

Khmer Rouge papers expose media support for genocide

by Michael and Gail Billington

Cambodia's Khmer Rouge back in power, *again*? On May 22, the worst nightmare of the people of Cambodia was reported on the front page of the *Phnom Penh Post*, a newspaper read widely in the Cambodian capital. Three notebooks, found in a Khmer Rouge enclave in a hut next to where "Brother No. 1," Pol Pot, died on April 15, disclosed that in July 1997, the Khmer Rouge had, indeed, conspired with Prince Norodom Ranariddh to seize power in Phnom Penh. Once Ranariddh's co-Prime Minister, Hun Sen, and his associates had been eliminated, the Khmer Rouge planned to turn on Ranariddh, and assume power in their own name.

Somehow, the *Washington Post* has neglected to tell anyone about "the Khmer Rouge papers." The three notebooks contain detailed minutes of meetings of senior Khmer Rouge leaders from June 27, 1997 through January 1998. These documents, authenticated by individuals who attended the meetings, disclose that the government in Phnom Penh has been telling the truth, a truth almost no one wanted to hear for nearly a year. What really happened in July 1997? The Khmer Rouge, who killed an estimated 1-2 million people out of a population of 7.5 million in the 1970s, were staging a comeback—a return to the genocidal insanity that nearly murdered a nation.

So far, the U.S. establishment press has not said a word about papers that one diplomat in Phnom Penh called "politically explosive." There's good reason why the "media food chain" in Washington lost its appetite for this story. The *Washington Post*, the *Washington Times*, the *New York Times* ("all the news that's fit to print"), and, most egregious and most guilty, the voice of Wall Street, Dow Jones's *Wall Street Journal* and, emphatically, its Hong Kong holding, the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, sold one of the biggest, whopping lies since Goebbels to governments, legislatures, non-governmental organizations (NGOs)—absolutely, the cash-hungry

NGOs—around the world: The Khmer Rouge had changed their stripes. In June 1997, they were the "new democrats" of Cambodia, committed to "free and fair" anything, as long as it was on their terms.

The villain, according to this story, as reported by these "newspapers of record," was Second Prime Minister Hun Sen, who put little faith in First Prime Minister Prince Ranariddh's report that the hard-core leadership of the Khmer Rouge, including Khieu Samphan, Ta Mok, and Nuon Chea, had "broken with" Pol Pot, and wanted to come under the wing of the duly elected government.

The Khmer Rouge papers expose this same press as complicit in an attempt to reestablish one of the most evil governments of this century, cloaked in the garb of "democracy."

What happened in July 1997

Prince Ranariddh's insane scheme was exposed and crushed when Prime Minister Hun Sen, on July 4, 1997, deployed the Royal Cambodian Armed Forces to drive out several hundred Khmer Rouge troops, which had been clandestinely deployed into Phnom Penh by the Prince. A small number of troops loyal to Prince Ranariddh put up resistance, but quickly fled to the Thai border to join forces with the Khmer Rouge.

The Western media screamed, "Coup!" and denounced Hun Sen, who had just saved his nation from more genocide. Prince Ranariddh was portrayed as the victim. Within days, the Cambodian government released a White Paper providing conclusive evidence of the planned restoration of the Khmer Rouge through Ranariddh's treachery—including the agreement between Khmer Rouge strongman Khieu Samphan, the Prince, and his top general, Nhek Bunh Chhay, forming an anti-government military alliance effective as of July 3, the

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Prince's KR deal laced with treachery
KR plotted to betray Prince's alliance and wage new war

By BOU SAROUEN AND PETER SAINSBURY

Rebels' money still a mystery
By PETER SAINSBURY AND BOU SAROUEN

Papers ravage credibility of Ranariddh

Negotiators killings explained

The infamous tiger cages

It beats being killed, but not by much

KR would take districts, communes and villages

Asian press coverage of the Khmer Rouge papers. Their leaders said: "Ranariddh's boat is sinking. . . We have to play a trick." "To join the Front obtains us legitimacy, once we are legitimate the world will want to help us." "We take the legal position and plan. In doing, so we survive." "Joining the front means survival — survival for fighting. We will win very soon." "We take the districts, communes, villages. . . The important thing is that we are rampant." None of this has been reported in U.S. newspapers.

day before Hun Sen moved against the conspiracy.

