

From Armand

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To: Jean-  
FrançoisTHE TRUE FACT ABOUT POL POT'S DICTATORIAL REGIME

1975- 1978

INTRODUCTIONIENG  
SARY

Many documents concerning Pol Pot's regime officially called "Democratic Kampuchea" from 1975 to 1979 were written in Cambodia and in foreign countries. But so far, there has not yet been any document coming from a member of the leadership likely to shed light on the dark page occupied by this regime in the history of Cambodia.

Following is the result of the research made by the Democratic National Union Movement on some parts of Pol Pot's regime which particularly interest the national and international opinion.

It is our hope that the present document can help the national and international opinion understand better the true nature of Pol Pot's dictatorial regime. Especially, we hope it can help people know who the true murderers are in order to get them tried and punished accordingly.

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The Research and Documentation Center  
of  
The Democratic National Union Movement

... 2

## CONTENTS

- I- Roles of the Party and the Government in Pol Pot's dictatorial regime.
- II- What <sup>organization</sup> really wielded power in Pol Pot's dictatorial regime ?
- III- The economic regime in Pol Pot's era
- IV- The educational system in Pol Pot's era
- V- The foreign policy of Pol Pot's dictatorial regime
- VI- Some noteworthy events :
  - 1- The massacre of the "Khmer Hanoi" (i.e. the Khmers assembled in North Vietnam after the 1954 Geneva Conference).
  - 2- The evacuation of the city-dwellers after April 17, 1975.
  - 3- The massacre of the intellectuals, personalities and diplomats coming home from abroad.
  - 4- The purge within the party from 1975 to 1979.

### I - Roles of the Party and the Government

In the regime of Democratic Kampuchea from 1975 to 1978, all decision-making was monopolized by the Communist Party of Kampuchea. Moreover Pol Pot was at the same time Secretary-General of the Party, Prime Minister of the Government and chairman of the military committee of the Central Committee. Therefore, every decision on big and small problems in every field, every plan or decision made by each ministry was never submitted to the Government. Pol Pot and Pol Pot alone was the one who made the final decision and ordered its implementation.

- 3 -

The Government was only a screen to hide Pol Pot's personal dictatorship firmly based on the Secret Security Committee composed of Nuon Chea head of the Secret Committee, Son Sen called Khieu and Son Sen's adviser, <sup>his wife</sup> Yun Yat called At . So, from 1975 to 1978 it was this "gang of four", Pol Pot, Nuon Chea, Son Sen, Yun Yat who decided all the Killings and massacres. During that time there never was any meeting of the Council of Ministers, the latter being merely a tool in Pol Pot's hands. In fact, when Pol Pot, then Prime Minister made a false declaration about his pretended illness in 1976, it was not H.E. Ieng Sary then Deputy Prime Minister in charge of Foreign Affairs who assumed the post of Prime Minister ad interim. On the contrary, it was Nuon Chea, the personality No 2 in the Party and then President of the National Assembly who was designated by Pol Pot to replace him as Prime Minister ad interim. This kind of appointment has never existed in the world. The above fact alone clearly shows that Pol Pot made all decisions according to his own will and did not worry at all about universally upheld principles, laws or rules.

II- What organization really wielded power in Pol Pot's dictatorial regime ?

Normally, in<sup>a</sup> socialist or communist regime, the highest organization which wields power in every field is the Permanent Committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. In Cambodia from 1975 to 1978, the Permanent Committee of the Central Committee did exist and Pol Pot was Chairman of that Permanent Committee. But the most powerful organization having the right to govern all Government units, be they military or civilian, was a Secret Security Committee. This Secret Security Committee was relying on some members of the Permanent Committee of the Central Committee who were either members of the Secret Security Committee or regional Secretary-Generals of the Party, such as Ta Mok and So Phim.

... 4

- 4 -

The Secret Security Committee had never been openly or officially set up and had been in place even before " the 17 April 1975 victory" ( Phnom Penh liberation).

During the war, dictatorship must be used to win the war. After liberation, dictatorship must be used to Keep power and protect "the proletariat dictatorship regime". In that situation, the Security and defence of the country played a prominent role. Therefore, all important decisions were made by Pol Pot and the Secret Security Committee. In addition there was no separation of power into three branches that is the legislative, executive and judiciary powers. So, Pol Pot's regime was a barbarous, fascist dictatorship which in no way differed from Hitlerism.

