

*Searching for*

# THE TRUTH

- ◆ 35 Years Later--Deafness in Genocide
- ◆ Analysis of 2005 Cambodian Law on Archives

*"They say that extreme hardships bring out the best in people. Indeed it is during extreme hardship you find people with the purest hearts and kindest souls."*

-- *Youk Chhang* expressed his condolence and dedication to his savior, *Keo Thy*, who passed away.

Special  
English Edition  
First Quarter 2014

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Special English Edition, First Quarter 2014

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The laughing of Don't Think I Have Forgotten at Chakto Mok Theatre was attended by many former artists

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# 35 YEARS LATER — DEAFNESS IN GENOCIDE

As a witness to the horrors of Democratic Kampuchea (DK) – commonly known as Khmer Rouge – and as a researcher who has worked for many years studying and documenting the stories of individuals who suffered and died under the Khmer Rouge regime, I felt like I understood most aspects of Khmer Rouge history. Of course I learn something about humanity in every single story, and there is never a moment that I am not awed by the incredible spirit of Cambodian people. But there are times when I come across stories that make me question everything I know.

Keo Kolthida Ekkasakh (b. 1959) was born deaf. She was the youngest of five sisters in my family and as a deaf child she was ostracized by most people. Lacking the ability to communicate with all but those trained in sign language, she learned to depend on herself and the few

people who had the patience and love to know her. My mother (Keo Nann, 85 years old) had always paid special attention to her, and because she was only two years apart from me, we were like best friends. But when the Khmer Rouge came to power we were separated, and I never saw her again, until after 1979.

While we re-connected after the fall of the Khmer Rouge regime, both of us had already forgotten much of our sign language, and over the years our ability to communicate decreased significantly. It is no surprise that over the years, she found alternative ways to express herself. After the Khmer Rouge regime, she taught herself how to draw and paint, and she turned to the canvas as her microphone to the world.

Just recently she was diagnosed with terminal cancer, and we have been spending a great deal of time together, visiting our home town in Tuol Kauk and discussing the death and disappearance of loved ones. At one point our conversations drifted to her experiences during the Khmer Rouge regime.

During the Khmer Rouge regime she worked on a cooperative planting potatoes and clearing forest under Ta Mok's Division (one of the military commanders during the DK regime). Like all victims, she learned to survive by sheer instinct. On the verge of starvation, she resorted to eating roots, leaves and insects in the field. One day however, she was caught. Angkar (the DK's concept of the supreme organization) owned everything—the crops, the dirt and even the insects. The Khmer Rouge saw her eating some roots and promptly arrested her. They bound her hands behind her back and out of sheer luck her captors decided to simply scold her and let her go.

We talked for hours about her experience. When the Khmer Rouge came to power in 1975, she remembered that I was alone at home and she told me how she often



Youk Chhang's Older Sister, Keo Kolthida Ekkasakh, at Phnom Penh

wondered what ever happened to me during the Khmer Rouge period. She recounted the tragic deaths of one of our sister's children (Tan Keoketana, b. 1975), the loss of our father, and the disappearance of other family members. As I came to learn more about her story, I felt a mixture of emotions. I felt so honored to be one of the few people to have ever learned her story, and yet I felt so incredibly sad and guilty.

As a deaf person, no one bothered to ask her about her experience during the Khmer Rouge period. It has been thirty-four years after the fall of the Khmer Rouge regime and I did not even know the true story of my sister's experience under the Khmer Rouge. As I communicated with her about what she endured during the Khmer Rouge regime, it made me wonder how different her experience was as a deaf person and the indescribable spirit and resourcefulness she must have had to survive the Khmer Rouge period.

I also wondered how many other people with mental or physical disabilities have had to suffer alone. How many other life stories are forgotten, overlooked or are simply never told?

The unavoidable tragedy of all mass atrocities is

the loss of history, but having studied the history of Democratic Kampuchea for so many years, I realized that my sister's story was a testimony to just how much our effort in obtaining justice really falls short. Keo Kolthida Ekkasakh did not even know there was an international tribunal dedicated to bringing justice to Cambodia.

Keo Kolthida Ekkasakh's story made me re-evaluate what I thought I knew about Khmer Rouge history, and I believe her life's story is a challenge to our current efforts at finding justice in Cambodia. In Cambodia you cannot have a conversation about justice, democracy or human rights without a discussion of history. To have a conversation about the former inevitably requires an interpretation of the latter and vice versa. Keo Kolthida Ekkasakh's story may be only a small piece of Khmer Rouge history (and a personal one for me), but like others who do not have the capacity to speak, her story challenges us to really evaluate our definition of justice and whether we are doing all that we can for those without a voice.

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*Youk Chhang is the Director of Documentation Center of Cambodia.*



Photo (from Left): Youk Chhang's niece, Keo Dacil, Youk Chhang's older sister, Keo Kolthida Ekkasakh, and Keo Sokhal and two grand children taken during a religious ceremony at Langka Pagoda.

# A WOMAN WHO SAVED MY LIFE – KEO THY

I first came to this village (then known as Phum Khmer Leu) in 1967 or 1968. As a city boy, all the kids in the village viewed me as someone very special. Keo Thy was one of them and she is a year younger than I. I returned to the village again in 1969 -- I think when my grandfather died. Since then, the war had descended on the area and I did not return to the village until 1975.

When I returned in 1975, I came to the village alone. I was 14 then and knowing no one. I only knew the name of the village. It was Keo Thy and her sister, Keo Souch who took me to their home, looked after me, protected me, fed me, and treated me with the highest respect a human can be treated. We never spoke -- perhaps they knew how afraid I was at the time. They were always around me when I needed water or food and Keo Thy never hesitated in looking after anything I needed. I didn't realize that she risked her life by just doing that for me. Then I was sent to Battambang.

I only met both of them again in 1995, when I returned to the village to see them, or whenever they visited

me at DC-Cam. Whenever we saw each other, it was with great love, smiles and a kinship that is not describable by words. They were always afraid to ask me for help in spite of being very poor.

During Phchum Ben in 2013, I felt compelled, seemingly by God himself, to visit her. I went to see her and for the first time in 40 years, Keo Thy took me around the village telling me the history of our ancestors, which up to that day I knew so very little. She showed me the rice fields where I used to live and where her mother (Keo Ny) was buried during the war. The next day I flew to London and I could not stop thinking about her. I had a sinking feeling that something bad was going to happen to her life. The other part of me told me to stop worrying and this was just a bad dream.

But now she has passed away, and I am left with deep regret and sadness for never looking after her the way she did for me.

They say that extreme hardships bring out the best in people. Indeed it is during extreme hardship you

find people with the purest hearts and kindest souls. Keo Thy was one of these people and my deepest regret is that I could never return in kind the immense love and care she bestowed upon me. I hope she forgives me. I will forever be in her debt.

With much love,  
Brother Youk

*Youk Chhang is the Director of Documentation Center of Cambodia.*



Photo (from left): Keo Soch and Keo Thy during Phchum Ben ceremony at her home village, Prey Kabas district, Takeo province in 2013

# GENOCIDE EDUCATION, GENOCIDE PREVENTION IN CAMBODIA

As we mark the 65th anniversary of the adoption of the Convention to Prevent and Punish the Crime of Genocide, I cannot help but feel a mixture of emotions. On behalf of the Documentation Center of Cambodia, an international non-governmental organization that has been working on behalf of victims of mass atrocities for almost two decades, I appreciate the honor to be able to speak here today. However, as a survivor of the Khmer Rouge regime (a regime that oversaw the death of an estimated 1 to 2 million Cambodians), I cannot help but feel frustrated by our ongoing struggle to prevent future genocide and mass atrocities.

We have come a long way in forging a number of valuable instruments and policies to meet the challenge of responding to and punishing genocide. Recognizing that the root causes of genocide revolve around the inequalities between identity groups, we have put significant emphasis on the legal and governmental aspects of genocide prevention. In terms of punishment as well, a variety of different courts have been created to shed light on the atrocious acts of criminal regimes and punish those senior leaders

who were most responsible.

But while these instruments and policies illustrate our resolve to address the crime of genocide, there is more to be done in the realm of prevention. Of course, the task of prevention is embedded in every endeavor we undertake. Assisting states with managing inequalities between groups, building early warning or prevention systems, or sentencing a perpetrator to life imprisonment in one way or another prevents genocide at the national and international level.

But as we gather together to commemorate an international convention, it is important to recognize that our struggle is not one that can be dealt with merely at the national or international level. One of the principal struggles we face today with preventing genocide, as we have for the past 60 years, is the struggle of localization. Discrimination, racism, bullying and the entire spectrum of inhumanity that leads up to the legitimization of violence on fellow human beings is dealt with at the individual and community level, and there is no more efficient medium for dealing with these preconditions of genocide than



The inauguration of A History of Democratic Kampuchea : (1975-1979) Distribution at Preah Monivong High School Battambang province, presided over by His Excellency Im Koch, the Secretary of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports on January 30, 2014



Students at Preah Monivong High School received A History of Democratic Kampuchea : (1975-1979) from the Documentation Center of Cambodia at the inauguration of A History of Democratic Kampuchea : (1975-1979) Distribution, , presided by His Excellency Im Koch, the Secretary of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport on January 30, 2014

the medium of genocide education.

Genocide education is the missing piece in our campaign to institutionalize a culture that values individual and social human rights. Genocide education can be a medium for justice, reconciliation, memory and most importantly empathy for the individual human being. While genocide education is not a panacea for our problems at preventing genocide, it is certainly a medium that deserves greater attention.

Of course there have always been a variety of different peace curricula that have floated through post-conflict countries, and the study of the Holocaust has always been a critical piece in our struggle to build an appreciation of human rights and historical empathy. But to be truly effective, genocide education must be localized. A localized curriculum is a curriculum that works with local culture, teaching styles, and most importantly local history. Genocide education that is imported from abroad, with foreign history, culture and pedagogy can conjure up the same oppressive context that precedes mass atrocities. Human rights, empathy and an appreciation for diversity are values that can only be internalized when individuals are trusted with the freedom and responsibility to learn them on their own.

Genocide education, in this light, is education that is forged with, not for, the community of learners. Localization is not easy. The Documentation Center of Cambodia has struggled with implementing its own genocide education program in Cambodia since 2004 in collaboration with the Ministry of Education. The history

of the Khmer Rouge regime (otherwise known as Democratic Kampuchea) has been taught off and on over the years in Cambodia. In 2007, however, DC-Cam published a textbook on the history of the Democratic Kampuchea regime and much later, in 2009, it began training teachers across the country on this history. Since 2007, over 500,000 copies of the textbook have been printed and distributed to all secondary schools throughout the country and over 3,000 teachers have been trained in the curriculum. The curriculum is now a required subject in all secondary education schools, to include undergraduate universities, and the police and army academies. The challenge of making genocide prevention a local endeavor, through genocide education, has not been easy and we still have a great deal more work to do. However, the value of genocide education in terms of promoting justice, reconciliation and memory cannot be overstated.

Human rights and history are interconnected, because to have a conversation about one inevitably requires an interpretation of the other. For genocide prevention to be truly sustainable, it must not only be universally acknowledged at the international level but also cultivated at the grassroots. Education must be the next step forward in our collective work to realize a world without genocide.

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*Youk Chhang is a Director of Documentation Center of Cambodia.*

# THAONG SIRAMON, FROM PARIS TO BEIJING, THEN S-21

EXTRACTED FROM CONFESSION D58988

Thaong Siramon alias Choeun was arrested by Angkar in March, 1978. At the end of a four-page long confession, dated March 15, 1978, there was a note, which stated:

1) Choeun was linked with his own father and father in law. [He] could be the C.I.A.

2) Living in France, [he] has communicated with Sokun and Soka.

The following is Thaong Siramon's confession. Still, we do not know whether what he has confessed is true or not as he had been tortured by the interrogator.

Choeun was 27 year-old, born at Sangkat 6, Phnom Penh. His father is Thaong Mamot, a blacksmith master at Kilometer 6 blacksmith training school. Later, Mamot moved to work at the Ministry of Finance.

At the age of 6, Choeun started class at grade 12 (old system) at Preah Chey Chesda School in Phnom Penh. In 1966, Choeun passed the exam and entered grade 6 at Toul Kork High School. In 1967, he moved to study at grade 5 at Yukunthor High School. At that time, he had a friend named Sok Tosumano, who was the son of Sok Tobinla, a sport department director, who specialized in swimming.

In 1969, Choeun studied at grade 3 and lived at

Sok Tosumano's house. In 1970, he studied at grade 2 at Yukunthor High School. At the same time, he learned about revolution via Tosumano. In 1972, Choeun was in a relationship with Tosumano's relative, whose name was Sivanna. Finally, they married. Sivanna was the daughter of Sok Tosadum who was Samdech Norodom Sihanouk's personal doctor.

In 1972, as Lon Nol intended to arrest Choeun's parents-in-law, he fled to live in France by travelling across Aranh District, Siam. Living in France, Choeun started learning Chinese and French at Vansen University in Paris.

In October 1972, Choeun met with Aok Sokun in France. At that time, he invited Sokun to be a Renakse member, i.e. to take part in the revolution. During his study in France, Choeun worked as a worker for a French businessman in Paris. Also, he spent some time to deliver a C.I.A. newspaper with Aok Sokun and En Soka.

In 1974, Sokun sent Choeun to Beijing. Arriving at Beijing, the organization asked Choeun to learn medication. In October 1975, Choeun returned to Cambodia and worked at the production department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. There, Angkar assigned him to work in the field at Stung Trang in the northern zone, under the supervision of Oeun, a district chief.

In January, 1976, Angkar moved Choeun, Ty Pheak, Meng Huot, and Hoeng Un to the production unit of K-17 Center in Phnom Penh. At K-17, Choeun had conflict with a neighbor. This incident happened at the same time of a meeting called by the center chief. The conflicting parties were blamed for talking loudly, without any agreement, which was against Angkar's rule, and causing a conflict and fight. In March, 1978, Angkar arrested Choeun.

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*Bunthorn Som is a staff writer for Searching for the Truth Magazine.*

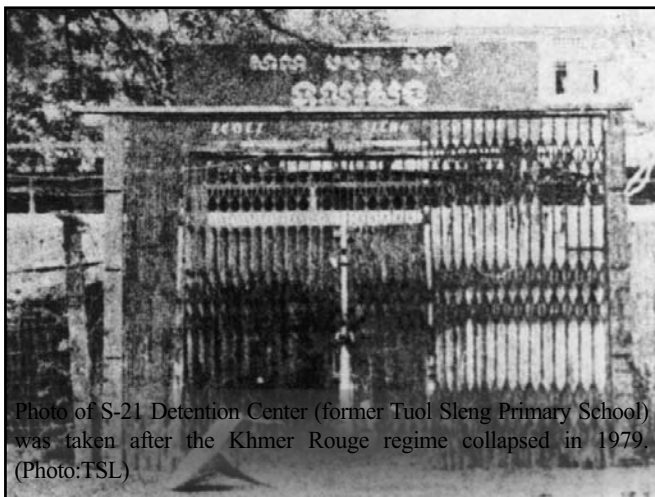


Photo of S-21 Detention Center (former Tuol Sleng Primary School) was taken after the Khmer Rouge regime collapsed in 1979. (Photo:TSL)



# THE CONFESSION OF CHANN THOL ALIAS POL, A FORMER KHMER ROUGE MILITIAMAN IN SIEM REAP – ODDAR MEANCHEY

EXTRACTED FROM CONFESSION J00062

Accused of betraying the revolution and being a spy of the C.I.A., Chann Thol alias Pol, was arrested by Angkar and sent to S-21. The childhood background and activities of Chann Thol was recorded in detail in the 24-page confession, which was recorded from March 8 to March 10, 1977.

Chann Thol was born in Prek Kak Village, Stung Trang District, Kampong Cham province. His parents were farmers. At the age of 9, Chann Thol's parents sent him to study at the pagoda.

In 1962, Thol was admitted to study at the official school. During his study, Thol had a close relationship with a classmate named Ing Matak, whose father was Ing Teng, a district chief. Ing Teng was very fond of Thol since he was an outstanding student and a class monitor. Seeing Thol's difficulty in travelling from home to school, Ing Teng asked Thol to live with him as an adopted son.

In 1967, the revolutionary movement rapidly grew in Thol's village. This pushed Ing Teng to call Thol to talk to him one night. Ing Teng advised Thol not to take part in the revolutionary movement. He also persuaded his family not to do so. This was because being involved in the revolutionary movement would lead to being arrested. At the end of 1968, Thol was sent to study at a school in Kampong Cham by Ing Teng. There, Thol met with Ing Ty who was Ing Teng's relative. Ing Ty advised Thol many times not to believe or be involved with the revolution. After failing the exam twice in 1969, Thol returned to his home village. One and a half months later, Ing Teng told Thol to quit learning and to be his spy. Thol agreed to this. However, Thol could not perform that task openly; he had to pretend to be a student, though he was a spy who worked at espionage and collected information.

After the coup d'état, Thol was ordered to collect information from Meakh Village, Boeng Ket Village, Kilometer 10 Village, and Prek Kak Village, etc.. In May 1970, Stung Trang Barrack was liberated by the revolutionary force. Ing Teng and his family fled. Thol also fled. Still, he was persuaded by Ing Ty to return to his village to

do espionage. Thol agreed to perform the task and returned to his home village. He joined the revolution and held the position of deputy chief of unit 335. To implement the betrayal plan, Thol was allowed to be a member of the People's Organization. Thol's role was to allocate forces to take action to postpone the attack of the party, which aimed to reduce his party's revolutionary strength and added force to the opposition. Moreover, Thol assigned forces to urge the soldiers to perform unethical actions with military nurses, as well as encouraging the soldiers in their fear of being injured. Hence, soldiers fled the battle field.

In March 1977, Thol was sent by Angkar to Siem Reap and Oddar Meanchey Province. Thol implemented his betrayal plan by communicating with Thai soldiers along the border, enabling his soldiers to have fun and extravagantly use the military equipment in order to destroy Angkar. Furthermore, when the party assigned Thol to educate the warriors along the border about sanitary conditions to prevent malaria, Thol instructed the cadres and warriors to drink cold water, which infected most of them with malaria so no one could work.

In 1977, Thol was arrested and completed his interrogation on March 10.

*Solyda Say is a volunteer for Genocide Education Project.*



The compound of S-21 Detention Center called Tuol Sleng Prison after the Khmer Rouge regime collapsed in 1979. (Photo: TSL)

# A HISTORY CLASSROOM AT FORMER KHMER ROUGE S-21 PRISON

The Khmer Rouge regime turned public schools and pagodas into prisons, stables and warehouses. Tuol Sleng prison, also known by its code name of "S-21," was created on the former grounds of Chao Ponhea Yat high school, originally constructed in 1962. The Khmer Rouge converted the school into the most secret of the country's 196 prisons.

Experts estimate that somewhere between 14,000 and 20,000 people were held at Tuol Sleng and executed. Only seven known prisoners survived after the Khmer Rouge regime collapsed. The Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC) held that at least 12,273 prisoners passed through Tuol Sleng in its trial judgment against former Tuol Sleng commander Kaing Guek Eav alias Duch. As the number of survivors has received less attention, most Western media repeated the figure of seven survivors and this has been repeated for over 30 years.



However, after several years of research, the Documentation Center of Cambodia estimates that at least 179 prisoners were released from Tuol Sleng from 1975 to 1978 and approximately 23 additional prisoners survived when the Vietnamese ousted the Khmer Rouge regime on January 7, 1979.

Today the four buildings in the compound of the prison form the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, which was opened to the public in 1980. People from all over the world visited the museum and currently, approximately 250 people visit on an average day.

Many Cambodian visitors travel to Tuol Sleng seeking information about their relatives who disappeared under the Khmer Rouge.

While the museum has been a success in generally raising awareness of the atrocities of the Khmer Rouge, it still lacks a thorough educational dimension, which could make the experience of visiting more dynamic, educational and memorable. Since its conversion from a place of learning to a place of horror and degradation, Tuol Sleng has never reclaimed its original status. However, in the future, in order to reclaim the positive, educational heritage of Tuol Sleng and add an educational element to the museum, a classroom has been created to provide free lectures and discussions on the history of the Khmer Rouge regime and related issues, such as the ECCC. The classroom will also serve as a public platform for visitors and survivors to share information and preserve an important period of Cambodian history for future generations to learn from.

◆ **LECTURERS:** Staff members from the Documentation Center of Cambodia and Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum.

◆ **GUEST SPEAKERS:** National and International Scholars on Cambodia and S-21 Survivors

◆ **TOPICS COVERED:** Who were the Khmer Rouge? ◆ How did the Khmer Rouge gain power? ◆ The Khmer Rouge Hierarchy ◆ Khmer Rouge Domestic Policies ◆ The Khmer Rouge Security System ◆ Office S-21 (Tuol Sleng Prison) ◆ Khmer Rouge Foreign Policies ◆ The Fall of the Khmer Rouge ◆ The Verdicts of the ECCC.

◆ **SCHEDULE:** Monday 2pm-3pm ◆ Wednesday 9am-10am ◆ Friday 2pm-3pm.

◆ **VENUE:** Building A, top floor, 3rd room.

# PUBLIC INFORMATION ROOM

DC-Cam's Public Information Room (PIR) is open to students, researchers, government and non-government organizations, and interested members of the public who want to learn more about the history of Democratic Kampuchea and the developments of the coming Khmer Rouge tribunal.

DC-Cam is the largest repository of primary materials on Democratic Kampuchea (DK). The materials in its archives are consequently of the utmost historical interest and has served as important evidentiary materials in any accountability process relating to the DK regime. To disseminate the truth about the DK period and to promote lawful accountability and national reconciliation, it is imperative that materials be made available to historians, judicial officials, and other interested members of the public. Through the PIR, the public can read the documents and use them for research. The documents in our possession include biographies, confessions, party records, correspondence, and interview transcripts. We also have a database that can be used to find information on mass graves, prisons, and genocide memorial sites throughout Cambodia.

