Vietnamese had passed through Northern Cambodia and had seen and heard nothing of executions. He went from Northern Cambodia to Thailand. Secondly the "Far Eastern economic Review's" Indochina correspondent, Mr. CHANDAR, who visits Vietnam frequently and who is also well acquainted with Cambodia has told some of us in this Hearing that he has heard no Cambodian refugee tell him directly that he (the refugee) had personally witnessed executions inside of Cambodia. Thirdly, I personally have spoken with very responsible members (and I might say for my opinion intelligent ministers of an Asian government) which have visited Cambodia and who told me that in fact the people which they had seen looked to be well fed, not particularly happy, but certainly not in the state of severe deprivation, starvation or in any way deprived. I would also like to point to what might be considered I would not like to say discrepancies, but other points of view in your own report : you mentioned, for instance, that the regime is attempting to make a complete break with the past, in fact the POL POT regime takes all its visitors to Angkor Vat and underscores the glorious past of the Khmer nation. Secondly, you have stressed a number of times its hostility and its condemnation of technical and scientific civilization, whereas indeed there has been a complete evacuation of the cities and its hostility to the urban classes as they were composed, prior to the revolution is not in doubt. POL POT said that indeed they plan to build industry very quickly, and I quote him directly from the famous interview he gave to the Yugoslav press. Where do we get the capital,

he says : "We must depend on agriculture to create the capital : we will export farm products and import industrial goods we need for the agricultural sector and our industry as well. At the same time, it is our principle to train as many technical cadres as quickly as possible." Thirdly I believe you mentioned that the regime is determined to eliminate all foreign influence. Do you consider this enough, to open some doubts in the conclusions of your own report ?

J. LACOUTURE : You have quoted Mr. CHANDAR, whom I respect very much, and who is one of our colleagues who knows the best the situation in Cambodia, among those who have not been there. You quote CHANDAR, who is just back from a long stay in Vietnam, and whose report I have partly read in a French newspaper. But he could not go to Cambodia. First objection. Now, as to comparing both systems : I have heard about Cambodian refugees in Vietnam, but never of Vietnamese refugees in Cambodia. Should we, in order to throw a doubt on what has been said here by Cambodians, who lived in Cambodia before and after the revolution, who suffered from this type of regime, who came as far as here, to bear their testimonies, give priority to journalists' reports, British journalists who heard in Vietnam somebody saying he had never seen anyone killed ? It seems to me that direct testimony by people who lived these events and who are present here, who are not as far as we know, at least a majority of them, agents of the CIA is far more interesting than that which has been said to an English journalist by a Cambodian in Hanoi. It seems to me that we should give priority to the testimonies we have heard here.

As to the general objectives of the regime, destruction of the past, right, I never said that the Khmer Rouge were ashamed of Angkor. I think that what lies at the bottom of this regime is an extreme nationalism, and that, I understand pretty well except when it takes the shape of total isolationism in respect to other nations, and refuses any form of international cooperation. I understand pretty well that a people which has been humiliated for a long time by colonization, foreign influence and threats from a powerful neighbour, take the concept of a nation and

national pride very seriously. It is normal that objecting to a big part of the Khmer national inheritance, the Khmer leaders show their visitors the temples of Angkor, witnesses of the greatness of Khmer history. That is not in opposition with wide cultural destructions, like for instance, the abolishment of Buddhism.

As to the technical orientation, I agree that Mr. POL POT told of his intentions to those Yugoslav journalists, about further industrial development. But Mr. POL POT and his comrades have been in power in Phnom Penh for already three years now and one can only hear of the diminishing industrial production. As far as we know, the too few factories built in Cambodia either by the French colonization or by the regimes of SIEANOUK or LON NOL and widely destroyed by the American invasion, have not been rebuilt, though it would have been relatively easy to put some of these plants back into production.

R. NATIONS : Thank you very much. I would simply like to say that I raise these points not because I do not agree myself, but only in the interest of broadening the debate.

The CHAIR : No more further questions. We are then going to listen to Mr. OUM NAL, who can give us some very interesting information on the judiciary situation in Cambodia.

OUM Nal : I should like to apologize for going back a little to what I previously said. What induces me to give you this small complement of information about the judiciary proceedings in Cambodia, was a question asked me privately by one of our journalist friends and one of my compatriots. What I have to say is not very much, but I happened to have witnessed in the village I was staying, the functioning of a small peoples' tribunal.

We know that Cambodia has a Constitution, there is an article in this Constitution which stipulates that peoples' tribunals should function in order to defend peoples' interests and peoples' justice. We have already spent hours listening about this perverted Khmer Rouge revolution, where all the paragraphs of ^{the} Human Rights Declaration have been violated from A to Z. From what was written in the Constitution, when we see what happened in prac-

tice, it is hard for you Westerners to imagine. You pay deep respect to the notions of the Human Person and of Human Justice. And there is a tremendous difference between the practical and the theoretical realities. Since the last sentence of their Constitution says that whatever casts a slur on the security of the State, should be severely punished. You can imagine what kind of juridicial proceedings it implies. Generally speaking, the serious infractions are punished by death. We already heard about a number of such cases. What I witnessed was a case of theft : a student, from the last class of high school, was sent by the ANGKA to a village distant of fifteen kilometers. He was very hungry, and deprived for a very long time of sugar and salt. He had stolen 1 kilo of salt and 1 kilo of sugar from a person belonging to the "old people". His theft was discovered, and the whole village gathered to discuss the case. On the village level the people's tribunal consists of the representatives of the authorities : the chief of the village, who is the president, the vice president and a third person belonging to the so-called "peoples' police", his task being to intervene in case of someone being caught red handed, to tie him and to take him to the centre of the village, to call all the villagers to come attend the trial and hear the verdict. That is the peoples' tribunal at its lowest level, and the exact picture of the juridicial procedure.

The defendant sits on a bench in the middle of the square and waits for the verdict.

Who has the right to decide of life or death, as asked the journalist ? Actually, it is these three men who are the administration of the village and who can already be called ANGKA. This lowest echelon of the ANGKA is habilitated to decide of the life and death of the defendant. As to the peoples' tribunal itself, i.e. the villagers called to attend the "trial", they were mere spectators and did not take part in the deliberation. I have been myself at this particular trial and have seen it myself. Fortunately this young boy did not die, due to a clemency of the village leader. I thank you.

Anders BRATHOLM : I have a question about the legislation in Cambodia. Is the old legislation abolished ? Have they new laws, written laws ? And in which way are the people acquainted with these laws ?

OUM N. : I am sorry not to be able to answer this question correctly and completely. As a matter of fact, as we have seen, everything has been changed, starting with the Constitution and the laws. There is a new constitution and there are new laws. The population was warned by radio broadcasts about the existence of the new Constitution. As to what is written in it, I think that the people did not get a chance to learn it. I was lucky, since I took part in this "selection" meeting of the intellectual "technicians" where this new Constitution was read. But, unfortunately, we did not have time to note such or such an article in it.

The CHAIR :: No question. Word to Mr. RAMM.

Hans Henrik RAMM : Program for the next day. At the alternative hearing, there was a Kampuchean patriot speaking, and we shall try to make a last attempt to invite this patriot here. If he accepts, I hope you will accept listening to him during lunch time.

THE END OF THE 2nd DAY

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Third day of the Hearing, April 23, 1978 from 9.10 to 17.00.

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Hans Henrik RAMM : Welcome. Program of the day. The Red Khmer patriot from the so-called alternative Hearing had been invited by letter. But, he will probably not come, since his friendship organization in France already refused to do so.

CHAIR : A word on Mr. John BARRON. He grew up in Texas, attended the Missouri School of Journalism, where he received bachelors' and masters' degrees. Upon release from the Navy in 1957, he went to work for the "Washington Star" as a reporter. Investigative reporting in the 1960s brought him national attention, and some of the highest professional rewards available to American journalists. He joined the "Readers' Digest" in 1965, and in the beginning of 1969, directed the worldwide research on the activities of the Soviet KGB, which resulted in the book "The Secret Work of the Soviet Secret Agents", which became a best-seller in the USA and in Western Europe. He is also known for his book, entitled "The Murder of a Gentle Land" in the United States, and "Peace with Horror" in the British Commonwealth, which is based upon hundreds of interviews with Cambodian refugees and other investigations by the author in Southeast Asia. This book was written in collaboration with another of our distinguished visitors, Mr. Anthony PAUL. Mr. BARRON who works at the Washington office of the "Readers' Digest" is responsible for the conception or writing on books and articles pertaining to international affairs.

JOHN BARRON : (see text previously done - 12 pages).

The CHAIR : Thank you. The letter sent to the Khmer Rouge representative at the Alternative Hearing has been returned to us unopened.

Anders BRATHOLM : Mr. BARRON, how would you try to explain the extreme brutality, sadism and destruction of the Khmer Rouge ? Is there some kind of philosophy behind it ? Or have the events gone out of control ?

John BARRON : I am not an authority neither an historian of Khmer culture. In our work, we try to be reporters and report things the best we can simply about what happened after April 17 so my response will be a subjective one : I think we see, in the behaviour of this small clique of people, who have gathered for themselves absolute power ; one of the most terrible consequences of ultimate tyranny. I think that they have not simply misdirected a revolution, but they have the resolution of obliterating all pre-existing society, all external influence, so as to create a kind of pristine laboratory out of which or in which they can fashion the ideal society as they imagine it. I think they feel that any means are justified, to achieve this ideal society. I would also, though, agree that part of the motivations is doubtless that expressed by my distinguished colleague yesterday, their insecurity born of the recognition that they do not enjoy a popular support and that they are threatened by their neighbours to the East. But I see it basically as the ultimate of nihilism.

Albert Henrik MOHN : You mentioned that most Cambodians who attempt escaping die. Could you give us an estimate of how many of them died this way ?

J. BARRON : I honestly cannot. One can assume, playing with figures that at least ninety thousand have escaped and that perhaps only one out of five, who attempts to flee succeeds, then we could say that maybe four hundred and fifty thousand have perished trying to escape. But that would just be a conjecture. I really do not know any data which would enable us to give a precise figure. Many of this people, it must be remembered, perish unknown and unmarked in the jungle and are completely blown up, as one of the witnesses said. I should say, that the figure is substantial, but I just have no valid means of offering a precise figure.

Gunnar FILSETH : Mr. BARRON, Hanoi radio recently carried a report quoting⁸ female refugee about an enforced mass wedding of 120 couples in a Khmer commune. The report also told about a suicide attempt during this ceremony, of one of the girls forcibly married. Further this Hanoi radio report said that enforced mass weddings were common in Cambodia and also that suicides were common in this connection. Should a report like this be dismissed as mere Vietnamese propaganda, or can it be substantiated by other information ?

J. BARRON : When a virtual state of war exists between two nations, I suppose it is prudent to consider the statements of either combatants sceptically. But I do recall, in our own research of a planned forced mass wedding in which invalids or wounded Khmer Rouge veterans would be allowed to choose their wife, who were given no choice about the wedding, and we did find evidence of numerous attempted or actual suicides during the exodus. So in our own research, there is some data that is consistent with what you have reported. But I do not think Mr. PAUL or I have ourselves gathered any data that would prove widespread enforced marriages.

G. FILSETH : One additional question. Is there any statement from the ANGKA LEU, which says that any marriage has to be authorized by the ANGKA ?

J. BARRON : I do not know, whether there had been any formal proclamation from Phnom Penh to that effect, but we have widespread repeated testimonies that that is the case. In fact it is almost unbelievable, but we hear again and again that most innocent flirtations, casual relations between a boy and a girl can be a cause for draconian reaction. Marriages certainly do, in practice, I think in the countryside, have to be authorized by the local ANGKA, the prevailing authorities, whether or not there had been a formal statement to that effect. In practice that is the case.

Richard NATIONS : Mr. BARRON, in your document presentation, you have not mentioned the accounts on cannibalism, which have been brought to our attention at this Hearing, and which have also been reported from other sources : refugees, as well as defectors from the Khmer Rouge in Thailand refugee camps. I would

I would like to ask your judgement as to whether you think cannibalism exists under the present conditions in Cambodia, if so, to what extent? And what may be its motivation?

J. BARRON : Either we were justified or intellectually honest, in retrospect, I do not know. But in our research we heard at times account stories from sources who seemed to us very credible. But stories which were so horrible that we thought they simply would not be believed. They were so alien to Western experience, that we decided to omit them. Even though I think in our hearts we thought they were true. I have heard some reports of cannibalism born of desperate starvation. In my judgement, it is not widespread, and as Mr. PAUL emphasized in his statement, cannibalism is strictly proscribed by the Khmer Rouge and is certainly not a sanctioned practice. Nevertheless, we have heard occasional accounts of this taking place.

R. NATIONS : If you believe it has taken place, is it specific to the Khmer Rouge regime, that would induce cannibalism? Or are there accounts of the same sort of behaviour under the previous regime?

J. BARRON : It is my opinion that such incidents as may have occurred, do not result from the policies of the Khmer regime per se but from the desperation of people dying of starvation. I really do not know if there was cannibalism under the previous regime. I do not think, in any case, that it is widespread, I do not think that it is a central issue. There may have been some cases, but in my judgement it is an aberration, not a current occurrence.

PECH Lim Nuon : Mr. BARRON, you have written in your statement that during the five years of the war, the communists were known as the "Khmer Rouge". After the conquest of the country, they called themselves "ANGKA", the "Organization". And from August 1977, they proclaimed themselves communists. Could you, on the grounds of these diverse denominations, explain the evolution of the Cambodian revolution?

