

educated cream of the nation, considered parasites because they did not produce rice, the only form of existence in a nation that became one huge concentration camp. While most of the some 2 million urban dwellers of the capital Phnom Penh were murdered—many in the forced march which drove the inhabitants out of city within three days of its “liberation”—the systematic butchery of the entire population did not reach its height until 1977-1978, some two years after Pol Pot’s gang took control.

Every single aspect of the genocide was planned, including those first horrifying days. It was planned from the days when Pol Pot and Ieng Sary sat in the Chinese capital of Peking at the feet of their masters, from Mao Zedong to Deng Xiaoping. Massive amounts of Chinese arms flowed in, used by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime to conduct savage raids into Vietnam, where thousands of Vietnamese were butchered in much the same way as the Kampuchians were—not with bullets, but with axes, steel pipes, and bamboo rods. The “useless eaters” produced rice—millions of tons of it—which was stockpiled, along with the arms, as an increasingly emptied Kampuchea was made ready as an armed base for Chinese war against Vietnam.

The evidence is there—it cannot be denied. But it is not enough to know—even now the 4 million who remain are dying, with 1 million permanently disabled, all hungry, and the nation stripped of everything, even kitchen utensils. Cambodia, said one visitor, is a “complete zero.” The people are in shock, still living in terror that Pol Pot will come back. “If the Vietnamese leave,” one survivor told a visitor, “4 million Kampuchians will go to Vietnam as refugees.”

The crimes of this Holocaust do not rest then only with Pol Pot, with Ieng Sary, or even with their Chinese masters. They rest also with those who played “the China Card” and plotted to help China gain control of Kampuchea. Responsibility rests on Henry Kissinger and his deputy Alexander Haig, who set up Lon Nol (who preceded Pol Pot) and made their deal with Peking. The entire Anglo-American elite helped to create this Holocaust and now, with the same China Card in hand, plot to continue it, to cover it up, and perpetuate the horror.

In the following report, featuring the eyewitness account of distinguished Indian journalist Ganesh Shukla, we document the full scope of the horror of Kampuchea, and of its supporters.

I. Indian journalist tells of horror

From August 15 to 20, Ganesh Shukla, founding editor of the Indian weekly *New Wave* and a respected journalist from that nation, was in Kampuchea to attend the *in absentia* trial of former rulers Pol Pot and Ieng Sary for the murder of 3 million Kampuchians. For a number of years a staff correspondent and Southeast Asia editor of the *Patriot*, a prominent national daily, Mr. Shukla is highly regarded as a political commentator in his own nation, particularly among traditional Congress Party circles. He is currently on tour in the United States to dramatize the nature of the tragedy in Kampuchea. Following are two of Mr. Shukla’s reports from *New Wave*.

Pol Pot’s murder of 3 million

This first hand account by Ganesh Shukla of the devastation in Kampuchea was carried in New Wave, Sept. 2.

I was in Cambodia from August 15 to August 20. During my stay in Phnom Penh, I attended the trial *in absentia* of Pol Pot and Ieng Sari, visited orphanages, torture chambers, prisons, hospitals and parts of the capital. I also visited some places in the countryside and talked to people. What I saw and heard has left me benumbed.

I have no words to describe the tragedy that befell Cambodia on the day of its liberation in 1975, and in

the subsequent months and years till it was rescued from total genocide on January 7, 1979 by the combined armed forces of Kampuchean Front for National Salvation and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

I must confess that though I have not yet recovered from the shock which would overwhelm any living and sensitive human being, I have no reason to disbelieve my eyes and ears or the deep impressions I have brought from that unfortunate land.

Do not be shocked by what I report now. The tragedy is a thousand times more poignant than in 1971 when Indira Gandhi was prompted to order the Indian troops to save the people of Bangladesh from genocide.

The armed forces of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam have done a yeoman service to the humanity by rescuing the Khmer race from total extinction at the hands of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique. I am using the term "extinction" with deliberation.

It was not my first visit to Kampuchea. I had visited Cambodia in 1965 and 1967 and spent several weeks there. I know, rather intimately, the land, its people, their customs and way of life. I had visited almost all parts of the country and spent hours admiring the splendour that is Ankor Vat, marking the pinnacle of Indo-Khmer civilization.

Then and now

Phnom Penh was at that time the most beautiful city in South and South East Asia. Now, it is a ghost city. Its inhabitants, once about 800,000 are nearly dead and gone. Their bones lie buried or scattered all over the plains of Cambodia. The miraculous survivors of Phnom Penh, as distinct from those who were forced between 1970 and 1975, to take shelter there from American bombing, may not be more than a couple of thousands. They have lost their identity. They are yet to be traced, screened and identified before they could be rehabilitated in their houses.

