

EDITORIAL:

HAVE WE LEARNED THE LESSONS OF GENOCIDE?

World leaders and Holocaust survivors gathered at Auschwitz on January 27, 2005 to commemorate the liberation of the Nazis' most infamous death camp. More than a million people—the vast majority of them Jews—died there between 1940 when the prison was built and 1945 when it was liberated.

The United Nations General Assembly opened a special session marking the event. Secretary-General Kofi Annan said during the session, "Such an evil must never be allowed to happen again." He added that the UN must do everything in its power to prevent a repeat of such slaughter.

"In those times those who were in the death camps felt not only tortured and murdered by the enemy, but also tortured and murdered by what they considered to be the world's silence and indifference," Holocaust survivor and Nobel Prize Laureate Elie Wiesel told the special session. Wiesel is right in saying that the victims' cries for help have fallen on deaf ears; if not, mass killing would not have occurred throughout the world in light of the lessons of Auschwitz.

Whether we have learned from Auschwitz was the topic of a debate on the British Broadcasting Corporation's website (www.bbc.co.uk). Wiesel feared that the lessons have already been lost. "If the world had listened we may have prevented Darfur, Cambodia, Bosnia, and naturally Rwanda," he stated. And it's apparent that we haven't learned the lessons of Cambodia, either, where nearly two million people died some 30 years after Auschwitz.

A man named Duncan from the United States said in the BBC debate that the world is sitting by while thousands are being killed in Sudan, proving that we have learned nothing. Andrew Taylor from the UK echoed this sentiment: "Since 1945 there has been Cambodia, Rwanda, Bosnia, Iraq and most recently Darfur. None of these events may have been

as dramatic in terms of numbers killed, but they come and they go and whilst there's a furor at the time; nothing ever really happens to stop such atrocities once and for all."

Cambodia and Auschwitz have much in common. Cambodia was like a fenceless Auschwitz. The pain, suffering and fear people faced under the Nazis and Khmer Rouge were indescribable. "I want to say to all people around the world—this should not happen again. I saw the faces of the people we liberated— they went through hell," said Anatoly Shapiro, a Jew and Red Army commander whose troops helped liberate Auschwitz. As human beings, we never imagine that people can commit such barbarous acts, but they have done so in the past and will probably do so again if the world does not take action. Upon seeing a photography exhibition at the Tuol Sleng Museum in 2004, an Australian commented that he felt shame in being a member of a species that does such things to itself.

Israel's Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Silvan Shalom, said we would never know whether the Holocaust could have been prevented if the United Nations had existed at the time. But we do know that the mass killings in Cambodia, Bosnia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, and Darfur did occur after the United Nations was formed. Based on the sad reality of world politics and interests, it may not be possible to hold out much hope that such inexpressible horrors as the Holocaust and Cambodian genocide will never be repeated. There is more to be done, but whether it will be accomplished is a matter of will. This is the time to act and to prevent a recurrence of such atrocities.

Terith Chy is the co-English editor-in-chief of the special English edition of Searching for the Truth.

LETTERS FROM YOUK CHHANG:

A PLACE OF HONOR IN HISTORY

On March 28, the United Nations will hold a meeting at its headquarters in New York to raise funds for the Khmer Rouge tribunal. To date, the Cambodian Government and UN have raised enough money to pay for at least the first year of the trials (\$39 million of an estimated \$56 million) through contributions from Japan, Australia, Great Britain, and France.

We have come a long way toward realizing justice in the past months, but the UN has stated that it won't proceed with the trials until all the funds are in place; this means that an additional \$17 million must be found.

I wish to encourage the donor community to support Cambodia and the UN in making the tribunal a reality. But for a long time now, many nations have expressed concern that their money will be wasted because the trials might not be fair given Cambodia's judicial system. To counter these doubts, donors might consider pledging money for the tribunal's second (and possibly third) years. They needn't write the checks at this point in time; countries could merely

agree to provide funding should the tribunals prove to be fair, transparent, and allow the voices of the victims to be heard.

Although there will certainly be disagreement about the outcome of the first year's proceedings, there are many means available for reaching a broad consensus. These might include assessments by the UN and Royal Government, reports in the press, the evaluations of the local and international NGO and human rights communities, and perhaps most important, the opinions of the Cambodian public on whether the trials are serving them well.

It is my hope that the international community will begin to engage more widely in addressing Asia's human rights abuses, becoming as involved here as it has in Europe and Africa, for example. And helping Cambodians see justice for the crimes against humanity committed on our soil would ensure donors a place of honor in history.

Youk Chhang

Editor-in-Chief and Publisher

PRESS RELEASE



GOVERNMENTS PLEDGE \$38.48 MILLION FOR KHMER ROUGE TRIALS IN CAMBODIA

Member States this afternoon pledged a total amount of \$38.48 million towards the establishment of the Extraordinary Chambers for the Prosecution under Cambodian Law of Crimes Committed during the Period of Democratic Kampuchea, \$4.52 million short of the goal of \$43 million.

