

*Searching for*

# THE TRUTH

- ◆ Reconciliation in Cambodia
- ◆ The Discussion on Evidence Submission on Case 002/02

*"Education will not solve all of the problems of the human condition, but it is a reasonably effective way to begin changing human nature for tomorrow."*

*-- Youk Chhang*

**Special**  
English Edition  
Fourth Quarter 2015

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The memorial site at the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum

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# RECONCILIATION IN CAMBODIA

*Youk Chhang*

Reconciliation is as much an individual journey as it is a collective phenomenon. In fact, if we acknowledge that reconciliation can only become tangible in the hearts and minds of individuals, we realise that it is the individual spirit, not the collective will that holds the key to a post-conflict society's ability to overcome its past.

When I think of this, I am reminded by the relationship between the Tonle Sap and Mekong rivers.

The two rivers are distinct for most of their journey; however, they converge around the Royal Palace in Phnom Penh. When the rivers merge, the Tonle Sap does not lose its distinction.

Swollen by the rapid flood of rainwater from the Mekong, the Tonle Sap becomes a hydrological wonder—defying gravity and reversing its course to flow upland and into the Tonle Sap lake, one of the richest freshwater fisheries in the world.

Reconciliation, like the merging of two rivers, does not destroy individuality; rather, like the Tonle Sap, the convergence becomes a factor that

empowers individuals in unforeseeable ways.

Whether we view our situation as individuals or as a collective body, reconciliation is essential to living a full, quality life. We can't escape our history; however, we don't have to be enslaved by it either.

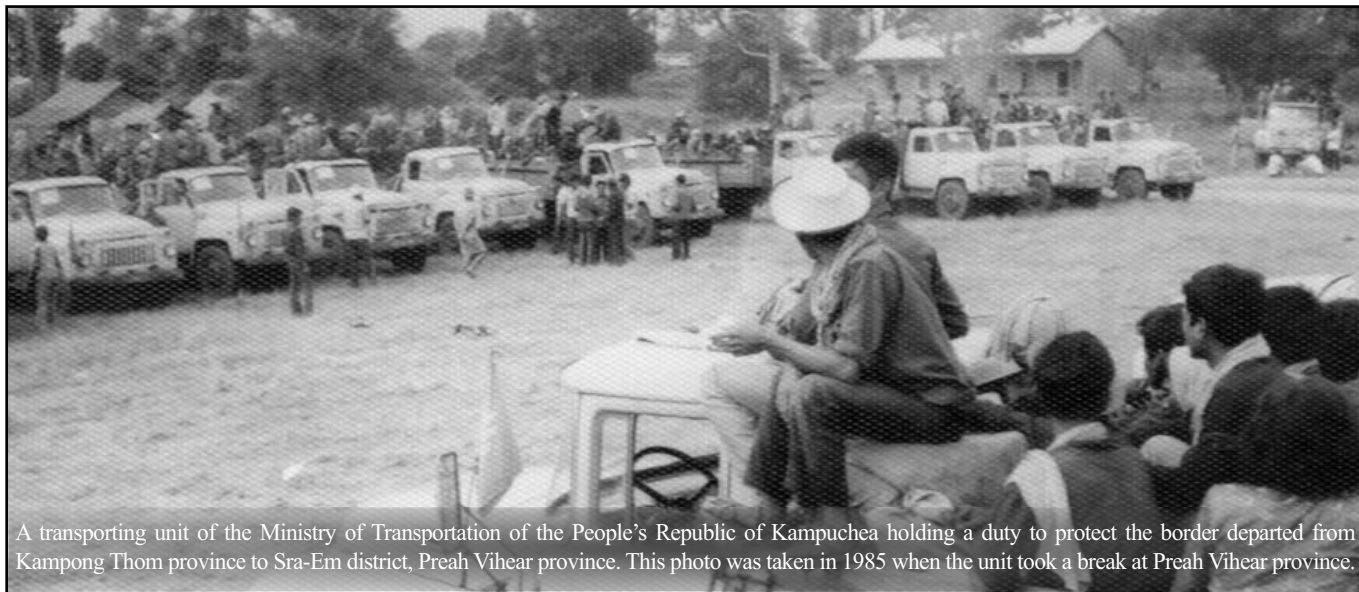
History overlaps. We often forget that we are no more removed from the history of the Khmer Rouge as the generation before was removed from colonialism, war, and social upheaval that preceded them.

Yet reconciliation offers us a way out. Reconciliation offers a way by which we can contribute to the collective success of our nation without sacrificing our individual endeavours.

Like the Tonle Sap and Mekong rivers, we do not lose our individuality when we merge; rather, as we accept each other, we empower each other's personal way of life and contribution to Cambodia as a whole.

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**Youk Chhang**



A transporting unit of the Ministry of Transportation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea holding a duty to protect the border departed from Kampong Thom province to Sra-Em district, Preah Vihear province. This photo was taken in 1985 when the unit took a break at Preah Vihear province.

# 100 YEAR LATER -- FIRST INTERNATIONAL DAY TO COMMEMORATE THE VICTIMS OF GENOCIDE

*Youk Chhang*

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On 9 December 2015, The United Nations marked the first international day to commemorate the victims of genocide. The convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide, which was signed into enactment on this same day in 1948, begs the United Nations and the world to act. Over 100 years ago, the Armenian population suffered incredibly under the Ottoman Turkish Empire. Since this genocide, which still lacks recognition in the parts of the world today, we have seen genocides and mass atrocities time and time again. When these acts come to light, they are followed by declarations, resolutions and international conventions, and yet we remain vulnerable to further acts of genocide.

Mass atrocities are not confined to a specific group, religion, culture, or political orientation. This is a disease which plagues all mankind, as Cambodians know all too well. We too share a collective history of mass atrocities and genocide. We too have suffered this plague. We must

recognize that our commitment to ending genocide not only in words and commemorative days, but in deeds which will stand the test of time. Recognizing our failure to overcome genocide may be well the first step to recognizing that we must take responsibility for our collective in action against this disease.

We may not solve the problem of genocide and mass atrocities that define our world today nor may there be an immediate cure: But we can take action today that will make a different tomorrow. Education is a crucial aspect. It can temper a generation's thoughts of war and channel a youth's energies into productive endeavors that promote peace and a respect for the dignity of an individual and respect for one's diversity. Education will not solve all of the problems of the human condition, but it is a reasonably effective way to begin changing human nature for tomorrow.

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**Youk Chhang**



Victims' skulls and bones at the Choeung Ek Genocidal Center

# CONFESSION OF YIN LON ALIAS SAVORN DEPUTY MEDICAL CHIEF OF REGION "23" EAST

EXTRACTED FROM CONFESSION NUMBER D21277

*Veng Chheng*

Yin Lon alias Savorn, male, 35 years old, was born in Mok Da village, Mok Da commune, Romeas Hek district, Region 23. During the Democratic Kampuchea (DK) Regime, Savorn was a deputy medical chief of Region 23 before Angkar arrested him. His wife, Ieng Sorn, was a female medic of Region 23. Below is a brief confession of Savorn:

During his early childhood, Savorn studied at Mok Da Primary School until grade 9. Since the primary school had no higher classes, he furthered his education at Wat Chrey Thom Primary School in 1957 and stayed with the head of the monastery of Chrey Thom Pagoda, Chan Chhouy, who currently is a construction worker of the Eastern Zone. Chan Chhouy, the head of the monastery, and Monk Saben took care of Savorn by offering him money to buy books and clothes. In mid-1958, when he was 14 years old, Chan Chhouy and Saben, a commune chief of Ang Pra Sre, Romeas Hek district (Region 23) indoctrinated Savorn to join the Free Khmer Movement and appointed him to be a messenger taking letters secretly to their traitorous networks named Sao Saket and Governor Yem.

In 1959, after quitting from being a monk, Saben took Savorn to live with him. Then, Saben introduced Savorn to five other partisans who were their networks named: 1). Long Ngann, a former village chief of Chrey Thom, died in 1973, 2). Sann, who hid in the revolutionary line until 1973, was a sub-district chief of Kampong Trach and now is an agricultural chief of Romeas Hek district 3). Ieng, a village chief of Mream, died in 1970 4). Saphat, whom Angkar has already arrested and 5) Chun

alias Vichet is a worker of the Special Economic, Region 23.

In 1960, Savorn's parents took him to be ordained as a monk at Mream Pagoda. On that occasion, Saben gave Savorn a plan to start activities such as building forces and turning monks in the pagoda against the Khmer Rouge, to monitor the situation and activities of the Khmer Rouge. To easily contact with one another, Saben also introduced Savorn to three other members of the network whose names were: 1) Mot, a village chief of Chrung Por Pel and a worker of Mream Village (Romeas Hek District) 2) Chhe, a citizen of Beoung Phe village, Mream commune and 3) Heang, a citizen of Trapeang Chor village, Mream commune, Romeas Hek district. After being a monk for seven days at Mream Pagoda, following Saben's instruction, Savorn contacted with Chhe and Heang to start activities together by turning monks and people against the Khmer Rouge and claiming that "the Khmer Rouge are a group of bandits trying to steal peoples' property, burn down the pagodas, and abet 'the Viet Cong to steal Khmer Land."

In late 1961, Savorn, Heang and Chhe started activities to agitate people and to monitor Khmer Rouge activities in the commune. At that time, Yat had contact with the Khmer Rouge. Realizing the situation, Savorn and his partisans reported to Saben and Saben forwarded the message to Sao Saket. Sao Saket appointed lieutenant Savuth who currently lives in Mok Da village, Mok Da commune, Romeas Hek district, Region 23 to lead a group of nine police to capture Yat. After the arrest of Yat,

Saben instructed Savorn, Chhem and Heang to search for the Khmer Rouge networks, destroy all of them, strive to build more forces and keep the work secret. After the instruction, Saben introduced three people to know four hidden forces named Saphal, whom Angkar has already arrested, Seoung, a commune chief of Mok Da and Chhorn, a former commune chief of Mok Da, who died in 1976.

In mid-1964, Saphat, Saphal, and Chan Chhouy convened a meeting which was attended by 12 partisans named Saben, Ieng, Ngann, Sann, Chun alias Vichet, Heang, Chhe, Savorn, Mot, Savuth, Chan and Vang. The content of the meeting was to give instructions to all members to 1) strive to build more forces and prepare the force to hide in the Khmer Rouge Movement 2) turn people against the Khmer Rouge 3) search for the Khmer Rouge forces and find ways to smash them 4) Keep secret while implementing the plan.

In 1965, after resigning from being a monk, Chhouy took Savorn to live with him in Prey Chher Teal village, Prey Thom commune, Romeas Hek district and contacted with other partisans. Then, Chhouy introduced Savorn to know four more networks: 1) Yun, a former seller at Chantrey Cooperative (deceased), 2) Seoung, a village chief of Mok Da, 3) Ing, a soldier (died in 1974), 4) Sam, a soldier (died in 1974). Then, Savorn built two forces named Tep Ay from Bak Preap village, Chantrey commune, Romeas Hek district, and Peak Rorn, a children's teacher, from Mok Da Village, Mok Da commune by indoctrinating them to see the prosperous life in the liberal regime. For the Khmer Rouge regime, it is a communist regime unlike the current regime. We, therefore, must protect and prevent the Khmer Rouge from rising to power. We must continue to build more forces.

In 1968, Saphat, Saphal, Saben and Chan Chhouy took Savorn, Peak Rorn and Tep Ay to join the C.I.A. The initiation ceremony for new party members was organized at night at Saphal's house

which was located at Prey Chher Teal village, Chrey Thom commune. In that C.I.A. membership initiation, Saben and Chan Chhouy were the introducers and Saphal, Saphat, Norng Saroeun and Ouch were the acknowledgers. After becoming members of the C.I.A., Saphat and Saphal assigned Savorn, Peak Rorn, and Tep Ay to build more forces, turn people against the Khmer Rouge, keep secret while conducting actions, and appoint these people with other partisans to live in Romeas Hek Cooperative and to start up activities in all villages and communes.

