### **E**IRInternational

# Dow Jones supports return of Cambodia's Khmer Rouge

by Michael and Gail Billington

On July 9, the Kingdom of Cambodia released a White Paper, "Background on the July 1997 Crisis: Prince Ranariddh's Strategy of Provocation," produced by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation. The Western press and electronic media have fulsomely covered the recent events, beginning with the July 4 military action ordered by co-Prime Minister Hun Sen against troops under the control of the other co-prime minister, Prince Norodom Ranariddh. Prince Ranariddh had openly formed an alliance with the remnants of one of the most infamous practitioners of genocide in modern history, Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge. But despite the enormous interest in the crisis, the same press have almost entirely blacked out the government White Paper, which proves, with extensive documentation, that the Khmer Rouge were being invited back into power by Prince Ranariddh in open rebellion against the government.

Instead, the press, led by the Dow Jones-owned Far East-ern Economic Review in Hongkong (which serves as the voice of British policy in Asia) and the Dow Jones-owned Wall Street Journal (which serves as the voice of British policy in the United States), and apishly followed by the Washington Post, have peddled the most astonishing lies in support of the Khmer Rouge leadership, claiming they have made Damascus Road conversions from mass murderers to liberal democrats, and calling for the United States and the West to support the coalition between the now-deposed Ranariddh and his Khmer Rouge friends.

The Clinton administration, like Cambodia's Asian neighbors, has adamantly refused to countenance any return of the Khmer Rouge, and, as a result, has been subject to even more condemnation from the whorish press. Full public exposure of the documentation released with the Cambodian White Paper, as *EIR* provides here, is essential both to strengthen President Clinton's resolve, and to expose the

press and the Conservative Revolution yahoos who run Dow Jones, in yet another case of open support for genocide.

#### The background

The British-run "human rights" mafia has exerted enormous pressure on the members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) over the past year, to reverse their decision to admit Myanmar and Cambodia into the association this past July. This effort was part of the broader British campaign to destabilize China, by creating crises around its borders—a continuation of a centuries-long geopolitical policy by the British Empire to keep China weak and divided. The British are particularly anxious to disrupt the aggressive organizing by the Chinese government for development alliances with its Asian neighbors, as well as the nations of Central Asia and the Middle East, as part of the Eurasian Land-Bridge development perspective, linking Europe and Asia with high-speed rail and multiple development corridors. The southern routes of the Land-Bridge have been, over the past decades, blocked by the political isolation of Myanmar and the constant war and devastation in Cambodia.

The British and their globalization allies on Wall Street have used Southeast Asia (like most of the Third World) as centers for hot money, cheap labor, and vast speculation, a policy that benefitted from the division of the region. Over the past months, however, the "Asian Tiger Miracle" has collapsed, as, one after another, the speculative bubble economies of Southeast Asia have burst. More than ever, the British want to use the crisis to force the ASEAN nations to implement further austerity, deregulation, and privatization under the International Monetary Fund's "globalizing" conditionalities, while preventing the emergence of new alliances for development, around the Land-Bridge. Therein lies the reason for the continued attacks on Myanmar and Cambodia.

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As to Cambodia's role, it must be recognized above all that Cambodia is a nation that has been subjected to more horror, more destruction, and more misery over the past 30 years than perhaps any nation on earth—comparable to the indescribable hell now being wrought upon the Central African nations by the British Empire. Beginning with a 14-month period in 1969-70, the United States ran 3,630 secret B-52 sorties over eastern Cambodia, dropping over 100,000 tons of bombs, following the insane doctrine of Henry Kissinger and Robert McNamara's "body-count" warfare, while Kissinger negotiated détente with the Soviet Union. Kissinger then "negotiated" the capitulation of the U.S.-sponsored Lon Nol regime in Phnom Penh to the Khmer Rouge, immediately following the fall of Saigon and the U.S. pullout from Vietnam in 1975. Over the next four years, the Khmer Rouge, under the notorious Pol Pot, Khieu Samphan, Ieng Sary, and "The Butcher" Ta Mok, drove the population out of the cities, murdering anyone who resisted, leading to the deaths of 1-2 million of Cambodia's estimated 7 million people at the time. When the Vietnamese invaded in 1979, ending the infamous "killing fields" of the Khmer Rouge, the nation remained in civil war for the next dozen years, with the United States and the United Nations officially continuing to recognize the Khmer Rouge opposition to the Vietnamese-backed government until 1991.

