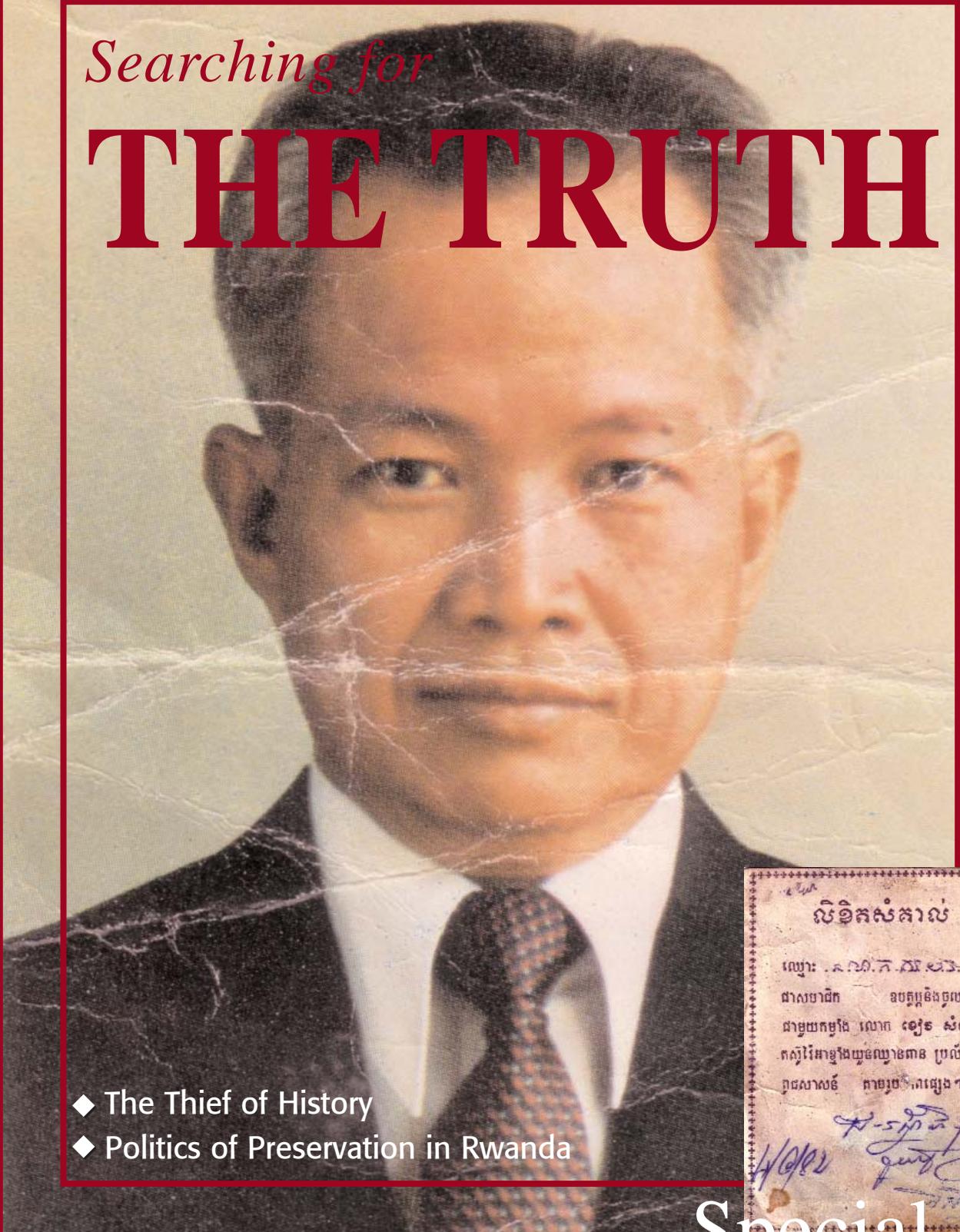
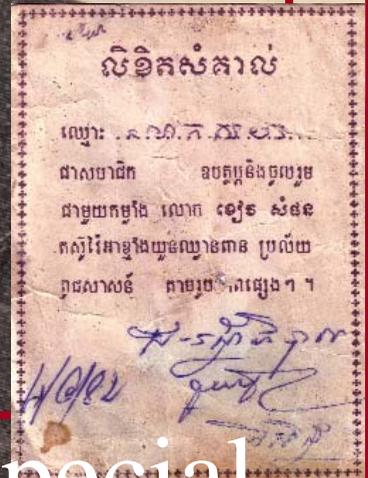


Searching for

THE TRUTH



- ◆ The Thief of History
- ◆ Politics of Preservation in Rwanda



Special
English Edition
Third Quarter 2006

“We can use an eraser to delete our mistakes on paper, but we cannot use it to wipe out our mistakes in history.”

-- Chamroeun Bann

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

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EDITORIAL:

CAMBODIA'S HISTORICAL MISTAKES

Cambodians over the age of 35 often talk about their hardships during the Khmer Rouge regime: torture, killings, starvation, disease, hard labor, and the like. They are concerned that the notorious history of Democratic Kampuchea (DK) might be forgotten by future generations who have no experience these things and little awareness of genocide. I myself was born four years after the Khmer Rouge was ousted in April 17, 1979. How and where can young Cambodians find information related to the Khmer Rouge? And what can they learn from this history?

When I was a high school student, my teachers did not talk a great deal about the history of Democratic Kampuchea. This was because the school curriculum did not contain any text on the regime. Instead, schools focused on the history of ancient Khmer kings. In addition, most Cambodian students did not really want to study their own history much. At that time, I felt the same as they did.

Since I began working at the Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam) in February 2005, I have become aware of the Khmer Rouge regime through reading the magazine *Searching for the Truth* and the Center's documents from DK. On February 25-26, 2006, the Center conducted its first tour for DK survivors to the notorious Tuol Sleng Prison and Choeng Ek killing field, as well as the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC). It was also the first time that I had seen Tuol Sleng and Choeng Ek.

When I entered the former prison, I recalled the images I had seen on video cassettes or television such as the cells, prisoner photographs, and implements of torture. Although I had no direct experience of the regime, I felt sorrow that so many innocent people were brutally tortured and had died terrible deaths. And I felt sympathy for the families of those who died. These historical sites, with their photos, mass graves, documents, skulls and skeletons, are displayed for the public because they hold great emotional significance for all of us.

The stories of the victims are also very important because they are the direct witnesses to the Khmer Rouge's atrocities. When they tell us about their lives, they often recall their suffering. They do not want such a regime to recur in Cambodia. Instead, they want their children or grandchildren to know about the killings committed by the Khmer Rouge.

Hearing their stories and learning about DK's history, we learn that Cambodia's leaders killed their own people. Under Pol Pot's politically misguided leadership, 1.7 million people were killed and died of torture, starvation, diseases and hard labor. Many others people were handicapped, traumatized, or orphaned. History teaches us about our mistakes, and if we learn its lessons, we can work to prevent repeating these mistakes.

To bring those responsible for the genocide to justice, the Royal Government of Cambodia cooperated with the United Nations to establish a "mixed" tribunal with both Cambodian and international participants. The Cambodian people do not want to see this type of regime rise again in our own country or anywhere else in the world. It is disappointing that the top two Khmer Rouge leaders, Pol Pot and Ta Mok, have died. They might have helped answer the question that is so important to all of us: Why did the Khmer Rouge kill so many people and commit such atrocities?

Terrorism, suicide bombings, and mass killings continue to plague our world today. It is very sad that the world cannot prevent the genocide that is now taking place in the western region of Sudan called Darfur. On September 17, 2006, staff from DC-Cam, students, and others participated in a candlelight vigil at a Phnom Penh mosque. Hundreds of Cambodians joined with people throughout the world to call for an end to the violence in Darfur, where 200,000 people have been killed and another 2 million have been left homeless. Having experienced nearly four years of genocide, the Cambodian people do not want to see the Sudanese people killed. And they do not want the government of Sudan to misguide its people as Pol Pot did.

We can use an eraser to delete our mistakes on paper, but we cannot use it to wipe out our mistakes in history. This is in some ways fortunate because we must study history to learn about our mistakes and learn from it so as not to repeat them. We cannot consider our infamous history as a bad thing that is to be forgotten and left behind. It is better to make wrong things right than to make right things wrong.

Chamroeun Bann is the Co-Editor-in-Chief of the Special English Edition of Searching for the Truth.

LETTERS FROM YOUK CHHANG:

THE THIEF OF HISTORY

At about 4:30 in the morning late last year, I walked out onto the terrace of my apartment and saw a robber pting to break in. As I chased him, I realized that he was merely a boy of 12 or 14. He was wearing black clothes and his head was covered with a white scarf.

He ran toward the back of the building, trying to escape by climbing down a small set of steps. As I caught his hand and saw how thin he was, part of my past flashed across my mind.

It was a memory from what Cambodians call the "Pol Pot time," the 1975-1979 Khmer Rouge regime. I was about his age when my family - like the families of millions of other city dwellers - was evacuated to the countryside.

As a city kid, I didn't have many survival skills, but hunger can make you learn a lot of things. I taught myself how to swim, for example, so that I could dive down and cut the sweet sugarcane growing in the flooded rice fields. And I learned how to steal food, how to kill and eat snakes and rats, and how to find edible leaves in the jungle.

Once I stole some rice from the fields for my pregnant sister, who was starving. The Khmer Rouge guards caught me and beat me with an axe. Then they put me in jail where I had to endure cruel punishments.

A man who had grown up in my mother's village went to the sub-district chief, telling him that I was still very young and begging him to have me released. Two weeks later, I was let out of prison. The man who helped me was later accused of having relatives in enemy areas and has not been seen again. And my sister was taken to the local health clinic where she died.

When I caught his hand, the small robber brought back memories of how much I suffered under the Khmer Rouge. But catching his hand also made me think about why he was trying to break into my apartment: perhaps he was hungry.

Food became my god during the regime. I dreamed about all kinds of food all the time. It helped

me fall asleep and gave me the strength I needed to return to the fields to work each morning. Even today, when I see hungry children in the streets, it upsets me. I wonder why they cannot have enough to eat now that we no longer live under the Khmer Rouge.

So, when I saw myself in his hungry face, I released his hand, allowing him to escape. Had I pushed him a bit, he would have fallen to the ground from the three-story building and likely would have died.

But even though I released him, I still wanted to teach him that stealing is wrong. So I alerted the neighbors. Panicked and confused, the boy scrambled down the building and ran towards the fully lit streets where people were doing their morning exercises and security guards were chatting. One of the guards chased him, holding a big stick. Suddenly, people began shouting: "Arrest the boy, but do not beat him."

Despite their pleas, the security guards beat him severely, perhaps even harder than the Khmer Rouge had beaten me. Then they let him go.

It had taken me nearly 30 years to overcome the hunger, fear, and anger I felt during the Khmer Rouge regime and move on with my life. I wonder how long it will take that boy to forgive me.

I was one of the lucky ones. After the regime ended, I was able to cross the jungles and reach a refugee camp in Thailand, and eventually went on to the United States. There, I got a college education and had a comfortable life. And then I found my calling. The need to find answers to why I endured so much pain and lost so many members of my family during the Khmer Rouge regime brought me to my profession of researching Democratic Kampuchea.

But most of the survivors of the regime haven't been so lucky. It hasn't been easy for them to pick up the pieces and begin their lives again.

The Khmer Rouge wanted a purely peasant and agrarian revolution; they felt that anyone with a profession or an education, or anyone who spoke a

foreign language or lived in a city was suspect. They wanted to rid society of these "bad elements" and begin anew. So they emptied the cities, imprisoned or killed people who had worked for the previous regime, sealed off the borders, and dismantled the country's infrastructure: schools, place of worship, banks, businesses, post offices, everything.

Added to this decimation was the terrible death toll during DK. In percentage terms, Cambodia endured the worst genocide in history: between a quarter and a third of the population died in less than four years. The majority of the survivors were women. Without skills or educations, malnourished, and living in fear and political instability, they tried to overcome the terrible losses they had suffered and rebuild their lives and their country.

It has been an uphill battle ever since. Today, Cambodia remains one of the world's poorest countries, and with that poverty come anger, frustration, political and domestic violence, and petty crimes like that committed by the boy on my terrace. Parents often remove their children from school to have them help on family farms, and their lack of education only reinforces the cycle of poverty. It seems that history is repeating itself.

There are many ways to help people break this cycle, and the Documentation Center of Cambodia has tried a few of them. Our organization documents the history of Democratic Kampuchea in a variety of ways. The most conventional means we employ to do this is by collecting paper documents, photographs, films and recordings. These documents will be used in the upcoming tribunal, which will begin in 2007. Seeing justice done is one way people can overcome their anger and begin to come to terms with their past.

But only the most senior Khmer Rouge leaders will be tried. Many of the perpetrators, especially those who committed murders and other atrocities, are still living in the same villages where they committed their crimes. Thus, we have employed a number of less conventional means of helping people recall their pasts and begin to reconcile.

Our staff have interviewed literally thousands of

former Khmer Rouge cadres and victims of the regime. We publish their stories in our magazine and monographs to help survivors feel less alone and to learn that both victims and perpetrators suffered and lost loved ones during Democratic Kampuchea. The Center has also read such books as Anne Frank's Diary on the radio, to help people understand that Cambodia isn't the only place in the world where such atrocities occurred.

In addition, we have sponsored essay contests in which people write about their experiences during the regime. Giving people a voice helps them turn their anger and sadness into something concrete and of value. They often tell their stories as much for the next generation as for themselves.

The survivors of Democratic Kampuchea are concerned that young Cambodians learn from the mistakes of the past and not repeat them. However, many parents report that their children don't really believe what they tell them about their lives during the regime. The children simply cannot fathom that their parents went hungry, labored many hours in the fields, or lived in fear of their lives. Adding to this, because of a dispute over the way the country's high school textbooks portrayed the results of the 2003 elections, the government removed all the modern history sections from the texts, including the few paragraphs written on the Khmer Rouge regime. DC-Cam has addressed this problem by writing a history of Democratic Kampuchea for high school students. We will publish it next year.

In the past year, we have been experimenting with other ways to help people reconcile more directly. Under what we call our "Living Documents Project," we have been bringing survivors to visit two infamous places that have become emblems of the regime: the killing fields of Choeung Ek and the notorious Tuol Sleng Prison, where only about 12 of over 14,000 inmates survived. This has been an emotional undertaking for the over 500 people we bring to visit these sites each month, but many of them have reported that they now realize how widespread the suffering was, and that they were not alone.

In some cases, both victims and perpetrators

have visited the sites for the first time. Even though they may have lived in the same village all their lives, these two groups have avoided each other for decades. But when thrust together on the tours, they began talking and coming to some understanding.

In September 2005, we organized a trip to several Khmer Rouge prisons and mass graves for 50 former perpetrators and survivors. Our aim was to see whether both sides could jointly acknowledge the truth about what happened during the Khmer Rouge regime. The results were encouraging and one former perpetrator submitted an essay to our center about his need to reconcile. The event was covered by the local and international press, which helped stimulate interest in this idea.

Last, we have been working with the Transcultural Psychosocial Organization on the Victims of Torture Project to help survivors of the regime - both victims and perpetrators - who are suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder. This has been no small task, as about three-quarters of the survivors of Democratic Kampuchea are thought to suffer from PTSD, while Cambodia has only about 20 trained psychologists. DC-Cam staff identify PTSD victims, who then receive counseling.

People are helped to see that the anxiety, sleeplessness, anger and other symptoms they experience are the result of the trauma they suffered 30 years ago.

They receive counseling in groups where they can be open about their trauma, and learn breathing and other relaxation techniques based on Buddhist traditions.

As we move to take this program nationwide in the coming years, we also plan to directly address one of the root causes of their problems: the poverty that is a legacy of the Khmer Rouge regime and remains endemic in Cambodia today. By helping create income-earning activities, we hope that people like the young robber who crossed my balcony that night will have more choices in life and that his and other Cambodian families can begin to reconcile with their pasts.

Youk Chhang is Editor-in-Chief and Publisher of Searching for the Truth.



AN INTERVIEW WITH THE DIRECTOR OF THE DOCUMENTATION CENTER OF CAMBODIA

Over the years you have managed to collect thousands of documents and individual stories on the genocide in Cambodia. What challenges and difficulties did you encounter in the process?

The Documentation Center of Cambodia began as a field office of Yale University in 1995. Our budget for collecting documentation was \$25 a month. Two years later, when we became an independent Cambodian research center, we had 1,700 pages of documents and a database structure.

We worked hard and cultivated good relationships with the government by developing a reputation for objectivity. Thus, we were able to acquire documents like cadre biographies from different sources in the government, private individuals and other institutions. Today, we have over 600,000 documents; virtually all of them are primary except for photographs from American human rights activist David Hawke, who visited Cambodia shortly after the Khmer Rouge were driven from power. We have always been straightforward

in crediting our sources and careful in the preservation of documents, which has helped us enlarge our collection over the years.

Individual Cambodians have also been very generous in sharing documentary materials with us, particularly photographs taken before and during the regime. We are also continually gathering secondary data, mainly through interviews.

It has been a little more difficult to obtain documents from abroad. We have been approached by a number of individuals who have tried to sell documents to us, but we never pay. If others also don't pay, they may see that there is no monetary reward for continuing to hold these documents. We hope they will eventually do the right thing and give them to our center or another organization that will protect them.

Other organizations have made the mistake of letting original documents out of the country for their "protection." It has then been very difficult to get them back. We have put pressure on individuals, companies, academic institutions, and even governments to return documents from Democratic Kampuchea to Cambodia, their rightful owner. We have had some success in this regard and will continue to work to have the documents returned.

Along with documenting the crimes of the Khmer Rouge regime, you are conducting numerous other public outreach and education projects, including film productions, radio programs, and exhibitions. How satisfied are you about the extent to which you have been able to reach different segments of the Cambodian population?

I am very satisfied with our ability to reach the survivors of Democratic Kampuchea. They have been very receptive to our work and appreciative of what we are doing. Every month we receive letters of encouragement and thanks from Cambodians at home and abroad. And I've found that as the trials of senior Khmer Rouge leaders are approaching, their interest is increasing, not only in the legal process itself, but also in sharing their experiences during the regime.

Of course, there are those who have not been

happy with the work we are doing, and some people at home and abroad have been very critical of our work. In the past, we have received anonymous threats from some of these people. Although we don't take these threats lightly, we have not let them deter us.

What I'm more concerned with now is the generations who have grown up after the Khmer Rouge. Their parents have told them about their lives under Democratic Kampuchea many times, especially their sufferings. But many parents have told us that their children aren't really interested and often don't believe they could have been so hungry, made so many personal sacrifices, or that so many people died.

This has been a big challenge and we're trying to address it in two ways. First, our center has brought in many university students who volunteer to go out to the provinces and dispense information on Democratic Kampuchea, the tribunal, and DC-Cam. We give them training and let them talk to villagers directly and record their interviews. These students have become excited about what they are doing and we can see their interest in their country's history growing day by day.

Second, we have recently completed a history text on Democratic Kampuchea for high school students with sponsorship from the US National Endowment for Democracy. It is the first such text written for this age group by a Cambodian, which we feel is very important. Right now, the textbooks don't even contain a sentence on the regime, and many teachers lack a source they can go to for answers when their students are curious. We hope that the text will be published soon; if the government doesn't agree to publish it, DC-Cam will print and distribute it free throughout the country.

After reading some of the interviews on your database, it becomes clear that people do not remember certain names, dates, and times, or are hesitant to discuss certain things.

You're right; it's very difficult for people to remember the specifics of events that happened 30 years ago, and the details are often lost over time. Still, the emotion remains, and survivors' accounts of life under the regime are remarkably consistent.

When people are hesitant to discuss certain events, we can go in one of two directions, depending on the person and the situation. On the one hand, if the person is obviously distressed or clearly doesn't want to talk about something, we never force them. Our researchers are also trained not to ask leading questions that make people say things they don't mean, or that trap them into answering when they would rather not.

On the other hand, if we feel people want to open up to us, we might change the subject for a while so they can talk about things they feel more comfortable with. For example, all survivors talk about food; it's something that gives us a safe and common ground. Later, we would come back to the subject we hope the person will speak about.

In some cases, it takes more time to gain their trust. In one area which is a former Khmer Rouge stronghold, people were very hesitant to talk to us. The area was remote and visiting family members had a difficult time finding the villages. So we did a simple thing: we erected signs giving directions to the villages. After several visits, the former cadres began to trust us and became more open.

In other cases, if a person is being interviewed on a sensitive subject such as rape, we might ask them if they would like to speak only with a senior woman on our staff or only in private.

How do you encourage honest participation, particularly by the perpetrators?

People worldwide know the difference between right and wrong, but most even those who only occasionally do bad things are hesitant to discuss their bad actions openly. This is only human nature. They are afraid of the consequences, either in this life or the next. So, the best we can do is to be honest with them, and respectful.

How and to what extent do you verify the information you receive from victims through oral testimony?

Our center is not a legal body, so we don't attempt to verify whether or not the victims are telling the truth. We are oral historians and documentarians; we see our job as being to record history from all perspectives.

Sometimes, when we publish the stories of victims - either from interviews or by constructing a person's story through historical records - other Cambodians write in to set the record straight and we publish these stories also. But more often than not, the oral history provided by survivors has a positive effect: it increases both knowledge and understanding.

Because perpetrators and victims live side-by-side, how do your projects influence reconciliation within the society?

This is a difficult situation for everyone concerned, but we are beginning to see progress. For example, we recently completed the pilot phase of a project to help both victims and perpetrators - and more often than not, the perpetrators were also victims - to deal with their trauma. Our partner, the Transcultural Psychosocial Organization (TPO) of Cambodia, held group therapy sessions in which both victims and perpetrators discussed their lives during the regime and came to understand each other better (counseling is still in a nascent stage in Cambodia, which has only about 20 trained psychiatrists, and some of the project's clients have reported being able to sleep through the night for the first time in 25 years as a result of project assistance). The project's success has also been a factor in encouraging others to come forward and share their experiences.

We have also brought together both victims and perpetrators on trips to Phnom Penh to visit the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (the ECCC, popularly known as the Khmer Rouge Tribunal). One tour brought together a man who had been a guard at Kraing Ta Chan prison during Democratic Kampuchea with the son of the man he had taken to be executed. They lived in the same village, and the son had long feared the former perpetrator, who often threatened him. During the trip, they slept in the same room. Initially, they were reluctant to stay together, but began talking and now report that they are beginning to understand one another and now get along well.

Since you are located in the capital city of Phnom Penh, how do you reach out to people living in the other provinces? Do they have Internet access to view

information, such as bibliographic and biographic databases that are available online?

