

Searching for

THE TRUTH



- ◆ Healing from the Trauma of the KR: One Soul at a Time
- ◆ The Perpetrator, the Victim, the Witness

“Poverty is a root cause of the frustration and domestic violence many Cambodians experience now, and we will work to help communities generate income and gain a sense of the dignity they had before the Khmer Rouge robbed them of stability. We plan to recover, one soul at a time.”

-- Youk Chhang.

Special
English Edition
Second Quarter 2006

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Magazine of the Documentation Center of Cambodia
Special English Edition, Second Quarter 2006

EDITORIAL

The Judges' will for Justice 1

LETTER FROM YOUK CHHANG:

What's the National Human Rights context in
which we are Working? 3

Healing from the Trauma of the Khmer Rouge:
One Soul at a Time 5

DOCUMENTATION

Confession: Ong Bel, Law Student in France 8

Confession: Hing Sokhom, Student in the USA 12

HISTORY

Two Child Prisoners at Prey Sar 15

LEGAL

Supplementary Agreement between the UN
and RGC on Safety and Security 17

List of National and International Judges and
Prosecutors for the ECCC 25

PUBLIC DEBATE

War is Evil, But Sometimes it is Right to Wage it 30

The Perpetrator, the Victim, the Witness 37

FAMILY TRACING

Survival 49

My Fear of the Khmer Rouge 52

My Life During the Pol Pot Regime 53

A Journey to find a Missing Daughter 59



Copyright ©

Documentation Center of Cambodia

All rights reserved.

Licensed by the Ministry of Information of
the Royal Government of Cambodia,

Prakas No.0291 P.M99,

2 August 1999.

Photographs by
the Documentation Center of Cambodia

and

Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum.

EDITORIAL:

THE JUDGES' WILL FOR JUSTICE

Chamroeun Bann

About 1.7 million people were unjustly tortured and killed during the three-year, eight-month, and twenty-day rule of Democratic Kampuchea. The survivors of the Khmer Rouge are still haunted by their sufferings and the loss of their parents, children, spouses, and other relatives. They can never forget the atrocity they lived through.

There is a hope that the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (hereinafter the ECCC) will be able to bring justice for all of the people killed in Pol Pot's regime. In early 2006, the ECCC's Office of Administration was officially set up in Phum Ang village, Kantok sub-district, Ang Snoul district, Kandal province. On May 4, 2006, 17 Cambodian and 12 international judges were selected by the Supreme Council of the Magistracy and three days later, were appointed by His Majesty King Norodom Sihamoni. The ECCC has begun its operations to prosecute the former Khmer Rouge leaders and those most responsible for the crimes committed during the period of Democratic Kampuchea. The court will meet international standards.

It is only fair that the trials will be conducted in Cambodia where the crimes took place, under Cambodian and international laws, and with Cambodian and international judges and prosecutors. Cambodians will participate in the trials through observing them and serving as witnesses in the court. Further, they will be able to do this without spending money on travel. They can watch the trial process on local TV, buy local or foreign newspapers, or listen to the radio.

True justice will be realized through the intentions and will of both the Cambodian and international judges. The international

judges are supposed to be more professional and better qualified, but most Cambodian people do not know much about them. However, they know that many Cambodian judges are partial and corrupt. Because the Cambodian people understand little about the trials, in whom should they put their trust? Should they trust the international judges or the Cambodian judges?

The Khmer Rouge Tribunal will be the last opportunity for the Cambodian people to see justice done for the victims of the Khmer Rouge. If this opportunity is missed, they will suffer more than before the court was created. They are placing their hopes for justice on both the Cambodian and international judges and prosecutors who will make up court. Whether or not the Cambodian judges have a strong bias in favor of a political party or are involved in corruption will depend on their will to seek true justice.

Having experienced genocide and being afraid that such an atrocity could occur again in Cambodia, the victims want the court to begin operating soon. Former Khmer Rouge leaders are aging. Among them, Pol Pot died on April 15, 1998. It is now too late to



The ECCC's courtroom

bring him to justice. If the court continues delaying the Khmer Rouge Tribunal for the crimes perpetrated during Democratic Kampuchea from 1975-1979, people's hope for justice will gradually disappear. The answer to the question of why the Khmer Rouge killed so many people must not be hidden; the criminal acts committed during the regime must be revealed in a court of law.

Both the victims and survivors of the Khmer Rouge, as well as the youth of Cambodia, who are the nation's future, have important roles to play in preserving the history of Cambodia. This notorious legacy of mass killings and the inhumane treatment of innocent people cannot be forgotten by any Cambodian. To help prevent genocide from occurring in Cambodia or any other part of the world, the victims and perpetrators must share their experiences with the world through the ECCC.

When I was young, I always heard older people, including my parents, grandparents, uncles, aunts and others, talk about their hardships in the "Pol Pot time." They always advised and educated their children and grandchildren by telling them about their life under the Khmer Rouge. Therefore, the court must be fair and transparent in meting out justice, which is our best guarantee that the history of Democratic

Kampuchea will be truthfully preserved. To my shame, I have known less than many foreigners about my own country's notorious history during Democratic Kampuchea.

Since the Khmer Rouge collapsed on January 7, 1979, Cambodia has faced many challenges in its development because the country's educated people --the intellectuals, professors and students--were killed during the regime. Many educational institutions have been formed in the cities and provinces, but their quality remains poor.

Through the upcoming Khmer Rouge tribunal, Cambodians will gradually make sense of their legal system and talk with each other about what they have learned during the tribunal. This is already beginning to occur. In four tours to the ECCC conducted by the Documentation Center of Cambodia, for example, 1,980 Buddhist nuns, students, former Khmer Rouge cadres, perpetrators and victims expressed their interest in the ECCC and bringing former Khmer Rouge leaders to trial as quickly as possible.

Chamroeun Bann is the co-editor-in-chief of the Special English Edition of Searching for the Truth.



Survivors visiting the ECCC on February 26, 2006

LETTERS FROM YOUK CHHANG:

WHAT IS THE NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS CONTEXT IN WHICH WE ARE WORKING?

The Khmer Rouge regime was defeated by the Vietnamese in 1979. The Vietnamese quickly installed a new government and held "in absentia" trials of Khmer Rouge leaders Pol Pot and Ieng Sary. At that time, many Cambodian villagers took personal revenge on rank-and-file Khmer Rouge cadres.

In 1996, the Cambodian government granted amnesty to Ieng Sary. In the name of peace and stability, the government found it necessary to "dig a hole and bury the past," implying that Cambodians should not demand accountability for the actions of a regime that resulted in the deaths of nearly a quarter of the country's population.

The Royal Cambodian Government started negotiations with the United Nations on the establishment of a special tribunal to bring the former Khmer Rouge leaders to trial in 1997. Nearly nine years later, the UN arrived in Phnom Penh and began setting up its administrative offices for the tribunal. The trials are scheduled to begin in January 2007.

The issue of justice for the Khmer Rouge has been politicized for many years, and the culture of impunity is still prevalent in Cambodia. As in other countries with weak judiciaries, the wealthy are able to buy the outcome they desire in court. The poor, however, are often left defenseless, and have little awareness of their rights. Many Cambodians have become cynical, believing that neither they nor the Khmer Rouge will see the justice each deserves.

This is the context within which the Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam) works. DC-Cam is an independent Cambodian research institution engaged in the pursuit of the truth regarding the grave human rights abuses of the Democratic Kampuchea regime and its aftermath. It is the world's largest repository of primary documents from and on the Khmer Rouge,

and will serve as a valuable source of evidentiary materials during the tribunal. Our core objectives are to promote memory and justice, helping Cambodians to heal the wounds of the past, develop a sound rule of law, and prevent future human rights abuses, both in Cambodia and abroad. We hope that these two objectives will serve to build a foundation for the rule of law and genuine national reconciliation in Cambodia.

Today, Cambodia is home to at least 20 major human and civil rights non-government organizations. In addition, now that the tribunal is slated to begin, many other smaller NGOs are seeking to find a place for themselves on the human rights agenda. Together, these organizations - if they organize their activities well, and their actions are careful and above reproach--could become a formidable voice in advocating for the rule of law and democracy in Cambodia.

While DC-Cam cooperates and works with several of these organizations (see below), its approach is somewhat different. First, we believe that the Khmer Rouge issue should not be politicized. Rather, it should be treated first and foremost as a human issue and an issue of justice. Thus, one of our main rules has been to focus on, and speak on behalf of, the victims of Cambodia's genocide (at the lower levels, this includes many perpetrators, who also became victims).

Second, we have also strived to maintain objectivity. For example, we credited the government and others involved in forming the tribunal wherever we could, which helped give its representatives public recognition and confidence in their actions. We also tried to convince the government that a tribunal would be in the nation's best interest. In

addition, we worked with the government's tribunal task force team, parliament and the prime minister, providing them background information, recommending experts they could speak to, and helping them understand and speak the same "language" the UN was speaking.

Third, on behalf of DC-Cam, I worked with the diplomatic community to make them aware of the grassroots desire to have the Khmer Rouge leadership brought to trial. This included accompanying them to them to villages to listen to the people, publishing interviews with survivors, and finding experts to answer technical questions. Over the years, I also shared my thoughts with UN on how Cambodians viewed the preparations for a tribunal and how they would react to a proposal.

Fourth, we have devised many projects to connect to the grassroots. For example, in 1995, we asked a local newspaper, *Reaksemi Kampuchea*, to devote a special page to Khmer Rouge issues, which they have done every day since then and free of charge. DC-Cam has supplied many photographs and about half of the over 1,000 stories that have appeared on this page.

We have also worked very closely at the local level to give survivors a chance to be heard. We have been able to tell the stories of thousands of victims and perpetrators through our publications, radio programs and films. We have recently begun a new project that will bring 3,600 ordinary citizens from throughout the country to attend a week of the trials of senior Khmer Rouge leaders. They will then return to their villages and hold forums to discuss what they learned about the trials and the Cambodian justice system, thus helping build a grassroots movement for human rights.

Last, the many NGOs working on programs related to the Khmer Rouge tribunal will produce challenges in term of maintaining accurate information for the public. DC-Cam is investigating the best methods of ensuring the integrity of information

that is made public, and will work with civil society to see that such methods are implemented.

DC-Cam's Cooperation with other NGOs

DC-Cam works directly with several Cambodian NGOs on issues related to human rights. For example, we recently gave training to two organizations in Battambang and Siem Reap, and worked with the Khmer Institute of Democracy (KID) on a project to educate people in ten provinces before, during, and after the tribunal. In late 2003, we began a two-year project with the Transcultural Psychosocial Organization -Cambodia (TPO Cambodia) that involves counseling for people who suffered abuse under the Democratic Kampuchea regime (both victims and perpetrators) and are traumatized today. We have also hosted representatives from local human rights NGOs on six-week legal training sessions we gave in 2004 and 2005 in preparation for the tribunal.

In 2005, DC-Cam staff members attended, and were frequent presenters at, over 40 meetings, conferences, and workshops organized by NGOs in Phnom Penh. Our staff also held discussions with several local NGOs on the tribunal and provided advice and assistance to them. A few of the NGOs we worked with included ADHOC, LICADHO, OSJI, PACT, CCHR, CSD, CCFE, KID and OFC. In addition, we received assistance from LICADHO, PADEC, and PED in distributing the Center's monthly magazine.

While DC-Cam often coordinates with such NGOs as LICADHO, ADHOC, the Cambodian Justice Initiative, and the Cambodian Defenders Project, we do not work with them directly because these organizations are already well established and independent. Instead, we reach out to and work with NGOs that are still developing, such as KID and TPO Cambodia, as well as less formal groups, such as student associations, nuns groups and the Cham Muslim community. Of course, these groups have also provided strong support and assistance to DC-Cam.

HEALING FROM THE TRAUMA OF THE KHMER ROUGE: ONE SOUL AT A TIME

In 2004, a team from the Documentation Center of Cambodia visited the family of Srun Try (an alias) in a bucolic village two hours south of Phnom Penh. Srun Try joined the Khmer Rouge in 1974 as a child combatant. For reasons he still doesn't understand, he was imprisoned a year later:

"They shackled me, accusing me of running away from the battlefield, of being a Lon Nol soldier. I was then sent to Prey Sar Prison. I'm a good person, but they told my chief that I wasn't. They kept me handcuffed and shackled my legs at night. They also hit my head with an axe handle and tied electrodes to me and gave me shocks. A man named Chhuon tied my feet and hung me upside down.

"When the Vietnamese came in 1979, I ran to the forest. After a long time without any food to eat and being so thirsty that I had to drink my own piss, I decided to come back home. A man who lived in the village hit my head with an axe and accused me of being a Khmer Rouge; then he drove off in a small car."

Srun Try told our researchers that every night

since 1979, he would wake up in a sweat, screaming from his nightmares.

Srun Try is among the 81 percent of Cambodians who experienced violence during Democratic Kampuchea, the ultra-Maoist regime that ruled the country from 1975 to 1979. In this brief period, an estimated 1.7 million people, or about a quarter of Cambodia's population, died.

Today, in a country of only about 11.5 million people, an estimated 3.3 million still suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Their symptoms include trouble sleeping or concentrating, depression, blackouts, headaches, vertigo, intestinal problems, nightmares, and episodes of violent behavior. Another nearly 6 million suffer from anxiety and mood disorders as a result of their experiences during Democratic Kampuchea.

Many psychologists believe that the high rate of violence in Cambodia today, as well as its inability to recover economically, can be attributed to the effects of this trauma, which has left many people unable to cope with stress in their daily lives.

Most Cambodians lack access to professional mental health care; the country has only 26 trained psychiatrists and perhaps a hundred general practitioners who have received about 12 weeks of mental health training. PTSD victims thus have had little choice but to seek help from traditional healers, herbalists, and fortune tellers. Few understand the causes of their problems, when so many in their communities experienced similar horrors



Survivors visiting Tuol Sleng on February 25, 2006

during Democratic Kampuchea. Many people in this predominantly-Buddhist country have thus attributed their sufferings to karma.

The UN and Cambodian Government will begin holding trials of surviving senior Khmer Rouge leaders in 2007. No one, including Dr. Sotheara Chhim of the Transcultural Psychosocial Organization Cambodia (TPO Cambodia), is certain about the effect this will have on Cambodian victims of PTSD. If the trials are successful, people could gain new insight into their suffering and begin to heal. If not, the trials could open old wounds and re-traumatize people who have suppressed their memories of torture, fear, starvation, and death for over 25 years.

In 2000, Cees Kieft of the Netherlands Embassy visited DC-Cam. He suggested that we work with TPO Cambodia to create a program for PTSD victims. At the time, I had my doubts. After all, all Cambodians had been affected by the Khmer Rouge; everyone suffered. So who was going to help them? Mr. Kieft replied that people who were less traumatized would help those who had more severe PTSD. With that simple solution in mind, we began the pilot Victims of Torture project in January 2003 with \$7,000 from the Dutch Embassy.

After a year of identifying potential project sites, conducting interviews and counseling sessions, our staffs determined that a longer-term effort was needed, as were culturally appropriate ways to assist victims of torture. With funding from the US Agency for International Development, the Victims of Torture project began in earnest in January 2004.

First, TPO Cambodia trained DC-Cam staff on how to identify people suffering from psychological disorders. Our teams traveled to three provinces (two where the majority of inhabitants are victims of the regime and one that held many former perpetrators) and interviewed villagers about their lives under the Khmer Rouge. In the process, they identified potential clients for psychological care.

In all, DC-Cam interviewed 302 people: 214

were victims who had suffered either directly or indirectly (for example, through the loss of loved ones) and 88 were former Khmer Rouge cadres. We identified 95 people as suffering from PTSD and referred them to TPO Cambodia.

TPO Cambodia visited the pilot areas twice a month to provide counseling and treatment. Because of staffing constraints and the time required to travel to the more remote pilot areas, they were able to



Survivors visiting Tuol Sleng on February 25, 2006

assist 60 people.

Those who had the most severe symptoms were treated individually, and a few received anti-depressant medication and vitamins. The rest were treated in group therapy. Many of the therapy sessions also focused on behavioral problems, such as alcoholism and domestic violence, which have broader consequences for the community.

The project incorporated a number of new and

culturally appropriate techniques to help people address their trauma. For example, because all of the participants in the pilot project were Buddhists, we added a session to discuss Buddhist ways of dealing with stress. Participants were taught muscle relaxation and breathing techniques to help alleviate their anxiety and anger. Counselors also drew on the Buddhist concept of mindfulness: focusing one's consciousness and senses on the present moment



to prevent dissociation. This technique, which bears a strong similarity to many Western techniques developed to help trauma victims, helped reduce many of the symptoms the clients suffered.

Another important aspect of this project was helping communities address their problems and challenges, particularly because victims and perpetrators from Democratic Kampuchea live in the same villages. Thus, the project sought to create a climate

in which victims and perpetrators could communicate with each other and begin to understand how the others felt.

In late 2005, we brought 25 victims and 25 perpetrators together on a three-day trip to visit genocide sites and talk about what happened during the Khmer Rouge regime. Although forgiveness did not come easily to everyone, most of the victims said that they understood the circumstances that made the perpetrators act as they did.

Many challenges lie ahead for Cambodia in helping those who suffered as a result of Democratic Kampuchea. One of the greatest of these is the demand for counseling that has emerged from the VOT project. Before he received counseling, Srun Try was given medication that allowed him to sleep through the night for the first time in 25 years. As a result, villagers who live near his house were also able to sleep. Seeing the benefits of treatment, they too, came forward to request assistance from the project.

With so few counselors in Cambodia, DC-Cam is now looking to new ways to help PTSD victims over the longer term. In the coming years, we plan to train local people to help identify and refer those suffering from PTSD to the project for assistance. And we want to involve government clinics in providing services. Last, because Cambodia's economy was destroyed by the genocide, it is one of the world's poorest countries today. Poverty is a root cause of the frustration and domestic violence many Cambodians experience now, and we will work to help communities generate income and gain a sense of the dignity they had before the Khmer Rouge robbed them of stability. We plan to recover, one soul at a time.

Youk Chhang, editor-in-chief and publisher of Searching for the Truth, is DC-Cam's director.

ONG BEL: LAW STUDENT IN FRANCE

Confession Summary

Sophary Noy

Ong Bel was a Khmer Kampuchea Krom who first studied in Phnom Penh and then continued his education in international law in France. Like other prisoners at Tuol Sleng (the central-level prison of the Khmer Rouge), his confession was forced and may not be truthful. After they took power, the Khmer Rouge exhorted Cambodians who were studying abroad to return home and build the country. Not knowing the fate that awaited them, many came home and were imprisoned shortly thereafter.

Ong Bel was born on January 3, 1942 in Nhoam Laing sub-district, Khleang province, Kampuchea Krom (this area was once part of Cambodia, but was later ceded to Vietnam). His father was Ong Sen and his mother was Lam Thibo.

At the age of 14, Bel left home to study for his baccalaureate at Phang Thanh Yang High School in Prek Russei province of Kampuchea Krom. After obtaining his diploma, he left for Phnom Penh to continue studying. En route to the capital, Ong Bel and his guide were captured by the Vietnamese for illegally crossing the border; they were held in Kramuon Sar province (Kampuchea Krom) for 40 days. After his release in late 1958, Ong Bel enrolled in O Lakk High School in Prey Norkar.

Connections with the Free Khmer

In Prey Norkar, Ong Bel lived in the Chan Raingsei Pagoda. The Free Khmer movement often held meetings in this pagoda under the leadership of Khemarin (a member of the Buddhist lay clergy) and Thach Dy (a monk). Thach Dy welcomed Ong Bel and often taught him about the movement, trying to convince him to join. Ong Bel did join in mid-1959 and began spreading propaganda to make young people hate the communists and support the Free

Khmer.

In 1960, Ong Bel moved to Phnom Penh so he could study at Preah Sisowath High School. In the capital, he lived at Mahamuntrei Pagoda and became friendly with the head of the monastery Thach Hauy, who was Thach Dy's younger brother. Thach Dy told Ong Bel to become friendly with Neach Rin, Thach Hauy, Thach Hen, and Thach Saing so that he could understand local politics, spy on the Youth Movement, and continue Free Khmer activities in Cambodia. For two or three weeks, Ong Bel attended meetings at the monastery and reported what he learned to Thach Dy. At the same time, he spread propaganda.

Between 1961 and 1963, he was successful in spreading propaganda about the Free Khmer Movement. However, after the movement joined the South Vietnamese army in invading Cambodia, the country's youths considered its members to be traitors. Finding it difficult to propagandize, Ong Bel began to work secretly in Sisowath High School. There, Oeur Chhuon, Seng Phon, Peang Thunhakk, Sokh Misel and Ong Bel created the "Chamraen Youth Movement" to recruit students to liberate Cambodia from feudalism and fight against the Kampuchean revolutionary movement and communism.

In mid-1964, Ong Bel failed to obtain a high school diploma when he and his friends were expelled because they had caused turmoil in the school.

Connections with the CIA

In 1965, Ong Bel cut off his connections with the Free Khmer. Even though he had been expelled from Sisowath High School, he secretly tutored students at their homes to earn a living; his parents no longer sent him money. He also became a construction worker at the Olympic Stadium and in 1967, began

working at the state rubber plantation in La Ban Siek, Rattanak Kiri province. Two months later, he returned to Phnom Penh and stayed at Lam Khel's home. He re-enrolled in school, studied at home, and earned his high school diploma in 1968. During this time, Ong Bel still told both workers and students of the social injustices in Cambodia, and worked to convince them to join the Free Khmer Movement.

Ong Bel began studying at the Faculty of Law in early 1970. He did not have a job, but he did keep an eye on political trends in the Faculty of Law and made friends with San That, the head of the student association, Thou Thon, Koy Pich, Khauv Meng Hean, Bun Say, Hy Sotheary and Long Chheun.

He also formed a close relationship with Duk Rasy, an administrative law professor, who told him about local and foreign politics, socialism and libertarianism. They debated local policy and investigated the school's student movement. Duk Rasy advised Ong Bel to get a good grasp of the youth movement and share what he learned with San Phat.

Ong Bel helped San Phat to publish the weekly bulletin of the Law School's student association. Called Law-Economics, the bulletin criticized the Serimata government and Kampuchean revolution under the Viet Cong and North Vietnam.

In early 1970, Ong Bel and San Phat agitated among the students, who staged a demonstration in Phnom Penh to expel the Viet Cong from Svay Rieng province under a plan formed by Duk Rasy. During the March 13, 1970 demonstrations, the Viet Cong embassy was burned and the North Vietnamese embassy was seriously damaged. On March 16, Ong Bel and San Phat led a law student demonstration at the National Assembly, forcing a parliamentarian to make an official speech in support of the demonstration against the Viet Cong army's invasion of Cambodian territory.

On March 18, General Lon Nol staged a successful coup d'état against King Sihanouk. Ong Bel then took part in a demonstration led by San Phat. At

that time, he ran into Thach Dy on the street; he had become a captain in the army. Ong Bel asked him about the situation, and Thach Dy promised that they would meet the next day to discuss it.

At this time, there was turmoil in the Faculties of Law and Literature. Ong Bel took that opportunity to convince their student movements that the Khmer Free movement was the right one to follow.

In 1970, Ong Bel married Chao Chansary, who served the Division 7 hospital. They had two children: a son and a daughter.

Ong Bel then turned against Thach Dy and became a soldier in Division 7 under General Un Kauv, who made Ong Bel a master sergeant. In the military, Ong Bel did not know what he had to do because he was still studying at the Faculty of Law. But being in the military gave him a chance to make more connections with the youth movement at the Faculty.

In mid-1970, Captain Seung Ny and Major Tong Tin taught Ong Bel to hate the communists and love the free world, and also often taught him about the CIA. By 1970, Ong Bel had accepted the CIA line and began a pro-CIA propaganda campaign at the Faculty of Law. He went undercover in the youth movement so he could contact its students and analyze the strength of the forces against the communists, especially those of the Revolutionary Movement of Kampuchea.

In 1972, Ong Bel contacted Vinh An, director of Rasmei Kampuchea Newspaper in Phnom Penh. In late May, Vinh An taught Ong Bel about the struggle of the Revolutionary Indochinese movement and gave him permission to visit the liberated regions with his friends. He, Hy Sotheary and Long Chheun then went to the liberated Region 15, where they saw Prince Phourisrea, Minister of the Interior Hou Yun and others who he had not known before. Hou Yun said that he admired Ong Bel, his friends, and other youths who worked against the traitors.

Activities in France

In late 1972, Ong Bel graduated with a Bachelor

of Law degree. To protect the sovereignty and freedom of the Khmer Krom, Ong Bel left for France to study international law on October 30, 1972. His parents paid for his studies there.

In France, Ong Bel continuously reported to Seung Ny and Tong Tin on the CIA's activities. At first, he stayed with the National United Front of Kampuchea (NUFK) in Paris, but continued to propagandize against King Sihanouk and the revolutionary movement. Ong Bel then formed a close connection with Tann Vichhika, a member of NUFK and Ong Bel's sponsor. He quit the Front in January 1973 and took a job with an advertising company.

In mid-1973, Ong Bel reunited with Troeung Maly, a Khmer Krom whose original name was Troeung Phoeuk Tvieng aka Meuy; he had been a teacher at the Khmer-English High School in Phnom Penh. The two men had known each other since they lived in Kampuchea Krom. Troeung Maly asked Ong Bel to work as a security guard at his hotel. Ong Bel worked at night and studied during the day. He often went to the Paris National Library to conduct a research on the Khmer Krom and also wrote a letter to Seung Ny about his research. In addition, Ong Bel always followed the situation in Cambodia through the Free Khmer in Paris.

In early 1974, Ong Bel joined Troeung Maly and Seun Sou Ber (Seun San's son) to create an informal secret association, the General Association of Overseas Cambodians. Its purpose was to get students from all over France to detest the communists and the Kampuchean revolution. Ong Bel surveyed the students on their opinions about politics in Cambodia. He convinced the association's members to oppose the politics of the National United Front of Kampuchea of King Sihanouk.

In late 1974, Seun San announced that Lon Nol had resigned his position as president of Cambodia. Seun San's group - Say Bory, Sim Va, In Tam, Sok Chhong, Srei Samorn and Troeung Maly--created an "Association for Peace in Cambodia" with the aim

of persuading Khmers abroad to propagandize against the Revolutionary Movement of Kampuchea by publishing a magazine called Anuvat; its publisher was Troeung Mal. Anuvat would print excerpts of articles from international newspapers that were unfavorable toward the revolutionary movement in Cambodia.

In early 1975, Ong Bel actively propagandized for Lon Nol's Khmer Republic. He assigned Men Sarin, Sam Yoeung, Hin To and Nam Talun to call a meeting of the General Association of Overseas Cambodians to talk about his ideas. Ong Bel was trying to educate the members on politics and the basic theories of liberalism, and turn them against communism.

After the Khmer Rouge's successful 1975 revolution, Troeung Maly and Seun Sou Ber openly fought against it because it evacuated and executed people. Troeung Maly told Ong Bel that he had become a CIA agent before 1970. The General Association also fought against the communists and revolutionary movement in Cambodia. Troeung Maly made Ong Bel the chief of a team that was responsible for strengthening the stance against the communists and the Cambodian revolutionary movement.

On May 28, 1975 Ong Bel joined the National United Front of Kampuchea (NUFK) and changed his passport to travel to Cambodia. His health was also bad and he missed his family. At that time, he stopped his activities with the General Association, but kept in close contact with Troeung Maly. Troeung Maly convinced Ong Bel to cooperate with the publisher of Anuvat and to find reliable people to help him.

In early 1976 Ong Bel introduced Men Sarin, Mai Thoeun and Sam Yoeung to Troeung Maly, who instructed them and sent them to work for the CIA. Then Troeung Maly's magazine was finally published; as a result, the General Association of Overseas Cambodians was legally recognized in March 1976.

In May, Ong Bel was given a passport to return to Cambodia. He asked Troeung Maly to help introduce

him to Hin To and Nam Talu. After that, Ong Bel and Troeung Maly furtively contacted them to discuss the situation in Cambodia.

In July, Ong Bel began attending meetings of the General Association in France in order to learn about the situation within the country and to study revolutionary ways under the careful instruction of the association's director Hing Un, Touch and Chao Sokh Kun. He also read the Cambodia in Pictures magazine every month. Eventually, he learned how to speak like Khmer farmers in order to avoid using the oppressive language of the establishment.

In August, Ong Bel made a study tour to other socialist countries such as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Poland, and Finland concerning to the leadership of socialism. After the visit, Ong Bel made a request to return to Cambodia.

Before Ong Bel left, Troeung Maly came to him to form a plan against the revolution: Its points were: 1) spy on the policy, economy and military; 2) connect with Vinh An, Thach Nguon and students working against the Cambodian revolution; and 3) provoke turmoil within the unions and cooperatives.

Arrest and Confession

On October 29, 1976, Ong Bel arrived in Cambodia. He was sent to Office K-15 in Boeng Trabek. There he met Tann Vichika, Lip Sit, and other 15 friends who he knew in France. Ong Bel tempered and built himself to work on a farm in order to catch up to the powers of socialism. After that he was a team chief of a handcraft cooperative.

Ong Bel did not take any action at Office k-15 because the people working there already knew that he had acted against the National United Front of Kampuchea when he was in France. On November 10, Ong Bel joined a training course for newcomers and was arrested there.

Ong Bel was interrogated five times at S-21. His confessions are dated November 20, 1976, December 17, 1976, December 15, 1976 and January 5, 1977. His other confession was not clearly dated. Most of

his confessions were conducted by Seng, Tuy, and Khan. His confession of January 5, 1977 contains a handwritten note by Duch, the chief of the prison. It reads, "Don't think about the old stories, think about the new ones."

Ong Bel described his "mistakes" and expressed admiration for the leadership of the Kampuchean revolution. His confession states: "After I returned to my homeland, I came to know my traitorous acts to the nation, farmers-laborers and the Revolutionary Movement of Kampuchea. When I arrived in my homeland, I did not know of the new society and real justice; it did not appear in the newspapers. I am determined to build a new ideology not take the wrong path again. I believe that with the instruction of Angkar, I will become a good person for the nation. I am so excited when I see Angkar taking care of those who took a wrong path."

People Listed in Ong Bel's Confessions

Ong Bel named the following "traitorous connections" in his confessions: ♦ Thach Dy, a monk from Chan Raingsei pagoda (Khmer Krom), who was a major with the Free Khmer and worked on propaganda ♦ Thach Hauy, a monk from Mahamutrei pagoda, Phnom Penh and a contactor for the Free Khmer ♦ Thach Hen, a propagandist from a tourism company and a Free Khmer ♦ Neach Rin, a contactor, Free Khmer ♦ Thach Saing, Free Khmer, Phnom Penh ♦ Thach Yang, Khmer Krom student, Free Khmer ♦ Thach Naing, Khmer Krom student, Free Khmer ♦ Troeng Keh, Khmer Krom student, Free Khmer ♦ Vinh Than, Khmer Krom student, Free Khmer ♦ Oeur Chhuon, student at Sisowath High School ♦ Seng Phon, student from Siem Reap working at a publishing house in Phnom Penh ♦ Peang Thun Hakk, student at Sisowath High School ♦ Sokh Misel, student at Sisowath High School ♦ Men Sovanna, student at Sisowath High School ♦ Men Vongsa, student at Sisowath High School ♦ Thach Chan Sar Serei, student at Sisowath High School ♦ Chao Sopheakk, student at Sisowath High School ♦ Nuon Sophea, student at

Sisowath High School ♦ Chao Van, student at Sisowath High School ♦ Put Chrie, student at Sisowath High School ♦ Rass Chantrea Botr, student at Sisowath High School ♦ Ung Kim Ay, student at Sisowath High School ♦ Y Vannak, student at Sisowath High School ♦ San That, a head of the student association of the Faculty of Law, CIA ♦ Thou Thon, student at the Faculty of Law ♦ Khauv Meng Hean, law student ♦ Bun Say, law student ♦ Hy Sotheary, law student ♦ Long Theun, law student ♦ Huy Vora, law student ♦ Koy Pich, law student ♦ Duk Rasy, people's representative (parliamentarian) and professor in the Faculty of Law ♦ Seung Ny, CIA professor, Free Khmer ♦ Tong Tin, Seung Ngok Thanh's bodyguard, CIA and Free Khmer ♦ Troeung Maly, his original name: Troeung Phoeuk Tvieng aka Meuy, former professor at the Khmer-English High School, Phnom Penh, then lived in France ♦ Men Sarin, CIA student, France

♦ Hin To, CIA student, France ♦ Seun Sou Ber, CIA student, France ♦ Nam Talun, CIA student, France ♦ Seam Yoeung, student, France ♦ Mai Thoeun, student, France ♦ Bo Thirak, student, France ♦ Yim Youthun, student, France ♦ Kim Taing Seng, student, France ♦ Taing Chhun Lay, student, France ♦ Chou Kaleng, student, Canada ♦ Thach Nhuon, former professor at Takhmau High School, CIA ♦ Venh Ann, Viet Cong agent and director of a publishing company in Phnom Penh ♦ Kim Ket, Viet Cong agent and major in Division 7 ♦ Khuon Davet, student, K-15 Office, Boeng Trabek ♦ Ngao Hakk Tiem, former professor Nuon Khoeun, professor ♦ Phong Kim Hong, student ♦ Thach Serei Sophann Kiphatt, student.

Sophary Noy is a staff writer for Searching for the Truth.

HING SOKHOM : STUDENT IN THE USA

Confession Summary

Sophal Ly

Hing Sokhom was born in Prey Veng province. He studied in the United States and returned to Cambodia in 1976. He was arrested by Angkar for betraying the revolution and sent to the S-21 Office. Like other confessions written at this central-level prison, it was forced and may not be a true account.

Background

Hing Sokhom's grandparents brought him up. He studied at Prek Luong primary school in Khsach Kandal district, Kandal province. In 1948, he lived with his brother-in-law, the director of Kandal Primary School, and in 1950 entered the Modern High School. Batoly, his French teacher, and Hong Hoeung Doeung, his Khmer teacher, introduced him to many people. Cas Sperque, Rosean, and Prophos, who were French

teachers, taught Hing Sokhom about the reactionary ideology of loving capitalism. In 1954, Hing Sokhom gained a secondary certificate.

After he graduated from high school in 1956, Hing Sokhom applied for a U.S. scholarship.

At the end of 1957, Hing Sokhom began teaching students at the Kampucha Both Secondary School. While he was teaching, he prepared for his scholarship by studying English with teachers from the United States and watching movies in English.

In June 1958, Hing Sokhom left Cambodia to study at Bucknell University in Pennsylvania, and obtained a bachelor's degree in politics and economics in 1962. He then pursued a master's degree in economics for a year. After he graduated, he returned

to Cambodia.

But in 1964, Hing Sokhom went back to the United States, where he had been awarded a scholarship from the Asian Institution in New York. There, he married a woman from the Philippines, Kristine Patoir. They had two children.

After the 1970 coup, Hing Sokhom joined the National United Front through Uak Sakun and Chuon Mum. He was appointed as a representative responsible for communications with the Americans, who supported the struggle of Cambodians. He devoted himself to this work.

In December of 1974, Don Los and Mrs. Koravai induced Hing Sokhom to join the New York-based CIA because he was dissatisfied with the revolutionary organization's great policy of building Angkar's socialism, in particular, the abolition of markets, money and the right to privacy, while Cambodia did not yet have the fundamentals of economics, politics or ideology. They assigned Hing Sokhom to agitate for liberalism. They also advised him on world politics and Cambodian issues.

However, he was not convinced by their ideas. He told them that Cambodia had just experienced a destructive war, and that the Cambodian revolution needed more time to strengthen and expand democracy. All Cambodians had work to help the national economy recover. Moreover, Hing Sokhom attended a course on liberalism at a school with U.S. instructors. Next, he was given \$2,000 to collect and broadcast information on the United States. Although he was a member of the CIA, Hing Sokhom still served the Front.

At the beginning of 1975, all of the CIA personnel in Cambodia held a meeting about the country's war. Hing Sokhom's responsibilities were to work with the Democratic Kampuchea delegation that was to visit New York. Ieng Sary headed the delegation and gave a presentation on the situation in Cambodia.

After he listened to Ieng Sary's presentation and joined an evening meal with King Sihanouk and his delegation, Hing Sokhom reported on the delegation's political trends to Don Los and Mrs. Koravai. Don Los encouraged him to learn more from Chhorn Hai and In Saupheap, and to form strong ties with Chuon Braseth.

In late 1975, Hing Sokhom asked for help from Chuon Braseth, Chhorn Hai, and Ing Saukan in his attempts to return to Cambodia. Don Los wanted to contact the government of Democratic Kampuchea; however, Chuon Braseth asked Don Los to wait until Hing Sokhom arrived in Cambodia.

In June 1976, Hing Sokhom came back to Cambodia. Before he left, he met Mrs. Koravai and Don Los. They both gave him introductions to Chhai Chhel, Srei Rithy and Kang Boracheat so they could link up with groups who planned to attack the revolution in June 1977. Hing Sokhom was to make contact and form good relationships with Phok Chhay, Chann Yourann, Chann Baupha, Chhorn Hai, Mok Sivong (a comrade in Preah Vihear), Uak Sakun, Ping Kim Say, Khiev Komar, In Saupheap, Pen Thang An, Mok Sauvut, Chhim Khet, Sarin Chhak, Chuon Braseth, Huot Sambath, Y Soup Kunthy, Sean An, and Tep Baupha.

In Cambodia

Hing Sokhom was to collect information about the general situation in Cambodia's political, economic and military spheres because the public was dissatisfied with the Cambodian revolution.

Politics: Was the Cambodian revolution following the path of China? How did the revolutionary organization lead the country? How strong was the Free Force? How were the cooperatives organized?

Economy: Why did Angkar decide to eliminate money? How much did the abolition of money affect the economy? On what was Angkar based? What did each factory produce? What did the factory workers

do in production and how were products transported?

Military: Investigate land forces, air forces and marines.

When he arrived in Cambodia, Angkar sent Hing Sokhom to an office with other intellectuals from the U.S. and France. He tried to go along with the revolutionary movement under the Chuon Braseth's instruction. Additionally, following the line of the revolutionary movement to produce 3 tons of rice per hectare, Hing Sokhom aligned his viewpoints in accord with the Angkar's position and tempered himself as a laborer and farmer. He did this in order to permit Angkar to see his good points so it would send him to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in New York.

At Ta Lei Cooperative

But instead, Angkar sent Hing Sokhom to the Ta Lei cooperative. There, he made tables and chairs for the communal dining hall. Hing Sokhom was very disappointed and started a new trend, liberalism.

In Ta Lei village, Hing Sokhom, Yeng Sarun and Thaong Ann criticized their team chief, Sann, and the chief of Ta Lei village, Yong, saying that both of them were unable to manage the cooperative. They also said that the food was inadequate and criticized the disorder of revolutionary children, who pulled out plants and covered up the mistakes of those around them. After work, Saophoan, Chhim Khet, Pen Thaong Ann, Bauchann, and Hing Sokhom discussed the old regime and their admiration for the United States.

Arrest

On September 23, 1976 at 5:15 in the evening, Sann came to tell Hing Sokhom that Angkar asked him to move to another place, but in fact, Angkar arrested him and sent him to S-21.

Hing Sokhom was interrogated ten times by Porn of the S-21 Office. His first interrogation was on September 29, 1976 and the tenth was on November 22, 1976. In addition to the confessions

of his activities, Hing Sokhom wrote about some of the people he had been involved with:

Relatives

His father Hing Khann was a commune chief in Banam, Prey Veng province. His mother was Rass Sat. They lived in Prek Thaong village and died in 1973.

He had five siblings: a sister and four brothers. His sister Khan Sim Chin and her husband Khlor Phat worked at the Ministry of National Education in Phnom Penh. His brother Hing Sokhoeun worked at the Technical University of Khmer-Soviet Friendship. Another brother Hing Sam Oeun worked at the National Bank in Phnom Penh. His youngest brother was Hing Sambath.

The List of Those Working against the Revolution

Don Los, an American ♦ Mrs. Corain Vai, an American ♦ Tep Borei, a New York University student ♦ Chuon Praseth, Minister of Foreign Affairs in Phnom Penh ♦ Chhorn Hai, Ministry of Foreign Affairs ♦ In Sopheap, Minister of Foreign Affairs in Phnom Penh ♦ Mok Sauvut ♦ Pen Thaong Ann, Ta Lei villager ♦ Saupo Tra, Ta Lei villager ♦ Mchass Pang aka Yang, Ta Lei villager ♦ Sarin Chhak, Kampong Cham ♦ Chanty Yourann, Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Phnom Penh ♦ Ping Kim Say ♦ In Saukan, 17 April Hospital ♦ Uak Sakun ♦ Y Soup Kunt, Front representative in Sweden ♦ Mok Sivong, Preah Vihear comrade ♦ Sing Ngok Thann ♦ In Tam ♦ Pok Sam An ♦ In Suong ♦ Chann Yourann ♦ Huot Sambath, ambassador ♦ Chhai Chhel, former professor who joined the revolution in 1955 in Paris ♦ Kang Boracheat ♦ Srei Rithy, engineer at a cement factory ♦ Sim Songleng, former engineer ♦ Khiev Komar, former professor ♦ Mao Savann, former professor of science ♦ Ung Meng Kruey.