The result of this sustained chaos is captured in the U.S. Agency for International Development's 1998 "Congressional Presentation on Cambodia": "Health sector statistics among the worst in the world, and easily the worst in Southeast Asia . . . , infant mortality rates of 115/1,000, under-5 mortality at 181/1,000 . . . , 200,000 children as orphans, 158,000 disabled, while 2% of the population suffers from acute mental illness." There remain in Cambodia today 4 to 10 million live landmines, that is, as much as one for every man, woman, child. Cambodia has the highest rate of amputees in the world, particularly among males aged 16-35.

The United Nations brokered peace in 1991, and elections were held in 1993, following which, Prince Ranariddh, the son of King Sihanouk, who had been in a loose alliance with the Khmer Rouge against the Vietnamese-backed government during the long civil war, formed the "co-prime ministership," sharing power with Hun Sen, who deserted the Khmer Rouge over the "killing fields" policy, and who had worked with Vietnam to overthrow the Khmer Rouge and led the government in the 1980s. The Khmer Rouge's relationship to this UN-sponsored "peace process" has been ambiguous at best, after they signed the 1991 Paris Accord. The Khmer Rouge dropped out of, and then tried to disrupt, the 1993 elections. As a consequence, the National Assembly, following the elections, declared the Khmer Rouge an outlaw organization, while the Khmer Rouge continued to regard itself as the provisional government of Cambodia, in open opposition to the newly formed coalition.

While post-election peace was a blessing, Cambodia remains 60% dependent on foreign aid for its budget, and the

conditions for accepting such aid included allowing a slew of international agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to run amok in the country. Another "benefit" of so much international attention has been the worst AIDS outbreak in Asia, with over 100,000 recorded HIV-positive cases thus far, up from zero recorded cases before 1991. One in four households is headed by a woman, due to the war-related death rate of men. The epidemic took off following the arrival of UN peace-keeping forces in 1992, when women flocked to Phnom Penh, seeking employment.

Still, some progress was being made, and Cambodia is improving its ties with all its neighbors, especially China, which had earlier sponsored the Khmer Rouge; elections are planned for May 1998.

#### The White Paper

The White Paper points first to the widely recognized fact that Hun Sen was by far and away the favorite to win the upcoming election. Hun Sen and his Cambodian People's Party (CPP) have been deeply involved at the village level, sponsoring rural development programs, building roads, schools, hospitals, and other basic necessities. The prince's party, the Funcinpec, had no party congress between 1992 and 1996, and suffered a major split when Finance Minister Sam Rainsy, the darling of the international NGO apparatus, in particular of the International Republican Institute (IRI), was dismissed as finance minister in 1995 and formed his own rabidly anti-Hun Sen party, the Khmer Nation Party.

Prince Ranariddh finally called a Funcinpec conference in 1996, where he first launched public attacks against his coalition partner Hun Sen, and announced that he might withdraw from government. At the end of 1996, the deputy governor of Battambang, Sery Kosal, an ally of Prince Ranariddh, ordered Funcinpec-aligned soldiers and some "defectors" from the Khmer Rouge into positions which threatened a secessionist move, precipitating armed clashes with the Royal Cambodian Army. Sery Kosal was later appointed Prince Ranariddh's national security adviser.

