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(III)
INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS

Other Documents in the Series


*Human Rights in Chile (Part 1).* December 9, 1973: May 7, 23: June 11, 12, and 18, 1974.³ (Joint hearings by the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements and the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs.)

*Treatment of Israeli POW's in Syria and Their Status Under the Geneva Convention.* February 26, 1974.³ (Hearing before the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements and the full committee.)

*Problems of Protecting Civilians Under International Law in the Middle East Conflict.* April 4, 1974.² (Hearing before the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements.)


*Review of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights.* June 18 and 20, 1974.³ (Hearings before the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements.)

*Soviet Union: Human Rights and Détente.* July 17 and 25, 1974.⁵ (Joint hearings by the Subcommittee on Europe and the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements.)

*Torture and Oppression in Brazil.* December 11, 1974.³ (Hearing before the Subcommittee on International Organizations.)

*Human Rights in South Korea and the Philippines: Implications for U.S. Policy.* May 20, 22: June 3, 5, 10, 12, 17, 24, 1974.³ (Hearings before the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements.)

*Human Rights in Chile (Part 2).* November 19, 1974.¹ (Joint hearing by the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs and the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements.)

*Human Rights in South Korea: Implications for U.S. Policy.* July 31, August 5, December 20, 1974.³ (Joint Hearings by the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs and the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements.)

*Human Rights in Haiti.* November 18, 1975.¹ (Hearing before the Subcommittee on International Organizations.)

*Human Rights in Chile.* December 9, 1975.¹ (Hearing before the Subcommittee on International Organizations.)

*Chile: The Status of Human Rights and Its Relationship to U.S. Economic Assistance Programs.* April 29; May 5, 1976.¹ (Hearings before the Subcommittee on International Organizations.)

*Psychiatric Abuse of Political Prisoners in the Soviet Union: Testimony by Leonid Plyushch.* March 30, 1976.¹ (Hearing before the Subcommittee on International Organizations.)

*Human Rights in Indonesia and the Philippines.* December 18 and May 3, 1976.¹ (Hearings before the Subcommittee on International Organizations.)

*Anti-Semitism and Reprisals Against Jewish Emigration in the Soviet Union.* May 27, 1976.¹ (Hearing before the Subcommittee on International Organizations.)

See footnotes on following page.

Human Rights Issues at the Sixth Regular Session of the Organization of American States General Assembly. August 10, 1976. (Hearing before the Subcommittee on International Organizations.)


Human Rights in Iran. August 3 and September 8, 1976. (Hearings before the Subcommittee on International Organizations.)

Human Rights in Nicaragua, Guatemala, and El Salvador. June 8 and 9, 1976. (Hearings before the Subcommittee on International Organizations.)

Human Rights in India. June 23, 28, and 29, and September 16 and 23, 1976. (Hearings before the Subcommittee on International Organizations.)


Human Rights in Argentina. September 28 and 29, 1976. (Hearings before the Subcommittee on International Organizations.)

Human Rights in North Korea. September 9, 1976. (Hearing before the Subcommittee on International Organizations.)

The Recent Presidential Elections in El Salvador: Implications for U.S. Foreign Policy. March 9 and 17, 1977. (Joint hearings before the Subcommittee on International Organizations and the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs.)


Human Rights in Cambodia. May 3, 1977. (Hearing before the Subcommittee on International Organizations.)


Human Rights in East Timor. June 28 and July 19, 1977. (Hearings before the Subcommittee on International Organizations.)

Human Rights in Taiwan. June 14, 1977. (Hearing before the Subcommittee on International Organizations.)

¹ Document available from Government Printing Office, or from International Relations Committee.
² Document available from the International Relations Committee only.
³ Not available.
The subcommittee met at 10:15 a.m. in room 2255, the Hon. Donald M. Fraser (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. FRASER. Today the subcommittee begins a second hearing on human rights in Cambodia. On May 3, 1977, the subcommittee held its first hearing on this subject, during which reports of widespread detentions and deaths and forced mass relocations in Cambodia were reviewed and discussed.