J. BARRON : The moving group of the revolution in my judgement is composed of a very small number of people, most of whom were educated in France in the 1950s, where they became, in name at least marxists, and when they came to Cambodia, they became ul-

timately an insurgent movement and were interested at this time, had an incentive to mask and mute their identities as communists. This motivation remained with the formation of the coalition, to which Prince SIHANOUK lent his name. Even in the areas they occupied prior to their final conquest, they did not advertise themselves as communists ; it was only after April 17th that more and more frequently, the mention of communism was made, but still everything was done in the name of ANGKA LEU. Last August the celebrated speech of POL POT pointed out what everyone already knew; that they were, and always have been communists. They have chosen, for their own reasons of expediency to use various titles.

Tore STUBBERUD : Mr. BARRON, in your paper, you are telling us that, together with your colleagues, you have been interviewing approximately 500 Cambodian refugees. Did you ever meet refugees trying to explain the situation of the country and not only attacking the leaders ? If so, what were their arguments ?

J. BARRON : Searching my memory, I cannot recall ever interviewing anyone who offered a coherent, rationale of the behaviour at all. The general reaction, emotional and intellectual that we encountered, was that of a wall of stunned bewilderment and at least in the early interviews, most people were rather mystified as to what the leadership even was. The term ANGKA, ANGKA LEU had a mysterious connotation. The people themselves could not delineate in their own minds, how the country was being run, or where the highest party resided, or what the purpose was. To many of the people, particularly people accustomed to cultivating rice, the patterns of agriculture imposed, were mad, and we never as far as I can recall, received from any of the refugees a definitive explanation of why does it happen.

T. STUBBERUD : Mr. BARRON, what are the official arguments of the Khmer Rouge leaders for not letting journalists into the country ?

J. BARRON : I am not sure, I really know. They have said different things at different times. Some of their statements suggest that, in due time, there will be an opening up, gradually of the country : they have stated that really, in time, they want to have normal relations with the other nations of the world. I

recall a statement to the effect that they require some time, so to speak, "to put the house in order" after all the chaos of the war, and they are just not quite ready to receive visitors in the manner they would like. It is about the closest explanation I can make.

Asbjørn EIDE : What I am wondering about is the way in which people get to know what is expected of them? What kind of behaviour will be positively sensed, and what kind of behaviour would be negatively sensed and even punished by death. It seems that it is very difficult, even for those who want to comply, to know what they are expected to do. Could you comment on this?

J. BARRON : There are indoctrination sessions conducted periodically at night, in which the scriptures of ANGKA LEU are promulgated; the expectations of the authorities made clear. Some reports suggest that of late, in portions of the country at least, these sessions now are conducted three times a month, a day being taken off from labour, for forced indoctrination. I do think that what the people are aware of, is that they had better not offend ANGKA LEU. There is this ubiquitous fear of "being sent to ANGKA LEU". They understand that they have to work and not deviate from what they are told in these sessions.

A. EIDE : Do the local people, who conduct these night sessions in fact know what the ANGKA LEU wants of them? Or might it be that they are more or less explaining what they want from the people, in a more or less disorganized way, so that it is a chaotic situation, in which nobody has the leadership? What is your impression on this?

J. BARRON : My very distinct and strong impression is that while it is always possible for a local official to human error or whatever idiosyncrasy, deviate from standard procedures, and while communications may not always be rapid and universal, that the general pattern of life, the regiments, the expectations are countrywide. I really do not believe that anything significant occurs over a protracted period unless it is what has been decreed by the central ruling regime.

A. EIDE : I have a very different question. It concerns some of the evidence about massacres : I am thinking about massacres in Thailand. When the Thai military crushed the democratic government in 1976, and started themselves, rather crude counterinsurgency operations, might they have been interested in covering up some of the counterinsurgency actions, as had been perpetrated by Cambodian incursions ?

J. BARRON : Maybe that is a possibility, but the Thai government with very little deviation, had sought to accommodate with the Cambodians. It tended to ignore and minimize these attacks and attempts to explain them as the excesses of local over zealous Khmer Rouge commanders, rather than premeditated policies of Phnom Penh. So, I do not think they are utilizing the incidents to mask some of their own counterinsurgency actions.

Guri ULFRSTAD : Mr. BARRON, I was very struck by what you said about the witness saying that every 200 yards along the road he was forced to walk on, he saw a dead child. Now, a few weeks ago, an Indian weekly publication from Bombay quoted a Cambodian witness stating that he had seen with his own eyes three lorry loads of children being thrown into a rapidly running river, and I quote his statement : "The smallest ones went down like pebbles the older ones tried to swim, but all were carried away by the current, as far as I could see". Now, Mr. BARRON, do you have any information that could make this at all believable, seem possible, and if you have, could you tell us if you have any idea, from your talks with refugees, of what could motivate an act like that one ?

J. BARRON : I know nothing of this particular incident and as far as I know, neither Mr. PAUL nor I have any data which would authenticate it. I am very sad to report that I can never forget many accounts of how children were murdered, particularly in early days. I do believe, that children have been killed in most terrible ways, but I do not know anything about this particular incident.

Victor SEARRE : Mr. BARRON, in your research and interviewing the refugees, I assume you often met people that you could not use as reliable sources for information. How big a percentage of people you were questioning did you have to rule out as unreliable sources of information ? And what do you think made

their information unreliable ? Was it fear or any other reason ?

J. BARRON : I would like Mrs. NACCACHE or Mr. PAUL to participate in that answer but I guess time does not allow, because they conducted so many of the interviews. I found relatively few people who I thought were consciously inventing information; initially I could not just believe that and I believe that I perhaps discarded testimonies that at first were so incredible that I might have accepted later. I take the most common motivation of those, whom we consider unreliable was the desire, perhaps to conceal their association with the Khmer Rouge, or participation in some of the atrocities to mask their own guilt. I will say that in all of my journalistic experience, I have never encountered a group of subjects, whose basic testimony was more consistent, than was that of the Khmer refugees with whom I have spoken.

R. NATIONS : Under what conditions were you allowed to interview refugees in the camps, and specifically whether the Thai authorities were present during most of the time ?

J. BARRON : The conditions have varied very greatly over the years. When I personally was there, in 1975, we, through the intercession of the Thai Ministry of the Interior, gained access to camps that, at that time, were closed to everyone, including the CIA. We had unrestricted liberty and the only intercession at that time by Thai authorities was to facilitate our entry into the camp with local officials. Mr. PAUL's experiences have been different and the access is a very fluctuating policy of Thailand. I do not believe, frankly, that the Thai authorities attempted to control or influence our interviews, except that at certain periods they have attempted to obstruct our efforts, as well as those of other journalists interviewing Cambodian refugees.

R. NATIONS : What percentage of your informants would you judge belonged to the Khmer resistance organizations ?

J. BARRON : Almost none. I think there was a great desire to belong to some, but I found very very few, perhaps Mr. PAUL had more who had ^{any} connections with any kind of organized resistance movement.

The CHAIR thanks Mr. BARRON. (short recess)

Floor to Mr. CHOU TRY :

TESTIMONY BY MR. CHOU TRY :

Mr. President,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

My presence here today is not to criticize a regime with which I was in disagreement. Even if this Hearing does not have a political aim, it is its duty to spread about the testimony which I am about to give especially to the international public opinion. Vague testimonies can distort the opinion of this Hearing. That is why I feel responsible for what I am going to tell you now, especially as to international opinion. I am in the teaching profession, the members of this profession love justice in society, peace and detest the exploitation of one social stratum by another : they like and wish very strongly to have a regime where the leaders and the people get along beautifully. I swear on my honour that that which I am telling you, I saw and heard while living in the course of one year's time with the Khmer Rouge. And this is all true. The freedom given by the Khmer Rouge could be resumed into four principles :

- Do not know anything,
- Do not hear anything,
- Do not see anything, and
- Do not say anything.

The final result was that a big part of the population died tragically. That is why I decided to escape, to leave my parents, my wife, my children, the members of my family and my dear country which I loved so much.

Ladies and Gentlemen, is it possible to build a country and a society without laying it on a good foundation ? Is it really possible ? Are the massacres, the death of the population by malnutrition, starvation, very serious diseases are all these happenings the fault of the ordinary Khmer Rouge soldiers or are they a part of the master plan formulated by the supreme Organization of the Khmer Rouge ? What type of people are designated by the Khmer Rouge as being traitors, imperialists, capitalists, CIA agents, intellectuals and invisible enemies - people which the Organization decided to kill, execute, exterminate and which it is still killing now ? And how many of this

type of people are there in a population of seven million in an area of 181,000 km² ? Will we be able to hope, one day, that the Organization will be capable of rebuilding a new Khmer society after having uprooted men from their natural environment ? Because man is very attached to his surroundings, the walls, the landscape, the furniture, parents, wives, children and all these things are a part of man, he cannot tear himself away from all these things.

Now I am going to tell the Hearing about my life with the Khmer Rouge. First I am going to tell you what happened between the 17th of April 1975 up to the 24th of April 1975. The 17th of April 1975, the whole population of PHNOM SROK gathered together joyously to welcome the arrival of the Khmer Rouge. They gathered all the weapons in one place for the Khmer Rouge. On April 18th 1975, the Khmer Rouge battalion No. 513 lead by Comrade NUONG, entered PHNOM SROK and started right off by inspecting the arms. On the 24th ^{April} of 1975 at 6.00 the soldiers (from the chief corporal down to the privates) were assembled into a pagoda named KANDAL to be ready to leave for military training. Whereas all the officers and superior officers were assembled at the commanding point of the Khmer Rouge Headquarters. The same day at 16.30, a truck was seen which was to take the families of the military men away to the feminine Khmer Rouge Organization, having its Headquarters at the pagoda BO. It was the pagoda which was to the East. Meanwhile the entire population was invited by the Organization to go to the same place to listen to the declaration of the representative of the Revolutionary Force. And no one could protest, everyone was obliged to go to attend this speech. At 18.30 you could hear the shooting of rifles to the Southwest of the village. One hour later, you could see the same truck come back and we were told by the Khmer Rouge that the firearms sounds we were hearing was the execution of the thieves which had stolen oxen. But at the same time, small boys, who were herding the oxen and who came later on to the village went whispering in the ears of their parents that all the officers had been executed. This news scared the people who were all assembled there. By 22.30, there were still no representatives of the Organization to come and give us a speech as had been announced.

On the contrary, we saw a small group of armed Khmer Rouge soldiers who came to declare that the Organization ordered the members of the families of the officers (I proceeded with the distribution of the list with the names of those officers, previously) to come with them to meet, with the representatives of the Organization. At that time, some of the members of these families already knew their fate had been decided for them, that is to say that they were going to die. I was able to witness the following : next to me, was an old lady. The lieutenant DEK YEUEH, who had two children, gathered all his belongings and gave them to the old lady saying : "Keep all my belongings and give them to my daughter who stayed with my mother, as for me, I am saying good-bye, since I am going to die". After having gathered all the members of the families of the military, which were on the above mentioned list, the Khmer Rouge took them away. At 1.30 the same truck this time equipped with loudspeakers was used to announce to the people that they could go home to gather all their belongings and be ready, the latest in three days by 6.00 to leave their village. And this, to permit the Organization to empty the village of all its enemies. That night, there was a heavy stillness about the air, as the people were gathering their belongings. By 3.00, one could hear the noise of the carts taking families away in different directions, mainly towards the North and East. As for my wife, the children and me, we took the Northern direction. The entire population was to live near the SRENG River. This river separates the province of BATTAMBANG from the SIEM REAP Province and is an arm of the TONLE SAP Lake. We stayed there for two or three days, then Comrade HATH came to tell us that the population could return to the village to take part in the rice production for the Organization. We were all, naturally, very happy, because we thought that the Organization was going to rebuild the country in order to achieve the beautiful society we all wished for. Upon arrival in the village, we saw at its gates, groups of Khmer Rouge soldiers standing at a distance of fifty meters from one another, who were shouting to us that only those poor peasants who had few belongings could enter the village, whereas the civil servants and those who owned big houses and many belongings could not enter the village. They asked the civil servants and the members

of the teaching profession, including me, to return to where we came from. And all our belongings were confiscated. I was sent along with some of my comrades, to the village called NAM TAU, which was located 16 km. away. We stayed there for about two or three days. Then, we were sent by the ANCKA 3 km North of NAM TAU where there was nothing, just forests and in the Khmer forests, the trees are very ^{high} and there, one could not find any water. And every time we needed water, we had to go fetch it in the village of NAM TAU, which was three kilometers away. We had nothing to carry the water in, and had to find small containers to carry the water in and often when coming back, there was hardly any water left in the containers for our families. We stayed in this forest for about one month approximately. On the 2nd of June 1975, the Organization called us back to our village to take part in the production with the ANCKA, the Organization, but upon entering the village, we were separated into tiny groups by the Khmer Rouge, which are named "kdab", "kdab" in Cambodian means "handful". I was in the "handful" which was led and controlled by a Khmer Rouge, Comrade PHAT. Comrade PHAT had such a bad-tempered character that at a certain moment, I could no longer bear it. So I left this "kdab" to work in the carpentry section. I was able to enter this carpentry section thanks to the intervention of its chief. This section had between sixty to one hundred people. I took part, with the others, in the demolition of the houses, of the schools and other buildings. The wood, recuperated from these destroyed buildings and houses, was used for the construction of Khmer Rouge camps in this area. I worked as a carpenter in this section for a little more than one month and after that, the Organization asked me to demolish houses in a village called SISOPHON. I went to demolish a big house which had belonged to^a second-lieutenant of the former regime, and we stayed over there for about ten days. I must admit that while I was working as a carpenter, I tried to do my best in this work, I was working very conscientiously because I wanted to stay alive, living with the Organization and also because I wanted to learn as much about the ANCKA as possible and I knew as well that the ANCKA was investigating on me. When this work was finished, I was designated to build a building very near the local hospital. I arrived to the local hospital before the others and there, I saw Comrade HATH arrive on his motorcycle. He said nothing other than : "Come with me.", and I got very scared and I thought I was living my last hour. When we reached a house, not far from there, Comrade HATH said : "You are in