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

TWO CHILD PRISONERS AT PREY SAR

Khamboly Dy

In 1977, twelve year olds Chhoeun Choek and Eng Chak were held at the Prey Sar security office. This office was one of Democratic Kampuchea's five subordinate branches of the central-level Tuol Sleng (S-21) prison. The conditions for prisoners were much better at Prey Sar than Tuol Sleng. At Prey Sar, prisoners were assigned such work as moving earth, digging up tree trunks, planting vegetables and cultivating rice. Still, because of its hard labor, some of Prey Sar's inmates decided to risk their lives and escape. Those who failed were charged with committing a serious crime and sent back to Prey Sar or on to Tuol Sleng.

Chhoeun Choek

Born in Samrong village in Battambang province, Chhoeun Choek was of Chinese descent. His father's name was Chhoeun; his mother's was Khan. Before 1975, Chhoeun Choek's parents were greengrocers in Phnom Penh. After the Khmer Rouge took control of Cambodia in 1975, when Chhoeun Choek was in grade 11, his family was evacuated to Rakakong village in Kandal province.

In June 1975 Sroeu, a Khmer Rouge cadre who worked as a machinist in Prek Phnoeu factory, was looking for skilled workers. Chhoeun Choek's father applied for the job and was then sent to work at Prek Phnoeu's Office 17, where he repaired machines. The next year, Angkar transferred his father to work on bicycles at a factory in Phnom Penh. His wife and son were assigned to clear land near Koh Chin. After about three months, Chhoeun and other men were assigned to cut wood in Kratie province. After that, he disappeared.

Chhoeun Choek, his mother, and three of his siblings were then ordered to Chrang Chamreh to plant vegetables. Sometime before Khmer New Year in 1977, they were sent to Prey Sar. There, they were assigned to dig up tree trunks and transplant rice seedlings. They were not allowed to live together.

Eng Chak

Also of Chinese descent, Eng Chak was born in Dei Sraghe village of Takeo province. His father had been a second lieutenant in the Lon Nol army, where he died in battle. His mother's name was That.

In 1976, Chhun and So, who were responsible for repairing machinery in Stoeung Mean Chey, took Eng Chak, his mother, and siblings to Phnom Penh. Eng Chak's older sister was assigned to cultivate rice in a women's unit. Eng Chak was placed in a children's unit in Stoeung Mean Chey. Like Chhoeun Choek's family, Eng Chak's family was sent



Chhoeun Choek

to Prey Sar sometime before Khmer New Year in 1977, where they dug up tree trunks and carried earth. They were assigned to this difficult work because Eng Chak's father had been a second lieutenant.

Escape and Arrest

One day, a 14-year old boy named Nhil told Chhoeun Choek and Eng Chak, "Many people have escaped from this terrible place. Angkar could not find them." Chhoeun Choek and Eng Chak discussed this. "We could not bear living in such a place. We will be beaten to death if we stay here, so we have to ask their permission to move to the south bank of the river. Life would be better there." Having talked

for a while, they came to a decision: they would run away. At about 11 p.m., Chhoeun Choek scrutinized the security situation and found that only one man, comrade Uok, was on duty as a security guard, and he was asleep. The two boys did not hesitate; they took this opportunity to move west. After they crossed the river, they decided to rest under a big mango tree. The next morning, they realized that they were near National Road 3, and began walking north on it. But after they had traveled 100 kilometers, a Khmer Rouge cadre arrested them. They boys were taken to a unit in Takmao headed by Pou Lot, where they were

assigned to thresh rice. After two weeks, they were sent back to Prey Sar.

Chhoeun Choek and Eng Chak were sent to the S-21 Security Office on February 13, 1978. The third pages of their confessions contained handwritten notes by Khay, saying that Eng Chak was arrested because his father had been a second lieutenant. He did not state the reason for Choeun Choek's arrest. There is no record of the execution of either boy.

Kamboly Dy is a DC-Cam's researcher and staff writer for the magazine.

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. 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 four services:

1. **Library:** Through our library, the public can read documents, books and magazine, 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 upcoming tribunal, and other related subjects.
3. **Tribunal Response Team:** Our document and legal advisors will provide 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 every Tuesday and Thursday at 9 a.m. and 3 p.m.

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 12 p.m. and 2 to 5 p.m. For more information or if you want to arrange a group event, please contact our staff, Phearum or Pidoa, at 023 211 875. Thank you.



SUPPLEMENTARY AGREEMENT
BETWEEN THE UNITED NATIONS
AND THE ROYAL GOVERNMENT OF CAMBODIA
ANCILLARY TO
THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED NATIONS
AND THE ROYAL GOVERNMENT OF CAMBODIA
CONCERNING THE PROSECUTION UNDER CAMBODIAN LAW
OF CRIMES COMMITTED DURING THE PERIOD OF DEMOCRATIC
KAMPUCHEA, REGARDING SAFETY AND SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS

Whereas on 6 June 2003 the United Nations and the Royal Government of Cambodia signed the Agreement Concerning the Prosecution under Cambodian Law of Crimes Committed During the Period of Democratic Kampuchea (hereinafter the "Agreement");

Whereas Article 24 of the Agreement provides that the Royal Government of Cambodia shall take all effective and adequate actions which may be required to ensure the security, safety and protection of persons referred to in the Agreement;

Whereas Article 24 of the Agreement further provides that the United Nations and the Royal Government of Cambodia agree that the Government is responsible for the security of all accused, irrespective of whether they appear voluntarily before the Extraordinary Chambers or whether they are under arrest;

Whereas Article 17 (e) of the Agreement provides that the United Nations shall be responsible for safety and security arrangements as agreed separately between the United Nations and the Royal Government of Cambodia;

Whereas the Royal Government of Cambodia has confirmed that, pursuant to its responsibilities

under Article 14 of the Agreement, it will, for the duration of the Agreement, provide at its expense designated parts of the High Command Headquarters of the Royal Cambodian Armed Forces, Phum Ang village, Kantok commune, Ang Snoul district, Kandal province, as premises for the co-investigating judges, the Prosecutors' Office, the Extraordinary Chambers, the Pre-Trial Chamber and the Office of Administration (hereinafter, the "premises");

Wishing to conclude the supplementary agreement that is foreseen in Article 17 (e) of the Agreement;

Now therefore the United Nations and the Royal Government of Cambodia agree as follows:

Article 1

Primary responsibility of the Government

1. The Royal Government of Cambodia shall be responsible for the security of the premises and for the safety and security of all persons referred to in the Agreement, except in so far as is expressly provided otherwise in this supplementary agreement.
2. Except in so far as this supplementary agreement may expressly provide that responsibility for safety

and security arrangements lies with the United Nations, nothing in this supplementary agreement shall be understood to derogate in any way from the responsibilities of the Government pursuant to Article 24 of the Agreement. In particular, the undertakings of the Government set out in this supplementary agreement shall not be understood to affect or diminish in any way the general scope of its responsibilities under that Article.

Article 2

Concept of United Nations security responsibilities

Subject to and in accordance with the terms of this supplementary agreement, the United Nations shall be responsible for:

- (a) the establishment, management and direction of:
 - (i) security arrangements within the premises and
 - (ii) close protection arrangements, as necessary, for international personnel; and
- (b) ensuring compliance by all international personnel with the terms of this supplementary agreement and with security policies and procedures established, and standards issued, under it.

Article 3

Security policies and procedures

1. The United Nations shall provide an International Chief of Security, who shall be responsible for:

- (a) establishing policies and procedures for the conduct of security operations for the purposes of ensuring:
 - i) the internal security of the premises and
 - ii) the close protection of international personnel;
- (b) monitoring the implementation of those policies and procedures; and
- (c) issuing the necessary directions to ensure that those policies and procedures are observed.

2. The United Nations shall also provide a Deputy International Chief of Security, who shall act on behalf of the International Chief of Security in his or her absence.

3. All security personnel, whether international or Cambodian, carrying out functions provided for in this supplementary agreement shall accept, comply with and implement the policies and procedures established, and the directions issued by, the International Chief of Security in accordance with this supplementary agreement.

4. The Government shall provide a Cambodian Chief of Security, who shall be responsible for:

- (a) organizing and managing security operations for the purposes of ensuring:
 - i) the external security of the premises and
 - ii) the close protection of Cambodian personnel;
- (b) managing and coordinating operations by Cambodian security personnel provided by the Government pursuant to this supplementary agreement;
- (c) monitoring implementation by those Cambodian security personnel of policies and procedures established, and directions issued, by the International Chief of Security in accordance with paragraph 1 of this Article for the purposes of ensuring the internal security of the premises and the close protection of international personnel;
- (d) issuing the necessary instructions to those Cambodian security personnel to ensure that those policies, procedures and directions, as mentioned in subparagraph (c), are observed.

5. The judges, the co-investigating judges, the co-prosecutors, the Director and Deputy Director of the Office of Administration and all personnel employed with the co-investigating judges, the Prosecutors' Office, the Extraordinary Chambers, the Pre-Trial Chamber and the Office of Administration shall accept and comply with their responsibilities, as identified in the policies and procedures established by the International Chief of Security in accordance

with this supplementary agreement. They shall also comply with directions that may be issued to them in accordance with those policies and procedures by security personnel performing functions provided for this supplementary agreement. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall issue the necessary instructions for this purpose to the international judges, the international co-investigating judge, the international co-prosecutor and the Deputy Director of the Office of Administration and, through the latter, to all international personnel employed with the co-investigating judges, the Prosecutors' Office, the Extraordinary Chambers, the Pre-Trial Chamber and the Office of Administration. The Government shall issue the necessary instructions for this purpose to the Cambodian judges, the Cambodian co-investigating judge, the Cambodian co-prosecutor and the Director of the Office of Administration and, through the latter, to all Cambodian personnel employed with the co-investigating judges, the Prosecutors' Office, the Extraordinary Chambers, the Pre-Trial Chamber and the Office of Administration.

6. The International Chief of Security shall work under the technical supervision of the United Nations Department of Safety and Security and in close consultation with the United Nations Designated Official for Cambodia.

Article 4

Security planning

1. The Deputy International Chief of Security shall be responsible, under the direction of the International Chief of Security, for:

(a) conducting periodic assessments of risks to the safety and security of the premises and of persons referred to in the Agreement; and

(b) developing and maintaining an overall plan for the security of those premises and persons.

2. The Government, through the Cambodian Chief of Security, shall provide the Deputy International Chief of Security with:

(a) regular, detailed, up-to-date assessments of the security situation in Cambodia and analyses of trends;

(b) immediate reports on security-related incidents;

(c) immediate notification, by the most expeditious means available, of any information indicating the possible existence of an actual or potential threat to the premises or to international personnel, in particular, to the international judges, the international co-investigating judge, the international co-prosecutor or the Deputy Director of the Office of Administration.

3. The Deputy International Chief of Security shall develop security risks assessments and the security plan in close consultation with the Cambodian Chief of Security.

4. The Government, through the Cambodian Chief of Security, shall provide the Deputy International Chief of Security, upon request, with maps of, and information on, the known or suspected location of mines, unexploded ordnance and other dangers that might be present in areas of Cambodia to which members of the international or Cambodian personnel employed with the co-investigating judges, the Prosecutors' Office, the Extraordinary Chambers, the Pre-Trial Chamber or the Office of Administration might travel in the course of their official functions.

5. The Deputy International Chief of Security shall take necessary steps to ensure the protection of confidential or sensitive information provided to him or her by the Government. The Deputy International Chief of Security and the Cambodian Chief of Security shall jointly develop protocols for the communication, handling, dissemination, shortage and, as necessary, the destruction of such information.

6. The Deputy International Chief of Security shall provide the Cambodian Chief of Security with immediate notification of any information that may come to his or her attention indicating the possible existence of an actual or potential threat to the premises or to any of the persons referred to in the Agreement.

Article 5

Internal security of the premises

1. The United Nations shall be vested with control of the premises, up to and including their perimeter wall, in respect of all matters pertaining to their security. Such control shall be exercised by the International Chief of Security or his or her designated representative.

2. The United Nations shall provide an International Buildings Supervisor and the Government shall provide a Cambodian Buildings Supervisor, who shall be jointly responsible, under the direction of the International Chief of Security, for managing and directing internal security arrangements for the premises.

3. The United Nations shall establish staff and operate a system for the issuance and control of identity cards and badges to those who are authorized to have access to the premises. Such a system shall include, inter alia, arrangements for the issuance of badges to representatives of Member States of the United Nations, of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and of national and international non-governmental organizations and to members of the news media and of the general public wishing to attend public hearings of the Extraordinary Chambers, as envisaged in Article 12, paragraph 2, of the Agreement. Only those possessing valid identity cards or badges issued pursuant to this system shall be admitted to the premises.

4. The United Nations shall establish, staff and operate a facility control room and communications centre for the premises.

5. The United Nations shall establish, staff and operate a system for the issuance and control of keys for all offices and rooms on the premises.

6. The Government shall provide security personnel for the purpose of:

(a) controlling access to the premises;

(b) screening those who are authorized to have access to the premises;

(c) conducting patrols within the buildings;

(d) patrolling the grounds surrounding the buildings, up to the perimeter wall.

7. The Government shall provide a fire and safety officer, who shall be responsible for developing a fire-safety plan for the premises and identifying and implementing practical measures and procedures for the prevention of fire and for ensuring the safety of all persons on the premises in the event of fire or other emergency.

8. The Government shall provide security personnel for the purpose of assisting in the staffing and operation of the facility control room and the identity card and badging system.

9. Cambodian security personnel provided pursuant to paragraphs 6, 7 and 8 above shall be subject to the direct management and line supervision of the International Buildings Supervisor and the Cambodian Buildings Supervisor and subject to the overall management and direction of the International Chief of Security, through the Cambodian Chief of Security, with respect to all matters concerning the internal security of the premises.

Article 6

External security of the premises

1. The Government shall be responsible for organizing and taking the necessary measures outside the premises for ensuring their security. Such responsibility shall be exercised through the Cambodian Chief of Security or his or her designated representative.

2. The International Chief of Security and the Cambodian Chief of Security shall develop joint tactics, techniques and procedures for the prevention of unauthorized entry to the premises and for its protection against attack or acts of civil disturbance.

Article 7

Emergency services

1. The Government undertakes to ensure that

the following services are available on call, on all days and at all times and hours, whether business days or hours or otherwise, in the event of an emergency on or affecting the premises:

- (a) fire brigade;
- (b) rapid on-site trauma medical support;
- (c) ambulance;
- (d) bomb disposal;
- (e) adequate police force necessary for the preservation of law and order on the premises and for the removal of persons, if necessary;
- (f) an adequate rapid reaction capability for any other forms of emergency necessitating a rapid response that may be identified in the course of security planning.

2. The emergency services provided for in paragraph 1 may be requested only by the International Chief of Security or his or her authorized representative(s). The International Chief of Security shall notify the Cambodian Chief of Security of the name(s) of his or her representative(s) who are authorized for this purpose.

3. The International Chief of Security and the Cambodian Chief of Security shall develop procedures for the communication and handling of requests for emergency services.

Article 8

Courtroom security

1. The United Nations shall provide an International Courtroom Security Supervisor and the Government shall provide a Cambodian Courtroom Security Supervisor, who shall jointly be responsible, under the direction of the International Chief of Security, for managing and directing security arrangements for the courtroom, including, inter alia:

- (a) the screening of persons wishing to attend public hearings of the Extraordinary Chambers;
- (b) supervision of the public gallery during such public hearings;
- (c) the protection of persons referred to in

the Agreement, other than the accused, while they are in the courtroom.

2. The Government shall provide Cambodian courtroom security officers, who shall be subject to the direct management and line supervision of the International Courtroom Security Supervisor and the Cambodian Courtroom Security Supervisor and subject to the overall management and direction of the International Chief of Security, through the Cambodian Chief of Security, with respect to all matters concerning courtroom security.

Article 9

Security of the accused

1. Except in so far as is provided in the following paragraph, the Government shall be responsible at all times for the security, safety and welfare of all accused persons, including while they are present on the premises and in the courtroom, and for their control, if and while under arrest or detention.

2. The International Chief of Security and the International and Cambodian Courtroom Security Supervisors, under his or her direction, shall be responsible for taking the necessary steps to ensure that the premises, including holding cells, routes and the courtroom, are safe and secure for use by accused persons.

3. The International Chief of Security and the Cambodian Chief of Security shall establish procedures for ensuring the effective coordination of security measures within their respective areas of responsibility with respect to the movement of accused persons into, on and out of the premises, including procedures for ensuring that the International Chief of Security is given adequate advance notice, through the facility control room, of all such movements.

Article 10

Close protection of international personnel

1. The United Nations shall provide international close protection officers to provide close protection,

as and when considered necessary by the United Nations Department of Safety and Security, the United Nations Designated Official for Cambodia or the International Chief of Security, for the international judges, the international co-investigating judge, the international co-prosecutor and the Deputy Director of the Office of Administration, as well as for such other international personnel employed with the co-investigating judges, the Prosecutors' Office, the Extraordinary Chambers, the Pre-Trial Chamber and the Office of Administration as the United Nations Department of Safety and Security, the United Nations Designated Official for Cambodia or the International Chief of Security may from time to time consider to require close protection.

2. Upon request by the International Chief of Security, the Cambodian Chief of Security shall provide additional Cambodian close protection officers to augment close protection details constituted of international close protection officers. Such additional Cambodian close protection officers, while assigned to such close protection details, shall comply with the directions and orders of the international close protection officer in charge of the detail to which they are assigned. The Cambodian Chief of Security shall issue the necessary instructions for this purpose to the additional close protection officers concerned.

3. Upon request by the International Chief of Security, communicated through the Cambodian Chief of Security, the Government shall provide twenty-four-hour security for the residences of persons afforded close protection pursuant to paragraph 1 of this Article.

4. The Government shall be responsible for the close protection of the Cambodian judges, the Cambodian co-investigating judge, the Cambodian co-prosecutor and the Director of the Office of Administration, as well as for such other Cambodian personnel employed with the co-investigating judges, the Prosecutors' Office, the Extraordinary Chambers, the Pre-Trial Chamber and the Office of Administration

as may from time to time require close protection. It shall also be responsible for the protection of their residences, as necessary.

Article 11

United Nations security measures

The United Nations shall provide an International Security Investigator, who shall be responsible for matters affecting the personal security of the international judges, the international co-investigating judge, the international co-prosecutor, the Deputy Director of the Office of Administration and international personnel employed with the co-investigating judges, the Prosecutors' Office, the Extraordinary Chambers, the Pre-Trial Chamber or the Office of Administration, including:

- (a) briefing, advising and updating them on matters affecting their personal security;
- (b) providing them with security-related training;
- (c) maintaining up-to-date information on their whereabouts; and
- (d) investigating incidents in which they may be involved, including cases in which they are the victims of crime.

Article 12

Information security

1. The United Nations shall provide an International Information Security Officer, who shall be responsible, under the direction of the International Chief of Security, for:

- (a) developing, establishing and maintaining policies, procedures, protocols and measures for the management, control, storage, transmission and disposal of all information held by the Extraordinary Chambers, the co-investigating judges, the Prosecutors' Office, the Pre-Trial Chamber and the Office of Administration and by all international and Cambodian personnel employed with them with a view to ensuring the integrity of that information, its availability for authorized use and its security from

unauthorized access;

(b) auditing compliance with such policies, procedures, protocols and measures and investigating violations;

(c) investigating breaches of information and communications security;

(d) identifying and implementing practical measures to protect communications and information systems from malicious attack or from unauthorized penetration or use;

(e) advising and training personnel employed with the Extraordinary Chambers, the co-investigating judges, the Prosecutors' Office, the Pre-Trial Chamber and the Office of Administration in matters concerning information security.

2. The International Information Security Officer shall, in developing the policies, procedures, protocols and measures provided for in the preceding paragraph, consult with the judges, the co-investigating judges, the co-prosecutors and the Director and Deputy Director of the Office of Administration regarding confidentiality, access and usage requirements for information within their respective possession or control.

3. The judges, the co-investigating judges, the co-prosecutors, the Director and Deputy Director of the Office of Administration and all personnel employed with the co-investigating judges, the Prosecutors' Office, the Extraordinary Chambers, the Pre-Trial Chamber and the Office of Administration shall accept and comply with the policies, procedures, protocols and measures established by the International Information Security Officer in accordance with his supplementary agreement. The Director and the Deputy Director of the Office of Administration shall issue the necessary instructions for this purpose to, respectively, the Cambodian and international personnel so employed. The Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Government shall also issue the necessary instructions for this purpose to, respectively, the international and Cambodian judges, co-investigating judges and co-prosecutors.

Article 13

Coordination and liaison

The International Chief of Security and the Cambodian Chief of Security shall regularly and closely consult with each other for the purpose of ensuring the effective coordination of security arrangements within their respective areas of responsibility under this supplementary agreement.

Article 14

Arms and Uniforms

1. United Nations Security Officers and international close protection officers designated by the International Chief of Security may possess and carry arms and ammunition while on official duty in accordance with their orders.

2. United Nations Security Officers and international close protection officers may possess and wear protective clothing, including body armour, while on official duty.

3. The Government shall permit the United Nations to import arms, ammunition and protective clothing, including body armour, free of charge and without any restriction for the official use of United Nations Security Officers and international close protection officers. The United Nations, through the International Chief of Security, shall notify the Government, through the Cambodian Chief of security, in advance of such imports.

4. The Government shall accept, free of charge and without any restriction, permits, licenses and certificates issued by the United Nations for the possession, carriage and use of arms and ammunition. No additional permits, licenses or certificates shall be required for these purposes. The International Chief of Security shall without delay notify the Government, through the Cambodian Chief of Security, of all permits, licenses and certificates issued by the United Nations for the possession, carriage and use of arms and ammunition as and when those permits, licenses and certificates are

issued.

5. United Nations Security Officers may wear the United Nations uniform. Subject to paragraph 6 below, they must do so at all times when carrying weapons while on official duty.

6. International close protection officers and United Nations Security Officers serving in close protection details may wear civilian clothes in order to perform their official functions. They may carry arms and ammunition and wear protective clothing, including body armour, while they are so dressed for that purpose.

7. The International Chief of Security shall take the necessary steps to ensure the proper carriage, care, storage and control of arms and ammunition. The Government may from time to time conduct inspections, without notice, to verify and confirm that proper arrangements are in place for this purpose and that they are being satisfactorily implemented.

Article 15

Security equipment

The United Nations shall provide, at its expense, the terms of security equipment listed in the annex to this supplementary agreement.

Article 16

Staffing

All personnel provided by the United Nations pursuant to this supplementary agreement shall be recruited and appointed as international staff by the Deputy Director of the Office of Administration, in accordance with Article 8, paragraph 3, of the Agreement.

Article 17

Liability, indemnification and insurance

Each Party to this supplementary agreement shall, at its sole cost and expense, indemnify, hold and save harmless and defend the other Party, its officials, agents, servants and employees from and

against all suits, proceedings, claims, demands, losses and liability of any nature or kind, including, but not limited to, all litigation costs, lawyers' fees, settlement payments, damages and all other related costs and expenses, based on, arising out of, related to, or in connection with any acts or omissions of the indemnifying Party or any security personnel provided by the indemnifying Party pursuant to this supplementary agreement.

Article 18

Settlement of disputes

Any dispute between the United Nations and the Government concerning the interpretation or application of this supplementary agreement that is not settled by negotiation or other agreed mode of settlement shall be referred at the request of either Party for final decision to a panel of three arbitrators, one to be named by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, one to be named by the Government and the third, who shall be the Chair, to be chosen by the first two arbitrators. If any Party fails to appoint an arbitrator within 60 days of the appointment of an arbitrator by the other Party, or if these two arbitrators should fail to agree on the third arbitrator within 60 days of their appointment, the President of the International Court of Justice may make any necessary appointments at the request of either Party. However, any dispute that involves a question regulated by the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations shall be dealt with in accordance with section 30 of that Convention.

Article 19

Privileges and immunities

Nothing in or relating to this supplementary agreement shall be deemed a waiver, express or implied, of any of the privileges and immunities of the United Nations or of any of the privileges and immunities provided for in the Agreement.

Annex

- ◆ Two (2) X-ray machines
- ◆ One (1) X-ray machine for the courtroom
- ◆ Eight (8) walk-through and hand-held metal detectors
 - ◆ One (1) hand-held explosive detection device
 - ◆ One (1) public address system, integrated into the facility control room

- ◆ One (1) close circuit television (CCTV) system for the building and grounds, integrated into the facility control room
 - ◆ One (1) card access control system, integrated into the identity card and badge system and into the facility control room
 - ◆ One (1) intrusion alarm system, integrated into the facility control room.

**THE LIST OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL
JUDGES AND PROSECUTORS
FOR THE EXTRAORDINARY CHAMBERS IN THE COURTS OF CAMBODIA
AS SELECTED BY THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF THE MAGISTRACY
ON 4 MAY, 2006
APPOINTED BY PREAH REACH KRET (ROYAL DEGREE)
NS/RKT/0506/214 OF HIS MAJESTY NORODOM SIHAMONI,
KING OF CAMBODIA ON MAY 7, 2006**

1. Judges in the Trial Chamber:

- ◆ Mr. Nil Nonn
- ◆ Mr. Thou Mony
- ◆ Mr. Ya Sokhan
- ◆ Ms. Silvia Cartwright (New Zealand)
- ◆ Mr. Jean-Marc Lavergne (France)

Reserve

- ◆ Mr. You Uttara
- ◆ Mr. Claudia Fenz (Austria)

2. Judges in the Supreme Court Chamber:

- ◆ H.E. Kong Srim
- ◆ Mr. Som Sereyvuth
- ◆ Mr. Sin Rith
- ◆ Mr. Ya Narin
- ◆ Mr. Motoo Noguchi (Japan)
- ◆ Ms. Agnieszka Klonowiecka-Milart (Poland)
- ◆ Mr. Chandra Nihal Jayasinghe (Sri Lanka)

Reserve

- ◆ Mr. Mong Monichariya
- ◆ Mr. Martin Karopkin (USA)

3. Co-Investigating Judges

- ◆ Mr. You Bun Leng
- ◆ Marcel Lemonde (France)

Reserve

- ◆ Mr. Thong Ol
- ◆ International (To be announced)

4. Co-Prosecutors

- ◆ Ms. Chea Leang
- ◆ Mr. Robert Petit (Canada)

Reserve

- ◆ H.E. Chuon Sun Leng
- ◆ Mr. Paul Coffey (USA)

5. Pre-Trial Chamber

- ◆ H.E. Prak Kimsan
- ◆ H.E. Ney Thol
- ◆ Mr. Hout Vuthy
- ◆ Mr. Rowan Downing (Australia)
- ◆ Ms. Katinka Lahuis (Netherlands)

Reserve

- ◆ Mr. Pen Pichsaly
- ◆ International - none

Source: ECCC



ក្រាហ្វិកស្ត្រ

លេខ/អង្គការ/០៧០៦/២១៤

យើង

ក្រាហ្វិកស្ត្រ គឺជាធនធានមនុស្សរបស់យើង ដែលជួយ ដល់ការអភិវឌ្ឍន៍
សហគមន៍ជាតិសរុប ក្នុងការកសាង មេកានិកស្ត្រ ក្នុងការកសាងសេដ្ឋកិច្ច
មេកានិក សម្រាប់ការអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ កម្ពុជាការកសាងសេដ្ឋកិច្ច មនុស្សជាតិ
មេកានិកស្ត្រ ក្នុងការកសាងសេដ្ឋកិច្ច

- ចេញផ្សាយសៀវភៅ ក្នុងភាសាខ្មែរ
- ចេញផ្សាយសៀវភៅ ៣៧ , ៣៧ , ០៧០៤ , ០៧០៤ ក្នុងភាសាខ្មែរ ក្នុង ឆ្នាំ ២០០៤ ក្នុងភាសាខ្មែរ ក្នុងភាសាខ្មែរ
- ចេញផ្សាយសៀវភៅ ០៧ / ៣៧ / ០៧ ក្នុងភាសាខ្មែរ ក្នុង ឆ្នាំ ២០០៤ ក្នុងភាសាខ្មែរ ក្នុងភាសាខ្មែរ ក្នុងភាសាខ្មែរ
- ចេញផ្សាយសៀវភៅ ០៧ ៣៧ ក្នុងភាសាខ្មែរ ក្នុង ឆ្នាំ ២០០៤ ក្នុងភាសាខ្មែរ ក្នុងភាសាខ្មែរ ក្នុងភាសាខ្មែរ
- ចេញផ្សាយ សៀវភៅ ០៧ ៣៧ ក្នុងភាសាខ្មែរ ក្នុង ឆ្នាំ ២០០៤ ក្នុងភាសាខ្មែរ ក្នុងភាសាខ្មែរ ក្នុងភាសាខ្មែរ
- ចេញផ្សាយសៀវភៅ ៣៧/៣៧-០០០១-០៧ ក្នុងភាសាខ្មែរ ក្នុង ឆ្នាំ ២០០៤ ក្នុងភាសាខ្មែរ ក្នុងភាសាខ្មែរ ក្នុងភាសាខ្មែរ
- ចេញផ្សាយសៀវភៅ ៣៧/៣៧-០០០៤-០០៤ ក្នុងភាសាខ្មែរ ក្នុង ឆ្នាំ ២០០៤ ក្នុងភាសាខ្មែរ ក្នុងភាសាខ្មែរ ក្នុងភាសាខ្មែរ
- ចេញផ្សាយសៀវភៅ ៣៧/៣៧-០០០៤-០០៦ ក្នុងភាសាខ្មែរ ក្នុង ឆ្នាំ ២០០៤ ក្នុងភាសាខ្មែរ ក្នុងភាសាខ្មែរ ក្នុងភាសាខ្មែរ
- ចេញផ្សាយសៀវភៅ ៣៧/៣៧-០០០៤-០០៦ ក្នុងភាសាខ្មែរ ក្នុង ឆ្នាំ ២០០៤ ក្នុងភាសាខ្មែរ ក្នុងភាសាខ្មែរ ក្នុងភាសាខ្មែរ
- ចេញផ្សាយសៀវភៅ ៣៧/៣៧-០០០៤-០០៦ ក្នុងភាសាខ្មែរ ក្នុង ឆ្នាំ ២០០៤ ក្នុងភាសាខ្មែរ ក្នុងភាសាខ្មែរ ក្នុងភាសាខ្មែរ

ក្រាហ្វិកស្ត្រ

ក្រាហ្វិកស្ត្រ : គ្រប់គ្រងធនធានមនុស្ស ក្នុងការកសាង សហគមន៍ជាតិ
ក្នុងការកសាងសេដ្ឋកិច្ច ក្នុងការកសាងសេដ្ឋកិច្ច ក្នុងការកសាងសេដ្ឋកិច្ច ក្នុងការកសាងសេដ្ឋកិច្ច

- ១. ក្រាហ្វិកស្ត្រ
 - លោក ជិន ធីតា ជនជាតិខ្មែរ
 - លោក គុ ធីតា ជនជាតិខ្មែរ
 - លោក ធីតា គុណ ជនជាតិខ្មែរ
 - M^{rs} Sila CARTWRIGHT (New Zealand) ជនជាតិខ្មែរ
 - M^r Jean-Marc LAVERGNE (France) ជនជាតិខ្មែរ
 - លោក ធីតា គុណ ជនជាតិខ្មែរ
 - M^{rs} Claudia FENZ (Austria) ជនជាតិខ្មែរ

២. បារាំង

- ឈ្មោះ លូ ឡូឡូ បារាំង
- M^r MOTOU NOUCHE (បារាំង) បារាំង
- M^{re} Agnès KLONOWECKA-MART (បារាំង) បារាំង
- M^{re} Claude Nihal Joyeux (Bel-Lux) បារាំង
- ឈ្មោះ លូ ឡូឡូ បារាំង
- M^r Math KAROPIN (USA) បារាំង

៣. បារាំង/ស្វីស

- ឈ្មោះ លូ ឡូឡូ បារាំង/ស្វីស
- M^{re} Marie LEMOINE (France) បារាំង/ស្វីស
- ឈ្មោះ លូ ឡូឡូ បារាំង/ស្វីស

៤. បារាំង/កម្ពុជា

- ឈ្មោះ លូ ឡូឡូ បារាំង/កម្ពុជា
- M^{re} Fabie PETTE (Canada) បារាំង/កម្ពុជា
- ឈ្មោះ លូ ឡូឡូ បារាំង/កម្ពុជា
- M^r Paul COPPEY (USA) បារាំង/កម្ពុជា

៥. បារាំង/កម្ពុជា

- ឈ្មោះ លូ ឡូឡូ បារាំង/កម្ពុជា
- ឈ្មោះ លូ ឡូឡូ បារាំង/កម្ពុជា
- ឈ្មោះ លូ ឡូឡូ បារាំង/កម្ពុជា
- M^{re} Fabie COMBE (Canada) បារាំង/កម្ពុជា
- M^{re} Fabie LAFFITE (Canada) បារាំង/កម្ពុជា
- ឈ្មោះ លូ ឡូឡូ បារាំង/កម្ពុជា

ឈ្មោះ : បារាំង/កម្ពុជា បារាំង/កម្ពុជា/បារាំង/កម្ពុជា បារាំង/កម្ពុជា ។

ឈ្មោះ : បារាំង/កម្ពុជា/បារាំង/កម្ពុជា បារាំង/កម្ពុជា បារាំង/កម្ពុជា បារាំង/កម្ពុជា បារាំង/កម្ពុជា ។

ឈ្មោះ : បារាំង/កម្ពុជា បារាំង/កម្ពុជា/បារាំង/កម្ពុជា/បារាំង/កម្ពុជា ។

លោក លូ ឡូឡូ

ប្រធានការ ដៃគូប្រកួតប្រជែង
ឈ្មោះ លូ ឡូឡូ

លេខស្រី ២៧ ១៧ ឈ្មោះ លូ ឡូឡូ



EXTRAORDINARY CHAMBER IN THE COURT OF



F CAMBODIA TOUR ON FEBRUARY 26, 2006



WAR IS EVIL, BUT SOMETIMES IT IS RIGHT TO WAGE IT

Phalla Prum

War is horrible because of the many people who are killed, but in some cases it is for the good in order to save human lives. One example is the war waged by Vietnam in late 1978 to liberate Cambodia. Nearly two million Cambodians died during the 1975-1979 reign of Democratic Kampuchea (DK), popularly known as the Khmer Rouge. The international community made no attempt to stop the killing, although some countries knew this regime was committing gross violations of human rights. In contrast, a neighboring country stepped in and expelled the regime from power. More - or perhaps all--of Cambodia's people would have died of starvation, disease, overwork, torture or execution if the Vietnamese troops had not liberated the country.

The Just War Theory

Three of the world's major religions illustrate applications of the "just theory of war":

Christianity. It is believed that this theory originated in Christianity. Although Augustine is generally considered to be its author, a few other pre-Christian thinkers contributed to it, mainly Aristotle and Cicero. The importance of Aristotle's contribution was the study of ethics as a rational discipline. He also tried to link the appropriate actions of humans to the suitable development of their personalities, in which he focused on the role of education in connecting with war. He asserted that the military was trained for three purposes "(1) to preserve one's own city-state from subjection to others; (2) to obtain or maintain leadership of one's own city-state over other city-states for their own benefit but not to exercise dominion over them; and (3) to exercise dominion over those who are not fit to rule over themselves."

Cicero argued that "no just war can be waged except for the purpose of punishment or repelling enemies." This is argued as well by Augustine, who

affirmed that the law of love permits Christians to help others, and hence justifies the use of force in harming wrongdoers. Thomas Aquinas went further by agreeing with Augustine's idea of war and put forth conditions to justify it: "(1) Legitimate, that is, constitutional, authority should make the war decision; (2) war should be waged for a just cause; (3) statesmen should resort to war with right intention."

Two later theologian-philosophers, Francisco de Vitoria and Francisco Suárez, added three more conditions: "(4) the evils of war, especially the loss of human life, should be proportionate to the injustice to be prevented or remedied by war, (5) peaceful means to prevent or remedy injustice should be exhausted; (6) an otherwise just war should have a reasonable hope of success." These principles are called *jus ad bellum*; they concern the decision to begin a war. The theory called *jus in bello* concerns the justice of conduct within war in which non-combatants must not be targets, the harm must be proportional to the purpose desired, and the fight must minimize damage.

Islam. Islam also allows waging war in certain circumstance. Muhammad, who Muslims consider as their ultimate prophet, accepted the need for offensive military action to defend his people from aggressors. For instance, when he became a leader of Medina, he sought to protect his community from its enemy, Mecca. Furthermore, after he came to control all of Arabia, he was the first man who succeeded in uniting all the power of the armies and police. After his death in 632 CE, his followers began conquering other countries in order to spread Islam to all non-believers throughout the world. After invading Armenia, Persia, Syria, Palestine, Iraq, North Africa, and Spain, Islamic armies crossed the Pyrenees into France, but were defeated by Charles

Martel in the Battle of Tours in 733 CE. Had they won the war, the entire Western world could have become Muslim. For this reason many people, especially Christians, believe that one of the most significant features of Muhammad is his use of force to create religion.

For Muslims, holy war is permissible. The Qu'ran states "Fight in the cause of God against those who fight you, but do not transgress limits. God does not love transgressors...Fight them until persecution is no more, and religion is for God. But if they desist, then let there be no hostility except against wrongdoers." Thus, Muslims have developed a doctrine on war within the area of *just ad bellum*. It has the following characteristics: "(1) war, in theory, is just and permissible only as a defensive measure on the ground of extreme necessity, namely to protect the freedom of religion, to repel aggression, to prevent injustice and to protect social order...; (2) this defensive war, when permissible, is moreover subjected by Islamic jurisprudence to strict regulations and rules; (3) thus, a declaration of war has to be preceded by notification sent to the enemy. Detailed provisions are laid down for the use of humane methods of warfare and fair treatment of enemy persons and property." Similar to the *just in bellum* of Christianity, the Koran states that non-combatants, such as women, children, and the old, are not the target of war and even the wounded are not to be mutilated.

Buddhism. Unlike Christians who believe in the law of love, Buddhists believe in the law of *Karma*, which states that all deeds arise from a cause. Those who commit evil actions in either this or a previous life will have that evil reflect on them. Those who practice pure deeds produce more pure deeds, but those who commit evil will produce more evil. Killing other human beings will result in bad Karma. In order to educate people to practice the right way, the walls of the central shrine of Buddhist temples contain paintings that illustrate the outcomes of various sins.

Buddha taught people about non-violence (*Ahimsa*) and peace as a universal message. He did not approve of violence or the destruction of life, and declared that there is no such thing as a "just war." Because the first precept of Buddhism is "do not kill," it must be considered as an absolutely pacifist religion. Buddha taught from the earliest Pali Canon, which does not contain any teaching that authorizes any sort of armed force in resolving conflicts among individuals, communities or nations, not even for self-defense. Violence will never bring peace and justice, but will only breed more violence. As Buddha said in his *Dhamma* on non-violence:

Look how he abused me and beat me, how he threw me down and robbed me. Live with such thoughts and you live in hate. Look how he abused me and beat me, how he threw me down and robbed me. Abandon such thoughts and live in love. In this world hate never dispelled hate. Only love dispels hate.

A Background on the Conflict between Cambodia and Vietnam

The state of Democratic Kampuchea (DK) was created by the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK), led by Pol Pot. Soon after the state was formed in 1975, DK entered into conflict with Vietnam by attacking islands in the Gulf of Siam that had been occupied and recaptured by both sides. Important factors that precipitated the attacks were DK's pride in being the sole victor over the previous Lon Nol regime, dissatisfaction over Vietnam's early patronage and support of the CPK, the slow withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodian land (especially in the northeast of the country), and the controversy surrounding the sea border between the two countries. Cambodians wanted the Vietnamese to respect the agreement on the border issues that Vietnam had made with the Sihanouk regime in the 1960s. In addition, Pol Pot hated the Vietnamese and encouraged Cambodians to do the same.

Throughout 1975-1976 there were widespread, unpublicized skirmishes and incursions on both sides of the border. After waging its own war for almost 30 years, Vietnam hesitated to begin fighting another country. It thus proposed opening negotiations with DK, but DK canceled them.

Most Vietnamese living in Cambodia had been expelled during the Lon Nol regime, but a few remained in 1977 (mostly women married to Cambodian men) and they were killed. In March of the same year, military forces from DK's East Zone

moved to the Vietnamese border, preparing to attack. They crossed the border and damaged such Vietnamese towns as Chaudoc and Hatien, and injured many civilians. The leaders of DK anticipated that in southern Vietnam--which had been annexed from Cambodia and where most of the population was Cambodian--people would be willing to join the DK cause and defeat Vietnam, but this did not occur. As a result, Pol Pot assumed that many of his agents were disloyal and began purging those who he considered to be enemies of the state. Although



even more brutal raids continued, neither side publicly acknowledged the attacks. In June 1977, Vietnam proposed another cease-fire, but it was rejected by Cambodia.

With the intention of bringing Vietnam to war, Pol Pot went to Beijing to strengthen DK's alliance with China, which the Vietnamese viewed as an aggravation. To maintain the power equation, it aligned with the Soviet Union. In late December 1977, the Vietnamese forces built up their military force to retaliate for DK's attacks on Tay Ninh in



August and September, in which DK soldiers killed hundreds of civilians, arrested many people, and brought cattle back to Cambodia. The Vietnamese penetrated over 20 kilometers inside Cambodian territory with the aim of compelling DK to agree to a cease-fire.

However, on 25 December, DK decided to break relations with Vietnam and began a propaganda war. After a week of fighting, the Vietnamese retreated, bringing with them thousands of villagers and hostages. The following day, DK broadcast the Vietnamese withdrawal as a historic victory and began purging people in the East Zone (adjacent to Vietnam), who they accused of colluding with the Vietnamese. In January and February 1978, the DK military began attacking Vietnam, killing villagers, burning houses, and disrupting commercial life. Again the Vietnamese proposed talks to end the conflict, but DK put off the request. On 17 January 1978, Pol Pot gave a speech in which he said he was proud of the victory and confident that the Vietnamese would be defeated.

In order to strengthen its position, DK tried to cultivate relationships with the outside world and improve the lives of Cambodians. In the meantime, almost 100,000 Vietnamese troops amassed along the border, and in early December 1978, Vietnam proclaimed that a Kampuchean Front for National Salvation had been formed to liberate Cambodia.

On 25 December Vietnam attacked DK, and 6 days later, had taken control of several major roads. Phnom Penh was the last area to be liberated and by 7 January 1979, the entire country was under Vietnamese control. Many Khmer Rouge fled to the western part of the country, where they lived as guerillas. Almost every Cambodian recognized the new regime, called the People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK), which was organized by the Vietnamese. Most Cambodians were joyful with the dismissal of DK, for nearly all of them had experienced severe suffering and violence during DK and felt that the

liberation had saved their lives.

After the regime collapsed, information on the deplorable conditions during DK became known. According to estimates, from 1975 to 1979 between 800,000 and 3 million people died, mainly of starvation, overwork, and mistreatment. In addition, at least 100,000 men and women were accused of being enemies of the regime and executed without trial. Among those executed, about 20,000 people were brought to the central-level Tuol Sleng prison and killed. As a result, in August 1979 the new PRK regime brought the two leaders of DK - Pol Pot and Ieng Sary - to trial in absentia and sentenced them to death. Human rights activists also attempted to bring Pol Pot to trial at the International Court of Justice in the Netherlands, but were not successful. Pol Pot was then living in exile in Thailand, which would not give him up.

The Response from the International Community

Within a week after the liberation, the Soviet Union sent a letter to the PRK's head of state, recognizing the new government, which had liberated Cambodia and struggled for its independence. The next day, the Eastern Bloc also accepted the new regime. But China did not; it accused Vietnam of trying to control Cambodia in order to organize an Indochina Federation. The Thai government, which distrusted Vietnam, tried to create an alliance with China two weeks after DK collapsed. Under this alliance, Thailand would provide shelter to the DK soldiers and China would contribute weapons. The United States, which had begun improving relations with China and was extremely concerned about Asian politics, did not support the liberation.

On 11 January 1979, the UN Security Council met to debate a draft resolution China proposed in response to the liberation. All of the Council's permanent members voted in support of the resolution, except the Soviet Union, which used its veto power. In the meantime the United States tried to isolate Vietnam and Cambodia by persuading other countries, charities,

international aid organizations, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank not to deliver aid to the two countries. In September 1979, at the UN General Assembly, China, the United States, and their allies, including the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, approved a resolution that recognized the Cambodian UN seat as belonging to DK. Thus, the United States, as well as the two countries behind the conflict (the Soviet Union and China), should be censured for using two weaker countries to further their interests in the cold war.

Was the War Justified?

Traditionally, a just cause or self-defense has been seen as the single-most significant moral criterion for war, and can be applied in the Vietnamese case. When it first came to power, DK began attacking Vietnam along the border and sometimes went into Vietnamese territory. Later, it murdered hundreds of civilians in Vietnam and made the lives of Vietnamese living along the border miserable. DK's aggression toward Vietnam is ample justification for Vietnam's defense of its citizens.

Another justification can be found in the principle of last resort, in which war is considered as justified if all non-violent alternatives to prevent it have failed. As noted above, Vietnam made several attempts to offer peaceful alternatives in order to resolve the conflict. For instance, it proposed negotiations between 1975 and 1976, requested a cease fire in 1977, and offered to hold talks in 1978. However, all of these requests were turned down by DK.

Under the principle of the right authority, war is justified only where a legitimate authority made a decision in which the sovereign state has the right to declare war to protect its citizens against the enemy. Evidently, Pol Pot declared that his government was ready to defeat Vietnam; in response to this threat and to the last attack by DK soldiers, Vietnam declared publicly in December 1978 that it was creating the Kampuchean Front for National Salvation, which comprised DK members who defected to Vietnam

in 1977-1978, as well as some Cambodians who were living in exile in Vietnam, to stop DK's aggression toward Vietnam and to liberate Cambodia.

Defeating DK was not difficult. In 1977, Vietnam (with a population of nearly 50 million) had an estimated 615,000 soldiers, while DK (with a population of less than 7 million) had only about 70,000. DK had only a few light tanks, 200 armored personnel carriers, and almost no air force, whereas Vietnam possessed about 900 medium and light tanks, a 12,000-person air force with 300 combat aircraft, one light bomber squadron and 8 fighter ground attack squadrons of 150 aircraft. The most critical factor was the disparate conditions in the two countries. While the Vietnamese were poor, their living conditions were tolerable. In contrast, at least 50 percent of Cambodians were both physically and mentally damaged because of starvation and illness. It thus took only two weeks for Vietnam to liberate Cambodia.

The liberation not only protected the Vietnamese but also saved millions of Cambodians from near-certain death. Le Duc Tho, a Vietnamese Communist Party politburo member, said in his December 1979 speech that "our counter-attacks on the Pol Pot-leng Sary army were not simply an act of self-defense, but also a contribution to the liberation of the Kampuchean [Cambodian] people from the Pol Pot-leng Sary genocidal regime." Besides death from starvation, overwork, disease, and execution, the CPK began to purge its own ranks in 1977; "had the Vietnamese not reached Phnom Penh in January 1979, there is no evidence to suggest that the DK's purges would have stopped." As a result of these factors, the liberation was seen as creating a better state than without the intervention, which the principle of right intention clarifies.

According to *jus in bello*, it is wrong to attack or kill non-combatants because, unlike the combatants, they are innocent. This principle is not only a moral tradition but is also clarified in modern international

law. During Vietnam's invasion, non-combatants were free to move to their home villages under the protection of Vietnamese soldiers. Moreover, these soldiers did not harm Cambodian civilians and also welcomed DK combatants to return home and live with their families. Additionally, soon after the liberation, a new regime was installed to reconstruct the country and open schools, markets, hospitals, and places of worship, which had been completely closed down during DK.

In addition to the just war theory, *the responsibility to protect* allows military intervention for the purposes of human protection. It is like the just cause threshold for military intervention. The responsibility to protect considers the following kinds of actions, among which military intervention is an exceptional and extraordinary measure:

1- "Large-scale loss of life, actual or apprehended, with genocidal intent or not, which is the product either of deliberate state action, or state neglect or inability to act, or a failed state situation; or

2- Large-scale "ethnic cleansing," actual or apprehended, whether carried out by killing, forced expulsion, acts of terror or rape."

These sentences imply that it is morally just for the rest of the world to go to war on behalf of those who faced genocide or gross human rights abuses at the hands of their own government. As noted earlier, it is commonly known that Democratic Kampuchea committed gross violations of human rights. Nearly two million people died from starvation, disease, overwork or execution; moreover, people were forcibly evacuated from the cities, schools and monasteries were closed, and families were separated under a regime that killed over a quarter of its population. Thus, its liberation is seen as acceptable under both the just war theory and the principle of the responsibility to protect.

Was the War Unjustified?

Another viewpoint is that of Stephen Morris, who holds that the war was unjustified on the

grounds that Vietnam liberated Cambodia because of its imperial ambitions. According to Morris, Vietnam's political ambition was to control its weaker neighbors: Laos and Cambodia. Looking at 19th century history before the French controlled Indochina, this traditional imperial ambition is evident in Vietnam's desire to dominate Cambodia. The objective of Vietnamese political elites was to create a federal state in Indochina that would be under its control. This imperial ambition came into the open when Vietnamese communists installed their armed forces in Vietnam's client country of Laos in 1975.

In early 1979, for the first time since the 1950s, Cambodia was under the protection of a foreign government. Before accepting a peace agreement arranged by the UN, the Vietnamese communists seemed likely to benefit in the long term from their decision to invade Cambodia. Soon after the victory over DK, it installed a regime in Phnom Penh called the People's Republic of Kampuchea. This regime was responsible for the "Vietnamization" of Cambodia.

This relationship can be measured in two ways. First, the Vietnamese directly controlled the administration of the PRK, which later became the State of Cambodia. Vietnamese advisers oversaw all levels of this administration. The most crucial adviser was the Vietnamese ambassador to the PRK. Instructions were transmitted daily from Hanoi through the ambassador so that every morning, he talked with the foreign minister of PRK to discuss plans or events that they would decide. Among the 14 departments of the Foreign Ministry, there were about 15 to 17 Vietnamese advisers monitoring its daily activities. All of these advisers were under Hanoi's supervision. Every time the foreign minister went abroad, he would be accompanied by a Vietnamese adviser who would record the discussions. There were even some officials who married Vietnamese women who would report to Hanoi on their husband's activities. In addition, PRK officials were required to learn Vietnamese. Last, high posts were assigned to

those who respected the Vietnamese command, and senior PRK officials went to Vietnam to study policy for several months.

Second, after 1979, hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese citizens entered Cambodia. In response to questions, Vietnam argued that those Vietnamese used to live in Cambodia before 1975, but they fled to Vietnam during DK. But between 400,000 and 600,000 Vietnamese are estimated to have arrived in Cambodia since 1979. Moreover, a September 1983 decree stated that Cambodians had to share their land with Vietnamese civilians and to assist them in building their houses. Thus, every remote commune was required to accept a certain number of Vietnamese.

Conclusion

The liberation was seen as permissible in terms of saving the lives of millions of Cambodians under Democratic Kampuchea. It is understood that the aggression of DK provided a legitimate purpose for liberation. If DK had not provoked Vietnam, the war might never have happened, as at the time, Vietnam was still reeling from decades of war with the United States and China, and needed time to recover.

Although Cambodians were saved from the killing fields, the consequences of the liberation still impact their daily lives. During the ensuing ten years of the civil war, Cambodia was isolated from the world and still has not recovered economically. This experience holds lessons for the United Nations and the international community, who did not take any action to intervene while the CPK ruled Cambodia, and even supported the Khmer Rouge as they were continuing to fight for their interests on the world stage.

Phalla Prum is a DC-Cam's staff member who is currently studying for his master's degree in peace and reconciliation from Coventry University in the UK.

THE PERPETRATOR, THE VICTIM, AND THE WITNESS

Alex Hinton

CAMBODIA'S KILLERS LIVE ON IN QUIET INFAMY the newspaper headline read. The short article, by a respected American journalist, described how the man known as Grandfather Khan continued to live unpunished among the villagers he had terrorized during the years of Democratic Kampuchea.

Khan, the article explained, had killed hundreds of people in the prison camp he commanded and in the area surrounding it. Survivors reported that some of his victims were strung up by their feet and eviscerated, internal organs left to dangle before their faces as they died. He also allegedly consumed the liver and bile of his victims in the belief that doing so would allow him to absorb their vitality.

It's difficult to write these sentences, which can never fully capture the atrocities they are supposed to describe. I have been trying to understand such horrors since early 1993, when I was a graduate student in anthropology and decided to research the Cambodian genocide. I still want to know why genocide occurs. What motivates a perpetrator to kill? How does a person like Khan bring himself to not just murder another human being but to do so in the cruelest of ways?

To seek the answers, I lived in Cambodia from 1994 to 1995. In the summer of 2000, I returned to the country to conduct follow-up research for a book, and it was then that I decided to try to find Khan and ask him, *Why did you do it?*

The Witness

At the end of my trip, I managed to track down the Cambodian reporter who had helped research the article I read on Khan. I will call her Ming. As we spoke on the phone, she told me in a mixture of English and Khmer that she had never actually interviewed Khan.

"We just talked to people who lived near the

prison during that time," she explained. "But I know where he lives. We can drive right to his house and talk with him. He lives in the south, about two hours away. I can get a car. If you want, we can leave tomorrow at dawn."

In Cambodia, everything begins at an early hour. By the time the sun edges over the horizon, most people have risen and are performing tasks that would be difficult to finish in the midday heat. By eleven o'clock, the hottest part of the day, most Cambodian farmers have already tended to their fields and returned home to eat their lunch and rest.

Ming arrived early the next morning. She wore Western clothes: a blue button-down shirt that fell loosely over khaki pants. Her hair was pulled back into a tight ponytail, accentuating her high forehead and round face. In her early thirties, she was short and stout and had intense eyes. When I climbed into the passenger seat of her Toyota, I noticed a pair of small bells hanging from the rearview mirror. They chimed each time we hit a bump in the road.

Ming reached into the backseat. "See, I brought my camera," she said, a smile breaking over her face. "Just in case."

Just in case, I thought. In case what?

It was monsoon season, but we set off under a clear sky broken only by a few clouds. Ming drove slowly, threading her way through the jumble of trucks, cars, moped, bikes, pedicabs, and pedestrians that filled the city streets. Each time she braked hard, the bells chimed lightly.

Despite the pollution, billboards, and piles of garbage sometimes accumulating on the sidewalks, Phnom Penh is still a beautiful city: a blend of French colonial architecture, palm trees, tiered villas with balconies, bustling markets scented with spices, and majestic Buddhist temples. It's hard to

believe that the entire city was evacuated during Pol Pot's regime, and that twenty thousand Khmer Rouge cadres, soldiers, and workers replaced a population that had swollen to about three million during the civil war. In the countryside, the urbanites found themselves labeled "new people" and were treated much worse than the "old people" who had lived in Khmer Rouge zones prior to the evacuation of Phnom Penh.

As we neared the city's outskirts, Ming turned onto the highway that would take us toward the southern provinces, a key base of Khmer Rouge support during the civil war. The traffic abated, and the urban edifices were replaced by rice fields. As the driving became less demanding, I began to ask Ming about Khan.

"Where exactly does Khan live?" I inquired. "How do we find him?"

"In a village by the mountains. He has many relatives there." She added that Khan had recently defected from the Khmer Rouge with Ta Mok, known as The Butcher because of his ruthlessness during the Khmer Rouge period and after.

I began to get nervous. We were going to meet a recent defector, a soldier who had been killing people for the last thirty years. He lived in a remote village in which we had no local contacts. Cambodia can be dangerous, particularly when one wanders into remote places to inquire about a past that many would rather forget. Guns are everywhere, kidnappings frequent, violence common. I considered turning back.

Ming continued, "I have a friend--Mum--who lives in the area. She knows where Khan lives." That reassured me slightly. Then Ming said, "I'll tell you my story, OK?" In Cambodia, people will often begin to talk about what they endured during the Khmer Rouge period. And although I have conducted countless interviews on the subject, I've never truly prepared for what I hear. Ming's voice rose, and she began to speak quickly, often stumbling over words as she recalled her first steps on the path leading to Khan.

Ming was eight years old when the Khmer Rouge took control of Phnom Penh. Her family was well-to-do, possessing just the sort of "impure" urban background that the Khmer Rouge wanted to purge from its new revolutionary society. Ming's family paid for this immediately. Her father, an engineer in a government ministry, was loaded into a military jeep and taken away. Ming's voice shook as she told me, "I don't know what they did to him. He had a big stomach, so the Khmer Rouge thought he was big shot."

Like everyone else in Phnom Penh, Ming's family was ordered to leave while "Angkar cleans the city." *Angkar* means "the organization." Sometimes the term referred to the higher authorities; in other situations, it signified an almost divine entity to whom unquestioning loyalty and obedience were due. Angkar had power over life and death. Those who had suspect backgrounds or who "betrayed" the new regime were taken away to "see Angkar." Most never returned.

Ming's mother told her children to gather enough clothing and food to last a few days. Then they joined the tens of thousands of people who clogged the roads out of Phnom Penh, moving inches at a time in temperatures approaching one hundred degrees. Corpses littered the streets: dead government soldiers, civilians who had died from exposure and thirst, and victims of Khmer Rouge executions. The people of Phnom Penh soon realized that the Khmer Rouge had no intention of letting them return to the capital. Ming's family headed south, toward her father's birthplace in Takeo Province, toward Khan.

Soon, Ming and I had left the outlying areas of Phnom Penh and reached the national highway. Hardly wide enough for two cars and pitted with large potholes, it passed through lush rice fields where peasant farmers bent over their land transplanting rice. Each time the car struck a pothole, bells chimed. Ming continued her story.

Her family never made it to her father's birth-

place. Instead, the Khmer Rouge ordered them to live in a village near the sub-district office where Khan was the head of the local militia. Ming's family quickly came under suspicion because of their "impure" urban background and because her mother, Sopha, was unable to perform basic manual tasks.

"My mother didn't know anything. She didn't know how to plant rice or even how to cook. My sister and I learned quickly by watching what the 'old people' did. But my mother had problems. At one point, the Khmer Rouge took her and my auntie out to the fields to watch them harvest rice. My mother had no idea how to do it. A group of people observed her, including Khan, some of his militia, and the village chief. They remarked to one another, 'So she really doesn't know how to work in the fields.' They watched us carefully after that, always checking on us."

A while later, Ming's brother got severe diarrhea. Ming's voice choked as she recalled, "He was so sick and then he died. We cried because we loved him so much. He was the baby, and we had only one boy in the family. After that, we were a family of women."

Despite these misfortunes, Ming's family did have a bit of luck. Long before, her grandfather had helped a peasant named Chum. When Chum had needed to earn money in Phnom Penh, Ming's grandfather had provided him with a pedicab and a place to stay. As fate would have it, Chum lived in the village and remembered the grandfather's good deed. "We didn't know him," Ming said, "but he remembered us. He told us not to talk about our past lives. He said we should always be on our guard, never speak at night, and never say anything negative about the new society. We tried to follow his instructions."

Soon afterwards, an official from the sub-district office came to research the family's background. The Khmer Rouge investigated everyone's life history, but were especially meticulous about investigating those with "impure" backgrounds. Sopha had revealed too much to them. Ming explained, "My mother is

very honest. So she told them all sorts of things about our background: that we were educated and even knew French. We became very scared."

Ming and her sister were asked to attend a political-education school for children. "They told us that our parents were not our real parents, and that Angkar would provide for us. They told us to closely observe our parents and to report what they were doing. If they secretly stole food, we were supposed to tell the village chief, to tell Angkar. Like the skin of a pineapple, Angkar had many eyes. If you did something wrong, Angkar would know."

One day, their Khmer Rouge teacher, Han, took Ming and her sister aside and began questioning them. "He said to us, '*arlez-vous français?*'" We just acted stupid. I replied, 'Uh, I don't understand you. I don't know anything, not even the letters of the alphabet.' He asked, 'Why did your mother say that you know French?' We told him, 'Don't believe her. She just wanted to be proud of us.' So they tested us on basic reading skills. We could read everything, but we acted like we didn't know anything."

Ming made friends with Kasin, the daughter of the village chief and niece of a high-ranking cadre in the district office. "I was clever and saw the advantages of making friends with that girl. After we became friends, I could go visit her house and eat with her family. I didn't have to work that hard. We could go anywhere. A few times, we even went to Khan's prison and talked briefly with the prisoners. They worked continuously, until the day Angkar ordered their execution. The guard watched us from distance, but allowed us to talk to the prisoners because we were just little kids and Kasin was related to powerful people."

This friendship probably saved Sopha's life. One day, an "old person" who disliked Ming's mother accused her of "economic sabotage," in this case, disturbing some fishing nets. Around noon, several of Khan's men arrested Sopha. "I cried and cried and cried because I knew that people who

were taken away like that were killed. I cried so hard I was yelling; everyone in the village knew. I was sure that we were going to lose our mother. Then we could completely be without parents." As Ming recounted this traumatic experience, she began to break down. Tears ran down her cheeks. She whispered a few words at a time. "Years later, my mother told us that Khan's men had tormented her. They had led her away into the jungle and showed her the ditch into which her dead body was to be dumped. They pointed to the tools that they were going to kill her with and asked her to say the name of each one." Ming paused. "But they let her go. They let her go. She returned home close to midnight. It was a miracle."

Ming sobbed." We were so happy. I don't know why they let her go. Maybe Kasin knew about her and talked to her father. I cried and cried. I was so young and had almost lost my mother."

Ming had one story to recount. In 1977, at the age of ten, she was allowed to join her sister's mobile work brigade. One morning, the group was sent to harvest rice near an old pagoda across the road from Khan's prison. "I heard the nearby screams of a person crying out, 'Oooooiii! Oooooiii!' So I asked one of my friends to come with me to see what was going on. I wanted to find out. Maybe that's why I'm a newspaper reporter now."

Ming and her friends crept up the steps of the pagoda. Most of the windows were blocked by wooden shutters. One, however, was slightly open. What they saw through it was terrifying. Several of Khan's men stood near a blindfolded prisoner strung up by the feet so that his head was a foot above the ground. "One of the Khmer Rouge took a knife and sliced open the prisoners' stomach. As his blood sprayed out, he screamed. There was blood everywhere. The man was still alive. His body was shaking. His brain was still working. Then the killer reached in and took something out of his body. It was so horrible. I was trembling all over,

terrified...At that point, a couple of guards saw us from a distance, and we ran away. They couldn't find us because we mixed in with the other children. Sometimes I still dream about this horrible thing that happened in front of my eyes...So I know that Khan, he's very bad."

"Why did they reach into the prisoner's stomach?" I asked.

"Because they wanted to take out his liver or gallbladder. During that time, the Khmer Rouge ate human liver because they thought that it would make them strong. Or they used the gallbladder from medicine." In Cambodia, the liver is thought of as the seat of courage. It is also said that eating it makes the eyes turn red. Ming added, "Everyone said that Khan ate human liver because his eyes were always red, always very red."

As Ming finished this gruesome tale, she pulled to the side of the road to pick up Mum. Caught up in the force of Ming's story, I had almost forgotten we were going to interview one of the most notorious of the Khmer Rouge murderers.

Mum had short hair with bangs, and her mouth turned down slightly. She wore an orange and red shirt, as if to try to brighten her mood.

She directed us onto a fairly wide dirt road. A mountain was in the distance, and rice fields passed us on each side of the road. My initial nervousness returned. What if Khan kidnapped us? When I had arrived to do my doctoral fieldwork in 1994, three Western backpackers had just been kidnapped and taken to a Khmer Rouge stronghold in the mountains. Later they were brutally killed.

"Do you think it's safe?" I asked Ming. "Are you scared?"

She paused and then said with a nervous smile, "Yes, a little scared." I could see that in the backseat Mum was smiling uneasily.

Ming pointed out the window. "There it is. That's the place." Looking to the left, I saw a large blue-and-gold Cambodian pagoda. Though framed

by lush green tress, it was dilapidated and filled with broken stone. Two trees towered over the main hall of worship, which was surrounded by *naga*-serpent balustrades. Several of the *naga* heads were missing.

All over Cambodia, religious buildings like this one were turned into interrogation and execution centers. This was one of the ways the Khmer Rouge showed their hatred of religion, which they viewed as both a parasite and an opiate of the masses. If the Khmer Rouge didn't convert a pagoda into a prison, they might raze the building, destroy religious objects, or use the building as a storehouse.

Ming asked, "Do you want go in?"

"Yes," I replied quickly, both out of curiosity and my desire to buy time to figure out a safe way to meet Khan. We turned onto a gravel road that took us into the temple's dirt courtyard, which had been overtaken by weeds and a few scraggly plants. Two monks sat in a shady alcove to escape the heat. Three children, probably orphans, were playing in the dirt about a hundred yards away from us. Except for them, the pagoda was deserted.

"This way." Ming set off quickly toward the pagoda's northern wall.

Mum and I followed her to a tall window with wooden shutters. "Here's where I saw them kill the man. I was little, so I had to stand on my toes to look through an opening in the window. It was horrible." Ming pointed to a nearby rice field just off the pagoda's southern wall and said, "I heard that over thirty mass graves were discovered over there."

Cambodian farmers have often led me through their fields, showing me depressions in the ground that mark the mass graves of Khmer Rouge victims. The farmers' plows still sometimes churn up grim reminders of the past: a single tooth, a tattered piece of cloth, a bone shard, a fragment of a skull. "Where else can we go?" the farmers ask me. "It's the only land we own."

Mum, who had been silent so far, exclaimed,

"They killed my husband here. He was an intellectual." Although many of the Khmer Rouge leaders were themselves former teachers, intellectuals were generally distrusted and thought to have been corrupted by their contact with foreign ideas. It was much easier to transform the minds of the young and the poor, so the Khmer Rouge chose to simply kill off those whose "contaminated" minds might subvert the pure, new revolutionary society.

Mum then described how the Khmer Rouge had gathered thirty-six of the men from her village. "My husband had been a student before the Pol Pot period. All thirty-six of the men were tied up and led away. I followed them from a distance. None ever returned." She then began to list the relatives of hers who had died under Democratic Kampuchea: "Phal, Neary, Duong, Chea..."

It took her a long time; only three people in her family had survived.

The Perpetrator

In silence, we walked back to the car. I was overwhelmed by Mum's tragedy, the horrible scene Ming had witnessed, and the prospect of meeting Khan, the man who was directly or indirectly involved in these events. I suggested we stop by the sub-district office, located across the main road from the pagoda, to see if the area was secure.

A modest building with latticed windows, the sub-district office had been constructed out of clean, bare wooden planks. Rouge-hewn posts held up the roof. The current head of the sub-district, Luong, was perhaps sixty and had close-cropped gray hair. He greeted us with a friendly smile and spoke to me in a mixture of Khmer, broken English, and French. When he heard that we were planning to see Khan, he frowned for a moment. He suggested that we send a moped taxi to see if Khan was at home and to ask if he would meet us at the sub-district office. Ming's glance told me that she thought this was much better and safer way to encounter Khan. We thanked Luong for his suggestion and

sent the moped taxi off.

I sat down on a hard wooden bench in front of the office. It had become a hot, humid morning. I had no idea of Khan would appear. He might not be home or, if he was, might not come. Over the years, I have interviewed many perpetrators. Few admit committing the atrocities others accuse them of. Often, however, they are willing to talk in detail if asked why other perpetrators performed genocidal deeds. This indirect method of questioning allows them to save face and uncovers a great deal about the minds of killers. Some perpetrators downplay their involvement. Two days earlier, I had interviewed a notorious prison guard said to have executed hundreds of people. He denied this allegation but admitted he had killed "one or two." Clearly, this vague answer suggested he had killed many more.

The first thing I notice were Khan's eyes, sunk into the crevice between high cheekbones and a low brow. He stared at us, which is considered rude and aggressive in Cambodia. His chin stuck out defiantly, and the skin between his eyebrows was deeply creased, giving him a fearsome look. He had likely put on his best clothing to meet us: a white shirt with only three buttons fastened at the top, a pair of black pants had didn't zip up, and a red-and-white checkered krama that gave his eyes a red tint.

Khan was once a poor peasant farmer, precisely the type of person the Khmer Rouge would appoint to positions of power because of his or her "pure" class background. He looked to be in his sixties and was unlike any other perpetrator I had ever met. When I stood to greet him, he responded but without any of the outward friendliness I usually encounter when meeting Cambodians, even perpetrators.

Luong offered us the use of small "office" that contained dirty laundry, gasoline drums, dining utensils, and a desk. We sat on blue plastic chairs, Khan opposite Ming and me, perhaps three or four feet away. The only light came from an open door and the cracks between the wooden planks of the

wall. Silhouetted against the light, Khan looked even more menacing.

I explained to Khan that I was a professor conducting research for a book on Democratic Kampuchea, then told him I was examining Cambodian culture and the psychology of the Khmer Rouge in particular. When I asked him if he was willing to be interviewed, he looked at me as if my question was silly and muttered, "Yes, yes."

When I interviewing perpetrators, I always ask general questions first and then move toward my central concern, which is why people kill.

"Before you joined the Khmer Rouge, what did you do?"

"Farmer."

"When did you join the Khmer Rouge?"

"Nineteen seventy."

"In what capacity?"

"Soldier."

"What type of political education were you given at that time?"

"None."

Unlike Ming's story, which had begun with a cascade of words, Khan's began with monosyllables. I took a deep breath and wiped the sweat from my face.

After fifteen minutes of questioning, I managed to find out that he had served as a Khmer Rouge soldier from 1970 to 1973, fighting Lon Nol forces in Takeo Province. In 1973, he went to work at the sub-district office. Eventually, he acknowledged that he had attended political-education meetings at which he heard about such concepts as class contradiction, building a proper revolutionary consciousness, and defeating the enemy. When I asked him if he had ever discussed Marxist-Leninist philosophy with anyone, he said no, then added that he was illiterate and didn't understand such things.

In this way, Khan indirectly touched upon a key problem of the Khmer Rouge. Impoverished peasants were often placed in positions of power, but because they lacked education and were some-

times illiterate, they had difficulty understanding Khmer Rouge ideology, much less explaining it to others. As a result, the Khmer Rouge's ideological messages were never internalized or even comprehended by the majority of Cambodians.

I began to move my line of questioning toward my goal: understanding why he had participated in the genocide.

"When did the prison open?"

"What prison?"

"The one that was located here, by the sub-district office."

"There wasn't a prison here," he replied matter-of-factly. Ming's eyes widened.

Khan's words hung in the air. No one said anything for a long time. Uncertain of how to respond, I stared at Khan, who glared back, his face braced against the light leaking through the walls.

The enormity of what he was doing slowly began to sink in. Most perpetrators will claim that they had a lesser or different position, were just following orders, or had never actually killed anyone. But no perpetrator I had interviewed had ever tried to deny the very existence of a prison or execution center. Maybe this is why he had come to talk to me: to erase history.

Ming suddenly asked me in English, "Do you want me to tell him what I saw?"

"Only if that's what you want to do," I replied. She returned to her silence. This man linked to the suffering of so many people, including her mother, had just denied one of her most powerful memories.

I decided to question Khan from a different angle. Because I hadn't contradicted him, he seemed more at ease. His answers grew more lengthy, and he even acknowledged that he had been the head of the sub-district militia.

When I asked him about the line of command, he offered the names of his superiors without hesitation. Grandfather Kee ran the sub-district office while San, a relative of Ta Mok, was the district head.

When I returned to the topic of killing, however, he reverted to monosyllables.

"At the sub-district level, how were people's backgrounds investigated?" I asked.

"In the normal manner," he replied vaguely.

Addressing Khan, Ming said, "Others have told us that people were killed in a savage manner in this area."

Immediately, he responded, speaking with a confident, self-satisfied air. "No. In this sub-district, there wasn't any killing. They killed in neighboring sub-districts. In this sub-district there was no killing. That is the truth. People just like to say such things."

Ming started, "But the people in the sub-district said..."

Khan cut her off. "No, nobody was killed in this area."

Ming laughed in disbelief. In English she announced, "He's a liar."

She looked at the dirt floor, into the earth that had swallowed the bodies of Khan's victims. Maybe the sight of him had become unbearable. Without looking up, she addressed him in Khmer. "Many people have told me about the things you did."

Scowling at her, he repeated his denial. "No one was killed in this sub-district. People say such things, but I didn't do anything. It's unjust. There isn't any evidence. Where is the prison? Where is the proof?"

At this point I broke in. "I'm a professor. I've read many books on the Pol Pot period, and I'm writing one myself. I've interviewed hundreds of people all over Cambodia, including individuals who, like yourself, were heads of the sub-district militia. In all of these books and interviews, I never heard of a sub-district where not a single person dies. Never."

Now it was Khan's turn to pause. Our eyes locked together. Eventually he broke off his stare, perhaps uncertain of what I knew. "Not here, not here. There's no proof."

I continued, "In most sub-districts, including this

one, people wrote to the government and described the horrors they witnessed, including the deaths of their family and friends."

Khan shifted in his chair. "No one was killed here. Not a single person. If we arrested people, they would later be set free. You can't believe what you hear. Nobody saw anything. If anyone was killed, it was people from the district security office who came and did it."

Ming cut in, saying, "I'm going to tell you the truth. During the Pol Pot period, I lived here also. I saw them kill a man in the pagoda..."

Khan leaned forward and gave her the full force of his scowl. His voice rising, he repeated, "No one was killed here, not even one person. There's no evidence."

"You're a liar," She said angrily.

Khan glared at her, a small bead of perspiration trickling down his forehead. Finally, he murmured, "The prison was just a holding center. None of the prisoners was killed there. The district people came and took them away. I don't know what they did with them." He said this in a matter-of-fact tone, as if trying to gloss over the fact that he had just radically altered his story.

Ming laughed and, in English, announced, "So, now he admits it."

When I asked Khan about conditions in the prison, his replies came more quickly. The area around the prison had been sealed off, he explained, and security officers from the district came to take the prisoners away. He again denied that people were executed at the prison and told us that, like everyone else, he feared of his life, particularly when people from the district security office appeared. At the end of the Pol Pot period, he said, an angry mob had chased him into the jungle, and he was later imprisoned for a year by the Vietnamese-backed government that had overthrown the Khmer Rouge regime.

When I asked why the mob had chased him, he replied, "I don't know why. They must have

made a mistake."

A piece of paper slipped out of my notebook and floated to the ground beside Khan's chair. It was my list of questions and interview topics. Without hesitation, he picked up the sheet and extended it to me. When I reached out to receive it, our hands met. For an instant, I felt his skin, callused from years of labor, and the line between perpetrator and person blurred; he could have been almost any other Cambodian farmer.

"How would you respond if one of the prisoners whom you arrested and who died came back to life?" I asked.

For once, he didn't offer an immediate denial. He was perspiring a great deal now and seemed tired. "That would make me really happy. I would bow down and ask for forgiveness."

"You'd say you were sorry?"

"Yes," he replied. Was he finally acknowledging his brutal deeds? Or had he simply not understood that my question implied he was guilty?

We had been talking for well over an hour, and the interview was drawing to a close. But Ming was not ready to let Khan go. "Do you think there should be a trial?" she asked him. At the time of this meeting, the United Nations and the Cambodian government were in negotiations to bring a high-ranking Khmer Rouge cadre to trial. Many former Khmer Rouge were therefore worried about being indicted, though various officials had promised that only the top leaders would be tried.

Khan responded, "Sure, why not? I'm not afraid. Since I didn't do anything, I don't have anything to be afraid of. I just followed the orders of the leaders." Still, he looked uneasy. Maybe frightening him was Ming's way of getting back at him.

Angrily, she responded, "But you were a leader, the head of the sub-district militia. You commanded people."

"I just followed orders."

"Everyone was afraid of you back then. I heard

people say that if you stared at a person, even for a moment, that person would disappear the next day."

"No. They just say things like that about me, that I was savage. It's not true. I helped the people. If they were hungry, I would try to get food for them."

A man slipped into the room to retrieve some dishes. Khan looked at him, then back at us, indicating that it was time for him to return home.

I had saved one last set of questions for him. "How many people worked for you in the militia?" I asked.

"Forty or so."

"What were some of their names?"

"None of them is still alive," he said, spitting on the floor. He realized that I wanted to talk to other people and ask them about the prison.

"But what are their names?"

Khan named a few people who, he assured us, were dead. I pressed him. "Surely out of the forty, someone must still be alive?"

"They're either dead or moved away. I don't know where they went."

"All of them?" I asked.

Khan paused for a moment, then said, "There's one man, Samrong, who worked with me in the militia. He lives in my village."

Ming abruptly addressed Khan, "Who arrested Sopha Lim?"

"Sopha Lim." Khan repeated the name, seeming to recognize it. "She wasn't arrested."

Ming was clearly irritated. "That's my mother. My mother. She was led to a grave and told it was hers."

"No," Khan said, erasing the past with one word.

Ming raised her voice. "Stop lying to me."

"I'm not lying."

"I'm angry now because you're trying to tell me that my mother was never arrested. It's my mother you're talking about. I was there. I know."

"No." Khan repeated, adding, "It's time for me to eat. I'm supposed to meet some people."

The interview was over. We all stood up and

walked outside. As we moved from darkness to light, our eyes had to adjust. Ming still looked annoyed, but gave Khan some cigarettes and two cans of soda as compensation for the work time he had lost. She then asked him if we could take his picture, and he agreed. Ming and I both photographed him. He gazed into our cameras, defiant.

We arranged for him to be driven back to his village by a moped taxi driver. The driver revved up his engine, and Khan climbed on the back. As the wheels churned up the earth where the bodies of his prisoners lay, he glanced back at us, scowling. The roar of the moped faded in the distance, becoming a hum, then silence.

The Victim

Ming and I walked back to a picnic table. It was well past noon; we were all hungry. She pulled out two large bags of peanuts, and as we talked, the piles of shells on the wooden table grew, marking the time.

I asked Luong, who had been head of the sub-district since 1979, if Khan had ever been chased by a mob.

"The people were irate, incensed he had killed their relatives. I had just been appointed to office, and the government was promoting reconciliation, so I had to protect him. He lived here for almost two months. People kept coming around, asking if I would hand him over to them. They wanted to kill him in revenge."

"But Khan said that there wasn't a prison here," I said.

Luong laughed in disgust. "He's ignorant and a liar. He doesn't know how to read or write. He's never studied anything. That's why he didn't know any better. The Khmer Rouge just needed one person like that in each sub-district. When I got here, there were bones everywhere. The place stank. Later, the government asked us to gather the bones and create a memorial to the victims."

"How many bones were there?"

"Hundreds, thousands, too many to count. Khan and his men killed hundreds of people, eating their livers and gallbladders. They were brutal, ruthless killers. And they did their work in secret."

"Are you scared of him?"

Luong laughed. "Not now, but I was terrified of him back then. He has the face of a killer."

Luong's assistant suggested that a man named Uncle Phan would know more about what had happened at the prison. In 1975, he was jailed for almost a year because of a moral offense with a woman. He was now a religious layman at a pagoda not too far from where we were. We sent another moped taxi off to the pagoda to see if he too would talk with us.

The sky, full of clouds, continued to darken. A light wind had kicked up. It was mid-afternoon during the season when monsoon rains often prepare to unleash huge raindrops that quickly turn the dirt into mud. In that area, rain waters the graves of the dead.

Everyone looked tired. Luong shook his head and said, "I doubt Phan will come. He's a religious layman now and won't talk about politics."

As I was staring at the ground, contemplating the terror Khan's victims must have felt as they were led to their graves, Phan arrived. Dressed more formally than Khan, he wore a clean, collarless white shirt and a pair of long black pants, a blue *Krama* thrown over his shoulder as a sash. His face was weathered and marked by lines from days spent in sun, rain, soil, and perhaps, Khan's prison.

"Hello. I hope you are well," he said, smiling as he raised his hands to greet us.

After briefly explaining why I wanted to speak with him, I invited him to join me in the back room. Gesturing toward the open area, he demurred. "That's OK. I like it here, outside." I wondered if he was thinking of the months he had spent shackled inside the jail.

We sat down at the picnic table, littered with peanut shells, water bottles, soda cans, and empty

wrappers. Ming and I sat opposite Phan while Luong and Mum settled into nearby chairs. Everyone treated Phan with respect. He seemed at ease, replaying without hesitation. His words had a slow, measured peace, though at times he paused in contemplation or accelerated slightly for emphasis.

Before the Khmer Rouge had taken control of the area, he had been a farmer of modest means. After they had taken over, he was designated an "old person," which had probably saved his life.

"When did they arrest you?" I asked.

"In 1975, they accused me of violating of their moral code, of fooling around with my sister-in-law. I used to joke and laugh with her, but that's it. Maybe jealousy was involved. Anyway, they came and arrested me. What could I do? At that time, we didn't have the right to make denials. We had to do what they said one hundred percent of the time. They put me in their prison for nine months and seven days. Then I was allowed to return to my family."

While most of the people the Khmer Rouge put in prison were accused of being class enemies or traitors, some were imprisoned for minor crimes. These prisoners were still in danger, of course, because even a minor offense could be interpreted as a traitorous act.

"Who arrested you?"

"Truong and his right-hand man, Khan. Truong was the head of the prison, and Khan was his deputy. A couple of their men came one day and asked me to help move gasoline drums at the sub-district office. They didn't tie me up. They just brought me to the prison and then arrested me. But they didn't beat me. Still, I was terrified. I didn't know what they were going to do to me."

"What was it like in the prison?"

"Terrifying. Of all the people who were imprisoned there during those nine months and seven days, I was the only one who survived. They took people off to 'study', but none of them ever returned. I don't know why I wasn't taken away. Maybe it was because

I was older and had been accused of a more minor offense." He paused, contemplating the question more deeply, then repeated, "I don't know why."

"What was life like in the prison?"

"It was really hard. There might be fifteen or twenty of us imprisoned at once. One time, they brought in a group of teenage boys who had gotten into a fight over food. Everyone disappeared but me." He hesitated again, then continued. "The guards were brutal, really mean. They beat and kicked us if we did the slightest thing wrong. Our legs were shackled, so we couldn't escape. It was our fate. There was nowhere else we could go. And we had to call them 'Mr. Grandfather.' 'Mr. Grandfather Troung.' 'Mr. Grandfather Khan.' We even had to call the young kids who were guarding us 'Mr. Grandfather.' They guarded us closely the entire time. During the day, we were forced to perform hard labor from six in the morning until eight or nine at night. Then it was back to the shackles and hunger. We only received a little food, which we had to eat while shackled. We were like animals: barely fed, beaten on a whim, living in terror."

"How long were prisoners kept there?"

"It varied; there was no set period. Some were taken to 'study' after a month or two. Sixty or seventy people must have passed through while I was there. They'd come and then be taken away--in and out, in and out. When a prisoner heard that he was going to 'study', his face became tight and drawn. Hi knew he was going to be killed. 'Study' meant death. We all knew this. But what could we do? I was lucky. I was the only one who survived. The others were all taken away and killed."

"Were they taken to the main hall of the pagoda?"

"There was another prison for the really important prisoners. I don't know what happened there. But I heard that the prisoners were killed in two places: by the temple and a little further away, in the jungle. We all knew about this, but what could we do? Nothing. We were helpless."

Ming cut in. "What about Khan and Troung: What were they like?"

"From what I saw, they were not the same. Troung had more power, but Khan was meaner." Phan pondered the question. "Khan didn't let people know what he was doing. It was always done in secret. He'd give orders to others. You know, he's illiterate but still has awesome power. People say that if you shoot him, the bullet won't enter his body. He can also break a tree with his hands. If he punches something when he's angry, it will completely shatter. Back then, people became terrified when they heard his name, even little children. Everyone was scared of him: 'old people,' 'new people,' little kids. He had incredible power. No one dared to look at his face."

"Do you think people like Khan killed?" I asked.

"It's hard to know. The Khmer Rouge took the ignorant and gave them enormous power. Before, they had nothing, so many must have been willing to kill for face and rank. Others may have had a class grudge. It's difficult to say. What I do know is that for those three years, eight months, and twenty days, we all suffered beyond belief. Now I just want to forget about it all. That's why I became a religious layperson: to live with the monks."

These words signaled that Phan was finished with the interview. Placing his hands at the end of the table as if to rise, he leaned forward and said softly, "In Buddhism, we believe that if you do something good, you'll receive something good. But those who do something bad will suffer from the consequences of this action."

I imagined these words blowing down the road toward Khan.

It was time for us to go too. Late afternoon had turned into early evening. After seeing Phan off, Ming and I thanked Luong for his help and hospitality. He gave us a broad smile and urged us to visit again. "I guess there really was a prison," he said, laughing, as we got into the car. Then, looking up at a sky dark with the promise of a thunderstorm, he added, "Be

careful."

As Ming pulled the car out onto the dirt road, I looked back at the sub-district office and the temple, trying to imprint them on my mind. Two prisons, mass graves, and a series of people who had stood in the dirt so long ago. Luong held his hand up in parting and grew smaller, fainter. The last thing I

saw was the way the tops of the two trees bowed over the main temple hall, as if pushed down by the weight of memory.

Alex Hinton is an associate professor of Anthropology Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Rutgers University.

ANNOUNCEMENT

DC-CAM LOOKING FOR PHOTOGRAPHS OF FORMER NEW PEOPLE

DC-Cam recently wrote a book called *Stilled Lives: Photographs from the Cambodian Genocide*. It describes the lives of 51 men and women who joined the Khmer Rouge revolution. Thirty-nine of these fifty-one people died at Tuol Sleng prison. Only nine are alive today.

We will soon read selected stories from the book on our radio program. The stories will air on: FM 102 MHz, Phnom Penh, FM 93.25 MHz, Kampot, FM 99 MHz, Preah Vihear, and FM 103.25 MHz, Battambang.

To write the book, we interviewed former cadres, base people, and their family members. They also gave us photographs of themselves. Many of the pictures were taken before the Khmer Rouge came to power, but some show the cadres during the revolution.

Funding for the book was provided by the National Endowment for Democracy. The book revealed that those joining the revolution had the same hopes and needs as other Cambodian people, and also lost their loved ones. We hope this book will help Cambodian people to understand that both victims and perpetrators share a common humanity.

We are now planning a book that will tell the stories of the new people and their families during Democratic Kampuchea. If you or one of your relatives was a new person and would like to tell your stories for the book, we would like to interview you. We welcome the contributions of Cambodians from both at

home and abroad.

Because photographs will be a very important part of this book, we are only asking help from people who would agree to share their photographs with us. They must have been taken before or during Democratic Kampuchea. We will scan the photographs and return the originals to you. Please call DC-Cam at 023-211-875 or write us at Box 1110, Phnom Penh. Email: truthpivoine@dccam.org or truthsavina@dccam.org.

Thank You



SURVIVAL

Meas Phally

My name is Meas Phally, age 48. I teach grade 6 at Baray Primary School in Baray sub-district, Baray district, Kampong Thom province. I hope my story of life during the Khmer Rouge regime will remain after my death, so that my descendants as well as the Cambodian people can know about the hardships I endured.

My nickname is Phal. My father was Meas Chan and my mother Nou Saron. I have nine siblings: Mr. Meas Vanny, Mr. Meas Chanty, Mr. Meas Chanthol, Ms. Meas Phalla, Ms. Meas Bunshi, Ms. Meas Savath, Ms. Meas Sreimab, Ms. Meas Sreyvoeun, and Ms. Meas Srey-khuoch. In all, we had twelve people in our family.

In 1972, when I was 13, my family left our hometown of Da village, Triel sub-district, Baray district, Kandal province with the Chenla soldiers. We spent three nights at Kampong Thmar before we continued walking to Kampong Thom. There, we were frightened to hear about the Khmer Rouge bombardment. So, we rode on a helicopter that carried people to Phnom Penh, which was still under Lon Nol's control. After we arrived, my father and two older brothers decided to serve in the army. My father became a driver. One of my brothers lost his life in a battle at Prek Anh Chanh village on the outskirts of Phnom Penh.

After we lived in Phnom Penh for over two years, my family was forced to leave on April 17, 1975. We wandered aimlessly. Whenever we were tired, we stopped to take a rest. I do not know the exact length of our journey. Finally, we arrive in Da village, Triel sub-district, Baray district, Kampong Thom province.

We were hopeful that we would live happily

there, but it was not to be. Because my father knew how to repair all kinds of machinery and how to drive, Angkar sent him to work in Kampong Cham province. He seldom came to visit his wife and children. My brother Meas Vanny was sent to a mobile unit that worked on a dam, east of Kampong Thmar. I was in a mobile unit, too. I had to carry earth, build dams, and pull and transplant young seedlings. I was separated from my siblings. My younger brother Meas Chanthol was assigned to farm in Chamkar Andaung. My mother and the other siblings were able to stay together.

One day while I was pulling seedlings in Veal Bos Sbauv, my unit chief said, "Comrade Phal, you have done a good job. Angkar would like to arrange a marriage for you now." I asked the chief, "Elder Comrade, who will I marry if I do not know anybody here?" The chief replied, "There is no need to spend a long time getting to know each other. It is a waste of time." Afraid to refuse, I accepted the marriage in the communal dining hall in Tnot village, Triel sub-district. During the wedding, I wore black clothing with a red scarf around my neck.

Seven couples were married that day; we were the last. My husband was Prak Tin, a new person. His older brother was Prak Yuth and his widowed mother was Yay Yong. My spouse and I had not known each other before. After the marriage, I settled down with him in Phnoeu village, a different village from the one where my parents lived.

In 1977, my father came to visit me and said, "Phal, if you do not see me for a long time, it means I am dead. Your older brother was accused of a morals violation and killed." Those were his last words to me; he never came back.

My husband and I lived in fear, and the villagers pitied our miserable lives. They helped us build a shack and gave us some thatch and small pieces of wood. In addition, my husband cut reeds and wove them together to cover the walls. After our shack was finished, another woman temporarily lived there with us.

After a few months, my husband asked me one night, "Phal, will you run away with me?" I answered, "I do not dare. There is too much water. I am so afraid." He said, "If you decide not to go, we will be separated. A man like me would never wait for death without a struggle. If I survive, I will come back to you one day." He said more than this, but that was all I could remember because I was too tired after working all day. After I listened to him for a few moments, I fell asleep.

The next morning, when I set off to work in the field, I saw my husband's hat made of sugar palm leaves. He always wore it to work, but that day he left it on the fence in front of the shack. I picked it up, thinking that it was a sign of his goodbye. I was so frightened that I ran to my mother-in-law. Yay Yong told me not to say anything because my husband and his younger brother had run away together. I was filled with grief, but tried to act as if everything was normal. After the day my husband escaped, militiamen followed me and spied on me every night.

I had lived alone until 1977. One day, my younger brother Meas Chanthol, who was working in Chamkar Andaung, dropped by at my house in Da village. He was taking a break from work. When he reached the village, a woman called to him, "Chanthol, why have you come here? Your mother and siblings have been arrested and put in an ox-cart that carried them to the killing field. The Khmer Rouge told them they were going to live with their father. Chanthol, do not enter Da village. You had better rush to see your older sister in Phnoeu." He thanked the woman

and hurried to Phnoeu. Then he stopped for a while and sat down on a pipe along the national road looking over Phnoeu, thinking that his sister was likely already dead. He asked an old woman who was passing by, "Grandma, do you happen to know if my sister Phal is in this village?" She replied, "She is here. You shall find her in the village." Hearing this, Chanthol was happy. When we met, he cried, held me, and told me, "Sister, our mother, brothers and sisters have been killed." Being unable to bear our grief, we both sat down and cried.

The village chief passed by at that moment and said, "Comrade, you should inform the village chief of Da that your brother is coming to live in Phnoeu, so that they will not charge me with hiding an enemy." So, I made my way to Da to tell the village chief that Chanthol was with me. As I was returning, a villager grabbed my hand and pulled me aside, saying, "Phal, why do you return? Go back quick! Your mother and siblings were carried away by an ox-cart. On their way, your mother threw things out of the cart, then saluted, saying she was going to die." When I heard this, I hastily returned to Phnoeu.

We spent two days together. One day we went fishing at a small channel north of the village. I had not gone fishing before, but that day I caught about 2 kilograms of fish. We were happy at the thought of seasoning the fish and grilling it with red corn. About 4 p.m., we walked back to the village and immediately saw a man approaching; he was coming to find Chanthol. "Chanthol, someone wants to see you," he said. Frightened, we walked to the center of the village and saw Poeun, the chief of Da village, staring at my brother. He said, "We are coming to bring Thol back." Hearing this, my brother realized that he would surely die. He glanced at my face and said, "Sister, we are no longer together. Goodbye!" Holding my younger brother, I cried and said to Poeun, "Elder comrade, please take me with him. I

cannot live alone. He replied, "I am not taking you with him because you are out of my control. I am here to take only Thol. I am only taking the one under my control." Then he forced my brother to ride on his bicycle. Tears were rolling down on my brother's face when he looked back at me.

A woman in Phneou pulled at me to separate me from my brother. It was nearly sunset and the sky was as red as the hot temper in my head when Phoeun took my brother away. The roads out of the village twisted like palm trees. I fixed my eyes on my brother until the sun completely disappeared, bringing darkness to the earth. Then, hopeless and exhausted, I walked back to my little shack.

With the inner strength the villagers gave me, I managed to live alone. I worked even harder and never missed a day of work. My special mobile unit was assigned to dig channels and build dams in Tuol Phnom Traing, a few kilometers east of Phneou. This place had many large stones, which we broke apart. Once, when I wasn't paying attention, a stone slipped from my hands and dropped on my toe; it bled. The chief of the women's unit allowed me to rest in the hall. They took good care of me until I recovered. After that, I spent all my work breaks with her. I usually sang to entertain her. The songs I sang were: "Tomorrow Never Comes," "Kirirom Resort," and "Samrong Farm." She grew fond of me and rarely permitted me to work outdoors. Instead, I worked in the hall making palm-leaf hats or knitting. Some of the base women mocked me, "Comrade Phal, you never work outdoors like us." The chief replied, "You female buffalos, it is none of your business."

Early in 1978, an elderly couple suggested that I live with them. At that time, Angkar had appointed me to be a cook in the communal dining hall. In mid-1978, the village was flooded. When my maternal grandmother (she is now 90), who was

living in Chheu Lving, Taing Krasaing sub-district, Santok district, heard that I was living alone in Phneou village, she and another elderly woman rowed a boat to search for me. When she saw me, she burst out crying. She asked the elderly couple to take good care of me.

One day in late 1978, while I was cooking rice in the communal dining hall, I saw two girls about 10 and 7 years old. At first sight, I felt that I liked them since their faces were similar to my sister's. I had them sit on my lap and gave them a loving hug. A few days later, the elderly couple and others arranged for me to marry the father of the girls, Nuon Vannak. He was a widower with three sons and two daughters. We married in the communal dining hall in Phneou village, wearing black clothes with red scarves around our necks. A day after our wedding, his eldest son was sent to serve in the army. Later, he disappeared. After we were married, I felt physically and psychologically stronger. The two girls often caught little fish, which we roasted and ate with rice.

One night in January 1979, I heard the sound of tanks echoing through National Road 6. People were whispering to each other, "The Pol Pot regime is over!" I called the villagers to collect rice and put it in baskets. Then we looked for a place to hide ourselves near the village. When morning came, I saw people coming to collect rice, salt, and pottery from the kitchen, laughing and smiling because they had survived the regime. "We have escaped death! We are alive!"

Everybody began a new life. I left Phneou village to live in Kamnhat in the same sub-district. I applied to be a teacher. In 1980, I delivered a baby boy named Nuon Vireak. My mother-in-law Yay Yong loved me and my son. When Vireak was 11 months old, the Ministry of Education required me to take a three-month training course in pedagogy at Kampong

Thom High School. Before leaving, I was holding Vireak and my husband's daughter helped me carry my bag. I went to bid my mother-in-law goodbye, saying, "Mother, I am leaving for study now. Please stay here." She replied, "May happiness be with you. When you get a salary, you should contribute to the pagoda and pray for no separation in the next life." Three months later, when I returned to Kamnhat, the villagers told me that Yay Yong had gone back to her birthplace. I have not heard from

her since.

I am now living in Baray Tauch village, Baray sub-district and district, Kampong Thom province. I have four sons and a daughter.

I hope this memoir will remain in the hearts of Cambodian people forever.

Meas Phally

Baray Tauch, July 1, 2005

Meas Phally is a survivor of Democratic Kampuchea.

MY FEAR OF THE KHMER ROUGE

Socheat Nhean

I was born in Kampong Speu on November 18, 1980, nearly two years after the Khmer Rouge fell. After Democratic Kampuchea was overthrown in early January 1979, the remaining Khmer Rouge forces continued intimidating villagers and causing insecurity in rural areas. During my childhood, I grew very fearful when I heard my parents talking about Khmer Rouge troops invading my village.

My father was a government official who guarded the district office and patrolled the forests to prevent Khmer Rouge raids. He often told my mother and me about the conflict between the government and the Khmer Rouge.

My mother was very frightened when my father went to work because she was worried about his safety. When the Khmer Rouge invaded a village, they would rob people of their property and murder many of those who worked for the government. If the troops had come to my village, my father would have been a prime target of the Khmer Rouge. So, whenever my father was away, my mother would call a few villagers to sleep

at our house.

One late afternoon at 5 or 6 o'clock, I heard that Khmer Rouge soldiers were approaching my village. Moreover, that night no villagers came to our house because they had to protect their own families. My mother made us eat dinner in a hurry.

Then she packed some clothes and food, and brought her children to her brother's home. I remember that she told me to wear a grey shirt. Luckily, the Khmer Rouge did not come to our village.

When I was a student, I was taught to hate the Khmer Rouge. We had a lesson called "We already knew." It mentioned the atrocities the Khmer Rouge committed on the people under its power. When I was reading it, I felt pity for the victims. I always worried that the Khmer

Rouge would return to slaughter more people, including me. My fears were over in 1992 when the UN envoys came to work in Cambodia for the first time.

Socheat Nhean is a field investigator on DC-Cam's Victims of Torture Project.



Socheat Nhean

MY LIFE DURING THE POL POT REGIME

Kim Cheam aka Kosal

Phnom Penh

Before the Khmer Rouge took over Phnom Penh, one could hear the sounds of gunfire and bombardment every day. The government of Lon Nol had little power to defend the city from the attacks by those claiming to liberate the country. The attacks came closer and closer to the city, which was already full of political tension. The war prevented farmers from cultivating crops. Instead of farming, residents of the countryside were educated by the Khmer Rouge on political ideology. Because Phnom Peh was surrounded by Khmer Rouge soldiers, people who were inside the city limits had little food to eat.

At first, President Lon Nol tried to show his ability to deal with the situation, but it was impossible to bring the revolution to a standstill since intellectuals, students, officials and businessmen strongly supported the revolution. Most people were cynical toward the government. Eventually, Lon Nol could no longer deal with the country's social issues. Adding to the chaos, protests and demonstrations against the government took place everywhere. The infamous corruption was also mushrooming throughout the country. The inflation rate had dramatically increased; for instance, a liter of oil that had cost 10 riels rose to 500 riels. That crisis resulted in many dissatisfied consumers. On the other hand, the merchants seemed very happy.

On April 12, 1975 the U.S. Army and the American residents of Cambodia flew back to the States by special helicopters. Finally, although we hated the Khmer Rouge, we had no choice but to congratulate them on their triumph. The communists took over on April 17, 1975.

The Evacuation

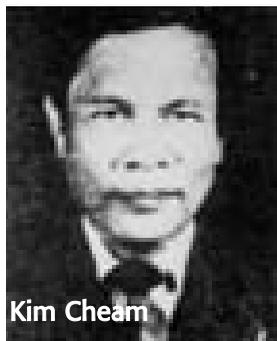
On April 17, 1975 instead of going to work at the Ministry of Education, I stayed calmly hidden at home because a great force had taken over the

entire city. At about 9 a.m., I saw Lon Nol soldiers withdraw from the city. My house was opposite Lon Nol's residence; I saw his Khmer Republic tanks and trucks showing white flags as a sign of surrender. Not long after that, the Khmer Rouge soldiers, with fierce and serious faces, entered the city.

At 10 a.m. they declared, "All the city residents must evacuate Phnom Penh because we have to sweep the enemies out of city. You will be allowed to return to your homes in a few days' time." Besides that, Lon Nol soldiers were ordered to go along with us. Hearing their command, my friends and I hurriedly ran to seek a cart and cyclo (a three-wheel bike with rider on the back and a seat for customer in the front), thinking it would make our journey easier, faster and more convenient. However, we had no chance of getting one because carts and cyclos were already in high demand. Failing to find an easy mode of transport, we went back to our houses to pack our belongings. Since we did not expect to be allowed to return home, we decided to abandon our city and neighbors. With tears rolling down on our faces, we reluctantly began our journey without a particular direction in mind.

We boarded a bus that consumed lots of gasoline in the short distance of about four or five kilometers, and it was slower than walking. It was the Khmer Rouge soldiers who told us what direction to take. On the road, crowds of people moved like a huge ant colony. We were being sent to live in the countryside. At about 5 p.m., the bus stopped at Kbal Thnal roundabout, where we ate a poor dinner.

On April 18, 1975 at 2 p.m., we continued our journey. No matter whether it was day or night, the crowd never dispersed. The number of people on the road was constant. Sometimes the Pol Pot soldiers insulted us with their outrageous rude and vulgar



words.

While we were traveling, four Pol Pot soldiers suddenly surrounded our bus and caught two women who had been Lon Nol soldiers. They took them, and in a few minutes we heard the sound of gunfire about 100 meters away. The Khmer Rouge soldiers had shot the women. No sooner had this tragedy faded from our minds than a unit chief returned to the bus and asked who among us were high-ranking officials. Actually, it was me. Sensing danger, I secretly left the bus. In the meantime, they caught a man whose appearance was similar to mine. After the man and the Khmer Rouge soldiers disappeared, people in the bus started talking noisily about what had happened. This event was so shocking that my wife became hysterical because she misunderstood and thought that I had been arrested.

Arriving at Boengsnor, my wife was out of her mind. She swallowed 14 capsules of sleeping pills. Her whole body went numb. The situation became worse. The people in the bus, including my children, burst out in tears and cried loudly out of fear.

At 10 a.m. we reached Kompong Phnom Leu village and left the bus. We had to wait for a night before we were able to cross the Mekong River to Prek Ksay. After a boat journey, we had to walk 8 kilometers before we reached Stoeung Sluat River. Although the walk was only for a short-distance, we encountered a lot of hardship. We spent a night at Stoeung Sluat. The villagers were surprised to see my crazy wife. When the morning came, we got on a GMC truck which the Khmer Rouge used to carry evacuees. After a 10 kilometer-drive, the truck stopped, so we depended on our legs to carry us for the rest of the journey. We were then herded to the south along National Road 1.

We stopped at Tagnork pagoda and spent two nights there before we arrived at Prasrey pagoda.

This was a secret area where the Khmer Rouge gathered all officers, officials, intellectuals, businessmen, and students. I was one of those selected. We were formed into a group of 38 men that included former officers of the Lon Nol government. Under Angkar's control, every member of my family had to cut their hair short. Angkar said, "You are here to help Angkar to reconstruct the entire country." Since we were sympathetic to the Lon Nol government, we considered Angkar's words nothing but a lie. We had stayed there for four days before we were sent to another place.