Since the coming to power of the National United Front of Kampuchea (Cambodia) in 1975, it has been extremely difficult to obtain firsthand knowledge of the situation there due to the Government's general policy of restricting entrance of most foreign western journalists.

From the testimony of the May 3d hearing it was generally established that human rights violations have taken place including incidents of forced mass relocations and substantial deaths through executions and hardship conditions. However, the extent to which such events occurred was difficult to determine based on the varied testimony.

The United States has no political or commercial relations with Cambodia, therefore has little leverage. It is, nevertheless, important that we remain informed of the situation in Cambodia.

Our witnesses today are Hon. Richard C. Holbrooke, Assistant Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Department of State. He is accompanied by Mr. Charles Twining, a Foreign Service officer who, while stationed in Bangkok, closely followed the situation in Cambodia.

We are happy to have both of you here today.

Mr. Secretary, if you want to proceed in any manner that you like, we would be delighted to hear you.

STATEMENT OF HON. RICHARD C. HOLBROOKE, ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR EAST ASIAN AND PACIFIC AFFAIRS, DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Mr. Holbrooke. I have a brief opening statement if I may, Mr. Chairman. I will keep it brief because I know you want to question Charles Twining who has just returned from the American Embassy at Bangkok. He has followed the situation in Cambodia for 2 years and interviewed a great number of Cambodian refugees.
Also with me are my special assistant Kenneth Quinn and the acting Director of the desk concerned with Indochina, Timothy Carney. The three of them form, to my mind, the American core of expertise on Cambodian affairs today in the U.S. Government.

Since 1975 Cambodia has been almost completely sealed from the outside world. Our information on life there comes mainly from official Cambodian radio broadcasts, from official public statements and from refugee accounts. Unfortunately, impartial outside observers are not allowed into Cambodia so the tragic refugee reports cannot be conclusively documented. Nevertheless, the reports are too numerous and too detailed to be denied reasonable credibility.

Based on all the evidence available to us, we have concluded that Cambodian authorities have flagrantly and systematically violated the most basic human rights. They have ordered or permitted extensive killings; forcibly relocated the urban population; brutally treated supporters of the previous government; and suppressed personal and political freedoms.

In 1976 a new Constitution rechristened the country "Democratic Kampuchea," using an ancient name for Cambodia. That document provides no guarantees of the rights we consider basic. It declares that every Cambodian has the right to work and that unemployment is nonexistent. This may be true since the entire population is now organized into work groups. The Constitution also speaks of "religious freedom" but proscribes undefined "reactionary" religions.

The ordinary Cambodian has no opportunity to influence the new political system. Elections for a national assembly were reported in March 1976, but most refugees say that they did not really vote. Some report that officials told them they had voted on behalf of the village or cooperative. In fact, the Communist Party of Kampuchea, acting through the "revolutionary organization," totally controls political life.

The new government seeks a radical restructuring of Cambodian personality and society. Coercion is their instrument to effect rapid change. Individual political liberties have been eradicated or subordinated to collective goals.

The most common refugee complaints about life in their homeland cite pervasive fear of execution; the absence of personal freedom; constant hard labor; and inadequate food and medical care.

Estimates of the number of deaths resulting from the new Cambodian Government's policies vary widely. Cambodian authorities claim that only 2,000 to 3,000 died during the evacuation of Phnom Penh after the Khmer Communist takeover and as many again during the first months in the countryside. Journalists and scholars, some testifying before this subcommittee, guess that between half a million and 1.2 million have died since 1975. We have no way to confirm a precise figure but the number of deaths appears to be in the tens if not hundreds of thousands.