[The Extraordinary Chambers for the "Khmer Rouge" trials are part of an agreement between the United Nations and the Government of Cambodia, ratified by that Government on 19 October. The agreement stipulates, among other things, that the expenses of the Extraordinary Chambers should be borne by voluntary contributions from the international community. The draft agreement was approved by the General Assembly on 13 May 2003, when it adopted resolution 57/228B without a vote.]

(Continued to inside back cover)

AGREEMENT ESTABLISHES KHMER ROUGE ARCHIVE AT RUTGERS UNIVERSITY, USA

(NEWARK)—A new agreement between Rutgers-Newark and a Cambodian human rights organization has made Rutgers-Newark one of only two universities in America to serve as U.S. repositories for the most comprehensive archive on the Khmer Rouge regime—and its four-year reign of terror and genocide in Cambodia.

The agreement between the Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-CAM) and Rutgers-Newark (R-N)—similar to one also finalized between DC-CAM and Yale University, which has a portion of the material—places an invaluable archive of primary Khmer Rouge documents in digital and microfiche form at the fingertips of both R-N faculty and students, scholars and investigators throughout the Western Hemisphere: papers, photographs, films and other materials that provide a record of the Khmer Rouge-orchestrated genocide from 1975-1979 that claimed almost a quarter of Cambodia's 8 million people.

The partnership between Rutgers-Newark and DC-CAM marks both the 30th anniversary of the Khmer Rouge's rise to power and Cambodia's current preparations for war crimes tribunals to punish those responsible for the atrocities committed. Many of the documents in the archives will be used as evidence at the trials of the individuals who created Cambodia's infamous "killing fields."

"In hosting this important human-rights project, Rutgers-Newark is reinforcing its role as a major center of global scholarship and international public policy development," noted Rutgers-Newark Provost Steven Diner. "Rutgers-Newark's location could not be more appropriate, as the New York City/New Jersey metropolitan area is located at the heart of one of the world's most diverse regions, with citizens from around the globe making up our student body and living in the cities that surround us."

In addition to the unparalleled research opportunities that the DC-CAM archive brings to the

Western world, DC-CAM will invite selected Rutgers students to participate in intern—and externships, conducting research both at the center's office at Rutgers-Newark and at its headquarters in Cambodia. DC-CAM's R-N branch also will allow DC-CAM staff members such as Meng-Try Ea and Vannak Huy—who will simultaneously be pursuing graduate degrees in global studies at Rutgers-Newark's Center for Global Change and Governance—to present and organize talks to classes at R-N about the Khmer-Rouge genocide, international law and other related topics.

The agreement was engineered in part by Rutgers-Newark anthropology professor Alexander Hinton as he was researching his most recent book, *Why Did They Kill? Cambodia in the Shadow of Genocide* (University of California Press, 2005). He had met Youk Chhang, director of DC-CAM, while doing research on genocide in Cambodia.

The bewilderment of Cambodians over how their own countrymen could do such things redirected Hinton's research so that he began to explore other genocides across the globe. "How does genocide take place?" mused Hinton. "What makes people able to commit such atrocities?"

For DC-CAM founder and director Chhang, it was his own experiences, which included torture and imprisonment by the Khmer Rouge, that drove him to assemble the unparalleled archive now in the joint custody of DC-CAM's home and American offices detailing the activities that took place in his country.

"It was a personal commitment because of my personal experiences under the Khmer Rouge regime," he said. "People don't understand it—what happened with the Khmer Rouge. Failure to explain it makes me very uncomfortable."

"To me, it's not just about being a Cambodian—it's about being a human being."

For more information on the DC-CAM project, visit the organization's website at www.dccam.org.

CONFESSION SUMMARY: TAUCH KHAM DOEUN

Farina So

Tauch Kham Doeun, aka Tauch, was an official in Democratic Kampuchea's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was arrested in 1977 and died of illness at S-21 prison (Toul Sleng) in the same year.



Tauch Kham Doeun

When Kham Doeun was in his senior year at Sisowath High School in 1953, his English teacher, an American named Overton, told the students about the tremendous development in the Western world. In April 1954 Chuon Sophea Sy recruited Kham Doeun to be a CIA agent, promising him financial support for his studies as well as a job. Overton also persuaded Kham Doeun and four other students to join the CIA, by promising them a salary of 500 riels a month. The five students were stationed near Sisowath High School and told to persuade students there to honor the United States, to extend the CIA's network within the school, and deter the spread of communism there. For the rest of 1954, Kham Doeun and Chuon Sophea Sy employed seven students as CIA members.