The PIR offers three services:

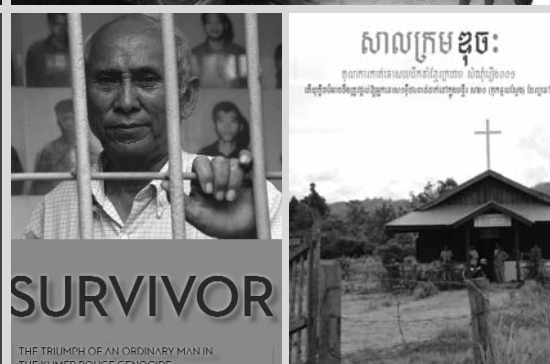
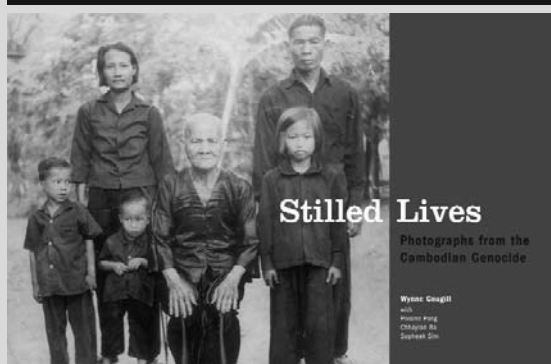
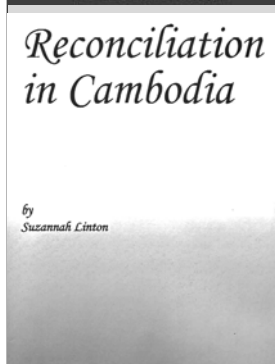
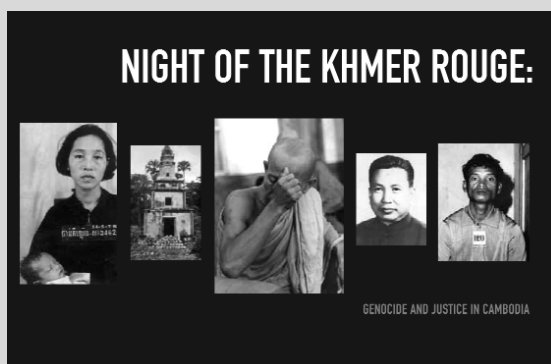
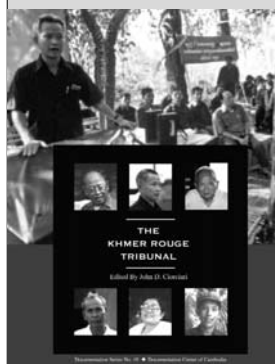
1. Library: Through our library, the public can read documents, books and magazines, listen to tapes, watch documentary films and view photographs held at DC-Cam, the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, National Archives and other locations.

2. Educational Center: DC-Cam shows documentary films and offers lectures on Khmer Rouge history, the Khmer Rouge tribunal, and other related subjects.

3. Tribunal Response Team: Our document and legal advisors have provided research assistance to the tribunal's legal experts from both Cambodia and the United Nations, as well as to the public.

Khmer Rouge documentary films are shown everyday upon request.

The PIR is located at House 66, Preah Sihanouk Blvd, east of the Independence Monument. It is open to the public from Monday to Friday, 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. For more information or if you want to arrange a group event, please contact our staff, Soday Un, at [truthsodavy.u@dccam.org](mailto:truthsodavy.u@dccam.org) or at 023 211 875. Thank you.



# YIN DUONG, CHIEF OF THE JUNGLE ROBBER GANG IN THE EASTERN ZONE

*EXTRACTED FROM CONFESSION D59683*

Yin Duong was 29 years old, and his home village was in Rel Village, Daun Tey Commune, Ponhea Krek District, Region 20, Eastern Zone. His father is Yin Kim, and his mother is Yan. Duong was arrested by Angkar on November 1, 1978. In the 40-page long confession, Duong described his activity and the network, intended to destroy Angkar, in detail. The following is a summary of Yin Duong's confession.

In the middle of 1970, I was involved in the revolution as a spy in Rel Village, Daun Tey Commune, with the help of Sambaur, who was the chief of the doctors in region 20. Later, I became a C.I.A. member by assignment from Sambaur who was the destroyer of the revolution. Involved members at that time were Lang, member of Daun Tey Village; Chiep, chief of Peam Reak Cooperative; Seng, chief of Peam Svay Village; Hoeung, district mem-

ber; and, Peng, village chief. Sambaur and Sim instructed me and those members to urge people to go against Angkar's forces. Hoeung, Chiep, and I urged people to go against Angkar's revolution by claiming that joining the revolution was difficult, and one had no freedom to go out, unlike the previous society. Later, Lang assigned me to serve as a soldier in Ponhea Krek District in region 20.

Lang asked to contact some of the C.I.A. network at the district level and soldiers of Ponhea Krek District, including Sim, district secretary; Phun, chief of district propaganda; Saly, district level assistant; and, Phal, chief of district printing house. Later, I met with Sim. He instructed me to communicate with Saran, chief of military; Bau, chief of soldiers; Latt San, chief of district soldiers; Sin, deputy chief of the group; The; Theng; Sam; Say; and, Seang Heng. Then, I joined the district military.



Photos of S-21 Detention Center victims were taken to attach to their biographies by S-21 cadres before being transferred to prison. They were questioned and tortured by S-21 guards before being executed. (Photo: TSL)



Saran asked me to build the C.I.A. force, by adding Yon, Sama, and Sangha. Next, Saran tasked me as a cadre, educating spies in Ponhea Krek District. My network and I urged the warriors of the previous society to show the current warriors that the revolution was strict.

After the liberation on April 17, 1975, Saran asked me to make contact with additional C.I.A. networks, such as Suos, Oddar Meanchey Commune chief; Yan, Oddar Meanchey Commune deputy chief; Chuon, Duan Tey Commune chief; Mon, Daun Tey Commune deputy chief; Sao, commune chief; Yon, Daun Tey Commune chief; and, Em, Daun Tey Commune member. Then, I contacted those members, asking them to encourage the spies in the three communes. Later, Saran called Sama, Sangha, Savat and Yon to attend a meeting. I was assigned to communicate with Vietnam and took 12 sacks of rice for district military to a Vietnamese person whose name was Thanh, in charge of the economy of military in Taininh region. This was done for the purpose of cooperation for the future attack on the Cambodian Communist Party. Besides such tasks, I was in charge of recruiting district spies to serve as soldiers in the eastern zone. At that time, I aimed to make people become furious with the revolution which assigned the warriors to serve as militiamen. Next, Saran assigned me to hold the position of first member in production unit in Ponhea Krek District. There I had some networks; those were Lang, my own network; Phan, cooperative member; Chea, village chief; Ngorn, village first member; Chhay, cooperative chief; Suy, village deputy chief; Yoam, cooperative member; Say, chief of spies; Touch, chief of cooperative warehouse; Ai, chief of spies; and, Chay, chief of village spies. All of us fundamentally performed the role of destroying the revolution.

At the end of 1976, Sim and Sarann called my networks and me and assigned us to take 12 sacks of rice and some amount of pigs, chickens, and ducks to give to the Vietnamese whose name is Thanh.

In 1977, Sim assigned me to be chief “B” of Ponhea Krek District unit. Then, he asked me to defend the target at Tnoat Village, along the border. In my front line, there were Yon, Sangha and me. At the end of 1977, Saran tasked Sanghe and me to urged the warriors to flee the battle field in order to let Vietnamese enter and to be involved in the plan against the Communist Party. It was a plan for a coup d’état. We urge them by saying that the enemies appeared from the back line soldiers. Later, I was injured and sent to the hospital in region 20.

Having stayed in the hospital in region 20 for two months, I contacted Am, the chief “B” of soldiers in region 20. Two months later, I left the hospital and returned to my unit. Saran placed me in the economic section, for my right arm was injured. Saran put me in contact with

his network at the economic section. There were two people, such as Chham, chief of military economic section in Ponhea Krek District; and, Phan, deputy chief of military economic section in region 20. When I was in the economic section, Saran asked me to cut down the warriors’ food ration, which left them with insufficient food. Regarding food, he asked me to add in salt to make those warriors flee their unit.

In January, 1978, I contacted Sun, the deputy chief of district military in region 20 and militiamen who joined together to defend the border in region 20. Sun was the chief of “C”, a robber gang of Andong Pring Jungle. I kept following Saran’s plan. Later, I fled to my own house. Sun came to meet me at my house and told me that the situation was not good, as the warriors and those who held the same positions as ours were all taken to be killed. Therefore, he said, “stay at home, comrade, you must be careful”. After the conversation, he said good bye to me. In the middle of 1978, Sun came to meet me, and he took me along with him to propagandize, to urge the people and warriors to go into the jungle to fight against central region soldiers and told the people that they could no longer live in this area as they would be killed by central region soldiers, regardless of whether they were female or small children. As a result, there was only one way; that was to go into the jungle to gather our strength. After the propaganda, Sun told me, “We had to go into the jungle, and we must urge the people to go into it with us. This was to gather our strength to fight with the revolution.” Later, Sun firstly went into the jungle. Then, a gang of eight jungle robbers led people into Prey Andong Pring Jungle. There were so many hardships as people and small children lacked shelter to protect them from rain. They cried. Thus, they were led to an old village, named Trav Village, Kak Commune, Ponhea Krek District. Those people were, later, taken away by the soldiers, and around 50 people remained. During that same year, after I had been in the jungle for 10 days, Sun and Sim called me and that group of jungle robbers for a meeting at Andong Pring. There were 34 people. Those 34 people consisted of, Sim called himself the chief of that jungle robber gang; Sun, chief “C” of the gang; Soeun, a member of robber gang; Sary, chief of culture in Daun Tey commune; Ai, deputy commune chief; Khan, chief “B” of jungle robber gang; San, military member of Kamchay Mea District; Duong (myself), chief of the second gang; Sin, deputy chief of the gang; Chhouk, deputy chief of the first gang; Sary, chief of the third gang; and, Yon, deputy chief of the third gang. After the meeting, Sim claimed that coming to the jungle, we could not return to our village. If we returned, we all would be killed by the central region soldiers. Consequently, we had to be strong. We must be determined

to succeed. And, this needed to be done in the spirit of a spy's fight. At this time, we were able to contact the Vietnamese.

During the dry season, we must join with the Vietnamese as the Vietnamese had planned a huge attack at this time. We also needed to have our plan to attack the spies unit to seize weapons as not all of us owned a weapon. We would build our force during this dry season, which was at the same time that the Vietnamese troops entered Cambodia. We had to continue although food and shelter were not sufficient. We did have potatoes, though. We asked for help from the inside, but they would not help us as we were different from them. So, we must live in the jungle. We still had insufficient resources. Regarding the weapons, we had 4 AKs, 15 or 16 rifles, 1 B40 rifle, bombs, and 454 guns. We must destroy our weaker enemies to seize their weapons. Our network who stayed in power included Tary and Ta Ai, the main contacts for us to build up our forces.

The forces consisted of commune spies and leaders in cooperatives and communes. Our internal network hid raw rice to produce rice and salt for our forces to fight against the revolution during this dry season. In August, 1978, after Sim called for a meeting, a joint plan with the Vietnamese was hatched. At that time, I asked, "Bang Sim, you could contact Vietnamese?" Then, Sun replied that in the beginning of this August, Bang Sim asked his assistants who could speak Vietnamese, such as Chheat, Sarat, Ou and Chan to contact the Vietnamese along the east of Tnoat Village. Sim asked the Vietnamese to help my gang containing 100 members and 1000 people, who were in the jungle. The purpose of this communication was to allow those people to enter Vietnam. Later, Sim contacted a Vietnamese whose name was Thing, a chief of military unit. Thing agreed to help. When the dry season came, he would invade Cambodia. The first force would enter through Svay Rieng, while the second would enter through Tnoat Village and paper market. Two forces would be used at the latter entrance. The third force would enter through Memot gate, using four forces. Our group must be prepared. We would attack Angkar's forces from behind to cause chaos. In addition, the Vietnamese asked the people in the jungle to increase rice production and look for a proper place to store it. This rice would be used to support the Vietnamese troops during their invasion into Cambodia.

Sim contacted the Vietnamese for the third time. Talking about Angkar, they installed tons of land mines and protective fences. Chheat and Sarat, who were the assistants, stepped on a land mine and died. Later, Sim and Sun allocated three forces. The first force consisted of 10 people, three weapons, 1 AK, 15 rifles and two bombs.

The first force contained Y and Chhouk. They were assigned to secretly attack ones who left the line, while

Sim seized their weapons. The second force consisted of Sin and me as well as 8 other warriors. We planned to attack the members of Angkar at Thlork Village in Kak Commune, Ponhea Krek District. The third force contained Sary, Mon and 8 other warriors. They were in charge of Santey Village in Kak Commune. I led my forces to secretly attack those who were away from Thlork village, and assigned my forces to follow Angkar's soldiers in the village every day.

About 10 days later, I tasked Ay and Sarin to keep an eye on the soldiers in order to be ready for the attack. Our group stole their coconuts. The Angkar's soldiers fired guns at us. Two of our members were injured. Next, I withdrew my forces to the eastern part of Thlork Village, 600 meters away. Staying there for some time, Angkar's soldiers chased us. At that time, my group ran to the eastern part of a canal, located around 500 meters away from Thlork Village. There, I met Sun and 12 other women as well as 4 assistants. I then asked about the situation of Thlork Village. I reported about the previous situation of Thlork Village, and told them that the Angkar's soldiers had chased us twice; two of my members were injured. I continued, those two injured members had not eaten for 6 days. Sun asked Sin and me to bring his rice mixed with potato in a saucepan to those injured friends in the jungle. As soon as he ended his words, Sin and I took rice to Ay, who was injured and could not walk. Then, Ay asked me "Bang, was there any doctor?" I told him that there was no doctor. I came here to bring you food as the situation was worse. I will take you with me as soon as I find a proper place. When we returned, Sun asked us about the injured people's well-being. I answered, Ay was pale and his injury was smelly. In the morning, Angkar fired a gun at our group and killed two of our members; one woman also got injured. Next, I and three other members, including San, Sin and Khan went to Prey Bak, and later, we went to Prey Andong. There we met with Sun, Y, Sary, and 40 other people. At that time, Sun asked me: "Duong comrade, where have you been for so long? Why didn't you run with me?" I replied, how could I run if the bombs were just like rain drops; there was also a technical gun in front of me. Sun said that Angkar's soldiers seized two rifles from them; an AK, a B40 rifle and bombs. After my group took a rest in Andong Pring Jungle, Sim and his four assistants came to meet with our group. Sim stated that there were only 30 sacks of rice left. To deal with the issue, we had to look for potatoes to mix with rice.

Later, Sun called Sin, Khan and me for a meeting. He said, "Comrades must contact our networks who are in power. Then, let our core force rebuild and hide ourselves. We needed to prepare rice and salt for each force during the fight." Three of us contacted my network, whose



Photo of S-21 victim. Photos of the victims were taken to attach to their biographies by S-21 cadres before being transferred to prison. They were questioned and tortured by S-21 guards before being executed. (Photo: TSL)

name was Ngorn, a chief of front line at Prey Angkor Village. When we met, Ngorn asked, “Where have you been?” I answered that I had been in the jungle. I asked Ngorn whether he could help with some tasks. He said that if he had the ability to help, he would help. I asked him to rebuild our network and our force, but he had to do it secretly and strictly. Also, I needed his help with the rice and salt supply to our forces in the jungle. Ngorn asked if the force consisted of many members. I lied to him, saying that there were hundreds of units all over the jungle; now, we had insufficient food. We had no food once or twice already. Staying in the jungle was very hard. I told him this to get him to trust me. As you were in power, if you could provide us the raw rice, we could produce rice on our own.

Ngorn told me that the current situation was tight because the commune chief provides rations just for the people. There was no rice remaining. However, I would contact our network in the village. Perhaps they could help. I asked for Bang Phan. He said that after the attack, Bang Phan was now the fourth member of Daun Tey Commune, and he was also in our network. It would be fine if I would like to contact him. After our conversation, I led my other members to hide at the southern part of Prey Angkor Village, located one kilometer away. The next day, all of us went to meet with Ngorn at the same place. Meeting with him, we were given some rice and were told that the peoples’ condition was harsh. Then, I went across Porong

Village into Daun Tey Khang Lech Commune. I met with Am while he was fishing at Perk in the eastern part of Porong Village. I contacted Say, asking him for rice and salt to serve our forces in the jungle. Regarding rice and salt, Say stated that there was difficulty as the commune level provides rice based on the number of people. He asked us to wait for another two or three days to check whether there was some available to give us.

Before we left, I told Say, “Bang Say, when you go back, I would like you to ask Bang Phan to meet me at the Buddha tree in Ang Krao Pagoda.” Later, San reported to me that at this time, some of our members had been arrested. Moments later, Phan came to meet me and said, “Let me contact our networks to check whether there is some rice available. If there is, I will take it to Duong. Please wait for another three or four days. If I can take some, I will bring it to you here.” The next morning, Khan told me, “Duong, you should report to Bang Sim that you have contacted the internal core force to ask for rice. And, we are waiting to take it. San and I will go to work at Pean Chrey Village, Sovann Kum Village and Bos Knol Village. Duong comrade should go for just three days.” After this discussion, I moved ahead along Prey Bak Ay. When I arrived at the end of Sovann Kum Khang Tbaung Village, Angkar arrested me. It was on November 1, 1978.

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*Sothida Sin is a staff writer for Searching for the Truth Magazine.*

# DON'T THINK I'VE FORGOTTEN: KHMER LOST ROCK AND ROLL

During the 60's and early 70's as the war in Vietnam threatened its borders, a new music scene emerged in Cambodia that took Western rock and roll and stood it on its head—creating a sound like no other.

Cambodian musicians crafted this sound from the various rock music styles sweeping America, England and France, adding the unique melodies and hypnotic rhythms of their traditional music. The beautiful singing of their renowned female vocalists became the final touch that made this mix so enticing.

But as Cambodian society—young creative musicians in particular—embraced western culture and flourished under its influence, the rest of the country was rapidly moving to war. On the left, Prince Sihanouk joined forces with the Khmer Rouge and rallied the rural population to take up arms against the government that deposed him. On the right, the Cambodian military waged a war that involved a massive aerial bombing campaign on the countryside. In the end, after winning the civil war, the Khmer Rouge turned their deadly focus to the culture of Cambodia.

After taking over the country on April 17, 1975, the Khmer Rouge began wiping out all traces of modernity and Western influence. Intellectuals, artists and musicians were specifically and systematically targeted and eliminated. Thus began one of the most brutal genocides in history, killing an estimated two million people—a quarter of the Cambodian population.

DON'T THINK I'VE FORGOTTEN: CAMBODIA'S LOST ROCK AND ROLL tracks the twists and turns of Cambodian music as it morphs into rock and roll, blossoms, and is nearly destroyed along with the rest of the country. This documentary film provides a new perspective on a country usually associated with only war and genocide.

The film is a celebration of the incredible music that came from Cambodia and explores how important it is to Cambodian society both past and present.

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*John Pirozzi is a Director and Producer of Don't Think I've Forgotten*

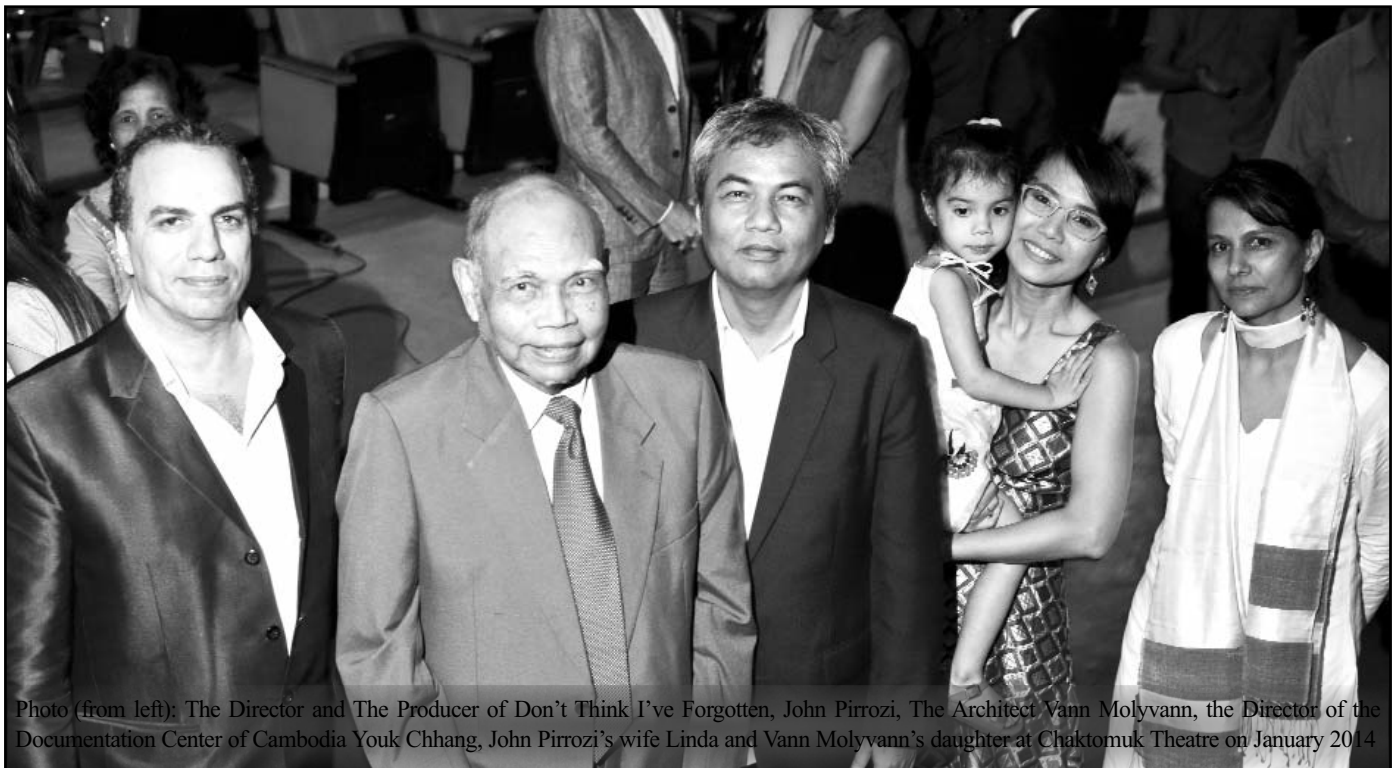


Photo (from left): The Director and The Producer of Don't Think I've Forgotten, John Pirozzi, The Architect Vann Molyvann, the Director of the Documentation Center of Cambodia Youk Chhang, John Pirozzi's wife Linda and Vann Molyvann's daughter at Chaktomuk Theatre on January 2014



# OH PHNOM PENH EUY -- DON'T THINK I'VE FORGOTTEN

I'm leaving Phnom Penh soon after two years working at the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC) [known as Khmer Rouge Tribunal], and I've started to feel a little emotionally raw lately...the tickets home are booked, friendships and other relationships coming to an end, and I am feeling all the mixed emotions of going home. At the same time, there have been several wonderful cultural events around Phnom Penh to remind me just how lovely this place can be.