EIR, almost alone among the Western press, covered the White Paper in detail, while also exposing the fact that the Dow Jones press and the *Washington Post* had provided fulsome sympathetic support for the Khmer Rouge comeback (see *EIR*, Sept. 5, 1997). The flimsy cover for the media's support for these infamous criminals was that Khieu Samphan and other Khmer Rouge leaders had "deposed" Pol Pot, blaming him for all the evils of the Khmer Rouge reign of terror, and themselves moulting into becoming true "democrats." A surreal trial of Pol Pot, who was already close to death, was staged in the Khmer Rouge jungle hideout of Anlong Veng, with the *Far Eastern Economic Review* invited to film the event for the gullible. That video was subsequently sold for a high six-figure amount, and aired in the United States on ABC-TV's "Nightline" program, with a tearful, personal narration by the *Far Eastern Economic Review's* Nate Thayer.

Except for *EIR*, the entire Western press, the NGOs, their supporting foundations in London and New York, and most Western governments, paid lip service to this charade. If not for the fact that President Bill Clinton intervened and personally declared that the United States would not tolerate any role whatsoever for the Khmer Rouge in the Cambodian government, there would likely have been an internationally backed subversion of the Cambodian government, and an ultimate victory for the Khmer Rouge coup.

The Khmer Rouge papers

As a result of the recently discovered Khmer Rouge notebooks, there is now proof that the Cambodian government White Paper were deadly accurate in its accusations. Not only did the Khmer Rouge plan to seize power, but they intended to use Prince Ranariddh as a puppet in the same way they had used his father, King Norodom Sihanouk, as a puppet during the 1970s and 1980s. Once again, today, as with the White Paper last year, the major Western newspapers and electronic media have chosen to *completely black out the discovery of these notebooks*, despite their authentication on May 19 by Pich Chheang, the former ambassador of the Khmer Rouge's Democratic Kampuchea government to China and deputy standing committee member under Pol Pot, and by Yim San, commander of Division 980 in charge of political study within the Democratic Kampuchea Army. Both men attended meetings recorded in the notebooks. Furthermore, Western media outlets have refused to cover the story despite the fact that a number of wire stories and articles are available to them, including:

- May 22, Bou Sarouen and Peter Sainsbury, *Phnom Penh Post*, "The KR Papers," and "Prince's KR Deal Laced with Treachery: KR Plotted to Betray Prince's Alliance and Wage New War."
- May 22, Robin McDowell, Associated Press, "Khmer Rouge Was Plotting Comeback."
- May 22, Reuters, "Explosive: Cambodia Rebel Docu-

ments Found—Paper.”

- May 22, Associated Press, “Khmer Rouge Was Plotting Comeback Via Peace Talks, Papers Show.”
- May 23, Huw Watkin, *South China Morning Post*, “Cambodia Prince ‘Plotted’ with Khmer Rouge.”
- May 25, Huw Watkin, *South China Morning Post*, “Cambodia: Papers Ravage Credibility of Ranariddh.”
- May 27, Agence France Presse, “Deposed Cambodian Prince Defends Negotiations with Khmer Rouge.”

At the postwar Nuremberg trials, the criterion for complicity in genocide was “knew, or should have known.” Once again, *EIR* must set the record straight.

Gaining the legal ground

The notebooks record discussions at meetings led by Khmer Rouge leaders Ta Mok, Nuon Chea, Khieu Samphan, and others. One entry, from June 1997, reports that “in the past few months, Ranariddh has run to us because Ranariddh

doesn’t have forces.” Explaining why the Khmer Rouge were joining in Ranariddh’s National United Front, one entry reads: “Ranariddh’s boat is sinking in the sea, but our boat is not. We have to help him, but the way we help is to offer him a stick, not a hand, not an embrace, not to let him cling to our boat, or we all die. We have to play a trick.”

Another official said: “The [National United] Front is not important. Signing to join the Front obtains us legitimacy. Once we are legitimate, the world will want to help.”