Kham Doeun showed and explained Western magazines to his classmates, and invited them to read newspapers and see photographs at the American propaganda office. He took pictures and anti-communist articles from magazines in order to instill a fear of communism among the students. Kham Doeun spied on high school student leaders in order to get to know the real objective of Ses Saphea (a student association at Sisowath High School). With help from his close friends, Kham Doeun learned the purpose of Ses Saphea. They did not meet to solve

the students' problems, but rather to criticize King Sihanouk and his regime. Chuon Sophea Sy told Kham Doeun to take measures to grapple with the problems there.

To achieve the US imperialists' plan to overtake France in Cambodia, Overton planned to organize a large student demonstration against the Vietminh and French in April 1954. To get more attention from the international community on the vital role of Cambodian youth and to help the US take control of Cambodia from the French, Overton spread news about the demonstration on the international stage. He appointed Chuon Sophea Sy as chairman of the demonstration committee, with Lim Sy Sa-at and Vong Sarandy as members. Overton also made Sao Ngoy responsible for security and UI Thorn for materials and food for the demonstrators, while he assigned Keng Vann Sakk to encourage students to join the protest, and Kham Doeun to mobilize students and to explain why the leaders of Ses Saphea should join the demonstration. Kham Doeun also contacted the student association at the public school of engineering, where there were a number of CIA agents, in order to convince the students there to get involved in the demonstration. Keng Vann Sakk strongly opposed the protest. Despite Kham Doeun's efforts to convince them and his suggestion not to resist King Sihanouk, Keng Vann Sakk, Sao Ngoy, Dong Sagn and Sim GnuK did not agree with Kham Doeun; thus, differences arose. Then Overton decided to cancel plans for the demonstration because he was afraid that the news would leak out.

Overton commanded all three groups of CIA networks at Sisowath High School to give strong support to the Royal Militiamen Movement, which

two groups. The Soviet government took the opportunity to pressure the union so it would turn to the government and seek help.

In 1965 Lay Ny traveled to Paris to meet Chuon Mom. He asked Chuon Mom about the situation in Cambodia and for advice. He particularly wanted to report to Chuon Mom on the secret student group in the Soviet Union. Chuon Mom, Lay Ny and a number of students wrongly perceived that "Cambodian revolutionaries shared views with the Soviets."

In Moscow, Lay Ny did not concentrate on his studies; he only read books relevant to a creation of revolution with Chuon Mom, Kong Sikoeun and other students who shared his views. In his final year at school, he decided to drop out, but the Soviet professors advised him that he should complete his education. Also, Lay Ny was being watched closely by the Soviets, who feared Lay Ny would shift to the Chinese side.

Later Lay Ny and the secret group discussed a plan to set up a party based on a number of Lenin's documents including "State and Revolution," "Letter to Farmers," and "Statements of the Communist Party." After the discussion, Lay Ny set a number of tasks for those who were to return to Cambodia and those living abroad. The tasks for those returning were: 1) strongly unite with friends from Moscow, 2) look for the revolutionary party and try to gain membership, and 3) if there was no party, contact strugglers in the country such as Chea Kim An, Hou Yunn, Sean An, and Khieu Komar and form a party. Those living outside the country were to: 1) convince all Cambodian students to become members of the CSU, 2) create a secret group and study Leninism wherever there were Cambodian students, and 3) strengthen communications with all countries hosting Cambodian students, especially with the Soviet communist party, to ensure their support. To this end, Lay Ny, with Soviet aid, sent a number of union members to contact Cambodian students in Europe.

In 1967 Lay Ny attended a Universal Youth

meeting in Sofia, Bulgaria. While there, the Soviet Youth Committee gave him 100 rubles. On his return from the meeting, the Soviets made an exaggerated claim, saying the money was provided by the KGB. The same year, the Soviets introduced him to Petrove, a high-ranking official in charge of an intelligence unit and full of experience from World War II. Petrove wanted Lay Ny to spy on China. As agreed, Lay Ny lied to the Chinese embassy, saying he wanted to visit a relative in Shanghai. The embassy warmly welcomed him, but he had to wait for a while because the Cultural Revolution was underway in China.

In 1968-69 Lay Ny disseminated a series of



Sarin Chhak

articles calling for strong unity among Cambodian people in order to liberate themselves and the nation under the leadership of the Khmer Communist Party. He used as an example the struggle headed by the revolutionary Angkar in Samlaut [a district in Battambang province].

In 1970 a number of Cambodian students graduated and were to return to Cambodia. They were: Pen Thoang An, Ieng Seiha, Lao Chin Hong, Men Mony Gnam and Oeng Rakk Chhiv.

Lay Ny composed a poem entitled "Wake Up Laborers" and published it in the CSU's newsletter. In an editorial, he condemned Lon Nol, US imperialists and

King Sihanouk for suppressing people, arresting politicians and killing people in Samlaut. After releasing this editorial, Pen Thoang An, Ieng Seiha and a number of their friends were arrested by the ruling government, while Lay Ny was under close watch by the Soviets.

