

*Searching for*

# THE TRUTH

- ◆ A Role for Asean in the Khmer Rouge Tribunal
- ◆ The End of Comrade Duch

*"If my husband, Heng Choeun, had survived the regime, my family would have enjoyed more happiness and a better standard of living. Instead, I was left alone to raise our two children."*

--Khiev Neap

**Special**  
English Edition  
First Quarter 2012

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Bou Meng at his new house

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LETTER FROM YOUK CHHANG:

## A ROLE FOR ASEAN IN THE KHMER ROUGE TRIBUNAL

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Some Asian governments still view human rights as an issue that is largely Western in orientation. Over the past few decades, however, people in many Asian countries have progressively demonstrated their belief that these rights are universal in nature and that due process and the rule of law are critical elements of democracy. As Asian countries and those from ASEAN in particular are playing an expanded role in world politics and the international economy, it is critical that their conduct and performance reflect the changes that have been taking place in Asia.

One of the founding principles of ASEAN is socio-cultural cooperation "to enable individual members to fully realize their development potentials." Because of their cultural and historical similarities, ASEAN members have a good understanding of how to approach problems in other Asian countries. They are therefore in an excellent position to assist Cambodia in making both the Khmer Rouge trials and the public's experience of them a positive one.

Thus far, Thailand is the only ASEAN member to make a very small monetary contribution to the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC). However, the association and its members still have the opportunity to contribute to rule of law development in Cambodia by pledging funds or in kind assistance toward the Court.

In addition to monetary assistance, ASEAN countries could pledge other types of simple and inexpensive contributions.

♦ **Technical Assistance.** Countries like Singapore, for example, have highly trained technicians who could help identify and exhume the over 19,000 mass graves that are spread throughout Cambodia.

♦ **Documentation.** Governments, diplomats, universities, and private citizens could send relevant official documents, photographs, and other materials to Cambodia, which could serve as evidence at the tribunals or help Cambodians to better understand their history.

♦ **Counseling.** It is estimated that about a third

of the survivors of Democratic Kampuchea—some two million people—still suffer from what is called post-traumatic stress disorder or PTSD. In a project with the Transcultural Psychosocial Organization, DC-Cam has found that simple treatments, such as breathing exercises or sleeping medication, can go a long way toward helping those who are experiencing anger, insomnia, and other debilitating symptoms of PTSD. We have also found that the traditional Western ways of treating this syndrome, such as group therapy, are not well accepted or effective in Cambodia. Because they have an innate understanding of the Asian psyche, counselors from ASEAN could be of invaluable assistance to the Cambodian community by providing counseling to both former victims and perpetrators.

♦ **Hardware.** Donations of new computers, audio visual equipment, and other hardware for the ECCC staff would be very valuable. Likewise, donations of new or used transistor or other radios to the Cambodian people would be invaluable in helping them stay abreast of developments at the Court.

♦ **Transportation.** The donation of large vans or small buses would be a much-needed means of bringing people who could not otherwise afford to make the trip to the capital from the countryside.

♦ **Volunteers.** ASEAN countries could send volunteers to assist outreach efforts aimed at ensuring that all Cambodians are aware of the tribunal and of their opportunities to observe and participate in its proceedings.

The Cambodian people have waited over 30 years to see justice done. If done well, the ECCC process has the potential to keep the memory of what happened in Cambodia alive and inspire people throughout the ASEAN region to ensure that such crimes do not happen again. It is Cambodians' hope that other members of the ASEAN community will show their support for human rights in Asia by providing the Court with the assistance it greatly needs.

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*Yook Chhang is the DC-Cam Director.*

# SPEECH OF POL POT DURING THE 10<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY OF KAMPUCHEA ON JANUARY 17, 1978

## *The Valiant and Powerful Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea Under the Leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea*

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I would like to extend my respect to all the comrades representatives of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea, all the comrades representatives of workers, all the comrades representatives of departments and all revolutionary units who have come and participated in this meeting.

At first, on behalf of our Communist Party of Kampuchea, the Military Committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and on behalf of the whole collectivist worker-peasant people throughout the country, I would like to extend my deepest, warmest and most cordial respect and admiration towards the whole Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea, including those who are present here, indifferent units and particularly those at the front throughout the country, who are heroically fighting to defend Democratic Kampuchea, the worker-peasant State power of the Party and our collectivist people.

We all deeply and whole-heartedly respect and admire our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea for they are the strong dorsal column, the faithful and loyal armed forces, instrument of the proletarian dictatorship of the Party, they have successively fought in the revolutionary war movements from 1968 up to now and they have then won successive victories. They have highly enhanced and held aloft the prestige, honour and dignity of Kampuchea, which had been despised before, those of the whole people, revolution and Communist Party of Kampuchea, both on the national and international arenas.

Therefore, while gathering together to commemorate and greet the 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of our Revolutionary Army, we have very great pleasure and unbounded pride towards the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea, for this Army has fought, surmounted all kinds of



**Khmer Rouge Armed Forces at formerly Pothichentong Intern**

difficulties and sufferings, has consented all kinds of sacrifices during dozens years for the national and people's liberation, for the worker-peasant revolutionary State power of the Party, for the prosperity of Kampuchea and its entire people, and for the defense of the Kampuchea's



territory to insure its everlastingness.

It is only after being aware of the history of our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea that we would have full confidence in them and would whole-heartedly appreciate and be proud of them. As for the history of our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea, we have had the opportunities to talk and discuss about it many times. In this occasion, I would like to bring up only some problems to inform our meeting.

**At First, I would like To talk about the founding of The Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea**

On this first point, I would like to raise the questions: How the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea was founded? From which source? In which circumstances this Army was born, has been further developed and strengthened in size and strength?



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1. The Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea was not born through one, two, four or ten circulars of so-and-so government, of so-and-so Parliament. It was not so-and-so organization which had signed to enlist the youth into the army and give them military

uniforms and arms to join the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea. Our Army was born in the people's revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea. It was the Communist Party of which had defined the strategical and tactical lines to fight against imperialism that had come and interfered, aggressed and occupied Kampuchea, to fight against feudalists and reactionary capitalists who had exploited and oppressed the Kampuchea's people. To fight against the imperialists and the exploiting classes, our Party has decided that we have to carry out an armed struggle. And in order to wage an armed struggle, we must have an army. This army has a revolutionary task to fight against the imperialists and the exploiting classes. Under the constant leadership of the Party, this army was born from scratch to one fighter, two fighters, three fighters, four fighters, five fighters fighting against the enemy. They have fought against the enemy through revolutionary violence, particularly through armed violence. They have fought against the enemy with traditional weapons and semi-modern weapons up to modern weapons. They have fought against the enemy with one fighter, one squad, one platoon, one company up to battalion, regiment, and division and with many divisions. That is how the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea has been successively developed under the leadership of the Party which has decided a correct line that is to wage an armed struggle against the enemy, and to have a revolutionary army for this armed struggle.

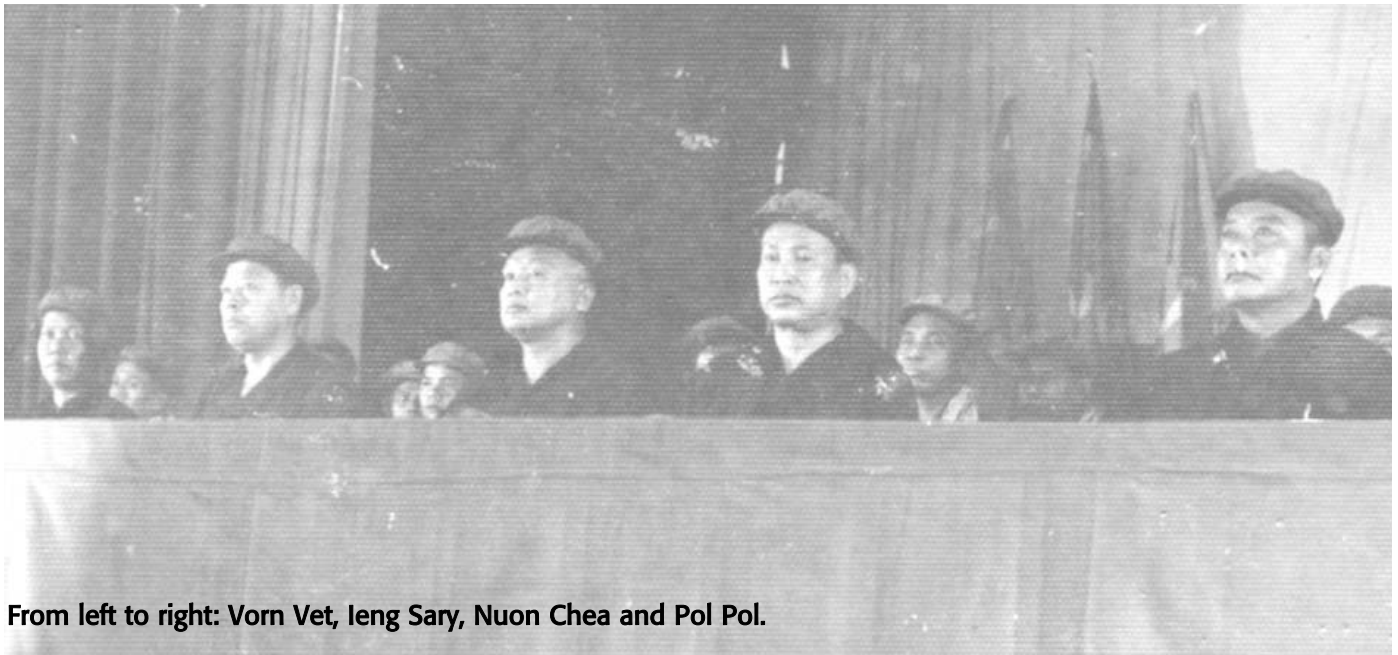
This brief history of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea has shown that our army was not created by one or two circulars and letters. This army was born in the flames of struggle, starting from scratch up to present development. This development is not insignificant. This army has been developed by inflicting ignominious defeats on the US imperialists, the most powerful chieftain of imperialists in the world, and up to now by inflicting also ignominious defeats on the Vietnamese aggressors, annexationists, swallows of territories. They have been so because this army was found in the struggle under the leadership of the

Party.

2. As for another question: From which source, this army was founded and has been developed? I would like to tell as follows:

The Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea was born from the workers and peasants, from the people of poor and lower classes. From its founding up to now, its social composition is made up of overwhelming majority of peasants of poor strata. After the latter, there are also peasants of inferior middle strata. Ninety eight percent of cadres and fighters are from the peasants of poor and inferior middle strata. Besides, there are also from the peasants of the middle

We are not worry that the source of our army would become exhausted for the people of the lower classes are very numerous. This, if we speak about number. Besides, parallel with this number, our Revolutionary Army has also their genuine nature that is the same as the class nature of these people. The peasants of poor and inferior middle strata can be considered as belonging to the proletarian and semi-proletarian classes in the countryside. With the peasants of poor and inferior middle strata, who are so numerous and belong to such a genuine class nature as lower class, our army can develop and strengthen themselves in number and at the same time they can firmly preserve



**From left to right: Vorn Vet, Ieng Sary, Nuon Chea and Pol Pot.**

strata and other revolutionaries. Through this social class composition of our Revolutionary Army, we can see the source from which our Revolutionary Army was born. It is these poor people who are the source of the founding of our Revolutionary Army. It is these poor people who are the forces to strengthen and develop the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea.

The peasants of poor and inferior middle strata and the peasants of middle strata are very numerous, more than 80 percent the entire people of the country. These people are an inexhaustible and immense source in supplying forces to our Revolutionary Army, to make them more developed and more powerful.

their class nature as proletarian and semi-proletarian classes. And these peasants of poor and inferior middle strata, belonging to such a good class, are not isolated and scattered but they are under the leadership of the Party and have good qualities in the fields of politics, ideology and collectivist organization. It is these people who supply forces to the army. It is these poor people who are the mothers of our army. If these mothers are good, their sons and daughters are also good. These mothers belong to a good origin of class and they have been successively and firmly armed with politics, ideology and collectivist organization by the party. With such good mothers, their sons and daughters would

also be as good. Through this awareness, we can see the quality of our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea and have full confidence in our army. In the future, we still have to base on the source of the peasants of poor and inferior middle strata to strengthen and develop our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea. If we base on other sources, then our army would not be strong anymore. Let's say that if in the future, we turn to other sources to select our fighters from, our army would not be strong anymore, despite how numerous modern weapons we could have. If the original source is not good, then this army would not be strong. A strong and healthy mother has a healthy baby. The good health we are talking here is a strong class nature, a firm revolutionary stand, surmounting difficulties, and struggling valiantly. A mother with a strong revolutionary nature would also have sons with a strong revolutionary nature. These are the sons who have powerfully fought against the enemy and won any enemy whatever strong they were. These are the line and the stand followed forever in organizing our Revolutionary Army.

In the future, we still have to follow this way in building up, strengthening and developing our army mainly from the original source of the peasants of poor and inferior middle strata in order to have an army with a strong genuine class nature both by its own genuine original nature and its genuine proletarian class nature educated by the Party. Our army have no ranks, no salary. They are an army which are carrying out a genuine revolution, fulfilling their high revolutionary tasks in defending the country, the worker-peasant State power of the Party and the collectivist people. Therefore, they must have a very high revolutionary spirit to heroically carry out the fighting. The factor of revolutionary people is the main fundamental factor. As for the factors of materials and technology, they are just secondary important factors. Once we have strong revolutionary people, our fighting would be very powerful.

3. As for the third question: In which circumstances was our Revolutionary Army founded?

Our Revolutionary Army was not founded in peaceful time, in any military school or military academy.

Our army was founded in the blazing flames of struggle in the revolutionary struggle full of successive difficulties, sufferings, endurances. This Revolutionary Army have struggled against and overcome all kinds of obstacles to build up, further develop and strengthen themselves. Therefore, this Revolutionary Army have passed the tests not at school but in revolutionary wars: the civil war from 1968-1969, the war against the US imperialists from 1970 to 1975. And from 1975 up to now, our army have fought both against the US imperialists and their lackeys and against the Vietnamese aggressors, swallows of territories. Thus, this army have been successively developed, strengthened and tempered themselves in the flames of fighting. Being tempered in the fighting like this, this army have become powerful. The fighting has founded, further developed and strengthened our army to become successively more and more powerful. The fighting is a tempering and a test serving to appreciate our Revolutionary Army, our cadres and our men and women fighters through the concrete acts in the actual movement. And through the experiences in this fighting, our army can be further and powerfully developed and strengthened under the leadership of the Party.

In brief, our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea was founded:

1. under the leadership of the Party through the line of concrete revolutionary violence, that is by waging a revolutionary war;

2. this army was founded from the poor people. That is why this army is so powerful. This people have their origin of class as peasants of poor and inferior middle strata and besides, they have the Party to lead them, in political, ideological and organizational fields, and they are organized in collectivity.

3. This army have fought, been tempered and tested successively in the blazing flames of the revolutionary war. Thus, this army has fulfilled all characteristics and qualities required as an army of our Communist Party of Kampuchea.

Therefore, in the future, our whole Party, our entire people will strive to build up our Revolutionary Army

of Kampuchea in conformity with these principles in order to make our army to be ever powerful and not to ever change its nature.

Now, I would like to tell you about the successive victories won by our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea during our National Democratic Revolution as well as during our socialist revolution.

How our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea which was founded and has been gradually developed has won its successive feats of arms and victories during the revolutionary war? We must remind and further illustrate these feats of arms and victories in order:

- ◆ On the one hand, to develop more and more our pride, satisfaction, love, respect, admiration and firm confidence in our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea and to endeavour to develop and strengthen our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea to make them steadfastly more and more powerful in all fields, political, ideological, organizational, and in the line of fighting of the Party.

- ◆ On the other hand, to totally break up the propaganda of the imperialists, reactionaries, aggressors, annexationists swallows of territories who, adhering to the stand of their class interests and their policy of aggression and annexation swallowing of territories, have always used their perfidious propaganda of prophesying and discrediting the revolutionary armies of the poor countries which are short of armament. They have propagated that the armies of these countries absolutely could not win over the aggression and annexation armies of the great powers, imperialists, reactionaries and big countries having many people, big armies and a lot all kinds of armaments. In the history of our Revolutionary Army, they have also prophesied that our army would be completely destroyed for many times. They have propagated as prophets this with intent to wage psychological war and political war to threaten, frighten and mislead before-hand the people and revolutionary armies of the small and/or poor countries, in order to let them to aggress, invade and swallow at their will the territory of others in conformity with their ambition.

For all these above-mentioned reasons, we must remind the successive feats of arms and victories of our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea on the solemn occasion of this 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of its founding.

I would like to tell briefly about the grand feats of arms and victories won successively by our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea during the revolutionary war from 1968 to 1978, by dividing this revolutionary war into three periods:

- ◆ from 1968 to March 1970: period of struggle for national liberation
- ◆ from March, 1970 to April 1975: Period of struggle for national liberation
- ◆ from April 1975 to January, 1978: period of struggle for national defence

1. From 1968 to March, 1970, a civil war broke out in our country. Against our revolution, there were reactionaries exploiting classes with militarists Lon Nol, Sirik Matak as chieftains, and the US imperialists as strings-pullers. The enemy forces and our forces at that time were as follows: The Lon Nol's cliques, lackey of the US imperialists, had an army of 60,000 men in land, naval and air forces, including soldiers and provincial guards. As for us, in 1968, in all regions we had less than 1,000 guerillas.

Thus, in comparison with the enemy, we were very weak, very small and the enemy had a very big force. The enemy was like a big elephant and we were like a small ant.

In that situation, the imperialists' and exploiting classes' prophets inside the country and abroad, prophesied that the "Khmer Rouges" will be surely and completely annihilated. But what has been concretely the result of it? We have succeeded to defend and strengthen ourselves. From almost empty hand in 1968 to March 1970, we have had an army of 4,000 men, and 50,000 guerilleros in the whole country, waging guerilla war in 17 provinces out of 19 provinces throughout the country. We have had a liberated zone as our backing-bases with 60,000 people. We had guerilla-bases where were living 300,000 people. We had our guerilla-zones where were living 700,000



people. Thus, on the whole in 1970, we had a liberated zone, guerilla-bases and guerilla-zones with more than one million people. Our forces have been always increased. We have always succeeded to defend, develop and strengthen ourselves, i.e. the army, people, liberated zone, guerilla-bases, guerilla-zones, regular army and guerilleros-units. These forces have been very strong in the civil war and have inflicted very heavy defeats on the enemy. Why could we defend, develop and strengthen the forces of our army and our revolution? Because we have had a correct line and carried out correctly the people's war of the Party. Therefore, the imperialists' and exploiting classes' prophecies against our revolution inside the country and the world over, have been completely broken down and dissolved. They have propagated and carried out political war and psychological war in order to dupe us, to mislead the world opinion, but the history of our revolutionary movement has clearly shown that from 1968 to March 1970, we have won such great victories. These victories have been indeed the first ones but we consider them as grand fundamental victories leaving our Party, or army and our people to build up their position of being independent and sovereign and to strongly develop and strengthen it in the fighting through tremendous difficulties and sufferings. The position of being independent, sovereign and self-reliant and master of one's destiny has come from this period and its foundation had been developed and strengthened during this period.

2. During the period of national liberation war against the US imperialists from 1970 to 1975, the imperialists' and reactionaries' prophets have still foretold. They have propagated against our revolution with all kinds of means in order to dupe our people, our army, our Party and the world opinion, to be frightened at the great powers and to accept to bow their head to be oppressed by them at will. At that time, the enemy had forces as follows:

- ♦ the Lon Nol clique had from 60,000 to 200,000 men,
- ♦ more than 100,000 troops of Thieu-Ky penetrated

into our territory,

- ♦ many ten thousands of US imperialists troops aggressed our territory in April and May 1970.

Besides, they used many planes flying all over the Kampuchea's airspace. Therefore, the enemy forces included US imperialists, Saigonese troops of Thieu-Ky and the Lon Nol clique. Furthermore, the Thai reactionaries, the South Koreans, the Taiwanese, etc...participated in carrying out activities against us. All these forces are very big. Therefore, the imperialist and reactionary side has foretold that the Kampuchea revolution will be completely destroyed and defeated. But as concrete result, we have won the grand victory of April 17, 1975. Our Revolutionary Army which in 1970 had only 4,000 men of regular army and 50,000 guerilleros, have been rapidly developed and organized into battalions, regiments and divisions. The army and the people have been developed; they could be self-sufficient in economy; they have won the grand victory of April 17, 1975. This has been a great victory in Kampuchea's history and also a grand victory in the world's history when, for the first time, the U.S imperialists have suffered such an ignominious defeat. The Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea have won over the US imperialists because this army have been led by correct communist Party, come from the worker-peasant people, have been composed with sons and daughters of peasants of poor and inferior middle strata, and steadfastly tempered in the flames of the revolutionary war. Therefore, this army has become always more and more powerful, bigger and bigger, starting from scratch until having more and more armament, fighting the enemy aggressor and winning one victory after another. Our victories have broken down the perfidious theories, principles and stand, the perfidious and poisonous propaganda which have stated that "a small country could not fight," "a poor country could not fight and stand up," "a small country has to be dominated," "a poor people have to be dominated." We have broken down the poisonous propaganda of the imperialists and reactionaries so that the peoples in the world have been encouraged more powerfully

to continue their struggle and win victories.

3. During the fighting against the Vietnamese aggressors, annexationists, swallows of territories, the prophets have foretold once again. They are the prophets of the US imperialists, reactionaries and various expansionists in the world. They have foretold that: "the Vietnamese army who had been tested in the war for many dozens years, would take Kampuchea within only 24 hours." They have made this propaganda in order to mislead the world opinion, to frighten the small countries and poor peoples through their poisonous theories that stated as follows: "a small country could not struggle," "a small country has to be dominated," "It is not possible to be independent, sovereign and self-reliant," etc..., but despite these propagandas, they still cannot mislead the world opinion. The world opinion at that time has been divided into two, but as a whole, it has supported and expressed its sympathy with Kampuchea.