Communications aren't always easy in Cambodia, especially in the countryside, where most people don't have access to books, newspapers, magazines, or television. The Internet is generally only found in provincial towns. If people do have access to these forms of communication, they can't afford them or cannot read. So, we have brought information to them in a variety of ways. We publish a magazine every month that our center and other NGOs in Cambodia distribute to every district and sub-district office in the country. We also have weekly radio programs that reach all or parts of several provinces.

And while we have always sent teams out to the villages to conduct interviews with former Khmer Rouge cadres, more recently, we have made major efforts to reach the victims as well. As soon as the government and UN began establishing the tribunal office, we started sending teams to villages to show films on the regime, hold discussions on tribunal developments, give people a chance to tell their personal stories, and ask for information on their loved ones who disappeared during the regime.

Last, most people in the countryside cannot afford to come to Phnom Penh. Because the Royal Government and UN haven't announced any plans yet on how they will bring news about the trials to the people, we have decided to bring the people to them. In February of this year, we began holding two pre-trial observation tours each month for villagers, commune chiefs, students, and Buddhist nuns. During their three days in Phnom Penh, they visit the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, the Choeung Ek mass grave site, and the ECCC. At the ECCC, they meet with UN and Royal Government of Cambodia officials who are working with the ECCC and explain the tribunal and answer their questions. In the first half of the year, over 3,000 people have participated in these tours. When the trials begin, we plan to bring villagers from all over Cambodia to attend a week of a trial. They will then return to their villages and hold discussions on what they saw and learned. Our staff will film these "village forums"

and show them in villages where no one was able to attend a tour. In this way, we hope that justice in Cambodia will become a participatory process.

Given that the nature of your work is partly to collect information that can be useful to the upcoming tribunal, how do you see the organization evolving after the tribunal takes place?

We at the Documentation Center have also had to ask ourselves about our role after the trials end. By making the Center a permanent presence in Cambodia, the documentary materials we have collected would continue to serve as a valuable repository of information for scholars, from both Cambodia and abroad.

In addition to our documentation role, the permanent center serve as an educational institution, providing courses to Cambodian and international students in such areas as genocide education, history, law, and peace and reconciliation studies. It would also hold museum-quality exhibition space for photographic, art and other displays related to modern Cambodian history and contemporary policy. This space would be open to the public.

We also plan to undertake counseling services, not only for survivors of Cambodia's genocide, but also for their families, who often experience the negative effects of the Khmer Rouge's legacy: trauma, anger, frustration, and violence that plagues our society today. In this vein, we would develop concrete activities to deal with this legacy, especially those designed to alleviate poverty.

The National Endowment for Democracy asked these questions of Mr. Chhang.

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MIL SOVAN, RECEPTIONIST IN THE ROYAL PALACE

Confession Summary

Sophary Noy

Mil Sovan aka Nup was born in Prek Tatun village, Svay Po commune, Sangke district, Battambang province. Sovan entered a pagoda school in Battambang at the age of five. In 1964, he earned a secondary education certificate and then continued studying at the Faculty of Science in Phnom Penh. In 1965, Sovan passed the exam to study at the Faculty of Pedagogy. Three months later, he was awarded a scholarship to study engineering in the Soviet Union.

Study in the Soviet Union

In November 1965, Sovan left Cambodia with twelve other students. When he arrived in the Soviet Union, he was welcomed by other overseas Khmer students including Ieng Seiha, Hakk Seang Lay Ny, Krin Lean, Tann Chhai Heng and Hai Kim Seang. They instructed Sovan to support the Soviet Union's policy of subordinating smaller and weaker countries to its power and ideology. Sovan was then sent to study Marxism and Leninism as part of a secret group. He studied in the same classroom as Krin Lean, one of his closest friends.

In 1966, Krin Lean introduced Sovan to Boris Lapsos, who recruited him to join the KGB. Sovan was assigned to contact Khmer students and convince them to study in the Soviet Union. The goal was to extend the KGB's political influence in the Khmer Students Associations overseas, especially in Eastern Europe.

In 1967, Sovan and Krin Lean traveled to East Germany and Czechoslovakia to make contact with the students there and to obtain information on the situation abroad.

During his 1968 school break, Sovan organized a trip for the students to the Black Sea in an attempt to expand and strengthen connections with all Khmer students living in the Soviet Union. He also launched an investigation into the Cambodian resistance movement, and spoke critically of the monarchy in Cambodia to the students who studied abroad.

After the 1970 coup that toppled King Sihanouk, Sovan worked closely with Boris Lapsos, planning against the Kampuchean revolution. He spied on the National United Front of Kampuchea in Beijing through Hakk Seang Lay Ny and Krin Lean.

During 1971-72, Lam Virey, Uk Sok and Sovan created propaganda that claimed the Soviet Union assisted the Kampuchean revolution using Vietnam and that the Soviet Union supported the resistance movement of Kampuchea.

Activities in Beijing

In April 1973, Sovan left Moscow for Beijing to join the National United Front of Kampuchea (NUFK). There he had three assignments: 1) to break the Front's internal affairs; 2) to separate King Sihanouk from the Front in order to prevent the expansion of the revolutionary organization; and 3) to try to penetrate the revolutionary line.

Sovan was under the control of Hakk Seang Lay Ny, an under-secretary of state of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and a member of the Committee of the National United Front of Kampuchea in Beijing. Hakk Seang Lay Ny often explained the Front's internal situation to Sovan, such as the resignation of King Sihanouk's Front leader and divisions among the King Sihanouk Group, Pen Nut Group and Group in France. In addition, Hakk Seang Lay Ny introduced Sovan to Chuon Praseth, minister of Coordinating Ministry, and Suong Sikoeun, who was an AKE reporter and member of the Committee of the National United Front of Kampuchea. Sovan's role was to incite people against the revolution; to achieve this goal, Sovan requested that the *Angkar* give him permission to enter the liberated regions in Cambodia.

Return to Kampuchea

In May 1974, the *Angkar* allowed Sovan to go to the liberated regions with Hakk Seang Lay Ny, Tun Chotsirin, Suong Sikoeun, and Uk Sok. Before arriving

in Cambodia, they stayed in Hanoi, Vietnam, for a period. The *Angkar* introduced those five people to the CT70 Office, a secret radio station of the National United Front of Kampuchea.

When he arrived in Office CT70, Sovan met Puch Makaborei, Heng Pich, and Sieng Hour Long, who also left the office for the liberated regions in Cambodia. They told Sovan to temper himself and to follow the revolutionary line. Although Sovan did not directly contact Vietnam, he connected with Siv, the office chief, and Chann, the office secretary. Sovan reported to them that King Sihanouk no longer felt confident about the leaders of the resistance movement. At the time, Siv and Chann also encouraged King Sihanouk not to be confident in the movement's leadership and convinced him to join coordinating talks. They then abandoned the office because the *Angkar* issued a decision to destroy Cambodian bases in the north of Vietnam.

The Job of Receptionists for Foreigners

In May 1975, Sovan arrived in Phnom Penh. He was assigned the task of welcoming Chinese guests at the Ministry of Defense. Later, the *Angkar* sent him to oversee a house for foreign guests near Independence Monument. Sovan also joined King Sihanouk's delegation on visits to various countries. When he returned, the *Angkar* assigned Sovan to serve King Sihanouk in the Royal Palace in Phnom Penh.

Sovan was assigned five tasks by the KGB: 1) to join the *Angkar* and have a firm grip on the Cambodian revolutionary organization's political line and to agitate in the party; 2) to expand forces; 3) to prevent and interrupt the policy of expanding the revolutionary organization on the international stage; 4) to have a firm grip on the *Angkar's* position and strategies towards King Sihanouk because the Soviet Union and Vietnam wanted to convince King Sihanouk to oppose the revolution of Kampuchea; and 5) to search for the old organizational lines.

While he was serving the Chinese guests, Sovan met Ieng Seiha at a reception for the Chinese. Sovan asked Seiha about his former classmates in the Soviet Union who worked together to support the KGB. Seiha told him that they had been separated and sent

to various regions when the *Angkar* evacuated people from Phnom Penh.

Sovan again met Krin Lean when Krin Lean sent forces to make preparations for warmly welcoming some Chinese technicians who had just arrived. Sovan reported to him on the KGB's line. Through Krin Lean, Sovan learned about some organizations in the B-1 Ministry (Ministry of Foreign Affairs). The *Angkar* soon demoted Krin Lean from the position of team leader to reception because people were dissatisfied with his leadership.

Later, the *Angkar* assigned the two men to work elsewhere. Sovan had to greet guests with Heng Pich, Sieng Hour Long and Long Norin. His main activities were to spy on the activities of foreigners who were coming and going (at the time the visitors were Koreans and Vietnamese) and on King Sihanouk's return to Cambodia.

In early September 1975, King Sihanouk came to Cambodia with some members of the Front. Sovan was assigned to serve drinks to the King during his visits. At the end of the month, he traveled with King Sihanouk's delegation to Beijing. The King and some members of the Front then went on to join the UN General Assembly in New York. While there, Sovan met Prum Phoeun and Chea Khan, and described Cambodia's situation after liberation to them.

Sovan then visited Yugoslavia, where he contacted the diplomat Tann Chhai Heng. After describing the situation in Cambodia, Sovan persuaded Tann Chhai Heng and Thach Suong to come back to Cambodia. Sovan also sent a greeting card through Prince Norin Dara Pong to Lam Virey, who was living in the Soviet Union. In the card, Sovan described the *Angkar's* policy of evacuating people from Phnom Penh, closing the markets, and eliminating money.

At the end of December 1975, Sovan returned to Cambodia with King Sihanouk. Then, he began to spy in various places and work for his network. Sovan knew that some people were sent to live in rural regions while others remained in Phnom Penh. During that time, Sovan could only make contact with Hakk Sean Lay Ny, Heng Pich, and Sieng Hour Long. For reasons of secrecy, Hakk Sean Lay Ny continued their contact via

the Vietnamese, Yugoslavian and Romanian embassies.

Having lived in the Royal Palace, Sovan was able to keep track of King Sihanouk's activities from the time when he was head of state until his resignation. Sovan's speech and behavior influenced the *Angkar's* policy towards King Sihanouk in order to create conflict between them. In the meantime, Sovan tried to go along with the revolutionary line and convince others to expand the new force.

The Arrest and Confession

Sovan was arrested and sent to S-21 Office on January 4, 1977. There Neou Ny interrogated him six times. Sovan began writing his confession on January 9, 1977, and finished on January 22, 1977. Sovan described his work and traitorous plan, and clarified the activities of other people such as Chuon Praseth, Sarin Chhak and Suong Sikoeun. Sovan was killed on February 18, 1977.

Those Involved Sovan's Network

- ◆ Prum Phoeun, former student in the Soviet Union
- ◆ Chea Khan, former student in the Soviet Union
- ◆ Heng Pich, former student in the Soviet Union, B-1 Ministry, Preparation of State Buildings
- ◆ Uk Sok, Ministry of Public Works
- ◆ Lam Virey, student in the Soviet Union
- ◆ Puch Makaborei, Ministry of Mines
- ◆ Ieng Seiha, Ministry of Telecommunication, Railways
- ◆ Hakk Sean Lay Ny, Under-Secretary of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Protocol

- ◆ Krin Lean, Russei Keo Technical School
- ◆ Boris Lapsos, Soviet
- ◆ Tann Chhai Heng, Second Secretary of Yugoslavia
- ◆ Thach Suong, diplomatic staff member in Yugoslavia
- ◆ Hai Kim Seang, Second Diplomatic Secretary of Cuba
- ◆ Chuon Praseth, Comrade of Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- ◆ Suong Sikoeun, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Information
- ◆ Sieng Hour Long, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Air Attacks
- ◆ Siv, former chief of CT70 Office in Hanoi
- ◆ Chann, former secretary of CT70 Office in Hanoi
- ◆ Pen Thong An, living in the U.S.
- ◆ Men Moningam
- ◆ Ly Kim Pakk
- ◆ Tann Thanh, Khmer-Soviet Technical School
- ◆ Mean Bun Chhuoy, Tyre Factory, Takeo
- ◆ Chea Kim Thann, Phnom Penh Electricity
- ◆ Chum Saukan, Phnom Penh Electricity
- ◆ Long Norin, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- ◆ Hakk Pha Deth, 17-April Hospital, Children
- ◆ Bou Khin, Ministry of Public Affairs
- ◆ Uok Sakum, Ministry of Industry
- ◆ Srei Chan Thoeun, former student in the Soviet Union
- ◆ Mien, Military Cadre
- ◆ Soeun, Military Cadre
- ◆ Nai, Cadre of Economics
- ◆ Yeun, Cadre of Economics
- ◆ Sarin Chhak, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

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

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.

EANG SEIHA, A BRIDGE ENGINEER

Confession Summary

Khamboly Dy

Eang Seiha was a bridge engineer in the Soviet Union; he returned to Cambodia in August 1968. Before 1975, Seiha worked at the Cambodia Train Station and Cambodia Airline. After 1975, he was a technician at the Phnom Penh Train Unit. He was arrested and sent to Tuol Sleng (the central-level prison of the Khmer Rouge) in late 1976.

Eang Seiha was born in Kraing village, Prey Kabass district, Takeo province. He studied at O Tay High School, Takeo province. In 1955 after he failed grade 6, his mother took him to Phnom Penh and sponsored him to continue studying at Kampucha Both (a private high school in Phnom Penh). His teachers were Mey Man (mathematics), Hou Youn (ethics) and Ieng Sary (geography and history). Ieng Sary invited Seiha, Lao Chhin Hong and Vaoy Ho to his house west of the Prayouvong Pagoda. Ieng Sary told the students about the offensive remarks of the police and spies, and the pressure of the powerful people on the innocent people. Seiha and his friends often visited Ieng Sary, but stopped when Vaoy Ho told them people were spying on them.

In 1958, Seiha finished grade 3 at Sisowath High School. Also studying in his class was Pin Yathay [the author of the book *Stay Alive My Son*]. After class, he attended a general English course at the American Embassy. A year later, he obtained a secondary certificate and determined to study harder. In September, he entered grade 2 at Sisowath High School and sat next to Pin Yathay again. Seeing Pin Yathay studying hard to take a test for a baccalaureate, he asked his mother if he could continue studying.

In 1960, Seiha entered grade 1 at Sisowath High School. He studied with Vann Piny, Mean Bun Chhuoy, Chey Ret, Yong Sokhan, Khiev Vano and Pech Bun

Chhuoy. After earning a baccalaureate in 1961, he wanted to continue studying in France, but was not awarded a scholarship. The newspaper *Khmer Journalism* then announced that the Soviet Union would provide scholarships for five Cambodian students. He applied to the Ministry of National Education and won a scholarship to study in the Soviet Union. He left Cambodia in September 1961.

When he arrived in the Soviet Union, he was greeted by Men Samphav, the first deputy secretary of the Cambodian Embassy and also met other Cambodian students.

Political activities in the Soviet Union

In October Seiha attended a meeting to create a Khmer Students Association, but the meeting did not reach its goal because of many controversies and the absence of many students. A month later, another meeting was held and 41 students attended. Pen Thaong Ann was appointed head of the meeting. The idea was to set up a Khmer Students Association to facilitate living and encourage all students to study hard to serve their country. Finally, those attending decided to create a Khmer Students Association; the vote was 25 in favor, 12 against and 5 abstentions. The Association's logo was hands holding a fireball in front of Angkor Wat. The members of its Central Committee were Pen Thaong Ann (director), Kam Dan Ya (deputy director), Thach Suong (secretary), and Te Hean and Eang Seiha (finances). The dues for members were one rupee a month.

In June 1962, Seiha finished a Russian language course. In September he attended the first year of the Bridge and Road Construction School. One day Hakk Seang Lay Ny asked Seiha to visit his house to talk about his studies and life. He also mentioned that

Cambodia had corruption, bribes and brothels, and said that one day, the country would disappear from the world map. Lay Ny told Seiha to contact some students to talk about the country. Seiha then contacted Lao Chin Hong and Ching Kok Hour.

Lay Ny, Pen Thaong Ann, Men Monyngam, Thach Suong, Lao Chin Hong, Ching Kok Hour, Eang Seiha, Hakk Phadet, and Ing Vatt Chhiv had a secret meeting at the School of Energy. Lay Ny said that the US wanted to seize power in Southeast Asia by using Cambodia as its lever, and that China wanted to use Cambodia as a wall to protect itself from the invasion of the American imperialists. Only the Soviet Union unconditionally assisted Cambodia.

Lay Ny worked to convince the students to fight for the nation. He also advised them to learn Marxism and Leninism and to join the KGB. Pen Thaong Ann thought that his members' seats were kept in the Central Committee of the Khmer Students Association, so the Association could decide on its own activities. The students strongly believed that the Soviet Union could really deal with global issues.

Some students, including Seiha, joined the KGB. They often discussed Cambodian and international issues. To make sense of the situation in Cambodia, Seiha needed to read Khmer and French newspapers taken from Cambodia's Embassy in the Soviet Union.

In 1963, Seiha continued his studies in road construction and cars. That same year, Tik Chhai, Iem Chuo, Tann Chhai Heng, Hai Kim Sang, Krin Lean, Ty Yav, and Chann arrived in the Soviet Union. Seiha found rooms for them. He used that opportunity to determine their political stance and it was easy to convince them to become members. Six of them joined the Khmer Students Association.

In November 1963 Moscow Radio contacted the Khmer Students Association looking for a Khmer newscaster. The station would broadcast in Khmer every two days. At a group meeting, Lay Ny suggested that the Association agree to find a newscaster because it needed funds to publish a Khmer magazine and sponsor poor students. In addition to studying and

working at the radio station, Seiha, who was a member of the Committee of *Knowledge Magazine*, collected and published news with the director, Lay Ny.

In August 1965, Seiha visited his uncle, Sarin Chhak, Cambodia's ambassador to France. Before he left, he informed Lay Ny of the visit. Lay Ny sent a letter through him to Tauch Kamdoeun, the head of the Khmer Students Association in France, and another letter to Tann Liek Meng (an engineer from France who was married to a French woman).



Khmer Rouge cadres were working at the dam construction

After he a month in France, Seiha went to Czechoslovakia. In Prague, he met Pin Thon, Pin Tha, Aing Chihey, Long Narin, Srei Man, and Tiev In. On September 8, 1965, Seiha arrived back in Moscow.

In December 1967, Seiha earned the degree in bridge construction. Before he left, Seiha met Lay Ny to discuss the KGB's plans for Cambodia. Lay Ny assigned Seiha to find a place for secret meetings and printing documents to spur on the people's movement and students to fight against the government and

American imperialists. Lao Chin Hong used his house as the KGB headquarters. On January 24, 1968, Seiha arrived in Cambodia.

Arrival in Phnom Penh

Seiha spent three months looking for a job. However, he could not find one because the local authorities did not accept a certificate from abroad. In March 1968, he applied for a job with Pin Yathay, the personnel manager at the Public Ministry. As a probation staff member, he received a 6,000 riel salary. At that



time, former students from the Soviet Union set up an association called The Association of Former Soviet Union Students led by Pen Thaong Ann. Its stated objective was to find jobs for the engineers who had just graduated. But its secret agenda was to gather forces to fight against the Khmer Rouge revolution.

The government immediately broadcast that the Red students from the Soviet Union were acting against the government, including Pen Thaong Ann, Men Monyngam, Ing Vatt Chhiv and Eang Seiha. Seiha

then hid in the barracks of his brother, Captain Eang Chou. A month later, the government announced that all Red students would be granted amnesty, so Seiha came out of hiding and applied to the Public Ministry. He had to design a plan to construct railways, roads and bridges.

After the 1970 coup, Seiha began work; soldiers from the Public Ministry repaired the bridges damaged by the Khmer Rouge. In November, the Khmer Engineers Association was created and included Phlek Chhat (director), Chhut Chhoeu (deputy director), Pin Yathay (secretary), In Nhil and Khuon Chhiek (finance). Pen Thaong Ann called former members of the students association from the Soviet Union to join the Cambodian Engineers Association so they could gather forces to sabotage the Khmer Rouge.

In 1971 Seiha married Khin Chan Che Thao. They had a daughter. His family had a poor standard of living because Seiha's salary was low while the prices of goods were high.

CIA Membership

Seiha joined the CIA in May 1970. He was brought in by Seng Kim Chun and accepted by In Nhil. His duty was to recruit new engineers and students from the Cambodian Engineers Association into the CIA, including Sao Phai, Yong Sokhom, Chhiev Vano, Sarin Kraiporn, Long Tann Sitha and Tao Kim Hour. He also spied on the Khmer Rouge's rebellion against the government of the Khmer Republic. In June 1971, In Nhil gave Seiha a new plan to arrest all the Khmer Rouge in Phnom Penh by starting with rail workers' rebellions and student demonstrations for better wages.

Seiha contacted the Khmer Rouge to have his members join them to spy on the revolution. In November 1973, Director In Nhil sent Seiha and Khiev Vano to attend railway training in India. Seiha used that opportunity to induce Khiev Vano to join the CIA. Between September and December 1974, In Nhil sent Seiha to study rail techniques in Japan. In 1974, the situation was becoming more tense and Seiha's CIA spies did little. Realizing how serious the situation was, Seiha sent his wife and three-year-old daughter,

Eang Chenda, to France.

Early in 1975, In Nhil told the CIA members to prepare for losing the war. A meeting was held to plan for activities after the war (spying on the revolution and destroying the economy by stopping factories, trains, and transportation).

April 17, 1975

On April 17, 1975 the tanks of the Kampuchean revolutionary army approached Phnom Penh, announcing that the city's inhabitants must pile all their weapons in the street. Seiha brought his guns and grenades out and put them in the street as other people did. But, he hid a gun and four grenades in front of his house. The East Zone army allowed Seiha and Cheav Phean (a civil air engineer) to take some Honda motorbikes and cars to Dei Et, National Road 1. The next morning, Seiha wanted to talk with his group members about the evacuation, but was forced to leave Phnom Penh via National Road 5. On April 28, the *Angkar's* representative, Tasat, allowed Seiha to work on bridge and road repair units at Prek Kruos, Prek Kdam, Prek Peamsatha and Prek Taten.

In June, Seiha was sent to repair railways under comrade Braing, chief, and comrade Saing, deputy chief. There he met Tuon Sokphalla and Mel Savan. Braing allowed him to build Stung Tauch bridge along National Road 3. On the way Seiha saw Lay Ny driving a motorbike. They made an appointment to discuss the KGB plans. Lay Ny, Hakk Phadet and Krin Lean were also present. The five of them decided to connect with others to destroy the revolution. The plan was difficult to implement because the members were sent to different regions. A few days later, Braing assigned Seiha to open two bridge construction sites: Daem Russei and Slakou.

In December 1975 The *Angkar* sent Seiha to link the railway from Kampot station to Chakrei Ting cement factory. There, he and one of his friends destroyed the pipelines, machines and some motors. In January 1976, Seiha led the construction of a new line of the Phnom Penh-Kampong Som railway. During construction, Seiha persuaded Chea, Uon,

Phou, Pheng and Long to destroy two motors.

Seiha was given a car and twelve workers. He did everything he could to slow down the construction. One day, Seiha and Doeun checked the construction sites in Pich Nil. Because Doeun drove very fast, the car ran into Pich Nil valley. Seiha's right hand was broken. He stayed at the P-17 hospital (17-April hospital). After he recovered, he was made responsible for train construction.

In September 1976 Seiha returned to his former train workshop in Phnom Penh. He was assigned to collect materials for a stone-breaking machine. At the workshop, he met Ly Kim Pakk, Tim and Tann Hy. Seiha gave them a plan to agitate workers not to work much, and often ruined tractors. In October, Seiha attended a meeting with Lay Ny (the head of the meeting), Krin Lean, Mel Sovan and Hakk Phadet to report on their activities. They also planned to destroy the revolution.

In December 1976 Seiha set a printing machine on fire to stop the bridge and road construction. For that reason, The *Angkar* sent him to the S-21 Office on December 16, 1976. Seiha was interrogated twice. His first 171-page confession was written on January 3, 1977; he was interrogated by Met. The second 172-page confession was made on February 16, 1977. At the end of the confessions was a list of 80 people involved in treacherous acts against the revolution. Seiha was killed on June 20, 1977.

List of those involved in the confessions

◆Hakk Sieng Lay Ny ◆ Hakk Phadet ◆ Krin Lean ◆ Puch Meakh Borei ◆ Ing Pich ◆ Ly Kim Pakk ◆ Hakk Siekkry ◆ Tat Vanny ◆ Pen Thaong Ann ◆ Men Bun Chhuoy ◆ Um Sinoeun ◆ Men Monyngam ◆ Ing Vatchhiv ◆ Lao Chin Hong ◆ In Nhil ◆ Kuon Chhiek ◆ Pin Thon ◆ Seng Kim Chun ◆ Chhieng Sa-Im ◆ Thai Sovantha ◆ Pin Yathay ◆ Phlek Chhat ◆ Un Haing Kaing ◆ Ing Krapumphkar ◆ Chhut Chhoeu ◆ Lik Hour ◆ Khiev Vano ◆ Sarin Krai Porn ◆ Khuon Khunneay ◆ Mao Kalong ◆ Ke Sun Hour, etc.

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HENG SONG HY, STUDENT IN FRANCE

Confession Summary

Sophal Ly

Heng Song Hy aka Kea, age 28, was born in Suong sub-district, Tbong Khmum district, Kampong Cham province. Hy had liked studying politics. After obtaining a degree in advanced pedagogy, he was awarded a scholarship to study in France for two years. In May 1975 Hy returned to Cambodia to “conceal himself inside the revolution in order to save the country.” He came under increasing pressure from the *Angkar* until he was arrested in October 1976.

Heng Song Hy had been interested in King Sihanouk’s policies since he was 17 years old. He liked King Sihanouk’s speeches that were aired on the radio. He sharpened his ideology to serve the King when he obtained a certificate of higher education. After that, he trained himself to hate the Khmer Rouge. By 1976, he had come into close contact with Im Bun Hort, Yai Hao Meng and Cheap Chheng Hort, a police inspector.

After propagandizing against the Khmer Rouge at the Pok Sam-An and In Tam secondary school, Hy and his three friends joined an anti-Khmer Rouge demonstration with other students from Suong secondary school. Hy announced over a loudspeaker that people should recognize the Khmer Rouge’s mistakes and support the King with their hearts. Then, Professor Kong Noeun told him that the Khmer Rouge were traitors. Hy and his friends often verbally attacked professors who were sympathetic towards the Khmer Rouge.

Hy graduated from high school in 1966. He and his three friends continued to study in Kampong Cham. At that time, Hy had his own spiritual indoctrination via newspapers and radios, although he was busy with his studies. In 1967, all four passed their baccalaureate 1 exams.

The war also came to Tbaong Khmum district at

that time. Almost every night, Hy saw many people dead and wounded along the road from Krek to Metom districts, which had been raided by the Khmer Rouge. This made him even angrier with the Khmer Rouge. So he participated in other activities against the Khmer Rouge, producing banners to communicate with Eat Chan, first lieutenant in the military police, Hean Vutha and Ly Heng, military police officers, and Sam Nol, a spy in the revolutionary army.

In 1968, Hy obtained a baccalaureate and continued his first-year study at the Faculty of Science in Phnom Penh. The Khmer Rouge army took strong actions in Samlot district and other areas throughout the country. Lon Nol planned to provide undergraduate students with two weeks of military training, so Hy took part. After the training was finished, Samdech Pen Nut and Lon Nol hosted a theatrical performance which contained propaganda against the Khmer Rouge and for King Sihanouk, who wanted to resign his position as head of state. A few days later, the students held a march in support of the King Sihanouk to continue as head of state.

In 1969, Hy changed his pro-Sihanouk attitude because he saw that the King’s politics turned to support the Viet Cong. At that time, the Viet Cong freely emigrated to Cambodia. The King was also providing food and materials assistance for the Viet Cong until it made the people struggle to buy rice at the markets because of the hearsay that the King supplied the Viet Cong with food. Upon learning about this corruption, Hy understood that the King’s policy was different from that of the Lon Nol government, which was working hard to deal with the nation’s problems. Hy and some professors such as Long Botta, Khoe Chiev, Sou Khim, and Tann Bunsuor, completely agreed to support the Government of National Salvation. Pen

Manil, Kit Chea, Bou Tim, and Song Hy worked with the Phnom Penh-based Students Association in favor of the Government of National Salvation.

On the day of the coup (March 18, 1970), Hy actively participated in a riot in support of its leaders Lon Nol, Srimatak, and In Tam. Hy suggested that March 18, 1970 was the day on which Cambodia escaped from feudalism and brought freedom to the Cambodian people. In subsequent meetings, Song Hy became more interested in the new government and also more connected with Long Botta, Tann Bunsour, Sou Khim, Khoe Chiev, Cheav Sean Lean, Ok Vanndet, Phann Buoyhakk, and some students such as Pen Manil, Seng Sitha, Eng Menghun, Eng Mengheang, Miech Suon, Sary Siphann, Ky Phatt, Ny Chhengorn and San Phat.

But later, he became disappointed when the rural people staged a demonstration in favor of King Sihanouk. When the US came into Cambodia, Hy felt they would find justice for the country.

Totally believing in the Khmer Republic, Hy decided to join CIA in April 1970 through Long Botta. Hy attended all CIA activities such as political training to strengthen nationalism and pro-Khmer Republic riots.

In 1971 Hy was a fourth-year student of advanced pedagogy. He and his two friends, Bou Nim and Pen Manil, continued their political activities at the Advanced Pedagogical School, where Botta was a CIA chief. Hy held school meetings and spread propaganda by explaining to the students how they could prepare themselves to become members of the Khmer Social and Republic Party. Hy spread propaganda blaming the Khmer Rouge for atrocities. In addition, he found three students named Khun Srun, Sun Dara and Tep Sun, who were working undercover against the Khmer Republic. They were sent to Long Botta, who had them interrogated in prison. Hy also wrote a report that led to the arrest of Sokh Khy, Lim Nea and Vann Sar.

In 1972, there was a presidential election and Hy was a second deputy chief of the Advanced Pedagogical School. Hy strongly supported Lon Nol's candidacy. He spied on the Democratic Party supported by In Tam, and he always reported on its activities to the Khmer

Republic Party.

In 1973 Hy was given a scholarship to study in France. Immediately after arriving in France, Phann Buoy Hakk, who was responsible for students and also the CIA in the Cambodian Embassy in France, asked Hy to stay in Nancy, where many Cambodian students were studying. Furthermore, those students supported the Khmer Republic.

In 1974, Hy was appointed as general secretary of the Students Association in Nancy after Chey Soeun. Politically, Hy was close friends with Sary Siphann, Ky Phat, Miech Suon, Ho Phairot, Leang Lim Heng and Kaet Savat. Hy acted against the National United Front of Kampuchea in France and also wrote some articles condemning the Khmer Rouge and King Sihanouk for leading the country into a holocaust and for conspiring with Vietnam to kill their own people.

To promote the Khmer Republic, Hy held a Khmer traditional theatrical performance and invited foreigners to come. Hy strongly opposed the Front's policy by accusing of them being under Ho Chi Minh and Mao Zedong. When he heard that bombs were being dropped on Phnom Penh, he prodded the members to condemn the Khmer Rouge and collected funds for humanitarian assistance for the victims in Phnom Penh. And, he sent a petition asking the UN for negotiations between the Khmer Republic and the Khmer Rouge for an end to the Cambodian war. In August, he was allowed to conduct a practicum in Canada, where he met many Khmer students. He used that opportunity to condemn the atrocities of the Khmer Rouge.

In 1975, Hy was elected chief of the Students Association. Song Hy had close connections with Keng Vannsakk, Blong Many and Hong Hoeung Doeung, who was an ambassador in Spain. A month later, he resigned from his position so he could fight against the Khmer Rouge. His resignation surprised the members of the Association. Hy had postponed his activities until April 17, 1975.

In early 1975, Keng Vannsakk informed him to be ready to return to Cambodia to conceal himself

inside the revolutionary line. On December 17, Hy arrived in Cambodia. When he landed at Pochentong Airport, he was amazed to see the city quiet. The *Angkar* brought him to stay at a former Soviet professor's house for five months.

In 1976, Hy was told to fill out his background application to the *Angkar*. In his biography, he confessed that he had a relationship with only the non-Khmer Rouge and those who opposed the *Angkar*. Secretly, he often contacted Bun Chan Serei (France) to talk about his plan. Next, he was sent to the Taly cooperative for a month. There, he met Dik Yongcheat, Chaing Sengnong, Nop Sarum, Chhouk Sakun and Vong Mongsreng. Through his some friends who had just come from France, Hy knew that the French newspapers said that the *Angkar* had arrested many intellectuals and sent them to be killed. Then, Hy was sent to Prek Russei and always got into arguments there so he could make the office environment worse. Hy and his friends always discussed Cambodia's future.

Hy remained dissatisfied with communism and ready to fight against the *Angkar* so freedom would return. He regretted that he had fallen into the Khmer Rouge's trap; he believed that the *Angkar* would learn of his CIA identity. Finally, he was arrested on October 12, 1976 in Prek Russei and killed on January 28, 1977. He was interrogated 11 times by Noeu Ny.

His relatives

His father was Heng Khuong, and his mother Sam Neang.

Song Ly was the oldest male of seven siblings and worked at Khmer Tela Gas station. Heng Kim Han, whose husband was Phok Sambat, was a teacher in Kampong Cham. Heng Song Chrea was a teacher in Kampong Cham. His parents took care of his three other siblings.

Hy had two uncles. Kang Ly Horng was a parliamentarian and later a major in the Lon Nol regime. You Tai-ong was a professor in Kampong Cham.

His cousin Chaing Seang Long was an engineer in the Ministry of Public Works, and his cousin Chhun Hour was an engineer at the Mekong International Office.

His connections

"I would like to inform the Angkar of traitors."

Keng Vannsakk, born in Kampong Cham, was an ambassador in France. Chey Soeun, born in Prek Veng, was a student in France. Ho Phairat, born in Battambang, was a student in France. Leang Limheng, born in Kampong Cham, was a student in France. Kaey Savat, born in Phnom Penh, was a student in France. Long Botta, born in Phnom Penh, was a professor. Cheav Seang Lean, born in Phnom Penh, was a professor. Tann Bunsour, born in Kandal, was a professor. Sou Khim, born in Kandal, was a professor. Khoeh Chiev, born in Siem Reap, was a professor.

Talai village: Kong Bunchanserei, born in Kandal, was a half major. Sokha, born in Takeo, was a first lieutenant. Tol, born in Kampong Chhnang, was a captain. Ok Chy, born in Battambang, was a first lieutenant. Phanh, born in Kampuchea Krom, was a first lieutenant. Tann Chhun Meng, born in Kandal, was a second lieutenant. Sary Siphann and Ky Phatt, born in Phnom Penh, were students.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs: Keat Chhon, born in Kampong Cham, was a minister. In Sopheap, born in Kratie, was a student. Seang Poase, born in Kandal, was a governor of the Land Survey. Hoa Phin, born in Kandal, was a student. Ly Hauv, born in Kandal, was a student. Lim Metta, born in Battambang, was a student.

The Army: You Kim Yeat, born in Kampong Cham, was a professor. Yip Chantha, born in Phnom Penh, was a student. Ly Dara, born in Phnom Penh, was a student. Sam Nol, born in Kampong Cham, was a student. Ly Pheav, born in Kampong Cham, was a student. Kang Sothea, born in Battambang, was a student.

In the factory: Heng Ka-aun, born in Kampong Cham, was a student. Eng Menghun, born in Kampong Cham, was a student. Eng Mengheang, born in Kampong Cham, was a student. Seang Poakheang, born in Kandal, was an agricultural chief. Pen Manil, born in Kandal, was a professor. Seng Sitha, born in Battambang, was a professor.

Sophal Ly is a staff writer for Searching for the Truth.

VICTIMS PARTICIPATION: THE 8TH ECCC TOUR

Dacil Q. Keo

On September 25th and 26th, 510 village leaders and select villagers (mostly interviewees of DC-Cam's Public Accountability project) from across Cambodia participated in the 8th ECCC Tour conducted and sponsored by DC-Cam in which participants visited important genocide commemoration sites and met with top ECCC officials. Overall the tour was quite successful; many villagers were stunned and moved by what they saw at the Toul Sleng Genocide Museum and Cheung Ek mass grave and many asked questions during the forum session with ECCC Press Officer Reach Sambath and top ECCC officials Sean Visoth (Director of ECCC) and Michelle Lee (Deputy Director of ECCC) and in another Q&A session with Chief of Legislation Committee of the National Assembly, Monh Saphan. This tour brought together villagers from the nine provinces of Battambang (43 villagers), Kampong Cham (71 villagers), Kampong Speu (34), Kampong Thom (129), Kampot (32), Prey Veng (31), Ratanak Kiri (3), Svay Rieng (16), and Takeo (151) and allowed them to share their memories and stories with one another in addition to visiting the important sites. In total, there were 354 men and 156 women who participated. The majority of villagers were victims of the genocide while a minority were former Khmer Rouge cadres.

This tour is significant because it not only allow permits villagers to see with their own eyes how the Cambodian genocide is remembered by others across the country, but also because it incorporates the role of the victim in the tribunal, an important goal of DC-Cam. A summary of the tour is as follows.

After breakfast was distributed by DC-Cam staff, villagers arrived at 7:30 in the early morning on Monday, September 25th at the Toul Sleng Genocide Museum, the site of the former interrogation and prison center during Democratic Kampuchea (DK). For the majority of participants, it was their first time seeing the notorious *sala* where predominantly Khmer Rouge cadres were photographed, forced to write confessions, tortured, and ultimately executed at Cheung Ek. Just the entrance of the museum alone made a deep impression for the participants as evidenced by the large crowd which gathered around a glass panel containing photographs of top Khmer Rouge leaders. For some, it was their first time seeing Pol Pot, Noun Chea, Khieu Samphan, Ta Mok, Ieng Sary, and other top leaders. One man standing among the crowd asked, "Which one is Ta Mok?" and another quickly replied, "That one!" The Toul Sleng museum is divided into several building complexes (as was the former prison) and





each complex contains many rooms which hold glass panels of photographs, actual beds or torture apparatus from that time, or other items significant to the prison center. Participants walked through the numerous rooms at their own pace; many with expressions of sadness, disbelief, and pain while a few wiped away tears with their *kramas* (traditional scarves).

Several interviews were conducted during this visit by DC-Cam staff. One woman who was interviewed, Nget Sok, aged 58, saw for the first time a photograph of her family member. Located on one of the glass panels which displayed black and white photographs of prisoners, on the top row, third from the left, was her eldest brother. Her relatives in Phnom Penh had told her that here was a photograph of her brother at the museum a long time ago, but Monday was the first time she was able to journey to Phnom Penh and see his photograph since he disappeared back in 1976. When asked about her opinion on the Khmer Rouge tribunal and if it could deliver justice, she responded that she is interested in attending the trials if given the chance and that “delivering justice” was a matter for the educated or those knowledgeable on the subject to handle and she herself does not

know how to decide upon such issues. Ms. Nget also added that she hoped the tribunal would serve as a lesson to future generations. Another interviewee, Mr. Hout Tawn, aged 62, also had a relative taken to the prison center during Democratic Kampuchea. The photograph of his older brother was located on the fourth row, second from the right on one of the glass panels. To his knowledge, his brother was taken to Toul Sleng (then code named S-21) in late 1978 on charges of splashing acid during a time when the entire population of Battambang was suspected of betrayal. Mr. Hout had seen this photograph once before in 1982, but at that time it had not been properly displayed in a glass panel; now upon seeing it for the second time in over twenty years, he is still deeply emotional. The visit to Toul Sleng for many brought to mind the horrors of the Democratic Kampuchea. It reminded them of the radical policies of the Khmer Rouge regime and its brutality, yet aide from this confrontation with a painful past, some experienced slight relief upon seeing upfront what they had kept buried inside for so long. Ms. Nget Sok said although her pain and suffering will never go away completely, seeing the face of her eldest brother brought a certain kind of closure for her.

After the visit to Toul Sleng, participants attended a presentation and Q&A session with Poeu Dara (of



DC-Cam) and Monh Saphan (of the Royal Government of Cambodia) at the Faculty of Social Sciences university. As the Chief of the Legislation Committee of the National Assembly, Mr. Monh had an integral role in debating, amending, and passing the ECCC law. After presentations on the structure, functions, laws, and procedures of the ECCC were given by Monh Saphan and Poeu Dara, audience members were encouraged to ask questions. The questions asked varied and as time went on the questioners became more passionate. The questions posed included whether the international community knew about the genocide while it was occurring and if so, why nothing was done; who the main leaders of the KR regime are and why they inflicted so much suffering and caused so much destruction; how many KR leaders are still alive and who would be tried; and if a foreign government was behind the genocide of Cambodians. Within the first hour alone, ten questions (in groups of 3) had been posed and answered, though some questions undoubtedly were difficult to answer. When noon approached, participants were asked to hold their questions for the next day when they would travel to the ECCC building and meet with top ECCC officials.

Boxed lunches were distributed by DC-Cam staff at the university at 12:00pm and afterwards, a documentary film was shown titled, "S-21: the Killing

Machine of the Khmer Rouge." The documentary was complementary to the earlier visit to the Toul Sleng museum; in the film they got a chance to see and hear from survivors of Toul Sleng prison and its former staff including a security guard and Pol Pot's personal artist. There were many scenes in the documentary where emotions were high such as when a survivor of S-21 confronted an S-21 security guard or when a survivor read the "confession" he wrote during Democratic Kampuchea. Villagers were deeply engaged in the film.

Following the film, at about 3:00pm, villagers arrived at Cheung Ek memorial to see the infamous grave where S-21 prisoners, after their confessions were obtained, were taken to be executed en mass. At the front of memorial site stands a tall monument which holds the skulls of those who were killed at Cheung Ek. Looking out from this monument, one can see large sections of grass which concaved down; for anyone unclear as to why this was the case, wooden signs were there to label and explain the various sites. For example, a sign revealed that an area of depressed land was the site of a mass burial or that a certain tree was the site where babies were killed. Several interviews were also conducted Cheung Ek. A village leader from Prey Veng, Mr. Yun Yang, 47 years old, believes that the ECCC can deliver justice to the millions

who died. During the genocide he lost one bother, his parents, and virtually all uncles and aunts. Before the ECCC tour, Mr. Yun wasn't sure if there really was going to be a trial as he had only heard news here and there about the ECCC, but after visiting the Toul Sleng Genocide Museum and meeting with law-maker Monh Saphan, he knows now that the tribunal is real and is also interested in attending the hearings. Furthermore, Mr. Yun says when he returns to his village he will tell



others about what he learned in venues such as town meetings and temple visits. Cheung Ek was the last official activity on Monday, September 25th; afterwards all 510 villagers were taken out to dinner at a restaurant.

Day two of the tour was located at the ECCC building; participants met with top ECCC officials and were given the opportunity to ask questions. The session began in the early morning in an impressive, high ceiling room capable of seating 600 persons. ECCC Press Officer, Mr. Reach Sambath, warmly welcomed the participants and began with an explanation of the ECCC law and its functions. Later on, ECCC Director Sean Visoth and Deputy Director Michelle Lee arrived to welcome villagers and talk a bit about their roles. Afterwards, Reach Sambath answered questions from audience members. Villagers asked about the source of the KR law, why the UN allowed the Khmer Rouge to represent Cambodia in the General Assembly despite knowledge of genocide, who was in charge during DK, and various other questions. A few villagers (one nun in particular was very touching) gave comments or talked about some aspect of their life during the genocide while others listened attentively. At the end of this session, the participants thanked Mr. Reach Sambath for taking his time out to answer questions. Next, lunch was distributed and villagers returned to their buses and the tour was concluded. As the buses drove away, many villagers waved, bowed their heads, and clasp their hands together (a traditional greeting and a way to show respect or gratitude) while Mr. Reach Sambath and DC-Cam staff and volunteers stood outside the ECCC building waving back and also bowing their heads.