Two months before the coup, Lay Ny released a book entitled *Socialism, Buddhism and Scientific Socialism*. It talked about the pain and suffering caused by the US imperialists, capitalists and feudalists. As a result, Lay Ny was stripped of his nationality and passport, and was sent to a Soviet court. When the coup was staged in Cambodia, he and all foreign



and Soviet delegation

The Soviet Union and Vietnam attempted to invade Cambodia as a warning to other countries struggling against their interests. These two countries arranged two plans. The first was for March-April 1977 and the second was for August-September 1977. As a political excuse for helping the Soviets to invade Cambodia, Lay Ny proposed that Angkar build a channel from Phnom Penh to the deep-water port of Cambodia so that the Tonle Sap's water would flow to the sea. With Angkar's permission, Lay Ny reported to comrade Phan, and Phan reported to Vietnam on the details of the plot to construct the channel. The Soviets would provide all the materials, while Vietnam would provide soldiers for the March- April invasion. Phan was in charge of forces and spying on the party's internal affairs. Sean An was responsible for mobilizing forces and inciting people to resist Angkar. Vietnam hoped that it would grab a number of islands and destroy Kampong Som port. If the plan failed, the Soviets would pursue diplomatic means with Angkar to open an embassy from which they could mobilize troops and resist the revolution.

From early January to late 1976, Angkar appointed Lay Ny to a protocol job in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Lay Ny tried to work honestly for Angkar and never revealed any of Angkar's secrets. He confessed that "since I became member of The Communist Party of Kampuchea, I was straightforward to revolutionary Angkar at all times and in all places. I was proud of the party because it enjoyed victory on April 17, 1975, and had managed to afford food for people. The party even saved some food after consumption. That sort of party had never existed in the universe. The Kampuchean revolution evacuated all people from the city and did not use money, and, in short, the Communist Party of Kampuchea could deal with the most complicated key matters, which none of the other revolutions could so far."

Lay Ny was interrogated three times. A note was written on his confession: "Continued to torture on January 16, 1977." Duch, the former chief of the

Khmer Rouge's Tuol Sleng prison wrote on the first page of Lay Ny's third confession, "Those from the Soviets and appearing in this [confession] were arrested, and those from France and Germany were not yet captured. Those from Czechoslovakia were also arrested in late 1975 and early 1976. Those from Germany could include Chaing Chong Phean."

Family Background

Lay Ny's father was Mong; he was a farmer in Ta Nuong village, Kampong Cham province. His mother Hak Eng was a housewife.

Lay Ny had seven siblings: 1) Hak Bun Seng, male (deceased), 2) Hak Chheng Uon, female (a teacher), 3) Hak Sun Lay, male, 4) Hak Kim Sreang, male, 5) Hak Chheng Ngun, female, 6) Hak Try, male, and 7) Hak Sitha, male.

Lay Ny married Hak Phadeth, whose birthplace was in Takeo province. In his youth, the two studied together in Sisowath High School. Phadeth continued to pursue studies to be a medical doctor in the Soviet Union in 1961. In Moscow she was also a member of the Cambodian student union, but she was not active as she concentrated completely on her studies. She was not interested in politics. After the coup in 1970, she stayed in Peking for a while to finish her research. In 1972 she taught Khmer literature to Cambodian children and learned to use Chinese medical needles. She returned to the country in 1974, and worked in a special zone hospital in Phnom Penh. In 1975 she worked in the operation unit of P-17 hospital. Lay Ny and Phadeth had two children: Lay Ny Deth Theavy, aka Nath (female) and Lay Ny Chalna, aka Jhon (male). When they returned to Cambodia, the two children were sent to Angkar's office in the North Zone. In mid-1976 the children were transferred to the Office of Social Work in Phnom Penh.

Sophal Ly is a DC-Cam staff writer for Searching for the Truth.

of Peking's effort to settle disputes between Democratic Kampuchea and Vietnam. The newspaper, however, added that it was not certain yet whether Teng's trip was an act of Peking's support for Cambodia. The Chinese press agency Hsinhua described the visit as "a friendship tour upon the request of the Communist Party of Kampuchea's Central Committee." Analysts said that when this influential woman arrived in Cambodia,

Khmer Rouge Cadres and Chinese Advisors



Vietnamese troops halted their incursion at Neak Loeung, some 60 kilometers from Phnom Penh. In reaction to China's support for Cambodia, Vietnam accused Peking of being the "the main culprit" behind the Vietnam-Cambodia border dispute. The Vietnamese Communist Party's news agency Nhan Dang alleged that Phnom Penh's leaders were causing the blood of Vietnamese and Cambodian people to flow, and that the mastermind behind the bloodshed was China, whose leaders were implementing expansionism and buying the services of Phnom Penh leaders to do so.