The majority of it has been confident that the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea would surely defeat and wipe out the Vietnamese aggressors for this Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea had already defeated the US imperialists. But a small number have expressed their anxiety for us too. They have thought we might not be able to stem the Vietnamese aggressors.

I would like to tell about the fighting results and qualities of our Revolutionaries Army. the Vietnamese army who have come and aggressed Kampuchea since May 1975 have been as follows:

- ◆ The security forces for border defence: These forces have machine-gunned against our people who have been carrying out agricultural works, against our army in patrol. They have all the time pounded inside our territory. And they have been those who have repeatedly moved their installation into our territory. And they have been also those who have let their people to build houses with some columns on their soil and the other ones on our soil, and even up to many villages inside our territory. That is to swallow our territories from ten centimeters, twenty centimeters, one meter, two meters, one kilometer, two kilometers and so on.

They have been those who have repeatedly carried out provocations along our borders. Only in the Southwest, in 1975-1976, they have machine gunned and pounded all the time, causing in average 30 killed or wounded in each month. And as in Svay Rieng, as a whole, they have carried out continuous provocations and in some places the situation has been even more tense than in the Southwest. Therefore, from May 1975, from Kampot province to Ratanakiri province, the Vietnamese security forces for border defence have carried out innumerable provocations along the borders.

- ◆ The regional army is the army of the province. All the Vietnamese provinces along our borders have their own regional army. These forces have participated with the security forces for border defence to constantly create troubles and difficulties to our population along the border, behaving arrogant and haughty conducting themselves as "fathers of Indochina," as "big brothers of Indochina," saying that "the tinies in Indochina have to comply with my orders," "whatever I do, you the tinies, you have to obey me."

- ◆ The military region forces are the regular army of each military region to be used as the core of military intervention in various provinces in the frameworks of the military region.

I would like to point out that these three Vietnamese categories of forces, security forces for border defence, regional forces and military regional forces, have used to launch attacks against us for many times from May, 1975 and particularly in 1977. But these three Vietnamese categories of forces have been aware of the efficiency of our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea which have put them to rout anytime they have aggressed us.

For this reason, in order to launch large-scale aggression against the territory of Kampuchea in November and December 1977, and in January 1978, the Vietnamese have had to dispatch many divisions of their regular army from their head quarters in Hanoi, including sophisticated arms, many hundreds tanks and pieces of heavy artillery and used them as the core-forces to break through our thin line of border

defence and penetrated many kilometers deep in our territory and dozens of kilometers in some places particularly on National Road No. 7 and in Svay Rieng province in the East Region, in Takeo and Kampot provinces in the Southwest Region. They have sowed mourning, devastations and sufferings on our people, villages, cooperatives, cattle, poultry, cultivated lands, rice-field and properties.

If the Vietnamese have acted and behaved like that, what kind of revolution is this? What kind of "special friendship" is this? What kind of "negotiations" for solving the border problem is this?

We have seen only ideology of big country's chauvinism, arrogance and cruelty towards us, annexation and swallowing of our territories, violation and aggression against our country, subversions, attempted coup d'état to overthrow the regime of Democratic Kampuchea, etc... And we have seen only this ideology of big country's chauvinism being strengthened and becoming thicker and thicker like verdigris formed on copper, from the top to the bottoms of the Vietnamese.

However, I would like to tell about the concrete results of this large-scale Vietnamese big aggression and expansion against Kampuchea. Did they win or fail? They have suffered a very heavy defeat, and our victory has also been a great one, comparable also with the glorious victory of April 17, 1975. It was the grand victory of the people and the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea over the Vietnamese aggressors, annexationists, swallows of territories on January 6, 1978.

### **The Vietnamese defeat in the military field**

Concretely, the Vietnamese aggressor army in all fronts have been driven out by our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea up to the borders. The enemy had suffered 29,000 killed or wounded more than 130 big and modern enemy tanks, cost many million dollars each, have been destroyed or damaged, many dozens of enemy pieces of heavy artillery have been destroyed or damaged. Five enemy divisions of their regular army have been broken down.

I would like to point out why we have won so great victories over the enemy. As a whole, we have carried out well the people's war line of the Party and particularly our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea have grasped and carried out with efficiency the line of fighting the enemies of the Party. The enemy have relied only on their tanks and artillery. When our Revolutionary Army attacked, destroyed, damaged or immobilized their tanks, then their infantry were in confusion. And it is not difficult to attack tanks. Anybody can do it. We use many mines to attack enemy tanks, putting them across national roads, provincial roads, small or big paths where the tanks are moving, because the enemy tanks cannot pass through our ricefields, swampy area, main and secondary canals of irrigation. Therefore, once we use mines to attack them along these roads, the enemy tanks would be destroyed and damaged by our mines, leaving them all over the places along those roads. At the same time, we use the B-40, DK-75 and DK-82 arms to attack the enemy tanks. By this kind of attacks, the enemy tanks were useless. As for the enemy pieces of heavy artillery, they have also to move along those roads by trucks or full-track vehicles. Thus, they could not escape from our mines. It was the same for the enemy's transportation: transport of ammunitions, killed and wounded soldiers, food supply and so on.

In this situation, what the enemy infantry men could do? How could they get tanks to help them? How could they get pieces of heavy artillery to help them? How could they get ammunition supply? How could they get food to eat? And in this situation, our Revolutionary Army have steadfastly and powerfully attacked them. In a short time, they have been broken out, destroyed, put to rout, and driven out of the borders.

I would like to tell that as for infantry; the side which has more revolutionary and proletarian stand would win. Another weak point of the Vietnamese aggressor army, annexationist and swallows of territories is that they have had no rice to eat and have eaten only bran in pieces. By eating only bran, they

surely could not win their aggression.

### **The Vietnamese defeat in the political field**

In the political field the Vietnamese aggressors have also suffered very heavy defeat. They have been considered in the world as baleful aggressors, annexationists and swallowers of Kampuchea's territories. The overwhelming majority of the independence and justice-loving countries and peoples the world over have seen clearly that. The face and the policy of the ideology of big country's chauvinism, of "Indochina Federation" of the Vietnamese aggressors, annexationists, swallowers of territories of the small countries, neighbours of Vietnam, have been denounced as clear as daylight. Through this, Vietnam have been very isolated, strongly condemned, officially or unofficially and it has been in an impasse.

Another Vietnamese political defeat is that the Vietnamese people are clearly aware of that the policy of aggression has led the Vietnamese people and country to sufferings and devastations.

Another political aim of Vietnamese to prepare setting an organization, a party or a movement belonging to Vietnam and coming from Vietnam to be installed or declared on some Kampuchea's territories that the Vietnamese could occupy has completely failed.

### **The Vietnamese defeat in the economic and financial fields**

In their large-scale and systematic aggression against Democratic Kampuchea, the Vietnamese have to spend a lot of economic and financial means at the time when their country and people are short of food, of many million tons of rice and of money for solving the problems after the war.

They have spent a lot for aggressing the others. They have hoped they would win and get profit in returns. But when they have been defeated, they have lost everything, both capital and interest, their national and people's economy and finances have more suffered and been devastated.

Thus, when they are going to beg again, alleging as a pretext that they have met with "difficulties after the war," "difficulties because of drought," it might be

difficult to find someone to give alms, particularly those who have been aware of.

After being aware of the Vietnamese defeats in military, political, economic and financial fields, we could appreciate the grand victories of our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea in their task for defending our Democratic Kampuchea.

Our friends, near or far, and the independence and justice-loving countries and people in world over have strongly acclaimed our grand victories.

We have firmly safeguarded and hold aloft the banner of "being independent, sovereign, self-reliant and master of its own destiny," the banner of "honour and dignity of the Kampuchea's nation and people." And we have strongly broken down the Vietnamese banner of people "aggression, annexation, swallowing of territories," the Vietnamese banner of "Indochina Federation of Vietnam," the Vietnamese banner of "being frightened at big countries by defeatism," the Vietnamese banner of "big country's chauvinism." The Vietnamese banner of "one Party, one country, one people" has also been broken down with the most ignominious way.

Dear comrades,

We have seen our grand victory over the Vietnamese aggressors for,

- ◆ our whole Party is united as one in leading the fighting to wipe out the enemy,

- ◆ our whole people are united as one, having a high revolutionary political and ideological stand having a firm stand of collectivist organization, participating powerfully in the fighting against the enemy at each own battlefield, at the front and in the rear.

- ◆ our valiant Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea have correctly and efficiently carried out to the maximum the military line, the people's war line and the line of fighting of the Party, all our revolutionary departments and services have fulfilled well and actively their tasks, we have had rice, paddy all over our rice-fields,

- ◆ our friends, near or far and the independence and justice-loving countries and peoples the world over has supported and expressed their sympathy

with our cause of national defence against the Vietnamese aggressors,

We have clearly seen that aggression has been defeated and independence has surely won. We have clearly seen these grand victories, but they are only for the first step. We have to see again that the enemies of all kinds are pursuing their activities to injure us to put our country under their domination by various means: aggression, spying, threatening, intimidation, subversion, undermining, attempting to overthrow our revolutionary power by coup d'état, assassination, machine-gunning and pounding along the borders and so on.

Therefore, all of us, we must firmly grasp the main tasks of our Party:

- ♦ to defend Democratic Kampuchea,
- ♦ to carry on the socialist revolution,
- ♦ to edify well socialism.

Concretely, we have:

1. to increase higher our revolutionary vigilance to be always well armed with the political, ideological and organizational stand of the Party, to keep the secret, to defend our Party, our revolution, our collectivist people, our revolutionary power and our Revolutionary Army.

2. to hold aloft the spirit of fighting and to impetuously fulfill the 1977's plan of three tons and six tons per hectare and the 1978's plan of 3,5 tons and seven tons per hectare. And every factory worksite, unit, department, service have to carry out efficiently their own works to achieve fully or beyond the plan.

We have all to redouble our endeavours so that no force or anyone remains unmoved in order to participate in defending and edifying well the country and to rapidly improving the standard of living of the people.

All the forces have to actively move forward to impetuously perform their tasks and to win new victories.

3. to do our utmost to be in solidarity with the revolutionary and progressive forces the world over, in conformity with the foreign policy of the Party which

has been clearly stated in the Constitution of Democratic Kampuchea. We preserve and firmly adhere to the policy of independence, peace, neutrality and non-alignment. Democratic Kampuchea resolutely remains in the Great Family of the non-aligned countries.

Within the Third World countries, particularly within the Great Family of the Non-aligned countries, there are indeed some complex internal situations. But these countries, particularly the Non-aligned countries have many favorable conditions, that is:

♦ they are numerous in the world and they have many populations.

♦ they have deep, acute and several contradictions with imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, dominationism, expansionism, annexationism.

♦ they are carrying out strong and multiform struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, dominationism, expansionism, annexationism, swallowing the territories, subversion, intimidation. They are stubbornly and steadfastly struggling for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, equality, justice and for the principle of being independent, sovereign, self-reliant and master of one's destiny of each country.

♦ and particularly for Kampuchea, the overwhelming majority of the Non-aligned countries have successively supported and expressed their sympathy with it during the five years national liberation war against the US imperialists as well as since the liberation of the country on April 17, 1975. The overwhelming majority of the Non-aligned countries have respected the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea and have established with us relations of perfect equality. Democratic Kampuchea needs very much such friendly countries.

4. As for the conflict with Vietnam, how would Democratic Kampuchea have to solve it? Concerning this problem, our Government has clearly stated several times already. On this occasion, I would like to state it once again on behalf of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea following the Article 21 of the Constitution of Democratic Kampuchea. This Article



reads as follows:

"Democratic Kampuchea is endowed with goodwill and firmly determined to maintain close and friendly relations with all countries having common border with her, and with all countries, near or far, throughout the world on the strict basis of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity."

"Democratic Kampuchea firmly abides by the policy of independence, peace, neutrality, non-alignment. No foreign country whatever is allowed to establish military bases in her territory. She resolutely struggles against all foreign interferences in her internal affairs, against all kinds of acts of subversion and aggression from outside, military, political, cultural, economic, social, diplomatic, or through the so-called humanitarian acts."

"Democratic Kampuchea resolutely does not interfere in the internal affairs of any country whatever. Democratic Kampuchea resolutely respects the principle that each country is sovereign and has the full right to dispose and decide by itself its internal affairs without any foreign interference."

We firmly abide by our foreign policy stipulated in our Constitution.

If the Vietnamese side stops its interference, subversion, machine-gunning, pounding, aggression and annexation against Democratic Kampuchea by eliminating completely its ideology of big country's chauvinism towards Kampuchea, its principle of "Indochina Federation," its principle of "one Party, one country, one people" in "Indochina," which are the roots of the Vietnamese policy of intimidation, threatening, subversion, aggression, annexation, swallowing of territories against Kampuchea, then there would be no contradiction between us and a genuine friendship would be established and would be further developed and strengthened.

This is the aim of the Government and people of Kampuchea, which is so small and has no interest in creating troubles to anyone. She wishes only to have peace in her independence and territorial integrity.

Dear comrades,

Our glorious Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea

has been developed and strengthened for ten years already. This Revolutionary Army has gone through a long way already, by fighting through and surmounting all kinds of obstacles, and by daring to consent all kinds of sacrifices for our Party, our class, our revolution, our people and our country. The way through which all the comrades of our Revolutionary Army have gone is a very noble, brilliant and glorious one in the history of Kampuchea. The revolutionary heroism of the comrades of our Revolutionary Army is very sublime, worthy of profound respect and admiration. We all are very proud of this Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea.

But we all have also been aware of the heavy revolutionary tasks of our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea to defend Democratic Kampuchea, the worker-peasant State power of the Party, to defend our Party, our revolution, our class, our people, and to participate in the national edification and rapid improvement of the standard of living of the people.

The tasks of our comrades of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea are indeed heavy, but they are very noble and glorious.

Let comrades further hold loftier the banner of victory of our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea:

- ◆ By striving to education yourselves and your units to make them always good, sound and firm in conformity with the political, ideological and organizational stand of the Party and also with the line of the people's war and the line of fighting of the Party.

- ◆ Every unit has to impetuously fulfill their revolutionary tasks as vanguard, overcoming all obstacles and difficulties to win new great victories.

*Long live the correct and clearsighted Communist Party of Kampuchea!*

*Long live the powerful Revolution of Kampuchea!*

*Long live the glorious people of Kampuchea!*

*Long live the valiant and powerful Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea!*

*Long live the valiant and powerful Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea!*

*Long live the valiant and powerful Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea!*

# DUCH FINAL JUDGMENT: JUSTICE AND HUMANITY

*Savina Sirik*

Nearly thirty years have passed since the genocide occurred in Cambodia, when approximately two million people died from execution, starvation and overwork. Throughout these years Cambodians have endured the physical and psychological suffering from the genocide period. Many of those whose family members perished and those who survived the Democratic Kampuchea regime have awaited for a measure of justice to help them heal and reconcile with the past. The Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC) has been mandated to deliver the truth and a sense of justice to all Cambodian people. Cambodian survivors, including those who have served the Khmer Rouge (KR), have tried to make sense of what happened to them and their families. Many, though, are still struggling to regain their strength, their value as human beings, and

restore their dignity that had been lost due to the treatment of the KR. While victims may have waited too long to see justice prevail, former KR cadres have also worked hard to acknowledge the collective guilt and make up for what have been lost to them.

## **Justice: Restoring Human Dignity**

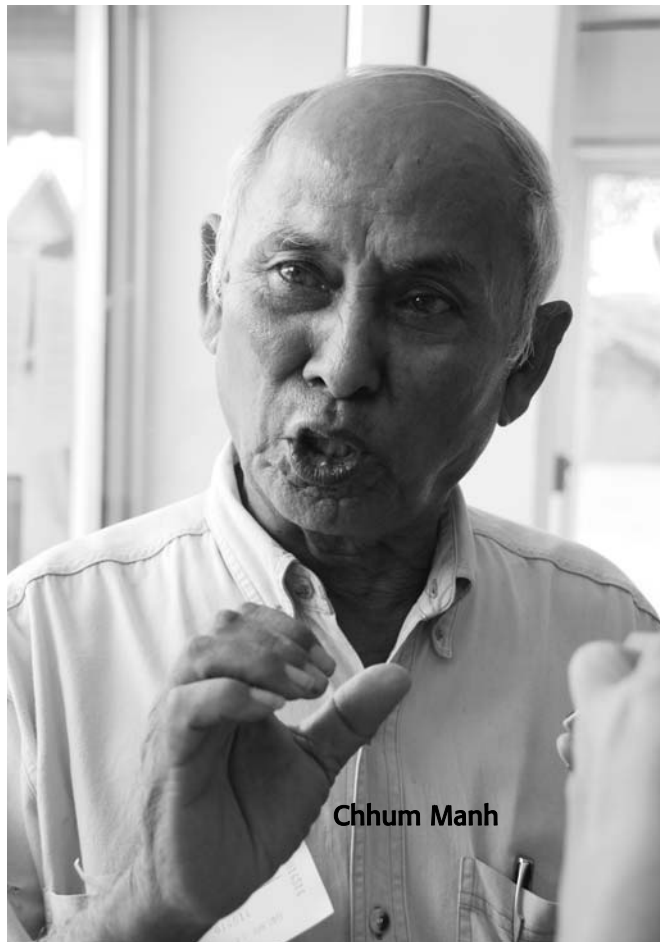
For over three decades, justice for survivors of the Khmer Rouge has been delayed, causing them to live in an extremely traumatic past. Similarly, the case also applies to surviving former KR cadres. The past has been haunting them in many different ways. Under the rule of the KR, as a human race, victims were treated inhumanly. They were degraded of human dignity and humiliated gravely. In a society where the rule of law is practiced, protecting and promoting the human race and dignity is one of the key principles to humanity. The term “Humanity” is



Civil parties and villagers leaving the courtroom after the Supreme Court sentenced Duch to life in prison

used to recognize the value of being human. During the KR regime, there were many different aspects that serve as haunting testament of man's inhumanity. Forced labor, execution, torture, and many other frightening aspects of the regime were forced upon the Cambodian people.

For instance, atrocities that occurred at Tuol Sleng are revealed in the obvious inhumane treatment of victims who were arrested, detained, and executed there. Perhaps one of the most frightening characteristics of S-21 or Tuol Sleng Prison was the process to detail the organized murder that was undertaken. Detainees were transferred to S-21, photographed, and interrogated to confess before being executed. Many of these photos



remain on display at the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum. The look of fear on the faces of the victims stirs up deep emotions of revulsion and anger, which breaks through the mind as one takes in the hundreds of portraits of the dead. Even worse is the knowledge that these photos represent a small fraction of the

total number of lives which perished in the name of an insane ideology.

Inhumane and cruel acts committed at S-21 encompassed a variety of methods of torture, including electric shock, pulling out finger nails, clubbing with bars, and drowning the detainees. As described in an article of *Searching for the Truth* about an S-21 survivor, Chum Manh said that upon arriving in the prison compound he was blindfolded, shackled, and sent to a prison cell where containers for urine and excrement were his only belongings. He was tortured to extract confessions and sometimes had to invent stories to reduce the intensity of torture. Mr. Chum's memories of those inhumane acts committed upon him cannot help but make him cry and be depressed. Vann Nath, the painter from Tuol Sleng, recently passed away before seeing justice done at the ECCC. Vann Nath painted the horrific aspects of KR torture at S-21. His work serves as testament of the inhumane acts committed under control of the KR regime.

Although a legal mechanism was established in Cambodia to bring senior leaders and those most responsible for the mass atrocities to justice, these leaders have not yet acknowledged facts found by the court. Those senior KR leaders purposely turned a blind eye to the face of humanity of Cambodian people. They focused intensely on their propaganda and the policy without taking a look at what Cambodians deserved as human beings. They stripped off human dignity from the victims in order to easily execute their policies. In today's application of the rule of law, the accused's rights are fully protected and the presumption of innocence before any conviction is held and entirely practiced. It is interesting that today the leaders have repeatedly insisted in protecting these rights. However, they have forgotten that these basic human rights were not provided to any victim of their regime. This dichotomy has been more than obvious when the court found out that the atrocities for which they are tried truly occurred during the regime.

Today, it is very important to bring legal accountability for those surviving KR leaders who

caused such human degradation to the millions of Cambodians who perished and those who survived the regime. It is even more critical to see justice done for the first time through the conviction of the infamous head of the notorious KR prison, S-21. In a recent pronouncement for the Supreme Court's final judgment on February 3, 2012, Duch was sentenced to life in prison. For the first time in historical record, the criminal in charge of the KR mass atrocity at the torture and interrogation center was convicted of crimes against humanity, war crimes, and grave breaches of the 1949 Geneva Convention.

Regrettably justice may come too late for some victims. Duch's prosecution and conviction were perhaps most welcomed by many Cambodians, particularly those who survived the KR notorious prison of S-21. There is, however, still debate over to what extent this final judgment will help victims achieve justice and consequently restore their dignity as human beings since they were gravely mistreated under the reign of the KR. The case of Vann Nath, one of the survivors from S-21 who passed away before seeing justice done, is one of the examples of justice delayed. In 2009 Vann Nath testified against Duch at the ECCC. His testimony at the court revealed to the world that truth and justice are so important. "I hope that by the end of the tribunal justice can be tangible, can be seen by everybody," Vann Nath quoted in a news report as he testified. Former S-21 detainees like Vann Nath, Bou Meng, Chum Manh, were terribly treated as if they were animals. Vann Nath testified, "...We ate our meals next to dead bodies and we did not care anyway because we were like animals. I lost my dignity." In September 2011, Vann Nath left the world forever without knowing for how long Duch would be convicted. In his case justice might not be tangible. As Bou

Meng, a survivor of S-21 whose wife was executed at the prison, noted, "I feel regret for losing Vann Nath. He died without knowing that justice has been done for him."