As this was the 8th time DC-Cam conducted this tour, things on the whole ran smoothly and there were few complications associated with weather or logistics. Out of a total 558 invited, 510 participated, or 91 percent. There are areas however which can be improved for an even more successful future ECCC tour. On the matter of communication with villagers, there was a slight misunderstanding among one of

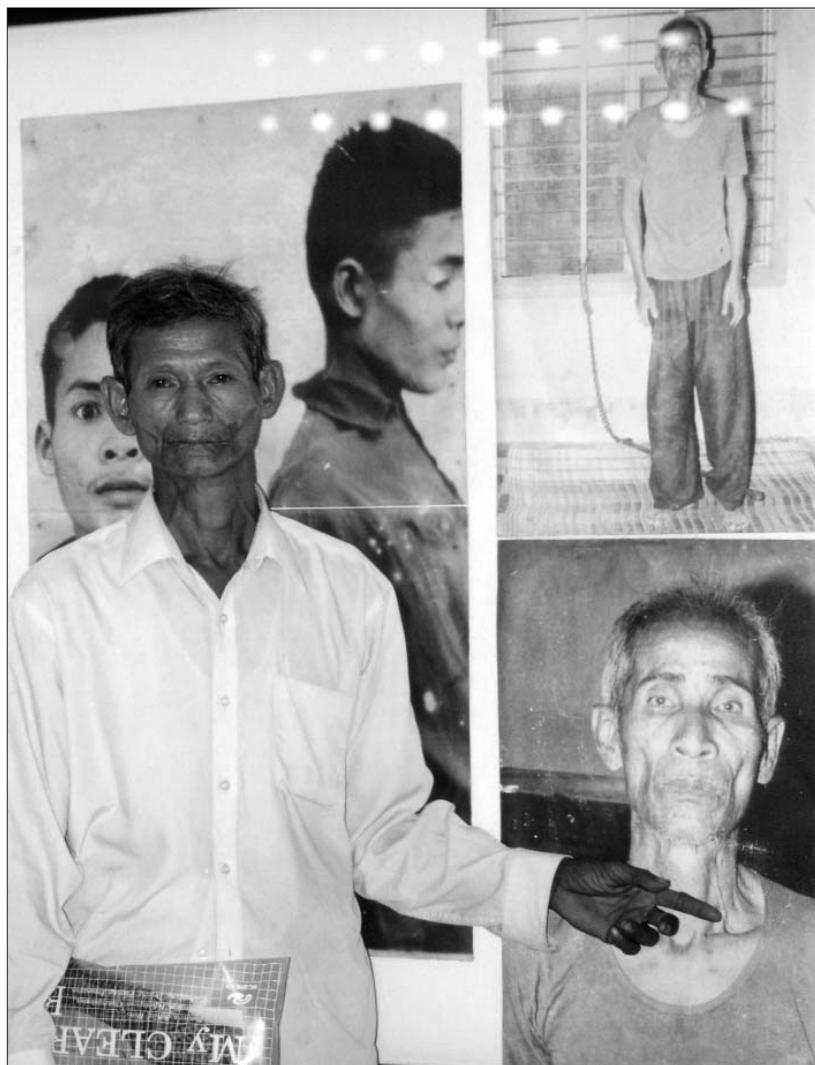
the villagers as she thought that DC-Cam would provide transportation from her home to the Phnom Penh . Invitation letters are sent to sub-district centers where village leaders go to pick them up. Information regarding the time, place, logistics, and activities of the tour are contained in the invitation letter and thus village leaders are responsible for relaying this information to the invited villagers. To reduce miscommunication in the future, DC-Cam can stress the importance of village leaders explaining everything (time, place, logistics, and activities) to invited villagers in the invitation letter itself. Another small problem deals with the timing of events. On the first day of the tour, participants watched a documentary film immediately after lunch. For some participants, this posed a natural problem of drowsiness especially since many of the participants were older and that it is normal for Cambodians to rest or nap after lunch. To remedy this problem, the movie screening and Cheung Ek activities can be switched; after lunch villagers head out to Cheung Ek where they can stroll around the site and then return to the university to watch the film. A final area which could be improved concerns the visit with top ECCC officials on day two of the tour. While it was an honor for many villagers to meet the Director and Deputy Director of the ECCC, their time on stage was rather short and they left before the Q&A session began. In the future if possible, it is strongly recommended that top ECCC officials remain a little longer so that they can at least answer a few questions. This would not only help improve the quality of the answers, but it would also give villagers a greater feeling of importance in the eyes of the ECCC and strengthen their trust in the tribunal as well. DC-Cam is planning to do a follow-up so that we can fully evaluate its strengths and weaknesses and assess its impact on participants.

Dacil Q. Keo is a DC-Cam volunteer for Response Team Project.

THE EXTRAORDINARY CHAMBERS IN THE COURT



T OF CAMBODIA TOUR ON MAY 22-23, 2006



TA MOK DIES

Kalyan Sann



Ta Mok after 1979

Ta Mok, who was secretary of the Northwest Zone of Democratic Kampuchea, died at 4:30 a.m. on Friday, July 21 in Preah Ketomealea Hospital. He was 80 years old.

Ta Mok fell gravely ill at the end of June. He received medical attention

while he was imprisoned, but his chronic illness never subsided and he grew worse daily. On June 29, he was sent to Preal Ketomealea Hopital, where he was diagnosed with high blood pressure, tuberculosis, and other respiratory diseases. When his condition deteriorated further, a group of doctors suggested sending him to Calmette Hospital, where modern equipment is available.

According to The Cambodia Daily, Dr. Heng Taikry, a doctor at Calmette, turned down the doctors' proposal. To support his refusal, Dr. Heng Taikry raised the issue of security. Citing the difficulty of ensuring Ta Mok's safety, he promised to send specialist doctors and modern equipment to Preah Ketomealea Hospital. During that time, Ta Mok fell unconscious several times, and he could not eat or drink.

On July 13, Ben Sunsamay declared that Ta Mok's condition had become worse. He became unconscious and was unable to sit, talk, eat, or drink. Ta Mok's children, siblings and other relatives were allowed to visit him at the hospital. However, Ta Mok was sleeping deeply and did not say anything to his relatives.

Ta Mok's body was sent to Anlong Veng, Udor Meanchey province for his funeral and burial.

Ta Mok also went by the name of Ong Choeun and was nicknamed Chhit Choeun, Ek Choeun, or Layman Choeun. He was a former military chief in charge of the Khmer Rouge Army and had been secretary of the Northwest Zone. In 1999, Ta Mok was arrested by

government soldiers and imprisoned for the crime of genocide and crimes against humanity.

Ta Mok died while the ECCC investigating judges were beginning to investigate the Khmer Rouge senior leaders to determine if they are responsible for the deaths of nearly 2 million people in Democratic Kampuchea between April 17, 1975 and January 6, 1979. Ta Mok's death points to the need to accelerate the tribunal's investigations so that the trials can be held before other senior Khmer Rouge leaders die. Nuon Chea, the second in command of the Khmer Rouge, is 80; Kieu Samphan is 75; and Ieng Sary is 76. All three are now living in Pailin. Apart from them, Duch, the former chief of S-21 Prison (Tuol Sleng), is 64 and has been



Ta Mok's body parade to be buried in Anlong Veng district, Oddar Meanchey

held in prison without a trial.

Senior Khmer Rouge Leaders who Died without being Tried

- ♦ Son Sen, former minister of National Security Ministry, was assassinated in June 1997
- ♦ Pol Pot, Brother Number 1 and the secretary of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, died of unknown causes in early April 1998
- ♦ Ke Pok, former secretary of the West Zone, died of natural causes in February 2002
- ♦ Choun Choeun, former minister of health, died of old age in June 2006
- ♦ Ta Mok, former secretary of the Northwest Zone, died of disease in July 2006.

Summary of Ta Mok's Biography

- ♦ Former Name: Ong Choeun
- ♦ Nicknames: Chhit Choeun, Ek Choeun, Layman Choeun, or Nguon Kang

- ♦ Year of Birth: 1926 (the year of the tiger)
- ♦ Place of birth: Prakiep village, Trapiang Tom Khang Thbong sub-district, Tram Kak district, Takeo province
- ♦ Education: Became a monk and finished junior Pali school
- ♦ Father: Ong Preak, former chief of monks at Moha Montey Pagoda
- ♦ Mother: Touch Soch
- ♦ Siblings: 3 brothers, 4 sisters
- ♦ Wife: Ouk Khoem
- ♦ Children: 4 daughters
- ♦ Position during Democratic Kampuchea: Secretary of the Northwest Zone and Military Chief.

Kalyan Sann is a DC-Cam staff member who is studying for a master's degree at Gotenberg University on scholarship in Sweden.



HOLDING THE KHMER ROUGE ACCUSED ACCOUNTABLE: CRIMINAL LIABILITY AT THE ECCC

Eleanor Hutchison

The Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC) have jurisdiction to try only “senior leaders” and “those most responsible” for the atrocities committed during the reign of Democratic Kampuchea from April 17, 1975 to January 7, 1979. The prosecution, which has just begun preliminary investigations, will shoulder the responsibility of establishing how these individuals can be held responsible for the crimes within the court’s jurisdiction. Among other crimes, these include genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes, homicide, torture, and religious persecution.

Proving that senior Khmer Rouge officials were responsible for these crimes may not be easy. In general, senior officials did not commit the crimes directly, but instead issued orders to their subordinates to do so. This does not absolve them, however, and there are ways that prosecutors can establish their guilt. In particular, prosecutors have two principal ways to hold senior officials accountable:

1. By demonstrating that a defendant ordered or assisted in the crime or worked with subordinates as part of a “joint criminal enterprise,” or
2. By holding a defendant liable under the principle of “superior responsibility,” whereby individuals can be held liable for acts of the subordinates that they knew about but did not take reasonable steps to prevent or punish.

These general principles of international law are incorporated in the law governing the ECCC.

Types of Direct Responsibility

The prosecution may issue indictments against individuals suspected of “direct responsibility” for crimes. Individuals are directly responsible if they committed the prohibited act in question – such as torture or homicide. Defendants can also be held responsible, however, if they *planned, instigated, ordered, or otherwise*

aided and abetted crimes within the court’s jurisdiction. If a former Khmer Rouge official ordered, helped, supported or encouraged someone else to commit a crime, he or she may be held responsible for the ultimate crime. For example, someone who orders a “hit man” to murder someone will still be responsible, along with the hit man, for the murder. Since historical evidence suggests that senior Khmer Rouge leaders did not physically commit criminal offences themselves, this makes such complicit liability extremely important for the ECCC proceedings.

Article 29 of the ECCC law also stipulates that “the position or rank of any suspect shall not relieve such person of criminal responsibility or mitigate punishment.” This means that a perpetrator cannot use the excuse that he/she was under someone else’s control or acting on superior orders in order to escape responsibility for his/her acts.

Another more complex form of direct responsibility is what is known as “joint criminal enterprise.” The doctrine of “joint criminal enterprise” also provides a way to establish the criminal responsibility of Khmer Rouge defendants at the ECCC. Under this form of liability, an individual may be held responsible for all crimes committed as part of a *common plan or design* which involves the commission of a crime under the court’s jurisdiction, if the defendant participates with others in the common plan or design. There are three kinds of joint criminal enterprise, which often overlap:

1. *The basic form. Cases in which two or more people share the same criminal intent and collaborate to achieve a specific result.* For example, if it can be shown that a group of senior Khmer Rouge defendants collectively entered into a common plan to execute the inhabitants of a village, all those involved in forming the plan will be criminally responsible for the deaths.

2. *The systematic form. Cases of organized mass oppression and persecution.* For example, concentration camp situations. Defendants are aware of the crime, participate in the crime, and through their actions intend to further the commission of the crime. For example, senior Khmer Rouge cadres who were responsible for establishing or operating the Tuol Sleng Prison could be held liable for participating in a joint criminal enterprise.

3. *The extended form. Cases of foreseeable acts beyond a common plan.* Defendants can be held responsible for crimes committed beyond the common plan when such crimes are a natural or foreseeable consequence of the criminal endeavor. For example, if it can be established that there was a common criminal plan to evacuate Phnom Penh, the defendants can be held responsible for deaths occurring from the evacuation, even if they claim that the intent was not to kill anyone. It was a foreseeable consequence that sick and injured persons forced to evacuate from hospitals would die because of the evacuation.

It will be interesting to see how the doctrine of joint criminal enterprise will be applied at the ECCC. It is likely that prosecutors will invoke the doctrine in their attempt to hold some or all Khmer Rouge defendants accountable for the widespread and abusive plans and policies that devastated Cambodia.

Superior Responsibility

The law governing the ECCC also recognizes the international legal principle of superior responsibility, which holds a commanding officer (or civilian official) responsible for crimes committed by his or her subordinates if the commanding officer fails to prevent the crimes or punish the subordinate for committing the crime. This form of liability effectively holds individuals responsible for their criminal inactions or omissions (as opposed to their direct actions). To satisfy Article 29 of the ECCC law, the following three elements must be satisfied:

1. A superior – subordinate relationship must exist;
2. The superior must know or have reason to know that the criminal act was about to be or had been committed; and

3. The superior must have failed to take reasonable measures to prevent the criminal act or to punish the perpetrator for the criminal act.

In order to show the existence of a superior-subordinate relationship, the prosecution will have to show that the superior had control over the subordinate to the extent that it would be possible for him/her to prevent, stop, or punish criminal acts. The prosecution will also have to show that the commanding officer had concrete information regarding such criminal acts or other information which alerted him to the possibility of a crime and put him on notice.

Superior responsibility derives from the idea that an individual must exercise responsible command over his subordinates to ensure that they behave responsibly. Should a superior fail to do so, he is responsible for any crimes committed by those under his control. The concept of superior responsibility widens the net of criminal liability to cover situations where a person fails to exercise his or her duties as superior. This doctrine is likely to be critical in the ECCC proceedings, as it has been in many international tribunals.

Difficulties with Joint Criminal Enterprise and Superior Responsibility

Although the concept of superior responsibility is part of the ECCC law, and the principal of joint criminal enterprise is well established under international criminal law, the prosecution may still have a difficult time holding Khmer Rouge leaders accountable. The principle of *nullum crimen sine lege* (“no crime without law”) means that the ECCC will have to establish that both doctrines existed at the time when the crimes were alleged to have been committed. More specifically, the court will have to examine international law during the 1975-79 period to determine whether both doctrines were part of customary international law during that period. Customary international law refers to customs that have been so commonly practiced by states that they become binding law. This could be problematic, because much of the jurisprudence clarifying these doctrines has been decided only in the 1990s at the international tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and

Rwanda. If the ECCC determines that superior responsibility did not apply to the 1975-79 era, the prosecution will face a much greater challenge.

If the ECCC accepts both doctrines under the *nullum crimen* analysis, the prosecution is likely to prosecute defendants using both forms of liability. However, if the court decides that both doctrines are not fully applicable, then direct responsibility will be relied

upon and form the basis upon which the prosecution will attempt to hold the Khmer Rouge accused responsible for the atrocities that occurred during Democratic Kampuchea.

Eleanor Hutchison is from the University of London, England; she was a summer 2006 intern with DC-Cam's Outreach Program.

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



PROSECUTING THE CRIME OF DESTRUCTION OF CULTURAL PROPERTY

Sarah J. Thomas

Historical Background and Importance of Cultural Property

Following its seizure of power in April 1975, the Khmer Rouge regime proclaimed a return to “Year Zero” and set about demolishing links to the past, to the outside world and to religion. As part of their systematic attack upon Buddhism, the Khmer Rouge desecrated or destroyed most of Cambodia’s 3000 pagodas, inflicting irreparable damage on statues, sacred literature, and other religious items. Similar damage was inflicted on the mosques of the Cham. The Khmer Rouge regime attacked Christian places of worship, even disassembling the Catholic cathedral of Phnom Penh stone by stone until only a vacant lot remained.

Although less shocking than acts of murder, torture, beating or rape, the looting or destruction of cultural property is of considerable importance as such acts may have significant long-term effects upon the identity of cultural groups. The destruction of cultural property affects not only the people of that cultural group, but serves to decrease the cultural diversity of the world. History has witnessed the poignant fate of many nations and peoples following brutal and intensive cultural mutilation. Some have ceased to exist, while others have had their identity deeply and irreversibly altered. As such, it is important to prosecute the crime of destruction of cultural property.

The ECCC Law and Potential Prosecution of the Crime of Destruction of Cultural Property

The ECCC Law, as amended in 2004, sets forth the provisions governing the trials of former senior Khmer Rouge leaders set to commence in 2007. Cognizant of the importance of punishing those alleged to have destroyed cultural property, the drafters included in Article 7 the destruction of cultural property as one of eight crimes falling under the Extraordinary Chambers’ jurisdiction, along with torture, genocide, grave

breaches of the Geneva Conventions, crimes against humanity, religious persecution, and breaches of the 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations. The ECCC Law cites as the source of law for this crime the 1954 Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict (the “1954 Hague Convention”) and fails to provide its own definition.

Between 1975 and 1979, the Khmer Rouge undoubtedly wreaked havoc on the cultural heritage of Cambodia and engaged in the destruction of cultural property. It is, however, likely that the co-prosecutors will experience considerable difficulties in establishing the criminal responsibility of senior Khmer Rouge leaders for the destruction of cultural property pursuant to Article 7. In addition to the evidentiary difficulties faced in establishing criminal responsibility, the co-prosecutors will likely have to establish either that the 1954 Hague Convention establishes and defines a crime of destruction of cultural property or that prosecution is possible on another legal basis.

This article briefly introduces the crime of destruction of cultural property as found in Article 7 of the ECCC Law, discusses the potential legal difficulties faced in the prosecuting such a crime pursuant to the 1954 Hague Convention, and highlights alternative sources of law upon which to base prosecutions of those alleged to have destroyed cultural property.

Cultural Property and the 1954 Hague Convention

The source of law for the crime of destruction of cultural property, the 1954 Hague Convention, defines “cultural property” to include “movable or immovable property of great importance to the cultural heritage of every people, such as monuments of architecture, art or history, whether religious or secular; archaeological sites; groups of buildings which, as a whole, are of historical or artistic interest; works of art; manuscripts,

books and other objects of artistic, historical or archaeological interest; as well as scientific collections and important collections or books or archives or of reproductions of [such] property” (Article 1(a)). As such, this definition would appear to encompass much of the property destroyed by the Khmer Rouge.

The 1954 Hague Convention constitutes the most important tool for the protection of cultural property in contemporary international humanitarian law. It places an affirmative duty on state parties to take measures during peace time to protect cultural property situated within their territory (Article 3). The Convention places a duty on all state parties to respect cultural property situated both in their own territory and in the territory of other states, requiring them to refrain from all acts of hostility against such property (Article 4). These obligations may only be waived in cases of military necessity (Article 4(2)). The obligation to respect cultural property applies in the event of declared war or of any other armed conflict (Article 18), whether internal or international in character (Article 19).

Difficulties Faced in Applying the 1954 Hague Convention in the Cambodian Context

Absence of Provision for Individual Criminal Responsibility

As a traditional multilateral treaty binding upon state parties only, the 1954 Hague Convention does not provide for direct enforcement of treaty obligations vis-à-vis individuals. The Convention does, however, seek to address the issue of individual criminal responsibility by requesting each state party to “take, within the framework of their ordinary criminal jurisdiction, all necessary steps to prosecute and impose penal or disciplinary sanctions upon these persons, of whatever nationality, who commit or order to be committed a breach of the present Convention” (Article 28). Accordingly, Cambodia possesses the right, having been a state party to the Convention since 1961, to oversee and enforce Convention obligations against individuals within its jurisdiction.

The 1954 Hague Convention itself does not, however, provide for individual criminal responsibility and defers to domestic criminal justice systems in this

regard. In fact, the Convention has not been extensively absorbed into domestic criminal law. Rather, the majority of laws addressing cultural property issues operating on the national level involve the regulation of the export of artistic and historical monuments and artifacts.

In prosecuting the crime of destruction of cultural property pursuant to Article 7 of the ECCC Law and the 1954 Hague Convention, the co-prosecutors will likely face considerable difficulties. The language of Article 4 of the Convention cannot be used for prosecution of a crime of destruction of cultural property as it does not expressly create a crime or indicate the requisite intent for such a crime. While the judges may seek to derive a definition of the crime of destruction of cultural property from Article 4, conviction on such a basis would likely violate the maxim of *nullum crimen sine lege* (Latin: “no crime without law”). As such, the judges may be reluctant to convict on the basis of a treaty that fails to establish or define a crime.

Possible Absence of a Nexus to Armed Conflict

Similarly problematic in connection with the prosecution of the crime of destruction of cultural property found in Article 7 of the ECCC Law is the required nexus under the 1954 Hague Convention to an armed conflict. Apart from certain provisions which take effect in times of peace, the Convention applies only in the event of declared war or of any other armed conflict which may arise between two or more of the state parties to the Convention, even if the state of war is not recognized by one or more of them, or in the event of partial or total occupation of the territory of a state party (Article 18). In the event of an internal armed conflict, the Article 4 provisions relating to respect for cultural property apply as a minimum, requiring all parties to the conflict to refrain from acts of hostility against cultural property (Article 19).

The Convention’s requirement of a nexus to armed conflict means that, in order to trigger the applicability of the Convention, such destruction must have occurred in connection with an internal or international armed conflict. It is unclear whether a prosecution on the basis

of Article 7 of the ECCC Law would prove successful as it is uncertain whether the judges will find the existence of an internal or international armed conflict. Potentially, the judges may find that Cambodia's border conflict with Vietnam in 1977/78 constituted an international armed conflict and/or the entire Khmer Rouge period or, at least, the 1978 rebellion in the East Zone constitutes a non-international armed conflict within the meaning of the 1954 Hague Convention.

Grave Breaches of the Geneva Conventions as an Alternative Basis for Prosecution of Destruction of Cultural Property

Article 6 of the ECCC Law: Grave Breaches of the Geneva Conventions

Article 6 of the ECCC Law empowers the Extraordinary Chambers to hear cases involving grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions perpetrated between 17 April 1975 and 6 January 1979. Article 6 imports the list of grave breaches enumerated in the Geneva Conventions into the ECCC Law. Although the grave breaches enumerated in Article 6 do not include the destruction of cultural property, they do include "destruction and serious damage to property, not justified by military necessity and carried out unlawfully and wantonly." As such, it is possible that the co-prosecutors may prosecute destruction of cultural property as a war crime, provided that such destruction was not justified by military necessity and was carried out unlawfully and wantonly.

Due to the nature of such crimes as *war* crimes, the co-prosecutors are likely to experience difficulties similar to those found in Article 7 prosecutions. In order to secure a conviction, the co-prosecutors must satisfy the requirement in the Geneva Conventions that the alleged crime bore a nexus to an armed conflict. The co-prosecutors must prove both that an armed conflict was taking place at the time of the alleged destruction of serious damage to property and that the destruction or serious damage was linked to the conflict. As this article indicates, it is unclear whether the ECCC judges will find the existence of either an internal or an international armed conflict in the

Cambodian context.

Even if the co-prosecutors are able to prove the existence of an armed conflict, it is likely that they would face further difficulties if that conflict were internal, or "non-international," in nature. Today, many scholars hold that violations of Common Article 3, which governs internal conflicts, constitute grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions. There is, however, consensus amongst most scholars that, as of the late 1970s, such violations did *not* constitute grave breaches. Such consensus, in combination with the maxim of *nullum crimen sine lege*, may considerably limit the application of international humanitarian law before the Extraordinary Chambers.

Similarly, ICTY jurisprudence supports the conclusion that violations of Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions, which governs internal conflicts, should not be prosecuted as grave breaches. In interpreting Article 2 of the ICTY Statute, the language of which is very similar to Article 6 of the ECCC Law, the ICTY has refrained from allowing prosecutions for violations of Common Article 3 as war crimes. In *Prosecutor v. Naletilic and Martinovic*, the ICTY Trial Chamber required the existence of an international armed conflict. Unless the judges find the existence of an international armed conflict, it is unlikely that prosecutions on this basis will prove successful.

Law and Customs of War as an Alternative Basis for Prosecution of Destruction of Cultural Property

Article 2 of the ECCC Law: International Humanitarian Law and Custom

Although Article 2 of the ECCC Law outlines its competence "to bring to trial senior leaders of Democratic Kampuchea and those who were most responsible for the crimes and serious violations of... (*inter alia*) international humanitarian law and custom..." it remains to be seen whether the Extraordinary Chambers has jurisdiction to hear the trials of defendants prosecuted for violations of the laws and customs of war. Unlike, for example, genocide, crimes against humanity, and grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions as enumerated in Articles 3 to 8, the ECCC Law does not

dedicate an Article to violations of the laws and customs of war as a crime within the jurisdiction of the Extraordinary Chambers.

The cursory reference contained in Article 2 of the ECCC Law to the laws and customs of war is in stark contrast to the ICTY Statute, which provides in detail in Article 3 for jurisdiction over violations of the laws and customs of war. The inclusion of such a reference in Article 2 is, as such, somewhat mysterious and begs the question whether the ECCC judges will interpret this provision in such a way as to give themselves jurisdiction over violations of the laws and customs of war. It is possible that the judges may interpret Article 2 be a residual clause – in same way that that the Appeals Chamber interpreted Article 3 of the ICTY Statute in *Prosecutor v. Tadic* – covering any serious violation of international humanitarian law not covered by other Articles of the Law.

The creation of jurisdiction over the laws and customs of war would allow the Extraordinary Chambers jurisdiction over all serious violations of international humanitarian law that do not constitute grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions. In determining the scope of such violations, the judges would likely find useful guidance in Article 3 of the ICTY Statute. Article 3 provides a non-exhaustive list of such violations, which includes the “wanton destruction of cities, towns or villages, or devastation not justified by military necessity” and “the seizure of, destruction or willful damage done to institutions dedicated to religion, charity and education, the arts and sciences, historic monuments and works of art and science.”

If the ECCC judges were to interpret Article 2 in such a way as to give themselves jurisdiction over the laws and customs of war, the laws and customs of war would likely prove a more useful basis for prosecutions of violations of international humanitarian law as the requisite armed conflict may be internal or international in nature. As found by the ICTY Appeals Chamber in *Prosecutor v. Tadic*, the laws and customs of war apply regardless of whether the acts alleged occurred within an internal or an international armed conflict.

Prosecutions on the basis of the laws and customs of war are, therefore, likely to prove more effective as they may be successful both in the case of international and/or internal armed conflict.

Crimes against Humanity as an Alternative Basis for Prosecution of Destruction of Cultural Property

Article 5 of the ECCC Law: Persecution on Political, Racial or Religious Grounds as a Crime Against Humanity

Article 5 of the ECCC Law empowers the Extraordinary Chambers to “to bring to trial all Suspects who committed crimes against humanity during the period 17 April 1975 to 6 January 1979.” It further provides that, “[c]rimes against humanity...are any acts committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against any civilian population, on national, political, ethnical, racial or religious grounds.” According to the ICTY Trial Chamber in *Prosecutor v. Kordic and Cerkez*, destruction and damage of religious or educational institutions may constitute persecution rising to the level of crimes against humanity, provided that such acts of destruction are “widespread or systematic” in nature and perpetrated with the requisite discriminatory intent.

Most international instruments, such as Article 3 of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) Statute and Article 7 of the International Criminal Court (ICC) Statute, do not require the existence of an armed conflict as an element of the definition of a crime against humanity. It remains to be seen, however, whether the ECCC judges will find this to have been the case during the 1975-1979 period. Although the ICTY Statute lists the existence of an armed conflict as a prerequisite for jurisdiction, the absence of an analogous requirement in other international instruments suggests that there is a distinct possibility that the judges may find crimes against humanity to have occurred outside the context of an armed conflict.

The co-prosecutors may, therefore, have more success in prosecuting destruction of cultural property as a crime against humanity, rather than as the Article 7 crime of destruction of cultural property or as a war

crime, provided that they are able to demonstrate the “widespread or systematic” nature and the political, racial or religious motivation of such acts. In the Cambodian context, the requirement of discriminatory intent is unlikely to prove problematic, because such acts were largely motivated by anti-religious sentiment. According to Étienne Clément and Farice Quinio of UNESCO, items of cultural heritage which were not considered to have religious significance, rather than being destroyed, were left to fall into decay during the Khmer Rouge period.

Conclusion

In spite of the systematic nature of destruction of cultural property – in particular, religious cultural property – by the Khmer Rouge, the co-prosecutors will likely face difficulties in establishing the criminal responsibility of former leaders for destruction of such property. As this article highlights, the reliance of Article 7 of the ECCC Law upon the 1954 Hague Convention casts doubt upon the very existence of such a crime of destruction of cultural property. In light of the Convention’s failure to establish or define such a crime and the uncertainty surrounding the existence of armed conflicts during the period in question, the co-prosecutors may need to consider alternative sources of law in prosecuting those alleged to have destroyed cultural property.

As this article shows, there are a number of alternative crimes upon which the co-prosecutors may base prosecutions for destruction of cultural property. All the options open to the co-prosecutors are somewhat problematic. Prosecutions based upon grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions (Article 6 of the ECCC Law) require the co-prosecutors to show the existence of an international armed conflict. Prosecutions based upon the laws and customs

of war (Article 2) require the co-prosecutors to show the existence of an international and/or internal armed conflict. While less problematic than prosecutions based upon Article 7, prosecutions on these bases may prove ineffective as it is uncertain as to whether the judges will find the existence of an armed conflict.

The co-prosecutors will likely find prosecutions for crimes against humanity to be most effective. First, as this article indicates, the co-prosecutors will likely encounter difficulties in establishing the existence of an armed conflict and should, as such, base their prosecutions upon crimes which do not apply only in times of armed conflict. That crimes against humanity may occur in times of war and peace alike makes it an attractive basis for prosecution. Second, anti-religious sentiment motivated many of the acts of destruction of cultural property during the Khmer Rouge period. The requirement that political, racial, or religious grounds have motivated acts of persecution is, as such, unlikely to prove problematic.

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Villagers are viewing prisoners’ photos at Tuol Sleng

THE POLITICS OF PRESERVATION IN RWANDA

Susan E. Cook

Introduction

The Rwandan genocide of 1994 has been analyzed from a variety of perspectives, and through the eyes of a wide range of actors. Historians have examined the roots of ethnic divisions in Rwanda during the colonial period, anthropologists have analyzed the symbolic logic of certain forms of violence perpetrated against innocent civilians, while others have looked at the role played in the genocide by the deference to authority that seems to characterize Rwanda's political culture. This chapter explores one aspect of genocide's aftermath that hasn't received much attention: the fate of genocide sites—the geographic locations where groups of people were massacred. In some ways simple coordinates on a map, and in other ways social and political constructs, genocide sites are both a reminder of what took place during the genocide, and also a symbolic focus of contemporary political agendas at the local, national, and even the international level. Since 1994, Rwandans have had to decide whether to revert certain massacre sites back to their previous uses, such as schools, hospitals, or places of worship. They have had to decide whether to bury the dead, or leave the human remains exposed, so that the manner in which they died is unmistakable. They have been forced to consider the wishes and interests of the victims and survivors, as well as those of the alleged perpetrators, and the national government that is attempting to address the broadest range of constituents possible through its policies. The international community also has a stake in this process. International courts want to use the remains from genocide sites as physical evidence. International visitors to post-genocide Rwanda want to witness the horror of what happened there by viewing the authentic remains of the violence. Those with a desire to make the world understand the scope of the tragedy that befell this small nation wish to keep the physical remains of the killing on display as a testament to what they experienced.

Thus, neither the existence of genocide sites, nor the purposes that they serve in the post-genocide period, can be taken as obvious or fixed. Numerous sets of interests and objectives come into play with reference to these sites, and the process of assessing and reassessing their fate is likely to continue for generations, if other post-genocidal societies are any measure (see especially Young 1993 and Young 1994 on Holocaust memorials). More than twenty-five years after the Cambodian genocide took place in 1975-9, Cambodians are still debating the appropriate course of action to take with reference to physical remains from that period.

Historical and political context

Rwanda is located in the Great Lakes region of central Africa. It is a small, landlocked country of approximately 10,000 square miles (roughly the size of the U.S. state of Maryland). Rwanda's economy relies on coffee exports, tourism, and foreign aid. Most Rwandans are subsistence farmers, and the country is, by any economic measure, extremely poor. Like its neighbor Burundi, Rwanda was colonized by Belgium and was granted independence in 1960. The population consists of three ethnic groups: Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa. All three groups speak the same language, have the same cultural practices, and are mostly Roman Catholic (with a significant Muslim minority).

For about three months in 1994, Rwandan society experienced one of the most brutal attempts to exterminate a people ever witnessed in the twentieth century. In a country of approximately seven million people, between 500,000 and one million people were murdered. The killing had been organized and rehearsed well in advance of April 1994, and was carried out with shocking speed and efficiency. The architects of the genocide were a small group of extremist politicians and elites associated with the regime of then President Juvenal Habyarimana. The perpetrators were soldiers, militias, and everyday people throughout

the country. The principal targets were ethnic Tutsis, but also included political moderates who posed a threat to the extremist ideology, or those who refused to participate in the killing. All told, roughly three quarters of all Tutsis living in Rwanda as of April 6, 1994, were wiped out. Thousands of Hutu, Twa, and non-Rwandans were also killed.

The genocide ended in July 1994, when the rebel army of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) overthrew the government of Habyarimana, and forced the Rwandan army, militias, and a large number of Rwandan civilians across the border into Zaire. The rebels were comprised mainly of the children of (mostly Tutsi) Rwandan refugees who had been living in exile for up to thirty-five years. They immediately set up a new government and began the work of reconstructing the country, securing its borders against incursions by the ousted Rwandan army, and dealing with the aftermath of the violence that had swept across the entire country.

Attempts to bring the guilty to justice began almost immediately, with the United Nations establishing an ad hoc tribunal in Arusha, Tanzania to try the architects of the genocide. Concurrently, the new Rwandan government began arresting lower level perpetrators in order to put them on trial in Rwandan courts. The U.N. tribunal in Arusha, the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), has been very slow to indict, arrest, try, and judge its cases, with only twenty defendants appearing in its chambers between 1994 and 2001.

Some argue that the Rwandan genocide began long before 1994. Attempts to identify, ostracize, and dehumanize members of the Tutsi minority date back to the end of the colonial period. Persecution of Tutsi students and professionals, and those associated with the monarchy began in 1959, with serious episodes of violence occurring in 1964, 1973, and throughout the first half of the 1990s. Like a volcano that occasionally spews some smoke before the “big one” hits, the pogroms and massacres of the 1950s, 60s, and 70s were minor eruptions compared to the events of April-July 1994. The violence of 1994 changed the face of Rwandan society forever, leaving a permanent scar on its social, political, and economic institutions, and producing

the genocide sites that are the focus of this chapter.

Preservation, memorialization, and documentation: theories and definitions

The horror of genocide is hard to fathom both in terms of motive and sheer scale. To seek the extermination of an entire group of people (defined as a national, ethnic, racial, or religious in the U.N. Genocide Convention of 1948) is not only diabolical, but also very ambitious. To understand such madness, one is first compelled to explore why a government would see genocide as an acceptable or effective solution to its problems. Second, one must bear witness to the horrible mechanics of committing murder on a massive scale. From the gas chambers of the Nazi Holocaust to the Killing Fields of the Cambodian genocide, it is often these spatial details of state-sponsored mass murder that become emblematic of the evil itself. The three dimensionality of a physical location, the sight of hastily dug pits and mass graves, and the smell and look of human remains make the locations where genocide has taken place haunting reminders that genocide is an artifact of human society, not a natural calamity. Genocide sites, then, often attain special status in the aftermath of violence as places that reveal the truth of what individual members of a society have done to their fellow citizens.

There are countless genocide sites in Rwanda, some known, others unknown. Rwandans will be unearthing mass graves, erecting monuments and reburying their dead for many years to come. Many of the most notorious episodes of violence in the Rwandan genocide, though, have already been documented, the graves exhumed, and the locations recorded on a map. These locations have great significance, not only for the families of those who perished there, but for politicians, scholars, religious leaders, and aid workers who are addressing the needs of a country that was destroyed by a near-successful attempt at a “final solution.”

In exploring the issues and debates surrounding Rwandan genocide sites in 2000, I observed three distinct, but related activities taking place with regard to these locations: 1) preservation and restoration of human and structural remains, 2) memorialization and

commemoration of the victims, and 3) documentation and research on the events. Although at first glance these three things may seem complementary, or as an ordered progression of activities, in practice they overlap, and even contradict or undermine each other. Before discussing these activities in the Rwandan context, let me offer some definitions that will enable me to differentiate them in practice.

Preservation entails halting the natural processes of change and actively maintaining something in a frozen state—a sort of dynamic stasis. Closely related to preservation is restoration, which is the act of making changes necessary to revert something to a previous state that can then be maintained indefinitely. It is perhaps not obvious that any effort to preserve or restore an historical event presumes a temporal location, as well as a physical location. It is always either stated or implied that something is preserved to a condition purported to represent a specific date and time. With reference to the aftermath of genocide, then, preserving genocide sites entails making decisions about what to preserve (bodies, buildings, weapons, documents), and at what moment in their history.

As a field of practice and study, the preservation of genocide sites is located at the intersection of historic preservation/restoration and forensic anthropology. As international crime scenes, genocide sites often contain important evidentiary material, from physical remains to implements of violence to clues that can be used to assign a date and time to the crime and to identify the perpetrators. Forensic specialists utilize a variety of methods that enable them to collect and analyze soil content, fibers, bones, hair, etc. to infer facts about the events in question.

Preservation/restoration can also have a pedagogical objective: to educate non-participants in the event about exactly what happened, using the actual physical remains of the episode. This kind of preservation may require less exacting standards than preservation for legal purposes, but still depends heavily on the notion of physicality and authenticity. Specialists in historic preservation are also concerned about reconstructing the precise nature of what took place in a certain location,

while seeking to preserve the condition of that place for future purposes. These two fields, with their distinct methods, aims, and histories, have been marshaled to the cause of addressing human rights violations around the world for decades. From the protection and preservation of historic Native American cemeteries in North America to the exhumation of mass graves in the former Yugoslavia, preservation and forensics have played a role in many politically sensitive and legally precedent-setting cases.

A second, but closely related activity is **memorialization/commemoration**. In the wake of a tragedy, there is often a deeply felt need to honor the victims, and to enable others to know/remember what happened to them. Memorialization can be a public and collective activity or a very private and personal activity one. In practice, memorialization can mean celebrating a day of remembrance for a particular event or group of victims, or it can mean erecting a monument, or building a museum, or writing stories, composing songs, or displaying paintings. It can also be combined with preservation in an effort to show what happened in the past by leaving certain things unchanged while changing others. Memorialization doesn't usually have legal or scholarly aims, but is often used as a political gesture to signify solidarity with a certain group of victims. Memorialization is also an important expression of people's religious and moral responses to loss.

Documentation and research constitute a third set of activities that frequently take place in the aftermath of genocide. Documentation—the effort to establish an authoritative account of particular events based on primary sources—can readily serve legal, scholarly, or political purposes, but does not always help alleviate grief and facilitate mourning the way memorialization can. Usually conducted by trained scholars, documentation projects are most often aimed at establishing the facts of a particular event or period so that they may be studied, analyzed and established for posterity.

The 1994 genocide in Rwanda has prompted Rwandans to engage in all three activities: preservation, memorialization, and documentation. In August 2000,

I attempted to determine what Rwandans were doing with regard to genocide sites, with these three activities as a conceptual reference. I spoke to a range of Rwandans in government, NGOs, academia, and the general population who are involved in these activities at different levels and for different reasons. In many cases, the activities overlap. At the Murambi genocide site in Gikongoro Province, a privately sponsored preservation effort is combined with a local community's desire to commemorate the deaths of a reported 50,000 people. In Kigali, the central government is interested in constructing genocide memorials/museums that can both teach the world what happened in Rwanda, and remind Rwandans themselves about a past they should never repeat. At the National University in Butare, scholars hope to build a documentation center that will encourage research on the genocide, while also preserving important documents from that period.

Preserving genocide sites, then, is inextricably linked to memorialization and documentation. In present-day Rwanda, to the extent that preservation/restoration alone may have the narrowest set of applications and represent the greatest cost, it is not the most popular of these three activities. In combination with memorialization and documentation, however, it has a great deal of potential support, and many eager institutional and individual sponsors.

Genocide Sites in Rwanda: Murambi Technical School

On the morning of August 8, 2000, I set out from the USAID offices in Kigali in a white Toyota Land Cruiser with five other people to visit a well-known genocide site in Gikongoro Prefecture. The air was warm and the sky clear as we drove south along National Route 01, a narrow, but well maintained tarmac road that goes from Kigali to Butare, Rwanda's second largest town. My husband, a Tutsi of Rwandan origin, sat in front with the driver (a Rwandan employee of USAID), and discussed the ongoing rebellion in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. I sat in the back seat with our two year old son, who was fascinated by the long-horned Ankole cattle grazing by the road, and the home-made wooden scooters used to transport people and goods across the hilly terrain. Our USAID host, a young American

woman working on democracy and governance projects, sat at the back with a Belgian graduate student who was researching the genocide. None of us had visited Murambi before, the site of a major massacre in Gikongoro, and although the conversation was carefree, each of us was privately wondering how we would react, physically, emotionally, and intellectually, to the sight of thousands of dead bodies killed at a school compound six years earlier.

We stopped for lunch in Butare, Rwanda's university town, and then turned westward towards Gikongoro. Finding the Murambi genocide site was not as easy as we had anticipated. The people we asked along the way either weren't sure what we were talking about, or told us to head for a certain church or a small road that seemed to go nowhere near our intended destination. We finally stopped and asked some men dressed in light pink coveralls where the Murambi school was. They pointed down a deeply rutted dirt road and said the equivalent of "you can't miss it" in Kinyarwanda. As we rolled up our windows and drove on, I became aware of the huge irony of having just received directions to a genocide site from a group of alleged perpetrators.

When we arrived at the site, we found a small group of Rwandans waiting for us, including an armed soldier ostensibly on duty protecting the remains from vandals, two or three caretakers of the site, and a tall, solemn genocide survivor named Emmanuel who had a hole in his forehead the size of a large marble. The wound had healed over, but was nevertheless a prominent reminder of the violence that had occurred in this place. The location itself comprises an almost completed, but never-used, technical high school located on a rocky, barren hillside that overlooks other hills in every direction. The "tour" commenced without much fanfare. Emmanuel simply started walking in the direction of one of the school buildings, and we followed along behind him.

The school is laid out in blocks of classrooms, each a long cement rectangle with a corrugated iron roof. As we approached the first block, Emmanuel told us that there were many classrooms to see, so we shouldn't spend too much time in any one of them. The

bodies, laid out in the classrooms on tarps on the floor, or on raised wooden platforms, have been preserved using powdered lime. Many of them still have some hair and clothing. There is a strong smell in the classrooms, and there were no ropes or barriers preventing us from walking into the rooms amidst the corpses.

They are grouped according to age and sex. On one side of the first classroom we saw men still posed as if defending themselves against the blows of machetes, and on the other side women shielding their faces, and sometimes clutching children in their arms. Certain classrooms are full of nothing but children's corpses. Thinking that my two-year-old son would not recognize what he was looking at, I did not prevent him from looking at the bodies. I began having second thoughts when he asked "Mommy, why are so many people sleeping?"

As visitors, as foreigners, and as witnesses to the carnage that had taken place there, we felt compelled to be silent, to allow our gaze to fall on each individual body, and to pause for several moments in each room. Emmanuel kept hurrying us along, though, worried that we would not see everything. He seemed determined to impress upon us both the monotony of room after room filled with the bodies of now faceless, nameless victims, as well as the enormity of the concurrent deaths of so many innocent people.

According to Emmanuel, the corpses on display are those that were not claimed by surviving relatives after the bodies were exhumed from a huge drainage ditch behind the school where they were dumped by the killers. We wondered why so many bodies were left unclaimed. Emmanuel suggested that this may either be a result of people's inability to identify the already badly decomposed bodies, or the fact that in certain families, there were no survivors left to claim them. Emmanuel also mentioned that many people were too poor to bury their relatives (i.e. to pay for the transport of the body back to the family's village, buy a coffin, and pay for a funeral), and so were forced to leave the bodies behind. Emmanuel did not know how many corpses were on display at the school, but he said between 50,000 and 60,000 people were

massacred at the site in August 1994.

While most of the corpses are complete skeletons, there are also rooms full of piles of skulls and other bones. Emmanuel told us that at a certain point in the preservation effort, they had run out of chemicals and funds to preserve the bodies, and so they left some of remains untreated in a heap in one of the classrooms.

Emmanuel did not offer any information about how the victims came to be at the school, or how they were killed, or how he survived, so we asked him these questions while standing at the edge of the drainage ditch where most of the bodies had been buried in one huge mass grave. He explained that the people had not all gathered at the site spontaneously, but had been called to a meeting at the church parish near Murambi, and were directed to come to the school "for protection." This is consistent with the account published in *Leave None to Tell the Story*, which tells of a group of Tutsi from Musebeya commune being taken first to the bishopric in Gikongoro town, and eventually to Murambi, where they "were slaughtered with thousands of other Tutsi" (DesForges 1999: 316-320). Emmanuel said he was one of four people who survived the massacre. He was shot in the head, but was able to crawl away and hide in a thicket of trees on a nearby hillside. From this vantage point, he remembers watching the killers covering the ditch over with soil as the French troops arrived to implement "Operation Turquoise," a "humanitarian" detachment that effectively protected the genocidal forces as they withdrew from Rwanda ahead of the RPF advances (see Orth, this volume for more details about Operation Turquoise). Emmanuel told us that the French troops actually assisted the killers in covering over the ditch, and then proceeded to erect a volleyball net on the site, in order to enjoy some recreation with the *Interahamwe* (the notorious militias who oversaw most of the killing). From his family of 49 people, Emmanuel is the sole survivor of the genocide.

As our group prepared to leave Murambi, Emmanuel made an appeal for us to buy him "some soft drinks." He said this under his breath in Kinyarwanda, in the hope that my husband would translate it to the

rest of us and we would discreetly offer him some cash. It soon became clear that Emmanuel was operating outside the policies of the site's caretakers, who were standing in the shade near our car to make sure that we signed the guest book and left a donation. They explained that the preservation/memorialization at the Murambi site was initially made possible by a group of Rwandan ex-patriates (those like my husband who fled ethnic tensions in Rwanda in 1959) who have some connection to Gikongoro. It was not clear how much money this group actually raised to help exhume the mass graves, preserve the bodies, and cover other costs. It seems their donation was a one-time gift. Visitors to the site are therefore encouraged to leave donations, which are recorded in a visitors' log. This money is shared between the guide and the other local people who help to maintain the site.

The Murambi site, like many others in Rwanda, represents an effort to memorialize, as well as to preserve, what happened in a particular place. In its current state, the site does not offer a reconstruction of the killing; the bodies are not laid out where they were killed, and some of the bodies on display may have been killed in other locations. The mass graves have been excavated, and remain open. Thus, the Murambi site has not been restored to represent any particular moment in the genocide, but rather it represents a range of moments in the genocidal and post-genocidal process: the buildings are in the state of near-completion that they were in at the time of the killing, the drainage ditch is as it was at the time of the exhumation in August 1996, and the bodies are a testament to the scope and the nature of the violence, but are not preserved in such a way as to demonstrate how, where, or when they were killed. In short, this site serves as a graphic memorial to the many innocent people who were murdered there, but the details of the violence must be gleaned from the oral accounts of survivor/guides, or researched through secondary sources. The physical remains themselves do not "tell the story."

Most of the present efforts to preserve and/or memorialize genocide sites in Rwanda are local undertakings that use funds from a wide range of

mostly private sources. Officials at the Ministry of Youth Culture and Sports confirmed that only those sites considered "national sites," including Nyamata and Kibeho, involve government oversight, whereas the vast majority of others are overseen by local communities or individuals.

The map "Rwanda: Les Grands Sites du Genocide et des Massacres Avril – Juillet 1994" includes a registry of 118 sites throughout the country. The map distinguishes between "Lieu de culte" (religious site, 33), "Lieu public" (public site, 79), and "Colline de resistance" (site of resistance, 6). The distribution of these sites on the map is worth noting. Almost all of the sites of resistance are on Rwanda's western border (with Zaire), and there are virtually no sites at all located in the northern part of the country.

Attitudes and Perceptions Towards Site Preservation in Rwanda

My visit to Murambi suggests that the presence of genocide sites throughout Rwanda resonates differently with different groups of people. The group of foreigners I was in (including my Rwandan-born husband) had a range of expectations in visiting the Murambi site, expectations that were representative of the international community's agenda with regard to genocide sites. We wanted to take our time and be allowed to reflect on the tragedy that occurred at Murambi at our own pace. We were surprised and disappointed that our guide rushed us through the site. We were confused about the sequence of historical events that had occurred in this place, and we had to work harder than we had expected to get the story straight in our minds. It seemed awkward and irreverent when the local guides and caretakers solicited monetary gifts from us in competition with each other. And the lack of a coherent narrative about the events that took place at Murambi, whether in a booklet or on a plaque or just a coherent guided tour, was something of a surprise. It became clear to me that I had expected the visit to teach me some history, shock me morally, and deepen my understanding of the human experience of the genocide. I wanted things to be accurate and authentic and accessible.

In order to get a clearer sense of what Rwandans themselves think about these sites, I conducted a series of interviews with a range of people from different political and institutional perspectives, including government representatives, survivors' advocates, scholars, and ordinary Rwandans. Their attitudes and perceptions reflect an important divide between governmental and non-governmental agendas. From the official government perspective, genocide preservation and memorialization are seen as part of the national agenda of national reconciliation and promoting a culture of peace in Rwanda. Government officials do not admit any internal contradictions between those aims. On the other hand, people representing NGOs and the academic sector view preservation and memorialization as part of the overarching need to accurately document the events of 1994, and they recognize that there are real social and political obstacles to doing so. What everyone I spoke with had in common was a sense that memorialization and documentation of the genocide are far more important in Rwanda than preservation of genocide sites for forensic or pedagogical purposes.

If anyone was going to stress the importance of preservation for the purposes of forensic investigation, I thought it would be someone in the justice sector. My conversation with Mr. Alberto Basominger at the Ministry of Justice was therefore focused on the legal aspects of preserving genocide sites. I asked him if the Ministry felt it was important to preserve genocide sites in such a way that physical evidence is not disturbed or other evidence-gathering procedures undermined. Mr. Basominger noted that the Ministry of Justice is in the process of implementing the *gacaca* system, in which most of the evidence is based on eyewitness testimony. As a result, they are not very interested in the preservation of forensic evidence from genocide sites. He added that it was perhaps only in the high-level cases being tried at the ICTR in Arusha where forensic evidence was relevant. He implied that at the local level, people know what happened, and who did what, and that eyewitness testimony is more than sufficient to establish the facts of a particular case. Forensic evidence is thus a costly luxury they cannot afford,

and do not really need.

Two officials from the Rwandan Patriotic Front political party, Mssrs. Rutabayiro and Shamakocera, identified the prevention of future violence as the principle aim of preserving genocide sites. They noted that some *genocidaires* may feel that preservation/memorialization perpetuates the public's awareness of their culpability, but that this is not a reason not to do it. Tensions will always exist between those who advocate remembering the genocide and those who advocate forgetting it, but the party believes that remembering what happened is an important step towards ensuring the security of all Rwandans, at least in the immediate future. They point to South Africa as an analogous situation where memorialization of apartheid is part of the process of social and political reconciliation.

Within the Rwandan government, the Ministry of Youth, Culture and Sports has primary responsibility for genocide memorials, preservation, and documentation. Their plan for these activities is elaborated in a document entitled "*Office National des Memoriaux du Genocide et des Massacres au Rwanda*" authored by the Ministry of Higher Education, Scientific Research and Culture in 1996. In it, the objectives, strategies, methods, and budget for a national plan of genocide memorials is laid out. The principle aim of the activities in this plan is to "educate Rwandans in a culture of humanity and to advance the cause of ending genocide in Africa and the world" ("*edquer la population rwandaise a une culture humaniste et de contribuer au niveau de l'Afrique et du monde a bannir le genocide*"). The centerpiece of the plan is the construction of a national genocide memorial at Rebero l'Horizon in Kigali, comprised of a museum, cemetery, documentation center and conference facilities. Similar museums are planned for each of Rwanda's twelve provinces.

This blueprint for memorializing the 1994 genocide is consistent with the comments made to me by officials at the Ministry of Youth, Culture and Sports. That said, the centralized nature of the 1996 plan is somewhat at odds with the idea expressed by Jean Mukimbari, the Secretary General, that the Ministry does

not intend for the process to be a centralized one, because they do not wish to perpetuate the political dynamics that enabled the genocide to occur in the first place. He emphasized long-range goals such as civic education, conflict prevention, and social and political reconciliation. The dual objectives of memory and peace are not, in his view, contradictory or mutually exclusive. In addition to memorials, the Ministry hopes to sponsor conferences, debates, films, and research projects that will continue to examine the events of 1994, and in so doing, promote peace and reconciliation.

With these overall objectives in mind, the Secretary General noted that there were some pressing issues that need attention in the short term. Many Rwandans have not finished burying their dead, and there is an urgent need to acquire the technical skills to preserve corpses, pits, buildings, etc. He added that for now, local communities must assume (logistical and financial) responsibility for memorializing the events that took place around them. He said that various countries that may have been indirectly implicated in the genocide (including the United States) should not “boycott” Rwanda or the cause of studying and remembering the genocide, for fear that it might expose their complicity. The Rwandan government is actively seeking international partners in advancing these objectives. Similarly, he said that because not all Hutus were perpetrators, the majority of Rwandans have a large stake in establishing the facts of what happened so that responsibility can be assigned to individuals, not groups. He added that over the course of the 20th century, people have worked much harder to divide Hutus and Tutsis than to unite them, and that the government has taken it upon itself to reverse this trend.

The attitudes and perceptions I gathered from representatives of the government can be summarized as follows:

- ♦ preservation/memorialization fits into a larger set of political objectives that includes reconciliation and conflict prevention

- ♦ there are no immediate social or political obstacles to commemorating the genocide through site preservation, construction of memorials, and historical documentation

- ♦ a decentralized approach to this process is appropriate to the extent that centralized authority may contain the seeds of conflict in Rwanda, and the government itself is not in a position to fund these activities at the moment.

From the non-governmental organization (NGO) sector, I spoke with Francois-Regis Rukundakuvuga, who was at the time Executive Secretary of IBUKA, the largest survivors’ organization in Rwanda. Although “commemoration” is one of IBUKA’s three major program areas (in addition to “justice” and “assisting survivors”), it constitutes the smallest range of the organization’s activities, principally due to lack of funds. What IBUKA has done in the area of commemoration has less to do with the physical remains of violence at genocide sites, and more to do with documenting the genocide using survivors’ accounts as the primary source of data. I asked Mr. Rukundakuvuga what he would like to see done in the area of commemoration. He did not hesitate in saying that his first priority would be to undertake an adequate documentation project to gather and consolidate all available information about the 1994 genocide. He envisions collecting individual testimonies from both survivors and perpetrators about their experiences in 1994, as well as accounts of survivors’ lives in the aftermath of the genocide. In addition, he hopes that IBUKA will be able to sponsor research on the causes of the genocide, and a detailed chronology of what took place between April and July 1994. IBUKA’s vision is to gather all this information, and publish it in both print and electronic formats, and then make it available throughout Rwanda in some kind of mobile exhibit.

On the question of whether activities that commemorate the genocide might handicap efforts at cohabitation/reconciliation in Rwanda, Mr. Rukundakuvuga said of course they might. From his standpoint as an advocate for survivors, he recognizes that IBUKA’s agenda is often in direct conflict not only

with that of perpetrators, but also of other Tutsi and the government itself (and with other survivors' groups, if the comments of Emmanuel at Murambi are any indication). He acknowledges that it is very sensitive to discuss the interests of survivors with reference to the interests of the government and the country as a whole. IBUKA is nevertheless committed to the goal of "resisting death" and will advance the interests of its members regardless of the social or political obstacles they encounter.

Finally, I spoke (separately) with two scholars at the National University of Rwanda. The ideas expressed by these two people were very much in line with Mr. Rukundakuvuga's comments on the issue of preservation/commemoration/ documentation. One scholar readily acknowledged that the process of commemorating the 1994 genocide is a politically loaded one. There is no way to go about this process that will satisfy every constituency in Rwanda. For this reason, he added, the activities of preservation and memorialization may be best left to communities, where decisions can be made based on local opinion and the realities of the genocide as it affected particular places.

The University's role in the memorialization process could be the establishment of a national documentation center that can house all the historical information pertaining to the genocide, including archives of the former regime, any available photo or film footage, survivors' testimonies, etc. This would not only memorialize what happened, but also stand as the central resource for those who wish to study the events of 1994. From the scholars' perspective, accurate and thorough documentation is the first step in a process that includes preservation and memorialization. They reason that without credibly and authoritatively establishing the facts of what happened, efforts to memorialize and commemorate the genocide can tell the story in ways that are partial, subjective, and politically motivated.

The attitudes and perceptions I gathered from representatives of the NGO and academic sectors can be summarized as follows:

- ◆ documentation is an important step in

commemorating/memorializing the genocide, and is of higher priority than preserving genocide sites

- ◆ there are significant social and political obstacles to commemorating the genocide, but none that cannot or should not be surmounted

Conclusion

Although the Rwandan government has a well-articulated plan for memorializing the genocide through the construction of museums, and the National University of Rwanda and IBUKA have a fairly clear idea of how they would like to go about documenting it, no one I spoke with had a specific plan, or a project-in-progress, focused on preserving genocide sites, narrowly defined. To the extent that the Rwandan judicial sector is not clamoring for the protection of forensic evidence, there do not appear to be many compelling reasons to favor a process of preservation over a process of memorialization and/or documentation. Of course some efforts at memorialization may involve leaving things untouched in a way that "freezes" the genocide or its aftermath in time (which is partly the case at Murambi, but perhaps more so at Nyamata). And historical documentation often calls for the preservation of archival materials such as documents, photos, and other material objects. But the restoration and preservation of genocide sites as an end in itself seems to have little resonance in Rwanda at the moment.

To the extent that building memorials to commemorate the genocide may serve a specific political agenda (or agendas), there are also many long-term credible reasons for embarking on this project. Educating present and future generations of Rwandans about the genocide in order to prevent future genocides and instill a culture of respect for human rights is a clearly-stated aim of the Rwandan government. Although people shy away from the idea that genocide sites might represent some opportunity to generate income from foreign visitors (tourists), the desire to expose the world to the gruesome reality of what took place in Rwanda in 1994 is also evident. Whether these pedagogical goals are better served by the existence of memorials/museums, or by carefully preserved sites, (or both) is an open question. The thinking I encountered

in Rwanda, however, seems to favor the former over the latter.

From a personal and religious point of view (as opposed to political, legal, or intellectual standpoints), it is clear that communities that suffered such inconceivable losses of life during the genocide are compelled to commemorate those events somehow. Whether by burying victims together in a common cemetery (as opposed to traditional practice of burying them at the homes of their relatives), or by building some kind of monument, or by leaving the pits, schools, churches, etc. untouched as visual reminders of the killing, there is a widespread and natural desire to remember and honor the dead. Again, there is no indication that preservation meets this need any better than memorialization.

There is merit in all three areas of activity, although I found the most widespread feeling of urgency in Rwanda for memorialization projects. This may reflect the relative recency of the genocide, and the continuing sense of

shock, trauma, anger, and disbelief experienced by survivors and their communities. In the longer term, accurate documentation of the 1994 genocide may prove more significant in deterring revisionist histories and enabling better research on comparative genocide at the international level. As Rwandans continue to undertake preservation, memorialization, and documentation of the 1994 genocide, there will inevitably be unforeseen social and political ramifications of these processes. As such, the story of Rwandan genocide sites is the story of the Rwandan genocide: a tale written one village at a time about a tragic past that refuses to stand still against the backdrop of a future whose exact political contours are not yet known.

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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.

A WISH TO SEE THE KHMER ROUGE TRIBUNAL

Prum Samon

Since 1970 the term “Khmer Rouge” has become a threatening word. The Khmer Rouge killed people of all ages. They burned down houses, destroyed bridges, and shot up cars. They were also tricky and made faulty, but convincing arguments. The Khmer Rouge propagandized, “Dear fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, and all the compatriots, we would like all of you to evacuate to the liberated regions where you all will be economically supported by the *Angkar*. Please, do not worry; you all will have enough food to eat.”

The Khmer Rouge eradicated human rights and free markets. People were not allowed to sell anything. The Khmer Rouge always said that when there is patriotism, every possession should be used collectively. Under their rule, some people in remote rural areas still went fishing or traded merchandise. When the Khmer Rouge caught those people, they accused them of being spies, covert enemies, or CIA. Sadly, the Khmer Rouge killed them no matter what age or gender they were.

In 1975 when the Khmer Rouge took power over the entire country, the *Angkar* started gathering people and putting them into cooperatives. People were categorized into two groups. Those who lived in the liberated zone before 1975 were called the base people or full rights people, and those who had been evacuated from the cities were called new people or 17-April people. The division of people made some differences in work and food supply. The base people were responsible for light work. Also, their special duty was to spy on the new people. Former wives of soldiers, high-ranking officers, students, professors, artists, and businessmen were the targets of the Khmer Rouge and were killed by the *Angkar*. The survivors were forced into hard labor. Because of insufficient food, some people got sick. The *Angkar* usually referred to the sick people as *khlah dil* (very lazy), and they were

taken to be educated. Usually, those who were educated never came back. The adults, who were considered to be the best labor force, were accused of various infractions before the Khmer Rouge killed them.

The following are my relatives who died during the Pol Pot regime:

Om Meng: My Grandfather

My grandfather, 86, was a former layman of Chum Kriel Pagoda. The *Angkar* told my mother that my grandfather was too old to work, so the *Angkar* could not provide him food. Every day, my grandfather was given only half can of rice or a yam or ear of corn. Being unable to tolerate the starvation, he became weak and sick. Since he was living in a malaria-prone area, he also got infected. When his fever became high, he lost consciousness and began talking deliriously. “I really had the *Angkar* and the revolution.” My mother then took my grandfather to the local hospital where no relatives were allowed to look after him. A couple of days later, a man came to my mother and told her that my grandfather died. That was in 1976.

Prum Sao: My Father

My father had two buffalos which he had brought from his home village. The *Angkar* assigned him to plough fields from 6 in the morning until 6 in the evening with a three-hour so-called lunch break. However, it was not a real lunch or break. What he had for lunch was only a bowl of water porridge. After eating, he had to graze his buffalos before taking them back to the field. My father worked very hard, hoping that he would escape being killed, but received little food. The lack of food made him weak and sick. His legs became so swollen that he could not walk.

The *Angkar* sent him to the hospital. Limping off with his walking stick, my father brought with him a kettle, plate, and a roll of plastic. When he arrived at Kaun Sat Hospital, the medical staff told him that they

did not have right medicine to cure his illness. He was told to move to the regional hospital. A Khmer Rouge cadre had my father ride on an ox-cart, bringing two other patients with the same illness down the dirt road north of Kaun Sat Pagoda. I was about 7 years of age when my father was in the hospital, and that was the last time I heard from him.

Prum Saat: My Oldest Brother

In 1975, Saat was living with Ros Savong, the governor of Kampot province. The Khmer Rouge tried to persuade him to surrender and move to Chum Kiri. In fact, they had already planned to kill not only him but the governor's whole family as well. Some people saw the Khmer Rouge take him and the governor's family to be killed in Chum Kiri district.

Prum Sam On: My Second Older Brother

Sam On worked in a mobile unit in Koh Sla. He was an outstanding and hardworking man. He could carry two buckets of earth on each side (in all, he carried four at a time). In 1977, Sam On was detained in Kampong Tralach Temple and starved for a couple days before the Khmer Rouge killed him together with other 200 other men.

Prum Sam En: My Third Older Brother

Sam En had a good personality. His neighbors liked him very much. In 1976, the *Angkar* assigned him and 10 other farmers' children to look after cattle. One day, the *Angkar* evacuated people from Trapaing Kak to Tasou village in Kaun Sat sub-district. They used the pretext that the previous village contained hidden enemies. In fact, the *Angkar* kept the area of the previous village as a killing field. At that time, a Khmer Rouge cadre told my mother that they wanted to keep Sam En for a few days at the cattle fields. A few days later, my mother met the same Khmer Rouge cadre again. She asked, "Where is my son, who was with your son at the field?" The cadre simply gave a careless answer, "I let him off long ago." From this answer, my mother could infer that Sam En had been killed.

My Sixth Older Sister Ngaul

One day my mother got a fever. The *Angkar* sent

her to Wat Ang Krisna Hospital. Because there was no nurse looking after her, she called for my older sister to stay with her. The unsanitary conditions at the hospital caused my older sister to feel dizzy and made her vomit. A moment later, a women medic gave Ngaul an injection and she died suddenly. I was shocked at hearing this terrible news. I could not accept it right away. I remembered I had just been out with her, picking tamarinds and eating them together.

After the Ngaul's death, only my mother and I were left.

My Relative Heat

Heat was 17 and worked in a women's mobile unit at Koh Sla. Both young men and women gathered at Koh Sla Dam. They worked very hard, moving earth from dawn until dusk, but received only a spoon of porridge with a few rice grains in it. Sometimes, we had soup of *l'ngiang* leaves [a sour vegetable] with or without snails or crab. Many young people became sick and died as a result. Their corpses were scattered throughout the jungle.

One day, Heat saw a pile of corn which belonged to the Economic Unit. She was very hungry, so she picked an ear and cooked it. Before the corn was ready to eat, the unit chief caught her and gathered people around for a meeting. The chief unit tied her arms in back of her, grabbed the hot corn from the fire, and put it into her mouth, burning her. He then declared that Heat had betrayed the *Angkar* and cooperative. Everybody at the meeting was threatened not to follow in her footsteps. Heat, however, was not killed, but instead became seriously ill. A few days later, both she and her mother starved to death in their small miserable hut.

My Uncle Chhoeun

My uncle was a government officer in Lon Nol's regime. Because he could not bear the gloomy atmosphere and lack of food in Democratic Kampuchea, he became sick. He was too weak to work, so he sought permission from his unit chief to stay in the Wat Angkor Krisna Hospital. In the hospital, he got

only a spoon of watery porridge for each meal. Even worse, sometimes the porridge was mixed with yam or corn leaves, and sometimes it was spoiled. After four or five days in the hospital, my uncle passed away.

Following his death, his wife Im Kia died, leaving a three-year old child crying nervously in the hospital. Kia had another daughter working in the mobile unit at Koh Sla. She did not even know that her parents had died.

Aunt Chhum and Her Family

Aunt Chhum was my mother's cousin. She had seven sons and four daughters. Her oldest son, Khy, was a commando. He worked from morning until night to serve the *Angkar*. He was safe until he got chickenpox. Then the *Angkar* began to learn about his real background, and killed him in 1976.

Oun, her second son, had two children. He worked very hard and tried not to be disobedient to the *Angkar*, yet he received no mercy. One day, he and other 60 men were gathered for a meeting without lunch. When the meeting ended, the *Angkar* held another meeting for women, saying that the people attending the previous meeting were all betrayers. The purpose of the second meeting was to inform the participants of the deaths of those men so the women would not wait for any of them to return home. Oun died without knowing that his wife was having a third baby.

Or and Nen were the third and fourth children of aunt Chhum. One day, the *Angkar* ordered nuclear families to move to Kep sub-district. A week later, I saw the wives and children of Or and Nen return, walking with their bulky belongings. I saw no man coming back with them. This was the time aunt Chhum realized that her two other sons had died.

Aunt Chhum also had twins: Ton and Tang. Both of them and their other two siblings, Touch and Seat, were university students. They worked in the vanguard mobile unit. They were killed in Kampong Talach Temple. I did not know anything about their deaths, except for that of Seat. While she was carrying sheaves

to the field, two militiamen arrived and tied her and ten women up. The militiamen walked them away. Later, there was a rumor that all the women were raped before they were killed.

Nub, 62, was Chhum's husband. One day at lunch break, uncle Nub was collecting crabs and snails to cook with yam leaves. He had not eaten the soup before the militiamen came to take him to a meeting. Before leaving, he told his wife to keep some soup for him. Aunt Chhum waited for him so they could eat the soup together. She had awaited until 2 in the afternoon, but her husband still did not come. Then she went crying to her mother. She said mournfully, "My children and my husband were killed by the *Angkar*. Eight of my children and three sons-in-law are all dead. I now have only three widowed daughters."

Uncle Tren and Aunt Un: My Mother's Cousin

Although Aunt Un was weak after having just delivered a baby, she was forced to work very hard. Soon she died, leaving her baby with her husband. Every day before leaving for work, Uncle Tren dropped his baby at the children's center where the elderly women would look after them. One afternoon, the *Angkar* took Uncle Tren and many other men to be killed. The same day, his baby was crying hard when it did not see its father. An elderly woman in charge of taking care of children told Vorn, a unit chief, that the baby cried non-stop. "Don't worry. Leave this affair to me," said Vorn. He then grabbed the baby and walked out. He stopped about 5 meters from the center and dropped the baby on the ground. He gave it a few kicks, and then he grabbed its little legs and threw violently it against the mango tree trunk until it died.

Uncle Vy: My Mother's Relative

To earn a living, Uncle Vy climbed sugar palm trees to collect juice. In 1974, he fell from the top of a tree and broke his legs. After he became disabled, he was given the job of making rope, moving earth, and tethering oxen. His wife Mean had to leave for work very early in the morning. At lunchtime, Mean had to fetch porridge for her husband. Then she had to rush

back to work. At about 6 in the evening, she returned from work, bringing her husband some porridge. She did this every day.

At dusk one day, while Vy and his six-year-old daughter were eating, a few militiamen came to threaten them, saying they were eating at an irregular time. Mean's mother answered, "He just got some porridge from his wife. He cannot walk." The militiamen replied, "It's none of your business. Shut up or you will die!" The militiamen tied Vy's arms and legs. Then they carried him on a wooden pole like a pig to slaughter. His daughter cried out loud, making the militiamen angry. They shouted at her, "Stop crying or you will die!" The two women and the girl did not dare to make a sound. Then they hid, trying to listen what was going to happen. About 10 minutes later, they heard a sound like that of a wild animal, howling and yowling. When the morning came, Mean's mother saw a newly dug grave located about just 60 meters from her hut near Mount Kamboar, Kaun Sat village, Kaun Sat sub-district, Kampot district, Kampot province.

Pas: Aunt Chhin's daughter

Pas was my father's cousin. Her mother was a farmer in Mam Pich Village, Kaun Sat Sub-district. One day, the *Angkar* moved her mother to transplant rice in Kep sub-district. Pas and other eight children also went there with their parents. When they arrived, the *Angkar* told them that there was no food supply for children, so the parents would have to send their children back home. The children left on ox carts, accompanied by an economic support unit. A week later, it was time for her mother to return home. A long the path, she saw many children's corpses scattered in the forest. The corpses were torn to pieces and probably eaten by wild pigs or wolves. She was shocked to see this, but did not dare say a word. Having arrived home, she tried to find her daughter, but she did not see her. At that moment, it began to dawn on her that her daughter was among corpses in the forest.

Thy's Mother: My Neighbor

Thy's mother lived in a hut about 30 kilometers

from mine. She had three children, Thy and twins. Her husband was killed by the *Angkar* in 1977. One day at dawn, a group of farmers noticed that the body of one of the twins was floating on the surface of a pond in front of the hut. They looked for Thy. They found her holding on tight to her baby sibling, who was sleeping in a hammock. Then the farmers went into the pond and found the body of Thy's mother; it has been tied to a broken cement piling at the bottom of the pond. The farmers suspected that the woman was raped and murdered. After that, Thy had to feed her younger sibling with the boiled water left from cooking rice. Not long after that, the baby died and Thy was sent to live in the children's center. Then she has disappeared.

These events occurred over 27 years ago, yet I still physically and emotionally suffer from these deaths, which haunt me constantly. I still can picture my older brother's skinny body covered in his torn clothes. His clothing had been mended with a kind of wild grass. He carried his younger sibling with his arms. He chased cows. I still remembered my father's last words, telling me to look after myself. I still can see the skinny figure of my father, supported by his walking stick, carrying his packed bag of clothing to the hospital.

After 1979, my relatives and I often recalled our painful memories. When we brought up past events, we usually cried. Aunt Chhum told my mother that "I really want to know when the government will bring the Khmer Rouge to trial. I want to see them on trial." Aunt Chhum died of old age in 2002 when she was 90. Followed by her death, aunt Mean died in 2004 when she was 56. They died before justice has been found.

People in my village really want the Khmer Rouge tribunal to take place. They would like to be invited by the Documentation Center of Cambodia to join the ECCC tour, so that they would know about the process of the tribunal.

Prum Samon is a survivor of Democratic Kampuchea.

CONFRONTING THE PAST

Vorak Ny

The 2006 Khmer New Year marked the 31st anniversary of the fall of Phnom Penh to the Khmer Rouge. That date – April 17, 1975 – marked the beginning of great suffering for my generation and left the nation drowning in a sea of infamy. Cambodians are still trying to measure the depth of their losses and the nation still feels the effects of the regime.

On April 22, 2006, I woke up with a vision. After a two-hour ride in a cramped taxi, I returned to Chrey village, where I had lived in fear nearly 30 years ago. It was the same month that my family was relocated to Mong Russey and settled in this village among people we never knew. We remained there until the regime collapsed in 1979.

As I stepped out of the car in Mong Russey and felt my foot touching the ground, I was instantly reminded of standing to wait for instructions from the Khmer Rouge. It made me feel strange in a way I cannot explain. I was alone in a familiar place.

I stood watching the taxi depart north to Battambang; I was on the very spot where my family stood many years ago. The road seemed wider and there were fewer trees; it was now filled with food stalls and waiting moto-dops. Gone was the roadblock erected across the national road during the regime to prevent people from traveling. Now, there were more houses along the road, Mong Market had been reopened, and there was a health clinic across from

the pagoda where my brother Dara died.

As soon as I stepped off the paved road, I began to feel that I was back where I left off more than thirty years ago. I began looking for familiar faces and names, like that of

my brother Omarith who disappeared while building a dam in 1977.

My first thought was to look for the dam. Just before the Vietnamese invaded, the floodgates had been brought in by ox cart and truck; they were to be installed and tested for the rainy season, just few months away.

Mong-Chrey Dam

I stood on the edge of the bank looking at a man taking a bath and washing his clothes, thinking how I once took part in building the dam. I remember standing in line, passing baskets full of dirt to the next person 50 meters away. A man named Ry oversaw this part of the project. While he was supervising, cadre Shay usually wandered around smoking and yelling at people, who were compelled to listen to revolutionary songs that were broadcast over loudspeakers. My twin brother Phal was in a different group further down along the dam.

Looking around for something that might be recognizable, I saw that the giant *por* tree on the opposite riverbank was still standing; it is no taller, but it is aging. Behind it are two small buildings: one older one of wood and a brick office building that is under construction. Chey Pagoda has been rebuilt with contributions from Cambodians living in the US and France. They dedicated many of the stupas and Buddhist shrines to their lost family members.

On the opposite bank, a health clinic has replaced the community center built in early 1976. This was where the Khmer Rouge detained Bunthan before sending him to his death, presumably at Wat Tom Ma Yut.

By this time, many memories began to reappear: the trees I climbed, ponds I swam in, and places where I hid things from the eyes of the Khmer Rouge.

As I crossed the river, the first person who came



Ry Omarith before 1975

to mind was cadre Daz, his wife, and their two sons, Tuy and Roun, but there was no trace of them. Along the dirt road leading to our hut, I began asking villagers about the people I had known. Many of them gave conflicting accounts. If my memory served me well, I recognized the five palm trees that were behind our thatched hut. One morning, a man fell to his death while trying to cut off leaves to make a roof for his hut. Across the road was the house where cadre Daz had lived, and to the right was cadre Soth's house.

Our First Hut, in Front of Five Palm Trees

Our first hut was about 6 by 8 feet and stood a foot off the ground. To me it was simply a place to sleep (it had no kitchen). Every rainy season the floods would reach within an inch of our house. During the first few months we were there, I would sit in the hut, swinging my feet, looking around at the neighbors and enjoying my time. My mother cleared an area near the house and began planting mints and vegetables, and putting up fences to protect her garden from chickens and intruders. But most important, this was the way she marked her sanctuary.

Living in a world without color is unimaginable. But by 1976, anything that nature didn't kill, the Khmer Rouge did. Chrey village has fertile soil and a river, which made it easy to plant rice, corn, potatoes and a rich assortment of citrus and other fruits, giving farmers not only good harvests but also plenty of fish and fresh water year-round. But as the days turned into weeks and years, I sat in the hut and watched the leaves gradually disappear from the trees.

By late 1977, as more people died, Chrey village also became like a graveyard. At night the village was dark and lonely, left entirely to wild dogs roaming and howling, and scavenging for food. My mother spent most nights alone, afraid for her life. She remained there until the village was regrouped as people scattered in a 2-3 kilometer radius of the village.

For nearly four years, the thatched hut in Chrey village was my whole world. The regime taught me to never wander anywhere unless instructed otherwise.

Almost every day, with friends and foes alike, I struggled to live for a bowl of rice. But it was always clear to me that a home is a home: a concept laden with significance in Khmer culture. And, of course, I wanted to be close to my mother and the knowledge that she was alive comforted me.

A half block from our hut was a medicine station where traditional herbs and roots were made into medicines for the sick. I went there a few dozen times for medicine, not because I was sick, but because sometimes the medicines were made with palm sugar and I needed the carbohydrates for strength. Also, Kan and I often stole mangoes from a giant tree every time there was a rainstorm.

It took an effort to walk to the field behind the tree line. I stood and looked out to the area where I think my twin brother Phal's grave is. I sense his presence all the time. I feel closer to him now than ever before. I recognized a fruit tree, but further down, the small pond where my brother and I used to swim is no longer there. There are many places carved out in my memory. They all here, except the people I lost; they, like my 14-year old twin, cannot be replaced.

Phal was the first death in our family at the hands of the Khmer Rouge. When he died, I was too worn out to be sad, so I just cradled his head in my arms. Two nurses immediately began digging his grave, wanting to bury him as quickly as possible. While they were digging, I leaned close to him and grabbed his cool and pale hands. I said "please don't leave me." I must have looked odd. I wasn't crying. Inside I felt somewhat at peace. His face told me that he was no longer in pain.

Everything felt so wrong, and I had no idea of how to make it better; everything was dreamlike and indistinct. Five of us – the two nurses, my mother, my sister, and me – gave our last condolences, surrounded by bushes and freshly dug graves. The anguish in my mother's face was plain. My sister Amarine was speechless. Something fundamental had died in Chrey that day. I lost a brother.

That sinking feeling lasted for nearly a year. At night, when I lay awake, I missed him and regretted things I hadn't said or done. I imagined his soul drifting closer and closer to heaven, his final resting place, and I also felt that a part of me was drifting further away from him. The world was very beautiful at that hour, and the night usually comforted me. The darkness made things less painful, and Phnom Penh felt very near.

Back inside the makeshift hospital, on Phal's bed, which my mother had shared with him during his last few nights, his clothes were still warm 15 minutes after his burial. His small cloth bag, which he used to wear across his shoulder, hung at the end of the bed on a bamboo pole. A few of his personal belongings were still inside: his aluminum spoon, a tin milk can, a few crumbs of rock salt, dried rice, his red and white checked *karma*, and a filthy but beautiful long-sleeved shirt. Now that we had done everything in our power, my mother gave his belongings to those who needed them and left the hospital.

Many thoughts went through my mind in Chrey village. An appealing one is that I want a place closer to him, perhaps a small plot of land with a small house, and to start a life here. In the meantime, on my mother's next visit, we plan to erect a Buddhist shrine at Wat Chrey in memory of our lost family members.

There seem to be more inhabitants in Chrey than when I left in 1978. People I used to know have relocated or died. Among the many faces in the village are the sons and daughters of former Khmer Rouge. Many others left, just like us. Some went to the cities seeking work. One villager asked me when I left Chrey. I had to pause for a minute, for it seemed I had been there all of my life. At that moment, America and Phnom Penh were something I could only imagine.

I traveled along the dam to Ream Kun village where Wat Tom Ma Yut, a notorious detention and torture site, is located. By design, this vast plain stretching to the national road will be submerged when the floodgates close, taking all of the farmland

and its people with it.

Wat Por compound, the makeshift hospital where my brother Dara spent his final days, had been rebuilt and converted into classrooms. Next to it is a small tin-roofed shack that was used as a kitchen and sleeping quarters for nurses and guards during the regime. Today, it is an administrative building. A vegetable plot has been turned into a school garden with a flag pole. A small pond nearby was said to have been used as a burial site during the regime. Today it has been filled in. I sat on the school bench for long time and looked around, trying to figure out the exact location where Dara might be buried. Something told me that he is here.

Dara was the youngest boy in our family; he was born in 1965. Polio had left him paralyzed from the waist down. The Khmer Rouge felt that people who were physically or mentally impaired were unfit for the regime, and they attempted to kill him on at least one occasion. My mother begged them to spare his life. A few days later, Dara tied a log onto his waist and dragged it as the Khmer Rouge looked on. This act alone may have saved him from an early execution.

I then went to Mong Russey train station, where Phal and I once followed the ox carts that were transporting rice to the waiting trains. The station is run down and filthy. Villagers have taken over the passenger waiting area and ticket booth as shelter, while the loading dock and barber shop are abandoned. The rice warehouse is still operating, though. During the regime, I stole rice from this warehouse, then snuck into the woods across the road and back to Chrey village.

Under the searing heat of April, I looked at my watch; it was 2:42 pm. I thought I had seen everything I wanted to see. My next stop was Battambang town, where I visited the school my brothers and I shared for a few years before the Khmer Rouge shut it down in 1975.

The house where we had lived for two years was gone; only an empty lot remains. The land is up for sale, along with three other empty lots surrounding it.

I went back to Doun Teav, where the boat dropped us off, and headed down the Sangké River. I only recognized a few places. Doun Teave Lyce, where we took refuge for several nights, has been remodeled and given a coat of fresh paint.

I have learned about the horrors of Auschwitz, the Nazi's mastermind Adolph Hitler, and victims like Anne Frank, but nothing compares to what I saw at Tuol Sleng (S-21). My suspicions about the brutal murders that took place there have been confirmed by many outsiders like the journalist for Australia's *Daily Mirror* John Pilger, who called Pol Pot an "Asian Hitler" in his article "Echo of Auschwitz." I thank him and others for their courage to write about the regime: Chanrithy Him (*When Broken Glass Floats: Growing Up under the Khmer Rouge*), Dith Pran (founder and president of The Dith Pran Holocaust Awareness Project), Vann Nath (*A Cambodian Prison Portrait in S-21*), and Loung Ung (*First They Killed My Father; A Daughter of Cambodia Remembers*). And acknowledgment is due to the Documentation Center of Cambodia's Director Youk Chhang and its entire staff for their pursuit of justice.

The first full account I read of the atrocities committed in Cambodia was an article in *Reader's Digest*: "Murder of a Gentle Land" by Anthony Paul and John Barron, followed by *Cambodge Année Zéro* by François Ponchaud, a then a more detailed account by William Shawcross, *Sideshow: Kissinger, Nixon and the Destruction of Cambodia*.

I read and reread them, making sure that I won't forget those who died. I lost three brothers and two sisters to the Khmer Rouge. Two of them – one with two children and the other who had a son and was six months pregnant in late 1976 – were executed. Two of my brothers died of starvation and disease at Chrey village in 1977-1978. And one went missing and is presumed dead.

My brother, Ny Omarith (missing)

The disappearance of my brother remains as fresh for me today as it did then. My mother still lives with the agony she feels over his disappearance in

mid-1977. Although we remained hopeful for some years that he might resurface, it is painful today to look back at those moments of optimism.

Most Cambodians having seen the killing fields, but it is difficult for me to accept that my brother is among the victims there. Since I returned to Phnom Penh in October 2003, I have visited and revisited the Tuol Sleng torture center, hoping not to find his picture there, but to learn more about the regime that remains shrouded in secrecy.

Was my brother caught and brought here to face charges or could he have died here? I walk from cell to cell, and when I reach the gallery where photographs of victims are displayed along with implements of torture, I look at them and see things I witnessed during the regime. This experience has had a disturbing effect on me. Many of the methods the Khmer Rouge used to curb dissent proved to be similarly ferocious in Chrey region.

My brother left Chrey village as he lived in it, fearless of death. His fate was determined by the immutability of his character, which came predictably to one who was defiant and confident in his judgments, knowing there was no hope of success against such overwhelming odds.

Over the years, I began to speak out more about him. Recently, two men, one in his fifties and one around my age, claimed to have had lived in Chrey village in those years and knew the area quite well. But no one knew or heard of my brother's whereabouts.

His days with us were short, and I hope that his disappearance from our life would justify the cause of freedom and the life he sought to live. My brother Omarith was just seventeen years old.

Soon after the Vietnamese invasion, my father went back to the village in Kampong Cham where he stayed during the regime. His hut was left untouched; the banana and papaya trees nearby were ripe, and the grass around the hut was about knee-high. Looking from a distance, he felt convinced that someone was still living there and waiting inside the hut! The

door was ajar so he stepped inside, where he saw writing on the wall: "I love you father." It appeared to be the writing of my sister Chanthou Reth. My father sat there recollecting for a while, and moved on.

The Fallout from Democratic Kampuchea

Fate has been kind to Cambodia, but costly, considering the numbers: thirty years of war, millions killed. Our modern history has been one of ongoing tragedy and the fallout has been our national sadness; the senseless loss of life will be felt for generations to come. But I hope history will teach us some lessons. Indeed, the Khmer Rouge regime marked a turning point for all of us, and change requires commitment and sacrifice. We can only make the changes needed if our consciences are clear and we have a sense of unity as a nation.

Cambodia has fundamentally changed since April 17 brought a permanent catastrophe to the nation. I also understand those not wanting to hear and be reminded of our country's bitter past, because I too woke up with a feeling of denial: that April 17th never took place. How can this day be remembered? As a Cambodian, I must not forget. Part of me died along with it, systematically murdered by the Khmer Rouge.

Most nations denounce war as a way of settling things. For Cambodians, more time must pass. Meanwhile, we can begin to form our own judgments through the experiences of all pasts: ours and those of others. I hope the result will give each of us clear guidance that might become a model for future Cambodians. With this, I can honestly say that the Cambodian people stand at the dawn of a new era, with unprecedented opportunities and the rebirth of idealism in each and every individual. I want nothing more than to see this country prosper and united in peace.

Some people were forced to collect themselves and moved on with life. But no one was excluded from pain; those survived the pain swallowed it. One of the legacies of war and armed conflict in my time is the proportion of the population who lost one or



Ny Omrith at the Khmer-Thai border refugee camp in 1980s.

more of their siblings. Further, most of them did not leave home voluntarily and died in terrible and never fully-explained circumstances.

My mother turned 81 years old this year; she is physically and emotionally exhausted. Her voice is faltering and her eyes blurring. She sat listening patiently and looking at the pictures of her children – most of who died miserably – and of the places she once lived. I'm sure that all these pictures aroused both good and bad memories of her experiences. I realized that she is trying to come to terms with all her losses and tragedies, and I know that she is halfway there.



In Kampong Cham, the details of how my two sisters were murdered remain hidden. The questions are endless and will forever remain unanswered. People claimed to have heard loud revolutionary music played in Kampong Cham when executions were carried out.

Recording History

Everyone's life is a story in itself. And every one of those stories tells of constant changes. My own life is no exception. As a Cambodian, I'm trying to understand Cambodia, which always seemed lost and remains obscure for the most part. After decades of living in America, it is still a comfort when I'm thinking of those

stories and read them to remind me of my past and my future, which is now shaped by it.

During my years in the US, I have been working on a book project. I started writing it for my family. Most of it draws heavily on my memories; they are so personal that I often can't finish a paragraph for days. In many ways, it afflicts my life. I think best with paper and pen, and then the Laptop came along... As my work progresses, I think of others, like those died without having their voices heard and stories told. In certain ways, they had much less freedom.

Writing this book about Cambodia is a unique challenge to both the heart and mind. You can read it in the way you understand life. For those who lived through Cambodia's conflicts and endured the Khmer Rouge, it can help remind us now and then to tell the world of what had occurred and not to repeat this act. I have narrowed the title of this book to *"The Bare-Hands Doctrine, 1975 The Odd Year."* It may be controversial, but it focuses essentially on all Cambodians living globally as one.

In 1984, while I was living in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, I firmed up my goal to write this book. By 1998 I was in Kirkland, Washington, where I began the project by gathering notes and collecting memories. For years, I put these thoughts into words on scraps of paper and shared them with no one! Those notes have been the primary sources for this book. This work cannot be easily accomplished in days or months; it will take years to recollect my lost and obscured memories.

As I write, those notes and memories constantly remind me what I need to remember, including the possibility that those who committed the killings might someday read my book. Putting into words the lives of people who are engraved indelibly in the archives of my memory will be a long journey with many obstacles and uncertainties. But I am not in any hurry and I desperately hope that all my fellow Cambodians are following the same path.

I continued writing and sharing my stories with others, especially the survivors, people with different

lives, backgrounds, and experiences. In many ways, I discovered that when we're all sharing and in search for peace and love, we receive love in return. So gradually, this book became filled with conversations, arguments, and revelations from Cambodians, so that now, it is more than just my story. It contains the very private thoughts of my people, and I hope to show my gratitude to them by reflecting their thoughts in the book. It seems that the book is a story without an end.

But there is a purpose for writing it. The stories it contains are not simply about names; they are the memories that are still alive our hearts.

It is not my intent write an autobiography. Instead, I want to focus on the recent past: on my generation at the beginning of what the Khmer Rouge called "Year-Zero": Thursday April 17, 1975. The old way of life ceased to exist, and the Khmer Rouge began their quest to fulfill their revolution. I write about this not in the spirit of vengeance, but in an attempt to convey the reality of that era.

The story begins where the human spirit ends. It will tell of the struggle of living in Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge. As the author, I am not consciously seeking fame and glory. For the sake of literature, I wish to write a good story about Cambodia for future generations, and for those who have touched my life and given it meaning.

The Khmer Rouge era was extraordinary. It was not an ordinary time for Cambodians to remember; it marked a time when ideology took a collision course toward self-annihilation. After it ended Cambodia became known to the outside world by such terms as auto-genocide, Asian Auschwitz, Pol Pot, an Asian Hitler, Asian Holocaust, Echo of Auschwitz, Murder, the Nazi Style, Tuol Sleng, and as the Vietnamese publicly proclaimed: "A land of blood and tears, hell on earth" before its invasion in 1978.

In a May 9, 2003 interview on National Public Radio, actor John Malkovich (who was in the film *The Killing Fields*) called Cambodia a "hollow proposition." Former US President Jimmy Carter characterized the

regime as "the world's worst violators of human rights." British Prime Minister Winston Churchill once called genocide "the crime without name." That's Cambodia! Public opinion surveys paint a similar picture about Cambodia. Perhaps this book will help remind us of what actually happened.

History does repeat itself. The world stood by silently as the genocide of World War II reoccurred exactly 30 years later in Cambodia. How did the world allow this to happen? The Nazi Germans and the Khmer Rouge were both were capable of brutal acts that altered the nature of trust and honesty in people. Ironically, Oscar Schindler (Germany) and cadre Koeuth (Cambodia) were two good people among many bad ones, and saved many lives.

Three decades later, the decision to prosecute a few aging Khmer Rouge leaders remains more controversial, especially if we are considering a post-World War II Nuremberg-style tribunal.

As for me, I read and reread the notes from my book. There is much that I have worked hard to forget, and recalling the Khmer Rouge regime is painful. I read my notes as though they could save me. And they probably did, in a way. My sister remembered little of what happened. In many ways, she is trying to forget and move on with her life.

The dam where the Mong and Chrey Rivers meet will serve as a constant reminder of the past and the future. It will stand as a solemn testimony for those who built it under the Bare-Hands Doctrine.

The world has changed in the 60 years since the Nuremberg trials. With the Khmer Rouge tribunal now in place, I can only hope that justice will find its place and a new chapter can open. My visit to Chrey helped me recall happy times, and above all, it preserves the voices and faces of my family who I dearly love. Writing helps me bring back those I lost.

Vorak Ny is a survivor of Democratic Kampuchea and a reader of Searching for the Truth.

CRIME DESERVES JUDGMENT

Vannak Som

I am Som Vannak. My birthplace is in Bak Ranah village, Sang Khor sub-district, Svay Teap district, Svay Reang province.

The head of human rights of the United Nations in Cambodia, the country's human rights associations, the Cambodian courts, and the international court are responsible for the Khmer Rouge Tribunal.

I cannot bear seeing the Khmer Rouge senior leaders, such as Ieng Sary, Khieu Samphan, Nuon Chea, Ta Mok, and Duch not being brought before a court of law. My family and millions of other innocent Cambodians were inhumanely treated by the Khmer Rouge from 1975 to 1979. Now I am going to tell my story during the Democratic Kampuchea regime.

In 1975, I was living in Thmei village, Svay Teap sub-district, Svay Rieng province. At that time I was a child of 10. It was about 5 in the morning on April 17, 1975, the day after Khmer New Year. I heard people on National Road 1, cheering and laughing to celebrate their triumph. Along with the crowd were many tanks and military trucks that were carrying militia to the west. Joining the procession were many unfamiliar faces: armed men in black clothing and red scarves. One of them spoke, "Dear fathers, mothers, brothers, and sisters, today I have the honor to tell you that the *Angkar* has come to liberate you from the feudalist regime." Two days later, the Khmer Rouge expelled us from our homes. We were told move about one kilometer north. The Khmer Rouge then reassured us, saying, "The *Angkar* evacuates you from your homes. It will take the *Angkar* three days to sweep up the enemies. After that, you will be called back."

On April 22, it was raining during the dry season. The rain drops helped cool down the scorching heat of the sun. Some people built temporary shelters, while others stayed in their relatives' houses. Our family took some rice and other food such as fish paste. At our

relatives' house, there were pigs, chickens, and cows, which could feed us for a while.

During 1976, the Khmer Rouge started to carry out their communal dining hall policy. All livestock and other possessions were collected and controlled by the *Angkar*. Simultaneously, the *Angkar* divided the people into three labor categories. The first group, known as youth mobile units, was at the front of the labor force. The second was composed of middle-aged people, and the last was the children's units. The elderly women were assigned to do simple household chores such as baby sit children whose parents were supposed to be busy completing the *Angkar's* assignments. The elderly men were in charge of simple work like making ropes, ploughs, rakes, and knives. After this policy was carried out, the Khmer Rouge never gave a free moment to anyone; everyone was always kept busy.

In late 1975, under Comrade Pol Pot's management, the *Angkar* ordered both new and base people to do various kinds of work. We could not protest; we had to follow every order. We knew the orders were from Comrade Pol Pot, but we had never seen his face. I knew only some local officials such as the village chief Rim, the sub-district chief Seng, and the district chief (I seldom looked directly into his face).

Because I was still a child, the *Angkar* sent me to a "school," so to speak. Unlike schools nowadays, it was not a building, but an open air area under the shade of a tree. Sitting on the ground were clay bricks that served as our seats. There also a wooden blackboard for our teacher to write on. This school had about a hundred students. We studied two hours a day. When we weren't in school, we tended cattle and collected manure to make natural fertilizer. In the evening, when we had finished our duties, we were assembled for a self-criticism meeting. At that time, a child who dared to criticize him or herself or others would be

regarded as a model. Following the revolutionary ideology, the *Angkar* educated the children to abandon individuality, to loathe the ways of the former regime, and to love and have faith in the *Angkar*. There also was a revolutionary song entitled “We children cherish the *Angkar*.” It was the most popular song for children of the Pol Pot regime.

The Khmer Rouge also spread their ideology through entertainment. For instance, at the worksite the *Angkar* played revolutionary songs that described and complimented the *Angkar*'s work. Actually, it was a means of convincing people to believe in the *Angkar*. However, such songs never interested me at all. Frankly, I never paid attention to them. What I always strained my ears to hear was the metal bell at the communal dining hall, the sign of meal time. From 1975 to 1976, I had enough food to eat because my family managed to raise a little poultry and plant vegetables. It was illegal at that time to have a private farm. If the *Angkar* learned about it, we would have been punished.

A more dangerous thing my family secretly did was to barter with the Vietnamese at the border. My mother, uncle, or aunt traveled in secret to do this. Usually, we bartered for seasonings – salt, pepper, garlic, sugar – and sometimes, medicine. Later, the *Angkar* became stricter, so they no longer had a chance to barter. This marked the beginning of our food shortages and hardships. The medicines the Khmer Rouge stored were nearly finished, and the amount of food provided was beginning to decrease.

Between late 1976 and early 1977, Vietnamese soldiers attacked Prasot, Romain, and Krasaing Chrom districts. Moreover, the Vietnamese soldiers herded local residents to the east. In response to Vietnam's attacks, the Khmer Rouge militia based in the East Zone started evacuating people to the west of Vaiko River.

While the Vietnamese soldiers were firing guns along National Road 1 near the Vaiko Dam, some people followed the Vietnamese soldiers to Chi Phou Bavet village, which was under Vietnam's control. There

were also some Khmer Rouge cadres who cooperated with the Vietnamese soldiers. Then in about 1977, I began to realize that there were internal betrayals among the Khmer Rouge. The cadres from Takeo province (the Southwest Zone), headed by Ta Mok, began to arrest the cadres of the East Zone. It was a well thought-out plan because even subordinate local officials like village chiefs were also arrested. They all were arrested and killed within moments.

I and some other children, who were tending cattle near a *po* tree in Tahoe Village, Po Tahoe sub-district, central Svay Rieng province, watched the Southwest militia capture the cadres of the East Zone. They were tied, blindfolded, put into sacs, and then thrown into GMC trucks (made in China). Then, the trucks drove off along National Road 1 to the west. I did not know where the East Zone cadres were taken. After they arrested all the East Zone cadres, the Southwest cadres accused the Svay Rieng residents of having Khmer bodies with Vietnamese heads. These innocent people were severely discriminated against and their activities were restricted.

The *Angkar* moved Svay Rieng's residents to live temporarily in Kampong Trabek district in Prey Veng province. They then began to scrutinize each family in order to search for any families that still had a “tendency” toward the previous regime. The families whose members were former soldiers, police or teachers were regarded as traitors. During the 1978 rainy season they were arrested, put on a boat and thrown overboard to drown near Mount Cheu Kach in Prey Veng. My family was lucky; none of us was executed.

One night, three Khmer Rouge militiamen came toward our house. My mother saw the flickering light from their oil lamps through a chink in the house. She began to feel terribly frightened, thinking that death was coming near. When they reached the door, one of them, a man about 25 years old, darted forward, checking to see if our family was on his list. If it was, we were to be sent by boat to Mount Cheu Kach. Luckily, none of our names was on the list. We froze

with fear until the three murderers walked out of sight. Then we felt a great relief as if we had died and been reincarnated.

At dawn, those whose names were on the execution list had to depart, leaving the rest of us to do our work in silence. Three days later, some herder boys said that there were a lot of corpses floating, sticking on the flooded tree branches near Mount Chheu Kat. The boys had collected the dead bodies' belongings like shoes, cloths, mats, pillows, and hanging poles. The Khmer Rouge could not keep the dead bodies a secret. To make matters worse, there was also unrest as a result of attacks by the Vietnamese, causing the *Angkar* to evacuate people to such provinces as Pursat and Battambang.

Traveling on foot and carrying such bulky belongings, we felt absolutely exhausted. The adults were probably able to tolerate it, but a child of 10 like me found it hard to bear. I had to run to catch up with them. We walked from Svay Rieng to a place adjacent to Stoeung Salot Bridge. We spent a few days there with many other people who were being evacuated, waiting for orders from the *Angkar*. There was some relief in being by a river, however, because we were able to drink, bathe, and catch food.

A few days later, the *Angkar* divided the evacuees into groups. Each group had to board a boat at Nak Loeung and travel along the Mekong to Phnom Penh. Each ship carried about a hundred people. The Khmer Rouge read from their list and announced the names of people who were to board the boat. My family's name was the first.

On board, the Khmer Rouge militia looked stern; they carried spear guns and ordered us not to jump out or speak a word. Everyone in the ship had to inform the militia of whatever he or she wanted to do, even go to the toilet. During the journey, some people wondered why the Khmer Rouge were sending us by boat, rather

than truck. It probably had something to do with the confidential nature of their internal affairs.

When the boat reached the Chbar Ampoeu, we saw the ghost city of Phnom Penh; there was no noise from vehicles or machines as there had been in the past. Then the boat was tied up at a dock. Suddenly, Khmer Rouge soldiers, in their strange accents, told us to disembark and wait for lunch, where people would be given some supplies before we were to travel by train from the Phnom Penh station. Surprisingly, the Khmer Rouge soldiers welcomed us warmly, yet we dared not look at their faces since they all were armed.

A 20-year old Khmer Rouge woman called out the name of each person who would get lunch and supplies. Each family was given a pack of rice wrapped in lotus leaves. The size of the package depended on the size of the family. In addition, each family got a steamed fish, a blanket, a shirt made of cloth from China, a *krama* [scarf], and a jar of balm. At about 2 p.m. a Chinese-made car took us to the train station. As we left for Pursat, I felt that everything was unfamiliar. I was leaving my birthplace, the place where I had spent my entire life with my relatives. The sense of family closeness seemed to fade away, for this was probably our last departure and returning was impossible. All the evacuees squatted quietly and sadly in the train compartment. When I became hungry, I unwrapped the rice package and the smell of steamed fish aroused



Villagers are viewing prisoners' photos at Tuol Sleng

my appetite. I ate it with my mother. After I finished the rice, I poked my head out of the window to catch the view along the rail line. It was a dense forest, dark green because dusk was falling.

After several hours, the train reached Pursat province. The *Angkar* divided the evacuees into units and sent them to cooperatives. My family of nine was split up. My aunts and uncles were sent to Damnak Trop cooperative, while my mother and I went to Damnak Run cooperative. Three days later, I was sent with 16 other children to the Trachiek Chet children's unit in Srok Svay Daunkeo. The Khmer Rouge forced us to work all day and night without sufficient food. Worse than this, we were vulnerable to being killed. My grandfather, uncle and his wife, and my single aunt were killed by the Khmer Rouge in Damnak Trop cooperative.

My duty was to clear forest at Mount Trachiek Chet where there were a lot of mass graves. The smell from the rotting corpses there was terrible. Because the work was so hard and we were homesick, three of my friends and I decided to escape. One night, we ran away to our mothers at Chong Sral cooperative.

The next morning, Ta Lem, the cooperative chief, ordered us to collect water hyacinth. While we were doing this, a militiaman approached us on horseback; he was carrying a knife. Sensing that if the militiaman took us we would be killed, we begged Ta Lem for mercy. After some minutes, Ta Lem began to have pity on us and went to talk with the militiaman. A few moments later, the militiaman left. After that, we worked as hard as we could to make the cooperative chief happy.

After a few days, I heard that my mother was sent back to Trachiek Chet cooperative. I was shocked because this is where my relatives had been killed. Before dawn, I snuck out of my cooperative and ran to see my mother. When we met, we held each other tightly and cried quietly. My mother was skinny and had lost much of her hair. She was desperate and simply waiting for death.

In early 1979, the *Angkar* declared that there

would be a feast of Khmer noodles. Immediately, I saw the Khmer Rouge militias begin to panic. Yay Nat, the chief of the widow's unit, and her younger sister Yay Maunh gathered us together. It was Khmer New Year. Because this was a special day, the *Angkar* would celebrate with a small feast. They served us a spoon of watery porridge with a small piece of pork. Even though it was neither special nor enough food to be called a "feast," I was happy to have it because I had not tasted such delicious meat in years.

While we were eating, all the important Khmer Rouge leaders had escaped. After an hour, the Khmer Rouge soldiers told us to dissolve the units and to find food for ourselves. Despite the insufficient food, the people were very happy. They would no longer have to work so hard or eat in the communal dining hall. But most important, they would have freedom.

In the morning of April 16, 1979 we heard the sound of gunfire and artillery from the east. Following the sounds, about half an hour later the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea (UFNSK) and Vietnamese troops arrived in our village. Everyone waved their scarves and hats and clapped to congratulate their triumph. My mother and I joined a procession that was heading from the dense forests of Pursat province toward our homeland. My mother, who needed a walking stick, traveled on foot. During our journey, she spent some time in a hospital in Pursat. The hospital had many patients, most of whom were suffering from overwork. When we reached our homeland, we had nothing at all. Even our house had been ransacked and torn apart. We also learned that six of my mother's siblings had been killed.

I would like to appeal for justice to the human rights organization based in Cambodia, and the Cambodian and international court, which are in charge of the Khmer Rouge Tribunal. I hope the Khmer Rouge leaders will be put on trial and punished according to the crimes they committed from 1975 to 1979.

Som Vannak is a survivor of Democratic Kampuchea.

SEARCHING FOR MISSING FAMILY MEMBERS

Missing Wife and Children

I am Lim Chhisong, born in Phnom Penh. I would like to search for the following names:

- ♦ Lim Lichou, 62, born in Kratie (wife)
- ♦ Lim Phich Shuong, 42, birthmark: a red mole on the left cheek (first daughter)
- ♦ Lim Phich Eng, 40 (second daughter)
- ♦ Lim Phich Hong, 38 (third daughter)
- ♦ Lim Pich Sroy, 36 (fourth daughter).

Before 1975, they lived in Phnom Penh. Between August and September, they were evacuated out of Phnom Penh. I heard that my wife and daughters were evacuated to Kampong Chhnang, and then embarked on a train to Pursat. Since then, I have had no news of them.

If anybody has information on these names, please contact us via telephone: 012 841 803 (Phnom Penh), 011 938 322 (Khmer-Chinese Association, Pursat), 011 838 412 (Khmer-Chinese Association, Poay Pet), 012 448 656 (Khmer-Chinese Association, Serei Sophaon district). A reward will be given to the informer, and if anybody has fostered my children, I shall regard them as my family. Thank you.

Missing Nephew: Seng Vuthy

I am Sou Kanya, age 57. Now I live in Thapang Krav Village, Snuol Sub-district, Snuol district, Kratie province. I would like to search for my nephew named Seng Vuthy (his mother was Seng Vandan); he worked as a combatant in the Department of Machine Boats during the Khmer Rouge regime. He disappeared after he ran away with Pheap, the chief of Region 505, when there was an explosion at the arsenal.

If my nephew or anyone else has information on the name mentioned above, please contact the Documentation Center of Cambodia via telephone: 855 23 211 875, or P.O. Box: 1110, Phnom Penh. Thank you.

Missing Son: Man Mon

I am Yos Peng, 72. My daughter Man Man, 44, and I would like to find my missing son Man Mon. He left home in 1976 and has never returned. In 1976, Man Mon was forced to leave the pagoda where he was a monk, and was sent to a unit that dug yams in the vicinity of Mount Peam Chaing, in Preah Sdach.

If anyone has information on him or if Man Mon sees this announcement, please contact the Documentation Center of Cambodia. Thank you.

Missing Brother

I, Ann Nass, am now living in Tik Chenh village, Sangkat Boeng Taprum, Khan Prey Nup, Sihanoukville. My mother was Man Rass. I have two siblings: Ann Soh and Ann Mut. I would like to search for my brother, Ann Mut. I have not heard anything about him.

If my brother hears about this, please come back to visit our brothers or sisters at the address mentioned above or contact the Documentation Center of Cambodia via phone: 023 211 875, or Fax: 023 211 875. Thank you.

Missing Brothers and Sisters

My name is Thach Saly, age 57. I was born in Sangkat Kilometer 6, Spean Khpos village, Khan Russei Keo. Now I am living in Phnom Penh. My father Thach Khiech was a soldier for King Sihanouk, and my mother was Ly Thivann. I would like to search for my six siblings who were separated during the Khmer Rouge regime:

- ◆ Thach Moeung (oldest brother)
- ◆ Thach Sarim (older sister)
- ◆ Thach Saroeun (older sister)
- ◆ Thach Mardy (younger brother)
- ◆ Thach Try (younger brother)
- ◆ Thach Sokha (younger brother)
- ◆ Thach Sam-Ol (younger brother)
- ◆ Thach Peou (younger brother).

If my brothers or sisters or anyone else knows the people mentioned above, please contact Lim Hok via telephone 012 309 905 or the Documentation Center of Cambodia. Thank you.

Missing Father and Sister

I, Kann Baurinin, am living in the US with my mother Chhun Baurin and my three younger sisters: Kann Bauriyan, Kann Sreinout and Kann Sreipeou. I would like to search for my father named Kann Bophakunthea and my sister named Kann Bophakunthea aka Srei Aun, who was just 6-7 years old during the regime. We were separated in Battambang in 1979. Two months before the Vietnamese army invaded Phnom Penh, they were evacuated to Thibatey Mountain in Battambang. After that, I heard that my father hemorrhaged. It was unclear whether he was still alive or dead. My sister Bophakunthea cried and ran to her neighbors for help. Since then, I have not heard anything about them.

If my brother or sister or anybody else has heard anything about them, please inform me through the Documentation Center of Cambodia.

Missing Parents and Six Siblings

I, Chea Vanna, am a teacher at Romaul Primary School, Ra-ang sub-district, Kampong Siem district. Now, I am living in Ampil village, Ampil sub-district, Kampong Siem district, Kampong Cham province. I would like to search for my parents and six siblings:

- ◆ Lay You (father), age 74
- ◆ Lay Chy (mother)
- ◆ Lay Youvandy
- ◆ Lay Soripraseth
- ◆ Lay Monitirith
- ◆ Lay Sokunthea
- ◆ Lay Socheata
- ◆ Lay Sopheap.

Before 1970, my family moved to Phnom Penh. My father had been a soldier for the French colonialists, King

Sihanouk and Lon Nol. In 1975, my parents and my six brothers and sisters went to Takeo in an attempt to return to their homeland in Kampuchea Krom. I have not heard anything about them since then.

If anyone else knows or hears anything about them, please inform me through the Documentation Center of Cambodia. Thank you.

Missing Father: Duongsing San

My name is Nathavy Duongsung. I would like to search for my father Duongsing San, born on March 5, 1937 in Siem Reap. He was a head of the Economic Academy and Planning of the Ministry of Agriculture during the Khmer Republic. In 1975, when the Khmer Rouge took control of Phnom Penh, his family escaped to the French Embassy. At that time, the embassy was surrounded by the Khmer Rouge. He and other Cambodians who sought asylum were chased out of the embassy. I have never heard anything about him since then.

If anyone else knows or hears anything about him, please contact me via P.O. Box: 845, Phnom Penh or telephone 092 962 356 or 012 876 532 or address: *Buchsstr.20, D-73252 Lenningen, Germany, Tel: +49 7026 2104 or Email: peer_gatter@hotmail.com.*

Missing Son and Brother

My name is Y Vann Nae, age 65; I am now living in Thla village, Chrarieng sub-district, Kampong Thom district, Kampong Thom province. My husband was Tol Leng (the Khmer Rouge killed him in 1977). I would like to search for my son named Tol Monivan, who disappeared when he was 12 years, and my brother named Y Srun, who disappeared in 1975. If my son and my brother learn of this letter, please come to our mother and me via the address mentioned above. If anybody else hears anything about them, please inform me or contact the Documentation Center of Cambodia. Thank you.

Missing Brother

I am Pin Thet, age 43. I was born in Mahaleap village, Peam Brathnuoh, Koh Sautin district, Kampong Cham province. I am first general secretary of Mondulkiri provincial office. My father, Pin Bin, died and my mother, Chik Aun, is living in Mahaleap village, Peam Brathnuoh sub-district, Koh Sotin district, Kampong Cham province. I would like to search for my brother, Pin Chanthol, who disappeared in 1977. At that time, I heard that the Angkar sent him to work at the factory, but I have not heard anything about him since.

If my brother knows or anybody else knows this name, please contact me at 092 928 579. Thank you.

Missing Sister

My name is Khiek Saroeun, age 46, and I am living in Kandal village, Spean Meanchey sub-district, Sen Monorom district, Mondulkiri. I would like to search for my sister, Ay San, who was a medical worker. Her husband was Nhim Sophal.

If my sister hears this or anyone else knows her, please contact me at 012 766 082 or the Documentation Center of Cambodia. Thank you.



Cambodian and international judges and prosecutors swear on oath during swearing in ceremony inside the Royal Palace on July 3, 2006

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.

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