Believe me when I say that of the seven million and odd Cambodians, at least one million have perished either through starvation, disease or physical exhaustion in slave labour camps called "communes", built like animal farms. Two millions more people were hacked to death or bludgeoned to death and thrown into mass graves, wells, ponds and rivers.

Among the four million survivors the men-women ratio is one to five. Wherever you go, you see only women and children, naked or half naked, without a home, without food, without medicine, without anyone to care for them except the state which the outside world, except the socialist countries, refuses to help.

These four million survivors, one million of whom are disabled, are refugees in their home land.

In the countryside, people are roaming, not able to locate their villages and homes, eating whatever they

Indira Gandhi appeals for aid to Kampuchea

Former Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi made the following appeal to the Nonaligned summit in Havana last month, calling for world-wide aid to the people of Kampuchea:

"I wish to draw the attention of your excellency and of the other high dignitaries attending the Havana conference to the tragedy facing millions of surviving Kampuchean. It has few parallels in the long history of human suffering. Out of the four million survivors, reports indicate one million are disabled. The majority of survivors are women and children. Due to lack of food, clothes, medicine and shelter, due to disruption of economic activity, due to total absence of trained and technical manpower, including doctors, nurses, and teachers, and the total destruction of infrastructure, a human problem of vast dimension confronts the world community.

"Shocked by this tragedy and its human dimensions, I appeal to all heads of state or their representatives assembled in Havana to give utmost priority to the humanitarian aspect of the Kampuchean question and to organize worldwide relief and rehabilitation programs irrespective of their views on the political aspect of Kampuchea.

can lay their hands on—like leaves, wild fruits, small animals, cockroaches and insects.

Insect-eaters

If food and medicine are not rushed to Cambodia, at least a million more Cambodians will perish in the next three months before the crop is harvested.

The Khmer race is faced with extinction.

Never in history had the rulers of a country committed such barbarous crimes against their own people as the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique against the Khmer race.

Trained in the Maoist theory and practice, they used Kampuchean territory as a laboratory. During the four dreadful years of their rule they waged a ruthless war against their people, against civilisation and against humanity.

It did not begin on April 17, 1975 when the residents of Phnom Penh were tricked into believing that they should evacuate to escape American bombing. It had started earlier, even during the anti-U.S. resistance when Vietnamese soldiers along with Cambodian partisan units were busy routing Lon Nol's troops in one area

after another, thus leaving the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique to manage the affairs in the liberated areas. Old Communist leaders, cadres, skilled personnel, in fact, anyone having any link with the Vietnamese cadre were simply murdered in the forests. Those who had migrated to China and were considered inconvenient died of "heart attacks" in Peking hospitals.

First victims

The first victims of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique were the Communists themselves with a long record of resistance, mass work and mass education. No wonder that by the time the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique was hounded out of the country, the Communist Party of Cambodia had lost more than 80 per cent of its cadre and two-thirds of the Central Committee members.

A war against civilization could not be waged so long as there remained educated people, knowing foreign languages or people who had ever gone abroad. They were rounded up in thousands for "political re-education," taken to Tuol Sleng higher secondary school, which was converted into torture cells. Every modern and savage method of torture was used to force out confession of crimes from them. From Tuol Sleng prison, no one returned alive.

De-schooling

In Tuol Sleng, intellectuals, diplomats, party leaders and educated cadre, men and women of science and letters were tortured and then killed. The vast compound of the school is today a mass grave, of a people and a whole race.

It is in Tuol Sleng where Kampuchea's ambassadors to Vietnam, Egypt, Cuba and some other countries were tortured and killed. Their pictures are on the walls of the prison, as a chilling record of what man and a mad ideology can do to man.

There were more than 700 qualified physicians in Cambodia. Today there are less than 70.

More than one thousand Cambodian intellectuals responded to Pol Pot's appeal to return to the homeland to serve the people. Only 65 have survived.

Kampuchea is denuded of educated people. There are no teachers, no office workers, no cadre to man the civil and military services. Education had been abolished by the Pol Pot barbarians and the educated have been done to death.

The Maoist cultural revolutionaries were not content with the abolition of money and education. They abolished modern medicine and replaced it with the traditional system. There was no need, they crowed, for doctors or hospitals.

When a team of soldiers accompanied by a nurse reached one of the city's main hospitals, now called the

January 7 Hospital, they found nine decomposing bodies. This was the only "stock" in the hospital; there were some wild herbs too. Even the medical equipment had been destroyed as symbols of a degenerate system.

Today Cambodian hospitals have no doctors, no nurses, no medicine, no equipment. They have hundreds of thousands of the sick and dying, though.

Dead and doctors

The National Library has been ransacked. All the valuable books have been taken away. The rest were consigned to fire. The library was converted into a crockery store, and the university into a pigsty.

The National Museum too has been destroyed. All the rare relics of the Khmer civilisation were shipped out of the country. The rest were thrown into the courtyard. To please his masters Pol Pot declared that Ankor Vat temples were built not by the Khmers but by an ancient Chinese architect.

Buddhist monks were forced to disrobe and work in the fields. Pagodas were destroyed or turned into stores. Buddha's idols were thrown into rivers and fields.

The Cham nationality, which is mostly Muslim, has been nearly annihilated. They were barred from wearing their traditional dress or offering prayers. The fate of Chams was indeed the fate of other national and religious minorities.

Ending civilisation

The two thousand year old Khmer or Indo-Khmer civilization and culture had been destroyed. Had Phnom Penh not been liberated on January 7, 1979, it would, in another couple of years, have been covered with tropical forests and become the latest lost capital, the second Ankor Vat in Cambodia, or the symbol of a destroyed civilization.

Those who have escaped death and are now in Phnom Penh live as though in a dream. They move about as if in a trance, unsure whether the world around them is real or imaginary.

Pol Pot had turned Cambodia into a vast grave yard.

What Mao said

Congratulating Pol Pot on the liberation of Cambodia in 1975, Mao Tse-tung said:

"Comrades, you have scored a splendid victory. Just a single blow and no more classes. The rural communes with poor and middle peasants of the lower layer all over Kampuchea shall constitute our future."

True to Mao's behest, Pol Pot struck Cambodia like a lightning. He tried to turn Cambodia into a Chinese rice farm.

Tuol Sleng: Graveyard of Kampuchea's elite

This article, on the torture camp of Tuol Sleng in Phnom Penh, appeared in the Sept. 16 issue of New Wave.

The extermination camp of Tuol Sleng in Phnom Penh occupies an area 600 meters long, 400 meters wide. It is surrounded by a fence of corrugated sheets with barbed wires.

The Tuol Sleng prison used to be a school known as Lycee Ponhea Yat under the Sihanouk regime. Since 1970 it was known as Lycee Tuol Svay Prey...

Organization of Tuol Sleng

Tuol Sleng became an extermination camp at the end of 1975. This was one of the most important centers, if not the main center, for the torture and massacre of Kampuchean elite under Pol Pot. There were other camps which were to some extent dependent on Tuol Sleng, notably the camp of Takhmau, formerly a psychiatric hospital. ... All these camps were placed under the command of Tuol Sleng also known as "S 21", that is "security 21." They were directly under the Defense Minister of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime.

The classrooms of this school were transformed into cells with the windows tightly barred. All the cells in the basement in the first floor of the four buildings were turned into small individual compartments of two meters long and one meter wide. In each classroom there are 18 such compartments. The second floor was reserved for collective imprisonment.

The prisoners were divided into three categories:

- the responsables, the high civil personalities.
- The military cadres.
- The workers, peasants, and soldiers.

These small cells were reserved for prisoners of the first two categories; prisoners of the last category were heaped up in the cells which were on the top floor of the building.

Treatment of prisoners

Almost every day the security unit dug graves of 4.50 meters long, 2 meters wide and 1.50 meters deep. These graves were reserved for the corpses of the detainees who were massacred usually at midnight.

The prisoners consisted of all strata of the Kampuchean people. *The civilians:* from simple peasants to ministers, among them were workers, technicians, intellectuals, professors, physicians, engineers.

The military: from soldier to division commanders; among them were all ranks of military units. ...

It is significant to note that women and children were also detained here. Among the prisoners were two Americans, one Australian, one Briton and forty Vietnamese. These persons were taken out of the prison in November 1978, and most probably exterminated.

From 1975 to 1976 the number of the detainees was one hundred. This number increased gradually year after year. And in 1977, the number went up to more than 1,200. In 1978 there were more than 1,500 prisoners.

The duration of detention was from 1 to 2 months, or from 3 to 4 months. The high cadres were imprisoned up to six months.

Torture

The prisoners who were detained in the small cells had one foot chained to the wall. Those who were detained collectively in the cell had one foot fettered to a long iron bar. Each bar, 6 meters long, could receive up to twenty feet.

While being imprisoned in their cells or compartments the detainees had to take off all their clothes, except knee-breeches. They slept on the floor, without mat and blanket.

Every morning at 4:30 they took off their knee-breeches so as to facilitate the search conducted by one group. After the search, there were half-an-hour gymnastic exercises, of course with one foot chained. Toilets were made on the spot in the metal or plastic boxes.

In every cell there was a regulation written on the blackboard.