In December 1978 when Hanoi launched a campaign to invade Cambodia, Phnom Penh and Peking indicated that war between heavily armed Vietnamese troops in Cambodian territory was not an ordinary battle, but a prolonged guerrilla war. The Far Eastern Economic Review reported that despite China's advice to Pol Pot on guerrilla war, the Reunited Front for National Liberation's announcement stated that Peking had referred to a new line that was the first clear indication that China would not directly interfere in Cambodia's military conflict. The magazine also wrote that in a report sent to the People's National Congress, Deputy Prime Minister Yu Chui-Li asserted that the Communist Party of Kampuchea "had prepared

everything for the protracted struggle with Vietnam," and, although the battle would be "fierce, protracted and arduous," the winner would be the Communist Party of Kampuchea.

When the conflict between Cambodia and Vietnam became openly known on December 31, 1978, China softened its policies. The Chinese foreign ministry affirmed that such a conflict was unfortunate, and hoped that it could be solved through peaceful negotiation. China also softened its stance toward Vietnam because it saw that Hanoi was moving closer to Moscow, and had foreseen the catastrophic results if a conflict broke out with the Soviet Union. The New York Times reported that Peking had become increasingly unhappy with Vietnam since the end of the Vietnam War because China perceived Hanoi's ambition to rule Indochina. In addition, Peking saw that Hanoi was moving closer to Moscow, which could result in Vietnam becoming the Soviet Union's base from which it could dominate Indochina. And, if Peking maintained a strong stance against Hanoi, Hanoi would move even closer to Moscow.

Terith Chy is the co-English editor-in-chief of the special English of Searching for the Truth.

murder Khmer Kroms in different ways. Some were transferred from the rice fields to plantations and some were sent to pick corn, for instance. In 1978 the cooperative chief sent Phoeung to pick corn. Suong and his children asked to go along with her, but the chief, Ta An, refused. Suong's youngest daughter cried loudly because she wanted to be with her mother, so Phoeung took her little daughter along. Ta An said, "You should go home because you are pure Khmer. We take only Khmer Kroms."

Phoeung, her daughter, sister, brother-in-law, and 18 other Khmer Kroms went to pick corn in the jungle. They were happy to go because they thought they would have corn to eat instead of gruel at the cooperative. But, instead, they were taken to be slaughtered.

Only a few Khmer Kroms knew in advance what being sent to pick corn meant. Phoeung's sister and brother-in-law, Phoeng and Yunn, sobbed and told Suong as they left, "We are to be killed, brother." Suong did not take them seriously, thinking it unlikely that the Khmer Rouge would take people to be killed.

One day after his wife and daughter were sent out to work in the jungle, Suong was told that the Khmer Rouge had killed them. He received confirmation a half month later when the cooperative chief told him to look for a widow and get married. Suong replied that he already had a wife and children. "Do you want to go with your wife?" the chief threatened. Then Suong was forced to marry another woman.

Suong's second wife San also had a husband. He had been seriously injured and sent to the region hospital, and was assumed to be dead. But after a month, San's husband returned to the village and asked Suong if he could reunite with his wife. Suong agreed.

In late 1978 after smashing many Khmer Kroms, the Khmer Rouge started to smash the pure Khmer. Suong stated that he overheard a discussion on the plan to kill the people in his village when he was

taking materials from a workshop. He heard several female cadres of the district and cooperative saying loudly that "they had to smash all within a week." Meanwhile, Angkar evacuated a great number of people from the East Zone and Pursat's provincial town. Thus, the subdistrict chief halted the killing of local people, and turned to kill the evacuees from the East Zone.

Today, Sok Suong lives with his five children in Rong Ta-Kok, and he cannot find an answer to the question of why the Khmer Rouge killed his wife and daughter.

Dany Long is a member of DC-Cam's Promoting Accountability Team.

KHMER ROUGE SLOGANS

- ◆ Stand in the revolutionary movement of the public in all fields; we have to screen out, sweep out, and strengthen and extend our party and cadre-party members in order to lead the movement [smoothly] as planned by the party. (Revolutionary Flag, special issue, April 1977, p. 12)
- ◆ Absenteeism, disorderliness, uncertainty, unreasonableness, and irresponsibility must be eliminated from leadership roles and working behaviors. (Revolutionary Flag)
- ◆ Vigorously learn, conserve, and respect the attitudes of the organization, discipline, and revolution in conformity with the ideology of Marxism-Leninism in order to challenge with the freedom of inactive party members without the spirit of organization and discipline. (DC-Cam document number 014 KNH)
- ◆ Good leadership is being able to keep up with changing situations, analyze those situations constantly and clearly, and take the right measures to deal with them. (DC-Cam document number 076KNH)

TANG KIM'S DILEMMA: RESPONDING TO SEXUAL VIOLENCE UNDER THE KHMER ROUGE

Katrina Anderson

I wonder how both sides can reconcile if one side is the victim and the other is the perpetrator? And the perpetrators have not accepted their mistakes. If they admit their actions, it would be up to me to forgive them or not. It depends on how they confess. I almost died, but they have only compensated my loss with the word "sorry"...