Two months after the coup on 18 March, 1970, Angkar took control of the citizens in Romeas Hek District and appointed Saphat to be a district chief, Saphal to be a sub-district chief and Tachan to be a member. In July, Saphal, on behalf of the district chief, convened a meeting and appointed some of his clique to easily hide in the State Revolutionary Power in order to bring out counter-revolutionary activities against Angkar. At that time, San became a commune chief of Kampong Trach; Seoung became a commune chief of Mok Da; Ya alias Sam Sophan became a commune chief of Chantrey; Savorn became a village chief of Bakpreah; Net Sabun became a sub-chief; and Pen Ya became a member. However, Yun had to be in Romeas Hek military, and Peak Rorn, Tep Ay, and Keo were appointed to live with Savorn. After assigning the hidden forces, Saphat and Saphal gave instructions to their partisans to build more forces in order to hide in the State Revolutionary Power in the future, to agitate people not to believe in the leadership of Angkar and to keep secret. After the instruction, Saphat closed the meeting and all of the members went back to their places.

In 1971-72, Savorn with Sam Oeurn, Savin, Ya alias Sam Sophan, Pen Ya, Net Sabun and Samet alias Sin Narong built three new forces named: 1) Sao Noug, currently a village chief of Prey Kabas Cooperative in Chantrey Commune, 2) Yim Yorn,

currently a sub-chief of Tuol Samrornng Cooperative, Chantrey Commune and 3) Sun Han (deceased) and used the suppressive methods to lead people. If anyone did not follow or protested, they would be accused as Peace Alliance and tortured. This is the reason why people were uneasy, fearful and dissatisfied with the Angkar leadership. Then, Savorn was appointed to be a sub-commune chief of culture of Chantrey, Yi became a chief, and Rous Chi became a member.

In 1973, Saphal convened meetings twice at his house. The first meeting was attended by 14 members. In the first meeting, Saphal told all of his partisans that Angkar, at the moment, took Saphat to be on the council of Region "23". Therefore, all of the councils that Angkar has recently appointed were their networks, for instance, So was a chief, Norng Savoeurn was a sub-chief, and Saphat was a member. At the meantime, Saphal arranged and exchanged some forces through villages and communes and appointed Sam Oeurn to take

control of the security of Romeas Hek District, and Saren to become a member of Srok Mean Chey Thmey. In Chantrey commune, Sary was appointed to handle the responsibilities with Ya instead of Sam Oeurn. Saphal gave additional instructions that in Region "23", their partisans entirely took control and they could do what they wanted but now they must build more forces to hide in each base, as many as they could, in order to easily lead people. Each of them, in each commune, therefore, must strive to implement the plan that Angkar had put out. For the second meeting, 15 members attended. "Angkar now had a plan to organize production cooperatives in each village and commune and people have been working in those collective cooperatives. This plan, indeed, has been already made for 5-6 months. We, however, hid and did not let people know about this. For the plan that we can hide, we will hide. For any plan that cannot be hidden, we would release some information to people but not all information. By so



Female medical staff members chopping small plants to produce medicine for patients

doing, we can deal with the upper level. For the plan that we have disseminated, we must change the plan to be suppressive and harsh. We must do whatever makes people feel uneasy with the leadership of Angkar,” Saphal exclaimed in the meeting. After receiving the instruction from Saphal, Savorn and his clique agitated people to fight against the cooperative plan of Angkar.

In 1974, Savorn was appointed to be a chief controlling 1.850 youth of Romeas Hek District with Phon alias Vichet, the sub chief and Prak Vanna, the member. The upper level introduced three more forces to be in charge of the female sector and appointed Savorn to lead also. After receiving the role as a youth chief, Savorn and Prak Vanna had started up traitorous activities against Angkar, such as indoctrinating youth to have fearful consciousness and not to go to the battlefield, etc. Savorn instructed three ladies named Salorn, Sophorn, and Chan Thorn, who were in charge of the female sectors to lure more youth forces to join the CIA movement. Then, Savorn recruited two more youth forces named Sinat and Sorn and appointed these two people to build more youth forces and agitate people to fight against Angkar.

In 1975, after receiving the plan to construct houses as So instructed, Savorn and some of his clique went to construct houses for 2 months from April 1975 until the Liberation. Then, Saphal, Saphat and So appointed Savorn, Prak Vanna, and Vichet to bring 5 pigs from Ta Bicheng, Doung commune chief, to the provincial governor of Tay Ninh named Teu Ve. After the pigs were given to the Yuon, Saphal introduced the driver, Sam Oeurn who was the battalion secretary of Romeas Hek District and the current member of Battalion 68, Regiment 112, Region 23. The provincial Governor, Teu Ve, would wait to take the pigs at Toul village along the border. After giving the pigs to the Tay Ninh provincial Governor, Savorn returned back. From September to December, Savorn was not

involved in any activity with his partisans because he had malaria and received treatment.

In early 1976, after recovering from the disease, Savorn with Prak Vanna and Phon alias Vichet were appointed by Saphal to lead the youth mobile unit comprised of 1830 people to increase productivity at Doung Commune. Meanwhile, Savorn and his partisans started activities such as suppressing and setting iron discipline for youth in



An abandoned hospital building after the Khmer Rouge regime collapsed in 19

the mobile unit regularly and forcing them to work without any break. When the youth were sick and unable to work, Savorn’s partisans accused them as Peace Alliance. Therefore, all youth in the mobile unit strived to work although they were sick and sometimes they worked to death at the rice field or at the worksite. During this two-month period, 8 youths in the mobile unit died due to overwork, malnutrition, and lack of medicine. On that

occasion, Savorn appointed other partisans to stir up and indoctrinate the youth to fight against Angkar and built two more forces named Sien, a sub chief of mobile unit of Romeas Hek and Sovann Pom, a chief of the mobile unit of Romeas Hek District. In October, Savorn and his partisans stole four cows from people in Doung village cooperative to serve at a party. In December, Savorn and his partisans were appointed by Saphal again to steal



10 buffalo from Soeung in order to give to Teu Ve, the Tay Ninh provincial Governor, at the location where they met the last time. When giving the buffalo to Teu Ve, Teu Ve handed two letters to Saphal. No-one knew the content of the letters.

In January, 1977, Savorn, Prak Vanna, Soeurn, Sarom and Phorn burned the rice mill which Angkar had recently installed at 6 in the evening at Sras village, Chrey Thom district. Then, in February,

Angkar gathered male and female youths from all villages, communes and districts to build a new canal at Dork Por Pagoda in Chrey Thom Commune. In the meantime, Savorn, Vanna, Phon alias Vichet, Miss Salorn, Miss Chan Thorn, and Miss Saphorn had altered the party's linen by pushing all male and female comrades to work all day and all night without any break. As a result, some male and female comrades were sick, unable to work and died. Realizing the situation, the Region provided medicine to cure the illness. Savorn, however, distributed it to his partisans only.

In March, 1977, Savorn, Vanna, Phon, Miss Salorn, Miss Saphorn, Miss Chanthorn and another 13 partisans attended a meeting at Saphal's house. At that time, Saphal instructed all of them to set a line in each place in order to join forces and overthrow the Revolutionary Power on 17 April, 1977. The important point is to lead people in all villages and communes to make conflicts with Angkar and when the coup attempt took place, they must gather people to join with their force. After giving the instruction, Saphal closed the meeting and all the members returned back to their places. Two days before April 17, Saphal called his members to a meeting again and announced that the coup d'état attempt on 17 April, 1977 has to be postponed because the upper networks revealed the secret but the activities to set the force and indoctrinate people to make conflicts with Angkar were still in practice in order to implement the plan in the future.

In July 1977, Savorn went to meet So at Regional Office 23. At that time, So appointed Savorn to be the medical deputy chief of Region 23 and instructed him to contact with Yann, a medical chief of Region 23, in order to easily start up any activity in the future. After the introduction, Yan took Savorn on the hospital tour visiting hospitals in Svay Reang, a hospital in Wat Thmey Pagoda, a hospital in Roub Kor, and a hospital in Wat Prey

Tleak Pagoda. At that time, Yann introduced Savorn to know some of his networks in the hospital of Region 23, namely: Saren, the head of a group of the military hospital (Angkar has already arrested him), Lorn, the head of the medical group of Region 23 (in malaria division and Angkar has already arrested him) and Chhorn, the head of the fishery group in regional hospital "23".

At the hospital, occasionally, Savorn, Yann and their partisans brought up activities to harm people and the soldiers who were curing their illness at the hospital by paying no attention to patients and letting them rest with each other. The materials that were provided by Angkar such as mosquito nets, blankets and mats were not distributed to the patients but they were kept in storage. Moreover, they cut down the meal portion which caused the death of patients.

In August, 1977, So opened a meeting that had 19 attendees. "The plan to overthrow the State Revolutionary Power on April 17, 1977 failed. We, therefore, must set up a plan to overthrow the revolution again on the Party's anniversary which will take place in September, 1977, and we will cooperate with the Yuon. The military, the districts, and the ministries must get the force and materials ready in order to successfully implement the plan and we must keep secret," So brought up in the meeting. After the end of the meeting, Savorn and Yann started up the plan to tell other members and appointed their partisans to gather the medicine for the coup.

In September, 1977, three days before the anniversary of the Party, So called a meeting at Troey Ta Hor that was attended by 18 members. "The situation now is not good. Therefore, we must postpone our plan and allow the Yuon to fight from the outside to liberate Region "23". Then, we will gather the force with the Yuon," So said. After the instruction, So closed the meeting. In mid-December, the Yuon attacked us and entered Bra

Sot district. At that time, Savorn, Yann, Than, and the Youn brought medicines such as chloroquin and aspirin by four Range Rovers to Yuon named Teu Nhov and Min, the Governor of Long Ann Province at Bom Bridge, Prasot district.

On 6 January, 1978, soldiers of Democratic Kampuchea attacked and banished the Yuon military from Kampuchea's territory. In early February, So called Savorn and Yann to meet him and instructed them to hide the medicine properly in order to attack Angkar's soldiers on Khmer New Year in April, 1978 by letting the Yuon attack from the outside and we attack from behind. After the instruction, So gave 10 guns each to Savorn and Yann including 1 AK, 5 15-AR, and 4 Carrabine to distribute among the forces who were their partisans working in the hospital. After receiving the plan, Savorn and Yann collected three trucks of medicine including serum, aspirin, chloroquin, multi-vitamin, tetracycline, penicillin, strepto and other medical equipment which were prepared last time to hide in Wat Angkor Sor Pagoda. This Coup plan did not succeed because Angkar took So from Region 23 to take control over Region 24. After So was taken away, Angkar arrested Savorn's network. On 29th March, 1978, Yann, the medic chief of Region 23 was arrested by Angkar. 14 days later on 13 April, 1978, Savorn was also arrested by Angkar.

The confession of Yin Lon alias Savorn is a hand-written document that describes his background and his traitorous activities with his partisans which consists of 54 pages and 8 additional pages as a list of 102 partisans who joined the traitorous activities. At the end of the confession on the left side, there is a signature and a thumbprint of Savorn who was the confessor, dated 2 June, 1978. On the right side, there was a signature of the documentarian named Heang dated 2 June, 1978.

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**Veng Chheng**

# DETERMINE TO BUILD SOCIALISM IN A GREAT LEAP FORWARD FOLLOWING THE LINE OF THE PARTY BY DEPENDING ON AGRICULTURE AS THE FOUNDATION

EXTRACTED FROM THE REVOLUTIONARY FLAG, ISSUE 8, AUGUST 1976

*Veng Chheng*

We want to quickly build socialism. We have to improve our qualifications in a great leap manner. We, therefore, have to examine our experience and total our experience in order to create new qualifications and strengthen our belief.

What are our qualifications? What are the difficulties; what are the conveniences that can bring us forward? How is our situation to decide subjectively and objectively? If we can clearly control the situation, we will clearly raise the direction and we will have a strong belief.

We started to rehabilitate our economy from late 75' to early 76'. The period is short. In such a situation, we have the conveniences and difficulties as follows:

## **The conveniences:**

1. **Social factor** : our society, in general, is collective and we continue our revolution. We are setting up our qualifications neither to end the People's Democratic Revolution nor to lead to socialism. Our society, indeed, is already socialist at both the city and the countryside. In our society



Females of a cooperative at Kien Svay collecting papayas to support dry season rice farmers and frontline soldiers.

nowadays, we have seen the new connection of productivity, the staunch collectivism unlike the previous oppressive society. Because of the good connection, the new productive forces are also good. All of the productive forces are collective. We arrange the human forces, animals and instruments as we want.

