

Searching for

THE TRUTH

- ◆ Dealing with the Past, Moving into the Future
- ◆ Cambodian Survivors Want the Khmer Rouge Tribunal

"It pained me to learn that Ieng Sary died on a proper mattress in a hospital after receiving proper medical care. This is in complete juxtaposition to the many Cambodians who died without treatment, and whose bodies were left to rot in the fields."

-- 71-year-old *Ou Hieng*

Special
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First Quarter 2013

TABLE OF CONTENTS

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LETTERS

- ◆ Dealing with the Past, Moving into the Future.....1
- ◆ The Death of Ieng Sary.....6
- ◆ Biography of Ieng Sary.....7

DOCUMENTATION

- ◆ Class Rancor.....13

HISTORY

- ◆ Kraol Ethnic Minority.....17
- ◆ They Killed My Father.....22
- ◆ A Childhood Scarred.....24
- ◆ Life of as an Orphan.....26

LEGAL

- ◆ Voice of Genocide: Justice and Khmer29
- ◆ Famine and Excess Mortality.....33

PUBLIC DEBATE

- ◆ King-father Sihanouk's Embrace.....37
- ◆ The Death of the King Father.....39
- ◆ Mixed Emotions amongst Cham.....41
- ◆ Cambodian Survivors Want the Khmer.....44
- ◆ Supreme Court Chamber Invalidates.....49
- ◆ Pre-trial Chamber Judges.....52

FAMILY TRACING

- ◆ My Pace of Life.....54
- ◆ Healing and Reconciliation.....59



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LETTER FROM YOUK CHHANG:

DEALING WITH THE PAST, MOVING INTO THE FUTURE

It can be hard to enunciate the words “Never Again.” With internal armed conflict ravaging Syria, instability and violence wracking North Africa, and the specter of mass atrocities hovering over eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo, promises of “Never Again” seem to be couched in doubt. Cynicism about the will of national governments and the international community to defend basic human rights abounds in Cambodia. As a post-colonial, post-conflict nation, Cambodia has been at the crossroads of a wide variety of foreign interventions, extreme ideologies, and authoritarian regimes that have cultivated a pervasive distrust of authority and a disbelief in the goodness of mankind. In this regard, Cambodia is a lesson in the power of history.

A country must deal with its past if it is to move forward. It is a struggle that is faced by every post-conflict society regardless of politics, culture, or circumstance. Indeed, to move forward, we must boldly research the

past, commemorating human achievement, sacrifice, and resilience but also investigating and learning from mankind’s mistakes, failures, and evils. It is easy to trumpet the greatness of a society, particularly when the greatness is directly tied to a ruling elite’s legitimacy, but a country that lacks the courage to learn from its past will not have the fortitude to take on the challenges of the present and future.

Between 1975 and 1979, Cambodia was ruled by a horrible genocidal regime, Democratic Kampuchea (DK), led by the Khmer Rouge. The Khmer Rouge used a language of racism, xenophobia, and totalitarian oppression to legitimize some of the most horrific atrocities perpetrated in human history. City residents, intellectuals, and the wealthy were branded enemies of the regime. Vietnamese, Cham Muslims, and others were viewed with hostile suspicion. As suspected enemies of the regime, a spectrum of different social, cultural, and religious groups were herded into hard labor camps where they



Yook Chhang walking with Sum Ry, a Cambodian nun in Kampong Chhnang Province, along with a group of the United States Holocaust Museum delegation during their visit to Cambodia in November 2012. A pagoda where Sum Ry is residing in was a former killing field. Michael Chertoff, wearing a cap behind the nun, was the former U.S. Secretary of Homeland Security. (Photo: Socheat Nhean/DC-Cam)

were starved, persecuted, and in many cases executed.

Over a forty-four month period, almost two million people are believed to have died under the regime. Forced labor, mass starvation, and mass murder are only a few of the aspects of life under the Khmer Rouge regime. Under an extreme form of communism, the Khmer Rouge turned the country into a nation-wide labor camp. While not everyone died by the physical hands of an executioner, hunger, disease, and exhaustion achieved the same deadly results.

As one would expect, there is great trauma that still presides over the generation that lived during this time period. There are Cambodians today who still have no idea what happened to family members or spouses. Loved ones were lost and the pain continues to resonate through the younger generation who ask their parents what happened and why. On top of it all, Cambodia's democracy is young, fragile, and uncertain. Under such circumstances one is reminded of the old saying, "It is better not to scratch old wounds."

But burying the past has never been the answer, and the proceedings now underway at the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC) are an example of Cambodia's struggle to face its controversial history. In 2003, the United Nations and the Cambodian government reached an agreement to establish the ECCC, which was tasked with prosecuting alleged perpetrators for alleged crimes committed during the Khmer Rouge regime. While the ECCC has made progress toward establishing a historical record on what happened and why during the Khmer Rouge regime, it has not been without great struggle and compromise. The court has suffered from a wide array of problems and has struggled with persistent issues with funding, legitimacy, and internal discord. In many ways, the court is a powerful example of how difficult the struggle to face one's past can be. Like all human institutions, the court is not perfect. But imperfection should never be interpreted as mistake or failure. The court successfully completed the trial of a former security center leader and the trial of former DK officials holds immense importance in Cambodia's difficult struggle to understand what happened and why

during this horrific period. But while the proceedings before the ECCC are a critical step, there is much to be done.

Thirty years after the fall of the DK regime, Cambodia is still grappling with the painful legacies of genocide, torture, and mass atrocity. While Cambodians are a resilient people who are accustomed to hardship, bitter political disputes continue to cloud Cambodia's national identity, and there are questions about the impact and legacy of the transitional justice enterprise. While we must not dilute our commitment to justice in the name of political or practical necessity, we should also be realistic in our vision and remain committed to progress even when our high hopes and expectations of political institutions are sometimes unmet. We must be pragmatic in seeking opportunities to make the words "Never Again" seem more real.

That means engaging constructively with institutions that are stakeholders in national reconciliation and post-conflict development, and actively seeking out openings that stand ready for movement. Rather than surrendering to the position that violence, oppression, or injustice are part of the human condition, the Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam) encourages the international community to seize the moment afforded by the ECCC process—and similar accountability processes elsewhere—to facilitate further historical inquiries and promote survivors' reconciliation with their shared past.

Reconciliation is a powerful word that can mean many things to many different people. Reconciliation can mean facing the grave errors of one's personal past or finding the space to forgive others for their inhumane acts. Reconciliation can mean community dialogue on tragic events or the phenomenon of self-renewal. While reconciliation has a meaning that is unique to every individual, it is a term that carries the possibilities of redefining national consciousness. As one would expect, national reconciliation is not easy.

National reconciliation requires the renewal of language. It requires one's commitment to (re)discovering the civilized discourse of peace, forgiveness, and respect. The language of hatred, animosity, and intolerance must be abandoned and new terms for self, community, and

national identity must be established. In sum, language renewal equates to cultural change, and cultural change is never accomplished by a distorted or shallow investigation of the past. Post-conflict societies often struggle with a basic understanding of who they are and how to function. Even the more mature post-conflict societies suffer from cognitive dissonance. There is a latent urge to use violence to solve problems, even though universal human rights may dominate public discourse. Indeed, this problem is not unique to any post-conflict society; but precedent should never be accepted as excuse, and it is up to civil society actors to challenge political and social institutions to represent the people both in name and act. In essence, post-conflict societies desperately need a new national consciousness, and more often than not, it is civil society that must lead the way.

Since its inception, as a civil society actor, DC-Cam has been at the forefront of documenting the myriad crimes and atrocities of the Khmer Rouge era. While DC-Cam has historically focused on compiling evidence of genocide and crimes against humanity for the purpose of establishing a historical record, it has expanded to a wide variety of other projects and programs that can be organized today under the rubric of a legacy of justice and memory. Justice and memory are crucial phenomena that parallel the concept of national reconciliation. Justice cannot be achieved without remembering the victims, and the memory of victims cannot exist without the light of truth. Truth, justice, and memory are therefore the core concepts of DC-Cam's mission in Cambodia? not because they are the ultimate pillars of a peaceful, prosperous, democratic Cambodia, but because they are the initial steps to this ultimate end.

Between 2013 and 2015, DC-Cam will continue pursuing its long-standing mission of promoting memory, justice, and reconciliation. We will compile further evidence of genocide and crimes against humanity and educate Cambodians on the historical facts regarding the Khmer Rouge regime. Our work will focus on the needs of ordinary Cambodian people—victims and their descendants—who are the keys to the country's past, present, and future. In addition to honoring those who

died during the Khmer Rouge regime, it is crucial to reach out to and support living Cambodians in the country and around the world. This summary Strategic Plan outlines our plans to create enduring mechanisms that help overcome the shadows of Khmer Rouge terror, come to grips with our past, and build a brighter future in Cambodia.

A PHYSICAL LEGACY

Building a Permanent Genocide Research Center: DC-Cam has begun to build a permanent center to expand our work and ensure a long-term commitment to human rights and genocide prevention in Cambodia. The Cambodian Ministry of Education has generously provided us with a large parcel of land in Phnom Penh for that purpose. The land, which totals nearly 4,800 square meters, is situated on the campus of the Boeng Trabek High School. We have enlisted a team of expert architects in New York to design a building complex that will house the permanent center. We plan to break ground for a new building complex in 2014.

The permanent center will be called the “Sleuk Rith Institute.” That name reflects our core objectives, as well as our Cambodian heritage. Sleuk Rith are dried leaves that Cambodian religious leaders and scholars have used for centuries to document history, disseminate knowledge, and even preserve culture during periods of harsh rule. They represent both the beauty of knowledge and the power of human perseverance during times of peril. The permanent center will serve three core functions. First, it will be a physical memorial, encouraging visitors to honor and remember departed victims and all those who suffered under the Khmer Rouge regime. Secondly, the center will be an educational hub, enabling current and future generations to learn about Cambodia's harrowing past. Education will ensure that Cambodians never forget those who unjustifiably died and suffered, and it will empower them to prevent similar abuses in the future. Finally, the center will be a hub for research, seeking to become the leading Asian institution focused on genocide studies, one that will be connected to leading scholars and other institutions throughout Asia and the wider world.

A LEGACY OF MEMORY

Genocide Education in Cooperation with the

Ministry of Education: Genocide education is crucial if Cambodians are to preserve their history and remember those who perished under Khmer Rouge brutality. Education is also essential if Cambodians are to understand why and how the genocide happened, appreciate the effects of the tragedy, and address the many continuing challenges that flow from the genocide.

In collaboration with the Ministry of Education and academia, DC-Cam has established a core curriculum on genocide and other crimes against humanity, which has been introduced to Cambodian classrooms as well as the universities, Army, Police, and teacher service academies. Together with local and international experts, we provided in-depth training to several thousand Cambodian officials and teachers in all provinces in Cambodia.

Our curriculum and training program revolve around DC-Cam's history textbook *The History of Democratic Kampuchea*. Our textbook has received plaudits from around the country and the world. It is the first of its kind, educating Cambodian youth about the Khmer Rouge tragedy after three decades of relative silence on the subject in Cambodia's schools. The book has been praised for its sensitive, yet candid depiction of DK history balancing intimate portrayals of horrific crimes with a solemn respect for the dignity of victims. Maintaining this balance between truth and sensitivity is an important quality of DC-Cam's education program, which aims to not only educate but also remember. Genocide education must serve the public need for knowledge about this time period but it must also do so in a manner that respects and empowers victims. In this sense, genocide education is a key instrument of social empowerment. The program seeks to liberate the victims of Khmer Rouge terror and transform them into leaders in the global quest for human rights and dignity.

Remembering the Victims of Democratic Kampuchea: DC-Cam also has been compiling a book of names of all those known to have died under the Khmer Rouge regime. The compendium will be based on our research and will tangibly recognize and remember those who perished. To date, there are more than a million names in our databases and new names continue to be

added. The book will be distributed to every commune in Cambodia and placed in the commune's office, giving current and future generations a concrete memorial dedicated to those victims who died.

A LEGACY OF JUSTICE

Making Our Documents Available Worldwide:

Another way DC-Cam will promote memory and justice, at home and abroad, is to digitize over 900 reels of micro-filmed documents from our archives. We are now working with international partners to bring about that important goal and make our impressive collection accessible via the internet. Doing so will allow scholars, journalists, media, government and international officials, ordinary Cambodian citizens, and members of the diaspora to conduct effective research on the genocide. Toward that end, we also maintain strong collaboration with the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum.

Examining Crimes by Lower-Level Khmer

Rouge Officials: A further goal of our work is to expand the legacy of justice underway at the ECCC. DC-Cam plans to conduct a study relating to the crimes committed by lower ranking Khmer Rouge cadres. The study will trace various abuses that occurred under the Khmer Rouge regime, looking into the less-researched area of crimes by lower-level members of the regime. In fact, DC-Cam has conducted thousands of interviews of former Khmer Rouge officials and cadres since 2001, with support from the Ministry of the Interior. The study will provide victims, some of whom may feel disconnected from the ongoing criminal process upcoming tribunals, with an opportunity to testify about their own experiences, and thus come to terms with their past. Like South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the study hopes to focus not on placing blame on particular individuals, but rather giving victims a chance to speak and be heard—a crucial step towards national reconciliation and justice.

Commemorating Key Human Rights Laws: Finally, DC-Cam will seek approval from the Royal Government of Cambodia to convene a forum commemorating the passage of key human rights laws. In particular, we intend to highlight the Genocide Convention, the watershed treaty that condemned and prohibited genocide sixty

years ago. We also intend to draw attention to the recent ASEAN Human Rights Convention. We hope to lead a forum in collaboration with the Cambodian government, which adopted the Genocide Convention in 1950 and signed the ASEAN Human Rights Convention on December 10, 2008. The former represents one of the bedrocks of modern international human rights law, while the latter expresses a renewed regional commitment to basic human rights and dignity.

The proposed forum will include local and international participants and serve to illuminate the critical continuing need to promote human rights and prevent genocide, in Cambodia and beyond. We hope that the forum will also establish a community of scholars, advocates, officials, and others from inside and outside of Cambodia to carry on that mission. DC-Cam aims to serve as a principal hub in Asia to ensure that atrocities like those in Democratic Kampuchea never happen again.

“Never again” is a symbolic phrase that must occupy a place in the heart of every single human being on this planet. It is a phrase that demands better decisions

by governments but also bolder action by civil society actors. Too often civil society becomes demoralized by failing to see progress in the form of greater democracy, human rights, and the rule of law. But failing in these endeavors is never an excuse to lose traction, focus, or hope in other pathways to success. We must resist the urge to see the world in terms of democracies and dictatorships, war and peace, and failure and success. The world is far more complicated than black-and-white illustrations and we do our constituents, the ordinary people, a disservice by pursuing cynicism, ambivalence, or disengagement. A country must deal with its past if it is to move forward, and a culture that understands and appreciates justice, reconciliation, and memory is inherently related to one that values human rights, democracy, and the rule of law. The space between the two is not great, and the greater progress we make in the former will have impact on our success toward the latter.

Youk Chhang

Youk Chhang is the Executive Director of the Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam) and a genocide survivor of the Khmer Rouge's "killing fields." He became DC-Cam's leader in 1995, when the Center was founded as a field office of Yale University's Cambodian Genocide Program to conduct research, training and documentation relating to the Khmer Rouge regime. Youk continued to run the Center after its inception as an independent Cambodian NGO in 1997 and is currently building on DC-Cam's work to establish the Sleuk Rith Institute, a permanent hub for



*genocide studies in Asia, based in Phnom Penh. Youk is a Senior Research Fellow at the Center for the Study of Genocide, Conflict Resolution, and Human Rights at Rutgers University-Newark. He is also the co-editor of Cambodia's Hidden Scars: Trauma Psychology in the Wake of the Khmer Rouge (2011) and the author of multiple articles and book chapters on Cambodia's quest for memory and justice. He is also the executive producer of a new documentary film entitled, 'A River Changes Course' (2012) about the changing social, economic, and environmental landscape in Cambodia. The Film wins World Cinema Documentary Grand Jury Prize at Sundance, 2013. Youk received the Truman-Reagan Freedom Award from the Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation in Washington, DC in 2000. He was also named one of TIME magazine's "60 Asian heroes" in 2006 and one of the "Time 100" most influential people in the world in 2007 for his stand against impunity in Cambodia and elsewhere. **John Ciorciari***

THE DEATH OF IENG SARY

It is hard for me to have any remorse for a leader within a regime that presided over the deaths of millions of Cambodian people. His death is no victory and it carries little value for the regime's victims who patiently wait to see justice done.

The United Nations and the government of Cambodia made a promise of justice and genocide prevention, not only to the Cambodian genocide

survivors but also humanity. Administrative matters and political differences must not obstruct the fulfillment of this solemn oath. The victims deserve closure, and the Court must be allowed to complete its work.

Youk Chhang, Director of the Documentation Center of Cambodia

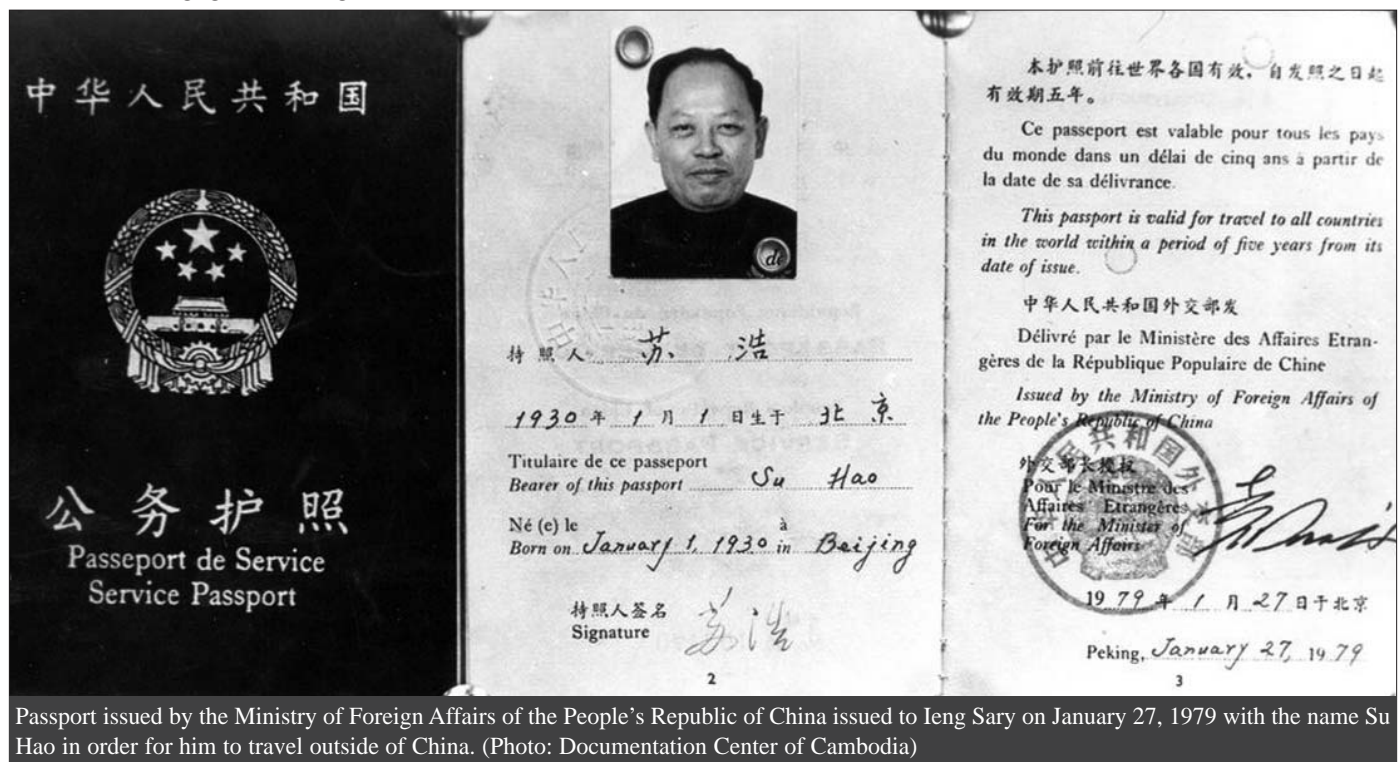


BIOGRAPHY OF IENG SARY

Born on October 24, 1925 Ieng Sary's original name was Kim Trang. Within the Khmer Rouge he was originally known as "Brother Penh". In 1966, his revolutionary alias was changed to "Comrade Van". There is much debate over his birthplace as certain sources state that he was born in Loeung Va village in South Vietnam. Other documents identify his birthplace as Kvalak village in Vietnam. Ieng Sary's Cambodian passport indicates that he was born in Prey Veng province; while on his Chinese passport it is Beijing. Ieng Sary's father, Kim Riem, was a Khmer Krom and his mother Nguyen Thileuy or Chhren Thilay was a Chinese immigrant who had moved to Vietnam as a child. The last of four children, Ieng Sary's oldest brother, Kim Chouv would become chief of O Russey market during the Democratic Kampuchea period.

Ieng Sary attended Preah Sisowat high school in Phnom Penh, where he met Saloth Sar (later known as Pol Pot). Before leaving Cambodia to study in France he became engaged to Ieng Thirith, who would later

become the minister of social affairs of Democratic Kampuchea. They married in France and have four children of which one son, Ieng Vuth, is currently deputy governor of Pailin. While in France, Ieng Sary met with the French communists and soon with Saloth Sar formed "their own cell of Cambodian communists". In 1957 he returned to Cambodia and worked as a history teacher at Preah Sisowat high school and in 1960 was induced into the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Kampuchea. Three years later he abandoned his teaching career and fully committed himself to the communist movement that the world would soon come to know as the "Khmer Rouge". In 1965 Ieng Sary met with Soeung, Phoeun and Mol (wife of Keo Meas) to establish a party office in Ratanakiri. In 1971, he moved to Beijing and played a pivotal role in coordinating the Cambodian resistance. A result of his efforts delegates from the National United Front of Kampuchea and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia arrived in Hanoi on





Ieng Sary stands behind while Prince Sihanouk talking to Chan Youran, who served as Cambodian Ambassador in Senegal (1969-70), then as Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia Ambassador in Senegal (1970-75?) and Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea Ambassador to China (1983-1993). The photo was probably taken in Beijing during the 1970s. (Photo: Documentation Center of Cambodia)



Ieng Sary (right) shaking hands with Mao Zedong, while Pol Pot (Center) was watching, in China in 1970. Mao Zedong died six years later in September 1976. (Photo: Documentation Center of Cambodia)



Ieng Sary taking a tour of Chinese advisors led by chief of Chinese Advisors to Democratic Kampuchea (wearing white shirt behind Ieng Sary) to inspect the railroad in 1977 in Takeo. Ta Mok (second from right back row), the secretary of the Southeast Zone, also joined the tour. Vorn Vet, deputy prime minister in charge of economic affairs, is at left. (Photo: Documentation Center of Cambodia)

November 10, 1970 with the purpose of publicizing their coalition. The two parties issued a joint declaration that emphasized their commitment "towards implementing five principles to establish peace. These principles are mutual respect of sovereignty and territorial integrity, no aggression, respecting political forms, internal interference, equity, mutual benefit and positive co-existence." Between 1971 and 1972 Ieng Sary and Ieng Thirith established a base for the Khmer Rouge in Vietnam. The latter was in charge of a radio station in Hanoi while her husband worked in a secret party office located in the outskirts of Hanoi.

On October 9, 1975 the Standing Committee appointed Ieng Sary, foreign minister of Democratic Kampuchea. The agenda of the same meeting addressed three topics-the division of works, communal eating and other tasks. As foreign minister, Ieng Sary was responsible for coordinating the return of many Cambodians residing abroad. Those who returned became victims of the Khmer Rouge "auto genocide".

Documentation on Democratic Kampuchea has revealed that between 1975 and 1976, Ieng Sary attended and played a central role in numerous Standing Committee meetings on topics that included aid from Sweden and Yugoslavia, propaganda, national defense, commerce and foreign affairs. March 30, 1976 he was appointed by the Central Committee to the position of deputy prime minister responsible for foreign affairs. Within the capacity of this position he established relations with China, welcomed foreign delegates that included Gunna Bergström and Zhen Chia, and in 1976 met with Khieu Samphan and Hu Nim to discuss the feasibility of joining the "Non-Aligned Movement". Hu Nim would later become a victim of the notorious S-21 torture chamber, and none other than Ieng Sary read his confession.

In 1977 Ieng Sary issued the commands to commence hostilities with Vietnam. During October 1978 he visited the United Nations and during the meeting of the General Assembly announced that the Secretary



Ieng Sary and his wife, Ieng Thirith, (right) in November 1996 during the defection ceremony of Ieng Sary in Pailin. On the left is Youk Chhang, then co-minister of interior. (Photo: Youk Chhang/Documentation Center of Cambodia)

General was welcome to visit Cambodia, and thereby investigate the human rights situation. In her book "When the War was Over", Elizabeth recounts her visit to Cambodia in 1978. Accompanied by Richard Dudman and Malcolm Caldwell, she was met by Ieng Sary. During their meeting the Foreign Minister talked about Cambodia's war with Vietnam, who he claimed were trying to gain absolute control over Indochina.

After the Vietnamese invasion in 1979, Ieng Sary fled to the Thai border. Along with Pol Pot he was sentenced to death in absentia by the People's Revolutionary Tribunal. He was the first top Khmer Rouge leader to defect to the government in 1996. Thousands followed him, and in exchange for his defection King Sihanouk gave him a royal pardon. Thereafter Ieng Sary lived peacefully with his wife in central Phnom Penh.

In 1997 the Royal Government of Cambodia requested that The United Nation establish a court to charge the main Khmer Rouge leaders. In 2001 the Cambodian National Assembly adopted a law that legalized the trial of the leaders. An agreement between

the Royal Government of Cambodia and The United Nation led to the creation of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Court of Cambodia (ECCC) in 2003. On July 22, 2007, along with other important Khmer Rouge perpetrators that included Khieu Samphan, Nuon Chea and Kaing Guek Eav, Ieng Sary and Ieng Thirith. Ieng Sary was accused of the following crimes committed between April 17, 1975 and January 6, 1979:

- ♦ Crimes against humanity that included homicide, perpetuating the extinction of identified races, detention, punishment and other inhuman acts.

- ♦ Genocidal crimes that included the slaughter of Vietnamese and Muslim Chams

- ♦ The abuse of the 1949 Geneva Conventions

Age 87 and complaining of gastrointestinal problems, Ieng Sary was sent to the Cambodia-Soviet friendship hospital on March 4, 2013. He died at 8:45 AM on March 14, 2013. His son Ieng Vuth, deputy governor of Pailin, confirmed his death. Ieng Sary's body was transported to his family home in, Malai district, Banteay Meanchey province; a part of the country where he is still idolized as a hero the revolution.



Ieng Sary (fourth from right), stands with Chinese delegation led by Wang Dongxing (third from Right), who visited Democratic Kampuchea in November 1978. In the photograph, it was at Royal Palace in Phnom Penh during the tour in the city. During this visit, Pol Pot asked for urgent military assistance from China as war between Cambodia and Vietnam was deteriorating, but China rejected the request. Chinese ambassador to Democratic Kampuchea, Sun Hua, is at left. (Photo: Documentation Center of Cambodia)



Ieng Sary (fourth from right) during the meeting with a delegation from Cuba in Phnom Penh in 1976. Suong Sikoeun (left of Ieng Sary) served as French-Khmer interpreter during the meeting. Cuba was one of the nine countries which had embassy in Cambodia during Democratic Kampuchea. (Photo: Documentation Center of Cambodia)



Ieng Sary (fourth from left) posts a picture with other Khmer Rouge cadres in Malai, a small town near Thai border. Malai was under the Khmer Rouge control from the Khmer Rouge collapsed in 1979 until 1996 when Ieng Sary joined with the Cambodian government. The body of Ieng Sary was also cremated in Malai where lots of residents supported him. This photograph was taken in March 1988 during the wedding of Suong Sikoeun (fifth from left), a French-educated cadre who worked at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs during Democratic Kampuchea (1975-1979). Suong Sikoeun was summoned to testify in front of the Khmer Rouge tribunal in August 2012. Ieng Sary's wife, Ieng Thirith, is standing sixth from right. From left to right: Maly, wife of Thiounn Thioeun; Dr. Thiounn Thioeun, a minister of health during Democratic Kampuchea; So Phan, former Ieng Sary's secretary and deputy head of the Information and Propaganda Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Democratic Kampuchea; Ieng Sary; Suong Sikoeun; Suong Sikoeun's wife, Tiang Huy Eng; Sar Kim Lomuth, deputy head of commercial bank during Democratic Kampuchea; Ieng Thirith; Mrs. Sim Son; Mrs. Van Rit; Wife of Phi Phuon; Van Rit, chief of Committee of Commerce during Democratic Kampuchea, who replaced Koy Thuon after he was sent to S-21 and Sim Son, a former ambassador to North Korea from (1976?-1979). (Photo: Documentation Center of Cambodia)



Ieng Sary (right) along with Khieu Samphan (left) taking a tour of Lao Prince Suphanavong or the Red Prince (Center) during the Prince's visit to Cambodia during Democratic Kampuchea. (Photo: Documentation Center of Cambodia)

CLASS RANCOR

"Revolutionary Youth" Magazine, Series 4, 1973

Since early 1973, particularly cease fire agreement in South Vietnam and Laos, Cambodian battlefield has become the most struggling battlefield in Indochina and in the world alike. In Cambodia, the battlefield around Phnom Penh was the most struggling battlefield.

Armed force population and Kampuchea liberating population opened their campaign to storm into enemies, cut the potential strategic ways to Phnom Penh in land and water, resulting in the city isolated, a want of ammunition, food and needed items. Later on July, 1973, we successfully stormed attack to Phnom Penh defense line, and approached the city. Both Phnom Penh traitorous enemy and American imperialist were in panic. Phnom Penh traitorous enemies tried to gather forces from all places to defense Phnom Penh whereas American imperialist called back all kinds of planes based in Southeast Asia and Pacific to strafe us on the battlefield around Phnom Penh in both daytime and nighttime. In particular, strategic aircraft "B-52" launched its attack on 24 hours out of 24 hours.

In tension and dangerous situation, heroic combatants of armed forces struggled to storm attack to the enemies on 24 hours out of 24 hours. In bloody and struggling fighting, death and wound were simple. Therefore, hospital in the battlefield must also operate on 24 hours out of 24 hours.

At 2 am midnight, the hospital in Phnom Penh battlefield saw a female combatant operating to pull out the bullets and their debris of grave wound in her profession with the assistances of 4 or 5 female and male combatants under illuminating flashlight. After finished operating and putting on bandage, female medic combatant started her new wounded - one after another until no wounded was left behind. Our female medic combatants had worked on in this field for several months since the launch of ferocious attack around Phnom Penh. Our

female medic combatants worked in both daytime and nighttime, never resorting to relaxation. Hardy had the wounded arrived when our female combatants started their works. Our female combatants took break during meal time and in time of completing work on operation. Their times were short because there was a series of fighting in the frontline. Therefore, the injured were sent to hospital continually. As the carried wounded arrived at the hospital, our female medics did not wait, even a minute but burst out to check the patients or arrange the situation in both daytime and nighttime. The wounded sent to the supporting base hospital were arranged immediately. The wounded urgently saved at the place got their operation immediately. Our comrades launched their assault in consistency in the spirit of accountability to the lives of the united supreme class.

However, In tension which American imperialist aircraft, especially aircraft "B-52" attacked in both daytime and nighttime, and in the defect of medicine and materials, our revolutionary medics stationing in each battlefield could help save the lives of the united class men at maximum level that the medics in previous regime could not compare even in slight effort.

Though busy, tired in both daytime and nighttime, our female combatants still wore smile faces, behaved gently, spoke in soft tone to patients, and also combating friend assistances with the sentiment of the most conscious class. In time of astounding the pains of the wounded men during operation, our female combatants always picked up stories to lure and encourage the patients. As seeing the tiredness of combating friends, our female combatants spoke to motivate them and picked up mischievous jokes to create joyous, warm, and intimate atmosphere in the hospital.

Though a young female comrade, 21-years-old, our combating friend performed her duty given by the

party at maximum. In this combating group, the comrade was pivotal not only to technical operation, but also to the leading of consciousness policy and the completion of the assigned solemn and heavily burdened task.

The comrades being good-manner and polite to the united class men, understanding the hardship, and helping the combating friends both at work and in time of illness, the combatants and cadres in all units always loved and admired them. Comrades were talked about in reverence and admiration that comrades worked as if they were not tired, unknown to the source of strength to endure the work in both daytime and nighttime. Other comrade said before you that "Pity comrade! How tired you are with work in both daytime and nighttime and without rest."

For those words, our female combatants replied in smile face that "my tiredness was not in proportion to the hardship of our people! My tiredness could not afford the tiredness of our military fighting in both daytime and nighttime for several months and years without rest. What I did today partially contributed to National Liberating Mass Movement and liberating people from all kinds of hardship.

Seeing the expertise of our female comrade in operation, other comrades assumed that the female comrade was graduated from well-known medical school. One day, one comrade asked the female combatant about the profession, she burst into laughter and described the situation in sad face: "I was an orphan in farming family in Prambey Mom, Thpong district, Kampong Speu province. I lived with my grandmother as young. Therefore, I did not remember my parents' faces. The story of my family was told by my grandmother and other villagers. In late 1954, shortly after the Geneva peace accord was signed, ruling reactionary class brutally started to invade in rural area. They, without trail, tied up and killed the patriotic docile subjects who took part in chasing French colonization. In a tense situation, my father likes struggling population flea from home. About a month later, the enemies encompassed the village, checked my hut to arrest my father. After checking my and other's hut, and not seeing my father, they tied up and walked my mother along. Until 2 years old I knew

little how to walked, and run. When the enemies came to arrest my mother, my mother gave me to my grandmother, saying that " Mother, please raise my child! When she grows up, let her join the revolution to shade the enemies' blood for sake of her parents!". After saying that, the ferocious soldiers kicked my mother to fall on the ground and arrested my 5 siblings as they were young at that point. My grandmother grabbed me and run by outspokenly insulting the enemies. Together, the soldiers did also psychologically brutal torture to my mother to make her confess the whereabouts of my father and other cadres by beating, pounding, and breaking my siblings' arms and legs. Before the brutal torture—both psychologically and physically—my mother was not horrified or confessed even a single word. On contrary, she repeatedly, inflammatorily insulted "You are traitors! You are coward and do not dare to fight back the invading French colonization! You dare to beat and pound the innocent women and kids! You do not need to inquire me! I do not need to response to you, traitors! I am afraid of death! Though my children and I are death, there will be an uprising to kill you, traitors, someday!"

The enemies had tortured my mother for 10 days, but they could not get even a single word. The enemies run out of techniques! They were very angry! They said they could not win over this peasant! Finally, they took my mother and other siblings, and bury them alive. As covering them with soil, they tried to threaten her to confess by saying if you told me, your children and you would be alive. My mother replied "Children! We prefer to be death rather than to live under repressive rule by the traitors! After we are death, someday there will be the entire Cambodian population kill those traitors, shading your blood for sake of us!" As they covered my mother with soil up to her chest, she was breathless to death but tried to cheer up at last "Victory, Cambodian Prosperous Revolution! Cambodia Revolution will win! Traitors and those betraying people will vanish from Cambodia soil". This shout was her last word and final belief in victory.

My mother enlisted in a member of Cambodia Revolution in 1953. She was responsible for sending

message and collecting subsidiary food for soldiers. My mother took her rare stand in storming attack to the enemy until last breath.

Later, after learning that the enemies took my mother and other 5 siblings, and buried them alive, my grandmother took me back to the village. She did not drop a tear but had lost her conscience since then. Every day, she insulted the enemies. As she saw the enemies—soldiers or policemen—walking or coming to the village, she took a stick to hit and insult them by demanding her child and grandchildren back. In addition, she never stirred up trouble with the villagers. For me as a grandchild, she loved and took a good care of me. We, grandmother and grandchild, were supported by the villagers from plugging soil, planting, harvesting, and trampling rice to giving food. In addition, my grandmother could do something such as husking rice, carrying water, finding firewood, cooking. The enemies always scolded that "You are a crazy elderly". We lived like this until 1968. At that point, I was 16 years old. I could replace her in doing chores and growing rice by sharing yield with the villagers. This year was a year people under the brave Kampuchean Revolutionary Angkar started its armed struggle. Most of village youth went to the jungle to struggle. At that point, the enemies invaded, tied up, and killed the villager or commune based people in both daytime and nighttime. Yet our forces went out from the jungle to ambush the enemies, resulting in death or injure almost all days.

For my grandmother, it was strange that she did not say except insult. But at that point, hearing the sound of gun, she laughed enthusiastically that "Oh! This is my descendant's guns that shot the enemies' heads!" It struck my puzzle, but she never told anything to me.

In late 1968, the fighting broke out very often. The enemies gathered people to the blockhouse and strictly controlled them in both daytime and nighttime. For my village along the road, the enemies sent 4 soldiers to guard each night and threatened that "Those daring to give food to Khmer Rouge, they will kill the entire family even an infant in the hammock".

One day, I saw my grandmother drying a lot of

rice in the sun unusually. I asked that "Why do you dry a lot of rice in the sun" she just replied that "Do not say anything! You try to polish rice by making it all done today." I always did as she ordered. After I polished and husked rice, my grandmother put it in stock. Three days later, I saw my grandmother drying the rice again. I wondered but did not dare to ask her. One night, I observed my grandmother and saw her anxious. When she was about to leave, I asked her that "Where do you leave? Let me go with you!" She burst into hugging me and whispered that "If you know, hear or see anything, do not say and just pretend not to know" she called me to carry a container full of rice in its half and she also carried half, then, we secretly left at the dark night. We had to crawl for some places. After a while, we reached the jungle. At that point, I saw a group of people transferring rice and whispering.

Since then, I have known the situation little by little and my grandmother has told me about the story of my parents' struggling and how the enemies killed my parents and 5 siblings. At that point, I dropped tear but my grandmother lured me by showing the way for me and saying that "Grandchild, Do not cry! Death is simple! Importantly, you should follow your parents' footsteps! You have to prolong the revolution to shade the enemies' blood for sake of your parents and your all brothers and sisters! Revolutionary guns reverberate all places! This is the way for you to build your future as well as impoverished peasants' future!".

Since then, I have known that she did not lose the conscience. Class rancor has occupied a unique significant in her heart for 10 years. She pretended to be a psycho to insult the enemies with her extreme anger and to shade the enemies' blood for sake of my parents and Cambodian people. I grew up loving and respecting her and my inflammatory anger of class happened all days and nights. A shout of shading blood echoed in my ears. I asked her for a permission to enlist in armed force in the jungle a couple of time but Angkar said you did not have enough quality to be accepted and asked me to return to the village to support food for them. For my grandmother, she was not opposed to me but more

encouraged me that "Do not think about me. The villager will support me as a single lady."

At that point, though the enemies did not allow the people to contact the struggling population in the jungle or threaten to kill us all, we and other villagers secretly sent rice to the armed forces in the jungle continually. Some people secretly made Khmer traditional cakes for the armed forces in the jungle. This showed the sentiment of the most conscious class of the impoverished people towards revolution and the bravery of devotion toward revolution without regret or for fear of the harmful life. This class sentiment was deeper than the sea bed that could be estimated. This made me more grow up loving, respecting and learning from our people forever.

Until the mid-1969, I went to the jungle. At that point, I was responsible for cooking rice for armed forces. I was very happy about the duty because on the one hand, I thought that cooking rice duty contributed to destroying enemies and on the other hand, my ability could fulfill the duty at maximum level. Every day, I went to the deep jungle to dig cassava, manioc and pick fruit and leaf to mix with rice for armed forces so that they could destroy more enemies.

At day or night out of work, the armed forces helped teach me about alphabet and figure because I did not know even a single character. I tried to learn the character and figure as they instructed until I could know how to read, write and calculate the figure as you saw. Together, Revolutionary Angkar was care about educating me about policy and consciousness and assigned task for me regularly. Before long, I was turned from a poor female youth to a revolutionary female youth with the anger of revolution, clear revolutionary stance and idea, and, knowing friend, enemies, lived in the great warm revolutionary family. Later, the armed forces taught me how to inject or put on bandage. I worked both as a cook and as a medic.

After the coup on March 18, 1970, Revolutionary Movement reached its peak for all sectors. In early 1971, Revolutionary Angkar sent me to Revolutionary School in the jungle to learn the theory and medical profession for 6 months. After leaving the school, I learned the practical

work with the armed force in the battlefield and built myself on this profession. Though little to profession, I could serve the battlefield in urgent need. This jungle and school was a great school for me. I devoted my strength, spirit, blood, life to Revolutionary Angkar for the cause of liberating nation, people and impoverished class and to making crystal clear my parents' solemn belief in this great cause.

Now I, a revolutionary follower, clearly saw that my parents' words and belief was turning to reality and specialty. This was the source of my strength for me to work all day and night without being exhausted.

My parents gave me the appearance. My grandmother and people brought me up but Revolutionary Angkar and revolution educated, built, and trained me on the basis of revolutionary idea and stance to be a revolutionary combatant with great ideal and bright future. Consequently, I was happy about fulfilling all the duties given by Revolutionary Angkar.

The history and word of our female combatant made all combating friends more love and respect her. All people were committed to learning and build themselves on this model.

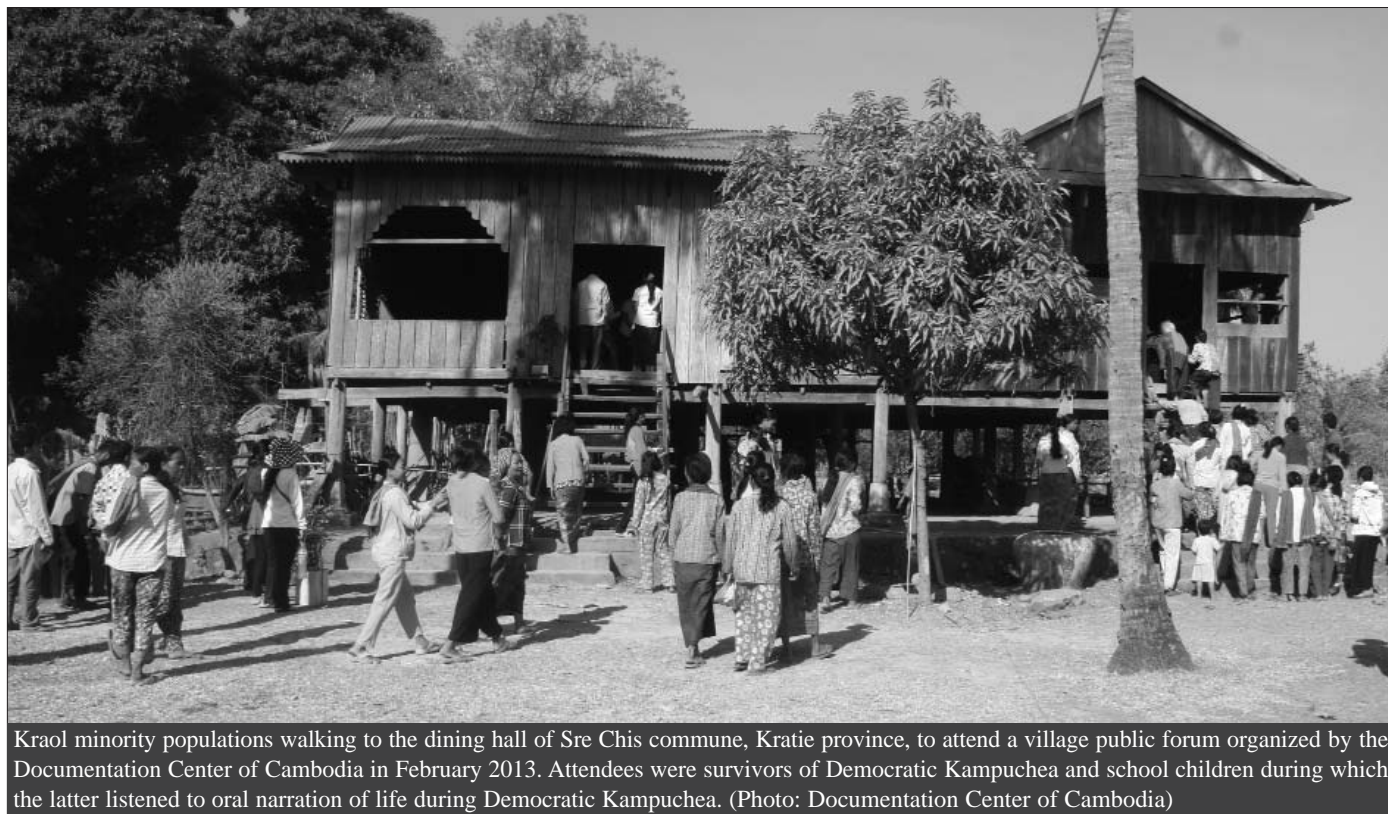
LOST RELATIVES

My name is Elfa Wong, from Hong Kong. My mom came to Hong Kong from Cambodia in the 1970s, before the massacre. But somehow, her parents, sisters, and brothers were lost during the tragedies because they did not get out from the country. My mother went back to Cambodia in 1998, trying to find her family, posting news on newspaper, but nothing were found. I would like to get any more information about my mother's family during that period. My mom's relatives who remains in Cambodia after she left: 1. Guok Mou Heng/ Guo Wu Han, 2. Guok Mou Qeng/ Guo Wu Qing, 3. Guok Mou Hein/ Guo Wu Xian, 4. Guok Ka Gim/ Guo Qiao Jin and 5. Guok Ka Eg/ Gui Qiao Yu.

If anyone have information about above names, please contact me at: elfa226@gmail.com. Thank you.

KRAOL ETHNIC MINORITY

Sok-Kheang Ly



Kraol minority populations walking to the dining hall of Sre Chis commune, Kratie province, to attend a village public forum organized by the Documentation Center of Cambodia in February 2013. Attendees were survivors of Democratic Kampuchea and school children during which the latter listened to oral narration of life during Democratic Kampuchea. (Photo: Documentation Center of Cambodia)

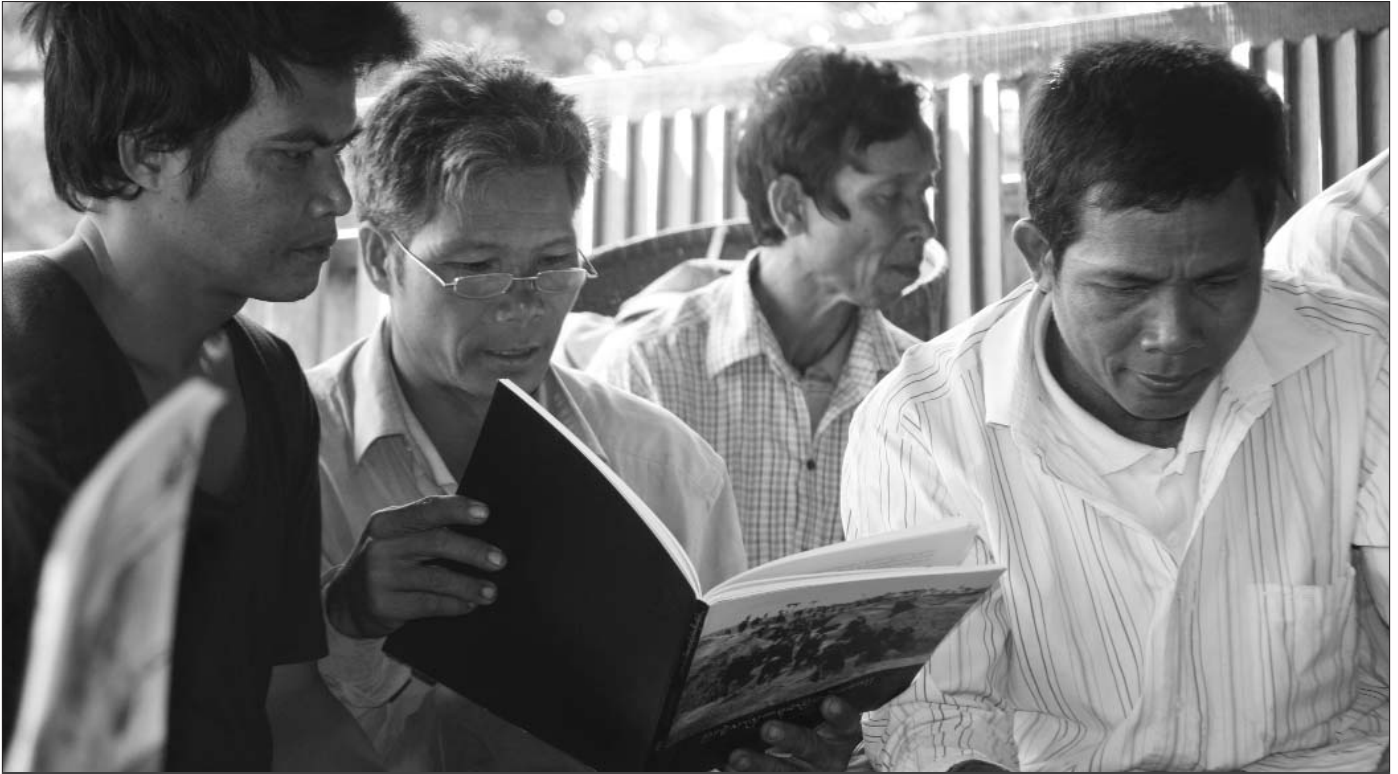
Kraol people are one of the twenty four ethnic minorities in Cambodia. Most of these minority groups are living in northeastern part of the country such as in Stung Treng, Ratanakiri, Mondulakiri, Kratie, and Preah Vihear. On February 12, 2013, the team from the Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam) organized a forum in Sre Chis commune, Kratie province, where the Kraol people are living. Approximately 90 percent of the Kraol people live in this commune. The forum was to encourage villagers to transmit knowledge about the Khmer Rouge history to the next generation, and to voice their opinions about the trials of the senior Khmer Rouge leaders.

This primary goal of this report is to provide a voice to this ethnic minority. To do so the report will first provide a brief history of the ethnic and historical background of the Kraol, and their experiences during

the Viet Minh (Vietnam Independence League), from North Vietnam. This is then connected to the results of the forum that consisted of 200 people who discussed both the history of the Khmer Rouge, and their general perspective about the strengths and weaknesses of the tribunals. The conclusion of this report aims to convey the Kraol people's appeal to the government to help develop their community.

Background: History of the Kraol People

A Kraol himself, Mr. Saray Poeun, (the first Deputy Chief of Sre Chis commune,) said that his grandmother told him that the word 'Kraol' literally translates to mean 'animal stable'. Historically, due to the frequent attack by the Siamese (now Thai), the Kraol people fled eastward into Cambodia navigating thick and dangerous forests during their flight. The majority of Kraol succeeded in escaping the Siamese by trespassing Baing Thngai



Participants reading the textbook *History of Democratic Kampuchea 1975-1979* during the forum in February 2013.
(Photo: Documentation Center of Cambodia)

Mountain but some perished at the hands of their enemy. Those who lived in the jungles adapted to a life without proper food and clothes. To survive they ate salty soil called Dei Khnay, and perched on trees. When the Kraol people were spotted in the jungle, efforts were made to integrate them back into Cambodian society. Sugar was placed as bait near tree trunks, and a stable was established in Koh Nhek district, Mondul Kiri province to train the Kraol. Those in the stable were trained to wear clothes and live normally in the community, and thereafter were sent to Sre Chis commune. However one pregnant woman was not trapped and Mr. Poeun concluded that this is why many of the original wild Kraol still exist today.

Mr. Poeun said during the war in Vietnam (1954-1975), the invading Viet Minh soldiers disrupted the peaceful lives of the Kraol. They set up their military bases next to Sre Chis, and often demanded food and other resources from the people.

Some senior members of the Kraol community secretly reported the activity of the Viet Minh to the government (under the leadership of the Prince Norodom Sihanouk). The government immediately sent

a team to investigate. Mr. Saray Poeun recalled that after the investigation, the late King Sihanouk led his army into Sre Chis and in 1953 drove out the Viet Minh army. The victory was commemorated by the erection of a lion statue that exists today.

The Forum: A Description

Given how the Khmer Rouge regime affected their community, the Kraol people wished to narrate their personal experiences during to their children and neighbors. The Kraol have observed that their children's understanding of the Khmer Rouge regime is divided between those who "believe" and those who do "not believe" the atrocities committed. Mr. Poeun elaborated that many children find it impossible to believe that a regime could have killed so many people. Many do not even take notice of the ongoing tribunals. Worried about this, the villagers decided to attend the forum organized by the DC-Cam, and bring along sixty school children to initiate the education of the next generation.

On the morning of February 12, 2013, as informed by Mr. Poeun, over 200 Kraol including the sixty school children gathered inside a Buddhist monastery in Sre Chis. The forum started at 9 AM, and the participants

were divided into four groups. A facilitator and observer (both from DC-Cam) led each group. Each group selected four or five speakers to make a presentation about three topics-their experiences during the KR regime, the KR tribunal, and the health of the accused to all the participants.

Mr. Ny Bin and Mr. Thim Leat talked to the group about the Issarak movement, the presence of Viet Minh forces in Sre Chis commune, and aerial bombardment between 1973 and 1974. A participant of the focus group, Mr. Yim Phan said, "Pol Pot [later Prime Minister of Democratic Kampuchea (DK)] began his movement to mobilize the people in 1970. In 1974, the KR movement created collectives to get rid of private property. Between 1975 and 1979, the KR regime caused 1.7 million people died. People were overworked, starved and executed. Education was destroyed and people were assigned to manual labor. Buddhism was banned, and courts of justice were not allowed. Arbitrary killings took place on a large scale. Families were separated, and complaints were not allowed." After Yim Phan's description of the Khmer Rouge years, Mr. Duy Tha talked about his experience and stated, "In 1972, there was a lack of hospitals to treat the people."

Like the rest of the country Sre Chis commune also suffered due to the dictatorial rule of the KR between 1975 and 1979. People were forced to work extremely hard, and either died of starvation or were executed. Mr. Poeun explained that the KR planned to evacuate people from Sre Chis to other places in Kampong Thom province. Senior members of the Kraol community who were concerned that there would be no food in the province asked the KR to delay the evacuation. After the Vietnamese invasion the KR was driven out of the commune but still remained a threat as they surrounded and ambushed the commune to get food from the villager. The end of civil war (1979-1998) finally brought stability to the Sre Chis commune.

The Forum: People's Opinions

Many of the participants including students viewed the public village forum as an important tool to expand people's knowledge about KR history, and suggested

that such forums should be implemented across Cambodia. Mei Bien, deputy chief of Ampork village, and Len Pheak, chief of Phnom Pi village, expressed that the forum can play an important role in educating the younger generations about KR history. Both stated that the forum should be implemented across Cambodia, and should also be larger than the present one, and finally allow villagers access to experts on the Khmer Rouge. Other participants such as Mr. Plit Peat admired this effort, and viewed it as the means by which the younger generation can be equipped with a strong background of their country, and thereby build a future for Cambodia.

Two female students echoed these remarks and said that the forum should be used as a model of narrating Cambodian history. A fifth grader, Toeur Srei Tauch said it was extremely informative to hear her neighbors' opinions on the Khmer Rouge for the first time. While Srei Tauch disclosed that her father was part of the Khmer Rouge, she recommended that more village forums should be organized to facilitate further discussion about the history of the regime, and the ongoing tribunals. Srei Tauch's comment reflected the general concern of her classmates, many of who had never heard about the violence of the Khmer Rouge regime. Da Katha (a fourth grader) said that after the forum she was shocked to learn about the extent of the atrocities committed during the KR regime. Neither her parents nor her teachers ever talked about this, and she emphasized that she was now planning to ask her parents about their experiences.

However, a major challenge faced by the organizers of the forum was that students were hesitant to ask



Primary school children of Kraol community attending the forum with their parents and Khmer Rouge survivors. (Photo: DC-Cam)

questions. As a solution, Mr. Yim Phan suggested that prior to participation in the forums, students be given time to read books about the Khmer Rouge. Furthermore he emphasized the importance of a follow-up forum, as one session was not enough to cultivate awareness. Mr. Phan also acknowledged that part of the problem was that parents did not know how to convey their violent experiences to their children. Another problem was that as a bilingual community Sre Chis had inhabitants who spoke only Kraol, and others who spoke only Khmer languages. Within the context of the forum this was a challenge in terms of comprehension and verbal participation, as some participants understood Kraol rather than Khmer.

The Problem: Limited Access to Information about the Khmer Rouge Tribunals

Limited access to information about the Khmer Rouge tribunals remains a great impediment for the Kraol community. According to interviews with local officials and elderly members of the community many have no means by which to follow the legal proceedings taking place at the ECCC. Though there is the ongoing attempt to address the culture of impunity in Cambodia, most within the community are unaware or have no

interest. Mr. Thim Theam (a former commune council member in Sre Chis) said that Sre Chis commune is remotely located, and it was therefore hard for people to have access to information. Mr. Theam also stated that he followed the trials in detail and was concerned at the slow speed with which they were proceeding. Elaborating he said that he believed that if they continued at this pace many of the KR leaders would die before any conclusion was reached. He said that it was important to show results specifically the punishment of the leaders on trial.

Conclusion

The conclusions reached at the end of the forum are listed and discussed as follows. An isolated community within the Kratie province, the Sre Chis commune has long struggled with major challenges. These challenges include the complete absence of Khmer Rouge history in the curriculum, a lack of understanding amongst the younger generation of the history due to poor communication, and finally no knowledge about the new developments at the ECCC. At the forum local authority, police officers and people within the community stressed the importance of discussion between parents, teachers, and school



Kraol ethnic minority women carrying babies on their way to attending the forum. (Photo: Documentation Center of Cambodia)

children. Suggestions included the necessity of a follow up forum on the same topics—memory and history of the Khmer Rouge, and developments at the tribunals. The villagers believe that to an extent the forum provided an informal setting within which members of a community could participate and lead discussions on specific topics related to their communities, and also express general concerns in a democratic and organized manner. Participants also requested the organizers from DC-Cam to convey their requests to the Royal Government of Cambodia (RGC) to broaden and consolidate the education sector of the commune, and improve access to their community through the construction of a road.

Others problems the organizers became aware of included the low literacy rate amongst the youth in Sre Chis commune. This stemmed from the fact that the commune has only one primary school, and students therefore drop out after completing this level of education as their families cannot afford to study at secondary

and high schools located in Roluos (twelve kilometers away from Sre Chis commune) or Kratie provincial town. The people also acknowledged that given the poverty in the village students are discouraged by their parents to attend school, and are instead encouraged to earn money to support their families. The solution proposed by the local authorities was to first upgrade the primary school to include a secondary school and therefore enable the students to have easier access.

Participants also talked about the limited infrastructure that prevented them from having easy access to the Roluos commune. Comments of the villagers included as quoted "people in this commune are yet to enjoy

access to proper roads and bridges." The explained that once could only travel back and forth during the dry season while in the monsoons access to Sre Chis was often completely halted. This immediately hampered the mobility of the students for academic purposes. Many members of the forum experienced the lack of adequate infrastructure themselves as they spent over an hour travelling on poor roads to reach the Sre Chis commune from Roluos commune.

The roads also affected the social welfare of the villagers, as when sick, individuals could not be sent to hospitals quickly. Many recalled that in 2010 alone, 30



A Kraol survivor of Democratic Kampuchea shared his experience during the Khmer Rouge period to other survivors and school children in the forum. (Photo: Documentation Center of Cambodia)

people died of during childbirth, and due to dysenteries because they could not be taken to the hospital in time. Furthermore the means of transporting patients was primitive as they were placed in hammocks, which in turn were carried by men to the health center at Roluos. All the participants of the forum stressed that proper road access and the construction of bridges would provide a solution to the many problems faced by the education sector in Sre Chis, and also improve the social welfare of the inhabitants.

Sok-Kheang Ly is a consultant for DC-Cam's Genocide Education Project.

"THEY KILLED MY FATHER BECAUSE HE WAS EDUCATED"

Bunthorn Som

Cheng Chivoan, also called Launh, was born in Kampong Thom province. His father, Cheng Haihak was one of the millions who died under the violent Khmer Rouge regime. Born in Kampong Thom, Haihak started his career as an official in the department of education in the province. In 1970, due to the increasing instability in the area he moved his family to Phnom Penh.

Launh remembers that he saw very little of his parents after the move to the capital. His father secured a position as an accountant in the ministry of rural development, and his mother worked as a teacher in Neak Vorn Primary School. In 1975 the family moved into a relative's villa in Tuol Kork. The compound was regularly bombed by the Khmer Rouge as the Tuol Kork area was where many generals and high-ranking officials resided.

In March 1975, the Khmer Rouge's shelling fell precariously close to the family's home. Launh's parents immediately moved their children to stay with Haihak's nephew who was a colonel in Lon Nol's army.

After the Khmer Rouge took control of Phnom

Penh in April, 1975, Launh's father forced his family, and other relatives travel to Russey Chroay pagoda. He said that it was impossible to return to Kampong Thom because the Khmer Rouge would identify him as a Lon Nol official. Launh recounts that after this statement, his father burnt most of his accounting documents, and identification card.

Thereafter Haihak left the family to search for wood and rice. While he was away the Khmer Rouge checked his suitcase, and discovered the remaining accounting documents. After a night at Russey pagoda his family continued their journey, unaware of the horrors and tragedy that lay ahead. Shortly after their arrival at Prek Poar, the Khmer Rouge cadres called out the names of Launh's father and relatives. They were told that as former officials of the Lon Nol regime, they were to be reeducated. Launh sadly states that this would be the last time he saw his father.

The Khmer Rouge then stripped Launh, his siblings and mother of all their belongings, and sent them to

Prek Sandek in Prey Veng province where they were placed in a detention center. Launh's family was referred to as "hostages" by the Khmer Rouge, and even the "base people" did not dare to talk to his family. He remembers that they were supervised by the militia even while working as the Khmer Rouge wanted to make sure the family



Cheng Chivoan (right) post a picture with his wife (second from left), and a daughter during his friend's wedding.

did not escape.

The family lived in Prek Sandek for six months before the Khmer Rouge sent them to Tanak, located 50 km away. The Khmer Rouge ordered his mother to dig canals, harvest rice and clear land, while Launh and his siblings were made to collect firewood, leafs, and herd cattle. There was a lack of food, and Launh's mother secretly convinced the cook to provide the family with porridge. Once the Khmer Rouge learned this, they accused Launh's mother of betraying the collective and warned her not to do it again. Launh recounts that a man in their collective was kept in a detention center for unearthing the body of a horse to cook. He was then summoned in front of the Khmer Rouge, and in view of the other members of the collective kicked violently and repeatedly.

In 1976, the Khmer Rouge sent Launh's family to Steung Chas in Battambang province. There his mother was made to work in the rice fields and Launh and his siblings were placed in the mobile unit. Due to the insufficient amount of food, Launh and his siblings would steal food for his mother to cook. One day there were caught by the Khmer Rouge and given a warning. Thereafter Launh did not allow his siblings to assist him in stealing food.

During the harvesting season Launh and his sister went to the rice field with his mother. After harvesting, many members of the mobile unit secretly stripped some rice of the husk for themselves. Launh's mother refrained from doing so as she was scared of the Khmer Rouge. However, while walking home Launh and his sister cut off 6 ears of rice and were immediately held at gun point by the Khmer Rouge cadres who were secretly observing from the tree tops. Though his mother implored the cadres to leave her alone she was taken away to a reeducation camp in Kampong Preah.

In Kampong Preah she was forced to cut down trees, and during the night sleep in the forest. Launh's mother begged for mercy and often pleaded to see her children but was always denied. Increasingly desperate she concocted an escape plan with a widow in her cooperative. These plans were cut short when a neighbor wrongly accuses Launh's mother of stealing gold, and she was detained again. She was released 6 months later, and returned

to her home village where her children already were.

In 1978, cadres from the Southwest Region arrived in the village, and many leaders from the Northwest Region were arrested. Thereafter food became increasingly scarce, and one day some Khmer Rouge cadres saw rice husks scattered on the ground in front of Launh's house. The family was accused of eating privately, and as a punishment deprived of food.

In late 1978, the Khmer Rouge forces sent Launh's family to Kach Rorteh where he states there was plenty of food. Launh's family lived there for a short period of time. While they were living in Kach Rorteh, a young man who repaired bicycles for the Khmer Rouge fell in love with Launh's sister. A wedding, attended by only the parents, was held.

After the wedding, the Vietnamese captured Phnom Penh and therefore the Khmer Rouge took many families including Launh's to Thepdy Mountain. Launh's family briefly stayed in Svay Daun Keo before learning about the Khmer Rouge's plans to evacuate them to Toek Pos. In response Launh's family and roughly 100 others fled to Kach Rorteh, which had been liberated by the Vietnamese.



Cheng Chivoan's mother

In 1979, Launh's mother took four of her children to O Ampil in Banteay Meanchey. To support the family, she would cook traditional Khmer cakes, which Launh and his sister would then sell. She then acquired a position as a teacher in O Ampil Primary School. The family returned to Phnom Penh after seven long years in 1982, and there lived close to O Russey Market. This move enabled Launh to attend high school, and he is not a checkpoint official in Sihanouk province. Launh tearfully states that over thirty years later he still remembers his father's face, and will always remember his story.

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

A CHILDHOOD SCARRED

BE TAI SÉ REMEMBERS HIS LIFE DURING DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

Norng Chanmalika

Born in 1968 in Kampong Thom province, Be Tai Sé is the fifth child of Be Tap and Huoy Tieng. A 1996 graduate of the Royal University of Fine Arts, he was one of the millions who suffered the devastation and brutality of the Khmer Rouge regime. Currently the chief of the Kampong Thom provincial museum Tai Sé shared his story with the Documentation Center of Cambodia.

A young boy during the Democratic Kampuchea period, Tai Sé clearly remembers his first sight of the Khmer Rouge forces in 1975. Wearing only black, their necks adorned with red and white-checked scarves, the Khmer Rouge soldiers ordered everybody to gather their belongings and leave the town. Officials listed

their positions during the Lon Nol regime after being falsely assured by the Khmer Rouge cadres that this information was required for the Angkar to reinstate them later. Tai Sé stated "Lon Nol soldiers became helpless victims of the Khmer Rouge's politics as they agreed to disarm themselves and surrender".

Believing that they would return to their home shortly, Tai Sé's family packed a few belongings and food. Classified by the Angkar as "April 17 people" the family was sent to Baray district, where they built a hut and for a short period lived with his family before the Khmer Rouge established collectives and banned the ownership of private property.

Tai Sé's father was ordered to grow vegetables, and his mother was placed in the elderly unit and made to harvest rice and produce fertilizer. His oldest brother was in the fishing unit at Tonle Sap Lake. One sister was made to build "1 January" dam at Chinith River while the other was in the youth unit in Chamkar Leur. Se and his younger brother were placed in the young pioneer unit and ordered by the Angkar to collect cow dung, gather material for the production of fertilizer and herd cows. Insulted by children in the village, Tai Sé and his friends were often told "to have you is no gain and to lose you is no consequence because they were children of April 17 people".

In 1976 the Angkar decided to establish a special children unit. Two people were selected from each village and sent to grow corn and beans in Chamkar district. Amongst those chosen were Tai Sé and another young boy called Bros. The selected individuals were placed under the control of Comrade Khan. At Chamkar Leur the thirty-member unit slept in the cooperative's hall. Provided with the required equipment, they were



Be Tai Sé in 1984 (Photo: Be Tai Sé's collection)

made to clear land.

Tai Sé remembers an incident that nearly accumulated in his execution. When Bros tickled Tai Sé, the latter swung a heaping-hook at his head causing bleeding. Comrade Khan immediately tried to arrest Tai Sé who fled to the forest. Out of fear he returned and was brutally whipped and detained. He was released after a day due to the intervention of Bros who informed the Khmer Rouge cadres that he had cut himself. Possessing only the bloody clothes on his back, Tai Sé spent all night washing out the signs of the violence he had endured.

After the unit finished growing a sufficient amount of corn and bean, its members were ordered to return to their villages. On arriving at his village Tai Sé rejoined his original unit, and was made to work in the fields. Deprived of food he often ate snails, frogs, crabs and lizards. Sometimes out of despair he would steal corn from the oxcarts on which the harvest was transported.

Tai Sé's house was located next to the Baray Pagoda and he often saw families being transported in trucks. Primarily "April 17 people" or Muslim Chams,

the families were told that they were being relocated. Instead they would be killed and the same trucks would return, this time carrying the victims' clothes. During this period the regional committee appointed Ta (Grandfather) Chhuon to a position of power within the Baray commune. Prior to the Khmer Rouge period Chhuon had worked as a driver for Tai Sé's father who helped him financially when his wife was sick. This simple act of kindness, Tai Sé observed, saved his family from sharing the fate of the majority of "April 17 families."

During the harvesting period Khan sent the young pioneer unit to Chamkar Leur, where they remained until 1978. As fighting with Vietnam escalated, the children were ordered to line up and those able to carry guns were sent to Kampong Cham to fight. After the Vietnamese invaded Cambodia, Tai Sé and his family returned to Kampong Thom.

Nbrng Chanmalika is a volunteer translator for Searching for the Truth Magazine



Be Tai Sé (front row second from right) standing with his siblings and parents in February 1975. (Photo: Be Tai Sé's collection)

LIFE OF AS A N ORPHAN

Sothida Sin



Ros Samnang

Ros Samnang was born in Phnom Penh and is the fifth amongst seven siblings. Amongst the millions who lived and suffered under the Khmer Rouge regime, Samang lost his mother and a sister to the regime. Left an orphan, Samnang slowly rebuilt his life after 1979, and is today the deputy chief of the Pursat provincial museum. As a young man, Samnang studied traditional dance at the Fine Arts School in Phnom Penh. After the 1970 coup that toppled Prince Norodom Sihanouk and brought Lon Nol to power, Samnang's family travelled to Kien Svay to stay with their relatives as they feared that turmoil would occur after the coup. Before, the Khmer Rouge took over, Samnang's family moved to Phnom Penh.

Samnang clearly remembers the day the Khmer Rouge took control of Phnom Penh—April 17, 1975. Samnang recounts his feeling of fear on seeing the Khmer Rouge cadres armed and completely dressed in black with long scarves around their necks, approaching his house. "Phnom Penh needs cleaning, so everybody needs to leave for three days", they said and little did Samnang realize that the few days would turn into four

long years.

Samnang's family was transferred to Lvea Aem village in the Kandal province. His family was assigned to live and work in the Lvea Aem cooperative with evacuees from various cities and provinces. In 1976 Samnang's family was moved again, this time to the Pursat province. Samnang remembered the long train journey, and the other evacuees in their compartment. Malnutrition, defeated and mere ghosts of human being, each of them clutched their positions. Some cried while others tried to find children and relatives.

On arriving at the Srah Srang pagoda in the Pursat province, Samnang saw Khmer Rouge armed forces waiting for them. His family was then placed on an ox cart and sent to the Roluos cooperative. At the cooperative, his family was separated from one another, Samnang was assigned to live in Roluos while his siblings were sent to other villages.

Assigned by the mysterious "Angkar" to a 30-member mobile force brigade, Samnang toiled day and night to dig canals, build dams and transport soil. Samang still remembers the feelings of acute hunger, the lack of food and extreme malnutrition of those around him. The insufficient diet left Samnang ill, yet he worked on and achieved the results demanded by the "Angkar". There was no other choice as failure equaled death under the Khmer Rouge. The monsoon approached, and Samnang along with other members of the mobile force brigade were assigned by the "Angkar" to grow rice.

Living alone, Samnang missed the family he had been so cruelly ripped away from, and asked the brigade leader for permission to visit his mother. Out of pity, the cooperative leader gave his approval and Samnang embarked on a journey through the forest to the village where his mother was. He remembers the

feeling of elation and happiness as he looked into his mother's face. However, the meeting was brief and soon Samnang returned to his cooperative.

In 1977, Samnang was moved to Sen Chey cooperative. Increasingly deprived of food, Samnang would pick and eat edible leaves to fill his stomach and give him the strength required to complete the work demanded by the "Angkar". All of Samnang's friends in the mobile unit worked hard as any signs of laziness were punishable by death.

Samnang states that the most painful memory of the four years of violence was the death of his sister Ros Sambo, who died from starvation. He further recounts the consequences faced by his youngest brother, Ros Sambona who secretly visited their mother. When the Angkar found out about this visit, it ordered that Ros Sambona be whipped. Thereafter, Samnang asked the chief of Child Unit for permission to move his brother to a mobile unit. The request was granted, and for a brief period of time Samnang lived with his brother before being moved to a soil-plugging unit in Tralaok Plong

and Damnak Chheur Kram in Phnom Kravanh district.

As the Vietnamese forces crossed the Cambodian border in 1978, and stormed into a number of provinces, the Khmer Rouge ordered millions of workers to come with them. Samnang describes how the Khmer Rouge armed forces selected approximately fifty people from the Svay Rieng province, each of whom were wearing a long blue scarf, and then walked them to 5-metre deep mass grave where they were killed. This district was placed was under the control of a mobile unit leader named Vy, and the Khmer Rouge bought people here to be killed daily.

In 1979, after the defeat of the Khmer Rouge at the hands of the Vietnamese, Samnang returned to Phnom Penh but then decided to live in the Pursat province. He continued his education, and became a dance teacher at the department of Culture and Information before moving acquiring his present position.

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

A River Changes Course

A REMARKABLE STORY OF A COUNTRY
FACED WITH THE CHALLENGES
OF DEVELOPMENT AND DESTRUCTION

The documentary film is screened for the public every Friday upon request at the Documentation Center of Cambodia #66, Preah Sihanouk BLVD. Contact us at dccam@online.com.kh or call us at 012 511 914.



A HISTORY CLASSROOM AT TUOL SLENG MUSEUM

The Khmer Rouge regime turned public schools and pagodas into prisons, stables and warehouses. Tuol Sleng prison, also known by its code name of "S-21," was created on the former grounds of Chao Ponhea Yat high school, originally constructed in 1962. The Khmer Rouge converted the school into the most secret of the country's 196 prisons. Most of the prisoners taken to Tuol Sleng were Khmer Rouge cadres accused of largely fictitious acts of treason, such as collaborating with foreign governments, or spying for the CIA or KGB. Typically the entire family an accused traitor would be imprisoned. Most often, prisoners had no knowledge of the charges against them when arrested, but they were tortured until they confessed whatever crimes they had been accused of. After having confessed, each prisoner was marked for execution.

Experts estimate that somewhere between 14,000 and 20,000 people were held at Tuol Sleng and executed. Only seven known prisoners survived after the Khmer Rouge regime collapsed. The Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC) held that at least 12,273 prisoners passed through Tuol Sleng in its trial judgment



against former Tuol Sleng commander Kaing Guek Eav alias Duch. As the number of survivors has received less attention, most Western media repeated the figure of seven survivors and this has been repeated for over 30 years. However, after several years of research, the Documentation Center of Cambodia estimates that at least 179 prisoners were released from Tuol Sleng from 1975 to 1978 and approximately 23 additional prisoners survived when the Vietnamese ousted the Khmer Rouge regime on January 7, 1979.

Today the four buildings in the compound of the prison form the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, which was opened to the public in 1980. Within the first few months of its opening, over 300,000 locals and 11,000 foreigners visited the museum (Chandler, 1999). People from all over the world visited the museum and currently, approximately 250 people visit on an average day. Many Cambodian visitors travel to Tuol Sleng seeking information about their relatives who disappeared under the Khmer Rouge.

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

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

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

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

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

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

VOICES OF GENOCIDE: JUSTICE AND THE KHMER ROUGE FAMINE

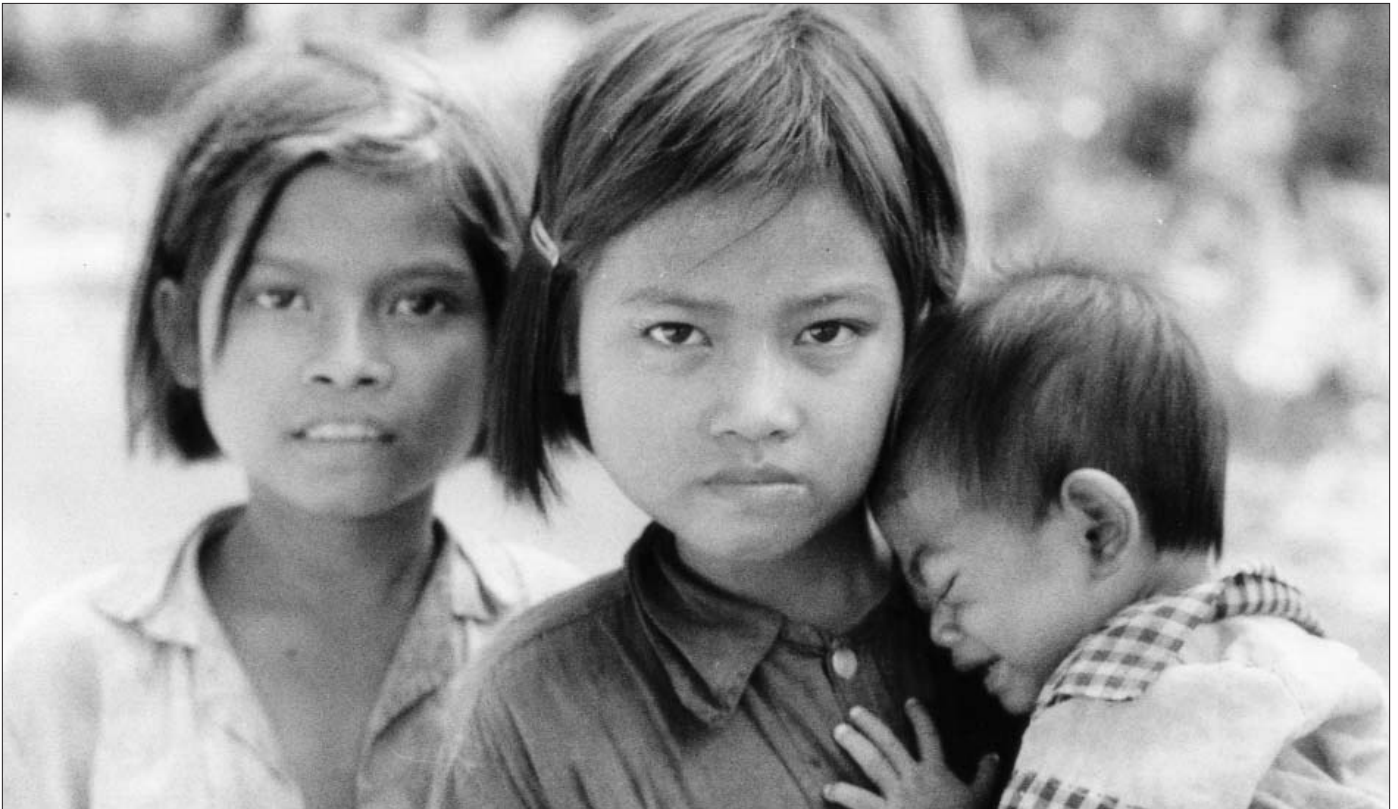
FIRST EPISODE OF THE RADIO PROGRAM ON FAMINE UNDER THE KHMER ROUGE

Randle C. DeFalco

During the period of Democratic Kampuchea (DK) in Cambodia from 1975-1979, direct violence was not the only sources of death and suffering for the civilian population. Miserable living conditions, famine, overwork and untreated diseases were also major causes of suffering and death.

However, when discussion of the DK period turns to individual criminal accountability at the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia, or ECCC, potential crimes committed by the Khmer Rouge (KR) tend to focus mainly on instances of direct physical violence, such as torture and mass executions. The Court also clearly is struggling to move fast enough to reach a

judgment in its second case against the most senior Khmer Rouge leaders still alive: Nuon Chea, Ieng Sary and Khieu Samphan. Already Ieng Thirith has been dropped from Case 002 because she was found unfit to continue with the trial with dementia brought on by Alzheimer's disease. More recently, all three of the remaining accused have been hospitalized with ailments such as breathing problems, high blood pressure and bronchitis and are over eighty years old. Therefore, another reason the ECCC may focus more on issues that are less complicated than famine is that the Court is in a race against time. If the Court attempted to address famine issues, it would take a lot of time to develop the



Cambodian children, whose parents were killed by the Khmer Rouge, were seen walking in front of Angkor Wat temple. After the collapse of the Khmer Rouge regime on January 7, 1979, hundreds of thousands of children were left orphaned. This photo was taken in 1979 by a Vietnamese soldier. (Photo: Documentation Center of Cambodia)

necessary facts and argue the law, increasing the chances that some or all Case 002 accused would die before judgment.