One of these events was the premiere of "Don't Think I've Forgotten", one of the most lovingly-made documentaries I have ever seen, about the brilliant golden era of Khmer popular music between independence and the Khmer Rouge. It wasn't just people the Khmer Rouge murdered...it was any sense of the beauty of everyday life, of the simple happiness of singing or dancing along to a beat, of losing oneself for a few hours in a cinema. Because the popular culture of a modern and independent Cambodia was killed in its prime between 1975 and 1979, much of today's pop music is often sweetly nostalgic, but it's just as often stunted, with modern musicians simply making Khmer language versions of Lady Gaga or Thai or Viet-

namese hits rather than creating something truly Cambodian.

I recall the first time I visited New York after the terrorist attacks of 9/11. It was the summer of 2004, during law school, when I lived in the DUMBO neighborhood of Brooklyn. I was not a native New Yorker but when I walked across the Brooklyn Bridge to work in Manhattan I had the sense of a great hole in the city, an empty place where something should be. I am not Cambodian, but here in Phnom Penh I often feel the same sense of loss, of an unidentifiable emptiness...of so much beauty that could have been. People who visit the Tuol Sleng prison and the Killing Fields have very different reactions to the two places, but it's Tuol Sleng that breaks my heart because of the -emptiness-. The mostly empty rooms where people were shackled, beaten, electrocuted, waterboarded...they echo a larger emptiness. The rooms that are not empty contain thousands of photos of people who passed through here and either succumbed to torture in these same rooms or were clubbed to death over a pit at the Killing Fields. Every single one of these photographs represents a hole in the world the size of one human being. The loss of what



People were leaving their homes after the Khmer Rouge soldiers entered Phnom Penh in 1975

that human being could have achieved...no matter how simple or humble a life it could have been...is palpable because these pictures look just like the people around me today, only dressed in the joyless black uniform of the regime that murdered them. These memories are raw. These wounds are fresh.

That's why I knew when I sat down to watch "Don't Think I've Forgotten" that something magical was about to happen. I was in the Chaktomuk Theater, where the Vietnamese occupation government held a show trial of the Khmer Rouge in 1979, with the architect who built it ("the father of Khmer modernism") one of the night's guests of honor. Also in the front row were some of the musicians who survived the Khmer Rouge and the last living kin of some of those who didn't, targeted as parasitic elites and puppets of Western imperialism. And all around me, filling every possible space, were people who grew up listening to these songs, some aching beautiful, others adorably cheeky. They had come here for the joy of remembering and it was an honor for me to sit among them.

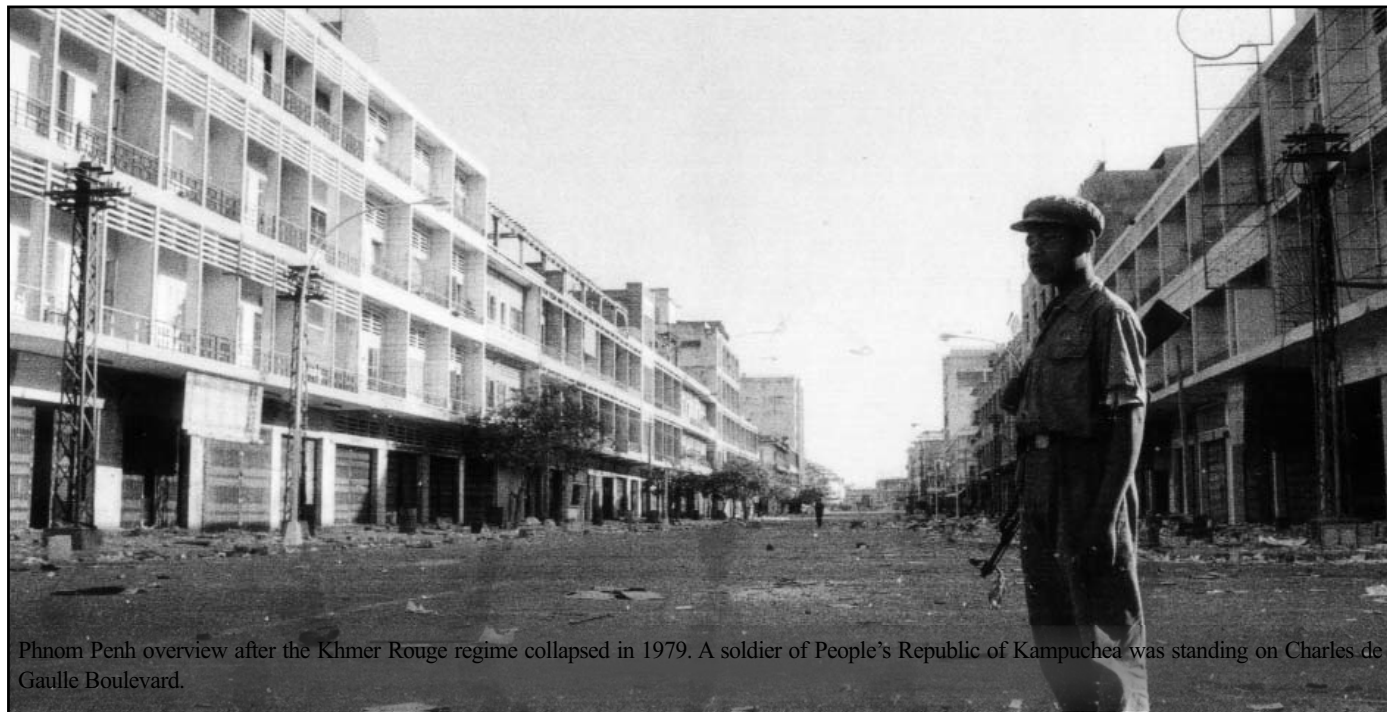
The film was incredibly informative about Cambodia's history, but the most moving part about the film was its sense of -what survives-, the beauty, the fun, the memory that lives on despite all attempts to obliterate it. This is, after all, what I love so much about Cambodia and Phnom Penh itself. This is a hard place. People struggle. People struggle so very, very hard. But they -survive-. This is why I love and respect this place so very, very much. This is why I worry in these violent days, just like I would worry for my own family.

"Don't Think I've Forgotten" ends with a song I

had always wondered about. When you visit the Killing Fields at Cheoung Ek, you are given a truly brilliant audio tour that concludes at a memorial stupa stacked 7 layers high with the larger bones of the people who were discarded here. After the last explanation about the stupa, the audio tour leaves you with a capella song in Khmer. The only words of this song I have ever understood, since I don't speak much Khmer, were "Oh Phnom Penh". "Don't Think I've Forgotten" closed with some extremely rare footage of people coming back to Phnom Penh after the Vietnamese defeated the Khmer Rouge in 1979, the city stumbling back to life, to the sound of "Oh Phnom Penh Euy", finally with English subtitles. I do not think there was a dry eye in the theater, and I finally knew why. I was invited to the premiere by a young Cambodian-American friend who worked on the film, and who honors Cambodia and his ancestors by searching the world to find and conserve their music. Thanks to my friend and to "Don't Think I've Forgotten", I now know what "Oh Phnom Penh Euy" means. It's a love song to this beautiful City, written by someone coming Home (I write Home in English with a capital H because it means so much) after more than three years starving under the Khmer Rouge, having been torn away on April 17, 1975 like everyone else. As a person who is often (voluntarily) far away from Home, it is one of the most profoundly moving songs I have ever heard.

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*Eric Husketh is Legal Officer, ECCC/UNAKRT "The views expressed herein are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the United Nations."*



Phnom Penh overview after the Khmer Rouge regime collapsed in 1979. A soldier of People's Republic of Kampuchea was standing on Charles de Gaulle Boulevard.

# A NIGHT INTO THE 60s

The night started with the premiere of the John Pirozzi's film, co-produced with the Documentation Center of Cambodia, *Don't Think I've Forgotten: Cambodia's Lost Rock and Roll*, followed by a Q&A session, refreshments and an absolutely awesome concert by Mr. Huor Lunh from Apsara band, Mr. Hong Samley from Bayon band, and Mr. Touch Seang Tana from Drakkar band. These three were the famous bands from back in the 1960s, featuring Miss Chom Nimol, the lead singer of the Dengue Fever Band.

Somehow, the film had simply showed me a brief history of Cambodia starting from when King Norodom Sihanouk proclaimed our country's independence from the French. The film makers made it so easy to understand the flow of the history, which to be honest, I did not really understand while studying History back in high school.

I like the film so much. From my very own perspective, it was an historical documentary with the twist of music sensation. Well, talking about lost music surely is history, but not only the history of Khmer Rock and Roll did the interviewees in the film (and who were also there during the Q&A session), talk about, they talked about the characters, about their backgrounds, how they got into the music industry, and about their tragic lives under the Khmer Rouge Regime.

Who were the interviewees? Some were the characters featured in the film themselves, some were the characters' relatives, and two of them were, and still are, fans. An American academic historian, Mr. David Chandler, was one of the interviewees, and I was glad to finally know what he looks like in real life (we use his book as our main book for our Cambodia History class). It was such a thrilling sensation with a mix of past and present hearing from Baksei Cham Krong band's members, the Drakkar's members, Ros Sereysothea's sisters, Miss Di Savet, Mr. Sin Chanchaya, the son of Mr. Sin Sisamuth, who had been crowned the king of voice and still is, about the wonderful golden Khmer era of both music and society.

There was actual footage from back then, of

Cambodian people's life styles, of how the cyclo (a ride consisting of a bicycle and a carriaged) riders used to park altogether and listen to the broadcast of the National

Radio Station during their break and rest. What really surprised me was how Khmers liked to party and dance, and how they even closed the curtains of their homes during the war period and continued listening to music and dancing, calling the place a day time bar. A lot of artists who back then had such a great influence on the people included my all-time favorite, Mr. Yol Aularong, who was such a respected free spirit and whose music (genre: rock) left such a big impression on Cambodians, from the 1970s

until today's generation. It is sad that he was murdered in the Pol Pot regime.

But, due to the fact that Cambodia was indeed under French colonization, and later on American colonization, Cambodian artists were influenced by those countries' music and the American soldiers that brought Cuban music with them. The Khmer simply welcomed the western culture, and made it their own with many guitar bands, catchy songs, styles, and even trendy clothes.

Before I left the event, I got a chance to talk to Mr. Samley from the Bayon band, and told him how much this new generation of Kon Khmer (Khmer Kids) love our music from back in the golden age. He then gave me a big hug and kissed both my cheeks and thanked me, and - wow, what a moment. An overwhelming wave of emotion so strong that I have not felt in quite a long while washed over me, and I almost cried right there in the sea of people.

This phenomenal event might or might not happen again, I don't know, but man, I have learned so, so much tonight, all thanks to the amazing people who made this - *A Night Into the 60s* - possible, and I hope to someday witness something this big, or even better, be able to work with them and, well, come up with something which would mean a lot to Cambodian people, and give them the feeling like I felt that night.



A famous singer of the 1960s, Ros Sereysothea

*Sonita Men is a Student from Royal University of Phnom Penh*

# CHAN SOAN ALIAS SAM IN THE KHMER ROUGE REVOLUTION



Chan Soan at his home in Trapeang Prasat district, Oddar Meanchey province

The former Khmer Rouge soldier, Chan Soan alias Sam, 68, was born in Trapaing Raing commune, Chum Kiri district, Kampot province. His father was Pinh Sok and his mother was Chea Plong. He has ten siblings (two sisters and eight brothers).

Soan stopped attending school at the seventh grade (following old system during Sangkum Reastr Niyum). In 1961, after he stopped studying, he assisted his parents in the rice field. He got married in 1964 to Chin Nai alias Khuoy. Nowadays, he has six children (four sons and two daughters). After getting married, he and his wife worked on a farm.

When King Sihanouk was deposed in 1970, the country was in political turmoil. People in the countryside, hearing propaganda from local authorities and King Sihanouk's announcement from Beijing, China, urging his people to escape to the Marky forest to liberate the country, were enraged with Lon Nol.

In 1971, Soan and many young people were among the first ones to enter the Marky forest. There were approximate 300 people in the movement. However, they had not yet arranged people into divisions. There was only one regiment, regiment 35, whose chief was Ngeat Kin, and the chief of battalion was Lam in the southwest zone.

Soan was in the first division, whose chief was Soeung, and Chhorn and Seng in 1972. At the same time, Soan was the chief of the unit that was preparing to invade Phnom Penh along national road 3. In 1975, Soan

was wounded and rested there for three days. When he continued to Phnom Penh, he saw Phnom Penh's residents evacuating to various locations.

After 1975, Soan was transferred to division 502 which was controlled by Su Met. Division 502 included three regiments: 51, 52 and 53. Soan was the chief of a company and led 500 soldiers.

In 1978, Soan was assigned to an airport in Kampong Chhnang. There, he was the chief of a company in division 502, and was supervised by Ta Rovey. Many soldiers from the east, north and elsewhere were reeducated there as suspected traitors. Also, there were many Chinese experts constructing airports and other buildings, as the Khmer Rouge brought airplanes to Cambodia.

Likewise, in 1978, Soan was assigned to a railway station in Phnom Penh. Soan migrated and was separated from his wife and children who went to the Thai border in 1979. Soan met his family again along the Khmer-Thai border in Mumbai. Later, when the Khmer Rouge rearranged groups and divisions to fight against Vietnamese soldiers and the governmental soldiers of Heng Samrin, the Khmer Rouge was supported by China with some supplies and loads of weapons. Soan was a company chief in division 612, and led 150 soldiers to fight with government forces. Additionally, Soan was responsible for persuading and training people to get to know Khmer Rouge policy for evicting Yuon (Vietnamese) in Cambodia. The majority of people supported the Khmer Rouge. They helped to provide food and reported everything to the Khmer Rouge.

In 1988, Soan returned to Anlong Veng and directed his comrades who had been injured in battle and became handicapped. In 1990, Ta Mok climbed down Dangrek Mountain and continued along the Khmer-Thai border until he reached Preah Vihear temple. He gathered people to live at the base of the Mountain. Some were living in Anlong Veng district and others in the Trapaing Prasat district. The government forces attacked the Khmer Rouge in 1993, which forced people there to escape to the O'Trau camp and other places along the Thai border. It was not until 1994 that the



Khmer Rouge returned to their original place (in Anlong Veng and Trapaing Prasat).

Within the same year, Soan was assigned to be chief of Trapaing Prasat district by Ta Mok.

Later, Khmer Rouge forces were badly divided after Ta Mok sentenced Pol Pot and Sun Sen's family to be killed. Ta Mok also gave the order to arrest the division chief Ta Saroeun, and he called 05 and Ta San called 06 to execute them and bury them in the same grave. Ta Mok started to suspect that other chiefs of divisions had changed sides to support the recent government. He wanted to divide his forces into two. One was at Anlong Veng, and the other one was at Trapeang Prasat, including four divisions (612, 616, 417 and 802), which supported Pol Pot.

In 1998, Ta Mok called Keo, Sary Soy, Chum Cheat and Ray Pin to learn his political ideology at the Anlong Veng office (near ACELEDA bank nowadays) since they had communicated with Khoem Ngun, the chief there. Khoem Ngun cheated him by asking to harvest rice for a living, but actually, he contacted an outsider. When it was a good time for them to escape, they did not wait to meet the government forces because they thought they

would die if they still lived there. Upon seeing that, Chum Cheat gathered some forces across the forest, both during the day and at night. Lastly, he reached Preah Vihear and met with the deputy governor of Preah Vihear, Khuoy Khunhuo. After greeting him, Khuoy Khunhuo contacted Phnom Penh. Then the four people travelled by helicopter to Phnom Penh during the next days, but left their wives and children in Preah Vihear province. Later, helicopters were landed in the Khmer Rouge's zone and asked all Khmer Rouge forces to join hands with the government, saying their mistakes would be forgiven. Soan later realized that the leaders in Anlong Veng, such as the chief of division Yoem Phana, Yoem Poem and Yoem San also had planned to join with the government. All Khmer Rouge forces surrendered and joined the government, integrating in 1998. At that time, Soan was still the governor of Trapeang Prasat district.

Nowadays, Soan is the consultant of Trapaing Prasat district and is living in Trapaing Prasat commune, Trapaing Prasat district, Otdar Meanchey province.

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*Vannak Sok is a staff member of Promoting Accountability Project*

## www.cambodiatribunal.org

The Cambodia Tribunal Monitor ([www.cambodiatribunal.org](http://www.cambodiatribunal.org)) provides extensive coverage throughout the trial of two former senior Khmer Rouge officials accused of atrocity crimes. The Monitor provides daily in-depth analysis from correspondents in Phnom Penh, as well as complete English-translated video of the proceedings, with Khmer-language video to follow. Additional commentary is provided by a range of Monitor-affiliated experts in human rights and international law. The Monitor has been the leading source of news and information on the Extraordinary Chambers in the Court of Cambodia (ECCC) since its inception in 2007. The website hosts an archive of footage from the tribunal and a regularly updated blog containing analysis from expert commentators and coverage by Phnom Penh-based correspondents.

An estimated 1.7 million Cambodian citizens died under the Khmer Rouge regime between 1975 and 1979. The former Khmer Rouge officials to be tried in the ECCC's "Case 002" are Nuon Chea, former Deputy Secretary of the Communist Party of Kampuchea's Central Committee and a member of its Standing Committee and Khieu Samphan, former Chairman of Democratic Kampuchea State Presidium.

The Cambodia Tribunal Monitor was developed by a consortium of academic, philanthropic and non-profit organizations committed to providing public access to the tribunal and ensuring open discussions throughout the judicial process. The site sponsors include Northwestern University School of Law's Center for International Human Rights, the Documentation Center of Cambodia, the J.B. and M.K. Pritzker Family Foundation and the Illinois Holocaust Museum and Education Center. The concept for the website was conceived by Illinois State Senator Jeff Schoenberg, a Chicago-area legislator who also advises the Pritzker family on its philanthropy.

# SUONG DOS'S STRUGGLING LIFE UNDER THE KHMER ROUGE

If you are heading 24-kilometer west of Battambang town, you will arrive at an historical tourist destination known as Kamping Puoy reservoir. It was also built under the Khmer Rouge. And if you travel 7 kilometers westwards, you will arrive at a small Arai village in Ta Kream commune, Banan district, Battambang province. There, a man sat and drank tea under the elevated house near the foot of the mountain and I approached to talk to him and ask about his background. His name is Suong Dos, a former Lon Nol soldier who survived the Khmer Rouge regime.

Dos related that he was 75 years old and married with 2 children. His home village was Thnal Dach village, Krang Leav commune, Bati district, Takeo province. As a youth, he lived with his parents. It was not until after he was ordained for 2 years at Ang Chom pagoda in 1952 that he defrocked. After that, he attended Mach Choem Than II at the pagoda (primary education) and then

moved to live in Pursat province with his father. He lived in Pursat province for 1 year before moving to Ta Kream commune, Banan district, Battambang province in 1958.

Dos said in 1970, people had two tendencies – pro-government tendency and anti-government tendency (Khmer Rouge tendency). He indicated that those who supported Khmer Rouge would be enlisted into the Khmer Rouge while those who were pro-Lon Nol became Lon Nol soldiers. In 1970, Dos was 31 years old. He decided to join Lon Nol soldiers, accepting 7000 riel per month. At that time, he fought with the Khmer Rouge in several battles, taking the role of a leader of a 100-member unit. Once he waged battle, he contacted the air force to bombard the Khmer Rouge so that the Khmer Rouge would be dispersed. And this helped him defeat the Khmer Rouge. He added that bombardment caused damage to the houses and market along National Road 5. At that time, his unit suffered from defeat as well.



Photo (from left): Chhum Mab and Suong Dous at Ta Kream commune, Banan district, Battambang province.

Dos listed many factors leading to the defeat of Lon Nol's soldiers, one of which was because the Lon Nol soldiers lacked experience; they didn't know geography and were under frequent ambush from the Khmer Rouge. On the other hand, people were discontented with the government's bombardment that destroyed houses and were angry with the death and the injury of family members and relatives that were attributed to the bombardment. He continued that many people supported Samdech Sihanouk. Without the coup to depose Sihanouk, the Khmer Rouge wouldn't have been victorious over Lon Nol.

In fact, Sihanouk was a popular and influential figure with full respect both inside and outside of the country. People thought that if Samdech Sihanouk returned, Cambodia would have peace like Sangkum Reast Niyum (Peoples Socialist community).