—Tang Kim, Khmer Rouge rape survivor

Tang Kim turned 23 years old in 1976, shortly after the Khmer Rouge had defeated the US-backed Lon Nol government and unleashed a reign of terror on the countryside of Cambodia. One night, a group of soldiers seized Tang Kim and brutally raped her in a field near her village. After hiding for three days in a leech-infested swamp, where she witnessed the murder of 33 families, she became the only one of 8 women to escape alive.

In a recent film produced by the Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam), Tang Kim breaks her silence for the first time in twenty-eight years. The importance of this film cannot be understated, for she is the first Cambodian woman to speak on film about rape during the five-year period of Democratic Kampuchea (DK) under the rule of the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK).

A quarter century after the fall of DK, the Cambodian government has finally agreed to try some members of the CPK leadership for domestic and international crimes committed during their reign of terror. In October 2004, the Cambodian National Assembly approved a long-debated piece of legislation that created a special tribunal within Cambodia's court system—called the Extraordinary Chambers (EC)—to try senior leaders of the DK regime. With trials

expected to begin sometime in 2005, it is widely hoped that the EC will open the door to reconciliation by creating a historical record that documents how the Khmer Rouge came to power, and why the regime caused such massive social disruption.

While the tribunal may succeed in holding accountable some of the most responsible actors for the CPK crimes, a clear majority of Cambodians



Rachana Phat, the filmmaker

Cyan Magenta Yellow Black
100 100 100 100
50 50 50 50

People working at the dam during the Khmer Rouge regime



Phong Subdistrict, a Mass Grave

The lives of the April 17 people, like those of animals, were under close scrutiny from Angkar and it was only a matter of time before they would be wiped out. After two months in Thmey village, Angkar sent my family to another village located in the middle of the woods of Phong subdistrict, District 53. People sent to this village never returned because it was a malaria-prone region with plenty of wild animals, but not much in the way of food. At Ta-Ai, for example, yams were planted above the graves.

At our new village, my family members as well as others died every day because their diseases were not treated. Hundreds of people were skinny, swollen and infected with malaria because of overwork and starvation. Young guards ironically called us “the modern, the third forces, and the 17 [April] people.”

Two of my beloved nieces/nephews [unclear] died of dysentery in the village, while my brother and I tried to work really hard because we feared that Angkar would kill us, even though we had malaria. One morning, Angkar ordered people to join a meeting. At the time, everyone knew that Angkar was going to kill the people it called to meetings. Some took knives, axes or other sharp materials along to defend themselves. A lady caught running away was beaten until she was soaked with blood. Her husband hurriedly carried her in his arms and rushed into the crowd. Then people started to run out of the woods heading to Slab-Veng village. In the afternoon, a Honda came to the village. Some said the driver was Ta-Ai, chief of District 53. Ta-Ai told the guards, who were pointing their guns at the people, to herd them back to the village.

The Plan to Scatter People to Be Killed

Ta-Ai ordered all new people to live in villages together with the base people throughout District 53 (Kang Pisey district).

A number of families, including mine, were transferred to Kraol Krasaing village, Kak subdistrict, Kampong Speu province. I lived in the children’s

mobile work brigade for the subdistrict. When I missed my parents, nieces and nephews, I secretly ran to my house at night. As I ran across the woods, I saw graves and the blood-stained sticks used to club people to death. One night, I heard comrade Sam, chief of the brigade, tell his friends that he had returned from executing Tha’s family, who were April 17 people, by forcing them to confess to being US-CIA captains.

One day Angkar sent my brigade to plant yams and corn at Stung Leu. I was shocked to see the situation. In this place, the Khmer Rouge sliced people open and took out their gallbladders. Trees stained with blood, graves and skulls were scattered across the forest. The children of some base people told me that it was the office of comrade Pheap, chief of Region 33 (Kampong Speu province), who did this. Soldiers or people regarded as hostages were sent to comrade Pheap’s or Ta-Ai’s office to perform hard labor before they were executed. If those people were still strong and clean, the guards sliced them open alive just to take their gallbladders. Some were hung upside down until they died, while some were gunned down. The corpses were eaten by wild animals, and the bones were everywhere in the forest north of Kraing Mountain. Young children were arrested and burned alive.

Shocking Information

In the harvest season of early 1977, my brother’s mobile work brigade was sent to harvest rice in Trapaing Peuk village. As I badly missed my brother, I ran to see him. Unfortunately, I was told that “Comrade Chan, chief of the subdistrict branch, called your brother Heng to be killed yesterday, and his clothes were taken away. His children were taken to be killed at Kha-Maoch hill by comrade Nim. Comrade Neang had been about to kill your parents too, but he did not have a cart to take them away as they were sick and could not walk.” He added that I should work very hard for Angkar. The next morning, a child in my brigade who had just come back from the village asked me, “Did you hear the sound of a gun firing a

The escapees continued their journey, and, after crossing many villages, reached Prek Kmeng. They asked the village chief if they could spend the night at his house, but were refused. Instead he sent his man to bring them to Tuol Trea village. "When we were at Prek Kmeng, villagers said I should have been the daughter of the unit chief, as I was white. My mother said that she was not the unit chief's wife and that her husband was sent to collect salt and not seen again. Both villagers and soldiers still suspected us. At that time, the East Zone was accused of betrayal and people thought she could have been wife of a village leader.