Readers who find it incredible that the Khmer Rouge could imagine gaining international legitimacy, must recall that between 1979, when the Vietnamese military provided backing for Cambodian nationalists (including Hun Sen) to end the Khmer Rouge terror, and 1993, when the United Nations sponsored elections, the deposed Khmer Rouge were *officially recognized at the UN, and by the Reagan and Bush administrations, as the legitimate government of Cambodia*, despite universal horror at the genocide they had carried out

U.S. policy could lead to tragedy for Cambodia

Following the aborted coup attempt in Phnom Penh in July 1997, the United States imposed sanctions on the government of co-Prime Ministers Hun Sen and Ung Huot, which especially affected U.S. aid for preparations for general elections, now scheduled for July 26, and assistance in anti-narcotics efforts. Recently, Washington has said it will cut funding for the elections, from \$7 million to \$2.3 million, and that money will not go to the National Economic Commission, but will be funneled through privately run non-governmental organizations. Sens. John Kerry (D-Mass.) and John McCain (R-Ariz.) have largely subscribed to the view that the Phnom Penh government must be held to account for “free and fair” elections, while U.S. aid is denied the government, with little accountability demanded from the NGOs.

EIR is not alone in thinking that U.S. policy on Cambodia is seriously askew. Australia’s ambassador to Cambodia (1994-97), Tony Kevin, wrote a commentary on the situation, titled “U.S. Errs in Cambodia Policy,” which was published as the “5th Column” article in the May 21 *Far Eastern Economic Review* and posted to an Internet website. Ambassador Kevin does not consider either Hun Sen or Prince Ranariddh “angels” in the complex situation in Cambodia, but acknowledges that up until last July, Cambodia, largely through Hun Sen’s efforts, was making progress. Prince Ranariddh, he says, “listened to reckless advisers when he listened at all,” and did the most to

destroy his own political party, Funcinpec.

Ambassador Kevin appeals to the United States to reconsider its current approach as follows:

“While Cambodia remains at war with itself, rights violations on all sides will continue. But rather than condemn just one side, the U.S. should help bring about an end to the . . . warfare in which such rights violations occur. . . .

“America’s unrelenting demonization of Hun Sen, and its determination to treat Cambodia as a pariah state until he is ousted, is unworthy of a great nation. These policies are rooted in anger and guilt, and compounded by ignorance. Washington is angered by the failed return (as it sees it) on the \$2.2-billion international investment in the UN-sponsored election process in 1991-93. There is also guilt over the U.S. mass bombing of Cambodia during the Vietnam War, followed by active U.S. support from 1981 to 1991 of an insurgency in which the Khmer Rouge was the strongest force. Hun Sen has become the focus of these unresolved American feelings of anger and guilt—hated by both liberals and conservatives in Washington. . . .

“The result is bad policy. The U.S. aid boycott since mid-1997 has further damaged business confidence, economic growth and the growth of civil society—without any countervailing political benefits.

“Tensions will inevitably mount in the run-up to elections in July. There may be provocations, even high-profile political killings. If Washington were to continue to blame Hun Sen for whatever goes wrong, and accordingly pressures its partners within the ‘Friends of Cambodia’ group to withdraw their support for the election, this would be a tragedy. It would risk pushing Cambodia back to the worst days of the 1979-91 civil war and diplomatic isolation—to no good purpose.”

against their nation. The Khmer Rouge over the past year, with Prince Ranariddh's support and that of the NGOs, were very close to winning that Western support once again.

The Khmer Rouge's intentions were to use the National Front to take power, then reassert their infamous policy of "ethnic cleansing" against the Vietnamese minority in Cambodia, and all "Vietnamese puppets," which in the Khmer Rouge lexicon means every government official or civil servant. Another entry from June 1997 states: "The United Front win, the *yuon* [a derogatory term for the Vietnamese] soldiers immediately die. We retake the legal position and plan. In doing so, we survive. The Front is only a transition to grab forces, not to go to die, but to grab forces and fight the *yuon*." Still another says: "In short, the Front is a swindle. But we join the front to disperse the enemy forces and take a chance to build forces from the people."

The disdain shown for Prince Ranariddh by the Khmer Rouge grew even more intense after the July suppression of their planned coup, when the troops loyal to the Prince joined the Khmer Rouge in jungle warfare against the government. The notebooks confirm the existence of this alliance, which Prince Ranariddh had attempted to deny over the past year, but Ta Mok is recorded in December, complaining that: "Ranariddh's forces are not fighting, and those that remain are thieves, robbers, and rapists. We are feeding them with a little help from Thailand and the U.S."