Dos continued that in the Ponlai battlefield, the government's aircraft bombarded the market, causing severe consequences. But in both Polai and the Trapeang Chan battlefield, many of Lon Nol's soldiers died. At that time, he received an order to support and attack to save the soldiers in the Trapeang Chan barracks. He spent 2 days fighting before capturing Trapeang Chan barracks but all of the soldiers were dead and some bodies were decayed. Later, he went to defend the Baribor district, to prevent the Khmer Rouge from entering, but he failed. As a result, he was moved to Sala N° 5 and then on to Hek Rameas where he was engulfed by the enemy. At that time, he rang his communication radios to the Paratroopers for intervention. But after sending off the aircraft, almost all of the soldiers were shot dead except for three people.

Dos's unit didn't have a barracks. His unit had to wage battle from one place to another. At that time, there were 2 groups – the Tiger Head group and the Skull group whose leaders were named Hang and Chen Neary. They both died in the battlefield while fighting the Khmer Rouge.

It was not until 1973 that Dos was arrested and put in the Me Mot district but luckily, he was not killed. The Khmer Rouge took him to another detention center by tying his feet to a shackle that left a bruise that is there until now. Later on, he was released.

After the liberation on April 17, 1975, Dos was taken to a cooperative by being told that he was to build a house, but he was detained in Kaol barrack instead. He indicated that Kaol barracks was in Bakan district, Pursat province (travelling from Phnom Penh beyond Trapeang Chhang market and turning left). He said many people lay dead there. He saw the Khmer Rouge taking soldiers and lining them up – about 20 or 30 people in each line – to be killed at a place 400 meters away from

the Kaol barrack. Most of the deceased were students, civil servants, and teachers. Dos survived due to his luck because at first, the Khmer Rouge took him to the commune and forced him to do hard labor. But they didn't give him enough food. Every morning, the Khmer Rouge ordered him to dig 100 pits in order to grow coconut trees. And at that time, a cook learned that Dos was hard working. And thus, he secretly gave Dos some food. From that time on, he worked hard and eventually the Khmer Rouge released him.

Afterwards, Dos went to live in a cooperative in Preal village, Preh Mlour commune, Bakan district where he received adequate rations. After 3 months, the Khmer Rouge moved him to a carpentry unit. After that, 2 Khmer Rouge cadres – Khan and Kan – took him to find a beehive. In the jungle, he saw a big tree, 25 meters in height, where a beehive stood atop. At that time, Dos thought both Khmer Rouge cadres would kill him if he refused to climb the tree. If he climbed to fetch the honey, he would be stung and fall from the tree. But he decided to take the risk.

Dos said that he was so frightened because he had never fetched honey in his life. He took burning firewood and tied it to his waist along with another basket for honey collection. Arriving at the tree top, he cut the bee comb and decanted the honey.

Later, the Khmer Rouge transferred him to work in a fishing unit, and he was later assigned to work as a unit leader in a plowing unit. Every day, he had only one set of clothes to wear. After returning from work, he slept without taking a bath because of his tiredness. Once Dos went to rest, young Khmer Rouge cadres picked up clods and threw them at his head.

He related that the unit leaders and the Khmer Rouge cadres who used to persecute people were ambushed and fought by people after the liberation on January 7, 1979. After 1979, Dos joined the government forces in Phnom Penh.

Dos lost his family members and 5 relatives: 1) Chan Dy, Dos's child, died of starvation, 2) Try Man, Dos's brother-in-law and a teacher, was killed by the Khmer Rouge. 3) Seng Ban, Try Man's wife and also Dos's sister, was killed by the Khmer Rouge. 4) Sam Aat (Try Man's child and also a student). 5) Suy, Dos's cousin, was killed by the Khmer Rouge on the charge of not being honest to Angkar. 6) Paor, Dos's grandfather, was killed by the Khmer Rouge on the charge of pretending to be sick.

Eventually, he stated that he hoped that the regime would not return because he didn't want his later generations to face the hardship like he did.

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*Mab Chhum is a Volunteer for the Book of Memory project*

# THE ISSUE OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST VIETNAMESE IN CAMBODIA

The discrimination against Vietnamese is still a hot issue in Cambodia, even though the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC) [known as the Khmer Rouge Tribunal] tries Khmer Rouge senior leaders for genocide of the Vietnamese and Cham.

Since the first mandated propaganda, Vietnamese have been victims of racism. In fact, in the fifth mandated election, political parties, media and social networks raised a key issue of Vietnamese immigrants in their strategic plan. The hatred and discrimination against Vietnamese living in Cambodia continued among the younger generation, scholars and Khmer citizens who are excessively nationalistic. During the Cambodian National Rescue Party's (CNRP) demonstration to seek justice and re-election, and the garment factory workers' protest to request 160 dollars as a fixed income per month, a demonstration along Veng Sreng Blvd. between workers and the authorities exploded. Some properties and grocery stores belonging to Vietnamese were damaged by extreme nationalists.

The abhorrence of Vietnamese in Cambodia reached its top during 1970s. After Lon Nol took power on 18 March, 1970, leaders of the Khmer Republic caused Khmer citizens, especially teenagers, to loathe the Vietnamese.

They screamed abuse at Vietnamese such as shouting "Yuon", and burnt Vietnamese stores and properties. Many posters against the Vietnamese were stuck on the trees and in most public places. The Khmer Republic government imposed a ban on Vietnamese travelling. They allowed Vietnamese to work outside only 6 hours during the daytime. The government also issued special identity cards for Vietnamese. Vietnamese immigrants were forced to leave home and gather in a camp near Cambodia-Japan Amity Bridge (nowadays known as Chrouy Changva Bridge) before being shipped back to Southern Vietnam with few possessions. Others were accused of being members of the Vietcong, and many were killed. Consequently, most of those corpses were thrown into the Mekong River. In addition, Vietnamese ladies were raped before execution.

Just after Vietcong troops were withdrawn from Cambodia in 1973, the Khmer Rouge started killing Vietnamese immigrants, in particular the ones who lived in rural areas. Planning to eliminate all Vietnamese was apparent when the Khmer Rouge defeated the Khmer Republic on 17 April, 1975. After people were evicted from the city to rural areas to farm, the Khmer Rouge announced they were seeking Vietnamese in each cooperative in order to send them back to Vietnam. Some

Vietnamese decided to hide their own identity and live in Cambodia forever.

Besides, some blood related Vietnamese could not speak Vietnamese when the Khmer Rouge sent them to the Cambodia-Vietnam border. So, Vietnam authorities did not permit them to cross the border and to live in Vietnam. Then, the Khmer Rouge standing by at the border ordered those people to go back to their homeland. Unfortunately, most of them were killed later, charged with being



Photo of a young vietnamese victim was taken at S-21 Detention Center after he was arrested and sent to S-21.



Vietnamese, just after the Khmer Rouge clashed with the Vietnamese near the border in 1977 and 1978.

Poeu Hong, Vietnamese, is a lucky man who survived the Khmer Rouge regime. Hong's father was named Eang Poeu, Khmer, and Hong's mother was named Meng Sim. He is a blood related Vietnamese because [his great-grandfather was Chinese and his great-grandmother was Vietnamese]. His mother's siblings and relatives were killed. Hong's mother forced him to escape and look after his father, while his mother and his siblings were arrested and put in Prek Koam pagoda in Prek Anteah commune.

Poeu Hong remembered his story from late 1975. Angkor Yuos village chief, Ta Muon and Sin, proclaimed that all Vietnamese and related Vietnamese would be sent back to Vietnam. At that time, Hong's family including his great-grandmother and great-grandfather's relatives and other villagers in Angkor Yuos village were directed by Khmer Rouge cadres to leave Angkor Yuos by boat to the Cambodia-Vietnam Kaaom Samnor border pass located in Leuk Dek district, Region 25. Cambodia-Vietnam Kaaom Samnor border pass is a pass for the Khmer Rouge sending Vietnamese back to Vietnam. Khmer Rouge cadres there told them to turn back home after staying there for five days since the Vietnamese authorities did not regard them as Vietnamese but Khmer. Due to that fact, Hong's family returned home and continued farming as usual.

Early in 1977, a few militiamen from Prek Anteah took his great-grandfather and great-grandmother to re-educate. In fact, they were killed. Hong said, "I did not know where they were killed". In mid 1977, Hong's uncle and aunt were also taken to re-educate except Hong's mother because she just delivered a baby. Fifteen days later, his mother and his five siblings were arrested too. Meanwhile, two of his younger brothers escaped and hid in a bush because most of their family members were arrested.

"Ta Muon, a chief of village, was unhappy when he could not see my two brothers around here." When the village chief came for his mother, Hong was not home. Hong was assigned to guard buffalo at the dry season rice field until the evening. However, Ta Muon called and held onto his hand walking back home. Ta Muon said that Hong had to go with his mother. Actually, Hong did not know what was going on. At dusk, two militiamen rode bicycles to bring Hong and his two brothers from Angkor Yuos village to Prek Koam pagoda in Prek Anteah. Prek Koam pagoda was the Khmer Rouge security office.

Hong's mother and other Vietnamese were incarcerated there. Hong's mother told him that she worried about Hong's father, since he had the disease of

big belly (cancer). In fact, He had cancer since Yuos, Chief of Prek Anteah commune, assigned him to build a canal at Angkor Yuos. As a result of his overwork, he got this disease. He urinated about two liters of sugar palm juice into a bamboo container made of zinc every night. He could not work anymore. Hong's mother whispered to Hong to escape and look after his father.

People arrested and taken to Prek Koam pagoda were deprived of food until 10pm. After that, they were given very thin porridge by the security guards. Hong chose that time to escape. He descended through the monastic dining hall to the hidden graveyard behind the pagoda. Though Hong was scared, he decided to walk across the forest and cross the river. He lost his way and finally arrived home at 3 am.

While staying home, a militiaman chased after him again. Hong escaped to his aunt-in-law's house. His aunt-in-law has only one son. During the middle of 1977, militiamen brought her husband and her only son to re-educate and they disappeared. Hong stayed with his aunt-in-law for a while. Later, Ta Muon, the village chief, found him. Again, Hong got away to another aunt in Kampong Reussey village, Kampong Reussey commune. Not long later, militiamen chased him again. Hong's aunt told him to turn back home, but he did not follow her instructions. He left his aunt. Then, he stayed with a group of people who evaporated sugar palm juice and assisted them in collecting fire wood because they hid him from those militiamen.

In 1978, a terrible moment occurred. Sao Phoem was charged with betrayal. Events in the Eastern section of the country were in disarray. "At that time, Angkar allowed us to be free". Fortunately, Hong's father recovered. Both of them fled to his uncle in Svay Antor commune. Hong and his father were living there when Vietnam burst into Cambodia in 1979.

In spite of surviving, that time bruised him painfully, and continues until now. When New Year [Khmer/Chinese New Year] or Pchum Ben day is coming, Hong always feels lonely and remembers his mother's speech, "If my breast-feeding is invaluable, I will survive back to meet you, son."

Hong is still not able to meet her. Hong's family and his relatives were killed because they were Vietnamese or related to Vietnamese. Poeu Hong suggested that later leaders not discriminate against different persons who have been living here since their ancestors' period. Hong finally said, "Please live peacefully and comfortably just like other countries."

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# KRU (MAGICIAN OF CAMBODIAN CHAM MUSLIM) AND THE KHMER ROUGE PERIOD

A short time after I started my research on the Cham Muslims last year, I was a little surprised when I became aware that Cham Muslims are believed to be strong magicians. I had been studying Islam in the Middle East before coming to Cambodia, and this image of Muslims was very new to me. At that time, I was conducting research on Arabic hidden documents that were buried by a Cham to protect them from the Khmer Rouge. If you are interested in this topic, please see my article: “Hidden Islamic Literature in Cambodia: The Cham in the Pol Pot Period,” Searching for the Truth (Special English Edition, Third Quarter, 2013). I think this research could reveal to the reader an aspect of the Cham intellectual life at that time. However, after finishing this research, I felt that I would like to know the more popular aspects of Cham Islamic culture. Then I found that the use of magic among Cham Muslims could be a key understanding the culture for the following three reasons: (1) magic is one of the most important academic themes to in understanding the value or world-view of the ordinary Cham people; (2) magic

has a symbolic meaning of the existence of the Cham in the Cambodian society, whether it is true or not; and (3) magic is, in general, very controversial in Muslim societies. Many intellectuals in the Middle East insist that the use of magic must be prohibited as it is against Islamic faith; however, this practice is actually still prevailing.

I conducted field work by interviewing krus, or magicians, mainly during the latter half of 2013 in Cham areas of Phnom Penh such as Chrang Chamres, Chroy Changvar, Prek Bra and Prek Leab. The word kru basically means “teacher” or “master” deriving from a Sanskrit word guru, and is also used to imply “magician,” “sorcerer” or “healer” in both the Cham and Buddhist Khmer contexts. I had interviews with more than thirty krus. One third of them were female, 28% of the krus were in their 30s and 40s, 44% in their 50s and 60s, and 28% of them were in their 70s and 80s. I have initialized their names here to protect their privacy and I would like to express my deep gratitude to each of them. I also would like to thank here the continued support of DC-Cam, Fatily SA and my



Tuon and Hakim of Cham People gathered at an unknown mosque. This photo was taken before the Khmer Rouge entered Phnom Penh in 1975

research assistants.

Through this field work, many things were revealed. One of them was that most of the clients of the Cham krus were not Chams but Khmers. Before I started my research, I assumed that the Cham community was closed among themselves. However, after starting the research, I found out that many Khmer people need Cham magic to solve their problems concerning couples, business and health issues, although Khmer society tends to be afraid of the Cham's magic power.

I also would like to add here that I am not able to agree with the rumor that the Cham are strong magicians, which I mentioned at the beginning of this paper. Many krus I interviewed said: "In the past, many Chams could use magic to heal disease or protect their bodies from the enemies." This kind of remark clearly implies that in the present time, ordinary Chams do not use magic. Moreover, Cham religious leaders such as hakem (the leader of the community and the mosque) and those who have Islamic knowledge from outside Cambodia do not admit to magic at all. Many of them insist that "there is no kru in Islam" or "it is never allowed to practice magic among Muslims." For example, Ahmad Yahya, the president of Cambodia Muslim Community Development, one of the most active and influential Cham NGOs, said "I don't believe those people. ... Number one ... to become kru like that is a contradiction with Islamic teaching. Number two... they lie to the people."

The main point of my research of this time is that the Cham krus exercise magic based on the method or theory derived from three cultures: the culture from the Champa Kingdom, their original place in Vietnam; the Islamic culture via Malaysia; and the Khmer culture. The first type seems to be becoming weaker, but the other two seem to keep up or enhance the influence. However, this topic will be discussed in another paper as yet to be published. Instead, I would like to discuss what was revealed during my research, which is "How the Khmer Rouge period influenced the present Cham magicians." I would be glad if this paper could provide some information, albeit small, about the situation in the Khmer Rouge period.

### **1. The Situation of Kru during the Khmer Rouge period**

Under the KR (hereafter we abbreviate "Khmer Rouge" to "KR") regime, Islam as well as Buddhism was abolished. The elimination of the Cham Muslims by the Khmer Rouge was more severe than that of Buddhist Khmers to the point of what is called "ethnic cleansing." The KR regime destroyed most of the mosques, religious books including the scripture, the Qur'an, as well as the killing of religious leaders of the Cham community as

the KR denied the existence of any religion. Therefore, it is not surprising to know that a lot of Cham krus did not reveal their profession of kru and pretended not to have any special knowledge. Many krus said "I did not say that I was a kru to protect myself," and "If I had said so, I would have been killed." Some krus also said that they worked other jobs such as cattlemen and smiths during that period.

However, there were some other krus who used their knowledge to protect themselves from the KR, that is, for their survival. Kru M in his 60s told me as follows: He concealed the fact that he was a kru, using his knowledge to protect himself from bullets of KR soldiers and hiding himself from them by chanting the Qur'an, but he could not help others as he needed to keep his job secret. Kru A in his 70s also insisted that the magical knowledge made him survive during this crisis of life. His magic power made him notice KR soldiers coming and he hid himself. He was also able to make himself invisible by using specific leaves from a tree, although he was actually sitting under the tree. These experiences strengthened his belief in magic power. This "magic" of making one invisible seems to be one of the magic skills of the Cham as I have interviewed a kru who said he is now practicing this skill but has not succeeded yet.

There are also krus who used their knowledge to heal the sick either privately or openly. A few female krus told me that they healed kids and adults who suffered from diseases such as skin problems or body pain; however, they did it very secretly. They have continued this kind of "medical" treatment until now using specific plants as medicine. Other krus used the knowledge officially because they were asked to do it by the KR. O, a male kru in his 80s, said that when he was in Battambang, a KR member consulted him saying that he and his wife could not have a child. After he exercised magic for them using rice, the wife got pregnant. I asked how the KR member found him even though the kru practice was not allowed. He answered that he did not tell about his profession as a kru but the KR member was at a loss as to how to have a baby and sought out a person who could exercise such a treatment. The KR member allowed this practice for him even though the KR had officially banned it.

Kru S in his 70s also used his "medical" skill for the KR. He was requested to work as a doctor using "Khmer medicine" but he concealed that he was a Cham because, if he would have said so, he would have been killed. He did not use Islamic magic skill, such as chanting the Qur'an, instead only using his "medical" skill. That the KR member needed treatment for the sickness made his "medical" practice allowable. Thus, Cham krus who used their kru knowledge concealed their identity as Cham

but, as required, they practised it to treat a physical problem for both ordinary people and KR members. Until now many Cham kru, like Khmer kru, have knowledge of treatment for the sick, which can be called an alternative medicine based on local folk tradition.

## 2. The Khmer Rouge period as a remote cause to become a kru



Cham people praying at an unknown mosque

The research indicated that there are two main reasons for krus to choose that job. One is that they are born in a family which includes a kru and inherit the knowledge from that kru. Many kru said that they studied under the instruction of their parents or grandparents who were also kru. Another reason is that after they or their family got sick and/or suffered from a magic curse by an unknown other, they started to study magic to solve the problems themselves. The following is a case where the KR period caused a man, who had both these two reasons, to become kru.

Kru M in his 60s studied the knowledge of magic to heal his wife's psychological disorder. As his grandparents were kru and his father had also some knowledge of magic, they taught him about magic before the KR period. But he was not interested and did not use it at that time. During the KR period, however, he used the knowledge to avoid bullets. He said many people actually studied magic to protect themselves from bullets during that time. His wife lost her mind about ten times during the period and tried to kill her baby. This behaviour continued even after the period. Therefore, he decided to study

about magic anew from his grandfather and father so that he could bring his wife to her senses.

From the Khmer Rouge period, many cases have been reported where people had a mental meltdown due to their hard lives. For example, Yasuko Naito, a Japanese woman who married a Cambodian diplomat and survived the period in Cambodia, also started hearing the voice of her second son after he, her first son and her adopted daughter died soon after the KR period started. Although, like most of the Japanese, she had not believed at all in such superstitious phenomenon before the period, her catastrophic experience made her believe in supernatural existence even after she returned to Japan following the KR period.

Kru M's wife similarly experienced mental disorder, which triggered M to be serious about studying magic and becoming a kru. Kru M is currently doing his job as a kru helping many people to solve their problems based on Islamic faith. However, he said that actually he did not want to become a kru as he noticed that it did not fit Islamic faith very much and he did not want his sons to follow his job as it is now a time of science.

## 3. The Khmer Rouge period as a reason of the loss of a book on magic from the Kingdom of Champa

Through the field work for this research, it was also revealed that Cham kru used to have a special book (or books) on magic used to obtain knowledge about everything including the future. This book was called Kitab Ilm Falak (or/and Kitab Tumblok ) but it is now lost. "Kitab" means "book" in Arabic and "Ilm Falak" is derived from the Arabic phrase "Ilm al-Falak", which literally means "the knowledge of the celestial body" and is usually used to mean the academic discipline of Astrology. As for the meaning of "Tumblok," I asked many kru but could not get any clear answer. What I can point out now is that "Ilm Falak" and "Tumblok" sound similar, especially in the latter part of the words, which could imply that there is only one book with two different names. But so far, I do not have enough information to judge this.

Unfortunately, there is only a little, albeit ambiguous, information on it the subject. Some of the kru said Kitab Ilm Falak and Kitab Tumblok are two different books while others said these two are one book with different names. Many of them said that they have heard the name but never seen it for themselves or they have seen other kru reading it in the past but have never read it themselves. I have met a few kru who insisted they had read it but had thrown it away. Piecing together these stories, the magic book (hereafter for the sake of simplicity, I will use only the singular form), is originally from Champa, their lost kingdom, and written in Champa language (Kak Khak). However, according to some kru, it

was destroyed during the KR regime, or, according to others, was thrown away by the Cham themselves as the book dealt with fortune-telling, which is not allowed among Muslims who believe that only Allah, i.e. God, can know everything including the future.

Here is a case of a kru who believes that the book was lost because of the KR regime. Kru D in his 50s told me as below:

*He, himself, had never seen the book but he thought his grandfather used to have it. He also does not know whether there was one book or two books. His grandfather was a well-known kru, who did not speak Khmer but understood Kak Khak and Arabic. He was the one who taught Kru D about magic. The book was written in Kak Khak. It was, however, lost because it was buried during the KR period and could not be found after that. His grandfather was such a great kru that he was able to see the future and predict what would happen after the KR regime took power. Therefore, his grandfather foresaw that the book would be lost during the period and copied out some parts of the book onto fabric to preserve some part of the contents.*

Kru D showed me the fabric on which several symbols consisting of Arabic letters and pictures of a ship were drawn. According to him, each of these symbols has specific magical power with different functions and after selecting one symbol depending on what the client wants to do, it is copied out on another sheet of paper as a charm. He also explained that the ship drawn on the fabric is the one on which Champa people rode to escape from Vietnam to Cambodia; the wood of the ship was from the Royal Palace of the Champa Kingdom. Thus, kru D's story reflects on the tragic history of the Cham in Cambodia, who lost their country due to Vietnamese conquest and who were massacred during the KR period.