Thus, justice serves as an indispensable measure for victims. When justice is achieved victims might be able to leave their painful memories behind and move forward. It is, though, difficult to define justice as a single notion since it means many different things to different people. For Vann Nath, his soul might possibly rest in peace by seeing the criminal brought to trial and sentenced. For Sek Say, a daughter of S-21 victim Chan Kim Srun, she might not see this verdict as a compensation for her parents and brother's life. But it at least helps her to understand the truth behind what happened at S-21 and to see the leader of the prison held accountable before the Cambodian people. So, Bou Meng's concern over the lateness of justice did open a valid question as to the extent to which justice would be achieved by victims or whether justice is done on time.

### **Verdict: Individual Guilt**

In addition to challenging the significance of the criminal court in the aftermath of the atrocity, Cambodian survivors challenge some notions about individual accountabilities of all their actions. Whether individual accountabilities are necessary for the healing



Duch in the courtroom on February 3, 2012 (ECCC photo)

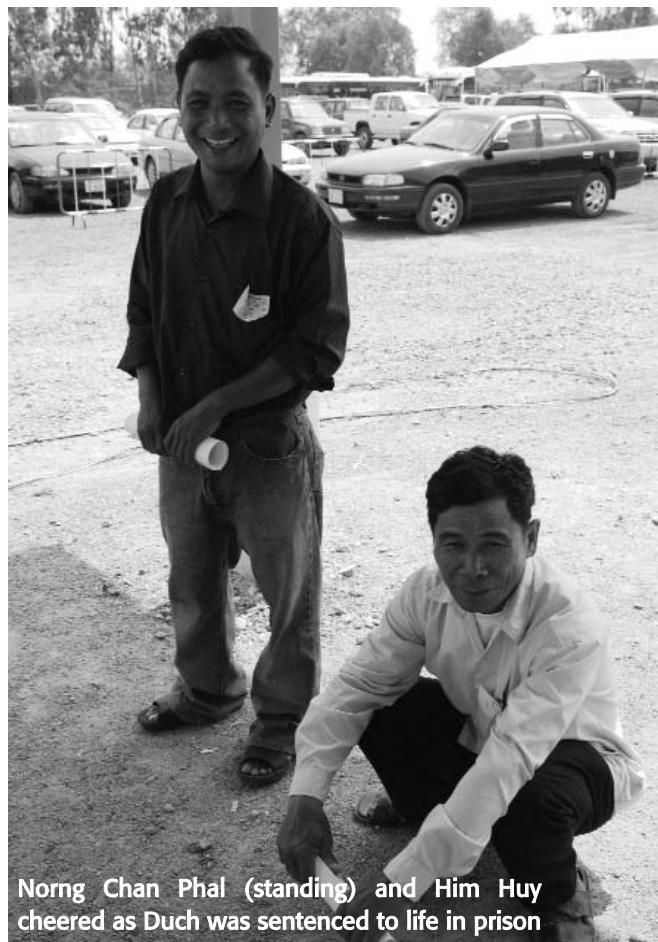
process or reducing the sense of guilt for lower level cadres is still a subject of debate. The verdict clearly found Duch guilty for the crimes committed at S-21 and the grave violations of human rights. Not only victims whose dignity was stripped off under the treatment the KR, KR lower level cadre's humanity was also devalued, given they directly committed the crimes during the course of the KR regime. It is unclear though whether Duch's guilt would reduce a sense of guilt for those cadres or if they should be held morally, if not legally, accountable for the suffering of the victims.

Mr. Prak Khan, a former cadre who was in charge of interrogating the prisoners at S-21 during the Democratic Kampuchea regime said, "I still feel embarrassed for what I have committed during the KR regime, although Duch was found guilty. To some extent, the judgment helps relieve my worry and reduce some sense of guilt that always haunts me, but I still feel embarrassed for my involvement in the work of S-21." Mr. Prak wishes to put his past memories behind to move on from this embarrassment. However, he still values the importance of sharing personal experience with younger generation as it would help them "to learn from this lesson."

Similarly, Mr. Soam Met, a former guard at S-21 explained the situation in which he was pressured to do what he was ordered. Mr. Soam described the fear he had during which he served as a guard at the prison. He said, "I feel guilty for I used to be involved in the atrocity and took part in such mass killings. But after Duch was found guilty, I feel so much relieved and that the sense of guilt over what I have committed is partly reduced." He continued to explain that his neighbors have come to understand about his experiences living with the KR. They even "encouraged me to provide testimonies to the court about my experiences and what I know about the time I worked at S-21," added Mr. Soam. Mr. Him Huy, once a transporter of prisoners to be killed at Choeung Ek killing site and a deputy chief of S-21 guards, admitted that he had killed five people by clubbing them with iron bars. He said in the exit interview that he was satisfied with the final judgment

as it brought justice to him and the Cambodian people in general. His value or dignity was lost, given the fact that he was involved in killing. He has had to live under suspicion and hatred from his community. The trial process, however, helps explain the truth and the situations that lower level cadre were in. Mr. Him opined, "I think the judgment would have a positive effect on me and other lower-level cadres. This verdict helps to bring back my dignity and value as a human being."

In addition to the importance of knowing the truth about what led to the genocide in Cambodia and who was in charge, victims need to see the lower level cadres held to moral accountability to the extent possible. Besides legal accountability, victims want to see lower cadres taking such responsibilities as giving an acknowledgment of the factual truth and findings, acknowledging their personal responsibilities for having committed crimes, expressing good attitude toward people in general, serving the community, participating



Norng Chan Phal (standing) and Him Huy cheered as Duch was sentenced to life in prison



in religious ceremonies...etc.

Ms. Kim Huoy, a sixty-year-old woman from Pursat, expressed her feelings for lower-level cadres, "I never thought of taking revenge on the former lower-level cadres as they only follow orders. I am glad that they still survived to reveal the truth of what happened at Tuol Sleng." She continued to comment on what the cadre has mentioned, "They should not feel embarrassed for what they did. In that environment, most of them had no choice but to do they were told to do. I have never had any hatred for them." Peou Sinuon, also from Pursat, shared a similar view. She said, "For those lower-level [cadres] at the community level, I have forgiven them already because they have acknowledged the truth, they have participated in community service, and performed religious ceremonies with victims. They also donated to the pagoda and community. They try to do good deeds."

It might be difficult for those whose family members were killed at S-21 to make peace with the past. Mr. Norng Chan Phal, a child survivor from S-21, lost his parents to the atrocious S-21 prison. He himself was sent to the prison along with his mother. At first, he barely coped with the past traumatic events that happened to him and to his family. Time and the process of the trial have helped him gradually heal from painful memories. It also helps him find closure to the past.

Through justice, Norng is hopeful for an effort to reconcile the past. With regard to the role of the verdict in the reconciliation process, he commented, "I think the former lower-level cadres also have a very difficult time to cope with the past since some of them might have been living with the past for over thirty years and it's hard for them to get out of this terrible memory. I think this verdict will help the lower level cadres to restore their value since it gives face to the public that this mass atrocity has been held legally responsible for by the leaders and that they have been sent to trial to reveal the truth. The neighbors of these lower-level cadres will gradually understand them." Norng also agreed with the statement that former KR cadres

should do the good deeds to release them from the past sufferings and to make their children feel good about them.

Coming to understand the life experiences of former lower-level cadres is crucial to the process of reconciliation. The trial process has provided an opportunity for lower cadres to share their personal experiences and the reasons why they joined the KR. The trial also provides the opportunity for victims to understand the real faces of those who led the genocide in Cambodia. By learning from different experiences of lower cadres and the trial process, survivors appear to agree that the legal mechanism among other things is an important phase to help restore face of those who lost their value and dignity as a consequence of the KR's policy.

### **Conclusion**

The KR's legacy has left a big scar on every individual and negatively affects the lives of the survivors as well as former cadre. Both survivors and former KR cadre hope that the legal mechanism would help turn away the "Culture of Impunity" in Cambodia by bringing those senior leaders and those most responsible to justice. For victims, seeing justice done is important for the long process to achieve closure and reconciliation with the past. But justice is not only for the victims, it is also important for rebuilding and restoring the nation. Through justice, some Cambodian survivors believe that their sufferings have been acknowledged and their human dignity has been restored. Similarly, former cadres who were directly involved in the mass atrocities feel that their acknowledgment of the truth and justice done through criminal court are important for them to move from their past and integrate into society. Their actions today are also crucial to building trust among the community. Coming to understand the past would be vital for victims and former cadre to value one another as human beings.

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***Savina Sirik is a DC-Cam team leader of Living Document Project.***

# JUSTICE FOR A FORMER PRISONER No. 570

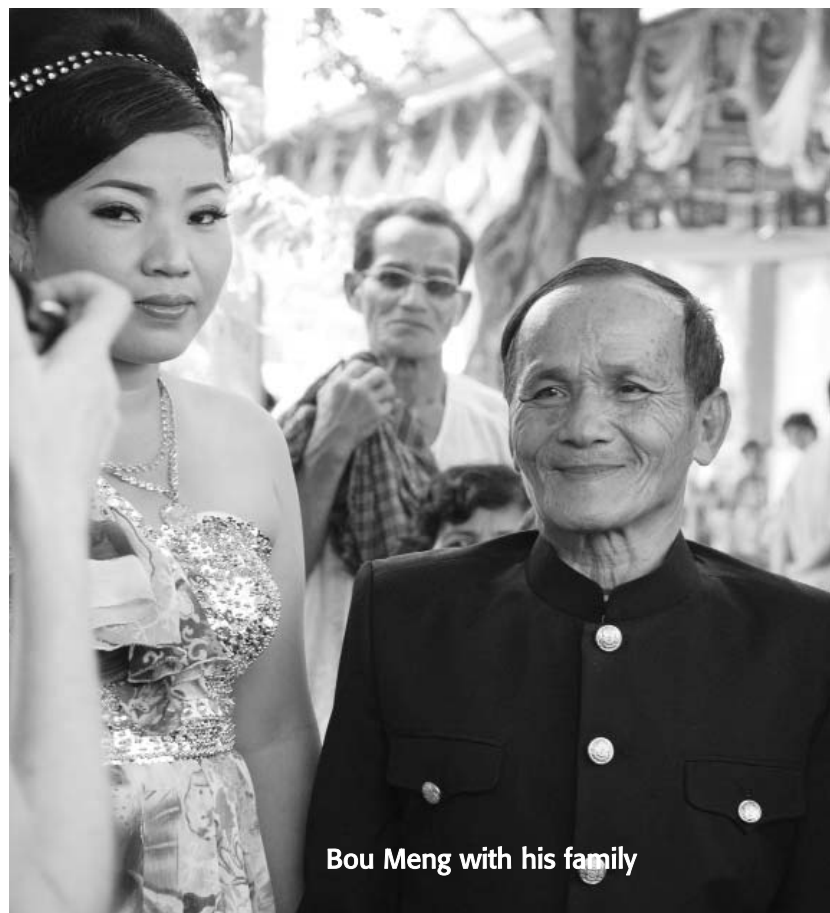
*Socheat Nhean*

After about a two-hour drive on a paved and partly bumpy and dusty road, we reached the house of a former prisoner of S-21 who, at the time, was given a number—570. His house located sixty kilometers south of Phnom Penh along the Bassack River in Koh Thom District, Kandal Province. Former prisoner of Khmer Rouge's S-21 Prison, Bou Meng has lived there since the 1980s. He currently lives with his second wife, to whom he married in 1990, and his children.

The day of our visit was a special occasion. It was a housewarming party, for which Bou Meng had saved for several years. The party helped to celebrate the completion of his two-story house that is made of concrete, and more than two hundreds guests were invited to join. One of the guests was his fellow

inmate—Chum Manh. Dressed in a dark blue suit, similar in style to the uniforms that the senior leaders of Democratic Kampuchea wore as they greeted foreigners when they visited Cambodia between 1975 and 1979, Bou Meng was happier than any other day. Today he might not have any memory of his imprisonment more than thirty years ago at S-21.

With a smile and warm welcoming attitude, Bou Meng came to shake hands with me as well as other guests as we arrived at his new house. He looked happy and cheerful and he greeted us warmly and treated us as more special than the others. "The building [of this house] took two years; I began to buy material based on the money I saved," said Bou Meng. He took us to the new house, which is very well off



when compared to other villagers, most of whom earn their living by growing vegetables and rice. Dressed like a bride, his wife, Duong Chhuny, was wearing a big gold necklace and rings and came to talk with the guests cheerfully as they attended the housewarming party, which they were clearly enjoying.

However, Bou Meng exposes his life to the past every day. He never forgets his first wife who was sent to S-21 with him, but was executed by the Khmer Rouge. He comes to Tuol Sleng Genocidal Museum, formerly known as S-21 Prison, every day in order to sell the book entitled *"Bou Meng: A survivor from Khmer Rouge Prisoner S-21,"* written by the former Khmer Rouge tribunal public affairs officer, Vannak Huy, and published by the Documentation Center of Cambodia. His story appears in the book, which describes his life as a young boy of the Mekong River until the very current date of demanding justice. Born in 1941 into a peasant family, Bou Meng was sent to stay in a Buddhist pagoda at the age of five, at which time he began to have an interest in drawing, a skill that saved his life more than

three decades later at S-21. Today, his paintings, which depict his own life and how he was treated by the Khmer Rouge, hang on the wall of his living room where he can see them every day.

In early February, former S-21 prison chief, Kaing Guek Eav, alias Duch, was sentenced to life in prison, a move that Bou Meng and other Khmer Rouge survivors cheered. However, another step for Bou Meng to have fuller justice is to have a better standard of living, which he is having now. "I could not live on my state monthly salary of 100,000 Riels (25\$)," said Bou Meng, "therefore, I need to sell the book of my history." Currently, Bou Meng lives on this monograph. Over the last two years, he earned approximately 30,000 USD from selling books. "Some foreign visitors take pity on me and buy my books; I go there [Tuol Sleng] every day; I never miss any day," said Bou Meng. This book has helped improve his livelihood.

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***Socheat Nhean is a team leader of Searching for the Truth Magazine***

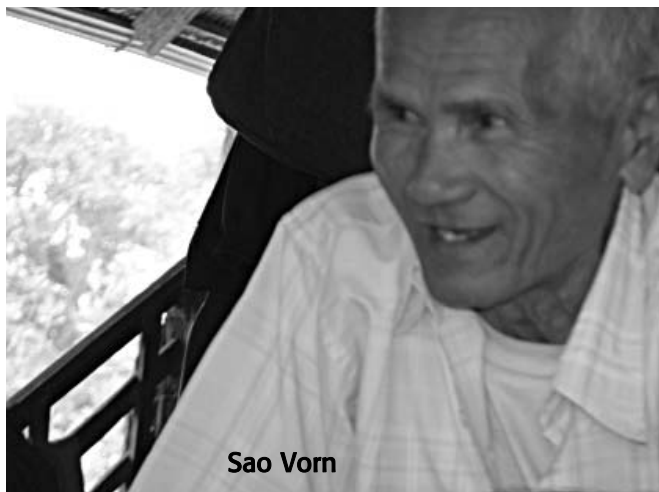


# FORMER KHMER ROUGE COMMUNE MEMBER SUPPORTS THE TRIALS OF THE KHMER ROUGE

*Lakhena RY*

Sao Vorn was a former Khmer Rouge (KR) cadre. He was accused of a moral offense, but luckily not executed. He was one of the committee members of Kampong Svay commune in Kien Svay District, Kandal Province.

As a child, Sao Vorn attended primary school at Ang Rokar Pagoda and pursued his studies at Takeo Secondary School. Due to destitute living conditions, he quit school in fifth grade and helped his parents with farming. Then he became a construction worker in Phnom Penh, seeking shelter at Sampov Meas Pagoda. In 1968, he married Meas Son after their three-year relationship. Upon their marriage, his father asked him to set up a family in his home village. There, Sao Vorn and his wife farmed for a living.



In 1970, after the coup that overthrew then-head of state Prince Sihanouk, Sao Vorn joined the KR revolution as recommended by Mom, a commune chief of Cheang Tong of Tram Kak district. His loyalty to the Angkar revolution impressed Mom, and as a result he was promoted to be a village chief of Trapeang Teuk. Vorn said that in January 1971 some villages in Tram Kak District were turned into a battlefield

between the military soldiers of the KR and that of the Lon Nol. Under such a chaotic situation, he evacuated people in the village to settle down in Popel Commune near Ang Tasom. On September 30 the same year, he was again promoted as the president of National United Fronts of Kampuchea in Cheang Tong Commune. As massive turmoil in the commune gradually intensified due to constant gunfire, bombardment, and shelling, some villagers escaped into the forest, while others hid in fox holes for safety.

In an attempt to score the victory, the KR conjoined with the Viet Cong troops to fight against the Lon Nol soldiers, causing severe injuries and death of both sides. In the meantime, Vorn attended a meeting with Ta Mok alias Ta 15; Chou Chet alias Si; Korng Chap alias Se; Saom; Meas Mut; Yeay Chaem (Im Chaem); Ta Tit; and several other leaders. Chairing the meeting, Ta Mok discussed policy of centralization, stating "Commune's and district's chiefs and Region chiefs cannot assert authority to kill anyone. Resisting against the policy means excavating for your own grave."

On April 17, 1975, three hours after the KR declared victory, Angkar arrested Sao Vorn's brother under accusation of affiliation with the Lon Nol government and transferred him to Office 204 (Prey Kduoch) in Tram Kak District, Takeo Province. Vorn sought for a solution and went to negotiate with Khom, chief of District 105 (Tram Kak) and who was Ta Mok's daughter, to release his brother. Taking into account, Vorn's faithful position as a revolutionist, Khom accepted his request to release his brother.

In May 1975, Angkar assigned Vorn to be one of the committee members of Kompong Svay commune, Kien Svay District, Kandal Province under supervision

of Bo, the district chief. Vorn mobilized villagers to build dams, dig canals, and grow rice. According to Vorn, despite their heavy work, people had barely enough to eat, while there were constant arrests of many people, under allegations of political tendencies and affiliation with the former government.

In 1977 Angkar ordered village and commune chiefs to organize mass evacuation of the local people including the "April-17" people to settle down in Pursat and Battambang Province. In 1978, Vorn formed a group of villagers to work on an orange plantation nearby Svay Thom Hospital, Battambang Province. At the hospital, he happened to know a woman who just gave birth to a child. Having sympathy on the woman, Sao Vorn gave her some oranges. As a result, Angkar accused him of a moral offense with the woman who was also a wife of a Lon Nol soldier. Vorn was demoted and he led his life in fear as Angkar began to arrest other commune and district chiefs. Vorn said that at the meantime, the food ration for ordinary people was scarce while the KR cadres had surplus food to enjoy.

In 1979 after the Vietnamese troops entered Cambodia, Sao Vorn returned to his home village. Today he leads a very simple life with his second wife and ten children. He is a member of Cheang Tong commune council. Even though he was a former KR cadre, Vorn was delighted to witness the trials of the senior KR leaders. He has longed for the truth that the senior KR leaders would reveal.

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***Lakhena Ry is a team member of Promoting Accountability Project.***

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# KHIEU SAMPHAN'S COOK

*Leakhena Tat*

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Meas Channa

Meas Channa knows a former head of state of Democratic Kampuchea, Khieu Samphan pretty well. As a former cook for Khieu Samphan, Channa said that “He [Khieu Samphan] was a kind and generous man. He sometimes took photos of me and my friends.” After the KR regime collapsed, Channa have learned a lot about the Khmer Rouge regime as well as about her former boss, Khieu Samphan. In early February this year, Channa attended a trial hearing and confronted with her former boss. Her mind completed change “Khieu Samphan is indeed a criminal,” said Channa.

Fifty-year-old Channa lives in Chum Kiri District, Kampot Province as a farmer. She is the fourth child among her six siblings (four brothers and two sisters). Her mother passed away in 1979. When she was young, she quit Wat Sre Primary School—after two years of education—to help her parents with farming.

In 1975 when the Khmer Rouge completely seized power, Channa and other forty unmarried youth from her villages were assigned to work in mobile units to carry soil for a dam construction project in O Phdao Stream. One week later, she was permitted to visit her parents. She felt extremely delighted when visiting

home. However, her mother advised her “You should not visit home often because you are under Angkar’s control.” Sometimes, she was assigned to build a dam in the River Phe for a few months. It was not until the work was completed that she could visit home. At that time she led her life in extreme fear because many were arrested and executed by the KR cadres.

In 1977, Angkar recruited outstanding youth with clean backgrounds and biographies, and who possessed hard-working personalities to work in Phnom Penh. Totally, there were fifteen youths selected from different villages, five of whom were from Channa’s village whom Channa could name all of them—Troat, Aun, Kul, Nav and Channa herself. Channa recalled, “If I did not work hard, I would have faced an unfortunate fate.” On the day of their departure to Phnom Penh, all selected youths were called one by one to get into the car leaving for Phnom Penh. Their first stop was at Ta Mok’s house in Takeo Province. At Ta Mok’s house that night, they received a brief speech from Ta Mok advising them to keep up with their hard work. The next day after breakfast, they left for Phnom Penh. The group was assigned to work in different places.

At fifteen years of age, Channa was separated from her parents. In Phnom Penh during the meeting of Communist Party of Kampuchea members, she worked as cook for some KR middle-ranking leaders. As a cook, Channa frequently saw Pol Pot, Ieng Sary, Khieu Samphan and Ieng Thirith. Among them, she was closest to Khieu Samphan because she was his cook. Channa said of her former boss “Khieu Samphan usually dressed up in a suit and traveled by a black car with two body guards. He sometimes went to eat lunch at other places. His favorite dish was sour soup. It was very rare that he drank wine.” Channa

recalled that “Khieu Samphan moved from place to place and frequently traveled abroad. He also often visited the palace. He was a quiet person, and rarely talked.”