"After we were fed in the evening, we were transferred to Tuol Trea village. The guide took us across many fields and forests before reaching the village. My mother feared we would die along the way; she thought we were being taken to be executed. We were given a cottage in which to stay. Later that night, someone knocked on the door. My mother did not dare open it; instead, she thought of Buddhist Dharma. Then a guard shouted loudly, 'Aunt! I am bringing you a mat and mosquito net.' My mother opened the door with a scared look on her face. The guard said, 'Don't worry; you will live if you are not the wife of the village chief.'"

In late 1978, Bun Than's mother was informed that Angkar had removed the head of the village in which she had lived. Therefore, she decided to return to her old village. When she arrived, she learned that her mother-in-law and a number of her other relatives had died.

Bun Than learned about her father's fate in late 2004 when staff of the Documentation Center of



Kong Tieng and his wife, Chhim Ret, in 1973

Cambodia were carrying out research in Kien Svay district, Kandal province. She then came to the Center to ask for more information on her beloved father. "I was terrified when I found out he was killed there [Tuol Sleng]. I could not sleep as my mind was obsessed with him. I worked while crying all the time. What did he do? Despite the fact that he was jailed in Tuol Sleng, he committed no wrongs. He tried to work very hard," Bun Than said, while tears fell down her cheeks.

Apart from Kong Tieng's biography, which was written at Tuol Sleng, we found a 5-page summary of his confession. 46 year-old Min Chhar Voeun, Bun Than's husband, said, "Some said this kind of document is of no importance because our loved one has gone to an unreachable place. However, I think it is significant for me and my children to know [the facts]." Bun Than added, "It is very important for young people to know because those in the younger generation may be the next leaders. What if these young people repeat such acts? Therefore, I have to let them

know so that they will also tell their sons and daughters not to walk on such a wrong path."

A court to try Khmer Rouge leaders would not put Bun Than's mind at peace unless the court is just and transparent. She said, "I want the court to try the exact crimes committed [by the Khmer Rouge]. Now I cannot say anything because I do not know how the proceedings will go, but if possible, my family would attend the hearings."

Kalyan Sann is the team leader of the Khmer language edition of Searching for the Truth.

enough to eat; patients received only a bowl of porridge with two or three cans of rice. Because there was starvation on a large scale during Pol Pot time, some people ate their own children. Every day at least one or two people died in our village. One day my brother visited us at the hospital. When he saw how thin my mother was, he made a complaint about the hospital staff, who did not provide enough food for patients. This complaint was supported by his friends. After he received support for his complaint, the situation changed. The staff were friendlier and the porridge was improved. Within six months my mother was able to walk and recovered, and my family was happy.

In Pol Pot time, people had to keep their personal histories secret. Whether people lived or died depended on their personal histories. At night we could not talk or chat. Militiamen always hid themselves under the houses and listened to what people were saying. If we said something against Angkar, we would definitely be killed. It was easy for Angkar to take lives. It was entirely up to Angkar to decide on your future. When, what time and how you would be killed were up to Angkar. They said that Angkar was like the “eyes of pineapples” and could see all directions.

I remember the family of a customs official that lived near my house in Ta Siev. My family and his were getting on with each other very well. Even though we came from different places, we loved each other. There were 11 members in Uncle Korn's family: 5 boys and 6 girls. The oldest son was Kosal. He was a close friend of my brother. One day, a Khmer Rouge cadre came to his house and asked, “Do you want to go back to your home town?” With happiness he replied, “Yes.” “Be ready by tomorrow morning,” said the cadre, “there will be an ox cart taking your family back to your home town.” That afternoon uncle Korn was happy. He walked around and said goodbye to his neighbors. He said goodbye to my parents. My parents wished him good luck on his journey back home.

But what happened to uncle Korn's family was terrible and cruel. In the morning people in the village were told not to move anywhere, just to stay in their houses. Even Kosal, who was supposed to accompany his father on the trip, was not allowed to come. Nobody knew what happened to uncle Korn's family. The next morning, villagers said that they saw the bodies of uncle Korn's family just about 500 m from the village. Their hands had been tied behind their backs, and the Khmer Rouge executed them by hitting them on their heads with a big stick. His youngest girl was killed by an AK rifle bayonet. We were shocked to hear this news. I remember the day he came to say goodbye to my family with a smiling face. Their deaths left Kosal alone; he then had to struggle to live on his own. We could not say anything about this. We pretended not to hear or see what happened to the family of uncle Korn, because we, too, were not sure of our own futures.