However, it is not easy for us to get at the truth about the book. Another kru, who insisted that he used to have the book but threw it away as he regarded it as being against Islamic faith, said the book did not include any pictures or illustrations but only words. All we can assume here is that the copies of the book were destroyed and lost during the KR period and, after that, the rest of the copies were purposely destroyed. In any case, due to the loss of the book, unfortunately, it seems to be almost impossible to get the appropriate information about it. What we know now is that Cham krus used to have the special book on magic inherited from Champa but that it was lost.

As seen from the above, the KR period was a time of suffering and sorrow to the Cham krus like all the people in Cambodia. This paper just focused on the Cham, but we can easily see the fact that the Khmer community

also had similar experiences to the ones described above.

According to Didier Bertrand, who researched Khmer mediums possessed by spirits (boramey), the mediums, although possession was banned during the KR period, were protected by their spirits as, for example, the spirits brought food to them.

Jan Ovesen and Ing-Britt Trankell's *Cambodians and their Doctors: A Medical Anthropology of Colonial and Post-Colonial Cambodia* also described in detail the situation of kru khmer as local healers during the KR period. There was a Khmer kru who survived the period by obeying the KR order to make medicine from plants and not to conduct spiritual rituals, which he did secretly. Ovesen and Tranlell's book also revealed that the KR interrupted Khmer krus transmission of traditional knowledge on medical and spiritual healing and suggested that palm-tree manuscripts on which the knowledge was written down were destroyed. In fact, Ian Harris's *Buddhism in a Dark Age: Cambodian Monks under Pol Pot* described the huge destruction of Buddhist religious literature such as palm-tree manuscripts.

Thus, krus of both Cham and Khmer had such similar oppressed experiences during the KR period, but they were different in that Cham krus had to conceal their own identity as Cham. This difference was clearly caused by the KR policy of extinguishing the Cham who were originally outsiders from the Champa Kingdom. The KR accelerated the transformation of the Cham Muslims in Cambodia to losing their Champa elements by destroying their magic book.

However, unfortunately, this tendency of reducing the influence of Champa culture among the Cham seems to be going on further in the present time.

On the other hand, the elements of Islamic and/or Khmer culture have more influence, although, as mentioned above, this is the topic for a later discussion.

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# MUM BEI: THE KHMER ROUGE'S RESISTANCE BASE

## Introduction

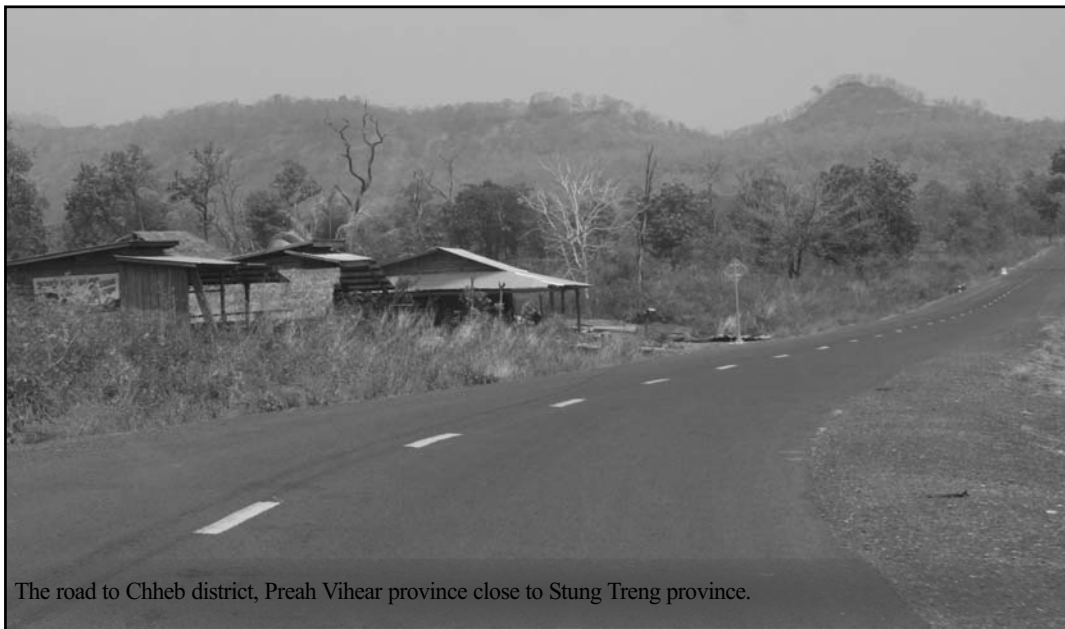
The rise and fall of the Khmer Rouge (KR) regime marked the most memorable days for the Cambodian people and the criminal acts inflicted on them between April 17, 1975 and January 6, 1979. The criminal acts are currently being accounted for while a parallel route has been taken to engage the public in this endeavor. The Public Village Forum (PVF) of DC-Cam's Witnessing Justice Project was organized on January 14, 2014 for twenty two villagers (including 8 females) and 58 students (including 30 females) in Kampong Sralao I commune of Preah Vihear province. They took two hours from their work and studied together in Chhep district's office near Kampong Sralao secondary school. They chose to discuss a variety of topics, especially Mum Bei, the rally point where the defeated KR army withdrew and regrouped in order to continue its long term resistance. The participants also received DC-Cam's materials to further expand their knowledge on the KR history and especially on the KR tribunal. This article attempts to highlight the people's narratives and the interaction between the villagers and youths in the community. Their reactions to the forum, work of Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC), and history of the KR will also be part of the report.

## Highlight the Forum in Kampong Sralao I Commune

Mum Bei was one of the specific discussion topics during the PVF. Speaking to the students in three different groups, the villagers realized that most students have learned about the KR atrocities but have possibly overlooked the history of their own community after the KR defeat in January 1979. However, to ensure a better understanding of the history, many participants chose to narrate their own experiences during the regime before touching upon the subject of Mum Bei, which borders Laos in the east and Thailand in the west.

Ms. Ham Rom, 58 years old, of Kampong Sralao I commune, Preah Vihear province, told the attendees about the fate of her husband and the KR's last stand in the district. She said her husband, Chung Thy, was a former division chief in the Northern Zone. Ms. Rom herself was a deputy chief of the district-level womens' unit. Later, because one of her in-laws was accused of betraying the revolution, her husband was demoted from Division to Battalion chief. She was also sacked and transferred to S-28, a textile factory, for one year. In 1978, her husband was called for reeducation. Before leaving her, he told her that if he could not return, he wanted her to flee to Laos. At this point, Ms. Rom reiterated that her husband seemed to realize that he would be killed because his deputy, Sim, was also executed.

Similarly, other participants continued after her and touched upon many general issues ranging from food scarcity to the escape plan. Regarding the rice production, a lady said the rice harvest was productive, but she had no idea that the products were transported out. Ms. Tep Pheak, 47 years old of Kampong Sralao I commune, also men-



The road to Chhep district, Preah Vihear province close to Stung Treng province.

tioned the insufficient food, the construction of canals and dams, and the family separation. She was then asked to recount about forced marriage. She said there were so many couples at each wedding. The forced marriage is being investigated and prosecuted at the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC).

Mr. Thaong took the floor and told the students that he fled to Laos, then he was forced to move back and settle in the forest. Asked why he returned during the KR regime (1975-1979), Mr. Thaong said he believed in the revolution, but it turned out to be miserable when he returned.

After the short introduction, the students seemed to be reluctant and shy about asking questions. Mr. Chim Sochenda, 27 years old and a teacher from Kampong SralaoI secondary school, proposed that each student should raise one question. He posed a question to Mr. Chan At, 70 years old of Kampong Sralao I village, about whether Mr. At witnessed any killings during the regime. Mr. At responded that indeed he did. There was a man who was accused of being an enemy because he traded with Laotians. He was killed instantly and buried in an already dug pit. Students followed their teacher by asking a variety of questions about education, basic needs, the status of refugees to Laos and the U.S, market and money.

The villagers also gave great attention to the KR's collapse in January 1979 and what they did to survive the armed fighting. Mr. Thaong An, 70 years old of Kampong Sralao I village, told the participants that when the Vietnamese army came and he decided to flee to Laos but then moved to Dangrek mountain where the KR recruited forces to fight back against Vietnam. However, he admitted that the actual fighting was between Khmer and Khmer. They were also allowed to enter Thailand to kill because Thais had killed many people as well. He said that Khmer people were loaded into many Thai trucks and dumped, thus leaving most of them dead.

As for Ms. Rom, she said her anger was gone after the Vietnamese army came and chased the KR out of Phnom Penh. Ms. Rom said most KR soldiers from the Northeast Zone came through Chhep district to mobilize people to head for the mountains, but she refused to go along because her husband had been executed.

Two participants were consistent in arguing that the KR chose Mum Bei because it is strategically favorable for the military. Mr. Mut Say, 58 years old and the village chief of Kampong Sralao I village, Preah Vihear province, told the attendees that all the KR forces withdrew and deployed along the Cambodia-Lao-Thai border. The KR chose this place because it used the Thai and Laotian territory as a backbone to resist the Vietnamese army's attack because it was militarily strategic. He said if

compared with Anlong Veng, which was 15 kilometers away from the Thai-Cambodian border, Mum Bei was more favorable. After the KR began to re-assign the forces and spread them along the Thai/Laos border. Mum Bei is located in this district and thus became a rallying point for all of the KR forces that withdrew from Phnom Penh. They went through Chhep district, Preah Vihear province, and ultimately reached their final destination in Mum Bei. In 1985, Mum Bei was under heavy attack and destroyed in the mid 1980s.

Similarly, Mr. Thlang Prasat, 65, Kampong SralaoI commune councilor, said after their withdrawal, the KR moved to Mum Bei and set out new military strategies to push Vietnam out of Cambodia. The force received assistance through Thailand. There were KR refugee camps there where it was in close proximity to the White Laotian Movement, an anticommunist Laotian force.

While the KR considered Mum Bei as their safe haven, many commentators pointed out that it was easily conquered. In the mid-1980s, the Vietnamese army, with the collaboration of the Cambodian army of the People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK), launched a full-scale attack and took over the entire area. The KR forces were either pushed into Thailand or rushed back inside Cambodian territory.

## Conclusion

The nearly two hour discussion on the KR history and the judicial process was both informative and inspiring. Villagers and local leaders leading the three different groups showed their strong interest in the story-telling process and welcomed any questions from the students.

Meanwhile, the history of Mum Bei was also raised for discussion to make sure that the attendees learned and remembered its history. It was the place where the KR's retreated forces mobilized and occupied in late 1979 to launch a resistance attack on the Vietnamese presence in Cambodia.

Regarding the KR tribunal, there were almost consistent appeals for a quicker justice that villagers have waited for. Students would like to see the trials hastened, given the death of their family members. While this forum was generally viewed as a good space for the people, they suggested more forums be held in their community. However, the materials—"A History of Democratic Kampuchea (1975-1979) textbook, Searching for the Truth magazine, booklet on Case 002 and Trial Observation bulletin—should serve as good consulting documents to understand more in the absence of a PVF.

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*Sok-Kheang Ly is a Team Leader of Witnessing Justice*

# BAMBOO PROMISE: PRISON WITHOUT WALLS

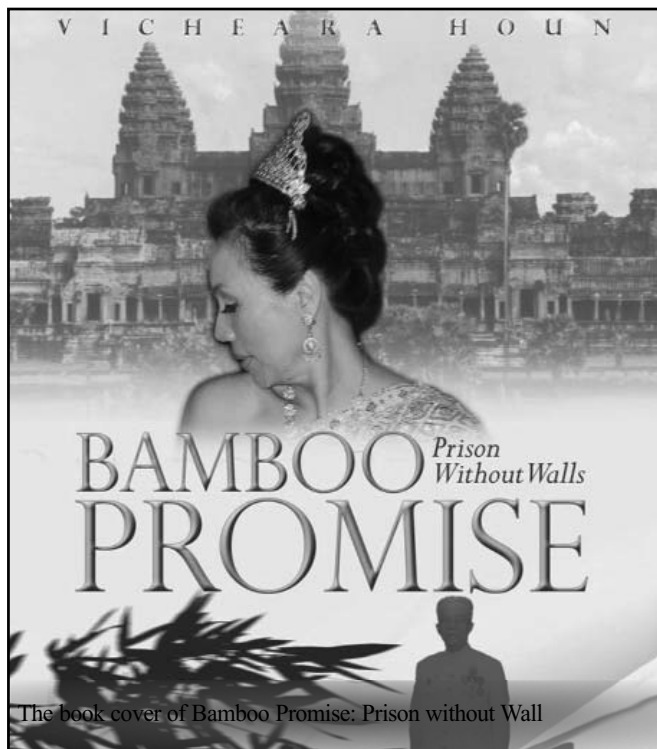
The mass killings in Cambodia still hold a world record for state terror. No government has murdered a greater proportion of its citizens: one in five Cambodians—more than 1.5 million people—died at the hands of the Khmer Rouge (KR). Such numbers are hard to grasp and the impact on people, society, the economy, and culture are beyond our comprehension. *Bamboo Promise* by Vicheara Houn is a stark reminder of what these numbers mean for the day-to-day life of an average Cambodian person. Written years after the events occurred, her account is nonetheless fresh and colored with numerous intimate events and encounters. Her story stands out, as a chronicle of courage and survival, and is unquestionably riveting. In the end, as we know, our narrator—Vicheara Houn—survives to tell the tale of mass murder. Her survival and her new life in the United States prompted her to retrace her experiences of depravation and death, partly to pay respect to all those who silently perished. *Bamboo Promise* adds to the growing number of accounts published in English by those who lived through the years of terror when the KR targeted, tortured and killed many of the

educated elite. *Bamboo Promise* makes sure that we won't forget what transpired in Cambodia in the 1970s.

The first section of *Bamboo Promise* describes Houn's childhood in post-independence Cambodia and the second part of the book delves into the years of starvation and hard labor. The final section recounts Houn's return to normalcy and her final decision to escape to Thailand.

The genocide in Cambodia continues to hold a mysterious grasp on our imagination. For one, the KR rebels came to power in plain sight while Westerners were still in town. Moreover, some Europeans and Americans had had interactions with the KR earlier and studied their propaganda material, which foreshadowed the horrors to come. Published pamphlets laid out in meticulous detail the evacuation of urban areas and the establishment of state controlled collectivism based on a reduced population. A KR official told a *Newsweek* reporter right after the fall of Phnom Penh that the people of the capital will grow rice, and moreover, that they will work or starve (Maguire, 2005, p. 50).

The KR followed through with its promises when they managed to take over Phnom Penh in April 1975. They coerced educated professionals to plow fields, they forced the small Muslim minority to eat pork, they housed pigs in the National Library, and they abolished all private property, including money. In the beginning, Cambodian refugees who were able to escape to Thailand gave exact descriptions of the chaos and mayhem at home, but their accounts were dismissed as outlandish and not credible. Stories about slave labor and random killings of parents and children were dismissed by supporters of the KR in the West. A year later, however, the U.S. State Department confirmed that the KR had created a network of rice plantations where young and old slaved away from dawn to dusk without any modern tools and overseen by sinister soldiers. The State Department also noted that the regime systematically executed Cambodian government officials and professionals as well as their relatives. But many Western intellectuals dismissed such horror stories and therefore indirectly lent support to the KR regime (Etcheson, 2005).



The book cover of *Bamboo Promise: Prison without Wall*

The Vietnamese army invaded Democratic Kampuchea and swept the KR from power in January 1979. Unfortunately, the liberation-occupation by Vietnamese forces deprived the Cambodian people of coming to terms with the years of terror and of bringing those responsible for the crimes to justice. The Vietnamese government had its own agenda, which was to control and govern Cambodia. While they created the macabre Tuol Sleng museum (a former prison where thousands were tortured and killed) there were no war crime tribunals and no efforts to seek redress for the victims and survivors of the genocide. It took until the early 2000s before a genocide tribunal was established to try the remaining KR leaders (Van Schaack, 2011).

Vicheara Houn's book serves an important role in reminding the international community that punishment, even if delayed by decades, should not be spared. Of course, many survivors of the genocide have died in the intervening decades. However, *Bamboo Promise* helps lift the mystery of the genocide and its complex impact on survivors.

*Bamboo Promise* starts in the 1950s when at first glance life seemed comfortable and promising. The birth of Vicheara Houn coincided with rapid social and economic changes that took place under the government of Prince Sihanouk (1954–1970). Higher education was expanded, millions of school-age children attended elementary school and gained basic literacy while new production methods dramatically increased rice yields and filled up the reserves of the Cambodian central bank.

Houn was raised in a multi-generational home in the center of Phnom Penh. Her father worked for a pharmaceutical company and became a successful and wealthy businessman. His commercial success led to a political career and he sat in Congress for many years starting in the early 1960s. Nevertheless, Vicheara's childhood was marred by two events. First, when she was only eight, her mother died unexpectedly after a botched surgery to remove a tumor. Her father soon took a new wife who did not have any children of her own. The stepmother's jealous rage against her step-daughter rivals the cruelty portrayed in the fairy tales from around the world. Vicheara thankfully lived close to her extended family and relied on the warmth of her maternal grandparents and other relatives to compensate for a turbulent home life. Her second challenge as a young child stemmed from her father's own difficult relations with his family. Her father lost his mother young and the grandfather remarried a woman with a handful of children. Her father's relatives were often hostile and envious of her status as a single child of a prosperous businessman.

Houn attended college where she met her first

serious boyfriend. The timing of her college years coincided with the widening efforts by the American military to prevent North Vietnamese communists from sheltering in the Cambodian countryside. The secret bombings started in 1966, but intensified in the years 1969–1973. The random bombings of scores of villages and rice fields destabilized Cambodia and created mounting economic, social, and political tension.

Civilian casualties in Cambodia drove the rural population into the arms of a Khmer Rouge insurgency that had enjoyed relatively little support until the bombing began, setting in motion the expansion of the Vietnam War deeper into Cambodia, a coup d'état in 1970 displacing prince Sihanouk with Lon Nol, the rapid rise of the Khmer Rouge, and ultimately the Cambodian genocide (Nhem, 2013).

In the early 1970s, Houn and her boyfriend were ready to tie the knot. But her family tried to hold out for a better match, possibly with the scion of a wealthy and connected family. While Houn waited for her father to accept her current boyfriend/fiancée, she decided to try to complete her education in France. Her father was extremely reluctant to approve her study in France, thus Houn continued to attend pharmacy college in Phnom Penh. That decision had fateful consequences. Even in 1974 when many ominous signs gathered around Phnom Penh, and after many other wealthy families sent their children overseas for safety, he was ambivalent about letting her go to France. Her wedding took place years after the official engagement when her father finally relented, though the festivities were tarnished by the approaching KR rebel forces and ensuing chaos in the capital.

Newly-wed, Houn, her young husband, and her father, his wife and her in-laws were part of the forced evacuation of Phnom Penh. The KR ended urban life and closed hospitals, schools, and libraries. Factories were shut down. Monasteries were vacated. An entire population was moved to the countryside with the most rudiment tools and shelter. The country became one large prison camp. The objective was to control an entire nation by prohibiting any form of individuality or creative independent thinking. In this atmosphere, anybody who came from the educated professional class was immediately suspect. Houn's family therefore faced a double jeopardy since they were urban residents unprepared for life in the fields, and also were members of the targeted educated elite.

Houn and her father were forced to move from one isolated village to another and ended up living in a tiny hut next to the in-laws. She was separated from her husband who she spotted later being dragged away by KR soldiers. She never saw him again.

Young children and the elderly were the first to die. Houn's father died after two years of poor and insufficient nutrition and a lack of medical treatment. After the painful death of her father, Houn moved in with her in-laws who resented having to share food with another person, while they also carried grievances against her father for delaying the wedding plans for years. As the food situation continued to deteriorate, Houn increasingly felt unwelcome and unwanted and decided to strike out by herself. She is in a "hospital" late 1978 when the Vietnamese army chased the KR to border areas and installed a new government in Phnom Penh.

The third part of the book traces her slow return to the capital. In 1979, alone she reconnects with a few old friends and relatives. She visits the family home, which has been ransacked and emptied of everything of value. Thanks to her language skills, she becomes an interpreter for the Vietnamese and the French foreign community. She is also able to complete her pharmacy degree. Nevertheless, sadness pervades her life since at

every point she is reminded of her losses and the disappearance of her loved ones. After a couple of years of drifting and trying to find a niche for herself, she makes the bold and risky decision to escape to Thailand. In early 1983, Houn finds herself in a refugee camp across the border in Thailand. She is free, at least, free to dream of a better future.

Bamboo Promise ends with Houn's escape to Thailand. We know that she arrived in the U.S. in 1985. We will need to wait for volume two to hear how she managed to leave the refugee camp and settle in the United States. In the meantime, we are fortunate that Ms. Houn decided to publish her autobiography. She is an inspiring writer and presents an entrancing and poignant account of her years of suffering as a victim of the Cambodian genocide. Her book is a chronicle of courage and determination in the face of unimaginable deprivation and terror.

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*Paulette Kurzer is an Author of Bamboo Promise: Prison without Wall*

## Searching for Lost Family Members

My name is Nhan Sy and I am currently working at the Ministry of Land Management, Urban Planning and Construction. I would like to search for a missing person, a Mr. Ier Ieng who was born in 1933 in Trapaing Kraloeng village, Taing Sya commune, Kampong Speu province. Before 1975, Mr. Ier was a sailor in a vessel company in Singapore. He then returned to Cambodia and lived in Sangkat III, Phnom Penh. He disappeared in 1975 and was last seen in Kampong Tralach district, Kampot Province. There have been rumors that Mr. Ier was spotted in Kampong Tralach sometime in 1975. After 1979, Mr. Ier's wife and children immigrated to Germany. If anyone knows him or has met him, please contact me directly at #476G, Monivong BLVD, Sangkat Tonle Bassak, Khan Chamka Morn, Phnom Penh or call 012 958 546; E-mail: nhansy04@yahoo.com or contact the Documentation Center of Cambodia, address: #66, Preah Sihanouk BLVD, Phnom Penh.