This "help" from the United States was not official government aid, since President Clinton has refused to be dragged into the Khmer Rouge trap. However, it is almost certain, that various NGOs, including, most likely, the International Republican Institute (IRI), were providing assistance to Ranariddh's troops—and, therefore, to the Khmer Rouge. The IRI, part of the U.S. National Endowment for Democracy set up by the Bush machine in the 1980s, has sponsored operations against nations around the world, in the name of the United States, but in direct opposition to U.S. national interests. Col. Oliver North's drug- and gun-running operations in Central America and in Iran were but one example. The IRI has used U.S. government funds to promote Prince Ranariddh and the Prince's ally in the National United Front, Sam Rainsy, despite long-standing evidence that their "clients" were with the Khmer Rouge.

Depopulation of the cities

The notebooks also confirm that the ultimate goal of the Khmer Rouge was to repeat the "return to the countryside" they had imposed after their takeover in 1975, driving the population out of the cities into forced communal labor in agriculture and in primitive public works in rural areas. The notebooks show that the Funcinpec, Prince Ranariddh's party, had agreed to give the Khmer Rouge control over the towns and villages, while Funcinpec would be granted provincial leadership—at least until it were time to dispose of the puppet Prince altogether: "We take the districts, communes, villages," said one Khmer Rouge official. "The important

thing is that we are rampant."

No Cambodian who survived the 1970s will ever forget the forced march of the entire urban population out of the major cities, within hours of the Khmer Rouge seizure of power. The architect of this deadly, self-destructive policy was Khieu Samphan, who ran the military offensive which swept the Khmer Rouge into power immediately following the U.S. pullout from Vietnam in 1975, and became President of Democratic Kampuchea during the bloody Khmer Rouge dictatorship between 1975 and 1979. The fact that Khieu Samphan figures prominently in the notebooks, along with references to plans to revive the depopulation of the cities policy, exposes another lie peddled by Prince Ranariddh, NGOs, and the Western press: that Khieu Samphan was a "moderate," as opposed to the "hard-liners" Pol Pot and Ta Mok, and that Khieu Samphan's deal with Prince Ranariddh meant that, as Prince Ranariddh claimed at the time: "The Khmer Rouge are coming back, but they are coming back as nationalists, patriots, not as killers."

EIR also exposed this particularly nasty lie by publishing a profile of Khieu Samphan's critical role in the creation of the "killing fields" (*EIR*, Jan. 23, 1998). In fact, Khieu Samphan represents the key connection between the genocidal Khmer Rouge and the international financial apparatus, represented by the Dow Jones press, which has openly promoted the Ranariddh-Khmer Rouge plot.

Khieu Samphan received his doctoral degree from the Sorbonne in Paris in 1959. His studies were part of a project, run by the British and the French, to create revolutionary movements in their former colonies, preceding the granting of independence, movements which were vehemently opposed to science, technology, and industrial development, in favor of primitive agriculture and peasant armies trained in "revolutionary violence." These movements in Africa, Ibero-America, and Asia served to keep Third World nations weak and divided, both regionally and internally, facilitating continuing control by the former colonial powers, and their financial institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Khieu Samphan's doctoral thesis laid out in great detail the program which would, in the 1970s, lay waste to the Cambodian nation and its people: the dismantling of industry, the evacuation of the cities, the rejection of most infrastructure development as a "tool of foreign exploitation," de-schooling, deconstruction of institutions, including turning children against parents, and forced communal labor. Portraying Khieu Samphan as a "moderate" is an undisguised call for more genocide.

IMF Managing Director Michel Camdessus does not disguise his own belief in "revolutionary violence," as a means to achieve IMF dictates over sovereign nations. When the IMF imposed the abolition of government subsidies to the poor in Indonesia, anarchy descended on Jakarta, leaving hundreds dead, and the city in ruins. Only days later, Camdessus told a meeting of one of his favorite NGOs, Transparency

International, that the IMF and the NGOs were engaged not in reform, but “revolution,” referencing the Jacobin mobs of the French Revolution as his preferred model.