This is a good situation as our foundation. We, therefore, have jumped from the new colonialism of the American imperialist, feudalism and capitalism to the society of socialism. Compared to other countries, this situation is completely different. After the liberation in other countries, they manage to end the People's Democratic Revolution then alter it to socialism. They need a long a period of time.

For us, we are different. We are faster. If looking at the collectivism from the socialist perspective, we are 10 years ahead. We have a new connection of productivity which is not complicated like others.

**2. Leading factor :** our Party is absolutely not bottlenecked. We did not overcome land reform or the period to alter to socialism. We have leapt from People's Democratic Revolution to socialism. Our line including strategies and tactics is correct. Our Party as a whole holds the line and has more experience.

**3. Natural factor :** land, cattle and buffalo, natural resources, water resources including lakes, ponds, and rivers are intertwining. Our natural conditions are very favorable, unlike other countries.

**The difficulties:**

**Meanwhile, we have some difficulties such as:**

### **1. Foundation in all kinds of industry**

The heavy industry, the light industry especially the light industry almost does not exist. We do not have a mine and energy sector. We have very little light industry and depend on other

countries for raw materials. In short, our industry is poor. If our foundation of industry is poor, the foundation of technology is also poor.

Compared to other countries, we are way poorer than they in terms of industry. If we do not use the old technicians, we are even weaker. If we use them, we will be politically complicated. These problems bring us more difficulties because they are political issues.

### **2. We have no foreign assistance :**

Both industry and agriculture, we do not receive aid from abroad.

In brief, after the liberation, some countries that have foreign capitals have helped us. For us, the aid is not large compared to other countries. This problem is the policy of our Party. If we ask them for assistance, we would receive some but it would affect the political line of our Party; if we ask for more, there would be some political conditions.

◆ Our resources for production and our former resources for economic-finance are very small. We are even poorer because we have abolished the previous currency. We do not want the former resources, as we do not want to be indebted to them. We raise this problem to show that we have a lack of resources. If we allow the resources from foreigners, we will be in political debt.

We stand on agriculture as a foundation for agricultural resources to strengthen and expand the industry.

In short, we are strong in terms of politics, collectivism and land. But we are weak in terms of materials and technology. In such a situation, can we quickly build our country up from the standpoint of independence, mastery and self-reliance? Or do we need aid from foreigners to assist us? Is it possible or impossible? Can we go economically forward as quickly as our political line?

Totaling both easy and difficult situations, we

have the convenient factor as a foundation because the determining factor is neither technology nor materials. The determining factor of the revolution is politics and the People's Revolution. Lenin made the revolution from his bare hands, so are we. We made the revolution from empty hands. But we have our lines, our staunch standpoint; we made the revolution and we defeated our enemy. We built our economy in the same way. The revolutionary force of our people's Party is a strong force. This force will make our land which is our resource to quickly bear more outcomes. We will rapidly turn our country into an agricultural one. We, therefore, assault the agricultural sector because we have agricultural resources. Through the movement's velocity, we can quickly assault. We stand on this foundation, agriculture as the foundation, in order to use this agricultural resource to strengthen and expand the industrial sector. We, therefore, solve the contradiction in the industrial sector by depending on our agricultural resources. We do not strengthen and expand our industrial sector by asking for assistance from foreigners. We, therefore, resolve our contradiction by standing on the agricultural resources, the standpoint of mastery, independence and self-reliance.

Can we do it or can we not? We see that we fully have our qualifications. In 1975, we could do it. In 1976, we could do it as well. In 1977, we will still be able to do it. This is by only focusing on the agricultural sector. For the industrial sector, we are progressing. From our experience in one year, we can control and manage it. We, onward, have the agricultural resources to buy the factories and other machines; we can do it because we already have our lines. For example, the tractor factory; if we have sufficient lathe tools, we can build tractors. We can have heavy industry if we have resources to buy a blast furnace. For rubber, we can buy machines or factories to expand and transform them for other tools. These problems, if we ask for aid from the

foreigners, are not easy.

In short, if we have the agricultural resources, we can quickly strengthen and expand the industrial sector. Based on our qualifications and our resources, we can build our country through a systematic chain, through plans, through specific directions in an independent-mastery manner. If we have our chain and our plans, we have a clear foundation in terms of the economy; we can be economically independent. If we are independent in terms of the economy, we are independent in terms of politics and national defense.

The globe views us and analyses us through their perspective. They say we are "leftists" because we abolish minor producers or small capitalists. Some say we are leftists; some degrade us, and some even instigate against us. This is a new experience, a massive experience around the globe because we do not follow them. We jumped from the People's Democratic Revolution to socialist revolution and built socialism in no time. They are waiting to see this new experience. We are not Biblicists; we follow the real situation in our country.

Determine to set the agricultural period in each zone in the next 3 to 4 years

The Party has determined to set the agricultural period throughout the country in 10-15 years on behalf of the owners of water, seeds, fertilizers and machine instruments. We quickly want it, in short, throughout the country in 10 to 15 years. However, in each foundation, it has good subjective characteristics on the land, and water, and good objective characteristics on the Party and people. Some areas in the period of 3-5 years, they can achieve 8, 9 or 10 tons in order to use this resource to solve the water problem, machines, agricultural medicine. It is possible. For one hectare of land, we can achieve 8 to 10 tons of production; in the area 1-3 hundred thousand hectares of land, twice this production is possible.

For example, in general, the land in the north is not favorable but the land in the south, we can or cannot produce 8 to 10 tons in one hectare of land from 3 to 5 years. In the next year, each zone in the south can farm twice as much and produce 6 tons without difficulty. In 1978, we will certainly produce 7 to 8 tons as well as some fertilizers. We, therefore, are satisfied with our progress because we are fast. But we have to improve our qualifications in a fast manner in order to use the resources such as machines, demining machines, pumping machines, etc, for the land that is not favorable.

Therefore, in each zone and place, they are capable of accomplishing the goals of the

If we proceed like this in 1977, 1978 and 1979, we will have the core to build socialism in each foundation. Standing on this, we can expand our resources. Therefore, we set up agriculture. If the process continues like this for 5 years, we are strong. If not throughout the country but in some areas, we are strong. Standing on this, we will expand. The new agricultural period of Kampuchea by 1980 has its core. From 1980-1985, the agricultural period will be fully achieved throughout the country. Therefore, in 10 years, we can achieve the agricultural period. The key is in the next 3 to 5 years.

**The leading factor is the determination factor**



Farmers at Phnom Srok district carrying stones to mix with cement for damgate construction.

agricultural period in the next 2 to 5 years. We do not have machines but we have good land and water resources; they are favorable which allows us to produce 8 to 10 ton. We have resources to buy machines and set them up in the unfavorable areas.

**Problems :** land, water and fertilizers are not the problems but the leading Party is the problem. Our lines have already agreed with each other. But the implementation is strong and weak in some places. The new phase is to set up new cadres. Our

cadres have to be well-understood, clear, striving and determined about the lines. People only need to follow. Therefore, the cadres cannot be conservative. They need to set up and know when to sow, how to seed and how to stop the water from flowing rapidly. If farmed twice, in May, we will master. In order to master, we need to carefully manage water resources. Moreover, do not follow the traditional method that was privately used. Example: to pedal the water from the lower region is not easy. In some areas, our people have to use excessive strength to pedal the water. In the past, the private sector pumped the water from the lower region because they could not dig the canal across other people's land. Therefore, make it scientific. We should carefully think, have the working schedule, and know the order and where to plough. When setting up any task, the schedule shall be dated according to each situation. We need to stand on these points in order to select cadres. To build socialism, we need to choose the creative cadres. Do not be afraid to choose from the mobile unit. The cadres who lead the mobile unit have fought. We can educate them about the process of the line; they can serve the movement. The movement from 1975 has produced so many cadres for this movement. Sometimes, the cadres who left the movement during the war hinder the new movement. The new and strong cadres came from this movement; they serve the new movement and build the dike without hesitation. In the zone, they might not see this but in the cooperative and mobile unit, they might see it. Do whatever it takes to make the line well-informed to the lowest level. For example, the line to produce rice twice per year must be informed to the lowest level. Do not be conservative about the cadre issues. Whether or not we can organize, we will inspect and build the movement. Meanwhile, we should have:

- ◆ Good political tasks

- ◆ Good conscious tasks
- ◆ Good organizational task
- ◆ Good committees at all levels
- ◆ Good cadres at all levels
- ◆ Good partisans
- ◆ Good branches
- ◆ Good work-leading style
- ◆ Good core organization

Expand and strengthen the worker-peasant alliance in a strong manner

The forcing factors in building socialism of the Party include:

- ◆ Good political tasks
- ◆ Good conscious tasks
- ◆ Good organizational task
- ◆ Implement the absolute revolution of the

Party on the traitors

◆ Practice democracy for people, workers, and peasants in order to expand and strengthen the belief in the revolution and uninterruptedly provoke the mass movement.

- ◆ Build according to class composition:
- ◆ Build workers
- ◆ Build peasants

◆ Build all classes who are working as the new peasants or workers and are not involved politically with the enemy: the scholars, bourgeois, or any individual who obstructs socialism. We must highly focus on indoctrinating them in politics, consciousness to make them understand about the duties and building socialism in accordance with the actual plans for the outcome and the bright future of their lives as well as their nation.

If we can control, understand and implement the lines of the Party which depend on agriculture as the foundation in building socialism, we can quickly build our country in a great leap forward manner by standing on the collective foundation of the proletarian class.

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**Veng Chheng**

## PUBLIC INFORMATION ROOM

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

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

The PIR offers three services:

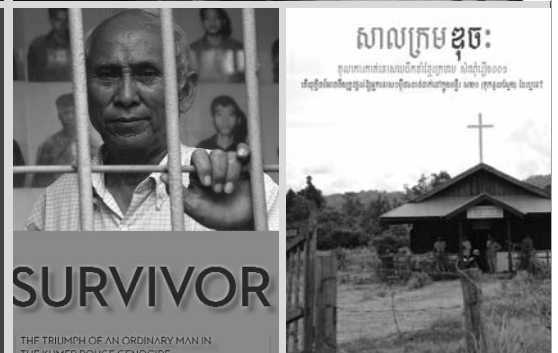
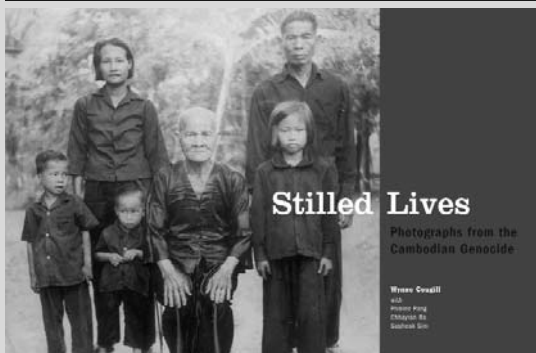
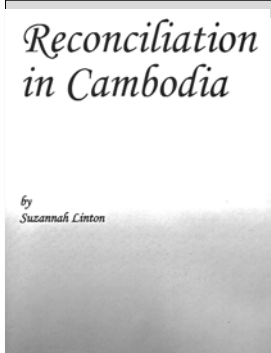
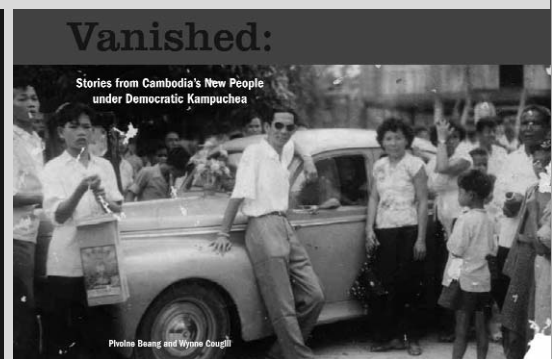
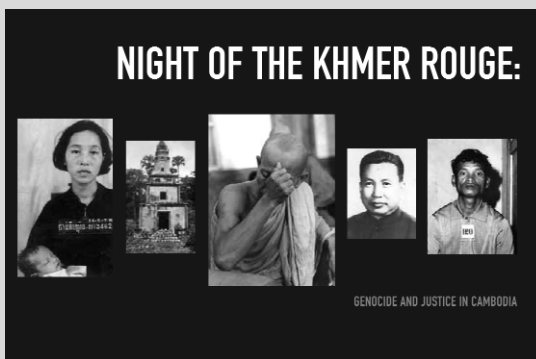
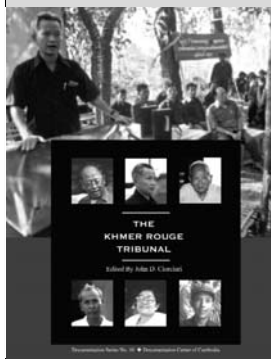
1. Library: Through our library, the public can read documents, books and magazines, listen to tapes, watch documentary films and view photographs held at DC-Cam, the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, National Archives and other locations.

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

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

Khmer Rouge documentary films are shown everyday upon request.

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



# DEVOTION OF CAMBODIAN WOMEN: HOPE

*Bunthorn Som and Kunthy Seng*

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I would like to thank the National Policy for Women established by Samdech Techo Hun Sen, the Prime Minister of Cambodia, who gave a speech on gender equality and women's empowerment at the "Global Leaders" Meeting on Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment which was held at the United Nations Headquarters, New York, U.S.A. on 27 September, 2015, with the purpose to promote women's equality for social development and to empower women through action plans after 2015. The content of this policy sets a strong foundation and hope to Cambodian women who are the driving force in building Cambodian society after the Khmer Rouge regime. Nearly two hundred thousand children and women survived without fathers and husbands. 70 percent of the survivors from that regime are women who have overcome many obstacles to protect their beloved family and to develop their nation.

During the 1980s and 1990s, when Cambodia was in political upheaval and civil war, women uplifted the country's economy and reshaped the social structure in various sectors such as culture, education, and traditions which were completely abolished by the Khmer Rouge. During the post-war period, Cambodian women were still courageous.

In gratitude, the memory of women's devotion and the struggle to rehabilitate and to rebuild their country, a statue should be constructed to honor them. To display the devotion of Cambodian women who overcame the Khmer Rouge with hope, how should the artist

conceptualize the art? How should the artist shape the sculpture in response to this contemporary period? What happened during the Khmer Rouge time was a crime against humanity and was genocide. The story of Cambodian women is the story of the world. What form should the artist create to make everyone in the world understand? Who should the artist be? These questions provide the artist with a concept of how to create the statue of devotion of Cambodian women: hope.

Mr. Chhang Youk, the director of the Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam) and the founder of the Permanent Sleuk Rith Institute, has written to support this idea since 2004 and has disseminated publicly through social media and public comment nation-wide every year on Women's Rights Day, March 8th. He has work collaboratively with involved partners and institutes in order to promote public discussions and to build the statue of devotion of Cambodian women: hope.

DC-Cam continues to promote the idea of building the statue in order to dedicate it to the patriotism and the struggles of the surviving women from the Khmer Rouge. Based on Mr. Chhang Yuok's perspective, this picture portrays a mother trying to pull her child up which illustrates the hope to rescue children from hardship.

Some Khmer sculptors have drafted the statue following the concept described by Mr. Chhang Yuok but the statue has not yet been sculpted. From the globalization pressure, some artists have changed the idea from classical painting to modern painting which is a new art

form for Cambodian citizens.

Recently, DC-Cam has received the statue from I Nyoman Nuarta, the contemporary artist, who has discussed the sculpture with Mr. Youk Chhang and used the idea of women survivors from the Khmer Rouge. He sculpted the statue and donated it to the Sleuk Rith Institute as a present. This new statue has been presented to sculpture students at Royal University of Fine Arts in order to promote discussions and to encourage them to sculpt this kind of statue in different forms in order to represent Cambodian women.

At the same time, there are some comments

related to sculpture provided to DC-Cam such as:

◆ Brian Dale, an English sculptor, said that this statue appears calm but very powerful.

◆ Peter Sarock: It is the truth. This sculpture is very interesting.

◆ James Blake: Yes, it is true. So many stories can be depicted through this sculpture. Due to the state of confusion and uncertainty, mothers expect the better future. I can see not only the love of the mother for her child but I can also see her love for other people's children. This is very powerful. I really appreciate it. Thanks for sending me this photo. I am looking forward to seeing the statue

"Devotion of Cambodian Women: Hope". At the moment, I am printing this photo to put it on my desk. I will look at it every time I sit in front of my computer. Dr. Ronald Zachary, the former rector of our university, whom Dr. Bogart and I are working with, is also a sculptor. Although he is retired, he still carries on his works of art and other works related to metal. I will print this photo for him. What will be its component? Metal or wood crates?

DC-Cam intends to dedicate this statue to the globe and to women in any region and any country in the world that have overcome a dark history. This statue is appropriate for the National Policy on substantial commitment to gender equality, and women's empowerment.

**Bunthorn Som and Kunthy Seng**



Devotion of Cambodian women: Hope

# THE ARTIFACTS ON THE LIST OF GOODS TRANSACTED BETWEEN THE KHMER ROUGE AND THAILAND

*Vannak Sok*

After the victory on 17 April, 1975, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Khmer Rouge negotiated with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Thailand to establish the joint border committee at the Poi Pet International Border located in Region 23 of the Northwest Zone. In early 1976, both parties agreed on creating a market near the Poi Pet border to transact commercial goods. The Khmer Rouge, as the representative of the Ministry of State Commerce, brought goods such as raw rubber, lobsters, fish, meat, coffee, lotus seeds, and bronze god statues to exchange with Thailand for agricultural machinery such as machines, steel, and tractor accessories.

Ly Chantha, whose revolutionary name was

Thoeurn, was born at Noreay district, Kampong Thom province. She was a former female combatant whom the Khmer Rouge sent to transact goods at Poi Pet in 1976. She enumerated that she volunteered to join the revolution through Ly in 1974. After the Khmer Rouge entered Phnom Penh on April 17, 1975, Angkar transferred her to work at the Ministry of State Commerce in Phnom Penh. Meanwhile, Angkar assigned 30-40 female combatants and her to clean houses and to collect valuable goods to store at the warehouse near the National Bank of Kampuchea. Chantha saw the silence of Phnom Penh where there were houses without people. Most of the houses were locked but the cleaners destroyed the locks to gather the



Broken artifacts and abandoned statues after the Civil War in Cambodia



Ly Chantha interviewed by a DC-Cam staff member

goods stored inside.

In November, 1976, the unit assigned Chantha to sell goods at Poi Pet near the Thai border. Chantha said that the Khmer Rouge transported many tons of goods including raw rubber, coffee, lotus seeds, fish and lobsters by train from Phnom Penh to Poi Pet every day. That market opened for Thai customers to buy goods from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. Chantha's unit transacted artifacts with Thailand including: big and small bronze god statues and standing statues.

Chantha could not speak Thai or other languages. However, there were interpreters who were the cadres of the Ministry of State Commerce to interpret in each transaction. Chantha only waited for the customers and weighed the goods. Customers could not wander around freely on the selling premises. The Khmer Rouge soldiers held guns and watched the customers. Male and female sellers at the market were not allowed to enter Thailand because Angkar was very strict; they could not have a friendly talk with Thai soldiers stationed at the border. If they talked and Angkar knew, they would be taken to be reeducated. During that period, if one was taken away, he or she was rarely

released.

Chantha did not know how Angkar transacted the goods but she knew when the Thai bosses or Thai companies took goods from the Khmer Rouge, there would be trucks of machines and steel, tractors and tractor accessories transferred to the Khmer Rouge the next day. Chantha never saw both parties have any conflict regarding the price and the goods.

In mid1977, Angkar assigned Chantha to work at the Ministry of State Commerce in Phnom Penh. She carried sacks, peeled ceiba pentandra and placed it in sacks for export. Those goods were mostly brought to China. Ta Rith was the minister of the Ministry of State Commercial. There were hundreds of workers but they were frequently replaced. There were two meals per day. Sometimes it was enough; sometimes it was not. The work was not really hard. Chantha was afraid that Angkar would call her to be reeducated.

In 1978, Angkar assigned Chantha to be at the Ministry of State Commerce but to look after the children whose parents went to work at other departments in the ministry; some of them were orphans. Chantha looked after approximately 40 children. In the morning, she cooked porridge for them and led them to do minor work such as weeding and other small work at the children's center near Tuol Tompoung.

In 1979, when Vietnamese soldiers entered Kampuchea, Khmer Rouge cadres, those children and she travelled by train to Battambang Province. They got off the train and ran into the forest. Chantha saw many corpses along the street and in the forest who died because of starvation. She realized if she continued running into the forest, she might be dead and unable to see her parents and her relatives again. Chantha decided to turn back to her hometown.

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**Vannak Sok**

# AN URN REUNITED WITH FAMILY

*Kunthy Seng*

One among 464 urns that was found under the throne of the God at Langka Pagoda has been reunited with the family. There is no joy greater than reuniting with family during the religious season. Pchum Ben has just passed but it has brought joy and happiness to Khmer citizens who reunited with their family and paid their respects to deceased relatives. During the 13th day of Pchum Ben festival this year, Botumreaksmey and his family were joyful as they found the urn of his mother, Pech Bandit, which had been misplaced for 35 years at Langka Pagoda. Botumreaksmey believed that the reunion will bring luck and prosperity to his family. "Everyone in my family is now very happy and relieved after we have found mother's urn. I will put my mother's urn next to my

father's."

Botumreaksmey's mother passed away in 1985; she was cremated. Some part of her remains was thrown into the river and some part was placed in the urn at Langka Pagoda. Because there was no stupa at that time, he placed the urn under the throne of God. Two years later, the urn was misplaced. Botumreaksmey's family and he had been looking for the urn everywhere in the pagoda and under the throne of God but it could not be found. During every religious festival, Botumreakskey always paid respect to his mother and hoped that one day he would find the urn. As the years passed by, Botumreaksmey felt unease because the urn was "misplaced". If he knew where the urn was, his family and he could keep and pay respect to it. "Because there is no other choice, I trust god. If you don't believe, please don't insult," he said. Botumreaksmey hoped that he would find his mother's urn one day.

Good deeds do exist. After Pchum Ben, Botumreaksmey received the news that the urns were to be rearranged by the staff of the Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam). He came by and found the urn. He was very delighted. He expressed his gratitude to the director and the staff of DC-Cam for rearranging the urns.

Family reunion, committing good deeds and paying respect to the deceased, which is beneficial to the society as well as the religion, can bring a state of peace and hope for achieving life's goals. DC-Cam hopes that other families will find the urns of their relatives among those 463 urns at Langka Pagoda.



An urn found at a temple at the Langka Pagoda

**Kunthy Seng**

# DON'T EVER THINK OF STAYING ALIVE

*Veng Chheng*

Hao Ron, female, 59 years old, was born at Pong Teuk village, Kous commune, Tramkak district, Takeo province. Ron, the third among four children, got married to Chhem Huon (currently the village chief of O Svay). Ron has five children, 1 male and 4 females. Her father's name is Hao Norng, 89 yearsold (deceased), and her mother's name is Oam Phorn (deceased).

When Ron was young, she was in grade 7 "of the previous society" at Angkor Montrey School. She lived in a farming family with decent living standards and never faced starvation or any shortage. Later, Ron dropped out, stayed at home with her parents and became a farmer.

Before the overthrow of King Sihanouk on 18 March, 1970, the situation at the village and

commune remained calm and nothing was changed because the village and commune were under the control of the Lon Nol soldiers. However, in 1971-73, Khmer Rouge soldiers occasionally entered some villages and remote areas to provoke people to join in the struggle with their group. At that time, some of the elder people in the village volunteered to join with the Khmer Rouge. Meanwhile, there were armed conflicts between both sides of the soldiers in villages. This kind of situation happened once a week. Every time there was an attack, Ron and other villagers fled to the safe zone and waited until the situation became calm to go back home.

In 1975, when the Khmer Rouge fully came to power, people almost throughout the nation were evacuated by the Khmer Rouge soldiers from their houses to live in different areas. However, Ron's family and villagers were not evacuated. Ron was the only one chosen by Angkar to work at the salt field which was located at Kampong Nong (near Kampong Nong Pagoda), Kampot, in a small battalion unit which was under the control of Rim (from Kampong Chnang).

There were 100 members in Ron's unit (called company). Every day, Ron always followed the direction determined by Angkar which was to work from 7 a.m. and stop at 5 p.m. There were two meals provided in a day which was rice and corn. Work at the salt field could only be done during the dry season. Therefore, during the rainy season, Ron and other people had to do farming at the mountains or other areas as organized by the unit to grow crops in order to provide the food for the unit.

The salt production produced by Ron's unit



Hao Ron

was stored in the storage. Frequently, there were cars transporting to other areas as Angkar demanded. Normally, there were meetings for the group every three days which were held in the evening, one hour after dinner.

After working at the salt field for a while, Ron used to send a letter to her parents by sending it through a worker in the economic team which traveled close to Ron's hometown. Ron never visited her hometown because the unit was far away from her home and there was no transportation.

Ron worked in the salt field until the Vietnamese troops entered Cambodia. She fled with the Khmer Rouge troops into the forest and mountains up to the camp in Thailand.

Ron did not dare to return back to her hometown because she was afraid of getting killed by the Vietnamese troops. When she first fled, there was some rice. Later on, there was no rice. They dug up manioc, and potatoes to eat until they reached the camp. There were so many refugees who died along the way because of starvation and other causes.

Ron stayed at a place which was known as "1001" camp located at a village that was controlled by Ta An. Therefore, people called it "Ta An village". There was no problem related to the living standards because people were given a fair amount of food; especially, during the religious season, there was assistance provided by the organization such as sticky rice, rice, cooking oil, instant noodles and canned fish, etc. "However, there were some difficulties living there because of the attacks between the Khmer Rouge soldiers and the Vietnamese soldiers which occasionally occurred," Ron continued.

In 1980, Ron got married to Chhem Huon from Chi Kreng. First, Huon was the Khmer Rouge soldier but he then fled from the attack of the Vietnamese soldiers, threw his membership away,

got married with Ron and lived as a civil citizen at "1001" camp. Two years later, they moved to "1003" camp in 1982 due to the fact that "1001" camp was attacked by the Vietnamese soldiers and at that area, there were only Khmer Rouge soldiers stationed there.

Ron's family lived at "1003" camp (or Steung Chan) for a year, then moved to Doeum Roka. People who lived at Doeum Roka were frightened and highly cautious because they were afraid that the Vietnamese soldiers would attack again. Later, she came to O Trav Camp controlled by Yin (who is her uncle). At O Trav Camp, there was food for people because of the assistance from Red Cross from France.

In 1991, Ron left from O Trav Camp to live at Trapeang Brey with the Khmer Rouge at Anlong Veng district for a while because she was afraid of the government troops attacking her; she fled to live at Tomnub Dach (currently Tomnub Dach commune, Trapeang Prasat district) in 1993. Ron lived and did farming there for a year when the troops of the government entered. Then, she fled to Chub Ron (located along Dong Rek Mountain, Thai border) until the election.

At that time, people were very delighted and hoped that the country would be peaceful and without war.

Later, in 1995, Ron returned to O Svay village, Trapeang Prasat district, Oddar Meanchey until the present time.

Ron visited her hometown at Takeo and reunited with her family. She was very excited and happy because she did not think of staying alive and arriving at her hometown again, she continued. However, Ron and her family decided to live at Anlong Veng because at her hometown, there was neither job nor land available to grow crops.

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**Veng Chheng**

# 34 YEARS LATER, WE KNOW THE NAME OF THE PHOTOGRAPHER OF TWO PHOTOS

*Dara P. Vanthan*

When were these photos captured? By whom? These questions were frequently raised but there was almost no answer. 34 years later, we knew the real answer for these two photos. Lao Thon, at Pailin, turned the History of Democratic Kampuchea book to page 16 and 69 and told us that Kim, the former Khmer Rouge, who worked for Center 35 of the Ministry of Propaganda and Information and was a photographer in 1977. This ministry was led by Hou Nim and later was led by Yun Yat, the wife of Sun Sen, after Hu Nim was arrested and sent to Tuol Sleng in April, 1977.

Thon recounted many stories related the

leaders of the Khmer Rouge and Center "870" of these leaders. The K-5 was a unit subordinated to Center "870", which was located at the Technical University and led by Phom. The K-5 Unit was responsible for the indoctrination of politics and lines of the Communist Party of Kampuchea to the Khmer Rouge cadres; aside from Phom, Pang, Yun Yat, and Khieu Samphan were the indoctrinators during July, 1975. Besides K-5, there were many K locations including K-1 to K-8. K-1 was the house of Pol Pot and Noun Chea which is now located near the North Korean Embassy close to Independent Monument. During 1976, there were some



The visit of Burmese delegation led by President Ne Win to Cambodia in 1977. This photo was taken by Kim, a friend of Thon

changes; K-6 Unit was responsible for the indoctrination of politics and line of the Communist Party of Kampuchea to the cadres at all levels. Pol Pot commenced the course and Nuon Chea was the indoctrinator. This center was at Borey Keyla.

Thon described more about Boeung Trabek Center. Indeed, Boeung Trabek Center, during the Pol Pot regime, was similar to a village. That center is now located near Daem Thkov Market on the opposite of Sansom Kosal. Thon said that Boeung Trabek Center was not a prison; it was led by Sann

division of the Ministry of Propaganda and Information. Thon was a photographer and a film producer. Thon and Kim, his colleague, escorted the leaders to take photos of delegations from abroad that came to visit Kampuchea. According to what Thon told the researchers of the Documentation Center of Cambodia, the Ministry of Propaganda and Information had many subordinated centers such as Center 33, 34, 35, 36, and 37. Center 37 near Wat Phnom was the place to broadcast the news which was controlled by Kuoy. Center 35 was



The visit of Burmese delegations led by president Ne Win to Angkor Wat temple, Cambodia in 1977. This photo was taken by Kim, a friend of Thon

and later on by Savorn. Thon told the researchers of the Documentation Center of Cambodia that the creation of Boeung Trabek Center was to teach Khmer, Chinese and English to the youngsters who were reserved for working at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

In September, 1977, Khmer Rouge's Angkar sent Thon to work at the K-35 Center under the

responsible for taking photos, producing films, and editing the photos. It was controlled by Khoeun. Center 36 which was located near Chbar Ampov was responsible for arts and dancing. The last center, Center 37, was located at Kantuot near Pochentong.

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**Dara P. Vanthan**

# CHOU YORN: THE FORMER CHIEF OF THE DISTRICT MOBILE UNIT

*Sarakmonin Teav*

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Chou Yorn, a former Khmer Rouge cadre, was born at Korng Pisey district, Kampong Speu. He is the eldest son of a family of farmers who has 6 siblings. Yorn devoted almost all of his entire life to struggle with the Khmer Rouge Revolution until the regime completely collapsed.

When he was a youth, he studied to grade 7 at Ta Phem School, Srong Mountain. Due to the poor living conditions, Yorn decided to drop out and returned to help his parents in the rice field. His parents arranged a marriage for him in 1968.

After the overthrow of King Norodom Sihanouk in March, 1970, Yorn decided to join the struggle of the Viet Cong. When the Khmer Rouge took over, he became a militiaman. Yorn worked as a militiaman and followed the troops by carrying the injured soldiers at Kampong Speu battlefield until the Khmer Rouge entered Phnom Penh in 1975.

After entering Phnom Penh in 1975, his unit was adjourned and there was no armed force: they were assigned to dig the dike and sent as a mobile unit. Angkar separated the mobile unit into two: a district mobile unit and a regional mobile unit which was similar to a troop.

Later, Angkar appointed Yorn to be the chief of the district mobile unit in Region 23 Kampong Speu, in the Southwest Zone. The work in this mobile unit was to transfer the soil, dig the canal, and raise the dike. People in Yorn's unit aged from 20 to 30 but people in their 30s were rare. Yorn, at that time, was 26 years old. Yorn said that most of the villagers were in the mobile unit; for the new people who were evacuated, they could not work

in the mobile unit unless they had a clean background. Yorn was a chief of platoon mobile unit. Work in the morning started at 6 or 7 a.m. and evening started from 1 or 2 to 5 p.m. The meal was very little. There was only porridge and sometimes mixed with corn or potato.

Yorn at that time worked together with Ponn. In 1976, the dike near Ampe Phnom Pagoda was broken and flooded the rice field. Ponn was arrested by Angkar and detained at Ang Pagoda (Kampong Tram).

In June, 1977, Angkar sent Yorn to the Northwest Zone. But he stayed at Takeo High School for half a month. At that time, Ta Mok opened a teaching course for the Khmer Rouge cadres. "Comrades' roles are cadres' because at the battlefield on the northwest, some cadres are good and some are bad. Therefore, we need to send our cadres to work there. We have to control the situation. The enemy has many activities to destroy our collective property," Ta Mok said during the meeting course. After the course ended at Takeo, Angkar appointed Yorn to take control over a large production unit at Kdul village, Doun Teav district, Region 4 which had 500-600 members. At Doun Teav district, En was a district chief and at Region 4, Ek was a regional chief from Takeo. Yorn said that Ek was debauched, especially with women. He did not like Ek. Later, Ta Mok withdrew Ek but he did not know where Ek was withdrawn to. Yorn met Ta Tith who was the chief of Region 3 at Battambang province and Rous Nhim. After Rous Nhim was arrested, Sien, who was closed to Ta Mok, continued controlling. Before Yorn came, the report

was sent to Ta Mok and later on Ta Mok said to send the report to Sien in order to monitor the situation. Yorn only met Ta Tith at the meeting at Ta Nhoem's house at Anlong Veng near Veal Bek Chan and the Airport only. Yorn did not clearly know Ta Tith. Ta Mok did not attend most of the meetings because Ta Nhoem and Ta Sien were already attending. A short while later, the arrest of the Khmer Rouge cadres occurred frequently until the arrest of Ta Nhoem and Ta Ek.

For the work at the large production unit, Yorn said that there was an order to absolutely produce 3 tons of rice. "3 Tons! 3 Tons! Whether or not we can produce 3 tons, we will decide according to the force of the cadres and land. The force is yours. If you cannot complete the task, it is also the end of you," said Ta Mok. Any individual, who could not accomplish the plan determined by Angkar and reported about the shortages of the people especially about the meal proportion, would be arrested and accused as "the traitor". Yorn had to lead the unit to work on the dry season rice field; the force was sufficient and the plan was achieved. What was abnormal at that time was the shortage of rice but the food was adequate; especially because there were a lot of fish. His wife was a chef for his unit and was not appointed to do other works.

During 1978, Yorn knew that the arrests were reduced after Khieu Samphan publicly announced on the radio and in some documents, "Relieve state power, no fighting or touching".

During the entire regime, Yorn rescued two people named Hieb and Sien. Angkar knew that these two people were former Lon Nol soldiers. After the Vietnamese soldiers entered Ta Kdul village, the family fled without direction and met Ta Mok at Steung Leach, Pursat province. Yorn continued his journey to Kam Reang, and stayed at Lem Pagoda. Later on, there was a negotiation at a stream; he killed two cows for food. After the

negotiation, the Thai troops told Yorn "You tell your family that tomorrow maybe at 1 or 2, my car will come and take you. So, prepare the rice."

Later, the Khmer Rouge soldiers reorganized their troops; Yorn was in the cannon division of the company close to Brigade 250 which had Ny Korn as the chief and Saroeun as the deputy chief. Due to the small force, guerilla warfare was the war strategy. There was no problem with meal proportions since the Humanity Organizations supported us with food.

After the integration with the government, Yorn and his family returned back to live with other people and did farming. Yorn has six children, 2 females and 4 males. He currently lives at Kam Reang district, Battambang province. He occasionally goes to his hometown to reunite with his relatives.

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#### Sarakmonin Teav

### SIGNIFICANCE OF GENDOCIDE EDUCATION

- ◆ *Your questions empower and give meaning to those who have suffered. Asking your parents and grand-parents about the Khmer Rouge will further the conciliation of the Cambodian nation.*
- ◆ *Teaching children about the Khmer Rouge regime means teaching students the difference between good and evil and how to forgive. Broken societies must know their past in order to rebuild for their future.*
- ◆ *Teaching children about the history of the Khmer Rouge regime, as well as stimulating discussion between children and their parents and grandparents about what happened, are important to preventing genocide both in Cambodia and the world at-large.*

# LAO THON: BOEUNG TRABEK DEPARTMENT SUBODINATE OF THE DEPARTMENT 870 IN THE KHMER ROUGE REGIME 1975-1979

*Pronh Chan and Dany Long*

Lao Thon was a former cadre working in K-5 and K-6 departments. According to Thon, department K-5, K-6, Boeung Trabek department and other departments starting with K were under the control of department 870. Bong was a chief of department 870 and manager of all departments and subordinate units. Those departments and subordinate units had the same characteristics but

different responsibilities. For an example, department K-5 was a political training session for male-female youths and cadres in all departments and subordinate units. Moreover, it was also a place for former students, intellectuals and diplomats from oversea to stay and learn about The Communist Party of Cambodia's line and politics. K-6, on the other hand, was for the Khmer Rouge



Lao Thon interviewed by a DC-Cam staff at his house

leaders to hold their meetings and political training for those leaders at the district level, regional level and zone level. Furthermore, it was a place for teaching Khmer, Chinese and English literature to children who would be transferred to work in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Lao Thon's hometown is in Baray district, Kompong Thom province. In 1969, his family (his father, Kheiu Lao, his mother, Thong Siem) moved to PreahVihear province due to the proclamation of Samdach Norodom Sihanouk.

After the overthrow of Samdach Norodom Sihanouk on 18 March, 1970, Viet Cong liberation fronts that came from Ratanakiri and Mondulakiri took control over PreahVihear's zone.

In November, 1971, Thon enlisted in the liberation front in region 103 (Marn was a chief and Hong was a deputy chief). Thon stayed in battalion 311 which KhamMi (Jarai) was a chief. In early 1973, Thon's unit was ordered to attack Kompong Thom province along national road number 6 around Romlong, Baray, Panhachi, TrapangVeng under the leadership of Phean, chief of unit 39.

In 1973, Thon was selected to work in B-20, Angkar's department, in the transportation sector which Kan, alias Keng, (ethnic) was a chief and Bong was a team leader. There, Thon met with many leaders, namely Pol Pot, Noun Chea, Khieu Samphan, Hou Yun, Hou Nim, So Phim (the secretary of Eastern zone) Ya (the secretary of the Northeast zone) and Koy Thuon, alias Thoch (the secretary of the Northern zone). B-20 department was surrounded by B-17, B-18 and B-19 departments, located around Araks Tnaot commune, Steung Trang district, Kompong Cham province. Thon worked there until the Khmer Rouge attacked Phnom Penh city in 1975.

In July, 1975, Thon was selected to work in K-5 department, subordinate of department 870, located at the Institute of Khmer-Soviet Technology (Techno) where Pom was a general manager. Bo,

Penh and Thon were responsible for welcoming guests and preparing food for trainees from department 870's subordinate units. Former students, intellectuals and diplomats from abroad stayed and attended political training sessions at K-5 department for about 2 – 3 months before Angkar transferred them to work in rural areas or other places.

Thon stated that, generally, Pom was the one who opened the training session and besides him, there were Yon Yat (Son Sen's wife), Bong and Kheiu Somphan. The department 870's subordinate units were K-1, K-2, K-3, K-4, K-5, K-6, K-7, K-8 and so on. K-1 unit was a staying place for Pol Pot, Noun Chea (leader's place) located at Samdach Hun Sen's house in front of independent monument.

In 1976, after K-5 department was destroyed, Angkar transferred Thon to work in the K-6 department (Borey Keila) as a member, while Pom was a chief and Bo was a deputy chief. Thon was obligated to prepare food for the Communist Party of Kampuchea's leaders who had a meeting or teaching session there. Moreover, he had to taste all food before serving it to those leaders. Thon recounted that the K-6 department was a political training session for Communist Party of Kampuchea's cadres (zone leaders, regional leaders and district leaders). Pol Pot was the one who opened the training session and Noun Chea was a teacher. K-6 department was also a meeting place for the standing committee of the Central Committee as well.

When Thon was working in the K-6 department, he used to bring vegetables from Beung Traberk department located around Phsar Daem Thkov (in front of SonsomKosal pagoda). This department was like a village surrounded by banana trees, coconut trees and many other small trees. Former students, intellectuals and diplomats from abroad stayed and did labor work there.

Moreover, it was also a place for teaching Khmer, Chinese and English literature to children who would work in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as well. First, the chief of this department was San and then Savorn. Thon had known and been friends with the two of them since they worked at the B-20 department before 1975.

In mid1977, Angkar withdrew Thon to do construction work near the Royal University of Phnom Penh after Pom was arrested and accused of being a KGB agent. In September, 1977, Angkar transferred Thon to work in department-35, subordinate of the Ministry of Propaganda and Information. His obligations were to take pictures and produce films related to rural development. Sometimes, he and his colleague, Kim, had to

follow the Communist Party of Kampuchea's leaders in order to take photos of foreign delegations who visited Cambodia.

In the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, there were departments 33, 34, 35, 36 and 37. Department 33, at Wat Phnom, under the control of Kol, was a new broadcasting station and HouNim's working place. Department 34, at Stung Meanchey, under control of Kouy, was a sound expanding station. Department 35, at ChbarAmpov, was for arts and dance and department-37 was at Pochentong. After the arrest of HouNim in April, 1977, Yon Yat managed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs under the supervision of Noun Chea.

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**Pronh Chan and Dany Long**



The visit of Burmese delegations led by President Ne Win to Angkor Wat temple, Cambodia in 1977. This photo was taken by Kim, a friend of Thon



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

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



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

Please contact Vanthan.P Dara Tel: 012-846-526

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

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



# LEFT IN THE PILE OF CORPSES

*Bunthorn Som*

Although the Khmer Rouge regime ended over 30 years ago, Norng Net is still frightened whenever he recounts the incident of a prison guard killing him at SteungHev. He survives today because the prison guard didn't check after he stabbed and beat him into the pit.

Nong Net is 62 years old and his hometown is at Tras commune, RomeasHaek district, Svay Rieng province. He finished grade 10 (old system). After that, he became a novice monk for 3 years until the committee of Tras commune forced him to disrobe in June, 1975.

After defrocking, he cultivated at the village cooperative until Angkar selected him to work in Phnom Penh. However, he had to attend political

training at S-200 school located at Pheana village, Svay Romiet district, Prey Veng province. After finishing this training, Angkar transferred him by boat to stop in front of the Royal palace and assigned him to work at Borey Keila unit, where he learned politics with Bong, chief of the K-6 department and Phom, chief of the K-5 department. There, he was obligated to clean the party's school and to taste food whenever regional Khmer Rouge cadre (from commune level up) attended political training sessions, which Pol Pot, Noun Chea and Kheiu Somphan took turns lecturing.

Net and his group of 4 members had to taste everything. After finishing tasting, Net invited those cadres through a loudspeaker to have rice at a glass building. Angkar appointed Net to do this because there were enemy attempts to poison Pol Pot. Moreover, this aimed to protect cadre's health and to be cautious with enemies.

After the incident of arresting Eastern cadres, Angkar started to search and track cadres from the Eastern zone in every unit. One morning, while Net was peeling sugar cane, the Khmer Rouge cadre told him to attend the meeting. When he arrived at the unit, Bong told him not to get upset with Angkar and wherever he is sent is an order from Angkar. Then Angkar transferred him to SteungMeachey cooperative. Ten days later, Steung Meanchey cadre gave him a pair of buffalo and threatened to kill him, if he mistreated them. In 1978, chief of the Steung Meanchey unit ordered Net and his fellow



Nong Net interviewed by a DC-Cam staff member at his house

members to combat with Vietnam as Vietnam was attacking our country. Then Net and another 40 people went on a bus to Trapang Kroleung, KompongSpeu.

At Tapang Kroleung, Hoeun, unit chief, assigned Net and other people to build dikes and a new railroad. Half a month later, Hoeun took 50 members to make pipe at SteungHev, Sihanoukville where he ordered everyone to work heavily without any rest or sufficient food. Due to this force and oppression, Net and other workers arrested Heoun and transferred him to the upper level. After that, Angkar called them to join a meeting to settle this problem. While they were waiting in a meeting room, the military arrested them by accusing them of rebellion. Heoun, on the other hand, was transferred back to lead at the same place.

Angkar removed Net's clothes and transferred him to a prison at the foot of the mountain in Songkat SteungHev. One time a day, there was a prison guard who asked him some questions related to his position in the military. Net rejected questions and answered that he used to be a monk and worker in Phnom Penh. Next morning, two other prison guards used electric to shock him and asked the same questions. As they didn't get what they wanted, they tortured him more and more severely. They covered his head with a plastic bag and tied him under a guava tree to get bitten by ants. Prison guards tortured Net like this for 13 days and nights until he couldn't endure the pain and made a fake confession. He confessed that he was a captain in the military. After that, the prison guard told him to take a shower and eat rice.

On 7 January, 1979 in the morning, the Khmer Rouge military tied Net's hands with chain and tied his legs with one more layer. Then they moved him to another place by train. Later, the Khmer Rouge military tied them in a group of ten each (the total number of prisoners was 50) and took them away. Arriving at the killing field, Net saw

a black prison guard with a wooden stick waiting for them. Net, all prisoners and prison guards were very frightened and their bodies shook with fear. The military commander threatened to kill the prison guard if he didn't dare to kill all prisoners. Immediately, the prison guard took prisoners one by one and told them to sit silently in front of a pit. Then prison guard beat them with his stick from the back into the pit.

Net recounted that he was the fifth prisoner to get beaten from the prison guard and he survived with a pile of corpses. After he regained consciousness, he heard a foot step and saw a dog running around those corpses. He chased the dog away and got up from the pit with ties on his hands and blood all over his body.

There was also another survivor among those corpses as the prison guard didn't check those corpses. That survivor untied Net; then they left from that killing field. Net didn't get anything to eat for a week. He only drank his own urine and used soil to cover his wound and keep it from bleeding. Later, He secretly dug potatoes and sugar cane to fill his stomach.

Net lived in a cave in the forest for one month and a half until he decided to return to his unit. There he found a large amount of rice in storage and the Khmer Rouge military had already left. At that time, he also saw Vietnam's troops at the beach but he didn't dare to meet them. He walked through the forest to Prey Nob district and stayed there. Prey Nob's authority appointed him to be the village's spy and guard at the foot of the mountain. Because of missing his family, Net returned to his hometown at the end of 1979.

Nowadays, Net still recounts his past and his experience in prison to his young generation because he wants them to know and remember suffering and pain in the Khmer Rouge regime.

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Bunthorn Som

# MY FATHER DIED BECAUSE HE WANTED TO FILL HIS STOMACH

*Vannak Sok*

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Nguon Ri has 4 siblings, 2 males and 2 females. His father is Nhoem Hieng and his mother is Srei Hokieng. His hometown is at Krang Yov commune, S'ang district, Kondal province. In 1975, Ri was only 10 years old but he clearly remembers the incidents that happened in the Khmer Rouge regime. He recounted that, before the coups d'état, his family was a middle-income family. His father was a bicycle repairman and farmer while his mother was a housewife.

After the coups d'état against Samdach Sihnouk in 1970, there was the Khmer liberation movement and bombing from Lon Nol's government. Eventually, five years of war ended on 17 April, 1975. My father hoped that this new regime would bring new life to everyone. In contrast, this regime made peoples' lives to endure suffering and starvation.

In 1975, due to hunger and desire to get his family a delicious meal, my father decided to kill his own cow. Thon, a militiaman, heard about this and reported to Len, the commune's chief. That day, I saw Thon pick my father up to repair a water pump at the commune office. My family was very worried about him as he didn't return home at night.

The next day around 3 o'clock in the afternoon, Phon, my father's close friend, told my mother that he saw Angkar capture my father with 3 other people in the stupa at Toul Krang pagoda. Hearing such news, my mother was very shocked and cried silently without letting anyone know.

As my father couldn't live without tobacco, my mother tried to find him a pack of tobacco and brought it to him. Meeting with my mother at the stupa, my father didn't talk much. He only told my

mother to look after my siblings as he didn't hope to go back home.

Next day, my mother went to visit him again but he wasn't there anymore. No one knew where he was. However, my mother heard that those prisoners were taken to a prison and a reeducate place at Kaoh Kor, Prek Touch. My father disappeared that day.

Later, Angkar transferred me to a child unit which had around 100 boys and girls. There I was appointed to cut some leaves, build dikes and dig canals. Work in the child unit was not as hard as the work for the elderly and youths. However, Angkar didn't give us sufficient food. One day my older sister, named Ngoun Kimrong, was assigned to work in Toul Krosang's mobile brigade and she never got time to visit my family. Later my family received shocking news that she died in hospital due to an injection. My mother suffered greatly when she heard this; she got sick and died.

Nowadays, Leng, who was ordered to kill my father, is a former commune committee member and a layman at Tbeng pagoda. I don't want to get revenge against him but I want to know why leaders in this regime killed people just because he or she wanted to eat fully.

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**Vannak Sok**

*Please send letters or articles to  
Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam)  
P.O. Box 1110, Phnom Penh, Cambodia  
Tel: (855) 23-211-875, (855) 12-996-750  
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Email: [truthbunthorn.s@dccam.org](mailto:truthbunthorn.s@dccam.org)  
Homepage: [www.d.dccam.org](http://www.d.dccam.org)*

# THE HEARING OF CIVIL PARTY CHAO LANG'S TESTIMONY

*Duongchantreakeoleaksminearyroth Chin*

On September 2015, the Extraordinary Chamber in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC) heard the testimony of Civil Party Chao Lang about the 1 January dam site.

## 1) Brief background of Civil Party

Before granting the floor to the parties to question the witness, the President asked the Civil Party about her background. The Civil Party responded to the Trial Chamber that she was born on 1 January, 1951, at Chrang Chomres commune, Russey Keo district, Phnom Penh, and currently, she lives in Koh Chjong village, O Chrov commune, Prey Nop, Preah Sihanouk province. Her father is Chao Sang, her mother is Sim Sokhom, her husband is

Khoeum Khom and she has three children. The Civil Party has been divorced from her husband for nearly 30 years.

Before starting the session, the President informed her of the right of the Civil Party to deliver her statement of suffering and damages that she experienced during the Democratic Kampuchea regime. Chao Lang decided to be questioned by Co-lead Lawyer in order to describe her suffering and damage that she experienced.

The Co-lead lawyer questioned the Civil Party about her background and her living conditions during the Democratic Kampuchea regime. The Civil Party described that in 1975, one month



Photo (front row): Nuon Chea defense lawyer Son Arun at the Closing Order of Case 002/1 (Photo:ECCC)

before Khmer New Year, she worked for Hospital 404 at Siem Reap. At that time, there was a female Filipino colonel who told her that she should ask for permission from the hospital to live with her parents in Phnom Penh because she knew that the Khmer Rouge will win over the Lon Nol soldiers and then the Khmer Rouge would search for people who used to work for the previous regime. The Civil Party came to live with her parents at District 4, Phnom Penh. 15 days later, on 13 April, 1975, she and her friends went to play a traditional game at Kien Svay. On 17 April, 1975, while they were playing the traditional game, they heard the sound of gun fire between Lon Nol soldiers and Khmer Rouge soldiers. She escaped to Koh Pos and she stayed at Dey Ith for two months.

The Civil Party was separated from her parents after the Khmer Rouge liberated Phnom Penh. She travelled to Svay Reang province to look for her parents because her father used to be a soldier stationed in that province. Her travelling was

very difficult since she had to avoid the attacks between both sides. During one attack, she saw many people injured and laying in the street, and the Lon Nol soldiers were killed because they refused to take their soldier uniforms off. She hid in a truck of the Khmer Rouge that travelled on Neak Loeung ferry to Svay Reang. When Chao Lang arrived at Svay Reang, she did not see her parents but she met her sister's family at Bos Pring village. Later, the Khmer Rouge sent her sister's family and her including other "17 April" people to do agricultural work at O Kansaeng village and stay at base people's houses. At O Kanseng village, because there was no food, she had to catch crabs and eat with rice that Angkar provided by base people.

## 2) Living conditions at 1 January dam site

Chao Lang was appointed to be in a mobile unit to work at 1 January dam site located near a national road. She forced herself to overwork in order to escape from death because every day or



The mass grave at the Kraing Ta Chan killing site discovered after the Khmer Rouge regime collapsed in 1979

every week, there was a meeting to strengthen work and ask the mobile unit to make a commitment to accomplish the tasks. One day, she asked for permission from her unit chief to rest for one day to visit her sister at O Kansaeng village. When she arrived there, the base people told her that her relatives, including a 3-year-old child were dragged through the forest while chained to an oxcart. The Khmer Rouge accused her sister's family of being "white Khmer" because they saw some salt at the house. She was shocked after learning of their death. The base people told her to leave O Kansaeng village in order to not get arrested by the Khmer Rouge. When she returned to her work site, she strove to work harder. Therefore, the Khmer Rouge would not doubt her or have a reason to kill her. She had fever and received treatment until she felt better and she returned to carry earth at the worksite.

At the 1 January dam site work site, she suffered because when she was sick, she had no relative beside her. She did not hope to stay alive. She never received sufficient food which is why she was thin. She had to work until 10 or 11 every night.

While she was at the hospital, she noticed that the hospital did not contain effective medicine to cure disease and the staff was untrained. She remembered one day, she herself had to privately assist an emaciated hospital patient after the medics failed to properly inject her with the serum she needed.

At the work site, people disappeared one by one after attending self-criticism. For those who were not active at work, they would be sent to be reeducated and she never saw those people return.

### **3) Work under sun at "100 Rice Fields"**

During the harvest season, she was assigned to grow rice at 100 Rice Fields. At the rice fields, the temperature was extremely hot, and there was insufficient food and water. When they finished

harvesting, she and other mobile unit members were allowed to rest at the cooperative. Angkar provided some green beans and sugar to cook and eat. When the date to return back to the 100 Rice Fields came, she and 9 female comrades refused to go back and told the unit chief that they were willing to die at the cooperative. Those 9 female comrades and she were called to a meeting at night by the cooperative chief. They were chained and sent back to the 100 Rice Fields.

When they arrived at 100 Rice Fields, the chef cooked food for her group. She thought that it was her last meal since the Khmer Rouge would kill her. In contrast, the Khmer Rouge told her that they would send her group to grow cotton trees at Bos Knoul.

### **4) Forced marriage**

During the Democratic Kampuchea regime, the Khmer Rouge forced her to marry a man she never knew before. The unit chief told comrades not to refuse the marriage arranged by Angkar. Otherwise, they would face bad consequences. After marriage, her husband and she lived together for three days and the militia stood outside her house. Three days later, her husband and she were separated to work at different places.

Following the collapse of the Khmer Rouge regime, she continued to stay with her husband and have 3 children. In 1988 or 1989, when she lived with her husband's parents, she divorced him because she could not get along with her parents-in-law. She told the court that the reason behind the divorce was due to the forced marriage during the Khmer Rouge regime.

The Democratic Kampuchea regime took the lives of her relatives including: her sister, two younger brothers, and her parents. This continues to make her feel lonely.

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**Duongchantreakeoleaksminearyroth Chin**

# HEARING OF THE TESTIMONY AND STATEMENT OF SUFFERING OF THE CIVIL PARTY, CHUM SAMOEUN

*Duongchantreakeoleaksminearyroth Chin*

Chum Samoeun was born on March 4, 1960 at Prech village, Chhouk commune, Chhouk district, Kampot province. Samoeun currently lives at Tyv Khang Tbound village, Andong Khmer Village, Kampong Bay district, Kampot province. Her father is Chum Chean and her mother is Poeu Uon. Her husband is Rit Chrek and she has 5 children.

In 1973, when she was 13 years old, Chum Samoeun joined the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea (RAK) in Division 11 at Koh Thom district, Kandal province. At that time, she was assigned to carry rice for soldiers at Tuol Krasang. Her cousins, Chum Choeun and Chum Sieb, also joined the RAK. Her younger brother, Chum Phon, was accused as an enemy by the chief of battalion at Kampot district.

After the liberation in 1975, the Khmer Rouge transferred Samoeun to grow rice near Wat Kdoul

located to the west of Steung Meanchey, Phnom Penh. One month later, the Khmer Rouge transferred her to Division 502 and assigned her to grow rice at Obekaorm. The chief of Division 502 was Met. Met considered Samoeun to have a traitorous tendency after he found out that Sameoun's father used to be a policeman during the People's Socialist Community and her step father was a former Lon Nol soldier. Samoeun then was tasked to carry earth in a cooperative located to the west of Pochentong.

In mid 1976, the Khmer Rouge sent Samoeun and all divisions to work at Kampong Chhnang Airport. Upon her arrival at Kampong Chhnang Airport Construction Site, she saw thousands of workers working there. The unit chief assigned Sameoun to carry earth, rocks and compact the soil. Samoeun claimed that the soldiers who were sent there had to work three shifts a day, morning, afternoon (after lunch) and evening (after dinner). The working condition was harsh. The break time was not enough and they were prohibited from communicating or travelling. There was no breakfast. For lunch and dinner, they mixed rice with corn. Moreover, the workers faced poor hygienic conditions and water shortages which infected their bodies. At night, the Khmer Rouge set up each unit to sleep in a hall without any mat or mosquito net. She claimed that even though she had an infection on one of her hands, she still had to work. After working at Kampong Chhnang Airport Construction Site for five months, the Khmer Rouge transferred her to Phnom Penh and tasked her to carry bricks to a cargo train in order to be transported to Kampong Chhang Airport Construction. This job



Chhum Samoeun

infected and injured her hands and legs.

In late 1978, she was forced to marry a man who she did not know in a brief five-couple wedding ceremony arranged by Met. Each couple had to make a commitment in front of other cadres to take each other as husband and wife. After marriage, the Khmer Rouge allowed new couples to live with each other for three days. They then were separated to work at different workplaces. Samoeun claimed that the militia came to check on her and her husband to see if they had consummated the marriage.

After questioning the Party, the Trial Chamber heard the statement of suffering and physical injury of Chum Sameoun during the Democratic Kampuchea regime. Chum Samoeun claimed:

“Ever since I joined the Khmer Rouge military, I have faced emotional damage from relentless work. When my hand was infected, I still worked. When I asked them to rest, they did not allow me to. As a result of overwork, I have heart failure and kidney failure. I lost everything, including both of my parents and all of my siblings, leaving me to live

with nothing. I have no parents, siblings or relatives. I have developed health issues that have carried on to the present time. If I lived with my parents, they would not use me like that. I devoted since I was 10 years old to serve the military because I thought I would have a better life but I did not. They used me as if I were an animal. This affects my emotion. When I had menstrual pauses, they accused me of being pregnant and ordered me to do heavy work. I have no parents and siblings. Now I want to ask you that you’ve been found guilty for all those charges by the court, do you dare to raise your hands and apologize to the victims like Duch? If you do so, Cambodian people and I would feel relieved. For compensation, I want to ask if I have private compensation like those people at Koh Pich? That’s all I want to ask. I would like to conclude my statement.”

In response, the President informed the Civil Party that the accused maintain their right to silence.

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**Duongchantreakeoleaksminearyroth Chin**



Cambodian people, teachers, and students at Phnom Vor attending the meeting to ask questions related to the Khmer Rouge regime

# THE DISCUSSION ON EVIDENCE SUBMISSION ON CASE 002/02

*Socheata Dy*

On 1 January, 2015, before hearing the testimony from the witness regarding the Trapeang Thmor Dike Worksite, the Trial Chamber granted the floor to each party to discuss the submission of the Co-Prosecution to put more evidence regarding the treatment of the Vietnamese which is the main topic on case 002/02. The evidence submission of the Co-Prosecution refers to the recorded evidence of a witness in the case 003.

Senior Assistant Prosecutor Mr. Dale Lysak spoke of some reasons for the support of his submission by claiming that the new witness explained in detail about the killing methods and the reasons of killing the Vietnamese. The regiment commander told his soldiers to keep Yuon as the enemy and ordered them to shoot the Vietnamese soldiers and the Vietnamese civil citizens, the Co-

Prosecution continued. In addition to the documents obtained from the Documentation Center of Cambodia, the Co-Prosecution confirmed that he can request to the Trial Chamber to place the evidence only when the Office of Co-Investigating Judge has the documents. Civil Party Lead-Co-Lawyer supports the submission of the Co-Prosecution because it is a crucial way in searching for the truth for the killing of the Vietnamese.

The submission of the Co-Prosecutor was objected to by both the Co-Lawyer for Nuon Chea and the Co-Lawyer for Khieu Samphan. Foreign Co-Lawyer Mr. Victor Koppe claimed that this is the first time to mention this witness, the former cadre in Division 164, who was interviewed in case 003. The lawyer raised the question “is there only one witness from Division 164 that the Prosecution



The accused Khieu Samphan and Nuon Chea at the hearing

should hear or is there any other witness?” Noone knows whether this is the only witness who testified on the issue? Lawyer Koppe added that we can see the credibility of the testimony of the new witness after the investigation on Case 003 is closed. He also challenged the Co-Prosecution’s submission on the point that the Co-Prosecution



focused on inculpatory evidence. He confirmed that the Co-Prosecution submits the new evidence regarding two recorded testimonies among 7 which include burden of proof and shifting the burden of proof. The Co-Lawyer for Khieu Samphan raised the delay of the Co-Prosecution saying that the recorded evidence was taped in 2007 but the Co-Prosecution raised his submission in late 2015. The case has already been closed. National Lawyer Kong Sam Un challenged the submission of new evidence by focusing on the role of the Co-Prosecution in showing inculpatory and exonerating evidence. In this phase, the finding of evidence has already passed. The Co-Prosecutor and the Investigating Judge found that the accused were guilty and needed to stand trial. Therefore, the

Co-Prosecution, in this phase, should find the exonerating evidence. However, at this phase, the Co-Prosecution is still finding the inculpatory evidence.

The decision on the new evidence submission will be made soon in the cause of searching for the truth. The Trial Chamber might



agree on the submission of the Co-Prosecution if the Bench found that the recorded testimony cannot be located during the pre-trial phase. According to the internal rules, the Trial Chamber can object to the submission of the Co-Prosecution if the bench found that the request is not related or overlapped. The Trial Chamber can also object if the Co-Prosecution cannot find the evidence in a limited period of time or that the evidence is inappropriate to searching for the facts. Meanwhile, the Trial Chamber can object if the new evidence is in contradiction to the law, any party intends to postpone the legal proceeding or is deemed null and void.

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**Socheata Dy**

# WAR, GENOCIDE AND THE FRAGILE PEACE IN CAMBODIA

*Savina Sirik*

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I recently read the personal story of a war correspondent during the Vietnam War, Kate Webb. She was captured by North Vietnamese troops in 1971 in Cambodian territory. She described in detail her abduction and detention, and her personal emotions about what happened. Her recollections of the chaotic situation in Cambodia and Vietnam during that time remind me of many other personal accounts of Cambodians who lived through the civil war (1970-75) and the genocide during the Democratic Kampuchea period (1975-79). One common theme I found in those accounts was that war and genocide were indiscriminate. Whether you were a soldier who waged war or a civilian who escaped the war, they did not discriminate. Wars haunt to the core of the soul. And they would definitely make you vanish from the world in no time.

War and genocide in Cambodia and elsewhere are destructive, and their legacy remains with the individuals who go through them long after they end. However, they do not only leave permanent scars on the lives of direct survivors, they also have immense impacts on the whole of society and on many generations that come after them.

I have never experienced war first hand. However, the stories of those who experienced war—whether they were direct survivors, citizens of a country at war, outsiders who were trapped in the war or reporters who captured the images of war—struck me to the deepest level. I could feel their fear of death, their strength to survive and ultimately their bravery to recover from trauma. I am fortunate to be living a life without war. However, the positive

peace promised by the Paris Peace Agreement signed on October 23, 1991, has hardly been achieved. The recent 24th anniversary of the Paris Peace Agreement makes me consider the challenges we are facing today: the challenges left behind by war and genocide.

I was born into a family that survived war and genocide. Following the Khmer Rouge regime, they worked hard for our survival. They made sure that I had enough to eat and that I received a proper education. My family has sacrificed a lot for my own growth. Not many girls and boys at my age have enjoyed such privilege. However, children of my generation share one thing in common: We grew up under the same conditions. Our families started everything from scratch following the Khmer Rouge years. We grew up in a time when Cambodia was recovering from the war and genocide that gripped the country for many years. My family and many other Cambodians strived to rebuild their lives. Despite all the difficulties, many of us manage to lead better lives. At the very least, we manage not to go hungry.

To this day, I still see the struggle that Cambodian people go through on a daily basis. I have always hoped that I was among the last generation who had to experience the struggle shared by survivors in the post-genocide era. When a new generation arises, the growth of our country does not ensure lasting peace and prosperity for each life. I still see children going hungry, being unable to go to school, suffering from domestic violence, abuse, discrimination and exploitation. It happens right in my neighborhood, to my own relatives, and it occurs in front of my eyes. When I

turn around, I see children left hungry and begging on the streets. I keep wondering why, after a generation has passed, they still cannot meet their basic needs. Why can't they have enough to eat and why can't all children go to school? What does the Paris Peace Agreement do to help improve people's lives?

The destruction of war and genocide in Cambodia did not end at a ceasefire, a peace agreement or a national election. Without resolving its root causes, it continues to live with us on a daily basis. The legacy of war and genocide affects the living conditions of all people; it leaves behind all types of violence, ranging from direct to structural violence. Not only does it have tremendous impacts on the wellbeing of individuals and the society, the impact of violence is transferred from one

generation to the next. While direct violence may have reduced in its intensity, structural violence that is deeply rooted in our society has not faded easily. We still have to deal with inequality in access to education, the problems of human trafficking, child labor, environmental degradation and the cycle of poverty among the majority of the population. The obscurity of such violence has left most of us blind to the solutions. But what we should remember is that violence has not been blind to us, it is embedded in our society at all levels, from the individual to institutions.

We know that war was unkind to people. It took life and inflicted pain and loss on people. However, even after the war ended and a peace agreement was signed, there is still no guarantee for true peace. Violence continues to take place in



Photo (in the middle): Kate Web

our society. It is obscured from our eyes, but deeply entrenched in our everyday life. The structural violence we face everyday is the true challenge in an apparently peaceful period. The official end of armed conflict was only the beginning of a long journey for Cambodia to deal with the real challenges. Each and every one of us has an obligation, in our own capacity, to end this long cycle of violence. The process did not take a generation as I personally hoped for, but will most likely take the lifetime of a person, or even many generations.

Kate Webb said in the epilogue of her book that she wished to meet with her abductors again under different circumstances. Kate Webb's experiences occurred during wartime. After the war, if the soldier had survived and if she managed to meet him, her wish would have been fulfilled. In Cambodia, war and genocide ended more than 30 years ago, and a peace agreement was signed 24 years ago, but we are still far from a positive peace.

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**Savina Sirik**

## CAMBODIA TRIBUNAL MONITOR

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

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

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



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

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

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

has been repeated for over 30 years. However, after several years of research, the Documentation Center of Cambodia estimates that at least 179 prisoners were released from Tuol Sleng from 1975 to 1978 and approximately 23 additional prisoners survived when the Vietnamese ousted the Khmer Rouge regime on January 7, 1979.

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



visit on an average day. Many Cambodian visitors travel to Tuol Sleng seeking information about their relatives who disappeared under the Khmer Rouge.

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

- ♦ **LECTURERS:** Staff members from the Documentation Center of Cambodia and Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum.
- ♦ **GUEST SPEAKERS:** National and International Scholars on Cambodia and S-21 Survivors
- ♦ **TOPICS COVERED:** Who were the Khmer Rouge? u How did the Khmer Rouge gain power? u The Khmer Rouge Hierarchy u Khmer Rouge Domestic Policies u The Khmer Rouge Security System u Office S-21 (Tuol Sleng Prison) u Khmer Rouge Foreign Policies u The Fall of the Khmer Rouge u The Verdicts of the ECCC.
- ♦ **SCHEDULE:** Monday 2pm-3pm u Wednesday 9am-10am u Friday 2pm-3pm.
- ♦ **VENUE:** Building A, top floor, 3rd room.

# IS IT A DEFENSE STRATEGY OR INTENTIONAL OBSTRUCTION?

*Bunthorn Som*

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On 17 November, 2015 the Extraordinary Chamber in the Courts of Cambodia opened the hearing against the Court of Appeal of Noun Chea and Kheiu Somphon in case 002/01 on 7 August, 2014. This was the last hearing, which allowed Noun Chea and Kheiu Somphan to read their defense statements in the Supreme Court Chamber.

However, the International Defense Counsel Victor Koppe didn't participate in the hearing. Mr Son Arun, national defense counsel, requested the court to continue the measure processing and allow his client, Noun Chea, to read his own defense statement. The following is an extract of Noun Chea's defense statement.

The judge's decision makes me lose trust in judges in solving my appeal. I truly understand that the Supreme Court chamber is biased and afraid to call powerful individuals to the court in order to reveal the truth. The Judge refused to give me an opportunity to recount to my fellow citizens about my story. This decision clarifies that my prediction about this court is correct. This court is simply acting under the pressure of government. In another words, it is nothing but a meaningless effort to convict me. As a result of this, my international lawyer Victor Kopee doesn't participate in these hearings and I will leave these proceedings once I finish my speech. Moreover, I would like to instruct my national lawyer Mr Son Arun not to response to any parties' questions and not to participate in these hearings after break. We choose to maintain our argument in our appeal. However it is my honor to be responsible and tell my beloved citizens about what happened during the Khmer Rouge regime. I

request you, judges, to be brave and consider your commitments in finding truth and justice whenever you write your Judgements. Cambodia is waiting for you to deliver them the truth and justice. They will never get this chance again. Thank you.

After he finished delivering his speech, Noun Chea instructed his national lawyer Mr Son Arun not to response to any parties' questions and not to participate in the hearing. The Defense lawyer didn't inform the president about this at the beginning of the court. Noun Chea also told his lawyer to request the president for him to get rest and hear the court from the voice recording room due to his poor health. In the meantime, the president asked Mr Son Arun is he going to follow his client's instruction? Mr Son Arun responded that as a defense lawyer, he needed to listen to his client's instructions. If he doesn't listen to his client, his client will not allow him to defend him.

The judge, Agnieszka Klonowiecka-Milart, stated that the defense lawyer must participate in every hearing. He will be withdrawn and punished and accused of looking down on the Court, if he doesn't attend the hearing. After that, the president, Kong Srim, adjourned the hearing as Noun Chea's lawyer didn't participate in the hearing.

What Noun Chea and his lawyer, Son Arun, mentioned earlier can be their strategy to obstruct the proceedings. If the court withdraws Mr Son Arun and assigns a new lawyer for Noun Chea, Noun Chea will reject and accuse this decision as being unfair to him. So what will the Court's decision be on this issue?

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**Bunthorn Som**

## Searching for Sister

My name is Hang Khet, male, 60 years-old. I currently live at Chrey village, Boeung Beng commune, Malai district, Banteay Meanchey province. I would like to search for my youngest sister Hang Samout (currently maybe 54-55 years old). She was born at Trapeang Orn Derk village, Boeung Sra Nge commune, Tram Kak district, Takeo Province. Our father was Chey Khun and our mother was Chhim Neng. We have seven siblings (two males, 5 females).

If anyone has information, please contact the village chief of Chrey at 097 3 174 967 or contact the Documentation Center of Cambodia at #66, Preah Sihanouk Blvd., Phnom Penh. Tel: 023 211 875. Thanks!



Kate Web



DC-Cam: #66, Preah Sihanouk Blvd, Phnom Penh, Cambodia. Tel: (855) 23 211 875, Fax: (855) 23 210 358, Email: [dccam@online.com.kh](mailto:dccam@online.com.kh), Homepage: [www.dccam.org](http://www.dccam.org).

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