

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

#### **Repression against old people, women and children**

(a) Pol Pot did not want women to be with child, because they constituted the main pillar in agricultural production. Any request for a childbirth leave deemed

too early was very ill taken and the requester would see her daily ration severely reduced. Tormented by hunger, the expecting mothers would make up their mind to go to work again. If such indispositions as vomitings, fatigue ... became too frequent, they would be sent to the hospital. They would implore their team leaders then to allow them not to go there. Their husbands would be authorized to see them only two or three times a month.... Very few men were given the favor to work in a village within reach of their wives. For this, they must work as servants to mighty people in the village. Those poor pregnant women lacked everything: no special diet indispensable for the on-coming baby's health, nor affection, nor comfort. Some of the husbands were driven to commit illicit acts in order to alleviate their wives' plight... In many cases, the culprit simply disappeared: the penalty depended on the local authorities.

One month after delivery, the baby's mother must resume work. Any delay would get her frowned upon for lack of determination in her role as 'revolutionary.' It goes without saying that under such conditions, the newborn was far from having a good health. According to a study of Doctor Nuth Savocun on the matter, the intellectual future of Phnom Penh children born under

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## The Chinese connection

*Among other items, the "Indictment of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary Clique" for crimes of genocide for the August tribunal documented the role that China played in encouraging the butchery in Kampuchea. Following are excerpts.*

...Deprived since the very beginning of all popular support, and faced with growing opposition by the people, they relied on the support of external reactionary forces, first and foremost the reactionaries in Peking in order to build up and maintain their dictatorial rule. At a press conference on October 3, 1975 in Peking, Pol Pot admitted that as early as 1960, he and his clique had relied on "Mao Zedong's works" to oppose the line of genuine revolutionaries and to impose their own reactionary line.

In the nearly four years of their rule (1975-1979) Pol Pot-Ieng Sary advanced their theory of "100 percent high-level Socialist Revolution" "the Revolution with big leaps forward, big progress, big marvels," with a view to "building a country without cities or countryside" which means in fact the abolition of cities, concentration of the population in collective cooperatives,

without markets, money, schools, postal service. All social and familial links and all human feelings were done away with. (Documents on the present situation in Kampuchea No 2.5.01). This line was encouraged and lavishly praised by Mao Zedong: "You comrades have won an amazing victory. You have got rid of all classes at one blow. People's communes in the countryside with poor and lower-middle peasants everywhere in Kampuchea, therein lies our future." (Talks between Pol Pot and Mao Zedong, June 1975. Archives of Angkar Party Central Committee—Excerpts from a pictorial: the People's Republic of Kampuchea.)

The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary policy of mass killings directed against many social strata, the policy of repression carried out in "people's communes," of atrocious internal purges and instigating conflicts with neighbouring countries ran up against the opposition of our people. World opinion also angrily condemned them, but the Peking authorities lauded and encouraged them as best as they could. Hua Guofeng declared: "You, comrades, are skillful not only in eliminating the old world, but also in building a new one and you have

the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime has been impaired for good, as well as that of those who are now below 15 years of age.

(b) The old people underwent a slow, piecemeal death: Angkar made them toil hard, disregarding their decaying health and physical force and gave them a starvation diet.

(c) "Children are the pillar of this new society," claimed the Pol Pot clique who, in fact, gave them some privileges over the adults and aged. These privileges, however, must be justified by their effective endurance in labor, the quantity and quality of their work. Angkar made them toil not only as hard as grownups, but even harder: they had to build dikes, cut ditches, open trails under the scorching sun, without flinching. Many succumbed from delirious fever and in their rare moments of lucidity were, nonetheless, aware that they were expertly exploited. Sent to build huge dikes in malaria-infested out of the way corners, every evening, they would cry silently in their huts battered by rain and storm, thinking of their parents, in particular of their mothers to whom they had no time to bid farewell before their hasty departure.... They wanted to send letters to their parents but could not because they did not know how to read nor to write.

### **Inhuman treatment of intellectuals**

Phnom Penh civilians, especially intellectuals, were closely watched during working hours as well as in their daily life. They were considered undesirables, culprits, and so to speak, death convicts on probation. In Pol Pot's eyes, the intellectuals were the incarnation of the exploiting class and, consequently, corrupted beings by nature and evildoers. The authorities of every village, every khum, could dispose of them whenever they felt like. In Prek Krâk (Srok Stung Trâng, Kompong Cham), Mr. Chan, a former teacher, and many other civil servants including a former rummer, and large numbers of students, were, all in one day, killed with axes on boats ferrying them to the middle of the river. This crime followed an urgent order from the superior quarter noticing that intellectuals still infested the country. It acribed to every head of a cooperative a quota of 15 convicts. This formal order must be executed under the eyes of the Organization inspectors.

Physical tortures were commonplace. They were made to draw ploughs and harrows in the fields in the place of buffalos and oxen, which, in the rulers' eyes, were more useful to the Revolution than those city-dwellers who ate much and sought to work the least possible. ...

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won important victories in smashing the subversive and sabotage plot of enemies inside and outside the country."

In the course of his visit to China, Pol Pot also declared: "We have creatively and successfully applied Mao Zedong's thoughts to the realities of Kampuchea. ... For Kampuchea, Mao Zedong's thoughts are the most precious aid given by China." (Statement at the reception on September 28, 1977—Document No 2.6.04).

With Chinese aid, Pol Pot-Ieng Sary increased their repression of the people in 1976-1977. Witnesses said Chinese advisors were present at certain places where massacres took place (documents No 2.3.5.01; 2.3.5.02). But the more repressive they became, the more they met with popular opposition and were driven into an impasse. At a session of the Standing Committee in May 1978, they had to admit: "the situation is still bearable, but we have already suffered partial losses, if this continues we are threatened with collapse" (Document No 2.5.26).

Faced with this situation, they had to rely even more on the reactionary authorities in Peking. To help them rapidly increase their troop strength from 70,000 to 130,000, Chinese supply of arms and war materials, by air and by sea was stepped up.

Since 1978, parallel to Chinese open hostility to

Vietnam and with Chinese encouragement, Pol Pot-Ieng Sary intensified their war of aggression against Viet Nam (Talks between Chinese leaders and Son Sen, Pol Pot's Defense Minister, during the latter's visit to China in October 1978). ...

In a talk with Hua Guofeng in their September 1977 meeting, Pol Pot said: "In the present circumstances, if a powerful offensive is made by the revolution in Southeast Asia, this will result in an improvement of the situation and we will be able to resolve our problems. We have exchanged views and reached agreements with our Burmese, Malaysian, Indonesian and Thai friends. This is a very important political line. Although many complexities still exist, since we have Chinese support in the North and have achieved in the South unity, we have a strategic beacon which greatly encourages us. We feel now even more secure than before thanks to our Chinese friends." (Excerpts from Pol Pot's statement in the Kampuchea-China talks on September 29, 1977.)

After he was overthrown on January 7, 1979, Ieng Sary was repeatedly sent to Peking by Pol Pot to discuss with the Chinese reactionary authorities plans to oppose our people.