



# Young Tuol Sleng cadre



## Outline of Talk

- Politics of Memory after the Cambodian Genocide
  - DK destruction/transformation of memory
  - Post-DK: erase / rebuild
  - PRK: political legitimacy
  - Intl community: "unfortunate events"
  - Alternative routes of memory
  - 1990s/UNTAC: forgetting
     ∞ intl: calls for accountability
  - 2000: Transitional Memory
    - $\infty$  Juridical/Trial
    - $\infty$  Historical/Gen Ed Project
  - Opens critical thinking question
    - $\infty$  e.g., Who is a perpetrator/victim (all KR? Some? Photos at Tuol Sleng)
    - $\infty$  Prof Summer's 3 questions (Producer; Audience, Message)

# Destruction of Buddhism (again photos from the DC-Cam archive)



## The Destruction and Politics of Memory During DK

- DK erasure of memory
  - Historical memory
  - Social memory
  - Individual Memory

# Evacuation of Cities (April 1975) photo credit: DC-Cam



# Cadre with worthless currency photo credit: DC-Cam



## Agricultural Labor during Democratic Kampuchea (1975-79), undated photo credit: DC-Cam

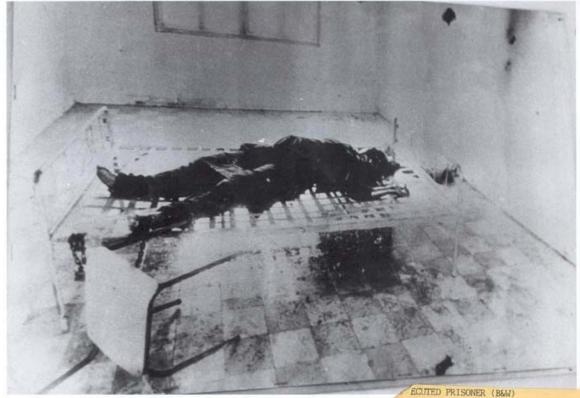


#### Tuol Sleng (S-21) Prison photo credits: DC-Cam



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# Tuol Sleng execution just before fall of PP Photo credit: DC-Cam archive



secuted prisoner in an interrogation room.

# **Major Shifts in Politics of Memory**

• DK erasure of memory

• PRK: legitimacy/war

• Post-UNTAC national reconciliation

• KR Tribunal/Trans Justice (present moment)

#### The Politics of Memory During PRK: legitimacy/war

• PRK regime of truth

• International Narratives

• Diaspora memory

• Buddhist counter/narratives

# PRK Regime of Truth

- Need for domestic/intl legitimacy
- Former KR
- KR accuse PRK of genocide
- Geopolitical isolation of PRK
- PRK "truth": savior from genocide

#### People's Revolutionary Tribunal, August 15-19, 1979

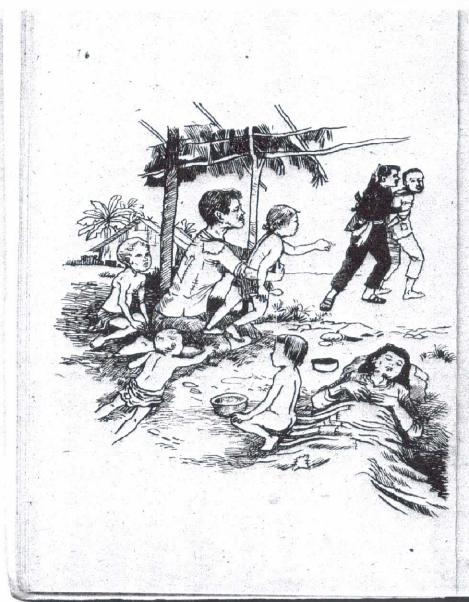
- Redefine KR
  - "Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique"
- Depiction of "Pol Pot-Ieng Sary Clique
- Dismissed as "show trial" by West
- World's first genocide tribunal
- Impact in Cambodia





# The Politics of Memory in Education during the PRK

Primary School Textbook



15 65 JBSSTB ២ ការជួបគ្នាដំបូង រនស់នយៈពេលជិនប្លុនឆ្នាំលើយ ដែលលើវបានភាកចោល 

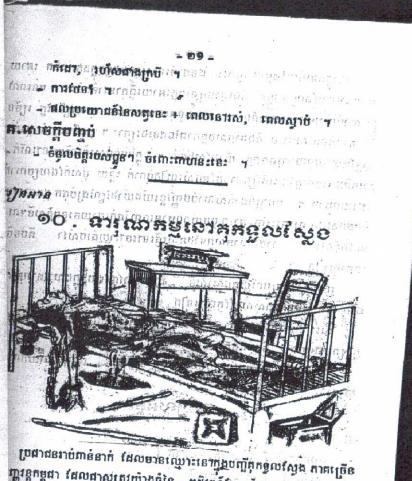
រ្វីទ័រពីប្រប្រួលទាំង់រទល់ ។ សធាជិកក្រួសារឆ្លួយចំនួនជានត្រូង ស្លាប់ជាត់យប់ដីមិតតដាយទការរទត់ប្បាន និង់ដោយទកយទកលៅ ប្រហារប្លយក្ខាភ្លាស ផ្លូវចិត្តរររាក់ទទួលក្ខស័រចើយ ។ ឈើងនិយាយ

#### The Killings and Racial Destruction [done by] the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary Clique



#### Torture at Tuol Sleng Prison





ញូវន្តកម្ពុជា ដែលជាសត្រវយ៉ាងធំនៃ « បដិវត្តន៍បែប ប៊ីល ពត រដ្យិង សារី-លំផន(១) » ។

r สุรักษัรออบ[บระเพริภัตรูอัสุรธิน (e)

# **Memory and Memorialization**

The Tuol Sleng Museum of Genocidal Crimes



#### สาเขอาญษาขอ้เอเล็ะสมุขขข้อตรรษาหล่ ลุณเพื่อ

កាលដើមឡើយ សារបន្តី៖ ១ព្រឹដ្ឋកម្មប្រល័យពុ៩សាសន៍ ផ្លល់ស្អែ១ ៩រទ័ណ្យល័យមួយក្នុទចំណោមទ័ណ្យល័យ៩រមព្រីឧតុចដ្ឋេមានី ដែលមាន ឈោះថា ទ័ណ្យល័យ ពលសាយក្រែ ម

ក្រោយថ្ងៃកែវៈ ១៧ មេសា ឆ្នាំ ១៩៧៥ ប៉ុល ពត ពានរំប្រក្លាយ ទិត្យល័យនេះជាតិទួលឃុំឃាំ១ដ៏ន័បច្ចស់តូឲប្រទេសកម្ពុជាដែលបោះថា មត្តី៖ ស២១ ១ មនៃទណងាំ១មូលសទំជាតិតែចហ៊ីព័ន្ធយ៉ា១ទំតំបត់នៅ ដោយសន្ត័សី និច លួសចន្ថា ។ បន្តចំភ្លើននោះជាត់ក្រោម និច ជាត់ តិ១ ពានត្រូនធម្លះទំណូចការខ្លាំតុចៗ សំពង់ឃុំឃាំច ៦ចំណែកជាត់ តិ២ ជាមនុម័យយ៉ាង។ ។

៥លាចធ្លោះជាមំមុំទល់កំ កសិកា កម្មភា អ្នកចរចូតាលស ទិស្វកា ក្រះសឡូ ប្រធាន កម្មវិភិបាស សទ្ទាក់ ស្រុក កំបន់ ភាគ កម្មវាភិបាល ផ្នែក កទពតំបួកចំប្រធាប់ជាខែអស់ តាំខាំតពីរញូចបោតដល់តចពាល បញ្ហាចន្តំ អន្តពុត ទេ៥បានភ្នំត និស្សិត សិស្សានុសិស្ស ដើមត្រូំ ៥ឧបអណស ខាង៖ បានក្រុមក្នុងតាមចោះចំឃុំឃាំខ និច សម្លាប់ចោល នាំចក្រសារ ម

សព្វថ្ងៃតុទកន្លែទនេះចានភស្តុតាទី៦៤ ទ្រ័ន បញ្ហាក់ពីការសន្តរថយ៉ាខ ថ្ងៃតំផ្សំចេសំពួកចា ។ បន្ទប់ឃុំឃាំ១ ខ្វបកំណើ សំពង់ឡើតុទករចោយ សូចេឆ្លើយ និទ ធ្វើតអ្នតនាកម្មយ៉ាទយោរាយៅ សំណុំឯកសារ បញ្ជីឈ្មោះ ប្រថត សំលៀកចំពាក់ និទ សំការនៅរួទៗចេស់៩នាទេគ្រោះ ដែលគ្លេច ពួកចាសឆ្គាម់ ។

ឃើចបានកេឃើញពេល្អសេកសេតដែលពួកចាស់ខ្លាប់ខ្លះៗ ស្ថិតនៅដុំ ទិញ៥ម្រ៉ូនេះ ក៏សេសនៅលៀតមានធូយចំនួនដំលេវភូមិល្វេស ឃុំសើចឯក ថ្ងៃកុកដន្តា ខេត្តកល្អាល ខាខត្សិចឈៀចខាចលិចគ្រួចភ្លឺពេញ មិចាយ ១៥ កីឡឺម៉ូចិត្រ ទ

#### LA PRESENTATION DU MUSEE DU GENOCIDE TUOL SLENG

Auparavant le Musée du génocide Tuol sleng , était ('un des lycées' de la capitale : "Tuol svay Prey "

 Après le 17 Avril 1975, la clique Pol Pot l'a transformé en prison, le plus grand "Centre de Sécurité" du Cambodge appelé : S.21. Elle était entourée d'une double muraille de tôles ondulées, surmontée de fils barbelés très denses et électrifiés ; les salles de classe du rez-de, chaussée et du premier étage étaient cloisonnées en petites cellules, tandis que celles du deuxième étage étaient destinées à la détention commune.
 Des dizaines de milliers de victimes (paysans, ouvriers, techniciens, ingénieurs, bonzes, Ministres et différents cadres de Pol Pot, militaires, corps médicaux, corps enseignants, élèves, étudiants, diplomates, étrangers...etc...) y étaient emprisonnées et exterminées avec leurs

femmes et leurs enfants.

Un bon nombre de preuve évidentes révèlent les atrocités et les tortures les plus barbares imposées par la clique de Pol Pot : les cellules en briques et en bois, les instruments de torture, les documents, les listes des noms des détenus, les photos et les vêtements des victimes exterminées. Nous avons trouvé les fosses communes environnantes et en particulier, les plus nombreuses situées à 15 km au Sud-Ouest de Phnom Penh, dans le village de Choeung Ek, district de Dangkor. Province de Kandal.

#### INTRODUCTION TO THE TUOL SLENG GENOCIDE MUSEUM

In the past "TUOL SLENG "Museum was one of the secondary schools in the capital, called " Tuol Svay Prey " high-School

After the 17th , April 1975 Pol Pot clique had transformed it into a prison called "S.21" (Security office 21) which was the biggest in Kampuchea Democratic . It was surrounded with the double wall of corrugated iron , surmounted by dense barbed wires.

The classrooms on the ground and the first floors were pierced and divided into individual cells, whereas the ones on the second floor used for mass detention

Several thousands of victims ( peasants, workers, technicians, engineers. doctors, teachers, students,buddhist monks, ministers, Pol Pot's Cadres, soldiers of all ranks, the Cambodian Diplomatic corps, foreigners, etc..) were imprisoned and exterminated with their wives and their children... There are a lot of evidences here proving the atrocities of Pol Pot clique : cells, instrument of torture, dossiers and documents, list of prisoner's names, mugshoots of victims, their clothes and their belonging's. We founded the mass graves surrounding, and in particular, the most ones situated 15 Km in the south-west of Phnom Penh, in the village of Chhoeung Ek, District Dangkor, Kandal Province.



# Unidentified prisoner, Tuol Sleng photo credit: DC-Cam



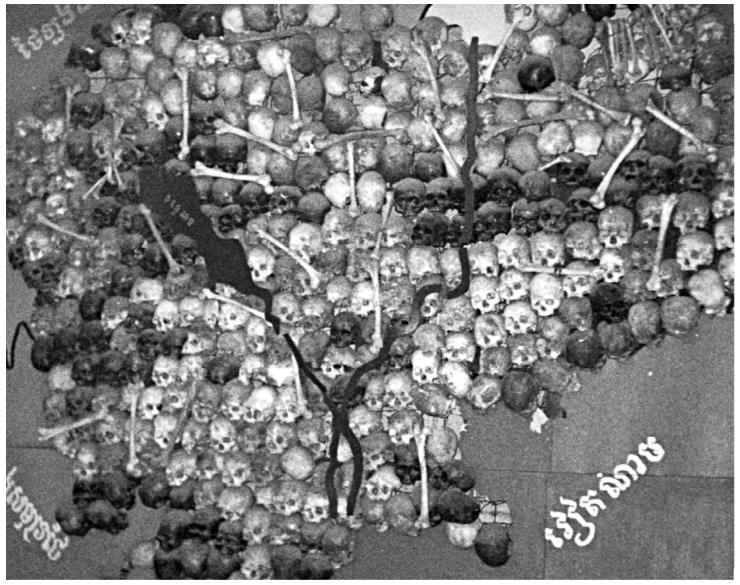
# Unidentified Prisoners, Tuol Sleng photo credit: DC-Cam archive



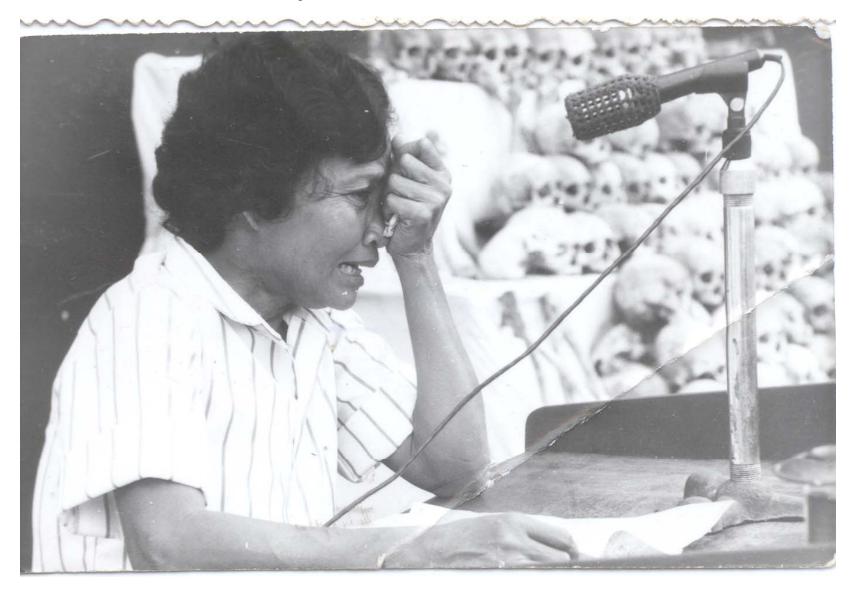
## S-21 photo: Chan Kim Srun and child, Tuol Sleng prison (5/78) photo credit: DC-Cam archive



Map of Skulls, Tuol Sleng Museum of Genocidal Crimes photo credit: DC-Cam archive



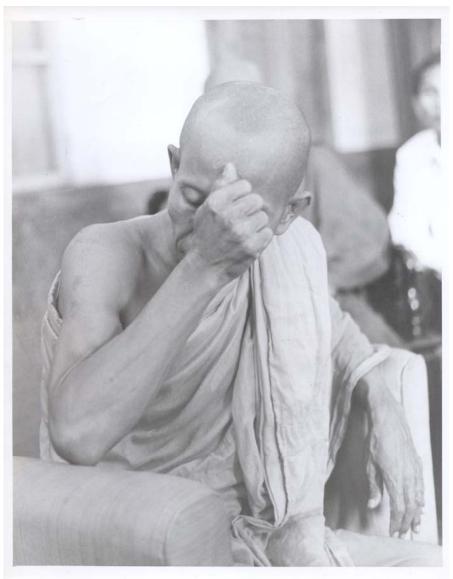
# Survivor (likely at post-DK remembrance event) photo credit: DC-Cam archive



# Survivors performing ritual ceremony to bless the souls of the dead, PRK photo credit: DC-Cam archive



#### Tep Vong, Supreme Patriarch (possibly weeping at the PRK tribunal) photo credit: DC-Cam archive



# PRK Regime of Truth

- Education
- Museums
- Memorials
- Commemorations/Holiday
- Poetry/Literature
- 1979 Trial of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary
- State-controlled Media

### Other Routes of Memory

• Diaspora

• KR / Western Diplomacy

• Global Imaginary

• Memories of Local Cambodians

#### **Politics of Memory after UNTAC: reconciliation**

- Post-1993 proliferation of HR discourses & calls for reconciliation
- RGAF defection program
- Hun Sen (12/98, NYT): "dig a hole and bury the past"
- Khieu Samphan (1/99): "let bygones be bygones"
- Education (textbook silencing; informal ed)
- Debates
- Role of Buddhism shifts
- transnational circuits
- Politics of tribunal
- DC-Cam: global and local

Politics of Memory during the Tribunal Phase (current moment)

- KR Tribunal
  - Transitional justice
  - rule of law, accountability, impunity
  - "civilizing" ritual
  - Historical Memory: Education project
    ∞ opens space for important questions
    ∞ opens space for critical thinking
    ∞ e.g., who is a perp?
    ∞ e.g., Rwanda //s

## **A Paradox of Perpetration**

#### How can people come to commit such horrible deeds? Folk Models of Perpetration

# A Paradox of Perpetration

Perpetrators usually "ordinary men," people not so different from us

How, then, do we explain their genocidal acts in a non-reductive manner?