Reports indicate that many were killed at once because of their connection with the former government at even low levels. Political executions still take place without trial or any pretense of due process but in reduced scale. Others have been killed because they were "educated" or privileged or because they complained of the hard work or low rations. Many others, particularly the aged, the infirm, and the very young, have died because of disease, malnutrition, or the rigors of life in Cambodia today.
The Cambodian authorities do not recognize freedom of speech, assembly or press. International travel is controlled and emigration forbidden. Despite constitutional “guarantees,” traditional religion apparently has no role. In some locations Buddhist monks have been forced to defrock and pagodas have become warehouses. A Khmer Muslim student group in France recently appealed for help to end the suppression of Islam in Cambodia. Mosques have reportedly been closed and defiled.

Neither the United States, the United Nations nor any Western European nation has the leverage to affect the human rights situation in Cambodia today. Only Cambodia’s ideological partners have embassies there, with the exception of one nonaligned state. I do not believe those countries closest to Cambodia have the desire, or enough influence, to move the Khmer authorities.

We have unsuccessfully tried to make contact with the Khmer authorities and taken small steps to ease the plight of the Khmer people. In March we tried to contact the Cambodian authorities on MIA's during Leonard Woodcock’s trip to Hanoi. They spurned our request. The United States has made exceptions to the Export Administration controls on Cambodia to permit sales of DDT as a means of easing the outbreak of malaria there.

We have said that our human rights policy applies to Cambodia, and I must reemphasize that here today. We cannot let it be said that by our silence we acquiesce in the tragic events in Cambodia. I wish to say in the strongest possible terms that we deplore what has taken place there. I cannot tell you, however, that anything we can realistically do would improve the lot of the Khmer people in the foreseeable future.

Although we have taken the position that the United States would support a responsible investigation into the situation there, we have no reason to believe that the Cambodian authorities will permit impartial investigators to enter the country.

What we can do to affect the human rights situation in Southeast Asia as a whole is to continue our assistance to refugees who have fled Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. We should continue to aid the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees who is supporting a creditable Thai effort to care for Indochinese refugees. Helping these persons who are in great need will reinforce our commitment to the decent treatment of political refugees—an important area of human rights.

Mr. FRASER. Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary.

We have a vote in progress on the floor of the House so perhaps at this time we will take a brief recess and then we will return to the questioning.

[Whereupon, the subcommittee recessed.]

Mr. FRASER. The subcommittee will resume its sitting.

Mr. Secretary, you have indicated in your statement that Mr. Charles Twining who is accompanying you today, has been in the American Embassy at Bangkok. Then you indicated that you had two others, a Mr. Kenneth Quinn, your Special Assistant, and Timothy Carney, the desk director for Indochina.

I would like to get into some specific questions but first, I have a question concerning resources you mentioned, from which I understand comes considerable information about Cambodia. I don’t know if you can answer this or not in open session, but do we have other
clandestine or intelligence sources that amplify or elaborate on our knowledge?

Mr. Holbrooke. We normally don’t discuss clandestine sources but we make use of every conceivable source that you might logically think of that might be available to us to collect the limited amount of information that is available put I am just not at liberty to go into the details.

Mr. Fraser. I assume that we also seek to exchange or cooperate with other Western nations in attempting to find out what is going on inside Cambodia.

Mr. Holbrooke. That is correct. The primary source of information is the refugees. Of course, one understands there are limits to that: one has to interpret very carefully what one finds out. I think Mr. Twining can address that from personal experience.

Mr. Fraser. Mr. Twining, were you in a position to engage in interviews with refugees who came into Cambodia?

STATEMENT OF CHARLES H. TWINING, FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER, DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Mr. Twining. Yes, sir.

Mr. Solarz. Mr. Chairman, if you will yield for just a moment at this point.

Mr. Fraser. Yes.

Mr. Solarz. Just for the record I would like to say that as you may know I traveled a little bit over the course of the last 2 years to different countries around the world.

Mr. Fraser. I know that. [Laughter.]

Mr. Solarz. I really feel obligated to say that Charlie Twining in my judgment is just about the most decent and dedicated Foreign Service officer that I met during that period of time. I think the country is really privileged to have someone of his intelligence and integrity and commitment representing us.