The Khmer Rouge are just what the witch doctor ordered. A revival of the Khmer Rouge would not only destroy any prospects for peace in Cambodia, but disrupt the carefully constructed unity of the Southeast Asian nations, blocking Asian-wide rail and road development that are crucial for Asia, and for the world.

The future

Although the discovery of the Khmer Rouge papers has gone unreported in the West, the story is a lead item in the Asian press. Hong Kong’s *South China Morning Post* reported on May 25 that the documents “have all but destroyed the Prince’s political credibility,” and admitted that they “vindiccate Hun Sen’s actions, because it now seems certain there was a very serious threat to Cambodia.”

The Prince, just days before the revelations were made public, resigned as head of the National United Front, and has even floated rumors that he may leave the country due to “financial problems.” Ranariddh’s coalition ally, Sam Rainsy, former Finance Minister and the favorite of the IMF and the IRI, has been frantically trying to distance himself from the discredited Prince, although Rainsy’s own support for the Khmer Rouge conspiracy is also well established. Only last December, Rainsy was inciting his followers to refuse military service to fight the Khmer Rouge. “Forget the Khmer Rouge,” he said. “There is no Khmer Rouge. There are no hard-liners, just one Cambodian people.”

The Khmer Rouge papers prove beyond any doubt that the Western nations must immediately lift the sanctions against Cambodia, which were imposed after the events of last July. President Clinton, while steadfastly refusing to support Ranariddh’s deals with the Khmer Rouge, nonetheless imposed sanctions against Hun Sen’s government, based on evidence now known to be fraudulent, that Hun Sen had carried out a coup against his co-Prime Minister Prince Ranariddh. While the truth was available even then, and was covered in *EIR*, the discovery of the notebooks makes it irrefutable. The sanctions must be lifted, and support must be provided to allow this battered nation to finally move forward in peace.

Unfortunately, the United States has moved in the opposite direction. Elections scheduled for July 26, which the “international community” has demanded as a show of Hun Sen’s commitment to “democracy,” are in desperate need of international financial support, and yet, the United States, during the week of May 25, reduced its pledge of \$7 million to \$2.3 million, and announced that the money would not go to the government but to NGOs and the United Nations. We must ask: What is the “truth record” of those NGOs? Is the IRI, and others who have shown their true colors by promoting the attempted coup by the most infamous killers of the last half-century, among them?

Transparency International

Camdessus unleashes anti-corruption pimps

by Umberto Pascali

Last January, Indonesian President Suharto signed the second package of conditionalities dictated by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The official photo shows the leader of the fourth most populous country in the world sitting tense and solemn, signing his name to a document that would end the country’s successful war against poverty and for development. Behind him, standing with arms folded and looking down with a shadow of a smile across his face, is IMF Managing Director Michel Camdessus. The immediate impression, is that one is witnessing a surrender.

Indeed, it was, if not the end of a war, the end of a crucial phase of a war, waged by oligarchy-controlled institutions such as the IMF, against developing countries that not so long ago freed themselves from the colonial domination of those same oligarchical forces. (In the case of Indonesia, it was the Dutch Empire that divided up the region with the British and the Portuguese, in which the British Empire grabbing the northern part, Malaysia.) The dramatic improvement in levels of economic and social development achieved by Indonesia since independence was recently documented by *EIR* (May 22, 1998); however, the attempts to put Indonesia and other countries back “under control,” to re-colonize them, never ceased.

The normal strategy used by oligarchic forces to weaken and destabilize victim countries includes: constant attacks against any protectionist measures (what Camdessus calls “state interference”) applied by the elite of those countries to foster development; the undermining, on behalf of “free market” dogma, of any defense mounted against the looting of financial thugs such as George Soros; the spreading of corrosive financial derivatives and other speculative instruments; and, finally, a frontal assault against those countries’ leaders who show a propensity to resist pressures and enticements, and who more or less guarantee that the country stays on its development course.

Indeed, the modern-day feudal lords couldn’t be less concerned with the reality that stopping the development of the real economy, means the inevitable collapse of the world financial system. In fact, four months after the “surrender,” Indonesia was in flames, economically and financially prostrate, and victim of a self-destructive Jacobin rebellion that