(1) Speaking is absolutely forbidden.

(2) Before doing something, the authorization of the warden must be obtained.

(3) Prisoners must strictly obey the rules of discipline.

Consequently, while in bed, if someone wanted to move, he had to obtain the authorization of the warden. The detainees who transgressed the regulation would get from 20 to 30 lashes.

For showering, a water-pipe was put between the bars of the window. As soon as the prisoner just got a shower on his body, the water-pipe was taken away.

The prisoners who, by an oversight, upset the box of excrement or the can of urine had to gather all the filth, put it in place, and clean the floor by licking it with their tongues.

Denial and death

The torture of prisoners was carried out in the course of interrogations. They began by chaining the prisoners to the wall and to the table of the interrogator. The

motive of accusation was whether the prisoner had been an agent of the CIA or an agent of the KGB, or had some kind of relations with the Vietnamese.

If the victim denied the charge, the executioners went into action. They were mercilessly beaten. After some weeks, if those interrogated persisted in their denial the severity of torture increased. The Pol Pot men applied electric current to the wet body of the victim so as to intensify the electric shock. Further, they used either magneto-electric devices with high tension but weak intensity, or the domestic current of 380 volts. The electric wires were attached either to the foot or the tongue of the prisoner, or to his ears, fingers or his genitals.

Also prisoners were hung up by their feet. In this position, water, salt water or soap water were forced into their noses. There were other methods like crushing the fingers of the victim with a vise to the point that they could easily remove the fingernails with nippers. When the nails were pulled out, alcohol was poured there. There were also cases in which alcohol was poured into the eyes. Also needles were driven into the finger nails of the victims. And the prisoners were forced to drink urine, or salted water. Their heads were ducked into the box of excrement.

As a rule, prisoners who confessed as well as those who did not were all executed. Usually the extermination was carried out at midnight. They were taken away one by one with arms tied behind and eyes blindfolded, to a common grave which had been dug in the afternoon. They were taken to the grave. Then they were struck violently at the nape by an iron bar of one meter long. A certain number of prisoners had their throats cut. And more barbarous still, their bellies were disemboweled so that the torturers could get their liver and gall-bladder, which, as the Pol Pot men said, were used to make medicaments. Finally, the corpses were thrown into the grave.

In 1975 and 1976, five to six persons were killed every day. However, the tempo of massacre increased at the beginning of 1977 and especially in 1978, the year in which Pol Pot killed from 100 to 150 persons a day. Thus, from December 1975 to June 1977 the prisoners exterminated at Tuol Sleng and at Tokhmau numbered between 10,000 and 12,000 including children and new born babies.

On January 7, 1979, as they fled, the murderers, unable to wipe out all the traces of their heinous crimes, left behind piles of well-documented evidence.

Arriving at the camp, first of all one is impressed by the double or triple fence of corrugated sheet reinforced with barbed wires.

Building "A," which in 1978 housed the well-known prisoners, has in each cell a bed with iron fetters, a table, a chair. Blotches of congealed blood and clusters of hair remained on the floor. Ten soundproof cells were

"We have creatively and successfully applied Mao's thought to the realities of Kampuchea. For Kampuchea, Mao Zedong's thought is the most precious aid given by China."

***Pol Pot
July 1977***

used as rooms for interrogation of the well-known personalities.

In each small compartment there remain two fetters to chain the foot of the detainees. And the barbed wires still "decorate" the front of building "C."

There are seven bars in every window. One can find other evidence of torture: sticks, bamboo branches, cane tree branches, cocoanut branches, iron bars, whips made of electric wires, magneto-electric devices, field-telephone apparatus with buttons connected to domestic current.

There are cans of fish sauce, strings, heaps of clothes left by the dead prisoners; black military clothes, typical of the Pol Pot regime; civil clothes of men, women, boys and girls, sacks, cameras, belts, cans, mosquito nets and hammocks used by the army-men.

There are documents, lists of the detainees, lists of the exterminated, declarations of the interrogated, photos of the prisoners, and statements of the Pol Pot agents.

The number of prisoners who have survived the genocide at Tuol Sleng is very small. Up to now eight persons have been discovered, four of whom are children...

The common graves constitute one of the most convincing evidences of genocide by Pol Pot. The tortures, the massacres and the burials of prisoners were conducted within the compounds. The common graves have been found one after another. Up to now 19 graves have been identified. Many of these graves are on the western side of the camp. According to the witnesses, in general, each grave is four meters long, two meters wide and 1.50 meters deep. There are also graves of nine meters long and two meters wide. Each grave contains on an average 30 to 40 corpses.

The school is today a national museum of a grisly kind. It provides vivid documentary evidence of the Pol Pot regime's unbelievable barbarity.