## Searching for Husband

During the Sangkum Reastr Niyum period, I, Vang Phon, aka Nget, lived in Boeung Tumpun village, Phnom Penh. Nowadays, I live in Tuol Kraing village, Kraing Yov, Sa Ang district, Kandal province. I was separated from my husband, Ith Phanna aka Yort ever since the Khmer Rouge evacuated us from Phnom Penh on April 17, 1975 at 9 a.m. At the time, I carried my 4 year-old-daughter, Ith Chanry aka A Srey, along the roads and I was also pregnant with a second child. Later, I heard from some villagers who had told me that my husband came to find us after the Khmer Rouge regime collapsed, but the neighbors informed him that I had passed away. I did not know exactly when my husband came to find me. We (my children, Bang Phal, Phan, and I) are now living in Tuol Kraing village. If you or someone happens to get this information and know of my husband, please contact me at above-mentioned address or by phone: 012 992 171. You can also contact the Documentation Center of Cambodia at #66, Preah Sihanouk Blvd., Phnom Penh.



# MAIN ROOTS OF KHMER ROUGE

## TAKING OVER

The armed struggle movement of the Khmer Communists (so-called the Khmer Rouge Movement) was small against the Sangkum Reastr Niyum government led by Head of State, Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk. Yet, after Sihanouk fell, he joined the Khmer Rouge, which further strengthened this movement and was supported by China, Vietnam as well as their people, and Cambodians. Khmer Rouge soldiers spent almost five years evicting the ruling Khmer Republic of Lon Nol, supported by the U.S. This article illustrates how the Khmer Rouge took power by not wasting time.

### **a.Event on March 18th, 1970**

Cambodia faced a major political reversal on March 18, 1970, which swapped the monarchy for a republic. Cambodia at that time was in a state of emergency because of the fall of Norodom Sihanouk as the Head of State. This coup d'état was directed by former Prime Minister Lon Nol and Prince Siri Matak while Sihanouk was absent. As soon as Sihanouk got the news, he flew from the Soviet Union to Beijing, China on March 19, 1970. With the great help of China, Norodom Sihanouk, cooperating with the Khmer Rouge forces, launched the "National United Front of Kampuchea" to resist the Khmer Republic. He asked his supporters to rebel and attack Lon Nol.

People who respected him heard his calling on them for help and joined his movement with the aim of inviting him to be the Head of State again. The number of his soldiers kept increasing even though some volunteers did

not really know the Khmer Rouge movement. The fall of Sihanouk greatly enlarged the Khmer Rouge movement.

### **b.Khmer Rouge's Aid**

China provided the Khmer Rouge with 400 tons of military stuff (guns) and 50 trucks, etc. The North Vietnamese also provided military support, forces and consultants. In the meantime, the North Vietnamese soldiers, joining forces with the Khmer Rouge soldiers, commanded approximately five brigades to attack the disordered Lon Nol's soldiers, which resulted in a thousand dead. With the aid of the economic flow and military stuff from China and Vietnamese military forces, the KR movement pushed even harder to invade Lon Nol's soldiers' territory. It was not until a year later that the National United Front of Kampuchea got back most of the region.

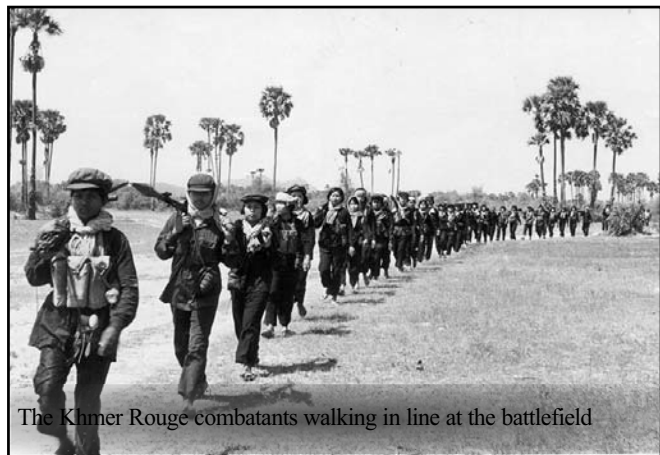
### **c.U.S. bombers dropping bombs**

To build up the Khmer Republic against the Kampuchea Communists, and prevent them from invading Phnom Penh, and to destroy the North Vietnamese soldiers standing by in Cambodia, the U.S. adopted a bombing attack strategy. Only a year after the coup d'état, there were 3600 secretive attacks including 100,000 tons of bomb, but there was no concrete evidence showing the number of civilians dead. The number of bombs, about 250,000 tons, dropped into a country having no conflict with the U.S. and not even a U.S. soldier fighting on the ground, seemed extraordinary.

This event caused thousands of ordinary people to die, while all survivors escaped to the Marky forest to join the Khmer Rouge movement. The purpose of their participation was to take revenge on Lon Nol's soldiers for killing their parents and relatives. In fact, dropping bombs did not weaken the Khmer Rouge movement but encouraged more and more participants, normal citizens who were victims, into this movement.

### **d.Khmer Republic Internal Conflict**

It was on October 9, 1970, shortly after the coup d'état, that Lon Nol and Prince Siri Matak proclaimed Cambodia to be a republic, the so-called Khmer Republic. Two groups supported the removal of Sihanouk: the conservative group and the republic group of Colonel Lon



The Khmer Rouge combatants walking in line at the battlefield

Nol and his brother.

Shortly Cambodia became the Khmer Republic supported by the U.S., Lon Nol and his followers painted images of corruption through power and nepotism. This led to the first crack in their relationship and the loss of people's confidence. The youth supporting the Khmer Republic in early 1971 were also divided into two groups. In fact, they often had serious arguments, including physical fighting, which made the everyday situation in Phnom Penh unstable and disordered.

Another important issue was that corruption in the military line of command was used to offer bribes for advancement. What's more, having realized that the U.S. was totally supporting the military sector, most of the General expected to become millionaires in a rush.

The number of ghost soldiers, serving in name only, kept expanding from 35,000 to over 100,000 in only a year.

The sale of military and medical equipment to the enemy was explained by Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk to journalists in Beijing, "We are fortunate to get weapons support from the enemy," he said.

The corruption within the government made civil servants and youths lose their belief in the Khmer Republic led by Lon Nol. Likewise, corruption within the military line of command encouraged them not to respect their leaders anymore and took away their incentive to fight back against the Khmer Rouge.

#### **e. Government of the United State Stops Giving**

#### **Aid to the Khmer Republic**

In 1973 and 1974, the United State ceased to support the Khmer Republic in accordance with the Paris Peace agreement between the U.S. and Vietnam, and urged Lon Nol to negotiate with the leader of the National United Front of Kampuchea, Norodom Sihanouk, who rejected the offer. Despite the fact that the U.S. was about to reduce and stop support for the Khmer Republic, the U.S. continued to drop bombs on Communist soldiers in Cambodia from January to August in 1973. This impeded the Khmer Rouge movement from taking control of Phnom Penh. Still, people living in Phnom Penh could survive only for a short time with the remaining military and economic support as the Khmer Rouge soldiers had completely cut off all means of outside support along national road six.

In 1974, the amount of budget given to the Khmer Republic was \$ 377 million including all expenditures. Thus, food supply or economic support given to Cambodia had to be divided with military support and vice versa. In 1975, all support from the U.S. came to an end.

In conclusion, the Khmer Rouge movement was small and secret at first, and nobody even knew much about it or liked it. However, it grew dramatically after the fall of Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk, whom the people were proud of and respected the way he led the country.

*Lyco Ty is a PhD candidate of Political Science at Renmin University, China.*



The Khmer Rouge soldiers at the battlefield

# MEMORIES OF FORCED TRANSFER

On December 20, 1976, Pol Pot declared that there was a “sickness inside the Party,” traceable to “microbes” and posing a threat to the Khmer Rouge revolution’s purity. “No Ministry of Health will discover them,” he warned, insisting that it would therefore be necessary for the revolution to “expel” them.<sup>1</sup> The Khmer Rouge, in fact, regularly euphemized genocidal acts by invoking disease metaphors, often directed at supposedly corrupted minds. In the words of one Khmer Rouge slogan: “You must destroy the visible enemy, and the hidden one, too—the enemy in the mind!” Thus, as they sought to purge traces of prerevolutionary Cambodia, the Khmer Rouge diagnosed “memory sickness” as a grave affliction.

When Khmer Rouge revolutionaries seized Phnom Penh on April 17, 1975—claiming victory after five years of civil war with the US-backed Khmer Republic—they almost immediately began to forcibly transfer city dwellers and refugees to labor camps in the countryside. “Brothers and sisters,” they declared, “you are requested to leave Phnom Penh for three days, because Angkar must clean out enemies hiding in the houses and clear the city. And the Americans have not forgotten their defeat. Leave to avoid the American B52 bombers.” The revolutionaries insisted that because people would soon return, they should not bring many belongings. Yet even these items were subject to confiscation. Both during and after the “evacuation,” the Khmer Rouge ordered people to discard evidence of Cambodia’s past. “Anyone with photos or heirlooms could be accused of memory sickness,” survivor Teeda Butt Mam explains. “Possession of family letters, such as the last note from my father, showed an unhealthy concern for the past.”

In the systematic and coercive displacement of some two million people from Phnom Penh, marking the onset of what the Maoist-inspired regime hailed as a Super Great Leap Forward, people had to journey long distances by train, foot, oxcart, truck, tractor and boat, regardless

of their age or physical condition. Even hospitals were emptied of their patients. There is evidence that the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea directly participated in decisions to forcibly relocate people en masse, and the “evacuation” of Phnom Penh, as well as the succeeding phases of forced transfer to specific zones, has been the primary focus of ECCC Case 002/01. Khmer Rouge forces implementing forced transfers provided very little or no assistance to the displaced, who were subjected to extremely inhumane conditions, including family separation, disappearances, illness, starvation, beatings, sexual violence and death. Targeting and persecution of specific groups was also common during the forced transfers. The Khmer Rouge divided the population into two classes: the New People and the Base People. The New People, or “April 17 People,” were former city dwellers and refugees, whereas the Base People were those who remained in the countryside during the civil war. Officials from the Khmer Republic government, indigenous highlanders, Cham Muslims, ethnic Vietnamese and Chinese, as well as Buddhist monks and nuns, were among those specifically singled out for separation and harsh treatment. Survivors of the regime have suffered long-term psychological and physical trauma that continues to this day.

Following ECCC Internal Rule 23, civil parties are entitled to claim only “collective and moral reparations.” In Case 002/01, civil parties have sought the recognition of thirteen reparations’ projects that acknowledge the victims of the Khmer Rouge regime, and comprise a significant part of the ECCC’s legacy. Survivors’ participation in the processes of justice is important to not only honor victims, but to promote community restoration and dialogue. The five permanent exhibitions on forced transfer, featuring testimonies from victims and perpetrators, as well as histories of villages, burial sites and prison centers, will contribute to the memorialization of the genocide, as well as the education of current and future generations about what happened under the Khmer Rouge regime. In so doing, they will powerfully shine a light on Khmer Rouge atrocities through the kinds of memorial acts that, under the Khmer Rouge, were violently condemned as evidence of “sickness.”

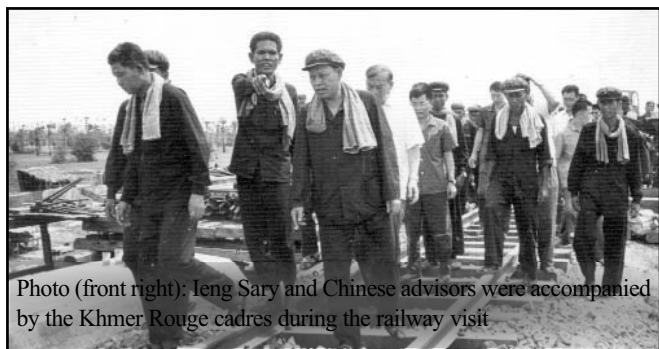


Photo (front right): Ieng Sary and Chinese advisors were accompanied by the Khmer Rouge cadres during the railway visit

*Samphors Huy, Hudson McFann and Kosal Path are a co-writer of Memories of Forced Transfer*

# HEARING DEBATES DELAY, SCOPE, OF CASE 002/02

On Tuesday February 11, 2014, the Extra ordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia held an adversarial hearing in advance of upcoming evidentiary hearings in Case 002/02. All parties were present with the exception of Nuon Chea, who chose not to participate in the hearing.

President Nil Nonn opened the proceedings by welcoming the parties and observers and outlining the agenda for the day, which would start with responses to the Khieu Samphan defense team's submissions on the commencement of the trial 002/02 and then proceed with oral arguments on the scope of that trial.

President Nonn briefly addressed a letter submitted by the Nuon Chea defense team requesting that the trial chamber grant a right of audience to a new legal consultant, a procedural matter handled quickly with recognition of the consultant by the court.

President Nonn next turned to the first item on the agenda, concerning commencement of the trial in Case 002/02. The Khieu Samphan defense has argued that Case 002/01 should be completed entirely, including judgment, sentencing, and appeal phases, before Case 002/02 begins. Written submissions on this issue were filed by the Khieu Samphan defense on February 5, 2014. The Khieu Samphan defense argues that under the principles of *res judicata* and legal certainty, Case 002/01 must be settled before any further proceedings are held. Oral arguments by all parties concerning this point proceeded before the Trial Chamber in the following order: Co-Prosecutors, Civil Parties, Nuon Chea defense team, Khieu Samphan defense team reply to the other parties.

Deputy Co-Prosecutor Sen Bunkheang began his statement by greeting the court before outlining the prosecution's position on the Khieu Samphan filings. While the Khieu Samphan defense has argued that the two phases of Case 002 are different legal proceedings, Mr. Bunkheang stated that this is a mistaken position. Similarly, the Khieu Samphan defense is incorrect in its claim that facts introduced in the evidentiary hearings of Case 002/01 cannot be introduced in Case 002/02 until a final judgment in the first case is rendered, the prosecutor said. The court is not bound by this narrow view of the requirements of *res judicata* and has found such a restrictive

view incorrect in the past, Mr. Bunkheang said. Additionally, it has been repeatedly confirmed that the two phases of Case 002 are part of the same trial and are under the same closing order, he stated. Therefore, there is no need to be concerned with the issue of *res judicata* while a single trial is underway concerning the same parties, the prosecution concluded.

Prior evidence from 002/01 has been examined thoroughly and is available for the second phase, as was intended by the court in its prior rulings, the Co-Prosecutor stated. This is consistent with the practices of other international tribunals, he said, quoting from rulings in the Charles Taylor Case in the Special Courts for Sierra Leone to support his point. A delay is therefore not necessary and not in the interest of the court or the victims and is a waste of resources, Mr. Bunkheang concluded, before ceding the remainder of his time to Deputy Co-Prosecutor William Smith.

Mr. Smith began, after greeting the court and attendees, by stating that he sought to expand on the statements of his colleague and further rebut the arguments of the Khieu Samphan defense. He flatly asked the court to deny the request to stay the commencement of trial 002/02, stating that this would substantially delay the judicial process against both defendants for no legitimate reason. The second trial would not be any more fair or faster if this petition were granted, Mr. Smith argued; rather it would only serve to delay the case and reduce the chances of accountability. Mr. Smith pointed out that when relevant factors are taken into account, including the larger amount of evidence likely to be submitted in Case 002/02 and the length of time the appeals process took in Case 001, it is apparent that waiting to start the second phase would mean a wait until January 2016 at the earliest. The savings in time would therefore approach two years if the Khieu Samphan defense petition were denied, Mr. Smith estimated.

Secondly, Mr. Smith posited, the Khieu Samphan defense's argument that Case 002/02 will be sped up significantly if the principles of *res judicata* or judicial notice of adjudicated facts can be applied to the evidence from the first phase does not reflect the reality of the application of these principles. Referring again to the Charles Taylor

appeal decision mentioned by Mr. Bunkheang, Mr. Smith pointed out that applying these principles was not seen by that court as saving time and in fact may lead to longer proceedings.

Due to the fact that the court has already said that evidence from the first phase will be admitted into the second, the question of saving time is already settled, as this practice should save as much as a year, Mr. Smith stated. This practice is also fair, he argued, because the defense has already had the opportunity to challenge these documents and cross-examine the witnesses and because the right to challenge the evidence further in the second trial by calling additional witnesses has been preserved. Further, Mr. Smith argued that the defense complaint on the issue of *res judicata*, namely that the trial court must wait for the Supreme Court Chamber to reach a final decision on first phase factual findings before it can proceed with the second phase, is not supported in law. Examining both the formal definition of *res judicata* and the way the concept is applied in Cambodian courts, Mr. Smith argues that ECCC law and the Cambodian procedural code do not speak on the manner in which the principle would apply in this instance and that there are scarce examples in international law of a similar situation, where the same accused are tried in two related proceedings for different crimes. The related principle of taking judicial notice of prior adjudicated facts has been considered by international courts, as it applies regularly to cases where different defendants are tried in cases sharing facts. In these examples, stated Mr. Smith, the practice of other international and internationalized courts is to use judicial notice as a discretionary trial management strategy. In this case, the court has already advanced a strategy that will advance this goal, Mr. Smith pointed out, and it is not obliged to incorporate redundant mechanisms.

With regard to the defense complaint that it is disadvantaged by not knowing how the Supreme Court Chamber will find on outstanding issues before arguing Case 002/02, Mr. Smith pointed out that all parties are similarly disadvantaged. The defense will have a second opportunity to challenge any real issues in the appeal to Case 002/02. In fact, there is no significant difference on this issue from a case where all crimes were charged at once, he said.

The defense request for a stay of proceedings is not supported by concrete examples or authorities because there are none, Mr. Smith argued. In fact, he said, in domestic systems where criminal cases are routinely severed it is common for co-defendants and additional charges to be tried separately and simultaneously. Any other practice would result in unnecessary and unjustifiable delays. The issues that the Khieu Samphan defense bring

up are simply not supported and do not apply, stated the Deputy Co-Prosecutor. Mr. Smith went on to say that the Supreme Court Chamber order is specific and clear and that the submission of the Khieu Samphan defense lacks sufficient merit to justify ignoring the order. In conclusion, Mr. Smith said:

It's in everybody's interest, the accused who are in custody, the donors who continue to pay more for the court each month if completion is delayed, and most of all the civil parties and victims who've been waiting for thirty years for justice, for the trial in Case 002/02 to begin as soon as possible. The Khieu Samphan motion to delay the start until the appeal judgment in Case 002/01 has no support in law and effectively would frustrate the very purpose for which this court was created, to deal with the most serious criminal charges known.

President Nil Nonn then called on the Counsel for the Civil Parties to present their arguments on the issue. Mr. Pich Ang, National Civil Party Lead Co-Lawyer began his statement by relating that his statement would be brief as he would allow his colleagues to use most of the time. The Civil Parties, Mr. Ang stated, do not feel that the submission by the Khieu Samphan defense is substantive enough to warrant a delay. Additionally, a delay would not be more efficient or faster and would not serve to additionally safeguard the rights of the defendants, in his view. A delay would, however, have an adverse impact on the interests of the Civil Parties who have been waiting for justice for a long time. Mr. Pich Ang then turned the floor over to Mr. Ven Pov, Civil Party Co-Lawyer.

On behalf of the Civil Parties, Mr. Pov objected to the submission of the Kheiu Samphan defense, stating that their arguments have no legal basis and are not provided for in the ECCC's Internal Rules. Nowhere does it say in the Internal Rules that the separate phases must be tried subsequently, he argued.

These two phases are interrelated, they are part-and-parcel of Case 002, he said, and the defense team's evocation of the principle of *res judicata* is mistaken, as this principle does not apply here. Delay in the start of the evidentiary hearings will lead to a delay in rendering a verdict and this is against the interest of the civil parties who are interested in justice as soon as possible, argued Mr. Pov.

Mr. Pov went on to point out that the civil parties have been waiting as long as 35 years and that many of them, along with the defendants, are quite old now. It is necessary to commence 002/02 as soon as possible to allow justice to be seen by the civil parties. The accused are at an advanced age so starting the case as early as possible is very important.



As the international lawyer to the civil party had no additional statement to make, the Nuon Chea defense team saw their turn to debate the proposed delay.

Mr. Victor Koppe first pointed out that the court had stated previously that severance was a trial management tool only and was not intended to create two separate trials. Mr. Koppe disagrees with this view. Although both cases are under the same closing order, he acknowledged, they are two different trials – they have different bodies of evidence, different witnesses, are each limited in their scope, and have separate verdicts and sentencing, as well as appeals. Although this is the perspective of the Nuon Chea defense and they do appreciate that the Khieu Samphan defense wishes to delay the start of the second trial by advancing this argument, the Nuon Chea defense acts in the interest of its client in requesting that Case 02/002 begin as quickly as possible. Nuon Chea is anxious to tell his side of the story without constraints on the scope of the evidence. Therefore, the Nuon Chea defense asked that Case 002/02 begin as soon as is practical.

With Mr. Koppe finishing his statements, Mr. Son Arun took over speaking on behalf of his client. Stating first that he joins in the arguments of his co-counsel, Mr. Arun continued that, although they have consistently been against the decision to sever Case 002, and feel that doing so has slowed down the trial, they have to work within the existing format in the interest of their client. The health condition and age of the accused are an issue and in order for them to participate fully, the trials must continue forward as rapidly as possible. For these reasons, the Nuon Chea defense team does not agree with the perspective of the Khieu Samphan defense and is not in favor of any delay.

Immediately after Sun Arun stopped speaking, Mr. Arthur Vercken stood and greeted the court, ready to argue on behalf of Khieu Samphan in favor of a delay in the start of Case 002/02. He had barely commenced speaking when he met a delay himself as a technical issue cut off his speech. After five minutes and a second false start, the issue was resolved.

Mr. Vercken first stated that, since he had received no written responses to his request to delay the start of Case 002/02, he was hearing the perspectives and arguments of the other parties on the issue for the first time. This, he said, may provide an explanation if his response is found to be somewhat disjointed.

He first addressed the desire of the Nuon Chea team to begin the second phase of Case 002 as soon as possible. Mr. Vercken stated that, although he understands Nuon Chea's medical reasons for wanting to proceed, Khieu Samphan has no such issues and is currently in good health. These considerations of Nuon Chea's

defense team simply do not apply to Khieu Samphan, he reiterated, and this has been stated previously at the time of the severance order and at other points in the proceedings. Khieu Samphan's interest is primarily in preserving his rights and he wishes to be tried in accordance with the proper principles of law, however long this takes, stated Mr. Vercken.

Mr. Vercken then recalled that the prosecution started by arguing that the two trials in Case 002 were part of the same proceeding. In response to this perspective, he demanded to know just what kind of severance is being discussed? "Does the severance not result in separate trials?" he asked. Referring to the Supreme Court Chamber's decision of 25 Nov. 2013, Mr. Vercken read an excerpt that he claimed illustrates that the severance created a separate trial limiting the facts of the closing order which would be included and requiring a separate finding of guilt and separate sentence for each trial. These are duly conducted trials and must then be treated as separate trials under principles of the law, he argued. The importance of this issue has been forgotten by the Co-Prosecutors and the Civil Parties, Mr. Vercken claimed as he referred to prior statements and arguments of the Co-Prosecutors and Civil Parties in attempting to illustrate inconsistency on this point. He argued that previously the prosecution seemed to be in favor of completing the first phase before beginning the second.

Mr. Vercken went on to say that he expected that the prosecution would have made an attempt to explain these inconsistencies in their arguments today but they did not. This is hard for Mr. Vercken to understand but, he says, he does understand that the real issue faced in this trial is the prior assertion by the Trial Chamber that the first trial should serve as a foundation for any subsequent trial. The question Mr. Vercken wants answered is how the first trial can be used as a foundation when there is no finality. There is nothing settled, nothing that can be considered as *res judicata*, stated Mr. Vercken. This creates all kinds of risks, he argued, and biases. Mr. Vercken reiterated his point by saying that, regardless of time management and financial considerations, the prior rulings expressed that Case 002/01 should provide a foundation and must be seen through to finality if it is to provide this.

Returning to the prior positions of the prosecution and the civil parties, Mr. Vercken then argued that another serious conflict exists that supports a Case 002/02 delay. The defense teams still do not know what issues were decided in the first trial and therefore cannot provide an adequate defense, he said. The question as to whether the prosecution's joint criminal enterprise theory holds, or its argument that there was a systematic and wide-spread attack is accepted, has not been answered and puts the

defense at an egregious disadvantage, with no certainty to the scope of the second trial, in his view. This goes back to the issue of the first trial providing a foundation and the lack of definition there, argued Mr. Vercken. Proceeding with the second trial would therefore be a violation of basic principles of a fair trial. The prosecution's shifting positions and arguments on peripheral issues such as timely justice, financial issues, etc., are allowed to override the fundamental rights of the defendants, Mr. Vercken lamented. Lack of certainty in the scope of the second or third trial leads to going in circles and stumbling over the same errors, he said. Delaying Case 002/02 is not a perfect solution but it is the only sincere solution, Mr. Vercken exclaimed.

For a foundation to be established, the issues must be settled, Mr. Vercken stated. The solution provided by the co-prosecutors and recently accepted by the court, namely to allow evidence from Case 002/01, is an objectionable way to avoid the difficulties that expediting Case 002/02 produces, he argued. This is a convenient solution but avoids the necessary attention to the principle of *res judicata*. While this purports to move the trial ahead, it in fact is a step backward Mr. Vercken offered. He stated that the only reasonable solution, although not perfect, is to wait.

The defense is at a disadvantage, Mr. Vercken stated, if it is forced to proceed without knowing whether the court has accepted the prosecution's argument that, based merely on two instances of population movement and one execution site, joint criminal enterprise and a widespread and systematic attack both were present under the Khmer Rouge.

As Mr. Vercken wrapped up his advocacy, Judge Jean-Mark Lavergne had a question for the Khieu Samphan defense. He asked how the defense managed to reconcile the Supreme Court Chamber language it presented to bolster its arguments for delay against clear indications that the Supreme Court Chamber has encouraged the Trial Chamber to begin the next phase as soon as possible?

Mr. Vercken wasted no time in replying. He stated that looking at earlier sections of the Supreme Court Chamber decision that considered contextual issues, the Supreme Court Chamber seems to indicate that it believes there are issues that must be settled before certain charges that were not included in Case 002/01 can be considered. While the second trial must begin as soon as possible, it cannot start so soon as to violate the basic principles of the law, Mr. Vercken interprets the Supreme Court Chamber to mean.

President Nonn then called for a brief adjournment.

After the break, the court took up the issue of the scope of Case 002/02, referring to submissions of all parties on 31 Jan. 2014. President Nonn briefly summarized the submissions as follows.

The Prosecutors asked that the scope of Case 002/02 include:

- ♦ The S-21 Security Center;
- ♦ The treatment of the Vietnamese;
- ♦ The treatment of the Cham;
- ♦ The Tram Kok Cooperatives and Kraing Ta Chan Security Center;
- ♦ Treatment of Buddhists and forced marriage;
- ♦ The 1st January Dam Work Site;
- ♦ The Kampong Chhnang Airport Construction Site;

- ♦ Au Kanseng Security Center;
- ♦ The Phnom Kraol Security Center.

The Lead Co-Lawyers agreed with these inclusions but also asked to include:

- ♦ The Trapeang Thrna Dam Work Site;
- ♦ North Zone Security Center;
- ♦ The Koh Kyang Security Center;
- ♦ Forced Transfer Phase 3;
- ♦ Charges of forced marriage;
- ♦ Factual allegations about the treatment of Buddhists on a nationwide basis.

Nuon Chea's defense team stated that its client's interest is to have a full opportunity to produce exculpatory evidence in support of his defense. They propose inclusion of:

- ♦ The Trapeang Thrna Dam Work Site;
- ♦ Either the Wat Kirirum Security Center or Wat Tlork Security Center;
- ♦ Alleged policy of internal purges;
- ♦ Alleged third phase population movement.

The Khieu Samphan defense team requests that Case 002/02 cover all of the charges in the Closing Order that were not included in Case 002/01.

Oral arguments from each of the parties then followed. President Nonn indicated that arguments should focus on responses to other parties' written submissions rather than reiterating written submissions.

The defense team for Nuon Chea was first to respond. Victor Koppe stated that their team has no substantive position on the scope of Case 002/02 but wishes to ensure their client is able to defend himself against the charges he does face. This involves the ability to put forward exculpatory evidence in support of the Nuon Chea defense. A focus on "the body of the crocodile" rather than its "head and tail" will not allow for such a defense, Mr. Koppe explained. For Nuon Chea, a defense must tell a story that goes beyond formal crime sites and, Mr. Koppe explains,

illustrate the larger forces at play and who was responsible for them. Mr. Koppe relates that it is imperative that Nuon Chea be allowed time to establish two important facts: First, that there was a legitimate, serious, and ongoing security threat to the CPK during the entire period in question. Second, that the CPK was not a unified entity but an association of competing factions.

These facts are related, Mr. Koppe explained, but don't apply simply to any one-crime site. The Nuon Chea defense therefore wants to introduce a wide range of evidence that establishes these facts in a broader scope, an opportunity that has not previously been honored, they argue. Mr. Koppe states that if the permissible evidence is narrowed, the Nuon Chea defense must then insist that the crime sites most closely linked to this defense are included in the scope of Case 002/02. These are primarily crime sites in the Eastern and Northwest zones, as included in the submission of the team.

Concerning S-21, the Nuon Chea defense has serious doubts that the court can impartially judge issues concerning this crime site considering its prior judgments in Case 001 and upcoming decision in Case 002/01, stated Koppe. There are numerous findings in Case 001 that the Nuon Chea defense intends to argue are not true, Mr. Koppe related, before providing examples regarding facts about the number of detainees and executions at S-21, the illegality of all detentions at S-21, and similar issues of criminality the Nuon Chea defense will attempt to challenge. These are questions, Mr. Koppe stated, that deserve much more analysis that they were given in Case 001. The decision in that case is what causes concerns about the impartiality of the Trial Chamber on the issue of S-21 among other matters. When considering the adjudication of Case 002-01, the Nuon Chea defense is concerned that findings by the Trial Chamber in that case will eliminate the possibility of any defense for many proposed subjects in the scope of Case 002-01.

Mr. Kong Sam Onn, Co-Lawyer for Khieu Samphan was next to respond. He began by stating that, to date, there has not been an agreement among the parties as to scope, Kong Sam Onn stated that ongoing differences in opinion on this issue will cause delays, particularly because there has been no finality in the questions raised in Case 002/01. The complications that the severance has caused in this way disadvantages the defendants, Kong Sam Onn argued. The defense attorney then went on to lament the influence of funding shortage on the decisions of the court. Returning to substantive issues, the Khieu Samphan defense asked that all remaining charges and facts be included in Case 002/02, allowing for the complete introduction and exploration of issues and facts that are necessary for the Khieu Samphan defense.

Mr. Vercken returned to his feet to expound on the arguments of his colleague regarding the attempt of the prosecution to address the issue of representativeness. The inclination of the court to this approach is problematic, the Khieu Samphan defense argued. It is unnecessary and all remaining charges should be included in Case 002/02. Mr. Vercken then returned to the issue of his client's health in this regard, stating that he was well enough to endure a complete adjudication of all charges. Mr. Vercken concluded that trying the charges that remain in the indictment is preferable to further severance in the case and in the interest of a timely conclusion of the trials of the accused.

President Nonn then called for the lunch adjournment.

After lunch the Civil Party Co-Lawyers had their opportunity to discuss the scope of Case 002/02. Ms. Beini Ye began the response of the civil parties. First addressing the submission of the Khieu Samphan defense, she stated that the civil parties could not support the request to include all remaining charges in Case 002/02, the equivalent of disallowing any further severance of the case, as this would lessen the ability of the Trial Chamber to balance legitimate interests of the parties. The major interests of the civil parties, Mr. Ye related, are the adjudication of all crimes included in the Closing Order but also the timely rendering of judgments on charged crimes. In balance, severance would allow for all crimes to eventually be adjudicated while providing a relatively prompt decision on a representative selection of these charges.

Turning to the Nuon Chea Defense's submission, Ms. Ye addressed their request for broad admission of evidence beyond the Closing Order and their argument that S-21 is not representative of Case 002. The question on admission of evidence beyond the Closing Order is not relevant to the question of scope, Ms. Ye argued. Because ECCC's Internal Rules require a case-by-case examination of the relevance of evidence, she explained, any broad admission of evidence is not an option. On the representativeness of S-21, the civil parties point out that the Supreme Court Chamber had instructed that S-21 be included in the next phase.

The co-prosecutors then proceeded with their view on the issue of scope. Mr. Nicholas Koumjian first pointed out that all parties agree that these cases cannot go on forever and that it is important to have a plan for conclusion. Mr. Koumjian went on to argue that all remaining charges can be addressed in a timely fashion by reducing the number of crime sites that are dealt with in the upcoming trial. Referring to submissions by the prosecution that outline the witnesses it would call over

approximately 100 court days, Mr. Koumjian sought to explain how the ECCC could reach this goal in a fairly short trial. The clarification of the Trial Chamber that evidence from 002/01 would be included as a foundation for 002/02 is extremely helpful in moving toward this goal, he stated. Most of the evidence that takes the longest to introduce has already been brought before the court, Mr. Koumjian pointed out. Addressing the issue raised by the Nuon Chea defense, that the existence of some crimes has already been established and has created a biased Court, Mr. Koumjian said that findings based in fact are not bias. The defense has the responsibility to defend their clients on the issues that have not yet been decided and Mr. Koumjian stated his certainty that they will do so vigorously. Mr. Koumjian then pointed to a prior decision by the ECCC that international law does not disqualify judges from hearing subsequent cases involving some of the same facts, citing cases from other tribunals that support this assertion.

Turning to the issue of how to address all of the remaining charges by including a limited number of crime sites, Mr. Koumjian provided a number of examples of how the ECCC has adapted normal civil law procedure to accommodate the vast number of crimes alleged in its cases. The inclusion of civil parties is one example, Mr. Koumjian explained, and so is limitation of the scope of the case in a way that ensures justice is served.

Pointing out a number of potential legal challenges upcoming, Mr. Koumjian argued that the Trial Chamber should start evidentiary hearings as soon as possible in order not to lose momentum in this matter, and argued that momentum has proven to be incredibly important in other international tribunals. Summing up, Mr. Koumjian stated, “We think it’s important to start that ball rolling, as difficult as the job is. It is easier to move an object in motion than an object that’s static.” Finally, he posited that the prosecution believes that Case 002/02 can be finished in 1-1.5 years.

President Nnon closed the day by outlining the upcoming steps that must be completed before the evidentiary hearings in Case 002/02 can commence. He recalled that the Trial Chamber has disposed of the co-prosecutors’ request regarding the use of evidence from Case 002/01 in the next phase as of 7 February 2014. In considering that request, the Trial Chamber clarified that the upcoming phase is a continuation of the proceedings in Case 002/01 and the evidence from the first phase was subject to scrutiny from all parties during that phase, in keeping with Internal Rule 87. Therefore the case file will remain the same for both phases and the evidence already introduced will serve as a foundation for Case 002/02, “to re-call witnesses, the civil parties, and experts from

the first phase, the court will consider allowing this when the opportunity to examine these witnesses was curtailed by the limited scope of the first phase, he said.

The Trial Chamber, having now received written and oral submissions on the scope of Case 002/02, will issue a decision on scope as soon as possible, said President Nnon. The Chamber will also make a decision on Khieu Samphan’s request to delay the commencement of evidentiary hearings in the new phase until a final judgment in Case 002/01 has been reached. Also, said President Nnon, the Trial Chamber has received written submissions from the parties on the status of the health of the accused and will soon issue a decision as to whether further health assessments are needed.

After addressing these issues, the parties will be invited to submit their witness lists and evidentiary documents, said President Nnon. An initial hearing will then be scheduled, as indicated in the work plan of December 2013. With that, President Nnon brought the day’s proceedings to a close by thanking everyone present.

*Written by staff of Cambodian Tribunal Monitor*

## SIGNIFICANCE OF GENOCIDE EDUCATION

◆ *Your questions empower and give meaning to those who have suffered. Asking your parents and grand-parents about the Khmer Rouge will further the conciliation of the Cambodian nation.*

◆ *Teaching children about the Khmer Rouge regime means teaching students the difference between good and evil and how to forgive. Broken societies must know their past in order to rebuild for their future.*

◆ *Teaching children about the history of the Khmer Rouge regime, as well as stimulating discussion between children and their parents and grand-parents about what happened, are important to preventing genocide both in Cambodia and the world at-large.*

# ANALYSIS OF 2005 CAMBODIAN LAW ON ARCHIVES

I provide herewith a formal description of the work conducted in September 2005 to analyze the Cambodian Law on Archives. This law was evaluated by myself, John Ciorciari, and Heleyn Unac for the DC-Cam. I lay out our findings below. I also attach a memo on the law drafted by Scott Worden, who was that time working for the public defender's office, and therefore focuses primarily on the criminal penalties included in the law.

While none of us were worried that the law would imminently be used to force the DC-Cam to provide copies of its documents to the National Archives or to seize the DC-Cam's documents, we had several concerns with the law.

First, at least in the English version, there are several definitions that are unclear and therefore troubling.

The definition of public archives in Art. 2.2 refers to administrative archives that include current archives, inter-archives, and permanent archives. This presumably refers to public administrations, such as ministries and

municipalities, but would benefit from greater clarity. The definition of current archives in Art. 8 is not crystal clear (and, as a side note, should be moved to Art. 2 with the other definitions) but does refer to documents still in use by various institutions, so DC-Cam's documents relating to the Khmer Rouge era are not covered by this definition. The definition of inter-archives in Art. 9 is also fairly vague (and should also be moved to Art. 2), but does refer to documents not in use anymore, but still kept at the location where they were previously used, so again these do not cover the bulk of the DC-Cam's documents.

The more concerning definition is that of permanent archives in Art. 10. Again, this definition is unclear but refers to documents that are, after an assessment, "considered to be historical documents for public interest" and must then be kept at the National Archive of Cambodia. From the context, it appears that the documents to be assessed are the inter-archives maintained and kept by the various administrations. It does not appear that the DC-Cam's documents fit into this category, but there is



The tools used to torture the victims at Kraing Tachan Prison, located in Tram Kak district, Takeo province.

still a risk that Article 10 could be interpreted broadly to include the DC-Cam's documents within the category of "documents to be assessed." The law fails to describe how the assessment of historical documents will proceed. It would be preferable if the law were more clearly and narrowly worded.

Articles 13 and 14 regulate public access to archives, and include rather stringent time requirements (40 years after their creation) for public access to documents that affect national defense, national security and public order.

Articles 16 and 17 cover private archives "of historical value or national heritage." Art. 2.4 describes private archives quite broadly, including documents (including administrative documents) created by private individuals or legal persons that were received (or even collected) by private individuals or legal persons. Again, this definition is troubling in its vagueness and fails to lay out a process for determining whether documents are "of historical value or national heritage." It is likely that the DC-Cam's documents fit within this category. Article 16 states that such documents may be given or sold by private individuals or legal persons to the National Archive of Cambodia. Of greater concern, Article 17 provides that, if not given or sold, copies of documents "of historical value or national heritage" must be provided to the National Archives.

Article 18 provides that an "Archive Council" will

set the standards for determinations of "historical value"; this Council was to be created by a sub-decree. We advised that the DC-Cam should keep an eye on this "Archive Council", as it is possible that this vague law could be interpreted to require the DC-Cam to provide copies of all of its documents.

Articles 19 through 22 provide for sanctions; they seem to be focused on embezzlement and sending documents abroad, so they should not apply to the DC-Cam, though again the language is disturbingly broad.

In sum, even though this vaguely worded law could possibly be interpreted to require DC-Cam to hand over its documents to the National Archive, we did not think that such an action would be politically viable. We did think it was possible that the law could be used to subject DC-Cam to public disclosure requirements and to furnish copies of DK documents to the public on FOIA-like terms.

I also contacted Helen Darbyshire who is a Freedom of Information Act expert at the Open Society Institute. She found that the law was an archive law rather than a FOIA law and referred us to the National Security Archives. Given our analysis of the law, I did not follow up on this lead.

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*Jaya Ramji-Nogales is a Professor of Law at Temple University Beasley School of Law*

## Searching for Elder Brother

My name is Lim Kieng, now 43, born in Phnom Penh. I am currently living in Ampeou Dieb village, Chrouy Neang Nguon commune, Srey Snom district, Siem Reap province. My father is Lim Chea Thai (deceased), and my mother is Muy Chou (deceased). Including me, I have six siblings: Mr. Lim Sreng (disappeared), Mr. Lim Khim (disappeared), Ms. Lim Kieng (Me), Mr. Lim Pheng (died of disease in Khmer Rouge regime), Mr. Lim Uy (died of disease in Khmer Rouge regime), and Mr. Lim Sak (died of disease in Khmer Rouge regime).

I am searching for my two brothers—Lim Sreng and Lim Khim—who disappeared. The three of us (Lim Sreng, Lim Khim and I) were traveling home in 1979 but lost our way and were separated. We departed from Sraeng Bridge to return to our home. When we arrived in Kralanh district, my two brothers—Lim Sreng and Lim Khim—searched for an ox-cart for me to ride because I was crippled from birth. I was on the ox-cart when my two brothers went to search for food. They did not return after a long wait. Since then I never saw my brothers again. Later on, I met a middle-aged woman who pitied me and adopted me where I currently reside in Ampeou Dieb village, Chrouy Neang Nguon commune, Srey Snom district, Siem Reap. I won't be able to recognize my brothers because we were separated since I was nine, but if you happen to have met or know either Lim Sreng or Lim Khim, please contact me at 097 413 4145 or contact the Documentation Center of Cambodia at #66, Preah Sihanouk Blvd., Phnom Penh. Tel: 023 211 875.



# I WANT JUSTICE AT THE KHMER ROUGE TRIBUNAL

## History of Mok Sin Heang



Mok Sin Heang was interviewed by the local CTN TV

I was born and raised in Tuol Kauk, west of downtown Phnom Penh in 1952. My father Mok Lean was one of the first psychiatrists in Cambodia before the civil war. He helped every patient, regardless of social status. People who lived in Kampong Cham town, Ta Khmao and Tuol Kauk at the time knew and loved him. He took care of patients and cured them at no cost.

I was the eldest of three children. My sisters were called Mok Sin Hong (known as Srey Cham) and Mok Sin Ou (Known as Srey Laos and at home I am known as Srey Chen). When my father left town for work, my mother fell ill and died of heart disease. I was five years old. Being the eldest, I became the main caretaker of my sisters. Some years later, my father re-married and had another three children—Mok Bandith, Mok Sin Heng and Mok Rithiya.

When the Khmer Rouge soldiers captured Phnom Penh on April 17, 1975, my father sent my sisters and me to stay temporarily in Calmette hospital with our aunt who was working as a doctor there. My aunt's husband and children were separated, but took refuge in the neighboring French embassy. My sisters and I continued to stay with our aunt in Calmette hospital for three more weeks during which the Khmer Rouge soldiers forbade anyone from moving in or out of the hospital. When we were there, we found out that my uncle and his children were forcibly transferred to Battambang town after which they fled to France, where they are living today.

Eventually my sisters, my aunt and I were forced to vacate the hospital. We had no idea where we were

meant to go and our aunt followed others who had also been forced to move out. We finally arrived in Koh Thom district, Kandal province and subsequently, to a village in Pursat province.

## Marrying to Survive

In Pursat province, my aunt persuaded Sin Hong (Srey Cham) to marry a Khmer Rouge soldier, who was originally from Kampuchea Krom in Southern Vietnam. I didn't want her to marry the soldier and Sin Hong didn't want to marry him either. However, Sin Hong changed her mind and married the soldier, believing that this connection to the Khmer Rouge would keep us all safe. I had become sickly and weak and such people were often targets for execution as they were of no use to the regime.

After Sin Hong got married, she and her family were sent to live in another village near the Tonle Sap Lake. Several months later, Sin Hong and her mother-in-law returned home to live with us. Sin Hong was pregnant and her husband was not with her. He was under arrest on suspicion of being a Vietnamese. I heard that the Khmer Rouge had already arrested his cousin. Sin Hong's husband was the next target. The next day rumors spread that Sin Hong's husband had been arrested because he was linked to the Vietnamese.

Two days later while Sin Hong was watering vegetables behind her house at dusk, three armed militias wearing red krama around their necks arrived at the door and told everyone in the house to pack quickly to be moved to the re-education center. These words shocked the whole family. Sin Hong quit her work and ran to her house to pack all their possessions. We all left for Sya village (village of promise), then transferred to Boeung Chhouk and finally we arrived in Kbal Chhoeu Puk village.

When we arrived at Kbal Chhoeu Puk village, the militias put Sin Hong and her mother-in-law in a detention center. I was freed and was allowed to return home. I begged the Khmer Rouge militias to let my sister return home with me but the militias refused, saying that "these two ladies [Sin Hong and her mother-in-law] needed to be here because they were 'Yuong' [Vietnamese]." Before leaving, Sin Hong gave me a valuable object that she brought from home before the Khmer Rouge took power.

Sin Hong told me to keep it in case I survived.

I could only send messages and some food to my sister through young boys who herded cows in Sya village. One day, I was sent to work in a village that was next to Sya where my sister was working. I couldn't recognize Sing Hong. She was severely underweight and unwell. Deeply distressed, I wept and hugged my sister. A few minutes later we were separated. It was the last time I saw her. On one occasion, I was working near my sister's unit, but we did not meet. Sin Hong wrote a letter to me

my sister. When night came, Sin Ou regained consciousness and began to talk to me, still delirious from hunger. Sin Ou seemed to know she was going to die because she talked about fond memories of home, the joys of being with the family and the food we used to eat before the war. I held onto my frail sister and we fell asleep together. At dawn, I tried to wake her. But she had passed away.

### **The Legacy and desire for justice**

I was the only one who survived the Khmer Rouge



Photo: first and second from the left: Mok Sin Heang's sister and her mother. This photo was taken before the Khmer Rouge regime.

on waste cement paper with a burned tree branch saying that she would deliver her baby soon and that she needed nutritious food to eat. The letter spiritually revived me. I began to grow vegetables and potatoes at my house to prepare for her arrival. However, she never came.

One day, I heard from another prisoner who was in detention with my sister that due to severe hunger, Sin Hong drank palm juice without permission from the Khmer Rouge cadres and they punished her by cutting her throat with the branch of a palm tree. The punishment was carried out in front of all the prisoners as a warning. Sin Hong died instantly.

My other sister, Sin Ou (Srey Laos), was forced to do hard labor to build a dam. Sin Ou often set aside food for her although she herself was very hungry. Starving and malnourished, Sin Ou had also begun showing signs of delirium or insanity. When she saw a plate she would pretend there was food on it and she would eat from the empty plate. She would tell me how good the food was. She would smile and feign happiness, though the plate was empty.

Because she could not withstand the harsh working conditions, one day Sin Ou fell to the ground in broad daylight and lost consciousness at the dam site. Seeing this, I carried Sin Ou home. But I couldn't help

period. Sin Hong was executed, Sin Ou died of starvation. My father, my two step brothers (Mok Bandith and Mok Rithiya), and one step-sister (Mok Sin Heng) all disappeared. To this day I am filled with regret and guilt when I think of Sin Hong's marriage to the Khmer Rouge cadre from Kampuchea Krom. I feel that Sin Hong exposed herself to danger in order to protect us. My sister was very healthy and energetic. She would not have died if she had not married that Khmer Rouge cadre. But she did it to save my life. I will never forget my other sister, Sin Ou, who died in my arms.

I can't forget the trauma of that period. I don't want to see any palm trees because they remind me of how the Khmer Rouge cadres used a branch of this tree to kill my sister. When I think of Sin Ou, I cannot believe that the daughter of one of the most famous psychiatrists in the country died untreated for the psychological trauma caused by starvation and hard labor.

I want justice at the Khmer Rouge Tribunal for my sisters and to heal the psychological wounds in my heart. I will hold the memory of my late sisters in my heart until the day I die.

*Sin-Heang Mok is a Survivor of Khmer Rouge Regime*

# My HEROINE

Ever since I was a little boy, whenever I did not want to eat rice, my mother would lecture me with the words, “Son, please take and finish the rice from the bowl, even a grain. You know, when I was living in the Khmer Rouge regime, I did not have rice to eat like you have right now. I had only thin rice soup in a small bowl two times a day”. But, I did not even know what the Khmer Rouge was, and I thought that she was just deluding me into eating rice.

In 1994, when I was 6 years old, I enrolled in a primary school near the Independence Monument in Phnom Penh, and I studied there until I finished high school. When I was in school, I started hearing about the Khmer Rouge regime and genocide in Cambodia again from my teachers. I was taught that the Khmer Rouge regime led by Pol Pot, called the Pol Pot regime by most Cambodians, was an organization that robbed the lives of almost 3 million Cambodians in only three years, eight months, and twenty days from 1975 to 1979. However, I had never asked my mother about her experience during the Khmer Rouge period; I did not even know what had happened to her and her family during that time. Occasionally, my mother tried to describe her experiences during the Khmer Rouge regime to me. Sometimes, she shed tears while recounting the times that the Khmer Rouge forced her to labor at work sites from morning until midnight in inhuman conditions. But, as a boy who liked playing rather than listening, I pretended to be a good listener to her stories, even though I never took the time and effort to ask her about them. When I looked at her eyes, I did not really know what was in her heart, but it seemed to me that she really wanted to tell her children what had happened to her. Though I did not pay much attention to listen to her bitter experiences during the

Khmer Rouge regime, her words have always resounded in my mind as I ask myself what I should be in the future. Since high school, I have set my goal and told myself that I want to become a politician because I think that this is the best way to help my country, which was torn apart by the decades of civil war and the Khmer Rouge regime.

After finishing high school, I decided to study both law and economic sciences at a university in Phnom Penh. Soon after graduating, I was fortunate to take part in legal training at the Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam) on international criminal law and Duch’s Case in the Khmer Rouge Tribunal. Two weeks after the training, I was selected to be a volunteer at DC-Cam, working as a trial observer at the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC), known as the Khmer Rouge Tribunal, in the Witnessing Justice Project. At the start, I was required by DC-Cam to write a story about my relatives during the Khmer Rouge regime to publish in the magazine “Searching for the Truth”. I decided to choose my mother’s story and asked her for written details about her bitter experiences during this dark chapter of Cambodian history. She wrote about 10 pages and handed it to me. After reading her story, I felt very agitated, and my tears started falling unconsciously. Her story was unknown until she wrote it down on paper. I had to admit that I should have known her story since she has told it many times, but I never took the time and effort to understand her experience. She was not a highly educated person because she had no chance to finish her schooling. She grew up while the civil war was breaking out in the country. She was forced to work hard when she was only 15 years old during the Khmer Rouge regime. When the war was over, she spent most of her time helping her family, starting with empty hands. She was only an ordinary woman, but she could deal with lots of things. However, her experience was only one story out of millions of Cambodian women. I was inspired by the suffering of my mother to learn more about the Khmer Rouge history and to work for the Khmer Rouge victims, who have been waiting to see justice done for more than three decades, and for the younger generation. All I have today is because of her.

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*Cheytoath Lim is a Staff Member of Trial Observation Project*



Photo of Cheytoath Lim's mother taken in 1981 at the East of the Independence Monument

# MEMORY REMAINS BEYOND THE KHMER ROUGE TRIAL

Everyone has his or her own bitter and sweet memories. The ones that are most memorable are those that have scared us the most. In the hearts of people who have suffered from Cambodia's tragic history by living through the three years, eight months and 20 days of the Khmer Rouge regime, horrific memories still haunt them to this very day. Each day under the brutal regime they prayed for it to pass quickly and hoped to see sunlight the next day. Such bitter memories bring victims to tears and cause them trauma and psychological disorders.

Some people are finding ways to forget their past memories under the Khmer Rouge regime, but I doubt that they can ever do so—forgetting the past doesn't mean they can run away from it. From my perspective, survivors are not likely to forget memories from the Khmer Rouge regime. As part of my job at the Documentation Center of Cambodia, one of my many tasks is to document the trial proceedings at the Khmer Rouge Tribunal—formally known as the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC)—dating back to 2007.

I have captured trial video footage and photos of the parties in the courtroom, and produced video clips of people's reactions to the trials. From people's reactions I can tell they can never forget the past. The loss of their loved ones and the time they spent together are rooted very deeply in their hearts.

My father, Sa Math, once told me that he cannot forget the memory of his parents who were brutally killed under the Khmer Rouge. Every time my father sees pickled cucumber, it reminds him of his mother, who always packed one in his school lunch. The regime separated people from their families and removed my father from his parents. The regime took at least one life from each Cambodian family, and mine was no exception. It took the lives of a number of our immediate and extended family who were accused of participating in a Cham rebellion in late 1975. In the village where my family resided, almost 100 families were killed. They killed my grandfather and his younger brother by binding their bodies and dropping them into water, drowning them.



Fatily Sa is working on the Film Project at the Documentation Center of Cambodia

My grandmother died because there was no medicine to treat her illness. My father survived because he worked hard to hide his identity as a soldier of the overthrown Lon Nol regime. One day, my father was accused of being a Lon Nol soldier. He tried to convince the cadres that he was only a farmer who could not read or write, but five cadres came to his house at night and took him away with some other villagers. They got on a boat and crossed the river to an island. My father thought his identity had been discovered and he was going to be killed. While walking, the Khmer Rouge cadres clubbed the head of a villager and he fell down. When my father saw that, he fell down on his knees and, in shock, was unable to move. The cadres told my father to get up and keep moving.

My father was afraid as if his soul was no longer with him. The cadres threatened to kill my father if he told anyone. And he did not tell anyone. Eight years after the collapse of the Khmer Rouge regime, I was born and grew up unaware of the history of my family and country.

Through my work, I began to learn about the atrocities that had befallen us. After two years with DC-Cam, I was selected for an internship with the Shoah Foundation Institute at the University of Southern California. I met many Holocaust survivors who came to share their experiences. I also interviewed many Khmer-American survivors who would never return to the country they love, fearing the emotional trauma of

facing the memories of lost family and friends. After my return, I was determined to interview my father for his stories, starting on June 30, 2009.

Now it has been over four years and I still don't have the whole story. He could not hold back his tears talking about his family under the brutal regime. Now he is sick and hospitalized. I always keep him up-to-date on the Khmer Rouge Tribunal because he is interested.

My father told me that the survivors and the accused are getting too old and are dying one after another. He hopes that the verdict will come before the survivors and the accused all die. One day in prison for the Khmer Rouge leaders before their deaths would be adequate for him and his loved ones. Since it is impossible to forget the past, memorialization of their memories can give survivors the strength to move on and contribute to preventing brutal acts in the future.

Survivors have been passing their memories to their children and grandchildren, allowing young people to become aware of their families' and the country's history. Younger generations can benefit from the experience of their elders and use these lessons to move to a better future. I believe that memory plays a very important role in uniting people and helping Cambodians to move beyond being victims of their tragic history.

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*Fatily Sa is a staff member of Film project*



People from villages attend the hearing of the Extraordinary Chamber in the Courts of Cambodia

# STORY OF CHHUN VAT

Chhun Vat, a 66 year old farmer, lives in Prey Kabass Villag, Prey Kabass Commune, Prey Kabass District, Takeo province.

Chhun Vat recalled that he worked on the farm during Sangkum Reastr Niyum (People's Socialist Community). In 1970, there was a military coup in Phnom Penh which caused dramatic changes in his hometown. People in the remote areas gathered together to go on strike but usually met with violent crackdowns from Lon Nol's Khmer Republic soldiers. After that, the instability in his hometown got worse and worse.

Following the coup, his neighboring area was heavily bombed by the United States, resulting in a large number of civilian casualties. Because of the bombing and the constant brutal battles, lots of people were very frightened and some families decided to flee to the jungle to hide. No different from any other family, his was also scared, Chhun Vat said. He cut the palm tree to use it as a trench so they could hide in there as soon as they heard the approaching sound of the planes coming to drop bombs.

Not until April 17, 1975 did the bombing halt. Chhun Vat remembered that that day was also the day the Khmer Rouge defeated the Khmer Republic. He thought to himself that there would be peace in Cambodia under the new ruling regime. But, in that year he witnessed that masses of people were evacuated to his hometown by the Khmer Rouge. The April People or the New People

who just recently arrived were forced into hard labor, and they, later on, disappeared. Another group of people was transferred to Bati District. Chhun Vat, however, was not transferred anywhere and had to work in his hometown. He added that at first the Khmer Rouge allowed people to eat and work individually; in 1976, the Khmer Rouge created cooperatives. Plenty of people were not so thrilled with this arrangement because they thought that it was not fair, especially to the middle-income family. Still no one dared to oppose the order from Angkar because Angkar was regarded as the parent to everyone. When Angkar gave an order, everyone had to follow. Although the Khmer Rouge did not evacuate Chhun Vat to any other area, he was forced into hard labor and barely got enough rest.

Chhun Vat was assigned to work in the mobile unit; once he was sent to work at Angkor Borey District, about 15 kilometers from his house and Angkar ordered him to go there on foot. Once there, he had to plough, build dykes, and dig canals. Day by day his tasks became tougher and the amount of food decreased to the point that he got only rice soup. Because of malnutrition, people were badly swollen and the patients only got coconut and rabbit dropping-like pills as the treatment. He also recalled that he used to suffer from malaria but luckily he managed to recover and stay alive until today.

After the fall of the Khmer Rouge regime, Chhut Vat still distinctly remembers the bitter experiences and

wide-ranging atrocities such as forced labor, starvation, and the loss of relatives. Nowadays, he lives with his wife and seven kids. He never wanted any relatives to leave him but the Khmer Rouge took them away from him. For this, the Khmer Rouge tribunal is very crucial: It is not only seeking justice for the victims but also shows that although someone has power, they are inevitably held responsible for his or her wrongdoing.



People were collectively clearing grass to grow plants

*Nai-Hor Ret is a Volunteer for Searching for the Truth Magazine*



# HAM RUM: KHMER ROUGE KILLED MY HUSBAND

Ham Rum, 58 years old, was born in Kampong Sra Lao Village, Kampong Sra Lao 1 Commune, Chhep District (During Sangkum Reastr Niyum, it was called Daun Tun District but the Khmer Rouge changed it to Chhep District), Preah Vihear Province. Currently, she is a member of the commune committee and in charge of women, children and agriculture. Her father served as a soldier during Sankum Reastr Niyum but now he is a monk. Phau Si, her mother, died in 1989. Rum has three siblings, two of them already passed away. Her brother, Ham Nheang, joined the People's Republic of Kampuchea army but was killed in the Khmer Rouge bomb attack in 1984. And, another brother died from illness recently.

Rum recalled the Khmer Rouge had been in control of Kampong Sra Lao Village since 1970. They began propaganda and persuaded people to leave their family to join the revolution at Daun Tun District Hall or K3 Hall. She joined Angkar, and persuaded her friends and fellow villagers to become Khmer Rouge followers. In the meantime, the United States dropped bombs and this led to more and more people joining the revolution. Besides, the Khmer Rouge also created performance troops to attract young people.

In 1971, Angkar sent Rum to Beoung Snay Hall in Kampong Cham to join a course to become a general practitioner. Sat, the manager of Beoung Snay hospital and a doctor from the south-west zone, was in charge of teaching the medical students there. Rum said it was hard to comprehend that the duration for medical education during the Khmer Rouge regime was only 5 months. Once the course was over, Angkar assigned the students to different regions.

Between 1972 and 1973, she returned back to K3 Hall and became a medic. Her tasks were giving patients injections and helping female Khmer Rouge cadres and villagers when they were delivering babies. She stressed that being a medic was not difficult since all the patients received the same kind of drug for the injection. During that period, the villagers and soldiers who suffered from malaria as well as injuries from the battlefield were all admitted to her hospital, which made her very busy. She worked very hard until one day she fell unconscious from the lack of proper rest. When she recovered, she

was assigned to work in the mobile unit. Over there, she was in charge of the female textile unit that made clothes for the soldiers.

Rum got married in 1978. Phan arranged for her to marry his brother, Chong Phy. He was the northern zone division chief. She had never known the groom before and it was not until their wedding day that she got to see his face. Her parents and siblings were not allowed to attend her wedding. Rum had to take a vow in front of Angkar. Once she finished, the ceremony was declared over. She and her husband did not even have a better look at one another before Angkar ordered him to go to the battlefield in Kampong Thom Province.

Because she was the sister-in-law of the K3 Hall member and a wife of a division chief, she was promoted to be deputy chief of the female district unit. Many months later, Angkar found out that her brother-in-law was a traitor from Vietnam who planned to liberate Kampong Sra Lao and Preah Vihear Province. Her husband was suspended from his duty for a month (in 1976) and demoted to the chief of battalion. In the meantime, Rum was transferred from the deputy chief of the female district unit to S28 Textile department at Daun Tun for a year.

From 1976 to 1977, Angkar transferred Rum to live with her husband in the battalion at Veang Nheang. There, she had to cook for her husband and take care of the patients when there were too many of them. In April 1978, Angkar sent her husband to be reeducated. Her husband sensed that there was something wrong. Before he left, he said to her, "If I don't return back, please go with the children to Laos because I know that Angkar already sent Sim, the deputy chief of the battalion, to Chey Sen." Her husband disappeared since that time.

In July 1978, Angkar told her and the other women whose husbands were arrested three months ago to meet them at Kamping Puoy Dam. Along the way, Rum heard soldiers talking that Ta [elderly man] Si, zone military chief, was arrested because Angkar did not trust him. She hoped that she would meet her husband when she arrived in Kra Lanh District, Siem Reap Province. While she and the others were taking a rest at Kra Lanh District, they heard from soldiers that the prisoners were being released so they were all waiting for

their husbands. Rum's hope was shattered when everyone's husband returned except hers and her two-year-old child asked her, "Mommy! Where is Daddy?" Sobbing was all she did because she could not answer her child's question. One prisoner who was her fellow villager told her, "your husband was put in a very dark cell and was guarded both day and night." Hopelessly, Rum requested the cooperative chief to go back to Phreah Vihear. The cooperative chief told her that if she could find her way back then she had his permission. Luckily, she met a truck transporting rice to Phreah Vihear province when she was on her way back. Cheat, the one in charge of the truck and her former classmate, allowed her to come with him and even drove her to her home in Kok Village, Sa-ang Commune, Chey Sen District.

When 7 January, 1979 was approaching, the Khmer Rouge gathered villagers from the rice fields and

forced them to go to Mom Bey Mountain (located along the Cambodian, Thai and Laos borders). Rum, however, refused to comply and she even said to them, "I will not go. You already executed my husband and now you want me to go to the mountain!" Many days later, Vietnamese troops came and a lot of the Khmer Rouge cadres from the south-west zone fled to the mountain and left a lot of their children behind. She commented that the gathering on the mountain was made for purposes of escaping and gaining power back; besides, Ta Mok was already on that mountain. She stated that the gathering on this mountain was a good strategy, allowing the Khmer Rouge to fight back against the Vietnamese troops. And, she returned back to her hometown.

*Sanas Min is a volunteer for the Book of Memory project*

## CAMBODIA TRIBUNAL MONITOR

The Cambodia Tribunal Monitor ([www.cambodiatribunal.org](http://www.cambodiatribunal.org)) provides extensive coverage throughout the trial of two former senior Khmer Rouge officials accused of atrocity crimes. The Monitor provides daily in-depth analysis from correspondents in Phnom Penh, as well as complete English-translated video of the proceedings, with Khmer-language video to follow. Additional commentary is provided by a range of Monitor-affiliated experts in human rights and international law. The Monitor has been the leading source of news and information on the Extraordinary Chambers in the Court of Cambodia (ECCC) since its inception in 2007. The website hosts an archive of footage from the tribunal and a regularly updated blog containing analysis from expert commentators and coverage by Phnom Penh-based correspondents.

An estimated 1.7 million Cambodian citizens died under the Khmer Rouge regime between 1975 and 1979. The former Khmer Rouge officials to be tried in the ECCC's "Case 002" are Nuon Chea, former Deputy Secretary of the Communist Party of Kampuchea's Central Committee and a member of its Standing Committee and Khieu Samphan, former Chairman of Democratic Kampuchea State Presidium.

The Cambodia Tribunal Monitor was developed by a consortium of academic, philanthropic and non-profit organizations committed to providing public access to the tribunal and ensuring open discussions throughout the judicial process. The site sponsors include Northwestern University School of Law's Center for International Human Rights, the Documentation Center of Cambodia, the J.B. and M.K. Pritzker Family Foundation and the Illinois Holocaust Museum and Education Center. The concept for the website was conceived by Illinois State Senator Jeff Schoenberg, a Chicago-area legislator who also advises the Pritzker family on its philanthropy.





## THE BOOK OF MEMORY OF THOSE WHO DIED UNDER THE KHMER ROUGE

The Documentation Center of Cambodia is writing and compiling a book of records of names of those who died under the Khmer Rouge regime from 1975 to 1979 and those who disappeared during the period, who are still not known by their relatives. It also includes a section for family tracing purposes.



DC-Cam already has in its database up to a million names of those who may have died under the Khmer Rouge. If you would like to have your relatives' names, who died under the Khmer Rouge or disappeared then, appearing in this book,

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