While we were walking along the path from Prasrey to Prey Svar Veal Tapronh, Pol Pot soldiers pointed AR15-guns at us, forcing us to walk faster. At that time, we were absolutely exhausted, yet we tried to gather our strength to go on, fearing the young Khmer Rouge soldiers. It took us two days before we arrived at Takhlok pagoda where the Khmer Rouge gave art performances to show us their culture. I was surprised at the clothes they wore, the wordiness they used, and their hair styles, which were cut short in the Chinese style. Afraid and stunned, we did not react, but our mouths were wide open in amazement. When morning came, we continued heading north.

In Prison

At noon on April 24, 1975 we arrived at Prey Svar in Region 24. The area was about 15 kilometers from Kampong Trabek sub-district. Actually, it was a prison enclosed by bamboo trees and barbed wire. It was then that we realized that we had been trapped by Angkar.

At 1 p.m. after break time, I saw that new prisoners were building a kitchen wall, using mud and straw. I went to help them to keep myself busy so that I would not feel so anxious. An hour later, I was interrogated by the chief of security of Office 24. Smoking a big hand-rolled cigarette made of Sangke leaves, he asked me about my background. It was a 30-minute interrogation. Knowing that I could not hide my identity because my birthplace

was about 10 kilometers away, I told him the truth. At the end, he said, "You must be educated." I was wondering how we could study if there were no pens or books.

At Prey Svar on the second day, I met a man whose name I did not know. Seeing that my face was similar to my brother's, he revealed my brother's story. He said my brother was accused of being in Lon Nol's network. He had been in prison since 1972. He secretly told me to stay calm because I would be released in a few days. Before he left me, he reminded me that, "If you eat salt do not eat soup. If you eat soup do not eat salt." Then he added three last important words: discipline, hard work, and silence.

This man did not tell me his name. He only told me to keep his words in mind. Although I believed what he said, it was difficult to put it into practice since it was in conflict with my perceptions. After a few days passed, I began to realize that the Khmer Rouge could educate people by using the ground as a book and a tree branch as a pencil. In prison, I met General An Nil, my former classmate Commander Chea Soeurn, and Roth Soy, my relative. Later, the three officers were moved from Prey Svar to Prey Chamkar.

Punishment

We were sent to a disciplinary house. It was an old granary without windows, so we were living in darkness all day long. After just three months, all the people who lived in this house were infected with bacteria and got bloody diarrhea. Although we were sick, we were not given real medicine. All that was available was traditional medicine, which did not work effectively, and there was not enough for everyone. After three months, only a few of us were still alive.

Angkar divided us into units that had different duties. The women whose husbands were soldiers from Leak Loeng, Kampong Soeung and Phnom Penh were formed into a unit. Their job was to find dead tree branches and plow rice paddies using

only their hands and feet. In short, the work assigned to women and elderly people was not as hard as that which fell to the men. The men had to work harder and had less to eat. They were assigned to dig canals. In some areas, the dams were 3 meters deep, and Angkar's plan was to have one person dig a 3-meter segment in one day. Because of overwork and starvation, the workers became skeletal. During this period, death could be avoidable only for those who had sufficient strength. Angkar gave us a small amount of watery porridge. When we were sick, we were ignored and given no treatment.

Sometimes I asked myself how I could survive. I counted myself lucky that the place where I lived was just opposite the place where Angkar stored rice. Every dawn, I snuck there to steal some rice to cook and eat with salt. We never had meat to eat. Before the regime, I weighed 84 kilograms, but after that I weighed only 58 kilograms--the skinniest I had ever been. Living in despair under Angkar's control, we were forced to work all day.

Moreover, the area where we lived was like hell. The bodies of dead prisoners were scattered on the ground, and pigs often came to eat the corpses. The bodies were those of people who were killed because they were too weak to dig channels that met Angkar's requirements. For instance, Heng, Peach Sonn, and Ngin Un were sent to be killed at Veal Tapronh a month after they arrived. Later, the others were sent to the central prison; all of them except my family died there of diarrhea.

Toleration and Hunger

Every day, hunger was our shadow. Our stomachs were usually empty. On our way to work, we had to pick leaves that grew beside the path to eat. Working in the field, we secretly caught snakes and crabs to temporarily fill our stomachs. We only dared to do this when Angkar was far away; otherwise, we would be surely killed. Death was likely to be with us all the time. Sometimes, I recalled how my life had been when I was living in the city where many things

were in abundance. I read books and newspapers. I listened to the radio and watched videos for entertainment. In my leisure time, I went to the cinema. What a pleasure!

One day, Angkar ordered all the prisoners to build a dam across the village. After the prisoners were gathered, they made their way toward the gate. I came late, so I ran quickly, carrying my spade, basket and flail, to join them. On the first day I dug earth, I broke the spade. I was frightened that I would be tortured by Angkar. We worked very hard under the rain without a break. One day Angkar asked me about my background and my former position. I answered honestly that I worked for the Ministry of Education.

My colleague was a former student of 18-March High School. He was a son of Heng, the secretary of the former Premier Long Boret. We took turns digging and carrying earth. We worked under the rain while the others were trying to stay under a roof to protect themselves. We hated doing this, but we were so afraid because Angkar was pointing guns at us most of the time.

One day while we were building dams, the base people in the village give us food. We were very happy for the food that would fill our long-empty stomachs. Because there was hardly anything to eat, Heng's son died a month after. I felt so lonely after his death. After that, Angkar assigned me to other work. I had to divide the land for the prisoners to work on.

Every night before going to sleep, I clasped my hands and prayed to god, "Father, I know that you are in heaven. Please rescue me from death. I have never committed a sin. I deserve to survive. With your power from heaven, please protect my life."

Two months passed; we worked even harder. At the end of the third month, after we finished harvesting rice, Angkar gathered all the prisoners to spread the news: "Amongst all of you, Angkar had observed a comrade, but I am not sure who he or she is." Hearing this, I thought they referred to me.

I was so nervous, for I could smell the approach of death. Fortunately, my prayers were answered: I was released after having been in prison for 93 days.

The Cooperative

After leaving the prison, Angkar sent me to work in a cooperative. I did not even know what the cooperative was or its organization; later I learned that life in the cooperative was not different from that in prison. I was living with starvation every day. Admittedly, I had stolen rice to cook twice because of intolerable hunger.

After a night of torrential rain, my family was evacuated to live in a cooperative. Because of the heavy rain, we had to walk through soft and slippery mud. At that time, my younger brother was too skinny and exhausted to walk. He was died along the way from diarrhea. I asked the Angkar if I could take his body with me, and they agreed. Carrying him on my back was difficult and my oldest daughter was carrying her younger sister on her hip.

Arriving at the soft muddy fields, every member of my family cried loudly because it was so difficult to walk. I decided to lay the emaciated body of my brother on a small dam and began to pull each of my relatives out of the sticky mud. My foolish wife walked ahead freely on her own. It was such a long walk. Then we reached a village that was not far from the prison. We were surprised to see only barren land with a few houses. We wondered how they could live without shelter. However, we did not stop; we went straight a neighboring house whose owner was a blind woman. Knowing well that we were new people who Angkar had just released from the prison, we had to wait there until the cooperative chief came at noon. He was a man in black clothing. "Follow me" was all he said. Even though he said very little to me, I was full of fear of this village security chief.

The Destroyed House

When I reached the hut in which Angkar assigned me to live, I felt terribly surprised to see its condition.

It was completely destroyed. I wonder whose hut it had been. Later, I found out it was Yim's. He had been a burglar before, and then he was appointed to be a Khmer Rouge unit chief. He had decided to hand it over to Angkar and built a new one. It was a hut without a roof, so we could clearly see the moon and stars glistening. The following day, Angkar had us repair the hut. We were ordered to cut bamboo and palm trees. I could not climb the tree, but I had no choice since I was the only healthy person in my family.

We had to adapt to the unfamiliar in this new shelter. But it was much worse than we expected: the villagers were cruel. They despised us. For instance, a girl named Lim from a neighboring house always mocked us. This 12-year-old girl spit on our heads while we were plowing the fields. At home, we got insect bites all over our bodies. Because of this, my children became very thin. After living in that hut for a month, I lost younger brother, 21; my son, 8; and my daughter, 4.

No Funeral, No Monks

What did the Khmer Rouge do with the bodies? The corpses lay like dead trees. They were completely ignored like carcasses. My son died at 6 a.m., but nobody came to take him to be buried until that evening. I went to inform Angkar, but they refused to come, saying that they were busy. The body lay at home until 5 p.m. when a village chief named Moeurn took it to bury near the prison.

Although I was an ordinary person in the village, later I learnt that my family was not only controlled by village-level security but also by the cooperative chief. Among other new people I had the least rights because we had been sent from the prison.

After much hard labor, my fingernails became wavy like corrugated glass. Although I was the strongest among my family members, I barely managed to survive. At that time, I thought my entire family would die since they were frailer than I was.

Nine months passed and the Khmer Rouge

created communal kitchens. I felt the starvation facing everybody. Before this policy was carried out, the area of paddies and the rice yield were divided according to the size of each family. For instance, my family of five members got 35 kilograms of rice per month. This was not enough to feed every mouth well. "There will be more restrictions on the amount of food," I thought to myself. The purpose of this communal kitchen and dining hall was to distinguish the base people from the enemy as well as to cut the relationship between the two groups.

One morning the Khmer Rouge distributed rice in the village. On hearing this, I began to fill two sacs; they exceed the amount that Angkar allowed. I looked around carefully and took one of the sacs to a neighbor's house. Then I took the other sac with me. When the cooperative chief arrived, he weighed it. Then I took it and the sac to my neighbor's house. Soon the cooperative chief came and saw two sacs of rice lying on the earth floor of my house. He asked me "Whose sac is that?" I answered that it belonged to Yim. After that, he left.

Dry Season

During the rainy season, I was sent to build dam, carry earth and transport the rice sacs by cart. But during the dry season, most of the people in the village were sent to farm. I was responsible for a scrawny buffalo that refused to eat and died. I was so afraid. I thought my life would end at the same moment. So, I decided to take it with me when I got permission to return home. Angkar asked me the reason for the buffalo's death. I sadly replied that I was sorry. I had done my best to look after it.

The Loss of Dignity

In 1977 at 7 p.m. after having dinner, I was still very hungry because the food the communal dining hall supplied was not enough. So, I secretly entered the kitchen and asked two women there for something to eat. Luckily, they gave me small piece of rice paste. I was so happy, thinking that my stomach would stop hurting. After returning home, I cooked

and ate it alone without bothering to think whether my pregnant wife was hungry or not. In fact, she should be hungrier since she was bearing a child. However, too much hunger led to selfishness so I did not share it with her. When she learned that I was eating alone, she began to cry loudly, but I pretended not to hear anything. The starvation drove me crazy, made me blind. I selfishly reminded myself of a time when my wife did not share me, and thought she deserved revenge: I did not give her any of my portion.

Every time the Khmer Rouge slaughtered animals like pigs or buffalos in the village, they sent the meat to the communal kitchen. While I saw the meat, I pretended to stay calm, but then quietly rushed into the kitchen and asked the old cook for a small piece. I then put it on the fire for a while before eating it because I found raw meat disgusting. The prospect of becoming ill and having my usual share cut in half gave me the courage to ask for the meat.

Control

Angkar's agents immediately reported on every one of our movements. To avoid this problem, I stayed at home after lunch and dinner. Besides, we could not go anywhere we wanted. Every night, a girl about 10 years old sat under my house. She came to spy on us. She heard every word we spoke. If we said something against the revolution, she would report it to Angkar. At that time, Angkar preferred to use children as spies. Without any kind of freedom, our lives were like those of animals.

Clothing

The village chief, base people, and cooperative chief wore black clothes with red scarves around their necks, while the new people wore black tattered and dirty clothing. Because of this distinct way of dressing, it was not difficult to distinguish between the base and the new people. Even worse, the clothing provoked conflicts between the old and new people.

My family we had only few tattered outfits. We did not even have shoes. In December when the weather was getting cold, we had no coat or blanket.

A Wish to Return Home

Since 1970 I had been thinking of my home village, but Angkar did not allow me to return there. Eventually, in the dry season of 1977, I asked the chief district of Chantrea whether I should go back to my home village. He said, "Don't go there." I wondered what had happened in my home village, but he did not mention anything else.

Khmer Rouge Weddings

During the Khmer Rouge regime, men had no opportunity to choose a girl they admired. Everything was arranged by Angkar. Sadly, the beautiful girls were forced to marry disabled soldiers who had come back from the war. Angkar did this to provide motivation for the disabled soldiers who had been faithful to the revolution. Weddings were held in only a few hours. Usually, there were several couples --sometimes up to 60 at a time--in a wedding. Most of the couples' relationships could not last long and sadly, they ended up separating.

The Return Home

In early 1979 after the country was liberated by United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea (UFNSK), I decided to return to my home village. When I arrived there, I learned the bad news about my family. A relative of mine told me that I lost 27 of my family members including my mother, brothers, sister, nieces, nephews and in-laws. I wonder who else has suffered more than me?

Kim Cheam is a survivor of Democratic Kampuchea.

*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) 23-221-165
Fax: (855) 23-210-358
Email: dccam@online.com.kh
Homepage: www.dccam.org*

A JOURNEY TO FIND A MISSING DAUGHTER

Farina So

Chun Sem, age 84, and his in-laws were holding a copies of *Searching for the Truth* and Chum Sem's daughter's biography when they arrived at the Documentation Center of Cambodia. They were hoping that the picture printed on the cover page of *Searching for the Truth* (issue 68) was that of his daughter who disappeared in 1973. Having learned that the woman in the picture was not his daughter, Chum Sem despaired.

Chum Sem was born in Phnoeu village in Kampong Speu province, but today lives in Ang Snoul district in Kandal province. He has been trying to find his second daughter Chun Oun, who he has not been seen since she left home to serve the revolution in 1973. That was the year when the Khmer Rouge's attacks spread to his village and the sugar factory next to his house was burnt to the ground. To flee the turmoil, his family moved to Toun Lvea. At that time, Chun Oun was 20 and able to read some Khmer letters. The Khmer Rouge appointed her to be the chief of a children's unit and sent her to work in Region 15.

In 1975, Chum Sem and his family returned to live in Phnoeu village, but the Khmer Rouge evacuated its residents a few months later. They were sent to live in several places and ordered to labor for Angkar. Because of the hardships he faced during the regime, Chum Sem had little time to find his daughter. He said, "The Khmer Rouge sent me to Region 55, the most dangerous region in Takeo province. At that time, I was already in my old age, yet the Khmer Rouge assigned me to carry hundreds of double-bucket poles. The worst thing was that they served us only watery porridge at every meal. There were only 4 cans [milk cans used to measure rice for cooking] of rice for 40 people. Sometimes, we had rice porridge mixed with khet [a kind of fruit with a hard shell and bitter taste]. The work was very difficult, and I had a many children to care for. I did not have time to search for my missing



Chun Sem

daughter."

After 1979, Chum Sem's daughter-in-law Noeun, who spent a lot of time with Chun Oun, told him what she knew about what happened to Chun Oun during Democratic Kampuchea. Angkar sent Chun Oun to work in a textile factory in Phnom Penh in 1975. One time, she came looking for her father in Russei Srok, but did not find him because Chum Sem had been sent to Region 55. In 1977, Chun Oun married Try, who later was appointed as a sub-district chief in Battambang province. Then the couple went to live in Battambang. Not long after that, Angkar accused Try of being a traitor and he was shot and killed. After that, Chun Oun was sent back to Phnom Penh and there has been no further information on her.

Chum Sem said, "Since she left home, I had not received any news about her until the Khmer Rouge Regime collapsed. After this brutal regime, my daughter-in-law told me about Oun's story. When the Documentation Center of Cambodia's staff bought my daughter's biography to me, I thought my daughter had sent them. As soon as I received the biography, I rushed to the Center, thinking that my daughter was still alive. My spirit has always been with my daughter."

Two of Chum Sem's other children also served

the revolution. His son used to be a Khmer Rouge soldier, and luckily he managed to survive the regime and return home. His daughter Chun Un, who went to work in Battambang province, died of cholera in 1988. Chum Sem said, "I was very curious. All of the other villagers' daughters who left home came back to their families; only my second daughter disappeared forever. I wonder how she is."

Having described his daughter's story, Chum Sem

felt relieved. He said, "Even though my dream of seeing my daughter has not come true, I am not without hope. I will continue to search for her. My hope is strong and alive: my daughter will come back to me one day."

Farina So is the coordinator of activities for the Cham Muslim community under DC-Cam's Living Documents Project.

SEARCHING FOR MISSING FAMILY MEMBERS

Missing Son

My name is San Khin, age 70. I live in Rakar village, Rakar Chunling, Khsach Kandal district, Kandal province.

I would like to search for my oldest son named Tuon Chhan, also known as Khoeun, who joined the revolution in 1973 and has disappeared. Before he joined the revolution, Chhan was ordained at Svay Po pagoda in his village. He then continued to study at Tnaot Russei Srok pagoda in Kampong Cham. In 1973 when Chhan was 25 years old, he left the monkhood to join the revolution without informing his parents. In 1979 Sry of the same village told me that he had met Chhan in Kampong Chhnang province and tried to persuade him to return home, but Chhan refused. During the 1990s, my family received a letter from Chhan; he was searching for our family in Kandal province. At the time, we did not pay much attention to the letter because we were busy taking care of his severely ill father. After the funeral, the letter disappeared.

If my son reads this announcement or anybody else knows Tuon Chhan, please contact me through the village or sub-district mentioned above or contact the Documentation Center of Cambodia. Thank you.

Missing Brother

I am Lim Sok, age 53, and now live in Kandach village, Chong Ampil sub-district, Kanh Chreach district, Prey Veng province. I would like to search for my brother named Lim Long (born in the year of the horse) who joined the Khmer Rouge revolution when he was 18 or 19. Before serving in the revolution, Long was in the sub-district army. A month after the Khmer Rouge took control of Cambodia, he was in an army uniform and visited home once. He disappeared after that.

If anyone else knows Lim Long or he himself hears about this, please contact us through Nuy Dany (phone: 012 180 26 52) or contact the Documentation Center of Cambodia. Thank you.

Missing Son

My name is Yors Pheng; I am 72 years old. My daughter, age 45, is Man Man. I would like to search for my son Man Mon who left in 1976 and we have not seen him since then. In early 1976, Man Mon was forced by the Khmer Rouge to leave the monkhood. Then, he was sent to work in a potato planting unit in Phnom Peam Chaing, Preah Sdech district.

If my son sees this announcement and anyone knows Man Mon, please inform me through the Documentation Center of Cambodia. Thank you.

Missing Nephew

I am Sou Kann Ya, age 57, now living in Thpang Krao village, Snuol sub-district, Snuol district, Kratie province. I would like to search for my nephew Seng Vuthy (whose mother was Seng Vann Dan). He was a combatant in a motor boat office during the Khmer Rouge regime. Vuthy disappeared after he ran away with Pheap, the chief of Region 505, when an arsenal exploded.

If Vuthy sees this, or if anyone else knows anything about him, please contact the Documentation Center of Cambodia. Thank you.

Missing Children and Grandchildren

My name is Huy Vilalin aka Thon, age 72. I now live in Chap Krasaing village, Vat Kor sub-district, Battambang district, Battambang province. I would like to search for three of my children and two of my grandchildren: 1) Iem Lila (daughter), 2) Iem Solina (son), 3) Iem Rithea (son), 4) Pich Navith (grandson, his mother is Iem Mariya), and 5) Pich Mariyet (granddaughter, her mother is also Iem Mariya).

They were separated in 1975 when their mother was visiting her oldest child's house in Battambang. Their father saw them leave for Chbar Ampeou. If anyone has heard about this or knows these names, please inform me via phone: 092 809 518 or through the Documentation Center of Cambodia.

Missing Five Siblings

I am Neou San and am 56 years old. Today I live in Prek Ramduol village, Baseth sub-district, Baseth district, Kampong Speu province. I would like to search for five siblings: 1) Neou Som (female), 2) Neou Thean (male), 3) Neou Tim (male), 4) Neou Sokoeun (male), and 5) Mao Nim (male).

These five people disappeared in 1979. If they or anybody else has heard anything about them, please inform me via phone (011 291 598) or the Documentation Center of Cambodia. Thank you.

KHMER ROUGE HISTORY AVAILABLE ON AIR

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

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

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

For comments or questions on our programming, please contact Sophorn Lath or Rattanak Leng at P.O. Box 1110, Phnom Penh or 023 211 875.



DC-Cam: #66, Preah Sihanouk Blvd, 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, Second Quarter 2006.
Funded by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) and U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID).