

Searching for

THE TRUTH

- ◆ The Impact of the World's Most Influential People
- ◆ Coping with the Psychological Trauma of the Khmer Rouge

Special
English Edition
Second Quarter 2007

"If justice has not been sought, the piled-up bones should not be cremated. Proper cremation is not enough for the victims, for their spirits will not be in a peaceful state unless justice is found. We should build a stupa and place the bones inside."

-- Suos Phorn

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EDITORIAL:

GOOD LEISURE IN GLOOM, DARK LEISURE IN BLOOM

Leisure significantly contributes to people's happiness and adds meaning to our lives. Normally, we humans need leisure to let our brains recover from the exhaustion of work and to refresh ourselves for future work. Working without time to relax leads to stress and tiredness, both physical and mental. Scholars say that when people experience leisure, they are able to act from internally compelling love in ways that are personally pleasing and intuitively worthwhile; leisure also provides them with a basis for faith.

This definition of leisure stands in stark contrast to the Khmer Rouge's ideology, which encouraged incessant work. During Democratic Kampuchea, people rarely experienced leisure; instead, they lived under conditions of overwork, malnutrition and the threat of execution. They had no self-determination; instead, they worked like machines whose operator was called Angkar. Most new people and some base people were submissive to Angkar because they feared being killed, while many base people happily did what they were told. The great differences in the lives of these two groups reflect how much leisure they had and how leisure affected their destiny.

New people, most of who came from the cities where culture flourished, had been long hated by the revolutionary forces. These forces mainly consisted of poor peasants who considered the new people as impure. Their lives turned upside down after April 17, 1975, the day of the Khmer Rouge's great victory marking the beginning of year zero. City people were evacuated to the countryside; some of them died along the way. Those who were luckier were forced into hard labor. In the countryside, they had to adapt to radical changes in their lifestyle and live a miserable existence threatened by starvation, untreated diseases, overwork, and death.

Under these circumstances, the new people were highly unlikely to have leisure time. First, when such basic needs as food and medical supplies are insufficient, it is clearly impossible to have leisure. Second, the lack of privacy made leisure a dangerous activity. Even in cases where cooperatives had adequate food, people still could not enjoy their personal activities because Angkar was observing their every moment. Moreover, every meal time, people had to rush for food; otherwise, their stomachs would be empty. Even without Angkar's presence, people were still consumed with worry, seeing their neighbors die one after another. The fear that pervaded everyday life is reflected in a saying common at the time: "At dawn I have survived for a night; by sunset I have survived for a day." Third, some new people were able to hide their identities or backgrounds, and were fortunate to be given positions under the regime. But even they lived in fear. They did not dare sing any songs but revolutionary songs to entertain themselves, for singing love songs was considered immoral and could lead to death.

Even what was considered "morally appropriate" leisure almost never occurred during the regime. Children were supposed to go to school, where they were indoctrinated in revolutionary ideology, but there were no parks or other recreational facilities where they could play. Teenagers were sent to work in the cooperatives, to fight on the battlefields, or to spy on other people. Some of them were sent to work far from their homes, and rarely had time to visit their parents. Such separation must have caused loneliness and kept them from enjoying themselves.

Men and women who were mature enough to settle down and have a family faced arranged marriages. Under normal circumstances, they were expected to fall in love and enjoy a pleasurable

courtship, but this was never allowed during Democratic Kampuchea. Disabled men were sometimes given good-looking women as rewards for their service in the war. Thus, forced marriage paired off men and women who had never known each other before. Not allowing people to act out of love and not letting them decide for themselves precluded the enjoyment of leisure.

What is more, middle-age people were forced to live apart from their children. Once a month or so, Angkar would allow a quick visit home. However, family members did not dare talk or show affection toward each other when they were able to meet because the Khmer Rouge militiamen scattered throughout the villages, hiding and listening to people's private conversations. Thus, in their daily lives, their actions did not become internal. Instead, they had to pretend to obey Angkar in order to survive.

Most elderly Cambodians would have wanted to live peacefully after their retirement and spend time at their Buddhist temple. But in the Khmer Rouge regime, there was no such place since Buddhism, like other religions, was considered reactionary. Because the right to believe and worship was eliminated, people could not fulfill their faith and gain peace from it. Thus, it appears that the Khmer Rouge's policies intentionally eradicated appropriate leisure and unintentionally encouraged inappropriate leisure for the sake of their revolution.

Before the Khmer Rouge overthrew the Lon Nol government, they recruited mostly poor peasants who believed the revolution's propaganda. Some voluntarily served the revolution because they dreamed of owning a gun or fighting in battle. Poisoned by the Khmer Rouge's propaganda, they thought that what they were doing was heroic or patriotic. According to the biographies and interviews with former Khmer Rouge cadres compiled at the Documentation Center of Cambodia, most people who joined the revolution were under twenty years of age. Some of them were still children when they were recruited. They simply joined the revolution

for childish reasons, which later drove them to misbehave or even commit extreme acts of violence. Teaching people to hold a gun, fight in wars, and arrest and torture others are the culture of war. There is an old saying, "Children are like a blank canvas that needs to be painted. Either a good or bad painting would emerge."

The Khmer Rouge's propaganda resulted in discrimination and extreme violence after the regime took control of the country. Young Khmer Rouge soldiers and cadres, who came from poor peasant families, were able to act on their inner thoughts of revenge toward people from city. These actions ranged from offensive words and scornful mocking to torture and execution. For instance, the children of base people scorned elderly new people, who had to bear their offensive words or possibly face death. Also, when Angkar accused someone of being an enemy, he or she was tied up with ropes and walked to the killing field by young cadres who were inspired by Khmer Rouge ideology. These young cadres easily harmed other people, and the culture of torture and killing seemed to come from their faith in Angkar. In short, the Khmer Rouge made children or teenagers belong to the improper culture of violence, and the young cadres themselves were totally pleased, thinking they were doing the right thing.

All in all, the Khmer Rouge seemed to choose the right seedlings for planting their revolutionary crop and expanding their ideology. They were successful in eliminating good leisure and provided dark leisure instead. The latter cost thousands of deaths, and the results of their dark leisure should not be forgotten. Hopefully, the upcoming trials will seek justice for the victims of Democratic Kampuchea and reveal the acts of wrongdoers.

Simala Pan is a member of DC-Cam's staff. She will begin studying for a master's degree in leisure and tourism this fall at Wageningen University (Netherlands).

LETTERS FROM YOUK CHHANG:

THE IMPACT OF THE WORLD'S MOST INFLUENTIAL PEOPLE

Time Magazine honored Youk Chhang this year by naming him as one of the "People Who Shape Our World," a list of the 100 men and women whose power, talent, or moral example is transforming the world. Although he was unable to attend the awards ceremony in New York, a copy of his speech is reproduced here. Please read about Mr. Chhang at: http://www.time.com/time/specials/2007/time100/article/0,28804,1595326_1615754_1615879,00.html.

I am honored to be here tonight and thank Time Magazine for the opportunity to speak with you.

The Documentation Center of Cambodia has been working for more than a decade to bring to justice the leaders of one of the most notorious regimes in modern history: the Khmer Rouge. Within less than four years, they brought our country to its knees. A quarter of the population died and the survivors--most of whom were widows and children --resumed their lives in a nation that was destroyed economically, politically, and spiritually.

But we weren't able to find peace in 1979 when the Khmer Rouge regime fell, or even after the 1993 United Nations-sponsored elections. The Khmer Rouge continued to wage guerilla war until the mid-1990s, terrorizing the countryside and preventing Cambodia from moving forward.

We have been slowing rebuilding, but many of the wounds from the genocide are still open for the people of Cambodia. One thing they have been waiting for is the opportunity to see a legal judgment made on the Khmer Rouge leaders for the atrocities they committed. The other is a chance to reconcile with each other and within themselves. The regime's perpetrators and their victims still live side by side in the same villages, where they maintain an uneasy truce.

We are working to give Cambodia's survivors

dignity, trust, respect, and a voice in their country's political life through education and outreach. And, along with many others, we have worked to bring the trials to fruition. They are not slated to begin this year.

But the Center is the product of many individuals. Foremost among them is our staff of dedicated young Cambodians, who are the children of the killing fields. They have grown tremendously in their roles and are now poised to help lead a new generation.

We are also grateful to the many people from around the world who assisted us by generously giving their time and energy, and equally important, believing in what we are doing. For many years, they have helped us in seeking justice for the Cambodian genocide and in preserving the memory of our country's modern history.

We owe a debt of gratitude to the scholars, legal experts, artists, students, and ordinary citizens who have assisted our center, and the governments that so generously supported us.

But in the end, those with the greatest influence on Cambodian history are the nearly 2 million people who died at the hands of the Khmer Rouge and the 6 million who suffered through the regime and survived. My sister and mother are among them.

People throughout the country have come forward to tell us their stories and give us photographs of the loved ones whose lives were taken by the Khmer Rouge. The survivors have struggled for 30 years to re-assert their humanity, find justice, and come to terms with their nightmares. The Khmer Rouge Tribunal will help them look at our country's past with clear eyes and complete the healing process. It is to the victims of the Khmer Rouge that this award belongs.

Youk Chhang is editor-in-chief and publisher of *Searching for the Truth*.

ETHNIC MINORITY GROUPS AND THE LEGACY OF THE KHMER ROUGE

Although many books and articles have been written on Democratic Kampuchea and the fates of various political, religious, and other subgroups within Cambodian society (e.g., the clergy, intellectuals, soldiers and officials from the Lon Nol regime), less attention has been paid to its ethnic groups, with the notable exception of the Vietnamese. The Documentation Center of Cambodia is now preparing a report that will shed light on the roles of ethnic minorities in Democratic Kampuchea, the impacts the Khmer Rouge regime had on them, and their treatment under successor governments. In this vein, we will also seek to determine whether a group's role in Democratic Kampuchea has affected its status in contemporary Cambodian society.

Ultimately, this report will seek to promote tolerance for ethnic diversity in Cambodia, and indirectly, a more democratic society. By demonstrating how various ethnic groups have sometimes been perceived incorrectly, that all minorities suffered under Democratic Kampuchea (like the Khmers), and that the motivations for singling out some groups can often be political (and cause suffering or economic inequality), we hope to encourage both students and the general population to respect the differences of others and seek a society where people are treated equally under the law.

During the Sangkum's Reastr Niyum (1953-1970), Prince Sihanouk proposed calling Cambodia's Islamic community Khmer Islam; some saw this as an attempt to integrate them further into the nation's fabric. The Lon Nol regime (1970-1975) demonstrated tolerance for the Chams (as the Islamic community has traditionally been called), but exhibited ruthlessness in expelling and slaughtering the Vietnamese minority. The latter group was perceived to be an enemy of the state.

The Vietnamese suffered even more brutal reprisals under the Khmer Rouge, primarily for political

reasons. Members of other groups were singled out solely because they could be identified as different from the Khmer (the majority of the population). For example, a researcher from the Documentation Center of Cambodia has found evidence to indicate that the Cham were killed at a rate far higher than that of the general population. Those of Chinese extraction were marked for persecution based on their lighter skin and "wealth."

Other ethnic minorities (such as the indigenous peoples) were known to have supported the Khmer Rouge regime; they were generally treated less harshly.

The years following the Khmer Rouge saw a revival of religious and minority freedom in general. For example, during the People's Republic of Kampuchea (the 1979-1989 regime that succeeded Democratic Kampuchea), ethnic Chinese were treated in a way that was sensitive to the influence of geopolitics. And because the Vietnamese controlled Cambodia at this time, members of this ethnic group were viewed in a far more positive light.

Today, Cambodia's ethnic minorities enjoy a more stable environment, although tensions are still prevalent, particularly regarding those of Vietnamese and Thai descent (these two nations have been Cambodia's traditional "enemies" for nearly a thousand years). Vietnamese immigrants are often poor and compete for resources (e.g., fishing, jobs in the construction sector) with their Cambodian counterparts. There is also still much resentment toward this ethnic group left over from the liberation period. Although the Cambodians and Thais are more similar in terms of language, culture and religion, many Khmers feel animosity toward their more affluent neighbors. The anti-Thai riots of 2003, which were sparked by the alleged remarks of a Thai actress about who "owned" Angkor Wat, caused \$50 million in damage to the Thai embassy and Thai businesses, and indicate

the fragility of ethnic relations in Cambodia.

While the country's dominant religions (Buddhism and Islam, and to a smaller extent, Christianity) preach tolerance, some in Cambodian society still exhibit mistrust of their neighbors. While people in the cities live together in relative harmony, villages are still segregated, with Cham living in their own villages, Khmers in theirs, and Vietnamese in theirs. In addition, subtle tensions are arising in Cambodia with the influx of several new religions and sects (primarily Protestant sects in provinces where hill tribes predominate and more fundamentalist sects of Islam among the Cham; the US State Department's 2002 report on religion in Cambodia noted that 6% of the country's estimated 700,000 Cham were following the ultra-orthodox Wahhabi branch of Islam). It is therefore important to reflect on earlier state policies toward each group as well as past and current inter-relations among Cambodia's ethnic groups.

Political campaigns, too, are marked by racist rhetoric and civil prejudice. In the 2003 elections, for example, reporter Allen Myers noted:

Both opposition campaigns, however, focused mainly on inciting hatred and fear of Cambodia's Vietnamese minority. Already during the voter registration period at the start of the year, the political party lodged numerous objections against "illegal immigrants" from Vietnam. Nearly all were rejected by the National Election Committee because they were based on nothing more than the voter's supposedly Vietnamese name or appearance.

Predictably, this chauvinist campaign produced several incidents in which gangs of thugs attempted, and in a few cases succeeded, in preventing ethnic Vietnamese from voting.

The European Union's sentiment was similar. During the election campaign some years ago in June funny that the writer knows the month but not the year; what year was it?, it reported incidents of political intimidation and strong anti-Vietnamese sentiments expressed by candidates. I trust the author is referring to the Cambodian elections, not

the European ones, so I've modified the sentence.

The Cambodian political system has been challenged for its lack of tolerance and the mistrust between the majority and opposition parties, which often hinders the effective workings of the government (political in-fighting prevented a government from forming between July 2003 and April 2004), and an uneven application of justice. The magazine will explore the country's minority/majority issues, including ethnic identity, ethnic relations, and legal-political treatment, in light of the government's relations with each ethnic minority. It will seek to give people information they need on the workings of a democracy so that they can make informed decisions and participate in public processes that affect their welfare. Only when they do so can they help form and uphold a robust democratic society, whose members ably overcome political manipulation.

This project/magazine also intends to fill gaps in our understanding of Cambodia's minorities, thus dispelling suspicion of those who differ from the majority. Cambodians do not have an accurate view of how minority groups are represented in society. A few of the well known scholars of Cambodia, such as Ben Kiernan, David Chandler, and Michel Vickery, have examined the country's minority groups under the Khmer Rouge. And while the Preah Sihanouk Raj Academy conducted multi-disciplinary research on Cham, Chinese, Vietnamese, Lao, Thai, Burmese, and indigenous hill tribe people from June 1995-February 1996, its study was not published due to lack of funding.

Three DC-Cam studies worked to fill some of the information gap. The first two were Osman Ysa's examination of the Cham community during Democratic Kampuchea and a Cham rebellion that took place early in the regime. The third, which will be published soon, was conducted by Sorya Sim of DC-Cam and Sara Colm of Human Rights Watch; it focuses on the history of Cambodia's upland minorities and their role in Democratic Kampuchea.

DC-Cam Research Report

YOUTH QUESTIONS ON THE KHMER ROUGE TRIBUNAL

Complied and translated by: Sayana Ser with Dacil Keo

In the summer of 2006 DC-Cam selected over 100 Cambodian university students eager to volunteer their time to work for the Center. The students interviewed villagers about their experiences during the 1975-1979 genocide and handed out information on the Khmer Rouge Tribunal. As a result of this experience, both villagers and students began to think seriously about the genocide and Tribunal.

Many questions were raised by the student volunteers in regard to Democratic Kampuchea and the upcoming trials of senior Khmer Rouge leaders. Below are the first 100 questions that have been translated from Khmer into English. These questions come straight from the students and are based on their understanding of the Tribunal. When necessary, clarifications are given in brackets. The questions are arranged according to group, and each question lists the names, ages and provinces of the students who asked them.

What are the Obstacles to the Tribunal?

1) Has there been any negative event or military opposition to the tribunal?

Mr. Pov Sakal, age 19, old born in Phnom Penh
Mr. Me Sambo, 25, Takeo province
Mr. Heng Socheat, 20, Kandal province

2) Will the Khmer Rouge Tribunal be able proceed without victims' and perpetrators' cooperation?

Mr. Dit Sokthy, 21, Kampong Thom province

3) What were the issues discussed prior to the approval of the Khmer Rouge Tribunal? And what else is needed for the Tribunal process to move forward?

Mr. Keo Duong, 28, Svay Rieng province
Mr. Khon Kimkhorn, 20, Phnom Penh

4) Will the Khmer Rouge Tribunal really take place? And does it have the right to try Khmer Rouge leaders?

Mr. Mao Sitha, 25, Kampot province
Mr. Sea Ratha, 23, Kratie province
Mr. Tha Leang Ang, 21, Kampong Cham province
Mr. Thol Dina, 22, Kampong Cham province
Mr. Chhoen, 23, Kampong Speu province

5) Will the Tribunal be delayed if any proceedings are cut off?

Mr. Chheang Chanra, 23, Takeo province
Mr. Meas Bunthy, 23, Phnom Penh

6) Why was the Khmer Rouge Tribunal created? What were the opposing factors? And what can be done to help speed the Tribunal process and increase its efficiency?

Ms. Seng Thida, 20, Kratie province
Mr. Ung Sarat, 24, Phnom Penh
Mr. Ean Sopheap, 24, Kampong Cham province
Mr. Heng Chhunly, 21, Siem Reap province
Mr. Peng Sophorn, 22, Kampong Thom province
Mr. Un Bunneng, 22, Kratie province
Mr. Leng Mengchhun, 22, Phnom Penh
Mr. Phan Sophon, 24, Takeo province

7) What are the causes and consequences prior to, during, and after a prosecution by the Khmer Rouge Tribunal?

Mr. Ean Sopheap, 24, Kampong Cham province
Mr. Heng Chhunly, 21, Siem Reap province
Mr. Lek Sreymean, 24, Takeo province
Mr. Mao Sitha, 25, Kampot province

8) What will happen if the Khmer Rouge Tribunal encounters a setback or is interrupted?

Mr. Heng Thearith, 23, Kampong Cham province

9) Why was the Khmer Rouge Tribunal created under

the agreement between the Royal Government and United Nations?

Mr. San Bunson, 20, Kampong Cham province

10) Could the court be discontinued or halted under the statute law if Cambodia or the UN:

- Does not fulfill their duty or pulls out without an excuse [or explanation]?
- Feels that the court will have a negative impact on them personally?
- Discovers that foreign governments are involved and could threaten world security?

Mr. Yot Bunny, 21, Banteay Meanchey

Mr. Kul Midy, 21, Battambang province

Mr. Sok Menghai, 30, Kampong Cham province

Mr. Pon Sophon, 24, Takeo province

Mr. Seng On, 25, Banteay Meanchey province

Mr. Oul Sam Ath, 24, Phnom Penh

Ms. Chea Sonida, 19, Preah Vihear province

Ms. Sokhey Chanmatha, 18, Sihanoukville

Ms. Loeung Sophoan, 22, Phnom Penh

Mr. Peou Sakal, 19, Phnom Penh

Ms. Tat Leakhena, 22, Phnom Penh

Mr. Prak Peou, 27, Takeo province

Mr. Kan Kimseng, 26, Battambang province

11) What were the circumstances of the negotiations behind the Khmer Rouge Tribunal which made it be such a long and complicated process?

Mr. Sea Ratha, 23, Kratie province

How will the Statute Law of the Extraordinary Chambers be Applied?

12) Why must the Court Chambers be divided into the Trial Court and Appeals Court? Why not combine all the courts into one?

Mr. Chan Pheakdey 21 Phnom Penh

13) What does the Khmer Rouge mean when it says that, when justice is compromised, the trial hearing cannot be public? Could the King, Prime Minister or someone propose a secret trial? If so, what will this decision [the secret trial] be based on?

Anonymous

14) How will the Tribunal function when it has three official languages? Why is there no law clarifying the matter of translation for the Tribunal?

Anonymous

15) Can the judgment of the Supreme Court Chambers be appealed?

Mr. Sin Sangha, 21, Takeo province

16) Can a judgment be made without the presence of the defendant?

Mr. Kul Midy, 21, Battambang province

Mr. Sin Sangha, 21, Takeo province

Mr. Chhe Sokhon, 21, Takeo province

Ms. Chhe Sokuntheary, 21, Takeo province

17) Can individuals or institutions take part in the collection of evidence for co-prosecutors and co-investigating judges?

Mr. Vann Chan Tola, 22, Kratie province

18) Is the Extraordinary Chambers a legal court or a political one?

Mr. Vann Chan Tola, 22, Kratie province

19) What laws will be use to try Khmer Rouge leaders?

Mr. Un Bunneng, 22, Kratie province

20) Will the court hearing and decision [verdict] be open to the public? Why or why not?

Mr. Chheav Sophoan, 22, Phnom Penh

Ms. Siek Bunneth, 19, Kandal province

Mr. Um Samnang, 25, Phnom Penh

Mr. Chea Sambath, 23, Phnom Penh

Mr. Sien Tem, 23, Takeo province

Mr. Loeung Soheak, 20, Phnom Penh

21) If the Tribunal is not successful, will there be a second tribunal?

Mr. Ry Sothearith, 21, Phnom Penh

22) Who makes the decisions? How are they

implemented?

Mr. Um Samnang, 25, Phnom Penh
Mr. Nov Seng, 22, Takeo province

23) Can an appeal be made in the case where a judgment was delivered without both parties present? Is there protection for the accused who are allowed to live in their homes and can there be a suspension in the sentencing [under special circumstances such as illness]?

Mr. Kul Midy, 21, Battambang province
Mr. Sin Sangha, 21, Takeo province

24) What if the judges cannot reach a unanimous decision as required by the law? What do judges' notes on minority opinion and majority opinion mean?

Mr. Meas Bunthy, 23, Phnom Penh
Ms. Lun Chansophy, 25, Phnom Penh
Mr. Kul Mindy, 21, Battambang province
Mr. Chhin Sarann, 28, Kampong Cham province
Ms. Siek Bunneth, 19, Kandal province
Mr. Ry Sothearith, 21, Phnom Penh

25) Can there be challenges to the Supreme Court's decision? If so, will the decision of the Supreme Court to stop these protests be valid? And what if the public is not satisfied [with the verdict]; will there be a second trial?

Mr. Ung Sarat, 24, Phnom Penh
Mr. Chhim Po, 22, Kampong Cham province
Mr. Chea Kongchamraen, 23, Kampong Cham province
Mr. Chhoeun Sokhom, 23, Kampong Speu province
Mr. Hy Meng Roy, 26, Kandal province
Mr. Prak Peou, 27, Takeo province

26) If there is a difference between the judgment of the 1979 trial and the Extraordinary Chambers, how will the person be convicted?

Mr. Kul Midy, 21, Battambang province

27) Since there are different judges will there be different judgments? Will there be real justice? Why or why not?

Mr. Yot Bunny, 23, Banteay Meanchey

28) Why is it necessary to investigate facts when the facts already exist?

Ms. Tean Davin, 20, Kampong Thom province

29) When the trial finishes, will the tribunal disappear automatically?

Ms. Phal Sopheak, 21, Kampong Cham province
Mr. Chheav Sophorn, 22, Phnom Penh
Mr. Chhoeun Sokhom, 23, Kampong Speu province
Mr. Pok Chamreun, 24, Kampong Speu province
Mr. Leng Phea, 24, Prey Veng province
Mr. Loeung Sopheak, 20, Phnom Penh

30) What were the results of the 1979 revolutionary court? Who was punished? Why did this court not try all suspected cases so there is no need for another trial?

Mr. Eng Sokmeng, 20, Kampong Cham province
Mr. Loa Chan, 22, Takeo province
Mr. Me Sambo, 25, Takeo province

31) Does this second judgment violate an individual's protection from double jeopardy?

Mr. Sin Sangha, 21, Takeo province

32) Please make comparisons between the Khmer Rouge Tribunal and the Revolutionary Court concerning their function, application, role, and composition.

Mr. Eng Sokmeng, 20, Kampong Cham province

33) What are the special qualities of the Khmer Rouge Tribunal which make it unique from ordinary courts and international courts? Was the Tribunal created only for the prosecution of senior Khmer Rouge leaders?

Ms. Peou Rumduol, 18, Phnom Penh

34) When the Khmer Rouge Tribunal is in progress, will it be an independent tribunal? And when the Tribunal finishes its work, will it lose its independence?

Mr. Ean Sopheap, 24, Kampong Cham province
Mr. Heng Chhunly, 21, Siem Reap province
Mr. Soam Bunthorn, 22, Svay Rieng province
Mr. Prak Peou, 27, Takeo province

Mr. Phorn Sophon, 24, Takeo province

35) Can the judges of the Trial Court and the Supreme Court make fair decisions?

Mr. Thol Dina, 22, Kampong Cham province

36) The general public feels that the Tribunal is not independent so why are domestic laws used as the basis for trials?

Ms. Tean Davin, 20, Kampong Thom province

37) Will the trials be stopped and the judges discharged if there is [found to be] bias, corruption or deviance? And how will the judges be punished?

Mr. Hean Tharet, 21, Kampong Cham province

Mr. Heng Solina, 21, Kandal province

38) Why are there both Cambodian and international judges; why is it not all Cambodian or international? And why are there more Cambodian judges than international judges? Is this fair?

Mr. Ly Sok Heng, 20, Kampong Cham province

Mr. Chhin Sarann, 28, Kampong Cham province

Mr. Seng Leam, 31, Kampot province

Mr. Khorm Kimkhon, 20, Phnom Penh

Mr. Loeung Sopheak, 20, Phnom Penh

Mr. Kea Seyha, 20, Takeo province

39) What are the qualifications judges must have in order to become a judge in the Khmer Rouge Tribunal? Which institution has the authorization to appoint them? How are they selected? What is the statute on recruitment?

Mr. Seng On, 25, Banteay Meanchey province

Mr. Soam Bunthorn, 22, Svay Rieng province

Mr. Huo Sopheap, 23, Phnom Penh

40) Can a person have more than two positions in the Tribunal? What is the law on a powerful person, such as a high-ranking officer or a politician, applying for a job?

Mr. Ung Sarat, 24, Phnom Penh

41) Are international lawyers permitted to serve in

the Khmer Rouge Tribunal? Why?

Mr. Chhiev Sophoan, 22, Phnom Penh

Mr. Ung Sarat, 24, Phnom Penh

42) What will happen if co-prosecutors and co-investigating judges disagree on certain points?

Mr. Serey Makara, 24, Phnom Penh

Ms. Sek Sovanna, 22, Phnom Penh

Ms. Tat Lekhena, 22, Phnom Penh

43) What is the composition of lawyers and experts in the Tribunal? How many people are involved? How many are Cambodian? How many are international?

Mr. Kruy Limsruon, 24, Kandal province

Ms. Tean Davin, 20, Kampong Thom province

44) Why are judges and prosecutors of the Khmer Rouge Tribunal appointed and not tested?

Anonymous

45) Can it be guaranteed that personnel serving the Khmer Rouge Tribunal have ethical values, are unbiased and not corrupt? What if the person fails to uphold these principles? Are there applicable laws for this situation?

Mr. Leng Phea, 24, Prey Veng province

Mr. Phorn Sophon, 24, Takeo province

46) What will happen if a case of corruption or an abnormality was discovered after the trials are over? Will there have to be a second trial? Why or why not?

Mr. Set Socheat, 20, Takeo province

47) Will the trials of former Khmer Rouge leaders use Cambodian law or international law or both? Why? If the trials take place in Cambodia and use Cambodian law, can international law be applied?

Mr. Nov Seng, 22, Takeo province

Ms. Kim Sokharith, 19, Phnom Penh

Mr. Loeung Sopheak, 20, Phnom Penh

Mr. Keo Sopheak, 22, Phnom Penh

48) Are the law and agreement on the establishment of the Khmer Rouge Tribunal sufficient for trying

[former KR leaders]? If it is not sufficient, will it have to be postponed until a new law is set up?

Ms. Kong Vanna, 20, Phnom Penh

Mr. Hien Tharet, 21, Kampong Cham

49) Will there be changes in the punishment of Khmer Rouge leaders because of old age? Will there be a death sentence if citizens call for it? And will the court be able to modify the law?

Mr. Chhim Por, 22, Kampong Cham province

Mr. Thol Dina, 22, Kampong Cham province

Mr. Chea Kongchamreun, 23, Kampong Cham province

Ms. Sang Voleak, 20, Takeo province

Mr. Pann Kimkrea, 22, Takeo province

Mr. Nguon Samnang, 23, Takeo province

50) Will the law on the establishment of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia for the prosecution of Khmer Rouge leaders be incorporated into domestic law?

Mr. Hien Tharet, 21, Kampong Cham province

51) How many changes in the law will there be before the trials can take place?

Mr. Kruy Limsruon, 24, Kandal province

52) What are judges' reactions to the public opinion of, "These current laws are insufficient for the Khmer Rouge trial"?

Mr. Sreng Leng, 23, Koh Kong province

53) What are the [present] circumstances surrounding the Khmer Rouge Tribunal?

Mr. Sean Tim, 23, Takeo province

What is the Relationship between the International Community and the Khmer Rouge Tribunal?

54) Can the court try an organization or a foreign country such as China or Vietnam if they had a hand [in helping the] Khmer Rouge regime? Or is there another jurisdiction [statue law] for this kind of case?

Mr. Bean Bunroeun, 26, Kratie province

Mr. Leak Vuthy, 22, Prey Veng province

Mr. Piv Khamsothy, 29, Kratie province

Mr. Chheng Kimseng, 22, Kampong Cham province

Mr. Ros Sovannarith, 25, Prey Veng province

Mr. Chuob Rin, 22, Prey Veng province

Mr. Cheak Limeng, 23, Prey Veng province

Mr. Chhim Po, 22, Kampong Cham province

Mr. Seng Leam, 31, Kampot province

Mr. Un Bunneng, 22, Kratie province

Mr. Loek Sreymean, 24, Takeo province

Mr. Sok Menghai, 30, Kampong Cham province

Mr. Chheav Sophoan, 22, Phnom Penh

Mr. Pok Chamraen, 24, Kampong Speu province

Mr. Koam Kotra, 20, Phnom Penh

Mr. Sing Rithy, 18, Phnom Penh

55) Will a person who supported the Khmer Rouge regime for a short time and later defected, and presently is very influential be tried by the Tribunal?

Mr. Chiek Limeng, 23, Prey Veng province

56) Will the Extraordinary Chambers be able to find out the real truth about which agents, which countries, and which individuals supported or were involved with the Khmer Rouge? And what actions will the court take?

Ms. Chea Sokim, 22, Battambang province

Mr. Hean Tharet, 21, Kampong Cham province

Ms. Tien Davin, 20, Kampong Thom province

Ms. Thak Sovy, 21, Kampong Thom province

Mr. Khorn Kimkhon, 20, Phnom Penh

Mr. Chheang Chanra, 23, Takeo province

Mr. Hieng Sokun, 21, Battambang province

Mr. Chann Pheakdey, 21, Phnom Penh

57) How many countries are involved now in the Khmer Rouge Tribunal? Which countries financially supported the Tribunal? How much [were their contributions]?

Mr. Penh Sinat, 25, Kandal province

Mr. Chheang Chanra, 23, Takeo province

58) Does the international community have a role in the tribunal? If so, why?

Ms. Peou Rumduol, 18, Phnom Penh
 Mr. Pok Chamraen, 24, Kampong Speu province
 Ms. Sokhei Channmatha, 18, Sihanoukville
 Mr. Nov Seng, 22, Takeo province
 Nguon Sanh, 22, Takeo province
 Ms. Chann Sam Ol, 22, Takeo province

59) Will the Tribunal be able to proceed smoothly when there are powerful countries engaging in it in this manner? Was there pressure from specific countries or political reasons that led to the creation of the Extraordinary Chambers?

Ms. Chea Sokim, 22, Battambang province
 Mr. Ung Sarat, 24, Phnom Penh
 Ms. Hin Sotheany, 20, Phnom Penh
 Mr. Krouch Setha, 21, Phnom Penh
 Mr. Saom Bunthorn, 22, Svay Rieng province
 Mr. Dit Sokthy, 21, Kampong Thom province

60) If we [Cambodians] are unable to conduct the trials or lack the funds to do so, why not let the international community do it?

Mr. Kul Midi, 21, Battambang province
 Mr. Heng Thearith, 23, Kampong Cham province

61) Why are some big powerful countries in the world, the US especially, still hesitant to provide funding support for the Khmer Rouge Tribunal?

Mr. Mong Kimleang, 24, Kampong Cham province
 Ms. Som Titichheka, 23, Kampong Cham province
 Mr. Hy Mengruoy, 26, Kandal province

62) What is the next move for Cambodia and the UN now that they have received adequate funds?

Mr. Vann Channtola, 22, Kratie province

63) Who participated in making the law and agreement? Was there any participation from the international community?

Mr. Chheav Sophoan, 22, Phnom Penh

64) Why do we not use international law to try the Khmer Rouge as in Rwanda or the former Yugoslavia?

Mr. Theam Song Ho, 22, Kandal province

65) What are the differences between the Sierra Leone and East Timor criminal courts and the Cambodian court?

Ms. Hin Sotheany, 20, Phnom Penh
 Mr. Vann Chann, 22, Kratie province

66) If the UN had not cooperated with the Royal Cambodian Government, would the Tribunal have been possible?

Ms. Hin Sotheany, 20, Phnom Penh

67) Why is it that the international community only now is making an effort to prosecute former Khmer Rouge leaders?

Mr. Kroch Setha, 21, Phnom Penh
 Mr. Kea Seyha, 20, Takeo province

68) Does the international community have the right to search for evidence relevant to those convicted? Why?

Mr. Keo Sopheak, 22, Kampong Thom province

69) The destruction in Sierra Leone was smaller than than in Cambodia, but why did the international community provide more assistance [to Sierra Leone] than to Cambodia?

Anonymous

70) Using the countries which had trials for criminal acts [referring to ad hoc tribunals] as a model for the Khmer Rouge Tribunal, what are some good examples [to follow] and the benefits that came from these trials?

Mr. Me Sambo, 25, Takeo province

71) Why was there not one organization in the entire world helping Cambodia from 1975 to 1979? Why was this the case?

Ms. Peou Romdul, 18, Phnom Penh

72) When the genocide was occurring in Cambodia was the UN informed? If so, what measures did the UN take?

Mr. Theam Song Ho, 22, Kandal province

73) Why did the international community support the Khmer Rouge and also gave them a seat in the UN [General Assembly]?

Ms. Chea Sonida, 19, Preah Vihear province
Mr. Theam Song Ho, 22, Kandal province

74) Cambodia became a member of treaty on genocide prevention on October 14, 1950. Why was the treaty violated and were all of the parties informed of this violation?

Anonymous

Is there Enough Funding for the Khmer Rouge Tribunal?

75) Why does Cambodia have to provide funding when Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia did not?

Anonymous

76) Please make a comparison of the results between short-term trials which had a small budget and long-term trials which had a larger budget?

Mr. Lek Sreymean, 24, Takeo province

77) If the Extraordinary Chambers does not receive enough funds to carry out its operations, will the trials still go on?

Mr. Hieng Sarun, 23, Takeo province

78) If Cambodia did not have the \$13 million, would the trials have been able to proceed forward?

Mr. Um Samnang, 25, Phnom Penh

79) Are the funds allocated in the budget plan enough for the Khmer Rouge Tribunal's operations? What if it is not enough?

Mr. Saing Huot, 21, Phnom Penh
Mr. Nguon Samnang, 23, Takeo province
Mr. Chann Pheakdey, 21, Phnom Penh

80) Why does the Khmer Rouge Tribunal have a smaller budget than other international courts? Is this out of contempt for Cambodia by the international community?

Mr. Leng Phea, 24, Prey Veng province
Ms. Sae Fasia, 23, Phnom Penh

81) How will the funds be distributed? Who is going to allocate the funds?

Mr. Chhuo Try, 22, Kampong Cham province

82) How much will the Khmer Rouge Tribunal cost Cambodia ? How will Cambodia pay for the costs if it is in debt?

Mr. Penh Sinat, 25, Kandal province
Mr. Chea Yuhot, 19, Kampong Cham province
Mr. Chheav Sophoan, 22, Phnom Penh
Mr. Peou Sakal, 19, Phnom Penh
Mr. Loek Sreymean, 24, Takeo
Mr. Loeung Sopheak, 20, Phnom Penh

83) If donor countries such as Japan do not contribute \$15 million more, will the Tribunal be able to proceed? Why?

Mr. Heng Thearith, 23, Kampong Cham province
Mr. Ean Sopheap, 24, Kampong Cham province
Mr. Heng Chunly, 21, Siem Reap province

84) Will the Tribunal be able to move forward if the budget planned for its expenses is not enough? Why?

Mr. Po Sokha, 21, Kampong Thom province
Mr. Chheav Sinoeun, 22, Kampong Cham province
Mr. Ros Sovannarith, 25, Prey Veng province
Mr. Chhuo Try, 22, Kampong Cham province
Mr. Thol Dina, 22, Kampong Cham province
Mr. Un Sokunvary, 24, Takeo province

85) How much will the tribunal cost? What are the tribunal's [financial] sources?

Mr. Seng On, 25, Banteay Meanchey province
Mr. Kruy Limsruon, 24, Kandal province
Mr. Leng Phea, 24, Prey Veng province
Ms. Yaun Raiya, 24, Prey Veng province
Mr. Seng Nouv, 22, Takeo province

86) The Tribunal will cost \$57 million and the UN will contribute \$43 million; why is it that Cambodia

can only afford to contribute \$15 million?

Mr. Um Sopheak, 22, Kratie province
 Mr. Sea Ratha, 23, Kratie province
 Ms. Seng Thida, 20, Kratie province

87) Why does the Tribunal cost so much money? If there are leftover funds after the Tribunal, what will be done with them?

Ms. Kong Vanna, 20, Phnom Penh
 Mr. Vong Sam On, 23, Takeo province
 Mr. Ung Sarat, 24, Phnom Penh
 Ms. Kim Sokharith, 19, Phnom Penh
 Ms. Say Manory, 20, Phnom Penh
 Sam Rithy Veasna, 20, Phnom Penh
 Mr. Chann Pheakdey, 21, Phnom Penh
 Ms. Chann Sam Ol, 22, Takeo province

88) How will the funds be used? What are the areas that it will be spent on?

Mr. Keo Sopheak, 22, Kampong Thom province

89) Will the Tribunal be able to move forward if it does not have enough funding or will it wait until it does? If those indicted are getting older and older, what effect does this have?

Mr. Kem Sophas, 21, Kampong Cham province

90) If the tribunal runs out of money during the process, how will this issue be solved? What will be the consequences?

Mr. Mao Sitha, 25, Kampot province
 Mr. Hean Tharet, 21, Kampong Cham province
 Mr. Chea Kong Chamraen, 23, Kampong Cham province
 Mr. Ean Ten, 22, Kampong Thom province
 Mr. Seng Leam, 31, Kampot province
 Mr. Saom Buthorn, 22, Svay Rieng province
 Sam Rithy Veasna, 21, Phnom Penh
 Mr. Chann Pheakdey, 21, Phnom Penh
 Anonymous

91) If we need [such a large] budget to pay for the Tribunal, why do we not reduce expenses in other areas so that we do not have to wait longer [for the

Tribunal to begin]?

Ms. Kiev Marady, 21, Battambang province

92) Since the number of Cambodian judges is greater than international judges and most of the service cost is Cambodia's responsibility, explain why Cambodia only gets 40% of the donated funds and the UN gets 60%?

Anonymous

93) Are the salaries of Cambodian and international employees the same? Why or why not?

Ms. Chann Sothea, 25, Kandal province

When Will the Tribunal Start?

94) When is the definite date for the trial? Where [will it be held]? For a period of how long? Why is there not a definite date?

Mr. Vong Sam On, 23, Takeo province
 Mr. Meas Bunthy, 23, Phnom Penh
 Mr. Ung Sarat, 24, Phnom Penh
 Mr. Ean Sopheap, 24, Kampong Cham province
 Mr. Ros Sovannrith, 25, Prey Veng province
 Mr. Heng Chhunly, 21, Siem Reap province
 Mr. Chiek Limeng, 23, Prey Veng province
 Ms. Ruon Raksmei, 20, Battambang province
 Mr. Chhim Po, 22, Kampong Cham province
 Mr. Hean Tharet, 21, Kampong Cham province
 Ms. Phal Sopheak, 21, Kampong Cham province
 Mr. Chea Kong Chamraen, 23, Kampong Cham province
 Mr. Chheav Sophoan, 22, Phnom Penh
 Ms. Prum Setharath, 21, Kampong Thom province
 Mr. Kruy Limsruon, 24, Kandal province
 Mr. Heng Solina, 21, Kandal province
 Ms. Meas Channtheary, 19, Kratie province
 Ms. Chea Sonida, 19, Preah Vihear province
 Ms. Hul Vanntha, 20, Prey Veng province
 Mr. Soh Sma El, 20, Pursat province
 Ms. Hin Sotheany, 20, Phnom Penh
 Mr. Saom Bunthorn, 22, Svay Rieng province
 Ms. Loeung Sophoan, 22, Phnom Penh
 Mr. Peou Sakal, 19, Phnom Penh

Mr. Saing Huot, 21, Phnom Penh
Ms. Ke Lina, 19, Phnom Penh
Ms. Sae Fasias, 23, Phnom Penh
Ms. Norng Ratha, 22, Phnom Penh
Ms. Un Sokunvary, 24, Takeo province
Mr. Nov Seng, 22, Takeo province
Ms. Saing Voleak, 20, Takeo province
Mr. Ngon Sokchea, 23, Takeo province
Mr. Chheang Chanra, 23, Takeo province
Mr. Lek Sreimeas, 24, Takeo province
Mr. Phorn Sophon, 24, Takeo province
Mr. Nguon Samnang, 23, Takeo province
Mr. Chann Pheakdei, 21, Phnom Penh
Ms. Saphan Somaoliraksmei, 20, Phnom Penh
Anonymous

95) Why was there such a delay in creating the Tribunal? Why is the Tribunal being promoted now? Is this a second trial?

Mr. Sea Ratha, 23, Kratie province
Ms. Peou Rumduol, 18, Phnom Penh
Ms. Kong Vanna, 20, Phnom Penh
Mr. Vong Sam On, 23, Takeo province
Mr. Penh Sinat, 25, Kandal province
Mr. Thol Dina, 22, Kampong Cham province
Mr. San Bunson, 20, Kampong Cham province
Ms. Phal Sopheak, 21, Kampong Cham province
Mr. Pok Chamraen, 24, Kampong Speu province
Mr. Theam Song Ho, 22, Kandal province
Mr. Vann Channtola, 22, Kratie province
Ms. Yaun Raiya, 24, Prey Veng province
Ms. Sokhei Channmatha, 18, Sihanoukville
Ms. Loeung Sophoan, 22, Phnom Penh
Mr. Kea Seyha, 20, Takeo province
Mr. Mam Vichet, 20, Takeo province
Mr. Nguon Sanh, 22, Takeo province
Mr. Lek Sreimean, 24, Takeo province
Ms. Chann Sam Ol, 22, Takeo province

96) How should we choose the location of the Tribunal so that it can progress smoothly?

Ms. Tean Davin, 20, Kampong Thom province

97) How many people can be seated in the court-

room? If space is limited, who will have first priority to be seated in the court? What is the process to enter the courtroom?

Mr. Nguon Samnang, 23, Takeo province
Mr. Heng Socheat, 20, Kandal province

98) Has the location of the Tribunal really moved from the Chaktomuk Conference Hall to the new building located behind the Royal Army Headquarters?

Mr. Um Sopheak, 22, Kratie province
Mr. Sea Ratha, 23, Kratie province

99) Will the Khmer Rouge Tribunal begin soon or will there be further delays? Why?

Mr. Meas Bunthy, 23, Phnom Penh
Mr. Mong Kimchheang, 24, Kampong Cham province
Mr. Eng Sokmeng, 20, Kampong Cham province
Anonymous

100) Is there a time limit for prosecuting former Khmer Rouge leaders? If we count from April 17th, 1979 to the present day, then the time limit seems to have been exceeded and several Khmer Rouge leaders have passed away. Can this time delay [30 years after the genocide] have an effect [on the Tribunal]? Please explain.

Mr. Mut Chenda, 27, Kratie province

Sayana Ser is team leader of DC-Cam's Student Outreach project.

Dacil Q. Keo was DC-Cam's public affairs officer; she is now working on a PhD at the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

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YOUTHS SEEK UNDERSTANDING ON KHMER ROUGE HISTORY

Sok-Kheang Ly

On the morning of Wednesday, May 9, 2007, 40 young people visited the Documentation Center of Cambodia for the first time. The students came with school bags and name cards worn around their necks as they entered the Public Information Room on the first floor of DC-Cam's offices.

This was the first of three group tours under the Khmer Youth Association's May 2007 program called, "The Understanding of the History of the Khmer Rouge Regime and the Building of a Bright Future for Youth." The Khmer Youth Association asked that DC-Cam be part of their program by offering lectures on Khmer Rouge history, to which the Center gladly consented. The program plans on inviting youths from seven provinces--Kampong Cham, Takeo, Seam Riep, Svay Rieng, Prey Veng, Battambang and Banteay Meanchey. Their visit to DC-Cam and other activities in the program--such as

visits to the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia courtroom and the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum--will help them better understand the Khmer Rouge period. It is hoped that when they return home, the youths will share their new knowledge with others of their age.

At DC-Cam, students from Kampong Cham and Prey Veng provinces listened to short lectures from Mr. Kamboly Dy, the author of the DC-Cam's new textbook on Democratic Kampuchea entitled, *A History of Democratic Kampuchea*, and Mr. Ly Sok Kheang, team leader of the Living Documents Project. Mr. Ly gave an overview of DC-Cam's history and

activities. Afterward, Mr. Dy spoke about the events and people that shaped the notorious Democratic Kampuchea era using photographs from the textbook to illustrate. Several students raised their hands to ask questions.

Next, the students watched DC-Cam's new documentary film, *Behind the Walls of S-21*. It profiles two former prisoners and a former high-ranking guard at S-21, whose stories intertwine and at times contradict each other. From the film, the students learned about the arrest of the two prisoners, the torture they endured, and how they were able

to survive brutality and starvation at the prison. Their stories also challenge that of the former KR high-ranking guard's, who claims that his activities did not go beyond guard-related duties. During the screening, students watched attentively as they took down notes.

The DC-Cam portion of the program is designed to teach Cambodian students about the Khmer Rouge era. Ms. Hong Eang, an assistant to the Peace-building Unit of the Khmer Youth Association, stressed that many youths in Cambodia have little understanding of what happened from 1975-1979 when the Khmer Rouge regime was in power. This is a chapter of Cambodia's history which remains unclear and unanswered in their lives. And despite their parents having told them about the horrible experiences they endured such as overwork, malnutrition, and killings, children tend to not believe their parents or only partly believe their stories. Ms. Hong said that



Villager looking at the photo of the prisoners at S-21

after their visit to the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, perhaps 80% of the youths began to understand the full extent of what happened. Many of the students were shocked and appalled after seeing photographs of prisoners suffering, mass graves, and torture apparatus at the museum.

During the Khmer Rouge regime, the museum was the grounds of the highest-level political prison that existed in Democratic Kampuchea. An estimated 14,000 prisoners entered the prison and subsequently lost their lives while undergoing torture or mass execution in a nearby field. Referring to the former prison, one student commented, "It was true. I was born after the Khmer Rouge era and live in the countryside so I had heard about this." Ms. Hong said that the student was brimming with tears as he walked through the museum rooms, and told her that he wondered why Khmers had killed each other.

After the film ended, Messrs. Ly and Dy made several comments about the film. Ms. Hong then encouraged the youths to express their opinions about the film or any other matter related to what they had learned that day. Some of the students appeared shy and reluctant to speak out. Then two teenage boys stood up from their wooden chairs.

Veasna of Kampong Cham province said, "I am so happy to have the opportunity to visit DC-Cam for the first time." Sopheareak of Prey Veng province expressed his condolences and sympathy to those that died during the genocide. In regards to the film he commented, "This is the first time that I have seen this film. I know it must have been very difficult for these three men to survive the Khmer Rouge regime." Both boys then thanked the principal trainers from their respective provinces and offered best wishes to DC-Cam.

At the end of the program, DC-Cam passed out copies of *Searching for the Truth* to every student. Only seven students requested a copy of the newly published textbook, *A History of Democratic Kampuchea* because not all of them were able to read in English. A Khmer version of the textbook will be published in the near future and is expected to be delivered to schools nationwide. After departing from DC-Cam, the students made their way to the ECCC courtroom.

Sok-Kheang Ly is the team leader of DC-Cam's Living Documents Project.



DISCOVERY OF THE SRE LIEU MASS GRAVE

Rasy Pheng Pong

May 5, 2007 marked the discovery of a group of graves in O Kambot Trapeang Sragne jungle in Sre Lieu village, Trapeang Pleang sub-district, Chhuok district, Kampot province. The discovery of the graves, which contain the bodies of approximately 9,000 people who died during Democratic Kampuchea, began when a group of Vietnamese delegates, Cambodian provincial and district authorities, and local people excavated one of the graves. They were looking for the skulls and bones of Vietnamese soldiers who lost their lives during the war years in Cambodia. A day later, the number of people gathering at the nearby pagoda increased. They came to help exhume the graves. Authorities from Trapeang Pleang sub-district were also present; they had come to measure and collect statistics on the mass graves.

According to Khoem Yukhoeun, 57, first assistant to the chief of Trapeang Pleang sub-district, 10 villagers who joined the excavation team were reported to have found gold necklaces and earrings at the site. Together, they weighed about 1.5 tam loeng (a tam loeng is equivalent to 37.5 grams).

Upon hearing this, hundreds of Sre-Lieu villagers stopped their daily work and began to unearth the graves, looking for gold. Even though most of them were not lucky enough to find anything, they continued digging and searching. On May 9, a torrential rain began to fall, and most of the villagers returned home. They could do nothing besides wait

and hope for the rain to stop so they could carry on digging. A villager in his thirties carrying hoe and walking to the graveyard said, "I try to dig and look around, hoping that good luck will fall on me and bring me gold."

As a result of villagers removing earth, the graves quickly filled with rainwater. Remnants of cloth floated up to the surface of the water. Some of the bones that the villagers had already unearthed and did not bury were piled close to the tlong tree that grows in the middle of the grave area.

Fifty year-old Srey Neth said that she also

joined the other villagers, but became so exhausted that she had to stop digging. During the Khmer Rouge regime, Srey Neth's job was to bury the members of her unit who died of malaria and cholera. She stated that all of those who died were under the age of 30 and members of the mobile units



Remnants of cloth and bones of the victims in Kampot province

that were assigned to build a dam at Kos Sla. The bodies of those who died at the Zone 35 hospital were carried to the hill in which people were now digging for gold (this hospital was located about 200 meters from Kos Sla dam; nowadays, there is no trace of it).

Ngay Yong, 47, is a former member of a mobile unit that built Kos Sla dam. He said, "I think that very few people died of illness. Rather, most of them died as a result of the lethal injections they were given at the Zone 35 hospital." In the hospital,

people with curable illnesses were often injected with too much liquid. The 53 year-old chief of Trapeang Pleang sub-district, Suos Phorn, concurred on the matter of lethal injections. Most of the hospital's patients ended up in graves, he stated.

During the Khmer Rouge regime, Srey Neth and the other grave diggers were not afraid of ghosts, so every night they were told to carry dead bodies from the hospital to the graves. She said, "I carried only the dead bodies of people in my unit. Like the others, I was forbidden by Angkar from telling others about the number of deaths." Srey Neth cannot recall the number of bodies she had buried during the Khmer Rouge regime. She said, "Sometimes, they [the Khmer Rouge] woke me up in the middle of the night and ordered me to take bodies to be buried. Sometimes, I started my job at 2 a.m. The number of bodies I buried ranged from two to six per night."



Srey Neth, Age: 50

The discovery of mass graves caused many of the former mobile unit members who built Kos Sla dam to think back thirty years and recollect the time when they volunteered to work for the Khmer Rouge. While Srey Neth was collecting the victims' bones, she remembered carrying the dead bodies of her colleagues to the graves. She said, "I cannot recognize which bones belong to my colleagues, whose bodies I buried. I would like to ask for forgiveness from the victims if I was neglectful in burying their bodies."

The local authorities put a ban on unearthing the graves and told people to gather the bones in a safe place so they could send them to Wat Stoeng memorial located at the Chhuok district office. Sub-district chief Suon Phorn stated that he was against the idea of digging for gold because unearthing the graves would disturb the victims' spirits. Khoem Yukhoeun, an assistant to the Trapeang Pleang sub-

district chief, also expressed his regret. He said, "The villagers should not have unearthed the graves thoughtlessly. It is not good if the villagers selfishly continue digging the graves for gold."

Because of poverty, however, most villagers ignored the ban. A lot of graves were emptied as a result of the continuous digging. Fifty year-old Svay Saroeun, a second assistant to the Trapeang Pleang sub-district chief, had tried to stop people from digging, but they would not obey him. He had first noticed the Khmer Rouge's grave area in September 1979 while he was walking to the Kos Sla dam to fish. According to Svay Saroeun, the graves were laid out in 70 rows and each row had 130 graves. Some graves had some sort of names on them. After several years the graveyard became covered with big trees, bushes, and shrubs, and it became unrecognizable. Srey Boy, who owns a plot of farmland nearby, said he knew that his land was a graveyard from the Khmer Rouge regime, and the land has not been cleared for farming yet.

In 1998, people from such provinces as Takeo, Pailin and Along Veng settled in Kos Sla, not knowing it was a Khmer Rouge killing field. Only a few base people and former members of mobile units working at Kos Sla knew about this place. Soa Son, 65, from Takeo province had lived near the graveyard for more than ten years before he realized that many bodies from the Pol Pot regime lay underneath the ground. During his stay, he was suspicious because ghosts usually haunted about a hectare of the area around the grave. He said, "Sometimes I heard chattering voices in the forest. Sometimes I heard the sound of a screeching ox-cart along the path in front of my house toward the forest; then the sound died down. I followed the sound of that ox-cart, but did not dare walk into the forest because I knew it was haunted by ghosts." Even after he learned that the place was a former grave, he still tried to dig for gold. He has not moved his house yet.

After the heavy rain fell, a villager who was busy digging told other villagers a ghost story, which had occurred a few days after people began

looking for gold. At midnight, villagers nearby heard the sounds of crying and mourning from the forest. On hearing this story, some villagers no longer dug for gold. The sub-district chief, his assistants, and members of sub-district council thought that the crying and mourning of spirits showed that the victims were hurt again. Srey Neth related another event that happened around the same time. She said the villagers who found the gold felt uneasy. Moreover, something unusual had happened in their families. For instance, their family members suddenly felt ill.

On May 13, people who had found gold decided to share the money by holding a religious ceremony at the gravesite. During the ceremony, they prayed that the victims' spirits will soon find nirvana or reincarnation. They also prayed that the strange events that had been occurring in the village would stop. The chief of Trapeang Pleang sub-district said he was glad that there had been a proper ceremony dedicated to the spirits, but there has not been justice for the victims yet. He said, "If justice has not been sought, the piled-up bones should not be cremated. Proper cremation is not enough for the victims, for their spirits will not be in a peaceful state unless justice is found." The chief and his people thought they might build a stupa and place the bones inside. They felt this stupa could represent torture during the Khmer Rouge regime. However, the Chhuok district base authority had already planned that the bones should be taken to a memorial at Wat Stoeng.

Suos Phorn, Ngay Yong, Srey Neth and others gave some background on how people were mobilized to build Kos Sla dam. People from Taken and L'beuk sub-districts in Chhuok district were the first laborers to build the dam, starting from O Kambot Trapeang Sragne. Because the dam was to be large in both width and length, in 1973 Angkar gathered people from other districts for additional labor. Yet the dam still could not be completed on time. After the Khmer Rouge's day of triumph on April 17, 1975, they gathered labor again. Most of their recruits were base people and the rest were April 17 (new) people. Angkar had planned that the

dam should be finished by late 1976.

Suos Phorn described the hardship that fell on mobile unit members, including malnutrition, malaria, cholera, injuries during construction, and poisonous snakes. Most of the mobile units' members became sick and died one after another. Because of the large number of patients, the Zone 35 chief established the Zone 35 hospital to care for mobile unit patients. Many sick people were carried into the hospital, but most of them never recovered and returned to work at the Kos Sla dam site.

In late 1976, the dam was still incomplete, so Angkar continued forcing people to work on it until 1977. The district chief said that thousands of mobile unit members died of malaria and cholera between 1973 and 1975. In 1977, the Zone 35 hospital was demolished. Men who survived the epidemic were gathered and made to work as border guards. The surviving women worked in the salt fields. Later on, some of these women were sent to work in Phnom Penh.

The Kos Sla dam is enormous, and it is difficult to believe that it was built by people who did not have adequate food or medical supplies. Suos Phorn said plainly that Kos Sla dam and the approximately 200 graves that were recently unearthed nearby are a historical lesson for the young generation to learn about how the Khmer Rouge brutally killed Khmer people.

Since the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia was established in early 2006, this is the third discovery of former mass graves left from the Khmer Rouge regime. The first two were found in Kampong Speu and Kampot provinces. In early 2006 a killing field at Phnom Sruoch called "Prey Chheu Neang" was discovered after children who are cowherds and firewood collectors found a pair of golden rings in the area of the mass grave while they were playing. The Prey O Deibak killing field, located adjacent to Phnom Vor in Keb town, was discovered in March 2007.

Rasy Pheng Phong is a member of DC-Cam's Legal Response Team.

TUOL SLENG, A REMINDER OF THE PAST

Pivoine Beang

On March 12 and 13, 2007 DC-Cam held its 13th tour of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC). The Center invited sub-district chiefs and residents from towns and provinces across the country on these tours. The itinerary included visiting Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, the Choeung Ek Killing Fields Memorial, and the premises of the ECCC, which is located on the outskirts of Phnom Penh.

On the first day of the 13th tour, the participants were taken to Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum. Among the 500 sub-district chiefs on the tour was a middle-age woman named Pang Sophana, of Prek Dach sub-district in Kandal province. She was noticeably interested in Building B of the museum compound because this building made her recall memories that she had buried for more than 30 years.

Pang Sophana said that the building in front of her was part of a compound known as Ponhea



Pang Sophana

Yat High School during the royal socialist regime. When Marshal Lon Nol was in power, Ponhea Yat High School was renamed Tuol Svay Prey because "Ponhea Yat" was a name of the king. The four buildings in this former high school compound were named,

"A", "B", "C", and "D." In front of Building B were two pillars where she used to climb ropes during sport sessions. On the paved road next to the fence was where student races used to take place. The school's fence consisted of several iron bars; next to this fence was a place for students to park their vehicles. The high school provided education for students in grades 6 to 1 (grade 1 is equivalent to grade 12 in today's high schools). Pang Sophana attended Tuol Svay Prey High School from 1970

until the Khmer Rouge took over Phnom Penh.

In the period before Phnom Penh came under the Khmer Rouge's control, there was much turmoil, causing both teachers and students to be absent from classes. The school director told the students to return home, gather with their families, and wait until the political situation become more stable before coming back to school. However, the situation became even more chaotic. Not long after that, the Khmer Rouge defeated Lon Nol's soldiers and took control of the whole city. Right after their victory, they evacuated people from the capital to the countryside.

When the Khmer Rouge arrived in the city, Tuol Svay Prey High School was transformed into a central prison called Tuol Sleng Security Office, which was also known by its code name "S-21." S-21 was strictly controlled by the prison's chief, Kang Guek Ieu. S-21 was an important place for holding prisoners who had been charged with being in the CIA, a traitor or rebel against Angkar. Some people were arrested because the other prisoners mentioned their names during an interrogation session. The Khmer Rouge followed the "chain" of that person's network to arrest people. S-21 had two other branches: S-21K based in Takmao town and S-21 located in Dang Koa, west of Phnom Penh city.

In 1975, Pang Sophana's family was evacuated from Phnom Penh to Prey Veng province in Democratic Kampuchea's East Zone. Because her house was in the vicinity of Tuol Tompoung market, she was ordered to walk along National Road 1 to Prey Veng province. In one of the province's cooperatives, Angkar assigned her to dig channels and transplant rice. Collective eating was very difficult because the food rations were so small. Sometimes, she had to steal yams because there was no rice to eat.

In 1976, her mother died as a result of lack of food and medical treatment. Her older brother

Sophal had died during the evacuation.

In 1978, Angkar moved her family and other people living in Prey Veng province to Pursat province because the Khmer Rouge considered "East Zone people as betrayers of Angkar." Pang Sophana noted that there were real betrayers who later ran away to Vietnam, gather force, and came back to fight against the revolution. But Angkar's real purpose in moving people to Pursat was sending them to mass graves. Few people survived the long journey to that province.

After they arrived, Angkar assigned them to move earth and dig up termite hills. "I had to move from place to place within the province," recalled Pang Sophana. "The daily food ration was so little, but the work burden increased. The fear of death haunted people all the time. Every day people disappeared one after another. Some people whose relatives had run away from military duty were killed. The killings included the entire family of an associated person."

In late 1978, Angkar planned mass killings. Pang Sophana's brother-in-law, nieces, and nephews were all killed because they were accused of being former Lon Nol soldiers. Her older sister was then struck by a tragedy: her husband and children were

killed by the Khmer Rouge, and after that, she became mentally unstable. Pang Sophana's unit was ordered to transport rice to a mountainous area. Most of people in her unit were sent before her. But before Angkar could send Pang Sophana there, the Vietnamese troops defeated the Khmer Rouge. If the Vietnamese troops had arrived later, she would have been killed.

In 1979, Pang Sophana returned to Phnom Penh. She made her way to her house in Tuol Tompoung, but it was completely destroyed. There were dead bodies and rubbish scattered on the dirty floor. She then decided to walk to her mother's home village in Kandal province. Before she left, she took a moment to visit her old high school. In the school compound, she saw newly dead bodies covered in blood. Seeing such a terrible scene, Pang Sophana was very shocked. Here school had been transformed into prison and torture center.

This tour was the third time Pang Sophana had visited the genocide museum. Every time she sees the building, she recalls the time when she was a youth playing with her friends in the school compound. Today, this same compound contains



Sub-district chiefs visiting Tuol Sleng genocide museum

the tombs of 14 victims, the last people to be killed by the Khmer Rouge in the minutes before the Vietnamese troops arrived to liberate the prison. The Santebal regulations of the Khmer Rouge are displayed on a board on the path leading to the buildings. In each of the buildings' rooms, photos of the Khmer Rouge senior leaders and thousands photos of their victims are displayed. This museum welcomes local and international visitors, and gives them an understanding of the events that took place during the brutal regime of Democratic Kampuchea.

Pang Sophana thinks that the people who were responsible for this massacre should not be forgiven. She feels that the Khmer Rouge Tribunal

should sentence the senior leaders to death or punish them as severely as they did the Cambodian people under their rule. Pang Sophana suggested that only the senior leaders should be brought to justice because it is hard to search for and identify the subordinate cadres. Whenever she goes to villages, she always hears people talking about the Khmer Rouge Tribunal. She hopes that when she returns home, she will share information relating to the Tribunal and what she has learned from the tour with her relatives and neighbors.

Pivoine Beang is team leader of DC-Cam's Film Project."

TO BE STARVED LIKE A PRISONER

Sotheany Hin



Seay Sok in 2006

To be starved like a prisoner" recalled Seay Sok, who served as a combatant during the Khmer Rouge regime. Like other victims of this regime, he experienced hardship, hunger, and overwork. Besides being forced to labor incessantly, he was

banned from traveling as if he were a prisoner. Most young people working for the revolution hardly ever visited home. Even though they were given a rare chance to do so, they could only make a quick visit.

Because of the political turmoil that followed the 1970 coup d'état in which King Sihanouk was overthrown, Seay Sok escaped to Chom Pong village, Nokor Peah sub-district, Angkor Chum district, Siem Reap province, where he stayed for a year. While he was living in Chom Pong village, the cooperative system was gradually established. People's belongings were collectivized. Boys and girls were obliged to serve in the army.

Persuaded by a sub-district chief named

Rann, Seay Sok and many other village boys decided to work for the revolution, hoping that a young soldier like him would have a chance to carry gun. The sub-district chief sent them to Chroy La Nguon military barracks. As promised by the sub-district chief, each of the newly recruited soldiers was given a gun. However, they did not undergo any military training. The new soldiers were assigned to different divisions based in Region 4 in Siem Reap province.

After four months in Siem Reap, Seay Sok was sent to Phnom Pros Phnom Srey in Kampong Cham province for military training. He was assigned to be a cook. He had to cook rice, and mould and pack it for the soldiers in the battlefield. In addition, Seay Sok served as a soldier defending the military barracks in Zone 304, while other soldiers went to the front line. Seay Sok seldom went to war. But when he did, he saw many soldiers who were wounded or dead on the battlefield. The injured soldiers were sent to a hospital based in Zone 304 at the Svay Teab rubber plantation.

Seay Sok worked there for a year before he deserted the army and ran home with Muon, who also came from Tonle Sar village. He risked his life

to return to his home because he really missed his parents. On their way, the two were caught by the Khmer Rouge and sent back to their unit. Not deterred by the first failure, Seay Sok escaped a second time.

He traveled by foot until he arrived at Sann Kor district in Kampong Thom province, where he was arrested by Angkar. This time he was held in detention in the Prasat Buddhist temple. In the prison, Seay Sok slept among coffins and corpses. The Khmer Rouge asked him, "Why did you escape? Do you have a plot?" A week later, Seay Sok and Muon fled for a third time. They walked to Siem Reap province. Seay Sok stayed there for four or five months until he was captured again. This time he was sent to Dang Tong temple, located on the bank of Prek Kdam channel. Later he was moved to Regiment 18, Battalion 51, Division 1. The regiment chief was Ta Man, the battalion chief was Soeun, and the division chief was Ta Oeun. Having been a soldier for a year, he went to the battlefield three times.

In 1974, while he was carrying wooden boards to build trenches at Prek Phnoeu, bomb debris hit his head. Wounded, Seay Soak was sent to Krasaing Ph'em Hospital (known by its code name P-3). Because of the severity of his injury, he stayed in the hospital for one year until the Khmer Rouge defeated Lon Nol's forces and took control Phnom Penh. In the disorder, Seay Sok wandered around the former Soviet Senior School at Wat Phnom in the center of Phnom Penh, trying to find his military unit. After staying there for four or five months, he was sent to a new unit.

Seay Sok was assigned to sweep roads in the city. The cleaning job started at 8 a.m. and lasted until 1 or 2 p.m. Later Angkar required all the soldiers to take two months of political training under Ta Oeun and other high-ranking cadres.

Probably in May or July, Seay Sok was disarmed, discharged, and sent to work at the Kab Sroeu dam site. Then, he was moved to Traloak Bek and then to Ang Kra Peu temple. Seay Sok did not

know the reason why the Khmer Rouge discharged soldiers of the North Zone and other parts of the army. At the worksite, he was assigned to cultivate rice and reclaim old ponds that were filled with floating masses of debris resembling solid ground. He said, "When I went down to dig out the solid mass, I was bitten a lot by forest leeches. Worse than that, the food rations there were insufficient." He worked at this site until late 1976.

In early 1977, Seay Sok and other discharged soldiers were sent to build an airport in Kampong Chhnang province. Angkar ordered him to break rocks and pave the airport runway. At night time, he had to tie palm leaves and thatch them on the roof to cover some of the rocks that were left out in the open. Seay Sok knew nothing about the airport under construction. He only knew that this new airport was supposed to be an international military airport, and was to be built to suit the needs of large airplanes. While working as stone breaker, he had a pellet of rice for his food ration.

Seay Sok said that working at the construction site was just like being a prisoner. Wandering around and smoking were banned. If there was someone missing from work for an hour or two, he or she would be in trouble. At night after work, everyone had to keep a routine. If they went somewhere difference, they would be placed under observation. If this happened a few times, that person would surely disappear.

Comparing the work at the airport to that at the dam site, he found the airport work more difficult. At the dam site, he could look around for food, but at the airport, nothing could be picked up and eaten. Seay Sok did not dare grab anything, even the yams grown by villagers nearby; otherwise, he would be arrested.

During his work at the airport, he saw four Chinese specialists. These men came to observe and order the workers around. Sometimes, they reported to the high-ranking cadres, telling them to watch the workers. The Chinese specialists were always in blue suits. Seay Sok only quickly glanced

at them from time to time. If he was found looking at the four men, he would have his food ration reduced from one and a half cans of rice for four people to just a can of rice. The workers' daily food consisted of soup made of palm buds and fish. A bowl of watery soup for four people had a few slices of fish mixed with vegetables and yam.

One day, Seay Sok asked his unit chief for permission to visit home, but he was not allowed to go. The unit chief said to him, "Why did you need to visit home? Your parents and relatives have been under the good control of their local Angkar. They are treated well. They have enough food, so you do not have to worry about them. Just pay attention to your work, try to temper and build up yourself." Some people secretly planned to escape from the construction site, but there seemed to be no way out. Thus, they had to endure the laborious work there.

Seay Sok stayed at the airport until the Khmer Rouge collapsed. "I worked at the construction site until the Vietnamese took over Phnom Penh city. The sounds of bombardment could be heard anywhere. At that time, I ran back home."

Seay Sok had not known about the massacres

during the Khmer Rouge regime until he saw a dreadful scene while he was walking back home in 1981. Along the road linked to Am Liang, he saw corpses scattered on the ground. Skulls floated in the water, causing a terrible smell. Because he had disappeared long ago, Seay Sok's parents could not believe that he was alive. During his absence, they thought that he had died and sometimes went to the pagoda, where they offered food to the monks and dedicated good deeds to him.

Seay Sok is now 49 and a construction worker. He is married to Thuon Thon and they have four sons and a daughter. He believes that there should be a tribunal for the senior Khmer Rouge leaders. He said, "The wrongdoers must be punished according to the law. Do bad, deserve bad." Sometimes Seay Sok tells his children about his bitter experience during the regime, but is not sure how much they believe his story. He hopes they will someday accept his story as the truth because his villagers share stories that are similar to his.

Sotheany Hin is a team member of Promoting Accountability Project.

KHMER ROUGE HISTORY AVAILABLE ON AIR

DC-Cam has produced a radio program focused on readings from its magazine Searching for the Truth and other books published by DC-Cam. Our program can be heard on:

- ◆ FM 102 MHz of the Women's Media Center, Phnom Penh, every Wednesday and Thursday from 7:30 to 7:45 p.m.
- ◆ FM 93.25 MHz, Kampot, daily from 7:00 to 7:30 a.m. and 7:00 to 7:30 p.m.
- ◆ FM 99 MHz, Preah Vihear, daily from 7:00 to 7:30 a.m. and 6:30 to 7:00 p.m.
- ◆ FM 103.25 MHz, Battambang, daily from 9:00 to 9:30 a.m. and 3:00 to 3:30 p.m.

Soon DC-Cam will also extend its radio program to Siem Reap. We anticipate that the program will contribute to the enlargement of people's understanding on Khmer Rouge history and the prevention of the repetition of such a regime.

For comments or questions on our programming, please contact Sin Sothida and Chheng Sothearin at P.O. Box 1110, Phnom Penh or 023 211 875.

JOINT STATEMENT BY JUDICIAL OFFICERS

13 June 2007

ECCC Plenary Session Unanimously Adopts Internal Rules

On 12 June 2007 the Plenary Session of national and international judicial officers unanimously adopted the Internal Rules for the ECCC, concluding a two-week session in Phnom Penh. These Rules enable us to hold fair, transparent trials before an independent and impartial court.

The Process of Drafting the Internal Rules has been a complex one. The ECCC is a unique exercise in international justice. For the first time a hybrid court, taking as its foundation the national law of the country in which it is operating, has incorporated the work of Co-Investigating Judges into its process. We have had no precedents as we work to integrate Cambodian law and procedure and the particular characteristics and structure of this court, while ensuring that international standards are upheld.

Over the past eleven months of discussions, judges from different countries with differing legal systems, including from common law systems, have found mutually acceptable solutions whilst ensuring fair trials.

We have resolved all of the matters that we indicated needed further discussion last November. One such complex issue has been how to ensure the rights and involvement of victims. While a familiar element of Cambodian law, this was not spelled out in detail in the ECCC Law and Agreement. We interpreted this to mean that victims have the right to join as civil parties. However, due to the specific character of the ECCC, we have decided that only collective, non-financial reparation is possible.

Given all these complexities, and after intensive work and consultation we are pleased to have finalized the Rules in reasonable time. It has been a worthwhile process, and it has been essential to take time to prepare this draft. In less than a year the ECCC has not only adopted its Internal Rules but also has

begun the preparations necessary for the court to become fully operational.

Now that the Rules have been adopted we can move forward. We understand that the Co-Prosecutors will shortly file their first Introductory Submission. The Co-Investigating Judges can then begin the judicial process. Later today the ECCC will hold its first session when the Pre-Trial Chamber meets to swear in the court's investigators.

The ECCC judges are acutely aware that the Cambodian people have waited a long time for this process to get under way. We are all committed to completing these trials in a timely manner while ensuring the highest standards of justice are upheld.

MISSING BROTHER

My name is Gek Ly, age 47, and now I am living in Australia. My father is Bun Duk. In 1975 he had a shoe shop called Nam Yoeung in Kampong Som.

I would like to search for my brother Bun Trach aka Chrouk (he would now be 50 years old), who left home to serve in the revolution in 1970 and other five cousins: Ing Sina (female), Ing Sipha (female), Ing Ya (male) and two younger cousins whose names I do not remember. In Sangkum Reastr Niyum, this family lived near Vimean Tip Cinema, selling shoes.

If anyone has known or heard anything about him, please contact me via phone: 012 909 770 or 012 809 880, or Gek Ly, 1 Bracknell Rd, Canley Heights, NSW 2166, Australia.

Mobile: 0402-194-182, Home: (02) 9711-7637

Email: emmatran90@gmail.com

COPING WITH THE PSYCHOLOGICAL TRAUMA OF THE KHMER ROUGE

Terith Chy

The legacy of the 1975-1979 Khmer Rouge regime was one of disaster. It caused the deaths of about 1.7 million people (nearly a quarter Cambodia's population) and left the country's economy, infrastructure and institutions in ruins. But the hardships, suffering and fear that people experienced during the regime have not stopped today. The vast majority of Democratic Kampuchea's survivors still suffer from some degree of mental or emotional problem.

According to a 2004 study by the Transcultural Psychosocial Organization of Cambodia (TPO Cambodia), 81% of Cambodians have experienced violence, while 28.4% suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), 11.5% from mood disorders, and 40% from anxiety disorders. In the nearly three decades that have passed since the fall of Democratic Kampuchea, these victims have received little or no assistance from the state, which has little capacity for treatment.

The US Department of Health and Human Services has also studied the mental health problems of the regime's survivors who are living in the United States. It found that 62% suffer from PTSD and 51% from major depression (the comparable rates for the US population are 3.6% PTSD and

9.5% depression). This is no wonder, considering that the study concluded that 99% of these Cambodian refugees nearly starved to death, 96% endured forced labor, 90% had a family member or friend murdered, and 54% were tortured.

These alarming statistics beg for action to be taken to help those who have been struggling to live normal lives for nearly 30 years, but are unable to do so. Ronnie Yimsut, whose entire family was clubbed to death, recalls his dreams about Democratic Kampuchea:

I still have nightmares about the massacre on that dark December night. It has never completely gone away from my mind, and I am still horrified just thinking about it. Time does not heal such emotional trauma, at least not for me.

The establishment of the Khmer Rouge Tribunal and the recent attention the media has given to mental health have helped Cambodians begin to discuss these problems. However, the Tribunal will likely cause many people to re-experience their trauma, creating further pressures on society.

The Khmer Rouge Tribunal and Re-traumatization

The leaders of the Khmer Rouge regime have enjoyed impunity for nearly 30 years, while their victims have been waiting anxiously to see some degree of justice done. With the establishment the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (the Tribunal), the day for justice may arrive soon. The Tribunal is likely to have huge impacts on Cambodia, both positive and negative. On the positive side, it will likely change the image of Cambodia from that of a war-torn country to one where the rule of law prevails. Articles in the media could attract attention to Cambodia, bringing tourists and much-needed foreign exchange.



Trauma caused by war

It will also offer a great opportunity to the country's legal community, who will gain experience from international lawyers and jurists, which could be seen as a start for legal reform. Most important, however, is that the Tribunal, which enjoys wide popular support, is anticipated to bring about a degree of reconciliation among Cambodians, should justice be realized.

However, these positive impacts may only occur if the Tribunal proves to be successful, and the prospects for success are still in question. Three of the regime's leaders (Pol Pot, Ke Pauk, and Ta Mok) have already died, and only two (Ta Mok and Duch) have ever been brought into custody. The remaining leaders are in their 70s and 80s, and some of them are in poor health. Whether those who are indicted will survive for the three-year trial period is uncertain.

Despite the numerous potential positive impacts, it is anticipated that the trials will re-open old wounds and fuel

resentment when survivors recall their harsh experiences during the Khmer Rouge regime. The media and NGOs have served as a catalyst in getting people to talk about their experiences during Democratic Kampuchea, which has been helping some to begin healing. Cambodia's Director of Mental Health, Dr. Ka Sunbaunat, said that "some patients see the Khmer Rouge trial as therapy in itself. The exposure of wrongdoing helps them put their lives back together again."

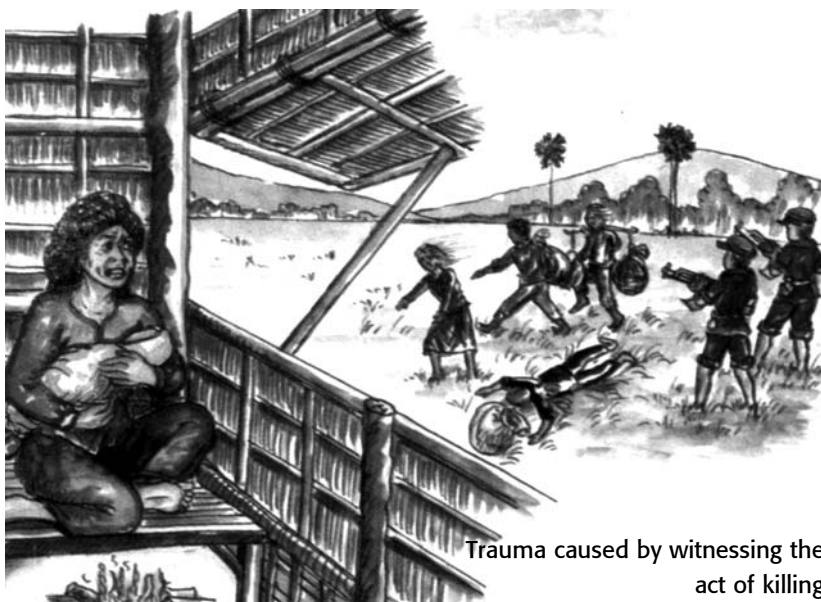
But this probably will not be the case for those who will be giving testimony in the courtroom, whether for the prosecution or defense. Many of those who experienced excessive levels of violence

during the regime still do not want to share their past, particularly rape survivors. Taing Kim, who is the subject of a documentary film by DC-Cam, has never disclosed her rape during the regime to her children, or let them see the film about her.

Witnesses and Retraumatization before the Khmer Rouge Tribunal

When people tell their personal stories, it can help them heal their psychological wounds, but this can be harmful to potential witnesses. Various international courts and tribunals have developed some preventive measures to reduce this harm. The Khmer Rouge Tribunal, for example, has established a Victims Unit similar to those of the International

Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), and International Criminal Court to assist and protect witnesses. Rule 33 of the Tribunal's draft Internal Rules provides for the prohibition of self-incrimination of a witness. Rule 34



Trauma caused by witnessing the act of killing

provides that the co-investigating judges themselves—or through the request of one of the parties or their lawyers—can order appropriate measures to protect the lives and health of victims, witnesses and their families. It further provides for such measures as concealing the identity of a witness, which includes using a pseudonym, hiding his or her address, distorting the voice and physical features of a witness, *in camera* proceedings, and punishment for the disclosure of a witness' identity or address. To secure against the possible physical harm of a witness, the Tribunal could place a victim or witness in a safe residence in Cambodia or abroad.

The safety of witnesses must be taken

seriously, as they can be exposed to danger as soon as they are named as witnesses. Physical danger is evident with the recent killings of two potential witnesses before the ICTY and their families during an investigation of one of the accused. Similarly, the killings of witnesses in the traditional Gacaca court in Rwanda have been increasing. In addition to physical danger, witnesses face fear: they must swear to tell the truth, and if they do not, they could be charged with perjury or contempt of court.

Although the Tribunal's Rule 34 provides for the protection of the life and health of witnesses and their family members, it cannot shield them from psychological harm. Witnesses will face harsh cross-examination at the Tribunal, which will likely be shocking to them.

Studies of the Holocaust, ICTY and ICTR have shown that witnesses' memories are more accurate for emotional events than for "neutral" events. But witnesses in these cases testified within a few years of the events they experienced. This will not be the case for Cambodia, where people's memories are nearly 30 years old. In addition, the original memories of witnesses who have experienced the same event can be distorted after they talk to each other or receive new information from the media or other sources. This might call the accuracy of their memories into question during the trials. And how will they react when the defense or prosecution does so? Testifying is often a very negative experience, as a witness before the ICTY stated:

I was completely humiliated. When the defense asked me that question, I immediately looked over at the prosecutor. But he just kept staring at the papers on the table in front of him. I panicked. My heart started pounding and I felt like I was going to faint. No, I'll never testify again in that tribunal.

It is likely that at least some of the witnesses before the Khmer Rouge Tribunal would have similar --or even worse--experiences given the questionable accuracy of their memories. Thus, witnesses need

to be informed of what they can expect in the courtroom and be given special psychological care before, during and after the trials.

Credibility of PTSD Witnesses

Because of the large percentage of Cambodians traumatized by the Khmer Rouge, it is highly likely that most of the witnesses at the Tribunal will suffer from some degree of mental disorder. The first danger here is that they will be asked difficult or hostile questions during cross-examination. The defense counsel, in particular, in an effort to impeach the credibility of the witnesses, will likely claim that testimonies given by PTSD victims are not reliable.

However, some academics have found that high levels of stress do not deteriorate the credibility of memory: although an extremely stressed person may not be able to remember the details, he or she will still be able to remember the important features of the events. This finding has been supported by the ICTY, which held that, "even when a person is suffering from PTSD, this does not mean that he or she is necessarily inaccurate in the evidence given. There is no reason why a person with PTSD cannot be a perfectly reliable witness."

Coping with Mental Illness

In the early 1970s, Cambodia had an estimated 450 qualified doctors; only 43 of them survived the Khmer Rouge regime. Most of the educated people in the country had either died during the regime or fled the country in its aftermath.

In addition, Cambodia's infrastructure was nearly completely destroyed: Cambodia had been reduced to a primitive state with no markets, no power supply, no safe drinking water, no sanitation, and no money. Rebuilding, with only a small amount of aid from Vietnam and the Soviet Union, was a massive undertaking, as a Vietnamese journalist described:

At the birth of the People's Republic of Kampuchea [the successor regime to the Khmer Rouge] even the most optimistic observers had no idea how the new regime was going to restore life back to

normal on the immense ruins of a whole society, which included the ruins of all communities and all families. The homeland of Angkor was like an anthill crushed under cruel boots, people were dazed and confused and wondered what the future held in store for them.

The destruction of the health sector was no exception, and it had to begin again from nothing (professional health care was absent and scientifically formulated medicines were not available during the regime). Like other government ministries, the Ministry of Health lacked even basic office furniture and equipment.

The National Health Infrastructure Today

Even 28 years after the Khmer Rouge regime ended, Cambodia's health sector is still among the worst in the Western Pacific Region. Many people lack access to state-provided health services, and according to a 1998 Cambodian government report,

Many public health facilities in the Kingdom of Cambodia lack managerial, financial and human resources. Although nominally free, public health services carry informal fees but the quality of services remains low in general. Many people have lost confidence in public services and turn to indigenous healers and private providers for care.

Although this and other reports identify the main health problems in Cambodia, they do not include mental health as one of them.

It was only in 1992 that the Ministry of Health established a Mental Health Sub-committee and began to develop strategies to deal with psychological problems. Today, however, Cambodia still has only one psychiatric hospital; it was built in 1935. In January 2006, the Cambodian government approved a National Strategic Development Plan that will allocate US \$3.5 billion to all sectors over the next five years. The sectors with the largest allocations are health (\$600 million), education (\$550 million) and transportation (\$550 million). While the health

sector's annual budget is \$120 million, it remains to be seen how much will go for psychological health and to what extent this will benefit survivors of the Khmer Rouge who suffer from psychological trauma and other disorders.

Today, according to TPO Cambodia, the country has 26 psychiatrists, only 100 general practitioners (who have received 12 weeks of training in mental health), and 9 national and international organizations addressing mental health problems in a country with 14 million people.

NGO Efforts

Daily survival is the first priority for many of Democratic Kampuchea's survivors, and with 35% of Cambodians living on less than US 50 cents a day, few can afford to travel for psychological help. In addition, given their limited education and a lack of information, most do not realize that the nightmares that have disturbed their sleep for so many years are the symptoms of an illness.

So, people have sought help from traditional healers, herbalists, and fortune tellers to cope with their psychological sufferings. NGOs are providing assistance in a few places, but their help is limited due to financial constraints and the paucity of experts in this field. The Documentation Center of Cambodia and TPO Cambodia are two prominent institutions that have offered some psychological support to the regime's survivors. Their two-year Victims of Torture (VOT) Project attempted to help those coping with their psychological trauma as a result of living through the horror of the Khmer Rouge. Through interviews, DC-Cam staff identified people suffering from PTSD and TPO provided them with counseling. The staff from both organizations also provided simple forms to treatment to people with emotional difficulties, including muscle relaxation techniques, breathing exercises, anger management, emotional processing of trauma memories, and Buddhist ways of coping with trauma.

During the project, 302 people from 3 provinces were interviewed; 95 of them were found to be victims of PTSD. The treatment included

individual counseling for those with the most severe trauma, group therapy and psychiatric care. Of the 95 people identified as suffering from PTSD, only 60 could be offered treatment because of the constraints TPO Cambodia's small staff was facing (traveling to the provinces for counseling was a major burden on their time). This is a reflection of Cambodia's lack of human resources in the field of psychological health. Even if more financial resources were available and more attention was paid to trauma victims, the small number of experts in this field would make similar efforts difficult to implement.

Recommendations

Apart from the study conducted by TPO Cambodia, no survey has been conducted on mental health problems in Cambodia. This neglected subject requires a thorough study to inform the development of a national strategy for mental health. Thanks to the establishment of the Tribunal, more attention is being paid to the mental struggles of the regime's survivors.

A Cambodian medical sociologist says that mental health problems have become an epidemic and that "The country needs a national therapy session." A national project, if possible, would be very useful in helping people suffering from PTSD. However, it will likely not materialize soon, given the current financial and human resource constraints Cambodia faces. Assistance is needed from other countries (finance, experts and/or training) to make this national project a reality.

Increasing the number and quality of local mental health clinics throughout the country is essential. It now seems possible with the recently discovered oil and natural gas deposits off the coast of Cambodia. The exploitation of these natural resources will generate up to \$6 billion by 2010; if managed properly, it could help lift the country out of extreme poverty. In addition, a government official told Radio Free Asia that a portion of the revenues earned will be set aside for improving the education and health sectors. It is expected that mental health

sector would also benefit from this oil resource. In addition, Cambodia's economy grew by 10.5% in 2006, and is projected to increase by around 9% for the next two years, and the mental health sector should benefit to some extent.

In the meantime, DC-Cam and other NGOs are looking for additional ways to provide psychological support to those suffering from PTSD. One alternative would be to offer training to local people who would then identify and refer those sufferings from PTSD to the project for assistance and to engage existing government clinics in offering services. It would also be possible to build the capacity of Buddhist monks, nuns, traditional healers and Buddhist lay practitioners in offering "indigenous therapy" to those in need of psychological support.

More information is also essential. A client of the VOT Project identified as having PTSD said, "When I was working in the rice paddies, sometimes my soul was not with me. It floated somewhere and was preoccupied with the past. I could not hear the other people talking near me. When they called me loudly, I felt jumpy and shaky." Another said, "I know that I became angry easily and it is not always reasonable. I frequently displaced my anger toward my child or my grandchild, even if they just opened the door while I was resting or sleeping in the house." These people did not realize that what was bothering them is a type of disease that can be cured. For this reason, information should be disseminated on symptoms, where and how to get care, and self-treatment and other ways to cope with or lessen the symptoms of anxiety and trauma. TV and radio spots, which have been effective in the fight against HIV/AIDs, SARS and other diseases, would be very helpful in this regard.

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DC-CAM'S EDUCATION TOURS: HOW PARTICIPANTS FEEL ABOUT THE ECCC, JUSTICE, AND RECONCILIATION

Sok-Kheang Ly

It has been almost 30 years since the fall of the Khmer Rouge regime, which caused the deaths of nearly two million Cambodians between 1975 and 1979. This infamous regime not only brought about the destruction of the nation's economic and political foundation but also led to tremendous suffering for many survivors, whose family members died or disappeared during this period.

Decades have passed without giving Cambodians a practical mechanism to help them reach a degree of closure on their country's horrendous past. But recently, one such mechanism has been presented in the form of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC), which has given people a glimmer of hope for justice. However, given the difficulty in accessing information about the ECCC's ongoing judicial process, many people still feel that justice remains just out of their grasp. Further, even though Democratic Kampuchea's survivors have first-hand experience of the regime, many have had no opportunity to see how history has treated former Khmer Rouge prisons and mass graves.

To help break down these obstacles, the Documentation Center of Cambodia began a program of pre-trial outreach under its Living Documents Project. Between February 2006 and May 2007, it held educational tours of such historical sites as the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, where approximately 14,000 prisoners perished; the Choeung Ek Killing Fields Memorial, where most of the people imprisoned in Tuol Sleng Prison were executed and pushed into mass graves; and the ECCC courtroom.

Each month, DC-Cam invited around 500 villagers, religious and community leaders, and university students from across the country to come to Phnom Penh and visit these places in order to actively foster their participation in the quest for justice. About 6,000 people (more than 90% of those invited) participated in the three-day tours,

taking time away from their daily work and receiving only small travel expenses, food and accommodation for their efforts. When they returned home, they talked with their families and neighbors about what they learned during their stay in the capital.

In order to understand how the tour participants felt about the tours and reconciliation, and their understanding of the ECCC's judicial process, DC-Cam surveyed them both during and after the tours. Six hundred and sixty seven survey questionnaires were administered to villagers (some of whom required assistance from a third person) and commune council members or chiefs.

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Overall, what do you think about the ECCC tour?
2. What new information did you learn and how did you learn it?
3. What questions did the tour help answer/clarify for you that you did not understand before?
4. How has the tour changed/added to your understanding of the ECCC?
5. Have you shared your experiences during the tour and what you learned with others? If yes, please answer the questions below:
 - ♦ With whom did you share it?
 - ♦ What was the nature of the information you shared and what was their reaction?
 - ♦ What do you think are the benefits of sharing this information?
 - ♦ Was the tour emotional for you in any way; for example, did it make you recall past memories related to the Khmer Rouge period and how did this make you feel?
 - ♦ Did it help bring closure to these memories or relieve stress in any way and if so, how?
 - ♦ Has the tour made you think about concepts such as reconciliation and justice? Please explain.

◆ *Is there anything else that you would like to add about the tour?*

In addition, scores of interviews were conducted with the survivors of Democratic Kampuchea about their lives. Some brief accounts of their experiences are given below to give some background on the participants' emotional reactions during interviews with DC-Cam's Film Team. Furthermore, a few examples were taken from the transcripts of DC-Cam research teams' interviews with Democratic Kampuchea's survivors.

This article will also examine the extent to which the tours made participants feel more angry or relieved after visiting the three sites. It will also take into account their perceptions of the ECCC's role in delivering justice, and whether they feel that the judicial process could help them emotionally, economically and politically. The article's conclusions examine whether the tours can be used as a way to encourage reconciliation.

Personal Suffering during the Khmer Rouge Regime

During the nearly four years when the Khmer Rouge ruled Cambodia, people were made to work under harsh circumstances and without adequate food. In addition, Cambodians were subjected to untreated diseases, imprisonment and mass executions. Because of the continual deaths of their family members, friends and neighbors, people's fear ran high, feeling that at any moment, they could be next. Their physical exhaustion and the insecurity they suffered caused severe stress that has left many Cambodians traumatized even today.

There is no doubt that the Khmer Rouge regime implemented political guidelines that singled out people for death based on their backgrounds, primarily military men, civil servants, students, intellectuals, and others who served the previous regime, the Khmer Republic of Lon Nol. Targeted for harsher treatment were the new people (those living in areas that were not controlled by the Khmer Rouge when they took over the country on April 17, 1975) and the rich (who were categorized as the imperialist, feudalist, and capitalist). Others were thought to have a

connection with the KGB, CIA, or Vietnamese. This latter group, which also extended to those who voluntarily joined the Khmer Rouge, was purged in order to destroy the allegedly traitorous elements within the country.

Based on the interviews conducted by DC-Cam's staff, the stories below were told by the interviewees and their relatives who were invited to take part in the tours between February 2006 and May 2007.

Fifty-three year old Yin Sam-un of Prek Prasap district, Kratie province, gave a sobering account of her family during the Khmer Rouge regime. She married Ung Det alias Noeun, a soldier in the political company of Division 310. Yin Sam-un and Ung Det voluntarily joined the revolution in 1973 and 1971, respectively, in response to the appeals by Samdech Sihanouk for people to flee to the jungles in order to liberate the country. But despite their loyalty and hard work for the regime, Yin Sam-un was informed that her husband had died in 1975; she had delivered a baby only five days earlier. She thought her husband had stirred up trouble, which resulted in his arrest.

In a different vein, Long Vuthy, who volunteered to join the Khmer Rouge in 1973 because of his loyalty to King Sihanouk, claimed he had no problems during Democratic Kampuchea and stated that he never witnessed any killings. He spoke of the advantages of living in Khmer Rouge-controlled territory after the regime, saying that there were no thefts or armed robberies in his area. However, he did note that the young and elderly were forced to work too hard, and wondered why teachers and intellectuals were mistreated if they had no political opposition to the Khmer Rouge and had not been high-ranking officials or members of political groups during the old regime.

Purges of those affiliated with the past regime were undertaken relentlessly and reached their peak from mid-1976 onwards. For example, the father of 43 year-old San Sen of Tramkak district, Takeo province, was a district chief during the Lon Nol regime. Because of his "bad biography," San Sen was taken to Kraing Tachan prison, where he was chained by the legs for three months before being allowed to

go outside to tend cattle. He was later assigned to dig graves for those whom the Khmer Rouge executed. He stated that "...prisoners were tied with their arms in back and blindfolded with scarves. At the edge of the graves, they were bludgeoned with hoes and pushed into the graves..." While in prison, the beatings San Sen received on his head made it almost impossible for him to survive.

Uk Vanny alias Nhem Ny of Kampong Thom province could not turn a blind eye to the Khmer Rouge militiaman's threat to kill her father if she refused to serve the revolution. Nevertheless, she became a prisoner after her superior was arrested and accused of betrayal. Because of the frequent interrogation and torture she experienced in prison, she still becomes exhausted quickly and has pains throughout her body.

The father of 53 year-old Chen Vorn starved to death in 1976. She now lives in Kandal Stung district, Kandal province, and is the only one of her family who survived the regime. Her three siblings were killed while plowing the fields at Anlung Rormeate cooperative in late 1977; she was never given a reason for their deaths.

Democratic Kampuchea survivor Khieu Samphoeun, age 45, of Rolea Phieat district, Kampong Chhnang province, cannot forget the horrendous past brought about by the Khmer Rouge regime. He stated: "I witnessed Pol Pot's crimes committed against its people in a very serious and brutal way. Never before had Cambodia experienced such a horrible history. I will never forget it."

The tragic deaths of a quarter of the population and the untold suffering of the survivors are irrefutable. Letting the Khmer Rouge's serious encroachments on human rights go punished will

dishonor the dead and dog survivors with uncertainty. It is thus necessary to find justice for the victims that will set them free of doubt. Direct observation of the workings of the courts is equally necessary and will help keep the tribunal proceedings from derailing the quest for justice for the victims.

Reactions to the ECCC Tour Sites

To ensure that the tour participants had both exposure to their country's modern history and that their involvement in the Khmer Rouge Tribunal would be constructive, they visited three main sites during the tours: the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, the Choeung Ek Killing Fields Memorial, and the ECCC courtroom.

Historical Sites. The Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum is the site of the former Tuol Sleng Prison, which had been Ponhea Yat High School under Prince Sihanouk's rule and then Tuol Svay Prey High School under the Lon Nol regime. Also called by its code name S-21, Tuol Sleng Prison was the central-

level secret "security office" of Democratic Kampuchea. Of its approximately 14,000 prisoners, only about 20 are thought to have survived, largely because they had special talents such as painting, sculpture, or mechanics.

Choeung Ek, located 18 km west of Phnom Penh, is popularly known as the "killing fields." Prisoners from Tuol Sleng were brought here for execution. After hundreds of skulls were discovered there in the early 1980s, this site was made into a memorial.

Many of the tour participants were either unaware of the existence of these two sites or had never visited them, and their reactions to them were mixed. Most of the participants became very sorrowful, others felt anxiety or faintness, some



Villagers visiting Tuol Sleng genocide museum

were curious, and a few were excited.

In the surveys conducted by DC-Cam after visiting these sites, the participants clearly expressed their views and personal feelings about them. For example, one commune council member stressed the great importance of the tour because he had never had an opportunity to visit the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum after the fall of the Khmer Rouge regime. Seeing the former torture and interrogation center was a shocking and moving experience for him, reminding him of the killing of people in the absence of a judicial process.

Like many of the other participants, one survey respondent said that many people spoke about the barbarity of the Tuol Sleng Prison where thousands of people perished at the hands of cold-blooded executioners. In addition to his gratitude to DC-Cam for covering his travel and living expenses during the tour, another respondent considered the tour to be very important. To describe its value, he quoted a Khmer proverb: "hearing others talking about a thing ten times is not equal to seeing the thing one time."

Kem Phalla, a teacher in Prey Kabass district, Takeo province, said that the tour could be thought of as a journey toward the search for the truth and social justice for the crimes committed during the regime's three years, eight months and twenty days. Having visited these places, it reminded him of the hardships of life under the Khmer Rouge. A respondent from Kampong Cham province noted her mixed feelings, saying that she was delighted to be invited, but felt resentful toward the regime. She wrote that each of the mass graves in her home village contained three or four bodies. However, she was shocked after she visited Choeung Ek, where the number of people executed was beyond belief.

This reaction was echoed by another respondent who wrote that it was very important to have joined the tour because "I witnessed the acts the Khmer Rouge leaders committed in killing Khmers in a very cruel way and could not find anything to compare to it." The tours could serve as a way toward finding the truth via visiting the sites of the crimes, even

though some participants were resentful toward the Khmer Rouge and their emotions ran high. However, it is generally believed that confronting the past will be imperative to help the next generation in seeing that such a history is not repeated.

The ECCC. Located in Cambodia's capital of Phnom Penh, the newly built Royal Cambodian Air Force headquarters was turned into the office of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC). The four-floor building and half-oval courtroom of the ECCC stand to welcome all the participants and the public warmly. Stepping into the courtroom, one sees 600 blue seats, high ceilings with scores of yellow lights, a large shiny wooden stage and steps, and newly painted white walls.

The chambers were established to try "senior Khmer Rouge leaders and those most responsible for crimes committed from 1975 through 1979." Cambodians who live in towns and cities know of its existence, but those in rural areas, where media access is very limited, don't know much about the judicial process of the ECCC. So, the need help them learn about and understand the process is crucial. For example, one respondent, who claimed that he did not have any means to learn about the Khmer Rouge Tribunal without joining the tour, stressed that it gave him a feeling of relief and an understanding of the Khmer Rouge Law.

In addition to appreciating the tours' importance, one survey respondent considered the tour as a reminder to make the participants angry at the Khmer Rouge regime, thus encouraging them to cooperate closely with the Tribunal through providing evidence and serving as witnesses. This respondent also stressed that the victims' complaints or petitions will make a very important contribution and urged the court to find fair justice for all the victims.

Another respondent said that visiting the courtroom and meeting with ECCC press officers and legal experts was a concrete sign of justice, which both the domestic and international communities are working to bring to the Cambodian people. It was clear that they did not turn a blind eye to the souls of the dead.

It was evident that the participants were satisfied that a court of law would provide all the victims with a glimpse of hope. One commune member wrote in the survey questionnaires that he was wondering when a date for the trials would be set so Cambodians would have a real mechanism for seeing the truth. However, the respondent did raise a concern: "don't put on trial those innocent people who were allegedly implicated in the killing of this or that person [during the regime]. Please forgive those who have been loyal to the nation."

It was evident from the surveys that many did learn much from their visit to the courtroom. One respondent recited for DC-Cam staff his understanding of the structure of the ECCC: that it has a two-tiered chamber with participation from the international and Cambodian communities. Every decision must be taken from members of both sides, he said. In addition, the respondent emphasized that according to the Khmer Rouge Law, only the regime's senior leaders and those most responsible will be brought to trial. If the defendants are found guilty, the maximum punishment they would receive will be life imprisonment.

The effort to help people from all walks of life to experience these sites is of great benefit to the long-term memories of the participants. They will serve as surrogate messengers, passing on what they have learned and how they felt to their neighbors,

relatives, and friends within their communities.

Views on Justice and Personal Reconciliation

Respondents expressed various feelings about the questions of personal reconciliation and justice. Most of them strongly supported the quest for justice and the idea of reconciliation. Some of them even linked the concepts with those of social development. For example, one respondent felt reconciled after seeing the court doing its work to find justice for the victims. Another suggested that Cambodians should not remain angry with each other; we all should turn to national reconciliation. This respondent felt that Cambodians already have enough experience with conflict. Both respondents did cite a Buddhist dharma as saying that vindictiveness ends by not being vindictive. This is a means to end the circle of vengeance. Without reconciliation, our country will experience war, not peace, we will have no development and our country will lose, the respondent stated.

Similarly, another survey respondent argued that the tour brought about some reconciliation with lower-level Khmer Rouge cadres who simply executed their leaders' orders under duress and without conscience because of their illiteracy and young ages. But it made the respondent angry with the senior leaders because they are well educated. So, the respondent wondered why they were so stupid [to commit such atrocities]. This person also thought that the many changing regimes in Cambodia signified a society that was not united, resulting in many consecutive internal wars. The main factor contributing to this lack of unification has been social injustice. Therefore, there is a need to search for justice for the victims of the Khmer Rouge. In this manner, national reconciliation could last for a long time.

However, some respondents became resentful when witnessing the true nature of the regime through the Democratic Kampuchea detention facility. One of them



ECCC Press Officer showing the statue of Neak Ta Dambang Dek to the students

wrote that "the tour made me even angrier. I'd like to urge the Khmer Rouge Tribunal to start quickly before the regime's leaders die because those who have died will not be put on trial. This makes the victims dissatisfied and none of their acts has been recorded in our history. As for the tour, I consider that national reconciliation is simple because it has already yielded a result. However, legal justice will be a good example for Cambodia and the international community."

Considering the idea of national reconciliation and justice, one respondent was very pleased to suggest that all Cambodian leaders know that none of the foreign countries loves Cambodia more than Cambodians. Cambodians need to help and love Cambodians. Only through this means could Cambodia enjoy harmony and prosperity. Last but not least, the respondent emphasized that: "I would insist on Cambodians not attacking each other."

Another survey respondent wrote confidently that "I achieved some personal reconciliation during the tour because I know and am confident that the Tribunal will deliver justice for the victims and their family members." Conversely, even though recognizing that the ECCC's judicial process is intended to bring about reconciliation and justice, another respondent strongly argued that "the tour could not lead me to reconcile at all. I could not forget it." This person argued that to reach this stage, there is a need to set a standard for it. The respondent emphasized that "personal reconciliation happens only if the Tribunal brings about at least 80 percent justice."

Another respondent made the point that in his opinion, the Tribunal was meant to bring about national reconciliation and justice in order to prevent future barbarity.

Most of those interviewed and surveyed accepted the notion that the trials will be for the victims to obtain justice, for the history of Cambodia and the world, and for setting an example for future generations. At the very least, the education tour participants obtained new knowledge on such topics as the legacy of the Khmer Rouge through Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum and the Choeung Ek Killing Fields

Memorial, and the legal aspects of and updates on the work of the ECCC. This is an encouraging message to the participants themselves and to their neighbors to pay special attention to the justice meted out by the ECCC.

Conclusion

Helping the public increase their knowledge of the justice they will witness at the Khmer Rouge Tribunal is an integral part of DC-Cam's Living Documents Project. It is our belief that the more good information they obtain, the more they will participate in the process. This project encourages survivors to speak out about their personal stories, to serve as witnesses in case the ECCC needs them, and to serve as observers when there is a court hearing. Their close observation of the wheels of justice in motion will certainly help ensure that the ECCC finds justice for victims of the genocidal regime fairly, neutrally and independently.

However, there is still a need to bring more people to these sites. For example, during a follow-up trip to Kratie province, Ung Det complained that having lost her husband at Tuol Sleng prison, she really wanted to find his photo so she could hold a religious ceremony for him. She patiently waited for an invitation letter from DC-Cam. However, she still has not had a chance to visit these places.

The sentiments the participants expressed are proof that the Cambodian people want to know about the judicial process of the ECCC. Emerging from this process, some could find themselves relieved after the senior Khmer Rouge leaders and those most responsible are legally punished. Therefore, after the culture of impunity has vanished, Cambodia's dark history will be officially closed. This paves the way for the Cambodian people to move forward prosperously and confidently. However, with the large influx of public participation, the next wave of effort will be devoted to help survivors reconcile in their own lives, with those in their communities, and within the nation as a whole.

Sok-Kheang Ly is team leader of the Living Documents Project.

REVIEW OF DC-CAM'S GENOCIDE EDUCATION PROJECT

Mark Clement

The publication of a new or revised history textbook for school students is an event that can ignite heated debate, sometimes even diplomatic rows between nations. Recent examples include disputes between Japan and Korea over the question of 'comfort women', and between China and Taiwan over the use of language that allegedly promotes the cause of Taiwanese independence. I am reminded of the adage that whoever controls the past determines the future. While these examples remind us that history may serve political ends, Khamboly Dy's *A History of Democratic Kampuchea (1975-1979)* is the product of an independent research institution dedicated to seeking 'the truth' in order to promote the laudable purposes of memory, justice and national reconciliation. The final version of the text has emerged from a rigorous process established by the Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam) to provide for Year 12 students in Cambodian schools an accurate, engaging and informative account of a dark episode in the recent past that directly affected most of their families as well as the development of the country.

While it appears from a survey of university students conducted by DC-Cam that there is not a significant problem in Cambodia with outright denial of the past, it is also evident that young Cambodians lack specific knowledge of Democratic Kampuchea (DK). Given that the subject of DK had disappeared from textbooks by 2002 and that schools' access to

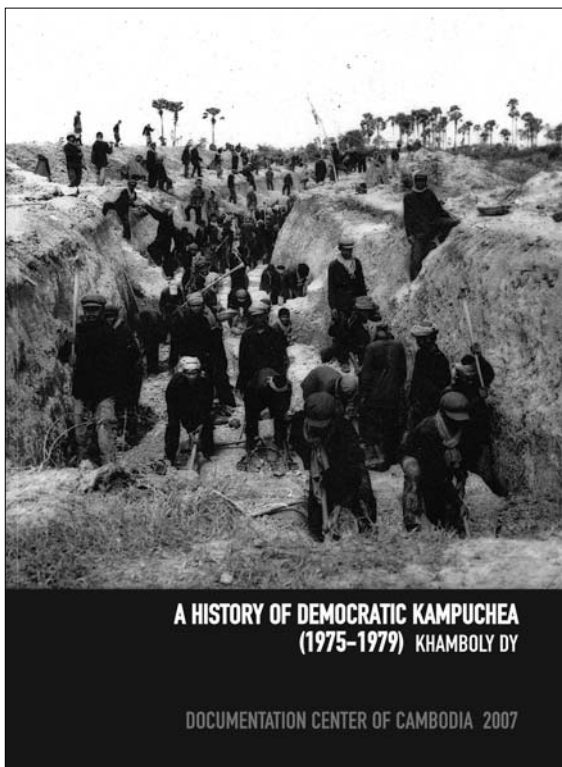
other sources such as films and the internet is very limited, this is not surprising. Demonstrably, then, DC-Cam's genocide education project addresses an important gap in students' knowledge, and it is heartening to note that government cooperation has been obtained to ensure that all teachers will have access to the new textbook. The publication of the text is also timely, as the imminent trials of some former Khmer Rouge leaders will renew public interest in DK.

Author and Process

One of the notable achievements of this project is that *A History of Democratic Kampuchea* is the first book of its kind written by a Cambodian. It is important that Cambodian students learn their own history, at least in part, through sources produced by their fellow citizens, for it is Cambodians who must take ownership of their history and work out their future as an independent nation state. The author of the book, Mr. Khamboly Dy, although not a graduate in History or Education, has received relevant training and experience

working as an intern at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum and Voice of America, where he learnt about curriculum development and the design of educational material.

The process of researching the book involved reading a wide range of secondary sources published in English, including work on ethnic minorities. Moreover, the extensive collections of archival material held by DC-Cam were available to the author and he has evidently made considerable use of them. The



book, then, is not only a synthesis of published scholarship, but also provides students with access (albeit limited) to some illuminating primary sources. The published text includes footnotes and a bibliography that allow students and teachers to find relevant further reading. In addition, readers are afforded some insights into "how we know" about the events of the period. One footnote, for instance, refers to various estimates of the number of deaths attributable to the DK regime and indicates how these were derived. The acknowledgement of differing estimates not only sets students an example of good scholarly practice, but also provides an opportunity for classroom discussion about how such statistics are compiled. Learning about the process of constructing History helps to promote critical thinking and the ability to distinguish between 'truth' and propaganda, so necessary if future genocides are to be prevented.

Drafts of the book were scrutinized by historical experts, and it is pleasing to note that the most internationally distinguished historian of modern Cambodia, David Chandler, assisted the author to make improvements to the text. This has ensured attainment of the highest possible degree of accuracy and objectivity. Cambodian government authorities have also had the opportunity to provide comments and to influence the wording of the text in a couple of places. These amendments have been judged not to compromise the integrity of the work. It is regrettable, however, that, to my knowledge, no Cambodian schoolteachers have been involved in the process to date. They are the people best able to suggest how the text might be constructed to serve pedagogical requirements, and they could have provided advice about the depth and language appropriate for Grade 12 students. As a practicing teacher of History at an international school in Southeast Asia, with experience of History education in Australia and the

United Kingdom, my own remarks in this review are made without benefit of acquaintance with the current national curriculum and pedagogical practices of Cambodia.

Structure and Style

The overarching structure of the book is chronological, as it traces the rise to power, establishment, rule, and collapse of the communist regime. Embedded within the narrative is a thematically-organized description of aspects of the rule of the Khmer Rouge: administration, economic policy, daily life, security, the Tuol Sleng prison, and foreign relations. This structure is suitable and effective, as it provides both coherence and comprehensiveness, while breaking up the account into meaningful units that can be correlated with a series of lessons. Indeed it provides a sequence that teachers can easily follow.

The book is principally a political history of the period, although the section on daily life under the regime may also be regarded as social history. The text is largely narrative and descriptive in style, and it provides brief explanations of some events. Explicit analysis and discussion of contentious issues are largely avoided.

Although it might be argued that the presentation of a factual narrative best serves the purpose of objectivity, I would note that bias can inhere in the very selection and ordering of facts as well as in interpretation and language. It is inescapable.

Children Mobile unit



I am not making an accusation of bias in the text in question, but rather addressing a broader issue related to the nature of historical truth as well as to educational philosophy and pedagogy. The reasons for the rise to power of the Khmer Rouge, for instance, are complex, involving interplay between various economic, social, political, ideological and diplomatic factors. Different approaches to history give primacy to one or a particular combination of these. It might be relatively simple to determine the truth of an isolated fact, but it is not simple--and there is no universally agreed method--to determine why a catastrophe like the Cambodian genocide occurred. While secondary school students require simplified accounts, I do not think it serves them adequately to steer clear of controversy.

In the History courses with which I am familiar, students are encouraged to explain historical developments, and, at the higher levels of achievement, to describe and critically analyze different interpretations of history. Therefore, textbooks written for these courses often provide outlines and discussions of historiographical issues as well as narratives of historical events. These provide students with a variety of interpretations to explore, and invite them to make their own judgments. I think that teachers favoring this kind of approach can still make effective use of *A History of Democratic Kampuchea* (some ways will be suggested in the discussion of the book's content below), but they will also need to use additional sources. This is standard practice in schools in many countries, but given the constraints of time and resources, it would have been helpful to provide some guidelines. Perhaps a set of companion notes for teachers can be published in the future.

Content

This section will review the content of the book in three sub-sections: the rise to power of the Khmer Rouge (chapters 2 and 3); the establishment and rule of the regime (chapters 4-10); and the decline of DK (chapter 11).

The Rise to Power of the Khmer Rouge

Chapters 2 addresses the questions 'who were

the Khmer Rouge?' and 'how did they gain power?' The Khmer Rouge is rightly and emphatically identified as a 'Cambodian communist movement' whose genesis lay in the struggle against French rule in the 1940s. We are told that their supporters were 'peasants' and 'nationalist students', and there is a narrative of the early history of the movement which carefully details its relationship with the Vietnamese communist movement and events in that country. The Cambodian leaders are identified by name and their roles described. Some reasons for the success of the Khmer Rouge in the civil war are given.

The chapter addresses the questions 'who', 'what', 'when', 'where' and 'how' well, but the more elusive - and pressing - question of 'why' is not answered adequately. There is arguably too much emphasis on individuals and the institution of the Communist Party of Kampuchea (important though their roles were). A description of the social structure of the country is needed, including ethnicity and religion as well as class. The period of French rule might have been described, at least in a few sentences. Some account of economic change would also be helpful. Then perhaps students could understand the grievances of peasants and students and why they found communist ideology appealing.

It would also be worth placing the events in Cambodia into the category of post-colonial wars of succession and linking them more explicitly to the Cold War. If students were able to identify some similarities and differences between events in Cambodia and other states where colonial rule ended after the Second World War (such as Korea), they would be better able to account for the course of history in their own country. The Cold War context helps to explain the external influences on Cambodian events. Students would be able to appreciate, for example, why the United States bombed the country in 1973 (mentioned on page 12). I am not suggesting that a full account of comparative examples be provided, just a few more pointers that might enable students to make connections with related topics that may actually be studied as part of their History course.

As the book stands, the connections to Vietnam are stressed (there are more than twenty references to Vietnam in about five pages of text), at the expense, perhaps, of discussion of other issues. This reflects, I think, an emphasis on providing an institutional history of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, rather than any bias. I am concerned, however, about how this section might be read by some students.

Chapter 3 examines the seizure of power by the Khmer Rouge following their victory in the civil war. The description of the 'liberation' of Phnom Penh is enriched by fascinating extracts from accounts given by ordinary people from the time, including a cyclo driver who described what he saw during the evacuation of the city. I will discuss the value of such sources in the section below on the rule of DK. I was somewhat surprised by the use in the text, *without* inverted commas, of the term 'liberation', although I suppose its use represents the perspective of the Khmer Rouge at the time. It would be interesting to discuss this in the classroom. The chapter also includes a brief statement of the aims of the new regime, but these are neither analyzed nor put into any context. A unique event like the evacuation of the cities needs a more complete explanation.

The Establishment and Rule of Democratic Kampuchea

The central chapters of *A History of Democratic Kampuchea* provide a wide-ranging and thought-

provoking description of Cambodia under the rule of the mysterious 'Angkar'. We are told that Angkar was 'made up of men and women who were members of the Communist Party of Kampuchea' (page 18), we learn how they administered the country, there is an account of the central plan to collectivize agriculture, and the daily life of members of both classes of society under the regime (the 'base people' and 'new people') is described. There is some discussion of resistance to the regime, particularly by Cham Muslims, and the repression and mass killings feature prominently, with two chapters devoted to the subject, including one on Tuol Sleng prison in Phnom Penh, which is now an important museum that students living in or near the capital might be able to visit as part of their study of the period. As explanation for the wholesale reconstruction of society undertaken by the regime, we are told that the Khmer Rouge aimed to modernize agriculture and make Cambodia independent, both economically and politically. It would have been helpful to make brief, but specific, comparisons with Stalinist Russia and Mao's China, in order that students might be able both to place 'collectivization' into a broader context and better appreciate such distinctive features of the Cambodian experience as the routine separation of families.

The chapters on daily life, the security system and Tuol Sleng prison are particularly engaging.

Extracts from personal accounts enable the reader to see life through the eyes of ordinary Cambodians, as men and women from different regions and even of different ethnic backgrounds tell their stories. This is an outstanding feature of the book. Not only is the text made more interesting to students, but, once again, the reader is afforded insight into "how we know" about the past. The extracts lend authenticity to the account, as the authoritative voice of the author allows space for other

An irrigation project: This photo was taken while a KR Official delegation was visiting the site.



voices. They also provide a means of introducing important historiographical issues and developing higher order thinking skills. Teachers can discuss with students the value and limitations of the extracts as historical sources. Students can examine them for consistency and consider whether they fairly represent society at the time. Issues of memory, exaggeration, omissions, distortion and bias can be addressed through exploring the implications of their origin and purpose. Perhaps some students will be prompted to ask questions of older relatives with memories of the period. A small 'oral history' project might be established. Similarly, the Khmer Rouge slogans that are another interesting feature of the chapters can be analyzed. This section of the text is indeed rich in pedagogical opportunities that allow students to become active inquirers rather than simply passive readers.

The chapter on foreign relations gives most attention to China and Vietnam, which were the two most important external influences on Cambodia at the time. Some details of China's assistance to the regime are provided, but no explanation of China's motives is given. Here, an important context to understand is Sino-Soviet relations.

The Decline of DK

Chapter 11 outlines three reasons for the fall of the regime: a weakened populace, the purges, and clashes with Vietnam. The decisive reason, we are told (I think correctly), was Vietnamese intervention.

A concluding chapter to the book summarizes the main features of DK. Its emphasis is the human tragedy that occurred during 1975-9. There is a helpful acknowledgement that the ideology of the Khmer Rouge was derived from communist movements in China, the former Soviet Union, and Vietnam. I think there should also have been some discussion of the unique features of the Cambodian regime. Nevertheless it is helpful to emphasize borrowing from related communist models, as exclusive emphasis on the events in Cambodia as 'genocide' implies different historical comparisons that are not so valid.

Photographs and Illustrations

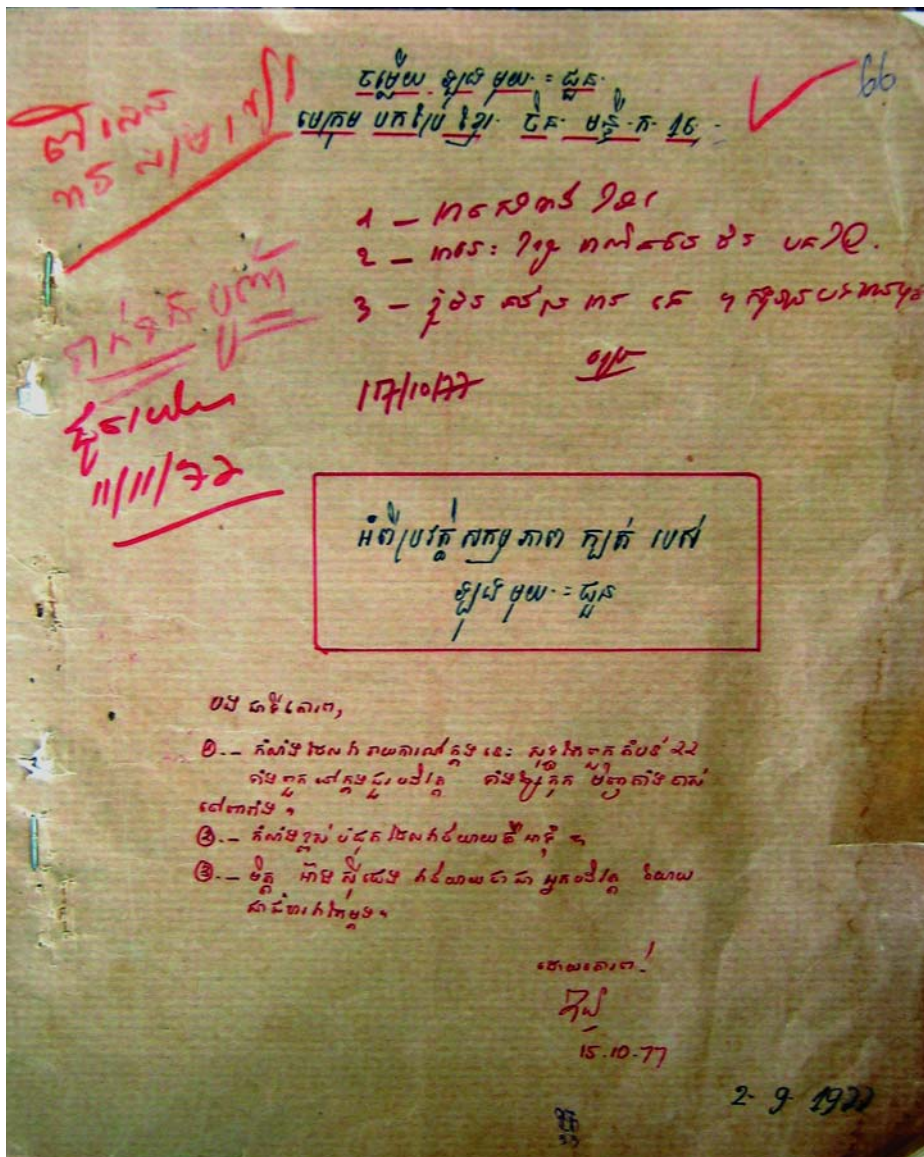
The text is very well supported by illustrations, especially photographs. There are photographs of Khmer Rouge leaders, soldiers, officials, and projects such as irrigation. There are maps showing the sites of mass graves and the zones and regions of DK. The DK flag and national emblem are also featured, and there is a photograph of a document held in the archives of DC-Cam. The illustrations not only break up the text and make it more student-friendly; they also help to address issues such as the identity of the Khmer Rouge and the nature of the regime. The photographs are valuable primary sources that teachers can use as objects of analytical exercises. For example, students could be asked to use the photographs to answer the question 'who were the Khmer Rouge?', and they might discuss their value and limitations as historical evidence.

There are no photographs in the book of prisoners held at Tuol Sleng prison, although many such photographs are displayed at the Tuol Sleng Museum and can be accessed through DC-Cam's website. These photographs are important and confronting historical sources of what is a principal focus of this book, the killing of almost two million Cambodians by the direct actions and policies of the DK government. I think the text would have been enhanced by a representative selection, emotionally distressing though they might be.

Conclusion

A History of Democratic Kampuchea (1975-1979) is the worthy product of a well-conceived and professionally executed project. It provides a clear, accurate, objective and scholarly narrative, enriched by personal accounts and (presumably official) photographs. I am confident that it will serve as an invaluable resource to Cambodian teachers and students alike. While I have reservations about the extent to which it explains the rise to power of the Khmer Rouge and the actions of the regime, this is something that further reading can address.

The subject of the book is also of interest and importance to students and general readers outside



This Khmer Rouge document and other surviving documents from that era contain a wide variety of information on Democratic Kampuchea. These documents give insight into how and why so many people lost their life. In a sense, each document is symbolic of a life that the Khmer Rouge regime took away. There are over a million of these documents.

Cambodia. The human tragedy that occurred under the regime of Democratic Kampuchea is one for which the international community as well as the leaders of the Khmer Rouge ought to take some responsibility. As Peter Maguire argues, the United Nations clearly failed the people of Cambodia as political considerations outweighed human rights concerns. The contributions of the United Nations and countless NGOs to the post-civil war reconstruction of the kingdom suggest that some responsibility has been accepted. If similar tragedies are to be avoided

in the future, then students around the world need to know about DK (among other shocking infringements of human rights that occurred during a very violent century).

Certainly the Cambodian experience is addressed in works on twentieth-century world history (as well as Cambodian history) published in English. One of the most recent examples is the eminent and popular British historian Niall Ferguson's *The War of the World: History's Age of Hatred* (Penguin Books, 2007), an attempt to explain the extreme violence of the last century. The importance of Cambodia is also recognized by the inclusion of DK in secondary school History programs such as that of the International Baccalaureate Organization. The draft of a new syllabus nominates 'Kampuchea' as a case study in its twentieth century history options. There is a relative dearth of good texts available in English on Southeast Asia that are suitable for high school students.

A History of Democratic Kampuchea (1975-1979) would make a valuable addition to the libraries and textbook stocks of many schools, especially international schools in the region. Given that an English-language version of the text already exists, it would be worthwhile, I think, exploring that marketing opportunity.

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RESISTANCE AND RECONCILIATION: EXAMINING THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY OF RWANDA

Lisabeth Meyers

The Rwandan Genocide, which occurred between April and July 1994, left 800,000 to 1,000,000 dead, and the East African country has yet to fully heal from this event. Overwhelming numbers of Rwandans turned on their family members and neighbors in an effort to wipe out an entire ethnic group and all their supporters. In a predominantly Catholic country, priests and nuns participated in the genocide and thousands were massacred within church walls they had hoped would keep them safe.

Simultaneously, Rwanda's Muslim community provided safety and protection for both Tutsis and Hutus. It is widely recognized by Rwandan Muslims and non-Muslims alike that the Muslim community refused to participate in the genocide, instead acting positively through attempts to save and aid their fellow Rwandans. This community's strong sense of faith and social cohesion decreased the importance of ethnicity and enabled Muslims to withstand polarizing hate propaganda and act to save lives.

Muslim resistance and action can be attributed to efforts by Muslim leaders, by Islamic teachings and the Koran, and by the community's long-standing marginalization in Rwandan culture, which all worked to enhance social cohesion within the community. In the years after the genocide, Rwanda has seen a rapid rise in its Muslim population, primarily through conversions. Islam is also serving as a powerful tool of reconciliation within the country, which has yet to recover from the effects of the genocide.

The History of Islam in Rwanda

Islam was brought to Rwanda through Arab and Indian trade caravans originating from Tanzania and other Swahili coastal regions of East Africa in the late 19th century. With the start of European colonization in 1908, additional waves of Muslims entered the country and the first mosque was built in 1913. Initially, Muslims living in Rwanda were mainly foreigners who spoke Kiswahili as opposed to Kinyarwanda (the native language of Rwanda)



ECCC Press Officer showing the poster illustrating about the tribunal to the muslim religious leaders

and acted, dressed, and ate differently from the local population. As small communities formed, Muslim religious leaders were brought in. As the religious community developed, some Rwandans - both ethnic Hutus and Tutsis (Rwanda's primary ethnic groups) - did convert.

Rwandan traditional leaders and European missionaries saw Islam as a threat and thus introduced a number of discriminatory policies, which continued under the post-independence regimes. Most Rwandans were influenced by these negative policies, prompting societal discrimination. Muslims had less access to education, for example; while Muslims could attend Rwandan schools that were primarily administered by the Catholic Church, they faced constant efforts to convert them. Limits to education also meant that Muslims were unofficially restricted to mainly trade-related jobs. Limited job access also served to prevent Muslims from gaining power and influence, and Muslims therefore had little influence on either the colonial Belgian or local indigenous governments.

For the early part of the 20th century, Muslims were also required to live in settlements where they needed permits to leave, were prohibited from owning land, and forbidden to farm or raise animals within their settlements. Rwandan citizens not living in settlements were forbidden to enter Muslim settlement areas without a permit. Settlements were often called "Swahili camps" or "Centres Extra-Coutumiers" (centers outside of custom) and their inhabitants were seen as "individus detribalizes" (non-tribal people). Inside the settlements, however, inhabitants had their own appointed leaders and courts, giving them a distinctive measure of freedom from other Rwandans, despite their marginalization.

Even though Muslims were no longer required to live in settlements after Rwanda became independent, they tended to live in separate communities, a great majority living in the Biryogo neighborhood of Rwanda's capital, Kigali. Muslims living in Rwanda remained separated from the majority of Christian Rwandans and were largely regarded as Muslim as opposed to Hutu or Tutsi. They were

socially marginalized as a group and this reinforced a sense of community identification that was stronger than ethnic labels.

The Genocide

Rwanda has long been divided on ethnic lines between the majority Hutu and minority Tutsi groups (with 1% of the country belonging to the ethnic Twa group). The term "Tutsi" originally referred to the land and cattle owning class, with "Hutu" referring to the lower class that tended to the land for the Tutsi. Initially, these terms were purely socioeconomic and not ethnic, as Hutus were able to become Tutsi by amassing land and wealth.

The terms became ethnic largely due to Belgian colonial rule, which exacerbated and solidified existing differences between the two groups. While both groups shared religion, language, and cultural practices, and often inter-married, the Belgians believed that the Tutsis, who were supposed to be taller with more European or "white" features, were ethnically and racially superior to the Hutus. The Belgians believed the Tutsis had Hamitic origins (Ham is a character in the Christian bible) and had been an outside force that had entered Rwanda and conquered the Hutus. Tutsis were thus granted elite status and privilege over the Hutus and given a role in the ruling of the country.

Notions of two separate and distinct ethnicities were solidified under Belgian rule, with Hutus and Tutsis even receiving identity cards that stated their now "ethnic" identity. In granting independence to Rwanda in 1959, the Belgians, however, chose to reverse colonial power policies, granting rule to the Hutu majority that had long considered itself the oppressed class. Perceived differences between Hutu and Tutsi had become ingrained and accepted as fact, and the Hutu majority did not believe Tutsi were "true Rwandans." Under new Hutu rule, Tutsis were oppressed and discriminated against, with sporadic massacres occurring throughout the years. In reaction to this, Rwandan Tutsis living in Uganda formed the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) under the leadership of Paul Kagame (the current president

of Rwanda). In 1990 the RPF invaded Rwanda in an effort to demand their rights as Rwandans, yet this attack was seen by Hutus as an effort to reestablish colonial power hierarchies.

In 1993, under much international pressure, the RPF and Rwandan Government signed the Arusha Accords, a power sharing agreement that sought to end the civil war. However, Rwandan President Juvénal Habyarimana received much criticism from the Hutu extremist faction of his government. The accords prompted extremists to hype up Hutu nationalism campaigns, and radio stations and newspapers began spreading vehement and polarized propaganda. This propaganda dehumanized Tutsis, portraying them as "cockroaches" that needed to be wiped out, and spoke of a better Rwanda that would be free of Tutsis. Weapons were stockpiled and Hutu militias, known as the Interhamwe ("those who stand or fight together" in Kinyarwanda), were formed and trained.

The genocide officially began on April 6, 1994 when a plane carrying President Habyarimana and President Ntaryamira of Burundi was shot down. Hutus quickly blamed the accident on the Tutsi rebels and shut down the capital, Kigali. What followed was a well-coordinated effort in which Hutu extremists were able to mobilize Interhamwe and ordinary Rwandan Hutus to massacre Tutsis and moderate Hutus. Hundreds of roadblocks were set up to limit movement and enable killings. The Hutu extremist radio issued commands on where and who to kill. Identity cards established under Belgian rule that stated ethnicity only enabled killing, as Tutsis were unable to fake their identity.

Tutsis and moderate Hutus were chased, beaten, tortured and chopped to death with machetes or other arms, irrespective of age or gender. Numerous women were raped in the effort to "cleanse" their blood of "Tutsiness," as any children born of the rape would then be half-Hutu and therefore more pure.

While these events can easily be viewed as a spontaneous eruption of "tribal" hatred, this was not the case, as the genocide proved to be a well

thought out and coordinated event in which high-level politicians, military officials, and businessmen spread anti-Tutsi and Hutu-power messages through schools and media. Tutsi death lists had even been created before the genocide began. Interhamwe militias encouraged and often forced all Hutu to become involved in the genocidal process. Hutus who resisted risked death and many were killed for refusing to participate.

During this time, the international community and United Nations did relatively little, failing to even acknowledge the killings as genocide until much later. The UN even failed to respond to reports of Hutu militias amassing weapons and creating lists of Tutsis (essentially death lists) in the time before the genocide. During the genocide, the UN had only a weak peacekeeping force on the ground, which had been established to help implement the Arusha Peace Agreement. This force was severely reduced during the genocide and remaining peacekeepers could do little under a weak mandate, being forbidden to engage the militias or discharge their weapons, except in self-defense. Meanwhile, in just 100 days, over 800,000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus were killed - many at the hands of their own neighbors or family members. The genocide finally ended in mid-July when the RPF defeated the Hutu government and thousands of Hutus fled into Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of Congo), launching a severe refugee crisis that finally received international attention.

Muslim Actions during the Genocide

Despite widespread violence, the Muslim community in Rwanda did not participate in the genocide to the extent that the rest of the country did. Muslim communities showed examples of both passive resistance, where people abstained from participation in the killing, and active resistance, where they risked their own lives to protect and save others. Jean Pierre Sagahutu, a Rwandan Muslim convert, described her experience during the genocide, "...for Rwandans they [Muslims] were our freedom fighters during the genocide. I wanted to hide in a church but that was the worst place to go. Instead,

a Muslim family took me in. They saved my life" (Wax, Emily, "Islam Attracting Many Survivors of Rwanda Genocide," *Washington Post Foreign Service*, September 23, 2002).

Thousands of Tutsis were slaughtered in churches they had flocked to as places of safe haven and sanctuary. Members of the clergy incited killings and often provided false safe havens to enable Tutsis to be killed more efficiently. Numerous high-ranking members of the clergy are currently being tried for their participation in the genocide. In contrast, no Muslim religious leaders have been charged or arrested for participation and there are very few Muslims in prison for genocide in general. A disproportionate number of genocide survivors, both Muslim and non-Muslim, were also protected and subsequently saved by Muslims. Moreover, while numerous people who sought refuge in churches and state offices were killed at the order of or with the cooperation of religious and state leaders, no one was killed in a Mosque due to the complicity of Muslim leadership.

With the rising hatred and propaganda that preceded the genocide, community leaders anticipated the potential for escalation and took crucial steps to sensitize the Muslim population and counter hate messages. Leaders used the Koran and important aspects of Islamic faith to reach their people. Weeks before the genocide, Muslim leaders distributed pamphlets and posted messages in mosques imploring people to remain calm and avoid getting involved in ethnic polarization, reminding their communities that killing was a sin. Muslim leadership also took a very public stand through announcements on government-owned radio stations. While the radio was under strict censorship and also being used as a source of negative propaganda, some of these messages reached the air.

The Muslim community as a whole also acted to save lives. Muslims hid both Muslim and non-Muslim people, sending them from house to house for protection from militias, hiding them in ceiling rafters, or giving women veils and scarves to disguise themselves. Hutu Muslims refused to provide

information on hiding places of wanted Tutsi Muslims, and took advantage of their position to buy needed supplies such as food and medicine for the people they were protecting.

Additionally, whereas roadblocks were frequently used by Interhamwe to catch escaping Tutsis, some Muslims used them to prevent people from entering their communities so as to better protect Tutsis. Others also went as far as to pretend they were going along with the genocide to defer suspicion and ensure the safety of the people they were protecting. Examples of this include substituting tree trunks for bodies in mock burials and efforts to infiltrate and spy on militias to inform Tutsis about the time and location of future attacks.

Numerous individuals put themselves at great personal risk. Some stood up to Interhamwe orders to kill or give up the locations of Tutsis, and as a result, were killed themselves. Many community members organized resistance movements to defend their communities. In Mabare, numerous Tutsis flocked to the local Mosque when they learned that Muslims had been saving Tutsis in the area. When the Interhamwe arrived, a Muslim leader was killed for his refusal to hand over Tutsis. Using only traditional weapons, Muslims and refugees then took up an armed resistance that lasted three days until police reinforcements arrived and defeated them.

In Kbagaba, Muslim Hutus and Tutsis also gathered in the local mosque and told Interhamwe forces "There is no Hutu, no Tutsi, we are all simply human beings" (Doughty, Kristin and David Moussa Ntambara, "Resistance and Protection: Muslim Community Actions during the Genocide," *Steps Toward Conflict Prevention Project*, 2003, pg. 15) The group resisted the militia for three days as more and more Tutsis took refuge in the mosque. The Presidential Guard arrived and demanded that Hutus separate themselves from Tutsis. While Hutu Muslims would have been able to save their own lives, they refused and many were subsequently killed. Summing up Muslim actions, executive secretary of the Muslim Association of Rwanda, Ramadhani

Rugema, said: "Nobody died in a mosque. No Muslim wanted any other Muslim to die. We stood up to the militias. And we helped many non-Muslims get away" (Lacey, Mark, "Ten Years after Horror, Rwandans Turn to Islam," *New York Times*, April 7, 2004).

Examining Muslim Resistance

It is widely believed that Rwandans' widespread willingness to obey authority was a main driver of the genocide. This same willingness can be seen as playing a positive role in the Muslim community, as its leadership had sought to prepare them against polarization and violence, and to remind them of their duties and beliefs as Muslims, thereby influencing them not to participate. Muslims followed the teachings and ideology of their religious leaders and the Koran over those of political leaders during the genocide and were thus able to resist a great deal of the pressure to participate. Related to this notion, it is speculated that had Muslim leadership condoned violence, there would have been greater Muslim participation. In contrast, perhaps there would have been less violence had more Christian leaders taken a stance against killing.

Deep belief in Islamic faith also played a role in influencing positive resistance in Muslims. Both Muslim leaders and general community members interviewed in a study on the subject cited the Koran as the primary explanation for their non-violence. They cited the Koran's teaching of protecting the weak and the belief that killing one person can be associated with killing all humanity. The Koran also teaches that people should not be perceived and identified through labels and should instead be regarded with equality. This thinking might have helped enable Muslim Rwandans to see beyond ethnic groupings of "Hutu" and "Tutsi." Yvette Sarambuye, a Christian who was hidden by Muslims during the genocide, described the importance of the Koran in influencing Muslim behavior, saying "If a Hutu Muslim tried to kill someone hidden in our neighborhoods, he would first be asked to take the holy Quran and tear it apart to renounce his faith. No Muslim dared to violate the holy book, and that

saved a lot of us" (Ngowi, Rodrique, "Rwanda Turns to Islam after the Genocide," Associated Press, November 7, 2002).

Other aspects of Islamic faith might have worked to enhance senses of faith and community among Muslims, making it harder to then turn upon each other when the killings began. Sharing is an integral part of Muslim doctrine, and many Islamic practices work to enhance this. Devout Muslims frequently pray together up to five times a day. Additionally, the genocide began just after Ramadan, a time for Muslims to seek purification and self-reflection, and the ideals of the Koran and a strong sense of social cohesiveness were probably strong on their minds when the genocide occurred. Finally, as it was not socially easy to be Muslim in Rwandan society, most people associated with the Islamic faith were devote and faithful. However, while Islamic teachings should not be overlooked for their importance in influencing Muslim resistance, Christianity has similar teachings.

The Muslim community's separation and marginalization from the rest of Rwandan society also enabled positive actions. Muslims were marginalized politically from the Rwandan government which was largely linked to the Christian Church. Muslim leadership had sided with a pro-independence Tutsi party before independence and was subsequently kept out of the political sphere by the Hutu party that eventually came to power. The Rwandan government therefore had little influence or control over Muslim ideology and authority, thereby allowing Muslim religious leaders to remain separate from the state agenda and provide their own messages to their congregations.

The Muslim community was also socially marginalized from Rwandan society. This can be attributed to being forced to live in settlements, discrimination in education, and limited access to jobs and positions of power and authority in Rwanda. Additionally, Rwandan schools were sites of polarized teachings on ethnicity, promoting Hutu extremism. In not attending these schools, Muslim children escaped a great deal of this negative propaganda.

Marginalization served to increase social cohesion among the community, causing Muslims to look inward and allowing them to better separate themselves from ideologies that led to and prompted violence. Ethnicity was therefore seen as less important, with some Muslims even seeing themselves as members of a fourth ethnic group apart from Hutu, Tutsi, or Twa. As Muslims lived so close together it was easy to share ideas and advocate non-violence and resistance. This also helped Muslims to defend their communities during genocide, as people were able to hide from house to house during searches. Finally, as a community treated unfairly, Muslims were better able to empathize with Tutsis. Thus, ethnicity was regarded as less important, pushing the community towards non-participation and protection rather than violence.

Despite general resistance by Muslim Rwandans, there are some exceptions, and three prominent Muslims did participate quite actively in the genocide. Two of them were members of the government and one was a leader in the private sector, editing *Kangura*, the major Hutu power inflammatory newspaper. Yet many Muslims advocate that these perpetrators did not act in the name of the Muslim community or were not active in the Muslim community to start. Some Muslims did inform for or join Interhamwe militias, but very few killed other Muslims. One report even describes how a Muslim Interhamwe member told a non-Muslim Tutsi that if he converted, he would not be killed. The man converted and was subsequently spared.

Post-Genocide and Contemporary Rwanda

After the genocide, many Rwandans were unable to return to the Church that failed to protect them and its leaders who actively went against the Church's teachings. Yakobo Djumu Nzeyimana described this saying, "People died in my old church, and the pastor helped the killers. I couldn't go back and pray there. I had to find something else" (Lacey, April 7, 2004). Many thus turned to Islam, which has become Rwanda's fastest growing religion. It is estimated that Muslims now comprise about 15%

of the 8.2 million people of Rwanda, representing a doubling of their numbers in the past ten years.

Muslim leaders believe this increase is directly related to their actions to protect and save lives during the genocide. Christian Tutsis learned more about the Islamic faith while hiding with Muslims and many have converted as a way to honor and respect those who saved them. Yahya Kayiranga, a non-Muslim Tutsi who was given shelter and protection by Muslims during the genocide, described his decision to convert: "In the Islamic faith, Hutu and Tutsi are the same. Islam teaches us about brotherhood" (Goering, Laurie, "Islam Blooms in Rwanda Genocide's Wake," Chicago Tribune, August 5, 2002). Other Tutsis converted to Islam in the years following the genocide to better protect themselves from Hutu extremists who continued to attack Rwanda from refugee camps in Zaire. Hutus have also turned to Islam as a means of purification and spiritual healing. To them, conversion represents a means of abandoning the stigma of having blood on their hands and protection from reprisals.

The conversion has not been easy for all Rwandans as they face new restrictions in lifestyle, dress, and custom. Moreover, historically, Rwandan Muslims were traditionally marginalized and not considered "Rwandan." However, these perceptions are changing as the religion grows within the country. Muslim resistance during the genocide has also worked to counter this marginalization as Muslims are increasingly being seen "Rwandan" and playing more active roles in general society.

Islam is often associated with dangerous militancy and extremism. The spread of radical Islamic fundamentalism from northern to sub-Saharan Africa has received great deal of international attention. The community in Rwanda, however, is looking inward, working to build their communities through largely self-sufficient means. At one point after the genocide, a group of Pakistani-funded Islamic fundamentalists took control of a mosque, but were promptly kicked out by the Muslim Association of Rwanda in an effort to quell the spread of radical Islam. Nich Imiyana, an imam in Ruhengeri, advocated "We

have enough of our own problems. We don't want a bomb dropped on us by America. We want American NGOs to come and build us hospitals instead" (Wax, September 23, 2002).

Moreover, as ethnic tension, anger, and fear in Rwanda remain high, Rwandan Muslims now see it as their duty to lead their country's reconciliation. The community imparts messages of unity and tolerance to its converts, and hopes to play a role in teaching these messages to the greater population. Saleh Habimana, the head mufti of Rwanda, serves as one of the two heads of The Interfaith Commission for Re-integration of Rwanda. The Commission seeks to end ethnic animosity and promote dialogue and free expression. Mosques and *madrassas* are frequently used as places for Hutus and Tutsis to meet and heal. Rwanda's mosques are one of the few places where reconciliation seems to genuinely be successful. Additionally, Muslim leadership has demonstrated an essential willingness to communicate and collaborate with Christian leadership.

Rwandan Muslims describe this effort as their personal *jihad* (holy struggle). While this word often has negative connotations in contemporary society, recalling suicide bombers and attacks, Muslim Rwandans use it to describe what is needed to heal the country. "We have our own *jihad*, and that is our war against ignorance between Hutu and Tutsi. It is our struggle to heal. Our *jihad* is to start respecting each other and living as Rwandans and as Muslims," said Habimana (Wax, September 23, 2002). The presence of Islam has been able to show local populations that the Hutus and Tutsis can coexist under one unified identity. In this instance, religious conversion functions as a social boundary change that can make ethnic differences seem less absolute and divisive. Ethnicity becomes less linked to identity and therefore less linked with conflict.

Conclusion

Hundreds of thousands of innocent Tutsi and moderate Hutu were slaughtered in a genocide in which a great deal of the country actively participated. However, Rwanda's Muslim community provides an

important alternative example of a community that was able to resist hatred and violence, and later provide a framework for peace and reconciliation. During the 1994 genocide, the Muslim community acted differently than the rest of the country, for the most part refusing to participate in violence and working to save innocent lives of Muslim and non-Muslim Tutsis. During the genocide, Christianity manifested itself as a tool of violence and complicity, while Islam represented protection and safety. This resistance can be attributed to several factors, including a lifestyle that emphasized solidarity around faith and not ethnicity, Islamic principles such as non-violence and non-discrimination, and long standing social and political marginalization. For years, Muslims had not only been set apart as a religious group that placed their identity of being Muslim over that of being Hutu or Tutsi. As an ostracized minority, their ties to their communities were strong and they were able to separate themselves from polarized thinking and actively work to help others.

Due to Muslim efforts during the genocide, Islam has since been seen as an important source of reconciliation, working to heal the wounds of the country and its people. Moreover, as increasing numbers of both Hutus and Tutsis are converting to the religion, Islam is enabling people to change their social and ethnic boundaries. In examining Rwanda, it thus becomes clear how religion can be used as a catalyst for conflict and violence or for peace and resolution. The current Muslim community of Rwanda continues to look inward. As Muslim Rwandans are increasingly being viewed by the rest of Rwanda as "Rwandan" (instead of a separate and distinct community), "inward" now refers to the Muslim communities' efforts at avoiding radicalism and fundamentalist thought, and helping the country of Rwanda heal and grow.

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USING DOCUMENTS TO UNDERSTAND THE KHMER ROUGE SECURITY SYSTEM

Isaac Tabor

Between 1975 and 1979 roughly 1.5 million people in Cambodia died from malnutrition, exhaustive agricultural work and diseases that were either misdiagnosed or mistreated. It is estimated that another 200,000 people were executed, although the figures are still unclear. During this period the country was controlled by the Khmer Rouge, a Marxist-Leninist extremist group who meticulously oversaw the execution of the "revolution." The revolution of Democratic Kampuchea (the official name for Cambodia under the rule of the Khmer Rouge) allowed no flexibility and was eternally seeking to weed out anti-revolutionary forces. It labeled hundreds of thousands of people as "class enemies" and executed them without trial. The ideology of the Communist Party of Kampuchea (the party led by the highest-ranking "brothers" of the Khmer Rouge) advocated an extreme form of communism, where the entire country was to revert to an agricultural state.

Tuol Sleng, a former high school, was the headquarters for the internal security police (or *santebal*) of the Khmer Rouge. Serving as an interrogation center, roughly 14,000 "enemies of the state" were questioned, tortured and made to confess to counter-revolutionary crimes whilst held in prison cells in the compound. The prison compound, with its four whitewashed concrete buildings (each three stories high) is better known as S-21; the code name employed to indicate the headquarters of the state security police.

In 1981 David Chandler, the author of *Voices from S-21*, traveled to Cambodia and visited the prison compound, which is now the Tuol Sleng Museum of Genocidal Crimes; it was initially set up by the pro-Vietnamese regime of 1979. Sifting through the massive archive of confessions and interrogation

reports, Chandler was able to formulate some questions to which the answers might be found in the archive.

His original idea was to write a book on the opposition forces present in Democratic Kampuchea,



Tuol Sleng prison staff eating communally

an area of study that is still relatively unexplored. He quickly found, however, that there was no way of gauging if the confessions recorded by the interrogators at S-21 were true or fabricated under the pressure of torture. The focus of his study was thus shifted to a detailed account of the organization and customs of the prison compound. Chandler occupied himself with issues such as the working conditions of the prison, the enemies of the prison, torture methods,

and the ideological inclinations of those inside prison compound.

In *Voices from S-21* Chandler compares the prison compound with similar settings in the former Soviet Union, China, Vietnam, Nazi Germany and Argentina. In doing so, he provides us with a comparative analysis that aids in understanding the organization of the Khmer Rouge regime. This comparison also provides an international context for his study, and allows Chandler to conclude that S-21 was a "Cambodian, Communist, imported, twentieth-cen-



ture phenomenon."

When Chandler entered into the S-21 prison compound in 1981, he was exposed to a massive archive which to this day has not been fully processed, but has been extensively analyzed by a wide number of Southeast Asian scholars. As the quote below demonstrates, the materials held in the archive provided an ample base for a study on the organization of S-21, the internal security police and the wider context of

Khmer Rouge paranoia and violence in Southeast Asia.

Stacks of documents, some of them several feet high were piled into glass-fronted cabinets, on tables and against the walls. The vast majority, it seemed, consisted of typed or handwritten confessions. A few, drawn from high-ranking prisoners, were several hundred pages long. Other documents in the archive included entry and execution records, interrogators' notes, cadre study notebooks, and biographical data about workers at the prison.

Over the period 1993 to 1998, Chandler examined over a thousand confession texts, and prior to that, supervised the process of microfilming a large part of the archive for Cornell University and the Cambodian Ministry of Culture. Aside from the confession texts and secondary literature, interviews with several authors and survivors of Democratic Kampuchea were conducted to provide a background for the study. Chandler received "invaluable aid" from his research assistant Sok Pirun, who arranged interviews and translated a large number of vital documents. Interviews conducted by other scholars (such as Youk Chhang, the director of the Documentation Center of Cambodia) were also used to strengthen the base of the study. Alongside sources relevant to Democratic Kampuchea, a number of secondary sources relating to communist and non-communist countries were used for comparative insights into global prison settings. Chandler's knowledge of Khmer history and fluency in the native language made him a perfect candidate for the unraveling of such a relentless abundance of primary and secondary sources, and as he states in his study, "the mass of material now available seems sufficient to support a detailed study of the prison."

Chandler adapted an evenhanded approach to using the sources available, enabling him to place the study of S-21 into a wider context of the collective mentality of the Khmer Rouge. Most historiographical

debates concerning the Khmer Rouge regime focus on the regime in general or its leaders. Chandler's account, however, provides a fresh look at the mentality of the Khmer Rouge as a secretive and paranoid regime, who adapted violence in the form of torture to display and rationalize power. The sources are used critically in the study, as Chandler is aware that more materials may be uncovered and that it is difficult to verify prison records, as there are no other materials to check against.

The most revealing accounts have come from the confessions of 79 former workers at the prison, whose documentation helps to show work patterns, different forms of interrogation, and the practice of torture. Interrogators' reports were also highly useful in showing the "lopsided relationships between torturers and their victims." In a wider context, this is an element of the collective mentality of the Khmer Rouge. Furthermore, the hierarchical organization of S-21 is a depiction of the ruling order of the society at the time. As Milovan Djilas argues, it shows the "ideas and methods of those who dominate the society."

Many historians have inquired as to why the ruling order of the Cambodian genocide kept such lengthy documents. This is a question that is also widely asked about other genocides of the twentieth century, namely Nazi Germany and the former Soviet Union under Stalin. In *Voices from S-21* Chandler gives a number of possible answers to this question which show the paranoia and secretive conduct embedded in the Khmer Rouge regime, as well as its desire to rationalize and display power. Steve Heder, a well-known scholar of the history of Democratic Kampuchea, has argued that the archives found in S-21 were to provide the Party Center with materials for a massive, unwritten history of the Party and its successful combat of oppositional forces.

Although Heder's argument is stated as the most convincing in Chandler's study, other reasons for the keeping of lengthy documents are given. Pol Pot (known as "Brother Number One," the leader of the Khmer Rouge regime) shared an interest in conspiracy theories with other high-ranking Party

officials and may have wanted to extract these confessions to provide a picture of what was happening when the original Party members were underground in the 1950s, in hiding in the 1960s and fighting during the civil war. A last reason given is the Party's desire to show its triumph over dark (counter-revolutionary) forces and by doing so, enrich its history. Chandler shows how the Party may well have been influenced by the 1939 publication, *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, which shows Stalin's triumph over the Party's internal enemies. This places the keeping of documents into a wider historiographical debate, namely that of the ideological influences of the Party.

As Chandler is known as a renowned authority on the subject of Democratic Kampuchea, the vast supply of primary and secondary sources used has made his study significant in understanding the collective mentality of the Khmer Rouge regime. It gives an indication as to the paranoia and secretive conduct surrounding Khmer Rouge activities, as well as Cambodian traditions of respect and opposition to authority, outlined in the relationship between the interrogators and their victims. Chandler's study is not only a source for understanding the collective mentality of the Khmer Rouge, but can also be placed "within a far broader picture of man's inhumanity to man." His comparative analysis with prison settings in other countries allows him to draw a daunting picture of the inevitableness of violence. It also tries to emphasize the general human condition as a reason for violence.

One weakness of his study however, may be the lack of attention given to Cambodia's predisposition to violence; a recurring theme in Cambodian history. With regards to the use of sources, Chandler's expertise on the subject and the wider context that the subject matter is placed in, it can safely be said that *Voices from S-21* occupies a special place in genocide research.

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TOBACCO AND I

Meng Raksmei

Getting rid of cigarettes is the greatest success of my entire life. What is more important than this success was the unforgettable moment that drove me to become addicted to smoking. I can still remember the smell of cigarette smoke that came from my body for nearly 30 years. Now, I would like to relate briefly the story that made me become addicted to smoking cigarettes.

During the 1977 rainy season, my father was arrested and sent to be re-educated in Kos Thmey Security Office (known by its code name Security Office 15), which was located in District 20, Region 25. Then, the chief of the children's unit based at the Sa-ang Phnom worksite in Krang Yoeu sub-district sent me to work in a youth mobile unit based in District 20 (Sa-ang district, Kandal province). I was a probationer there and was sharpened to believing in the revolution. The opening ceremony for new members of the youth mobile unit was held at night in the Reusey Chroy pagoda compound in Svay Prateal sub-district, Sa-ang district.

The Khmer Rouge divided the young people into four main units. They were units 14, 15, 16, and 17. Unit 14 was composed of full-rights people, while the members of Unit 15 and 16 were base people. The unit in which I worked was 17. Unit 17 represented the April 17 people. The members of these four units were tasked with building dams and digging channels within an area covering four sub-districts in District 20. The sub-districts were Svay Prateal, Treuy Sla, Ta Lon, and K'porp.

Unit 14 had more privileges and received special treatment from Angkar. In contrast, Unit 17 had to do more work, eat last, and bear the scornful mocking as if they were beasts of burden. The base people felt both fear and hatred toward the April 17 people; thus, they avoided being close to them. After living under the Khmer Rouge's absolutely strict rules

and working hard, I found out that members of Unit 17 could take a quick break if they needed a moment to smoke a cigarette. Both the chief of unit and group seemed to favor those who smoked cigarettes.

Among the April 17 youth, nobody smoked. I had to learn to smoke cigarettes by sucking and blowing on the smoke of others. By doing so, I could have as long a break as the smokers. When I started smoking, I made friends with the base people. Can you imagine how much time I needed to spend to smoke a cigarette? First, I had to put tobacco on a sangke leaf (a type of leaf used as cigarette papers) or banana leaf and roll it. Because I had just start smoking, my cigarette rolling was really clumsy. Next I walked toward the bonfire and poked at the gleaming embers that were used for lighting hand-rolled cigarettes. Then I walked back to the place where my earth-moving-bucket and wooden carrying pole were laid. I stood there, on the top of the dam, smoking. My partner also had a little break. I think I had a fairly long break.

Another remarkable thing about cigarettes is that "cigarettes are everything." The Khmer Rouge leaders probably did not know that both new and base people in each cooperative were trading goods in traditional fashion. At that time, people secretly bartered one good for another. Tobacco was the most popular good; it could be bartered for almost anything: palm-tree brown sugar, chickens, dried salted fish, salt, corn, yams and so on.

In the district where I lived, tobacco was relatively plentiful. In my mobile unit, the unit chief gave each member who smoked a ration of tobacco. When I got a tobacco ration, I could barter it for food to support myself and my family. For this reason, we could keep hunger at bay for a while.

Sometimes I shared my tobacco ration with my unit chief, thinking that I could trade it for my

survival. Counting from the day of its establishment until early January 1979, Unit 17 had 400 members, but only 60 of them survived.

Nowadays although I have given up smoking, I am still grateful to tobacco. Whenever I go to the market, I always take a glance at the booths where cigarettes, palm-tree brown sugar, salt, corn and yams are sold. Sometimes I stand still while I look at the booths, thinking of the starvation I endured during the Khmer Rouge regime. Some victims were arrested and killed by the Khmer Rouge militiamen

because they had stolen these things to stave off their hunger.

I still wonder why such bitter memories from the Khmer Rouge regime have left a stain on my mind. A way to heal my broken mind is bringing the Khmer Rouge to justice that meets international standards. I cannot not live peacefully, nor could I ever forget the pain experienced during the regime unless there is a Khmer Rouge tribunal.

Meng Raskmey is a survivor of Democratic Kampuchea.

A STRUGGLE FOR A NEW LIFE ON ANCIENT TERRITORY

Meng Raskmey

I am Ly Sambath. I would like to share the story of my parents during the Pol Pot regime. Listening to my parents, I could picture the bitter times they encountered. The physical and psychological suffering and their struggle to survive the brutal regime form an unforgettable memory.

My father's name is Nguon Saing Ly. He was born in Tuol Rokar village, Chak Anre Krom sub-district, Kandal Stoeung district, Kandal province. When the Khmer Rouge came to power, he was a grade 3 student at a private high school in Phnom Penh. My mother's name is Som Leng. She was born in Prek Kory sub-district, Sa-ang district, Kandal province.

My father told me that by 1975, the Khmer Rouge force had defeated Lon Nol's soldiers. When the Khmer Rouge took over the capital of Phnom Penh, they moved people to the provinces, saying that it was not safe to remain in the city because the American planes would drop bombs on the city. The Khmer Rouge promised that people's stay in the countryside would only last for three days, then they could return home. The Khmer Rouge told people not to pack any belongings besides the objects they used every day. Bewildered by the sudden evacuation, my family hurriedly packed their things and abandoned our house.

My father also said that the Khmer Rouge evacuated people along National Road 2; this road went from Takhmau to Sa-ang Prek Tauch in Kandal province. Along the road, vehicles converged and, thus, blocked people from moving forward. Some parents tearfully cried out while searching for their children, who were lost in the enormous crowd. While walking, my father saw many dead bodies scattered along the road. Even though he saw such a terrible scene, my father did not dare to speak out. He could only keep quiet and move on with his family until they reached Sa-ang district. There the Khmer Rouge told each family to stay in an assigned village. Every belonging was collectivized by Angkar. The Khmer Rouge gave everyone a ration of corn to husk, cook, and eat instead of rice.

In 1976, the Khmer Rouge said publicly that Angkar would send some families to a place where food was abundant. On hearing this, my family went to register. Only people on the list could go. They were carried by truck and dropped at Pratiash Lang railway station in Kandal province. After spending a few days waiting for a train, they managed to embark; the train then carried them to Trapiang Chornng railway station during the night.

Next, people had to jump on oxcarts, which

led them to different villages. My family was directed to stay in Bak Pring village, Pursat province. After the first night passed, the Khmer Rouge told my family members to harvest, husk, and thresh rice from dawn until midnight. A day later, the Khmer Rouge cadres ordered my father to harvest wet season rice. He had to walk in the inundated fields where the water reached his chest. After such laborious work, my father got a fever. He asked the unit chief for permission to take leave, but the unit chief refused to let him off. More than that, the unit chief mocked him, saying, "Fever or shivers can be healed with the handle of an axe hitting your head." Upon hearing these words, my father kept working despite his illness. Because of the lack of food and sanitation, my father got dysentery and became very skinny. My mother had to find herbs and dig tree roots to use as traditional medicine to cure him.

Not long after that, the unit chief said that he needed volunteers to work in the number 1 fertilizer unit. My father volunteered to work in that unit, while my mother was assigned to pull out rice seedlings and transplant them. Because of our unthinkable hunger, my father picked leaves, caught pythons or lizards, and ate left-over food picked up from dirt floors. As the result of eating such unhygienic food, my father's arms and legs became swollen. He secretly stole sugar palm juice to drink to ease the pain, but unfortunately he was caught and walked with his hands tied behind his back to the place where brown sugar was made. My father was hit until his back drew blood. After such cruel re-education, the

Khmer Rouge cadres released him and sent him back home.

On his way to work, like other people, my father would have a quick glance at the rice stalks and other edible things. At night he and his acquaintances would pick up some rice stalks and catch frogs or lizard to quiet their hunger. Still afraid of being noticed by the Khmer Rouge militiamen, he did not dare husk any of the rice. If the Khmer Rouge found out, they would kill him. He took the

rice stalks to the forest and roasted the grains. Again, he was caught and sent to the village's base militiamen. Luckily, the militiaman chief was a kind man. He only gave a little warning to my father and allowed him to go back home. My father was so relieved he felt as if he was born again.

Later on, my family was moved to Tuol Khmer village located near a flooded forest by the Tonle Sap Lake. The Khmer Rouge assigned my father to build levees in the rice fields, plow earth, and grow vegetables. The unit chief asked for volunteers to produce number 1 fertilizer, but nobody wanted to go. Only my father and comrade

Nan (a former staff of the National Bank of Cambodia) volunteered. During a trivial chit chat, comrade Nan asked my father, "Comrade Ly, have you ever seen a US dollar note?" Then he took one out and showed it to my father. At the same time, the Khmer Rouge militiamen appeared and arrested him immediately. He was sent to be re-educated; he has never come back since that day.

One gloomy day, my father was arrested and walked with his hands tied behind his back to the



Sambath's parents and brother

killing field. He was accused of being a former second lieutenant. Luckily, a unit chief named Soem swore that my father was only ordinary worker. Then, Soem brought my father to his house and looked after him. At night, Soem did not allow my parents to go outdoors because he knew that the Khmer Rouge militiamen would arrest villagers and take them to be killed at night.

Angkar tried to separate my parents from Soem, using the pretext that my father had to go fishing in a distant flooded forest, but Soem asked permission to go with my parents. A month later, Soem heard a radio broadcast that the Vietnamese troops had taken over Phnom Penh. Most of the Khmer Rouge escaped to Pursat and Battambang provinces. On hearing this news, Soem told my parents to run away as quickly as possible. He himself had to go back to fetch his mother.

My parents asked all the fishermen's families to escape with them; they would travel by boat at night to Siem Reap. However, darkness and the torrential rain caused them to lose their way in the great lake of Tonle Sap. At dawn, they realized that

they were at the center of the lake. At that time, my mother had a fever. When their boat almost reached the bank, a bigger motor-driven boat tugged it and other small boats to the bank at Prek Kampong Kiang village, Damdek sub-district, Siem Reap province. In that village, the United Front shared white corn with people and publicly told them to return home. My parents and relatives made their way back to their home village.

Our struggle for a new life on the same land gave us hope. Despite his happiness at surviving, my father felt regret that he could not see Soem and Soem's mother, who saved his life, and he owes them much gratitude. My father firmly hopes that the Khmer Rouge Tribunal will be fair and just so that all Cambodian people will feel relieved. Like people nationwide, I am anxious to see how the tribunal will progress.

Sambath Ly is the son of survivors of Democratic Kampuchea. He is working for DC-Cam's printing house.

FIVE SONS IN THE KHMER ROUGE'S BUTCHERY

Chab Chanda Pheakdey

This short essay is about the story of my grandmother Kul Heng, who is presently living with her youngest son, Chab Kean, in Anlong Korki village, Kandal sub-district, Kampot district, Kampot province.

My grandmother once told me that she actually had six sons. During Sangkum Reastr Niyum, she lived in Chum Kriel village, Kbal Rormeas sub-district. Her house was located to the east of Chum Kriel Buddhist temple. After the Khmer Rouge invaded and took control of the whole country, she became a bereaved mother. Five of her sons were lost. Only the youngest son survived.

The Khmer Rouge leaders ordered the evacuation of people from village to village. Like

other people, my grandmother was moved from place to place. During the three-year Khmer Rouge regime, my grandmother was forced to work non-stop. She was separated from her children. She tearfully described the day when the Khmer Rouge took her son. On that day, while she was transplanting rice, she saw militiamen walking people and pushing them to move faster. Each person was tied to another by a hammock string. Her son was among those people. She heard the militiamen shouting loudly, "You comrades are lazy. You have betrayed the Great Leap Forward Angkar." In fact, her son had malaria. He was too weak to serve the Great Leap Angkar, and Angkar considered him a traitor.

She was choked with strong emotion while continuing her sad story. She said she was petrified because of having lost her five sons who were slaughtered by the Khmer Rouge as if they were animals. Besides her beloved sons, her in-laws and grandchildren were also dead. This great grief drove her into complete hopelessness.

Her fifth son was taken by a group of Khmer Rouge. They came for him, saying they were going to make him a model and vanguard force. After that day, he disappeared forever. She did not dare to argue with the Khmer Rouge about the disappearance of her sons because she was afraid that they would be annoyed and take her youngest son away from her.

Her eldest son was my father. He was separated from me when I was young. During the Khmer Rouge regime, my grandmother tried to search for her sons, but there was no sign of them. Every night, she cried while sitting and thinking about her sons and grandchildren. She always clapped her hands and prayed to the angels for help. She wished that the angels would carry her message telling her sons where she was. She wished that the communist regime of the Khmer Rouge would collapse soon, so that people throughout the country would live in peace and prosperity.

My grandmother was responsible for a great burden during the Khmer Rouge regime. She had an 80 year-old mother to look after. The chief of women's unit was very malicious to her family. The chief starved my grandmother's mother, saying that she was old and useless. My grandmother secretly brought food to her mother. Sometimes, Angkar learned about this and let her starve for a few days as a punishment.

After the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea liberated the country, my grandmother tried very hard to search for her sons and grandchildren, but she found only her youngest son. Later on, she returned to Chum Kriel village in

hopes of seeing her eldest son. When she arrived in the village, she met only her daughter-in-law and two granddaughters. The two women held each other tight and cried. Next, my grandmother met the wife of her second son. Her third son and his family completely disappeared. Some villagers told her that her third son was also killed by the Khmer Rouge. However, she still searched for her third son and the rest.

One day, her fifth son sent her a letter from Phnom Penh. Seeing the letter, she quickly went to Phnom Penh. After the family reunited, they all returned to their home village to hold a religious ceremony. The fifth son worked for the Ministry of Commerce. In 1984, while the fifth son was driving a car loaded with cloth from Sihanoukville to Phnom Penh, he was shot dead during a Khmer Rouge ambush along National Road 4. He died in Kampong Speu province. My grandmother was so mournful. She said, "My son had just escaped from the devil's claws. Why is the king of hell still demanding his life?" The fifth son died, leaving only the youngest brother with his aged mother. The youngest son and his mother led a quiet life like a pair of doves.

My grandmother was happy to learn that there is to be a tribunal to bring the Khmer Rouge to justice. She was very interested in this news and would like to find out more. She strongly encourages the existence of the tribunal. Having a tribunal means bringing fairness and justice to the Cambodian people.

I would like to thank the Documentation Center of Cambodia for its efforts in searching for the truth. I also would like to apologize if I made any mistakes unintentionally.

Chab Chanda Pheakdey is a survivor of Democratic Kampuchea.

WHAT STANDARD OF JUSTICE WILL MY UNCLE, OLDER BROTHER, AND ALL VICTIMS GET?

Tong Ra

Reading Searching for the Truth makes me recall the memories of my brother and uncle who lost their lives during the Pol Pot regime. But I did not hear of the brutal regime from the magazine alone. My father and his villagers also talked much about their lives during this regime.

When my father recalled his past, he told me that I had an uncle named Pann Vat. Vat is my father's younger brother. Uncle Vat passed away. Only his wife and two children survived.

Uncle Vat was very intelligent and he always did his best in class - from elementary school until he went to Dei Krahorm Chhuok junior high school. After he passed the final high school exam, he took an entrance exam to go to Kann Tuot School of Pedagogy, aiming to become a teacher. When he graduated, he got a job as a teacher at Wat Preynub Elementary School in Sihanuokville.

My cousin Tong Phon was also an outstanding student. Now he is married and has four daughters. Both my uncle and cousin started their teaching careers at the same time, between 1968 and 1969. My cousin taught at Wat Chak Elementary School in his home village. After April 17, 1975, my uncle returned to his homeland in Trapeang Prey village, sub-district, Chum Kiri district, Kampot province.

I last saw my uncle when he rode an ox-cart passing my house to fetch firewood. Uncle Vat dropped by my house to see my father for a short moment before he rode away on his ox-cart toward the mountains in the west. Just after he left, my father told me that he was my uncle. Because of his quick and secret visit, I could not see his face clearly. Later he was taken to be killed. Like me, his two children cannot remember their father's appearance. They

only know his face from the photo hung on the wall in his house.

My other cousin, who was close to my uncle, told me that Uncle Vat worshiped the Khmer Rouge. He joined the revolutionary movement and helped spread Khmer Rouge propaganda, yet his life was ended by the Khmer Rouge. Hearing my cousin's stories raised doubts in my mind. I wondered why the pro-Khmer Rouge strugglers were killed by the Khmer Rouge; whether the Khmer Rouge was divided into different types; and whether the Khmer Rouge were crazy or they had hidden spies. These are questions that are always in my mind.

The villagers who had lived with my uncle and cousin told their story. They said that one day in the afternoon during the dry season while they were harvesting rice, they saw Khmer Rouge cadres walking prisoners with their arms tied behind their backs. My uncle and cousin were among the ten prisoners, who were walking off to be killed at Sre pagoda in Sre Samroang sub-district. The villagers also said that militiamen were riding on bicycles ahead of the prisoners. They turned back to shout at the prisoners and told each prisoner to kick the slowpoke in front of them. While watching this terrible scene, the villagers' minds were filled with compassion and sadness.

In 1980, when I was a student at Trapeang Prey Elementary School, the teachers had their students fill in the mass grave at Sre Khnong pagoda because it was left open and a terrible smell came from it. There were skulls and bones scattered everywhere. But I realized that my uncle and cousin's bodies must have been buried in that grave.

I had another cousin named Tong Eng. After

Eng left school, he joined Lon Nol's army in Tuk Meas sub-district, Kampong Trach district, Kampot province. The Khmer Rouge arrested Eng and killed him in Phnom Malu prison, Sre Chieng (formerly Chhouk) district. My other cousin was also taken to be killed at an unknown spot. The villagers remarked that Trapeang Prey cooperative was a place where people were forced to do hard labor, to eat watery porridge every day, and especially to face mass killings. The Trapeang Prey village chief was Un. He was a cruel man. He always asked people to arm-wrestle with him and killed anyone who beat him at this game.

My family used to live in Ta En village (now known as Trapeang Veng Khang Lech). I can still remember that the officials in Ta En village were not as strict as those in Trapeang Prey village. People did farm work without being forced to overwork. The village chief gave people leave permission when they were sick or had an important duty. The village chief treated both new and old people equally. In the cooperative, the work hours were clearly defined according to the ring of a bell. Whether it was the dry or rainy season, morning was the busiest time of day. The bell was rung at 4 a.m. to wake people up to go to work. Lunch break began at 11 a.m., and the evening break at 5 p.m. or a little later than that. In the busiest season, Angkar set a deadline for the labor force to complete their work on time. Those who could do more than the set plan were rewarded with special meals; the dishes were delicious and there was dessert. Every week or two, or at least every month, pigs were slaughtered cooked in the cooperative. The daily food was fish soup, chicken, duck and vegetables.

In my cooperative, boiled rice was the basic food; people were never given porridge. We ate rice during both the dry and rainy seasons, and we seldom had rice mixed with yam. No matter whether one was a new or base person, it seemed to me that everyone had a proper meal. Even the latecomers to the collective dining hall were given enough rice to eat. Like the others, my stomach was full after

every meal. Despite the division between the new and base people while eating, both classes could join together. The division was not strictly defined, but a few base people still looked down on and discriminated against the new people. As I saw it, at every mealtime the new people dressed nicely (as the way city dwellers did). I think that the new people in my cooperative were luckier than in any other places because there was less discrimination, executions, and starvation than in other cooperatives.

Thinking back to the past, I always dream that if my uncle and cousin lived in my village, they would have survived and lived together happily. If my family was moved to another village, my father would have been killed by the Khmer Rouge militiamen. For instance, a large number of people who lived in the same village with my family were evacuated to Trapiang Veng, Damrei Kaun, and other villages; they were all killed.

I still wonder why the intellectuals still could be cheated and used by the revolutionary servants (such as the unit chief, militiamen, and other uneducated people), and why those highly educated people let the Khmer Rouge tie them in lines and walk them to a mass grave. I have to ask why the management was different in different cooperatives. There were many stories of people who were cheated by a group of communists who used skillful strategies and a variety of tricks to cheat innocent people. This makes me recall what Mr. Van Dika On, a writer and former professor from Kampot province (he now is working for a French international radio broadcasting company), said: "honest words have no beauty". Is it true? The lies uttered by Pol Pot had earned lots of people's faith in him. Thus, Pol Pot's revolution was successful on April 17, 1975.

These events are unforgettable for me. I keep asking myself whether a tribunal composed of more local than international staff can find justice for my uncle, brother, and all victims of the genocide. I personally think that the tribunal will bring only partial justice because only the Khmer Rouge senior leaders will be brought to justice. The subordinates

and accomplices will be left out of the tribunal. However, I still have faith that justice will overpower injustice.

According to the villagers, the Khmer Rouge starved and killed a lot of people in the Trapiang Prey Sre Knong village in Chhuok district because the district chief named Ta Chab had betrayed Angkar. Ta Chab was killed.

I feel disappointed that I have never seen my uncle and brother. I feel sorry for the Cambodian intellectuals, the productive resources of the country, who were killed for no reason. Throughout Cambodia's history, there were many wars and disputes under every regime. Because of such unrest and wars, several of my family members died one after another.

◆ During the French colonial period, the Khmer Issarak killed my father, accusing him of being a spy working for France.

◆ During the Lon Nol regime, some of my relatives died because of the aerial bombardment.

◆ During Pol Pot's regime, a lot of my relatives lost their lives and other relatives were recruited as soldiers and militiamen. They all died on the battlefield.

Many killings have occurred during Cambodia's history. I would like the leaders of Cambodia and the international community help ensure that no more killing will occur in Cambodia, that they will put an end to the dark history and the repeating of atrocities, and find justice for the victims. Both sides should work collaboratively in developing democracy and human rights in Cambodia.

Finally, I wish the center's director and staff, as well as the Cambodian people as a whole, the five Buddhist blessings: long life, prosperity, happiness, strength, and tranquility.

Tong Ra is a survivor of Democratic Kampuchea.

SEARCHING FOR MISSING FAMILY MEMBERS

Missing Son

I am Kim Heng, age 83, and living in Tatrav village, Svay Chek sub-district, Angkor Thom district, Siem Reap province. I would like to search for my son named Heng Hauy, who disappeared during the Khmer Rouge regime. He stopped studying at grade 12 and started to serve in the revolution. In 1975 he was sent to Phnom Penh, working along National Road 6, and then he was changed to Siem Reap province. He disappeared after that.

If anybody has heard any information about him, please contact me via above-mentioned address or the Documentation Center of Cambodia. Thanks.

Missing Sons

Living in Trapeang Chhouk village, Chralorng sub-district, Baray district, Kampong Thom province, I, Sar Ouch, age 73, would like to search for my two sons of nine children, who disappeared during the Khmer Rouge revolution.

1) Chuon Chen joined the revolution in 1975. Once after the day of the liberation, Chen went home to see his mother, and then he immediately went back to work. Since then he has never returned home. 2) Chuon Sie joined the revolution after Chen, but Sie has never come home and has disappeared.

If anyone knows or has heard anything about them, please contact me through the Documentation Center of Cambodia via phone: 023 211 875 or P.O. Box 1110, Phnom Penh. Thanks.

Missing Son

I am Chhoeun Uy, 84, with seven children. I lived in Svay Chek village, Ta Trao sub-district, Puok district, Siem Reap province. Now I live in Svay Chek village, Svay Chek sub-district, Ang Thom district, Siem Reap province. I would like to search for my son named Duong Tuy, who has disappeared since 1973 after he was recruited into a Khmer Rouge art unit. Tuy was the third child and went to grade 11. In 1970, Tuy became a Khmer Rouge comrade whose duty was to guard the village. Later on, Angkar selected him to work in the art unit. In 1973, Tuy's mother and I were evacuated to Svay Leu district. I lost contact with Tuy at that time.

After the Khmer Rouge was toppled in 1979, we returned to our homeland and heard that Tuy had become the chief of his art unit. According to the news, he traveled to perform and then disappeared. If anybody knows or has any information regarding Duong Tuy, please contact me via the above address or the Documentation Center of Cambodia. Thanks.

Missing Son

My name is Koh Chann, age 71, I am living in Trapeang Chhouk village, Chralong sub-district, Baray district, Kampong Thom province. I would like to search for my son Sar Hai, who disappeared in 1978 because Angkar assigned him to the battlefield. At the time, he was 15 years old.

If anyone knows or has heard anything about him, please contact me through the Documentation Center of Cambodia via phone: 023 211 875 or P.O. Box 1110, Phnom Penh. Thanks.

Missing Brother

I am Cheun Boran, 58, living in Porng Pos village, Samrong Damrei sub-district Ba Phnom district, Prey Veng province. I would like to search for my younger brother named Cheun Lonh, who disappeared during the Democratic Kampuchea regime. Before 1975, Lonh was a monk at Porng Pos pagoda, but he was arrested, defrocked, and forced to join the Khmer Rouge army. In 1979, I met him once along the Tonle Basak River bank. I asked him to return home with me, but he refused. He disappeared after that. If anybody knows or has heard anything about him, please contact me through the above address or by phone: 012 372 541 or 092 253 770. Thanks.

Missing Sister and Brother

I am Chhun Rom, 54. I have five siblings. I live in Momeanh village, Roluos sub-district, Bakorng, Siem Reap. My father's name is Chhun Porm and mother's Khon Roeun. They both died of disease before the 1975 coup d'état. I would like to search for my sister named Chhun Ran and brother named Chhun Rean.

Before 1975, Ran lived in Phnom Penh, but she disappeared on April 17, 1975. Chhun Rean joined the army in 1972. Once he wrote a letter saying that he was going to take his bicycle to the training camp. He disappeared after that. If anybody knows or has any information regarding Chhun Ran and Chhun Rean, please contact me via the above address or Documentation Center of Cambodia. Thanks.

Searching for

THE TRUTH

- ◆ Missing Films of Democratic Kampuchea
- ◆ Prosecuting Nuon Chea for KR War Crimes

"They were uneducated and did not know what they were doing; therefore, my anger does not fall on them,"

-- Pok Po

ឯកសារប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រនៃប្រជាជនកម្ពុជា

ស្វែងរក

ការពិត



◆ ឯកសារប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ

◆ ការពិតខ្មែរក្រហមនៅក្នុងប្រជាជនកម្ពុជា

ឯកសារប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រនៃប្រជាជនកម្ពុជា

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