On two occasions I was in Bangkok over the last 2 years during which time I had lengthy conversations with Mr. Twining and on one occasion we traveled together to a refugee camp. I am delighted that you were able to get him to testify at this hearing today because in my judgment there are few people in the world who would be in a better position to make a kind of objective determination about what is happening there than Mr. Twining who for the last 2 years has been our Cambodia watcher in Bangkok.

Mr. Fraser. Well, that is quite an endorsement. Maybe you want to quit now. [Laughter.]

Mr. Twining. While I’m ahead, yes, sir.

Mr. Holbrooke. He is being sent to Cornell for a year.

Mr. Twining. Thank you.

Mr. Fraser. Could you perhaps give us some description of the kinds of contacts you were able to have with the refugees and other sources that you can discuss in the medium here?

Mr. Twining. Yes. I studied the Cambodian language for 10 months and was to replace Mr. Carney in Phnom Penh in June 1975, and with the events that took place I was then sent to Bangkok as the Indochina watcher with responsibility primarily for finding out
what is happening in Cambodia and Vietnam. As a good part of that work I went regularly to meet with Cambodian refugees, tried to talk with them on a number of occasions, comparing their stories and then as well exchanged information with other governments, Western and others, who were interested in Cambodia.

Mr. Fraser. Did other governments have people like you in Bangkok attempting to assess what was happening?

Mr. Twining. To a degree. Two governments, the Australians and the Indonesians, had formal Cambodia watchers in Bangkok so they were really my direct counterparts. Other embassies covered it less thoroughly but a number of governments, both Western and Communist, were trying to follow Cambodia from Bangkok.

Mr. Fraser. Can you give us some idea of the flow of refugees? Give us an image of what happened? Were they coming in groups, or singly? Was this a steady stream or was it in response to the events inside of Cambodia? Tell me about that.

Mr. Twining. Early on, of course, they came out in great masses—in April, May, June 1975. The number has really shrunk now to perhaps 50 to 100 a month. One thing that the Cambodian Government has done has been to remove people from along the border with Thailand. There is now a no man’s land of about 40 kilometers, 25 miles or so, in which virtually no people live and they have done this purposely so they can cut down on the refugee flow.

Now what you have coming out of Cambodia are refugees who escape in groups of 5 or 10. They may start out in groups of 30 but hazards are awfully great. The Cambodians have mined all of the frontier and a lot of people get blown up by mines. There is also frequent patrolling. The Cambodians have seen fit to bring soldiers out of the interior even at the risk of some insecurity in the interior and place them along the frontier. This may be in part to stop resistance or to stop people from entering Cambodia but it is designed at least as much to stop refugees from getting out of Cambodia.

Mr. Fraser. Do some get away by boat?

Mr. Twining. Some come into Vietnam. The flow is continuing into Vietnam from Cambodia from what we hear, Cambodians have not been removed from the border with Vietnam so they go into Vietnam and stay there a while and then try to get a boat out of Vietnam into Thailand most often. What is sad now in the Cambodian refugee flow is that you have almost exclusively men coming into Thailand. Every refugee who comes will tell you the same thing: It is too dangerous to bring the wife and children. For example, if you have a group of five which has tried to come out, often you will have only one who was successful in doing so, meaning that women and children have been left behind 100 miles away or 200 miles away.

Mr. Fraser. What do the refugees say their reasons are for leaving? Let’s take those say in recent months

Mr. Twining. They have a combination of reasons. If the refugee is an ex-military or ex-Lon Nol government official type, it has often been because he has feared that he was going to be executed next. If it is a peasant, as is often the case, it is because he said, “We just can’t live under these conditions any longer” or “Our loved ones have been
dying of disease or malnutrition; we have been working 7 days a week. They, the Cambodian Communists, don’t respect our religion, they don’t respect any of our customs. These people are not human.” It is often said, “These people are not Cambodian.” So when they see a way to make a break, then they do. So it is really a combination of reasons. Either people feel immediately threatened or they just can’t take it any longer.

Mr. Fraser, do you have any information about what has happened in the population of Phnom Penh? As I understand, there was a mass evacuation after the war.

Mr. Twining. Yes, sir.

Mr. Fraser. What is the situation now in Phnom Penh?

Mr. Twining. Our only knowledge of Phnom Penh really comes from the few diplomats who are there who are willing to report something of what they see. They themselves are so limited. They are restricted to a one or two block area in Phnom Penh with permission only once a week to go out and get some meat for the following week, so they don’t have an idea of what all of Phnom Penh looks like. The estimates of the population vary from 20,000 to perhaps 50,000 people.

Mr. Fraser. You mean who live there now?

Mr. Twining. Who live there now.

Mr. Fraser. What was the population?

Mr. Twining. I think by April 1975, it was greatly swollen by refugees to 2 or 3 million, something like that. What you have now are people who are there either to work as cleanup crews or to work in some of the small factories which have begun operating again. This is apart from the Khmer Rouge.

Mr. Fraser. To what extent now are executions continuing?

Mr. Twining. They continue. One thing perhaps we ought to say about Cambodia right away is that we have information from some parts of Cambodia, especially the northwestern part, and we have no information from other parts. This makes it hard to get into the numbers game about how many people have died because we don’t even know what the situation is in northeastern Cambodia, for example.

We hear about executions from refugees who have just come out. You must talk to a refugee as soon as he comes out or the story may become exaggerated. Most reports say executions continue. I often ask a refugee, “In your particular village when was the last time you saw someone killed?” Well, in most cases they don’t see it. Sometimes they find bodies later in the fields or in the woods. Then I ask, “When is the last time that someone disappeared?” and then I say, “And did you ever see the body?” They sometimes reply, “Later on.”

Based on that you get a feel that executions are continuing. It depends, though. Those from some places will, say, “Well, there are still two or three a month who are being taken away.”

“Did you see a body?”

“Well, I did happen to see a body of one of the two or three of those.”

Other places they say, “No; there have been no executions for about 6 months.”

I would say there are probably more, generally, people who have heard or know of cases of people executed, say, a month prior to their coming out than people who say, “No; there have been none for 6 months.”
Mr. Fraser. When a refugee tells you of executions in his village, are you able to get corroboration of that from other refugees? Do patterns develop which lead you to believe that the refugees are reporting factually?

Mr. Twining. Yes; patterns do develop at least about the categories of people who are taken away. What happened, though, since they began running out of ex-military or ex-civil servants or even the leading intellectuals, what has happened, say, since March 1976, is that the types of people who often are executed now are people who have just been discovered to have been in one of the categories or they are people who seem to have an independent mind or who complain or who are lazy about going out to the fields. In effect, you are accused of being disloyal by not doing some of these things that the Khmer Rouge asked them to do. That is now grounds for execution.

Another ground has been and continues to be sexual immorality. This means a Cambodian who has had an affair with a woman is subject to execution or in some places to imprisonment without food and water which is tantamount to the same thing.

Mr. Fraser. Mr. Goodling.

Mr. Goodling. Was there any testimony?

Mr. Fraser. No; he is just responding to questions.

Mr. Goodling. No; it would not be fair to my colleague since I got here late.

Mr. Fraser. Mr. Solarz.

Mr. Solarz. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

How many refugees would you say you have interviewed in the course of the last 2 years? Could you give us a rough estimate?

Mr. Twining. It really is difficult to estimate.

Mr. Solarz. Is it in the hundreds, thousands?

Mr. Twining. I suspect it would be in the thousands because as well as interviewing them for this sort of information, I was also heavily involved in the refugee program when I first got to Thailand and that meant talking to every Cambodian who wanted to go to the United States.

Mr. Solarz. You were also, if I recall, monitoring the Cambodian radio.

Mr. Twining. Yes.

Mr. Solarz. How frequently does that broadcast?

Mr. Twining. It broadcasts several times every day. It broadcasts for several hours each time.