Channa said that Pol Pot sometimes came for lunch and always informed Khieu Samphan before the visit. Khieu Samphan also informed Channa immediately to prepare more food. Channa added Pol Pot and Khieu Samphan as well as other leaders had their meal at a round table located in the western part of the house. When asked about Nuon Chea, Channa said that he rarely joined the meal. However, Ieng Sary and Son Sen stopped by sometimes for a meal. On one occasion, Channa was advised by Khieu Samphan not to pass by the meeting room during the meeting. She also noticed that there were several other meetings for lower-ranking cadres to discuss with the senior leaders.

Channa never experienced starvation because food was plenty. She said that fish, meat, and fresh fruit were transported to the stock on daily basis. Moreover, the cook could finish all the food that remained. During the anniversary of victory on April 17 each year, Channa was allowed to see performances at Olympic stadium.

Despite that she had enough to eat, she ceaselessly thought of her family because she was never permitted to visit home.

Besides working as a cook, Channa was assigned to provide reception to foreign guests from China and Korea at the airport. She had to dress up in traditional costumes. On such occasions, many of the senior KR leaders such as Khieu Samphan, Nuon Chea, and Ieng Sary often welcomed the guests. What Channa and others had to do was to shout, “Hooray! China,” or “Hooray! North Korea!”

After the Vietnamese troops liberated Phnom Penh, Channa moved to Samlaut district, Battambang Province. Due to mass chaos, she decided to move back to her home village. While she was in Bakan District, Pursat Province, she witnessed many Vietnamese soldiers moving around the area. During her one-week halt in Pursat Province, she received rice and other necessities from the Vietnamese soldiers. After weeks of traveling, she finally reunited with her family and she got married in 1983.

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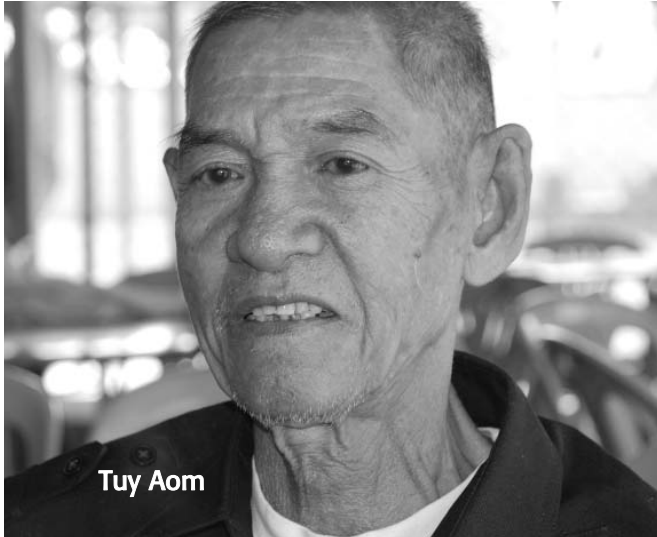
***Leakhena Tat is a former staff-writer of Searching for the Truth Magazine.***



Meas Channa, sitting fourth from left, posted a picture before entering the courtroom

# FORMER DEPUTY DISTRICT SECRETARY SHARES HIS STORY

*Bunthorn Som*



Sixty-nine-year-old Tuy Aom was born in Bar Phnom District, Prey Veng Province. Under the Khmer Rouge, he held various positions as commune militiaman, secretary of economics in a twin-region, Region 23-24, and an deputy secretary of Mean Chey District, Svay Rieng Province. He was the fifth child among his ten siblings. As a child, Tuy Aom attended primary school at Chrak Svay Pagoda. He decided to quit school at tenth grade and entered monkhood. However, he

pursued his studies at Secondary Pali School for three years. Despite the fact that he failed the exam, he studied Buddhist theology for another three years. Finally, he earned a certificate of Buddhist Education.

Years later, Aom left the monkhood and got married. He then worked as a cyclo rider in Phnom Penh for a living and later served on a underground line of the Khmer Rouge. In 1970, Aom attended a military training organized by Viet Cong troops along the border between Krang Leav and Kompong Trabek District, Prey Veng Province. The General of Viet Cong troops declared that the training aimed to strengthen the resistance movement in order to liberate King Sihanouk's regime. Upon completion of the training, he took part in fighting against the Lon Nol soldiers in An-Deuk battlefield. At that time, he destroyed the Lon Nol alliance's cable and telephone connections.

In 1971 there was a reform in military hierarchy and leadership in Khum Thmei Village. As such, Aom requested the general to transfer him to the village. Unfortunately, when he made it to the village, positions such as village and commune chief he desired had



already been taken. However, he was promoted to chair a security office in Sre Koang Commune. Aom held this position until 1975 and then was promoted as secretary of the Economic Region 24, including Peam Chor District, Kompong Trabek District, Peam Ror District, Me Sang District, Ba Phnom District, and Kamchay Mea District, all of which were situated in the southwest part of the country. As secretary, he operated the management of food, clothing, medication, and welfare of the people. Basically, he

wrote letters of requests for food and medicine for monthly supplies to the Social Affairs Office.

In 1977 Angkar transferred Aom to improve the quality of life of people in several districts in Region 23. Aom was responsible for overseeing the living condition of people in cooperatives. Initially Aom ran an office in Kompong Ror, Svay Rieng Province where 400 prisoners were detained in the Sok Srok District Security Office. At the same time, he was responsible for evacuating people from Region 23 under direct orders from upper leaders. He was also an undersecretary of Mean Chey Thmei District (currently Svay Teap District), Svay Rieng Province.

Refugee Camp in Thailand. There he joined the Khmer Rouge movement again. He worked as a communications officer for Regiments 107, 108, and 109 and Division 450 under supervision of Sok Pheap and So Houng. He was often assigned to stand by in Dambok Khung, Soeu, La-Vea, and Sampouv Luon regions in Battambang Province. He continued to serve the

Khmer Rouge until integration into the new government was stimulated in early 1996. Today he and his family live in Boeng Beng Commune, Malai District, Banteay Meanchey Province and he earns his living as a farmer.

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

## READING HISTORY OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

*DC-Cam's publication History of Democratic Kampuchea written by Dy Kamboly and teacher guidebooks can be downloaded with free of charge at [http://dccam.org/Projects/Genocide/Genocide\\_Education.htm](http://dccam.org/Projects/Genocide/Genocide_Education.htm)*



Tuy Aom at ECCC

# Case 001 Appeal Judgment: Duch Sentenced to Life

*Randle DeFalco*

On February 3, 2012, the Supreme Court Chamber (SCC) of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC) issued its judgment on appeal in Case 001 against Kaing Guek Eav, alias Duch. Duch had previously been convicted by the ECCC Trial Chamber (TC) of crimes against humanity and war crimes and sentenced to a term of 35 years of imprisonment. This sentence was reduced by the Trial Chamber to a total term of 19 additional years to account for time already served and the violation of Duch's human rights by the Cambodian government, which, as the TC held, had arrested and detained him in 1999 unlawfully.

## **Overview of Arguments of the Parties on Appeal**

On appeal, Duch had made a late-hour challenge to the ECCC's jurisdiction over him, arguing that he qualifies as neither a "senior leader" nor an individual "most responsible" for the crimes committed during the Democratic Kampuchea (DK) period in Cambodia (1975-1979), as required by the statute of the ECCC.

The prosecution also appealed, requesting an increase in Duch's sentence and that the legal characterization of his convictions for crimes against humanity be altered to better reflect Duch's individual culpability and to include rape as a discrete crime against humanity.

The civil parties appealed against the Trial Chamber's rejection of numerous civil party applications in its judgment and also requested additional reparations awards which had been denied by the Trial Chamber. The SCC's findings in Case 001 are especially important to the ECCC as a whole moving forward, as the appeal judgment will provide a final answer to many important legal questions affecting all Cases before the Court.

## **Summary of Judgment Read Out**

Unlike recent proceedings in Case 002, which

have been sparsely attended and covered mostly by local media outlets, the ECCC grounds were filled with spectators and international journalists, highlighting the historic nature of the day's pronouncement.

At 10 a.m. sharp, the SCC judges filled into the



**Duch in the courtroom on February 3, 2012 (ECCC Photo)**

ECCC courtroom. At this point, Duch was brought to the witness stand to hear the pronouncement of the judgment for his appeal. Throughout the reading of the judgment, Duch sat stoically while SCC President Kong Sri summarized the Trial Chamber judgment and findings. The Chamber noted that it would only provide



a summary of the Chamber's findings on appeal, with a full written judgment to be issued "in due course."

After summarizing the procedural background of the appeal process and the protracted, complex and historic nature of ECCC Case 001, Kong Srim moved on to the substantive decisions of the Chamber.

Kong Srim announced that the SCC had made the following substantive findings in its judgment on appeal:

### 1. Personal Jurisdiction

First, the Chamber noted that fair trial standards



demand that an accused have the right to challenge his sentence and the court's jurisdiction over him throughout the proceedings against him. Accordingly, the Chamber rejected the prosecution argument that Duch's appeal against personal jurisdiction was procedurally barred.

Kong Srim then provided the Chamber's findings on the ECCC's personal jurisdiction, announcing that SCC had concluded that the terms "senior leaders" and "most responsible individuals cannot be read as a strict jurisdictional requirement but should be interpreted as a "non-justiciable policy guide for the Co-Investigating Judges [(CIJs)] and Office of the Co-Prosecutor (OCP) in the exercise of their discretion of the [appropriate] scope" of prosecutions and investigations. Thus, the SCC found further that decisions as to who qualifies as a "senior leader" or "most responsible" individual are "exclusively policy decisions for which the [CIJs] and [OCP], and not the Chambers, are accountable, and accordingly dismissed Duch's appeal on personal jurisdictional grounds.

### 2. Crimes Against Humanity

Following the Chamber's somewhat surprising finding that there is no strict *de facto* limitation on personal jurisdiction at the ECCC, the Chamber President moved on to the issue of crimes against humanity.

Kong Srim noted that the ECCC is bound by the doctrine of *nullum crimen sine lege* ("no crime without law"), forbidding prosecution for crimes that did not clearly exist when the underlying acts occurred.

The Chamber first stated that generally, it agrees with the TC that crimes against humanity existed as of 1975 in a form sufficiently foreseeable and accessible to Duch and thus this class of crimes can be applied against him generally.

The Chamber then moved onto individual issues related to crimes against humanity convictions.

### 3. Scope of Enslavement Conviction Left Undisturbed

First, the SCC held that the prosecution erred in its interpretation of the TC's characterization of enslavement. Specifically, Kong Srim noted that forced labor was not an element of enslavement in the TC's formulation but solely a factor to be considered. However, the President stated, the TC did not clearly delineate the precise definition of enslavement and provided its own view of the definition as of 1975. The

SCC's definition includes the element that a perpetrator possesses the "intention to accrue some gain through exercise over persons of the powers that attach to the right of ownership." The Chamber also found that there was no evidence adduced at trial that Duch sought personal gain from exercising complete control over detainees at S-21 and held that, consequently, the TC was correct in "limiting its findings on enslavement only to those detainees at S-21 who had been subjected to forced labor" and dismissed this ground of the prosecution's appeal.

#### **4. Rape Correctly Subsumed by TC under the Crime of Torture**

The Chamber next discussed the issue of whether an instance of rape at S-21 qualified as a discrete crime against humanity or solely as a method of committing torture as a crime against humanity. The Chamber upheld the TC's decision to subsume an act of rape committed at S-21 into the definition of torture as a crime against humanity. This holding resulted from the SCC's finding that there was a "lack of support for the existence of rape as a distinct crime against humanity during the ECCC's temporal jurisdiction."

#### **5. Persecution Conviction Limited to "Political Enemies"**

As for persecution, Kong Srim stated that the SCC agreed with the majority of judges of the TC regarding the definition of persecution as of 1975. Furthermore, the SCC agreed with the TC that "political enemies" detained at S-21 were persecuted. The SCC overturned the TC's holding that every detainee at S-21 was a victim of persecution, noting that "[a]s the revolution wore on . . . individuals were indiscriminately apprehended, mistreated and eliminated without any attempt at rational or coherent justification on political grounds." Therefore, individuals who were detained, tortured and killed "who were not political enemies . . . did not fall under the notion of persecution."

#### **6. Other Crimes Against Humanity Not Subsumed Under Persecution Conviction**

President Kong Srim then turned to the issue of cumulative convictions for crimes against humanity.

The TC had subsumed all crimes against humanity under the crime of persecution in its judgment, and the prosecution had appealed, arguing that a conviction for each crime against humanity must be entered individually to reflect history accurately. The SCC found that the TC applied the correct test in analyzing cumulative convictions at the ECCC. Nonetheless, the SCC found that the TC erred in applying the test by focusing on the conduct underlying the charges rather than the "elements of legal definitions of crimes." Thus, Duch's convictions for crimes against humanity were modified to consist, cumulatively, of the crimes against humanity of persecution, extermination (encompassing murder), enslavement, imprisonment, torture and other inhumane acts.

#### **Duch Sentenced to Life in Prison**

Regarding the critical issue of sentencing, the SCC agreed with the prosecution that ECCC Law is "special criminal legislation" and, therefore, Cambodian domestic sentencing guidelines do not prevail over ECCC Law. As for Duch's substantive sentence of 35 years imposed by the TC, the SCC found that the TC erred by "attach[ing] undue weight to mitigating circumstances and insufficient weight to the gravity of crimes and aggravating circumstances." The SCC then found that due to the "particularly shocking and heinous character" of the crimes committed by Duch at S-21 and the minimum number of 12,272 victims who were killed there, that Duch's crimes "were among the worst in recorded human history." As a consequence, the SCC "decide[d] to impose a sentence of life imprisonment against [Duch]." This announcement was what the majority of the audience was waiting to hear, and the somewhat unexpected announcement of a life sentence sent off a flurry of activity.

After announcing the life sentence, President Kong Srim explained that, in the view of five of the seven SCC judges (Judges Klonowiecka-Milart and Jayasinghe dissenting), "the [TC] misinterpreted the relevant international jurisprudence to mean that violations of [Duch's] rights should be redressed by [the TC] even in the absence of violations attributable to the ECCC

and in the absence of abuse of process.” Thus, the necessary super-majority of SCC judges had concluded that “the [TC] should have rejected [Duch’s] request for remedy” for his unlawful detention.

Kong Srim then stated that the two dissenting international judges were of the opinion that Duch’s sentence should have been reduced to a “fixed term of 30 years” as a remedy for his unlawful detention by the government of Cambodia. The international judges had stated in their dissent that such a remedy is proper because:

1. the ECCC falls “within the existing court structure of Cambodia”;
2. there is a “strong nexus” between the case against Duch at the ECCC and the charges leading to his unlawful detainment;
3. the “gravity of the deprivation of liberty was extreme by international standards”; and
4. the ECCC is “uniquely positioned to grant a remedy of a restorative nature.”

The SCC then held unanimously held that Duch is entitled to credit for the time he has already served in detention since 1999.

#### **Ten Additional Civil Parties Admitted**

Kong Srim then turned to the issue of civil party status in Case 001. The SCC found that the criterion of “special bonds of affection and dependence” utilized by the TC properly delimits the scope of the qualification as an “indirect victim.”

As for the factual findings of the TC regarding certain rejected civil party applications, the SCC noted that the determination of whether a “strong bond” existed between individuals must be made with an awareness of Cambodian culture, wherein the line between “immediate” and “extended” family members is not as clearly delineated as in some other countries and cultures. Kong Srim then stated that it was proper for the “court of first instance” to make decisions on civil party status. Thus, the SCC found that the TC had a lawful basis to evaluate the merits of civil party applications in its judgment.

Nonetheless, the SCC found that “there appears

to have been a fundamental misunderstanding” between the TC and civil party applicants regarding the admission process. The SCC noted that this confusion may have caused anguish for applicants, who were unexpectedly denied admission. The SCC then noted that it had therefore allowed civil party applicants to submit further evidence in support of their applications during the appeals process.

The SCC then admitted ten additional civil parties and rejected the remainder of the civil party appellants’ applications as “inadmissible.”

#### **Civil Party Appeal for Additional Reparations Summarily Dismissed**

Kong Srim then turned to the issue of rejected reparations requests made by the civil party teams in Case 001.

The SCC held that it has no jurisdiction to grant requests for reparations that entail, explicitly or implicitly, the active involvement of the Cambodian government. The SCC then stated that reparations awards must only be granted that can be realistically implemented, noting that Duch had been found to be indigent and, thus, could not contribute financially to any reparations.

Kong Srim then stated that these facts resulted in a number of reparations claims that were “predestined for rejection” according to the SCC because they necessarily involved the Cambodian government or required financial means that are unavailable. The SCC then rejected all additional reparations claims requested by the civil parties beyond those granted by the TC.

#### **Disposition of the Appeal Judgment Summarized and Duch Returned to Detention**

Duch was then asked to stand to hear the disposition of the SCC. Kong Srim summarized the Chamber’s above-discussed holdings and officially entered a sentence of life imprisonment against Duch. This concluded the appeal judgment announcement process, and Duch was returned to the ECCC detention center pending transfer to national authorities.

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***Randle DeFalco is currently a DC-Cam legal advisor, JD Rutgers School of Law.***

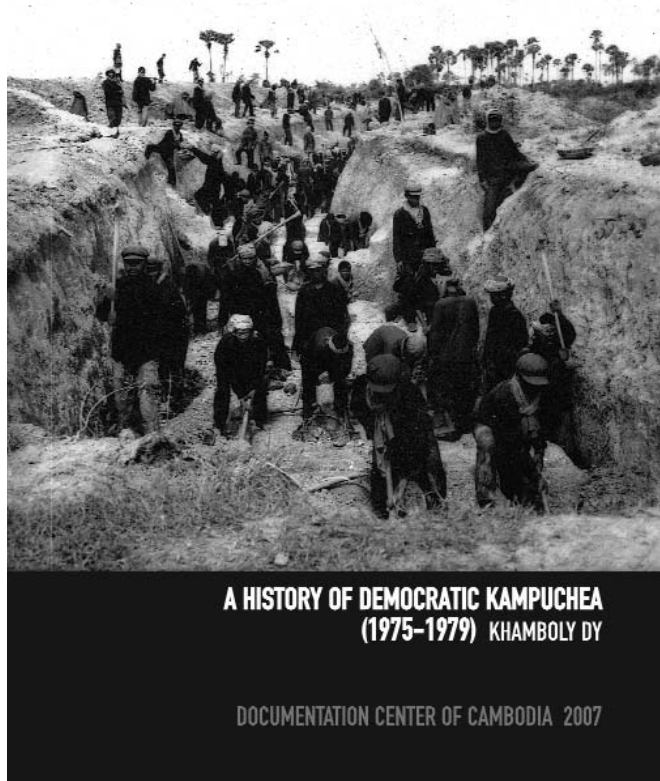
# DEVELOPING THE GENOCIDE EDUCATION PROJECT IN CAMBODIA

*Morgan Furlong*

*How wonderful it is that nobody  
need wait a single moment before  
starting to improve the world.*

-- Anne Frank

After thirty years of inadequate education in Cambodia about the genocide that took place from 1975-1979, the Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam), in collaboration with the Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sports, succeeded in establishing a national curriculum to incorporate this critical, dark period of history into all Cambodian public schools through teaching historian Khamboly Dy's textbook, *A History of Democratic Kampuchea 1975-1979* to



grades nine through twelve. Beyond the classroom, DC-Cam holds public educational forums where students, villagers, and teachers receive copies of the book, participate in a lesson, listen to survivors tell

their stories and ask questions about the time period. The textbook and the forum are incredible innovations to genocide education in Cambodia, and there is an ongoing mission by DC-Cam and the Ministry of Education to continuously improve this field. The textbook, although immensely informative, is the first of its kind and could be developed even more if a different selection of images and captions were used throughout the book, while the public education forum could have a greater effect on the listeners—and a more beneficial experience for the speakers (the victims)—if it were structured in a manner more sensitive to the needs of both the speakers and the listeners.

Teaching this period of history confronts unique challenges. The educational material for teaching the Cambodian genocide must reach a complex balance: the perpetrators cannot be portrayed as monsters because it is vital that students understand that ordinary people are capable of levels of violence. As James Waller said in his article, "Perpetrators of Genocide—ultimately, being aware of our own capacity for evil and the evolutionary, individual, social and situational constraints that foster it—is the best safeguard we can have against future genocide. Therefore, learning how to combat the evil instead of denying, or ignoring its existence will benefit younger generations. Furthermore, it is imperative that students do not begin to vilify their parents or their friends' parents who were members of the Khmer Rouge because this could lead to more conflicts within communities. On June 7, 2011 in the Kandal province, USC students interviewed Say Nam, a recently widowed woman who was a KR soldier and married to a high-ranking KR soldier who worked in Tuol Sleng. She expressed that once the community learned about her husband's past, they would tell him that "has blood on his hands" and he stopped going to community gatherings. She

expressed that she does not want her children to learn about the genocide and instead only wants them to learn skills to make them good workers. This interview exemplified the reason that genocide education needs to be careful in how the material is presented. Nevertheless, teachings that censor the truth, even in an effort to protect the listeners, prevent the students from knowing about their history and also serve as an injustice to the victims; thus, this is not the best way to teach the material either. In his journal article, "The Teaching of the Holocaust Dilemmas and Considerations," C. Schatzker addresses this very difficulty: "The problem is how to present the truth without causing dangerous mental consequences—how to impress without traumatizing." Genocide education materials must provide a balance that teaches the whole truth in an undamaging manner.

The balance can best be attained after examining different ways of teaching. In the 1980s, propaganda texts inserted by the Vietnamese installed communist government did not adhere to this balance. Instead, the texts portrayed the Khmer Rouge "with such graphic ferocity that some children grew up thinking they were actual monsters." By not coinciding with Waller's assertion that it is necessary to "understand the ordinariness of extraordinary evil," the propaganda texts of the 1980s were used until 1991 and slowed down any reconciliation within the country that was still suffering in a civil war. In a country where members of the perpetrating side are now government officials, members of the community, and ordinary fathers of the younger generations, these people cannot be historically documented as non-humans.