charge of organizing and preparing this house in which we are going to keep the medicine our country needs". In this house there were not many things for the storage of medicine, just three sets of shelves. As for the medicine itself, there was not a big quantity of it ~~with~~ : there was only a small stock of it at the SISOPHON Pharmacy. My only job, at this medicine storehouse was to translate the name of the medicine into Khmer and then distribute it among the other small local "hospitals" of the village. The 15th of this month towards 15.00, I saw many many people arriving in trucks and in tractors. They were hurrying and there were really a great many people. Many trucks parked between the house I was working in and the school. These people were telling me that they had been deported from the Province of KOMPONG SPEU. I cannot describe the tragic, dramatic appearance of these people, these miserable people. Some had legs swollen with oedema, others with infected limbs, others with a sad face denied of any expression. All were extremely skinny and I had a bleeding heart for them. Some of these people were coming down from the truck and among them was a young woman who was screaming because she was delivering a baby. She was carried to the hospital. All these people were put in the school of PHNOM SROK shortly after, they were led to different other centres of the village. These people had no right to speak among themselves. I was able to speak to them because I was in charge of the distribution of some of the medicine to the sick, and I used this opportunity to get alot of information. All this took place during the dry season, and when all these people arrived, packed in trucks, it was extremely hot and there were no trees with any shade. During the night, it suddenly started raining so hard that I could not even go anywhere and the next day I was informed that many had died during the night, old people, children, men and women. Later, I found out that the deportation of the population was made possible by the mobilization of the villagers' carts, which had been confiscated from their owners. People were flowing in, week after week almost up to the moment I decided to flee the country. They came + from the provinces of TAKEU, Kandal (?), KOMPONG SPEU and KAMPOT. According to the ANGKA plans, the total number of people should reach one hundred thousand. Each new arrival, consisted of seven hundred to two thousand families and they were spread about in the different spots of PHNOM SROK where no one had lived previously. These people were to build their own barracks with-

out any tools whatsoever. They had to start from scrub with their bare hands.

Now, I shall speak of the Organization's structure. The lowest level was the "kdab" ("handful" in Cambodian). Each "kdab" consisted of ten to fifteen families with three responsible people. These three people were respectively : the chief, the aide-chief, and the member. These three people were the ANGKA, the Organization in the "kdab". On the next level : the "cooperative". In the cooperative there are at least five to ten "kdab". On the next level is the village, then the district, then the canton, then the region, then the province, and after that the sector, after which follows the entire country. These "kdab" existed only during the first one or two months, then the Khmer Rouge dissolved them, thus the "cooperative" became the lowest level.

Upon arrival of these people, the Khmer Rouge proceeded in a selection. They took the young girls and men aside to incorporate them into the mobile brigades and they could no longer stay with their families. The elimination of those they named enemies or traitors was done by driving these people away in Landrovers and executing them in some remote spots. These so-called enemies were taken away from PHNOM SROK to be exterminated in what is + called in Cambodian Rabakor (?), which means in Cambodian "the + place where the genius broke his head". Many people heard of the + existence of this place where massacres were perpetrated. Rabakor? + was located in the region called FRANET TREAS(?). Besides this particular place, there were two other places used by the Khmer Rouge for their executions. The list I have given you contains the names of one hundred and twenty superior officers, executed in these two places. These one hundred and twenty officers were not buried, and their corpses were emitting an unbearable smell. The wandering hungry dogs started eating the corpses of these one hundred and twenty officers and were then becoming very ferocious so that no one would dare approach them. These former officers had been shot. I mean, six of them had been shot whereas the others were killed with strikes of mattocks on the nape of their necks or on their heads. And nobody dared bury their corpses.

I would like to tell you now what happened inside the hospital. The sick ones first : their number was never under three hundred. These three hundred sick people were laying on the bare floor, with no sheets, no blankets; they were suffering terribly and screaming during the night - one could hear their cries - asking for death to come, so big were their sufferings. I would like to remind you that what I call "hospital" is in reality an ordinary house, not a hospital at all, just nothing. I cannot even call it by any specific name. Hygiene was nonexistent. Some of the sick were entirely naked, there were excrements, urine all over, because they were satisfying their needs on the spot without moving. It was incredible, and the smell was unbearable. In this, what I call "hospital" there were boys from twelve to eighteen years of age, who were sick and tired of their job, which consisted in taking the bodies of the deceased away to bury them.

As to the medicine, it generally consisted, at each distribution of five to ten kilograms of medicine which had to be evenly distributed among the six so-called "medical centres" (among which the centre of PHNOM SROK, where I was working). Besides this medicine of Western production, old homeopathy was used ; pills were made, according to ancient homeopathic prescriptions, to be used for making tablets against diarrhea, constipation and other sicknesses I do not need to tell you about. There were not only those tablets, but also liquid medicine, the fabrication of which + was under the supervision of a comrade whose name was Mt Ram (?) and who had twenty-four young girls under his orders. These girls did not even know the alphabet. The manufacturing of this liquid medicine was mainly a sort of distillation of wine or beer: all this was being boiled in a big container to which was added dried roots and tree bark ; the liquid was evaporated and after the stuff was filtered. The distilled liquid was poured into soda or coca-cola bottles which were then capped with a plastic "cork" with rubber around it. After two or three days, a deposit would already appear in the bottom of these medicine bottles. Once this medicine injected, an abscess would appear in the wounds and in spite of the fact that the patients were crying out in pain, the Khmer Rouge would not bother with them and when these abscesses would become ripe, and only then, would the Khmer Rouge operate without any use of alcohol (there was not any) but would use a distilled liquid with salt as disinfectant, not paying any attention to the suffering of the patient. During these crude

operations, the suffering patients would not dare scream, because they were too scared to. All this was so horrible and painful for me to see, that I would always avoid looking at these little operations. They would let the wounds after the operation heal by themselves and if it did not heal it would get seriously reinfected and then nothing was done anymore. I used this liquid medicine only the first couple of days after which I would throw it out, because I would not dare use it anymore. One day the plastic to cap the bottles with ran out, + and I joked about it with Comrade Rann(?) saying that if the Organization lacked plastic, how could it pretend rebuilding the country. I was able to joke because after so much time together, you get to know one another.

Now, I shall speak of the mobile brigades. Young men and women were separated. Each company consisted of fifty members and they would eat in a common dining hall. They worked day and night in the mud erecting dams. In spite of the fact that there were many many people to erect the dams, I noticed closed up and very unhappy expressions on their faces, beyond description. As for the young girls from those mobile brigades, they all stopped menstruating, even the feminine Khmer Rouge soldiers had stopped menstruating. They all had a uterine disease. There was a dam being erected at RUNCHEL near the SRENG River. Five thousand people were participating in this erection. A group of Khmer Rouge was in charge of the meal preparation. The workers would eat rice soup and every two or three days could have rice. One day, they put the rice on a big metallic sheet, because there were not enough plates, then they cooked an acid soup and poured it over the rice on the metallic sheet. The contact of the acid soup with the zinc of the plate produced an oxidation. Therefore, when the people ate this oxidated rice, they became intoxicated with zinc oxide. Those intoxicated people were driven in three trucks to my "hospital".

Two or three days later, a group of twenty-four young girls asked the Organization if they(the girls) could look for their parents because they did not know where to find them. Their first request was refused by the Khmer Rouge. Upon the second request, they were told to gather together at a certain place. Let me remind you that these twenty-four girls were high school girls from different Phnom Penh high schools. All of them were among those poisoned by the zinc oxide and were in my "hospital".

Two mattocks disappeared from the hospital kitchen. A few days later, I found out that those twenty-four girls had been executed at that place, approximately two kilometers from the village. This place, was the place where we would fetch stones for road building. Such executions would take place almost + every day. The responsible Khmer Rouge was Comrade Na (?).

Before finishing my speech, I would like to say that my testimony added to the hundreds of other refugee testimonies is already sufficient for you and for international public opinion. Will you permit this Khmer Rouge regime to continue scuffing the principles which you and we and all so cherish ?! Will you allow this regime to go on until it wipes the whole Khmer population off the face of this earth ?!

Personally I cannot believe that. I thank you.

P.S. I was short of time, therefore I could not tell you everything that was in my manuscript.

The CHAIR thanks the witness.

Asbjørn EIDE : You have talked considerably about executions. Have you ever seen any executions carried out yourself ?

CHOU Try : Among these corpses there was no one I had recognized personally. Because I could not see their faces clearly enough, they were all decomposed and dogs had already torn away arms and legs. I knew about some of them because the privates, who had escaped with me had known them, and these privates numbered thirty-three men. I was able to recognize Mr.....!s(?) + body which was left unburied. He was actually my father-in-law.

A. EIDE : You reported to Patrice De Beer from the "Guardian" in London on the 3rd of October 1976 that you had not witnessed any executions, although you had heard rumours of them. I would like you to explain the relationship between what you said now and the statement you made to "The Guardian".

CHOU T. : All I said was absolutely true. It is possible, however that I have forgotten to mention some details.

Victor SPARRE : The witness asked a question of appeal : how long are we going to allow this regime to massacre the Khmer people? What does the witness think ; is there any possibility for the Khmer people themselves to decide whether they want to allow this regime to continue and how many followers (the witness told us there are between ten to fifteen people in the top leadership of the Khmer Rouge) how many honest followers can the Khmer Rouge possibly have among the Khmer people ? And how do the people become members of the Khmer Rouge, do they receive a member card ?

CHOU T. : This question concerns politics and I cannot answer it with authority, but I must say that of course, the villagers can kill the small Khmer Rouge groups but then who will come help the villagers after that ?

Ursula NACCACHE : Mr. CHOU Try, you have been a responsible for a village hospital. Every day people were dying there. Did the families of the dying have the right to see their sick, to be present when people were dying ? If not, then, once somebody was dead, was the family warned in order to make a decent burial ?

CHOU T. : As I already mentioned above, the four freedoms allotted by the Khmer Rouge to the population are : - know not, -- hear not, - see not, and - speak not. This means that the population simply had no right to interfere in the Organization's business. When a sick person is brought to the "hospital", he is simply in the hands of the ANGKA. One loses no time for anything else but work. When there are dead bodies in the village, no more than two persons are allowed to carry them away.

Richard NATIONS : You mentioned the administration. I would like to ask more details on the relationship between the leadership and the population of the "kdab". Were the leadership selected from among the population or did they come from the outside ? And are you talking about the period before families and properties were abolished or after they were reorganized into work brigades ?

CHOU T. : As to the structure of the Khmer Rouge Organization, I knew it only at the time when I entered into the village, and the lowest level I knew of, at that time, was the "kdab" ("handful"), that is ten to fifteen families, and led by three persons:

the chief, the aide chief, and the member. The level above that is the "cooperative", then the village, then the quarter, then the district, then the region, province and military sector, and after that the Supreme Organization or the country. As to the relationships between ordinary soldiers and Khmer Rouge leaders, I can say that the soldier is there to listen to the orders from above. And those above knew that the orders were coming from higher up. A mistake was always punished by death.

R. NATIONS : My question was whether at the lowest level, the leadership : the president, vice president, are from the local population or whether they had been brought in from the outside ?

CHOU T. : The chiefs, the leaders of the villages belonged to the "old people", a few people had the privilege of becoming a village leader or even chief of the "kdsb". Those chosen, were generally uneducated people.

Gunnar FILSETH : I would like some more clarification about executions : did you see the executions with your own eyes or did you just see the bodies afterwards ? Could you be able to ascertain whether they had been executed or had died of other reasons ?

CHOU T. : I have already drawn up a graphic which has been distributed among you. Those who were massacred by means of mattocks were buried in three different spots which I indicated on this map, just have a look. Those having died from diseases were buried in two spots, one of these spots was at the former school, and the other one at the former cemetery. I have never witnessed any massacres with my own eyes, however I would run across the corpses when being sent by the Organization to different spots.

G. FILSETH : By which means were they executed ?

CHOU T. : Among those executed the 24th, only six were shot (we heard the sound of firearms) their hands tied behind their backs, so that they could not escape, whereas the others were massacred with mattocks (one could see the wounds on the smashed heads).

Guri ULFRSTAD : Mr. TRY, as I was trying at the same time, both to read your manuscript and to listen to your speech, I may have

missed something you said. What news have you from your own family which you had to leave behind ?

CHOU T. : The day I fled my country I was able to bid farewell to my father. I left my wife and three children in the country. As to my five brothers, they were already all killed. I do not know what my sister's fate was, because her husband too was in the teaching profession.

G. ULFRSTAD : Did you notice any special care taken by the Khmer Rouge of displaced children which must have gone everywhere in your country ? Were they assembled in some kind of orphanages or were they just left to exist anywhere ?