Mr. Solarz. You also indicated, I believe, that there is now one Cambodian newspaper—a weekly publication—which I gather you were able to get copies of as well.

Mr. Twining. There is a Cambodian newspaper and a Cambodian magazine. Unfortunately, no copies have ever come out into Thailand as far as I know. These would normally be controlled by someone in a village. Sometimes the people were allowed to read them and sometimes not. So far as I know, none of them has ever reached the outside.

Mr. Solarz. Wherever possible you were interviewing diplomats or journalists or any outsiders, as it were, who were able to obtain entry into Cambodia.

Mr. Twining. Yes; or I would try to talk to somebody that did.
Mr. Solarz. Do you have any knowledge that trials were held where people were taken away for execution or were they just summarily yanked out of their village and executed?

Mr. Twining. I have never heard of one trial. Often the Khmer Rouge will execute in front of the entire village population people who tried to escape. This is without trial. They say, “Let this be a warning to anyone else who tries to escape.” Otherwise, people are frequently told, “We are taking you to Ongka Loeu,” which means to the organization, to the higher levels, and also they say a person is being taken away “because we want you to study about the new system.” Often these people would be taken away and the bodies sometimes discovered later on. So as far as I know there never has been any kind of trial.

Mr. Solarz. As you know, there were originally estimates, particularly by the Reader's Digest team which published “Murder of the Gentle Land” that the total number of executions were in the vicinity of a million.

Mr. Twining. Yes, sir.

Mr. Solarz. There was a French priest also, I think, who reported executions in that rough magnitude.

Mr. Twining. Yes.

Mr. Solarz. Now I gather, based on a dispatch a few days ago in the Washington Post there seems to be an emerging reassessment, that the number of executions may have been much less than originally projected. Could you give us your sense, based obviously on imperfect knowledge, of how many have been killed and whether the original assessments were exaggerated?

Mr. Twining. Very honestly, I think we can’t accurately estimate a figure. We cannot even estimate how many have been executed because we simply don’t have complete information on Cambodia. So far as I know, no one knowledgeable about Cambodia has been reappraising his original estimate or his original views on magnitude. In the otherwise excellent article that Mr. Simons did the other day, I really would question his source on this reevaluation. There were very few of us in Bangkok who actually talked to the refugees; really most of us were Cambodia watchers. Two of us have now left and there is only one still in Bangkok and he does not talk to the press. So if they are European diplomats who are talking about reappraising, I think that these are people who are not really in constant contact with the situation.

Mr. Solarz. Well, leaving aside the exact number, would it be your judgment, based on your experience there, that in the very least there were several hundred thousand killed?

Mr. Twining. Certainly thousands or hundreds of thousands. Then again I think we have to look at what Mr. Simons very rightly pointed out—we have to look at the total magnitude of deaths. I am convinced that the number of people who have died from disease and malnutrition has been even greater than those executed. If people died from disease, then there is the question why didn’t the Cambodians accept, for example, medicine that was waiting for them when I came to Thailand from some nonaligned countries. The Cambodians would not accept it and finally it was given to the refugee camps. If the Cambodians somehow don’t care about their people any more than that, they are guilty of killing them.
Mr. Solarz. Who was trying to give them those drugs or medicines?

Mr. Twining. Three nonaligned countries—three countries that viewed Cambodia, I think, with some sympathy.

Mr. Solarz. Which ones?

Mr. Twining. One was Algeria and another was one of the Asean countries. Cambodia refused to accept these medicines.

Mr. Solarz. I see. Now could you give us any kind of rough estimate of the magnitude of deaths which resulted from disease and malnutrition as distinguished from the number of deaths that resulted from the deliberate physical executions?

Mr. Twining. I might give you at least one example of what one refugee said in his own village, and I wonder if we can do any more than that. I interviewed a refugee at the beginning of June who had come out of a village where he had been living for a year. You realize, of course, the refugees are frequently moved around, so that often a refugee is not in the same place for 2 years. He had been in the village for a year; he was a very low level ex-military. He himself was not executed or threatened with execution so he was already an exception to the rule.