### III - The economic regime in Pol Pot's era

The economic regime in Pol Pot's era is already known throughout the world that is :

- 1- Pol Pot's regime did not use money
- 2- The commerce was based on the barter system as in the prehistoric era.

Pol Pot was convinced that only the ban on the use of money could prevent the CIA from carrying out any activity in Cambodia because in his view the CIA used money to buy people and recruit its agents. Pol Pot boasted that, if we used money, his regime could not last even 3 months. He used to say that the above economic measure was the rightest one and so far nobody in the world had been able to do the same !

### IV - The educational system

In Pol Pot's era, there was no educational system as such.

- 5 -

Education existed only at primary level. There were no secondary schools not to mention universities. And only in a few important ministries and a few cooperatives, did primary schools exist. As for the teachers, they were not professional and did not belong to any educational organization dependent on the Ministry of education. Therefore, our young people had to sacrifice their future for one or two generations to come and vegetate in the darkness of ignorance under the fascist rule of Pol Pot's dictatorship. In Pol Pot's view, educated people were only bad elements, haughty, good for nothing.

V - The foreign policy of Pol Pot's dictatorial regime

There was no clear foreign policy in Pol Pot's dictatorial regime. Worse still, what was proclaimed in official statements was always the opposite of what was actually done. Of course, there was a Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but the Minister of Foreign Affairs had no right to submit any foreign policy line to the Council of Ministers for approval as is the custom in every country in the world. Pol Pot decided alone about the foreign policy line each time it came to his mind without consulting the Minister and the cadres of the Ministry. In fact, the cadres of the Foreign Ministry were only used as translators or interpreters.

The Deputy Prime Minister in charge of Foreign Affairs had no right to express any opinion which ran counter to Pol Pot's opinion. Negotiations with foreign countries were conducted without the knowledge of the Deputy Prime Minister as was the case with the socialist Republic of Vietnam in 1976 about a border problem. At that time May Saran called Ya, then Minister of supply and transport was appointed by Pol Pot as head of the Cambodian delegation to negotiate with the Vietnamese delegation and directly report to Pol Pot. The Deputy Prime Minister had neither the possibility to appoint any ambas-

...6

- 6 -

sador to a foreign country in due time if Pol Pot had not yet agreed as was the case with the Kingdom of Thailand in 1978. The "Mayaguez" affair was another example. The Deputy Prime Minister in charge of foreign affairs requested that the release of the American "Mayaguez" ship be broadcast immediately on the radio at 18 o'clock to prevent bad reaction from the U.S.A. . Pol Pot did not agree and the national radio had to wait until the next morning to broadcast the news . It was too late and the U.S.A. bombed the city of Kompong Som causing many dead among the population.

#### VI- Some noteworthy events

##### 1- The massacre of the "Khmers Hanoi"

(i.e. the Khmers assembled in North Vietnam after the 1954 Geneva Conference)

After the 1954 Geneva Conference, 2,000 Cambodian resitants were sent to North Vietnam on a Polish ship. In March 1970, a coup d'état by General Lon Nol overthrew Prince Sihanouk then chief of State of Cambodia. The war broke out in Cambodia after Vietnam and Laos. In this new situation all the Khmer refugees in North Vietnam usually called the "Khmers Hanoi" voluntarily returned to Cambodia. Among them were a number of technicians especially in the military field. For fear they would become an obstacle to his dictatorial power, Pol Pot ordered to kill our compatriots one by one, groups by groups until they were all liquidated except for 2 or 3 widows who have survived until now.

##### 2- The evacuation of the city-dwellers after April 17, 1975

On his return home from Beijing on March 23, 1975, H.E. Ieng Sary found Phnom Penh a ghost town already emptied of its inhabitants. The decision was taken by Pol Pot without the knowledge of H.E. IENG SARY. Pol Pot divided the

- 7 -

- 7 -

whole khmer people into 2 categories. The " old people" were those who had participated in the struggle and were already living in the <sup>0</sup>cooperatives while the new people or "the 17 April people" were those evacuated from different provincial cities and more especially from Phnom Penh. The new people were sent to working-sites (rice-fields, dam construction, railway construction) in the countryside to be trained through hard labour to endure moral and physical sufferings. Then, families were broken because their members were separated into different work-groups according to their age and strength. It was really heart-rending ! Those who dared show family affection accused of being " traitors" ! Moreover, for lack of adequate living quarters and food and because of hard labour, a great number of the former city-dwellers died especially children and old people.

3- The massacre of the intellectuals personalities and diplomats coming home from abroad.

The liberation of Phnom Penh on April 17, 1975 was welcomed by the majority of intellectuals living abroad. They voluntarily came back home hoping to be able to use their knowledge to serve the country. But alas! soon after landing at Pochentong airport, they were rounded up and sent to different camps in the country in order to endure moral and physical sufferings like " the 17 April people" too. The " gang of four" Pol Pot, Nuon Chea, Son Sen and Yun Yat did not even care to inform H.E. IENG SARY of their arrival! Through hard labour illness and lack of food most of them died while, a number of them were executed for being "traitors", "CIA" and "KGB" agents according to the countries they came from.

Even H.E. IENG SARY's mother-in-law and sisters-in-law's arrival was kept secret from him. Later one of his sister-in-law, Miss Khieu Thirath a doctor in law, was strangled to death by her warders in a camp at Takhmau near Phnom Penh.

- 8 -

Therefore, most of the intellectuals coming home from abroad were killed. To cite only a few names, they were engineers like Mr Tiev Chin Leng Director of Kompong-Som sea-port, doctors like Mr and Mrs Tip Mam, put to death by Son Sen after horrible tortures former ministers like H.E. Chau Seng put to death by Nuon Chea because he told his warder that it was better to use tractors. A few intellectuals have survived until now because they were working in the Ministry of Foreign affairs and H.E. IENG SARY opposed Pol Pot's and Nuon Chea's order to send them to hard-labour camps by reasoning that he would have to close the Ministry if he let them go to the countryside. The survivors are Mr Keat Chhon, at present Minister of Economy and Finance in Phnom Penh, Mr Thicunn Prasith, former representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the U.N. ( New York ), Mr Ok Sakun, former representative of Democratic Kampuchea to UNESCO ( Paris), Mr Pech Bunreth, former representative of Democratic Kampuchea to ESCAP ( Bangkok ).

#### 4- The purge within the Party from 1975 to 1978

Since 1975, Pol Pot began to purge the Party in order to eliminate all leaders who enjoyed popularity and could possibly replace him at the head of the leadership.

In 1975, Mr Hou Yuon Doctor in Economic Sciences was executed along with his wife at Pol Pot's order for opposing the evacuation of the city-dwellers and the confiscation of the people's properties. In 1976, Hu Nim, Doctor in Law, at that time Minister of Information was executed at the initiative of Yun Yat who reported to Pol Pot that Hu Nim had said to her " we ought to use money ". In 1976 too, Mr Phouk Chhay, former President of the " Association Générale des Etudiants Khmers " in Phnom Penh, at that time, private secretary of Pol Pot was executed at Pol Pot's order because the " Association Générale des Etudiants " was accused of being a " CIA " organization. Mr Sophal called Keu, a member of the Central Committee in 1978 in charge of Maung-Pursat region, Mr Vorn Veth, a member of the Permanent Committee of the Central Committee, Deputy Prime Minister in charge of Economy ( and later on, provi-



- 9 -

sionally in additional charge of security to replace Son Sen then on duty in the Eastern front ) were also executed at the order of Pol Pot for being both " CIA " and " Vietnam's " agents . Pol Pot informed H.E. IENG SARY only after Vorn Veth had already been executed . Lately, Pol Pot planned to assassinate H.E. IENG SARY by evicting him from the leadership in early 1993 and at the same time, tried to assassinate him by accusing him of being a pro-western man .

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Among the Historical figures leading the patriotic movement of Cambodia, except for H.E. IENG SARY, there remain only individuals who faithfully carry out Pol Pot's order: such as Nuon Chea, Ta Mok , Son Sen and his wife Yun Yat . Therefore, everything Pol Pot does is only aimed at consolidating and safeguarding his dictatorial power because he considers himself an incomparable genius in analysis in the military field, in the economic field , in health care, in song writing, music dances, culinary arts, fashion, in everything including even the art of lying . Pol Pot considers himself above all living creatures in this world . He is the god on the Earth . All articles he writes for the " Democratic Kampuchea " radio, is always signed : " the nation and the people of Kampuchea " .

So, the murderer of the people of Cambodia is nobody else than Pol Pot . The war criminal is nobody else than Pol Pot. It is Pol Pot and his handful of hunchmen ; Nuon Chea Ta Mok , Son Sen called Khieu and Yun Yat called At who are the mass-murderers of the people of Cambodia, committing

... 10

- 10 -

until now enormous crimes against mankind . As such , they  
must be sentenced to death .

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