As a result of this and related tensions, the two co-prime ministers came to an agreement (included as Exhibit I in the White Paper) prohibiting: 1) partisan troop movements; 2) partisan recruiting of "defecting" Khmer Rouge troops; and 3) partisan arming of troops without government knowledge. This agreement, dated Feb. 26, 1997, was signed by both Prince Ranariddh and Hun Sen.

Despite his signature, Prince Ranariddh proceeded immediately to break all three aspects of the agreement. The same month, Ranariddh initiated secret, bilateral negotiations between his Funcinpec party and the Khmer Rouge, through his ally Gen. Nhek Bun Chhay, bullying leading Funcinpec members into accepting the talks. In mid-February, a delegation of 11 Funcinpec members, accompanied by a four-man helicopter crew, flew to a secret rendezvous with the Khmer Rouge. Within minutes of landing, the Funcinpec delegation was escorted into the jungle, where they were summarily machine-



The following documents were released to the international press and governments; the first three on July 9; the fourth, on Aug. 19. Exhibit I: Feb. 26, 1997 Order, signed by Co-Prime Ministers Prince Ranariddh and Hun Sen, in their capacity as co-commanders in chief of the Cambodian National Armed Forces, prohibiting partisan troop movements, partisan recruiting of defecting Khmer Rouge troops, illegal arming of partisan troops, and requirement to register weapons.

Exhibit III: June 21, 1997 letter from Funcinpec official to Gen. Nhek Bun Chhay regarding illegal troop movements.

Exhibit V: July 3, 1997 Joint communiqué signed by Prince Ranariddh, Khieu Samphan of the Khmer Rouge, Gen. Nhek Bun Chhay, and Tep Khun Nal, Minister of the Khmer Rouge Provisional Government.

Transcription of the diary (upper right) of Prince Ranariddh's top military adviser, Gen. Nhek Bun Chhay, discussing meetings with Khmer Rouge and disposition of military forces between the conspirators and the government.

gunned to death. The helicopter crew survived the attack, but was held hostage by the Khmer Rouge until recently.

Among those murdered was a very close personal friend of Gen. Tuon Chhay, a founding member of Funcinpec, who

subsequently held a press conference with eight Funcinpec members of the National Assembly, calling for Ranariddh's removal as party head, citing the helicopter incident and other transgressions. The Tuon Chhay group then organized a 700-

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person conference of Funcinpec members, which voted to remove Ranariddh. The prince countered by convening the party's Executive Committee, which dismissed Gen. Tuon Chhay, the most senior member of the party, and elected Ranariddh "President for life"! This conflict contributed to a seven-month suspension of the activities of the National Assembly, since, were it to meet, this would have led to an open fight within the Funcinpec. At the end of June, a compromise was reached, whereby Prince Ranariddh's and Gen. Tuon Chhay's factions agreed not to seek to oust each other from the National Assembly, so that the National Assembly could proceed to pass necessary legislation, such as the law governing next May's elections. Ranariddh did not tell his Funcinpec opponents that he was about to attempt a coup d'état with the Khmer Rouge.

On May 2, the prince broke the February agreement again, ordering the release to his personal bodyguard unit of a shipment of weapons, falsely listed in his order as "spare parts," which had been shipped to him, in his own name, on a Danish ship from a Polish arms dealer. A government inspection subsequently revealed that the "spare parts" were actually AK-47s and other weapons and rockets. The White Paper includes copies of Prince Ranariddh's letter and the cargo manifest and packing list as Exhibit II, arguing that the prince hoped the power of his name and office would have expedited the shipment without inspection, and duty free. The prince argued it was all legal, that he "could have" smuggled the weapons across the border, but "we wanted to use normal channels, and when you use normal channels, you cannot put down that these are explosives" (Cambodian Daily, May 30, 1997, Exhibit II).