CHOU T. : The most dramatic sight I saw during my stay with the Khmer Rouge was that of the orphans. The Khmer Rouge said they had no time to take care of them as yet. These "stray" orphans roamed all over the place in the village, picking up tree barks, fruits, anything they could eat. They would sleep all over the place with the dogs, and the "old people" of the village had no right whatsoever to take care or to give aid to these miserable orphans.

Reidar HARKET : I have a question concerning the one hundred and twenty officers in the early days of April. You said that you heard the gunfire, and some children confirmed that the execution had taken place. You also said that the dead bodies were displayed afterwards. Did you personally see these bodies, and could you identify them ?

CHOU T. : I was able to reenter the village over a month after the massacre of those officers had taken place. They were already decomposed and torn up by the dogs. But those who had entered the village before me could still recognize some of the
+ corpses. Among them, the Gendarme THIEM (?) was recognized.
+ Captain NOU (?), that of a military company Sergeant-Major, whose name I forgot and who was responsible for the defense force of the town.

Tore STUBBERUD : Who told you the story of the execution of the twenty-four girls and what was the concrete reason for this execution ?

CHOU T. : I already told you about the reasons of this execution, after the zinc oxide intoxication, those twenty-four girls were transported on the tractors to the hospital and after recovering, they asked the Organization permission to search for their parents. Their first request was refused, and upon the second request, the Khmer Rouge gave orders to two of their + soldiers (the name of one of those soldiers was(?) to take mattocks along. Those soldiers took the girls away and I was able to see this, because I was standing by the kitchen of the hospital but I did not know that it was for execution. After + the execution, Comrade(?) told all about it to another + comrade ...l-----(?), telling him it was done, it was over. And I could overhear all that. Other village people could find the bodies of these twenty-four girls, and recognize one of them, as + the daughter of a Phnom Penh film producer, from the(?) productions". Later one, I met the sister of this girl, who came to find me, asking if I happened to know what the Khmer Rouge did with her sister, I answered her, I could not tell her, but if she wanted to know, that she had to go and ask it to the Khmer Rouge, but in my opinion it is no use asking them.

Per-Oyvind HERADSTVEIT : It is about the same case : how were these girls executed, in which manner?

CHOU T. : I do not know, how these girls were executed, but when the Khmer Rouge took them away, I saw them hurriedly taking mattocks.

P.O. HERADSTVEIT : You have not seen the corpses ?

CHOU T. : I never saw the corpses of these twenty-four girls, because I never went in that direction, but this road being of some importance, other people saw them.

The CHAIR : Thank you Mr. CHOU Try. The next witness is Mr. SUON Chhang.

TESTIMONY BY MR. SUON CHHANG

Mr. Chairman,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

My name is SUON Chhang, I am born on the 3rd of May 1952 in the village of CHONG KAL, Province of ODDAR MEAN CHHAY. My profession is agricultural worker. The 18th of April 1975, was the victory day for the Khmer Rouge of ODDAR MEAN CHHAY Province. At that time, I was a member of the village defense commando and was ordered by the Khmer Rouge to deposit all the weapons in the SAMRONG Pagoda. Then, the soldiers, commandos, civilians and civil servants of all ministries were ordered to gather in the SAMRONG Pagoda, to listen to a declaration of the Khmer Rouge officers. They declared that the whole population, including civilians, soldiers and all civil servants had not to be scared by rumours of massacres and executions. Private soldiers, company sergeant-majors and those responsible for ten houses were all told to write their names on the lists in order to go welcome Prince Norodom SIHANOUK.

In the morning of the 19th of April 1975, sixty former soldiers of the republican regime were taken in the Southern direction. Those responsible for ten houses were taken west of the village of SAMRONG. The same day, I left the village of SAMRONG for my native village of CHONG KAL. There, I found only five villagers, who gathered to attend the burial of my aunt, deceased from a sickness. Everybody else had been expelled from the village by the Khmer Rouge and were put to work. I could see the Khmer Rouge tying the hands of former soldiers and taking them to the East of the village. One week later, I went along with five friends to ask for permission to leave the village in order to fetch food. And we saw a mound of corpses near a dam, which had not been well buried. Some were partly buried, some were just thrown in a ditch. I could find, on one of the bodies the photograph of a Captain NEL, pinned to his inside pocket. There was blood on this body, which was lying near the River + SRENG, by the field of Talay (?), at a distance of three kilometers from the village of CHONG KAL.

Later on, the Khmer Rouge deported the population of SONRONG + and of ODDAR MEAN CHHAY towards the(?) Forest at a

distance of ten kilometers from the village of CHONG KAL : this deportation lasted one month. The deported people had nothing to eat, diseases were spreading, people were dying in great numbers. They were taken later into my village of CHONG KAL. My uncle was taken, his arms tied behind his back to be killed near the hospital, two and a half kilometers from CHONG KAL. He was carried away on a bicycle. Those, who were taken away, their

+ arms tied behind their back were : Uncle KHEANG (?), Aunt CHEET,
 +++++ Mrs. Tan.....(?), Uncle Sun (?), Uncle Ten (?), Uncle(?)
 +++ TA NEANG, Uncle(?), the(?) Family,(?),
 ++(?) NGOK CHANRAEUN, MLI LU LAEUY and(?)who
 +++ was my brother(?),(?),.....(?),
 +++++(?),(?),(?),.....(?), and
 + three other persons who went with him,(?) who was
 killed with his wife.

As for religion, the Khmer Rouge transformed all bonzes of my village into civilians and the buildings in the pagodas were demolished and the statues of Buddha were also destroyed. The venerated stupas were used by the Khmer Rouge to breed ducks, chickens and pigs. (The people were divided up as follows : old people, young men, young girls, adults, widowers, widows and those who just had been married. As for the children they are put into two categories : children over four years of age were left in the charge of the old people who could not work, children over five years old were sent to work with the other children's groups. No matter which category these children belonged to, they were neither given fish nor meat and some days they did not even get any salt, they were just given rice soup, sweet potatoes and tree leaves. As far as I am personally concerned, even if I was poorly dressed, and even if the work was extremely hard, I was able to support it because I had already been used to it, the only thing I was asking of the Khmer Rouge was not to execute me. I did not want to leave my country, I did not want to leave my native village. I was a peasant and an agricultural worker and I was capable of working under extremely hard conditions and under a scorching sun, under the rain and often met with obstacles such as hunger or cold. It was a normal thing for me. Now I am living in France but I do not speak French. It is difficult because I want to speak, communicate and discuss with others but I cannot.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I do not wish to tell you my personal life story, but the Khmer Rouge treated me in an intolerable fashion until I could no longer bear it and thus decided to flee my country. Not only that, but the Khmer Rouge even came to arrest me, accusing me of being an intellectual and an educated person in this village. I learned this from my aunt to whom the Khmer Rouge had come asking for me, then I decided that I could no longer stay with them, I had already seen that they had taken my aunt and uncle away, and now they were looking for me too. Having been thus warned, I fled to Thailand. Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask of you, can you see any justice in my story ?! I am asking you to judge and to see justice for me.

I thank you.

Ursula NACCACHE : Sir, you declared you were a poor peasant, son of very poor peasants, probably it means they did not own land. But the Khmer Rouge were interested in that very class, that is where they were recruiting soldiers. Had you ever heard of them before they reached your village, and were you never tempted to join them since you had nothing to lose ?

SUON Chhang : I can say one thing, even though I am poor, I love liberty too much. I cannot let myself be tempted to live with the Khmer Rouge. That is all I can say.

Gunnar FILSETH : Sir, you were telling us about mass weddings: was anybody, apart from the married couples and the ANGKA representatives, allowed to be present at these weddings ? Were the parents of the married couples allowed to be present ?

SUON C. : Weddings took place collectively with ten to fifteen couples at a time. There were neither witnesses nor parents present. The only presence there, was that of the ANGKA representatives.

G. FILSETH : Do all who want to be married need an authorization from the ANGKA ?

SUON C. : No previous authorization to marriage was necessary. The decision was solely up to the ANGKA. It is sufficient that the couple hold hands together and swear that they wished to be husband and wife. Everything was decided by the ANGKA.

Guri ULFRSTAD : Mr. CHHANG, I would like to return to what you said about being the son of very poor peasants. I want to ask you, did you ever hear your parents call those people (that you described as important, those who were educated and killed because of that) imperialists and oppressors? And, as you knew some of them, did you ever see them behave as such?

SUON C. : Any slightly educated villager was considered by the Khmer Rouge as imperialists, clinging to their education. I had no parents and the Khmer Rouge did not like those in the village who had any education whatsoever. When my parents were alive, they had never destested anyone because they happened to be educated, on the contrary, they liked and admired these people, who had education and who educated, very much.

U. NACCACHE : This morning the question of fleeing had been raised. People tried to escape and we tried to find out how many of them died. You have described your escape in one sentence: you said: "I ran until I reached Thailand". How long did it take you to leave Cambodia, were you alone or in a group? And if you left with a group, did all of you come alive, and did you find corpses on your road?

SUON C. : When I left my home, I was alone, there was no one with me. Three days later, I reached Thailand. On my road to escape, I did not run across any corpses since I crossed the forests and mountains.

Reidar HARKET : You said that from the age of five years, the children are sent to work in the brigades. Does this mean that they are separated from their parents at this age, or do they live together?

SUON C. : The children over five years old who went to work in the groups could come back to spend the evening with their parents after work was finished.

R. HARKET : In your written testimony, you tell us, that four of your brothers and sisters were killed by the Khmer Rouge. Under which circumstances were they killed?

SUON C. : I did not know the reason why the Khmer Rouge executed my brothers and sisters. I did not personally witness these executions either. However, a few days later, I saw the corpses of my uncle's brother who had been executed.

Victor SPARRE : Mr. CHHANG, you told us that you are a poor farmer. Who owned the land you were working on ? Did you have any private property ? Did you own oxen or anything ? And what was your condition as a poor farmer, after the Khmer Rouge took over ? You belonged to the class they were supposed to work for, the revolutionary poor.

SUON C. : After the seizing of power by the Khmer Rouge, the rice paddies belonged to no one. They belonged only to the Organization, the ANGKA, whereas before the 17th of April 1975, I was cultivating my own rice paddy. It was my property; unfortunately I could not exploit those paddies well enough to be able to feed my entire family.

Anthony PAUL : You left Cambodia in March 1977, and you left from an area, which recent refugees in Thailand are saying, was much affected at that time by plots against the Phnom Penh regime, and subsequent purges. While you were in Cambodia, were you personally aware of any groups plotting against the Phnom Penh authorities ?

SUON C. : When I was living with the Khmer Rouge before leaving my country, no one even dared mention the massacre-policy of purges, because they were afraid of being executed themselves.

A. PAUL : Did anybody say anything against the Phnom Penh authorities to you, few months before you left ? Any discussions, how awful ANGKA was, and had to be overthrown ?

SUON C. : I never heard anything, because after the Khmer Rouge took over on the 17th of April 1975, people no longer trusted one another. Everyone was suspicious of the other, we were all afraid of one another, there was a kind of mistrust among us.

G. FILSETH : You said, the Khmer Rouge would conduct all sorts of searches during the night time, this is in the written testimony. What were they searching for or asking for ? Anything in particular.

SUON C. : As to the Khmer Rouge's search of all the houses, I did not know exactly what they were looking for. They never warned us on beforehand before a search. They would come, order us out of the house, without saying what they wanted, before searching.

Tore STUBBERUD : Sir, you are a peasant. I read somewhere an explanation for the evacuation of the cities ; that the peasants considered the cities as the "big harlot". Do you think that many peasants really wanted the destruction of urban life ?

SUON C. : In my village, even if everybody was very poor, they had nothing against the rich. On the contrary, they were perhaps angry at themselves for not having worked enough. They had nothing against the rich people in the capital.

U. NAOGACHEE : You said that the Khmer Rouge killed four of your brothers and sisters. Have you seen this execution with your own eyes ? Why were they killed and how ?

SUON C. : As I have already said, I did not personally witness the execution of my brothers and sisters. I only saw the corpses.

The CHAIR - Recess for lunch. Program for the afternoon.

TESTIMONY OF MR. LIM NEA

Mr. Chairman,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

My name is LIM Nea, I was a former professor in the EAP KHUT High School, Province of BATTAMBANG. I stayed eighteen months with the Khmer Rouge. I am going to tell you about what I saw as to the execution of the heads of department, on the 23rd of April 1975.