Aside from these time considerations, crimes predicated on the terrible living conditions in DK and/or famine can be marginalized or ignored altogether because it is easier to assign blame for prisons, violence, executions and mass graves than complex increases in mortality from a combination of living condition factors. This focus on violent crimes is typical of international tribunals and most likely occurs because violent crimes fit neatly within existing legal paradigms. Violent crimes are also typically easier to prove than crimes predicated on general living conditions. For example, in the case of the KR, documentation from the DK period clearly establishes that KR leaders authorized the "smashing" (killing) of perceived political enemies and the Cambodian countryside is littered with mass graves of executed victims, providing powerful proofs.

When it comes to possible famine-based crimes however, issues of causation and individual responsibility can become complex and hard to untangle, as deadly famines, including the DK famine, typically involve complex interactions between food production, government policy, armed conflict and the spread of famine-related diseases.

To date, no internationalized criminal court or tribunal has entered a conviction predicated specifically on causing mass famine. Nonetheless, many of these same courts have touched on the issue of famine or recognized the illegality of knowingly starving a civilian population. Also, when famine is forced on a civilian population, the famine may involve well-established international crimes, such as genocide, crimes against humanity and/or war crimes.

If the ECCC did decide to address the difficult issue of famine, Case 002 would probably be the best opportunity for the Court to do so. While this is unlikely, because the three accused in the Case: Nuon Chea, Ieng Sary and Khieu Samphan are all elderly and in poor health and the Court has decided to pursue more traditional crimes of direct physical violence thus far, these three accused represent the most senior former Khmer Rouge

officials alive today. As senior officials, these three individuals appear to have had national authority during the DK period and may have assisted in the creating policies that caused famine. However, only through a full trial and careful analysis of the available evidence could the roles of each of these accused and their potential criminal responsibility for causing famine be determined.

This radio program is the first in a series that explores the possible legal consequences at the ECCC of the deadly famine that occurred during the DK period under the KR. The program will examine how the DK period famine occurred and explore key famine causing policies of the KR leadership. Additionally, this program will highlight the possible legal issues and challenges posed should the ECCC explore the issue of famine in Case 002.

The KR and Key Famine Policies

Survivors of the DK period can all vividly remember their individual experiences of hunger and starvation. However, few survivors have been provided with any explanation of how famine progressed in DK and the national policies responsible.

Famines are rarely disasters caused by a single factor or reason and this is true with the case of the famine in DK.

When the KR took over Cambodia in 1975, the nation's rice crops in some areas had been severely decreased for five years due to the ravages of the civil war. However, some of Cambodia's most important rice-producing areas, most notably surrounding Battambang in the Northwest which is considered the country's rice bowl, escaped the war mostly undamaged.

The regime immediately emptied Cambodia's cities, sending urban people to live as rice farming peasants in the countryside. One of the official explanations for this evacuation, stated by Ieng Sary himself, was the fact that there was no food in Phnom Penh. The regime claimed that the food problem would be solved by increasing food production by sending everyone to work in cooperative farms. Many evacuees were sent to Battambang province because the regime believed that the area could produce much higher rice yields with additional labor force. The KR argued that an agricultural

push would make up for the lost food aid that had resulted from the KR expelling all foreign agencies, including food donor programs. However, this plan failed and living conditions were among the worst in areas of the country, such as Battambang, flooded with evacuees and subjected to high rice quotas.

Instead of revolutionizing DK along a realistic time scale however, the new regime decided that Cambodia would make a "super-great leap forward" in agriculture incredibly fast. KR leaders stated at party meetings that the revolutionary zeal and purity of the regime could be harnessed to nearly triple Cambodia's average rice yield, from slightly over one ton per hectare to three tons per hectare.

The plan to increase rice output dramatically is outlined in most detail in the KR's unpublished, 1976 "Four Year Plan." In the Four Year Plan, the KR planned to reach and even surpass a national average three tons per hectare within a few years.

The regime planned to use the large amount of rice it planned to produce to feed its revolutionary army and as the main source of trade income, which would be used to finance all revolutionary goals. The KR leaders in documents stated that rice production was key to supporting the army and defending DK against Vietnam, therefore growing rice was seen as a crucial aspect of national defense.

The regime ignored the numerous difficulties facing it, including the lack of existing irrigation infrastructure, modern machinery, skilled labor and pesticides necessary to achieve such a massive increase in productivity. Instead, the KR leaders ordered that through sheer revolutionary effort, the nation would build its own irrigation systems and develop new and better ways to grow rice.

The KR ordered that to overcome all difficulties, the civilian labor force would have to "attack" rice production as if fighting a war. The result of the unrealistic demands of the KR leadership and lack of equipment was that civilians were forced to work long, hard hours every single day throughout the countryside.

Every calculation of the KR leadership was based on the incorrect assumption that three tons per

hectare average rice yields would be achieved nationally. However, it quickly became clear that three tons per hectare was an impossible amount to achieve. Nonetheless, the KR leadership pushed forward with its plans and refused to admit any mistakes or slow the pace of its revolution. The regime even raised its already-impossible quotas in fertile areas, such as around Battambang to up to five tons per hectare in an attempt to cover shortfalls in planned production.

The regime took massive amounts of rice from the country's cooperative storehouses to feed the military and trade to North Korea and China. A foreign commerce trade account was set up for the DK government in Hong Kong, financed by the Chinese government. This financing was necessary because the KR had banned money completely.

While the KR were sending civilians to work long hours in the fields to produce rice for party use, the regime was simultaneously placing extreme restrictions on basic freedoms of workers within cooperatives.

After taking power, the regime announced that there was no longer any private property recognized in the country and therefore everything belonged to the revolutionary organization (*Angkar Padevat*). This included all wild food and animals. During previous famines in Cambodia, massive starvation was avoided because the civilian population could turn to the abundance of wild food sources throughout the countryside and in the jungle. However, under the KR, a starving civilian risked imprisonment, a beating or even execution for simply taking a fish from a pond or coconut from a tree to feed himself or his family.

By 1977, communal eating was enforced throughout Cambodia and the private backyard plots of food crops that had been common in Cambodia for centuries as sources of supplemental food had been completely eliminated. This meant that the only place where civilians were allowed to eat was in the cooperative dining hall. Therefore the workers relied completely on government rations for nourishment. These rations however, were far less than the bare minimum required by a human being, especially a person forced to work constantly at hard labor.

These various policies triggered a massive, deadly famine in DK. This famine killed people by the thousands and appears to have grown continually worse until the KR lost power in 1979.

In less than four years, hundreds of thousands of Cambodians had died of starvation or related causes under the KR. Experts have estimated that approximately half, or 800,000 plus deaths in DK were non-violent and therefore the result of inadequate living conditions, overwork, starvation and disease.

Famine Crimes in DK and the ECCC

It is irrefutable that hundreds of thousands of people died from famine, overwork and treatable diseases in DK. However, it is unclear whether the acts of the KR leaders who presided over this deadly famine, were punishable as crimes under the jurisdiction of the ECCC.

In previous interviews, some of the accused in Case 002 have claimed that the civilian death toll in DK was exaggerated and that problems with living conditions, such as famine, were not the fault of the central leadership. Instead, they have argued that any famine that occurred was the result of the difficult situation the KR inherited after fighting a five year civil war and mistakes by lower-level party officials in interpreting the party line.

For example, Ieng Sary and Khieu Samphan have previously publicly stated that one of the reasons Phnom Penh was evacuated in 1975 was because there was no food left in the city and the country was already facing famine because of the civil war and the Lon Nol regime. Future episodes will explore the reasons and legal defenses each accused has given when claiming that they are not responsible for famine deaths in DK.

Experts and legal scholars have stated that in certain circumstance powerful individuals or groups who cause deadly famines can be held criminally responsible. While there is no specific international famine crime, this responsibility could theoretically be in the form of war crimes, crimes against humanity or genocide. All three of these crimes are charged in Case 002.

Within the context of the ECCC, it appears that crimes against humanity are the best-suited source of famine-related charges. Nevertheless, obtaining convictions

for famine crimes at the ECCC could prove difficult, due to the lack of clear legal precedent and the complex issues of proof and causation previously discussed. Indeed, as of now, the ECCC has focused primarily on violent crimes in Cases 001 and 002 and it is unlikely that additional topics, such as famine will be addressed moving forward. As such, this radio program is designed to provide some basic information on famine under Khmer Rouge and related legal issues in order for the Cambodian public to discuss their views on famine and justice in a structured and informed format.

Future broadcasts will explore various specific legal issues associated with famine and ECCC Case 002. Each broadcast will also provide stories of famine survivors, who will personally share their experiences of hunger and starvation during the DK period. Finally, each broadcast will conclude by answering listener questions related to famine and ECCC proceedings.

Randle C. DeFalco is a legal advisor of the Documentation Center of Cambodia.

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 grant-parents about what happened, are important to preventing genocide both in Cambodia and the world at-large.*

FAMINE AND EXCESS MORTALITY IN DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

SECOND EPISODE OF THE RADIO PROGRAM ON FAMINE UNDER THE KHMER ROUGE

Randle C. DeFalco

This is the second episode of a ten-episode radio series which explores the historical and legal aspects of the famine that took place in Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge from 1975-1979. The goal of this program is to better inform Cambodian people about a critical part of their shared history while encouraging active participation in the transitional justice process. The Documentation Center of Cambodia welcomes feedback about the program, including contact from people who would like

to share their own experience of the famine under the Khmer Rouge or people who have questions for the Center about the Khmer Rouge famine or the law.

This episode focuses on historical beginnings of the famine under the Khmer Rouge, the concept of "excess mortality" and reasons why it is very difficult for researchers to determine how many people died because of the famine in Cambodia from 1975-1979. Next month, this program will address the issue of



Cambodians travelling on foot to their homeland in January 1979. After the Khmer Rouge regime collapsed, Cambodians, who were evacuated from their home village, returned home while looking for food to eat on the way. This photo was taken by a Vietnamese soldier in January 1979 in Kampong Cham province near Vietnamese border. (Photo: Documentation Center of Cambodia)

knowledge among the Khmer Rouge leadership about famine when it happened. In doing so, the next episode will attempt to answer the key question of whether the top Khmer Rouge leaders knew that their policies were starving the people.

Updates from the ECCC

Prior to this episode's discussion of famine and mortality in Cambodia, there are some important recent developments at the ECCC worth mentioning. First, the ECCC Supreme Court Chamber overturned the Trial Chamber's decision to divide the Court's main case, Case 002, into a series of smaller trials. While the Supreme Court Chamber did not find that any division of the case would necessarily be improper, the judges held that the Trial Chamber had not provided sufficient reasons to justify its decision to divide Case 002 into a series of trials and to focus exclusively on the Khmer Rouge regime command structure and crimes related to forced evacuations in the first trial and ordered the Trial Chamber to reassess both its reasoning. The Trial Chamber is currently in the process of doing so and its revised decision on division of Case 002 will have important ramifications for all parties. The prosecution has argued that the charges related to S-21 prison should be covered in the first Case 002 trial, while the defence has opposed the addition of any charges. The decision will also affect civil party applications greatly, as only civil party applicants who can demonstrate that the harm they suffered is related to the issues being covered in the first Case 002 trial will enjoy official civil party status, while others will be forced to wait until the unlikely event that additional trials take place. Meanwhile, as this issue plays out, the health of all three Case 002 accused remains precarious and Nuon Chea has been in and out of the hospital recently, highlighting the need for the trial to move forward expeditiously. On March 14, 2013, Ieng Sary, Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Affairs Minister, passed away at the Khmer-Soviet Friendship Hospital due to illness.

Introduction: The Khmer Rouge Take Power with the Promise of Food for Everyone

To talk about food in Cambodia is to talk mostly

about rice, as a large percentage of the overall food eaten by Cambodians consists of rice. Therefore, throughout this radio series, when food production is discussed, the emphasis will be on the production of rice. In the early 1960's Cambodia enjoyed a steady increase in overall rice production. 1963 and 1964 produced two record rice harvests in a row and Cambodia exported surplus rice in large quantities. This surplus vanished in the second half of the 1960s, as large quantities of Cambodian rice were smuggled into Vietnam and sold to both warring zproduction appears to have remained high. When Cambodia descended into civil war in 1970, the rice crop predictably suffered. Planting, harvesting and processing rice activities were all decreased because of the fighting between the Lon Nol government and rebel forces, which became to be known as the Khmer Rouge. The massive bombing campaign of the United States in support of the Lon Nol regime further reduced Cambodia's agricultural production because it devastated the countryside by killing farmers and work animals and destroying croplands.

During the civil war, the Khmer Rouge knew the importance rural Cambodians placed on agricultural issues and food production and claimed that their revolution would bring a new era of agricultural prosperity in Cambodia and with it an abundance of food. For example, in a 1973 propaganda film shot in "liberated" Kampong Cham province, Khmer Rouge representative Khieu Samphan leads a visiting delegation from North Vietnam on a tour of a model collective farm where food is shown to be everywhere in large amounts. The workers in the cooperative smile for the camera as they thresh rice and perform other chores and they appear healthy and well fed.

This propaganda, along with promised land reforms to give poor farmers more land, were among the many reasons why the Khmer Rouge movement became popular among many rural peasant farmers. This popularity and control of Cambodia's food producing areas helped the Khmer Rouge achieve victory by stopping food supplies from entering areas controlled by Lon Nol forces.

The Khmer Rouge defeated the Lon Nol government

and took control of Phnom Penh on 17th of April, 1975. Within a week, Phnom Penh was almost completely evacuated. The exact reasons for the evacuation orders remain unclear to this day. Publicly, Ieng Sary, Deputy Prime Minister in charge of Foreign Affairs for the Khmer Rouge regime, claimed that the forced evacuation was due to a lack of food to feed Phnom Penh's large wartime population, saying that "[t]he problem was to find ways to feed these people by our own means." He also claimed:

"[t]his problem has brought us tremendous experience, experience that makes us determined to increase our food supply. Although there is not now a great quantity, there is enough to feed one another. Today, people are working in the countryside and participating in productive activities."

Additionally, Khieu Samphan, who was the Prime Minister in the new Khmer Rouge state, which was renamed "Democratic Kampuchea," claimed to the press in August of 1975: "[i]t is not an abundance, but we have been able to solve the essential problem [of feeding the people]."

At this point, the Khmer Rouge had complete control over all of Cambodia and the stage was set for them to deliver on the promise of a new Cambodia with food for everyone. However, instead of proceeding to systematically rebuild their war-torn nation, the new regime attempted to rapidly transform Cambodia into self-sufficient and completely pure socialist state. This emphasis on complete self-reliance and speed resulted in a massive famine that killed at least 800,000 Cambodian people by January of 1979 when the Vietnamese removed the Khmer Rouge from power.

Khmer Rouge Famine Policies

After taking power, the leaders of the Khmer Rouge held a meeting in Phnom Penh in May of 1975. During this meeting important party policies were outlined, including plans for high-level cooperatives, the abolishment of money and the establishment of communal eating and living.

At a later meeting Pol Pot is recorded as stating

that the Khmer Rouge had: "decreed that the country must be built, and that socialism must be built, as rapidly as possible, taking [Cambodia] from a backward agriculture to a modern one in five to ten years, and from an agricultural base to an industrial one in between fifteen to twenty years."

Along these lines, the Khmer Rouge announced that Cambodia would achieve a "Super Great Leap Forward" and thereby rapidly transform into a model socialist state. The Khmer Rouge leaders relied on agriculture as the source of national income to support the Super Great Leap Forward and at a Khmer Rouge meeting it was stated:

"we stand on agriculture in order to expand other fields; industries, factories, metals, oils, etc. The basic key is agriculture. Self-reliance means capital from agriculture."

The Khmer Rouge planned to increase rice production to nearly three times the previous record crop, to a national average of three tons per hectare of cultivated land. These production goals were virtually impossible, as Cambodia had never even approached this level of production and had just emerged from a brutal five year civil war.

To help achieve these new massive increases in rice production, the Khmer Rouge tried to solve what they called the "water problem" in Cambodia, by creating a national system of dikes, canals and dams to capture, store and redistribute seasonal monsoon rainwater year-round. The regime however, did not have the money, expertise or machinery to create such a massive national irrigation system and instead relied on human labour and built many dams that did not operate well or simply collapsed.

While the people were put to hard work to try and achieve three tons per hectare, they also had their food rations decreased in order to save rice for regime uses.

Officially, every Cambodian under the Khmer Rouge was supposed to receive a ration of 13 *thang* of paddy rice per person, each year (equivalent to approximately 312 kilograms or 0.85 kilograms per day). In reality, very few people ever received this ration, even for a short time and most people received rations that were

much smaller, consisting of a single ladle of watery rice porridge two times per day. Nevertheless, the Khmer Rouge leaders were optimistic and stated that soon, when the revolution began to succeed, the people would be "nourished with snacks" and therefore be "happy to live in this system." This never occurred and rations decreased more and more throughout the Khmer Rouge period, leading to increasing numbers of deaths from starvation and associated diseases.

How Starvation Kills

During famines, people rarely die of complete starvation. Instead, death from famines comes in many different ways. People become weak after they begin to starve and diseases often begin to spread as people travel in search of food. Also, people often turn to unfamiliar, barely edible food sources during famines, which can lead to stomach problems which make the famine worse. All of these factors were present in Cambodia during the famine under the Khmer Rouge.

The population of Cambodia was already weakened by the five year civil war leading up to the Khmer Rouge period and there was not a lot of food in the country. Next, when the Khmer Rouge took power, they forced hundreds of thousands of people to relocate to distant parts of the countryside. These transfers contributed to the spread of diseases as weakened people came into contact with one another. Next, general living conditions under the Khmer Rouge were extremely harsh. People were exposed to the weather and basic sanitation, such as toilet systems, were lacking in many areas. Many people were also so exhausted from the combination of overwork and insufficient food that they became too weak to bathe regularly or maintain their hygiene. This also led to the further spread of disease. Finally, there was no health care system to speak of under the Khmer Rouge. Thus, once famine diseases began to spread, there was no modern medicine available to slow down the spread of disease.

Experts appointed by the ECCC estimated in 2009 that during the Khmer Rouge period somewhere between 800,000 and 1,300,000 Cambodian people died of non-violent, but non-natural causes. These are

referred to as "excess deaths" which means they are the number of deaths beyond the normal number of people who die each year from natural causes such as disease and old age. A large portion of these deaths were the result either directly or indirectly, from famine and associated living conditions. This large variation in the number of estimated deaths is typical of famine situations, as record-keeping is often very bad and the cause of death for victims is not recorded, resulting only in educated guesses about how many people actually died from each famine. However, according to one famine historian, the estimated "rate of excess mortality" during the Cambodian famine under the Khmer Rouge is the highest death rate during any famine since the Irish potato famine of 1846-1852.

Thus, certain conclusions can be drawn from the available information on the Khmer Rouge famine in Cambodia. First, while some famine may have been the result of the civil war prior to the Khmer Rouge coming to power, the policies of the Khmer Rouge regime clearly made the famine much worse than it would have been without their policies being in place. Second, there is a close relationship between deaths from disease and deaths from famine under the Khmer Rouge, as the spread of disease regularly follows the beginning of a famine. Third, once the famine became bad in Cambodia, the Khmer Rouge did nothing to change their policies that had cause the famine. In fact, it appears that the central leadership of the Khmer Rouge simply made their policies stricter, which only made the famine worse. Fourth, at the very least, hundreds of thousands of Cambodians died specifically because of famine in Cambodia. At the high end, upwards of one million people may have died due to famine-related causes. Finally, in terms of the percentage of the population which died, the famine in Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge appears to have been the most intense of any famine of the 20th Century.

Randle C. DeFalco is a legal advisor of the Documentation Center of Cambodia.

KING-FATHER SIHANOUK'S EMBRACE ACROSS ETHNIC AND POLITICAL DIVIDE

Kok-Thay Eng

King-Father Norodom Sihanouk was a flamboyant, outspoken, energetic and optimistic person who enjoyed life and always showed great respect to his people, friends and enemies. He was crowned as King at a young age of 19, and throughout his years he learned to expand his compassion and improve his political dexterity until he was confident enough to abandon the throne in 1955. During his life time, King-Father Sihanouk experienced many different Cambodian social developments.

As a leader, King-Father Sihanouk signed the abolition of capital punishment in the 1990s. One of the most lasting legacies of King-Father was his embrace of equality among Cambodia's different ethnic and religious groups, something that seemed to be ahead of his time. He did this while the fight for civil rights was at full swing in the United States, and South Africa was still

forty years behind the elimination of apartheid.

In the 1950s and 1960s, King-Father created a number of labels for different political, ethnic and religious groups in Cambodia based on the word Khmer. The labels he created included: Khmer *Sar*, Khmer Rouge, Khmer *Khieu* (green), Khmer Islam, Khmer Communist, Khmer *Leu*, Khmer *Krom*, Khmer *Daem* and Khmer Issarak. One can also hear the word Khmer Buddhist. All of these "Khmers" were regarded as Sihanouk's children. He used topography as well as political orientation to label the groups. For example, Khmer *Leu* (upper Khmer) and Khmer *Krom* (lower Khmer) referred to indigenous highlanders and Khmer people living in the lower Mekong Delta, respectively.

Cambodia had always been divided by topography. In the pre-Angkorean period, the country was divided into



Hilltribes people were represented during the royal procession on February 1, 2013, along with members of other ethnic minority groups whom King Father Sihanouk embraced during his years of greatest power as different groups of Khmer. King-father called them Khmer *Leu* for these highlanders. (Photo: Kok-Thay Eng/Documentation Center of Cambodia)



Representatives from Muslim minority group joined the procession. These Muslims were called Khmer-Islam by King-Father Sihanouk. (Photo: Kok-Thay Eng/Documentation Center of Cambodia)

upper and lower Chenlas. This was probably due to the fact that at the center of the country lies a huge seasonal flood plain around Tonle Sap Lake and the Mekong River system. Such geography causes Cambodian people to identify their country in two parts: the lower part which is wet, and the upper part which is high and dry. The labels *Khmer Sar* (White Khmer), Khmer Rouge, Khmer Communist and Khmer Issarak (Liberating Khmer) were used to identify political groups. Sometimes this was in line with identification with global politics. For example, Khmer Rouge means red Khmer.

The classification of Muslims in Cambodia as Khmer Islam was interesting. It is ironic that the word Muslim was not used in the Khmer language to refer to the followers of Islam, but Islam was used to refer to both the religion and its adherents. Thus, Khmer people today always call Muslims as "Islamic brothers." King-Father's naming of Muslims in Cambodia as Khmer with a different religion revealed his warm embrace of all these people, even though they were ethnically different. He was acting as a reconciliatory politician who embraced all religions and ethnic groups in a society divided by economic and ethnic backgrounds.

However, in creating Khmer Islam, King-Father also based his division on some concrete ideas. Muslims

in Cambodia comprised of the Cham, the Chvea and converted Khmer peoples. Chveas spoke the Khmer language as often as the Malay language. Today apart from following Islam, the Chvea have no distinguishable difference (other than religion) from the Khmer who speak Khmer. Therefore the word Khmer Islam was more accurately applied to the Chvea than the Cham Muslims.

During the funeral procession of King-Father on February 1, 2013, it is fitting that people across different ethnic, religious and political groups participated to pay their respects and bid farewell to one of Cambodia's greatest leaders. When his father King Norodom Suramarith died in 1960, his funeral was arranged with participation by people of different backgrounds. But it was likely a result of energetic arrangement by King-Father Sihanouk himself.

The question remains, however: will he ever be forgiven for harsh measures he took against alleged political subversion such as public execution and routine display of that action through theatre? I would say that it was a measure of an era which passed, and not one of his lasting legacies.

Dr. Kok-Thay Eng is the Deputy Director of the Documentation Center of Cambodia.

THE DEATH OF THE KING FATHER, A TEST OF STRONGER UNITY

Khamboly Dy

For many Cambodians, the death of the revered King Father Norodom Sihanouk is a great national loss. As one lady from Kampong Chhnang mentioned, "His death is like the loss of a parent, leaving the whole family with no comfort." For better or worse, his absence marks another historic turning point in Cambodian politics. Cambodia has suffered from prolonged civil war, aerial bombardments, genocide, political conflict, violence, and foreign interference that has taxed and shaped Cambodian culture. Twenty-two years into the post-conflict transitional period, King Sihanouk's death presents another important test for Cambodian unity, political stability, sustainable peace and national reconciliation.

On the evening of February 4th Cambodians bid the last farewell to presumably their last God King. While tens of thousands of people flocked into the park in front of the Royal Palace and the surrounding areas,

for security reasons, the people were not allowed to come close to Preah Meru field where the King Father's body was laid for cremation. Instead, some people sat on the road praying for the King Father, while others wandered the streets. A group of volunteer students from Tuol Svay Prey High School collected rubbish on the road, and other voluntary groups offered food and water to villagers from far-off provinces. A sign on the back of the students' shirts read: "I will not allow the country of the King Father have rubbish because of me. Following the King Father's advice, we will strive to study so that Cambodia is well-known on the international stage. The King Father's wish is that Cambodian children unite to develop the country." These simple slogans and voluntary work symbolize the extraordinary sense of unity that the King Father sought to inspire in all Cambodians.



Royal funeral procession for King-Father Norodom Sihanouk moving along Norodom BLVD near Independence Monument. (Photo: Terith Chy/Documentation Center of Cambodia)



Clergymen and women praying (Photo: Kok-Thay Eng/DC-Cam)

There were mixed responses to the question, "What will the future of Cambodia be without the King Father?" One monk from Siem Reap, who had been in Phnom Penh for the last four days to witness this historic ceremony, said that the King Father is not only the most influential political figure in Cambodian history but also the most experienced diplomat. He described the King Father's good relations with a number of statesmen and national leaders, which made him an important leader. The mere presence of the King Father, if he were still alive, would bring respect to Cambodia. The King Father was able to capture the sympathy and respect of many statesmen and world leaders, even well beyond his 2004 retirement from political office and abdication

to his son and current King, H.E. Norodom Sihamoni. A motor taxi driver from Takeo said that he had more pity on the King Father than even his own parents. He described how the King Father had a lot of respect from foreign countries, even though at home there were people who did not like him. The driver estimated that only about two percent of Cambodians do not respect the King Father, and this lack of respect is primarily based on his controversial relations with the Khmer Rouge. The Khmer Rouge killed almost two million Cambodians during their reign between 1975 and 1979; and to many people, Prince Sihanouk's association with the Khmer Rouge was too much to dismiss or forgive. For the taxi driver, on the other hand, the King Father was a symbol of peace and unity. He stated that the King Father's mere presence could unite his children to be kind to one another and pursue peace.

Before leaving, the taxi driver concluded "If we have unity, no country would dare look down on us, and the country will be developed." His comment echoes the King Father's final wish, a Cambodia united in purpose and spirit.

Khamboly Dy is a team leader of Genocide Education Project.



A crowd of people who were waiting a long the way burst into tears as royal coffin of King-Father Sihanouk is coming near. (Photo: Terith Chy/Documentation Center of Cambodia)

MIXED EMOTIONS AMONGST CHAM MUSLIMS AT SIHANOUK'S DEATH

Farina So

The death of Cambodia's King Father Norodom Sihanouk on October 15, 2012 evoked mixed emotions amongst the Cham Muslims in Malaysia. Some condemned him because of his alignment with the Khmer Rouge, citing this very alliance as the reason they had to flee their homes in Cambodia. Others however, felt his death was a great loss to the nation.

The majority of Cham Muslims originate from Cambodia. However, in the early 1970's, because of a civil war and communist persecution, and subsequent political instability and violence, many of the Cham Muslims ended up fleeing to smaller areas in Vietnam, western Malaysia, Thailand, Laos, and Indonesia. In Malaysia they are known by their origins—*orang Kemboja* (Cambodian) or *Melayu-Champa* (Champa Malay) rather than by their religion.

Many of the Cham Muslims learnt about the death of the King and his funeral through the media. Amongst them is Romlah Omar who bought home a newspaper with the announcement to share with her family. Romlah was one of the many Cham Muslims who were forced to relocate during the dark Khmer Rouge years; she left Cambodia on a boat captained by her uncle just a few hours before Phnom Penh was captured on April 17, 1975. After three long nights, her family reached Malay soil, where the Malaysian Islamic Welfare Organization (PERKIM) and Malaysian Government gave them refuge.

People of Romlah Omar's generation remember Cambodia's prosperity during the 1950s and 1960s but recall very little about the late King's claim for independence from the French in 1953. Some openly question the King's decision to align himself with the Khmer Rouge in 1970. Haji Safi of Kelantan often wonders about the rationale that made Sihanouk join the Khmer Rouge, a

group that he had tried to crush during the 1960s. Haji Fauzi Ismael, a businessman in Penang who left Cambodia in 1980 (only to reach Malaysia in 1983) often wonders why the Cambodian people were called to join the Khmer Rouge, and then subjected to violence and death at the hands of their so-called saviors. Mariyum Johor states that while she did not fully understand Cambodian politics during the 1970s, she believes that the alliance had many negative consequences, like the decision she and numerous others made to leave Cambodia, and seek asylum in another country.

At the same time, many Cham Muslims revered the King and stepped forward to pay their respects to the departed monarch. Zalihah, a seamstress in Kelantan, was amongst the last to leave Cambodia before the closure of the Cherating Camp (located on the border of Pahang and Terengganu state) in 1993. She is firm in her opinion that the death of King Sihanouk was a great loss to the Cambodian nation. Drawing attention to his many accomplishments during Sangkum Reastr Niyum, she declares that is important to remember him. Zakkariya of Melaka echoes Zalihah's sentiments, describing the King as a respectful person whose memory should be valued.

It cannot be debated that Sihanouk's passing holds meaning for the Cham Muslims in Malaysia. While some grapple to make sense of the King's mistakes that robbed them of their homeland, others uphold his memory. The latter feel that by focusing only on the negatives of Sihanouk's long career, they stand the risk of overlooking his numerous contributions to Cambodia.

Farina So is a Asian Public Intellectual Fellow Batch 2012 and a former team leader of Cham Oral History project of the Documentation Center of Cambodia.

ROYAL FUNERAL CEREMONY FOR LATE KING-FATHER PROCESSION HELD FROM



FATHER NORODOM SIHANOUK AND THE FUNERAL FROM FEBRUARY 1-7, 2013



CAMBODIAN SURVIVORS WANTS THE KHMER ROUGE TRIBUNAL TO SPEED UP PROCEEDING

Sok-Kheang Ly

Former Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Democratic Kampuchea, Ieng Sary died at the age of 87 at the Russian Hospital in Phnom Penh on March 14, 2013. His demise, however, took place before any verdict has been reached in the famous Case 002 at the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia. In death he is exempted from the judicial process, and now it remains to be seen whether justice will be meted out against the remaining senior Khmer Rouge leaders.

Ieng Sary's death has only highlighted the concerns of the public about the speed with which Case 002 is proceeding. Many voiced their fears that the leaders on trial might die before a final judgment. In such a situation the proceedings against the accused would be dropped and the justice demanded by the people of Cambodia would remain just a wish. Therefore members of the public interviewed by the Documentation center of Cambodia were unanimous in their appeal that the ECCC speed up the trial and address the problems facing the court.

Extracts from the interviews are given below:

◆ **Mr. Soem Roeum, 53 years old, Banteay Meanchey province.**

"It is regretful that the trial against Ieng Sary was not completed. He was one of the Khmer Rouge (KR) leaders who led to the death of nearly two million people. I do not hold a grudge against a person who has passed away. But I would like to encourage the ECCC to speed up the process of justice."

◆ **Mr. Keng Huot, 48 years old, Banteay Meanchey province.**

"I cannot be anything but regretful about Ieng Sary's death. The rest of the population echoes this sentiment as the KR regime committed mass atrocities against the population. During Democratic Kampuchea blood flowed like a river. Though Ieng Sary is dead, I can only feel anger towards him and wish him an unhappy afterlife as punishment for the death he caused. The ECCC should make sure that the rest of the accused are punished and justice is provided to the people."

◆ **Mr. Khmim Chak, 55 years old, Banteay Meanchey province.**

"I cannot feel any grief at the death of Ieng Sary as he led the country down an extremely violent path.

The people of Cambodia suffered because of him and wanted to see him punished for his actions. However I can now forgive him."

◆ **Mr. Mom Chea, 78 years old, Takeo province**

"It is an insult to justice that Ieng Sary died while the trials are still ongoing. Due to its lack of independence ECCC is extremely slow and reluctant try more individuals. While I am angry I can forgive him and do not want to think of the crimes as it reminds me of the relatives I lost."

◆ **Mr. Phat Tol, 51 years old, Banteay Meanchey province**

"I feel only regret at Ieng Sary's death. The court is extremely slow, and I thereby suggest that the ECCC and Cambodian government find a way to compensate for his death. I cannot find the peace of mind, and while I forgive Ieng Sary I pray that he will not commit these sins in his next life."

◆ **Mr. Chhim Samnang, 56 years old, Banteay Meanchey province**

"It is regretful that the trial against him was not completed. It is a great injustice for those who suffered and lost during the Khmer Rouge years. I cannot forgive and forget what he did."

♦ **Mr. Dy Loeun, 50 years old, Banteay Meanchey province**

"To die naturally is part of life. However for Ieng Sary to have died such a natural death is an insult to those of suffered during the Khmer Rouge years. It is the responsibility of the ECCC to deliver justice so the next generation can be warned never to repeat the murderous activities of the Khmer Rouge. If possible I would like to know the punishment for crimes committed like those by Ieng Sary."

♦ **Mr. Nin Sophal, 63 years old, Banteay Meanchey province**

"The death of Ieng Sary can only be described as a dark moment in the process to bring justice to the people of Cambodia. Though the trial could not be completed in person, the ECCC should try him posthumously. If the other leaders are finally sentenced this would symbol complete justice."

♦ **Mr. Saray Poeun, 49 years old, Kratie province**

"I hold no anger at the death of Ieng Sary as I feel that the ECCC has fulfilled its goals by continuing the proceedings until his death."

♦ **Mr. Tuy No, 65 years old, of Kratie province**

"I have no comments on Ieng Sary's death only that I regret that his trial was never completed. I think that we should continue to document the Khmer Rouge atrocities to educate the future generations."

♦ **Mr. Chen Mut, 75 years old, Kampong Cham province**

"While I do not follow the proceedings regularly, I am satisfied with the Khmer Rouge tribunals. When I heard about the death of Ieng Sary I felt only regret that the country had lost an individual who could provide answers to the questions many have about the Khmer Rouge period. With his death I have lost the opportunity to hear his explanation about the atrocities and violence committed by so many. I am still hopeful that the senior leaders who are still alive will provide some answers. I want the tribunals to come to a conclusion about who was responsible for the violence and destruction during those dark years. The truth is important, as it will also educate the younger generation about what happened

during the Khmer Rouge regime. I am not interested in revenge only the truth. I think that even the trial of the last two senior leaders will be symbolic of justice. Finally I am not angry with the lower level cadres because I believe that they were only following orders to protect their own lives."

♦ **Ms. Ou Hieng, 71 years old, Kampong Thom province**

"I am upset that Ieng Sary died peacefully unlike the millions whose deaths he ordered during the Khmer Rouge years. Even in prison the senior leaders are living more comfortably than the Cambodian people lived as they suffered and died under the KR rule. Though they are being tried in court they sleep comfortably, have more proper clothing, and eat well. It pained me to learn that Ieng Sary died on a proper mattress in a hospital after receiving proper medical care. This is in complete juxtaposition to the many Cambodians who died without treatment, and whose bodies were left to rot in the fields. I have wondered why it is taking the ECCC so long to conclude the trial and am afraid that the remaining leaders will also die before justice is achieved."

♦ **Ms. Mom Meth, Phnom Penh**

"I regret that he died before the court concluded its trial. The process at the ECCC is extremely slow and will not provide justice for those who died during the Democratic Kampuchea period."

♦ **Mr. Cheng Hong, Phnom Penh**

"I regret that due to the financial problems faced by the ECCC the trial of Ieng Sary did not conclude before his death. Due to his old age and illness, Ieng Sary talked very little during his trial and from an academic standpoint with his death we have lost a source of potential information on the Khmer Rouge."

♦ **Mr. Sambo Manara, Phnom Penh**

"With Ieng Sary's death the case has been closed. An important document on the Khmer Rouge period has been lost forever. I pity the victims who thought that they would receive answers about the violence and suffering during the Khmer Rouge years. The KR leaders have never admitted their crimes. We also refuse to accept the ruling of the 1979 tribunals and therefore wanted

this new court. Due to international law Ieng Sary cannot be tried after his death. Those who lose the most from his death is the younger generation. First they lost family members to the Khmer Rouge and are now deprived of the opportunity to learn the truth of what happened. Both the government and the international community are responsible for this unfortunate outcome. As a historian and researcher, I cannot comment upon whether Ieng Sary committed crimes because the court has not concluded its working."

◆ **Mr. Him Huy, former KR cadre working at Tuol Sleng Prison or S-21**

"We were not able to extract information from Ieng Sary because he was sick for so long. The court may still be able to provide justice by concluding the trial of the remaining two leaders."

◆ **Haji Sofiyan Taiyeb, 50 years old, Imam Khet of Battambang province**

"I was surprised when I heard of Ieng Sary's death because I feel that so many questions about the KR regime remain to be answered. While this is the end of his trial, I still feel that the court is meaningful because it represents an attempt to provide justice for the people."

◆ **Sup Ly Ali Osman, 49 years old, Imam Khet of Takeo province**

"As I did not get the chance to follow the news I was surprised when I heard this news. However, we have long known about his ailments and knew that we would eventually reach this point. I believe the court will speed up its proceeding in order to bring justice to the people. While it is regretful that Ieng Sary's trial could not be concluded, it seems that his imprisonment shows that he was punished and that the court fulfilled its duty."

◆ **Mr. Ns Sales, 35 years old, Government Official**

"I think when trying an individual as old as Ieng Sary such a result should be expected. While his case will not be heard in the court anymore there are still two leaders whose cases are ongoing. I fully support the Khmer Rouge Tribunal efforts to bring justice to the people as this symbolizes that we are living in a society

that is ruled by laws. And while he did not live long enough to have a final legal verdict imposed on him, history will remember his infamous death."

◆ **Ms. Sam Borath, Educator from Banteay Meanchey**

"With his death we have lost the opportunity to learn the truth about the Khmer Rouge period, and the court has not completed its work."

◆ **Mr. Am Sophal, Educator from Prey Veng**

"I feel only regret at his death as he has not provided any information or answers yet. We have not received any justice either. Ieng Sary is one of the main Khmer Rouge leaders and his death means that the young generation will not receive proper answers. With his death the court has lost a source and the judicial process has become even harder."

◆ **Ms. Ou Banung, 24 years old, Department of Media and Communication, Royal University of Phnom Penh**

"We were aware of Ieng Sary's condition and his death is not a surprise. While I offer my condolences to his family, I regret that we have lost a defendant in the unfinished Case 002. Additionally it is a loss for the present generation as much still remains to be revealed about the Khmer Rouge period, and the reasons behind the atrocities committed."

◆ **Ms. Keo Sopheak, 24 years old, English student, Cambodia International Cooperation Institute, Kampong Chhnang province.**

"As death is part of the human cycle of life, I was not surprised when I heard about Ieng Sary's death. I think that his death has both positive and negative impacts. The negative is that we will no longer get answers about why the Khmer Rouge killed and destroyed. However I think that it was better he died like this as otherwise he may have been killed by those who wanted to revenge."

◆ **Mr. Pao Kimthang, 25 years old, Student of Royal University of Law and Economics**

"I am concerned about how Case 002 will proceed without Ieng Sary's presence as only he can speak about his actions during the Khmer Rouge regime."

♦ **Mr. Chhorn Veasna, 22 years old, Fourth year law student at RULE**

"I think his death was sudden and is a loss to the judicial process as he held many answers. Based on what I have learned about the Khmer Rouge period he is the one who spearheaded communist policy while claiming that he was nationalistic. Under this claim he tortured many innocent people."

♦ **Mr. Soh Min, 59 years old, Kampong Cham province**

"I am furious about Ieng Sary's death and much of my anger is directed towards the ECCC, which has been extremely slow in its proceedings. I am angry that Ieng Sary died without a proper verdict being reached. The ECCC must accelerate its proceedings so that Nuon Chea and Khieu Samphan are prosecuted and the mistake of Ieng Sary is not repeated."

♦ **Mr. Teh Isa, 74 years old, Kratie province**

"I heard on radio that Ieng Sary died and am speechless. I have been following the legal proceedings for a long time and am stunned that he died before a final verdict was reached."

♦ **Mr. Hachi Sulty, 45 years old, Kampong Thom province**

"The tribunal is extremely slow in its proceedings, and I am waiting to see how the ECCC will proceed with the remaining leaders."

♦ **Suon San at Butum Vatey Pagoda**

"I grieve at the death of Ieng Sary because with his death we have lost the hope of providing complete justice for those who suffered during the Khmer Rouge. As a Buddhist I feel that there are consequences for him even in death. It is also a loss of information as even during his life Ieng Sary denied responsibility"

♦ **A Nann in Kampong Speu Province**

"I am disappointed at his death and the tribunal also faces a great loss. With his death those who were

waiting for justice have waited in vain."

♦ **Mr. Kai Kimheng, a transportation staff**

"Ieng Sary's death is a loss for the Khmer Rouge tribunals since they were not able to deliver a final judgment on him. His death will be buried alongside the justice that people have waited so long for."

♦ **Sai Sokhum, Pailin province**

"With his death I sincerely hope that Cambodians can forgive him so he may rest in peace as nothing can be gained from his death now."

♦ **Mr. Abdugani Pin Musa, 50 years old, Ha Koem in Stung Treng province**

"The death of Ieng Sary has left behind uncertainty about the perpetrators of the cruelties committed during the Khmer Rouge regime. The question remains of whether Ieng Sary was a killer during Khmer Rouge, or if he was just a subordinate. Therefore the history of the Khmer Rouge regime remains unclear."

Ieng Sary's death has led to only regret amongst Cambodians as they feel he escaped the criminal charges at the ECCC, and justice for a second time. In 1979 the People's Revolutionary Tribunal (PRT) was created and tried Pol Pot (former Prime Minister of Democratic Kampuchea) and Ieng Sary. Both men were sentenced to death in absentia but this verdict was never executed.

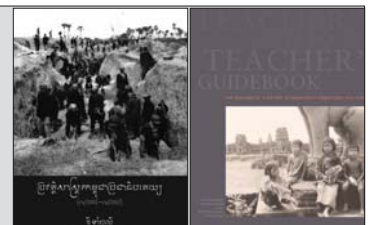
While the concern that the remaining two leaders may die before a verdict is reached is widespread, the ECCC is still struggling with financial issues.

This has been greeted with dismay by both national and international observers. Everybody is unanimous in their agreement that the ECCC needs to speed up the proceedings and reach a final verdict on Case 002.

Compiled by Sok-Kheang Ly and the team of Documentation Center of Cambodia

READING HISTORY OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

A History of Democratic Kampuchea 1975-1979 and Teacher's Guidebook can be downloaded at http://www.d.dccam.org/Projects/Genocide/Genocide_Education.htm



CAMBODIA TRIBUNAL MONITOR

The Cambodia Tribunal Monitor (www.cambodiatribunal.org) provides extensive coverage throughout the trial of three former senior Khmer Rouge officials accused of atrocity crimes. The Monitor provide daily in-depth analysis from correspondents in Phnom Penh, as well as complete English-translated video of the proceedings, with Khmer-language video to follow. Additional commentary is provided by a range of Monitor-affiliated experts in human rights and international law.

The Monitor has been the leading source of news and information on the Extraordinary Chambers in the Court of Cambodia (ECCC) since its inception in 2007. The website hosts an archive of footage from the tribunal and a regularly updated blog containing analysis from expert commentators and coverage by Phnom Penh-based correspondents.

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

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



Cambodia Tribunal Monitor team members posing a picture with students of Angkor Khemara University in Pursat in March 2013. (Photo: Documentation Center of Cambodia)

SUPREME COURT CHAMBER INVALIDATES CASE 002 SEVERANCE

Anne Heindle

Throwing proceedings into potential disarray, the Supreme Court Chamber (SCC) of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC) has annulled the Trial Chamber's rulings on the scope of Case 002/01-15 months into a trial dogged by the failing health of the octogenarian accused. Finding that the Trial Chamber had violated both the right of the parties to a reasoned opinion and the right to be heard, the SCC overturned the Trial Chamber's decisions splitting the mammoth Case 002 indictment into "mini trials" and told it to revisit the matter from scratch. The Trial Chamber has now scheduled two days of hearings next week to address the implications of the SCC decision.

In October 2011, the Trial Chamber decided *proprio motu* to "separate the [Case 002] proceedings ... into a number of discrete cases that incorporate particular factual allegations and legal issues." Case 002/01 addresses foundational topics such as the structure and policies of the Khmer Rouge regime and the roles of the co-accused before and after the regime took power. Of the five country-wide criminal policies for which the former senior Khmer Rouge leaders are accused of responsibility, only one is at issue: crimes related to the forced transfer of the population of Phnom Penh beginning on April 17, 1975, and the subsequent forced transfer of hundreds of thousands of Cambodians to the north of the country between late 1975 and 1977. Charges related to worksites, cooperatives, security centers, and execution sites—as well as the crimes of forced marriage and genocide—were left for uncertain future trials.

Although agreeing that the indictment should be trimmed, the Prosecution immediately asked for the inclusion of a more representative selection of charges due to its concern that the elderly accused would not

live to face a second trial. The Trial Chamber rejected its request but reserved the right to decide "at any time" to incorporate additional portions of the indictment. As a consequence, in January 2012, the Prosecution asked the Trial Chamber to add three more crime sites.

In October—nearly one year into trial—the Trial Chamber finalized the scope of charges, including one of the three sites requested by the Prosecution. The Prosecution appealed, asking the SCC to include the two rejected sites in order to improve the representativeness of the charges. The SCC ruling addresses not only the impugned decision but also the Trial Chamber's earlier severance decisions, as together they form "a year-long decision-making process" during which "the Trial Chamber consistently kept the limits of the scope of Case 002/01 uncertain and open to change, without defining any criteria that could influence a change."

The ECCC's severance rule provides:

When the interest of justice so requires, the Trial Chamber may at any stage order the separation of proceedings in relation to one or several accused and concerning part or the entirety of the charges contained in an Indictment. The cases as separated shall be tried and adjudicated in such order as the Trial Chamber deems appropriate.

The Supreme Court Chamber said that this language limits the Trial Chamber's discretion to sever to circumstances when, with adequate reasoning, it can demonstrate "the interest of justice"—"a condition where...charges tried separately better serve the objectives of the criminal proceedings and principles on which they are premised." Relevant factors must be assessed on a "case-by-case basis" and appropriately include two

previously considered by the Trial Chamber: the need for expeditious proceedings and a logical case sequence. Nevertheless, the SCC expressed "alarm" at the Trial Chamber's "paucity of reasoning" regarding "how the severance advances the interests of the justice" and found this to amount to an error of law.

In particular, the SCC rejected the Trial Chamber's justification that it was unnecessary for Case 002/01 to be "reasonably representative of the totality of the charges in the Indictment" because no charges in the indictment had been dropped. This reasoning was "irreconcilable" with the Trial Chamber's justification for severing Case 002: its doubts about the defendants' mental and physical capacity to participate in a long trial.

If anything, the Trial Chamber's doubts about the Co-Accused's abilities to participate in a lengthy trial militates in favour of exploring, at the earliest instance, possible ways of shaping the scope of Case 002/01 that could maximize representation of the totality of the charges against the Co-Accused, and thereby optimize the meaningfulness of the justice to be rendered, in the shortest amount of time.

The SCC also found that the Trial Chamber committed an error of law by failing to consult with the parties on the terms of severance. None of the parties were asked for their views in advance, as the Trial Chamber believed that this was unnecessary in an inquisitorial legal system where indictments are judicially controlled. Moreover, it said that a consultative procedure would itself result in unacceptable delays.

The Supreme Court Chamber agreed that the Court's Rules give the Trial Chamber broad discretion both to decide when severance is necessary and to determine the order in which separated cases should be tried but not an unfettered right to determine the form of severance. To find otherwise would ignore both the significant impact on the rights of the parties and also adversarial features of ECCC proceedings including "the Co-Prosecutors' crucial role and responsibility in creating ECCC indictments and proving the charges therein."

Although the failure to hear the parties was partially remedied when the Trial Chamber agreed to consider submissions on the Prosecutors' proposed expansion of the case to include more crime sites, "[b]y then...nearly a year of hearings on the substance under the terms of the Severance Order had already passed, effectively rendering the scope of Case 002/01 as shaped thereby a *fait accompli*." Ruling that the severance as a whole was invalid by the errors of law, it found the Prosecutors' appeal seeking the addition of specific crime sites to be moot.

The Trial Chamber is now tasked with reassessing the appropriateness of severance after hearing party submissions and balancing all parties' interests against all relevant factors. In doing so, it must determine whether it is judicially manageable to sever the indictment into smaller trials, or into "at least one smaller trial on some portion of the Indictment." If the former, the Trial Chamber must develop and articulate a "tangible plan" for how the remaining charges will be heard and address the practical concerns raised by the parties. If the latter, it should "state clearly" that due to the declining health of the accused, "justice is better served by concluding with a judgment" on a smaller number of charges and "give due consideration to the reasonable representativeness of the Indictment within the smaller trial(s)."

Significantly, the SCC provided forewarning of its concerns regarding the legal and practical capacity of the Trial Chamber to hear consecutive cases against the accused. Calling on the ECCC to "explore the establishment of another panel within the Trial Chamber to support the timely adjudication of the remainder of Case 002[.]" it noted that a "second panel would safeguard any potential concerns about actual or appearance of bias" if the same judges were to try more than one case against the same accused. It also noted that a second panel would be able to immediately begin a second trial while the current Trial Chamber is occupied drafting the first judgment—a task that took over eight months in the much less contentious Duch trial (Case 001).

Given the Court's ongoing and severe financial constraints and the accused's recent health woes, it seems unlikely that the Trial Chamber will decide to

continue with its plan for multiple smaller trials on the entirety of the indictment and will instead focus on defining the appropriate scope—and representativeness—of the charges in Case 002/01. Ultimately, it can be expected that the Trial Chamber will seek to frame the scope of Case 002/01 as close to its current form as possible to reach a speedy judgment. Indeed, in its directions to the parties on the consequences of the SCC decision, it asks pointedly:

Since the lodging of the Co-Prosecutors' appeal ... the Chamber has experienced increasing delay and difficulty in obtaining the presence of all three Accused at any given time, due to their physical frailty. In the light of these changed circumstances, and difficulties of implementing an alternative course at this late stage, do you still oppose the Trial Chamber's definition of the scope of its first trial as expressed in the Severance Order and related decisions?

The Prosecutors and Civil Parties are acutely aware of the substantial time already spent hearing evidence tailored to the annulled severance decision and the need to reach an expeditious end to proceedings and are unlikely to present expansive requests to radically reshape the trial. While the Prosecutors are likely to

request only the addition of the two crime sites rejected in the impugned decision, the Civil Parties face a more difficult decision. Of the nearly 4,000 Civil Parties participating in Case 002/01, only around 750 have any link with the policy of forced population movement at issue. Those who are excluded will not hear their harms discussed and are likely to be excluded from some or all forms of reparation should there be a conviction. The Defense teams, who have no interest in increasing the number of charges, are likely to argue forcefully for key witnesses to be recalled if their testimony will be used to prove additional unanticipated charges.

Although the SCC decision will undoubtedly delay judgment and is unlikely to result in Case 002/01 encompassing a fully representative selection of charges, genuine implementation of the principles it upholds should increase the number of victims whose harms are addressed and the likelihood that, if and when a verdict is reached, it will provide an estimable model of fair trial rights for the Cambodian judiciary.

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Accused Khieu Samphan (left) and Nuon Chea (right) sitting inside the courtroom in January 2012. After Ieng Sary died in March this year, Khieu Samphan and Nuon Chea becomes the only two defendants to stand trial of crimes in which nearly two million populations lost their lives. (Photo: ECCC)

PRE-TRIAL CHAMBER JUDGES AGAIN SPLIT DOWN NATIONAL/INTERNATIONAL LINES IN CASE 003

Anne Heindle

The Pre-Trial Chamber (PTC) of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC) has once again split down international/national lines in controversial Case 003, dismissing the appeal of a rejected civil party applicant 18 months after it was filed due to deadlock. The decision brings to light additional procedural irregularities in the administration of the Case and revives concerns about the Court's ability to proceed independently and impartially with its remaining investigations.

In April 2011, Co-Investigative Judge (CIJ) You BunLeng and former CIJ Siegfried Blunk summarily closed the Case 003 investigation in a one-sentence press release without informing victims of their expiring right to join the proceedings as civil parties and file requests for final investigative actions. Few victims were able to file within the impending 15-day deadline, and all publicly known applications were rejected by the CIJs. Seized with an appeal by rejected applicant Rob Hamill, whose brother was taken prisoner by the naval forces commanded by one of the suspects and later killed, the PTC could not reach a decision due a split between the national and international judges. The separate opinion of the international judges castigated the CIJs for inconsistencies in their handling of the investigation compared to how the investigations in Cases 001 and 002 were managed, including failing to notify the suspects of the charges, failing to provide victims timely information to enable them to exercise their right to participate in the judicial investigation, failing to recognize the applicant's lawyers and notify them of documents in the case or give them access to the case file, and "significant unexplained delays in processing documents and placing these in the case file[.]"

Another civil party applicant was an unnamed

woman who had been forced to marry during the Democratic Kampuchea period and whose husband had then been forced to labor at Kampong Chhnang Airport (a crime site in Case 003) before being tortured and executed at S-21 prison. Although she had been previously admitted in Cases 001 and 002, the CIJs reasoned that she had not been directly harmed by the crime committed against her husband, but instead by an intervening cause: his forced labor. They also found it "highly unlikely" that she in fact experienced any psychological harm from her husband's forced labor 34 years ago and surmised that she had claimed this "based on unsound advice by a third person." Finally, they said that she should not be admitted because she was already a civil party in Cases 001 and 002.

The PTC's new ruling on her 2011 appeal indicates that there has been no softening of views since the Rob Hamill decision. Because the PTC could not reach a super-majority decision, under the Court's rules the CIJ order rejecting her application remains in force. Mirroring their reasoning in the Rob Hamill appeal, the separate opinion of the national PTC judges argues that because the CIJs never charged anyone in Case 003, "there is no Charged Person to be responsible for the remedy being sought for the damage he or she had caused to the victim, [and thus] the rejection of Civil Party Application at this stage does not infringe the rights of the victim."

In contrast, international judges Downing and Chung adopted all of the observations in the Rob Hamill appeal decision on the existence of procedural irregularities and inconsistencies in the CIJs' work. Moreover, they identified an additional procedural defect that in their view should result in the order's

annulment due to its "adverse effects" for the rights of the parties: neither the civil party application nor its supporting documents were part of the case file at the time they were rejected. "Hence, it appears that the [CIJs]...issued the Impugned Order without being formally seized of the Application, nor notifying to the Co-Prosecutors and the Charged Person" in circumvention of "the procedural regime established by the Internal Rules as well as the fundamental guarantees of due process provided by internationally recognized standards." This new irregularity "reflects a pattern of conduct that has been adopted by the Co-Investigating Judges in Case 003" that "casts doubts about their willingness to conduct the proceedings in a transparent, fair and adversarial manner that would ensure respect of the rights of the parties and the participants to the proceedings."

As the international and national judges could not agree to send the matter back to the CIJs for reconsideration as a consequence of these procedural defects, the international PTCs for the first time addressed the merits of the CIJs' reasoning. They noted that both the appellant and other civil parties had been admitted by the CIJs, the PTC, and the Trial Chamber in Cases 001 and 002 based on "alleged harm as a result of crimes committed against their direct family members, including their spouses." In ruling to the contrary that the appellant's injury did not meet the necessary requirement for admission to Case 003, the CIJs ignored the Court's previous rulings and violated the rights of the parties to "legal certainty and equality before the law." Moreover, they found the CIJs' implication that only immediate victims, and not next of kin, are entitled to become ECCC civil parties contravenes not only the intention of the Internal Rules but also national and international practice.

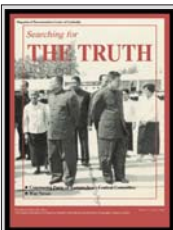
Finally, they said that the standard of proof as applied lacked reasoning and the assumption that civil parties have no right to be admitted in multiple cases

was "not grounded in law or in sustainable reasoning and violate[ed] the fundamental rights of victims."

As the divided PTC cannot provide the appellant a remedy for the CIJs' flawed consideration of her application, the international judges encouraged the incumbent CIJs to exercise their inherent authority to reconsider her application. However, as noted by the judges, this has already happened. When Reserve International CIJ Laurent Kasper-Ansermet took office, replacing Judge Blunk, he reconsidered her application, found it met the necessary admissibility requirements, and granted her lawyers access to the case file, making her appeal theoretically moot. Nevertheless, his order has had no practical impact because the Cambodian Government withheld recognition of his appointment and therefore his authority to act. National staff categorically refused to execute any of his orders, including one to admit on reconsideration civil party applicant Rob Hamill and to grant his lawyers access to the Case 003 case file.

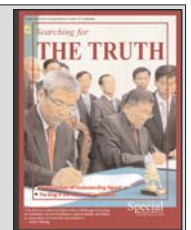
It therefore seems unlikely that any of Judge Kasper-Ansermet's orders, including his resumption of the Case 003 investigation, will be respected unless adopted by his successor, Judge Mark Harmon. The PTC's new decision confirms that impression, as the national judges' opinion takes pains to reiterate the argument that Kasper-Ansermet's (supposed) lack of accreditation deprived him of authority to act. The national PTC judges' continuing unwillingness to acknowledge and remedy the egregious and pervasive procedural defects in the handling of the Case 003 investigation can only invigorate skepticism that—even with a new international CIJ in place—this Case will be allowed to proceed in accordance with the Court's Internal Rules and international standards.

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MY PACE OF LIFE

Sok Yav

I was born on January 15, 1936 at Phum Srae Krour, Tram Kak district, Takeo province. In 1941, when I was five years old, my parents sent me to live in a pagoda called Wat Po Angkrong. I was placed under the care of the pagoda's abbot, named Ros Meas. After Abbot Ros Meas passed away, I was placed under the care of Samdech Chuon Nath who, at that point in time, was a Phikhu. When I was ten years old I became a novice monk. I remained ordained as a monk for four years. During that ordaining period, I studied Pali and primary school curriculum. In 1949, I took and passed the primary school exam and received a scholarship to continue my study at the secondary school. Thus, I left the monk hood and became a lay person to pursue my secondary school study in Phnom Penh.

In 1951, I moved to Phnom Penh and attended Sisowat High School. By 1954, I took and passed the first Baccalaureate exam. In 1955, I passed the second Baccalaureate exam and was admitted to attend the Faculty of Medicine. I studied medicine at the Faculty of Medicine from 1956 to 1958 when I received another scholarship to study in France. I went to study in

Marseille, France, for three years before returning to Cambodia in 1961.

After entering medical school, I met and married my wife in 1957. Together we had seven children, two of whom (a boy and a girl) died during the Khmer Rouge period.

When I was studying medicine my field of specialty was radiology. Therefore, I was in relatively high demand by doctors at the various hospitals in Phnom Penh, who needed personnel to operate the x-ray equipment and make x-rays of their patients. I first went to work at Calmette Hospital, then Russian Hospital, and many other smaller hospitals in Phnom Penh.

After General Lon Nol staged a coup d'état in March of 1970 to remove Prince Norodom Sihanouk from power, I decided to heed Prince Sihanouk's call to join the liberation movement to struggle against the Lon Nol's regime. I left Phnom Penh in late 1970 and went to join the revolutionary movement, which was later on known as the Khmer Rouge, in Takeo Province, my birthplace. After arriving in Takeo, I sent my wife and children to stay with my parents, who were living in Phum

Ta Phem, located in Tram Kak district.

As a newcomer, the Khmer Rouge's Angkar or organization first sent me to receive training at Phnom Domrei Romeal (Rolling Elephant Mountain) where I met a number of important Khmer Rouge's cadres such as Dr. Thionn Thoeun, Hu Nim, and Hou Youn. Soon after my arrival, Dr. Thionn Thoeun moved to northern part of Cambodia. I was left to work in the southwestern region, along with some other medical staff.

After my initial training at



Sok Yav (Photo: Chanda Chhay)

Phnom Domrei Romeal, I was sent to work at Phum Kbal O, one of the most important Khmer Rouge headquarters in the southwestern region. The man in charge of that place was called Ta Nim, his nom de guerre.

Before I could begin working at Phum Kbal O, Ta Nim gave me a letter to take to Ta Mok, a.k.a. Chhit Chhoeun. Ta Mok, also a native of Takeo province, was in charge of the whole southwestern region, which encompassed several provinces. He welcomed me to the liberation movement. I spent several days with Ta Mok learning from him what I needed to do in order to serve the Khmer Rouge's movement. It was my close relationship with Ta Mok and his family that saved my life when I was arrested and imprisoned by the Khmer Rouge authorities in early 1975.

After receiving the blessing from Ta Mok, I was assigned to work at a Khmer Rouge base in Chhouk District. During that time I rarely stayed at the base. Because of heavy fighting, I had to go to the frontlines to treat wounded combatants.

One day, during one of my routine trips to the frontlines along with four female medics, I almost lost my life to an artillery shell ambush. As we were about to reach the frontline, I felt an urge to urinate. I told the four female medics to walk ahead while stopping to relieve myself behind a bush. A couple of minutes later, I heard a few loud explosions. After the dust settled, I found that my colleagues, the four female medics, were gone. The artillery shells landed near them, and they were all blown to pieces.

I was in shock. Not knowing what to do, I decided to go around picking up some bit and pieces of the mangled bodies and place them inside a hammock. I picked up as many pieces as I could carry on my back so that I could provide a symbolic burial to these four unfortunate medics when I reached our headquarters in Srae Andong.

After that traumatic experience with the artillery attack, I was assigned to work at the southwestern regional hospital. At that hospital, I met a number of senior Khmer Rouge doctors who had been trained by the North Vietnamese. Those doctors were later purged during the waning days of the war. It was at that point when I was

arrested and sent to a prison called Krang Ta Chan.

I was held at Krang Ta Chan prison from March 23 to April 20, 1975. The reason for my arrest was shrouded in mystery. My gut's feeling was that I was perceived as joining the Khmer Rouge's movement following Prince Sihanouk's call; therefore, I was viewed as a pro-Sihanouk person, who was being purged along with those who had been trained by the North Vietnamese.

Most of the prisoners at Krang Ta Chan were Khmer Rouge rank and file and their family's members. As far as I knew, none survived except for me and a young woman named Keo Sam Ath, who occupied the cell next to me. Our survival we owed largely to my connection with Ta Mok.

A couple of weeks after I was arrested and imprisoned, the Khmer Rouge forces overran Kompong Speu's provincial city. They found a radiography machine and brought it to the attention of Ta Mok. Ta Mok knew that I was a radiography technician. Thus, he set about to find me to look at that machine and determine if it was still operational. When he arrived at the place where I used to work, Ta Mok learned that I was sent to Krang Ta Chan prison. Quickly, he went to the prison to see if I was still alive. I still remember the conversation between Ta Mok and the prison's warden named Achar Chhen vividly:

Mok: "Achar Chhen! Have you cooked (killed) Dr. Yav yet?"

Chhen: "Not yet."

Mok: "Feed him good, Ok? I will come back to get him."

Chhen: "Yes."

I did not recognize Ta Mok's voice. So after overhearing that conversation, I was very terrified. I thought to myself that my life was coming to an end at that point.

The next day, I was taken out of my prison cell and given a very nice meal to eat, but no matter how much I tried, I could not eat that meal. My throat was dried up and the fear appeared to have complete control over my appetite. Despite enormous hunger, I could not eat the food in front of me. The prison staff who brought

me the food assured me that I would be okay.

Before long, Ta Mok arrived and ordered me to come along with him. I asked Ta Mok to help get the young woman, Keo Sam Ath, released before going along with him to his headquarters. Afterward, I was sent to work in the commune just like any other ordinary Cambodian. My duties were to drive a transport truck or navigate a boat.

During my 27 days imprisonment at Krang Ta Chan prison, I witnessed, on two occasions, horrific torture of prisoners by Khmer Rouge cadres who oversaw that prison. Once, I saw three young female prisoners being brought in from Srae Ambel, Kampot province, to be interrogated. The prison's guards ordered a number of us, prisoners (including me), to sit and watch the torture session. They, the prison guards, first took off all the clothes from the three female prisoners and used pliers to pinch their flesh. The most horrible thing for us to watch was when the prison guards used the pliers to pinch their victim's faces and ordered them not to cry. We could see that each spot on the prisoner's bodies where the prison guards pinched with the pliers, a piece of flesh was cut out. The pain must have been excruciating. All three victims were rolling on the ground in agony.

After they were done with pinching, the prison guards dragged their tortured victims to nearby poles designed for hanging prisoners. Each pole had a metal hook. The guards lifted all three prisoners up and hanged them onto the hooks by their chin. Afterward, one of the guards used a sharp knife to cut open the stomach of his victims. He cut out the livers from the three victims and took them away. We were left to sit there and watch the three lifeless prisoners throughout the night until next morning when one of the guards came to order us to go back to our cells.

On another occasion, I saw a woman prisoner who had just given birth to a baby being tortured. The prison guards told her to go and sit under the shade of a tree where a small pit was dug up nearby. Besides her newborn baby, the woman also had another child about two years old with her. Soon after the woman and her children sat down under the tree, one of the prison

guards came by. The guard took the newborn baby from the woman's hands, smashed its head on the tree's trunk, and threw it into the pit. Next, he picked up the older child, smacked his head on the tree's trunk, and threw his body into the pit as well. Upon seeing her children being killed in such a brutal manner, the woman collapsed right on the spot. Her body was pushed into the pit, and she was buried alive along with her children.

For the remaining time of my life under the Khmer Rouge from 1975 to 1979, I spent most of my time working in all kinds of professions except for medicine, my primary skill. Once I was ordered to operate an excavator. I told the cadres that I had never been trained to work with that kind of machinery before and, therefore, would not know how to operate it. But the cadres insisted that I must do it. So I gave it a try and, in the process, caused a few accidents which resulted in the losses of several human lives. One particular accident which keeps haunting me to this day was an episode in which I attempted to use the excavator's hand to pull out metal beams underneath a rice milling machine. I gave a wrong command to the excavator's hand and it swung sideways and hit a nearby wall, causing it to collapse on several people who sat or stood by its base. I knew a couple of people died in that accident, while a few were seriously injured. My ordeal with that excavator did not end with that big accident. I was ordered to continue to learn to operate it despite my obvious lack of ability. I don't remember how many mishaps I had trying to operate that excavator, but I know that at least four people died as a result of my mistakes in trying to get that machine to perform certain functions. I must tell you that each time I had a mishap operating that excavator, which resulted in causing injury to people or the loss of human life, I wanted to quit working with that machine. But the Khmer Rouge cadres, who were in charge, insisted that I must continue to learn to operate it until I knew how; otherwise, they would have to kill me.

My day of deliverance came when the Vietnamese soldiers invaded Cambodia in early January 1979. At around mid-morning, I was ordered to come to the Khmer Rouge logistic headquarters in downtown Takeo

to help identify medical products and their functionality inside many boxes stored in a warehouse. I was both nervous and scared because by telling the Khmer Rouge cadres what kind of products were inside those boxes my identity as a medical doctor would be revealed. All the boxes were printed with letters written in either French or English. Without a doubt, the very fact that I could read these languages made me a marked person for persecution. However, I was sure that the person or persons who called me to come help identify the products in those boxes must have already known who I was. Hence, I felt there was no point for me to try to conceal my identity.

Just as I was helping the Khmer Rouge cadres sort out what kinds of medical products were inside each box, we heard several explosions and the sound of airplanes flying over head. Suddenly, a state of emergency was declared and everyone was running into different direction. In the tumult, I made my way back to the commune where my wife and children resided.

While making my way back to Phum Ta Phem to search for my family, I met an old acquaintance named Pak Thovinn. He was working for the liberation forces which had just chased the Khmer Rouge out of town. Thovinn gave me a couple of pamphlets and told me not to follow the retreating Khmer Rouge into the jungle. After we parted company, I went to reunite with my family at Phum Ta Phem and remained there for the time being.

A few months later, Pak Thovinn came to pay me a visit. During his visit I was appointed, along with four other villagers, to the commune council. Afterward, I was appointed to become Tram Kak District's Council Member in charge of religious affairs.

During my tenure as Tram Kak District's Council Member for Religious Affairs, I ran into a serious trouble with the higher authority. My mistake was ordaining monks without seeking prior approval from the Ministry of Religion. The man who was in charge of the Ministry of Religion, Mr. Mat Ly, threatened to send me to jail for doing things without asking for permission first, as was customary for a communist state. Just as I was pleading my case with Mat Ly, Mr. Pen Sovann,

who was (at that point in time) the Prime Minister of Cambodia, arrived and inquired about what was going on. After learning of my infraction, Mr. Pen Sovann intervened on my behalf.

After working as Member of the District's Council for a while, I was sent to work at a hospital in downtown Takeo as an interpreter for a Swiss doctor named Srak Pypour. At first, I tried to hide my medical background by pretending that I knew only how to speak French. But it was impossible for me to cover up my medical background. Before long, Srak discovered that I was a physician. So, I became both his interpreter and co-worker.

When Srak and his colleagues arrived in Takeo to take up public health voluntary work at the provincial hospital, the local authority organized a Cambodian classical dance performance to welcome the foreign guests. After watching the performances, Srak fell in love with a dancer named Chek. Once he'd got to know me better, Srak asked me to play a matchmaker role and help arrange for him to be able to marry Chek. In those days, for a foreigner to officially marry a Cambodian woman was a wild adventure because we were living under communism and there were no provisions in the law allowing marriages between Cambodians and foreigners, especially those who came from the free world such as Western Europe or North America.

In order to help facilitate the union between Srak and Chek, I first went to see Chek and her parents to inform them of Srak's intention. After I got a tacit agreement from them, I went to see the provincial authority to seek permission for Srak to marry a Cambodian woman. The provincial authority told me that there was no law on the books allowing marriages between Cambodians and Westerners. However, if they were in love with each other, just let them get married quietly.

After getting tacit permission from the provincial authority, Srak and Chek got married informally. Because Srak didn't speak any Khmer and his wife didn't speak any French, I became their interpreter and served as a bridge for their communication with each other. I had had a great time during those few months of working as an interpreter for the two love birds. I would pull off

all kinds of mischievous jokes on them by twisting their words of formal communication into intimate conversation. For instance, when Chek returned from her dance practice and came by the hospital to meet with Srak to walk home together, Srak would tell me to tell her to wait for him a few minutes as he was finishing up his round. In the translation, I would tell Chek that Srak was tired and would like to have a smooch. The reaction from Chek was predictable. She was embarrassed and covering her face with both hands while smiling sheepishly. When the other Cambodian staff who could speak and understand French burst into laughter, both Srak and Chek knew what I was up to. My mischievous acts on Srak's and Chek's daily communication ended when both of them could conduct rudimentary conversation with each other in Khmer.

By about 1983, I left Takeo's provincial hospital and went to work for the Ministry of Interior in Phnom

Penh. I remained there until the year 2000, when it was time for me to retire. After retirement, I returned to live on a plot of family land at Phum Ta Phem in Takeo province. Nowadays, I spend most of my time in a nearby pagoda studying Buddhist Dharma and occasionally accompanying researchers to visit the former Khmer Rouge prison at Krang Ta Chan, the place where I was incarcerated and emerged as one of only two survivors still alive to tell the world about the mistreatment of human beings in that prison.

Keo Chandara is a survivor of Democratic Kampuchea.

The *Searching for the Truth* team would like to thank Mr. Chanda Chhay, the author of *War and Genocide: A Never-Ending Cycle of Human Brutality* for allowing us to publish the story of Sok Yav in this magazine.

Searching for Father and Siblings

My name is Khem Theary. I am 56 years old and living at Borei Keila, Sangkat Veal Vong, Khan 7 Makara, Phnom Penh. I am looking for my father and my siblings listed below:



1. My father, Khem Khann, was a former Lon Nol soldier and a deputy commander of Prince Chan Rangsy. In 1973, he was arrested by the Khmer Rouge forces at Chukva military camps and he I did not know where he was taken to.

2. My younger sister, Khem Sopheap, was in grade 4 (present-day grade 9) at Tuol Kork Secondary School in April 1975. When the Khmer Rouge forces entered Phnom Penh, she was 16. In 1977, she was assigned to work in Mobile Unit in District 54 near Chiso Mountain and she disappeared ever since.

3. My older brother, Khem Sanarin, was sixteen when the Khmer Rouge took power. He disappeared in 1977.

4. My cousin, Meas Chamroeun, was a former officer of Cambodian Air Force. He disappeared in 1974 when he travelled to Bangkok to get further military training.

Before the Khmer Rouge took power, my family lived at Kilometer 4 Market, Sangkat 3, Phnom Penh. After April 17, 1975, my father was evacuated to Mohasaing Village, Phnom Sruoch District, Kampong Speu Province. If anyone has known or seen my family members listed above, please kindly contact me directly at 015 882 242 or contact the Documentation Center of Cambodia at 023 211 875 or 016 876 692.

Letter from a reader

HEALING AND RECONCILIATION

THE FAMILY OF A KHMER ROUGE VICTIM VISITS THE SITE OF VIOLENCE

Karl-Heinz Reitz and Lina Leng

In December 2011, Lina Leng and I travelled to the Prey Veng province to see the surviving family member of Uch Samin, an S-21 prisoner. The main purpose of our visit was to inform them of the death of a 16-year old Uch Samin, who had perished in the dreaded Khmer Rouge torture chamber. We were only able to acquire this knowledge with the help of the Director of the Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam), Youk Chhang. After seeing a photo of Uch Samin at the Tuol Sleng Museum, I contacted Mr. Youk Chhang, and he promptly emailed me Uch Samin's biography along with a list of all the prisoners killed at S-21. Upon reading the biography, I discovered that Uch Samin was arrested and sent to S-21 on December 10, 1978 and was thereafter killed at Cheung Ek Killing Field.

Many may ask why of all the photographs on display at the museum did that of Uch Samin's capture my attention? From the moment I took a look at Samin's photograph, it seemed as if she was saying, "Look at me. See what you have

done to me." Later, I saw a documentary that contained a photograph of Uch Samin, and found a similar photograph on the cover of a book. Thus began my quest of knowledge about the life and fate of this young woman.

Through the descriptions in her biography, I located the village in which she had grown up. Upon arriving at her home, Lina Leng and I found that the two brothers of Uch Samin who lived there had no knowledge of the fate of their sister. They were shocked when we showed them a photograph of Uch Samin, and her biography. After I told them where Uch Samin was sent and thereafter killed, they expressed their desire to visit S-21 (now the Tuol Sleng Museum) and the Choeung Ek Killing Field. Lina and I contacted Mr. Socheat Nhean at DC-Cam, who was very helpful and encouraged us to bring Uch Samin's family to visit both Tuol Sleng and the Killing Field.

On December 16, 2012 I arrived in Phnom Penh, and along with Lina, finally met with Socheat in person

at DC-Cam. During the meeting, we discussed how to bring Uch Samin's family to Phnom Penh and Socheat promised that he would try to reach out to her brothers with help from the local authorities. He was successful in doing so, and phoned to inform us that with the assistance of the village chief, he had acquired the phone numbers of Uch Samin's brothers. Sadly enough, we learned that one of the brothers had drowned a few months ago, so we spoke with Uch Samin's last living brother,



Uch Teb (left), brother of Uch Samin and Ouk Hang, who had known and cared Samin since she was young, posing near a picture of Uch Samin at Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum in December 2012. (Photo: Karl-Heinz Reitz)

and invited him and eight other family members to come to Phnom Penh.

When they arrived in Phnom Penh, the family went to Lina's apartment for lunch, and then began their tour of the Tuol Sleng Museum. At Tuol Sleng, it struck me how silent Uch Samin's family was as they walked from one room to the next, examining the documents and objects that represented the inhuman and cruel behavior of the Khmer Rouge. These included torture instruments and a picture of a mother with her baby.

As I looked at the numerous photographs of prisoners and S-21 cadres displayed on the boards, I reached the photograph of Uch Samin. I began to wonder about the life of this young and healthy girl who was arrested and then killed shortly after. When the family of Uch Samin found her photo, they touched her face sorrowfully. Their emotions overwhelmed me as I realized how desperately they wanted contact with their long lost and beloved sister.

Socheat sent his staff writer to conduct an interview of Uch Samin's family. The interview took place inside the courtyard of the Tuol Sleng Museum, and as it was in Khmer, I could not understand the conversation. However, it was obvious that they spoke about Uch

Samin and the past.

After we finished our tour of all the buildings, we stopped to talk with one of the S-21 survivors, Mr. Chum Mey. He sells an autobiography about his experience at S-21 as well as other books about the Khmer Rouge regime. The brother of Uch Samin was carrying the photo of Uch Samin, and showed it to Chum Mey who immediately became extremely attentive. He remembered the young woman, and said that before his arrest, both of them had worked in a textile factory together in Phnom Penh. He was a mechanic, and Uch Samin was a seamstress.

In the evening after expressing their thanks to us, Uch Samin's family left Phnom Penh for Prey Veng. I will never fully understand what the family felt as they roamed the dark rooms of Tuol Sleng or examined the glass commemorative tower containing the skulls and clothes of the victims of the Khmer Rouge at the Cheung Ek Killing Field. However, I am confident that visiting the sites where Uch Samin had suffered and died over thirty-five years ago will start a healing process, and help the family reconcile with the past.

Karl-Heinz Reitz and Lina Leng are the readers of the Searching for the Truth Magazine.



Uch Samin's relatives visiting Cheung Ek Killing Field in December 2012. It was their first visit to Tuol Sleng and the killing field. (Photo: Karl-Heinz Reitz)

SEARCHING FOR LOST BROTHER AND SISTER



My name is Nheb Moa and I am 68 years old. I live in Northern Yieng Village in the Anlong Veng District, Oddor Meanchey Province. My sister Nheb Reth and I are searching for our brother and sister who were separated from us during the Khmer Rouge regime. A brief description of our siblings is given below:

If still alive, Nheb Rorn would be in her late 50s. During the Khmer Rouge regime, she was ordered to work in a mobile unit in Boribo District and we have not heard from her since.

If alive Nheb Yong would be 51 years old. During the Khmer Rouge regime he was a soldier and disappeared after the Vietnamese arrival.

If you have seen either of my siblings or know what happened to them please contact the Documentation Center of Cambodia or call me at 088 424 4236 or 016 876 692.

SEARCHING FOR LOST SIBLINGS

My name is Hang Huon and I live in Trapeang Samrith village in Dangkor District, Phnom Penh. I am searching for the following relatives who I was separated from during the Khmer Rouge years.

◆ My sister's name Hang Him, and her husband's name is Mom Phin. They have four children whose names are Srey Nheb, Sophy, Sophat and Chak.

◆ My brother's name is Hang Samnang (nicknamed Krem), and his wife's name is Soy Khoeurn. They have two children whose names are Nak and Not.

During the evacuation of O Bek Ka'Orm in April 1975 I was separated from Hang Him and Hang Samnan, and their families. I later heard that both were evacuated to Battambang province but I could not find out the exact village.

If you have seen either of my siblings or know what happened to them please contact the Documentation Center of Cambodia at 023 211 875 or 016 876 692.

LOOKING FOR OLDER SISTER

My name is Him Thorn. I am 58 years old living at Sanda Village, Cheang Tong Commune, Tramkok District, Takeo Province. My father's name was Bo and my mother's name was Thann. I have six siblings: Him Mom (sister), Him Ley (sister), me (Him Thorn), Him Nhiv (brother), Him Nhay (disappeared) and Him Touch (deceased). I am now searching for my younger brother, Him Nhay, who disappeared after the Khmer Rouge regime collapsed in 1979. During the Khmer Rouge regime, Him Nhay was assigned as a messenger to his group's chief named Nhor Heang at Sanda Village. My brother always worked with Nhor Heang. After the Khmer Rouge regime collapsed in 1979, my brother informed us that he was working in Phnom Penh as an electrician. Later, I learned that he moved to Kampot and he disappeared since then. I had never seen him again.

Anyone who had known my brother, please contact the Documentation Center of Cambodia at 023 211 875 or 016 876 692. Many thanks.



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

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



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

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