Kevin Matthews of UCLA Today relays some of the struggles genocide education in Cambodia as expressed by Youk Chhang, the director of DC-Cam:

"Chhang estimates that between 20-30 percent of the young students sitting in classrooms are children of the Khmer Rouge. So now you have the classroom [where there are] children on both sides, and now you have the teachers on

both sides....How would you teach this thing?"

In an informal interview USC students had with Khamboly Dy on June 4, 2011, the author of the textbook explained that, in order to "prevent dissemination of anger, hatred, among children," teachers must participate in training sessions so that they are able to formally teach the material. Furthermore, according to a New York Times article from 2007, Khamboly Dy "had to carefully select words to explain certain past events" in order to prevent political uproars. Despite Dy's efforts, Sorn Samnang, president of the government-run Royal Academy still scrutinized the book: "Although it contained useful information, he said the book could affect the many still living people involved with the Khmer Rouge mentioned in the work." Evidently, the younger generations must be educated in a way that teaches them the truth about the past while furthering reconciliation efforts, instead of in a way that vilifies a large percent of the country's population, and the government, thus creating more problems for the future. Therefore, Khamboly Dy—in his interview with the USC students—said that he chose pictures in his book that would "humanize the Khmer Rouge":

Usually they [Cambodian children] refer to the Khmer Rouge as monster or devil, but they are human beings who inflicted suffering on their own people, its not devils, its not monsters, so I want to humanize the



Youk Chhang distributing the Textbook to High School students

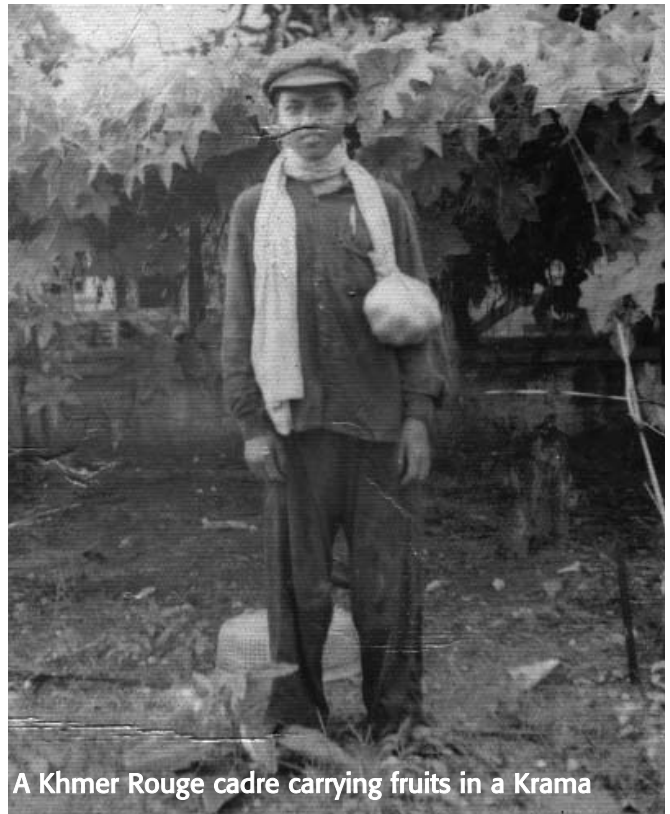
Khmer Rouge by not putting too many cruel photos in the textbooks, and also the text describes the crimes committed by the Khmer Rouge already, so the photo can speak different stories. And also, this text is for students, and I don't want them to be surprised by the bloody photos, throat cutting, for example, that is too cruel for them to be included in the textbooks.

While Khamboly Dy's efforts to humanize the Khmer Rouge are vital to genocide education, there is not a fair balance in the textbook of the humanized pictures of the KR, and those depicting the atrocities. He argues that the pictures speak different stories, but pictures should supplement the stories they explain as evidence of the text. The pictures of the KR acting as ordinary people should be in chapters or in sections that detail that the KR were in fact, ordinary people. In a book entitled, *Teaching and Learning: Lessons From Psychology*, Richard Fox argues that "pupils also need to be able to move between different representations of the same concepts"—thus, pictures that show one story alongside a passage that details another point is not as productive as Dy intends. While the atrocities are detailed explicitly throughout the chapters, the students learning about an unbelievable period in this history still need as many mediums as possible to make it more believable. In her book entitled *On Photography*, Susan Sontag stresses the importance of pictures: "Photographs furnish evidence. Something we hear about, but doubt, seems proved when we're shown a photograph of it." When teaching a topic as inconceivable as a genocide, students need access to as much evidence as they can obtain to begin to believe the gravity of it.

Since the atrocities are difficult to believe, the textbooks need to provide adequate pictures to aid in the students' learning. In Y.K. Singh's *Teaching of Social Studies*, she details the "qualities of a good picture" which include them being "accurate and truthful" with captions that "ensure their effectiveness." While the actual text in *A History of Democratic Kampuchea 1975-1979* is explicitly honest when explaining the horrid time period in Cambodia from 1975-1979, the

pictures that should support this are not as straightforward.

The textbook begins with the picture on the right. The caption on this picture reads, "A Khmer Rouge cadre carrying fruits in his *krama* (a traditional checkered scarf that can be used for various purposes)." While the *krama* can be used as a scarf, hat, etc., during the Khmer Rouge times, the *kramas* of the KR served as symbols of power. According to an interview USC students had in Phnom Penh with Chum Manh, a survivor of S-21, the *kramas* of the prisoners, on the other hand, were used to blindfold, handcuff, and bind them together in security prisons. The caption that says the scarf was used for "various purposes" does not teach the whole story, and it does not do justice to the victims who were imprisoned.



A Khmer Rouge cadre carrying fruits in a Krama

Similarly, the picture on the right from the Teacher's Guidebook for teaching the textbook does not have a caption that exactly depicts what is happening. The caption reads, "During the evacuation of Phnom Penh, a woman and her children set on the road with their belongings." In the picture, there are soldiers in the background holding guns, while the look of the woman and her child express immense sadness and

fright. While the chapter details the terrible forced evacuations, the caption of this picture implies a willingness to leave, and a lack of intensity in the situation. It is important that the captions and the pictures have equal weight in explaining the text. According to *Photojournalism: the Professionals' Approach, Volume 1*, Jean Kerrick, a professor of journalism, "conducted research to determine the influence of captions on readers' interpretations of pictures. Captions, she found, can at least modify and sometimes change the meaning of a picture [...] a caption can change the viewer's interpretation of the same picture from one extreme to another." Therefore, while the text explicitly details the evacuations, and while the picture seems to show the tragedy in the relocations, the caption can completely affect the way a reader interprets the scene and thus should be changed to improve the teaching of the subject.

In addition to changing captions to fit the actions the pictures illustrate, different pictures should be included in *A History of Democratic Kampuchea 1975-1979* that bring life to the victims. In the same way that Khamboly Dy described his wishes to use pictures to humanize the perpetrators, the victims need to be humanized as well. Although not characterized as monsters like the KR, descriptions of the victims' lives without pictures makes it seem as though they are just another number in the overall death count, another victim of torture, another skeleton. While many unique, personal accounts are told in the textbook, pictures of different people should be shown as well. In the interview, Dy mentioned that he did not want to include cruel, bloody photos of victims in fear of traumatizing the students. If this is the case, there are many other pictures that will portray the truth without traumatizing.

The picture on the right is shown many times in the Tuol Sleng museum. It does not traumatize a viewer, but instead never leaves his or her memory. The sleeping baby captures the innocence of those who were killed in the prisons. Pictures of the victims do not have to be violent, but they should not be omitted

from the history textbooks altogether. In the Tuol Sleng chapter, there is not one picture of anything related to a victim of Tuol Sleng. All of the pictures in this chapter are of Khmer Rouge members sitting around, even smiling, which actually dehumanizes them further in the context of the chapter. Furthermore, not every student has the opportunity to go to the Tuol Sleng Museum and see weapons used and the rooms where people were tortured. For this reason, a picture of the room or of the devices used could help the students imagine what happened. As Oostendorp concludes in his study *The Construction of Mental Representations during Reading*, "illustrations supplementing a text can promote the memorization of the content of the text and its comprehension." Thus, while there should be pictures that humanize the Khmer Rouge and an explanation about the perpetrators as ordinary people, not monsters, there should also be a different selection of pictures and captions in the textbook that show the victims and the sufferings as truths, not just stories, to help the learners with their comprehension on this difficult topic.

Students who attend the public education forum have the opportunity to hear different survivor stories that help make the text more realistic. However, the structure of these forums does not optimize their learning abilities, and the pre and post forum surveys can be improved to further better DC-Cam's genocide education project. For example, on June 4, there were approximately 270 participants in this forum: 20 villagers, 240 students, and 10 teachers. All of these participants were in one room from the hours of 8am until 12pm. According to USC students who attended the forum, while the students in the front half of the room seemed to be engaged in the lesson, the back half did not seem to be on task as demonstrated by their talking and laughing while a victim was in front of the group, telling her story with tears rolling down her cheeks. This does not suggest that the students in the back of the classroom are insensitive to the stories; it does suggest, however, that their physical distance from the survivor impacted their emotional connection with her story. Richard Gula, a professor of moral theology,



researched empathy and concluded, “seeing tears fall from another’s eyes causes tears to well up in our own. Empathy is at work here. First we notice people are suffering and then we try to understand their suffering more deeply.” Therefore, since the students sitting in the back of the forum could not hear or see her as well as the other students, they did not feel the same empathy as did the front half of the room. The older villagers who were seated at the front of the forum encouraged the lack of respect; they, too, were laughing and talking as the survivor told her story. The older villagers should be informed of their dual role in the forum—while they came to learn, they are also setting the example.

In order to improve the public educational forum so that more students can optimize their learning, there should be more rooms that hold fewer participants. In a journal entitled, *Review of Educational Research*, J. D. Finn’s article, “The “Why’s” of Class Size: Student Behavior in Small Classes” highlights the learning advantages of smaller class sizes:

When a student is not engaged in learning, she or he is less likely to acquire the material presented. When antisocial behavior disrupts the teacher or other students, learning is impeded for the entire class. This article summarizes research and theory showing that one aspect of classroom organization (class size) can significantly affect student engagement and, in turn, academic achievement.

While the public educational forum is not a class, it is still a means of educating participants about a topic they may know very little about. For this reason, it should use all of the resources it can to enhance the participants engagement and receptivity to the material. Ideally, the participants will walk into the pagoda and be separated from their friends and go into different smaller rooms where they will have fewer distractions that disengage them from learning. Each room will have a different survivor who is able to tell his or her story multiple times thus allowing him or her to have time in each room to tell his or her story, answer questions, and then tell the story to the next room. This way,

students can be exposed to multiple survivor stories in one session, in a more intimate setting that fosters empathy. In the June 4 forum, the USC students reported that the woman started to cry as she asked participants in the room to stop laughing. This behavior by participants is unacceptable; the amount of courage and trauma the woman has to deal with when telling her story to a room full of strangers should be greatly respected. However, the students were in a physical environment that did not promote engagement and so they were not paying close attention to the speaker. The smaller classes will also be easier for people who are working with the forum to monitor disrespect.

Another way to improve the students’ receptivity is to give them a couple of minutes for a break. After sitting in the same spot for three or more hours, students become restless: “rest break should be incorporated into the daily schedule, even older students also need stretch breaks to eliminate boredom or to break lapses into daydreaming.” A break will also give students time to reflect and talk to one another about their learning, which stimulates their minds for questions they may have not thought about. Overall, adjusting the format of the public education forum by having smaller class sizes, separating friends, and making time for breaks can greatly help the participants’ absorb the material.

DC-Cam uses surveys to further develop their genocide education efforts; rephrasing some of the questions can improve the helpfulness of the survey and consequently the successes of future forums. Surveys should stay away from leading questions that hint at having one correct answer. According to *Introduction to Psychology*, “surveys can be biased because people may not answer questions truthfully, may give socially acceptable answers, or may feel pressured to answer in certain ways.” Knowing this, survey questions should be carefully phrased in a way that welcomes all answers. In DC-Cam’s pre-forum survey, there are questions that do not give the students many options for answers. For example, question number three, “Do you believe the DK regime was as

horrible as the stories you have heard or read about? Yes or No. Explain why or why not” is a question that would pressure a student to answer in a manner that he or she thinks is socially acceptable: “leading questions produce biased responses.” If the question were more open ended, and rephrased in a way such as, “how would you describe conditions under the KR regime? Is it difficult to believe stories you have heard or read about? Why or why not” then the student would not feel as pressured to answer and maybe results would vary thus enhancing research. Similarly, the sixth question, “if one of your friends is a son/daughter of a perpetrator, would you discriminate against him or her? Yes or No. Explain why or why not” could be less accusatory if rephrased into, “if you learn that your friend is the child of a perpetrator, how does that change the way you view him/her?” The same question is being asked, but the slight change of wording will not pressure the student to feel as though there is a correct answer.

This feeling of judgment that prevents honest answers can also be alleviated if there is a more detailed disclaimer about confidentiality in the beginning of the survey that encourages honest answers and constructive criticism about the forum. In *The Psychology of Survey Response*, Dr. Roger Tourangeau concludes, “concerns about disclosure may lead some individuals to withhold information entirely, affecting response rates to surveys.” Even though the survey begins with “Your answers and any personal information you provide will be solely used for educational and research purposes of improving the genocide education project” students may still fear that any response that is not socially acceptable may affect them. In addition to rewriting the disclaimer so that it urges people to contribute constructive criticism, different students should be informally interviewed with these questions and

more. The questions should be prefaced with a confidentiality disclaimer and followed by sincere questions about how to improve the genocide education project. Interviewing the students who are sitting in the back and who appear less attentive, could probably offer insight into how to engage the seemingly disinterested. By improving the surveys and other methods of receiving suggestions for improvement, the genocide education project can continue to develop in unparalleled ways.

DC-Cam and the Ministry of Education in Cambodia have started an extraordinary project. By including the textbook in the curriculum, and through teaching the material in public education forums, they



A student reading textbook in the forum

are beginning to stop the pattern of quieting history. Generations will no longer grow up ignorant of the atrocities that their ancestors experienced. When I spoke to the director of DC-Cam, Youk Chhang, in June of 2011 about the genocide education project, and offered suggestions for improvement on behalf of my classmates, he did not ignore my ideas or state the flaws in my plans. Instead, he motivated me to continue thinking of ways to help. Including pictures

that illustrate the victims’ perspective, along with relevant, honest captions to aid in learners’ comprehension represents one manner of improvement. Changing the setting of the public educational forums to enhance the participants’ receptivity and empathy with the material, while editing the survey questions to provoke more meaningful answers is another method. The suggestions are not results of criticisms, but instead results of inspiration. When Youk looked at me with eager eyes, pointed to the textbook and announced, “this is only the first edition, you can help us make it better,” I knew I had found my research topic.

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# THE END OF COMRADE DUCH

*James Pringle*

When I saw Comrade Duch sentenced to life in prison at the Khmer Rouge Tribunal here on February 3, 2012, it was like the end of a very weary story that began in mid-1979, when I was one of a group of six foreign journalists permitted to fly into Phnom Penh for a day, after its liberation by the Vietnamese army on 7 January that year.

I seem to have been living with Duch, the revolutionary's name for former mathematics teacher Kaing Guek Eav, since that time thirty three years ago when I found a picture of Duch on the floor of the former Tuol Sleng school, which had become S-21, the most notorious torture and interrogation center in the country, with congealed blood on the concrete, and a feeling as if the last desperate scream still hung in the air.

The whole awful place stank of death, fear and abandonment. The picture was of the then bat-eared Duch, with his wife and two children, and other grinning

torturers at Tuol Sleng, standing for a group portrait-like an innocent end of school term photograph. I learned then that his family came from the town of Stoung, north of the great Tonle Sap Lake. I also saw documents signed by Duch, including one giving the names and ages of a group of nine KR soldiers, who arrived at S-21, the youngest was nine. "Eliminate every last one," Duch had scrawled in Khmer script.

In Phnom Penh that day in 1979, I slipped away from an official reception and speech making by the new Vietnamese-imposed regime, meeting at the old French colonial headquarter near the Tonle Sap river, that joins with the Mekong here, and saw Cambodians in rags, kneeling on the ground picking up individual grains of rice.

This pathetic group of skeletons smiled shyly at a couple of foreigners, before hauling themselves to their feet and tottering off, as if they felt their bone-crushing suffering was an eyesore for us, and

they did not want to bother our sensitivities with such a sight. Nowadays, Phnom Penh is noted for its fine wines and trendy restaurants—and beggars too.

Vietnamese soldiers were going off to war in Soviet-style 'Jeeps,' towing artillery pieces. They held up their hands to hide their faces to try to stop me photographing, but it was not serious. They wanted to be remembered. (All these pictures appeared in *Newsweek*, for whom I then worked).

A few months later, People's Republic of Kampuchea officials gave me a visa for a longer stay, and I was driven in a battered red Soviet Lada, with a few other journalists and government minders around the great Tonle Sap lake, staying the night in a deserted but famous Siem Reap hotel, said to be haunted, because it had been a Khmer Rouge torture center, and seeing Angkor Wat with an armed escort, of what were then known as 'Heng Samrin' troops.

Heng Samrin was a pint-sized commander and former Khmer Rouge, who had joined the Vietnamese army, which had attacked Cambodia in December, 1978, and ousted Pol Pot and his dreadful cohorts. Comrade Duch, I learned at Tuol Sleng, was one of the last people to escape the city, seen by two of the seven survivors at S-21, out of 14,000 souls, spared by their skill in painting Pol Pot portraits, or repairing cars and other machinery.

In Stung district, Kampong Thom province, I located Duch's family, and spoke to his mother, who resembled her son down to her ears. She had not known Duch had two of a family now, until I showed her the picture of her grandchildren at Tuol Sleng.

She recalled that under Khmer Rouge rule, the dutiful son had sent a Jeep to pick her up and take her to Phnom Penh for a brief visit. "I could not understand why the city was empty, and completely without power at night," the baffled woman told me.

It was not until 2006 that the Khmer Rouge tribunal was established, and I saw Duch at last in court. He had remained at large for more than twenty years, until he was found working for a Christian aid agency on the Thai-Cambodian border by the an Irish

photographer, Nic Dunlop, who always carried his picture (Duch may have had cosmetic surgery because his ears looked almost normal now).

In late July 2010, I watched the former commandant of Tuol Sleng sentenced to thirty five years in prison for war crimes and crimes against humanity. He was, taking into account the time he had already served and other considerations, likely to serve nineteen years, which left the distinct possibility that he could live to see freedom again, and this brought anger, fear and dismay to many.

It seemed, as people noted, too light a sentence for a man 'addicted to the sight of blood,' as one person described him in trial testimony. He admitted himself drawing blood from dozens of bodies, and killing people this way. The tortures at Tuol Sleng, including force feeding prisoners human excrement, whipping, electric shocks, needles under fingernails and waterboarding, were methods taught to interrogators by Duch, who kept a notebook of torture methods. Later, in the nineties, he claimed to be 'born again' and carried a small bible, which he may have carried into court last Friday.

Under Duch's directions, ordinary Cambodians, and foreign yachtsmen who had fallen into his hands while sailing off Cambodia, were bizarrely accused of working for the CIA, KGB, British intelligence and Vietnamese security organs. Children taken to the Choeung Ek killing fields had their brains dashed out against a stout tree, while adult prisoners dug their own graves, and then were hit on the back of the head with a hoe. The foreigners' remains were burned.

Then, on February 3, Duch received, on appeal, a life sentence, and last weekend Cambodia rejoiced that he would never walk out of prison alive.

Duch reminds me of nothing so much as another example of the banality of evil. The idea of this banality came originally from Hannah Arendt, in her 1963 work, 'Eichmann in Jerusalem,' on the Nazi war criminal.

Her thesis was that the principal wrongs in history generally were not carried out by fanatics or

sociopaths, but rather by ordinary people and Duch was definitely ordinary.

Though three senior leaders of the Khmer Rouge remain to be tried, it seemed the horror of Cambodia that had lasted since the coup in March, 1970, that ousted then Prince Norodom Sihanouk, had a chance of coming to an end at last.

The Khmer Rouge killed those who spoke foreign languages, but they themselves had studied in Paris, their revolution was a mixture of Jean Jaques Rousseau—man is born free, and everywhere he is in chains—and Stalin's kulak massacres in the Ukraine, plus Hitler's persecution of Jews and Gypsies. In the Khmer Rouge case, the Muslim Cham minority and the Vietnamese residents of Cambodia, were targeted, besides 'city people' from Phnom Penh, who were forced out in a massive evacuation on April 17th, 1975, surely one of history's most infamous deeds.

"The crimes committed by Kaing Guek Eav were undoubtedly among the worst in recorded human history," said Mr. Kong Srim, the presiding judge of the supreme court chambers.

Cambodians were still faced with unprecedented challenges in recovering from the tragedies caused by the crimes committed by Kaing Guek Eav, Mr Kong Srim warned.

The first time I saw Cambodia was during the

American 'incursion' in May of 1970. Flying over the country then in a rickety South Vietnamese helicopter—we were shot at and received at least one hit—I beheld a landscape pocked with craters, the result of the secret bombing that had been ordered by President Richard Nixon, and his national security adviser, Henry Kissinger, in 1969.

Some commentators have wondered since just how much the American bombings, which killed tens of thousands of Cambodians before being stopped by Congress in 1973, had to do with the ferocity of the Khmer Rouge, under whose rule an estimated 1.7 million people were put to death, or died of hunger or overwork.

In the countryside, on the second visit in 1979, I took a brief low-flying Russian helicopter ride over Battambang province countryside, and saw half-starved oxen pulling wooden carts along mine-laden and bomb-blasted roads; it seemed Cambodia had reverted to the 14th century CE; it looked like the Middle Ages.