After the total takeover of the BATTAMBANG Province on the 17th of April 1975, the Khmer Rouge asked all civil servants to gather in the residence of the province's governor in order to receive different orders. The 23rd of April 1975, those heads of department were asked to go to Phnom Penh to welcome the triumphal return of Prince Norodon SIHANOUK, who was returning from Peking. They were told to take nothing else except water cans. Believing in the Khmer Rouge ideology some of the other high school teachers and I went to take part in the action of the Khmer Rouge propaganda section on the 18th of April 1975. The Khmer Rouge gave a pass and an identification card to each of us who was working in the propaganda section. This 23rd of April, I was appointed by Khmer Rouge to help those who arrived here during the war before 1975, to return to their home villages, the war having come to an end. At 15.00, I saw two big trucks jammed with people who were going to welcome Prince SIHANOUK and they took the National Road No. 5 in the direction of Phnom Penh. In the second truck, I recognized seven teachers who were joyously waving to me, as if to say good-bye. That very same day, at 16.00 news reached us of the destruction of a bridge located at + Schrop.....(?), twenty-three kilometers from BATTAMBANG, on the National Road between BATTAMBANG and Phnom Penh. The transportation of those deported could not take place without this bridge. A commission responsible for the transportation of the deported, designated me to go on the spot to find out what had happened in order to inform the Superior Command about the destruction of this bridge. I went there with five other people in a car and got there by 20.00. There were two bridges, one after another between which were plenty of Khmer Rouge. They were all looking in the direction of the small bridge in the forest seven hundred meters from there. When our car arrived, two Khmer Rouge forbade us to go further, but when we showed them our passes, showing them we came here to examine the bridges, they let us pass. We continued going up to the second bridge which was really badly damaged. We saw that this bridge could still be repaired. Here, there were no deported people. When we looked at this damaged bridge, when we were on this second bridge, I looked in the same direction as the Khmer Rouge and there, I saw the people who had been taken away to welcome Prince SIHANOUK. I recognized the seven teachers. These seven teachers were walking behind the others. When they reached the plain, we were suddenly surprised by an explosion noise, P-40 rifle shots, mortar shots, which

suddenly came from the direction of the plains. There was black smoke and fire, a very loud noise and the next thing I saw, was flying pieces of human flesh, and I heard a young Khmer Rouge expressing regret that he had left his gun in the truck and therefore was not able to take part in the execution. He told us that twenty of them were waiting in ambush for these civil servants since 8.00 and had not yet eaten.

Ladies and Gentlemen, this execution, I saw with my own two eyes and I am taking this opportunity to say that my sixty-eight year old mother always urged me to leave Cambodia because the searches, requisitions, arrests, investigations and imprisonment of people to get information out of them for the Supreme Organization were everyday happenings.

The day I left my house, on the 24th of September 1976, my two brothers and one of my sisters, who were all in the first Khmer Rouge force knew nothing of my escape because they had been sent to a labor camp for already two months. In my village, + the chief was called Comrade Kmir (?) and all in my village knew this individual. He was a former peasant who no longer worked, he was a drunkard, a gambler and was indebted to everyone, and he had fled into the forests to fight along with the Khmer Rouge + in 1972. After the Khmer Rouge victory in 1975, Comrade Kmir(?) was designated political commissar of the village. He and his family confiscated a big beautiful house in the name of the Organization, expelled its owners who were sent to work on a rice paddy. The village economy, its rice, fish, meat, salt were all + under the complete control of Comrade Kmir's(?) wife and his family. After having sent a part of this food to the Supreme + Organization, Comrade Kmir(?) and his family ate and wasted this food between themselves and only then did they distribute the little that was left over to the inhabitants of the village, and this is what they called equal distribution of food.

Since December 1975, the Khmer Rouge asked us to eat in common, so that the new society become the big family where all + are equal. It is at this time that Comrade Kmir's(?) wife and family ordered all to make a list of all the food they had : fruits, plants, etc. in order to put it all into the common economy. They stopped us from individual fishing. They confiscated + all the fishing gear from us. Using such methods, Comrade Kmir(?)

and his wife became owners of the skies, the earth, the forest of our region. Once these things were confiscated, there was no + hope whatsoever of ever recuperating them. Comrade Kmir(?) and his wife alone, had the absolute right of using, spending and + wasting as they wished. Comrade Kmir (?) and his family had alot of things, therefore they were very grateful to him. But the "new" people would eat only rice soup every day whereas Comrade + Kmir (?) would eat and waste food to his heart's content and was even drinking wine. In this new "democracy", limited to the narrow circle of his family, he could arrest whomever he wanted whenever he wanted and the popular tribunal, composed of two or three members of his family could execute anyone they wished, just by accusing them of being enemies and counterrevolutionaries. Education was absent, on the contrary blackmail, fear and force were there to make people do what the ANGKA wanted, because the ANGKA was always right.

For children between six and thirteen, there were no schools, they were taken away from their parents and they only learned revolutionary songs and were indoctrinated to dispise all that belonged or existed in the former regime and they were taught that their real parents was the Organization and that they should obey the Organization. They gave these children manual work, that this was their education in the new regime. They were taught humanities, literature or given education programs only for one hour a day. The erecting of dams, digging of ditches, agrarian reforms of the village were all carried out when Comrade + Kmir(?) wanted and as he wanted. There were no rules or other. We never saw any experts or technicians come to participate in the building, or to give advice to help the work ahead, because their policy was that dam erection, the application of the system of agrarian reforms were an experiment and if they gave no results, then they would destroy everything and start all over again with a new reform to experiment. It was always like that. + Thus Comrade Kmir (?) demanded of the villagers to work like slaves. As to the policy of changing the face of the village and of the districts, they used their own policy - to destroy all the houses from which they kicked out the owners and even the factory for husking rice was destroyed.

- + According to Comrade Kmir (?)'s propaganda, the houses and this rice husking factory which were demolished will be rebuilt in the country.

In February 1976, I entered the BATTAMBANG Province because I was designated to transport salt. Along the road towards this province, the villages and districts were silent, there was no one. There were forests all over the place. All was abandoned, desolate, and the houses were demolished and near the BATTAMBANG Province, a Catholic Church was completely demolished and replaced by a banana plantation. In the capital of this province, where gardens used to be, there were now pineapple and sweet potatoe plantations. Automobiles, motorbikes, ordinary bicycles were all heaped up together near the iron bridge and near this + iron bridge, in front of the Sang Kai (?) movie house, you could find still another corpse. Tables, chairs, televisions, refrigerators, different documents, books, clothing, were collected to be burned near the river banks. You could see the traces of fire on the trees. Every once in a while, one could see only one or two Khmer Rouge in the capital of the BATTAMBANG Province. The city of BATTAMBANG, was becoming a ghost town, of a very desolate nature.

I am finishing my speech because of lack of time. I hope that my testimony will reach all those, who love liberty. I shall now wait for questions you will ask me.

I thank you.

Tore STUBBERUD : Sir, you told us about a head being sealed hermetically in a plastic bag. Have you seen it yourself? If so, could you give us more details?

LIM Nea : As to executions by application of plastic bags over people's heads, I have never witnessed such an execution, but the Khmer Rouge, who executed people using this means, came telling us all about it.

Anders BRATHOLM : You mentioned court procedures in Cambodia. Did I understand correctly, that courts are still operating in Cambodia?

LIM N. : There were no tribunals in Cambodia. What we called popular courts were tribunals consisting of a few Khmer Rouge village leaders and they could judge and could deliberate over the fate of those charged among the population. There are no specific organizations attached to the tribunal to judge the so-called accused people.

Bilif STRAUME : You said that children from six to thirteen are separated from their parents. Is it temporary or permanently more or less ?

LIM N. : During my eighteen month stay with the Khmer Rouge, the children between the ages of six and thirteen were separated from their parents to be put in pagodas. They were permitted to come back to see their parents but only upon authorization of the village Organization. I think that this separation from the parents was a permanent one.

Reider HARKET : Mr. LIM Nee, earlier today, we were told that children from the age of five years on have to work in the work brigades, but at the end of the day, they joined their parents. You were telling us that children from six to thirteen are taken away from their parents. Does this mean that the practice is different from place to place ?

LIM N. : In my own home village, the children called upon by the ANGKA were separated from their parents for good. They would sleep in the KDAING NGEA Pagoda. As to the other regions, I do not know what procedures were taken by the Khmer Rouge, because in the Khmer Rouge policy is "metiacar"(?), which in Cambodian means master of his fate, master of his work, master of his region, that is to say that each village and from one village to another, the policy adopted, depended entirely on the village chief. And that is why it differs from village to village.

Gunnar FILSETE / Mr. LIM Nee, you were telling us about this + Khmer Rouge leader, called(?) whose family was having a good life after the revolution. What did the ANGKA give to the ordinary people, apart from the daily rice ration ? What kind of personal belongings were you allowed to keep ?

- + LIM N. : As to Comrade Kmir (?)'s standard of living and that of his family, not only was it improved from the time he was in the forests with the Khmer Rouge, but now he became a real village lord. As for the population being part of the "new people", they had to undergo miseries, they did not have enough to eat.
- + Why was comrade Kmir(?) able to waste and eat to his heart's content ? Because all the riches, all the food, all the properties of the village people were confiscated by the Khmer Rouge and
- + were under the total control of Comrade Kmir (?), and he could do exactly what he wanted with it.

G. FILSETH : You have been telling us that you got the daily rice rations from the ANGKA. Did you get anything else besides this ? Did you get any clothing, for instance ?

LIM N. : In the course of my eighteen month stay with the Khmer Rouge, I never once received a clothing distribution from them.

Ursula NAOGACHE : Your village was in the West of Cambodia, therefore not far from the Thai border. Were there many people in your village, who tried to flee ? You fled yourself : how long did it take you to do it ? And since everything was shared, you did not have any individual rice rations distributed to your family, how could you make a reserve of rice for your escape ?

LIM N. : In my village, the only ones with force, I mean physical force were especially men and in this village those having fled were six in number already. These six persons were not able to bid farewell to their wives and children. When I arrived in Thailand, I did not see these six people, so I do not know if they managed to escape. As for me, I took thirteen days and nights to reach Thailand. As for my food for the road to Thailand, I had seven milk cans of rice. I was able to get this rice because I took this rice from the dining hall. How was I able to take this rice ration ? Because, one month before my escape, I had been designated as a cook in the dining hall, I had malaria and was unable to work elsewhere. It was a good opportunity to keep this rice ration, because at the time, I had the idea in the back of my mind, to escape, to leave this village.

Tore STUBBERUD : Sir, you and also other witnesses, have used the word "forced work". It means naturally that some people force the others to work. Do the soldiers help the peasants work or do they force them to work ?

- + LIM N. : As to my village, when Comrade Kmire (?) and his family would go out into the fields to work, it was only to watch us and supervise, but not to work themselves like the others. Here is a concrete example : In September 1975, I was designated to
- + harvest the rice in a place called(?), located at fourteen kilometers from BATTAMBANG. Every morning before work started, armed Khmer Rouge would come to count people, to check if the number was correct. In this very big labour camp, there were about two thousand people working. Not a single Khmer Rouge worked with us ; all those working belonged to the "new people". The Khmer Rouge would appear in the evenings to threaten us to work harder and harder and to give more productivity.

R. HARKET : According to some newspapers, the refugees say that this is everywhere : seemingly simple misdeeds, such as falling asleep during the night political lectures, are punished by death. Can you confirm this ? Have you any experience about this ?

LIM N. : Under the actual Khmer Rouge regime, they do not make any differences between small or big mistakes. All mistakes are duly punished by execution, no matter what. Death is sure to come. But if the Khmer Rouge showed some mercy towards us, they proceeded with what they call a "recycling". In my village this "recycling" would happen only once. If the mistake reoccurs, even if it is not serious, we were automatically delivered in the hands of the Organization to never return ...

R. HARKET : Have you experienced this yourself ?

LIM N. : I can swear on my honour that what I said, I have witnessed with my own two eyes and have experienced.

(short recess) The floor is given to Mr. François PONCHAUD.

The CHAIR : Mr. PONCHAUD is a member of the Society of Foreign Missions in Paris. He lived in Cambodia for ten years, from 1965 to 1975, was responsible for the Khmer Student's Club, and responsible for the translations. He understands and speaks the Khmer language very well. He published a book on the actual situation in Cambodia, called "Cambodia, Year 0". We are very glad to give him the word now.

STATEMENT BY MR. François PONCHAUD

Mr. President

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I apologize on beforehand, because I am not going to follow verbatim the text I have prepared : I think that many things have already been said, and I am going to speak about what has not been said, to give you more time for questioning.

On the 17th of March 1978, one month ago, Comrade POL POT, president and state minister of the Democratic Kampuchea and secretary of the communist party of Kampuchea, declared to the Yugoslavian journalist : ".....Our aspiration is to build a society where prosperity, happiness, and equality prevail for everybody, where there is neither exploited nor exploiting classes ; neither exploiters nor exploited and where everybody partakes in the production work and in the national defense." He was saying that, quoting the text of the Second Special National Congress, held in Phnom Penh from the 25th to the 27th of April 1975, ten days after the victory of the revolutionaries. We **only** can approve such a program, and we do not have any doubt, a priori, as to the sincerity of the actual leaders of the Democratic Kampuchea, in their wish to realize it.

While participating in this Hearing, we do not want to interfere in the internal affairs of an independent and sovereign state. Our intervention does not deal either with any contestation of a project of a society, different from ours, or from the one we previously had known in Cambodia. The Democratic Kampuchea is actually realizing a project for a totally new society, which has nothing similar to it in the world : a

fascinating project in itself, of an egalitarian and perfect society of a rural type. Being the son of peasants myself, I consider this an honour. We should not contest this society project, in the name of marxism, which the revolutionaries do not follow according to our Western schemas either. The Democratic Kampuchea has the right to make its own socialist experiment. My statement is not made, to defend what was defined by Comrade POL POT as, "the actual international economic order, based on the exploitation and on the domination of the poor countries by the great powers". In other words, our statement does not intend to approve the more than disputable policy of the rich countries, facing the Third World, the policy based on capitalism.

I wish that my intervention as well as the intervention of this Hearing be exclusively on the Human Rights level. As foreigners and especially French and Americans, we are tied up by history to the Democratic Kampuchea and we bear an important part of the responsibility for what is actually happening there. And I want to say, like some others did before me, that I find the declaration, made by the President of the United States, and which was read to us yesterday morning, to say the least indecent. One cannot forget that the big country he is representing had strongly contributed to pushing Cambodia deep into the war, and had sprayed it with hundreds of thousands of bombs. It is intolerable that the suffering of a whole people, crushed in the crucible of a revolution, would be exploited to serve political interests, totally strange to this country.

In the actual context of the Khmer-Vietnamese conflict, it is important, that all Kampuchea's friends, whatever our political opinions and conclusions be, avoid at any price the possible use of the violation of Human Rights for partisan reasons by the Vietnamese propaganda in Kampuchea. Indeed, for some weeks already, this propaganda seems to be busy preparing the world public opinion, giving to Vietnam reasons for military intervention in the Kampuchean affairs. The fate of the ethnic minorities in Vietnam and in Laos, which has practically become a Vietnamese protectorate since the 18th of July 1977, is there to remind us that the fear of the Khmers, whatever their political opinions be, is not groundless. Any Vietnamese intervention (that is at least my opinion) will mean the disappearance of Kampuchea, both as a people and as a nation. I want to remind

you that one has to be circumspect as to what is actually revealed by the Hanoi authorities about the atrocities committed in Kampuchea. One has to be very careful as well as to what the Bangkok authorities declare about Kampuchea. It is in the name of this solidarity, this human solidarity (that IENG SARY, vice minister of foreign affairs, defined as being an imperious necessity and a sacred duty) that we want today to bring our contribution to the edification of an era of happiness, of true happiness in Kampuchea.

Independence, sovereignty : these are the key words of the Cambodian revolution. Independence sovereignty, within the knowledge of the situation in the country and of its revolution: nobody knows one's country better than oneself. We should remember this, at this Hearing. Since the glorious 17th of April 1975, the leaders of Kampuchea have jealously maintained this independence and sovereignty as to the information. What we know about Kampuch, let us admit it (and the more I progress in this matter, the more I see it) looks more like the emerging tip of the iceberg, which is much smaller than its immersed face. I am not going to remind you of the facts, which I suppose, are known about 1975. If you want, you can ask me questions about that later on. The main aim of my statement is to try, I repeat to try, without pretending to see all the truth, finding out what happened in Kampuchea in 1977, and possibly what is happening there today.

That year, 1977, and we can affirm it, has been marked by serious troubles, (even by what we may call even though the word is perhaps too strong) by attempts to takeover the power. This resulted in the victory of Comrade PCL PCT and the solemn proclamation of the official existence of the communist party of Kampuchea, the 27th of September 1977. During that year, 1977, the Khmer people had, thus taken a step forward towards the edification of socialism.

By cross-checking the various testimonies of refugees, and the official texts, those, broadcasted by the radio, those I could obtain from the committee of Kampuchean patriots in France, one can attempt reconstituting the facts, remaining fully aware of an important approximation margin we shall have to use, caused by the isolation in which the refugees lived, and by the impossibility of verification on the spot.

I was able, personally, to gather the testimonies of fifty-two refugees (or, at least I kept fifty-two of them), who arrived in Thailand in 1977 and 1978. Out of these fifty-two testimonies, twenty-two originated from the BATTAMBANG Province, fifteen from the ODDAR MEAN CHEY Province, five of them from KOMPONG THOM, three from SIEMREAP, two from that of KRATIÉ, two from that of KOH KONG, three from that of KOMPONG CHAM, and one from PURSAT. Out of these fifty-two refugees, eight were peasants (and we could add the ninth one with the testimony of Mr. SUON CHHANG you heard previously, and whom I have not interviewed before coming here); seven teachers, seven Khmer Rouge (among which one commandant, named LEM DEN who later involved himself in the resistance and who, unfortunately could not give me all the information I wanted from him, since he has been killed : in an ambush) ; five ordinary soldiers, four professors, four precious stone gatherers (workers), three pupils, three students, three officers, two civil servants, one gendarme, one small teacher in a Koranic Muslim school and four others whose professions were difficult to establish. I am telling you all this, because I would like to specify a little, the role of the refugees; of the refugee source of information, in the knowledge of Kampuchea.

For a big number of observers, the testimonies of the refugees are not credible : they are the rich, the corrupted ones, the reactionaries and even as I learned yesterday, nazis (one has to have a certain boldness to call them nazis !). They have fled their regime, and run it down in order to justify their fleeing.

For others, the refugees are traumatised, therefore telling tales. In the Thai camps they are paid to tell nonsense to westerners. They are oppressed by the Thai guards and they say any kind of nonsense in order to leave for abroad. I use this opportunity of having the floor, to solemnly dispute the validity of such affirmations, born out of ideological pre-suppositions and not out of scientific research. It is too easy to throw dirt on people, in order to refuse an interpellation a priori. Of course, and you could have recorded that in this Hearing, it is important to remain extremely vigilant in using this refugee source of information. There is, true enough, a certain amount of rich and corrupted people among the refugees.

I agree. But that is a minority group, which generally crossed the border on the 17th of April 1975, in a hurry to leave their country and to take a refuge outside. Those do not have very much to tell about. July 1975 saw the arrival of people, consisting mainly of ordinary, private soldiers and former peasants in their big majority, or little civil servants. In 1976 and 1977, the majority of the refugees in the Thai camps was composed of peasants and some workers, the latter not being numerous in Kampuchea. In France, of course, there are more intellectuals than workers or peasants, because (and that is not a mystery for anybody) the generosity of France and of the other countries accepting the refugees, is in function with some qualities the refugees have, which may contribute to the national economy.

One has to know that the Khmers, whether they be civil servants or military ones are first of all, a race of peasants. And I think you are not going to contradict me, if I say, that even if they are functionaries, they remain viscerally attached to their land, to their soil. The history of Kampuchea has never recorded any traces of a Cambodian emigration as it happened with other peoples. The most injurious thing one could previously say to a Khmer was "Why you rascal, who has left your country!" By "country", they meant the canton. Therefore their departure from the country created a problem and a question.

Some refugees tell fairy tales, it is right. Some of you may have seen, here, a magazine which contains such tales. I concede that. I am well placed to know, that many or at least a certain number tell tales. A lot of cross-checking is necessary, in order to achieve certainty. An important detail pops up very often, during a long casual conversation. One also has to remember that the intellectual way of thinking of an Asian and especially that of a Khmer is not the one of a European, you could see it, when you asked your questions and received the answers. I personally do not make myself always understood, interviewing the Cambodians in Khmer. Not because my sentence construction was incorrect, but because my mental path does not correspond to theirs. So let us be very careful in interviewing the refugees.

One should also know that the Khmer has a tendency to generalize : a Khmer saying says "There is one crow, one says there are ten of them." : so let us be vigilant, but also receptive and let us not reject this source a priori.

I, personally, in writing my book or in preparing the file you have in your hands now, distrusted anyone having "revelations" to make. And there are plenty of those. I distrusted the educated people, the rich ones, speaking French, who had everything to lose with the coming of the new regime. I distrusted those who had a tendency to generalize, you have, maybe, noticed it during this Hearing.

But my particular attention was drawn to the poor and to the peasants. Any scientific work is born in the convergence of time and space, and I believe that the search for truth, even in Kampuchea is of a scientific order, and not of an ideological one. If such an event is recalled by several witnesses if such a situation is reported by one witness in Vietnam and by another in Thailand, this has chances of being exact, or at least of reflecting one part of the truth. If such a situation is explained by refugees from different camps in Thailand, there are chances that this testimony be true. If, by chance, these testimonies in time are confirmed, if, by chance, they are confirmed by radio or by the official texts of Kampuchea (who will use another language: one always has to know how to decode it), then certainty is there. That has nothing to do with ideology; it is a scientific historical fact.

I am coming back to my text, after this small excursion. I shall omit a certain amount of details, not because they are not important, but because I want to give more time for the discussion if you wish it.

In 1976, several revolts had burst out in several areas of Cambodia : I shall tell you about one of them : some small army units rebelled. I cannot give you the reasons for it, since I do not know them. In the beginning of 1977, it seems, I repeat it seems that Kampuchea had to face a real attempt of a takeover, fomented a few months before. Comrade TOUCH, leader of the Northern region ; Comrade SETH, secretary at the DAMBAN 106 (SIEMREAP-ODDAR MEAN CHHEY) ; HIEN, vice secretary of the same

DAMBÂN ; PÔL, brigade general and military chief of the same DAMBÂN, of the Northern region, as well as several military chiefs of the Northern region; all those were in touch with a Comrade CHAKREY, a military chief in Phnom Penh. It seems, that it is Comrade CHAKREY who had to take the initiative, probably in January 1977. For reasons unknown to me, the sound of the marching boots could be heard only in February, in Phnom Penh and its surroundings, between rival factions of the Kampuchean army, among which the six hundred men of CHAKREY. Nobody knew exactly who was the chief, but CHAKREY was denounced, arrested and executed in the SALA SHAKTOMUK, in Phnom Penh, which, (and I learned on Wednesday from Nicolas Viktorovitch, from the Yugoslav television) became now the Chamber of the People's Representatives, the National Assembly. Since this arrest and execution of CHAKREY, the security services of the country were increased two-fold, and comrade TOUCH, about fifty, was arrested (they say he was arrested for a moral revolutionary reason - I do not know what that means). The refugees, at least two of them, told me he had been tortured and under torture revealed or at least indicated one way or another enough information leading to the arrest of the other conspirators : SOTH and his friend HIEN, as well as Comrade PÔL, were taken to KOMPONG THOM and were supposedly executed there in the stadium. Many of them (and I have a tendency to believe it) were burned.

A wave of arrests and hasty executions swept, not the whole country, as I wrote by mistake, but in the Northern region (Perhaps the whole country, but that is an extrapolation). Revolts burst out all around the Northern region, especially in the DAMBÂN 106. Comrade LEM DEN gives us the names of his friends, who have been arrested. He himself had not been arrested : he fled on the 23rd of June, before having been warned he will be arrested. The army had been thoroughly reorganized : its cadres arrested, its soldiers disarmed. This happened in several sectors, you can read it in my statement - in CHIKRENG, in VARIN, in KOMPONG KOL, on the dam "of the 1st of January" which goes across the STOEUING CHINIT, in the Srok of BARAY or in the THMÂR POUK. The refugees, practically unanimously (well almost unanimously since not all of them had heard of it) affirm that a new team came to replace the old one, often after arresting and executing them. Several people from the "base" (or "old people", those liberated after the 17th of April 1975) were executed as well.

In August, it seems (I am less affirmative here) that another attempt to takeover took place. The repression became more drastic not only as to the cadres, but as to the population as well.

I am dropping some details ; you can read by yourselves, or ask me about them, but I think what is important is the explanation of these events. It is in this troubled situation, that the 27th of September 1977 the solemn proclamation of the official existence of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, made by its secretary POL POT, during a five hour speech, explodes like a bomb. Some days later, Comrade POL POT is triumphantly received in Peking, then in Pyongyang by Comrade KIM IL SUNG, who had sent him a telegram, congratulating him for "having crushed the gang of reactionaries" confirming thus, (one confirmation among others) what I have told you above. Whilst the Democratic Kampuchea seemed to have closed in on itself, during the first quarter of 1977, it suddenly opens its doors : after several Asian ambassadors, President NE WIN is the first chief of State received in Phnom Penh the 27th and the 28th of November 1977. For the first time (at least for ambassadors other than Mr. KAJ BORK, who had been there for the first time in 1976), three Western ambassadors make a long stay in Kampuchea. Recently Yugoslav journalists were able to visit the country for two weeks, and bring a testimony which I regret we cannot see at this Hearing. From now on order reigns in Kampuchea. The order of POL POT and of the Party.

Comrade POL POT, known previously under the name of SALOTH SAR, had asked to be relieved of his functions as Prime Minister on the 27th of September 1976, "due to health reasons", the radio said. Until the 25th of April 1977, his name was still mentioned on the radio, as signer of official letters. Then, there was a complete silence. One could think, that his withdrawal was, in reality a setting aside, like that of HOU YOUN in 1975, or those of HU NIM and TAUCH PHUON, ministers of the Kampuchean government, who totally disappeared from the Cambodian political scene. His triumphal return indicated, without ambiguity, that he, and he alone is the "strong man" of Kampuchea. His speech on the 27th of September is the most serious and the most complete analysis which ever appeared on the Cambodian revolution. The ambassadors, who visited Phnom Penh, have met in him, the man who had the power to decide, whereas the other personalities, among whom

IENG SARY, his brother-in-law and vice prime minister, in charge of foreign affairs, had to subdue to his authority. Despite this affirmation of POL POT's power, inside the ANGKA, this group of five people who are the leaders of the Politbureau, the composition of this Politbureau and of the government team has not been seriously modified.

Since the same 27th of September 1976, when one listens to the radio, one can note a change in the vocabulary it uses : the word "Farty" has replaced the word "ANGKA", and enjoys the same prerogatives and the same definitions. Officially the word "Comrade" - "mêt" -(friend) is now "samamêt", or "equal friend". "Secretary" is no longer used but "samachek", word meaning "member". By the way, I shall be again accused of not knowing the revolutionary vocabulary, since this word had not the same signification in the revolutionary sense, as it had before as well as "lêkha" which does not exist in the Cambodian dictionary - it is "lekahtika", which means "secretary". So "secretary" is not "samachek" anymore but "lêkha". All these words are not new: I have heard them used before by the refugees, already in 1975, but some of them used the first vocabulary, whereas others used the second one, as if there were several tendencies. Does this change of official terminology correspond to a change of direction ? I put a question mark, I do not have the answer. Was the anonymous ANGKA a coalition of several tendencies, bitterly fighting for the power ? Has the communist party been the victor in this fight ? Here again, I put question marks, and do not pretend to be in possession of the truth. But it is not forbidden to imagine so.

It seems that in 1977, there was a second revolution as a refugee could read in a pamphlet distributed to the cadres, which he could see by chance. This second revolution remained, for me a mystery, until the day before yesterday, when I had the opportunity to speak for a few minutes with the witness PECH LIN KUON, who had spoken about the "national revolution" and the "democratic revolution". That was in the POL POT speech, but I had not understood it at that time. The "national revolution" is the revolution which regrouped all the forces of the nation together whether they be "feudals", like SIFANOUK (I use the official Kampuchean vocabulary), bourgeoisie, intellectuals or well-to-do people : one wanted to use everybody in order to throw out the

American imperialism and its valets. This is stated on pages 27 and 28 of POL POT's speech. The "democratic revolution", which probably started in 1975, but which became more visible, I think in 1977, consists in the "formation" of the people, and this word "people", composed of workers and peasants, should remain alone in Kampuchea. The "people" is not a quantitative notion, but a qualitative one. The "people" is not a collection of persons, living in Kampuchea. The "people" is the collection of those, who intellectually and materially adhered to the ideology. Those, who did not come in, have to be excluded, the same way, as a tumor is excluded in a cancer. (this term has been used by a refugee). This revolution seems (I repeat seems) to have been settled by a secret circular letter No. 870, coming from POL POT and distributed among the cadres who have made an oath of allegiance. This letter mentions marxism-leninism. This term had been seldom heard by the refugees of 1975-76 (seldom, because I remember in 1973, a refugee woman from the cadres, mentioning a certain Mr. Ma-Lenin). Some of them have heard the word "party", but that was not the general case. Officially this term has been used on the radio, I think, the 10th of October 1976, during the funerary praise of Mao-Tse-Tung, precisely done by Comrade POL POT. The official documents published since 1977, all refer to marxism-leninism.

According to the refugees, it seems that the new cadres, who replaced those of before 1977, are "more educated than the previous ones".. Others say "they are physically stronger", still others say they are "more trained". Some say "these new cadres speak a Khmer which is hard for us to understand". These cadres have probably been through formation schools and are replacing the second generation of cadres, hurriedly formed after the 1975 victory and which had, itself, replaced a good number of veterans.

The purges inside the state, or the ANGKA apparatus and in the population, are part of an ideological hardening : defense of the revolution's gains, defense of the Party, of the revolutionary power, elimination from our services and our organisms and from the whole of Kampuchea, of the last enemies still infiltrated inside. Elimination of all the conceptions and attitudes inspired by liberalism. Strengthening of the position of respect and of discipline. These are the new directives, which you can read among others, in the "Collection of documents concerning the Vietnamese aggression against the Democratic Kampuchea", published

in January 1977, by the Committee of Patriots of the Democratic Kampuchea in France.

In this document, I quoted above, it was written (the refugee did not remember on which page, but said he remembered the text) "... even if we have to spend one million men, our party does not have to regret it : it has to establish itself with force". It leads us to think that all we heard these last days, all the horrible things, even if we cross-check and minimize (my personal opinion is, that on the contrary what we heard is only one part of the drama lived by the Khmer people), are not the result of action by blood-thirsty people, not the result of the actions by local cadres, disconnected from the central power, but seem to be emanating from an intelligence, which planned everything in a remarkable way. The leaders of the Democratic Kampuchea are dreadfully intelligent people. It is all in the frame of a general plan. Such is my opinion. I can be wrong, but I think that is the truth.

During the troubles which have shaken the Democratic Kampuchea in 1977, should one see the hand of the Vietnamese ? The desire of including Kampuchea in an Indochinese Federation like they have done with Laos ; have they tried to undermine its regime from inside ? Did this attempt result in a failure, in the elimination of the cadres sympathetic towards them (formed in Hanoi between 1954 and 1970) ? This attempt having resulted in defeat, they started military operations again against Kampuchea since June 1977. Some refugees have said so. The official declaration of a state of belligerence between Kampuchea and Vietnam, was revealed only the 31st of December, probably to undermine the trip of the Vietnamese ambassador in the ASEAN and South Eastern Asian countries, in order to resume their diplomatic relationship with Vietnam. This bomb was thus exploded to tarnish the Vietnam trade mark to compromise this diplomatic opening. Some think this explanation is valid, but one cannot affirm it with an absolute certitude. I think something probably happened. I have, to prove it, some small examples. Inside Kampuchea, one can see, since the beginning of 1977, at the formation meetings you were told about this morning and which take place every ten days an anti Vietnamese propaganda, that is at least, what they make clear. The Vietnamese critic against Cambodia are not without some interest, proper to Vietnamese. Anyhow only history will

tell, if this analysis is exact, or not, but I wish that many journalists may go to Kampuchea to check it. To hear, if everything we heard here is true, or is pure imagination. My conviction is that what we heard is true, but I would have preferred to see the proof with my own eyes.

The conditions of life in Kampuchea have most definitely become much harder in 1977. The social structures have taken a step forward towards collectivism, in the direction of the second revolution, or "the democratic revolution", which PECH LIM KUON told us about. The official texts say : "....Continue the social revolution in depth ... build socialism in all the fields ... eliminate from each of us and from all our services, all the after effects of private property, individualism, egoism and so on ... educate oneself in accordance to the collectivist and proletarian position of the Party ..." These are the official directives you can read yourselves : I have brought them with me. They are read at the information meetings inside the country as I learned from the refugees even before I could get hold of the official texts spread by the Committee of the Patriots of Democratic Kampuchea in France.

It seems thus that after the first attempt to organize cooperation in 1973 (cooperatives of mutual help, then production cooperatives in 1975) the next step was what was called by the radio, "high level cooperatives", generalized in 1977. Everything from now on is collectively owned : land, harvest, tools, cattle, kitchenware. The meals are eaten collectively. In some sectors everybody in the village is member of a cooperative ("ruom phum"), in others, it is already at the canton level, and even at the "srok" level. When I saw on Wednesday evening, the documentary film of Mr. Nicolas Victorovitch, there were there, some examples of the cooperatives, and it was a confirmation of what we had heard previously.

The life conditions have thus hardened with this generalized collectivization. On the alimentary level, there was an improvement for a certain time, but then people knew starvation again ; probably because of the troubles or also because of the "affirmed will", as the refugee cadres said it, to prepare a new war. The sanitary system has slightly improved, some medicine "made in China" has appeared (scientific medicine, and not the traditional

pharmacopea made in Phnom Penh). As to the executions, one must unfortunately admit, that they are not over : I am not sure, if they are still not going on right now, and they will perhaps even increase in the following months, during this second revolution, the "democratic revolution".

Facing all this amount of suffering imposed on the population (I repeat, population and not the people) of the Democratic Kampuchea, to remain silent will mean to be an accomplice, even if we approve the objectives of this agrarian revolution.

The fact that the UN Commission has given up so easily last month and has decided not to make any investigation on the Cambodian problem, is a scandal, dishonouring all the nations which still have the monstrous courage to take part in its works.

The CHAIR thanks Mr. PONCHAUD and gives the floor to the interrogating panel

Ursula NACCACHE : Mr. PONCHAUD, what mainly struck me in your statement and in your document, is the constant repetition of the word "eliminate". Cadres and officers have been "eliminated". The former Khmer leaders are going to be "eliminated" as well as the Vietnamese metis, and those who have been trained in Vietnam. The word "elimination" continuously comes back. Meanwhile, you started your speech saying that "... Cambodia has the right to go on with its own experiment". How far is this right going ? I suppose you agree with the Human Rights Declaration of the United Nations. How could one make the rights you are allotting to the new Cambodian leadership and that of Human Rights, specified in the Declaration coexist ?

François PONCHAUD : It is, true enough, a question of international morality. The word "eliminate" is not quoted by me but by the official documents of the Democratic Kampuchea. It was the word used by Mr. PECH LIM KUON, and which you asked him to precise several times. It is a Cambodian word meaning literally, to destroy completely one's enemies. If I say that the Khmer people has the right to attempt an experiment of its own brand of socialism, I think it has the right to do it, and we have no right to condemn this vision, this project of a society. That is relevant to our personal ideological convictions ; we can approve or disapprove such and such a project of society. But as to the elimi-

nation of people, the physical destruction of social classes for the sole reason they do not approve the dominant ideology, we have to expose it. I am not a specialist on international law, and I prefer this question be debated at the United Nations, and not in our Hearing.

U. NACCACHE : You did not answer me entirely. I asked how could they make this right (you said they had the right to make this experiment)coexist with the Rights of Man ?

F. PONCHAUD : I agree. For me to make both of these rights co-exist is something else. In the document you have in your hands, I attempted to make a scientific study, not a partisan and emotional one. A project of society is one thing, whereas the respect towards the Human Rights Declaration is another one. And, it is not me who is going to condemn Kampuchea for the project of society they are giving themselves even for the type of marxism they have chosen to implement : it is their own business, in the name of the sovereignty, of the independence and of the respect of the people of Kampuchea. The task of the International Organization is to make them respect the Human Rights Declaration within this project of society. We, as foreigners have no right to discuss it. This project can be put into practice, without the necessary epuration . We do not have to mix the two cases.

Richard NATIONS : Mr. PONCHAUD, I would be interested,in the context of what you said,in your analysis of the inner circle of power in Phnom Penh. We are told by some analysts that that
+++ inner circle includes POL POT, IENG SARY,(?).....(?),.....(?)
++ and, slightly more to the periphery(?)(?).
It has also been suggested that the leaders of at least one of the coup attempts were HU NIM and TAUCH PHUON. I would be interested in your view on the relationship between them and whether you think this analysis is correct.

F. PONCHAUD : I have told you above, that there were no deep changes in the leadership. Our friend PECH LIM KUON revealed to us the existence of this five person Politbureau, composed of POL POT (alias SALOTH SÂR), IENG SARY, his brother-in-law and
+ vice minister of foreign affairs ;(?), minister of
++ defense ;(?), minister of industry ; and(?), chairman of the permanent assembly of the people's representatives. Those five persons form the Politbureau of the government.

+(?) is generally placed in the background. The ministers you told us about, HU NIM and TAUCH PHUON, indeed, are no longer heard of anymore, since approximately the first months of 1977. They have disappeared. To go as far as establishing a relation between the cause and the result - maybe. Personally, I do not have any elements to judge it. I can even tell you something I learned about HU NIM but which I believe is false ; HU NIM would have fled to Thailand and would be at present in the PRASATH Prison. I admit that I cannot support or deny what you are asking me. As to the activity of SIHANOUK in this takeover attempt : Comrade LEM DEN, whom I mentioned above, told me SIHANOUK had nothing to do with this attempt. That is his opinion. I do not know if it can be verified.

R. NATIONS : One analyst feels that POL POT is completely in control of the Politbureau, that there is no opposing opinion, and that he faces no substantial opposition from any of the brigade commanders or regional leaders in the other areas. Would you agree with this view?

F. PONCHAUD : Yes, entirely. I think that presently, order reigns in Kampuchea ; the POL POT order and that of the marxist-leninist party. I think this is right. And this is the reason why the Democratic Kampuchea could slightly open its doors.

PECH Lim Kuon : You know the situation in Cambodia. I apologize for asking you the same question I asked Mr. BARRON this morning : you said yourself that after the 27th of September 1977, there was a change in the vocabulary : the ANGKA was replaced by the Party "mêt" by "samamêt", "samachek" by "Lekha". Why do you think this change took place ? Is there a change in the country ?

F. PONCHAUD : That is what I tried to say, asking myself, does this change in vocabulary correspond to a change within the country ? Why was it that up until the 27th of September, one would only speak of the ANGKA ? And why, since then does one speak only of the Party ? The refugees, before this date, used indifferently one or the other. I admit I do not have a peremptory answer to this question but I think a change did take place and that a Politbureau, dominated by POL POT took the destiny of the country in its hands. Before this date, there were probably

several tendencies shown, by the multiplicity of vocabularies, the differences in the slogans.

R. NATIONS : In the light of your view, that there is a unity of policy and command between Phnom Penh and the outer brigades, how do you explain the apparent contradiction between Phnom Penh's stated policy of détente towards Bangkok and the continuing and even increasing conflict on the border, which the Thais and many observers believe is being initiated from the Cambodian side ?

F. PONCHAUD : I seem to remember having said to you that one has to beware of the Hanoi propaganda as well as that of Bangkok. You are in the "Far Eastern Economic Review" and therefore are in a position to know that during the raid which took place, (if I am not mistaken the 29th of January 1977) and where a village of three hundred inhabitants had been destroyed, the whole world said it was those blood-thirsty Khmer Rouge. Mr. BARRON reminded us of it this morning. In your review, you were the only ones to question this and to minimize it. CHANDER says that it was strange to hear the Thai population, interviewed in this area, revealing that these Khmer commandos, who had invaded the area, were speaking a relatively good Thai. He was also accusing the free Khmers, belonging to the anticommunist resistance. These skirmishes continued increasing and there were about four hundred of them during 1977. The whole responsibility was thrown upon those "savage Khmers" - they made enough atrocities in their own country, and therefore were quite able to commit new ones. But the 30th of January 1978, the Thai minister of Foreign Affairs travels to Phnom Penh where he meets Mr. IENG SARY and they discuss on a "third force", aggravating the relations between Cambodia and Thailand. The 3rd of March of this year, General KRIANG SAK himself says that this "third force" is not composed of Khmer Rouge, but of Red Thai or communist Thais. I have personally visited this area in January-February to try to find out the truth : it seems to me that after the military takeover of the 6th of October 1976, which resulted in a real massacre of students (3.800 of them had been arrested then released later), made a big number of students leave for the underground. A certain number went to Cambodia, and were formed there, during the whole of 1977, in special schools called "schools of the 6th of October", against the Thai military and government. I also met a

French military attaché, he is an old friend of mine, I knew him before he was a military attaché : he told me that he had visited these regions with other military attachés, and was personally convinced that these raids had not been carried out by Khmer Rouge, but rather by Thai people, who attacked houses well selected in the villages, who did not actually destroy the whole village, as it had been reported, but specific targets. It seems that these raids carried out by the communist Thai revolutionaries are, as a matter of fact, led by the Khmers. But it is easy to make such allegations. In reality, it is not the Khmer Rouge. It is certain that Thailand and Cambodia want to unite and that is already taking us into the frame of the general Chino-Soviet conflict. China wants to regroup Cambodia, Thailand and Burma, in order to face the Vietnam-Laos coalition which is looking more towards the Soviet Union. Officially, one could understand this Thai-Cambodian rapprochement pretty well.

I would not deny, either, that all the raids are not due to the Khmer Rouge. For instance, about the 10th of February there had been a raid, which was obviously done by the Khmer Rouge, a group which was atop a mountain, was probably short of supplies, and made a raid inside Thailand. But that is not a thing which is going to compromise the official relationship.

Gunnar SÖNSTEBY : You need a lot of troops to control the population to control the borders. Have they actually enough troops or do they have to call upon foreign troops or foreign experts ?

F. PONCHAUD : I do not have any precise information on this question. One thing is sure and it will be shown in a film tonight, at the alternative hearing and that is that this army is very modernized. The French television also showed it, though the friends of the Democratic Kampuchea did not allow it to show the film entirely. It is a mechanized army, probably equipped with Chinese material. It is very probable there are Chinese experts. It is even certain some refugees mention the presence of Chinese personnel.

Besides when we Occidentals, speak of an army, we think of an Occidental army with its regiments and its brigades. Here, we are dealing with a popular army which is not the same type of army. So, I cannot tell you who is a civilian and who is a military.

G. SØNSTEBY : The military personnel ; are they soldiers or civilians must be armed. You called it the agrarian revolution, but it seems strange to me to call it that way. I see your point there, but it is hard for me to understand.

F. PONCHAUD : I do not see the point of your question very well. We are used to an Occidental type army, whereas here we face an army of peasant soldiers. As the radio says, they have a rifle in one hand and the spade or the plough in the other. Mr. Viktorovitch had been in the TAKEU area, not far from the Vietnamese border and saw peasant soldiers there. There are several kinds of military in Cambodia. There are three kinds of armies : the national army, the task of which is to make war, the "district" army, which assumes internal security and then the "spy" army, assuming security in the small units. That is all I can tell you. I have not recently been to Cambodia and have no more details.

U. NACCACHE : You spoke of the project, the blueprint of the new society, which is being carried out in Cambodia. This has been very costly in human lives since 1975, and remains unchallenged without quoting any figures. I believe that the new leaders are still very far from having succeeded in their project of reaching their goal of the new society. I do not think they are even half way in this undertaking. Do you think that the price that has already been paid will perhaps be doubled, before the actual accomplishment of this new society?

F. PONCHAUD : It is, I am afraid very possible. But for this very reason it is absolutely essential not to condemn Cambodia, the Democratic Kampuchea, but to denounce the violation of Human Rights, and to ask, ask again and ask still more that the United Nations and the international organizations do their job.

U. NACCACHE : I do not quite understand what is actually happening : there are some people, who approve the idea of the new society but do not want to pay the price ? How can we approve a project : either we accept that we are going to pay the price or we say that the goal cannot be reached and it is not a valid goal. We cannot get anything for nothing.

F. PONCHAUD : I agree. But when a society project is independent of a total elimination, it is a different thing, situated on another level. Theoretically speaking it is possible to realize this society project without paying the terrifying price which is actually being paid by the Khmer people and I think, personally that it was possible to do without such an epuration. And I think that while respecting the projects the independence, and the national sovereignty of Kampuchea, the United Nations should make it respect human rights. I think that both are not incompatible.

P.O. HERADSTVEIT : Is the word "eliminate" which you use in your report, synonymous of "extermination"(in connection with human beings, of course) ?

F. PONCHAUD : PECH LIM KUON answered you the day before yesterday : he said it was up to you to judge : The Khmer Rouge do what they say they do. This is my conviction. We are speaking about physical elimination.

P.O. HERADSTVEIT : Therefore, it is the regime's policy to eliminate one portion of the population ?

F. PONCHAUD : This is a policy directed at the elimination and the extermination of all those who do not enter the Party line, in other words, as the refugees say, repeating a slogan : "If you put your hand or your foot in the Party's wheel, you will have them cut off.". A revolution which is going straight forward, cannot be stopped.

P.O. HERADSTVEIT : So, why are we arguing with one another about these executions ? Why then have we to discuss it ?

F. PONCHAUD : Yes, that is right. My statement was a scientific one, and despite my protests, due to a deep respect of the independence of the Democratic Kampuchea and its project, my statement is certainly the most violent you have heard here. Apart from that, I have given you only few details, with the help of which I tried to give you a general idea of the whole thing.

CHOU Try : Mr. PONCHAUD I understand from your statement that you maintain relationships with the Cambodian refugees in the Thai camps. What do you think of the situation of these Cambodian refugees in these Thai camps and those Cambodians which did not reach the Thai border ? What do you think will happen to them ? What will their fate be ?

F. PONCHAUD : I thank you very much for this question, because here again, it is a violation of Human Rights and Kampuchea will not be accused unilaterally. There are about thirty five thousand Khmer refugees who reach Thailand. Out of those thirty-five thousand, approximately twelve thousand have left for France, and about the same amount has left for the USA. One thousand four hundred went to Malaysia and there are still fourteen thousand of them in Thailand. The USA and France are the two main countries accepting refugees, the other countries hardly accept any : just some individuals. The Thais are carrying a very heavy load of these refugees. The 8th of March 1978 the Thai press reported the presence of one hundred and six thousand refugees. In order to get rid of the refugee problem, the UN signed an agreement with the Thai government on the 15th of July 1977, which left the Thai government the liberty to decree if the refugees were of good faith ; were really political refugees, or economical refugees ; people looking for a better economical situation abroad. Since the 15th of November 1977, hardly any refugees have entered the Thai camps. And I can affirm since I have been there myself, that in the ARANYA PRATHET area alone, one thousand sixteen Khmer refugees have been killed between June 1977 and January 1978. That is also a violation of the UN Charter and of the Human Rights. The refugees in the camps are despaired and revolted and this situation risks degenerating and becoming a new Palestinian problem. The political contexts are different, true enough, but the exile and the total absence of perspectives for the future could lead to surprising and unexpected reactions.

CHOU T. : You said that the burden was very high, for the Thai government so what can be done to improve the situation of the refugees coming every day ? And how can one help the Thai government ?

F. PONCHAUD : Excuse me. I would say that financially speaking, it is not going that badly.- sanitarilly speaking neither.

But the big problem is the problem of the future and that is where the international community is perhaps called on to play a role, either by accepting refugees (that is, perhaps, not the ideal), or by exerting (but is this possible ?) a certain pressure on the Democratic Kampuchea, to stop the cause of the flow of refugees.

The CHAIR closes the session and thanks Mr.
PONCHAUD.

Hans Henrik RAMM :

We have now come to the time of the final closing of this Hearing. We have behind us almost twenty hours of intensive negotiations. I think that this Hearing, all in all, has been very successful. The time has come to say thank you to all the participants. First of all I thank our good Cambodian friends, the witnesses : PECH LIM KUON careful in his wording, but nevertheless clear in his message. EAM MOEUN who has bravely told us of his tragic experience, and with whom we all shared strong sentiments. KONG SAMRACH had the impressing hability to get his message across. OUM NAL, the doctor who spoke with such an engagement and vitality, that he outwitted even our experienced presidents and managed to speak for more than one hour ! But it was worthwhile, because of his detailed knowledge and precise way of communicating. EAR SOTH who gave us a frank, well proven and deeply moving testimony of his own experiences in the ranks of the Khmer Rouge. CHAN VONG, who was able to give us detailed information on food rations, production and prosecutions of honest workers. CHHENG VIBOL to whom we are very grateful for managing to convey all his experiences, including his own personal tragedy, even though we know it was very painful for him. CHOU TRY who gave us a very vivid testimony of the Khmer tragedy, seen from the point of view of an ordinary Cambodian. SUON CHHANG, the farmer who loved freedom and denied

the totalitarianism of the Khmer Rouge, and finally, LIM NEA, who filled this session with new information, and gave us another heart-breaking eyewitness report.

I thank all our experts who, I think have through their contributions showed that there certainly has been a variety in this panel : Charles MEYER had to leave this morning, the others are still here. François PONCHAUD who spoke last, Jean LA-COUTURE, John BARRON and Anthony PAUL, we are grateful for your very valuable contributions, both here from the speaker's chair and in the form of good will and good advice.

I thank the panel which faced a difficult task at this Hearing. Some of them started with great knowledge about Cambodia, others represent more the generally interested public. I think that you have all contributed very much to clarify the testimonies and to bring out your information from the witnesses.

I thank the presidents who were also faced with difficult tasks, but who have managed to carry this arrangement through, according to our schedule. It is true, that we have exceeded our hours sometimes but this has been necessary in order to hear all the witnesses wholly.

Thank you to Hans AARAAS, Truls WINTHER and Alex JOHNSON, who are still here and to Gunnar STÅLSETT, Kåre KRISTIANSEN and Per KARSTENSEN who left. Unfortunately, the Lord Mayor of Oslo, Mr. Albert NORDENG, was not able to attend, but witnesses, experts, interrogators and several of our guests from the press met him at the reception in the City Hall, Friday evening.

I thank the Honorary Committee : Vice chairman, the bishop Alex JOHNSON, who had helped us to strengthen the credibility and the bases of this

Hearing. I thank our interpreters, they have had, perhaps, the toughest job of all. Under ordinary circumstances, simultaneous translation is laborious in itself. Here, we have had extraordinary conditions, translation to and from the Khmer language, which is like Norwegian, not a very widespread language. I thank their professionals who have helped us far more than what was their duty. And I thank the Khmer interpreters, who have worked very hard and who have not only helped us to cross the language barrier, but also to a great extent, the cultural one. I thank the press which has been here in a number of more than one hundred, from all parts of the world, for staying with us in such large proportions of the time and their patience with the practical difficulties. It is still too early to say thank you for what you are going to write, but I am taking a chance to say thank you for the fair treatment.

I thank the observers from different organizations some of them Khmer, some Europeans. I also thank those observers who do not have the same opinions on the realities of Cambodia. But I shall not hide that I had hoped that you also would have accepted a more active role in this arrangement. I hope, however that you also, nevertheless have found the information useful.

I thank those who made this arrangement economically possible :first and foremost the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the institution "Fritt Ord" or "Free Speech". But also the large number of small contributors, who made this possible.

But above all, I thank all those voluntary people who have assisted in the arrangement. I thank my colleagues of the executive committee, the members of the working groups, and the innumerable other voluntary helpers, whom you have seen

running. They have all done a wonderful job.

I have been asked, what will the next step be after this Hearing ? We have now, in our possession, twenty hours of valuable testimony. A lot of it will be, without doubt, brought to the attention of the world by the international press. But there will be much left, and this material deserves to be edited for permanent use. We are making preparations for the editing of this material. We are, here in Oslo, quite prepared to do the main part of the job, but the audience should be far larger than Norway. The final result should be published in an international language, by an international publisher. And about this we are open for negotiations. We think this material should be of interest to many publishers. We are ready to receive proposals and we shall accept the best offer made : by "best", I mean guarantees for a wide distribution and a good contract. In our opinion any income should go to the continuation of the work, to make the fate of the Khmer people known around the world. Because of this, we are going to be hard negotiators with any publisher.

Another point had been raised : whether this Hearing, as a tribunal that gives a verdict, should direct the attention of the United Nations on the testimonies delivered these days. We have privately discussed this between the different panels and participants, and agreed that it would be appropriate to send a short text to the Secretary General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt WALDHEIM. The text runs as follows :

"During its three day session in Oslo, from the 21st to the 23rd of April 1978, the International Cambodia Hearing has studied the situation in Cambodia, through expert lectures and witnesses' statements. Based on the information and evidence produced in the course of the Hearing, the International Cambodia Hearing would request you, as

Secretary General of the United Nations to take the initiative of further promoting the task that has been the purpose of this Hearing, to produce facts and documents on the situation in Cambodia since the 17th of April 1975, which will be examined in the light of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights."

Another piece of information, especially for the press : several of the participants will still be in town tomorrow. This is the case for all our witnesses and Mr. PONCHAUD. The press can meet them tomorrow.

THE HEARING IS CLOSED.
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