Prince Ranariddh also began to move troops loyal to him, together with "recruits" from Khmer Rouge units, into positions around Phnom Penh. Exhibit III of the White Paper is a letter from a senior military officer in Funcinpec, written on the party's letterhead, to Prince Ranariddh's leading royalist officer, Gen. Nhek Bun Chhay, the first deputy chief of staff of the Army, dated June 21, 1997, confirming the movement of 690 troops, including 300 "Khmer Rouge defectors" to an area just outside Phnom Penh. This was only one of several partisan troop deployments by Funcinpec-allied forces in violation of the Feb. 26 agreement.

#### The Khmer Rouge revived

The above breaches of the February agreement were aired publicly and were generally resolved peacefully. But the prince had clearly decided that his only real chance to unseat Hun Sen was, in the words of the White Paper, "to re-assemble the factions that were in alliance in the 1980s." Hun Sen made clear, repeatedly, that any move to legitimize the Khmer Rouge in Cambodian politics would, by law and moral necessity, be crushed.

Prince Ranariddh, however, proceeded openly to do exactly that. He formed a new political alliance in early 1997, the National United Front (NUF), with Sam Rainsy's Khmer

Nation Party, and with overtures to the Khmer Rouge to join, officially, in this anti-Hun Sen alliance. Says the White Paper: "It was a very simple deal: the Khmer Rouge leadership were looking for legitimacy. Prince Ranariddh was looking for military support that these recalcitrant Communists could bring. He was willing to overlook past history of genocide and war and make an alliance with the holdouts."

Prince Ranariddh attempted to justify his deals with the Khmer Rouge by comparing it to the deal struck in 1996 with Khmer Rouge leader Ieng Sary. However, that deal, which granted amnesty to Ieng Sary in exchange for the surrender of his faction to the coalition government, was agreed to by both prime ministers and King Sihanouk, and served to isolate the remaining hard-core Khmer Rouge leadership for military defeat. Prince Ranariddh, on the other hand, was proposing a bilateral, political alliance between his Funcinpec party and an armed, politically activated army of mass murderers committed to the destruction of the existing government.

As reported above, the prince first contacted the Khmer Rouge in February 1997 at their base in Anlong Veng on the Thai border, but only admitted the contact in March. Gen. Nhek Bun Chhay made several trips to Anlong Veng, as a representative of Funcinpec, not of the government nor the Army, and the prince visited at least once, travelling covertly through Thailand and across the border. The meetings were with Khieu Samphan and Ta Mok, infamous perpetrators of the "killing fields," who concocted a ruse to blame all evil, throughout the history of the Khmer Rouge, on "Brother No. 1," Pol Pot, while the rest were metamorphized into "moderates," and "democrats" at heart.

On June 20, Prince Ranariddh announced that Pol Pot had been arrested by Khieu Samphan, who was ready to lead the Khmer Rouge, under a new name, the National Solidarity Party, into Cambodian politics as a partner of Prince Ranariddh's NUF!

On June 24, the White Paper reports, Lt. Col. Phon Pheap, the commander of a Khmer Rouge division, was brought to Phnom Penh by Gen. Nhek Bun Chhay. The commander subsequently revealed publicly that he had been brought to the capital with 500 Khmer Rouge as bodyguards for Prince Ranariddh, but had been hidden in the house of Gen. Nhek Bun Chhay in order to avoid discovery during an inspection by the Joint Commission for Conflict Resolution. He said he had been told to prepare to fight Hun Sen's CPP and to take power.

Exhibit V of the White Paper is the "smoking gun." It is a joint communiqué, dated July 3, 1997, signed by Prince Norodom Ranariddh, Khieu Samphan, Gen. Nhek Bun Chhay, and Tep Khun Nal—the latter identified as "Minister of Khmer Rouge Provisional Government"! The communiqué refers to the Khmer Rouge under the new title, "National Solidarity Party," and, although it pledges to follow the Constitution and support the King, it is *not* a declaration of support for the government of the nation, but, as the title states, a "Decision to unite within the National United Front," *against* Second Prime Minister Hun Sen. The communiqué was to be

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promulgated on July 6. However, Hun Sen deployed the Royal Cambodian Armed Forces to drive the Khmer Rouge out of the capital, meeting only light resistance from troops loval to Prince Ranariddh.

On July 19, ten days after the release of the White Paper, another set of documents was made public, which had been recovered from Gen. Nhek Bun Chhay's offices. These included blueprints of two of Hun Sen's residences, with plans to deploy 580 troops in three-pronged attacks. The general's notebook contained multiple references to the balance of forces between those troops loyal to the government and those opposed, openly listing Khmer Rouge forces together with the Funcinpec forces. This included: "Khmer Rouge of Anlong Veng, 8,000 soldiers; Khmer Rouge around Phnom Penh: 5,000." Hun Sen had clearly moved, just in time to prevent

#### **Dow Jones fantasy-land**

The Far Eastern Economic Review's (FEER) Cambodia reporter, Nate Thayer, has published numerous attacks against Hun Sen over the years, accusing him of corruption, drug-dealing, and other horrors, all circumstantial and without documentation. Thayer leapt to the defense of the Khmer Rouge and Ranariddh's treason. He first covered a mock trial of Pol Pot at Anlong Veng, where spokesmen for Khieu Sam-

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phan and Ta Mok "condemned" the dying Pol Pot to a life sentence under house arrest. Pol Pot's "crime" was the murder of a factional opponent — not a word about the mass genocide of the "killing fields." Thayer shed tears on ABC'-TVs "Nightline" program at how "sincere" this "trial" was. His articles in FEER, reprinted subsequently in full in the Washington Post, contain such gems as:

- "Once Hun Sen is driven out, the National Solidarity Party would be happy to participate in democratic elections . . . another top-ranking standing committee figure also spoke of liberal democracy."
- Im Nguon, identified as "the right-hand man" of "The Butcher," Ta Mok, "spoke with openness about the past crimes and the future plans, and showed no interest in Communist ideology." An example of Im Nguon's "openness": "Our movement is pure and clean. Please . . . stop calling us Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge."
- Ta Mok, reports Thayer, complained about "attempts to bring him to international justice" and insisted that: "From the very beginning of the struggle to now, I have never issued an order to kill anyone. All the orders were decided by Pol Pot alone."

Thayer turns the threat of renewed genocide on its head, claiming in an Aug. 21 FEER article that the "negotiators thought they'd succeeded in ending the Khmer Rouge's long guerrilla war," only to have Hun Sen's "coup" drive them back to war.

In fact, Gen. Nhek Bun Chhay is now fighting a rearguard action along the Thai border against the Royal Cambodian Armed Forces, in open alliance with the Khmer Rouge. Prince Ranariddh's denial of the alliance is contradicted by all the evidence and by General Nhek himself. The prince openly threatened the United States that failure to back him and the Khmer Rouge would lead to "a bloody civil war. . . . The Khmer Rouge are coming back, but they are coming back as nationalists, patriots, not as killers."

All of Cambodia's neighbors are telling the prince, "No!" Thailand has repeatedly warned him that he may not travel to the border from his self-exiled home in Bangkok, the residence of his brother, Cambodia's ambassador to Thailand. President Clinton has been uncompromising in insisting that there will be zero tolerance for a return of the Khmer Rouge. And yet, the Wall Street Journal editorialized that the problem in Cambodia is not Pol Pot or the Khmer Rouge, but Hun Sen!

On Aug. 21, Chhang Song, the special envoy of the acting head of state of Cambodia, gave a press conference at the National Press Club in Washington, releasing some of the documentation from the White Paper. Over 50 press attended, but there was hardly a word reported, even in those press outlets that had carefully recorded every word, while the hue and cry against Hun Sen continues unabated. Perhaps the world's memory of the "killing fields" of Cambodia is strong enough to convince even the most gullible readers of our nation's press that genocide is again on the agenda.