In Phnom Penh, mountains of wrecked automobiles stood alongside piles of rusty refrigerators. I saw worthless currency blowing in the breeze outside the bombed out national bank.

In early February, US journalist Elizabeth Becker, one of the very few Western reporters to interview Pol Pot during Khmer Rouge rule in late 1978, said after the Duch life sentence that the Tribunal on the Khmer Rouge atrocities here had started what she optimistically called 'a Cambodian renaissance.'

She told students in a lecture at Pannasastra University here: "Before the tribunal, history seemed off limits, but now Cambodians are finding their voices, seeing it is possible to start talking. The grief and trauma of the Khmer Rouge years are now legitimate and recognized, and the Cambodians are telling their stories after 30 years. With the Tribunal, the crime has been acknowledged."



Duch in the courtroom on February 3, 2012 (ECCC photo)

She said it had taken the same amount of time for both Germans and the Japanese to come to terms with World War Two and its horrors.

Yet, whether there is a 'Cambodian renaissance,' under the present political set-up, remains to be seen, and whether the Tribunal also succeeds is also an open question.

Just hours after the interview with Pol Pot, in that French colonial HQ mentioned earlier, the three persons, including American journalist Richard Dudman of the St Louis Post Dispatch, and British academic Malcolm Caldwell, one of the few Western supporters of the Pol Pot regime, was reduced to two, when Caldwell was shot to death in the guesthouse where they all stayed, probably slain because Caldwell may have shown some questioning of the Khmer Rouge line, after seeing Democratic Kampuchea on the ground.

Meanwhile, the trials of the surviving leaders, most notably Brother Number Two, Nuon Chea, 85, are under way. Unlike Duch, who did show some token remorse for his unimaginably heinous crimes, they have not admitted their guilt, and seem to want to place the widespread killing at that time on the Vietnamese, whose army ultimately overturned the Pol Pot regime and, in the short term, rescued the ill and starving Cambodians.

A defense lawyer for Nuon Chea this week quoted from an article containing allegations that National Assembly President Heng Samrin and Senate President Chea Sim, currently highest ranking ruling party leaders, may have committed serious crimes during the Khmer Rouge era.

Lawyer Jasper Pauw cited accusations from a 2005 article written by American academic Stephen Heder, a noted historian of the Khmer Rouge.

"Various evidence implicates Heng Samrin in war crimes—massacres of Vietnamese civilians—committed by troops under his command during cross-border raids into Vietnam in 1977," he said, quoting Heder's 2005 report.

He then repeated allegations in the article by

Heder that Chea Sim was responsible for killing evacuees and other people, reportedly based on Heder's interview with residents in the area.

Nuon Chea, who has shown some mastery of the court, added some moments of intentional farce, recalling meetings with Heng Samrin and Chea Sim, and painted them as comic characters. "Heng Samrin was poor at that time; he did not have even a buffalo to work in a rice paddy. He wore only shorts."

He remembered Chea Sim as a 'middle-class peasant,' who sometimes needed to borrow money.

Now, that pair help rule Cambodia, with prime minister Hun Sen.

This is just what the Cambodian strongman had indicated he thought might happen—allegations touching some of the top people of his current Cambodian regime. Prime Minister Hun Sen is likely to be furious over this attack on his henchmen, and, to add insult to injury, of Nuon Chea making fun at their expense.

Meanwhile, myriad other difficulties face the Tribunal. Despite tribunal costs of more than US\$150 million, many of the 300 Cambodian staff have not been paid since last October, although some more funds from Germany became available for certain salary payments this week.

A UN-appointed Swiss Judge, Laurent Kasper-Ansermet, has been prevented from assuming his official duties, accused of tweeting about genocide cases 003 and 004, which the Phnom Penh government does not want to proceed, for fear of further accusations against members of his own entourage.

The standoff over the appointment of Mr Kasper-Ansermet has prompted some speculation the UN could withdraw from the proceedings before the completion of the trial of the three ageing Khmer Rouge leaders.

The US wishes the Swiss lawyer to continue with the prosecutions, that include the Khmer Rouge's naval commander Meas Muth and Air Force Chief Sou Met, who are accused of responsibility for the deaths of tens of thousands of slave laborers during Khmer Rouge rule, particularly over the the building of a huge

secret airport at Kompong Chhnang that the Chinese had shown interest in.

Mr Kasper-Ansermet is unable to officially sit in the court, although he goes to the tribunal everyday. He recently mentioned to journalists his time at the tribunal had been like 'walking in shackles.' However, his mention of Tribunal matters on Twitter was hardly discreet on his part.

For his part, Prime Minister Hun Sen has demanded the tribunal undertake no new prosecutions, warning of civil war if more indictments are issued. The 'war' would start, presumably, with the former Khmer Rouge allies of these named.

But many former Khmer Rouge had joined the Cambodian army, at Hun Sen's behest; that's why there are more than 2,000 generals in the army now, many ripping off ordinary folk. Others had gone into business, across border with Thailand, selling rare woods and timber, and rubies and sapphires, which

now are almost exhausted. It's unlikely they will be in the mood for further war-making. Many of them probably prefer watching soccer on tv.

"It's all potentially a big mess," said one Tribunal insider, speaking on condition of anonymity. "It's difficult to see how this stand-off will be resolved."

Thus, Elizabeth Becker's 'Renaissance' may still remain far away, because really free elections are not on the cards, and future trials of Khmer Rouge mass murderers remain problematic.

But, for journalists, the Duch story is one that has run for 33 years, but now it has ended.

And, for the present, Cambodians are just happy to have seen the execrable Comrade Duch put away for life.

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*James Pringle is a former Reuters and Newsweek Correspondent.*





# I WANT JUSTICE FOR MY SON

Man Saut



Man Saut

My name is Man Saut and I am a 78-year-old man living in Serei Samaki Kandal Village, Sralao Commune, Baray District, Kampong Thom Province. I am a retired farmer. On March 30, Duch in the court that *"it is true that the senior leaders and the most responsible persons were others, not me. The Standing Committee are those who made the decision to execute the enemy . This group of people did not include me. I survived the regime because I respectfully and strictly followed orders. You had to do what you were told, otherwise you would end up being executed. The point is that all the crimes committed throughout Cambodia were the crimes of the Communist Party of Kampuchea with Brother Number One, Pol Pot, the Secretary; Brother Number Two, Nuon Chea, the Deputy Secretary; and Ta Mok, the Deputy Secretary."*

Listening to Duch's final comments gave me a pounding headache. I do not accept his plea of innocence, as if he were merely following orders. He said whatever he felt would exonerate him of the charges against him. From my perspective, he is responsible, directly and indirectly, for the deaths of very many people in Cambodia. He was the head of Tuol Sleng (S-21) and one of his 14,000 victims was my son. My son made

great sacrifices for his country; why was he unjustly arrested and ultimately executed? Who is responsible? Pol Pot? Ta Mok? Duch?

My eldest son, Man Sim, was executed at Tuol Sleng in 1976. Sim was a helpful and grateful child. At the age of fifteen, he was selected to join the village performance group for a year. Then, in about 1973, he was recruited by commune leaders Roeung and Hom to join the Khmer Rouge Army. As parents, we were concerned about this risky decision, but we could do nothing but continue working hard to support ourselves. Now and then, we were also forced to escape from the bombings in the village.

Sim visited home several times and told us he could not tolerate the meager food ration or the dreadful condition at the battlefield. My wife cried upon hearing such news. Regardless of his unhappiness, my son continued as a soldier at Kampong Thom. Several days after the liberation of Phnom Penh in April 1975, Sim returned home again. I had a serious cold, and Sim had brought a full bag of medicine with him. He gave me an injection which led to my full recovery. Sim was known as Dr. Ream to other Khmer Rouge comrades because he knew how to cure people with medicine, and the villagers also sought his medical advice. After a few days at home, Sim returned to Phnom Penh where he was working as a soldier in Division 310. A few months later, he asked me via letter to visit him in Phnom Penh, and I asked permission from my unit chief to travel there. My chief issued the pass and I rode a bicycle along with my nephew, Heun, who was also a soldier. It took us almost three days to reach Phnom Penh. Along the way, I saw soldiers, but very few villagers. I took the ferry at Prek Kdam free of charge; no currency was used. I slept another night at Chraing Chamreh before continuing on to my son's house. I was amazed by the quietness of the

city; hundreds of thousands of houses were empty. Very few people were walking along the roads; there were only several trucks full of soldiers. The whole city was asleep. The grass grew wild near the damaged Chroy Chang-va Bridge. After spending a night with my son, I prepared to return to my village. Before I left, my son gave me a big pot for boiling rice which I am still using today. At home, I continued my work in the plowing group and was also assigned to build canals. My wife remained in the rice transplanting unit. We worked separately and did not meet with each other very often. I was emaciated at that time because the only food served at our collective meals was watery soup.

In mid-1976, my nephew, Roeun, told me that Sim had been arrested for abandoning his work site. Before this incident, he said, Sim had been transferred from Division 310 to work in the rice field at Kap Srauv on the outskirts of Phnom Penh. He and two other comrades had gone to Kampong Thom because they wanted to visit their families. When they reached Taing Kok, they were stopped by the local authority and offered a meal. Before long, their guns were confiscated and they were forced to help mill the unhusked rice. Two days later, a truck transported Sim back to Phnom Penh. Roeun told me that Sim knew his fate, so he gave another soldier his watch and some medicine to be delivered to me. However, nothing reached my hands besides the news of his arrest. A few weeks later, I asked my unit chief to allow me to visit my son in Phnom Penh; unfortunately, he told the commune chief, Chhan, who came to me and said, "Don't concern yourself with other people's affairs. Mind your own business." Hearing those words made me realize that it would not be possible to visit my son and that, indeed, something terrible had befallen him. Even though I was very distressed, I dared not ask again, but just continued working. When my wife learned the news, she became sick with worry. The Khmer Rouge did not allow us to express emotion about the loss of anyone, even our children, or we would suffer a similar

fate. However, my wife still secretly cried for him. The Khmer Rouge cadres inhumanely treated people as if they were animals. My wife, who was eight months pregnant, was still overworked in the rice field without adequate nutrition.

I never heard from Sim again, but I was still determined to learn his whereabouts. In the early 1980's, after the collapse of the Khmer Rouge regime, I was told by a friend of Heun that my son, Dr. Ream, had been imprisoned ever since he was arrested in mid-1976. I then lost all hope for his survival. I did not know what to do but remain silent and continue living my life with this painful memory. My wife's health started to deteriorate at that time.

On March 13, 2005, the Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam) visited my village and showed my wife a copy of my son's prisoner biography, which included complete personal information, as well as a photo. There was no doubt that this was our son, and my wife suddenly burst into tears. It was the first time in more than twenty years that we knew for certain that our son, Man Sim, had been killed at Tuol Sleng Prison. I was speechless. On June 26, 2008, with assistance from DC-Cam, I filed a Victim Information Form with the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC) as a Civil Party applicant. The pronouncement of the judgment in Case 001 on July



**Man Saut at the Khmer Rouge tribunal**

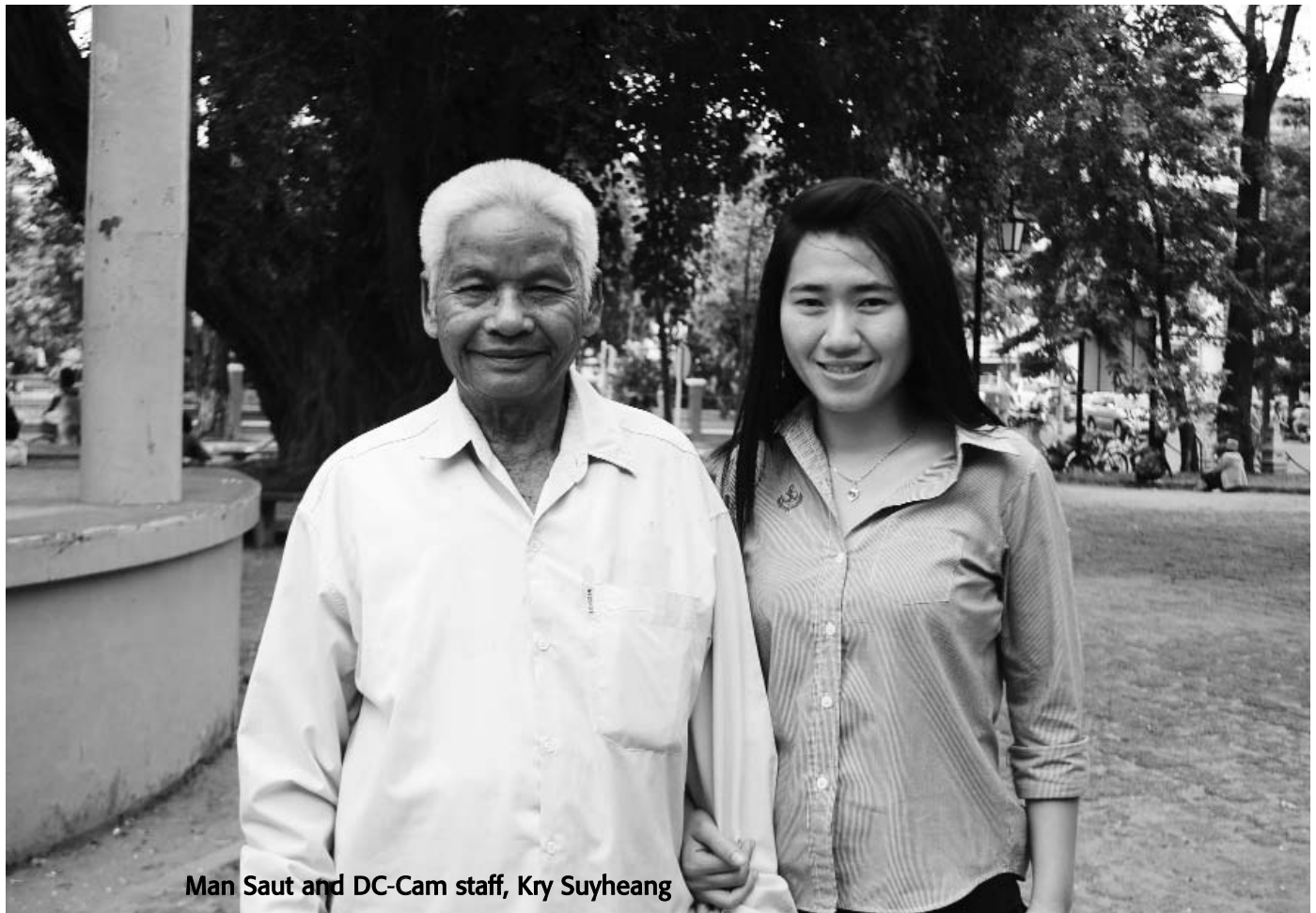
26, 2010 was an important event for me. I was formally accepted as a Civil Party applicant before the Tribunal and Duch was also sentenced to 35 years in prison. However, Duch still denies his responsibility as head of Tuol Sleng. In the Appeal Chamber, Duch and his defense counsel argued that he had no choice but to obey orders at all times. He also asserted that because he wasn't the senior leader, he should not be prosecuted. I was very disappointed to hear those comments. My son had died; no matter what, he could not be brought back to life. I know it is impossible to achieve complete justice; but at least the court, through legal means, will bring me a sense of closure. On a personal basis, after learning about my son's death, I wanted to honor him with a religious ceremony so that he might rest more peacefully or maybe be reborn in a new world. However, because of our difficult living conditions, this wish did not become a reality until February 2011. It took decades for me to save the money earned from

selling cows. The ceremony provided me with a sense of closure and left us happy and hopeful.

Another milestone in my search for justice occurred on August 30, 2011, when I was overjoyed to discover my son's photo in the archives at the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum. After learning about my son's death, I had visited the museum as many times as possible with the everlasting hope of locating his photo. Now I have achieved that dream and it has brought great relief to me. Sim's photo still reflects his soul and is the most cherished, though also the most bitter, memento for our family. At the minimum, my participation in the trial proceedings enabled me to personally come to terms with the darkest chapter in my family's history. All I want from the court is justice.

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***Man Saut is a survivor of Democratic Kampuchea and a civil party in case 001.***



**Man Saut and DC-Cam staff, Kry Suyheang**

# MY MOTHER AS A HERO

*Hav Saophea*

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My name is Hav Saophea, and I am a 35-year-old woman living in Baray District, Kampong Thom Province.

My mother told me that “before your father left, he told me to name the baby Saophea if it was a girl; but if it was a boy, he said, Please wait until I come back. Luckily, you are a girl or I would have named you Cham Saniya (Remember the Promise.) Sadly, this conversation marked the end of our time together. He has never returned since.

As I grew up in a world without my father, I longed to see his face, to feel his loving care, and above all, to call him “father.” My mother and I hoped that he was still alive and would return home someday. However, his disappearance lasted forever and I was only able to know him through the stories told by my mother. Almost every night since I was six or seven years old, my mom told me about my father and her life during the Khmer Rouge regime. She recalled him as a kind, helpful, friendly, humble and hardworking person. Everyone in the village liked him. As a result, I developed an attachment and love for my father, even though I had never seen him. I always hoped to meet him someday.

I was born shortly after my father disappeared. He joined the Khmer Rouge movement in the late 1940’s, had been sent to Vietnam, and returned to Cambodia in the late 1960’s. My mother said he was completely devoted to his country. He always told my mother that he would resign from his military work and live an ordinary life with her when the country achieved peace. However, after their marriage in mid-1975, my parents were transferred to Boeng

Trabek in Phnom Penh, along with many other soldiers who had just returned from Vietnam. In Boeng Trabek, my mother worked as a babysitter and cook, while my father continued as a soldier. My father was so gentle that he never swore or asserted his authority, even if my mother angered him. Mom said he was a reasonable and quiet man, and they respected each other.

January 15, 1976, began the darkest and most bitter chapter in my mother’s life. On that day, dad told mom that he had been assigned to work and

mom wasn’t aware that this meant he would be killed. She told me if she had known that, she would have held on to him and followed him, even if it meant she had to die with him. However, she never suspected that he was in danger. After he left, she was transferred to Kbal Chroy. On February 7, 1976, she gave birth to me. Several weeks later, despite her weak health, she was ordered to return to work carrying containers of water to



Hav Saophea

irrigate the crops along the river bank. It wasn’t until nine months later that a Khmer Rouge cadre informed my mother that her husband had been arrested. Mother was shocked and speechless. In spite of this heartbreaking news, she still had faith that father was alive because he was smart; he would be able to escape to Vietnam, where he had previously lived. However, she wasn’t allowed to cry, but had to quietly continue performing her work assignment. She kept her thoughts to herself.

Around 1978, the Khmer Rouge relocated us to Stung Trang District of Kampong Cham Province. My mother was assigned to dig 60 holes per day to plant

banana trees, while I was assigned to the children's unit. Mother told me that each night, she secretly tried to teach me to call her "mother" and not "aunt," as the babysitter had instructed me. The living conditions in that mountainous area were harsh, and she told me I was the sole reason she struggled to survive.

When the Vietnamese troops invaded Cambodia, the Khmer Rouge again tried to evacuate us, but my mother escaped and made her way back to our village. Along the way, as we were skirting the gunfire and bombing, my mother told me she almost fainted when she heard me ask, "Where is father?" When we arrived in our village, my mother's family and the other villagers were stunned to see her emaciated appearance and poor dress. She brought nothing but a spoon and her daughter (me) back to her home village. Mother then decided to build a cottage far away from the crowd where she and I could live. She did all the work and I helped her carry soil and sell vegetables. I remember how much I wanted to go to school, but mother refused because she was worried about my safety. Instead, she taught me the vowels and consonants at home every night so that I could be admitted to study with my aunt at a higher grade.

In the mid 1980's, my mother still believed that my father was alive. In the evening, she usually walked me to the January 1 Dam in order to inquire about my father's whereabouts. Some people said they remembered

seeing him, while others said he had been arrested. Despite dwindling hope for his survival, mother persisted. Whenever there was news of people being repatriated, she always led me there, hoping that our family might be reunited. Again and again, we were disappointed. In 1992, after countless attempts, we could no longer sustain the search, and mother stopped looking for him. However, she never forgot him. The items which reminded her of father—the belt he gave her when they were newlyweds, the water and food containers used by soldiers at that time (which she continues to use), a broken compass and motor headlight—were all carefully stored. By saving this tangible evidence, she felt that her memory of him would not fade away. Because of our destitute living conditions, I quit school and helped mother make ends meet, though I really enjoyed studying. One of the reasons I wished for father to return was so that I could have a better education. I had a dream: I wanted to be a lawyer or a teacher of Khmer literature. However, I could never realize my dream. Our lives, mother and daughter, were like a body without a soul. It was so quiet, lonely and hopeless. The regime turned our life upside down.

As time passed, we continued to await news of whether my father was alive or dead, so that we could have some degree of closure. Nothing was heard. Waiting without hope was hurtful, but mother never complained. Aside from carrying these emotional burdens,

she had to work very hard to make a living and she rarely got enough sleep. Every night, through the window, she stared at the stars and sky for hours. She kept her thoughts to herself and suffered in silence. She lost interest in traveling and rarely ventured out of the village, no matter how many times I encouraged her. Instead, she replied, "No matter where I go, there is no meaning in my life. I don't know how to tell you. My soul has been dead since your father's disappearance, which cut the deepest wound ever in my life. If it can be healed, it will happen only after I die."



Hav Saophea and other Civil Parties

After thirty years of waiting, we finally realized that we had been waiting for nothing but the news of his execution at Tuol Sleng Prison. In late 2006, I visited my cousin in Phnom Penh and there I learned the details of my father's disappearance. My cousin handed me a piece of paper which he had obtained from the Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam) in late 2005 at Svay Rieng Province. The paper was my father's prisoner biography. I was distressed to learn that he died in such a notorious prison, and I immediately returned home to inform my mother about such heartbreaking news.

After composing herself, my mother decided to visit Tuol Sleng and also the DC-Cam office, in order to ask for a photo of my father. She almost fainted upon seeing his photo and witnessing the place where he was detained. She could not utter a word, but just kept crying. I could feel her pain and because of it, I had to do something. With the assistance of DC-Cam, I subsequently decided to file a Victim Information Form with the Khmer Rouge Tribunal. I have faith that the process of seeking justice will help my mother heal her wound to a certain degree; especially, it will honor my father as well as the many other victims of such atrocities. After many years of impunity, it's time for the leaders to be held accountable for their crimes. Despite my mother's reluctance, I insisted on participating in the Tribunal. My mother wants to bury the memories deep in her mind to relieve her suffering. However, I believe she should break her silence and let the rest of the world listen to her story. Finally, I was summoned to give testimony during Duch's hearing. I could say what I felt and pose questions to the accused. On that day, I was confident because I believed my father would give me strength. I dreamt about him the night before I was ordered to testify in the court. In the dream, he asked me to give him clothes. It was the first time I ever dreamt of him.

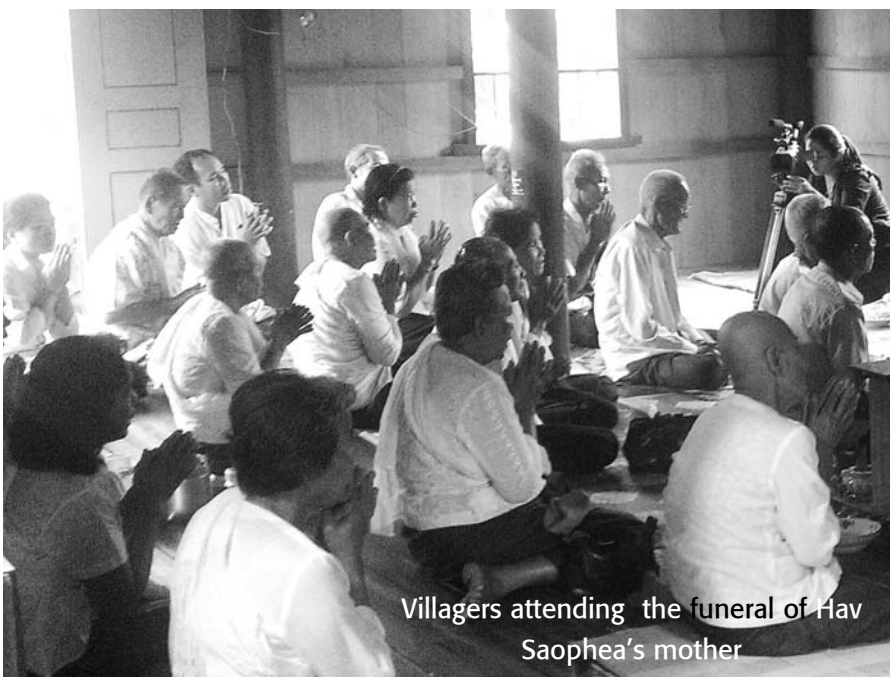
Duch recognized the death of my father but he claimed that it was an order from the Standing Committee. Throughout the proceeding, he accepted his crimes and always asked for forgiveness from the victims; however, to my surprise, in his final statement he asked to be acquitted. He indeed should not be trusted. Nevertheless, through my direct participation in this legal process, I feel some sense of closure. Eventually, my mother said, "I feel a bit of relief to know that people care about our story." However, her emotional pain still lingers and she will never be free from it.

Since we know the date of my father's death, we always prepare food and bring it to the pagoda on that day—May 15. We hope this religious offering will help him to rest in peace.

Father, today is the end of Duch's trial; I hope you feel that justice has been served. I know he deserves a fate worse than to be on trial; however, at least the punishment he received may prevent such a tragedy from taking place again. Mother and I will always remember you, father. May your soul rest in peace.

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***Hav Saophea is a survivor of Democratic Kampuchea and a civil party in case 001.***



Villagers attending the funeral of Hav Saophea's mother

# IN MEMORY OF BROTHER SAING KIM LIENG

*Him Mom*

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In 1972, the Khmer Rouge took over Leay Bo Commune, Tram Kak District, Takeo Province, and mounted their propaganda campaign to intimidate villagers into joining their struggle. My brother, Saing Kim Lieng, did not want to be perceived as a coward and thus joined the revolution as a militiaman at that time. He had been particularly inspired by the commune chief, Noeun.

Initially my brother worked in the commune, guarding and farming, together with other villagers. He often visited our family, but was later relocated by the Khmer Rouge. He visited us only once, saying he had been sent to work far away from home and that he might not have another chance to visit. I did not want him to leave our family, but was helpless to prevent it because he would have been in great danger if he defied his orders from the Khmer Rouge. We were a poor family and I remember how my brother used to find snails, crabs, and fish in the paddy fields to cook for his younger siblings. I prayed for peace so that my brother would return home and take me once again to see the Khmer plays at the pagoda during festivals.

In 1974, my brother wrote to our family from Battambang Province and said that he was doing fine. We wrote back and asked many questions, however we never received a reply and didn't even know whether he had received our letter, which had been sent through a Khmer Rouge messenger. We asked the messenger, as well as high-ranking Khmer Rouge cadres, about my brother, but none of them gave us any information.

After coming to power in 1975, the Khmer Rouge separated all families. My parents were assigned to tend cattle and do farming, while my siblings and I had to work in a mobile unit, building dams and digging canals. I struggled to survive and had no idea what had happened to my brother (Saing Kim Lieng), my

parents, or my other siblings. I witnessed the Khmer Rouge commit many atrocities. For example, in 1978, my female unit chief was accused of being a traitor. She was arrested and her belly was sliced open. I hoped that such terrible things had not happened to my family members during the Khmer Rouge regime. However, after the regime fell, my family learned that my brother, Saing Kim Lieng, had been incarcerated at Tuol Sleng. In 1982, my elder sister was working for the Cambodian Red Cross and saw his photo at the prison.

I learned about Tuol Sleng and the Khmer Rouge Tribunal from Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam) staff members. DC-Cam assists victims in filing as either a Civil Party or Complainant. I am not certain what happened to my brother at Tuol Sleng, however, based on the knowledge I gained from DC-Cam and my legal representative after I filed the application form to be a Civil Party in Case 001, I strongly believe that my brother was interrogated and brutally tortured in order to elicit a confession. I am sickened by the thought of my brother being subjected to the inhumane torture techniques used at Tuol Sleng.

I was gratified to hear Duch, head of Tuol Sleng, confirm that atrocities were committed under his leadership. However, I cannot forgive him. Despite having suffered Post-traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) since the aftermath of the Khmer Rouge regime, I feel some degree of relief because: 1) I have participated in the process of seeking justice for Tuol Sleng victims, 2) I have made the younger generation of Cambodian society aware of the dangers of such a regime, and 3) I have helped myself to feel a sense of closure.

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***Him Mom is a survivor of Democratic Kampuchea and a civil party in case 001.***



# I WANT A MEMORIAL FOR THE DEAD

*Ke Samaut*

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I would like to participate in Case 001 of the Khmer Rouge Tribunal because I have suffered so much pain as a result of the loss of my brother at the hands of the Khmer Rouge. The grief of his loss has remained with me to this day, and as a consequence, I now suffer from insomnia.



**Ke Samaut**

My older brother, Ke Keng Si, alias Dan, was executed at Tuol Sleng (S-21) during the Khmer Rouge regime. For many years, I never knew that my brother was killed there, but in 2004, staff members of the Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam) provided me with personal details of my brother's incarceration, which proved that he was killed at Tuol Sleng. I still do not understand why the Khmer Rouge killed my brother.

I knew that my brother had been arrested in March, 1977. Sometime in 1975 or 1976, after the Khmer Rouge had won victory but before his arrest,

my brother had come to visit us. At that time, he did not share much information with our family, only mentioning that he was working as a medic. After staying with us for two or three days, he returned to Phnom Penh. After that visit, he never returned home again, and we have never heard any information about him. I never knew where the Khmer Rouge took my brother.

I learned about the 1977 arrest of my brother, Ke Keng Si, from my cousin, Kaev San. He currently works as a teacher in Ta Oan Secondary School. Kaev San can provide more detailed information regarding my brother's arrest. I believe that Duch, the chief of Tuol Sleng Prison, is the person responsible for my brother's death.

I want to participate in Case 001 of the Khmer Rouge Tribunal because I have suffered much anguish since the death of my brother. His loss preoccupies my thoughts so much that I suffer from headaches and have become increasingly forgetful. I never went to the doctor or the hospital because I could not afford to pay for treatment. Our family was very unfortunate, because two of my brothers were killed by the Khmer Rouge, including Ke Keng Si, who was executed at Tuol Sleng (S-21). Because I have not been able to pay for medical treatment, my health problems continue to worsen.

If the ECCC awards reparations for the victims, I would request a funeral monument to be built in my village so that all of the villagers can hold a Buddhist ceremony dedicated to the souls of persons killed during the Khmer Rouge regime. I especially want to offer a dedication in honor of my two brothers, who died unjustifiably.

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***Ke Samaut is a survivor of Democratic Kampuchea and a civil party in case 001.***

# LOSS OF JUSTICE

*Khiev Neap*

*"If my husband, Heng Choeun, had survived the regime, my family would have enjoyed more happiness and a better standard of living. Instead, I was left alone to raise our two children."*

My husband joined the Khmer Rouge revolution in 1973 as a member of Office 870. Later, he served as a soldier during the fighting between the Khmer Rouge and Lon Nol forces in Phnom Penh in 1975. After the Khmer Rouge victory on April 17, 1975, Choeun was assigned to work near Psa Thmei Market (Central Market) in charge of the economic system. In 1978, at a time when many Khmer Rouge department heads were arrested, my husband was promoted to work at Office 870 again. Unfortunately, he worked there only one month when he was arrested at his office on the north side of Psa Thmei Market. At the time, I was about 100 meters away from him and saw that he was talking on the phone. Shortly after the phone conversation ended, three Khmer Rouge cadres drove up in a Jeep and stopped in front of his office. My husband joined them in the Jeep and they drove away, however, I had no idea where the cadres were taking him. I later learned that Angkar had arrested my husband, although I had no idea why he was arrested.

An hour later, I was evacuated in a truck along

with other women whose husbands had also been arrested. We were sent to Chey Oudom Pagoda at Ang Snuol District, Kandal Province. There, we were ordered to work on the farm. Later, we were transferred to Battambang Province, where I delivered my baby girl. At the end of 1978, I was living at Thepadey Mountain, Battambang Province, where I witnessed many ordinary people being tortured by the Khmer Rouge through overwork. At night, those exhausted people would be taken to the foot of the mountain and executed.

In 1980, a year after the collapse of the Khmer Rouge regime, I returned to Phnom Penh to search for my husband. I went to Tuol Sleng in order to trace my husband's whereabouts. I saw a lot of photographs there, but none of my husband. There were torture devices in almost all the buildings. During my visit to Tuol Sleng, I could still smell rotten flesh and the blood of human beings.

In 1981, while I was en route to Siem Reap Province, I happened to meet Ret, a former Khmer Rouge cadre who used to work with my husband. Ret informed me that my husband had been taken to Prey Sar Prison on the accusation of betraying Angkar. In fact, to my knowledge, my husband had done nothing wrong.

On March 27, 2008, still grieving over the loss of my husband, I decided to file a Civil Party application with the Khmer Rouge Tribunal, with assistance from Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam) staff. My application was rejected by the Court on July 26, 2010, in the Verdict of Case 001. I was saddened by the rejection, and with the assistance of my legal representative, I decided to appeal the decision regarding my status.

***Khiev Neap is a survivor of Democratic Kampuchea and a civil party in case 001.***



Khiev Neap

# My Lost Brother

*Ron Sreynop*

Before the Khmer Rouge took control of Cambodia in 1975, my family lived in Cham Leu Village, Prek Thmei Commune, Koh Thom District, Kandal Province. I have seven siblings (two brothers and five sisters). My parents fished for a living. My home village fell under the control of liberated soldiers in 1973.

One of my brothers, who died under the Khmer Rouge regime, was Roun Math. During his childhood, Math helped our parents fish for two years before leaving home at the age of 15 to help with his elder sibling's business in Andaung Sdach Village, Kampong Cham Province. A year later, he returned from Kampong Cham and continued to help our family fish for approximately three years.

Math was inspired by El Him, the Cham Leu village chief, to enlist in the Khmer Rouge Army in 1973. It was then that he joined the Khmer Rouge revolution. Later he escaped to Po Tonle, where Him Leh, the village chief, helped conceal him for over three months.

My brother wanted to flee to Vietnam with Him Les. He hated Vieng Soh, who had forced him to enlist in the army. My brother had committed no wrongdoing except attempting to flee to Vietnam, hating the Khmer Rouge cadres, and being miserable in the Khmer Rouge Army.

My brother disappeared in 1975, and we had no idea what had happened to him. Each day we inquired as to his whereabouts, but we learned nothing. I expected my brother to return home after the war ended in 1975. Now, we have waited over thirty years for his return. We often assumed that he did not survive the regime.

Finally, my brother's fate was clarified when staff members of the Documentation Center of

Cambodian (DC-Cam) gave us a thick file containing my brother's prisoner biography and confession. The untold story we have longed to know, but feared, is that our brother was detained, tortured, and killed in the country's most notorious prison, Tuol Sleng. In my old age, I cannot do anything about my brother's death aside from filing the Civil Party application to seek justice for him. I have provided all the relevant information, and I hope the Court will bring justice to me. I will respect the Judges' decision.

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***Ron Sreynop is a survivor of Democratic Kampuchea and a civil party in case 001.***

## 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 there 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.*

# I GRIEVE DEEPLY FOR THE LOSS OF MY BROTHER

*El Limah*



My name is El Limah, and I am 40 years old. I am a Cham Muslim living in Kampong Cham province.

In 1970, my brother, Ismael Ahmad, went to Egypt in order to further his education. My family has never seen him since. Ten years ago, I learned from staff members at the Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam) that my brother had been imprisoned at Tuol Sleng. They provided me with my brother's confession.

While my brother was studying in Egypt, he

wrote to us asking about our health and also sent two necklaces as gifts. Two years after the Khmer Rouge took power, a lady named Atikah (deceased), who was living in Kroch Chhma District, visited my house and informed us that my brother, Ahmad, had lived with her in Kroch Chhma District for three months before he was relocated. She did not know where he was taken. I have never received any information from him other than the letter from Egypt. I never knew precisely what happened to my brother until I discovered that he was killed at Tuol Sleng (S-21).

My mother, Sari Fah, often heard other people mention that my brother was living in a refugee camp. She faithfully waited for her son to return home. She wept miserably for her son, who remained missing until her death in 1996. My father also experienced extreme sorrow while waiting for his son to return home. He died two years before my mother. If my brother had survived, he would have been able to improve our family's living conditions and social standing. My brother was the oldest child and took responsibility for looking after all other members of the family; therefore, his death had very severe

consequences. I grieve deeply for the loss of my brother. Whenever I think about his death, I feel extremely despondent. On August 19, 2008, considering the suffering I have long endured since the Khmer Rouge regime, I decided to file a Victim Information Form requesting Civil Party status before the ECCC in order to seek justice for my older brother. I do not request reparation, but want justice for my brother and other Cambodian people who were killed by the Khmer Rouge.



*El Limah is a survivor of Democratic Kampuchea and a civil party in case 001.*

# MY FATHER WAS KILLED AT S-21

*Heng Ngech Hong*

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How would you feel if your beloved father was taken away, disappeared for years, and you later discovered that he had been incarcerated, brutally tortured and executed in the notorious prison, S-21? This happened to me, and I have no words to describe my feelings.

My father, Sok Heng, was considered a gentle, hard-working, helpful, and loving person. He lived in Prek Koy Commune, Sa-ang District, Kandal Province, and was a farmer, small businessman, and cook. He bought goods for my mother to sell from home, so that she could look after the children more easily while earning extra income for the family. Even when he was busy or tired, my father always took good care of his children, particularly when they became sick. I have vivid recollections of my father sitting beside us at night time, assuring us that we would recover quickly. We had a good life during those years because we had such a responsible and loving breadwinner in our family.



Heng Ngech Hong

Our lives were forever changed after my father was forced to join the Khmer Rouge revolution. He was assigned to serve as a cook at Tuol Krasaing, and I was put to work at Koh Khel. I wanted to be reunited with my parents and sisters, but Angkar refused. In 1975, my father visited home twice and then disappeared forever. My mother was told that my father had been imprisoned at Koh Kor prison. Shortly afterward, my mother passed away, unable to endure the arduous work and emotional suffering she experienced after the disappearance of my father.

Under the leadership of Angkar, I was forced to build dams and carry earth in buckets every day, which left me thoroughly exhausted. Our loving family had been separated and I felt alone in the world, with no motivation to continue living. I was never allowed to visit my father, whom I missed very much, and I was not allowed to search for him.

After the fall of the Khmer Rouge regime, our neighbors told us that they had seen my father's photo at Tuol Sleng. I was too poor to travel to Phnom Penh to visit Tuol Sleng, but my sisters rode a bicycle to the prison and found my father's photo there. They were informed that all prisoners whose photos were on display were dead. This news totally shocked me and I realized that my siblings and I would have to struggle to make a living in the future, since our parents had become victims of the regime.

In 2003, staff members of the Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam) gave me the prisoner biography of my father, which had been obtained from the archives at Tuol Sleng. It was the first time that anyone had asked me about the suffering I endured under the Khmer Rouge regime. In 2008, DC-Cam staff visited again and explained my right to apply as a Civil Party in Case 001. I decided to file the application immediately because I wanted justice for my

father and I wanted to help prevent the recurrence of such a brutal regime. I have gained a better understanding of the operation of Tuol Sleng from my lawyers and from news reports of Case 001 in the local media. I am certain that my father was not an agent of the CIA, KGB, or Vietnamese; former Lon Nol civil servant; soldier; or Angkar enemy. He was never argumentative or political, but simply an innocent farmer, small businessman, and cook. The Khmer Rouge took him away from our family.

As my siblings and I struggled to rebuild our lives in the aftermath of the Khmer Rouge regime, I

found myself envious of families with parents who survived those years, because they reminded me of my own parents, whom I had lost. I believe my family's standard of living would have been better if our father had survived. I would like Duch to receive a life sentence as justice for the death of my beloved father and other prisoners who were executed under his leadership.

**Heng Ngech Hong is a survivor of Democratic Kampuchea and a civil party in case 001**

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ប្រវត្តិរូបអ្នកទោសជាប់ឃ្លាំង  
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១ - ឈ្មោះ: ហ៊ុន ហង់ ហង់  
- ឈ្មោះ: ហ៊ុន ហង់

២ - អាយុ ៥០ ឆ្នាំ ជនជាតិ ខ្មែរ ភេទ ប្រុស

៣ - ទីលំនៅកំណើត: ភូមិ ព្រៃក្រវាត់ សង្កាត់ ព្រៃក្រវាត់ ខណ្ឌ ព្រៃក្រវាត់ រាជធានី ភ្នំពេញ  
ឃុំ ព្រៃក្រវាត់ ស្រុក ២០ ខេត្ត កណ្តាល

៤ - ក្រសួងនិងនាទី មុនច្បាប់: ភ្នាក់ងារ ( ក្នុងឆ្នាំ ១៩៧៥ ) គ្រូបង្វឹក

៥ - ក្រសួងនិងនាទី បច្ចុប្បន្ន គ្រូបង្វឹក

៦ - ឪពុកឈ្មោះ: ហ៊ុន ហង់ ម្តាយឈ្មោះ: ហ៊ុន ហង់ ហង់

៧ - ប្រពន្ធ ឬ ប្តី ឈ្មោះ: ហ៊ុន ហង់ ហង់ ឈ្មោះ: ហ៊ុន ហង់

៨ - ទីលំនៅកំណើត: ភូមិ ព្រៃក្រវាត់ សង្កាត់ ព្រៃក្រវាត់ ខណ្ឌ ព្រៃក្រវាត់ រាជធានី ភ្នំពេញ  
ស្រុក ២០ ខេត្ត កណ្តាល

៩ - បច្ចុប្បន្ន ទៅ

១០ - មានកូនប្រុសចំនួន ៤ នាក់ កូនស្រី ៤ នាក់

១១ - ទីកន្លែងបាត់ខ្លួន

១២ - ឈ្មោះខ្លួន ថ្ងៃទី ៣០ ខែ ៣ ឆ្នាំ ១៩៧៥ ។ ផ្ទះ បន្ទប់ ១១ ភូមិ



Biography of Heng Ngech Hong's father, Sok Heng, who was arrested on March 7, 1976

# MY FAMILY WAS KILLED IN OUR HOMELAND

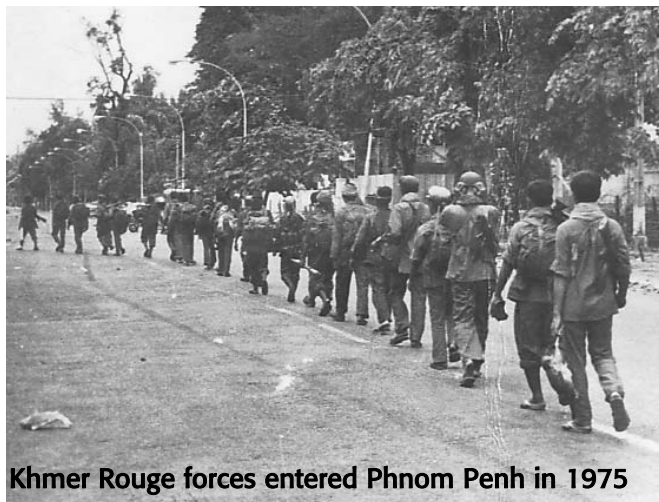
*Hu Nguon*

I was born in September 1962 in Kong Pisey District, Kompong Speu Province. In 1972, military confrontation between the Khmer Rouge soldiers and the Lon Nol soldiers destroyed everything in our homeland. As a result, my family was forced to leave the village and resettled in Lavea Em District, Kandal Province. One year later, due to frequent attacks by the Khmer Rouge, my mother decided to move to Phnom Penh city and settle down with one of my brothers. He was a captain of the Khmer Republic's air force.