Kosal bore this sorrow alone. As we were not members of his family, this event grieved us for only a short period. It was just like the sorrow or sadness of the mine victims. Unless mines take out your limbs, then you will not realize that you have real pain. But later, my story became more similar to the sad story of Kosal. It happened when I witnessed the black uniformed soldiers marching my father away for slaughter.

To Keep You is no Gain, To Destroy You is no Loss

In July 1977 at noontime, my father and I made our way to a collective eating hall. Dressed in old clothes with an old *krama* around his neck, he was smoking Cambodian tobacco with Sangker leaves. I was running behind him holding a spoon and plate; they were knocking against each other like an orchestra. When we came near an old storehouse about 100 m from the eating hall, three or four soldiers wearing black came out from behind the storehouse to arrest my father. They tied his arms tightly behind his back. I was yelling when I saw this. One of the soldiers pointed his finger at me and said, “Little boy do not

(Continued from page 2) At the outset of the meeting, Warren Sach, Acting Controller, Department of Management, read out a statement on behalf of United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan. He said that, after many years of negotiations, the legal framework to establish Extraordinary Chambers within the existing structure of Cambodia for the prosecution of crimes committed during the period of Democratic Kampuchea was now in place. If that framework was to be put into practice, Member States would need to be generous with voluntary contributions.

The estimated total budget for the three years was \$56.3 million. Of that amount, the share of the United Nations, through voluntary contributions, would be \$43 million. Cambodia's Government would provide the remaining \$13.3 million. The process of setting up the Extraordinary Chambers could only begin once enough money had been raised to fund their staffing and operations. That condition would be met when pledges for the full three years have been received, along with actual contributions for the first year.

The crimes committed under the Khmer Rouge were of a character and scale that it was still almost impossible to comprehend, according to the Secretary-General. The victims of those horrific crimes had waited too long for justice. "By your generous contributions today, you can send a message that the international community will do its part to ensure that, however late, and however imperfect, impunity will not remain unchallenged, and a measure of justice will be done. That will be a precious and important gift to Cambodia", he said.

Placing the pledging conference into an historical context, Sean Visoth, Executive Secretary of the Royal Task Force on the Khmer Rouge Trials, in a message read out on behalf of Cambodia's Deputy Prime Minister, Sok An, noted that this April would mark the thirtieth anniversary of the Khmer Rouge's coming to power. On 17 April 1975, the people had celebrated the end of a bitter and tragic war, flooding the streets of Phnom Penh to welcome the liberating troops. That happiness, however, had been short lived. Plunged into a nightmare that lasted three years, eight months and twenty days, Cambodia had lost a quarter of the population – about 3 million people – to starvation, untreated illness, torture and execution.

He was confident that the Extraordinary Chambers would not only meet Cambodia's needs for justice but would also provide a model court meeting international standards. It had taken a generation to arrive at the current moment, and there was only one final hurdle to jump before establishing the Extraordinary Chambers, namely securing the \$56.3 million needed for the Extraordinary Chambers to function for a three-year period. He hoped the thirtieth anniversary would be approached with the knowledge that the long-delayed process of achieving justice for the people of Cambodia would at last be implemented.

Joining the conference later, Secretary-General Kofi Annan conveyed his gratitude to the governments that had made pledges today. He said the pledges had moved the establishment of the Extraordinary Chambers an important step forward.

Representatives of some countries, such as the United Kingdom, explained that their pledges were contingent on their national budgetary procedures. For the same reason, other countries, including the Republic of Korea, said their pledges were only intended for the first year, while further commitments would be made for the following years.

The representative of the United States said that, over the last decade, his country had paid \$7 million towards documentation and research costs for the crimes committed in Cambodia. Legislative restraints made it impossible to pledge moneys towards the Tribunal.

Pledges: Japan (\$21,600,000), France (\$4,800,000), Australia (\$2,350,000), Canada (\$1,610,000), Germany (\$1,000,000), Netherlands (\$2,000,000), Denmark (\$525,000), Luxembourg (\$66,000), Austria (\$360,000), Sweden (\$150,000), United Kingdom (\$2,870,000), Norway (\$1,000,000), Republic of Korea (\$150,000).

Khmer Rouge and Chinese Soldiers (Photo courtesy of the family of Um Sarun).

From DC-Cam's book *Stilled Lives*.



DC-Cam Main Office: #66, Preah Sihanouk Blvd, Tonle Basac, Chamkar Morn, Phnom Penh, Cambodia. Tel: (855) 23 211 875, Fax: (855) 23 210 358, Email: dccam@online.com.kh, Homepage: www.dccam.org

A magazine of the Documentation Center of Cambodia: *Searching for the Truth*. Special English Edition, First Quarter 2005.
Funded by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida).