

Young KR soldiers

photos courtesy of DC-Cam



Young Tuol Sleng cadre

photo credit: DC-Cam



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
 - ∞ Juridical/Trial
 - ∞ Historical/Gen Ed Project
 - Opens critical thinking question
 - ∞ e.g., Who is a perpetrator/victim (all KR? Some? Photos at Tuol Sleng)
 - ∞ 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



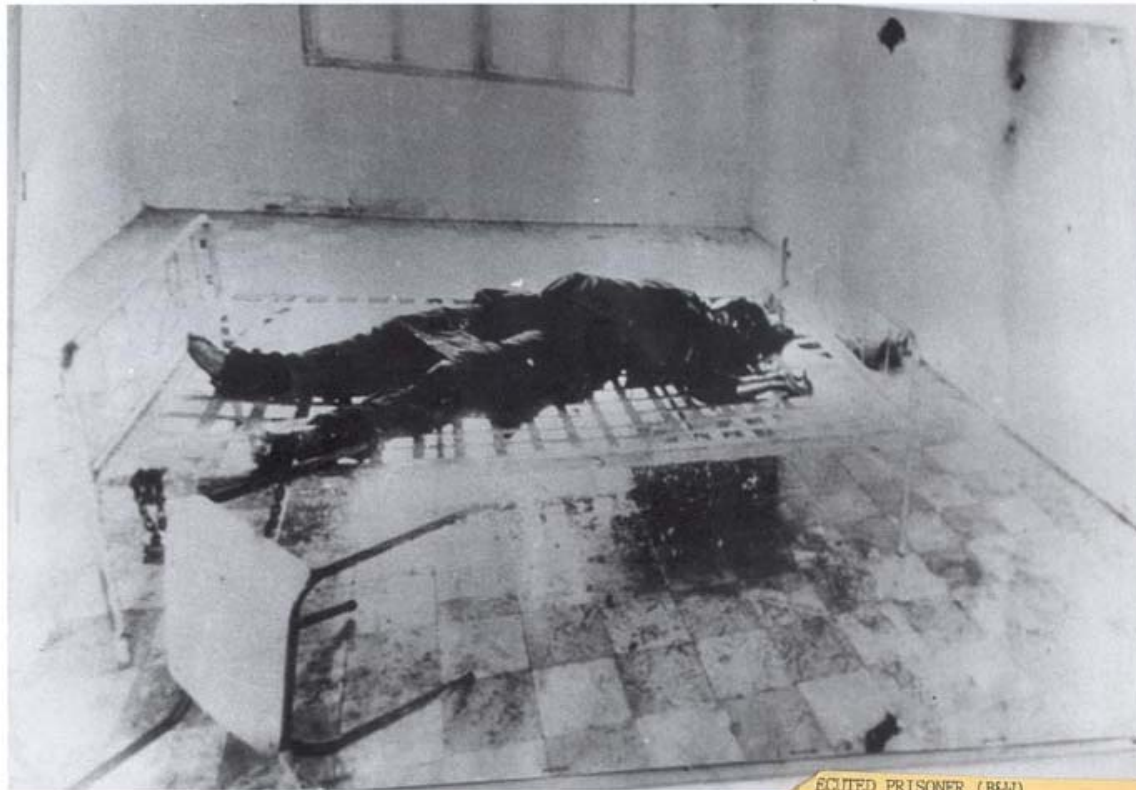
Tuol Sleng (S-21) Prison

photo credits: DC-Cam



Tuol Sleng execution just before fall of PP

Photo credit: DC-Cam archive



EXECUTED PRISONER (B&W)
Executed 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



រៀនអាន

២. ការជួបគ្នាដំបូង

រទសរយៈពេលនិតបួនឆ្នាំហើយ ដំលែប្រើវង់បានពាក្យខោស
 ភ្លេចកំណើត ។ ឥឡូវនេះ ប្រើវង់លេបកង្កែបដូចកំណើតប្រើវង់វិញ ។



រឿងប្រែប្រួលទាំងអស់ ។ សមាជិកគ្រួសារច្រើនចំនួនបានរក្សា
 ភ្លេចបាត់បង់ជីវិតដោយការរត់ ឃ្នាន និងដោយឥតយកទៅ
 ប្រហារជួបគ្នា ដូចគ្នាទាក់ទងរន្ធលើរស្រី ។ យើងឱ្យយោង

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

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១០. ឧក្រិដ្ឋកម្ម បំផ្លាញពូជសាសន៍របស់ បន ប៉ែល ពុត - ឆេរៀង សារី



ក្នុងកំឡុងពេលនេះ ដំបូងបង្អស់ ឆេរៀង សារីបានក្រប
ក្រងកម្មវិធី វាបានប្រព្រឹត្តឧក្រិដ្ឋកម្មច្រើនណាស់ទៅលើប្រជាជន ។
វាបានបង្ខំប្រជាជនឱ្យទៅធ្វើការនៅទីកន្លែង ដ៏ឆ្ងាយឆ្ងាយ ទៅលើ
នៅជនបទនៅក្នុងខ្សែព្រៃ បង្ខំទោសធ្វើការច្រានបាក់កំលាំង ។ វាបាន
ផ្តល់ឱ្យប្រជាជន មិនទោសមានសេចក្តីភ័យខ្លាចបន្តិច
ឡើយ ។ វាបង្ខំទោសធ្វើការច្រានបាក់កំលាំងទៅលើប្រជាជន

គំរាមកាត់ដាច់



Memory and Memorialization

The Tuol Sleng Museum of
Genocidal Crimes





Unidentified prisoner, Tuol Sleng

photo credit: DC-Cam



Unidentified Prisoners, Tuol Sleng

photo credit: DC-Cam archive

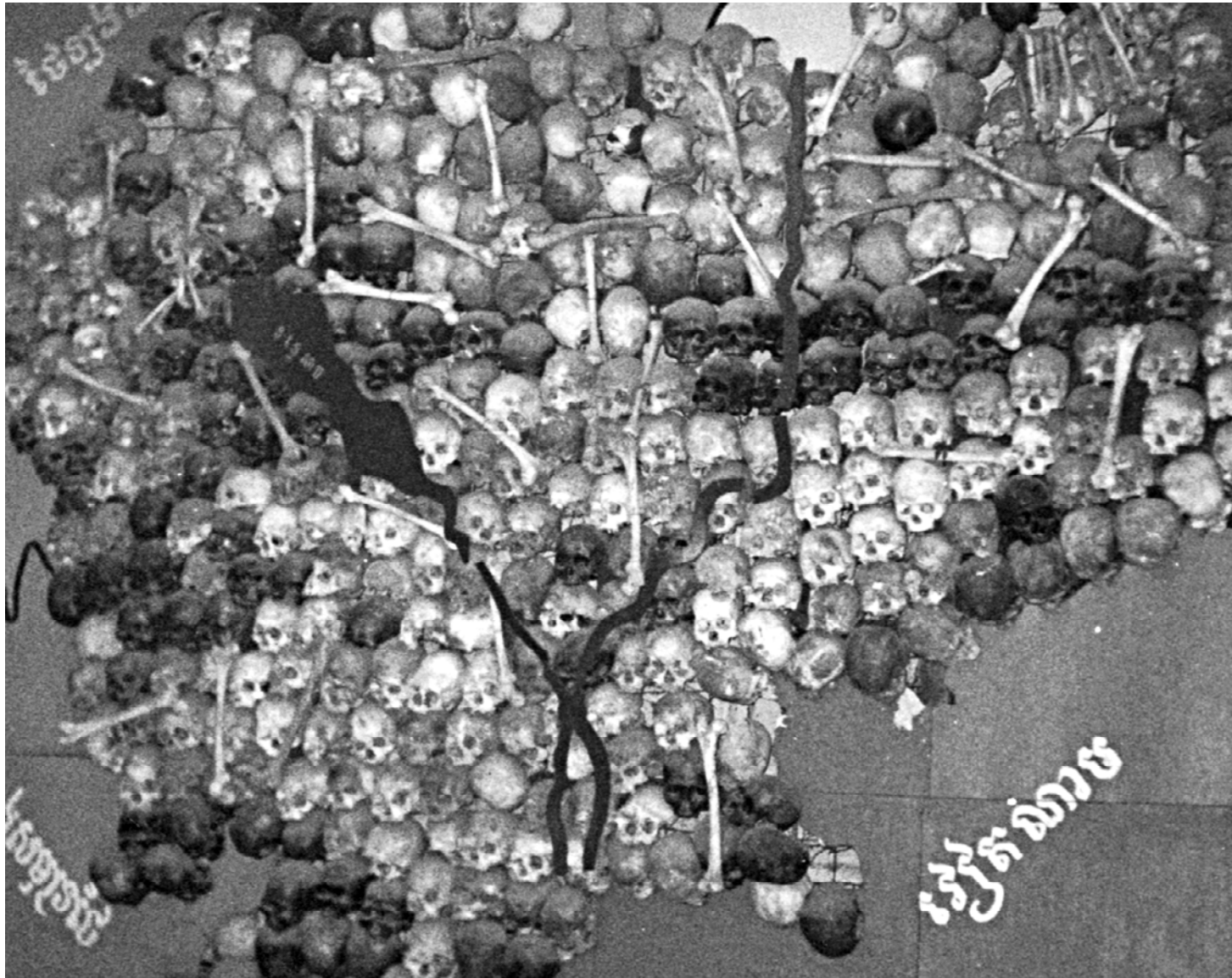


S-21 photo: Chan Kim Srun and child, Tuol Sleng prison (5/78)
photo credit: DC-Cam archive



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



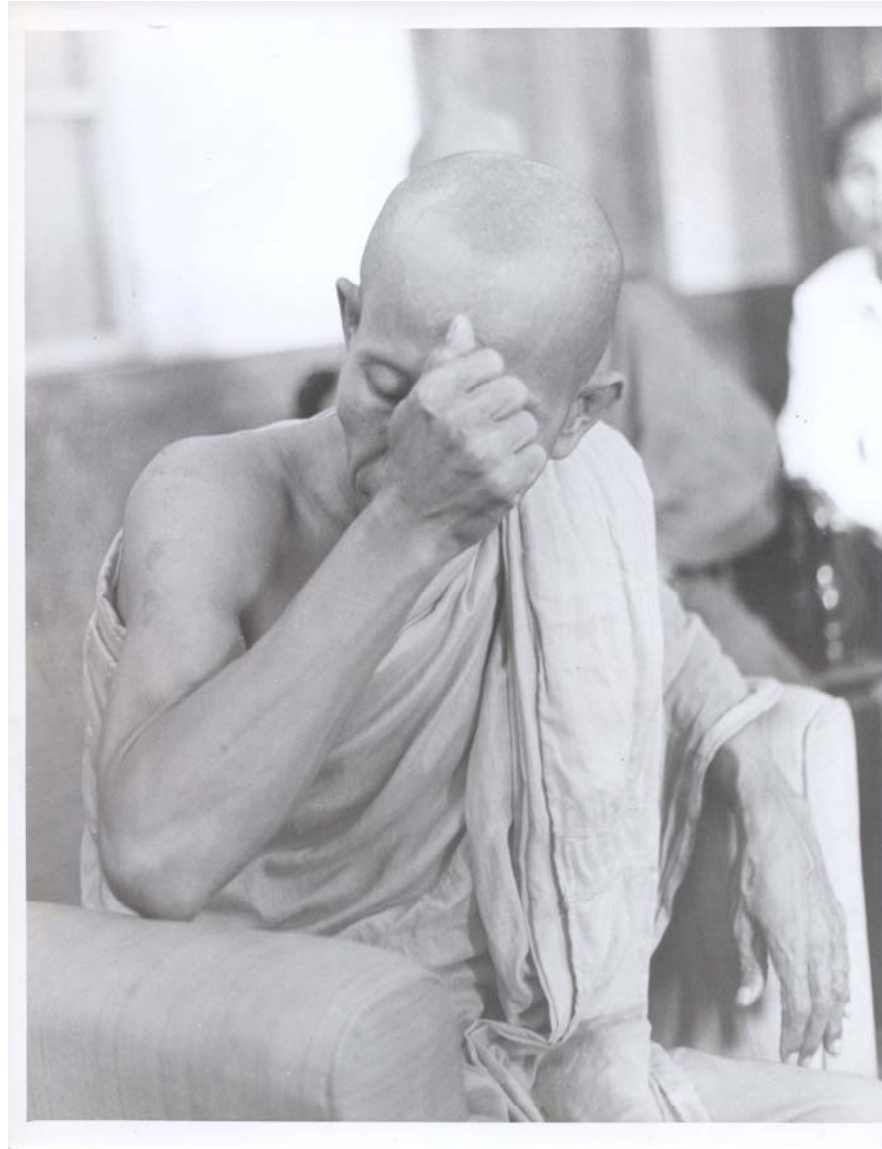
Survivors performing ritual ceremony to bless the souls of the dead, PRK

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?*