In 1974, the situation in Phnom Penh was in chaos due to severe bombardment. Finally, the Khmer Rouge captured the city in April 1975. My brother talked to my parents about an escape to America because he knew that once the Khmer Rouge seized power, they would kill people perceived as their enemy. However, my mother refused to leave her own country because she believed the Khmer Rouge came to liberate the nation, and thus they would not kill their fellow people. In fact, she was convinced by the propaganda broadcasted by the Khmer Rouge over the radio.

## **The fall of the Khmer Republic Regime (1970-1975)**

In the evening of April 16, 1975, people watched



**Khmer Rouge forces entered Phnom Penh in 1975**

the Khmer Rouge tanks marching through the heart of Phnom Penh city. This also signified the fall of Lon Nol's regime. At dawn on April 17, 1975, the sound of pounding and gunfire mingled with rejoicing of the Khmer Rouge echoed through the capital city, the heart of Cambodia. When the sun rose, hundreds of soldiers in black-clad uniforms were on the march along Russian Boulevard, where groups of professors, students, and the city dwellers were waving white flags and shouting "Hooray! Hooray!" to welcome the liberated troops.

## **The Turning Point**

The roaring for victory of the liberated troops along the streets were soon filled with silence. At two in the afternoon, groups of the Khmer Rouge soldiers armed with rifles spoke through loud speakers asking everyone to leave the city. They used a pretext saying that the American troops would bombard the city sooner or later. Then, there were hundreds of thousands of families who stumbled out of town along the Kampuchea Krom Boulevard, heading to the western part of the country. My family was among the marchers, slowly pushing our car enfolded by massive crowds. We walked nonstop until dusk when we could finally stop for a rest nearby a Toek Thla local market. At dawn, we were forced by the black-clad soldiers to continue our walk. I could hear hundreds of cries of children searching for their parents and the groaning from patients lying on beds carried by their family members. Along the road, I witnessed many dead bodies; some were soldiers; some were just ordinary people lying on the ground under the burning sun. I also saw those disciplined Khmer Rouge soldiers robbing people's property, such as watches, for instance. Moreover, I witnessed the Khmer Rouge escort a group of young men with their hands tied behind their backs.



Witnessing such a terrible scenario, my brother claimed that this was what the communist state looked like. Once again, we walked until the sun was set, and we eventually rested at the Kompong Tuol. After dinner, my brothers and sisters collected all of our materials that might implicate us with the old regime and threw them away in the bushes. On our third day of marching, we were at Tram Khna Village, where the Khmer Rouge confiscated our car and other necessary equipment. With no hope of returning, my brother agreed to return to our home village in Phnom Srang.

### **The Centralization of the April 17 People**

When the war with Lon Nol's regime was over, we city dwellers wish to lead normal life harmoniously in the city. On the contrary, the Angkar mobilized all families from Phnom Penh to settle down in separate villages from base people. Under its policy of tracking biographies, those affiliated with the old regime were cheated by the Khmer Rouge, who stated that they were brought to meet the King. In fact, they were targeted to be killed.

### **Phong Commune: the Grave of Death**

Under strict supervision of the Angkar, we led a life as if we were animals, not knowing when it was our turn to be executed. Two months later, Angkar moved my family to another village. Surrounded by a thick forest, Phong Commune was just a large labor camp in District 53 (Kong Pisey District). Most people could not make it out of this place alive because it was a place for wild animals, and food was scarce. Besides, the Khmer Rouge would put people under severe forced labor until they got weak, and then they would be arrested, tortured, and executed. For instance, at Ta Ai Office, people grew potatoes on the graves of dead bodies, where we could see scattered bones when we pulled out the potatoes.

In Phong Commune, like many other families, we faced death, loss, disease, and execution. Hundreds of people were debilitated by overwork, swollen disease, and malaria. They were just as skeletons. However, the young Khmer Rouge militiamen would mock this

suffering scenario. Also, it was this place where my two lovely nephews died of diarrhea, while my brother and I were infected by malaria. Though weak and sick, we continued our work as usual to avoid execution.

One morning, the militiamen announced that everyone had to attend an assembly. No one was allowed to bring anything. Nonetheless, people in the village suspected that the Angkar would kill them. As a result, some brought axes or knives. On another instance, my seven-month pregnant sister was carrying a bag. Suddenly, a militiaman took away her bag and hit her in the stomach with a rifle until there was blood all over her black pajamas. Seeing this, her husband carried her and ran into the crowd. People who suspected that the Khmer Rouge would execute them were gathering as a group; some were holding knives and axes; they were heading to the Slab Leng Village.

In late afternoon, a man known as Ta Ai, chief of District 53, stopped his C.L motorbike in front of the marching group, and ordered his militiamen to turn everyone back to the village at gunpoint in order to settle down with the base people.

### **Dispersion Eases the Killing**

We were set to live with base people according to Ta Ai's order. My family, along with some other families, was sent to Kraol Krasaong Village, Kok Commune. Then every member of my family was dispersed to work in different units.

I was assigned to work in a mobile unit in the commune. I missed my nephews, parents, and siblings so much that I sneaked out to meet them sometimes. To do so, I had to walk through a forest at night. On one occasion, I overheard Som, my unit chief, say that he had just finished executing a traitor family. Som rejoiced that he made Tha confess and say, "I am a C.I.A captain of the American army." As a result, Tha and his family were killed.

One day my unit was assigned to plant potatoes and corn along the River. There, I witnessed a place where the Khmer Rouge sliced open people's bodies for liver; the surrounding trees were stained by blood;

the place was full of mass graves and human bones. I was told by a base village boy that the place was operated by Pheap, chief of Region 33 (Kampong Speu area). The old regime soldiers and the perceived-to-be enemy were transferred to Ta Ai's office for severe forced labor, and then killed. For those who were still strong, they were killed by slicing open their stomachs to remove their livers. Some were hung from trees; others were shot dead.

### Heartbreaking News

During the harvest season in 1977, I knew that my brother's unit would come to harvest rice in Trapaong Peuk Village. Because I missed him, I decided to visit him during my break at lunch time. Unfortunately, I was told that my brother was killed the previous evening by Comrade Chon, chief of the commune committee. His clothes were taken away. His children were also brought to Tuol Kha Maoch (Ghost Hill) for execution. My parents were targeted for killings, too; however, Comrade Heang asserted that there was no available cart to take them to the killing field, which was needed because both of my parents were sick and unable to walk. I was warned to be cautious all the time and tried to improve my self-consciousness.

### One Grief after Another

The next morning, a group of children in my unit asked me if I heard a sound of gun fire. They went on saying that my brother, Hak, was shot dead, and that his body was under a tree in the southern part of the village's road. He was accused of being C.I.A spy. I miserably wondered what would happen next after all the deaths of my nephews and brothers. Besides them, my parents were ill and starving. I awaited Angkar to kill me because I knew that Angkar would kill me after they killed my family members. However, one day, my unit ran out of rice, and thus the unit chief asked me to request some potatoes from the cooperative. On my way, I dropped by my home to see my mother. She was forced to look after two children although both of her eyes had become sightless and painful. Once she learned that I came to visit her, she groaned to me in pain because of her infected eyes. But it was

much more painful for her to see her children and grandchildren die and her husband starved. She told me sometimes she was hit and humiliated whenever she asked for food for my father. Then I went into our dark hut searching for my father through sunlight that entered the hut through the torn walls and roof. He was lying down on a bamboo bed, and there was an underground hole dug under his bed as his toilet because he was too sick and weak to get up from his bed. I touched his thin legs and felt them as if they were sharp knives. Suddenly, he asked, "Who?" I

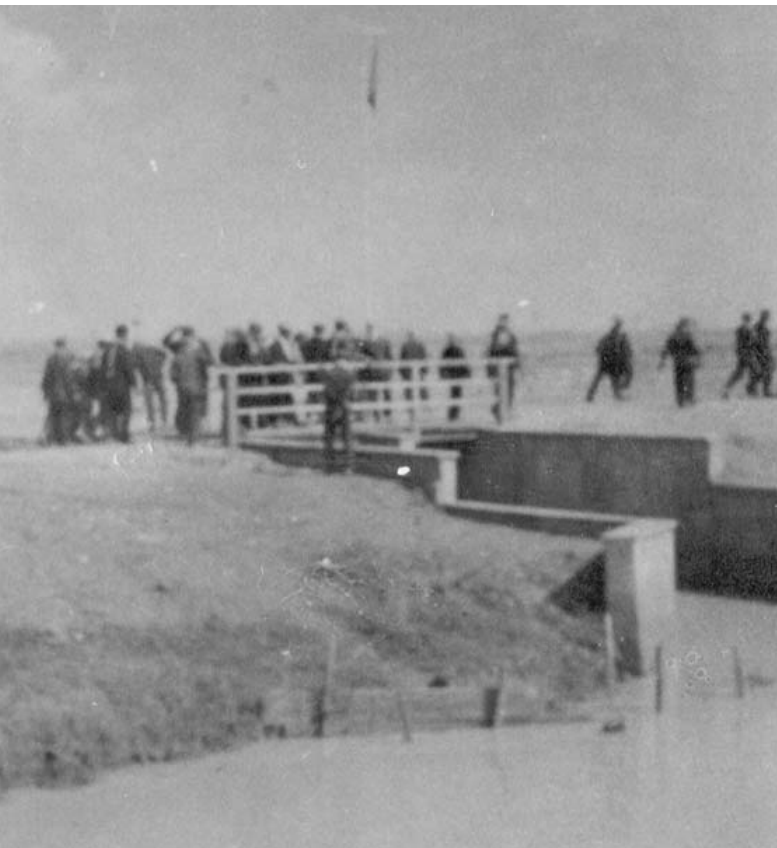


Daily life during DK

replied, "I'm Nguon." Then he murmured in my ear asking if I had some food for him because he was extremely ravenous. All these moments broke my heart, and all questions were running in my head. How could I find medicine and food for my parents, while I myself had barely anything to eat and never received any medicine when sick? Because it was too dangerous to stay longer, I bowed my head down to his feet and left the hut.

One month later, a girl from my village told me my father had passed away. I asked permission from

Som to see my father for the last time. However, Som refused saying, "What's the use of seeing your father because he is already dead?" But I decided to see my father anyway. No sooner had I arrived home, his body was already wrapped and buried. At the same time, while seeing our father buried, my sister, who was still holding her daughter in her hands, was called by Yeay (Grandmother) Pon. Yeay Pon said my sister was assigned by Angkar to collect animal waste along the foothills of the mountain. She said my sister had to bring some clothes along because it was cold at



night. My sister was shaking because she knew this new assignment would be death. There was a cart loaded with children and their mothers covering their tears by a scarf (Krama). When the cart arrived in front of my sister's hut, Yeay Pon shouted at my sister to get on the cart. Because she suffered from the swollen disease and was trying to hold her daughter at the same time, she was slow to climb the cart. Suddenly, Yeay Pon grasped my sister's hands and walked her to the cart. I watched the cart moving into the jungle along the foothill of the mountain until it was out of

my sight. In late afternoon, two militiamen came to her hut, searching for some remaining clothes.

The dead did not rest in peace, while those who lived suffered immeasurably, expecting death with every minute that passed by. Now my father, brothers and sisters, and nephews were all dead, leaving my sick mother all alone to suffer from hard labor despite the fact that her eyes were painful.

After all of this, I decided to return to my working unit, waiting for the day the Khmer Rouge would torture and then execute me.

One day, gun fire was echoing in the eastern part of the village. All unit chiefs immediately organized a meeting at the commune hall. I heard a rumor saying that the Khmer Rouge in the eastern zone went against Angkar, and thus, all the Khmer Rouge here had to gather food and other necessities in order to form forces in the forest again. While the situation was in turmoil, I went to search for my mother in the village. Up until January 7<sup>th</sup>, 1979, I lost ten members in my family, including my father, brothers, sisters, and nephews. Under the terror of the Khmer Rouge, millions of Cambodians were massacred, starved, put under forced labor, and killed. The Khmer Rouge low-ranking cadres had authority to kill people perceived as their enemy. For example, in the southwest zone, under Ta Mok's control, hundreds of April 17 people were brutally tortured and killed, while many young children were burned alive.

Who should be responsible for the crimes and genocide under the Khmer Rouge regime when Khieu Samphan and other senior Khmer Rouge leaders deny any acknowledgment of these crimes? They seem as thieves, each denying that they were ever a thief.

To allow the soul of victims to rest in peace, I would like to request that the government, international communities, and the court bring these senior Khmer Rouge leaders to justice. Under the efforts of the Documentation Center of Cambodia, I hope that the victims will rest in peace.

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***Hu Nhuon is a survivor of Democratic Kampuchea.***

# A PHOTO AT S-21 REMAINED UNFORGOTTEN TO ME

Reitz Karl-Heinz

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During my first visit to Cambodia, a tour guide told me that “if you want to understand the young history of Cambodia properly, you should visit Tuol Sleng [genocide museum] and the Choeung EK Killing Field.”

I visited Tuol Sleng on the advice of that tour guide and was horrified and surprised that in the middle of the city such tragedy could occur. The photos of the victims looked at me, the painted pictures showed the magnitude of these crimes. One of the photos of a young girls looked at me and seemed to tell me that “look at me; see what one has done to me. This remained unforgotten to me.”

My later arrival at Choeung Ek has impressed. There were few visitors there; everything was so quiet and quiet. Then, there came the reality of the glass commemorative tower with many dead people’s skulls and clothes leftovers of the victims. The surrounding mass graves with the tips to the awful events and the small museum made clear the cruel event.

About the war in Vietnam and thoughtless dragging onto this situation, it was reported on the German television a lot. Day by day, the horrors were on every side and in addition the development of Pol Pot Regime. In that time, my interest in Cambodia has originated. I have never thought that I would be able to visit this country. Now I have already been there five times.

During my second trip to Cambodia, I have been again at Tuol Sleng. I have overcome my shyness and have taken a photo of the young girl with the sad eyes. “Whether she has probably survived”, I thought. However, I have not thought in the fact that investigating is generally possible.

During my vacation in January 2011, I have been again at Tuol Sleng and have become attentive after my return to Germany with a book entitled “The children of the Killing Fields.” It is a search and documentation of the German famous journalist Erich Follath.

While reading, I recognised the chance to find out something about the young girl on the photo. The author has also reported about his talks with the Documentations Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam) in Phnom Penh.

I have investigated on the internet and have sent a mail with my history and a photo of the young girl to the DC-Cam. I was looking for information about a girl in the photo. Promptly, the director of DC-Cam, Mr. Youk Chhang has answered and has promised help. The answer next day:

*“Her Name is Uch Samin. She was 16 when she was arrested and brought to S-21. She was born at Prey Klot village, Samrong Khang Thbong Commune, Kamchay Mea District, Region 20. She was arrested on December 10, 1978 and executed on December 11, 1978. Document Number K07579 (biography) and D21899 (list of execution) see attachments. I hope she has surviving family members and you visit the place of birth to find out”. Youk Chhang.*

I was totally shocked and sad. Now I had the name of the victim and the address from 1978. With it, my decision was certain; I try to find the hopefully surviving family.

But neither on the internet nor on my map could I find the place. I recognised only that it concerns the province of Prey Veng. My search has bumped into a report of Ms. Saman Buth, Director of Children and Life Association. This Cambodian organization tries to improve the life of the families and looks in particular after the children and youngsters and their education. According to the report, Prey Veng was “the poorest province.” I have also asked Ms. Saman for help. She mailed about grievous experiences with Pol Pot regime.

In addition I have got in touch with the Cambodian Woman, Linda Leng in Phnom Penh, who I knew since my last visit. Linda works in a restaurant on Sisowath

Quay in Phnom Penh and supports her family which lives in Pursat province. The brothers are still in the education. Also these families are concerned. The father was killed by a landmine. Her mother was shot and today she is walking-handicapped. Linda has also investigated for our thing and has found the name of the Commune Samrong Khang Thbong in a Map. We knew in which direction we had to look. On December 14, 2011, I arrived in Phnom Penh. Linda was prepared very well and with a new map and the biography of Uch Samin we went to Prey Veng province. And then the searches started. Little hope was made on the way to us because so much time had passed. Some places have been unnamed; many families have changed the place of residence. But we have asked and looked.

Also our driver showed big patience and has taken part very actively in the search. We moved in the circle. But we leave not loose and got closer to the thing. Finally, we found out that it concerns the Commune Smaong Khang Tbound. However, we had looked for Samrong.

We reached Prey Kong Village and met villagers to whom we showed the picture of Uch Samin. And surprisingly a villager recognised the girl in the photo. My friend, Linda, looked at me and lifted the thumb. She had created it, we were in the aim. More and more people gathered, some recognized Samin. The people were totally excited and showed us the way to the family.

First we met one of the brothers, the younger ones. Later the older brother arrived, that could well remember his sister. He had tears in the eyes. Nevertheless, other members of the family came immediately. Every

body was so surprised, almost unbelievably what happened. Relatives, children, young and old person came. We were told that the Khmer Rouge, at that time, took only Samin away. Others were killed immediately in the wood near the village.

Nobody knew what had happened later with the girl. The parents had died, in the meantime, the mother in 2006 the father in 2007. None of family had visited Tuol Sleng and the Killing Fields. The family wanted the photo and it was their desire to keep the biography of Samin and the Executions list. Unfortunately, I could not take part in the entertainment directly because nobody spoke English.

But I could hand over framed picture of Samin which I had prepared in Germany.

Each family member looked at the picture and some touched the face of Uch Samin as if they wanted to produce nearness. We could feel the joy and affection of the family. Our notification was certainly a blessing for the family, but also for us.

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***Reitz Karl-Heinz is German who contributed this article to Searching for the Truth Magazine.***



**Reitz Karl-Heinz (center) with Uch Samin's brothers**

# MY FATHER AND DUCH

*Huy Senghul*

I was born in 1992 in Koh Thom District, Kandal Province. I am the fourth child among my six siblings. My father's name is Him Huy, a well-known former guard at S-21 security prison, under chief of command of Kaing Guek Eav *alias* Duch. Under the Khmer Rouge (KR) rules, many were arrested and detained at S-21, and later executed. I knew very little of what exactly happened under the KR regime although my parents had gone through it. It was not until people started talking about their stories and until I became a volunteer at the Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam) that I found out more about the KR history.

On April 17, 1975 the KR cleared people out of Phnom Penh city to the rural areas to work in the rice fields. Parents and children were separated, and put under severe forced labor with scarce food supply. For instance, they received only one or two scoops of gruel. Furthermore, children were not permitted to go to school, and their job was to collect animal excrement and guard oxen.

Personally, I learned about the KR history from my father and my affiliation at DC-Cam. My father felt regretful, and his personal stories remained unforgotten. He often told me, he had never thought he could have survived the KR regime. For him, this remains painful, particularly the recollections at Tuol Sleng Prison. He also told me that, during the KR regime, he sometimes thought of committing suicide as he could hardly bear the harsh situation. However, he was fully aware that if decided to do so, his family would meet a similar fate. Like many other lower-ranking cadres, my father had no choice. He must follow orders from the top leaders. Duch was his leader, and thus, Duch shall be the only person to be responsible for the crimes committed at S-21 known as Tuol Sleng Prison.

After the collapse of the KR regime, my father was imprisoned for one year at Koh Thom District Security Office under conviction of crimes committed during the KR reign of terror. Finally, our family was reunited upon his release. My father often recalled,



Norng Chen Kimty (right) and Huy Senghul at working at DC-Cam. Kimty is a daughter of Norng Chan Phal



Kimty and Senghul attending Phchum Ben together last year

would never be mitigated. I thought to myself that if the KR regime had never existed, our family's condition would have been much improved because we would not have had to start from scratch. Duch was not only a former chief of S-21 and my father's supervisor, but also the one who was responsible for operations at S-21, Prey Sar Security Office, and Choeung Ek Killing Field. Duch was a cruel revolutionist. He is responsible for the death

of more than 12,000 souls, including children.

Early this month, I traveled to witness the reading of Duch's appeal verdict at the Khmer Rouge tribunal with my father. Initially, I was anxious and worried that Duch would not be sentenced to life in prison. However, I was pleased to hear the Supreme Court sentence Duch to serve in detention for the rest of his life. I was delighted, and so was my father. Finally, Duch received a sentence that he deserved for what he had done.

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***Huy Senghul is a volunteer staff at the Documentation Center of Cambodia.***

"What I did in the past was to survive." If he denied the order, he would be killed. I observe that he bears remorse over horrific events that occurred under the KR regime. Nonetheless, he strives to come to terms with it for the sake of our family survival. He is a hard-working father. He works vigorously in the rice paddies so as to earn a living for our family. After the KR regime, we were poor farmers. However, because of his hard work, we are able to lead normal lives as others. For instance, some of my brothers and sisters were married, and run their own business for a living, while I am now continuing my studies at a university in Phnom Penh. My father loves his children. He never hits any one of us. He is determined not to let his children meet the same fate as his time under the KR regime. In addition, every one of our neighbors has a friendly relationship with him. He is never involved in conflict with anyone. Because he is a good role model for us, we as his children follow his footsteps.

Personally, I hate Duch. I despise what he did under the KR regime. I am happy that Duch was sentenced to life imprisonment, and that the gravity of his crimes







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

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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.

Please contact Kok-Thay ENG Tel: 012-955-858

Email: [truthkokthay@dccam.org](mailto:truthkokthay@dccam.org)

Website: [www.dccam.org](http://www.dccam.org) or [www.cambodiatribunal.org](http://www.cambodiatribunal.org)