He said that in his village, which was probably about 50 kilometers inside Cambodia, in the past year out of 1,200 people 15 military personnel higher than himself had been taken away and presumably executed. He said, “I saw four bodies of these 15 in the woods later on.” So that was 15 military.

Almost the same number of civilians were taken away, either ex-Lon Nol government officials or civilians who were accused of being disloyal or CIA elements.

There were at the same time perhaps 50 older people who died of disease—not natural death but disease combined with malnutrition.

There were 80 children who died of disease during this time or malnutrition together with disease.

Another problem was that frequently women could not conceive. When they did conceive, they didn’t have enough milk, they were very thin. Of the number of babies born, he estimated that only 15 percent lived. Often the mothers died, as well, during childbirth.

So just for one village it was a pretty gruesome number, and again it was more disease and malnutrition than it was execution.

Mr. Solarz. What accounted for the shortage of food that seems to be responsible for the malnutrition problem?

Mr. Twining. Customarily in the past two harvests in December-January 1975-76 and December-January 1976-77 Cambodian officials have taken away all or most of the food that each village produces. It seems they put the food in regional storage areas, or perhaps they take it to Phnom Penh. I think this is how they account for their so-called surplus in production. So even in this chap’s village, for example, where this year the production was good unlike areas not very far away, two-thirds of the production was taken away.

Mr. Solarz. What did they do with the food when it is removed from the village where it has been grown?

Mr. Twining. All the people know is that they see it being taken away either by ox cart or by tractor or by truck and they don’t know what happens to it except as far as we can tell it is put at least in regional storage areas.
Mr. Solarz. Were there any refugees who reported that they came from villages where food had been brought in to feed the villagers?

Mr. Twining. I am not sure that I know of one case of a village which has had enough food to sustain it throughout the year. Virtually always, because the need becomes so great, officials are obliged to bring some rice back in.

It is interesting that, in this man's village during the time they were harvesting, the people were receiving two milk cans of rice per day. After the harvest was over, after about a month or a month and a half, then the people were down to rice soup once a day even though the village had produced much more than the previous year.

Mr. Solarz. You indicated in your testimony that among those who were killed by the regime were individuals who were identified with the previous government in either military or civilian capacity.

Mr. Twining. Yes.

Mr. Solarz. As well as those who were complainers or trouble makers or sexually immoral or whatever. Is it your judgment that there was a policy of systematically exterminating everyone who could be identified as having served the Lon Nol regime in the military or civilian capacity? In other words, once it became clear that somebody had previously functioned in that capacity, were they more or less earmarked for execution?

Mr. Twining. Yes, I think there were at the minimum broad guidelines handed down from on high as to the types of people to be eliminated. At first I didn't think so, I had my own change of mind. I went to Thailand thinking that all of the horror stories were probably an exaggeration. At first I saw there were areas in southern and southwestern Cambodia where very few people were being killed, if any.

There were other areas where they were killing all conceivable categories of people, for example, around Pailin. Then things became quieter. Around September 1975 you started to see a more general pattern of groups of people being systematically killed and then at the end of December and the beginning of January 1976 you saw the categories expanded somewhat to include almost all intellectuals, if you will. There were always exceptions and there will continue to be exceptions.

Mr. Solarz. What was the definition of an intellectual in the sense that we are using?

Mr. Twining. As of approximately January 1, 1976, an intellectual was anyone who had a seventh grade education or above. This meant then primary school teachers, this type of person.

Mr. Solarz. And your impression is that anybody so identified was being exterminated?

Mr. Twining. Yes. There were always exceptions but it was so widespread that it seemed to be a consistent pattern.

Mr. Solarz. Did you get any testimony from refugees or others indicating that there had in fact been a directive from the organization or is this a deduction that you have made?

Mr. Twining. This is my own deduction. No refugee would ever be in a position to know what orders were coming down.

Mr. Solarz. Could you describe how these executions were being conducted? Was there a chosen form of murder or did it vary widely?